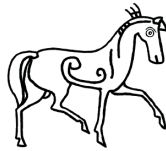


THE GRAND TOUR JOURNAL
OF ALEXANDER PENROSE CUMMING
1770-1771

Edited by
Robert Hay



THE EUROPEAN
ETHNOLOGICAL
RESEARCH CENTRE

Sources in Local History

The journal of Alexander Penrose Cumming is the first in a planned series of *Sources in Local History* volumes that will focus on the experiences of Scots abroad during the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As well as the accounts of tourists such as Cumming, it will include the diaries and letters not only of a wide range of migrants, from settlers to sojourners, but also of people whose duty or occupation took them overseas temporarily. Further information about the series can be found on the Regional Ethnology of Scotland website: <https://www.regionalethnologyscotland.llc.ed.ac.uk/>

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Acknowledgements

The text of Alexander Cumming's journal is presented in full here with the kind permission of the owner, Sir Alistair Gordon Cumming, who has been very supportive of the project. Transcription of the journal has been possible because of the timely action of the late and much missed Patrick Cadell, who rescued the Gordon Cumming Papers from a serious flood at Altyre.

The editor wishes to express his thanks to the staff of the Special Collections Department of the National Library of Scotland, who have been invariably helpful over three years of studying the Gordon Cumming Papers (Deposit 175); and to the overall editor of the *Sources in Local History* series, Dr Kenneth Veitch, whose wise counsel has been invaluable.

The images have been sourced from the British Museum, the National Army Museum, National Galleries Scotland, the National Gallery London, the National Portrait Gallery, and the Tate. For full credits, see page 124.

Editing

In order to create an edition of Cumming's journal that is both faithful to the original and accessible to a modern readership the following editorial conventions have been adopted.

The original spelling has been retained, except for the unnecessary capitalisation of nouns. Familiar archaisms and words that have been misspelled but are readily recognisable have not been annotated. Missing letters have been inserted in [] only when the meaning of the word would otherwise be unclear or hinder easy reading. For misspelled words that are not immediately obvious, or might be confused with another word, the correct form is provided in [*i.e.*]. Abbreviated words (including ampersands) have been silently expanded, and superior numbers and letters lowered. Expansion involving some degree of conjecture is indicated by []. Words that are unclear in the original manuscript and have been transcribed tentatively are given as [*?word*]; and where necessary for sense, missing words are supplied in [].

Cumming's grammar has been retained, as has his punctuation (with the exception of quotation marks, which have been modernised in the interests of clarity).

The journal was written continuously in two volumes, the first one ending on 28 December 1770. For ease of navigation, the two volumes have been merged, and each month begins on a new page. A running header giving the month has also been provided. Otherwise, the entry headings appear as they do in the original.

The journal contains a number of foreign words and phrases. The majority of them have been italicised; and a translation or definition supplied, except where Cumming has included one of his own, or where the word or phrase has entered the English language or is close enough to the English form to be understandable. Anglicised forms of foreign words and Cumming's phonetic approximations have been similarly treated. The exceptions to this approach are foreign place names, personal names and titles, which are presented as they appear in the original.

The full name and dates of the artists mentioned by Cumming have been given on their first appearance in the text. Archaic and misspelled place names are followed by the correct modern form in [] (again on their first appearance only) so that readers can more easily plot Cumming's progress on a map and search for further information about the places he visited.

No attempt has been made to interpret the many classical references.

Note on Currency

With each Italian state having its own currency, travellers encountered a variety of coinage when on the Grand Tour. While some coins were current throughout the peninsula, others were of a purely local use. Similar names, moreover, were used in neighbouring states for coins that had different values. The denominations Cumming mentions in the journal are listed here along with their approximate value in Sterling. For the Italian denominations, the correct spelling is added in (). In Sterling 12 pence = 1 shilling, and 20 shillings = 1 pound. It should be noted that the price of living in Italy was considerably cheaper than in Britain at this time, so Cumming's money would have gone further than at home.

France

1 sol/sous = $\frac{1}{2}$ pence

1 livre = 10 pence

Italy

1 carlin (carlino) = 4 pence (Naples)

1 paule (paolo) = 6 pence (Rome)

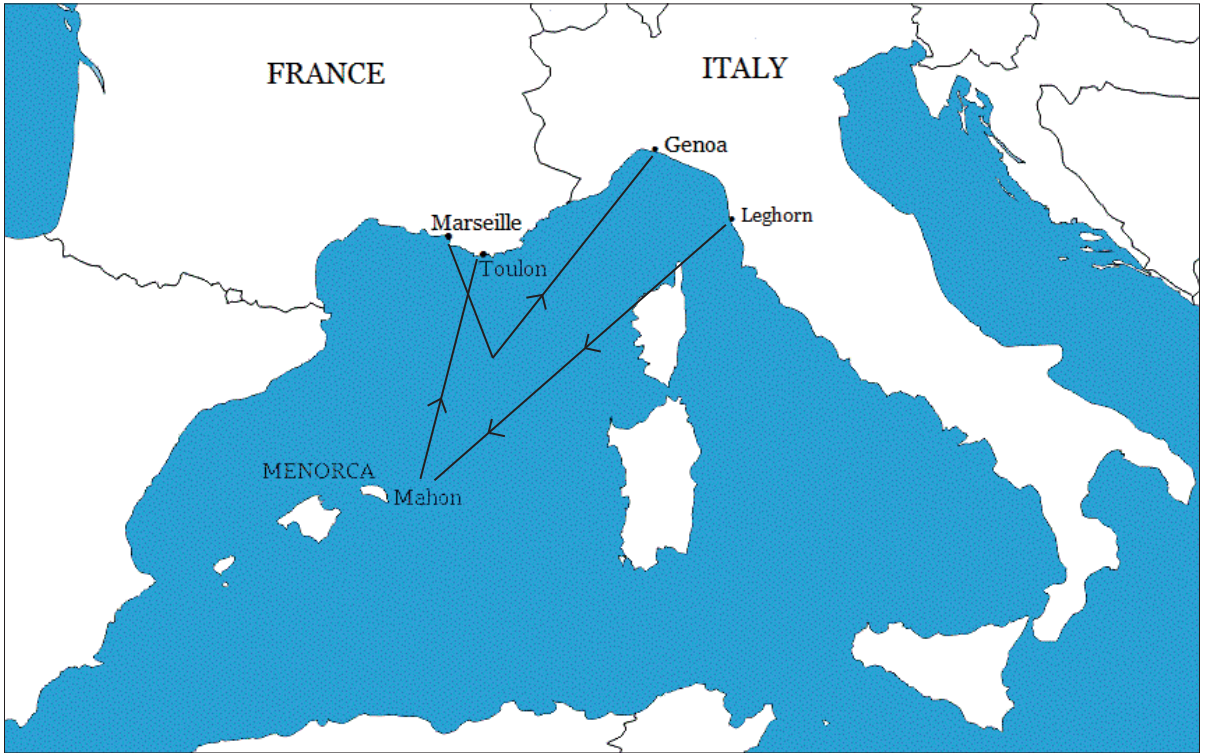
1 livre (lira) = $8\frac{1}{2}$ pence (Genoa), 5 pence (Venice)

1 sequin/zequin (zecchino) = 10 shillings (Florence, Rome), 5 shillings (Naples)

Itinerary and Maps

20-24 September 1770	by boat from Menorca to Toulon
25 September	by carriage from Toulon to Marseilles
26 September-1 October	Marseilles
2-11 October	by boat from Marseilles to Genoa
12-18 October	Genoa
19 October	by boat from Genoa to Porto Fino
20-23 October	Porto Fino
24 October	by boat from Porto Fino to Sestri
25-27 October	by post mules and carriage from Sestri to Lucca via La Spezia, Sarzana and Massa
28 October	by carriage from Lucca to Leghorn via Pisa
29 October-3 November	Leghorn
4 November	by carriage from Leghorn to Poggetto via Pisa
5 November	by carriage from Poggetto to Florence via Empoli
6-19 November	Florence

20-21 November	by carriage from Florence to Siena via Poggiborsì
22 November	Siena
23-27 November	by carriage from Siena to Rome via San Quirico, Acquapendente, Viterbo and Monterosi
28 November-5 December	Rome
6-7 December	by carriage from Rome to Naples
8 December-13 January 1771	Naples
14-16 January	by carriage from Naples to Rome via Terraciana and Velletri
17 January-20 February	Rome
21-27 February	[?by carriage] from Rome to Venice via Terni, Foligno, Loreto, Ancona, Rimini, Goro and Chioggia
28 February-9 March	Venice
9-12 March	by boat from Venice to Bologna via Ferrara
12-13 March	Bologna
13-15 March	by carriage from Bologna to Florence via Laniola and Taglio Ferro
16 March	by carriage from Florence to Leghorn via Pisa
17-29 March	Leghorn
29 March	embarked for Menorca
1 April	Mahón, Menorca



Map 1. The main sea journeys undertaken by Alexander Cumming during his Grand Tour.
(Plotted on an outline map obtained from <https://d-maps.com/>)



Map 2. The main sites visited by Alexander Cumming while on the Italian leg of his Grand Tour. (Plotted on an outline map obtained from <https://d-maps.com/>)

Introduction

Background

Alexander Penrose Cumming was an Anglo-Scot as a result of a complicated history of inheritance.¹ In the first half of the eighteenth century, the Cummings of Altyre were in danger of losing the barony lands in Moray that they had held for five hundred years. Alexander Cumming (1675-1748) somehow managed to avoid forfeiture, in spite of raising his tenants for the Jacobite cause in 1715, and proclaiming the Old Pretender ‘King of Great Britain’ at Forres town cross. However, all was not well with his family, no doubt because they did not share his political outlook. His eldest son, James, disappeared to London, joined a religious community, and excluded himself from inheriting Altyre. As the next son, Alexander, had joined the army before 1715, and married an heiress in England, the possession of the family lands was assumed by the third son, George, whose careful management restored the family fortunes.

Under normal circumstances, Alexander’s son, also Alexander, would have inherited Altyre in due course but, after a very adventurous early life (sent to sea at 15, later serving in the army, and emulating his father in making an advantageous marriage in England), he died in 1761 before his uncle George (who lived on to 1775). His wife Grace, heiress of the Penrose estate in Cornwall, was left with a family of six sons and three daughters. Thus it was that the eldest son, Alexander Penrose Cumming (1749-1806), the potential heir to both Penrose and Altyre, was raised by an English mother, in a family with strong Anglican traditions (two brothers became fellows of New College Oxford, later country parsons). On the other hand, in a letter of 1769 (before his Grand Tour), his uncle found him ‘at all times to prefer Scotland in every view, to England. In short he is fond of being taken, as by his brogue he ever is, for a native of Scotland’.² There are few signs of this in the journal.

Aged 19, in 1768, he took a commission in his father’s last regiment (the 13th Regiment of Foot, later the Somerset Regiment) and, shortly afterwards, it was sent on garrison duty to Menorca. Presumably the duties were light in this period of peace because he took five months leave of absence from September 1770 to April 1771 to travel through Italy, recording the events of each day in his journal.

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The Journal

The journal is written in a reasonably clear longhand, but not copperplate, in two octavo notebooks with white vellum covers, and high-quality paper pages. The consistency of the ink and writing from day to day, and the lack of ‘crossing out’, suggests that the text may have been copied from original notes. Much of the journal, of 51,000 words, is taken up with a tireless pursuit of all the art, architecture and antiquities on offer, but he also visited the main tourist destinations of the day, and enjoyed many novel experiences, while not forgetting his military background, by recording all the fortifications and bodies of soldiers he encountered.

It is helpful to read the journal in the context of the times. The Enlightenment was in full swing across Europe, but the ‘modernisations’ associated with the industrial and agricultural revolutions were only just beginning to influence traditional societies. As far as Britain was concerned, 1770/1 was a momentous time: James Watt was just perfecting the steam engine; James Cook was away charting the South Seas; James Bruce was discovering the source of the Blue Nile; problems were boiling up in North America; and Walter Scott was born in Edinburgh. Meanwhile, Europe was just emerging from the traumas of a series of continental wars, and the Italian states (the source of much of the inspiration for the Enlightenment) were enjoying a brief period of peace before the onset of the French wars. Cumming was able to experience the rich culture of classical and renaissance art, and meet men who were at the forefront of new activities such as archaeology and geology, while finding it difficult simply to travel from place to place.

The Itinerary

Sailing from Menorca on 20 September 1770, Cumming and his regimental companion Captain Robarts joined the classic southern route of the Grand Tour by sea, avoiding the Alps. Delayed by calm weather, it took ten days to reach Genoa, where they remained until 19 October. As there were no roads south through the mountains at that time, they did not reach Leghorn until 28 October, narrowly avoiding being wrecked, and abandoning the sea route for an arduous journey on post mules: ‘the road not broader than a foot path and prodigious precipices below and mountains above us’ (25 October). Having reached the network of coach roads (of uneven quality), they progressed to Pisa, Florence (5–19 November), Siena, and Rome, where they remained from 28 November to 5 December. They then travelled south to Naples (8–13 November), returning to Rome on 15 January 1771 for a long stay of thirty-six days. Leaving Rome on 21 February, they crossed the Apennines to Loreto, Rimini and Chioggia, arriving by boat in Venice on 28 February. The companions parted there and, after a stay of eight days, Cumming travelled by sea, river and canal to Bologna (11 March). They returned to their friends in Leghorn on 16 March and eventually embarked for Menorca on 29 March.

Cumming as a Grand Tourist

The normal pattern for an upper class young man at that time was to go on the Grand Tour of Europe (often including the Netherlands, France and Germany as well as Italy), for a ‘liberal education’, immediately after leaving university, and commonly in the company of an older man or chaperon (bearing in mind the grave hazards to which he might be exposed). In contrast, the independent twenty-one year old Cumming was already a seasoned traveller, and his time in Italy was enhanced by the contacts he had already made in Menorca (giving him an entry to society, for example in Leghorn), by his competence in French, and by his willingness to try to master Italian. The fact that he was immediately recognized as a military officer (for example, on 13 November by the young son of the Grand Duke in Florence) indicates that they must have worn uniform throughout the trip. In each place in France and Italy, Cumming enjoyed the company of soldiers, gaining opportunities that might have been denied other visitors – for example, access to the Arsenal in Venice on 2 March. In France, he found:

that the old French officers are the most polite best kind of men I ever met with; always ready to put you right and inform you of any thing in their power. The young ones, the more coxcomical and vain are *fort poli* easily to be acquainted with and very obliging. (28/29 October)

It seems that there was a strong sense of brotherhood amongst army officers, even though it would not be long before they were at war again. Although he came from a fairly modest landowning family, he managed to mix in high society, with invitations to more than one *conversazione* in private homes, and entrance to *casinos* that were restricted to aristocrats and distinguished visitors.

Travel

Cumming’s journey took him across several political boundaries: from the Kingdom of France, through the Republic of Genoa, the tiny Republic of Lucca, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the Papal States, the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and the Republic of Venice. Each had its own standard of transport infrastructure, from very basic in the north, to the Kingdom of Naples, where the road from Rome was ‘the finest I ever saw being a perfect bowling green the whole way’ (6 December). The countryside varied widely from the Apennine Mountains to the Pontine Marshes, as did the standard of accommodation from the smallest villages to the greatest cities.

Once Cumming reached Lucca, it was possible to hire horse-drawn transport: coach and four, chaise, voiture, or cabriolet in different places; but he was reduced to a calash, drawn by mules ‘at a foot’s pace’ from Bologna, and wagons (‘the most shocking vehicles I ever entered’, 11 March) from Ferrara. In contrast, he was invited to share the private coach of Mr Buchanan, a fellow traveller, from Naples

to Rome in January. Although he was travelling in the winter months, there were surprisingly few accidents and delays: a broken-down chaise on the road from Leghorn to Florence; and on the coast towards Venice ‘the horses were up to their bellies and the fore wheels covered with the mud; sometimes we stuck for half an hour’ (11 March). Leaving Rome on 27 February:

As we had had a fortnight’s dry weather we found the roads pretty tolerable; a day or two’s bad weather would have made them almost impassable as we saw from the chaises sticking two or three times in the mud, as it was.

In the very complicated voyage from Venice to Bologna across the lagoon, up the River Po and into the complex of canals beyond Ferrara, he was obliged to spend two nights on mattresses on the floor of crowded communal cabins. On several trips to tourist venues outside the cities, his party would hire horses.

On arrival at Lucca by post mule, they were asked about what contraband they might be carrying but their limited baggage was not searched. They had sent their trunks on by a coasting *felucca* from Sestri to Leghorn where, again, there was little examination by the Tuscan customs officers but, in Florence, the trunks were ‘plumbed to save the trouble of having them frequently opened on the road [to Rome]’ (3 November). Leaving Rome for Naples, they paid three times to avoid examination but, on their return, they ‘had previously procured a *lascia passare* or passport [and] weren’t carried to the custom house, nor met with any interruption’ (16 January). Cumming does not mention the arrangements at other frontiers; it seems that they had little to complain about, possibly because they were recognisably officers.

Accommodation

The journals of contemporary Grand Tourists include a great deal of criticism of the standard of accommodation offered in France and Italy. Cumming may have been a very easy guest, or inured to hardship by his military experiences, as he is generally very appreciative of the inns in the bigger towns and cities.³ In the larger inns, they lived in some style, occupying a suite of rooms. At Damon’s in Rome, for example, their accommodation comprised ‘two bedrooms, small dining room, dinner and supper at the table d’hôte’ (27 September).⁴ At a Swiss private house in Naples, they bought their ‘our own tea and sugar and breakfast at home’ (7 December). In general, he does not complain about cost and, although he does document his days quite fully, domestic details, even what they ate, are generally omitted. For example, how did he keep his uniform clean and smart?

His experiences in small country inns were much more variable. At Porto Fino, the auberge was ‘better ... than we had reason to expect. Our beds were very clean and good’ (19 October) but, during the mule trip they found a ‘wretched house, bad eating at a most extravagant price and stinking beds, where we were eaten up

by mosquitos and fleas' in Especia (25 October). At Terraciana, they were troubled by the 'badness of the beds' (14 January) and at Acquapendente, 'Our inn was barely tolerable and exceedingly cold' (24 November).

People

Cumming comes over as a sociable young man and there are entries in the journal that suggest that he was open to people of all kinds. For example, on more than one occasion on the road he thoroughly enjoyed the company of Catholic priests. When they were storm bound in Porto Fino,

our landlord had provided a good dish of fresh fish for supper after which we were entertained by his sons a couple of abbés with a song and concluded the evening with a long conversation with them in Italian in which we flattered ourselves we came off very well. (23 October)

At Monte Rosi, 'two priests, very good kind of men, who had likewise come from Florence, supped with us' (26 November).

Nevertheless, he shared the view of most of his compatriots that Italians were generally dirty and barbarous, if not criminal, taking every opportunity to relieve travellers of their money. He complained, for example, that the Genoese 'are as great cheats and rascals as their ancestors the Ligurians ... and there's an universal combination to fleece strangers most unmercifully' (13 October), and that the postilions on the road between Rome and Naples 'are the most impudent, impertinent set of scoundrels under heaven' (6 December).⁵

During his longer stays in Naples and Rome, he had the opportunity to form friendships with a colourful mixture of other travellers and émigrés, from wealthy aristocrats to art collectors, exiled Jacobites and individuals escaping from disgrace. The first duty on arriving at a new city was to call on the British representative. The ambassadors and consuls in the Italian States at that time were noteworthy for their personalities and activities. Sir William Hamilton, ambassador at Naples from 1764 to 1800, still married to his first wife, Catherine, was the local authority on Vesuvius, and was credited with saving the king at the time of the 1767 eruption. During his stay in Naples, Cumming spent several evenings at the Hamilton's, and he was part of a group of visitors introduced by them to the king and queen at the royal court at Portici.

He missed meeting Sir John Dick (consul at Leghorn, and an ally of James Boswell in supporting the Corsican uprising) but spent several evenings, including an introduction to the *casino*, with Sir Horace Man, consul at Florence, charged with keeping an eye on the Young Pretender, Charles Stuart ('Bonnie Prince Charlie'), at Rome. Cumming noted that, 'It's necessary to be introduced by some person belonging to the place [*casino*] as by that means no [card] sharpers or adventurers can gain admittance' (16 November). John Udny, consul and art collector, introduced

him to the upper reaches of Venetian society.

At the same time, he formed relationships with a group of British aristocrats who found living in Italy easier than within the constraints of home. In 1769, the twenty-four year old John Frederick Saville, duke of Dorset, had been involved in a very public triangular affair with the prime minister, Lord Grafton, and his mistress, Anne Parsons (*alias* Mrs Houghton); Dorset was the successful competitor for her favours and, by 1770, they were wintering together in Italy. Cumming attended concerts staged by Dorset on five evenings during his stay in Rome and their friendship seems to have developed during February, when he paid visits and dined with them. They met up again in Bologna, in the company of another aristocrat, Robert Seymour, Lord Carmarthen. Cumming was mixing in high society, and his friendship with Dorset continued after he returned home, spending Christmas with him at the family seat at Knole in Kent. In Naples, he frequented the receptions arranged by John Tilney, earl of Castlemaine, who was in exile on account of his homosexuality.

Jacobites formed a major group of exiles in Rome. Although Cumming did not meet the Young Pretender in person, he observed him at public events, making notes in the diary that reveal his opinions:

The Pretender was there [at the opera]; he's a gentlemanly good looking man as ever I saw. He always goes to the theatre; his box is distinguished by being lined with silk and having curtains to it. He paid visits to the different boxes of his acquaintance and seemed to chat with them with great freedom and good nature. He wears the insignia of the Order of the Garter. They say here he's much given to drinking and in his intoxication commits many extravagancies, in so much that all his British attendants have left him. (20 December)

Before people danced [at a carnival ball], they were obliged to unmask, all except the Pretender who kept his on all night. (6 February)

He also witnessed the Pretender's brother, Henry Stuart, cardinal duke of York, officiating as a priest during high mass at the Vatican on 2 December.

Like James Boswell in 1765, he made contact with three Scots who were prominent in the art world. James Byres (1734–1817) and Colin Morison (1732–1810) had been too young to take part in the 1745 rebellion but, as members of prominent Jacobite families in the north east of Scotland, they were effectively exiled in Rome. Although they had undergone training as painters, by the 1760s they were prominent as guides to the art and antiquities of the Rome area, and as procurers of art for wealthy clients. Cumming engaged Morison as an antiquarian guide for several days in January 1771, greatly appreciating his value; and visited Byres on two occasions to study paintings. He also paid a visit to see the work of Gavin Hamilton (1723–1798), the distinguished neoclassical artist, but the only record of purchases

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of art during his tour was of Piranesi prints on 9 February.

Again like Boswell, and many other distinguished visitors to Rome, he spent a great deal of time with Abbé Peter Grant, a Jacobite priest originally from the Catholic heartland of Glenlivet, but destined to remain at the Scots College until his death in 1784. He introduced Cumming to fashionable Italian society and facilitated his audience with the pope on 25 January. Clearly, a quarter of a century after the '45, it was acceptable for a king's officer to mix with former rebels. In the last week of his tour he paid a visit to another notable Scot, the writer Tobias Smollett, who was staying in Leghorn for his health but had only six more months to live. Drawing on his memories as a ship's surgeon in Jamaica in the 1740s, Smollett mentioned that 'he knew my father very well in the West Indies near thirty years ago' (21 March), but Cumming was not a great admirer, referring to him in the journal as 'that snarler Mr Smollett' (7 February).

The military provided another group of acquaintances. In Naples, he was introduced to retired general James Pattison (1723-1805), who, after a distinguished career in the Royal Artillery, had been engaged by the Venetian Republic to superintend their artillery. With a letter of introduction from Pattison to Major Gasparoni, Cumming was given a very full tour of the Venetian Arsenal. He also spent time in Rome with General Charles Lee (1732-1782), a British army officer who later defected to the American Revolutionary Army, and a French Colonel de Villebois. Earlier, in Leghorn, he had enjoyed the company of Captain Gulichini and other 'Tuscan officers of our acquaintance' (29 October), presumably having met them in Menorca. In Naples, a group of Neapolitan officers arranged for them to have good seats to view a girl taking the veil.

It was generally thought that young Grand Tourists needed a chaperon to protect them from the perils of Italian society, and the long-term consequences of indulging in sexual adventures. The young soldiers of the 13th Regiment had no such protection, but were fully aware of the dangers:

Every woman without exception [in Naples] is said to be comeatable if you'll but go to her price. The breaking [of] the 7th commandment is no sin in this country and a woman is in a manner despised who has not a *cicisbeo* [married woman's lover]. Some of them have made some of our countrymen remember their favours as long they'll live. They as regularly go through a course of mercury in autumn, as a Cornish parson has his fit of the gout after drinking too much port. (4 January)

The journal leaves no doubt that Cumming was very attracted to the opposite sex. He is quite open about his obsession with Madame Birlingueri, the wife of an acquaintance from Menorca, visiting her and her sister most evenings during his first visit to Leghorn. His devotion appears to have been quite acceptable to society as he was welcomed by her family when passing through Siena. At the end of the tour,

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he returned to Leghorn, spending most evenings over a fortnight with her, taking 'leave of the ladies' on 28 March before embarking for Menorca. In Venice, he had a similar relationship with a singer, Signora Zamparini, spending several evenings with her, apparently alone. Soon afterwards, on a trip to Bologna, he reports the excitements of a night's flirtation in the dark with a young Italian woman in the cramped cabin of a river boat.

Some of his responses to the art on view are also revealing. In Florence on 8 November, he was captivated by the Venus de Medici, returning four days later when 'the Venus of Medicis pleased me more and more, and I again admired it with the greatest pleasure' (12 November). Elsewhere in the Gallery (the modern Uffizi) in reviewing the paintings:

Those which pleased me most were two by Titian, one representing his wife, the other his mistress; under the figures of Venus, the last was quite naked, extended on a bed, in the most charming posture imaginable enough to banish all thoughts of Platonic Love, I never saw any thing so exquisitely finished, nor that pleased me more. (8 November)

The picture painted by the journal of a passionate twenty-one year old Cumming enjoying a range of innocent relationships with women raises the question of whom it was written for, and what might he have been hiding. For example, it is not clear whom he is addressing when he notes:

It's reckoned that in Marseilles there are 1200 *filles de joye*, if the calculation is an half too much the remainder is pretty well for a town of its size. In the Course there are always a parcel of rascals, who I believe, live by the honourable occupation of pimping, ready to show you as they themselves say, to the prettiest girl in the world, but the best way is to have nothing to do with them. (28/29 September)

This is an issue that also arises when considering his reporting of the many paintings he studied.

Art and Antiquities

Armed with Joseph Addison's guidebook,⁶ Cumming pursued Renaissance art relentlessly, searching out paintings and sculpture in private collections and great churches and monasteries in the cities, as well as in small towns in the countryside. Many of these collections, notably the Gallery (Uffizi) in Florence, also included a wide range of 'curiosities', including frescoes, antique sculpture (statues, busts and bas reliefs), cameos, medals, coins, precious stones, silver and gold ware, mosaics, furniture and marquetry. The fashion for collections of curiosities was in full swing;

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in Naples, Cumming was introduced to William Hamilton's, which included 'a number of beautiful Tuscan vases' (12 January).

In several places he enlisted the help of local guides, variously described as 'ciceroni' or 'valets de place'. For most of his tour, his enthusiasm for great artworks was undiminished: 'I never saw any thing equal to (8 November)'; 'exceedingly well done' (9 November); 'the finest I ever saw' (14 October; 15 October; 7 November; 6 December); 'I never saw any thing so natural' (19 January); 'it pleased me more than any I had yet seen' (22 January). However, his stamina was finally giving out by the time he reached Venice: 'my rage after paintings was perfectly satisfied and I looked at most of them with great indifference' (5 March). Earlier, in the Pitti Palace in Florence, he did become impatient with the lack of variety of religious subject matter:

entire rooms are almost full of them; nothing but holy families and martyrs would do at the time these painters flourished. However luckily the minds of the Flemish painters were not so gloomy, they have left the world historical pieces, landscapes and domestic scenes. (13 November)

And his generosity did not extend to pioneering artists:

I ought not however to forget one [painting] by Cimabue on wood [in the Church of Santa Maria, Florence] which is said to be the first picture Italy produced. I believe nobody will dispute the antiquity of it as it's a horrid daub. (10 November)

Some of his comments on paintings again raise the question of whom he was writing for. In two places, he refers the reader to published guides (by Addison, Keysler, and Abbé Richard) and, when describing the Coliseum, records that 'I have mentioned it before, but particular descriptions of it are every where to be met with' (28 January). From these didactic comments, and his rather coy allusions to sexual matters, it seems that he was recording his tour for others, presumably his mother and siblings, and not just for his own use.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the interest in classical architecture was intense, led, for example, by the Adam family of neoclassical architects. The focus on Rome, and its surroundings, provided Colin Morison with a lucrative business opportunity, conducting many wealthy tourists to the principal sights. Like Boswell, Cumming engaged him for a 'course of antiquities', which appears to have continued over at least two weeks from 20 January. Morison interpreted the famous sites (Capitol, Coliseum, temples, forums, triumphal arches etc.) as well as a range of churches, palaces and villas, some of which had been developed out of classical buildings. Throughout Cumming's time in Italy he also enjoyed a wide range of formal gardens (including the Boboli in Florence, and the Belvedere, Villa Medici and Villa Ludovisi in Rome) which featured antique and modern sculpture. He

was intrigued by the fashion for garden fountains and other water features, which resulted in some extraordinary developments such as the water-powered musical organ in a grotto in the Villa Pamphili garden in Rome.

Highlights

In addition to the art and antiquities, Cumming's travels exposed him to a wide range of new experiences including slave galleys in Marseilles and Genoa; climbing the leaning tower in Pisa; Christmas in Naples, visiting the many church cribs (nativity scenes); the Carnival, Corso horse races and masked balls in Rome; and attendance at the Grand Council, and seeing glass manufacture, in Venice. With the help of William Hamilton, he visited Vesuvius, and later explored a range of solfataras, hot springs and other volcanic features round Naples. Taking every opportunity to attend the theatre and the opera, he was critical of the relentless 'slapstick' productions (mostly Harlequin and Punchinello) and was surprised at the casting of eunuchs as heroes, and men acting female parts (as dictated by the Catholic Church). On the other hand, he was very appreciative of the high standard of music and dancing: 'The dances were in a pretty taste and well executed' (9 December); 'A duett at the beginning of the 3rd act was the most ravishing delightful piece of musick I ever heard' (20 January); 'I went to the opera, where the chorus song was beyond any thing I ever heard' (10 February). However, he soon realised that the audiences attended for other reasons: 'to see their acquaintances and for conversation sake, they seldom attend to the play' (7 November).

The Roman towns at Pompeii and Herculaneum, destroyed and buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79, had only recently been re-discovered:

People were never sure where the town [of Herculaneum] stood, till about the beginning of the present century the Prince d'Elbeuf in looking for wells, accidentally a great way below ground, met with an antique temple. There was little attention paid to it till 1738 when the present King of Spain ordered workmen into it, who have been continued ever since. (22 December)

Cumming describes the many fascinating artefacts of everyday life that were on view in the royal palace at Portici, as well as actions that would upset today's archaeologists:

The floor is a very elegant flowered mosaique found in Herculaneum and with great care removed here; the other floors were likewise found there or at Pompeia. (22 December)

The rooms in most of the houses [in Pompeii] are very small, the plaister

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and pavement quite fresh some of them done in a pretty taste in mosaic and the stucco painted. The large pieces are cut out of the wall and carried to Portici where they are put up in some of the apartments in the palace. (29 December)

The Catholic Church

For someone brought up in England in the Anglican Church, Cumming showed a remarkable tolerance of the Catholic Church. He was favourably impressed by the pope, and enjoyed the company of Abbé Grant and other priests during his tour. He took most of the 'miracles' and relics (such as the mummified body of St Rosa) he encountered in his stride but was occasionally appalled by what he considered ridiculous, for example, in the Chapel of St Genario in Naples where 'his blood is kept congealed, but 3 or 4 times a year on certain occasions liquefies itself to the people', although he notes that, 'If a heretic, as they call the Protestants is present, and it does not liquefy, he's in danger of his life; several people supposed such, have been killed on these occasions' (18 December). He found the Christmas cribs in Naples to be 'the grossest superstition' (24 December) (even though they became popular in Victorian Britain), and reported, in Rome:

After dinner we went to a church to see the horses blest; this is the custom always on St. Anthony's Day, and the credulous multitude think 'twill preserve them from all accidents during the year; as none but one church has a title to do it, the monks belonging to it, make no small penny by it. (17 January)

He was quite clear, when attending a ceremony of 'taking the veil' in Naples, that he found the idea of girls devoting their lives to the Church quite objectionable. Nevertheless, towards the end of the tour, encountering a devout old soldier, he makes the most personal statement of the journal:

I wished for the poor fellows faith and should have been glad could I have brought myself to believe that auricular confession to a meer man as myself, walking a few miles and making the *giro* of the Santa Casa [in Loreto] on my knees (which he promised to do) would have blotted out my numberless sins and iniquities. If a person possibly can believe and digest the errors of the church of Rome I give it him as my advice to be of their way of thinking as soon as possible as it's by far the most convenient of any I have yet mett with, on my travels. (15 March)

Cumming the Traveller

Cumming emerges from the journal as an intelligent, energetic and sociable young man, open to new and different ideas. Armed with guidebooks, a good grounding in classical and biblical lore, a competence in French, and a willingness to study Italian, he was well-placed to acquire the ‘liberal education’ prescribed for young men of his class. He was also physically robust, shaking off a bout of malaria in Genoa with the help of cinchona bark (in his possession, indicating that he had acquired the parasite earlier), and losing only a couple of days in Naples owing to ill health. Apart from exasperation at some excessive costs, he does not mention money, indicating that his travels were comfortably financed.

Cumming enjoyed the company of several British residents and fellow travellers but, unlike many of his countrymen, his Menorcan and military contacts gave him entry to a wide range of society, including family life, in the Italian States. At times, his wider outlook allowed him to perceive aspects of other countries that were superior to his own. For example, in relation to the galley slaves in Marseilles, he noted that ‘it’s a better punishment for small crimes than our English one of hanging as they thereby become of use to the state’ (26 September). However, his prejudices do surface towards the end of the tour:

A noble Venetian, like an antient Roman senator, looks upon himself as equal to a king; tho’ in fact, in consequence riches etc. he’s not superior nay hardly equal to a private English gentleman. The more I see of different countries, laws and religion, the happier do I think myself in being born and bred a Britton and subject only to its equitable laws. (7 March)

Throughout the journal, there is no mention of Scotland. This is hardly surprising in view of the fact that, in this period, most prominent Scots, notably David Hume, were advocating the removal of all ‘Scotticisms’ from their speech and writing, to facilitate their careers in Britain.

*Later Life*⁷

On his return to garrison duty in Menorca, Captain Alexander Penrose Cumming was appointed quartermaster of his regiment but, less than a year later, in February 1772, he took further leave to travel through France to England. The journal of this journey remains to be transcribed. In his absence, the future of the Penrose estate in Cornwall had been decided: it was sold by his mother in 1771 and the proceeds divided amongst her children.⁸ From this point onwards, Cumming’s future would be as laird of Altyre, although his military experience was called upon as a captain in the Northern Fencibles, raised for home service during the American War (1778–83); and as lieutenant colonel of the Strathspey Fencibles (1793–99).

Much of 1773 was taken up with social visits, and negotiations with his grand

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uncle who was still in possession of Altyre. By September he had resigned from the army and had married Helen Grant, daughter of the late Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant. A letter of congratulation from the duke of Dorset included the invitation to visit Knole in Kent.⁹ The couple settled in a ‘cottage’ on the estate to await the death of George Cumming. Cumming inherited the barony in January 1776, and remained a Scottish laird to his death in 1806, rarely venturing out of Scotland. With the death of the last of the distinguished Gordon family, he also came into possession of the valuable estate of Gordonstoun.

Altyre estate in 1776 was still divided up into ‘ferm touns’, let out in the traditional way to families that had held the land for generations. After Cumming took over, most of these families were dispersed as their tacks expired, around half of the area was planted with trees to develop a ‘planned landscape’ centred on an extensively refurbished mansion house, and the arable land was taken into the management of the estate factor. He also took every opportunity to acquire adjacent lands as they became available. As Cumming and his descendants were avid preservers of paper, the events of these years are recorded in great detail in Deposit 175 in the National Library of Scotland.

Possibly inspired by the journal, his son and heir, Sir William (now Gordon Cumming), set off on his Grand Tour as soon as hostilities ceased in 1812, meeting his future wife in Italy in 1814, and they were married in Switzerland in 1815. They continued their travels through Europe at least until 1818, when their daughter was born in Naples. Sir William was responsible for the strikingly Italianate home farm steading, built in the 1830s.

Notes

- ¹ For a fuller version of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century history of the Cummings of Altyre, see Hay, R K M. *Lochnavando No More. The Life and Death of a Moray Farming Community, 1750-1850*, Edinburgh, 2005.
- ² National Library of Scotland [NLS], GC175/75, Letter 3497, Thomas Cumming to George Cumming, 4 March 1769.
- ³ See entries for 25 September (Marseilles); 27 October (Lucca); 5 November (Florence); 21 November (Siena); 24 February (Ancona).
- ⁴ See entries for 13 October (Genoa); 5 November (Florence); 14 January (Naples).
- ⁵ See entries for 26 October (on the post mule ride); 20 November (Florence); 6 December (road to Naples); 4 January (Naples); 26 January (Rome).
- ⁶ Addison, J. *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, 1701-3*, originally published in 1705 and republished in several editions.
- ⁷ Details from Hay, 2005.
- ⁸ Cumming Bruce, M E. *Family Records of the Bruces and the Comyns*, Edinburgh, 1870.
- ⁹ NLS, GC 175/75, Letter 3541, duke of Dorset to Alexander Penrose Cumming.

THE GRAND TOUR JOURNAL
OF ALEXANDER PENROSE CUMMING
1770-1771

SEPTEMBER

September 20th 1770

was the memorable day on which in company with Captain Robarts of our Regiment^[1] I set off in the *pacquet* for Marseilles,^[2] to make the Tour of Italy; that of the following day we had fine weather and light breezes but a hard gale of wind coming on at night drove us to leeward of our port and obliged us in the morning of the 23rd to come to an anchor in Toulon road, about musquet shot from the harbour; the wind blowing fresh all that day kept us on board till next morning (the 24th) when we went on shore to see the fortifications [of] the road of the harbour [which] are well defended by five or 6 castles which in my opinion would destroy any ship which attempted to enter; the land side is defended by a rampart, parapet, wide ditch and covered way but no palisades; on all the neighbouring hills are strong redoubts and towards the south about a mile from the town they are constructing a new fort which they say is on the same plan with St Phillips in Minorca.^[3] Strangers are not allowed to see it; they are equally strict with regard to the arsenal, which no foreigner can enter without an express order from the king. However, we saw several men of war which are admirable in the outer harbour, one of which the *Royal Languedoc* is the finest and largest ship I ever beheld; she was a present from the States of Languedoc to the king after the defeat of Conflans,^[4] it has never yet been to sea. *Le Tonant* is very little behind her and was given the king on the same occasion by the clergy of the kingdom; they are both 84 gun ships. What a sight to see them both carried in to Portsmouth harbour by English men of war!^[5] N.B. before some of the curtains are ravelins.^[6] There are but two gates to enter one at each end; the town is well built and paved, the houses commonly 4 or 5 stories high, the women in the shops in general pretty. There are 8 battalions doing duty, the Swiss Regiment is a fine corps, but I never saw any troops surpass or even equal the

¹ The 13th Somerset Regiment of Foot.

² They had set sail from Menorca. A '*pacquet*' (more usually, packet) was a ship with a regular schedule that was used primarily to carry mail.

³ The Fort of St Phillip guarded the entrance to the port of Mahón, Menorca.

⁴ The battle of Quiberon Bay (1759) during the Seven Years War, when the Royal Navy defeated the French fleet under Hubert de Brienne, comte de Conflans.

⁵ Both ships were indeed captured by the British: *Royal Languedoc* at Toulon in 1793, although it was retaken in the same year; *Le Tonnant* at the Battle of the Nile (1798).

⁶ A triangular fortification or detached outwork, located in front of the innerworks of a fortress.

Regiment d'Aquitaine; all officers and men very handsome young fellows; however they by no means equal us in the handling their arms or marching. Perhaps next war may determine whether they surpass us in the field. We saw the Regiment de Bretagne march in from Corsica 2 battalions: 1200 men and much finer fellows than most of the English will believe. The Place d'Armes or Parade is exceedingly clever being surrounded with a double row of trees where the men parade for guard screened from the sun in the hot weather. In short, the town is well worth going 30 miles out of one's way to see especially as it's the 2nd dockyard in France.

Sept. 25th

We next morning set off in a *voiture*⁷ for Marseilles through a most agreeable country and fine road, we dined at Cuges a small town where an adventure happened which as it don't redound much to our credit I shall pass over in silence; we drank coffee at Aubagne a pretty little town situated in one of the most delightful plains in France,



Figure 1. 'with Captain Robarts of our Regiment I set off in the packet for Marseilles' (20 September 1770). A painting of 1771 depicting soldiers from various regiments of the British Army during their service in Menorca. The grenadier on the first left belonged to the same regiment as Alexander Penrose Cumming, the 13th Regiment of Foot. The officers at the centre give an idea of the uniform that Cumming would have worn during his journey. (National Army Museum)

⁷ A horse-drawn carriage for up to six passengers.

every inch of ground covered with vines loaded with grapes, corn and olives, as indeed is all the rest of the road except a few miles betwixt mountains which are really horrible and which seem as if intended by nature for a foil to set off the delightful country we afterwards travelled over. We arrived at Marseilles in the evening and put up at the Hotel de 13 Cantons^[8] which is a very good civil house I recommend to my acquaintance. The hire of the *voiture* came to 9 *livres* apiece, they never go faster than a foots pace and the drivers are as impertinent scoundrels as breathe.

Sept. 26th

We spent in seeing the town; the Course is an exceedingly pleasant walk in the middle of the city shaded by two rows of fine trees; the streets are regular and the houses vastly well built. From the Gate of Toulon or Rome, to that of Aix is a street, part of which is the Course, a mile long; and on each side most elegant houses. The port is likewise well worth seeing and capable of containing many hundred ships. Here the galleys lie. Some of the slaves are allowed to work at their different metiers on paying the king 1½ *sols*^[9] a day out of their profits and they have accordingly little booths erected on the quay close to the galleys where they are kept chained all day and at sunset sent on board. Most of them appear happy contented with their lot and seem perfectly merry. I must own I think it's a better punishment for small crimes than our English one of hanging as they thereby become of use to the state; but as this observation and many others on the same subject have been made, and are to be found in different books of travel, for fear of being thought a pilferer, I shall say no more of the matter. There is an admiral hoists his flag on board one of the galleys. The entrance of the port is well defended by a castle, several strong batteries and a boom across the mouth; this and the shallowness of the water make it impossible for ships to approach; towards the land there is no defence but an old wall. There is a tolerable good comedy and an excellent concert.

27th

We took a walk in the morning to Notre Dame de la Garde, a chapel and kind of castle situated on the top of a high hill about a mile from the town which commands a prospect of it and the neighbouring country for several miles round. In this view are reckoned good *bastides* or country houses where the Marseillois retire on Sundays and holy days to enjoy the country; most of them consists [of] 3 or 4 apartments but as they are white washed or painted on the outside they have a pretty effect at a distance. There are few noblesse here most of them at Aix; and a Regiment of two battalions is in garrison. Beauvoisin.

⁸ The *Auberge des XIII Cantons* was considered one of the best hostleries in the city. Run by Swiss, it was named after the thirteen cantons of the Old Swiss Confederacy.

⁹ The *sol* (also known as a *sou*) was a French unit of currency. See Note on Currency.

Nothing extraordinary happened the 28th and 29th, however as I have found it by experience I must say, that the old French officers are the most polite best kind of men I ever met with; always ready to put you right and inform you of any thing in their power. The young ones, the more coxcomical and vain are *fort poli*,^[10] easily to be acquainted with and very obliging. It's reckoned that in Marseilles there are 1200 *filles de joye*,^[11] if the calculation is an half too much the remainder is pretty well for a town of its size. In the Course there are always a parcel of rascals, who I believe, live by the honourable occupation of pimping, ready to show you as they themselves say, to the prettiest girl in the world, but the best way is to have nothing to do with them. We live very comfortably, dinner supper and bed for 4 *livres* a day at the *table d'hote* where there is good company. It's a kind of ordinary and the place that all travellers except people of large fortune frequent. We have likewise a *valet de place*^[12] betwixt us at one *livre* a piece a day. There's a picture in the town house of the Plague which happened in the year 1727 worth seeing. The cathedral is paltry, it's said it was formerly a temple of Diana, but without any foundation.

¹⁰ 'very polite'.

¹¹ Prostitutes.

¹² A local guide.

OCTOBER

Oct. 2nd

We left Marseilles at 10 o'clock at night and embarked on board the [?Arling] Captain Walton for Genoa.

Oct. 3rd

We were becalmed all day in Marseilles Bay, a fresh breeze on the 4th carried us down as far as Toulon.

The 5th with a light wind we passed by the islands and town of Hieres [Hyères] and got as far as Fréjus.

Oct. 6th

See Antibes.

Oct. 7th

Becalmed all the forenoon off Nice and Villa Franca [Villefranche-sur-Mer] and in sight of Monaco in the afternoon with a little wind pass by several towns belonging to Piedmont.

Oct. 8th

Being a dead calm we went in the boat to a Genoese town called Dina [Diano] to get provisions; they would not suffer us to land but gave us what we wanted at their own price.

The 9th and 10th we were becalmed in the Gulph of Genoa and in sight of the town.

Oct. 11th

To our great joy we got into the harbour about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. We should have found our voyage much more tedious had it not been for our fellow

passengers Mr Arcideakne^[13] an English gentleman going to Florence a very worthy good young man and old Mr Carter late Master of the *Winchelsea*^[14] whose long Canterbury stories diverted us not a little especially the one of the Negro girl which we teased him about a great deal. As 'twas late when we arrived we could do nothing but saw some of the principal streets, the chief of which are the Strada Nuova and Balbi. I must own that I was never so astonished. They are both double rows of the most elegant palaces infinitely superior to any thing I ever saw in England and as Addison says fit for any monarch to inhabit.^[15]



Figure 2. 'To our great joy we got into the harbour about 2 o'clock in the afternoon' (11 October 1770). *A Sketch of the Port of Genoa*, George Keate, c.1754. (British Museum)

Oct. 12th

We went in the morning to see the church called the *Annonciata*^[16] which is exceeding fine adorned with a number of paintings the most capital of which is one of our Lord's Supper by Procaccini.^[17] There's likewise the Tomb of the Duke of Boufflers who died here in 1746.^[18] He commanded when the town was besieged by the Austrians. The marble pillars of this church are beyond description beautiful.

¹³ Probably one of the Arcedekne family, slave plantation owners in Jamaica.

¹⁴ This was either HMS *Winchelsea*, a 32-gun frigate that was stationed at this time in the Mediterranean, or an East India Company merchantman of the same name.

¹⁵ Joseph Addison's guidebook *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy etc. In the years 1701, 1702, 1703* was originally published in 1705, but remained popular among travellers and was republished several times thereafter.

¹⁶ Basilica SS Annunziata del Vastato.

¹⁷ Giulio Cesare Procaccini (1574-1625).

¹⁸ Joseph Marie de Boufflers, duc de Boufflers, had died in 1747 not 1746. He had commanded the French and Spanish troops that lifted the siege of Genoa in 1747.

We afterwards visited the Palace Balbi in which there are many capital pictures by Vandyke, Titian, Anonibale Caracci, Guido Rheni, Rubens, Corregio etc.^[19] We next saw the Church of St Siro^[20] which is very rich but has no good paintings. On our return to dinner I was taken ill with the ague and obliged to go to bed where I had a strong hot fit for about five hours which pulled me down a good deal.^[21]

Oct. 13th

In the morning I took a vomit and immediately after threw in the bark taking a paper every half hour till about one o'clock, when my stomach being overloaded, up it all came; so that I had to begin afresh which hurt me not a little, however I persevere and hope to stop it. It's the more unlucky as there are many things here worth seeing which I am afraid I shall lose the sight of. The town itself surpasses every thing I ever saw, especially from the sea where it makes a glorious appearance and with the villas extends itself for some miles on the sea coast. The harbour is reckoned a good one and is defended by two large moles^[22] on which are planted some cannon. The streets in general are very narrow some of them being but 4 or 6 feet wide and the houses commonly 5 stories high, which I should think must be very unwholesome as there can be no circulation of fresh air. The people are as great cheats and rascals as their ancestors the Ligurians,^[23] to such a degree that a Jew can't live among them and there's an universal combination to fleece strangers most unmercifully. We lodge at the *auberge*^[24] of St Martha, a very dear house tho' the only good one in Genoa. For our bedchambers and a small dining room we pay five Genoese *livres* per day and for each meal the same; our *valet de place* (Batiste) cost us 8 *livres* and there's no doing without him, as he conducts us over the town and to every thing worth seeing. Mr Arcideakne and Carter left us last night, they set off in an English brig for Leghorn.^[25] Beggars here are without number, even priests aren't ashamed of asking you for a few *sols* and are troublesome by their importunity.

¹⁹ Antoon van Dyck (1599-1641); Tiziano Vecelli (1488-1576), better known as Titian; Annibale Caracci (1560-1609); Guido Reni (1575-1642); Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640); Antonio de Corregio (1489-1534).

²⁰ San Siro di Struppa.

²¹ The fact that Cummings had a supply of cinchona bark suggests that he suffered from recurrent malaria.

²² A massive structure, usually of stone, used as a pier, breakwater, or a causeway between places separated by water.

²³ The Ligurians were an ancient people who gave their name to the modern Italian province of Liguria, the capital of which is Genoa. Their reputation for untrustworthiness was established in literature by their enemies the Romans – Cato remarked, for example, '*Ligures omnes fallaces sunt*' (All Ligurians are liars) – and later became proverbial.

²⁴ An inn.

²⁵ Leghorn was the traditional English name for Livorno.

Oct. 14th

Finding no likelihood of the fits returning, I ventured well muffled up, in a chair to see the Palace of Marcellino Durazzo which is very elegant and in which there are many good pictures by the best masters of both the Italian and Flemish schools. A very large one which represents Mary Magdalene at our Saviour's feet in the Pharisee's house by Paul Veronese^[26] is estimable; and they say the only one of the kind in the world. The Duke of York was the only person allowed to take a copy of it. There is likewise an antique bust of the Emperor Vitellius the features of which are very strong and 'tis said to be of immense value. The long suite of apartments is the finest I ever saw. In short every thing in the town is so rich and grand that it deservedly merits the title of La Superba.

Oct. 15th

Having hired horses, we took a ride of eight or ten miles to the westward of the town; we passed by several very elegant houses and through a most agreeable romantick country. The country Palace of Durazzo deserves to be mentioned, we did not see the inside, but both fronts are very noble, especially the one towards the sea.^[27] We likewise were in the Gardens of the Marquise Lila Mari de Spinola in which there's nothing remarkable but a prodigious quantity of orange and lemon trees; from thence we proceeded to the Palace Doria which belongs to a descendant of the famous Andreas;^[28] the gardens, walks and wilderness are very pretty and resemble several places in England; but the waterworks are the finest I ever saw. In our return we passed through the place called Sestri di Ponente where betwixt five and six Hundred Austrians were carried away into the sea by a sudden torrent in the year forty six when they beseiged the town, there was hardly any water in it, the bed was very large but after the snow melt it's for many days impassable. We returned about 3 o'clock, ate a hearty dinner, and I found myself infinitely better for the ride.

Oct. 16th

In the afternoon we were agreeably surprised with the sight of Mr Arcideakne and Carter who after being within sight of Leghorn, were by a storm, in which they expected frequently to go to the bottom or run ashore, driven back to this place; the weather being exceedingly rainy, there was no stirring out all day, however in the evening we went to the Play where they performed a comedy and opera, but there was no company as all the noblesse were at their country palaces. In the Carnival I'm told it's infinitely more agreeable, as there's a great deal of dancing, but not comparable to Florence or Naples.

²⁶ Paolo Caliari (1528-1588), also known as Paolo Veronese.

²⁷ The Durazzo family had been prominent in Genoa for many generations, and had provided the city with a number of doges.

²⁸ Andrea Doria (1466-1560), an admiral in the navy of Emperor Charles V, had constructed a palace and garden overlooking the harbour of Genoa. For its garden, and citrus growing near Genoa in general, see Attlee, H. *The Land where Lemons Grow*, London, 2014.

Oct. 17th

We visited the Church of St Laurent which is the cathedral;^[29] it's badly lighted and has nothing worth seeing. We afterwards saw the Church of St Ambroise^[30] in which as in most of the rest there's a number of fine marble pillars; but what's chiefly worth seeing are two very grand pictures of Rubens, one above the altar the subject of which is the Circumcision, the other in the Chapel of St Ignatius, where the saint is represented curing one possessed by the Devil and healing the sick; and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin by Guido Rheni, said to be one of his best pieces. We likewise visited the Church of St Etien,^[31] where there's St Stephen's Martyrdom excellently done by the divine Raphael.^[32] 'Twas the first of his works I ever saw. The church itself is a very bad one and I believe one of the worst in the town. It's a pity such a fine picture should be lost in it.

Oct. 18th

We went to see the port which contains the galleys, they are much the same with those at Marseilles most of the slaves are Algerians and other Barbary corsairs; the Genoese never send them to sea but in the summer and they then take care never to come within sight of their enemies. The troops of the state are the worst I ever saw almost all of them decrepid worn out old men. They amount to about 5000 men, of which two regiments are Swiss. I believe the 13th would think it no difficult matter to drive the whole of them into the sea. In the afternoon we went to see a large hospital, and after passing through two large rooms full of sick women we arrived at a neat little chapel, in the altar of which is preserved the body of a St Catherina and is looked upon by the Genoese a very precious relick.^[33]

Oct. 19th

About 9 oclock in the morning we embarked in a *felucca*^[34] for Leghorn with Mr Arcideakne; we were to pay a *zequin*^[35] apiece for our passages. 'Till about 4 oclock the wind was pretty favourable, we then saw a couple of water spouts one after another but as I had before seen them in the Bay of Biscay they did not surprise me. These were followed by a hard gale of contrary wind, with a great deal of lightning and prodigious loud claps of thunder, which frightened a Genoese merchant almost out of his wits and made him bemoan and pray in a most piteous manner; notwithstanding our repeated assurances that there was no manner of danger at

²⁹ Cattedrale di San Lorenzo.

³⁰ Chiesa del Gesù e dei Santi Ambrogio e Andrea.

³¹ Chiesa di Santo Stefano.

³² Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino (1483-1520), better known as Raphael.

³³ The relics of St Catherine of Genoa are still available for viewing by the public, now at the Chiesa della S. Annunziata di Portoria.

³⁴ A wooden sailing boat for sheltered waters, capable of carrying up to ten passengers.

³⁵ A *zechino* (*zecchino* in Italian, and more usually 'sequin' in English) was a gold coin minted and used across Italy. See Note on Currency.

every flash of lightning he crossed himself and ejaculated an “*ora pro nobis sanctissima Virgo*”,^[36] with the greatest fervour. An *abbé*^[37] and a young Swiss who we took for Voltaire’s *Candide* I believe were almost as much frightened, tho’ their sea sickness which kept them busily engaged cascading, hindered them from showing it. However about 10 oclock we got safe into Porto Fino an excellent well sheltered harbour for small craft about 7 leagues from Genoa, where we found a much better *auberge* than we had reason to expect. The people were exceeding civil and very reasonable, which is seldom the case in Italy. Our beds were very clean and good.

Oct. 20th

The storm with a great deal of rain still continued.

Oct. 21st

Mr Arcideakne being heartily tired set off with his servants to go by land from Rapallo, which is about 100 miles from Leghorn. As there was no rain tho’ a great deal of wind we were able to walk about and see the place. It’s a most romantic situation at the bottom of some high hills which are covered with olives, vines and chestnut trees, on the top of two of them are two small forts, one of which commands the little town and harbour, and is garrisoned by a small party of invalids.

Monday 22nd

The storm having almost subsided, the boatmen gave us hopes of being able to set off next morning.

Oct. 23rd

The weather being still bad, by way of varying the scene, we set off in a boat, with our fellow passengers for St. Marguerita [Santa Margherita], a small town about three miles distance, where we had a very good dinner, desert and as much wine as we could drink for a *livre* apiece; the situation is still more agreeable and not so confined as Porto Fino; in the neighbourhood are several delightful villas, the chief of which are one belonging to the Duorazzo family and another to a M. Fornani (I think that’s his name) the rooms of which are fitted up in the sweetest, prettiest taste I ever saw, the walls being painted *al fresco* with water colours. It pleased me more on account of its simplicity than any house I have yet seen in Italy. On our return, our landlord had provided a good dish of fresh fish for supper after which we were entertained by his sons, a couple of *abbés*, with a song and concluded the evening with a long conversation with them in Italian in which we flattered ourselves we came off very well.

³⁶ ‘pray for us most holy Virgin’.

³⁷ This originally meant ‘abbot’, but by this time was used in France to describe a young clergyman with or without consecration.

Oct. 24th

At 8 o'clock in the morning we left Porto Fino in the *felucca*, but were obliged to put back about 11 by a foul wind and rough sea; being heartily tired of waiting so long, we took a small trunk with some shirts and stockings and set off in a fishing boat for Sestri resolved to go to Leghorn by land and there wait the arrival of the rest of our cloaths; about half way we were overtaken by a hard gale of wind and heavy sea in which we once or twice expected to be overset and go to the bottom. However thank God, in two hours and a half we arrived safe at Sestri; the distance is about 10 miles. It's a pretty little town agreeably situated along the sea shore. Our accommodations were pretty tolerable tho' the landlord, an impudent coxcomical puppy endeavoured to make us pay an extravagant bill in which he did not succeed.

Oct. 25th

We set off at 7 o'clock in the morning on post mules^[38] in order to reach Sarzana [Sarzana] at night, which is 36 miles distant, but were obliged to halt at Port Especia [La Spezia], 6 miles short, about 8 o'clock at night, being heartily tired and not having stopt above half an hour the whole day. The first post was to Boraccio [Bracco], part of the road lay through the bed of a river the rest up and down precipices of mountains, where a false step would be immediate destruction. The next to Matteredano [Mattarana] was if possible worse, the road not broader than a foot path and prodigious precipices below and mountains above us, notwithstanding; many of them were covered for miles with woods of chestnut trees loaded with fruit. The 3rd post was to Borghetto, where the country was covered with woods, vines, olives and chestnuts intermixed, tho' the roads were very dangerous and excessively steep. The last to Especia was a double post and outdid every thing I ever travelled over; we went through the bed of a river upward of a mile and crossed it 6 or 7 times, every vestige of a road had been washed away about a week before by some heavy rains, and there remained nothing but trunks of trees, large stones and rocks, some of them almost as big as the mules themselves; some parts of the mountains were almost perpendicular and we were obliged to have a man at each mule's head to keep them from falling headlong; at last we arrived safe but to our great mortification found a wretched house, bad eating at a most extravagant price and stinking beds, where we were eat up by mosquitos and fleas. The town is situated in the bottom of a large bay, which I'm told is a good harbour for shipping; it's well built and the streets are very regular; a little to the westward is a fortification or kind of castle in which are a few troops.

Friday 26th

We left Especia in the morning at half past six, on mules for Sarzana. It must be observed these are the only beasts fit to travel on in this country as they are remarkably

³⁸ The mail was carried by a series of mules, which were replaced at each post house, rather than by horses or carriages.

sure footed and very cautious, and will carry a person with great safety in the most dangerous places. The country is very agreeable, tho' the road is bad; a little distance from the town we had a view of part of Corsica and about five miles further we were stopt by the river Magra, where we left our mules, went over in a boat and walked a mile further to the post house of Sarzana which is at some distance from the town. By that means we had no opportunity of seeing the town but passing by it. It seems small and compact, and has a wall with old towers and bastions round it. As it rained we were obliged to wait at the post house from 10 o'clock till 3 in the afternoon for a calash^[39] to go to Lucca which is six posts and for which we were to pay three *sequins* and a half. Postillion included. We accordingly set off and got to Avenza about 5 o'clock through good road and a pleasant country. There we changed horses and proceeded to Massa, the road and country still the same, and arrived about 8 o'clock; as 'twas dark I could see nothing of the town. This and Avenza are in the Duke of Modena's dominions, as likewise Castel Nuova which we saw from the road and some other towns very prettily situated. The people in the country we passed through have the look of filth and nastiness, the men look like assassins and the women seem void of all delicacy; they are all barefooted, and seem vastly strong and hardy. I believe their chief food is chestnuts for I saw little or no corn in the country and the roads are too bad to import it.

Saturday October 27th

We left Massa at 7 o'clock in the morning. The Dutchess of Modena has a palace here which we passed by; it seems a large good house but nothing comparable to those we saw at Genoa. The next post is to Pietra Santa [Pietrasanta]; about a mile or two before we arrived there we passed by a small castle which is the boundary betwixt the dominions of Modena and Tuscany; the next is to Via Reggia [Viareggio] which is in the Lucchese territory. The country all along is most delightful and a perfect garden. From thence to Lucca is two posts through the same agreeable country. About two miles from the town we crossed a pretty large river called Cerchio [Serchio], from thence there's a long avenue which leads up to the town. It's situated in a fine large plain and no rising ground within a great distance, so that I think, if they could afford it, they might make it a very strong place. We entered by a gate over which is wrote "*Libertas*",^[40] the only one foreigners can enter, it's in one of the curtains and is defended by two bastions with orillons^[41] and retired flanks. We were obliged to give our names and the service we belonged to, to the sergeant of the guard, a little farther on we were asked if we had any thing contraband, and in answering in the negative, we were allowed to pass without having our baggage searched, we put up at the Cross of Malta about 3 o'clock a very good house,^[42] and the best we had yet seen in Italy. After dinner we took a walk through the town, it's very well

³⁹ A four-wheeled carriage drawn by two horses for up to four passengers.

⁴⁰ 'Liberty'. It was inscribed above the Porta San Pietro.

⁴¹ An ear-shaped masonry projection at the end of the face of a bastion.

⁴² *La Croce di Malta* was a well-known inn, much frequented by tourists.

built, the streets regular and paved with broad flat stones. The market place is clean and neat, and the Exchange a good building. The palace of the Gonfalonier or chief magistrate,^[43] is a large pile of building resembling an old college, in it is the armory which we could not see, as the man who kept the keys was out of the way. As it was almost dark and rainy we could see nothing of the cathedral but the outside which is nothing extraordinary. We afterwards went to the coffee house where the politicians did not fail to stare at us, from thence we returned to our inn. The troops of the republick consist of about 600 men, uniform white, faced with red, most of them good looking fellows tho' short, and a company of 80 Swiss halberdiers.

Lucca Sunday Oct. 28th

Early in the morning we took a walk round the ramparts, which are well worth seeing. There are eleven bastions all with orillons of retired flanks; there are ravelins of sod before all the curtains, and a tenaille^[44] before one of the bastions. The covert way is without palisades and not revetted. All the canon are brass. There are but three gates into the town, each of which with the avenues are well defended. We afterwards visited the cathedral.^[45] It's a heavy Gothic pile, in which there's nothing worth seeing, but an "all saints chapel", some painted glass and a chapel dedicated *Christo Liberatori ac Divis Tutelaribus*^[46] which I think savours not a little of paganism.^[47] The inhabitants are computed to be about 24000 men, women and children. The town is about three miles round and the ramparts are well defended from the sun by several rows of fine poplar and elm trees. We set off in a coach and four for Pisa with a Leghorn Jew about 10 oclock, we found our landlord as great a rascal as the rest of the Italians before we parted with him. About 4 miles from Pisa we passed through the Baths where there are several pretty houses. Before we entered the town we had the view of an aqueduct of four miles long at a distance. I believe 'twas built by the Romans. We stopt at Pisa only to change horses, resolving to see it more fully on our return in our way to Florence. At a distance we saw the famous leaning Tour [*i.e.* Tower] and the cathedral. The River Arno runs through the middle of the city, over which are two or three bridges. The road from Lucca is through a perfect garden. That to Leghorn is not so pleasant, tho' the country is a bowling green the whole way. We arrived there about four oclock and put up at Cane's an English house. In the evening we took a walk upon the port, where there are a great many merchant ships lying, most of them English, and four Tuscan frigates. The town seems clean, regular and as far as I could see well defended. The *felucca* with our cloaths was not arrived but was expected every hour.

⁴³ *i.e.* Gonfaloniere, literally the standard bearer.

⁴⁴ An advanced defensive work, built in front of the main defences of a fortress.

⁴⁵ Cattedrale di San Marino.

⁴⁶ 'To Christ the Deliverer and to the tutelary Gods'. It was carved on an altar erected to give thanks for the deliverance of Lucca from Pisa in 1369.

⁴⁷ Some thought that the inscription referred to the tutelary gods of ancient Rome (Mercury and Minerva), while others said it referred to Sts Peter and Paul, whose images appear on the altar.



Figure 3. 'At a distance we saw the famous leaning Tour and the cathedral' (28 October 1770).
A View of Pisa showing the Baptistery, Campo Santo, Cathedral and the Leaning Tower,
 Jean Honoré Fragonard, 1761. (British Museum)

Monday Oct. 29th

The *felucca* arrived early in the morning and after little or no examination we got our trunks safely landed. After breakfast we took a walk with our friend Captain Gulichini; we saw the guards parade; they mount between 3 and 400 men as fine troops as I ever saw, uniform blue faced red with caps. We afterwards waited on the governor the Marquis del Monte^[48] who received us with the greatest politeness and civility. We had a conversation with him in French for almost an hour, chiefly concerning a Spanish War. He returned our visit in the evening. We afterwards waited on our consul Sir John Dick,^[49] he was not at home, but we received cards and a visit from him, to dine with him next day, but could not accept it as we were engaged to Captain Gulichini. I likewise met with Captain Acton the commodore of the Tuscan squadron who I had before seen at St Phillips;^[50] he thanked me and our Regiment for the civilitys we had shown their officers onboard our fleet at Minorca. We dined with a Mr Termy on whom Captain Robarts has his credit, he entertained us very elegantly. In the afternoon we took a walk round the town with three Tuscan officers of our acquaintance and in the evening Captain Gulichini carried us to see Mrs Birlingueri whose husband we knew at Minorca and who two days before had set off for that place on board the *Winchelsea*. I never was so struck

⁴⁸ Marquis Filippo Bourbon del Monte (1708-1780), governor of Leghorn.

⁴⁹ Sir John Dick (1721-1804), who was British consul at Leghorn from 1754 to 1776.

⁵⁰ Sir John Acton (1736-1811) was commander of the naval forces of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

in my life at first sight. She appeared a perfect beauty of the finest size, such eyes, complexion, teeth, such lips such but I'm almost distracted. If her person charmed us, her conversation did no less. She understood French, tho' she could not speak it well, we were in the same predicament with regard to Italian. However, after a little mutual reserve had wore off, we ventured to speak our bad Italian and the Divine Creature, with her sister, were good as always to put us right whenever we made mistakes, which was not seldom, so what with our French we spent two hours in the most agreeable manner. At 8 o'clock we all went to the Playhouse where was performed Voltaire's Orphan of China, translated from the French, as 'twas but indifferently acted, we spent the time more in conversing with the ladies than attending to the play. She told me she loved her husband and that he loved her, that she had done so since she was thirteen years old. (She's now about twenty). She paid the English several pretty compliments, said they were more constant than the French, and that she liked them better. After spending the happiest evening I have done this long time, about 11 o'clock I handed the fair Charmer to her carriage and saw her home. Tho' it's almost wore threadbare I must say with Milton "grace is in every step, heaven in her eye, in every gesture, dignity and love".^[51]

Tuesday Oct. 30th

In the morning we visited the marine barracks, which exceed any I ever saw in neatness and cleanliness; we afterwards took a walk on the ramparts which are filled with canon and the place as well to the land, as sea, appears very strong. We likewise saw near the little port the statue of Ferdinand the First in marble with the four slaves chained at its feet, they are of brass; he is on the pedestal above them but his statue is reckoned nothing extraordinary, the slaves were admired by every body and as far as I could judge very deservedly. They here say, that they were intended for the father and three sons, who conspired against the life of the Grand Duke. In the evening we went to the Play where we saw Harlequin and Pantaloon.^[52] The audience were much diverted, but I must own that I thought the humour very low indeed, and as the sweet Mrs Birlingueri was not there I was not at all sorry when 'twas over.

Wednesday 31st

After paying a visit to Mrs Birlingueri we went again to the Play where Captain Gulichini introduced us to two very agreeable Italian ladies, Signiora Cambiaci and her beautiful sister.

⁵¹ A slightly misremembered quotation from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Book VIII.

⁵² *Commedia dell'arte* was a form of popular theatre where stock characters such as Harlequin and Pantaloon improvised within set frameworks, often engaging in slapstick.

NOVEMBER

Nov. 1st Thursday

In the morning we took a drive to see the Chapel of Monte Nero,^[53] about four miles off. The altar is reckoned worth a seeing and the view from it is very fine. We spent a most agreeable evening with Signora Birlingueri and played at cards till 11 o'clock. The Count de Rivarola and his lady, a pretty little Corsican were there, they are a very agreeable couple. He is Sardinian consul here, as it rained they were so kind as set us down in their coach. I found out to night that Captain Robarts was not a little smit with Signora Calvaletti sister to Madam Birlingueri a very agreeable sweet tempered young lady. Captain Gulichini carried us likewise to the house of another sister a very good kind of woman but not so pretty as either of the others.

Friday 2nd

As it rained hard all morning I stayed at home to write letters. In the evening we went to see the Jewish synagogue which was pretty enough and the first I had ever seen. They showed us several copies of the Pentateuch on parchment, rolled up on massy pieces of silver and covered with silk and velvet very richly laced. At 7 o'clock we went to the charming Mrs Birlingueri who was so good as give a pretty little ball merely on our account. We consisted of but 6 couples, some of the company having disappointed her, owing to the badness of the night. I had the happiness of dancing with the Divine Creature and surely never spent a happier evening with such a charming woman, love could not fail of being the topic. She asked me the state of my heart, and I honestly told her, I should leave it at Leghorn, that I had never seen any woman in England equal her. She told me I had learnt flattery in France that it was not the character of the English, for that they always spoke what they thought. I assured her I was sincere of that 'twas my real sentiments, upon which she thanked me and said I had been *bien de la Bonté*.^[54] After dancing the ladies sang some sweet Italian songs, especially a Signora Cittadelli, and the agreeable Calvaletti. We broke up about 12 o'clock and after seeing the rest of the ladies home, we retired, both of us exceedingly enamoured, and with sensations easier felt than described.

⁵³ Santuario di Montenero.

⁵⁴ 'very kind'.

Saturday 3rd

We bespoke a carriage to carry us to Florence for 50 *soules* (about 25 shillings) postillion included, packed up our things and had them plumbed to save the trouble of having them frequently opened on the road.^[55] In the evening we waited on Madame Birlingueri to take our leave we were lucky enough to find her and her sister alone, which made us extremely happy. Cards were called for, but we gave very little attention to them. We spent the time 'till 10 oclock perfectly happy and in the most agreeable conversation. The lovely woman gave us a letter of introduction to her mother in law at Siena. After kissing their hands with the greatest fervour, decency at last obliged us to take our leave which we did with heavy hearts. I must own I never spent a more agreeable happy week, nor ever saw such a sweet tempered lovely woman. The whole family did every thing in their power to make us happy, and I never saw people so truly *reconnaissant*.^[56] We promised to be back as soon as possible and I still hope to have some happy evenings with them before I leave Italy. We had before waited on the governor which is an accustomed piece of politesse to know his commands for Florence, but he was not at home, so we left our names.

Sunday 4th

We left Leghorn about 8 oclock in the morning; nothing extraordinary happened betwixt that and Pisa, but the chaise^[57] breaking down about half way which detained us almost an hour. We arrived there about one oclock and immediately went to see the leaning Tour, which is built entirely of marble. It's a very curious structure, but what was the architect's intent in building it in that manner I could never learn. 'Twas built in the year 1174,^[58] is quite round, and is composed of several rows of arcades one above another. It's said to be 150 feet high and there are said to be 290 steps to the top of it, from whence there is a delightful prospect of the town and environs as far as Leghorn. A lead let fall from the top falls about 1 foot from the foundation. We afterwards saw the cathedral which is a Gothick building and in which there are some pretty good pictures, tho' none by the most eminent masters. There is likewise an angel in bronze on a pedestal, the capitals of which are reckoned admirable. The three brass doors in *alto rilievo*^[59] are well worthy of notice. From thence we proceeded to the Campo Santo^[60] or burying ground, which is likewise Gothick, and well deserves seeing. The sarcophagi or sepulchres of the antients are very curious and there is a very elegant monument erected by the King of Prussia to

⁵⁵ A customs official would affix a small lead stamp to a piece of luggage to show that it had been searched. This saved travellers the trouble of having their baggage searched at each customs house they passed. Such luggage was said to have been 'plumbed'.

⁵⁶ 'content'.

⁵⁷ A light two- or four-wheeled travelling or pleasure carriage for one or two people with a folding hood.

⁵⁸ Work began on the Tower of Pisa in 1173, not 1174. It was completed in 1372.

⁵⁹ A form of sculpture in which carved figures or other features protrude from the background.

⁶⁰ Also known as Camposanto Monumentale. It was said to have been built around a shipload of soil brought from Golgotha.

Count “*Algarotto Ovidii æmulo, Newtoni discipulo, Fredericus Magnus*”.^[61] We likewise saw the Baptistry,^[62] the pulpit of which supported by 7 marble and granite pillars is exceedingly fine. The noise a person’s voice makes in it is surprizing. I had almost forgot to mention that there are three earth plots in the Campo Santo which they say were brought thither by the Pisan galleys in the 12th century from Jerusalem, and which they say destroys a body in 24 hours after being laid in it, a piece of Romish superstition. I give very little credit to it. These four buildings stand close together and are the chief curiosities of the town. There’s nothing worth seeing in the Church of St Stephen,^[63] but the banners the Knights of the Order have taken from the infidels and other enemies. We had not time to see any of the other curiosities, but returned to our inn (the 3 Crowns) to dinner. The town is large but contains but few inhabitants for its size (they amount to about 14 or 16000), the streets are large and well paved, but grass grows in many of them. We left Pisa about 3 oclock and at 11 arrived at Pogetto [Poggetto] 28 miles distant without halting through part of the Vale of Arno which is a perfect garden and most of it excellent road tho in one part there was almost a mile of it covered by the overflowing of the river owing to the heavy rains that had lately fell; so we were obliged to have a guide to show us the way. At Pogetto we met with a tolerably good house and a very reasonable bill. It’s a sweet situation.

Monday 5th

We set off at 9 oclock in the morning and breakfasted at Empoli a pretty little town 3 miles distant, from thence we went on to Florence without halting through the same agreeable country, where we arrived about 4 oclock in the afternoon and put up at Vanini’s, which was recommended to us as a very good house, the old lady herself being an Englishwoman.^[64] For 3 rooms we are to pay 8 *paules*^[65] a day; 6 *paules* apiece for our dinner and a *paul* and half for our breakfast; and supper in proportion if we call for it. The entrance into the town from Pisa gives a stranger no good impression of it as it’s through a bad built, long dirty street. Our inn is situated upon the side of the river very agreeably. In the evening we called on Mr Arcideakne, who we found out of order and who was staying at home to nurse himself and sat with him for a couple of hours, on our return our landlady paid us a visit and entertained us with the history of the place.

⁶¹ Francesco Algarotti (1712-1764) was a Venetian polymath who had enjoyed the patronage of Frederick the Great (1712-1786). The abbreviated inscription reads, ‘Algarotti rival of Ovid, student of Newton, Frederick the Great’.

⁶² Battistero di San Giovanni.

⁶³ Santo Stefano dei Cavalieri, built for the Order of Knights of St Stephan whose role was to fight Saracen pirates.

⁶⁴ Vannini’s on the Piazza Soderini was considered to be one of the best hotels in Florence. It was run by an English widow, Maria Vannini.

⁶⁵ The *paolo* was an Italian unit of currency. See Note on Currency.

Tuesday 6th

In the forenoon we visited on Sir Horace Man^[66] as he was not at home we left our names, and went to see the gardens of Boboli which belong to the Palace Pitti, the residence of the Grand Duke;^[67] they are very extensive and laid out in a pretty taste, full of fountains, ponds, statues in bronze and marble etc. They are irregularly situated which in my opinion adds to their beauty. Before the back front is a kind of amphitheatre, in the shape of a half ellipsis with several rows of stone seats around it,



Figure 4. 'The Arno divides the town into two unequal parts and has four stone bridges over it' (6 November 1770). *A View of the Ponte alla Carraia*, after Giuseppe Zocchi, mid eighteenth century (British Museum)

intended I suppose for feasts and prize fighting. The gardens are always open for people to walk in and in summer they must be very agreeable as the hedges are remarkably high and thick and [a] great part of it laid out in the wilderness style. From several parts of it there are most delightful views, for many miles up and down the river and many hundred beautiful villas, among which are two or three country palaces belonging to the Duke. The Arno divides the town into two unequal parts and has four stone bridges over it, of three four and five arches. The river is about the breadth of the Seine at Rouen, but not so rapid. Over one of the bridges is a covered gallery, which goes all the way from the Palace Pitti to the Old Palace and Gallery on the other side, through which the Duke passes, when he pleases, from one to t'other without being seen, or

⁶⁶ Sir Horace Mann (1706–1786) was a British diplomat in Florence, who was also responsible for Rome.

⁶⁷ Control of Tuscany passed from the Medici family to the House of Habsburg-Lorraine in 1737. The current Grand Duke was Peter Leopold (1747–1792), later Leopold II, Holy Roman Emperor.

any body knowing of it; it's about 600 paces long and crosses the Ponte Vecchio on which there are buildings on each side, something like Old London Bridge.^[68] In the evening we sauntered about the town, which tho' not so clean and neat as Leghorn is very well built and paved, adorned with a great number of fountains and statues, some of which are reckoned admirable. The Via Larga is a most noble street in which there are many excellent houses, particularly the Palace of Ricardi [Riccardi] in which they say there are several things worth seeing.

Wednesday 7th

In the morning we went to the cathedral, which is said to be one of the largest in Italy. It certainly is a grand noble building. The coupola is the finest I ever saw.^[69] On the altar is a group of figures by Bandinelli;^[70] the Father, Son and an Angel, which is reckoned very well done especially the last. Behind it again is another by Michael Ange,^[71] of Christ dying in the arms of two angels, which tho' not finished is extremely fine and which no other artist will attempt to go through with.^[72] They likewise showed us a standard taken by the Austrians last war from Finck the Prussian General,^[73] which is hung up as a trophy. The outside is entirely of black and white marble by compartments. There is a beautiful square tower close by it, of the same materials, which commands a view of the town and neighbouring country. The Baptistry is likewise hard by but it does not appear nigh so large as the one at Pisa. Whilst we were out Sir H. Man returned our visit. In the evening we returned ours to the gentleman who had called on us the evening before, after which we went to the play, in which as usual Mr Harlequin exhibited to the great entertainment of the pit. As to the people who go to the boxes it's merely to see their acquaintances and for conversation sake, they seldom attend to the play. The dances between the acts were very pretty and pleased me much.

Thursday 8th

In the morning we went to see the famous Gallery,^[74] which is close by the Old Palace. It's full of the finest collection of statues, pictures, busts etc etc antient and modern, that are in the world. It was begun by Cosmo I,^[75] and his successors have been continually increasing it ever since. It's divided into three large corridors, two

⁶⁸ The Vasari Corridor from the Pitti Palace to the Uffizi Gallery crosses the River Arno by the Ponte Vecchio.

⁶⁹ The dome of Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446).

⁷⁰ Bartolommeo Bandinelli (1493-1560).

⁷¹ Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni (1475-1564), commonly known as Michelangelo.

⁷² *The Deposition*, which Michelangelo not only left unfinished, but tried to destroy. The figures supporting Christ are the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene, not angels.

⁷³ Friedrich August von Finck (1718-1766) had been defeated by the Austrians at the Battle of Maxen (1759).

⁷⁴ The Galleria degli Uffizi.

⁷⁵ Cosimo di Giovanni de' Medici (1389-1464).

of which are parallel and are of a great length, the other joins them at the end next the river and is not so long. At the Gallery are the different chambers to the number of eight full of every thing that's rare and precious. In the vestibule are several urns statues bas relieves etc. Around the Gallery are the statues and busts of several of the heathen gods, Roman emperors and empresses, Alexander the Great, Brutus and many other great men, all real antiques. We had only time this morning to see part of it. Among those which pleases me most were the busts of Caracalla, Pertinax, Antonius Pius, Adrien [*i.e.* Hadrian], Marcus Aurelius, and Alexander the Great who seems casting up his eyes to heaven in sorrow that he has nothing more to conquer. Pan likewise is exceedingly well done, with all the insignia the poets give him. The head of a man by Michel Ange, not yet finished, thought to be intended for Brutus, is full of fire and life. Among the statues are Venus and Mars, he wanting to go to war, she to detain him. A convert in his habit, Marsias flead [*i.e.* flayed] and tied to the trunk of a tree by Apollo, Leda and the Swan, Aesculapius, two Bacchuses and many others which are taken notice of by several writers. After spending some time in admiring part of the Gallery, we proceeded to the first chamber, which is full of the portraits of the most celebrated painters Europe has produced done by themselves. Cardinal Leopold de Medici from the collection; he has a statue in a kind of niche erected to him by Cosmo 3rd his nephew. Those which pleased me most were Carlo Dolci,^[76] Le Brun,^[77] Rubens, Vandyke, Rembrandt,^[78] and Christopher Seybold,^[79] the last of which is inimitable. I never saw any thing equal to the skin and hair, the nearer it's looked at the better it appears. Raphael's is but indifferent, being done when he was very young. I had the pleasure of seeing some of our countrymen particularly Sir Godfrey Knellar^[80] and Carl Moore.^[81] In the same chamber is a beautiful table in *mosaique* exceeding elegantly finished. The 2nd chamber in which there used to be porcelaine is at present empty and is fitting up for another suite of painters. The 3rd is called the chamber of idols and is reckoned to be very curious and rich. At the left hand side of the door in entering is a beautiful transparent alabastre column about six feet high, *en spirale*, with a Diana about two feet high on top of it, of marble, in the attitude of shooting at a wild beast, very well done. Around the room are two cornices on which are ranged an amazing number of figures in bronze, amongst which are some busts as large as life, *viz.* Homer, Tiberius etc. A Roman eagle which was ensign to the 24th Legion. A Laocoon and his two sons perishing by the serpents of which there are two, different in their manner Cleopatra with the aspic [*i.e.* asp] biting her a wounded soldier carried by two others many of the heathen gods with their different attributes. Two antique figures of Silenus and Priapus Two tripods which were used by the antients in their sacrifices, and many other various things very rare and of great value. Several

⁷⁶ Carlo Dolci (1616-1686).

⁷⁷ One of the French Le Brun painters of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.

⁷⁸ Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669).

⁷⁹ Christian Seybold (1695-1768).

⁸⁰ Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723).

⁸¹ This is probably Carel de Moor (1655-1738), although he was Dutch not British.

Roman honorary crowns. Lamps of different kinds etc. etc. Above the cornice are some excellent pictures particularly one of a battle by Titian, two by Veronese, one by Guido etc. We next visited the 7th chamber, called the Tribuna, which is by far the richest and most curious of the whole. In it is the famous statue called the Venus of the Medicis, which in beauty, symmetry and delicacy surpasses every thing in the world. The more a person examines it, the more it pleases. It's 4 feet 11 inches and 5 lignes high, which they say is a woman's proper height, quite naked in the sweetest attitude. It's of white marble and almost transparent, and stands upon a modern pedestal about 2 feet high. It was broke in several places in the carriage from Rome hither, but is so well mended that it's hardly perceivable. In short it requires a much better pen than mine to be able to give any thing of a tolerable description of it. I shall only say that it fully answered the idea I had conceived of it, and that I admired it for a long time with the utmost pleasure. On one side of it is Venus the Victorious, much larger than life, so called from her having the apple, Paris gave her, in her hand; t'woud be seen to more advantage if 'twere not so near the Venus of Medicis. On the left side is another figure of the goddess, called the Chaste, she's covered as far as the waist. Both of these woud be much better in another place as they are greatly eclipsed by the Venus de Medicis. In the same chamber is the Fawn which is reckond a very fine antique statue. The head and arms were lost, but Michel-Ange supplied their place by as good ones. He is in the attitude of dancing and has cymbals in his hands. There appears a vast deal of mirth and life in his countenance. Next him is the famous Roman Slave, whetting his knife and listening to the conspiracy; connoisseurs say the head and shoulders are incomparable, but who he was they have not yet agreed. The Wrestlers are likewise admirable. There is likewise a vast number of small statues in bronze and busts very curious and rare, one of which is the head of Tiberius when he was young in oriental turquoise, about three inches high, and the only one of the kind in the world. There are many others of Bacchus, Silenus, Priapus with a bunch of grapes before him, Venus, Juno, Hercules fighting with Antaeus and the Nemean Lion, Cybele etc etc. In this Tribune are reckoned the richest collection of pictures in the world. Those which pleased me most were two by Titian, one representing his wife, the other his mistress; under the figures of Venus,^[82] the last was quite naked, extended on a bed, in the most charming posture imaginable enough to banish all thoughts of Platonic Love, I never saw any thing so exquisitely finished, nor that pleased me more. A head of St John, when a young man, inimitably done by Raphael, with several others, which is impossible to remember at first sight, by the most eminent masters. In the middle of the room is the finest table I suppose in the world of *mosaique* work; 'twas of fifteen years making and is said to be worth 40,000 *zequins* about £20,000 Sterling. I never saw any thing so precious nor rich or so exquisitely finished. There is likewise a beautiful cabinet adorned with precious stones among which are some very large topaz's, and a remarkable fine pearl. In short I never saw such a profusion of every thing that's grand, rare and costly. We spent three hours

⁸² Titian, *Venus of Urbino* (c.1534).



Figure 5. 'In the morning we went to see the famous Gallery' (8 November 1770). *View of the Uffizi*, after Giuseppe Zocchi, mid eighteenth century (British Museum).

in the most agreeable manner in looking over the art only superficially and I have still four chambers to see. However, a person cannot have a proper idea of them at one view, it's necessary, to remember them properly, to see them twice or three times. At one o'clock the doors were shut and we returned perfectly well satisfied with the manner we had spent the forenoon.

Friday 9th

We returned to the Gallery about 10 o'clock and were carried to the 8th chamber called the Hermaphrodite from the statue which is in it. It's as big as life and is lying reclined on a mattress covered by a lion's skin which is antique as well as the statue. Its upper part *viz.* the head and neck are feminine in the lower part of the body, the masculine is strongly marked. It's much admired by the *virtuosi* who look upon it as a precious *morceau*.^[83] On a cornice round the room there are a great number of little idols and several busts and statues about three feet high as well antique as modern. Among the former is a groupe of Drusilla wanting to stop her brother Caligula, who looks at her over his shoulders with the utmost contempt. A Satyr an Hermes a very rare and curious statue, which the streets of the Greek cities used to be full of, he sometimes resembles a Satyr a Priapus 2 or 3 feet

⁸³ 'piece'.

long, the legs are a lions, he's carefully covered up at the back of the door the heads of a Satyr by Michel Ange done when he was 15 years old, and the first he ever attempted. There are several pictures worth seeing, among others the sketch of the day of judgement by Angelo the picture is at Rome. The Temptation of St Antonio by a 1000 devils, truly Roman Catholick etc etc. There is likewise a large cabinet in which there are sixty drawers in each of which there are 5, 6, 7, 8 or 9 miniature pictures exceedingly well done; there are several English ladies as well as others. [*Next line scored out very vigorously*] It's a pity they are in a manner lost in the cabinet, but there's no room for them any where else; and the fault which every body finds is that the objects are crouded and too near one another to be seen to the best advantage. Before one is properly examined an other close by takes of the attention. We were next carried to the 4th chamber called the chamber of Arts (for we did not see them regularly). In it are a great many curiosities; there are two cabinets full of turned ivory work, little statues, baskets, flowers etc. On the top of them are several modern statues in bronze *viz.* Hercules and Antaus, ditto and the Centaur and many others Two very pretty tables in marquetrie or what we call Florentine work, one of which represents the port and town of Leghorn, the other a German landscape, the last remarkable for the fine stones with which it's comprised. There is likewise represented in wax by one Zummo a Sicilian,^[84] a sepulchor full of carcasses from the time of their death to their total dissolution or being perfectly rotten. It's so exceedingly well done that I thought I saw the worms crawling in the different parts of the bodies, and appears so loathsome, that it almost made me sick. There is another by the same, which represents people dead and dying by the Plague amazingly well executed. The different passions especially despair are surprisingly executed. Pictures, a Virgin on her knees with the *Enfant* lying before her on the ground by Ghirlandais^[85] two prophets by Barth. del Porta^[86] a head of a girl by Andrew del Sarto^[87] etc. There are likewise many other things worth seeing which 'twas impossible to remember at first sight. We were next carried to the 5th chamber in which there's a most valuable collection of pictures by the best masters of the Flemish School. Those which pleased me most were four by Vandyke *viz.* Queen Mary of England at full length, Henrietta wife of Charles 1st ... a Grandee of Spain; and Charles 5th on horseback, well done. Hercules betwixt Virtue and Vice represented by Venus and Minerva by Rubens. People say he intends to follow the path of Virtue, but he seemed to me to have a great inclination to have a *tete a tete* with Venus Abraham going to offer up Isaac by Livio Meus.^[88] One of Peterneff,^[89] which is the view of the inside of a church by candle light. The Judgement of Solomon by Wanderwerff,^[90] Prince Rupert, the Earl of Ossery

⁸⁴ Gaetano Zumbo (1656-1701).

⁸⁵ Domenico Ghirlandaio (1448-1494).

⁸⁶ Baccio della Porta (1472-1517), better known as Fra Bartolomeo.

⁸⁷ Andrea del Sarto (1486-1530).

⁸⁸ Livio Mehus (1630-1691).

⁸⁹ Pieter Neefs (c.1578-c.1660).

⁹⁰ Adriaen van der Werff (1659-1722).

and Duke of Marlborough by Peter Lely;^[91] but they are too high up to be seen properly. In the middle of the room is a large cabinet of ebony and other precious wood, the panels of which are made up of verd antique, lapis lazuli, jasper and other stones, on which are cut many stories from the Old and New Testament. On the top of it is a clock and below it a small organ. In the centre by opening two small doors you discover a machine which turns upon a pivot and presents you with four different sides; on the first of which in *mosaique* of fine stones, are birds, flowers etc the 2nd the descent of our Saviour from the Cross by Michel Ange in wax the 3rd Christ and the 12 Apostles in amber the 4th a Cross of the same with the Virgin and St John on each side of it. There are likewise two tables of Eastern alabastore, on one of which in a glass case is a head of wax which was just separated from the body and going to be anatomized, it's exceedingly well done by the same Zummo and not at all inferior to his other two pieces. We next saw the 6th chamber called of Mathematics but without much reason as there are not many instruments in it. What we remarked were a celestial globe, very large according to the Ptolemaic System, a terrestrial ditto about 7 feet diameter, one of the largest in the world of brass. A lodestone which supports forty pounds. A map of Tuscan States painted on the walls of the room. There was likewise two Egyptian mummies infants, and several small modern statues in bronze, taken from the antiques of Hercules, Venus of Medicis etc. and a few modern busts. We then went to see the altar which is intended for the Medici Chapel in St Lawrence's Church. It's exceeding grand and composed of the finest stones. We afterwards took a look of some of the busts and statues in the Gallery; those which pleased me most I shall give a list of hereafter.

Saturday 10th

We went in the morning to see the Church of St Laurent,^[92] which is a very large handsome building. The pillars are remarkable for their lightness and architecture. The two pulpits are so likewise, for the bas reliefs in bronze by Donatelli.^[93] But what chiefly merits the attention of the curious, is the burial place of the Medici family, the architecture is by the immortal Michel Ange. As you enter on the right hand, is the tomb of Julien of Medicis Duke of Nemours,^[94] on the top of it is his statue and a little below it in a reclined posture the figures of Day and Night, neither of the last are quite finished, they are all three by Michel Ange and very justly much admired. On the opposite side of the chapel, over his tomb, is the statue of Laurence of Medicis;^[95] he is sitting with his hand reclined on his hand in the attitude of a man in profound thought, a little below him is the statues of Morning and Evening neither quite finished likewise by Michel Ange; also on another side of the chapel the Virgin with the Enfant in her arms and an apostle on each side of her by the

⁹¹ Peter Lely (1618-1680).

⁹² Basilica di San Lorenzo.

⁹³ Donato di Niccolò di Betto Bardi (c.1386-1466), more commonly known as Donatello.

⁹⁴ Giuliano di Lorenzo de' Medici (1479-1516).

⁹⁵ Lorenzo de' Medici (1449-1492), known as 'The Magnificent'.

same. The three groups are looked upon as masterpieces. Behind the choir of the church is the famous Chapel of Medici begun upwards of a hundred years ago and not yet finished. It's an octagon and the architecture is much admired. It's revetted as high as the cornish [*i.e.* cornice] with the finest stones Europe could produce, *viz.* jasper, oriental agates, calcedoines [*i.e.* chalcedony], lapis lazuli, Egyptian and oriental granite, a very hard fine stone called diaspro di Burga and de Corsica which is greenish and is equal if not superior to any marble. In a kind of compartments are the arms of the different Tuscan towns in marquetric very prettyly done. In short it's the most superb *magnifique* building I ever saw and when it's finished won't have its equal in the world. In the vault below it is a Christ on the Cross, the Virgin and St John, the first by Jean de Boulogne,^[96] the 2nd by M. Ange and the 3rd by one of his scholars, all three much admired. The man who had the key of the famous library was out of town, so we could not see it. The pictures in the church are nothing extraordinary, the roof is pretty enough. The next church we saw was the Santa Maria Novella, belonging to the Dominicans. Tho' built in the 13th century it's reckoned a very good one. The pictures worth seeing in it are, Christ bringing the dead woman to life by Vasari,^[97] The Resurrection by ditto, Christ and the Samaritan by Bronzini^[98] very well done. There are many others, not worth mentioning. I ought not however to forget one by Cimabue^[99] on wood which is said to be the first picture Italy produced. I believe nobody will dispute the antiquity of it as it's a horrid daub. Cimabue flourished in the 13th century and is looked upon as the father of modern painting. We dined to day, with most of the English, at Sir Horace Man's, who entertained us very elegantly; we spent the evening with a Mr and Mrs Holder from Dorsetshire a very agreeable couple.

Sunday 11th

As the Gallery was shut, we went up to the top of the campanile, or tower, belonging to the cathedral. From it is a most delightful view of the town and neighbouring country for many miles round. It's built of black and white marble, is 240 feet high and is reckoned a masterpiece of architecture. From thence we took a walk to see the triumphal arch a little without the gate of St Gal. 'Twas built on occasion of the late emperor's publick entrance. The architecture is of the Composite Order;^[100] on the top of it is an equestrian statue of him; the columns and capitals are much admired; it's adorned with other statues and reliefs and by many people is thought the thing best worth seeing in Florence. In the evening we went to the play again Harlequin's nonsense, but the dances and tunes pleased me much.

⁹⁶ Giambologna (1529-1608).

⁹⁷ Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574).

⁹⁸ Agnolo di Cosimo (1503-1572), commonly known as Bronzino.

⁹⁹ Cenni di Pepo (1240-1302), commonly known as Cimabue.

¹⁰⁰ *i.e.* combining the volutes of the Ionic order capital with the acanthus leaves of the Corinthian order.

Monday 12th

As 'twas a very fine day and we could see the pictures to the best advantage, we returned to the Gallery to spend the forenoon in the Tribune. The Venus of Medicis pleased me more and more, and I again admired it with the greatest pleasure. 'Twas the same with Titians beautiful Venus; the little dog at her feet is exceeding well done; in her right hand is a bunch of flowers, her left covers what modesty teaches to hide, in short it's the most lovely picture, I suppose in the world. There's a Madona of Guido Rheni, which is excellent, it's a half length. Her eyes seem lifted up to heaven as if in fervent prayer The Adoration of the Shepherds by Vanderveff very highly finished. St John in the Desert one of Raphael's best pieces Two others by him representing the Virgin, Christ and St John a naked Nymph, her back to you, to whom a Satyr presents a nosegay; two Loves by her by Annibal Caracci as large as life A Cleopatra by Guido Silenus and several Satyrs drunk by Rubens the feast of Solomon by Caracci very large, the colours faded Christ disputing with the Doctors in the Temple by Michel Ange de Caravaggio^[101] There are many other very good pictures, which as they did not strike me so much I cannot remember. There's a small bust of Nerva and one of J. Caesar; both resemble the large ones in the Gallery. There are a few modern small statues round the room, well cast *viz.* Vulcan forging thunder for Jove, Juno with a Peacock, Hercules and some others Two sleeping Genii on pillars, antiques Three Morpheus's in different corners of the room etc. We then took a view of the different busts and statues in the Gallery. There are the busts of most of the emperors and empresses from Julius Caesar down to Gordianus Africanus. In several of the countenances their characters are strongly marked. There are likewise Cicero, Seneca, Sappho, Sophocles, Xenocrates etc several statues larger than life; a Morpheus which Addison takes notice of in black touch-stone Two antique wild boars Laeacoon [*i.e.* Laocoon], his two sons and the serpents by Bandinelli, very well done and the statues which are in the Tribune in bronze The ceiling is painted with historical subjects, relating to the government of Florence, and all around the Gallery are the portraits of great men who have made themselves remarkable either in the literary or military world for some ages past; the last of the latter is the great Paoli,^[102] who is stiled Defender of the Liberties of his Country. We could not see the chamber of Medals as the man who kept the key was out of town, it being a kind of vacancy; however we saw them making the *mosaique* or marquetrie work, which tho' very fine is exceeding tedious.

Tuesday 13th

We this day went to see the Palace Pitti the town residence of the Grand Duke.

¹⁰¹ Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571-1610), commonly known as Caravaggio.

¹⁰² Filippo Antonio Pasquale de' Paoli (1725-1807) was a Corsican patriot, statesman and military leader who was at the forefront of resistance movements against Genoese and later French rule in the island. He was admired by Rousseau and James Boswell.

It's a noble building and very richly furnished. On the ground floor are some very good pictures. The 2nd floor after passing through its antichamber, which serves as a guard room to the Duke's body guard there's a fine suite of apartments elegantly furnished and adorned with some of the best pictures A very large one by Rubens representing Mars whom War tears from the arms of Venus who endeavours in vain to retain him; there are many other figures in this piece, that I cannot recollect, but it's looked upon as one of Rubens best There are two or three holy families by Andrew del Sarto very well done, but I had seen so many of them that I was heartily tired; some entire rooms are almost full of them; nothing but holy families and martyrs would do at the time these painters flourished. However luckily the minds of the Flemish painters were not so gloomy, they have left the world historical pieces, landscapes and domestic scenes. In one of the rooms is the famous Madonna della Sedia by Raphael, deservedly admired as one of the best pieces in the world. It's an ovale, the figure of the Virgin is about half length sitting with the Child on her knee, and a little St John looking at them. It's very highly finished and so well presented, that if it was not well authenticated people would doubt its having been done by Raphael. The colours are so fresh, one would think it had not been finished a twelvemonth. There are two excellent landscapes, by the same, these pieces of his are very rare. A Cleopatra by Guido, I had before seen this picture at Genoa Luther his wife and Calvin by Giorgion^[103] The portrait of Cardinal Bentivoglio by Vandyke very justly much admired A St Mark larger than life by Barth. del Porta Two very large pictures of the Assumption by Andrew del Sarto A portrait of Pope Paul 3rd by Titian Two or three battles by Bourguignon,^[104] reckoned an excellent painter in that way. The sides of the last room we were shown are adorned with four large pieces by Nasini^[105] of Siena representing Death, Judgement, Paradise and Hell, some of the figures are well done especially some women weeping over an old man at the point of death. The rest of the figures seem to be crowded, however I imagine it suits the taste of many of the Roman Catholicks. There are several handsome tables in these apartments some of them of marquetry. I must not forget two pictures of that work, sea views, incomparably well finished. Whilst we were in one of the apartments, the young Archduke a sweet boy about three or four years old passed through, and seeing we were officers made up to us and paid his respects, we kissed his hand and he went away very happy; however not content with that he sent out a gentleman to know our names, service and everything about us, which we immediately gave him, he's a charming boy and vastly fond of the army. We afterwards took a walk to the Poggio Imperiale a country house of the Great Duke's about a mile from the town. We ascended from the Roman Gate up a delightful gravel walk for about a mile, on each side are rows of green oaks and

¹⁰³ Giorgione (c.1477-1510).

¹⁰⁴ Jacques Courtois (1621-1676).

¹⁰⁵ Giuseppe Nicola Nasini (1657-1736).

ever greens, from the palace and gardens are most delightful views we spent the evening with Mrs Holder.



Figure 6. 'It's a noble building and very richly furnished' (13 November 1770). *View of the Palazzo Pizzi, Florence*, after Giuseppe Zocchi, mid eighteenth century. (British Museum)

Wednesday 14th

We this morning went to see the Old Palace. 'Twas built in the 13th century and was intended as the residence of the *Gonfalonier* or Chief Magistrate in the time of the republick. Here is one of the largest rooms in Italy I believe I may say in the world, 'twas intended for the council of the republick or senate to meet. It's 160 feet long and in proportional breadth. On each side are three very large paintings by Vasari. On one side are the battles betwixt the Florentines and Sienois with the taking of their city in the night by the help of lanthorns; on the other the battles with the Pisans and the taking their city. The paintings in the ceiling are likewise by him, but most of them were taken down to be cleaned. Around this hall are several statues by the best hands. A groupe of Adam and Eve by Bandinelli is much admired, they are both quite naked and the Serpent is climbing up the tree to tempt the woman. They were formerly in the cathedral, but were removed as they were thought indecent A Victory with a prisoner under her feet by Michel Ange which is excellent Six of Hercules Labours, *viz.* the combat of the Centaur, the Erimanthean Boar, the Wrestling with Antaeus, the Death of Diomedes, the Death of Caius and the Defeat of the Centaur by Jean de Boulognes. Above stairs is a large room which they call the Garderobe in which is an amazing quantity of plate old and new fashioned which belonged to the Medici family. Large dishes, tall candle sticks, crucifixes etc etc are without number. But the richest thing I ever saw is the altar which Ferdinand the 2nd made a vow to give to a church at Milan

in a fit of sickness, if he recovered; as he did not, the family thought 'twould be as well at Florence. It's of gold adorned with precious stones very finely wrought. There's eighty four pounds weight of gold in it and seven pound and a half of precious stones, an odd way to estimate their value. It's reckoned worth £900,000 and I suppose the richest thing in the world. We afterwards went to the Church of Santa Croce, which is well worth seeing. There is the tomb of Michel-Ange his bust by himself, the figures of Sculpture, Painting and Architecture in tears below him very well done by his scholars. On the opposite side is Gallileo's tomb with the statues of Astronomy and Geometry much admired. The only good picture is one by Bronzino of Christ taking hold of Toby, in Limbo,^[106] a piece of Romish superstition. The chapel belonging to the Nicolini family is well worth seeing, it's faced with marble and has some good pictures and statues two of the best are Moses and Aaron. This is a Franciscan convent and contains about sixty monks; one of them who showed us the chapel seemed very ignorant, knew nothing about the pictures and took a *pauli* with great thankfulness.

Thursday 15th

We went with Mr and Mrs Holder to see the Old Palace, as it was shut we went to take another view of the Medici Chapel, after which I took a drive with her to the Poggio Imperiale. Mr Blay dined with us, in the evening as 'twas Gala Day, we went to the play, where the house was illuminated and every body in their best dress.

Friday 16th

As it rained all day we staid at home to write letters. Two days before Sir Horace Man introduced us to the *Casino*, a kind of coffee house where none but the nobility and strangers of fashion are allowed to go. Here both sexes meet, converse, play or do any thing they please. It's necessary to be introduced by some person belonging to the place as by that means no sharpers or adventurers can gain admittance.

Saturday 17th

We went in the morning to see the Church of the Annunciata which in beauty and elegance is superior to all the rest in town. There are some good pictures in it; one of the Annunciation they say was painted by the angels and is carefully covered up, never to be opened but when the Grand Duke or Magistrates are present. The cupola is much admired, 'twas painted by Franeschini,^[107] the subject is the Assumption of the Virgin, and her coronation by the Holy Trinity. She's accompanied by all the prophets and saints of the Old and New Testament. There are some good statues by Jean de Boulogne, as also bas reliefs; he is buried here in a little chapel at the back of the altar. Over the door of one of the cloisters is the famous picture called

¹⁰⁶ Bronzino, *The Descent of Christ into Limbo* (1552).

¹⁰⁷ Baldassare Franceschini (1611-1689).

La Madonna del Sacco, from Joseph's sitting on a sack; it's painted a *fresque*^[108] and is much admired; for my part I could see nothing admirable in it. This church belongs to a monastery of Servites,^[109] and has eighty monks. In the place before it is an equestrian statue of Ferdinand the 1st by Jean de Boulogne. We likewise saw the Duke's *manage*.^[110] He has an excellent stud of all kinds of horses to the number of an hundred, amongst them are about twenty English ones, which I was sorry to see out of our country. In the evening we went to the *Casino* for half an hour, and afterwards to Sir Horace's *conversatione*,^[111] which in other words is a rout, in short the *Casino* in miniature. There were but three ladies, all the English gentlemen and some Italians. We had cards for those who chose it and refreshments of *limonade*.^[112] We broke up about 11 of clock. This is the common stile of them tho' some people add musick.

Sunday 18th

We dined with Sir Horace Man, and in the evening went to the play.

Monday 19th

We went to the Palace Pitti to see a famous groupe of Niobe and her children just brought from Rome, some of the statues are admirable especially the head of one of the daughters, which was Guido Rhenis copy for all his female pictures. There is likewise a horse which pleases me much. We afterwards took a walk to the Poggio Imperiale and saw all the rooms which were well furnished and in which there are several excellent pictures. A Magdalene by Guido is incomparable. A Sacrifice of Abraham by Cigoli^[113] and one by Tintoret.^[114] Several holy families by the best hands. A Venus of Titian the same as the one in the Tribune. One of the Doges by the same and many others which I cannot recollect. There are likewise several antique bust statues and a few idols. A statue of Adonis lying on the ground by M. Ange is much admired. The views from the different windows of this palace are delightful. We likewise saw the Church of Santo Spirito, it's on the south side of the Arno, well built, and has some good pictures; the altar is much admired and they say cost upwards of £3000. In the evening after packing up we went to the play and took leave of our acquaintances.

Tuesday 20th

We left Florence at 10 oclock, in a *voiture*, for which we agreed to pay ten *zequins*

¹⁰⁸ 'fresco'.

¹⁰⁹ The Servites were a mendicant order established in Florence in 1233.

¹¹⁰ *i.e.* *manège*, an enclosed area for training horses.

¹¹¹ *i.e.* *conversazione*, a gathering held in a private home where invited guests from various backgrounds would socialise.

¹¹² Lemonade.

¹¹³ Ludovico Cardi (1559-1613), also known as Cigolo.

¹¹⁴ Jacopo Comin (1518-1594), commonly known as Tintoretto.

to be carried to Rome, all expenses included, except for a day and half at Siena. It's the best way to make this bargain, otherwise the innkeepers fleece strangers without mercy. We lay at Poggiborzi [Poggiborsi] about four and twenty miles distant. The road is through the Appenine Mountains all the way, very hilly and great part of it paved, tho' this country is very well cultivated.

Wednesday 21st

We set off in the morning at 9 o'clock and got into Siena which is about 15 miles distant at twelve. The country is very pleasant, full of wood and the road tolerably good. We put up at the *Tre Re* which was recommended to us as the best house.^[115] After dinner old Mr Berlingheri having got notice we were in town, came and waited on us, thanked us for the civilities we had shown his son and begged we would make use of his carriage while we stayed in town. His daughter in law had advised him of our coming by a letter from Leghorn, and he had left word at the inn that he should be sent for on our arrival. In the afternoon he carried us to see the cathedral which is a notable Gothick building of black and white marble inside and outside. The pavement is of the same with historical scripture pieces engraved in *chir oscure*^[116] which is reckoned very curious, and the best parts of it covered with boards to prevent its being hurt. There are several pretty good pictures and some handsome chapels. The pulpit is worth seeing adorned with some very good bas reliefs. In short it's a beautiful church, the proportions seem just and it pleased me much. Addison says "It may be seen with pleasure after St. Peters at Rome." We afterwards went to the *Casino*, met with an Englishman Mr Woodhouse and after staying half an hour Mr Berlingheri carried us to see a very agreeable lady Signora Baldasseroni. There we found a good deal of company and played at *ventiuno*^[117] till 9 o'clock.

Thursday 22nd

Mr Berlingheri called upon us at 10 o'clock with Mr Spinachi whose son we likewise knew at St Phillips, he was exceedingly thankful for the civilities we had shown him and they were both very glad to see us. After going to the cathedral to hear some musick we waited on Madame Berlingheri who was very happy to see us and insisted on our coming back to dinner. In the forenoon we walked through the town, saw a good picture of Concha's^[118] (which represents the sick at the pool of Bethesda) at the hospital, saw the theatre which is neat and elegant, the Palazzo Publico which is a Gothick old building in which are some good pictures, the *manage* which is not well provided with horses etc. The town is well built tho' it stands on uneven ground and the streets are all crooked. The Church of

¹¹⁵ The *Tre Ré* (Three Kings) was a well-known inn in Siena.

¹¹⁶ Perhaps *chiaroscuro*.

¹¹⁷ *i.e.* blackjack/pontoon.

¹¹⁸ Sebastiano Conca (1680-1764).

the A[u]gustines is very handsome and it has some good pictures, and the marble pillars and columns are elegant. The town is defended or rather commanded by a small fortress with five bastions. After dining with Mr Berlingheri where we were entertained with the greatest hospitality, we went to the *Casino*, and from thence to pay a visit to Madame Spinachi with whom we drank coffee and sat till near 9 o'clock, when we took our leave of them all and went home as we were to set off early in the morning. They were all exceeding glad to see us and they could not make enough of us for the civilities we had shown their sons, they pressed us to stay some time longer but our plan would not admit of it. Mr Berlingheri seems a worthy good kind of man and tho' 71 years of age is hale and active as a young fellow of twenty. In short the civilities we received will be a great inducement for us to return for a longer time if 'tis in our power.

Friday 23rd

We left Siena at 8 o'clock and arrived at Pontia Arbia [Ponte d'Arbia] to dinner through a very fine country, part of it much resembles Dorsetshire. We left it at 2 o'clock and after passing through Buonconvento and the same pleasant country we arrived at San Quirico a small walled villa in a pleasant situation, where we found a tolerable good inn. It's 26 miles from Siena.

Saturday 24th

We set off at 6 o'clock in the morning and at 10 arrived at Mancino situated at the foot of the hill of Radicofani, the highest of the whole Appenines and on which there's a old castle; there's likewise a small town and two monasteries a little farther down. We arrived about 6 in the evening at Aquapendente [Acquapendente], the whole road through which we passed was hilly and rough and the country open and uncultivated. About four miles before we arrived at Aquapendente, we crossed the little river Centino [Centeno], which divides the Tuscan and Papal States. Hearing there was a comedy we went to see it, but found a puppet show, where Harlequin and the Devil were exhibited to the great entertainment of the audience. Our inn was barely tolerable and exceedingly cold.

Sunday 25th

As we set off at 5 o'clock in the morning I could see little or nothing of the place; by the time 'twas day light we found ourselves at a pretty little place called St. Laurent des Grottis, where there's an old castle gone to ruin; a mile more brought us to the side of Lake Bolsena, which is really a noble piece of water. It's about 30 miles in circumference and has three small islands. We went for 3 or 4 miles by the side of it, through the town of the same name, with the hills on the other side of us covered with woods; and about 11 o'clock arrived at Montefiascone, through a fine forest of large oaks and most excellent

road. It's situated on the top of a high hill, is a walled town and a very rich bishop's see; it's remarkable for its fine flavoured Muscadine wine, which we did not forget to taste. The cupola of the cathedral looks well at a distance but is hardly worth going up the hill to see. From thence to Viterbo is about 12 miles through a plain, and a well cultivated country and good road. There we found a tolerable good inn and supper.

Monday 26th

We walked about to see the town, till 12 o'clock. It's large and well built, the streets paved with large flat stones and adorned with several handsome fountains. We saw the cathedral dedicated to St. Laurence; there's two or three good pictures concerning his miracles and martyrdom by Romanelli.^[119] Afterwards the Church of St. Rosa, who lived in the 13th century. Some of the nuns showed us her body, which is preserved, and gave us a bit of cord which had touched it and in which they think there is some extraordinary virtue. The body was exceeding black and very ugly. The road from Viterbo to Monte Rosa is pleasant enough, tho' the first four miles is a steep hill through a wood of chestnuts, oaks etc. afterwards we saw the Lake of Vico, and passed through the town of Ronciglione which seems tolerably well built and has good broad streets. Monte Rosi [Monterosi] where we slept is a small village, but we had pretty good beds. Two priests, very good kind of men, who had likewise come from Florence, supped with us.

Tuesday 27th

We set off at 4 o'clock in the morning and after passing over part of the Flaminian Way, and through a fine country badly cultivated and worse inhabited we arrived at Rome at 12. About a mile from the town we crossed the Tiber, which seems to be a fine river, over the Ponte Mollo (formerly the Pons Milvius) and entered at the Porto Populi. The entrance gives a stranger no bad idea of the town, as in the inside of the gate is a large place and two handsome churches. We put up at M. Damon's, a Frenchman one of the Pope's *Cavalli Legeri*,^[120] where we have two bed rooms, small dining room, dinner and supper at the *table d'hote* for 9 *pauls* apiece *per diem*; our *valet de place* costs us 2 *pauls*, and our barber about 1 *paul*. After dinner we took a walk and met with a Mr. Forbes, late of the Greys whom Captain Robarts knew. We walked about with him and saw part of the town. On Monte Cavallo are two famous Men and Horses, one done by Praxilites the other by Phidius;^[121] the Men are much admired, the Horses are not remarkable for any thing but their antiquity. The Popes Palace which we saw the outside of seems a large good building. We took a look of the Pantheon, but 'twas almost dark; as also Antoninus's Pillar. We

¹¹⁹ Giovanni Francesco Romanelli (1610-1662).

¹²⁰ Light cavalry.

¹²¹ These attributions are not now accepted.

likewise saw some beautiful fountains and walked through part of the Corso which is an excellent street. The fronts of some of the churches are very elegant, we had not time to enter any of them.



Figure 7. 'On Monte Cavallo are two famous Men and Horses' (27 November 1770). *View of the Piazza di Monte Cavallo*, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, 1748. (National Galleries of Scotland)

Wednesday 28th

As it rained we staid at home all the forenoon and read a description of the town. As 'twas fair after dinner, we went in company with a French marquis his lady and some other gentlemen to see the Vatican Library. The books are all shut up in presses, so you don't see any without enquiring for them particularly. We were shown King Henry 8th original letters to Anne Bulleyn [*i.e.* Boleyn] some of which are in French, which we read. Likewise the book he wrote against Luther, signed by himself. Those two are always shown Englishmen. We likewise saw two manuscripts of the New Testament, one Greek, the other Greek and Latin, also Terence's Comedies and some others. The walls of the library are painted in fresco with different subjects the invention of letters etc. and some landscapes over the windows, but very indifferently done. There's a beautiful spiral alabaster column and a great many tables of Egyptian granite. There are a great many galleries very long and in them are presses full of different pieces of antiquity. There's a curious head of Charlemagne, a number of antique seals and rings, bas reliefs, inscriptions etc. We likewise saw a small cabinet of medals; there was an Alexander the Great,

Lysimachus etc Ptolemy, real Greek antiques and many others which we had not time to examine. There are several of the Pope, and most of the English ones that were struck on occasion of our victories last war, together with the last and present kings. There's a bust of Augustus in onyx, and one of Livia his wife in chalcedoine; also Adrian, and one of Marcellus in oriental alabastre An antique statue of the good Aristides, and one of St. Hyppolitus. We likewise saw the Egyptian papyrus or paper and the cloth the antients put about dead bodies when they burnt them to prevent their ashes being lost; it has a most extraordinary property of not taking fire or consuming, which we were eye witnesses of, as the man attempted to burn it with a wax taper several times. There were several antient Etruscan vases, I believe of earthen ware very well preserved and in a pretty fashion, and many antique small statues. From the windows are delightful views of the town and part of the country, together with the Belvedere Gardens. It's a prodigious large building and is said to consist of 1254 rooms or apartments. This is what the Pope's people say. I believe nobody has thought it worth while to count them to see if they have exaggerated.

Thursday 29th

We began with our Italian master the Abbé Dossi, from whom for four *zequins* a month we have an hour a day each. It's a pretty high price, but what they always get and expect from the English. In the morning we went to see the drawing of the Lottery which was not very curious; afterwards to see St. Ignatius's Church, which belongs to the Jesuits, it's exceedingly rich and elegant, and has some very fine pillars of verd antique, Egyptian marble and granite. Here is a Jesuits Colledge with the different schools, a very large building. After dinner we went to see the famous Cathedral of St. Peter, much talked of and admired for its grandeur, beauty, extent, proportions etc. Before it is a very large area with an oval colonnade round it of four rows of pillars forming three different walks. In the centre of the area is a very fine obelisk of Egyptian granate which is as old as Sesostris.^[122] It formerly belonged to Nero's Circus, which was near this place. It's eighty feet high exclusive of the base which is thirty seven, and is placed on four lions in bronze without any cement. 'Twas brought from Egypt to Rome in Caligula's time and is much admired. On each side of it at a considerable distance are two noble fountains which throw their water a great height. The front of the church is very grand and the architecture admirable. After ascending several steps we arrived at the Vestibule which is in proportion with the church; at each end of it is an equestrian statue of Charlemagne and Constantine, the first Christian emperor with the Cross appearing to him in the air. The first is by Cornachini,^[123] the other by Bernini,^[124] each of one block of marble and much admired. I must own I was much struck^[125] at entering into the church, every thing appeared so grand and elegant, at the same time that

¹²² Sesotris was an ancient Egyptian king mentioned by Herodotus in his *Histories*. Modern research has tentatively identified him as Senusret III (1878-1839 BC).

¹²³ Agostino Cornacchini (1686-1754).

¹²⁴ Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680).

the nicest proportions are observed; in short tho' of an immense size, it appears infinitely smaller than a person would expect from seeing it without doors; but as we were before apprised of this it did not so much strike us. The more it's examined the more it pleases, it may be seen for a twelvemonth and every day produce new beauties. The high altar at which alone the Pope can officiate is most magnificent. The different chapels in all of which are fine large pictures in *mosaique*, the columns of fine marble and granate, the altars and tombs of several of the Popes are beyond description. There are several most excellent statues one of which, a Woman, a Spaniard fell in love with. The dome is exceeding grand, as is indeed every thing about the church. In short it surpasses every thing I ever saw and filled me with astonishment and amazement. Particular accounts of it are to be met with in Keysler's Travels,^[125] the Abbé Richard,^[126] and many voyage writers, who have had more time and done it more justice than it's possible for me to do. I must not however forget to mention an antient brass statue of St. Peter, part of the foot of which is worn away by the fervent kisses of the devout catholicks and pilgrims. There are likewise many subterranean chapels and things to be seen under ground, which we were obliged to leave till another opportunity. We also saw the Church of St. Mary Traspontina which is remarkable for nothing but two old pillars to which they say St. Peter and Paul were tied to and scourged.



Figure 8. 'We spent most of the forenoon in St Peter's with great pleasure' (30 November 1770). *View of the exterior of St Peter's Basilica in the Vatican from the Piazza della Sagrestia*, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, 1748. (National Galleries of Scotland)

¹²⁵ Keysler, J. G. *Travels through Germany etc.*, 4 vols, London, 1757.

¹²⁶ Jean-Claude Richard (1727-1791), Abbé de Saint Non.

Friday 30th

We spent most of the forenoon in St Peter's with great pleasure; it improves every time one sees it. There are a great many relics preserved, and they say part of St Peters and Pauls bodies are interred under the high altar, there is likewise part of St Andrew's Cross and many other things. After dinner we went to the Capitol to hear an assembly of poets rehearse their verses in praise of the King of Portugal and the present Pope on their reconciliation, some were in Latin but most in Italian. This is called an Arcadia; there were present twelve cardinals and a great number of other clergy, who all seemed much pleased. In one of the areas is the famous equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius in bronze; the horse is so exquisitely done, that Pierre de Cortone^[127] said to it whenever he passed by, March on, don't you know you are alive. It certainly is an excellent statue, and the horse appears as if really in motion. At the bottom of one of the stairs is the identical Rostrale Column which was erected in honour of Duilius the Roman Consul who gained the first naval victory over the Carthaginians.^[128] It's adorned with anchors and *rostra*^[129] and is much esteemed for its antiquity having been made in the year of Rome 494.^[130] We had just time to take a peep at some of the rooms of statues. There's an Agrippina sitting very well done, several Egyptian images more curious than fine. Two Centaurs lately dug up at Tivoli in basalt a kind of stone much admired. But the chief of all is a Gladiator wounded and dying. It's reckoned one of the best statues in the world. You expect every moment to see him expire, I never in my life saw pain anguish and resentment so finely expressed. There's another Gladiator in a falling posture, which tho' a very good one, is not comparable to the former. An Amour and Pseiche [*i.e.* Psyche] is very well executed. There are several marble vases, bas-reliefs, statues, busts etc which we had not time to examine. We afterwards went to the Chiesa Nuova to hear an oratorio. It pleased me exceedingly; there were some excellent performers of both vocal and instrumental musick. Two of the singers were *castrati*^[131] who are very common here. One of them had the longest quaver I ever heard and sung most melodiously.

¹²⁷ The painter Pietro da Cortona (*c.* 1596-1669).

¹²⁸ Gaius Duilius commanded the Roman fleet that defeated the Carthaginians at the Battle of Mylae (260 BC). A victory column was raised in the Forum in his honour.

¹²⁹ *Rostrae* were the ramming 'beaks' that adorned the prows of warships.

¹³⁰ The battle took place in 494 AUC, *i.e.* 260 BC.

¹³¹ A *castrato* was a type of classical male singing voice equivalent to that of a soprano, mezzo-soprano or contralto, produced by the castration of the singer before puberty was reached.

DECEMBER

Saturday Dec. 1st

We returned to the Capitol, at present called the Campidoglio, and looked over a great pleasure several of the busts and statues. The Marquis D'Aoust^[132] was with us, who is a prefect *cicerone*,^[133] and explained the symbols, attributes, habits etc. to us with the greatest accuracy and good nature. There is a Roman mile stone which was on the Appian Way, marked with the number 1; it likewise was used by travellers as an altar; a fine statue of Antineus one of the best in the collection Harpocrates the God of Silence, his finger on his mouth, in a pretty attitude Hercules when an enfant killing the Snake and smiling at it, is much admired a Psyche Galienus [*i.e.* Gallienus] with the figure of a Hunter. Two Fauns a very large Apollo with his Lyre. An Aesculapius in a curule chair, reckoned a fine statue, and much resembling his medals Marius likewise in his Habits. Ceres Augustus. Endymion with his Dog a Diana Two statues of Jupiter. A Leda and the Swan. I again admired the Dying Gladiator which pleased me more and more and the Centaur There are two Amazons, and an incomparable statue of Flora in the dress of the Roman ladies with many others I cannot recollect. In one of the rooms are the busts of most of the antient philosophers as far back as Pythagoras and several poets; in another are the busts of the Roman Emperors and several of the Empresses from Julius Caesar down to Julian the Apostate. A small hall below stairs is full of Egyptian statues. There are several very fine and curious bas reliefs, and a great number of antique inscriptions, besides an excellent collection of pictures which we had not time to see. In the area where M. Aurelius stands is Castor and Pollux with their Horses very large and much admired for their antiquity. There are likewise two Roman Trophies erected on occasion of Marius's victories over the Cimbri and Teutones. In our way home we passed by Trajan's famous pillar, which was in his Forum, it's 128 feet high and adorned with bas reliefs representing his great actions; his body after his death they say was deposited in it. On the top of it is a statue of St. Peter in bronze placed there by Sixtus 5th. In the Piazza di Colonna is likewise the Columna Antonini the bas reliefs of which represents the

¹³² Eustache Jean-Marie D'Aoust (1741-1805) was a French nobleman and politician.

¹³³ A guide who conducted tourists to local museums, galleries and sites of antiquity.

remarkable actions of Marcus Aurelius, it's much higher than the other being 183 feet. There are stairs in the inside of both to go to the top and on this is the statue of St. Paul in gilt bronze erected likewise by Sixtus the 5th who did every thing in his power to embellish the city. In the afternoon we went to see the Church of St. Maria Maggiore situated on Mount Esquiline. It's exceeding handsome and elegant. The antique pillars which support it are simple and pretty, the ceiling is very rich. The Sistine Chapel is very highly finished, encrusted with marble of different kinds and loaded with sculpture and ornaments. It almost vies with the Medici Chapel at Florence. Opposite it is the Borghese Chapel where Paul 5th is interred, there they say is preserved a piece of the Manger in which our Saviour was born. The high altar is very grand and noble and the pillars which support it elegant. There are a few good pictures, and some pretty good statues. We afterwards went to the French Academy, where the young sculptors and painters were sitting around a naked man and drawing him in the different attitudes he presented himself to each of them.



Figure 9. 'In our way home we passed by Trajan's famous pillar' (1 December 1770). *Trajan's Column*, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, 1748. (National Galleries of Scotland)

Dec. 2nd

Being Advent Sunday we went to the Vatican Chapel where the Pope with about thirty cardinals assisted at a Solemn Mass. He appears a good looking man and was dressed in a crimson satten mantle trimmed with gold and his mitre on his head. Cardinal Yorck^[134] was likewise shown us. In this chapel is Michel Angelo's Last Judgement, which is reckoned an exceeding fine piece; it covers the wall of one end of the chapel from top to bottom. There was another chapel finely illuminated. We afterwards went to the Church of S. Pietro in Montorio situated on Mount Janiculum from whence there is an excellent view of great part of the city. Here is Raphael's celebrated picture of the Transfiguration. It's said to be the best in the world and the last he ever did. There are a few others pretty good. In a little round chapel belonging to this church is the hole in which St. Peter's crucifix was fixed when he suffered. It is held in great veneration by the Roman Catholicks. We then went to the little Palace Farnese there are a few paintings and several busts and statues; among the latter is the famous Venus Aux Belles Fesses^[135] deservedly much admired. The back parts of it are incomparable and they say it surpasses the Venus de Medicis. It certainly is a charming statue. There is an equestrian one of Augustus and four dying gladiators, a good bust of Antinous and one of a Vestal with several others. The rooms have no other furniture and the house little deserves the name of a palace. We afterwards saw the Church of St. Charles Boromio of Milan.^[136] It's large and handsome situated in the Corso. There are two or three good pictures by Carlo Marati^[137] especially the one over the altar. The chapel of the Madona is very rich and elegant. The picture over the altar is *mosaique*. The pillars of verd antique and different other marbles are very fine as are likewise the ornaments and capitals of the columns. In the evening we returned the Duke of Dorset's^[138] visit and drank tea with the celebrated Miss Nancy Parsons^[139] who lives with him. We afterwards waited on Mrs Forbes and her daughter and left cards of Mr Beckfords.

Monday 3

We went to the Capitol to see the Tarpeian Rock;^[140] the height is not extraordinary, the ground being filled up below. I think a man might be thrown from it at present

¹³⁴ Henry Stuart, cardinal duke of York (1725-1807), younger brother of Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender.

¹³⁵ 'Venus with the beautiful buttocks'.

¹³⁶ Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584), archbishop of Milan.

¹³⁷ Carlo Maratta (1625-1713).

¹³⁸ John Frederick Sackville (1745-1799), 3rd duke of Dorset. Penrose continued his contact with Dorset after returning to Britain.

¹³⁹ Anne Parsons (c.1735-1814/5) was the mistress of the 3rd duke of Dorset, among others.

¹⁴⁰ The Tarpeian Rock is a cliff on the Capitoline Hill that was used during the Roman Republic as a place of execution. Murderers, traitors and others were flung from the cliff to their deaths.

and have a tolerable chance of escaping without breaking his neck tho' I must own I should not like to try the experiment. There are several old pillars which were parts of different temples and at the bottom of the hill the Triumphal Arch of Septimus Severus, dorned with bas reliefs. Under the church of St. Joseph is the dungeon where St. Peter and St. Paul were confined before their execution. We were shown the stone post they were chained to, and the fountain that sprung up for St. Peter to baptise his converts, likewise the stone against which the soldiers knocked his head and on which there is as they say, still the impression. Near it is the church of St. Luke^[141] which is handsome tho' small. In it is a picture over the altar, of the saint painting the Virgin Mary by Raphael.^[142] There is likewise close by this church a gallery of pictures, called the Academy of St Luke some of which are very good. A large Magdelaine by Guido. An Angel by ditto both excellent pictures. Christ and St. Matthew by Titian. Several landscapes holy families and battles by different hands, with many other good pieces. I had almost forgot to mention that under the church are several very pretty chapels and that the marble pillars which were in the Temple of Mars are placed there. On each side of the Campo Vaccino are the ruins of different heathen temples. This was the famous Forum Romanorum and is terminated at one end by Severus's Arch, at the other by Titus's. Not far from it is Vespasian's famous Amphitheatre which he built after his return from Judea. It's a most surprizing large building and is pretty well preserved. As 'twas the first I ever saw it pleased me much, but I had only time to give a look at it, intending to see it at greater leisure some other time. In the afternoon we went with the marquis and his lady and Mr Villars to see the Villa Pamphili situated about a mile from the town. The garden and water works are very pretty and well laid out. The house is in a pleasant situation and commands a view of the city and neighbouring country. There are some good pictures, busts and statues. Of the former, a naked Venus by Titian, tho' not equal to the two at Florence. Psyche who discovers Amour sleeping a charming picture by Guido Cagnassi.^[143] A Triumph of Bacchus in *chir obscure* by Jules Romain^[144] several landscapes and sea views etc. of statues, Clodius in a woman's habit when he entered the house where the Mysteries of the Bona Dea were performing, an Hermaphrodite, Apollo Diana, two groupes of three little Loves wrestling very prettily tho' modern. A Marsyas tied to a tree. A statue of the River Nile with a Cornucopia and Crocodile of black basalte. Two or three Venus's and Jacob wrestling with the Angel, which is modern etc. There are several busts Julius Cesar, Vespasian, Tiberius, two Faustinas and many others. In a grotto in the garden is a curious organ which the water works play. People are surprized at first to hear of an instrument played on by water, but on examining it I found it was precisely

¹⁴¹ Santi Luca e Martina.

¹⁴² *Saint Luke Painting the Madonna*. It is a copy, however, rather than the original attributed to Raphael.

¹⁴³ Guido Cagnacci (1601-1663).

¹⁴⁴ Giulio Romano (1499-1546).

on the same plan and construction with our hand organs; the water falling on a wheel answers the end of turning round with the hand.



Figure 10. 'On each side of the Campo Vaccino are the ruins of different heathen temples' (3 December 1770). *View of the Campo Vaccino, the Forum Romanum from the Capitoline Hill*, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, 1748. (National Galleries of Scotland)

Tuesday 4th

We spent the morning in the gallery of the Palace Borghese where there's a very fine and numerous collection of pictures. There's one chamber full of naked Venus's, Graces's, Loves etc. Several excellent pictures by Titian especially a School Master.^[145] A St. Cecilia by Corregio much admired. Psiche discovering Amour sleeping, by Paul Verronese. Several holy families by Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, Carlo Maratti etc. Battles by Bourguignon and others, and several Flemish landscapes. In short this is reckoned the largest and best collection in Rome, tho' several of the pictures are spoiling, owing to the dampness of the apartments as they are all on the ground floor. I ought not to forget Diana and the Nymphs returned from hunting and shooting at a mark by Domenichini^[146] it's much admired and I thought a capital picture, with a good deal of reason. There are many other excellent ones which I could not remember. In the afternoon

¹⁴⁵ Now known to be by Giovanni Battista Moroni (c.1525-1579). Now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

¹⁴⁶ Apollonio Domenichini (1715-1770).

we went to the Marquis de [blank] palace where there's a large and pretty collection of pictures chiefly landscapes, some of them well done. I afterwards took a walk in the gardens of the Villa Medici which are much talked of. I must own I thought very little of them for any thing but the views. These certainly are very fine as they command the city and part of the country. The Grand Duke, to whom it belongs has removed most of the good statues to Florence, especially the famous Groupe of Niobe which was in one of the walks. In the evening we paid a visit to Mrs Walter and several English gentlemen, afterwards we went to the Duke of Dorset's concert where we staid 'till 11 o'clock. The musick was most excellent.

Wednesday 5th

As t'was raining all the morning we could not stir out, however we hired a chaise for 4 *sequins* to carry us to Naples and return in a month's time. In the afternoon we employed ourselves in packing up and arranging our *petites affaires*.

Thursday 6th

We left Rome at one o'clock in the morning, from thence to Torre di Mezzo is one post, but they always make people pay a post royal on leaving Rome. Marino is the next; Fayola is $\frac{3}{4}$ of a post. Velletri a large town is the same. Here we avoided having our things searched by paying a few *paules* to the *commis*.^[147] Cisterna is the next post, then Sermoneta, Casa Nuova is the next where we paid a *paule* for each chaise and $\frac{1}{2}$ *paule* for each trunk. From thence to Piperno [Priverno] is $\frac{3}{4}$ of a post. At Piperno we were obliged to take 3 horses and paid 2 *pauls* for the extra one. Marcati is the next, then Terracina, then Fondi which is a post and a half. Betwixt Terracina and Fondi there's another *douane*^[148] where we paid as at Velletri. We likewise gave the *sbirri*^[149] something at the barrier on entering the Kingdom of Naples. From Fondi to Itri is a post where we were obliged to take three horses. From Itri to Mola de Gaiete [Mola di Gaeta] is another. At the last is a custom house where our trunks and passports were examined. The next is at Garigliano where we cross the river in a boat for which we pay 3 *carlins*.^[150] The next is St. Agathe which is a post, then Francolise, the same, Capua the same, Aversa ditto, Naples ditto. About a mile from the town we were stopped at the *douane* and obliged to undergo an examination where as well as at Mola they make us pay pretty well. In the Papal territory, the road is very rough as great part of it is over the antient Appian Way. We paid 4 *paules* a post for each horse and 3 to the postillions which they were never contented with tho' two is their due. In the Kingdom of Naples, the road is the finest I ever saw being a perfect bowling green the whole way, and the country especially about Capua most delightful. Here we paid 5 *carlins* and half

¹⁴⁷ 'officials'.

¹⁴⁸ 'customs post'.

¹⁴⁹ 'police'.

¹⁵⁰ The *carlino* was a unit of currency used in Naples. See Note on Currency.

for each horse and 3 to the post boys, tho' 2 is their due likewise. On the whole road they are the most impudent, impertinent set of scoundrels under heaven, if they think you don't give them enough, they abuse you very freely and manual chastisement might be attended with a knife in one's guts, for they are the most desperate cowardly villains in the world. The best way is to pay them what you think is right and no more, and take no notice or not seem to understand their ill language, and likewise keep your arms in your hands to keep them from coming too near. We got to Naples about 5 o'clock in the afternoon on:

Friday 7th

having been 39 hours on the journey, the distance is about 150 miles and the posts cost us about seven *sequins* apiece, not including the chaise. We lodged at a house Mr Forbes recommended to us, one Lewis D'Arquese a Swiss, where for a dining room 2 bed chambers and servants room we pay 15 *carlins* a day; for our dinner when we dine at home 8 *carlins* a head, and for supper as we call for it. It's a private house and recommended to us for a very extraordinary qualification in this country, I mean honesty. We buy our own tea and sugar and breakfast at home.

Saturday 8th

We waited on Mr Hamilton the British envoy,^[151] in the forenoon, he was not at home, so we left cards for him and his lady. We did the same to Mr Jamineau the British consul,^[152] who returned our visit next morning. At night, as we had no box to go to, we put on our great coats and went to the Florentine Theatre, where was performed a *burletta*^[153] entitled *La Donna Bizzara*;^[154] the musick was very good but I was quite tired with the recitative.

Sunday 9th

We went to a chapel to see a young girl take the veil. Some of the Neapolitan officers, when they knew who we were, ordered chairs for us and got us a good place. The ceremony was solemn and awful. The young girl (for she was not above 18 or 19) read her vows with great firmness and seemed to think little of it. I must own it made my heart sore to see her. Her existence was certainly intended for a nobler end, than to exclude herself from society and bury herself alive. But such is the policy of Roman Catholick countries, that if they have not fortune enough to marry their children well, they must either take the gown or the veil. We dined to day with Mr Tierney^[155] on whom Captain Robarts has his credit and in the evening

¹⁵¹ Sir William Hamilton (1730-1803), British ambassador to the Kingdom of Naples from 1764 to 1800, and student of Vesuvius.

¹⁵² Isaac Jamineau was the British consul in Naples from 1753 to 1779.

¹⁵³ A brief comic opera.

¹⁵⁴ *La Donna Bizzara*, a comic opera in five acts composed by Carlo Goldoni in 1758.

¹⁵⁵ George Tierney, merchant and banker in Naples. Originally from Ireland.

went to the Royal Playhouse, which is really such. I never saw such a large elegant theatre in my life. It's reckoned without exception the finest in the world. There are 6 rows of boxes one above another and a very large parterre. The scenery is excellent, but the musick surpassed every thing I ever heard. Demoophonte^[156] an opera lately come out, was performed, the musick is said to be quite original. The dances were in a pretty taste and well executed, tho' I liked those at Florence better. The King and Queen were there in a most elegant box. She seems a good looking woman. His Majesty has nothing very striking about him. There were some sweet women in the other boxes.

Monday 10th

We took a walk on the port which is large and capable of containing a great number of ships. The moles are defended by cannon, but not so as to cover the town from a bombardment. There are 2 ships of the line of 54 guns each 2 frigates and several armed xebèques and gallies. In the evening we went to the new theatre, where was performed a comic opera; the songs and musick were excellent. Mr Hamilton returned our visit, and I was agreeably surprized with one from Fothergill.

Tuesday 11th

After dinner we set off in a chaise to Portici four miles distant in order to see the burning lava at Mount Vesuvius. At Portici we were obliged to leave the chaise and get on mules to climb the mountain; about a mile from the lava we were obliged to quit them and scramble as well as we could over the old lava, by the assistance of some of the peasants who we hired for that purpose. We were obliged to go by torch light to see it to the best advantage. At last we arrived at it; 'twas a tremendous sight to be almost surrounded with liquid fire and see the mountain every now and then vomiting up flames of fire and smoke. The eruption had almost ceased, tho' the lava still continued to run slowly. The heat it threw from it was very intense, but it's of such a nature that the peasants with their iron soled shoes walked on the crust which covers it. They showed us the lava which was thrown up in the year 1767 which was really terrible, and as it tended to course towards Portici threatened it with ruin. Mr Hamilton who is better acquainted with the phenomena of the mountain than any man in Naples had informed the King there would be an eruption and that he had better retire to Naples or some where else. He disregarded the advice; but was glad to escape in his shirt with most of the Court about 3 o'clock in the morning. There are always a set of *lazzaroni*^[157] or idle peasants waiting at Portici to conduct strangers up the mountain. They obliged us to take seven of them tho' five would have done as well. The corporal or head of them has the following certificate

¹⁵⁶ Demofoonte, an opera by Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782). It was set by several composers including Vivaldi. This performance in Naples was probably by the composer Niccolò Jommelli.

¹⁵⁷ In Naples, *lazzaroni* was the name given to the poorest members of the community, who made their living as porters, messengers, guides and beggars.

from Mr Hamilton Of all the rascals who inhabit Portici, this is the best qualified to conduct strangers up the mountain, or something to that purpose. The common price to them is a *carlin* apiece and one, *buona mancia*,^[158] and 3 *carlins* for each mule; however they are hardly content with that as they are a greedy rapacious set of ruffians. In our way down we stopped at a hermitage which is situated about half way, in I should imagine a dangerous situation. The old hermit entertained us with fruit and some very good wine which he called *Lacryma Christi*^[159] and Muscadine, showed us his chapel and for 6 *carlins* promised to have masses said for the good of our souls. We returned to Naples about 11 oclock at night.



Figure 11. 'After dinner we set off in a chaise to Portici four miles distant in order to see the burning lava at Mount Vesuvius' (11 December 1770). *Vesuvius and the Convent of San Salvatore above Portici*, John Robert Cozens, late eighteenth century. (National Galleries of Scotland)

Wednesday 12th

We went to see some churches; the Chiesa Nuova is very handsome, it formerly belonged to the Jesuits,^[160] and is on the same model with St Peters at Rome; the middle aisle is cased with marble in the same manner; the altar is very grand and there's some good pictures by Solimene,^[161] Lanfranc^[162] etc, 'twas hurt by an earthquake some years ago, but they are now repairing it. We afterwards went to

¹⁵⁸ 'a good tip'.

¹⁵⁹ Literally, 'tears of Christ'.

¹⁶⁰ The Society of Jesus was suppressed in the Kingdom of Sicily in 1767.

¹⁶¹ Francesco Solimena (1657-1747).

¹⁶² Giovanni Lanfranco (1582-1647).

the Chiesa Chiara which is very elegantly finished, and has more light than any Romish church I have seen. There's a statue of the Virgin with the Infant in her arms of massy silver, 'twas taken from the Jesuits and given this church by the King. There are two antique columns pretty enough and some tolerable large pictures by Sebastien Concha, Lanfranc, Solimeni etc.

Thursday 13th

We hired cabriolets^[163] and went in the forenoon to the Lake Ananio [Agnano] to see the King and Queen take the diversion of shooting on the water. They were attended by several of the nobility and foreign ministers. We were close by them when they came out of the chaise, so we had a full view of them. I don't exaggerate when I say the Queen is a beauty and has a most pleasing countenance. She accosted every body with the greatest good nature and affability. She's of a middling size, light hair and fair complexion. Not so the King. He's very tall and thin, with hair perfectly white, far from being handsome and by all accounts not overburthend with sense. They were attended by several boats, who as soon as the King fired, followed his example as fast as they could. The lake is not above two miles round so we could see the whole manoeuvres. In our way to it we passed through the famous Grotto of Pausillypo [Posillipo] it's a subterranean through a mountain half a mile long and large enough for two carriages to drive a breast with a very great height. There are two holes near the centre, pierced through the mountain, to give light. It's of great use as it saves climbing and descending a very high hill. In the middle of it is a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary and at both ends large cavities which has served for quarries, when or for what end 'twas at first intended I can't find out. Addison, and I believe with reason, thinks that 'twas at first a quarry, and that after proceeding a certain length, they thought 'twould serve another purpose, so they cut it through and made a most excellent road; what strengthens his conjecture is that there's no heaps of stones or rubbish about it; he thinks they were used in the neighbouring buildings. The mountain is reckoned the pleasantest spot about Naples as it's finely situated and commands a delightful prospect. Close by the Lake Agnatio [Agnano] is the Grotto del Cane remarkable for its poisonous sulphureous vapours, which don't rise above six inches from the ground. The man who showed it us took a dog and laid him close to the ground, he was immediately seized with a difficulty of breathing and afterwards convulsions and in about a minute's time was ready to expire; however being carried to the fresh air he soon recovered; a few seconds more would have killed him. He took likewise a lighted torch but as soon as he put it within the vapour it went out. A pistol won't go off in it, nor will there remain any fire in the vapour. I found it very hot to my feet and ancles but it did not affect any other part of me. After a pleasant drive we returned to town. Fothergill dined with us, and in the evening we paid a parcel of visits and went to the envoy's where we found several English ladies and gentlemen; there were the handsome agreeable

¹⁶³ A light horse-drawn vehicle, with two wheels and a single horse.

Lady Hesketh, the beautiful Mrs Hampden, the rich Miss Constable and many others. After list'ning to Mrs Hamilton¹⁶⁴ who plays delightfully on the harpsichord for some time, we decamped about 10 oclock. The day we were at Portici we met with the King's eldest brother Don Philip Duke of Calabria, taking an airing in his coach. He looks as what he really is, a perfect ideot. He was declared by the King his father and the States incapable of reigning; so his 2nd brother the Prince of Asturias will succeed to the crown of Spain. The King of the Two Sicilies is the 3rd son, and the Queen is one of the Archduchess's of Austria.



Figure 12. 'In our way to it we passed through the famous Grotto of Pausilyppo' (13 December 1770). *Grotto of Pausilyppo*, John 'Warwick' Smith, 1778-79. (The Tate)

Friday 14th

We received an invitation from Mrs Hamilton to spend the evening at her house as 'twas her publick night. There was a large company as well Neapolitans as English and some French gentlemen. There was a good concert and cards for those who chose them. The Neapolitans played high as did some of the English. Some of the ladies were very handsome, but our countrywomen bore the bell. This *conversazione* is upon an excellent footing as every body does what they please; there's also a billiard table. We staid their till 11 oclock and spent the evening very agreeably; there were refreshments of lemonade, biscuit, tea etc and every thing was conducted with the greatest ease. 'Twas the best *conversazione* I had ever seen.

¹⁶⁴ Catherine Hamilton (1738-1782), wife of the British ambassador in Naples.

Saturday 15th

We dined with Mr Jamineau the consul, in company with Lord Lincoln^[165] and some other English gentlemen; we were genteelly and hospitably entertained. In the evening we went to the Theatre Royal, the King and Queen were present, on which account the house was lighted which had a very pretty effect. We paid our respects to Lord Tilney^[166] in his box, he had a card table and a good deal of company. This is quite the ton^[167] in Italy, but especially at Naples, even if the King is present. In short the playhouse is the same as the *casino* or a *conversazione* etc. Tho' there's the finest vocal and instrumental musick in the world little attention is paid it, every body being engaged in chatting or playing with their acquaintance, and there's always such a buz and noise that if a person is ever so well inclined, he can't hear it to his satisfaction.

Sunday 16th

We went to Mr Hamilton's at 11 o'clock forenoon in order to go with him to Portici to be presented to the King and Queen. We arrived there betwixt 12 and one and after staying near half an hour in the antichamber we were admitted to the dining room where the King was at dinner; the Queen was at table but eat nothing; he played away pretty well and payed more attention to two or three dogs that were by him than to her Majesty or any other person. We were close to them, so had an opportunity of admiring her face and his good appetite. There were nine of us; upon seeing so many of us, he very politely told Mr Hamilton that he supposed he would have another covey to introduce on his return from Caserte [Caserta]. On his rising from table we were all presented and named to him one after another; the compliment was only a low bow which he returned with a smile without saying any thing. Next came the Queen, to whom we were presented and who received us with the utmost affability. She told us in French "*Je serai toujours hereuse de leur connaissance*", I shall always be happy in their acquaintance. She appears a most amiable woman and the manner which she receives and speaks to every body makes her universally admired and loved. She dines afterwards in a more rational manner in private with some of her ladies. Six of us staid at Portici to dinner, where old Major Loveit made us very merry with some of his Rhadomontades.^[168] We returned in the evening and went to Mr Hamilton's who carried a great number of us to the *conversazione* of the Princess Bolterra one of the richest families in Naples. There was a good deal of company and some of them played very high. The company began to seperate about 10 o'clock at which time we retired.

¹⁶⁵ Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton (1720-1794), 9th earl of Lincoln, later 2nd duke of Newcastle-under-Lyne.

¹⁶⁶ John Tilney (1712-1784), earl of Castlemaine, who had been exiled to Italy on account of his homosexuality.

¹⁶⁷ *i.e.* fashion.

¹⁶⁸ *i.e.* rodomontade – empty bluster, boastful talk.

Monday 17th

We hired cabriolets and went in the morning to see Sanna Zario's¹⁶⁹ and Virgil's tomb. The first is in a little church of the Servites on Mount Pausillypo. Two statues of Minerva and Apollo are much admired as also some bas reliefs. From the church there's a heavenly view of part of the town of Naples, Vesuvius etc. Virgil's tomb is just at the entrance of the grotto, there's nothing extraordinary to be seen, some people say this is not it, but that 'twas on t'other side the town near Herculaneum. It's built of brick, of a pyramidal form, vaulted within. On the top of it grows a laurel which they say sprung up the moment his ashes were laid in it. The man who showed it us gave us a branch. The tomb is void of all ornament and there's nothing in the inside but some little niches to put the ashes of his deceased relations. From thence we went to the Lake Agnatio [Agnano] to see the sulphurious stoves of St. Janvier. There are several little rooms some of them extremely hot. It's surprizing to see what a deal of smoke issues out of some of them. The walls are encrusted with sulphur. The use of them is said to be of great service in rheumatisms, asthmas and those kind of disorders. As 'twas post night we staid at home all the evening to write letters.



Figure 13. 'It's built of brick, of a pyramidal form, vaulted within' (17 December 1770).
Tomb of Virgil, Domenico Cunego, 1760-70. (National Galleries of Scotland)

¹⁶⁹ San Nazario.

Tuesday 18th

As I was not very well I could not go with Mr Robarts and some other gentlemen on a party to the island of Ischia. I therefore employed the morning in seeing churches. Some of them are very grand, but would have been seen to more advantage if I had not seen St. Peters; after it most of them appear with greater disadvantage, than they otherwise would have done. The cathedral is a large Gothick building; there are several pictures of Lake Giordani and an antique vase of basalte found at Herculaneum. Here is the famous Chapel of St. Genario, in which his blood is kept congealed, but 3 or 4 times a year on certain occasions liquefies itself to the people. This by all accounts is a most stupid miracle, but the people put a great deal of faith in it and think that it will defend them from every thing. In the great eruption in the year 1767 they obliged the priests to carry it to the mole and show it Mount Vesuvius in order to stop it. The priests with their usual cunning did not carry it down till the eruption was beginning to cease and then attributed it to the blood of the saint, which the superstitious credulous multitude readily believed. If a heretic, as they call the Protestants is present, and it does not liquefy, he's in danger of his life; several people supposed such, have been killed on these occasions. The chapel is very elegant, marble is not spared, the cupola is painted by Lanfranc and there are several pieces by Domenichino and Espagnolet.^[170] San Paolo Maggiore is a very handsome church as is the Holy Apostles. The first was a temple dedicated to Castor and Pollux the other to Mercury. In both are several pieces by Solimeni and Lanfranc. In the latter are several pieces of sculpture by Fr. Flammand^[171] very finely done. The chapel belonging to the Prince San Severino^[172] is one of the handsomest I ever saw. The statues and pieces of sculpture are beyond description and when finished 'twill be a most elegant piece of workmanship. A Dead Christ with a veil thrown over him is excellent. A statue of a woman with a veil likewise over her, and one of a man covered with a net all of marble are looked upon as masterpieces of art. The Chiesa Nuova is a very handsome church with several pretty good pictures. I saw one or two more which I cannot remember. In the churches of Naples I could meet with no pieces by the very best masters, such as Raphael, Guido etc. they are in general by painters, who tho' very good ones I think may be reckoned in the 2nd or 3rd class and I think most of them have done too much to do them well; whole cupolas and ceilings are painted by the same person as well as the altar pieces of churches. It must therefore be almost impossible that they can all be properly done, or that a man could have patience to finish every figure as it ought to be. In the evening I went to Mr Hamilton's, where after sitting an hour, we went to the *conversatione* of the French ambassador the Count de Choiseul to whom he introduced me. As 'twas his first publick night, there was a prodigious deal of company and several very handsome women. There were card tables without number and a good deal of money won and lost. A suite of five large rooms was as

¹⁷⁰ Jusepe de Ribera (1591-1652), also known as Lo Spagnoletto.

¹⁷¹ Francis Quesnoy (1593-1643), also known as The Fleming.

¹⁷² Cappella Sansevero.

full as they could hold. There was plenty of *limonade* iced cream biscuit etc; about 11 oclock most of us retired.



Figure 14. 'As I was not very well I could not go with Mr Robarts and some other gentlemen on a party to the island of Ischia' (18 December 1770). *Ischia from Posillipo*, Nicholas Pocock, 1793. A British frigate sits in the bay. (British Museum)

Wednesday 19th

I saw two or three churches, one of which formerly belonging to the Jesuits is very elegantly finished and has some pretty good pictures. I dined and spent the evening at Mr Hamilton's.

Thursday 20th

We went to see the Palace; it's a large commodious building and the front much admired. The rooms are well proportioned and furnished and several excellent pictures, brought from the Farnese collection at Parma. A Holy Family by Raphael ditto by Carlo Maratti and Andrea del Sarto. A Madelaina by Guido. Parmegiano's^[173] Mistress by himself Peter presenting the money to Christ to pay the tribute by Capuccino^[174] A Susanna and the Two Elders by Navolini Alexander Farnese and a Young Woman by Parmegiano A St. Catherine Espousing Christ by Augustino Carracci A Cupid naked lying on a white sheet by Guido. Two

¹⁷³ Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola (1503–1540), better known as Parmigianino.

¹⁷⁴ Bernardo Strozzi (1581–1644), also known as il Cappuccino.

Mathematicians by Andrea del Sarto Several large paintings by Schidone^[175] Two Battles by Le Bourignon Several Holy Families, Martyrdoms, Saints etc. by different hands, with many others which I cannot recollect. There were several fine tables of verd antique and marble, the rooms were richly hung and well furnished. I examined the Queen's small library and found her books very well chose, a great many of them were religious, mostly French, some German and Italian. There is a very handsome small theatre in the palace, besides the great one which has a communication with it.

Friday 21st

We went to see the Chartreuse and the Castle of St. Elme [Castel Sant'Elmo]. They are close by one another on a high hill and command the whole town. The fort by its situation is very strong but the parapets are in disrepair and in a tottering condition, however it serves very well to keep the mutinous Neapolitans in good order. From the top of it are I suppose the finest views in the world. The whole Bay of Naples with the islands of Caprea [Capri], Ischia etc Vesuvius, Portici, Capo di Monte [Capodimonte] and in a clear day the Palace of Caserte, Capua, Aversa and many other places. Just under it is the monastery of the Chartreuse which is a good building and rich foundation. The church is very handsome and elegantly finished, being revetted with the finest marbles. There are several good pictures, *viz.* the 12 Apostles by Espagnolet. Moses and Elias by Luc Giordan,^[176] the ceiling by Lanfranc. Behind the altar are several large pieces. The Nativity by Guido, which tho' not quite finished is much admired The Lord's Supper by one of Paul Veronese's scholars The Calling of the Apostles by Massimo A large one by Joseph de Ribeira. In the chapels are several good ones by Solimene, Paul Mathei^[177] etc. In the chapter is a good picture of Jesus Disputing with the Doctors in the Temple by Solimene. They showed us the treasury in which there [is] a great deal of plate and riches among other things a very elegant altar composed chiefly of gold and precious stones. A statue of the Virgin in silver with the pedestal near four feet high and several other handsome pieces of plate. The only picture is a Dead Christ by Espagnolet which is said to be a good one. The *prieur*^[178] has an excellent suite of apartments, and lives *en Prince*,^[179] he has a collection of excellent pictures by the best hands, among them are several beauties under the titles of Madonnas and Magdelains. The monastery is very rich and the fathers very charitable, in the time of the famine in 1764 they kept many thousands of poor people from starving. In the evening we were at Mrs Hamilton's *conversatione*.

¹⁷⁵ Bartolomeo Schedoni (1578-1615).

¹⁷⁶ Luca Giordano (1634-1705).

¹⁷⁷ Paolo de Matteis (1662-1728).

¹⁷⁸ Prior.

¹⁷⁹ 'like a prince'.

Saturday 22nd

Having obtained permission we went with Messrs Horne, Preston, Methuen and Blackford to see the Museum at Portici, which contains the curiosities that have been dug up at Pompeia and Herculaneum. There are several rooms full of different pieces of antiquity; they are the more valuable as there's not the least doubt of their being authentic. In the first are all the instruments for sacrifice, some of them very well finished and perfectly fresh especially two tripods which are much admired. In the 2nd chamber are several lamps of different shapes, made of brass and brick, dice the very same as what we have at present, several musical instruments of different kinds, chirurgical ones quite fresh and very neatly finished, play house tickets, masques, Priapus's with wings and bells, husbandry tools etc etc. In the 3rd are several small idols in bronze and bottles, glasses, cups etc and among other things a kettle for boiling water exactly like our urns. The 4th contains mostly weights and measures; the scales are the same as what we have at present, as are the stilyards^[180] of which there are a great number. The 5th chamber contains several busts, there are Plato, Seneca, Nero, Antiochus, Alexander, Ptolemy, Philadelphus, Berenice and several others unknown. The floor is a very elegant flowered *mosaique* found in Herculaneum and with great care removed here; the other floors were likewise found there or at Pompeia. The 6th contains a number of long candlesticks and a portable kitchen; in a vault adjoining are a compleat set of utensils for a kitchen, many of them resembling what we use at present. In the 7th is a much and deservedly admired statue of a Drunken Faun in bronze reclining on the ground. In one of the others are all the eatables that were found, there are 2 loaves of bread, three eggs, wine turned solid, figs, raisins, corn bran, and many other things. Among the statues are another Faun, Mercury sitting, the two famous Wrestlers, Alexander on Bucephalus, several idols of different sizes etc. There are likewise several helmets and pieces of armour for the different parts of the body, some of them very heavy and curiously wrought. Most of the antiques we saw in bronze were very well preserved, those in iron were almost destroyed by the rust. There were many other things very curious such as vases of marble and bronze etc which I could not remember. In another apartment of the Palace (for the museum is part of it) are all the paintings which have been found in these two cities. There are many of them very fresh, and the designs very pretty and bold. It's surprizing how they have been preserved so long. None of them are on canvas or wood, all on *stucco*. Tho' they don't equal the great masters of the moderns yet they are not at all to be despised; they infinitely surpass Cimabue and his contemporaries. We afterwards went to see the Theatre of Heracleum which is about 100 feet under ground. The town of Portici is built on the same spot, over the town of Herculaneum. People were never sure where the town stood, till about the beginning of the present century the Prince d'Elbeuf^[181] in looking for wells, accidentally a great way below ground, met with an antique temple. There was little

¹⁸⁰ A stilyard was a simple balance for weighing foodstuffs etc.

¹⁸¹ Emmanueal Maurice de Lorraine (1677-1763), duke of Elbeuf and prince of Lorraine, is credited with discovering the ruins at Herculaneum and Pompeii.

attention paid to it till 1738 when the present King of Spain ordered workmen into it, who have been continued ever since. The principal edifice they have found is the theatre, which as well as the town was covered and filled with the lava. They have cleared away so much of it, that a person by going round it two or three times may see it very well and have a pretty good idea of it. It's quite compleat, and the lava which filled up the corridor, orchestra and many of the seats and steps is quite removed. It's very large and seems ovale, but the proportions I had neither time nor leisure to take. There have been several statues and other things found in it, which were removed to the museum. As for the other houses of the town as fast as they searched them, they filled them up with the rubbish. The city is said to have been partly destroyed in the year of Christ 63 and entirely in 79. Pompeia was quite destroyed in 63. In the evening we went to Lord Tilney's *conversazione* where we had a very elegant supper.

Sunday 23rd

We dined with General Pattison^[182] and his lady, a very agreable couple, after paying some visits we went at night to the Princess Boterra's *conversazione*.

Monday 24th

As 'twas bad weather I staid at home all the morning to write letters; in the evening we went to Mrs Hamilton's; and after 12 o'clock at night went to see the Presepia^[183] at the different churches, which is the representation of the birth and actions of our Saviour. The figures are in wax and the houses etc built of cork. It's in a corner of the churches and is much admired by the ignorant superstitious people, who go about the whole night to see the different ones. While they are illuminated high mass is performed, and at some of them there are very good musick. We had curiosity enough to ramble about till 4 o'clock in the morning to see them. I must own they did not give me a better opinion of their religion as it seems a piece of mummery and folly fit only to divert the weakest minds, and what I should think the grossest superstition could hardly swallow.

Tuesday 25th

Being Christmas Day, we dined with Mr Tierney, who gave us an excellent English dinner and good claret; in the evening after paying some visits we went to the Prince Boterra's, where were a good deal of company. It's the best house in the town and the Prince and Princess are very hospitable generous and very polite to strangers.

¹⁸² James Pattison (1723-1805) was a Royal Artillery officer. In 1769 he was sent to Venice to superintend the organisation of the Venetian Artillery.

¹⁸³ Cribs, *i.e.* nativity scenes.

Wednesday 26th

Bad weather prevented us from seeing any thing in the morning; as the theatres were opened we went at night to the opera where *Dimafoonte* was again performed; the musick was most delightful and pleased me beyond measure. The young Prince *Boterra* introduced us to *Madame Godard*, an English lady married here, she's exceedingly handsome and appears a sweet amiable woman; we spent half an hour in her box with a great deal of pleasure.



Figure 15. 'Close by the town is the famous mole commonly called Caligula's Bridges' (27 December 1770). *The Town of Puzzuoli, with a view of the ruins of Caligula's Bridge*, Paul Sandby, 1777. (British Museum)

Thursday 27th

We set off early in the morning with Mr Preston and Horn to see the curiosities to the north of Naples. The road lies through the Grotto of Pausilyppo, from thence to Pouzzoli [Pozzuoli] is about three miles. It's a small town pleasantly situated but exceedingly dirty. Here is the famous Temple of *Sirapis*. It's not above twenty years since 'twas discovered having been partly destroyed and covered over by an earthquake or volcano; however the earth is now removed from the forepart of it to give a person an idea of what it once was. There are at present three or four columns of African marble left standing, the others have been thrown down and broken but as they lie at present a person can see what was their disposition and what they once were. There still remains the chambers of the priests and the baths, as also a brass ring to which the victims were fastened to the ground. The body of the temple is not yet cleared, what is seen, is what they called the atrium and the colonnade. The four columns I mentioned were the entrance into the body of the temple. This is looked upon as one of the most magnificent pieces of antiquity and is much admired by the true lovers of virtue. Where the cathedral at present stands was formerly a

temple of Jupiter, nothing of it remains but some large fluted columns with capitals of the Corinthian Order. In one of the places of the town is a pedestal on which are fourteen figures in relief representing so many of the cities of Asia, which suffered by earthquakes but were relieved by the liberality of Tiberias, it's supposed his statue was placed on it, but it's not yet been found. In another place is the statue of F. Lollianus, a Roman, in his toga both these pieces have suffered a great deal. Close by the town is the famous mole commonly called Caligula's Bridges. There are at present two or three of the arches almost intire and there remains still fourteen piles which stretch a good way into the sea. 'Twas from the end of this that Caligula had his bridge of boats to cross the bay over to the town of Baia [Baiae]; the distance is about four miles and over this he had his mock triumphs. The mole was built of brick stone, lime and a fine cement this country abounds in called Pouzzolane [*i.e.* pozzolan] which hardens in the water to stone. From Pouzzoli we took a boat and rowed along the shore to see the different curiosities; the first thing we were shown was Mount Gaurus [Mount Gauro] on which grew the famous Falernian wine so often mentioned by Horace. We then crossed over the place where the town of Tripergoli stood and saw the houses under water. It was destroyed in the 16th century by a volcano together with the Lucrine Lake which was close by it; what little remains of the lake is a mere puddle. A hill called Monte Nuova, is in the place where it formerly was, it was thrown up by the same volcano. About half a mile from thence into the country is the famous Lake Avernus, with the ruins of Apollo's temple at the north end of it. It's a romantic place entirely surrounded with high hills, which were formerly covered with wood. It was remarkable for the poisonous vapours which arose from it in so much that 'twas said a bird could not attempt to fly across it without falling dead. At present I saw wildfowl on it and I'm told it abounds in fish. Close by it in the side of one of the hills is the entrance of the Sibyl's Grotto. By the help of torches we entered it and went to the end of it. It goes about 150 yards, 'twas much longer but has been stopt up by earthquakes which have made great ravages in this country. A little before we got to the end of it we turned off through a very narrow passage to see the Sibyl's Baths, they consist of two or three vaults with stone seats around them; her palace was destroyed and the entrance to it filled up by earthquakes. 'Twas through this cave that Virgil makes Aeneas go down into Hell. I imagine 'twas intended for the same use as the Grotto of Pausillypo, namely a road to save the trouble of climbing the mountain. After thoroughly examining it we returned to our boat; a little farther on we saw the ruins of Domitias Palace and several other antient buildings. We then got to the baths and stoves of Tritoli commonly called Nero's Baths, which are exceedingly curious; they go a good way into the rock through some narrow subterranean passages, from whence issues a prodigious heat and thick sulphureous steam. We could stay but very short time in the entrance of it without being covered with sweat. The hot baths are a great way farther in. A man entered naked for a kettle of water and came out running down with sweat. The water was so hot we could not keep our hands in it, and it boiled eggs very well. The sand close by the sea was perfectly hot. We

then rowed along close by the shore where Baia stood, and saw several ruins. They showed us some which they said were Scylla's and Marius places, but I believe 'twas mostly guess work. We landed to see some temples, Diana's is the first; half of it is still standing and gives a good idea of what it was when 'twas entire. The next is Mercury's which is much more compleat, the rotunda is entire and is the Pantheon at Rome in miniature; there are two or three chambers likewise close by it which was part of the temple, on the walls are still to be seen some of the *mosaique* and *stucco*. A little further on is the temple of Venus which was an octagon and is pretty entire, a little behind it, is the chamber of Venus a dark place, the roof of which is covered with some very fine figures in *stucco* of naked Jupiters etc. It's said formerly to have been the scene of many lewd mysteries. Very little remains of the temple of Hercules which is surrounded by the sea. On the top of a hill is the Castle of Baie built not a great while ago to defend the bay. We next saw the Piscina Mirabilis which they say was built by Agrippa as a reservoir for water for the Roman fleet which lay at Cape Misenum [Miseno]. It's a curious subterranean building about 200 feet long and 100 broad supported by 48 large pillars. Many people dispute the use for which 'twas built. Not far from it is the Cento Camerelle called Nero's prisons it consists of several little dungeons under ground, the doors of them so little that we were obliged to crawl in on hands and knees; near it is Agrippina's tomb which is a vault that goes a good way underground the roof ornamented with figures on the *stucco*. We stopped at Baiuli a little village, formerly remarkable, to taste the Falernian wine which we found very good; we then proceeded to the antient's seat of Bliss, the Elysian Fields; we found none of the antient heroes or demigods, but a set of rude barbarous peasants, who did not seem sensible of their inhabiting such a charming country, for it still is a delightful spot. Below it is a piece of water just divided from the sea which they say was the Acheron. From the Elysian Fields are some fine views which take in Ischia, Procyta [Procida], Caprea and a great extent of sea; tho' at this time of year 'twas most delightful. We returned at 6 o'clock in the evening and after dinner went to the French ambassador's *conversatione*.

Friday 28th

We intended to have returned to have seen the rest of the natural curiosities *viz.* solfatara^[184] etc. but bad weather prevented us. We dined with Mr Horne and Preston and in the evening went to Mrs Hamilton's rout. [*The first volume ends here*]

Naples Saturday Dec. 29th 1770

Having made a large partie, we set off in coaches and cabriolets to see the ruins of the town of Pompeia, which was destroyed much about the same time with Herculaneum. The last was buried by the lava, the other is said to have been by a shower of stones and ashes which came on so sudden that people had not time to

¹⁸⁴ Solfatara di Pozzuoli is a shallow volcanic crater, which still emits jets of steam and sulphurous fumes.

make their escape, as is evident from several bodies having been found at dinner with the meat before them, and in the soldiers barrack rooms full of skeletons; five soldiers were found in the stocks the iron of which is preserved in the museum. It's a very agreeable ride, being fourteen miles from Naples, through Portici and a delightful country. The town of Pompeia was about seven miles in circumference, they have as yet discovered but very little of it; however there is an entire gate of it uncovered, part of a street and several houses and shops; at another quarter the soldiers barracks, which was a very good square building with a colonnade around it, two theatres and the Temple of Isis very well preserved and quite fresh. The rooms in most of the houses are very small, the plaister and pavement quite fresh some of them done in a pretty taste in *mosaique* and the *stucco* painted. The large pieces are cut out of the wall and carried to Portici where they are put up in some of the apartments in the palace. The ground which covers the town is laid out in vineyards and cornfields and is so natural that it surprizes one, they never thought of searching there for it. We returned to Portici to dinner and in the evening to Naples, which I spent at Mrs Hamiltons.

Sunday 30th

We dined with the French ambassador, in company with several English and Italian gentlemen and ladies, who entertained us most elegantly; after dinner there were cards and in the evening we went to the opera.

Monday Dec. 31st 1770

We again set off with Messrs. Horn and Preston to see the curiosities on the Pouzzoli side. We stopt at the Grotto del Cani, where we tried all the experiments Addison mentions and found them perfectly answer; after seeing the sulphureous stoves of St. Janvier, we went to see the boiling springs near the Solfatarra, the water was so hot we could not bear our hands in it and it boiled eggs very well. From thence we went to the Capuchin Convent, where the cistern is worth seeing. They showed us an antique bust of Saint Genario and the stone on which he was beheaded. We then proceeded to Solfatarra which is Vesuvius in miniature; it formerly was a very large volcano and did a great deal of mischief at present it's almost exhausted. They make a good deal of vitriol and sal ammoniac of the earth in its neighbourhood; underneath it's perfectly hollow as is evident from hearing a large stone thrown on it. We then saw the ruins of an amphitheatre which was very large but the greatest part of it is destroyed. This whole country is full of the ruins of different buildings. We afterwards got on part of the Appian Way in the country which they call Campania Felice, each side of it is full of little *tumuli* or tombs where the antients buried their dead; some of them were pretty enough and entire, most of them on the same plan with Virgils, with the cinerary urns in the holes seemingly perfectly fresh. We then passed under the Porto Felice which is a fine brick arch erected when Trajan returned from some place or other, from thence to the place where Cumae stood is about

DECEMBER 1770

two miles. Little remains of it but the foundations and some old pieces of walls. It's a sweet situation and was by all accounts a most agreeable place. Close by it is one of the entrances of the Sybils Grotto which we entered and ascended up several steps till our way was stopt by some stones being piled up. We then returned to Pouzzoli and saw part of Cicero's villa, the part which he called Academi nothing remains but a great number of vaults and subterraneans. We got back to Naples about six o'clock. Our two friends staid and spent the evening with us.

JANUARY

Naples Tuesday Jan. 1 1771

We eat our New Years Day dinner with Messrs Preston and Horn. The weather was so warm that walking on the mole I found the sun rather disagreeably hot. This certainly is a delightful fine mild climate in winter, but it hardly compensates for the excessive heats they have in the summer. In the evening after paying a visit or two, we went to the French ambassadors *conversation*, which was the most elegant one I had yet seen. There was a ball, cards, gaming, refreshments and a prodigious number of well dressed people of both sexes.

Wednesday 2nd

In the forenoon we went to see the Prince San Severo's chapel which well deserves a second inspection and the cathedral. The chapel of St. Genario was partly illuminated; we counted twenty five silver busts in it. In the evening we went to Mrs Hamilton's.

Thursday 3rd

As Mr Robarts was gone to Pestum [Paestum] I went with Mr Buchannan and two other gentlemen to take a second view of the museum at Portici. As there were so few of us, we had an opportunity of seeing every thing with great leisure and exactness. There are many of the instruments that were used in sacrifice and the baths exceedingly well finished and the form of them most elegant. I saw the Modius which was the antient Roman measure. Several pieces of the papyrus in rolls which has been wrote on but which are almost reduced to ashes. Some of them with a great deal of care and difficulty have been unrolled; one piece the man assured us was part of a treatise against musick. There are several inkstands with the ink in them and pens; among other things are the wax tablets the antients wrote on, with a pen for the purpose and an instrument for scraping it out, if what they wrote did not please them. We were likewise shown a little glass of Roman rouge quite fresh which shows their ladies knew how to disfigure themselves as well as our own. There are several medals, one of gold of Augustus is very rare; there are rings, camies [*i.e.* cameos] and several ornaments for women, likewise two or three *bullae* that the sons

of patricians wore.^[185] Several very handsome vases of marble, one of which served as lustral font in the Temple of Isis at Pompeia. 'Twould be impossible to give an account of the many different curiosities and pieces of antiquity that are to be met with in this museum; in this, and the former place I mentioned it, I only set down those things which struck me most. We afterwards went to see the palace; when I say it's a neat commodious building, seemingly much more comfortable than most of the Italian houses, I say enough. There's nothing very rich or elegant about it, there's some large tables of the lava and different marbles and several things in the Chinese taste. The view from it is very fine as it commands Naples and the whole bay. In the evening I went to Lord Tilney's *conversation*.

Friday 4th

I took a drive with Major Loveitt round great part of the town; some of the streets are regular well built and wide; the Strada de Toledo is the best in the town, but is spoilt by booths being allowed to be built in it and the butchers shops which are on each side of it. Most of the streets are infinitely too narrow for the height of the houses. The pavement is I suppose the best in Europe, being of large hard flat stones. The inhabitants are said to be betwixt 2 and 300,000 of whom at least 20,000 have no visible means of gaining their bread nor any house to lie in. These gentlemen are called *lazaroni* and subsist entirely by the dexterity of their fingers. They have a particular attention for people's pockets coming out of the play house or any other publick place. The troops of the kingdom amount to about 30,000 men, of whom 10,000 are always in and about the capital to keep the seditious spirit of the Neapolitains in order. The Swiss Regiment is the best in the service; the Italian Guards are little inferior to them. They have a regiment of Macedonians and Greeks very fine fellows in a dress peculiar to themselves. Their breeches come down past the calves of their legs where they are met by a gaiter; their coats with long skirts are hooked back, and they have a round high fur cap on their heads which gives them a very military look. There's a regiment which they call Irish, none are such but the officers. There's a regiment of horse and one of dragoons in the town, good looking men and tolerably well mounted, but not to be compared to ours. Their naval force I mentioned in a former place. The trade of this place seems chiefly carried on by the English, their being commonly sixteen or twenty of our ships in the port and few of any other nation. The people are exceeding proud and very poor, they grudge themselves the necessities of life in order to keep a carriage or make a little external show; they are innate gamesters from high to low. Every woman without exception is said to be comeatable if you'll but go to her price. The breaking [of] the 7th commandment is no sin in this country and a woman is in a manner despised who has not a *cicisbeo*.^[186] Some of them have made some of our countrymen remember their favours as long they'll live. They as regularly go

¹⁸⁵ A *bull*a was an amulet worn like a locket that was given to male children in ancient Rome soon after birth in order to protect them from evil spirits.

¹⁸⁶ A married woman's lover.

through a course of mercury^[187] in autumn, as a Cornish parson has his fit of the gout after drinking too much port. I might say much more, perhaps not to their credit, but for fear of being too scandalous, I've done. I dined with Fothergill in the evening paid a visit to the beautiful Madam Godar and went afterwards to Mrs Hamilton's *conversatione*.

Saturday 5th

As 'twas very rainy all the forenoon, we could not stir out, however we dined with Mr Methuen at Pausillypo and in the evening went to Mrs Earle's who gave an excellent concert and elegant supper. Signor Aprili^[188] and Signora Bianci the two best opera singers performed. I need not say they pleased us; the first has an amazing power of voice and prodigious execution; the other is reckoned not inferior in her way; we spent a very agreeable evening and went home at 2 o'clock.

Sunday 6th

We dined with Major Lovett and Mr Fonereau;^[189] in the evening I went to Mrs Hamilton's who carried and introduced me to the Princess Giracci who had a *conversatione*; 'twas an elegant house tho' there were but few company. They are said to be one of the richest families in Naples.

Monday 7th

As Mr Buchanan was so kind as give us a place in his English coach, we set off with him, Mr Lewis and Mr Norris to see the new palace of Caserte, which they say is about sixteen miles from this place, but which I take to be not more than a dozen. It's a most magnificent noble building, by far the largest and grandest I ever saw. It has four very large fronts and is composed of as many quadrangles. It is not yet finished, but when it is will be the finest palace in Europe. Where the four quadrangles join is the grand stair case and on the top of it a most elegant vestibule, on the same plan as the atrium of the Temple of Sirapus^[190] supported by a great number of fine marble columns. Next to it is the chapel which when finished will be very magnificent. We then went through several apartments, some of them very well proportioned and commanding delightful views. The theatre is the handsomest of its size I ever saw and very prettily finished. In short the palace is the largest building I ever yet saw, and is in a manner a town of itself; there are apartments for the ministers and great officers of the court and every thing necessary to render it convenient; some of them are full of statues and busts, which I believe are intended to be put up in the gardens; there are very few antiques, I observed an Agrippina, a Venus and two or three more, the rest are copies from some of the best antiques,

¹⁸⁷ Mercury was used to treat syphilis.

¹⁸⁸ Giuseppe Aprili (born c.1764) was a male soprano and leading singing master.

¹⁸⁹ Possibly Thomas Fonnereau (1699-1779), a British (Huguenot) merchant and politician.

¹⁹⁰ The Temple of Serapis, in Pozzuoli.

the Months, Seasons Muses etc. There are between 3 and 400 slaves constantly at work, and it's expected 'twill soon be finished, 'twas begun by the last king and is situated in a delightful plain at the foot of the Appenines. We there hired cabriolets to go three or four miles farther up the mountain to see the famous aqueduct which was built at the time the palace was begun; as the water in its neighbourhood was not very good, they were obliged to bring it near thirty miles off, and the aqueduct conveys it from one hill to another across a valley. I think we were told it consisted of ninety one arches, divided into three tiers, one above another. It's of a very great height and the top serves as a bridge for passengers. It's built of stone, brick and pouzzolane and appears immensely strong. It certainly is a noble undertaking and except St. Peter's pleased me more than any modern piece of building I had seen in Italy. We eat some cold meat and eggs at Caserte and got to Naples about 8 o'clock.



Figure 16. 'We went in the morning to see the palace of Capo di Monte ... [it] commands a delightful prospect' (8 January 1771). *Bay of Naples from Capo di Monte*, John Robert Cozens, late eighteenth century. (British Museum)

Tuesday 8th

We went in the morning to see the palace of Capo di Monte. It's situated about a mile from the Capuan Gate on the top of a hill and commands a delightful prospect. I believe it was begun by the last king, but it's not intended to be finished as they are busily engaged with Caserte, which it's supposed will be the king's chief place of residence. In some of the rooms which are furnished are most of the Farnese Collection brought from Parma of pictures medals etc. There are several of the first

masters, many portraits by Titian. Two Holy Families by Raphael, a Naked Dance by Titian, a beautiful Lucrece by Parmeg. stabbing herself. A Magdelaine by Guido. A portrait by Rubens. Several excellent pictures by Corregio, Parmeggiano, the Caraccis^[191] etc. Several battles, two by Bourgignion. There are about eighteen cases of medals and medallions of the Roman emperors, generals, orators etc. Several of the Greeks *viz.* Alexander and many of his captains with many others which it's impossible to recollect. In two other glass cases are a very fine antique collection of cameos and intaglios^[192] and in a 3rd case is a very fine onyx cameo reckoned the best and only one in the world of its size. The *virtuosi* say it's invaluable. There is likewise a very good collection of idols, statues etc in bronze. The King of the Two Sicilies has certainly one of the best collections of antiquities in the world, including the museum at Portici. I don't know if it's not equal to the Grand Duke's at Florence. In the evening we went to the French ambassadors rout and afterwards to Mrs Hamilton's.

Wednesday 9th

Bad weather kept us at home all the morning; we dined with Fothergill, drank tea with Mrs Pattison, Yorkshire ale with Miss Constable and finished the evening at Mrs Hamilton's.

Thursday 10th

We went in the morning to see the catacombs of St. Genariel [San Gennaro]. They are a number of curious subterraneans cut out of the rock; for what end they were so, is not yet thoroughly determined; some say, the Primitive Christians used them for places of worship, when they could not on account of the persecutions have it above ground. They were formerly capable of holding 30 or 40,000 people, but part of them have been destroyed by an earthquake; at present they are full of skeletons, bones etc. and there are a great number of niches and sepulchres to lay bodies in. There's a large vacant space which they say served as a church and they showed us the hole which was the pulpit. We were obliged to have torches to see it as 'twas quite dark. In the evening we went to the opera which was the same as usual. Their Majesties were present.

Friday 11th

I went to Capo di Monte with Mr Buchanan and took another view of the pictures, in the evening to Mrs Hamilton's rout. We likewise saw this forenoon Mr Jamineau's collection of pictures which are very good and well chosen.

¹⁹¹ Brothers Annibale (1560-1609) and Agostino (1557-1602), and cousin Ludovico (1555-1619).

¹⁹² An engraved gem.

Saturday 12th

Being the king's birth day we went to court which was very brilliant; in the evening the opera house was illuminated and as the mirrors were all uncovered it had a very noble effect. There was a prologue and some verses in praise of the king, the musick was most excellent. Today we saw likewise Mr Hamilton's curiosities. His picture of Venus and Cupid by Correggio is one of the finest I ever saw. He has a number of beautiful Tuscan vases and many other antiques.

Sunday 13th

We packed up, dined with Fothergill and took our leave.

Monday 14th

We got up at 3 o'clock in the morning to set off, but were prevented by the excessive rain till seven, when we set out in Mr Buchanan's coach with Mr Lewis and Norris, Mr Buchanan's servant going in our chaise. We carried our provisions with us and dined at St. Agatha and about 9 o'clock at night arrived at Terraciana where on account of the badness of the beds we were obliged to rough it. As we had not moon light we could not travel all night. This place which at present is a dirty little town, was the antient Anseur [Anxur].

Tuesday 15th

We set off in the morning at 7 o'clock, took a refreshment at Casa Fondata and arrived in the evening at Velletri. The road was over part of the Appian Way and by the side of the Pontian Marshes which is a prodigious large plain, very rich and fertile but not well cultivated on account of its bad air, which they say is owing to its want of inhabitants. We left Velletri about 6 in the morning of

Wednesday 16th

and stopt at Marino two posts from Rome to see a couple of pictures, one is a Trinity, a most excellent picture by Guido Rheni. The dead Christ is inimitable. The Almighty is represented under the figure of an Old Man with a long white beard, as he always is; the Holy Ghost under that of a Dove; the other is the Martyrdom of some saint by Guercino^[193] which is likewise an excellent picture. From thence to Rome the country on both sides the road is full of old ruins among other things there's an old aqueduct of a great length, likewise one more modern which at present conveys water to the town. We arrived about 12 o'clock and as we had previously procured a *lascia passare* or passport we weren't carried to the custom house, nor met with any interruption, which otherwise must have been the case. We put up at our old quarters and Mr Buchanan got a lodging near us.

¹⁹³ Giovanni Francesco Barbieri (1591-1666), commonly known as Guercino.

As there was an opera in the evening we all went to the great theatre, which tho' not so grand and elegant as that at Naples is notwithstanding a very good one. The musick if possible pleased me more as I heard it better; there were two or three of the sweetest voices I ever heard. A thing that appears very indecent to a stranger is that no woman is allowed to appear here on the stage; their parts are performed by eunuchs dressed in womens cloaths; unless they are very well used to it, their actions and motions are exceedingly awkward and unnatural, besides a black beard is no very agreable object in a female dress. However their fine voices in a manner makes up for every other defect. The Pope and clergy thought it very indecent for women to act; it's many people's opinion the indecency is much greater at present. There are no lights allowed any where but on the stage which as the scenery is very good has no bad effect. The opera was intituled Fabius.^[194] I'm of Addison's opinion in thinking it not a little preposterous for Roman heroes to squeak through the mouths of eunuchs, but it's only the musick the Italians mind; the words (which is commonly the case) may be the greatest nonsense in the world. Betwixt the acts was a kind of savage dance, where the men again performed in women's cloaths, some of them were horrid figures and seemed badly calculated for the parts they performed. Some of them jumped very well, otherwise 'twas very indifferent. As we were tired we came away at the end of the 2nd act.

Thursday Rome Jan. 17th

We went in the morning with a Mr Allen an English painter to see the pictures in the Palace Borghese, we had before seen them tho last time we were here, however they'll well bear a second inspection. After dinner we went to a church to see the horses blest; this is the custom always on St. Anthony's Day, and the credulous multitude think 'twill preserve them from all accidents during the year; as none but one church has a title to do it, the monks belonging to it, make no small penny by it. We likewise took a view of Santa Maria Maggiore, which we had before seen; besides the fine Egyptian Obelisk I mentioned in the last book, there's before another front of it, a beautiful fluted column of considerable height which served as one of the pillars to the Temple of the Son [*i.e.* Sun]; it's one of the most elegant pieces of antiquity of its kind in the world. From thence we went to the Church of St. Eusebio to see an excellent picture of Meinks^[195] a Saxon who is at present at Florence and is looked upon as the best modern painter that is. The subject is the saint carrying up to heaven by angels, with a great many other figures; as it's in the ceiling it's seen to great disadvantage, however it's a picture which strikes much and is greatly admired. From thence we proceeded to take a cursory view of the Church of St. John de Lateran it's situated near the gate which leads to Naples and is the oldest church in town being the Pope's proper one as Bishop of Rome.

¹⁹⁴ Possibly *Quinto Fabio*, an opera in three acts by Ferdinando Bertoni to a libretto by Apostolo Zeno.

¹⁹⁵ Anton Raphael Mengs (1728-1779).

It's very large but appears heavy tho' there's a profusion of marble in it. On each side of the centre aisle are colossal statues of the twelve apostles in marble some of them said to be very well done. Adjoining is a building which was intended for a Pope's palace but is converted into a hospital. We returned home through the Colisseum or Amphitheatre of Titus, which is a noble piece of antiquity; we had before looked at it, but had neither then or now time to examine it thoroughly. They had carried away the stones from part of it to build their houses, and in time would have destroyed it entirely, but Benedict 14th a sensible man and lover of the arts put a stop to it by consecrating it, and had built in the arena 12 or 14 little places called *stagione*^[196] with Madonnas etc painted in them for people to say their prayers, whereas 'twas formerly a resort for whores and pickpockets. One side of it is almost entirely compleat and I believe as high as ever it was, the other has suffered greatly by the Roman gentry making a quarry of it. We afterwards passed through the Capitol to see the Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius, which I always look at with pleasure. In the evening we went to the Theatre della Valle which is a very good house, there was a wretched comedy performed in which Punchinello made his appearance, but between the acts there were interludes of excellent musick which was the thing for which we went; 'twas a kind of comic opera part of which was played between each act of the comedy.



Figure 17. 'From thence we proceeded to take a cursory view of the Church of St. John de Lateran' (17 January 1771). *View of the Basilica of St John Lateran*, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, 1748. (National Galleries of Scotland)

¹⁹⁶ Literally 'season', although Cumming probably meant 'stazione' (station). The Stations of the Cross devotion at the Colosseum remains a central part of the Easter celebrations in Rome.

Friday 18th

We went in the morning with Mr Buchanan and Colonel de Villebois a French officer to see St. Peter's where the Pope assisted at some functions, after walking up and down half an hour and looking at the statues and pictures we went to see the famous statues in the Belvedere. They are all to the number of six in a square court shut up in niches. The first on entering is the much and deservedly admired Apollo, with reason looked upon as one of the best in the world; he is in the attitude of stepping forward and seems really alive. It's of the finest Parian marble and full as large as life, in short it's a statue beyond description. The next is the group of Laocoon, his two children and the serpents which is likewise Greek and a most admirable piece of workmanship. 'Twas done by three Rhodian sculptors, Agesander, Athenodorus and Polidorus. Michel Angelo looked upon it as a miracle of art. The two next are Venus the Victorious and Venus coming out of the bath neither of which are thought much of. Next follows the beautiful Antinous who was Adrian's favourite, some say it's Meleager, however that be, it's a delightful statue and full of youth and beauty. There is likewise a Hercules which is thought a very good one. In a house adjoining is part of a figure which is called the torso or body of Hercules a work of Apollonius's. M. Ange studied it all his life and said that art never produced any thing so perfect. Near it is a famous statue of Cleopatra in a reclined posture much admired. We then took a walk in the Belvedere gardens in which are some



Figure 18. 'From thence we went to see the Castle of St. Angelo' (19 January 1771). *View of the Mausoleum of the Emperor Hadrian, now called Castel S. Angelo*, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, 1750 (National Galleries of Scotland)

good fountains and pleasant walks likewise the model of an antient Roman house which I can't say I admired much, any more than the real ones at Pompeia, the rooms in general being very little and inconvenient. From thence we went to see the Castle of St. Angelo. This was built by the Emperor Adrian and intended by him for his mausoleum or tomb. It formerly was a very grand building at present it's strong enough to keep the town in awe or for a place of safety for the Pope in case of danger. It seems quite round and several pieces of cannon are mounted on it, below are some bastions and other works. There's nothing curious to be seen in it, on the top is a colossal statue of an angel with a drawn sword in his hand, from whence it takes its present name. There was formerly a very large pine apple in bronze in its place which is at present in one of the gardens of the Vatican. From the top is a fine view of great part of the town and neighbouring country. In the front is a very good bridge which takes its name from the castle, on the balustrades of it are several very good modern statues of angels very well finished and worth a great deal of money. We dined with Mr Buchanan and in the evening went to the Duke of Dorset's concert which was excellent.

Saturday 19th

After paying the Abbé Grant^[197] a visit, we went in the morning to see Raphael's paintings in the Vatican Palace. Several rooms are painted by him, Jules Romain and his other scholars from whence this is called his school. They are all in fresco and greatly admired. There are three galleries one above another which surround a court, the ceiling of which is painted by the same hands; the middle one is called Raphael's Bible from the subjects it contains. In the first room are the principal actions of the life of Constantine; his baptism, the Cross appearing to him, his battle with Maxentius near the Ponte Molle etc. Some of the figures are most inimitable especially an old man with his dead son lying before him. I never saw any thing more natural. In the next is part of the history of Attila king of the Huns; St. Peter in prison with the angel coming to release him and the guards asleep; this is thought a very fine piece. In the next room is the famous picture called the School of Athens or of Philosophy. It's a very fine groupe of Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, Alcibiades, Diogenes and many of the other Greek philosophers. This takes up one entire side of the room there is likewise the Dispute of the Eucharist, and Apollo, the Muses etc. assembled on Mount Parnassus. In the fourth is a town on fire and people making their escape from the houses, the fire was stopped by the prayers of St. Leo, also the saint's victory over the Saracens at Ostia and the Coronation of Charlemagn. In the evening we paid a visit to Mr. Waters and I returned at night to write letters.

¹⁹⁷ Peter Grant (d. 1784), known as Abbé Grant, was a Scottish priest based in Rome who was often sought out by British visitors due to his knowledge of the city and his hospitality.

Sunday 20th

Having engaged Mr Morrison^[198] an antiquarian to carry us about to the different things we went in the morning to see the Church and Monastery of the Chartreuse called St. Maria del Angelo one of the handsomest and grandest in Rome; it is in the midst of Diocletian's Baths and part of the walls and columns still remain. Michel Ange with some additions has made it what it is at present. The eight columns of Egyptian red granite are the finest and largest I ever saw. There are eight others of brick covered over with *stucco* which resemble the others very much. The first support the dome which is very noble. Here are the originals of several of the pictures which are in *mosaique* at St. Peters; the chief of them is the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian by Dominichino which is reckoned an excellent picture, there is likewise the Baptism of our Saviour by Carlo Maratti and several others of inferior note. Maratti and Salvator Rosa^[199] have their tombs here which are nothing extraordinary. Behind the church is the grand cloister, with a handsome colonnade around it executed on the design of Michel Ange; above it is a very long gallery full of excellent prints, engraved chiefly from Poussin,^[200] Raphael, Titian, Guido and others with a large collection of maps. The church is in the shape of a Greek cross and under the dome was the place of exercise; the baths and other buildings covered a great deal of ground as may be seen from the remains of them. Diocletian and Maximienus employed 40,000 Christian slaves in the building of it. We dined with Mr Fonereau in the evening called on Mr. Buchanan with whom I went to the Opera Aliberti. The same was acted as the former night. A duett at the beginning of the 3rd act was the most ravishing delightful piece of musick I ever heard. Companucci^[201] the first singer has a most excellent voice. The Pretender^[202] was there; he's a gentlemanly good looking man as ever I saw. He always goes to the theatre; his box is distinguished by being lined with silk and having curtains to it. He paid visits to the different boxes of his acquaintance and seemed to chat with them with great freedom and good nature. He wears the insignia of the Order of the Garter. They say here he's much given to drinking and in his intoxication commits many extravagancies, in so much that all his British attendants have left him. It's worth observing the Protestation poets are obliged to make at the beginning of any of their works, I believe for fear of the Inquisition; the form is commonly as follows. *Protesta. Tutti cio, che si trovasse non essere uniforme a' sentimenti della Santa Romana Chiesa, si protesta l'autore essere abbellimento della Poesia, essendo egli vero Cattolico i credendo sempre in tutto quello che crede e comunda la Santa Madre Chiesa.* Which is that notwithstanding the poetical licences he may have made use of, he is a good catholick and believes in every thing the holy Roman Church believes or commands. During the Carnival there are six or eight different theatres open, and the Romans are so very fond of it that they are always full.

¹⁹⁸ Colin Morrison (1732-1810) was a Scottish architect who had settled in Rome, where he made a living as an art dealer and *cicerone*.

¹⁹⁹ Salvator Rosa (1615-1673).

²⁰⁰ Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665).

²⁰¹ Giuseppe Compagnucci.

²⁰² *i.e.* Charles Edward Stuart (1720-1788), the grandson of James II and VII, and after 1766 the Stuart claimant to the throne of Great Britain. Known in popular memory as 'Bonnie Prince Charlie'.



Figure 19. 'The Pretender was there; he's a gentlemanly good looking man as ever I saw' (20 January 1771). *Prince Charles Edward Stuart*, Ozias Humphry, 1776. (National Galleries of Scotland)

Monday 21st

After breakfast we went to the Capitol and took a very compleat view of the statues. I have given an account of most of the best of them in a former place. There's a fine statue of red marble of a Satyr and Goat, and a beautyful brass vase which I did not before mention. We then crossed to the opposite building, in the court are several pieces of colossal statues; a Lion devouring a horse is much admired. Above stairs are a suite of rooms in some of which the town business is transacted, one of them is the place where the Academy of Arcades is held. The walls are painted in fresco with different parts of the Roman history. The first chamber is by Cavalier d'Arpino,^[203] here is seen the shepherd Faustus finding Romulus and Remus sucking [*i.e.* sucking] the wolf; Romulus with a plough marking out the circuit of the walls of Rome the Rape of the Sabine Women the combat of the Horatii and Curatii the battle of the Romans and Veiens under Hostilius and Suffetius. The composition of them is admired but the colouring greatly spoilt. The 2nd chamber is done by Lauretti a Sicilian.^[204] There's Mucius Scaevola who burns

²⁰³ Giuseppe Cesari (1568-1640).

²⁰⁴ Tommaso Laureti Siciliano (c.1530- 1602).

his hand in the presence of Porsenna after having killed his secretary, who is carrying off dead Brutus condemning and seeing his sons executed Horatius Cocles defending the Pons Sublicius against the whole Tuscan army and the entire defeat of the Tarquins. In the 3rd is the famous wolf in bronze giving suck to Romulus and Remus; 'twas formerly in the Capitol and its hind left foot was struck with lightning the very day Caesar was assassinated; we can still see the mark and part of the metal melted by the action of the fire. This is very antique, which may likewise be seen from the workmanship. Cicero I think mentions it in one of his orations against Cataline. There's also a beautiful statue of the shepherd Marzius taking a thorn out of his foot. One of the Camilli or people who served at sacrifices which is one of the most precious statues that's in Rome as well for its antiquity as the beauty of the workmanship. An antique bust of the first Junius Brutus. These four things are looked upon as exceeding precious and unique. In the 4th room are the fragments of the *Fasti Consulares*^[205] thought very curious; a head of Mithridates in bas relief over the door the goddess of three forms *viz.* Luna, Diana, Hecate of Greek workmanship. In the 5th are two geese in bronze formerly placed in the Capitol in memory of those who by their cackling preserved it from the Gauls of busts there are Sappho, Socrates, Scipio and Michel Ange. There are several other things which I could not recollect. We had not time to see the gallery of pictures which is here, but were obliged to leave it till another opportunity. At one o'clock Abbé Grant carried us to the Ma[r]chioness (Carimbenis) to introduce us where we left our names. We dined with Colonel Villebois and Captain de Neville, two worthy French officers, had a little musick at Mr Buchanan's in the evening and afterwards paid the Marquise D'Aoust a visit.

Tuesday 22nd

We went to see the Farnese Palace, where Cardinal Orsini resides. It's looked upon as one of the handsomest in Rome and is finished from the designs of Michel Angelo. To the shame of the first owner it's said to be built of the stones of the Colliseum [*sic*]. Under the arcades of the open gallery in the court are some good colossal statues, the chief of which are a Gladiator, Flora and the famous statue called the Farnesian Hercules which is much and deservedly admired. Above stairs is the gallery painted by and on the designs of Annibal Caracci, all in fresco. It's done in compartments and the subjects of the different pieces pretty and well done. There's the stories of Isis and Galatea, Perseus and Andromeda, Diana and Endymion Aurora and Typhon Pan and a Nymph ... Venus and Anchises ... Juno with Venus's girdle coming to Jupiter and several others out of Ovid. There are several statues and busts but not very good, except the bust of Caracalla which is thought to be the best of any ever done for him. In a large hall is a colossal groupe, forming the statue of Alexander Farnese crowned by Victory with two figures under his feet representing the Low Countries which he has subdued. It's remarkable for being

²⁰⁵ *i.e.* the list of Roman consuls.

entirely out of a piece of a column of the Temple of Peace; there are also statues of several Gladiators in different attitudes. In a little out house adjoining to the palace is the famous antique groupe of Amphion and Zetis who by order of their mother Antiope are tying Dirce to the horns of a wild bull. The cords are very well done as is the bull; the other figures have suffered a good deal and are but badly restored. From thence we went to the Doria Palace, called also the Pamphili. It's very large and pleased me more than any I had yet seen in Rome. There's an elegant suite of apartments finely furnished. The first room is full of landscapes, the two best are by Gasper Poussin.^[206] At the end of the apartments is the gallery finished in a very pretty taste. I shall set down the best pictures in it, and the rooms from my memorandum. Two most excellent landscapes by Claud Lorrain^[207] two ditto by Bassan^[208] and one by Brughel,^[209] where he has drawn the Almighty at the Creation Herod's Slaughter at Bethlem by Tintoret. A beautiful Madona and Child by Guido. A Magdalene by Titian ... St. John in the desert by Guercino ... Adonis asleep, Venus fanning him and Cupid by her, a pretty piece of Paul Veronese ... A Virgin in contemplation by Sasso Ferratta^[210] ... Agar's [*i.e.* Hagar's] flight, Ishmael dying and the angel meeting her by Calabrese^[211] ... the murder of Abel by Salvator Rosa ... the return of the prodigal son by Guerchino ... Erminia meeting Tancred wounded, a story from Ariosto by the same ... A portrait of Machiavel by Bronzino and a great many others. This is one of the richest families in Rome; an entertainment by the Prince made for the Emperor when he was here, they say cost him £25,000. We dined with the Duke of Dorset and at night went to the Capranica Theatre where was performed a comedy and betwixt the acts interludes of most excellent musick both vocal and instrumental.

Wednesday 23rd

We went to see the Chiesa Popolo, the remarkable things in which are, a statue of Jonas coming out of the Whale's belly by Raphael, which may almost vie with the best antiquity has produced. There's also one of Carlo Maratti's best pictures a St. John and some other saints. Two by Caravaggio and one by Annibal Caracci. From thence we went to see the much talked of Villa Borghese situated a little without the Porto Popolo where are the greatest number of good antique statues and busts in or near Rome. The gardens and wilderness are extensive and agreeable, adorned with statues urns and fountains and cut out into pleasant walks. The extent of them is said to be three miles. The outside of the villa is adorned with busts and bas reliefs, the chief of which is a Curtius on horseback jumping into the Gulph; within doors are several rooms full of statues etc. and some fine marble columns of

²⁰⁶ Gaspard Dughet (1615-1675), also known as Gaspard Poussin.

²⁰⁷ Claude Lorrain (1600-1682).

²⁰⁸ Jacopo Bassano (c.1510-1592), also known as Jacopo dal Ponte.

²⁰⁹ Probably Jan Brueghel the Younger (1601-1678).

²¹⁰ Giovanni Battista Salvi (1609-1685).

²¹¹ Francesco Cozza (1605-1682).

different colours. As it's impossible to set them all down or do it regularly I shall only mention the most striking and those which are thought best. The famous Gladiator in the act of going to strike his enemy is deservedly looked upon as a masterpiece of sculpture, reckoned equal if not superior to the Apollo. By the inscription at the foot of it, it's the work of Agasius of Ephesus The Faun caressing a Child The famous Hermaphrodite the most beautiful statue extant, infinitely superior to the one at Florence, its back is turned and seems the most finished piece I ever saw Seneca wasted away and dying in the bath, of black marble The wolf and the twins in red marble Two Camilli and the Shepherd Marcius not so well as those in the capitol Two Fortune Tellers, the bodies of marble, the head, legs and arms of brass, one of them a very fine statue Several good Fauns with their musical instruments An excellent Centaur with his hands tied behind his back by a Cupid in marble reckoned superior to those in basalte in the Capitol Mars and Venus several good Apollos, Cupids, a Diana and many Satyrs A good Minerva. Of modern statues there's an Apollo and Daphne by Bernini; he's pursuing her and she's partly changed into a tree. It's finely finished but badly expressed. There's another by the same, of David with his sling, going to throw the stone against Goliath; the same may be said of this as the former. There are many other good antique statues which at the first view it's impossible to recollect. Busts, a modern set of the 12 Caesars. Of antiques, a Berenice, Titus, Alexander. the Great, Lucius Verus, Pertinax, Vespasian of porphyry and many others. I ought not to forget a beautiful antique statue of Psyche seeming to look for Cupid, the expression of the face is greatly admired. There's also a Venus Marina a charming figure. There are several very handsome vases with fine bas reliefs on them. All the pictures are in the palace belonging to the family in town. We dined with Horn and Preston and in the evening Abbé Grant carried us to the Marchese Carimboni's where there was a dance. I came home about 10 o'clock.

Thursday 24th

We saw the Colonna Palace which contains one of the best collections of pictures in Rome; besides several elegant rooms there's a very handsome gallery about 160 feet long by 36 broad; at each end are two very fine columns of Gaulle antique. I shall only mention some of the most capital pictures. A Venus and Adonis one of Titian's best pieces. A Ganimede not inferior by the same Europa and the Bull surrounded by Cupids by Albano^[212] A man eating his soup by Annibal Caracci A Madona and Child after Raphael's 1st manner Holy Family after his 2nd manner The Angel and Toby by Guercino Holy Family by Titian Several beautiful landscapes by Claud Lorrain, Gaspard Poussin, Horizonte, Salvator Rosa etc. Venus and Cupid by Paul Veronese Prodigal Son by Guercino Triumph of David by ditto Joseph and Mrs Potipher by ditto Dead Christ and Weeping Family by the same. Another and the Virgin approaching it with

²¹² Francesco Albani (1578-1660).

marks of the utmost sorrow. This is thought one of his best pieces, the figure of the Virgin and her attitude are beyond description A St. John by Salvator Rosa, also the Death of Regulus A Holy Family by Andrea del Sarto Two battles by Bourguignon The Shutting the Temple of Janus and Augustus sacrificing to Peace by Carlo Maratti But one of the best pictures is an Herodias with St. John's head by Guido, which is without dispute one of the best he ever did There are also two Magdalenes by him one of which is inimitable The Martyrdom of St Sebastian by Romanelli one of his best The Death of Abel by Andrea del Sarto A Holy Family by Batoni^[213] ditto by Parmeggianino and Salviati.^[214] In short it's impossible to enumerate all the excellent pictures in this collection, much more to describe their particular beauties; I have contented myself with only mentioning those which are deservedly looked upon as the best. The bed chamber of one of the cardinals is the handsomest I ever saw, comfortable and at the same time elegant. On the ground floor is a pretty large library in which they say theres some good books. In one of the rooms of it is a famous *basso rilievo*^[215] called Homer's Apotheosis or Deification; its exceeding curious and very antique; for a particular description of it, see Addison's travels page 199 of the 8vo edition where it's done in a masterly and poetical manner. We dined with Mr Waters and in the evening went to the Theatre della Pace where was performed a comedy with interludes of very agreeable musick.

Friday 25th

Abbé Grant carried us with General Lee, Messrs Buchanan, Graham and Powell to be introduced to the Pope. After waiting a short time with some prelates in the antichamber we were admitted. On entering the room we kneeled, as we did on approaching him. The Abbé kissed his toe, but he would not allow us to do it, he hardly suffered us to kneel. He received us standing in his morning gown which by the by was none of the cleanest. He enquired about us, and conversed chiefly with the Abbé for a quarter of an hour with the greatest cheerfulness and good humour. He has a most amiable character and is looked upon as a worthy good kind of man. We retired with our faces towards him and kneeled on leaving the room. On going out of the palace we were surrounded by a parcel of rascally servants who according to custom demanded the *Buona Mancìa*. I endeavoured to make them ashamed by laughing at them but all to no purpose; a *zequin* apiece was the price of our visit. This is an infamous custom all over Italy: whenever a person pays a visit, he is sure of being next day visited on for money, for the honour he has had of being at their master's house. At Naples we set them off without any thing. We then went to see the Palace Justiniani which tho' large is uncomfortable dark and dreary; there's a large collection of pictures by eminent hands, and several statues, as 'twas very cold we did not stay to examine them very thoroughly; we afterwards saw the Pantheon and dined with Mr Buchanan. In the evening Abbé Grant introduced us to Cardinal

²¹³ Pompeo Girolamo Batoni (1708-1787).

²¹⁴ Francesco de' Rossi (1510-1563).

²¹⁵ Low relief.

Bernis the French ambassador who had a publick night, tho' not much company. At 7 o'clock we went to the Duke of Dorset's concert, which was excellent.

Saturday 26th

We went to see the Villa Ludovisi, which is near the Borgese and is situated in the same place where was formerly part of Sallust's gardens. The present ones are large and laid out in the same taste gardens were in England twenty years ago. In the villa are some excellent statues, the chief of which are two Gladiators reposing themselves after action; one of them, which some people say is Mars returned from the Wars, is thought to be done by the same hand as the dying one in the Capitol. There are also two antique groupes; one of which is Papirius a young Roman, whose mother wants to coax from him some secret which passed in the Senate; the other is the story of Aria and Petus which is looked upon as one of the best pieces of antiquity at Rome. They are both deservedly admired. There is likewise a modern groupe by Bernini of the Rape of Proserpine very well executed. There are several bas reliefs and other good things. In a summer house or *cassino* in the gardens, is the famous painting in the ceiling by Guercino which represents Aurora in her chariot chasing away night. The several figures which compose this piece are very fine, especially the figure of night, and the design and execution much admired. In another room by the same hand is Fame proclaiming Peace little inferior to the other. In the gardens are several very good statues one of the best is a Satyr by Michel Angelo almost equal to the antiques. From thence we went to the Villa Albani which was built by the present Cardinal of that name and for magnificence, elegance cleanliness etc it is superior to any thing I ever saw. There's a *piazza* in the front with a *portico* at each end full of statues busts and other pieces of antiquity. The columns which support the arches are of the finest marble and granite and one very fine one of flowered alabaster. There are three of the largest vases I ever saw. The rooms above the stairs are furnished very elegantly and magnificently. The ceiling of the gallery is painted by Meinks and represents Apollo on Parnassus surrounded by the Muses. It's a most excellent picture. The two finest pieces of antiquity in the villa are a Faun's Head and a bas relief which is a portrait of Antinous; these two are looked upon as unique and almost invaluable. At the bottom of the garden is an open gallery full of busts and statues and a beautiful summer house. In the gardens are a great many handsome fountains and a pretty Egyptian obelisk. It's impossible to enumerate the many beauties and pieces of antiquity in this delightful villa. I shall only say it's by far the finest and most elegant thing I ever saw, there's no Italian filth and nastiness but every thing perfectly clean and in the utmost order. The Cardinal lays out all his income on antiques to furnish it and does every thing he can to embellish it to the utmost of his power. In the evening I went with General Lee^[216] to pay a visit to Mr Walter's and afterwards to the Playhouse at the Vallee; the *intermezzos* were most delightful, Signor Carimbaldi perfectly ravished us.

²¹⁶ Charles Lee (1732-1782), a British army officer who later defected to the American Revolutionary Army, was travelling in Italy in 1771.

Sunday 27th

I went with Mr Buchanan and Allen to see some pictures in different places. In one of the apartments of the Barberini Palace is a beautiful Magdalene of Guide larger than life; a delightful figure. The Death of Germanicus by Poussin, Raphael's Mistress by himself and several others by Caracci etc. From thence we went to the Rospigliosi Palace; in the summer house of which, is Guido's celebrated Aurora. It's on the ceiling and is one of the finest pieces of painting I ever saw. The different figures of the groupes which compose it are inimitable. I'm not yet connoisseur enough to pretend to say whether this, or Guercino's at the Ludovisi Villa is the finest, tho' if



Figure 20. 'We dined with Mr Byres the antiquarian who showed us some very curious cameos and intaglios' (27 January 1771). *James Byres of Tonley and members of his family*, Franciszek Smuglewicz, c.1780. Byres is the man in the green coat. (National Galleries of Scotland)

I may be allowed my opinion I give it to my favourite Guide. There are also four landscapes by Paul Brill.^[217] In the adjoining rooms is Samson overthrowing the house with the Philistines in it, and the Triumph of David after having subdued Goliath, both by Dominichino. Sophonisba poisoning herself by Calabrese. Eve presenting

²¹⁷ Paul Brill (1554-1626).

the Apple to Adam by Palma^[218] Renaldo holding a *miroir* to Armida to dress herself, by Albano and many others. From thence we went to see the gallery of pictures at the Capitol. There are two large rooms quite full of them. The one which pleased me most was Venus presenting Bacchus to Ariadne, a very large picture by Guido. The colouring and design are delightful. There are many others by the best masters. A Sybill by Guercino, the Marriage of St. Catherine a small Corregio. The Rape of the Sabines by Cortona the Triumph of Flora by Poussin. Cleopatra and Magdalene, not finished by Guido Fortune by the same A beautiful St. Cecilia by Romanelli, the Triumph of Bacchus by Cortona the Interview of Augustus and Cleopatra by Guercino a very fine picture a Sybill by Dominichino Jesus crowned with thorns by Tintoret the Battle of Arbelles by Cortona. A Naked Venus wisely called *Omnia Vanitas* by Titian. There are several other good pictures by Raphael, Rubens, Veronese and other good hands, but it's impossible to recollect them at first sight. We dined with Mr Byres^[219] the antiquarian who showed us some very curious cameos and intaglios.

Monday 28th

We spent the forenoon in seeing antiquities. There are a great many curious ruins in the neighbourhood of the Campo Vaccino. We first saw a temple, at present turned into a church, on the very spot where Romulus and Remus were found sucking the wolf. We then saw a building in the Forum Boarium which served as an exchange for the merchants and near it an arch erected to the honour of Sept. Severus, Caracalla and Geta his two sons on it are some curious bas reliefs. Hard by, is part of the Cloaca Maxima which carried off the filth into the Tiber; it's one of the most antient buildings of Rome, having been begun by Tarquinius Priscus and finished by Superbus. It's a very strong arch the diameter of which is upwards of thirteen feet. From thence we went to the place where the Circus Maximus was, which Mr Morrison described to us exceeding well. The Egyptian obelisk which stood in the center of it, is at present erected in the Piazza del Popolo. A particular account of it may be seen in most books of travel. We then saw the Church of St. Gregorio in which is a good picture of Andrea Sacchi,^[220] another of Batoni and an excellent one of Annibal Caracci, looked upon as one of the best he ever did; the subject is the saint performing some miracle, with the Holy Trinity looking on. In a chapel adjoining are two excellent fresco paintings by Dominichino and Guido of the Flagellation and Martyrdom of St. Andrew. Dominichino has infinitely the advantage in his piece. We then examined Constantine's triumphal arch at great leisure; 'twas erected on occasion of the victory he gained over Maxentius at the Ponte Molle. The bas reliefs with which it is adorned were taken from Trajan's Forum and are of most excellent workmanship, tho' the heads of many of them were

²¹⁸ Antonio Palma (1515-1575).

²¹⁹ James Byres (1733-1817) was a Scottish architect and antiquary who had settled in Rome in 1758. He became an art dealer and *cicerone*, mainly to British gentlemen on the Grand Tour.

²²⁰ Andrea Sacchi (1599-1661).



Figure 21. 'It's the most stupendious astonishing piece of building I ever beheld' (28 January 1771). *View of the Colosseum*, Hugh Primrose Dean, c.1776. (National Galleries of Scotland)

stolen by the Medici family and carried to Florence. The subjects of them are the exploits of Trajan not of Constantine. Close by it is the Colisseum which we also examined very accurately. It's the most stupendious astonishing piece of building I ever beheld. I have mentioned it before, but particular descriptions of it are every where to be met with. Some friends dined with us and in the evening I went to Mr Norris's to look at some very fine prints of the different Roman antiquities.

Tuesday 29th

We went to the Palace Spada where there are some good pictures, the chief of which are the Carrying of Helen by Paris a beautiful picture of Guide's Dido stabbing herself on the funeral pile with her sister and attendants around her by Guercino the Judgement of Paris by Jules Romain the Virgin Mary and her Mother winding thread by Caravaggio and several others. They showed us a statue which is said to be the identical one of Pompey, at whose feet Caesar fell covered with wounds by his nearest friends; what makes this the more probable is, that 'twas found close by the place where it formerly stood. It's much larger than nature, holds a globe in one hand and is thought one of the best in Rome. From thence we went to the Campidoglio and took a second view of the pictures, the chief of which I have before mentioned. I drank tea at Mrs Forbes's and in the evening went to

the opera, which was a new one entitled Achilles in Sciros. 'Twas hissed the first representation, but better liked the third. For my part I liked the musick much; they had also two new ballets which weren't badly executed.

Wednesday 30th

We went with Colonel Villebois about two miles from town on the Appian Way to see some ruins. We first saw the Equirium or place where they prepared and dressed the horses for the races in the Circus; then the tomb of Mittella wife of Crassus the Triumvir, and that of the Servilia family. From thence we went to the Circus of Caracalla of which enough remains to give a perfect idea of what it once was, and the method of their races. The obeliske which stood in the middle of it is at present in the Piazza Navona. We then proceeded to the Egerian Vale in which is the Grotto of the Nymph, where Numa used to go to hold private conferences with her; near it is a chapel dedicated to St. Urban, formerly a temple of Bacchus perfectly compleat, it's a neat square building, but has nothing very showy or elegant. We likewise saw the catacombs of the Church of St. Sebastian which aren't any thing equal to those at Naples. The last thing was the Thermia or Baths of Caracalla, which were of a great extent; it's said 3000 people could take the baths there at the same time. The walls, great part of which are of an astonishing thickness and breadth and fill us with wonder to think of and see those prodigious works the Romans



Figure 22. 'Near it are the remains of one of the most elegant temples, dedicated to Antonius and Faustina' (31 January 1771). *View of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina in the Roman Forum*, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, 1748. (National Galleries of Scotland)

undertook and executed. Having had an exceeding fine day, we spent the morning very agreeably in contemplating and admiring the grandeur, fall and magnificence of antient Rome. We dined with Mr Buchanan and in the evening went to the Tordinonnoi Playhouse where was performed a wretched comedy and as bad an *intermezzo*, the house itself is one of the best in Rome.

Thursday 31st

We again set out on our course of antiquities; the first thing we saw was the Triumphal Arch of Titus which is at one end of the Campo Vaccino; it's of the Composite Order the first time it was ever used in Rome; in the bas reliefs with which it's adorned are represented the candlestick with the seven branches and the shew bread brought from Jerusalem after its destruction. Close by it, adjoining one another, are the Temples of the Sun and Moon on the Esquiline Hill, and near it the stupendous remains of the Temple of Peace, the great part of it destroyed there's still enough to give an idea of its former magnificence. It fronted the Coliseum the Via Sacra passed by it and the fine fluted column which is before the Church of St. Maria Maggiore was taken from thence. Not far from it is an old wall supposed to have been part of the house of the Pontifex Maximus and a little further on towards the Capitol a Temple of Romulus and Remus pretty entire. Near it are the remains of one of the most elegant temples, dedicated to Antonius and Faustina; the ten columns in the front of the finest African marble, besides its having been cased with the same material are a convincing proof of its grandeur and magnificence. It's looked upon as one of the finest pieces of antiquity extant. We then crossed the Campo Vaccino to Mount Palatine, at present the Farnesian gardens belonging to the King of Naples. This was formerly the palace of the Emperors and 'twas here Nero had his golden house, which covered a prodigious deal of ground, insomuch that 'twas of itself a perfect city. At the bottom of the hill fronting the Capitol was the Rostrum, which Julius Caesar covered with a wall. In the subterraneans of the palace were the baths, by the help of lights we descended into some of them, which were very elegantly finished and the roofs adorned with gilded *stucco*. There are several other ruins on this hill all which made part of the Emperor's Palace. The house built on it, took its name from the hill, whence our English word "palace". We then crossed over to the Mons Capitolinus where are the remains of several temples, *viz.* that of Concord, Jupiter, Feretrius and Capitolinus. We also saw the Tarpeian Rock, but the place from which malefactors were thrown is quite filled up and no precipice remains on that side. I was wrong informed when I mentioned it before; that was the place where the Gauls attempted to come up when they were so bravely repulsed by Manlius. At the bottom of the hill on the side of the Forum is the Arch of Septimus Severus; it plainly appears, when it was built the arts were going down hill apace, as the sculpture of the bas reliefs is but very indifferent. There's to be seen on it a battering ram the only one to be met with on any piece of antiquity. There are near it three elegant columns with beautiful capitals, but it's not known to what building they belonged. In the evening we walked in the

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Medici Gardens which are always open; there were no plays at night as the Pope had ordered three days for religious exercises on account of the badness of the weather.

FEBRUARY

Friday Febry 1st

Being a bad day we went to see palaces; in the Falconieri are some good ones, Samson and Dalila by Guercino Abram and Rachel by Carlo Maratti a fine Madona, Christ and St. John by Guido Holy Family by Rubens St. Peter and St. Cecilia by Guercin a Magdalene by Veronese In a house adjoining are two ceilings painted by Dominichino, on one the story of Apollo and Hyacinthus, the other that of Venus and Adonis both in fresco and much admired. In the garden are some tolerable statues. In the church of St. Petronio near the palace is another excellent picture of Dominichino's the chief figures in it are the St. John and the Madona. The next we saw, was the Boccapaduli,^[221] the most remarkable things in which are the Seven Sacraments by Poussin; that of the extreme unction is in my opinion the best. Palace Mattei, the walls of the court are adorned with some excellent busts and bas reliefs. Here is a good suite of apartments in which are some good pictures. A St. Gerolamo by Lanfranca A Madona and family by Guide Sts. Peter and Gerolme by ditto The Lords Supper by Caravaggio The Adulterous Woman by Pietro di Cortona one of his best pieces. On the ceiling of one of the rooms, the story of Rachel and Jacob at the Well in fresco by Dominichino There's also a curious bust of Cicero one of the most antient in Rome and a curious table of green porphyry. Palace Costaguti, two ceilings are remarkable one by Dominichino represents Time discovering Truth which is nothing more or less than an old man pulling the cloaths off a handsome young woman and Apollo in his chair. The other is by Guercino; the subject is taken from Tasso and is Armida carrying off Renaldo asleep; they are both looked upon as very fine pieces. In the Bolognetti Palace are two pieces with different kinds of game by Rosa Tivoli who excelled in that way Venus and Adonis by Paul Veronese A remarkable portrait by Ludovico Caracci A fine picture representing Charity under the figure of a beautiful woman by Albano Europa and the Bull by ditto Philosophy a charming female figure by Romanelli An excellent picture of Christ in the Manger by Barocci^[222] A Young Man cheated at cards by Caravaggio and many others which it's impossible to recollect. In the evening after paying a visit

²²¹ Casina del Vignola Boccapaduli.

²²² Federico Barocci (c.1535-1612).

to Mr Waters's we went to the Duke of Dorset's concert where the musick was as usual most excellent.

Saturday 2nd

Being Candlemass Day we went to see a grand function at which the Pope and Cardinals assisted, at Monte Cavallo. 'Twas almost the same as the one we saw at the Vatican on Advent Sunday. In the vestibule of the chapel is a very good large picture of Guercino, the subject of which is a very young man desiring to see the body of his deceased mistress and her soul ascending into Heaven where it's received by our Saviour; the different passions in the young man's countenance are finely expressed and the group is happily adjusted. There is also a copy of Raphael's famous Transfiguration which is at St. Pietro Montorio. We then went to the Rospigliosi to take another view of Guide's Aurora which well deserves a second inspection. From thence we went to St. Peter's which the oftener I see, the more it pleases me. We spent about an hour in looking at the different tombs, statues and pictures; amongst the latter is the representation of a person with his head cut off carrying it in his head [*i.e.* hands] to one of the saints to have it baptised. A thing, I need not say, ridiculous enough. Here are confession boxes for most nations, amongst whom the English are not forgot. Here is also the tomb of Clementina Sobiesky, wife of the Pretender, who is called Queen of England etc. In the afternoon we went to take another look of the Villa Borghese the best things of which I have before mentioned. The gardens are full of ever greens and in the summer evenings with the number of fountains must be exceedingly pleasant. As there was no play we sat most of the evening at Mr Buchanan's.

Sunday 3rd

We saw the Palace Verospi in which there's a *plafond*^[223] indifferently painted by Albano and some curious musical instruments. In a chapel near it, is a good picture of Guercino's; afterwards we went to see the collection of Mr Hamilton a painter here.^[224] He has done some very fine pieces such as the Death of Lucretius, Hector, Patroclus, which last is in the possession of Mr Grant, and several other very fine things. He has an original Titian's Venus almost the same as the one at Florence, and a beautiful Magdalene and St. Sebastian reckoned two of Guido's best pieces. We afterwards walked in the garden of the Villa Medici from the top of a mount in which is a most excellent prospect. Some gentlemen dined with us, so we could see nothing in the afternoon.

Monday 4th

As 'twas a very fine day we went to the top of St. Peter's Church and from thence up into the ball which is on the top of the lantern, which was much higher than ever

²²³ 'ceiling'.

²²⁴ Gavin Hamilton (1723-1798) was a Scottish painter and art dealer based in Rome.



Figure 23. 'After this had continued about a couple of hours the horse racing began' (4 February 1771). *The Start of the Race in the Corso*, David Allan, c.1767-77. (The Tate)

I had been in my life time. From it, is a most extensive view of the whole town and neighbouring country for many miles. Without taking this way of seeing it, 'twould be impossible to have an adequate idea of its grandeur, strength and dimensions. It's the most astonishing building I ever saw. The top of the church is like a little town, the dome is a most surprizing piece of workmanship. We got up to the ball by the help of an iron ladder almost perpendicular but as 'twas in the inside there was no danger. It's capable of holding eight or ten people easily and from the ground looks no bigger than a foot ball. After dinner as twas the first day of the Carnival, we went to the Corso (the chief street) to see the masques. Here every body who could get a carriage paraded up and down in their different dresses; those who could not afford it were content to walk. Most of the coaches were open in the middle and thrown back so that we could see every body perfectly well. After this had continued about a couple of hours the horse racing began; they run without riders with prickly saddles on their backs once the length of the street which is about a mile. There is a row of carriages on each side so they have very little room; the middle of the street was covered with sand to prevent their falling which however had not the effect, for one of them fell and we were told almost killed himself and one of the spectators. The victor was a horse of Prince Ruspigliosi's. At sun set on a signal's being given every body were obliged to unmask; in the evening they go to some of the play houses, nine of which are at present open, and at 12 oclock at night to the Festini or Masquerade Balls which continue 'till day light. To a stranger the whole town seems to be a scene of madness and folly; for the first half hour I laughed heartily at it, however I was soon familiarised to it. As the Carnival lasts but a week here, they give into it with the utmost fury and I believe many intrigues are planned and soon put in execution. We drank tea at Mr Constable's and paid a visit to

Mrs Erle both just arrived from Naples. In the evening I went to the opera to hear the charming chorus in the second act which pleased me beyond measure.

Tuesday 5th

We went to see some more antiquities. The first was St. Paolo fuori di Mura which is one of the oldest churches in Christendom. It's about a mile from the gate on the road to Ostia. It's remarkable for its four rows of beautiful columns, which form the five aisles; the two centre rows are of the finest Grecian marble, beautiful colour, fluted, and a prodigious size. The capitals are of the Corinthian Order. The centre is supported by ten very large ones of granite. They all together amount to ninety, besides thirty smaller ones which support the different altars. The principal aisle is upwards of 250 feet, and I think the whole together is the finest *coup d'oeil*^[225] I ever saw. From thence we went to the Pyramid of Cestus [Cestius] which is built of white marble. It's upwards of an 100 feet high and 90 broad at the base. I had almost forgot to mention that the fluted columns of St. Paul's Church were taken from the Mausoleum of Adrian now St. Angelo's Castle. Close by the Pyramid is the



Figure 24. 'From thence we went to the Pyramid of Cestus which is built of white marble' (5 February 1771). *Close up of the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius*, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, 1748. (National Galleries of Scotland)

²²⁵ 'stroke of the eye', taking in the advantages of a general scene after a brief inspection.

burial place of the English and other heretics as they good naturedly call us. Sir James MacDonald^[226] lies there, his name etc. is mentioned in a round broken pillar which is erected on his grave. A little farther on is the Temple of Vesta the same Horace mentions in his 2nd Ode 1st Book. It's round and perfectly compleat and one of the oldest pieces of antiquity. Near it is a temple built by Servius Tullius which Horace likewise mentions in the same ode, when he says *monumenta regis*.^[227] It's also pretty entire. Near this place is the mouth of the Cloaca Maxima and the remains of an antient bridge over the river. We saw the island which was formerly dedicated to Aesculapius. After dinner we went again to the Corso, where were the same manoeuvres as the day before with this difference that seven horses ran; four of them made a shocking piece of work of it. In the evening we went to see a church illuminated and hear a Jesuit preach; after paying a visit to the Duke of Dorset, Mr Buchanan and I went to the Capranica Playhouse where the *intermezzos* were exceedingly pretty.

Wednesday 6th

We went to see some more antiquities. The first was Nerva's Forum near the Capitol; there remains part of the portico and a temple dedicated to Pallas. In every forum 'twas necessary there should be a temple a basilica and portico; the two last were different buildings and intended for transacting business; there might be more of each kind, but one was absolutely necessary, to constitute a forum. The parts that remain of these buildings give a very good idea of their former magnificence; the columns of the portico are of a prodigious size. Near it is what was Trajan's Forum; there is part of an oval or round building which was called a chalcida and served as a portico. In the centre of this forum is Trajan's famous column which I have mentioned before; the ground is risen about it near twenty foot and is almost as high as the pedestal. The bas reliefs which represent the emperor's actions are much admired. Mr Robarts and I went to the top of it from whence there's a good view of part of the town; we ascended by a very good spiral stair case and got to a kind of balcony on the top, which goes round it; in coming down he had the misfortune to sprain his ankle very badly, which obliged us to leave off and laid him up. After dinner Mr Buchanan and I went to the Corso which was the same as the other days. In the evening we went to the Theatre della Valle, where was performed a new *intermezzo*, which deservedly met with great applause. As there was a *festina* after the play I hired a domino^[228] and after 12 o'clock at night went with Mr. Norris to it. It is nothing more than a masquerade ball which is given every night of the carnival week (except Friday and Sunday) by the Roman nobility. It's in a large house

²²⁶ Sir James MacDonald (c.1742-1766), 8th baronet of Sleat, had died in Rome on 26 July 1766. He was known as the 'Scottish Marcellus' because of his learning and intelligence. His memorial on Skye is described in detail by James Boswell in his *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (1785).

²²⁷ 'king's memorial'. This had been the office of the Pontifex Maximus, which occupied the site of the earlier residence of the Roman kings.

²²⁸ A domino was a small mask usually worn by people attending masked balls. It covered only the areas around and between the eyes.

consisting of about 20 or 30 rooms most of them very small. There were a great many people but no variety of masques. In general they were dominos, punchinellas and harlequins. There's one room into which nobody is allowed to enter but the nobility and foreign gentlemen. Some of the nobility are masters of the ceremonies and take care that every body dances that chuses; there were refreshments and wine but in the other rooms I believe they had nothing but water. Before people danced, they were obliged to unmask, all except the Pretender who kept his on all night. For my part I liked our Minorca masquerade infinitely better. After staying there about three hours, being heartily tired, I took my departure. There were some very pretty women but in general they danced ill and had bad musick; however enough can't be said in praise of the regularity and good order with which 'twas carried on.

Thursday 7th

We again set out on our antiquities the first thing we saw was the Mausoleum of Augustus, which he built for a tomb for himself and family. It formerly was a large stupendous building, there's enough remaining to show us the form of it. Marcellus was the first who was buried in it. It's situated in the Campus Martius near the Tiber. Not far from it are the pieces of the famous obeliske which Augustus brought from Egypt after subduing that kingdom and dedicated to the sun, as it serves for a gnomon to a dial which was constructed round about it. It's of red granate, a prodigious size and was broke to pieces and fell down by some fire that happened at Rome. It's a property of that stone to crack and break by heat. A little farther on is another granate pillar, which was erected to Antoninus (that which is commonly called his, being properly the one of Marcus Aurelius) it was likewise broke to pieces by fire. The pedestal for it is on Monte Citoria [Montecitorio], which is adorned with bas reliefs representing Anton. Apotheosis etc. In the Piazza Colonna just by is the famous pillar I have often before mentioned on which in bas reliefs are the actions of Aurelius. Among other things there's the shower of rain which the Christian Legion obtained by their prayers when his army was perishing with thirst. The sculpture of this is looked upon as much inferior to that of Trajan's. I have before mentioned the Dogana and Pantheon; this last which that snarler Mr Smollett is pleased to call a cockpit,^[229] is in my opinion the most beautiful, elegant antique building I ever saw. It's really astonishing how the roof is supported, it now appears as fresh and strong as the day 'twas finished. The finest granate columns support the portico, I ever saw. I can hardly tell which pleases me most this or St Peters; in this are united elegance and simplicity in the other grandeur magnificence and the finest proportions. They are perfectly different in their way and I look upon them both as the finest things antient and modern architecture ever produced. Little remains of the Theatre of Marcellus begun by Cæsar and finished by Augustus. 'Twas a noble edifice and capable of holding 30,000 people. Near it is the Portico of Octavia erected by her brother Augustus to her; there are two or three fine columns remaining. The

²²⁹ Tobias Smollett (1721-1771) had described the Pantheon thus in his *Travels through France and Italy* (1766).

Curia of Pompey where Cæsar was stabbed is in this quarter; what remains of it is turned into stables. I dined with General Lee and in the evening went to the Corso to see the horses start. They were all put with their breasts against a rope, to the number of six; on a signal being given the rope was dropt and they were whipped off amidst the shouts of some thousands of spectators. The good order and decency with which this and every other publick affair is carried on is much to the honour of the Pope and magistrates. It hardly ever happens that a person is insulted, if he is, the *sbirri* immediately secure the offender and he is punished severely. There are some very elegant equipages to be seen on the Corso, and to have them the Romans spare no expence. Some of the noble families here are the richest in the world and in servants and horses they spend most of their income. I think 'twas the Prince Borghese who put 300 servants in mourning at once. They keep the bourg[e]ois at a very great distance and they have not here that rank of men we have in England private gentlemen; there's no medium betwixt the nobility and common people.

Friday 8th

As 'twas exceeding cold we went to St Peters, which on account of the thickness of the walls and the number of lamps, was as warm as a stove. There's a Madonna with a Dead Christ in her lap by Michel Angelo exceeding well done; it's thought one of the best pieces of sculpture he ever did. Near it is the monument of Christina Queen of Sweden, who like a fool, as every body knows, left her throne to turn a Roman Catholick and pretended *virtuoso*.^[230] In the Chapel of the Sacrament which is very elegantly finished is the tomb of Paul the 4th on which there's some very fine bas reliefs representing the Sciences etc. Those of the other tombs are likewise very fine especially the one which represents the Pope meeting Attila at Milan where St. Paul and St. Peter appear in the air and frighten him from his intention of besieging Rome. The *mosaique* pictures are in general very well done, the place they are wrought in is in the Vatican near the Church. It's not the same as at Florence, there they work with stones of their natural colour; here it's a composition almost as hard as stone and well dyed. They say most of the large pictures cost at least £3000 apiece. The pavement is of the finest marbles, in short the church altogether, is the noblest thing I ever saw; every time I enter it I discover new beauties. The *baldaquin*^[231] which covers the grand altar and is supported by four spiral pillars is a beautiful piece of workmanship; the brass with which it is made was taken from the Pantheon, the roof of which was covered with it. From thence we went to the Sixtine [Sistine] and Pauline Chapels in the Palace of the Vatican; in the first is Michel Angelo's Last Judgement which we saw before we went to Naples. As a picture it's looked upon as a bold, confused piece of work, but the figures taken seperately are much admired. Some of the Devils are well done, he is said to have

²³⁰ After abdicating her throne in 1654, Christina of Sweden (1626-1689) converted to Roman Catholicism and moved to Rome. She was a noted patron of the arts and art collector.

²³¹ A canopy erected over shrines, altars, thrones etc.

taken some of them from the descriptions of Dante a famous Italian poet.^[232] He has likewise painted great part of the cieling, in some of the compartments are the creation of many women, the temptation, driving out of paradise etc. The walls are painted by Peter Perugino^[233] and Ghirlandais. There's nothing worth seeing in the Pauline Chapel however when it's illuminated it has a very pretty effect. We then saw the Church of St. Giovanni Fiorentino in which there's a good picture of Salvator Rosa's representing the Martyrdom of St. Damian and an handsome tomb of an Italian gentleman. We then went to see Pyranesi's^[234] collection of prints some of which we bought. He has several very fine pieces of antique sculpture, of some of which he has made two very elegant chimney pieces for Mr. Walter. There's likewise some very elegant antique altars and vases, busts and statues. In the evening I went to the Duke of Dorset's concert where there were sung some charming duetts by Carimbaldi etc. Ceristini^[235] performed a most incomparable solo.

Saturday 9th

We saw the Palace Corsini; the apartments are elegant and well furnished. There are several excellent pictures. Some good portraits by Raphael, Titian, Vandyke etc. A Holy Family by Maratti. Several pictures by Poussin, Albano etc. 'Twas in this palace Queen Christina resided and dyed; it's kept in the best order of any I have seen at Rome. Opposite it, in the same street is the little Farnesi, which we saw the last time we were in town. The cieling is painted by or on the designs of Raphael. It contains the story of the loves of Psiche and Cupid with the Assembly and Feast of the Gods. 'Twas much spoilt by the damp from the Tiber close by which the house stands. Carlo Maratti retouched it but has made it exceedingly hard. It's in fresco and is looked upon as one of the best things in Rome. The first time I saw it, I hardly thought it worth looking at, but to day I saw many beauties in it; it's the nature of Raphael's paintings not to strike so much at first sight, but to improve on you by looking at them. In an adjoining room is the story of Galatea by the same master, in a compartment on the wall; this by conoisseurs is thought to excel the other. I have before mentioned that here's the famous statue of Venus Callipige [Callipyge], or with the fine buttocks; it certainly is a noble piece of workmanship; the head is but badly restored. Here's also a remarkable bust of Homer and several other pieces of antiquity. We then saw four churches which are on that side of the Tiber (the St. Peter's side) Santa Maria Transtevere is built on the ruins of the antient Taberna Militum, which was a hospital where aged and wounded soldiers who were no longer capable of serving their country were lodged and fed at the expence of the republick. There are twenty two antique fine columns of

²³² Dante Alighieri (c.1265-1321).

²³³ Pietro Perugino (c.1448-1523).

²³⁴ Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778) was an Italian artist famous for his etchings of Rome.

²³⁵ Giovanni Carestini (c.1704-c.1760) was an Italian *castrato* noted for his performances in the operas and oratorios of Handel.

granate which support the middle aisle. In the centre of the *plafond* is a very fine Assumption by Dominichino, a capital picture. In the church of St. Chrisogon, besides several very fine granate columns are the two largest porphyry ones I ever saw and a beautiful picture in the ceiling by Guercino which I think represents the St. going to heaven. In San Francisco a Ripa^[236] is Annibal Caracci's best picture, it's a Pieta representing a Dead Christ, the Madona, M. Magdalena and St. Francis. For design, colouring, expression it's almost incomparable. In one of the chapels is a Beata Louisa by Bernini, a very fine statue in a reclined position. The Church of St. Cecilia is built on the place where her house stood. The antient baths and stoves still remain and are shown perfectly entire; there's an excellent statue of her under the altar covered with a veil by Stephen Maderna,^[237] thought equal to any piece of modern sculpture. There's a picture which they said was of Guide^[238] representing her martyrdom. Her body is preserved in the subterraneans. In the afternoon we went to the Corso to see the horses come in, which they did in a most shocking manner, at little more than an hard gallop; they were stopt by a sheet being drawn across the street and seemed sorry jades. After Ave Maria we went to the Roman Jesuit's Colledge to see the young gentlemen act a play. They have an excellent little theatre and as good scenes as I ever saw. The Fathers Welsh and Plunket,^[239] two of our countrymen, were very polite and got us seats in the best part of the house, and one of the actors came on purpose, and delivered a *dramatis persona* to each of us. They performed incomparably well and infinitely beyond what I could have imagined. Some of them seemed possessed of a great fund of wit and humour. At the end of each act, was a dance, which they likewise did to every body's satisfaction. For my part it pleased me more than any Italian comedy I had ever seen and was far beyond Harlequin and Punchinello. At the colledge the students, besides the arts and languages, are taught all the fashionable necessary exercises and accomplishments. It finished about 11 o'clock.

Sunday 10th

We saw the Church of St. Agnes in the Place Navona; it's small but very elegant; there's some very fine marble columns and good bas reliefs, especially one in a vault by Algardo^[240] where the figure of the saint is most elegant. We afterwards saw some of Mr Byre's pictures. We dined with the Duke of Dorset, drank tea at Mr Constable's^[241] and in the evening I went to the opera, where the chorus song was beyond any thing I ever heard. A rainy afternoon prevented our *spasseggia*^[242] in the Corso.

²³⁶ Chiesa di San Francesco a Ripa Grande.

²³⁷ Stefano Maderno (c.1576-1636).

²³⁸ Guido Reni, *St Cecilia* (1606).

²³⁹ Possibly Patrick Joseph Plunkett (1738-1827), bishop of Meath from 1779.

²⁴⁰ Alessandro Algardi (1598-1654).

²⁴¹ William Constable (1721-1791) was a Yorkshire landowner and an art collector.

²⁴² 'a stroll'.

Monday 11th

We went to the Palace Altieri, there is a suite of handsome apartments with some good pictures. St. Phillip Calling Lightning from Heaven on some Blasphemous gamesters by Carlo Maratti Joseph's Dream by Salvator Rosa a Miracle by Carlo Maratti Angel and Tobit by del Sarto a Poultry piece by David a Fleming Birth of St. John by Romanelli. A Dead Christ by Vandyke two landscapes by Sal. Rosa a small Holy Family by ditto a beautiful Magdalene and Lucrecia by Guido a Satyr and Man by S. Rosa Sybill by Guercini. Mars and Venus by a scholar of S. R. We afterwards saw the Jesuits church illuminated which had a very fine effect. We dined with Mr. Johnson. After dinner took our round of the Corso, three horses run very badly. In the evening went to the Nazarene Colledge to see the young gentlemen act. The fathers got us seats and behaved with great politeness, tho' their pupils did not come up to those of the Roman Colledge.^[243] I left it time enough to go and hear my favourite chorus song at the Aliberti which pleased me more than ever.

Tuesday 12th

We returned to the Altieri Palace to see a fine landscape of Claud Lorrain's; it's thought without exception the best he ever did. I never saw any thing more natural, the light is incomparably well thrown on the background and the sky finely done. There was an Irish artist, one Dean,^[244] making a copy of it for Mr. Walter. In the same room is another of Claud's and a very fine Pieta by Guide, small but incomparably well done. We afterwards went to the Church of St. Romanoio^[245] to see one of the most capital pictures in Rome; it's by Andrea Sacchi; the subject is the saint relating his vision to his brother friars.^[246] The expression and colouring are very fine. There's also a Flight into Egypt by Alexander Turchino.^[247] We dined with Blashford and Methuen, after dinner went to the Corso and saw the horses come in, which they did most shockingly. As 'twas the last night of the Carnival the appearance was more brilliant than ordinary. It's astonishing how fond the Romans are of this diversion, whilst it continues I believe they think or talk of nothing else. After the play, for there is no *festina*, they go home and make prodigious suppers, as they can't touch flesh during the forty days of Lent. I think that's suffering in earnest for their week of madness and riot. However if a person has any inclination for a bit of meat, he has nothing to do but say he's sick and an indulgence is readily granted him.

²⁴³ The Roman College was a school established by St Ignatius of Loyola in 1551. It quickly grew to include classes from elementary school to university level.

²⁴⁴ Hugh Primrose Dean (d. c.1784), known as the 'Irish Claude'.

²⁴⁵ Possibly Basilica di Santa Francesca Romana.

²⁴⁶ Andrea Sacchi, *Vision of St Romuald* (c.1631).

²⁴⁷ Not identified.



Figure 25. 'I never saw any thing more romantic or picturesque' (14 February 1771).
Lake Nemi, John Robert Cozens, c.1783-88. (The Tate)

Wednesday 13th

We set off early in the morning to see Frascati which is about twelve miles from this place. Mr Fonnereau was of our partie. It's a small town in a delightful situation, on an eminence, which commands a view of the city and Campagna di Roma for a great extent. It's the see of a bishop and belongs at present to Cardinal d'York. Several of the Roman nobility have their villas there, some of which we saw. 'Twas the antient Tusculum and the remains of Cicero's villa where he wrote his Tusculan questions, situated above the brook Crabra are still to be seen. There's also at a little distance the hill which was Cato's farm called Monte Portia. In the Villa Mondragone which belongs to the Borghese family is an excellent colossal bust of Antinous surprizingly well preserved and found at Tivoli. From a balcony at one end of it is a very extensive prospect, among other things the Gabian Lake on the banks of which stood the city of Gabia which the Romans made themselves masters of under Tarquinius Superbus. In the Falconieri is a cieling representing the Birth of Venus by Maratti and several portraits in fresco by Gherzzi.^[248] From thence we ascended a hill to the Jesuit's villa from whence there's likewise a delightful prospect. As most of the woods were ever greens it had a very fine effect and our having a charming warm clear day added not a little to our enjoyment. The Aldobrandini or Belvedere Villa is remarkable for its gardens and delightful waterworks which last are the finest I ever saw especially the artificial cascade. By the help of an hydraulick organ they make a centaur blow a horn and one of the sea gods play some of Corelli's^[249]

²⁴⁸ Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674-1755).

²⁴⁹ Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713).

musick on a tyre syringe.^[250] In a sallon painted by Domin. is a little mount called Parnassus, on which are the figures of Apollo and the Muses in *stucco*. At the Villa Conti formerly that of Lucullus is likewise an exceeding fine fountain, cascade and agreeable walks. There are several others charmingly situated and prettily laid out. We dined at Frascati and after dinner went to the convent of Grotto Ferrata where in the chapel of St. Nil one of the monks is painted by Dominic; a possessed boy is admirably done. They say and with a good deal of certainty, on account of the brook which runs under it, that Cicero's villa stood here. However, criticks and classicks may dispute that affair. To Albano where we lay is three miles, through a fine wood and pleasant country we passed by the borders of that beautiful lake near which stood Alba Longa, from whence it took its name. We saw the Latium Mount on which there was a temple to Jupiter Latialis on which they used to sacrifice before they began an Ovation. Albano is torelably well built and pretty populous. We met with very good reasonable accommodation and

Thursday 14th

got up early and went to see a tomb by the side of the Appian Way which is said to have been Pompey's but which is commonly called that of the Curatii, tho' Livy says they were buried on t'other side Rome. It had fine turrets on the top and appears to have been an elegant piece of workmanship. A little farther on is a most picturesque view of the town of La Ricca situated on a hill covered with wood. This was the Ariccia of the antients and 'twas here Horace lay the first night on his journey to Brundisium. The church is remarkable for its architecture by Bernini and is very simple and elegant within and without. This town at present belongs to the Chigi family. Below it at the foot of the hill is part of the Appian Way carried over a valley. It's an astonishing piece of strong workmanship and tho' built about the 440th year of Rome as fresh as ever; it's of solid masonry about thirty foot high of prodigious large stones except here and there, that there is an arch to let the rain through; the road was on the top of it and went on through the Pontian Marshes into the Kingdom of Naples. From thence we went to the Capuchin convent at Gensano from the garden of which are the most delightful views the eye ever beheld. Below it surrounded by high hills is the Lake Nemi so called from the town on the opposite side which as 'twas surrounded by woods was called Nemus Diana as the lake for its smoothness and the brightness of its waters was called Diana's looking glass. I never saw any thing more romantic or picturesque; 'twas here, in those heavenly spots, Claud Lorrain and Gaspar Poussin formed their taste and 'twas from those delightful views they left the world their invaluable landscapes. If the beauty of the different objects struck us so much now what must it not have done if the trees had been covered with leaves and the spring advanced a couple of months. The Caesarini family have a palace near this convent in a situation equally fine and sett off with many beautiful walks. We then went to the Capuchin convent of Albano, near it are the ruins of a small amphitheatre; from the gardens is a prospect equally beautiful

²⁵⁰ *i.e. syrinx* (panpipes).



Figure 26. 'The Villa Barberini stands on the ruins of that of Domitian' (14 February 1771). *View of the Palace of the illustrious Barberini family on the Quirinal Hill*, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, 1749. (National Galleries of Scotland)

and more extensive than the last. On one side is the city of Rome and great part of the Campagna, the ruins of Ardea, Ostia, Mount Zoracte [Monte Soratte] and in fine weather as far as Radicofani, below us is the beautiful lake about six miles in circumference and on the other hand the sea, part of the Pontian Marshes and the Circean promontory^[251] almost lost in clouds. Addison says this is the finest view he ever saw. From thence we passed through the little town of Castel Gandolpho where the Pope has a country palace. The Villa Barberini stands on the ruins of that of Domitian; a terrace and portico for walking in in hot weather are pretty entire; by the ruins of it 'twas very extensive. In the present villa there is nothing worth seeing. In returning to Rome 'twas surprizing to see how desolate and unpeopled the country appears; on account of the malaria there's no living in it; at night they either retire to the hills or go into the city. We got home about 2 o'clock. Messieurs Blashford, Methuen and General Lee dined with us, in the evening we paid a visit to the Duke of Dorset.

Friday 15th

We went with Mr Boyer to see the museum at the Roman Colledge in which there is a valuable collection of natural and artificial curiosities. Father Plunket who is the keeper showed us every thing. There is a very fine collection of gems made into cups and a topaz which weighs five ounces and is one of the largest in the world Several ores, the gold and silver as it is found in the mines; the formation and progression of chrystal. Mercury as it's taken from the earth. There is a very fine collection of cameos and intaglios and some very good medals amongst which the

²⁵¹ Capo Circeo.

twelve Caesars are perfectly well preserved. There is one of Trajan with his forum on the reverse; on the reverse of Augustus's is M. Anthony. There are pieces of all the different kinds of marbles. Snakes and animals preserved in spirits, coralls, shells, two unicorns horns, Chinese shoes. A shirt with the Alcoran [*i.e.* Koran] wrote on it which the Turks wear to make themselves invulnerable. Several idols, lamps, weights and such things as we saw at Herculaneum, a great number of chirurgical instruments, several antique busts and small statues etc etc. It's impossible to mention the thousandth part of the curiosities which this museum contains; two volumes in folio have been published with an account of them. In two elegant private chapels above stairs are some very good pictures an excellent Resurrection by Vandyke An holy family by Correggio for which the fathers were offered £2000 by an English gentleman A St Sebastian by Romanelli Adoration of the Magi by Vandyke and several other good pictures. The convent is very large and elegant and contains about 150 Jesuites. They have an excellent library and the best apothecary's shop in town, seem very happy and want for nothing. I had almost forgot to mention that there's some curious petrefactions *viz.* a whole human body, a bulls tongue, several pieces of wood etc. The church which belongs to it is one of the most elegant in town. I had seen it the last time I was here; there's some very fine marble columns, four of fluted verd antique, two in the Sacristy of Bianco Nero, and in the church a sarcophagus of lapis lazuli which is as valuable as gold. We dined with Fonnereau; in the evening went to take leave of the Duke of Dorset and Mrs Horton^[252] who set off for Florence tomorrow by Loretto [Loreto] and afterwards paid a visit to Mr Constable.

Saturday 16th

Our partie being increased by General Lee we set off in the morning for Tivoli, the Tiber of the antient Romans about eighteen miles distant. As we had delightful weather and good road nothing could be more agreable than our ride. About three miles from the town, we crossed the Teverone (formerly the Anio [Aniene]) over the Ponte Mammolo, so called from one of the chiefs of the Goths who probably built it. This river divides Latium from the Sabine country. A little farther on we crossed the brook Allia on the side of which the Romans were defeated by the Gauls, before the taking of their city. Near this, close by the road is the Lago Dei Tartari, remarkable for its petrefactions. A little farther on, off the road, is the Solfarata, or Lake and Rivulet of Albula. The waters are very white and have a disagreeable sulphureous foetid smell. In the lake are several little floating islands which the peasants got upon and moved easily about. They are said to be formed of little flakes of sulphur which frequently rise from the bottom. On throwing in a stone, the water boils up with great violence for a considerable time and then those flakes were seen to rise. About three miles from Tivoli we again crossed the Teverone over the Ponte Lugano, close by which is the tomb of the Plautian family in the same stile as that of Cecilia Metella

²⁵² His current mistress, otherwise Anne Parsons (see above note 139).

at Capo di Bove. We here left the high road to see the ruins of Adrian's villa which are very extensive being five miles in circumference. It's the most magnificent noble thing of the kind I ever saw. The courts, halls etc. are turned into gardens and vineyards and planted with olive trees which as they are ever greens looked most delightful. The vistas through the rows of trees of the different ruins, the dome of St. Peters etc. are exceeding fine. There is the remains of a Roman and Greek theatre, we only saw the first. The difference is that the Greek theatre is a semicircle, the Roman is a smaller segment, consequently the orchestra must be larger. Near it is a room with a very elegant *stucco* ceiling, it belonged to the place of exercise after the baths. There's a long portico called Pecile in imitation of a famous one at Athens, at one end is a temple and circular portico with baths in the middle of it. The remains of another called Κρυπτα Portico, where they walked in very hot weather. The barrack of the Pretorian Guards are very entire. The Castro Pretorio above them is at present a beautiful romantic meadow. There's the remains of what was the Naumachia at one end of which is the Temple of Canopus. In the gardens are some very fine capitals of marble columns. In Adrian's time 'twas a noble palace full of the finest statues busts etc. great part of which his successors and the Goths took away and destroyed, however the peasants are every now and then finding something curious and valuable. Great part of the ruins belong to the Jesuits. In our way from thence to Tivoli we passed by the villas of Brutus and Cassius. Tivoli stands on the brow of a hill covered with olive trees in a delightful situation commanding an extensive prospect of great part of the Campania and Citta di Roma. But the sweetest and most romantic views, if I may use the expression, are within itself: the high hills covered with green trees, the verdure that's all around, the Cascade, Cascatelli, Sybills Temple and the river meandering below into the plain, form the most delightful picturesque scene the eye ever beheld. The Cascade is at one end of the town: it's about thirty feet high and is by far the finest sheet of water I ever saw. The remains of the Sybill's Temple is just by it. There is still ten elegant fluted columns remaining of the Corinthian Order and a very fine frise ornamented with garlands bulls heads etc. 'Twas a circular temple and is an exceeding elegant ruin. The Cascade is seen through an arch from it, which has a very fine effect. After dinner we took a ride to see the Cascatelli etc. They are part of the same river which breaks off above the town and falls down some rocks of a very great height. Tho' the sheet of water is not so large, yet the height they fall and their being broke here and there make it if possible finer than the Cascade. We saw the remains of the villas of M. Varro and Manlius Rupescus the last of which is mentioned by Statius. 'Twas near this Zenobia had her country seat. We then saw the Fons Bandusia mentioned by Horace, remarkable for its good water. The villa of Maecenas. The temple of the goddess Tussis,^[253] circular and compleat. About eight miles from hence in the Sabine country was the celebrated farm of Horace which he has described in different places.

Sunday 17th

We again in the morning took the same ride; in the town are two curious

²⁵³ Tussis was the Roman goddess of coughs.



Figure 27. 'Twas a circular temple and is an exceeding elegant ruin' (16 February 1771). *View of the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli*, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, 1750.
(National Galleries of Scotland)

Egyptian granate figures which I had almost forgot to mention. About a mile off is the delightful view Addison speaks of. Before us the Campania, cupola of St. Peters and distant hills; on the left side the town and villas of Tivoli, Cascatelli and river below in the plain; on the right and behind a high green hill covered with trees with a couple of romantic convents. It's impossible for any thing to be finer. As our rides were in the evening and morning we saw every thing to its greatest advantage, that being the proper time to see prospects. Twas here and to Frascati, those delightful spots, the Romans retired from the hurry of business and the excessive heats of summer to enjoy the refreshing breeze and sylvan scene. How different this from the present people! They all croud into the city during the heats to avoid the malaria of the country which they say is owing to its being so thinly peopled. It makes ones heart sore to see a tract of such fine rich ground so uncultivated and uninhabited. In our way back we stopt at the Church of St. Lorenzo Without the Walls which is said to have been a Temple of Neptune. There's some fine marble columns belonging to it, in general of the Ionick Order. We got back about 2 o clock and dined with Mr Buchanan.

Monday 18th

We this day finished our antiquities and most of the churches; there's a great deal of the ruins of Titus's Baths of prodigious strength and thickness, the reservoir is pretty compleat and in one of the baths some elegant painting and *stucco*. The Temple of Minerva Medica is one of the most elegant ruins in Rome, it's an octagon and great part of it is still standing. I never saw any thing of the kind that pleased me

more. Near it is the tomb of the Aurantiae family perfectly compleat, the cinerary urns quite fresh. The Arch of Galienus is nothing remarkable. There remains a good deal of ruins of the Claudian and Martian Aqueducts. There is very little left of the Temple of Venus and Cupid; near it are the remains of an amphitheatre for the use of the military. We saw several churches. St. John Latran [Lateran] I have mentioned before; the Corsini Chapel here is the most elegant thing and a piece of the finest architecture in town; there are some beautiful statues in it by one Valle.^[254] The baptistry is a curious building with some fine antique porphyry columns. In the Place of St. John is an obeliske which Constance brought from Egypt. Santa Croce Gerusalemme is a neat handsome church with some antique columns. The vestibule is very elegant. The Church of San Pietro in Vincoli is one of the most antient in Rome. Here is Michel Age's famous Statue of Moses, which Voltaire without knowing any thing of the matter says is the finest thing antient or modern sculpture ever produced. At first I took it for a Satyr as it has horns and a very long beard; however on examining it I found out its beauties and merit, which don't appear to me so great as he says. It's a colossal statue, sitting in the attitude of speaking to the people whom he seems to reproach; the tables of laws are wrapped about his right arm. Two female statues on each side, representing Faith and Religion, are very well executed; as are the other ornaments; 'twas intended for the monument of Julius 2nd and to have been placed in St. Peters. Here is likewise a picture of St. Marguarite by Guerchin. In the Santa Bibiana there's nothing remarkable but a fine statue of the saint by Bernini, one of his best pieces, and a large sarcophagus of porphyry. San Stephano de Rotondo was formerly an elegant temple erected to Claudius or



Figure 28. 'Santa Croce Gerusalemme is a neat handsome church with some antique columns' (18 February 1771). View of the facade of the Basilica of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, 1748. (National Galleries of Scotland)

²⁵⁴ Filippo della Valle (1698-1768).

as some say to the god Taurus. It's circular, well preserved and converted into a church. In the San Martino are some good fresco landscapes by Gaspar Poussin. We saw in the garden of the Church of St. John and Paul the remains of a *vivarium*,^[255] from thence there is delightful views of the ruins of the Palatine Hill, Colliseum, Constantine's Arch etc. We dined with Mr Constable.

Tuesday 19th

We saw some very fine pictures in different churches: in the Capuchin is Guido's famous picture of St. Michel and the Devil which pleases me as much as any picture I ever saw, and St. Paul's blindness healed by Ananias by Pietro Cortona, the best he ever did. In the Trinita dei Monte is a Descent from the Cross by Daniel Volterra^[256] in fresco, reckoned the 3rd picture in Rome. The first is Raphael's Transfiguration, the 2nd the Communion of St. Gerolme by Dominichino in the church of that name. Volterra's is the third, and that of Andrea Sacchi, which I have mentioned before, is looked upon as the fourth by connoisseurs, tho' there are some others which please me much more. In the Augustins is the Adoration of the Shepherds by Caravaggio and a Portrait of Isaiah by Raphael on one of the pilasters. The chapel of the saint is painted entirely by Lanfranc. In the Church of St. Luigi, the chapel of St. Cecilia is by Dominichino except the picture over the altar which is by Guide from a Raphael at Bologna; in a small chapel is a Madonna and Child by Coreggio, the only one of his in any church in Rome. Chiesa Nuova Interment of Christ by Caravaggio St. Andrea delle Valle, a chapel the architecture by M. Ange, very elegant. In the angles of the cupola the Four Cardinal Virtues by Dominichino. St. Trinita dei Pellegrini, the Holy Trinity by Guido a justly celebrated picture Christ is represented on the Cross, the Almighty in the form of a venerable old man, with the Holy Ghost in the form of a Dove on his breast; an angel on each side of the Cross, their looks express a mixture of devotion and sorrow. Church of the Anima,^[257] a Holy Family by Giulio Romano.^[258] Madonna della Pace. The Sybills in fresco by Raphael. In the Palace Altemps, a famous antique statue of Paris holding the Apple in his Hand, he wears the Phrygian Bonnet. Dined with Horn and Preston in the evening visited Lord Lincoln, Mr Walter and Mr Constable.

Wednesday 20th

We saw the Mons Sacer and the little hill which Annibal [*i.e.* Hannibal] [*illegible – ink blotted*] near the walls on the side of the [*illegible – ink blotted*].^[259] The Temple of Bacchus or Mausoleum of Constantia which is a beautiful circular building with a double row of columns; there is a remarkable large sarcophagus in it. We also saw the Circus of Sallust, the place where the Vestals were buried alive and the

²⁵⁵ Where the wild animals used in ancient Roman entertainments were kept.

²⁵⁶ Daniele da Volterra (1509-1566).

²⁵⁷ Santa Maria dell'Anima.

²⁵⁸ Giulio Romano (1499-1546).

²⁵⁹ Not identified.



Figure 29. 'We lay at Terni which is a very good country town in a fine situation' (21 February 1771). *Bridge at Terni*, George Keate, 1754-56. (British Museum)

ruins of the Temple of Venus Erycina. At the Aldobrandini Palace the Marriage in antique painting one of the most remarkable things in Rome, some statues. A bas relief of Dares and Entelles with the cestus on their hands.^[260] In the Church of St. Silvester four pictures of Dominichino and in the Colonna Gardens, colossal fragments of architrave, frieze and cornice supposed by some to have belonged to the Temple of the Sun; more probably 'twas part of Trajan's Forum near which 'twas found. From that we went to take a farewell of St. Peters and the statues in the Belvedere, which pleased us more than ever. We dined with Mr Norris, paid visits, packed up and supped with Mr Buchanan.

Thursday 21st

We left Rome at 6 o'clock in the morning with great regret, in company with Messieurs Glover and Fonnereau. At four miles distance by the side of the road is an antique tomb, by some thought to be that of Ovid. We dined at Civita Castellana five posts from Rome; on leaving this town we crossed a bridge of two rows of arches, very high. A little farther, on the right side of the road, is Mons Zoracte. From hence to Borghetto is a most delightful country. At Narni we saw the magnificent ruins of a bridge built by Augustus over the Negra, one of the arches is perfectly entire, and the piers of the rest; the arches are by far the largest I ever saw. We lay at Terni which is a very good country town in a fine situation, about sixty miles from Rome.

²⁶⁰ A re-inforced glove worn by boxers in ancient Greece and Rome.

Friday 22nd

We got up at day light and having provided horses, went to see the famous cascade about four miles off. We first went to the top of it, and looked down the fall afterwards crossed the river and saw it in front. It far exceeded my expectations and is thought the finest water fall in Europe. They say it is upwards of 300 feet high. We left Terni at 11 o'clock and after going through the Apennine Mountains and seeing some picturesque views, we got to Spoleto [Spoleto], where there is antique aqueduct and bridge which at present serves only for the latter said to have been built by Augustus. On a neighbouring mountain are some of the most remarkable hermitages in Italy. At the next post are the springs called Le Vene which immediately form the poetical river Clitumnus and a little beyond the post house are the ruins of a temple dedicated to that river; tho' the country people say 'twas to Diana. Horace mentions this water as having the quality of making the cattle become white who drank of it, and for that reason those for the use of sacrifices were taken from hence, whereas the truth is that the priests of the antients like their descendants liked good living, and the cattle in those parts being the best in Italy, they had recourse to this excuse for their choice. We lay at Foligno which is about 100 miles from Rome.

Saturday 23rd

We got up at 4 o'clock and went to a church to see a very fine picture of Raphael's; we were obliged to have a couple of torches and so saw it pretty well. It's an Assumption and a groupe below of St. John, Francis, Gerolme and the man who ordered the picture to be done, with an angel in the middle. It's looked upon as Raphael's second picture; it pleased me more than his first; I never saw any thing so finely finished. We left Foligno at five in the morning. From thence to Mauratta the country is not so very fine. Loretto is two posts farther; but as 'twas dark we could see nothing.

Sunday 24th

After breakfast we got a barber, who much resembled Partridge, for our *cicerone* and went to see the church, Santa Casa and Treasury. The Santa Casa is in the middle of the dome and is elegantly cased round with marbles on the designs of Michele Angelo, adorned with statues and bas reliefs. The inside is of common brick, except part which is covered with silver. They say 'twas brought hither by angels from Dalmatia. There's a statue of the Virgin Mary of black wood which is worshipped with great devotion; it's covered with an amazing profusion of diamonds and other precious stones, with a very rich crown over its head. There are also several images etc in gold and silver. In the Treasury is the greatest profusion of every thing that's precious I ever beheld, such quantities of diamonds, pearls, emeralds etc etc. They are all presents given by different princes and other bigotted Roman Catholicks and I suppose form the richest collection in the world. Pilgrims come here every day in great numbers from all parts of Europe, and besides other acts of devotion

commonly go round the Santa Casa on their knees. In the armory are a great many stilettos which were given a Capuchan by the people on his preaching repentance to them, and by him to the Pope's armory. The town itself is fortified with a wall which is flanked with round towers and bastions. It's about three miles from the sea in a charming country. We set off for Ancona which is two posts at one o'clock. The country appears rich and cultivated and the people well clothed and handsome. In coming into the town we were greatly surprized to see so many beautiful well made women. As 'twas Sunday evening they were all out walking dressed in their best cloaths. I never saw a more pleasing agreeable sight. Every body seemed happy and content. Ancona is prettily situated around part of a bay along a hill. It's a walled town and is defended by a fort on a high eminence. As it's on very irregular ground, it looks vastly well on entering. The harbour is large and formed by a long mole which runs out into the sea. On the antient mole is an elegant triumphal arch perfectly compleat, built by Trajan. It (the mole) has been carried on by the late Popes for some years but is not yet finished; 'twill stretch about a hundred yards farther into the sea and when completed will be a noble work. The *lazaretto*^[261] appears a good building, it's on the opposite side of the harbour. The town is well built, tho' the streets are irregular; it don't seem to be a place of much trade; there weren't above twenty ships in the harbour, six or eight of which were English. I forgot to mention that in the Treasury at Loretto, is an excellent Holy Family by Raphael, a Nativity by Annibal Caracci, a picture of Barrocino^[262] etc etc. At Ancona we met with an excellent house and good accommodation.

Monday 25th

We sett off early in the morning; our route lay along the sea coast and part of it on the beach. We passed through the towns of Sinigallia [Senigallia], Fano and Pesaro, all three well built and charmingly situated; they are also slightly fortified. Most of the houses of Sinigallia appear new and the streets regular. Pesaro is large and populous. From thence to Cattolica is through as rich a well cultivated country as I ever saw. It's a perfect garden as far as the eye can reach; tho' at this time of year 'twas most delightful. I think this is by far the finest part of Italy I have seen. As 'twas darkish betwixt Cattolica and Rimini we could see little of the country. In entering the last named town, where we lay, we passed through a triumphal arch erected by Augustus. The town seems large and most of the houses have *piazzas*.

²⁶¹ A quarantine station for maritime travellers.

²⁶² Federico Barocci (c.1535-1612).



Figure 30. 'We passed through the towns of Sinigallia, Fano and Pesaro, all three well built and charmingly situated; they are also slightly fortified' (25 February 1771).
Triumphal Arch at Fano, Paul Sandby, 1778. (British Museum)

Tuesday 26th

We left Rimini early in the morning and on going out of town passed over a bridge built also by Augustus, which Palladio^[263] has published as the best example in antiquity. After crossing it we left our chaises and walked a little down the river to see it to the best advantage. Nothing struck me so much as the great strength of it, which seems likely to last for many hundred years more. A few miles farther on we crossed the River Rubicon over a wooden bridge, supposed to be nearly at the same place where Julius Caesar crossed it with his army when he first entered on the Civil War. On a mountain about ten or twelve miles off the road on the left hand stands the celebrated republic of San Marino which appeared almost lost in the clouds. The inhabitants of it are not above 2 or 3000. Addison gives a short account of it in his travels. To Ravenna where we dined, the country is almost a perfect marsh; a few miles before we arrived there is the place which they say was formerly the port, about three miles from the sea, which shows how much it has retired from these parts. Ravenna is an exceeding good well built town, the streets are wide and regular; we saw the cathedral which contains nothing remarkable. We could not stay long enough to see the antiquities of which we were told there are a great number. This was the seat of the Lombard Empire for some time. On leaving this place we went through a wood for near 20 miles and crossed several rivers, among others the different mouths of the Po, which are very broad, tho' of no considerable depth. We got to Gora [Goro]

²⁶³ Andrea Palladio (1508-1580).

Wednesday 27th

about 3 o'clock in the morning, where after travelling all night with a hard frost, we found a dish of chocolate very comfortable. We again sett off before six and found the roads so deep and sandy that we could not make out four posts to Chiozza [Chioggia] till 3 o'clock in the afternoon. We there hired a boat for five *zequins* (a very gross imposition) to carry us to Venice, which is five and twenty miles distant. As I went to get some provisions I had an opportunity of seeing the town which is one of the prettiest I ever was in. The principal street is near a mile long and better paved than any I ever saw. There's a prodigious number of very pretty women. The other parts of the town is intersected with canals and full of boats. We left this place about 6 o'clock, and getting into the chaises fell asleep and found ourselves near Venice about ten; as 'twas a fine moon light night, we saw our entrance into the town very well which filled us with surprize and admiration. After passing through several canals and under the famous Ponte Rialto we were landed at Bond's a French house to which General Pattison had recommended us on the Canale Grande, in one of the best parts of the town. After our fatigues we were exceeding happy to get a good supper, bed and a glass of punch. The journey from Rome here is about 350 miles or 45 posts. As we had had a fortnight's dry weather we found the roads pretty tolerable; a day or two's bad weather would have made them almost impassable as we saw from the chaises sticking two or three times in the mud, as it was.



Figure 31. 'Every body knows that the method of conveyance is by gondolas as well as their shape and the manner of working them' (28 February 1771). *View of the Grand Canal, Venice*, Thomas Girtin, 1797. (British Museum)

Thursday 28th

Being heartily tired, 'twas 12 o'clock before we could get out. The first thing we did was to go and see the famous Piazza di San Marco which is surrounded by some of the public buildings of the city. It's the largest place in the whole town and I believe people meet to walk here for business and pleasure. The situation of Venice is the thing which most surprizes a stranger; it's built on about an hundred and fifty islands, and instead of streets are canals betwixt the houses. Every body knows that the method of conveyance is by gondolas as well as their shape and the manner of working them. They answer every purpose of a carriage; the hire of one of them for a day is about ten *livres* or five shillings Sterling. There are however foot paths round several of the streets and bridges over the different canals for the use of those who can't afford the more expeditious method of a gondola. They are all without exception painted black; the foreign ministers alone are allowed to have them of what colour they please. We went to see some churches amongst which the St. Salute is very elegant as is the Jesuits. St. John and Paul is a large gothic building; in all of them are several pictures by Titian, Veronese etc. We then went to see two different glass manufacturers, for which this place is remarkable; at the first they made bottles, decanters and other large glass vases, at the second miroirs, chandeliers, deserts etc. We observed that their polish was not at all equal to the English nor do they come up to us in the laying on the quick silver [*i.e.* mercury]. One of the men told us he had worked at that business for forty years without his constitution suffering in the least. In England, they say a man can't stand it above eight or nine years. We afterwards saw an exceeding fine lion brought from Africa, the property of a Venetian nobleman. After rambling up and down the town sometimes by land then by water, we returned to dinner about 6 o'clock heartily tired.

MARCH

Friday March 1st

We got out at eight o'clock and went to see the Church of St. Mark and Ducal Palace. The first is one of the heaviest old gothick buildings I ever beheld, tho' there's a vast profusion of marble in it. In the palace are several excellent large halls for the Senate and different councils to assemble in; the Sala del Maggior Consiglio is the largest room I ever saw; around it are several pictures by masters of the Venetian school and at one end a large one representing Paradise by Tintoret, which tho' here thought a great deal of, is in my opinion a confused piece of work. In the Council of Ten, the Collegio, the Sala delle Quat[t]ro Porte etc. are several good pictures. In different places of the palace are lions heads with their mouths open for secret informers to lodge their informations, a piece of policy the Venetian government wisely admits of under proper and strict regulations. Justice is here administered with the utmost impartiality and vigilance; and without a single soldier of the least military power, the whole town is kept in order and quietness by about thirty *sbirri*. The Council of Ten do every thing and are one of the most powerful courts in the world; the *Doge* is little more than their agent. On one side of the Place San Marc is the Mint and near it the Steeple. We went to the top of it from whence there's a fine view of the whole town, neighbouring islands and part of the Terra Firma.^[264] I never in my life saw a finer *coup d'oeill*. The Tyroleze Mountains at a great distance covered with snow, added not a little to the beauty of the prospect. The ships and boats on the other side as far as the horizon formed a beautiful contrast. We afterwards crossed over to an island to see the Church of San Giorgio Maggiore, which is one of the most elegant I ever saw. In the refectory is a famous picture of Paul Veronese's representing the Marriage at Cana in Gallilee thought one of his best pieces. The architecture of the church is by Palladio and exceeding fine. The monks who are all nobles have got a pretty large garden which is a great curiosity at Venice. The Ponte di Rialto did not answer my expectations nor come up to the idea I had formed of it. It certainly is a fine arch but not comparable to many I have seen in Brittain. I think the buildings on it spoil it, and make it appear very heavy, there being two rows of shops on it. In the evening we waited on the *chargé*

²⁶⁴ The *Domini di Terraferma* was the name given to the hinterland territories of the Republic of Venice beyond the Adriatic coast in north-east Italy.

des affaires^[265] Mr Ritchie and waited on Miss Murray to deliver some letters from Mrs Pattison who was not at home.



Figure 32. 'the Sala del Maggior Consiglio is the largest room I ever saw' (1 March 1771).
The Doge in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, Canaletto, 1763-66. (British Museum)

Saturday 2nd

In the morning we waited on Major Gasparoni of the Artillery to whom General Pattison had given us a letter, who carried us to see the Arsenal which is one of the compleatest things in Europe. It's about three miles in circumference and contains every thing necessary for fitting out a fleet or army. There are prodigious quantities of sails, hemp, cables, ropes, masts etc. sufficient to fit out thirty sail of the line, besides galleys etc. There are about a dozen of ships of 88 pieces of cannon besides others of smaller rates; we were aboard one of them which is not yet launched, she's as fine a roomy ship as I ever saw. We saw the different foundries of brass cannon, field pieces, anchors etc. which they are always working at, and of all which there are great numbers. There are 2500 people constantly employed. The small armoury is very prettily disposed of, and the arms kept very clean. There are several suits of armour, Turkish pistols and other weapons, besides betwixt forty and fifty thousand stand of small arms fit for service and 12,000 pistols. In the different rooms of this armoury are very good plans of the chief places belonging to the republick and in another room are excellent models in wood of Corfou [Corfu] and some other

²⁶⁵ A senior diplomat.

garrisons, besides different sections of man of war and galleys, and a model of the Arsenal. All the ships are kept covered, as is the *Bucentaure* or Galley in which the *Doge* annually weds the sea, which is a very elegant vessel adorned with carved work and gilt within and without to the waters edge. The place where they make the cables and cordage is 100 paces long with a proportionable breadth. It took us up about three hours to see it all. It's to General Pattison the state is indebted for the respectable footing their artillery is at present upon; he has in a manner formed them and they have lately raised a regiment which they have given him the command of. On the Artillery lately cast is the initial letter of his name, and arms in imitation of ours which has those of the General of the Ordnance. We saw a very fine Correggio of his representing St. Teresa, tied to a tree and pierced with arrows; it's reckoned a most capital picture. We afterwards went to see some vase manufactures for which this place is remarkable.



Figure 33. 'In the morning we waited on Major Gasparoni ... who carried us to see the Arsenal which is one of the compleatest things in Europe' (2 March 1771). *Venice: The Arsenal*, Francesco Guardi, 1755-60. (National Gallery, London)

Sunday 3rd

Major Gasparoni having procured leave for us to be admitted we went to the Grand Council which meets Sundays and holydays. It's there the Senate and nobles meet to settle the affairs of the state. Their chief business was the election of a *Podestad[a]* or magistrate for the town of Trevisaro which was done by ballot. The *Doge* was present in his robes of state with the ducal coronet on his head. His dress was a crimson damask robe, laced with ermine. He was in a chair of state at the head of the room and appears a good kind of man if one may judge from his looks. The

dress of the senators is peculiar enough a long black gown with an ermine lapel and cuffs and a prodigious large wig which appears not a little grotesque on some of the young faces. As it's the custom as soon as they assemble to shut the doors and lay the keys at the *Doge's* feet, we were kept there against our wills for four hours, till the business was finished. After dinner we went to the Hospital of the Mendicants who are all women and heard some excellent musick by them. They perform incomparably well on all the different instruments even French horns and kettle drums. They are a kind of a religious order but are allowed to marry when a good match offers and are under the protection of the prince and senators. We afterwards paid a visit to the consul Mr Udney^[266] and drank tea with Mrs Smith and Miss Murray.

Monday 4th

Went to the Church of Scalzi, belonging to the barefooted Carmelites, a modern building and one of the best decorated in Venice; it's lined with Sicilian marble, the ceiling is gilt, and the picture in the middle by Tiepoli^[267] represents the carrying the holy house to Loretto. Opposite this church on the other side of the Canal Grande is a beautiful church built in the stile of the Pantheon at Rome. In the Corpus Domani, is the Marriage in Canaa by Paul Veronese St. M. Maggiore Bassano's celebrated picture of Noah's Ark, and an Assumption by Titian; Our Saviour in the



Figure 34. 'Went to the Church of Scalzi, belonging to the barefooted Carmelites, a modern building and one of the best decorated in Venice' (4 March 1771). *The Grand Canal, Santa Lucia and the Church of the Scalzi, Venice*, follower of Canaletto, 1740-60. (National Galleries Scotland)

²⁶⁶ John Fullarton Udny (1727-1800) was the British consul at Leghorn and Venice.

²⁶⁷ Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696-1770).

House of the Pharisee by ditto both capital pictures. In the Church of St. Sepulcro is a model in marble of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem. We saw several others in which there was nothing remarkable. The front of the Palace Cornaro is an elegant piece of architecture by Palladio. The Palace Pisani occupies the largest piece of ground of any in Venice; there's some pictures of Tintoret's and an handsome ball room. In the Gallery of Statues in the Place St. Marc are few good ones; the chief are Leda and the Swan in ipso facto; Ganimede and the Eagle in ditto; and Bacchus and a Faun. In the Library I'm told some good manuscripts tho' it's a small collection.

Tuesday 5th

We saw the Cathedral in which there is nothing remarkable. The Church and School of St. Rocque is well worth seeing for some of Tintoret's best pictures. The architecture of the façade is exceeding fine. In La Carita is a good picture of Bassano's, representing the Resurrection of Lazarus. Il Redentore was built on occasion of a vow made by the Senate in the year 1576, in the time of the Plague. The front is a piece of Palladio's best architecture. The inside is simple and elegant; in it are a Resurrection, and Nativity of the Virgin by F. Bassano a Baptism by Paul Veronese and a picture or two by Palma In the Jesuits are several things worth seeing. We saw several others of inferior note, but my rage after paintings was perfectly satisfied and I looked at most of them with great indifference. Afterwards we went to the St. Mark to hear the pleadings of the lawyers; there was a great deal of vociferation, gesture and perhaps energy in their discourse. Major Gasparoni dined with us and carried us to see the Ridotto where they game in the Carnival time; the house is fitted up with great taste and elegance; whilst it's open immense sums of money are lost and won, for the Venetians are as much addicted to gaming as the other Italians. We then saw the Palace Farsetti in which there's the models of all the famous statues of antiquity well executed. In the evening Mr Udney introduced us to the Imperial Ambassador's the Count Durazzo. His lady is one of the most agreeable women I ever met with. They are fond of strangers and show them great civilities. As there was a concert I had a pleasure I little expected which was the hearing Signora Zamparini^[268] sing. She's one of the prettiest girls I ever saw; her voice and action are enchanting. She sang us such songs as would have melted a heart of flint to Love and Happiness. She acted two winters in London and her part in the Buona Figliuolo charmed every body.

Wednesday 6th

Messieurs Fonnereau and Robarts left us this morning to go to Padua and Verona with a resolution to meet again at Leghorne. Bad weather kept me in the house all day writing; after dinner Mr Glover and I paid a visit to Mrs Ritchie and spent the evening with La Bella Zamparini in the happiest and most agreeable manner. She sang us the favourite airs of the Buona Figliuolo amongst others the Alla Larga in which she so much excels.

²⁶⁸ Anna Zamperini was a singer and an actress.



Figure 35. 'We took the advantage of a couple of hours fair weather to take a walk on the Place St. Marck' (8 March 1771). *The Piazza San Marco, Venice*, Francesco Guardi, c.1775-80. (National Galleries of Scotland)

Thursday 7th

The same disagreeable rainy weather confined us to the house all day. There are several curious particularities in the government of Venice. None of their subjects are allowed on any pretence to keep company with the foreign ministers, who must therefore lead rather a dull kind of life by being denied the engagements of society. I'm informed the town is full of spies in the government's service who report every thing that passes. None of the members of the Council of Ten, during the time of their being in office which is a twelvemonth, are allowed to sleep with their wives for fear in their softer moments of divulging secrets prejudicial to the state, which was once the case with an amorous old gentleman. In spite of what Richard and other writers may affirm I have it from very good authority that the Venetians are proud, inhospitable and far from showing civility or attention to strangers. A noble Venetian, like an antient Roman senator, looks upon himself as equal to a king; tho' in fact, in consequence riches etc. he's not superior nay hardly equal to a private English gentleman. The more I see of different countries, laws and religion, the happier do I think myself in being born and bred a Britton and subject only to its equitable laws.

Friday 8th

We took the advantage of a couple of hours fair weather to take a walk on the Place St. Marck. In the evening I visited the fair Zamparini to take leave; after spending three hours in the most agreeable manner, decency at last obliged me to march off, which I did with a heavy heart.

Saturday 9th

I agreed with the courier to carry me to Florence for five *zequins*, *tout compris*;^[269] afterwards paid a few visits and packed up. I set off in the boat at 11 o'clock at night; having a very bad mattress I found it very uncomfortable. Our company consisted of two Venetian merchants, an abbate, a Greek, a Signor Cannonico and a Bollonese girl, who he was taking to Bologna to be married. Miss seemed to be one of those who would have no objection to taste the meat before the grace was said; but the old rogue kept such an eye over her that there was no possibility of speaking or hardly looking at her. In the morning of

Sunday 10th

we found ourselves at Chiozza and after going for several miles up the Adige we crossed by canals into the Po by which we proceeded to Ferrara [Ferrara]. The country all the way was almost covered with water. We arrived at Ferrara at 8 o'clock in the morning of

Monday 11th

and did not leave it till one by which I had time to see most of the town. It's seven miles in circumference well built but very badly inhabited. It's regularly fortified with a wet ditch and has a pretty strong citadel which is a hexagon; 'twas last year thoroughly repaired as they dreaded its being surprized by the Duke of Modena. In the different churches are some very good pictures. In the cathedral is the Martydom of St. Lawrence by Guercino and a fresco painting in imitation of Michel Angelo's Last Judgement. In the Theatino is one of Guerchin's best pictures; it represents Our Saviour Presented to the High Priest in the Temple. In the Benedictines is the tomb of Ariosto the famous poet, who flourished in the 16th century. I saw several others which I cannot recollect. We left Ferrara at one o'clock and proceeded seven miles by land in coaches, or rather wagons, for they were the most shocking vehicles I ever entered; the road was so deep that I thought we never should have got through it; the horses were up to their bellies and the fore wheels covered with the mud; sometimes we stuck for half an hour; at last however we arrived at the canal; our company was now increased with a fat old Capuchin, two Jews and a Lyons merchant who I had seen at Rome, which with my friend the Greek, the Canonico, Bolonnese girl and myself made up as motley a crew as a man would wish to be in company with. Six miles farther we got a boat which had a kind of cabin to it, there we were to sleep altogether in the best manner we could. After supper Moses and Solomon spread their mattresses and snored most heartily. The courier and myself had a very small one betwixt us, the other having been forgot by the road; the Lyons merchant lay on the boards, and the Canonico got the fair Bolonnese (by way of taking care of her) betwixt himself and the Capuchin who to

²⁶⁹ 'all-in', *i.e.* there were to be no additional charges.

keep himself warm put one of her petticoats over his head. Notwithstanding these disagreeable circumstances I never spent a merrier night in my life. The Canonico was resolved by way of preventing accidents to have the candle burning all night. On pretence of its keeping us awake the merchant and I as soon as the father shut his eyes knocked it out and whilst he was striking a fresh one we were badineing^[270] with Miss who had not the least objection to the fun and who cursed the Canonico's over kindness heartily. In short we tormented the old fellow so much that he did not shut an eye the whole night. He richly deserved it, for tho' he was praying and repeating his breviary half the day, he was a wretch void of all feeling, charity and compassion. To his great joy we got to Bologna at 7 o'clock in the morning of

Tuesday 12th

As soon as I had cleaned myself and got a little breakfast I hired a *valet de place* and went to see the curiosities. In the *piazza* is a statue of one of the popes, which together with a most elegant fountain on the top of which is Neptune with his trident, all in bronze, is the work of Jean de Boulogne. In the churches and palaces are some excellent pictures by the different masters of this school *viz.* Guido, Guercino, the Caraccis etc. In the cathedral is an Annunciation of Ludovico Caracci in *fresque*, the churches here have nothing striking with regard to their buildings, but there are several very capital pictures in them. In San Petronio is the Saint and a Holy Family by Franceschini San Salvatore an Assumption by Augustino Caracci, a Nativity by Tiarini^[271] Corpus Domini a good Resurrection by Augustino Caracci and the Death of Joseph with Christ, the Virgin and an Angel looking over him an excellent picture by Franceschini Santa Agnesia, the Martyrdom of the Saint in a most masterly manner by Dominichino, on the right of her are three women and a child spectators most admirably well done, this is thought one of the best in town. Saint Dominique. In it is the Slaughter of the Innocents by Guido and St. Thomas d'Aquinas writing on the Eucharist a most excellent Guercino At San Giovanni in Monte in the Bentivoglio Chapel is the famous Saint Cecilia of Raphael with a Groupe of the Sts. Paul, John, Augustine, and the Magdalene. St Cecilia is the chief figure, but the expression of the whole is admirable. Above her is a choir of angels sounding musical instruments, to which she seems to listen with a great attention, whilst her own harp is ready to fall from her hands. To say it's Raphael's is to make it's *eulogium*, it pleased me beyond expression. In the same church is a Madona di Rosario by Guercino St. Jerome and Joseph by the same and a Martyrdom of St. Lawrence by Franceschini. Gesu e' Maria. Over the high altar is a Circumcision by Guercino, a very capital picture, tho' by no means a pleasing subject. Above it is the Almighty which was done by candle light, by the same master, in one night, to show the quickness of his execution. Mendicanti di Dentro, a charity house church; the picture above the grand altar is by Guido and divided into two parts, in the upper

²⁷⁰ *i.e.* engaging in playful banter (badinage).

²⁷¹ Alessandro Tiarini (1577-1668).

one is a *Pieta*, that is a Dead Christ with the Virgin and two Angels looking over him; the lower part is composed of St. Petronius, Charles and the other Protectors of the city. It did not much please me, as I think it's a bad design. In one of the chapels is a curious picture by Tiarini; it represents Joseph carried by Angels to the Virgins feet, to ask pardon on account of the suspicions he entertained of her being got with child; humility and repentance are strongly painted on his countenance. She seems not a little angry her character should be called in question. I think all together it's a droll thought. In another chapel is a famous Guide: Job seated on a throne after all his sufferings with his friends bringing him presents. In the group below are some excellent figures; in short all together it's a most excellent picture. In the church is an Avocation of St. Matthew Ludovico Caracci and Elija giving alms to a poor man by Tiarini. I likewise saw San Michele in Bosco about half a mile from the town; it stands on an eminence on a pretty situation and commands an extensive view of the town and environs. In the church and cloisters are some good pictures. A Saint Bernardo^[272] receiving a book with the rules of his order Olevetins from the Virgin by Guercino. In the sacristy is a copy of Guide's Magdalene in the Barberini Palace at Rome exceedingly well done by Canuti.^[273] The cloisters were painted in *fresquo* by Guido, the Caraccis, Spada etc. but they are all perfectly ruined by dampness and bad management. They have however taken a copy of Guide's famous Turbantina, so called from a beautiful woman in it having a turban on her head, which is put up in the church. Near this on another hill is a Capuchin convent, in which is pictures deservedly much esteemed. It's Christ on the Cross with the Virgin M. Magdalene and St. John; this is likewise by Guide and reckoned one of his best. In the Monte Alto a Salutation by Tierini Abram and Melchisedee [*i.e.* Melchizedek] by Leonardo Spada^[274] St. Antonio preaching by Ludovico Caracci Dead Christ by Tierini. I likewise saw the Palace Aldrovandi in which are some elegant apartments hung with Gobelin tapistry and silk. The gallery is very fine and has some good pictures The Death of Adonis with the Nymphs bewailing him an excellent Franceschini. An Amour sleeping on a crimson mattress said to be by Guide. Two fruit pieces Albano. An excellent little Magdalene by Vanderveff very highly finishd and one of the most pleasing pictures I ever saw. Two Saints by Raphael and several others by Dominichino, Locatelli etc. The new theatre is very large and handsomely fitting up. I also saw what is called the Senola or University and the Academy of Arts and Sciences or the Instituta in which every branch of knowledge is taught. Upwards of forty chambers are full of different curiosities. There are all kinds of animals preserved; children in foetus's, birds, serpents, flies etc etc. Two very large mummies, skeletons, abortions, monsters; all kinds of ores metals, seeds and ten thousand things which it's impossible to recollect, but which a little book I bought, gives a full account of. The collection was begun by Compte Marsigli

²⁷² Saint Bernardo Tolomei (1272-1348), founder of the Congregation of the Blessed Virgin of Monte Oliveto.

²⁷³ Domenico Maria Canuti (1625-1684).

²⁷⁴ Leonello Spada (1576-1622).

an imperial general and seconded by Benedict 14th. It's a very compleat thing and surprized me much as I had never heard it mentioned before. There are different schools for Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Drawing, Fortification and in short every thing else; it took me up an hour and a half to have only a superficial view of it. In the evening I paid a visit to the Duke of Dorset and Lord Carmarthen^[275] who had been here for some days. The town of Bologna is very large and well built, surrounded by a brick wall; the streets are of a proper breadth and the houses well built, they have almost all *piazzas* which is very convenient in the heats or rainy weather. The town contains about 70,000 souls, there's a brick leaning tower in the middle of it and another of a very great height, being 420 feet. The country round about seems rich and fertile; altogether I think it far from being a disagreeable place.

Wednesday 13th

I got up early and went about two miles out of town to see the Certosa convent, where there are some good pictures, an Assumption of the Virgin with Saint Bruno below praying by Guercino. An Ascension of our Saviour by Bibiena^[276] with a Magdalene and a large groupe below. Last Judgement by Canuti. Birth of Christ by Siossi.^[277] Saint Gerolme Receiving the Last Sacrament a noble picture by Augostino Caracci; 'twas from this Dominichino took his famous one at Rome Baptism of Christ by Elisabeth Sirani^[278] His Flagellation and being crowned with thorns by Ludovico Caracci. The first an excellent picture Five small ones by Ludovico Caracci, Guide and Albano a St. John preaching in the wilderness one of Ludovico Caracci best pieces. Christ carrying his Cross by Annibal Caracci in fresco and several others of this school. The cloisters are elegant and several good apartments for people who come to see the fryars. I had not time to see the rest of the places as we set off at 11 o'clock. We went in calashes or open chaises drawn by mules. About six miles from Bologna we entered the Apenine mountains, through which our rout lay 'till we got almost to Florence. We lay at Laniola eighteen miles distant and

Thursday 14th

set off at 5 o'clock in the morning and got to Taglia Ferro at night which is about 30 miles.

Friday 15th

We set off at 6 o'clock and got to Florence by nine. The road the whole way was exceeding good, tho' very hilly, so we could only go a foot's pace. The country was wild and uncultivated much resembling the Highlands of Scotland, but here and

²⁷⁵ Lord Robert Seymour (1748-1831).

²⁷⁶ Ferdinando Galli-Bibiena (1657-1743).

²⁷⁷ Probably Francesco Gessi (1588-1649).

²⁷⁸ Elisabetta Sirani (1638-1665).

there the valleys were rich and well improved especially near Florence. The Bolognese look upon themselves as a free people; in fact they are so; their motto is *Libertas* and they call themselves a commonwealth. The pope don't draw above £12000 a year from them and is obliged to govern them with great mildness. They have even an ambassador at Rome. In short I believe they are happy and contented with their situation. As I had seen every thing at Florence, had no inducement to stay there and was in a hurry to get on to Leghorn, I went to Mme Vanini's who was very glad to see me, gave me an excellent breakfast and got me a *voiture* to go to Leghorn for two *zequins, senza la buona mancia*.^[279] The view of Florence coming down the hill is most delightful; it wants but water to make it a perfect Claud Lorrain. I left it at 12 o'clock and having a tolerable afternoon enjoyed much going down the Vale of Arno. 'Twas almost summer, all was verdure, all was pleasant and every body seemed happy. The country girls' straw hats and their pretty faces added not a little to the beauty of the different prospects. I got to La Scala about 7 o'clock, 25 miles distant and half way to Pisa. It's a mile beyond Pogetto where we lay in going up. As 'twas a Maigre day^[280] I could get nothing but stinking fish and eggs for dinner or rather supper. During my repast I received a visit from a soldier who had been discharged from the Spanish service after having been in it fourteen years. He told me he had made a vow a long time ago, that if ever he got out of it, he would make a pilgrimage to Rome and Loretto and that as soon as he had done it and made a good confession at each place he should die contented were it even in a ditch or the high way. When I told him that I had not only kissed the pope's toe but had beads and crosses in my portmanteau (pointing to it) which had touched the miraculous image at Loretto, nothing could equal his surprize. He said I should have little of Purgatory, die when I pleased, and was astonished such a young man as I should attempt such perilous adventures. I wished for the poor fellows faith and should have been glad could I have brought myself to believe that auricular confession to a meer man as myself, walking a few miles and making the *giro*^[281] of the Santa Casa on my knees (which he promised to do) would have blotted out my numberless sins and iniquities. If a person possibly can believe and digest the errors of the church of Rome I give it him as my advice to be of their way of thinking as soon as possible as it's by far the most convenient of any I have yet mett with, on my travels.

Saturday 16th

Set off at 4 o'clock, dined at Pisa and reached Leghorn by 4 in the afternoon.

Sunday 17th

Paid some visits, dined with Captain Brathwaite at Mr Pantori's and spent the evening with Madame Birlingueri at her sister's Signora Realdo's.

²⁷⁹ 'without a good tip'.

²⁸⁰ *i.e.* a day of abstinence from meat.

²⁸¹ tour.



Figure 36. ‘... in the evening Mr Fonereau introduced us to Mr Smollet’s’ (21 March 1771).
Tobias George Smollett, c.1770. (National Portrait Gallery)

Monday 18th

A rainy day confined me to the house spent the evening at Madame Citadelli’s.

Tuesday 19th

Dined with Mr Fonereau. Paid several visits, at night to Madame Birlingueri’s *conversatione*.

Wednesday 20th

Paid Mrs Panton a visit, saw the new *Lazaretto*, dined with Captain Acton; in the evening went with Madame Birlingueri to Signora Geri’s *conversatione* and supped at home with Captains Brathwaite and Price.

Thursday 21st

Dined on board the Liverpool, in the evening Mr Fonereau introduced us to Mr Smollet’s^[282] where we staid a couple of hours. He’s here for his health. His conversation was entertaining and instructive. He told me he knew my father very well in the West Indies near thirty years ago.

²⁸² The Scottish author and poet Tobias Smollet (1721-1771), who was staying at a villa a few miles south of Leghorn.

Friday 22nd

Dined with Mr Fonnreau; paid Mrs Panton a visit, Madame Birlingueri and supped with Messieurs Rageneau's two merchants of this place.

Saturday 23rd

Dined at home and spent the evening as usual.

Sunday 24th

Dined with the Governor, the evening as usual.

Monday 25th

The same agreeable round.

Tuesday 26th

Dined with Mr Bellamy; the evening at Madame Birlingueris.

Wednesday 27th

Dined with Mr Termy; the evening as usual.

Thursday 28th

Took leave of the ladies.

Friday 29th

We embarked aboard the Liverpool a 28 gun frigate commanded by Captain Brathwaite. Our fellow passengers were General Lee, Doctor McNiell and Mr Price. We got under way about one o'clock and with a gentle breeze passed the Gorgona about sun set. In the morning of

Saturday 30th

we saw the hills about Villa Franca; that and the following day we made very little way, but in the evening of the 31st being within sight of Hieres, a fresh gale of wind quite favourable for us sprung up which carried us at the rate of 8 knots an hour till we reached Cape Mola. We discovered the island about 3 o'clock in the afternoon of

Monday April 1st

We were obliged to lie too at the mouth of the harbour 'till the moon rose; at last we anchored under the town of Mahon about 11 o'clock at night.



Figure 37. 'at last we anchored under the town of Mahon about 11 o'clock at night' (1 April 1771). *Vignette, view of Mahon Harbour, Minorca, 1799, after Nicholas Pocock.* (British Museum)

Next day

We paid the usual compliments to the Governor etc. and I found myself very happy in returning to my old friends and acquaintances.

Further Reading

The original journal is available for consultation at the National Library of Scotland (NLS), Deposit 175, Box 175. A short video commentary on other Grand Tour manuscripts held by the NLS can be found [here](#).

A short biography covering the later life of Alexander Penrose Cumming can be found on the *History of Parliament* website. For further details, and for the Cumming family in general and their lands of Altyre, see Robert Hay's *Lochnavando No More. The Life and Death of a Moray Farming Community, 1750-1850*, Edinburgh, 2005.

It was fashionable for Grand Tourists to write accounts of their travels, and some were made more widely available in print. Cumming's account can be compared with those of other Scottish tourists, such as John Moore's *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, London, 1781, and Tobias Smollet's *Travels through France and Italy*, London, 1766. James Boswell's account of his time in Italy can be found in *Boswell on the Grand Tour*, ed. F A Pottle, New York, 1952.

The Grand Tour has attracted much scholarly attention, and the literature is wide and varied. For detailed overviews, see Mead, W E. *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, New York, 1914; Hibbert, C. *The Grand Tour*, London, 1969; and Black, J. *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, Stroud, 2003. A succinct illustrated account of the Scottish dimension is offered by Iain Gordon Brown in 'Grand Tour', *The Story of Scotland*, 4 vols, Glasgow, 1988, II, 724-28. See also his 'Scotland and Italy: Books and the Grand Tour' in Brown, S W and McDougall, W, eds. *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, volume 2: Enlightenment and Expansion, 1707-1800*, Edinburgh, 2012, 233-45; and 'Water, Windows and Women: The Significance of Venice for Scots in the Age of the Grand Tour', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 30:3 (2006), 1-50.

There are also a number of online resources available, ranging from *The Grand Tour*, a digital collection of manuscript, visual and printed works, to an episode in the BBC Radio 4 series *In Our Time*.

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Figure 2. George Keate, *A Sketch of the Port of Genoa*, c.1754. 1878,0209.176.

Figure 3. Jean Honoré Fragonard, *A View of Pisa showing the Baptistery, Campo Santo, Cathedral and the Leaning Tower*, 1761. 1936,0509.35.

Figure 4. After Giuseppe Zocchi, *Veduta del Ponte alla Carrara*, mid eighteenth century. 1898,0725.8.1803.

Figure 5. After Giuseppe Zocchi, *Veduta degli Uffizi*, mid eighteenth century. 1922,0410.142.23.

Figure 6. After Giuseppe Zocchi, *Veduta del real Palazzo Pitti*, mid eighteenth century. 1898,0725.8.1801.

Figure 14. Nicholas Pocock, *Ischia from Posillipo*, 1793. 1871,0610.722.

Figure 15. Paul Sandby, *The Town of Puzzuoli, with a view of the ruins of Caligula's Bridge*, 1777. 1872,0713.459.

Figure 16. John Robert Cozens, *Bay of Naples from Capo di Monte*, late eighteenth century. 1878,1228.8.

Figure 29. George Keate, *Bridge at Terni*, 1754-56. 1878,0209.273.

Figure 30. Paul Sandby, *Triumphal Arch at Fano*, 1778. 1881,0611.129.

Figure 31. Thomas Girtin, *View on the Grand Canal, Venice*, 1797. 1878,1228.30.

Figure 32. Canaletto, *The Doge in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio*, 1763-66. 1910,0212.20.

Figure 37. After Nicholas Pocock, *Vignette, view of Mahon Harbour, Minorca*, 1799. 1915,0327.9.

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Figure 1. Giuseppe Chiesa, *Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Watson with (from left) grenadiers of the 13th, 11th, 67th, and 3rd Regiments of Foot, their officers, and soldiers of 25th Regiment of Foot*, 1771. NAM 1974-02-127-1.

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Front cover. Francesco Guardi, *San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice*, c.1770. NG 1499.

Figure 7. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Vedute di Roma: View of the Piazza di Monte Cavallo, Today the Piazza del Quirinale*, 1748. P 2441.9.

Figure 8. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Vedute di Roma: View of the exterior of St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican from the Piazza della Sagrestia*, 1748. P 2441.20.

Figure 9. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Vedute di Roma: Trajan's Column*, 1748. P 2441.17.

Figure 10. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Vedute di Roma: View of the Campo Vaccino, the Forum Romanum from the Capitoline Hill*, 1748. P 2441.15.

Figure 11. John Robert Cozens, *Vesuvius and the Convent of San Salvatore above Portici*, late eighteenth century. D 5023.54.

Figure 13. Domenico Cunego, *Views of Antique Architecture: Tomb of Virgil*, 1760-70. P 9140.

Figure 17. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Vedute di Roma: View of the Basilica of St. John Lateran, distant view*, 1748. P 2441.6.

Figure 18. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Vedute di Roma: View of the Mausoleum of the Emperor Hadrian (now called Castel S. Angelo) from the rear*, 1750. P 2441.64.

Figure 19. Ozias Humphry, *Prince Charles Edward Stuart 1720-1788*, 1776. PG 2991.

Figure 20. Franciszek Smuglevicz, *James Byres of Tonley and members of his family*, c.1780. PG 2601.

Figure 21. Hugh Primrose Dean, *View of the Colosseum*, c.1776. D 2305 E.

Figure 22. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Vedute di Roma: View of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina in the Roman Forum*, 1748. P 2441.30.

Figure 24. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Vedute di Roma: Close up of the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius*, 1748. P 2441.57.

Figure 26. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Vedute di Roma: View of the Palace of the illustrious Barberini family on the Quirinal Hill, designed by Cavaliere Bernini*, 1749. P 2441.55.

Figure 27. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Vedute di Roma: View of the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli with a small temple to the right*, 1750. P 2441.61.

Figure 28. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Vedute di Roma: View of the facade of the Basilica of S. Croce in Gerusalemme (the Holy Cross in Jerusalem)*, 1748. P 2441.40.

Figure 34. Follower of Canaletto, *The Grand Canal, Santa Lucia and the Church of the Scalzi, Venice*, 1740-60. NG 2014.

Figure 35. Francesco Guardi, *The Piazza San Marco, Venice*, c.1775-80. NG 2370.

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Figure 33. Francesco Guardi, *Venice: The Arsenal*, 1755-60. NG3538.

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Figure 36. Unknown artist, *Tobias George Smollett*, c.1770. NPG 1110.

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Figure 12. John 'Warwick' Smith, *Grotto of Pausilippo*, 1778-79. T08492.

Figure 23. David Allan, *The Start of the Race in the Corso, Rome*, c.1767-77. T08119.

Figure 25. John Robert Cozens, *Lake Nemi*, c.1783-88. N05807.