ANTIQUITY OBSERVED: THE JONATHAN RICHARDSONS (senior & junior) ON THE SCULPTURE OF GREECE AND ROME

by

Shailoo Bedi
B.A., University of Victoria, 1993

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of History in Art

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

[redacted]
Dr. Carol Gibson-Wood, Supervisor (Department of History in Art)

[redacted]
Dr. John Osborne, Departmental Member (Department of History in Art)

[redacted]
Dr. John Oleson, Outside Member (Department of Greek and Roman Studies)

[redacted]
Dr. Peter Smith, External Examiner (Department of Greek and Roman Studies)

University of Victoria

Supervisor: Dr. Carol Gibson-Wood

ABSTRACT

In 1721, Jonathan Richardson junior, son of the English portrait painter Jonathan Richardson senior visited Italy and while on his trip, he kept extensive records of the paintings and sculptures he viewed. Upon his return to England, Jonathan junior, in collaboration with his father, wrote a travel journal that was published in 1722 called An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy, etc...with Remarks. The journal consists of the Richardsons' descriptions of fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth century Italian and Northern European painting as well as classical sculpture, but for this thesis I have only focused on the classical pieces. The Richardsons' remarks on classical sculpture was significant for their time because only a few authors examined ancient art for its artistic value.

The introductory discussion examines the lack of twentieth-century scholarship on the Richardson journal with regard to its relevance to Grand Tour literature, early contributions to the study of classical sculpture, and Jonathan senior's art theoretical contributions. Chapter one outlines the significance of the classical world in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Britain, illustrating its influence on the British education curriculum, the academic debate between the Ancients and Moderns, art collecting, and popular literature. This background information indicates the importance of classical literature, art, and history on British society, and how this fascination with the ancients led to travel to Italy. Chapter two is a survey of six British travel journals, which provides a useful context for the Richardsons' account. This comparative examination reveals the Richardsons' different and original approach to classical sculpture. Chapter three includes a biography of

the Richardsons and a description of the construction of their journal. Chapter four focuses on the Richardsons' observations of classical sculpture through the analysis of eight case studies. Chapter five considers the relationship between the Richardsons and Johann Joachim Winckelmann's ideas and conclusions about ancient art. The Conclusion of this thesis summarizes the contents of the chapters and discusses the importance and value placed on the Richardsons' account in terms of its intended audience, the eighteenth-century readership.

Examiners:

[redacted]

Dr. Carol Gibson-Wood, Supervisor (Department of History in Art)

[redacted]

Dr. John Osborne, Departmental Member (Department of History in Art)

[redacted]

Dr. John Oleson, Outside Member (Department of Greek and Roman Studies)

[redacted]

Dr. Peter Smith, External Examiner (Department of Greek and Roman Studies)

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

Acknowledgements

This thesis owes its completion to many people, my family, friends, the faculty, and staff of the Department of History in Art, and I am extremely indebted to you all. Dr. Carol Gibson-Wood, my supervisor, I thank you for suggesting the topic of this thesis and for your advice. Thank you to my committee members, Dr. John Osborne, Dr. John Oleson, and Dr. Peter Smith for your time, effort, and assistance. I would like to extent a special note of gratitude to Dr. John Osborne who meticulously read several drafts of this thesis and offered helpful criticism.

I would like to thank the University of Victoria for providing a positive environment for graduate students and for their most generous financial support. I would also like to acknowledge Darlene Pouliot, secretary of the History in Art department, who always kept me on track with administrative concerns.

I am deeply grateful to my parents, sister, and James for your constant encouragement and your unfailing support. James, thank you so much for your patience, for listening to my ideas, and for your invaluable help since the beginning of this project.

Introduction

Late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century British travel literature is a valuable source of information. It illuminates the thoughts, interests, and attitudes of the leisured class from this era. The authors of such travel journals recorded information on a wide variety of topics about the cities they visited including: the hostels, restaurants, music, art, and architecture.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine certain aspects of the discussion of classical art by British travellers.[1] The influence of antiquity was present in many facets of English society. Art, architecture, and literature from this period were all saturated with classical references and the educational system from grammar schools to universities emphasized the study of ancient languages, literature, and history. From this fascination with the classical world, travel to Italy, most specifically to Rome, became a common practice for the more affluent British community.

Most travellers recorded lengthy descriptions of the classical antiquities which they encountered.[2] One of the several journals inspired by the art of ancient Rome was jointly authored by Jonathan Richardson senior and his son, Jonathan Richardson junior. Jonathan senior, an accomplished painter, writer, collector, and lover of antiquities, generously granted his son a trip to Italy, instructing him to observe carefully and note the classical sculpture which intrigued him. Upon his return to England, Jonathan senior combined

---

[1] This examination will focus primarily on the passages referring to classical sculpture and some on classical architecture. This thesis will consider late seventeenth and early eighteenth century views of ancient art and not a twentieth-century understanding of this issue. Although, twentieth-century sources have been employed to document the classical art examined in the case studies (presented in chapters 2 & 4), this is only done to provide a context for the pieces.

[2] The term "classical" is used throughout this thesis to refer generally to ancient Greece and Rome. My discussion of "antiquites" will be limited primarily to architecture and sculpture.

his son's travel notes with his own art-theoretical knowledge to create their highly acclaimed travel journal, An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawing, and Pictures in Italy, etc...with Remarks, published in 1722. This book will be the main focus of my study.

Although their book contains many astute and critical discussions of classical art and was well received in the eighteenth century, the Richardson journal has had little attention from twentieth-century scholars with respect to its relevance to Grand Tour literature, early contributions to the study of classical sculpture, and Jonathan senior's art theoretical contributions.

The eighteenth century has been labelled "the age of the Grand Tour." Voyages abroad by the British reached record numbers in that century. Numerous books have been published on the topic of the Grand Tour, providing a detailed study of typical continental excursions by the British. Using travel accounts, all aspects of the voyage abroad have been examined, including discussions about cost, transportation, accommodation,food, politics, religion, and the arts. Authors such as William Edward Mead, R.S. Lambert, Christopher Hibbert, and Jeremy Black have all published standard books on the Grand Tour,[3] primarily making use of the travel literature from the mid to late eighteenth century. The Richardsons' observations and analysis of classical art are not utilized by these scholars in their discussions of the arts of Rome,[4] yet the Richardsons' account contains many interesting

---

[3] William Edward Mead, The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company,1914; R.S. Lambert, Grand Tour: A Journey in the Tracks of the Age of Aristocracy,New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., Inc, 1937;Christopher Hibbert. The Grand Tour, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969; Jeremy Black,The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century,New York St. Martin's Press, 1992.

[4] The Richardsons are not listed in any of the indexes in these books on the Grand Tour.

and unique passages, including their opinions and attitudes towards ancient sculpture. It is unfortunate that the above mentioned authors did not recognize the value of the contributions made by the Richardsons on this issue.

With respect to the study of ancient art, Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) has been credited as the undisputed father of classical art history. Several scholars have focused considerable time and energy on Winckelmann and his opinions of classical sculpture.[5] However, the Richardsons' original observations on ancient art, some of which are similar to Winckelmann's, have been virtually ignored. The only modern academics to appreciate the importance of the Richardson travel journal, in the context of eighteenth-century travel literature, have been Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, who co-authored Taste and the Antique: the Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900. Haskell and Penny reveal the popularity and wide readership of the Richardson journal, which after being published was "...translated into French six years later (an unheard-of distinction for an English book on the arts)."[6] They also recognize that the Richardsons were rare examiners of classical art for their time because they attempted to center on the artistic and formal qualities of the pieces. The focus on aesthetic issues concerning ancient art is an important difference between the

---

[5] Some of the scholars who have written on Winckelmann include:
Henry Caraway Hatfield, Winckelmann and His German Critics 1755-1781: A Prelude to the Classical Age, New York: King's Crown Press, 1943; David Irwin, Winckelmann: Writings on Art, London: Phaidon Press, 1972; Wolfgang Leppmann, Winckelmann, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970; Alex Potts, Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

[6] Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, Taste and the Antique: the Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981) p.61.

Richardsons and other contemporaneous authors on this topic. Although Winckelmann used a similar methodological approach in his studies, Haskell and Penny clearly indicate that the Richardsons' theories were original and predate Winckelmann's.[7]

Haskell and Penny utilize the Richardson journal in their catalogue of ancient statues, documenting valuable observations, facts, and analysis made by the Richardsons. They are perhaps the first to realize and suggest the significance of the Richardsons' views on ancient art in regard to eighteenth century understanding of the topic, but have not provided us with a detailed discussion of the work.

In general, scholarship on the Richardsons has focused on their co-authored book on Milton entitled, Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost (1734), and Jonathan senior's artwork and art theories. Unfortunately even in this category their journal receives little or no attention.

In 1936 G.W. Snelgrove wrote his University of London Ph.D dissertation on the life and work of Jonathan senior.[8] He discussed both his work as an artist and his work as a theoretician, consistently praising Jonathan senior's contributions in both fields. His discussion of Jonathan senior's written works centers heavily on the Essay on the Theory of Painting.[9] He dedicates only four pages to the journal, and within that

---

[7] Haskell and Penny, p.61.

[8] G.W. Snelgrove, p.217. "The Work and Theories of Jonathan Richardson." Diss. University of London, 1936.

[9] This book will be discussed in more detail in chapter four.

limited space he only discusses the references to the great Italian masters,[10] without giving any indication of the lengthy and detailed consideration of classical sculpture. From Snelgrove's description, one would assume classical art was not even discussed. Unfortunately, Snelgrove does not provide the reader with an accurate idea of the quantity of description devoted to ancient sculpture, and thus does the Richardsons a disservice.

Julius Schlosser Magnino, author of Die Künstliteratur, discussed the Richardsons' journal, referring to it as the most important travel book of its type.[11] He also notes that the Richardsons in their descriptions of the arts offer explanations for their approval or dislike for a particular object, a feature Magnino finds most informative.[12] Although Magnino in general is pleased with the travel account and praises the good observations and original views made by the Richardsons, he does not provide a detailed discussion of the book's contents.[13]

Johannes Dobai also cites the Richardsons' account in his work, Die Kunstliteratur des Klassizismus und der Romantik in England.[14] Dobai gives a brief synopsis of the journal, discussing how it was created, the itinerary, and the information about sixteenth and seventeenth-century

---

[10] G.W. Snelgrove, p.217. He mainly refers to the journal for its comments on Raphael.

[11] Julius Schlosser Magnino, Die Kunstliteratur, 1924. It was translated from the original German by Filippo Rossi into Italian and called, La Letteratura artistica, (Florence, 1979) p. 539.

[12] Magnino, p. 539.

[13] Magnino, p.539. He also mentions that the Richardsons' guide book was most valuable for its commentary on ancient art. p. 655.

[14] Johannes Dobai. Die Kunstliteratur des Klassizismus und der Romantik in England. 4 vols. 1700-1750. (Bern: Benteli, 1974.)

painters. He, unfortunately, does not even mention their observations on classical art.[15]

Lawrence Lipking, in his book, The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England (1970), includes a chapter on Jonathan senior called "The Uncomplicated Richardson." Lipking examines the attitudes and thoughts of Jonathan senior about art and describes him as a painter by profession but one who lived more to write about painting. Again, it is Jonathan senior's An Essay on the Theory of Painting which is the main reference for this analysis, with some discussion of the Two Discourses. Lipking uses these texts to illustrate how Jonathan senior "...had set out to change the way that Englishmen thought about the arts,"[16] and further in his survey he critiques earlier books about art and art theory to reveal the value and unique approach to the study of art made by Jonathan senior. Lipking praises Jonathan senior's art theory books for their originality and for their reliance "...[on] the presentation of clear and distinct ideas."[17] Jonathan senior encouraged viewers to analyze painting in parts including: composition, colouring, handling, drawing, invention, expression, grace and greatness, advantage, and pleasure. From this analysis a numerical judgement on its effectiveness could be made using an eighteen point scale. He explains that Jonathan senior's purpose in providing this method of evaluation was to add an element of scientific exactness to art criticism. Although Lipking gives

---

15 Dobai, pp. 886-896.

16 Lawrence Lipking, The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth Century England. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970)p.109.

17 Lawrence Lipking, p. 113.

due praise to Jonathan senior for his theoretical work, he does not examine the travel journal and fails to illustrate the original thoughts and observations about classical art contained therein.

An examination of the journal was warranted in Lipking's chapter, since his purpose was to point out how Jonathan senior "set out to change the way that Englishmen thought about the arts."[18] The Richardsons' observations on ancient art, therefore, would have been another appropriate example to have been included in his study.

Carol Gibson-Wood has devoted much attention to the Richardsons and has published several articles.[19] The first article is a close analysis of Jonathan senior's Two Discourses. Gibson-Wood provides a detailed discussion of earlier writers on this topic and reveals Jonathan senior's contributions in the fields of art criticism and connoisseurship as well as examining how his ideas were received by the English public. The second article focuses on Lord Somer's collection of drawings organized by Jonathan senior. This examination is significant because it provides "...valuable information about attitudes to collection during the early eighteenth century."[20] Gibson-Wood builds a case in this article that the collection's arrangement was influenced by Jonathan senior's preoccupation with the history of painting. In other words, she demonstrates how this collection

---

[18] As Jonathan senior attempted to encourage individuals to examine paintings with their own eyes, he sought to do the same with his discussion on classical art in the journal.

[19] Carol Gibson-Wood, "Jonathan Richardson and the Rationalization of Connoisseurship," Art History, Vol 7. No. 1 (1984) pp.38-56; "Jonathan Richardson, Lord Somer's Collection of Drawings, and Early Art-Historical Writing in England," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, Vol. 52. (1989) pp.167-187; "Jonathan Richardson as Draughtsman," Master Drawings, Vol.32. No.3 (1994) pp. 203-229.

[20] Gibson-Wood, "Jonathan Richardson, Lord Somer's Collection of Drawings, and Early Art-Historical Writing in England." p.167.

was created using British writings on the arts from the early eighteenth century.

In the last article, Gibson-Wood describes Jonathan senior as a draftsman. She analyzes his approach, method, style, and technique in sketching, indicating that Jonathan senior was an avid copier of antique statues. Although this was a rare practice for a portraitist, Jonathan senior "...apparently executed his sketches as a way of studying the principles of classical idealization that he praised repeatedly in his writings."[21] This essay provides a careful examination of Jonathan senior's drawings and reveals his inspirations and examples, but does not specifically address the Richardson journal.

This review of the literature about the Richardsons has indicated the extent of examination they have received. It is clear from this survey that their travel journal has not been the focus of any major study, and has only been the subject of passing references. The purpose of this thesis is to highlight the original and thought-provoking observations and theories about classical sculpture made by the Richardsons in their travel account, as well as to reveal their rare approach considering the context and the time in which they were writing.

The chapters contained in this thesis are meant to provide background, context, close examination, and an assessment of the influence of the Richardsons' ideas and theories about classical art. Chapter one will outline the importance of the classical world in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Britain, illustrating its influence on the British education system, and discussing the academic debate of the Ancients versus Moderns,

---

[21] Gibson-Wood,"Jonathan Richardson as a Draftsman." p.205.

art collecting, and popular literature. This information will provide an understanding of how influential the literature, art, and history of the ancients were in British society of this era, and how this fascination led to travel to Italy. Chapter two is a survey of six British travel journals, which will provide a context in which we may discuss the Richardsons' work. Examining the works of travellers before and after the Richardsons will help to reveal how unique they were in their approach to the classical sculpture. Chapter three includes a biography of the Richardsons as well as a discussion of the creation of the journal. Chapter four provides detailed analysis of the journal itself. In this section four significant aspects of the Richardsons' approach to their study of classical sculpture will be analyzed through the examination of eight case studies. Chapter five discusses the relationship of the Richardsons' theories and conclusions to those of another writer on ancient art, Winckelmann. Although Winckelmann is given due credit for his originality, this chapter provides a comparison between the Richardsons and Winckelmann, using case studies to illustrate similarities and differences, and to indicate where in some cases Winckelmann's ideas are pre-dated by those of the Richardsons. This will illustrate the positive and important impact the Richardson journal made in the decades following its publication.

Chapter One: The Importance of the Classical World in Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century British Society

Introduction

The British fascination with the classical world in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century touched many levels of society. The curriculum at both private and public schools emphasized the study of the classical languages and literature. In the universities most classes were taught in Latin, and popular literature was filled with references to classical myths, poems, history and philosophy. Classical ideals were the touchstones and established the framework for modern English society.

From this interest in the classical world, travel to Italy became an essential component of the British upper middle class and wealthy families' lifestyle. Although travel was difficult and strenuous in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was nonetheless a necessary requirement in the completion of a young gentleman's education. Rome was by far the most important Italian city for the British tourist and represented the epitome of refinement and culture. The nostalgic treasures and romantic ruins of the classical past enticed numerous British travellers each year. A closer examination into some specific aspects of British society will illustrate the overall value placed on the classical past and how it promoted travel among the British aristocracy.

The influence of the classical world is evident in many aspects of British seventeenth and eighteenth-century society. The British love affair with "things" classical began to establish itself firmly in the seventeenth century and emerged as a major element in British society by the following century. Interest in the classical past was an established British tradition that

extended back to the Middle Ages.[1] But this particular fascination became much more widespread in the seventeenth and eighteenth century with the incorporation of more classical authors into the curriculum of public and grammar schools and with the publication of essays on classical issues in popular magazines. For upper-class and aristocratic families, interest in the classics played a vital role in the proper upbringing of their boys, who were to grow up to be finely moulded "gentlemen". An educated gentleman had to be well-versed in classical literature as well as competent in Latin and Greek.[2] Thus classicism dominated the curriculum of the British education systems from Grammar schools to universities. An important aspect of this education, which usually represented the culmination of the process, involved travel to Italy with a tutor.[3]

The high pedestal upon which classical ideals were placed became a major issue in the academic community. By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries heated debates began to take shape between those who claimed the ancients were supreme and could never be surpassed in their achievements, and those who supported the moderns and had faith that they

---

[1] The British interest in the classical world was thus not new but was cultivated as far back as the Middle ages. However, by the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the British concern with the classical past became more prominent and widespread with the greater accessibility of classical texts and ancient objects. For a detailed discussion of the British fascination with the classical world in the Middle Ages, consult George Parks, The English Traveller to Italy (Roma: Edizioni di Storia Letteratura, 1954.) The author surveys several travel journals from the Middle Ages and there is some discussion of classical monuments.

[2] M.L. Clarke, Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959) p.3.This book centers on the importance of classical education in Britain from 1500-1900. The author closely examines the classical texts and methods of classical studies at grammar and private schools and universities.

[3] W.E. Mead, The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914.), p.310.

could go beyond the ancients and reach higher levels of success. This debate conveys the depth and importance of classicism in British intellectual society; some scholars were willing to deny British achievement to elevate the classics as the best in thought and taste.[4] Outside this debate, the role of British scholars in the field of classical scholarship was extensive. Several noteworthy academics in the seventeenth and eighteenth century contributed valuable translations and editorial reviews of classical texts.[5]

These discussions went beyond the formal educational system and found a very active audience in British popular culture. Literary periodicals published in the early 1700s are saturated with articles that hold classical literature as the undisputed model for British writers. The Spectator is an excellent example of a periodical which displays the frequency of topics written on classical themes. Also, letters submitted by readers of The Spectator illustrate how highly the public valued classical ideals. These letters clearly show that interest in the classical world was not confined to the upper classes, but that it transcended social boundaries to reach into the general literate public.

Classical art and architecture also had a profound impact on British society.[6] English architecture was heavily influenced by the styles and formulas of ancient buildings. During the seventeenth and eighteenth

---

[4] The main scholars in this debate were: William Wotton who wrote, Reflections Upon Ancient and Modern Learning. (London, 1694), and Sir William Temple, Essay Upon Ancient and Modern Learning. (London, 1694). Their issues will be discussed later in this chapter.

[5] Specific British classical scholars and their contributions will be discussed later in this chapter.

[6] Examples of classical influences in architecture and in the collecting tastes of the British will be examined later in this chapter.

centuries, collecting ancient art was also a popular and worthy enterprise for the wealthy classes in England.[7] Collectors' avid pursuit of classical art illustrates their desire and taste to possess material treasures from Greece and Rome. Thus, the widespread imitation of classical architecture and the purchasing of classical objects indicates the British reverence towards the arts of the ancients.

All in all, the level of knowledge about the classical world, its literature, history, art, and languages is impressive throughout this period. Considering that the British were informed by the notion that a learned man could only gather high morals, refined ideals, and impeccable tastes through the study of the ancients, it is no surprise that classical themes touched many layers of the British academic and social scene.

Classical Studies in the Formal Education System

Latin and Greek classics were deeply rooted in the English educational system and were imposed on almost all English school-boys.[8] This type of education was designed by humanists as early as the sixteenth century and was continued by their successors in the next several centuries. The humanists did away with "...the utilitarian Latin of the Middle Ages and cultivated the classical elegances of Cicero and the Augustan poets."[9] For the

---

[7] Haskell and Penny discuss the importance of collecting in chapters 2, 5, and 11.

[8] Joseph M. Levine, Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press) p.10.
Levine's book provides a series of essays which contribute to the issue of English historiography. A couple of chapters focus on classical education and the Ancient versus the Modern debate.

[9] Clarke, p.3.

student the study of Latin involved the reading and imitation of the best classical models. It was simply not enough for the student to be able to write and speak Latin; he was encouraged to learn to write and speak the best Latin, and in order to do this he must dedicate himself to reading the best authors.[10] Since the Romans had also studied the literature of Greece, Greek was therefore an integral part of a boy's education as well.

The revival of the classics in school involved not only the reading of classical authors but also "...the attempt to recover the ancient way of life, and the ancient way of life included the educational methods of antiquity."[11] The undisputed authority on the ancient school system was Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria, which was discovered by Poggio in 1416.[12] The English grammar school as it was formed in the sixteenth century, and as it continued in the centuries to follow, "...was essentially the grammar school of the ancient world."[13] This type of study required the student to learn passages by heart in the original language, to translate English into the dead languages, to translate the dead languages into English, as well as to write compositions in Greek and Latin prose and verse. The emphasis was on the memorization of passages. The practice of learning by heart and repetition gave the schoolboy a familiarity with the masterpieces of ancient poetry, history, philosophy, and mythology that was to mould him with the proper social, moral, and ethical values.

---

[10] Clarke, p.3.

[11] Clarke, p.3.

[12] Clarke, p.3.

[13] Clarke, p.3.

A value judgement was made by educated English society that perfect ideals had been attained by the ancient cultures, and they were to strive to emulate those qualities in all aspects of their character. These classical ideals were combined with the Christian values of the times; in other words the classical ideals were examined from a Christian point of view. It was believed that the highest personal and social values could only be learnt through the understanding of classical literature, history, and art.[14] These texts provided a window into the classical past and illustrated the social, moral, and ethical characteristics of the ancients, and young Englishmen were to learn from these examples. Above all, this type of education would have supplied the student "...with a store of classical quotations which would be useful...in the company of those who had enjoyed a similar education."[15] Thus the importance of a classical education in terms of its social value was paramount.

Two schools which best exemplify the study of the ancients were Eton and Winchester. The recommended list of authors varied between schools because the selection was left to the discretion of the headmaster, but for the most part the most popular ancient authors were Homer and Virgil.[16] These particular authors were given special praise and held as supreme in the eyes of the educator, not only for their poetic importance but also for their

---

14 "Art as well as literature was to be studied with a new degree of thoroughness; both were to be studied not only for themselves, but for their social and historical significance." V. von Wilamowitz-Moellendroff, History of Classical Scholarship. (trans. by Alan Harris. London: Gerald Duckworth and Co. Ltd., 1982), p.xi.

15 Clarke, p.57.

16 Clarke, p.58.

oratorical power.[17] Other regularly studied authors were: Aristotle, Ovid, Juvenal, Lucan, Seneca, Hesiod, Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides, Pliny the elder, Dio Cassius, and Aristophanes.[18]

Classical studies also formed an integral part of the teaching curriculum at English universities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Cambridge and Oxford both set high standards in the study of classics. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the main studies at the undergraduate level included logic, moral philosophy, natural philosophy, metaphysics, Greek and Latin.[19] Greek and Latin were studied both for their own sake, and as well classical manuscripts were used as the main texts for other subjects. Knowledge of classical literature and history was also an important supplement for other branches of the university environment. For example, "...academic occasions were adorned with ornate Latin speeches which showed the wit and classical learning of the orator and his hearers. The art of verse-writing in the learned languages was highly valued, and the university scholar was expected to celebrate state occasions and academic functions with appropriate verses."[20] This clearly indicates how essential a good knowledge of the classical languages was for university students. Obviously, it was important for scholastic reasons but also for the student to fit comfortably into the prestigious academic environment. Thus one did not

---

17 Lawrence Lipking, The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth Century England.(New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970), p.9.

18 Clarke,p. 38.

19 Clarke, p.66.

20 Clarke, p.66.

merely need to know Latin and Greek for language classes, but also for all aspects of academic life.

From the intensive study of classical texts by English gentlemen came a spark and interest in the material remains of antiquity. It was generally thought that the remains of antiquity could be a useful source of information that would shed light on the classical authors, "...as well as vice versa: that words could be illustrated by things, and the ruins of the ancient world by its literature."[21] Thus the reading of classical authors, and the classical schooling of the upper classes, created a fascination with ancient monuments. It was "...the classical impulse that first generated and then nurtured the antiquarian enterprise. As the classical authors fastened their hold on the curriculum and came into common currency, the enthusiasm for classical antiquities became more and more apparent."[22] Schools helped in cultivating an interest in the ancient material culture by introducing antiquities into the curriculum "...as essential background for the reading of the ancient authors. Manuals on Roman antiquities were published for schools [which] described the life and lay out of ancient Rome under several headings that dealt with topography, religious, and political institutions..."[23]

Pliny the elder's Natural History was the primary ancient document which dealt with ancient art. This source provided the fundamental

---

21 Levine, p.70.
For the use of ancient art as a source of confirmation for literary and historical accounts, consult Francis Haskell, History and Its Images: Artand the Interpretation of the Past, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). This issue will be discussed in relevant passages in the following chapter.

22 Levine, p.82.

23 Levine, p.82.

foundation of knowledge on the topic of ancient art and was studied with care in England. No doubt Pliny's text inspired and aided many students in their quest for understanding and examining classical art.[24]

The final step and finishing touch for a gentleman's formal education was to travel abroad to the continent, and more specifically to Italy, the homeland of the ancient authors and art. Though the voyage could be undertaken alone, many of the wealthy aristocratic families assigned a tutor to accompany their young progeny. The presence of a tutor on such tours further emphasizes the educational aspects of the trip.

A great deal of the gentleman's voyage to Italy focused on Rome, the heartland of the ancient world, as Rome "...even in ruins, was still in a sense, the august capital of the Empire, and still the mistress of the world."[25] On typical visits to Rome and other parts of Italy, young gentlemen spent time sightseeing with their tutors or with the aid of a trusty guidebook, visiting all the popular classical monuments.[26] Viewing the ancient sculpture was intended to remind the young travellers of the mythical and historical figures discussed in classical literature; the architecture was to invoke awe

---

[24] Sir John Edwin Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship: From the Revival of Learning to the End of the Eighteenth Century. (In Italy, France, England, and the Netherlands.) Vol II. (New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1958.) p. 654.

[25] Mead, The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century, p.313.

[26] In the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, Richard Lasssels (1630-1668) guidebook, An Italian Voyage, or a Compleat Journey Through Italy, published in 1670 was popular among travellers; see Lyton Sells, The Paradise of Travellers: The Italian Influence on Englishmen in the Seventeenth Century, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1964) p.227 and Christopher Hibbert, The Grand Tour, p.10. Also Joseph Addison's guidebook, Remarks on Several Parts of Italy , 1701-1703, (London, 1705) was often read by travellers; see Hibbert, p.110 & 229. A couple of decades later the Richardson book became an essential reference for travellers; see Haskell and Penny, p.61.

and praise for the master engineers of antiquity, and for the historical emperors who commissioned them.

Though travel was common in the seventeenth century, it was not until the mid-eighteenth century that the popularity of touring advanced to great heights. This later period has been labelled "the age of the Grand Tour;" it became an established custom in British upper-class society during the middle of the eighteenth century. Not all such excursions were viewed in the sober light of personal development; "...sometimes travel led to a wider outlook and new interests, political, literary, and aesthetic ones, and to permanent relations with foreigners of note, sometimes it was merely a lark, with liberty to be as silly...as one chose..."[27] At any rate, travel to Rome and Italy became widespread in English society.

Italy was viewed as a country which nurtured a superior culture of the most elegant and civilized peoples. The grand ancient monuments of the distant past in Rome recalled the heroic and romantic days of the Republic and Empire. The poems of Virgil and Horace re-echoed in the mind of the traveller from every corner in Rome and the young gentleman hoped to return from his travels "...with a broadened mind,...a new self-reliance and self-possession as well as a highly developed taste and grace of manner."[28] Many young travellers kept travel journals recording the places they visited and describing the arts and cultures they experienced. For the most part these journals were kept as private records, but many were also published (a survey

---

27 R. S. Lambert (ed.), Grand Tour: A Journey in the Tracks of the Age of Aristocracy (New York, E,P, Dutton & Co., Inc., 1937), p.26.

28 Hibbert, p.15.

of a few travel journals will be discussed in the following chapter). Therefore a classical education played an extremely vital role in the academic upbringing and social grooming of the student.

Classical Scholarship and Debates in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Contributions of British seventeenth and eighteenth-century scholars to the study of classical literature have been significant.[29] Thomas Dempster (1579-1625) was a professor of classics at Toulouse and Nimes. He published a book called De Etruria Regali which promoted interest in Etruscan art. Dempster also wrote on Greek and Roman mythology and cosmography. Thomas Stanley (1625-1678) translated the tragedies of Aeschylus, a work published in 1663.[30]

One of the most famous names among the classical scholars of England is that of Richard Bentley (1662-1742). As a professor of classical studies at Trinity College, Cambridge for forty-two years, he contributed extensively to the field including

> ...an appendix to the edition of Cicero's Tusculan Disputations by John Davies...(1709), in which Bentley gives proof of his familiarity with the philosophical works of Cicero and with the meters of the Latin Dramatists. In the following year he produced under an assumed name his emendations of 323 fragments of Philemon and Menander. The next year he [published]...his memorable edition of Horace (1711)...Early in 1726 he published an edition of Terence...[and by] 1732-4

---

[29] He was born in Cambridge, England. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship. Vol. II., p.340.

[30] Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship. Vol. II.,p.341.

> he was busy with an edition of Homer, in which the text was to be restored...[31]

Although there are many more British seventeenth and eighteenth-century classical scholars who have produced valuable work, those discussed here have been provided as a brief sampling to illustrate the role of a few scholars in the field.

The critical debate concerning the ancients and the moderns emerged at the end of the seventeenth century and carried through the eighteenth century. Originating in Italy and France, the debate soon gained momentum in England.[32] The controversy focused on the literary merits of the ancients and the scientific advancements of the moderns, and attempted to define the relative value of each discipline in modern society. The supporters of the ancients defended the importance of classical literature and history, believing that they offered models for practical life in the present.[33] Many modernist scholars began to consider seriously whether the ancients were the supreme examples in all issues, "...to be admired and emulated but never to be surpassed, or had the moderns in fact already left them behind? Was progress possible, or were men destined indefinitely to fall short of the classical models and to continue sighing for the Golden Age?"[34] The "moderns" were hesitant to accept the authority of the classical world, and believed they had matched or in some cases had surpassed the ancients. In this way "the

---

[31] Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship. Vol. II.,pp.406-409.

[32] Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship. Vol. II.,p.402.

[33] Joseph M. Levine, "Ancients and Moderns Reconsidered." Eighteenth Century Studies, (1981, vol.15.), p.85.

[34] Levine, Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography, p.156.

comparisons began, the best of Antiquity against the best of Modernity, in what turned out to be a vain attempt to prove the superiority of one over the other in all fields of human endeavour."[35]

On the continent, this debate was actively discussed by learned men such as Alessandro Tassoni, Charles Perrault, Bernard Le Bouyer de Fontenelle, Jean Racine, and Nicolas Boileau-Despreaux. But by far the most publicized battle of the ancients and the moderns was fought between two well-read English gentlemen: Sir William Temple (1628-1699) and William Wotton (1666-1727). Sir William Temple was a wealthy politician and diplomat. He was also a friend of King Charles II and James II and associated with the high aristocracy.[36] Temple was a great supporter of the ancients. William Wotton, despite his classical education, learning of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew at the age of four, and entrance to Oxford University at the age of ten, was a member of the Royal Society, and supported the moderns.[37] Temple published his Essay Upon Ancient and Modern Learning in 1694. In this book he "...reviewed Western culture starting with Greece and Rome..."

---

[35] Levine, "Ancients and Moderns Reconsidered," p.85.

[36] Temple received his early education in Latin and Greek at Bishop Stratford school. In 1644, he entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, for two years but left without a degree. He travelled extensively in Europe and held diplomatic posts in Sweden and Denmark. In the 1680s, he retired from politics. During this time, Temple devoted his attention to writing literary essays. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (eds.), The Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. 20. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917. pp.522-531.

[37] Wotton was a child prodigy, for at the age of four he read the Bible, and at five he could read Greek and Hebrew. At ten years of age, Wotton was admitted to Catherine Hall, Cambridge. After completing his B.A., he received an M.A. in 1683 and a B.D. in 1691. Wotton is well known for his essay Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning. Not only does this document provide a well written discussion on the side of the moderns, it also contains a useful "...summary of the discoveries in nature and physical science up to its date." Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (ed.), The Dictionary of National Biography. vol. 20. pp. 976-978.

and he concluded that the modern age and its achievements were due to the ancient.[38] Thus Temple believed that the model which the modern age grew from, and was based on was the classical one. Wotton agreed with Temple that "...modern learning had been launched as a result of the classical past."[39] He, however, felt that the overall success of classical influence had to be assessed and that progress could be made beyond the classical model. Wotton agreed with Temple in his essay, Reflections Upon Ancient and Modern Learning (1694), that the ancients were superior in literature but also held that the moderns excelled the ancients in technology and especially in natural philosophy.[40] For Temple, the classical literature of the past not only made the ancients great but also reflected the best political wisdom and experience upon which to establish the perfect models for government and laws. Wotton, however, believed that British history was also filled with both great virtue and strength of character, yet largely accepted the ancient supporters' view that"...the field of eloquence, that is to say rhetoric, poetry, history, oratory, and moral philosophy, even the arts and architecture remained...in the hands of the ancients."[41] In terms of literature and the arts, both parties agreed upon the importance of imitating the ancients for the proper artistic forms. Classical examples were held as the ideal to emulate in art and literature. But for the moderns, though following the classical

---

38 Temple, Essay Upon Ancient and Modern Learning, as cited in Levine, Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography, p.157.

39 Wotton, Reflections Upon Ancient and Modern Learning, as cited in Levine, Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography, p.158.

40 Wotton, Reflections Upon Ancient and Modern Learning, as cited in Levine, Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography, p.158.

41 Levine,"Ancients and Moderns Reconsidered," p.85.

models was necessary, they were not doomed to failure in the attempt to surpass the achievement of the ancients. In other words, both groups agreed on the level of perfection reached by the ancients; this point was not disputed. However, the moderns debated whether or not the ancients could be surpassed, and whether they were forever destined to merely emulating past glories.

The very fact that this debate occurred clearly indicates the importance of the classical past as a guide to the moderns of that time in their literary, historical, and political pursuits and formations. Though some modern supporters like Wotton felt that, at least in scientific technology, the moderns exceeded the ancients, others like Temple believed that the moderns could not even have achieved that much without the inspiration of the ancients. Many seventeenth and eighteenth-century Englishmen put a very high value indeed on classical learning, to the detriment of the accomplishments of their own era.

General Knowledge of the Classics

The scholarly debate also took a popular form in publications like The Spectator, an early eighteenth-century journal founded by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele.[42] Addison and Steele both contributed essays to the periodical and simultaneously functioned as editors for the publication. The life of the first version of The Spectator spanned the years 1709-1714. During its five years of existence, this journal was highly popular not only among learned society but also among the middle classes. It was a widely distributed

---

[42] The Joseph Addison mentioned here is the one who will be discussed again in the next chapter. Addison wrote a travel journal about his trip to Italy.

publication commonly available at news stands, which allowed for a wide readership. The types of articles which appeared in this magazine were often the topics of discussion in the coffee houses of London.[43]

Essays published in The Spectator are further evidence of the great interest in the classics in British society. Many articles reflect upon various aspects of classical literature.[44] Articles which discuss classical literature are interesting because they reflect the extent of ingrained thought and fascination with ancient writings among the literate public in early eighteenth-century Britain. Obviously, such essays were appealing to the subscribers, otherwise classic literary topics would not have appeared with such frequency. Letters written to the periodical are intriguing for they convey the public's perception of classical subjects and the value they placed on these topics.

Both the articles and letters demonstrate the high level of awareness of classical thinking amongst the British public. A selection of a few articles and letters will serve to illustrate the range of popular interests in antiquity and demonstrate the classical literary models in comparison to which modern writing was criticized.

---

43 Bryant Lilleywhite, London Coffee Houses: A Reference Book of Coffee Houses of the Seventeen, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963.), p.302.

44 From my examination, essays on classical literature dominate the topics for articles published in The Spectator. There is one essay which mentions a sculpture, in issue #229 (Thursday, Nov. 22,1711). In this essay, Addison describes a classical statue. He writes, "Among the many famous pieces of antiquity which are still to be seen at Rome, there is the trunk of a statue which has lost the arms, legs, and head; but discovers such as exquisite workmanship in what remains of it, that Michel Angelo declared he had learned his whole art from it." But then the article goes on to discuss how the same admiration of this statue ought to be given also to the poetry of Sappho. This again indicates that ancient literature was a main theme of discussion in this magazine.

Addison, in an essay published on April 16, 1709,[45] expressed his concerns with the state of British literature: "The English writers of Tragedy are possessed with a notion, that when they present a virtuous or innocent person in distress, they ought not to leave him till they have delivered him out of his troubles, or made him triumph over his Enemies."[46] Addison feels, "This error they have been led into by a ridiculous doctrine in Modern Criticism, that they are obliged to an equal distribution of rewards and punishments, and an impartial execution of political justice."[47] Apparently the modern technique is wanting when compared with classical authors:

> Who were the first that established this rule I know not; but I am sure it has no foundation in nature, in reason, or in the practice of the Ancients. We find the good and evil happen alike to all men...and as the principal design of tragedy is to raise commiseration and terror in the minds of the audience, we shall defeat this great end, if we always make Virtue and Innocence, Happy and Successful.[48]

Further,

> Whatever...disappointments a good man suffers in the body of Tragedy, they will make but small impression on our minds, when we know that in the last act he is to arrive at the end of his wishes and desires. When we see him engaged in the depth of his affliction we are apt to comfort ourselves, because we are sure he will find his way out of them; and that this grief, how great soever it may be at present, will soon terminate in gladness.[49]

---

[45] issue No. 39.

[46] Daniel McDonald (ed.) Joseph Addison and Richard Steele: Selected Essays from "The Tatler," "The Spectator," and "The Guardian," (New York: The Bobbs and Merrill Comp., 1973.) p.185.

[47] McDonald (ed.), p.185.

[48] McDonald (ed.), p. 185.

[49] McDonald (ed.), p. 186.

Addison also provides an explanation as to why the ancients did not write tragedies with perfect endings: "...the ancient writers of tragedy treated men in their plays, as they are dealt with in the world, by making virtue sometimes happy and sometimes miserable, as they found it in the fable which they make choice of, or as it might affect their audience in the most agreeable manner."[50]

In another article, Addison compares John Milton's Paradise Lost with the ancient works of Homer and Virgil,[51] examining both the action and the characters of the respective works. Throughout his article, Addison praises Homer:

> Homer has excelled all the Heroic poets that ever wrote, in the multitude and variety of his action and characters. Every ode that is admitted into this poem, acts a part which would have been suitable to no other deity. His princes are as much distinguished by their manners, as by their dominions, and even those among them, whose characters seem wholly made up of courage, differ from one another as to the particular kinds of courage in which they excel.[52]

In contrast, Virgil and Milton "...fall infinitely short of Homer in the characters and action of [their] poems, both as to their variety, novelty, and dramas."[53] Though Addison provides a comprehensive comparison of Homer, Virgil, and Milton, it is abundantly clear that Homer represents the ideal author of epic poetry. Homer is the measuring stick against which other writers are to be compared. Thus, once again a classical model is

---

[50] McDonald (ed.), p. 186.

[51] Henry Morley (ed.), The Spectator, Vol. II. (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd.) p.233-235, Jan.12, 1712, No,273.

[52] Morley (ed.), p.233.

[53] Morley (ed.), p.234.

identified as the superior form. Knowledge and discussion of the classics were constantly maintained in the public mind through articles such as these.

Subscribers also wrote many letters to The Spectator which illustrate the prevalent fascination with the classical world. Some of the most interesting of the letters are those which praise the behaviour of the ancients, and express the desire for modern English people to mould themselves after the manner of the ancients. One letter discusses the way English people ought to behave.[54] Its author is bitterly disgruntled with the poor and rude manners of the eighteenth-century youths of England. Young men are to be reformed, preferably by using the views of Xenophon about the behaviour of young men in Sparta:

> Mr. Spectator, Xenophon, in his short account of the Spartan Commonwealth, speacking of the behaviour of their young men in the streets, says there was so much modesty in their looks, that you might as soon have turned the eyes of a marble statue upon you as theirs;...This virtue, which is always join'd to Magnanimity had such an influence upon their courage, that in Battle an enemy could not look them in the face...[55]

The writer is impressed by the young Spartan humility and is desirous of reforming British youth in a similar fashion:

> Whenever I walk into the streets of London and Westminister, the countenances of all the young Fellows that pass by me, make me wish myself in Sparta, I meet with such blustering airs, big looks, and bold fronts, that to a superficial observer would bespeak a courage above those Grecians. There is scarce a man...who does not tell me, with a full stare, he's a bold man; I see several swear inwardly at me, without

---

[54] The name of the writer of this letter is a pseudonym. Issue No. 354, 1712.

55 Morley (ed.), p.533.

> any offence of mine,...I meet contempt in every street, express'd in different manners, by the scornful look, the elevated eyebrow, and the swelling nostrils of the proud youth.[56]

Once again it is a classical model which provides the inspiration for modern action.

In another letter, an anonymous writer discusses how British women should be more like Roman women. He/She says, "When the Romans and Sabines were at war, and just upon the point of giving battle, the women who were allied to both of them, interposed with so many tears and entreaties that they prevented the mutual slaughter which threatened both parties, and united them together in a firm and lasting peace."[57] The letter-writer feels the behaviour of the Roman women was admirable. He/She also believes that British women ought to follow the example of Roman women if ever England was divided: "I would recommend this noble example to our British ladies, at a time when their country is torn with so many unnatural divisions..."[58] The author of this letter goes on to express other noble duties performed by Roman women during times of crises,

> When the Romans were pressed with a Foreign enemy, the ladies voluntarily contributed all their rings and jewels to assist the government under a public exigence; which appeared so laudable an action in the eyes, of their countrymen, that from henceforth it was permitted by a law to pronounce publick orations at the funeral of a woman in praise of the deceased person, which till that time was peculiar to men.[59]

---

[56] Morely (ed.), p. 534.

[57] Donald Bond (ed.), The Spectator, Vol.I (Oxford: At the Clarenden, 1965),p.348.

[58] Donald Bond (ed.), Vol.I, p.348. The writer is not referring to any particular political event in British history, but is just suggesting the type of behaviour women should display if ever the English were in a similar conflict as the Romans were with the Sabines.

[59] Bond (ed.), Vol.I,p.348.

The writer reveals the great deeds of Roman women and how their actions were met with high rewards, and encourages English women to be as giving in order to be highly honoured. He/She suggests, "English Ladies, instead of sticking on a patch against those of their own country, should show themselves so truly publick-spirited as to sacrifice everyone of her necklaces against the common enemy..."[60] The writer of this letter obviously has set ideas of how English women should conduct themselves and is propagandizing his/her beliefs by submitting this letter to The Spectator. To the composer of this letter, the actions and behaviour of ancient Roman women were ideal, and the best model for English women to emulate. Once again, it is evident that the ancient example is perceived as the best model for modern English society to follow.

British Attitudes Towards Ancient Art

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the British respected ancient art and architecture. Classical elements appear in several building constructions in England. The facades of aristocratic homes and government buildings were adorned with pediments, ionic, and corinthian columns. At this time architects sought purer, simpler, and clearer geometric forms and accurate proportions,[61] which they found by following the examples of ancient Greek and Roman architecture, often as they had been interpreted by Italian architects such as Palladio. 'After the manner of the Ancients' was the common goal for designers and commissioners of buildings.[62] In general

---

60 Bond, Vol.I, p.349.

61 Hugh Honour, Neo-Classicism. (London: Penguin Books, 1977) p.112.

"new" classical designs were created from illustrations of surviving Roman buildings, one's own imagination, and most importantly references in classical literature.[63] An example of classical architectural styles inspiring British building design is the Wanstead style. The Wanstead was a key design for British homes in the early eighteenth century, which incorporated an ancient temple-like facade with a pediment supported by corinthian columns.[64] Chiswick House (1725) constructed by Lord Burlington and William Kent is another example of classical architectural qualities adopted in British house designs. The plan of this home is based on perfect circles and squares, which conforms to the principles of ancient architecture.[65]

Classical influences on architecture did not just affect the exterior of British buildings but also inspired interior decoration. Robert Adam (1728-1792) was a prominent British architect who recaptured Roman and Etruscan styles for interior decoration. Two examples of his work on interior design are Seton Castle (1757) and Syon House (1761).[66]

---

62 Boris, Ford (ed.) Eighteenth Century Britain: The Cambridge Cultural History. Vol. 5. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.217.

63 Boris Ford (ed.), p. 217.

64 Prior Parks estate at Bath built in 1735 is an example of Wanstead style. John Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530-1830 (London: Penguin Books, 1991), p.311.

65 For a detailed discussion of the classical aspects of Chiswick House consult John Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530-1830, p.311 or Hugh Honour, Neo-Classicism,p.113.

66 Classical influence on interior decoration will not be discussed further because it is a trend which developed in the late eighteenth century and this chapter has focused on the importance of the classical world in late-seventeenth and early eighteenth-century England. Also I have wanted to discuss how the education system, popular literature etc. were saturated with classical influences and thus could have inspired travel, whereas classical elements in interior decoration could be the result of travel. But for more information on classical influences on British interior decoration, especially in the work of Robert Adam see John Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530-1830 and Hugh Honour, Neo-Classicism.

The many great collections of ancient art formed by wealthy English nobility during this period also indicate the importance of "things" classical in British society. Lord Arundel, one of the most important collectors in the seventeenth century, acquired an extensive amount of classical art, especially sculpture. In Arundel's view, in terms of acquiring objects from Greece and Rome, "...nothing was too insignificant because everything that had survived was a precious fragment, part of the combination which would unlock the secrets of a golden age..."[67] Arundel commissioned his librarian, Francis Junius, to write De Pictura Veterum (1637), which was meant to explain the importance of collecting ancient art. The book also argued"...that the visual arts should be held in high regard, as they had been in antiquity. Junius provided countless examples of how the arts of the classical world had been woven into the very fabric of society; how the famous men of antiquity had felt inspired by them in their public life."[68] Junius also emphasized that the arts of antiquity could be valued not only "...for the pleasure they gave the eye." He also promoted "...the moral efficacy of statuary and the way in which the physical presence of the statues in a house could inspire virtuous and noble deeds."[69] Thus Junius and Arundel believed proper values and ideals could be acquired by possessing and observing classical sculpture, and their example once again illustrates the value placed on the material remains of the ancient world.

---

[67] David Howarth, Lord Arundel and His Circle, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p.78.

[68] Howarth, Lord Arundel and His Circle. pp. 79-80.

[69] Howarth, Lord Arundel and His Circle. p.80.

This examination of selected aspects of seventeenth and eighteenth-century English society - the education system, intellectual debates about the ancients, popular literature, and the arts - illustrates that the Classics were an integral part of the culture. British education and public debate both clearly represent the Classical preoccupation. It is therefore no surprise that the English felt compelled to visit Italy, and more importantly, Rome, to experience the ancient homeland firsthand - to see the sites, the ruins, the art, and to walk the land where their adopted cultural heroes once roamed.

Chapter Two: A Survey of Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century British Travel Literature

The practice of writing travel journals of youthful adventures to Rome was well established by the eighteenth century.[1] In general, typical travel journals provided a wide variety of information about the traveller's experiences, including descriptions of the weather, transportation, food, hotels, music, art, and to some extent the ancient monuments. Most of their descriptions of classical art could have been based on information related by tutors, or Italian tourist guides, from reading other travel accounts, and ancient sources like Pliny the elder and Dio Cassius, or from personal observations. It was a common custom for travellers to write a journal, but not all were meant for publication.[2] One of the many journals inspired by the classical monuments of Rome was authored by the Richardsons.[3] Several other notable travellers from the period of the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century also recorded impressions of the ancient remains of Rome.[4] Richard Lassels, from Lincolnshire, studied Classics at Oxford and

---

[1] Christopher Hibbert, The Grand Tour, p.10.

[2] Not only travel journals could be published but even personal ones, for example, James Boswell published several private diaries and correspondence with associates. For an examination of Boswell's writings, consult, J.Boswell, Boswell's Notebook, 1776-1777, (London: H. Milford, 1927); Mark Harris (ed.), The Heart of Boswell, (New York: McGraw -Hill, 1981); and Chauncey Brewster Tinker (ed.), Letters of James Boswell, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924).

[3] The descriptions of the classical art in the Richardsons' journal will be examined in chapter 4.

[4] The journals to be surveyed in this chapter were written and read for information. They were not literary books, but sources meant to aid travellers, and thus not written for entertainment like James Boswell's acounts. It is difficult to assess if the authors wrote what they truly thought about classical monuments or what they felt they should in order to please their readers or to publish. My study, however, will not focus on the intention of the writers, but on their actual observations about classical art.

was later appointed a professor in the department. He spent most of his life abroad, having made several lengthy voyages to the continent which resulted in the creation of his guide-book, An Italian Voyage, or a Compleat Journey Through Italy (1670). William Acton was an English historian, who had a fascination with classical antiquities. He travelled to Italy in the 1670s to examine ancient art at first hand and later wrote his observations in a book called A New Journal of Italy: Containing What is Most Remarkable of the Antiquities of Rome (1691). Sir Andrew Balfour, a well-established doctor and the third president of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, also journeyed to Italy and recorded his thoughts and opinions in Letters Written to a Friend Containing Excellent Direction and Advices for Travelling Thro' France and Italy (1700). Joseph Addison, an English essayist, politician, and editor, was a distinguished classical scholar who published an account called Remarks on Several Parts of Italy and France In the Years 1701, 1702, 1703 (1705) which records his voyage to Italy. Edward Wright, a Yorkshire doctor, was well-known for his work on parasitic diseases. He also ventured to the continent and shared the experiences of his trip in Some Observations Made in Travelling Through France and Italy Etc.... In the Years 1720, 1721, and 1722 (1730). Tobias Smollett, a Scottish novelist, authored several books such as: Roderick Random, Peregrine Pickle, and Ferdinand, Count Fathom. In the 1750s, he was ordered abroad for health reasons and later published an entertaining account of his encounters in Travels Through France and Italy (1765).[5] Although there are many other contemporaneous travel journals available which detail the classical antiquities of Rome, for the purpose of

---

[5] The biographical information on these authors was obtained from Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (ed.), The Dictionary of National Biography.

this particular study, only travel literature written by the above six British travellers will be examined. The intention of this limited survey is to place the Richardson travel journal in the context of other British travellers who wrote before and after them,[6] allowing us to identify the unique characteristics of their work. Only by examining other travel literature can we understand the original approach and interests adopted by the Richardsons.

A close survey of the six authors' descriptions of classical antiquities will reveal the types of objects most commonly viewed and the descriptive approach adopted by each author. In some instances, the author has simply identified the classical piece encountered, whereas others have provided lengthy descriptive interpretations. Several ancient monuments, however, are discussed by all authors. This survey will also indicate what classical objects these observers found worthy of record. It becomes clear that these authors are most interested in relating a literary or historical reference to their discussion of the art rather than describing the artistic and formal qualities of the piece. The authors most often repeat passages from classical literary and historical sources. The use of ancient passages by the British travellers is a standard topos, a common theme in literature which re-occurs over the centuries.[7]

---

[6] I have selected these six travel journals because they discuss the classical art more than other travel accounts contemporaneous to them, therefore these journals will provide a good contrast for the Richardsons' book. Also this examination of these six travel accounts as well as that of the Richardsons, will not be a literary critique, but a theoretical study focusing on their observations of particular ancient monuments.

[7] Although the writers do not credit or often reveal the name of the ancient source they are repeating, it is clear in several instances that their information comes from an ancient author and this will be indicated in the appropriate places.

The survey will begin with a review of the travellers' accounts about classical architecture and conclude with their remarks on sculpture.

Architecture

Most travellers to Rome, unlike the Richardsons, refer to the large, easily accessible architectural monuments: the Colosseum, the Pantheon, the Triumphal Arch of Constantine, and the Triumphal Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. These monuments are perhaps the most frequently documented classical structures, not only for their accessibility but also because of their grand, immense, and dramatic appearance. They were also the most recognizable ancient monuments. In a few instances the authors indicate having viewed one of the above-mentioned monuments but do not offer a significant description.[8] Possibly their lack of detail reflects a reaction to the already substantial volume of information published about the better known monuments. In other instances, however, authors discuss the structures at length, but often with little originality in either perception or description.

The Colosseum, the immense amphitheatre constructed in the Flavian period, was well known and frequently visited by travellers. It was the biggest amphitheatre of its age; the first large-scale permanent amphitheatre in Rome; and considered one of the greatest Roman architectural achievements.[9] The Colosseum had been plundered for

---

[8] When the author simply lists or briefly mentions a classical monument, it will be placed in a footnote with the page number from the journal for reference.

[9] The Colosseum, begun by Vespasian, received its name after 1000 A.D. because of the nearby Colossus Solis. The amphitheatre "...was remarkable for the clarity of its architectural concept, yet several emperors were involved in its construction. Vespasian carried the building to the top of the second arcade of the outer wall

centuries, serving as a quarry for several sixteenth and seventeenth-century building projects including the Palazzo Farnese and St. Peter's.[10] Even though it was in a ruinous condition by the seventeenth century, the structure was nonetheless still awe-inspiring, as several authors' descriptions reveal.

Lassels, the earliest traveller included in this survey, provided a lengthy description of the Colosseum. His thoughts reveal a common seventeenth-century viewer's perspective: "...the Amphitheatre, called now the Coliseo, because of a colossan [sic] statue that stood in it. This is one of the rarest pieces of antiquity in Rome; and though Rome be grown again, by her new palaces, one of the finest of cities of Europe, yet her very ruins are finer than her new buildings."[11] This comment demonstrates a tremendous respect for the ancient structures of Rome, despite their damaged condition.[12] In keeping with this sentiment Lassels recorded a detailed description of the Colosseum and also addressed the building's ancient function:

> the form it was round without, and oval within and the outside of it was adorned with the three orders of pillars, great arches below, open galleries above, both to walk in and to let people into the Amphitheatre and out again without crowding so that 200, 000 people

---

and...dedicated it before his death in 79 A.D. Titus added the third and fourth storeys of the seating and rededicated it...in 80 [A.D.] Domitian is said to have completed the building...,presumably [adding] gilded bronze shields that adorned the top storey of the exterior."Lawrence Richardson, A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992) pp. 7-10.

[10] Lawrence Richardson, p. 10.

[11] Richard Lassels, An Italian Voyage, or a Compleat Journey through Italy (London: 1670), p.74.
The direct quotes from these travellers have been kept in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century writing style. No changes have been made to spelling or grammar; at times a missing word has been added for clarity but will be placed in square brackets.

[12] This idea of Roman structures still being magnificent, although its ruinous condition, is a standard topos from the Middle Ages onwards.

> could go in or out in half an hours time, without crowding. Within, it went up from below by steps of stone unto the top, and afforded room enough to all that world of people to fit conveniently, and see the combats and sports that were exhibited in the Arena.[13]

It is obvious that Lassels was impressed with the design of the Colosseum. It is also evident that he was fascinated by the ancient events which once filled the arena with spectators:

> Underneath were the caves for the wild beasts, out of which they turned them loose to fight, sometimes against condemned men, sometimes against innocent Christians. Nero made the Christians be clad in the skins of beasts; and so to be exposed to Lyons and Bears. Sometimes also gladiators fought against Gladiators, and one gladiator against twenty others: Nay, the very noble Romans themselves would now and then fight here publickly, either to show sport or valour. All this was done by the politck[sic] Romans, to teach Men not to be afraid of bloodshed and death in time of wars.[14]

Lassels not only documents the appearance of the classical monument, but also provides an historical interpretation as to its purpose. Thus Lassels' description of the Colosseum examined both the structure and function of the monument, but emphasized the history of the building at the expense of the architecture itself.

Acton, Balfour, Addison, and Wright also refer to the Colosseum, but do not give it more than a sentence or two.[15] They also name the Colosseum "Coliseo," and marvel at its magnificent size, but Smollett is the only other traveller to relate, in some detail, his impressions of the building. For the most part, his discussion is similar to Lassels'. Smollett refers to the

---

[13] Lassels, p. 75.

[14] Lassels, p.75.

[15] The Colosseum is mentioned in Acton,p.45, Balfour, p. 139, Addison,p.333, and Wright, p.213.

vandalized state of the Colosseum, "...the noble ruins of the vast amphitheater, called the Colosseum, now Coliseo, which has been dismantled and dilapidated by the Gothic popes and princes of modern Rome, to build and to adorn their...palaces."[16] His visual description, however, is a bit more detailed than Lassels': "the Colosseum or amphitheater by Flavius Vespasian is the most stupendous work of the kind which antiquity can produce. Near one half of the external circuit still remains consisting of four [levels] of arcades, adorned with columns of four orders, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite."[17] Like Lassels, Smollett also took the time to discuss the fierce events which entertained the Roman audiences. He believes the Romans "...took delight in seeing their fellow creatures tourn to pieces by wild beasts, in the amphitheatre. Nero produced four hundred senators, and six hundred of the equestrian order as gladiators in the public arena...and drenched the amphitheatre with their blood."[18] Unlike Lassels, however, Smollett offers no moral judgement about the function of the Colosseum. Even though Smollett travelled to Rome and wrote his journal nearly a hundred years after Lassels, they are largely consistent in their view.

The Pantheon, one of the greatest surviving examples of Roman architectural excellence, was also visited by these travellers. Since the Pantheon survived well over the centuries, it allowed visitors an opportunity to experience it almost as the ancient Romans had done. It had been converted into the church of Santa Maria Rotunda in 609 A.D. by the

---

16 Tobias Smollett, Travel Through France and Italy (Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 257.

17 Smollett, p.272.

18 Smollett, p.272.

Byzantine Emperor Phocas and Pope Boniface IV, an act which may have saved the structure from being plundered over subsequent centuries. It thus remained in good condition.[19] Originally commissioned by the Roman Emperor Hadrian between 118-125 A.D., the monument was dedicated to the entire Roman pantheon of gods.[20] Among the travellers discussed in this chapter, Balfour, Wright, and Smollett provide the most interesting journal entries on the Pantheon.[21]

Balfour relates the history of the monument as well as giving a physical description: "The Pantheon [is] now called Madonna della Rotunda; It was built by Marcus Agripa, son in law to Augustus Caesar, in honour of all the gods."[22] Balfour is, however, misinformed about the commissioner of the Pantheon, for the building was in fact constructed in Hadrian's reign, as indicated by the dates found upon the brickstamps,[23] to replace Agrippa's

---

19 William L. Macdonald, The Pantheon: Design, Meaning, and Progeny (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.), p.18.

20 A Pantheon by Agrippa had been constructed earlier on the same site, but was destroyed in the fire of Titus in 80 A.D. It was later restored by Domitian. However as luck would have it, the Pantheon was struck by lightning and burned again. Then Hadrian carried out an entirely new building plan for the Pantheon. Agrippa's Pantheon was found by archaeologists in the twentieth century, 2.5m below the pronaos of Hadrian's structure. Although there are ideological connections between Agrippa's Pantheon and Hadrian's, there are no architectural similarities.
The existing building consists of a pronaos, an intermediate block, and a rotunda. The pronaos "...resembles that of a classical temple with a triangular pediment, except the pediment is exceptionally high and shallow..." The Corinthian columns supporting the pediment are made of granite. The dome of the rotunda is made of brick-faced concrete, 6.20m thick. L. Richardson. pp.283-285.

21 The Pantheon is mentioned by Lassels p. 74, Acton p. 45, and Addison, p. 356.

22 Sir Andrew Balfour M.D. Letters Written to a Friend Containing Excellent Direction and Advices For Travelling Thro' France and Italy(Edinburgh, 1700), p.137.

23 L. Richardson, p.283.

Pantheon of 27 B.C.[24] It would, however, be natural for a seventeenth-century traveller to credit Agrippa in this regard, since the inscription over the portico identifies him as the builder.[25] Balfour also provides us with a good description of the condition of the Pantheon:

> ...it had the fortune to escape almost totally the ruine and fury, which the Goths and Vandals brought upon the Roman Empire and magnificence there of. I admire the roof of it, being so large, and so flat without any pillar to support it, and altho' it be a vault it hath no nevil stone to bind in the middle, but in place there of a round hole fifty feet wide that it lights the whole roome abundantly nor is there any of the window in the fabric.[26]

It is Wright, however, who provides a more detailed description of the Pantheon's exterior and interior than Balfour. The portico, he writes, is "...supported by sixteen granite pillars of near five foot diameter, besides pilasters of the Corinthian order, each of one piece, makes a most magnificent appearance."[27] In addition, he describes objects which once adorned the exterior of the Pantheon that are no longer present: "And in two large niches, on each side the entrance into the temple, are said to have been two colossal statues, one of the same Agrippa, the other of Augustus Caesar, his father-in-law."[28] He continues by discussing other alterations that the Pantheon had undergone: "The Corinthian brass with which this

---

[24] L. Richardson, p. 283.

[25] Hadrian's name was purposely left out of the inscription "...in accordance with Hadrian's policy of not putting his name to any monument except the temple of his father." Frank Sear, Roman Architecture (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), pp.166,167.

[26] Balfour, p.138.

[27] Wright, p. 211.

[28] Wright, p.211.

portico was cover'd, was taken away by Pope Urban VIII to make the pillars at S. Peter's above mention'd, and a cannon which [was] kept in the castle of S. Angelo;..."[29] He then further relates that originally the Pantheon had steps leading to the entrance which are now covered by earth, "There was formerly (they say) an ascent of nine steps to the entrance of the portico....but you rather descend it now."[30] The natural rise of the ground over the centuries, according to Wright, had covered parts of many other classical monuments: "The same has happen'd to most of the old buildings, by the access of earth,...which has raised most of the ground of New Rome considerably higher than that of the Old; which evidently seen by Trajan's Pillar [sic], the Amphitheatre, and the Arches of Constantine, and Septimius Severus..."[31] He, like Balfour, also believed the Pantheon was made by Agrippa: "Upon the frieze, in front, is an inscription in very large capitals, showing by whom it was built: M. Agrippa L.F.Consul Tertium Fecit, 'Marcus Agrippa, the son of Lucius , built it, when consul the third time.'"[32]

Smollett, unlike Balfour and Wright, strongly disliked the Pantheon and did not consider it to be a remarkable example of ancient Roman architecture. He bluntly expressed his disdain for the Pantheon:

> I was much disappointed at sight of the Pantheon, which, after all that has been said of it, looks like a huge cockpit, open at top. The portico which Agrippa added to the building, is undoubtedly very noble,

---

[29] Wright, p. 212.

[30] Wright, p. 212.

[31] Wright, p. 212.

[32] Wright, p.211.

> though, in my opinion, it corresponds but ill with the simplicity of the edifice. With all my veneration for antients[sic], I cannot see in what the beauty of the rotunda consists. It is no more than a plain unpierced cylinder, or circular wall, with two fillets and a cornice, having a vaulted roof or cupola open in the centre.[33]

He also held a negative opinion of the interior and oculus: " I am not one of those who think it is well lighted by the hole at the top, which is about 9 and 20 foot in diameter."[34] In general Smollett found the Pantheon not to be "...comparable either for size or magnificence to the modern church of St. Peter of the Vatican."[35] Smollett does not further explain his dissenting opinion of the Pantheon, but over all his comments suggest that the style of the building simply did not appeal to his taste. Rather, he prefers the sixteenth-century style of St. Peter's.

The column of Trajan is another grand classical monument, which the travellers marveled at and spoke highly of in their journals. The Column dates to 112-113 A.D. and has survived intact over the centuries. It was originally constructed by Trajan as a triumphal monument, a type of trophy adorned with historical reliefs which encircle the monument from base to top, commemorating the Emperor's successful campaigns against the Dacians.[36] Trajan led two triumphant expeditions across the Danube, one in

---

[33] Smollett, p. 269.

[34] Smollett, p. 270.

[35] Smollett, p. 271.

[36] The individual relief scenes which adorn the Column of Trajan "...number 155, and there are over 2500 figures..." One would assume that the majority of the scenes on the column are of battles because of the nature of its dedication but "...this is not the case. Only about one-quarter of the space is devoted to battle scenes." Most of the reliefs illustrate sacrifices, construction of cities, embassy ceremonies, armies marching, and animals grazing. Thus the Column of Trajan is not about battles alone but about all aspects of war: Diane Kleiner, Roman Sculpture, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) p.216. For an in-depth discussion of the reliefs representationing the Romans and Dacians, see pp.215-221.

101 A.D. and another in 105-106 A.D. The Column also served as a funerary monument, for the base contained the tomb of the deceased emperor. This was, however, not part of the original plan for the erection of the Column.[37]

Most of the early British travellers included in this survey admired the Column of Trajan.[38] They provide not only descriptions of the Column, but also historical facts about the Emperor and the Column reliefs. The reader is also apprised of alterations the Column has undergone since its original construction.

Lassels' account of Trajan's Column begins "...as I went through that part of town, which anciently was called Forum Trajani, and where I saw that which Trajan himself never saw, to wit, the wonderful pillar of white marble erected there to Trajan, and therefore called Colonna Trajana, but never seen by him; For he died in foreign expeditions, returning from Persia without ever seeing it."[39] Lassels also reveals the column's dimensions and the nature of its construction: "This pillar is made of four and twenty great stones of marble, in which are carved the exploits of Trajan, especially in his wars against the Dacians. It's a hundred twenty eight foot high. Within it there are a hundred fourscore and five stairs, which deliver you up to the top of it, and there are forty little windows, which let in light enough for you to go up."[40]

---

[37] The Column consists of "...a base, shaft, and capital, and was capped by a gilded bronze, heroically nude statue of Trajan that no longer survives, but is recorded on some Trajanic coins." Kleiner, p. 216.

[38] Wright mentions the Column of Trajan briefly on p.196. Smollett refers to the Column on p. 258. They both felt enough had been said about the Column and do not discuss it in detail.

[39] Lassels, p.91.

Acton mentions Trajan's Column in his journal as well, but only offers a brief entry: "...we went and took a view of Trajan's Column, esteemed one of the finest pieces of antiquity the world affords; all the most memorable and most noble exploits of his life are lively represented by incomparable carving, quite round the pillar, from the top to the pedestal."[41]

Balfour's discussion of Trajan's Column is not much different from Lassels'. Balfour, like Lassels, provides some visual description and some historical information. He writes, "...St.Peter stands upon the top of [Trajan's Column]: Trajan was so well beloved of the people that to make a place, which in honour of him they called Forum Trajani, in the middle of which this column stands, they levelled a great hill of the precise height of the column itself."[42] Balfour's last comment that a great hill was levelled in the precise height of the Trajan's column is a topos. He is actually quoting Dio Cassius, an ancient writer who recorded information about the construction of Trajan's forum and column in his Roman History, explaining that Trajan

> ...set up in the Forum an enormous column, to serve at once as a monument to himself and as a memorial of his work in the Forum. For that entire section had been hilly and he had cut it down for a distance equal to the height of the column, thus making the Forum level. (Dio Cassius, Roman History, LXVIII, 16.3)[43]

---

[40] Lassels, p.91.

[41] Acton, p.50.

[42] Balfour, p.141. Trajan's statue originally stood on top of the column but was replaced in 1588 by one of St. Peter's. Kleiner, p.216.

[43] Modern archaeologists no longer believe that a high ridge had been cut away for the construction of Trajan's column and forum because "...geology militated against this, and excavation around the base of the column brought to light at a lower level a paved street and remains of a portico in front of a line of shops..." L.Richardson, p.175.

This is an example of the importance of ancient sources to seventeenth and eighteenth-century travellers for information on classical monuments. About the sides of the Column, Balfour writes, are "...historified in bas-relief, in a spiral line beginnings at the bottom and ending at the top...Trajan, hath the whole storie of the Dacian War."[44] It is obvious that Balfour is more concerned with discussing historical information concerning this monument than with describing the artistic elements.

Addison also speaks highly of Trajan's Column in his travel book: "There could not have been a more magnificent design than that of Trajan's pillar. Where could an emperor's ashes have been so nobly lodge'd, as in the midst of his metropolis, and on the top of so exalted a monument, with the greatest of his actions beneath him?"[45] Addison, like the other authors, believed that Trajan's ashes were placed on the top of the pillar, but he does indicate that in his time there was a debate about the true resting place of Trajan: "...as some will have it his statue was on top, his urn, at the foundation, and his battles in the midst."[46] The emphasis on history is again evident in Addison's writing.

None of these authors have focused on describing the relief scenes, nor relating how the images are illustrated. They are only interested in reporting the historical information.

Trajan's column is not the only monumental pillar referred to by of these authors. The Column of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (which they call

---

[44] Balfour, p. 141.

[45] Addison, p. 356.

[46] Addison, p.356.

the Antonine Column) is also frequently mentioned, although not in the same detail.[47]

Lassels describes the pillar's construction as

> ...all white marble, engraven without and with a basso relievo from top to bottom, containing the memorable actions of Marcus Aurelius. It's 175 foot high, and hath it 206 stairs which lead up to the top of it, and 56 little windows giving light to those stairs; and yet this high pillar was made of 28 stones of marble. The carving that is upon it contains the brave actions of Marcus Aurelius over the Armenians, Parthians, Germans, [V]andals, and Sarmats, or Pdonians, but age hath so defac'd these Bassi relieve' that it is hard to decipher them.[48]

Addison also mentions the Antonine Column.[49] He reflects that "The most remarkable piece of Antonine Pillar is the figure of Jupiter Pluvius, sending down rain on the fainting Army of Marcus Aurelius and thunderbolts on his enemies, which is the greatest confirmation possible of the story of the thundering legion,..."[50] Addison's comment, that this relief confirms the story of the thundering legion, is a reference to Dio Cassius who described this event at length in his Roman History. Dio Cassius explained:

---

[47] The Column of Marcus Aurelius was commissioned by his son Commodus in 175 A.D. to commemorate his father's victories over the Germans and Sarmatians. It was modelled after Trajan's triumphal column. Its spiral frieze is extensively damaged but is decipherable in most places. The column was also crowned with a statue of Marcus Aurelius, but this was replaced in the sixteenth century with one of St. Paul. The reliefs depicted on the Column "...represent Marcus's German and Sarmatian campaigns. The spirals are read from bottom to top..." For a more detailed analysis of the scenes illustrated on this column, see Kleiner, pp. 295-297.

[48] Lassels,p. 127.

[49] Addison, p. 356.

[50] Addison, p. 356 & 357.
The name "Thundering Legion" was given to a special division of soldiers in Marcus Aurelius's army. (Dio Cassius, Roman History, LXXII, 4)

> The Romans, accordingly, were in a terrible plight from fatigue, wounds, and the heat of the sun, and thirst, and so could neither fight nor retreat, but were standing in the line and at their several posts, scorched by the heat, when suddenly many clouds gathered and a mighty rain, not without divine interposition burst upon them....When the rain poured down, at first all turned their faces upwards and received the water in their mouths;...And when the barbarians now charged upon them, they drank and fought at the same time;...So intent, indeed, were most of them on drinking that they would have suffered severely from the enemy's onset, had not a violent hail-storm and numerous thunderbolts fallen upon the ranks of the foe. (Dio Cassius, Roman History, LXXII, 3-10.)

This particular image has been labelled "the miracle of the rain"[51] and it also reminded Addison of a passage from Virgil's Aeneid which he quoted for his readers:

> The combat thickens, like the storm that flies
> From the west ward, when the show'ry kids arise:
> Or patt'ring hail comes pouring on the main,
> When Jupiter descends in harden'd rain,
> or bellowing clouds burst with a stormy saine,
> And with an arm'd winter strew the ground.
> (Virgil, Aeneid, 9)

By introducing this quote, Addison added another literary component to his discussion of the object. Although Addison provides a brief description of the relief, he believes the main importance of this piece is to confirm the historical reference to Dio Cassius, and not its artistic qualities. Also, the addition of Virgil's passage indicates his interest in literary commentary over

---

[51] Strong, p.206.
This scene which portrays the miracle of the rains is one of the most popular reliefs on the column of Marcus Aurelius. The start "...of the narrative is divided into two tiers, with the Roman infantry below and other soldiers with carts and oxen above. One of the Roman soldiers in the upper register gestures toward the sky for help, and his prayers are answered by the rain god. The rain god is an elderly winged creature with long, straggly hair and beard, and a hairy chest and arms. With his outstretched gesture he brings torrential rains, which reinvigorate an exhausted Roman army but at the same time devastate the barbarians, many of whom are left lying pilled high in a heap. See Kleiner, p. 297, and plate 266.

artistic concerns. In this case as in others, the art object is examined to exemplify a written account, instead of being discussed for its artistic features.

Like the triumphal columns, triumphal arches are also recorded in several British travel journals. Some authors refer to many different ones, namely, the Arch of Titus, the Arch of Trajan, and the Arch of Septimius Severus. The one triumphal arch which is most consistently discussed by the travellers, however, is the Arch of Constantine.[53] This arch was commissioned by the Senate between 313 and 315 A.D. to glorify their new emperor's victory over Maxentius, as well as to celebrate his decennalia.[54] The travellers were perhaps fascinated by this arch because of its good condition, for it is the best preserved of the existing ancient triumphal arches.

To present-day observers, the Arch of Constantine is intriguing because it contains reliefs from at least three previous monuments. Constantine incorporated "...the 'Great Trajanic Frieze,' perhaps from the forum of Trajan, the roundels from some monument of Hadrian, and the panels from a triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius; sometimes the heads of the emperors were recarved to portray Constantine..."[55] Armed with this knowledge we

---

[53] All authors refer to Constantine's Arch, but those who record it briefly in their accounts are: Balfour p. 143, Wright p. 254, and Smollett p.257.

[54] Kleiner, p.444.

[55] Strong, p. 276-277.
In detail the re-used material includes "...four sections (two in the central bay and one each on the east and west sides of the attic) [from] the Great Trajanic Frieze. In the central bay, Trajan is represented in a scene of adventus [arrival] and on horseback trampling a fallen Dacian; both have heads of Trajan recarved as Constantine. On the north and south sides of the arch are eight tondi [roundels], probably from a lost private monument of Hadrian. They represent scenes of the hunt and sacrifice and include a number of recut heads of Constantine. Eight relief panels from a lost Arch of Marcus are embedded in the north and south sides of the attic of the Arch of Constantine." For a further discussion of the reliefs taken from previous monuments and a description of the scenes dated to Constantine's reign, see Kleiner pp. 445- 452.

can examine seventeenth and eighteenth-century travellers' impressions of the Arch of Constantine, and determine their understanding of the Arch's origins.

Lassels' visual description of the Arch of Constantine is very brief, but he does add information about the historical purpose for its construction: "...the triumphal arch of Constantine the great. It's all of marble, with a world of curious statues anciently, but now headless, and with histories in bassi rilievi. It was erected to him in memory of his Victory over the Tyrant Maxentius, as to the freer of the city, and founder of publick quiet. As the words here impart, Liberatori Urbis Fundatori Quietis."[56] Lassels does not seem curious about the relief images, but does consider the history worthy of mention.

Acton mentions the Triumphal Arch of Constantine in passing, reflecting on the origin of the piece: "...the Arch of Constantine; by some called that of Trajans [sic], because most of the best figures are carved in stone, and what else is there most worth your notice was brought from the Triumphal Arch of Trajan, to whose honour it was built after he had subdued the Tyrant Maxanae:..."[57] Acton, like Lassels, does not describe the reliefs of the arch, but finds more importance in relating the historical information.

Addison considered the Arch of Constantine to be the greatest triumphal arch in the world. He also chose to examine the reliefs made at the time of Constantine. He writes that the triumphal arch:

> ...of Constantine is not only the noblest of any in Rome, but in the world. I searched narrowly into it, especially among those additions of

---

[56] Lassels, p. 76.

[57] Acton, p. 48.

> sculpture that were made in the Emperor's own age, to see if I could find any marks of the Apparition, that is said to have preceded the very Victory which gave occasion to the Triumphal Arch. But there are not the least traces of it to be met with, which is not very strange, if we consider that the greatest part of the ornaments were taken from Trajan's arch, and fed up to the new conqueror in no small haste, by the senate and people of Rome, who were then most of 'em heathens."[58]

Addison is alluding to the image of the cross which supposedly Constantine dreamt about the night before his battle with Maxentius, when an image of the Christian cross appeared and he was told by an angel, that if he fought in the name of the cross and placed the image of the cross on his troops' banners, then he would be successful against his rival.[59] Again, on the last page of Addison's journal, he mentions not seeing the cross on the Arch of Constantine: " I was surpriz'd to not find the cross in Constantine's Arch..."[60] This confirms that it was the cross that Addison was looking for, as well his shock when he discovered that it was not included in the sculptural programme. It also illustrates once again his interest in using images to verify history. Addison asked a fascinating question: why is there no image of the Christian cross on the arch, particularly as it was believed that Constantine's devotion to the cross aided his victory over Maxentius?[61] One

---

[58] Addison, p. 362-363.

[59] Michael Grant, The World of Rome (London: Weindenfeld and Nicolson, 1960), p.250. Another version is that Constantine saw an image of the cross in the sky on the way to the battle.

[60] Addison, p. 364.

[61] Richard Krauthemier, Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308 (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp.28 -29. Krauthemier gives a modern perspective on this issue in his observations that the arch "...proclaims Constantine as having won the empire by the guidance of the Godhead, instinctu divinitatis. The intentional vagueness of the inscription reflects the uneasy interplay of the political, social, and religious forces in Constantine's Rome. It was evidently designed to show due deference to the Christian

can understand this question, when considered from an early eighteenth-century Christian perspective. But as Addison himself pointed out, the arch was commissioned by the Roman Senators who were non-Christians, and were thus not interested in depicting crosses.[62] Also, the Emperor could not alienate his people so soon after coming to the throne by placing a Christian image on the arch. The reliefs placed on the arch would have to display appropriate images which rendered the Emperor respectably, conforming to the ideals of that time.

At any rate, Addison does bring unique questions to his observation of this arch, which the other travellers before him do not even consider. However, it is clear that Addison's focus is not on the sculptural quality of the reliefs, but rather on their relevance to historical issues. On the whole, none of the authors discussed the stylistic differences between the various reliefs on this arch, even though they were aware that the pieces came from different time periods. This further suggests that stylistic and artistic interpretations of classical monuments were not the focus of these travellers.

Sculpture

Some of the ancient Greek and Roman sculpture displayed throughout Rome is also discussed in these travel journals. Again, at times the various authors merely mention seeing a sculpture, even a fairly popular one, and at

---

leanings of the emperor and to the new factor within the body politic, the Church and the large Christian congregation in Rome, and at the same time to save the conscience of the pagan element."

62 Krauthemier elaborates: "The great families that dominated the Senate were after all overwhelmingly pagan. If the emperor adhered to the new Christian God, that was his private affair...In Rome and beyond, as far as it was in their power, the old families in the senate were going to place a limit on the spread of the new religion. This is the situation reflected in Constantine's church-building policy and in the limitations set upon his program of visibly Christianizing Rome." (pp.29-30).

other times they offer a description and personal interpretation of the piece. The sculptures which seem to be the most popular, and are consistently included by the majority of authors in this survey are: the statues in the Belvedere Court at the Vatican, the Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, and the Farnese Bull. These statues were perhaps examined by most travellers because they were placed in accessible locations, and the regularity with which they are discussed could be attributed to their fame. At this point, it is important to examine these authors' passages about sculpture in order to gain an awareness of the repetitive nature of their description and the lack of originality in their observations. Later, we will compare them with the Richardsons' descriptions of sculpture in their travel journal.

In their discussions of classical sculpture, most travellers relied extensively on Pliny the elder's Natural History for background information on the pieces. Their reverence and indebtedness to Pliny is evident in several passages, and, on occasion, some authors have paraphrased or quoted Pliny but do not credit him. Such phrases are clearly topoi derived from Pliny, either directly or indirectly. These travellers' reliance on Pliny also illustrates their need to associate their observations with a historical text, rather than offer any of their own original thoughts.

The Belvedere courtyard in the Vatican was constructed by Pope Julius II in 1503 as an area in which he was able to exhibit his art collection as a museum.[63] Classical sculpture comprised a significant portion of his acquisitions. As a result, the Belvedere was frequented by travellers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as it still is today. For the most part, the authors in our discussion merely provide a list of the statues which they

---

[63] Treasures of the Vatican Collections (New York: Annellen Pub., Inc., 1983), p.15.

saw during their visit. Statues often mentioned are: the River Nilus (Colossus of the Nile), Antinous, Cleopatra (Sleeping Ariadne), Commodus, Venus (Venus of Cnidos), the Hercules Torso (Belvedere Torso), the Apollo (Apollo Belvedere), and the Laocoon group.[64] Each author seems to find one or two sculptures most intriguing and expands their discussions on these pieces. These discussions will be brought up later to illustrate specific differences about the journals, but for now let us examine the statues which are commonly illustrated by these travellers.

The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius is a rare example of a Roman large-scale bronze statue.[65] It was created between 166 and 180 A.D. From the sixteenth century until January 1981 it dominated the Capitoline square designed by Michelangelo, and many of the early travellers included mention of it. Some also list several other classical objects they saw, yet they all allude to the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius.[66]

---

64 Examples of those who list these sculptures are: Lassels pp.43-44, Addison p.64, Wright p.85, and Smollett p.118. For the most part, the authors only list the names of the statues in the Belvedere Court. At times they will mention which one or ones are their favourites. Even with the very famous Laocoon group, most just briefly mention seeing it and call it a masterpiece. The only traveller from this survey who discussed the Laocoon group in depth is Smollett, who will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

65 Unfortunately few large-scale bronze statues have survived since antiquity because they could be melted and re-used. The survival of the equestrian Marcus Aurelius "...is due to a happy misconception of the Middle Ages, when the famous statue was thought to be a portrait of Rome's first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great, rather than the pagan emperor Marcus Aurelius, and was piously left unharmed." Kleiner, p.271. For a discussion of the identity of the emperor in this statue, see Master Gregorius, The Marvels of Rome, Trans. John Osborne. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1987), pp.43-48.

66 The Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius is mentioned in Balfour p.152 , Addison p.332, and Smollett p.115.

In his journal entry, Lassels has positive things to say, and again chooses to emphasize the history of the piece. He writes that at "...the Piazza of the Capitol, I saw there the famous Equestrian Statu[e] of Marcus Aurelius, once gilt over, but now appearing to be plain brass. This is the noblest statue in the world; and I was going to say, the noblest statue living; for it seems almost to live and breathe by the work man's art; It is noble also, because it represents a man so noble as Marcus Aurelius, who was a double emperor, being both a great Emperor, and a great philosopher."[67] Not only does Lassels compliment the great artistry of the statue itself, he also identifies its historical model. Traditionally, Marcus Aurelius has been referred to as a thoughtful philosopher-emperor,[68] and Lassels is careful to note this. Artistic description of the statue, however, is limited.

Balfour's description notes only that it is a fine piece, and he describes its history prior to being moved to the Capitoline square: "... in the middle is Marcus Aurelius horse-back in brass; it was brought thither from the place before St. John de Lateran, and is thought of as the best model in the world."[69] Though the equestrian statue is thought of as the best model of its type in the world, Balfour does not feel it necessary to describe the statue further to his readers, or perhaps he is simply applying the usual phrases of praise but in general was not too interested in this piece.

Wright's discussion of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius describes the placement of the statue, providing an interesting perspective for

---

[67] Lassels, p.85.
Lassels' comment that the statue seems "...almost to live and breathe by the work man's art" is a topos. Lassels is probably quoting Pliny the elder.

[68] Michael Grant, The World of Rome, p.18.

[69] Balfour, p.134.

the reader. The statue '...has the finest situation: It is placed in the midst of the Piazza or Area of the Capitol,...[an] exalted station of the city, and [has] his hand extended to be now giving laws to Rome."[70] The descriptive way in which Wright discusses the placement of the statue provides a vivid picture of how Marcus Aurelius, placed in a central position of the square, appeared to be commanding the city with one hand raised. Oddly enough, however, the true identity of the material of which the statue is composed has eluded these authors. As quoted above, Lassels and Balfour thought the statue was made of brass, and Wright thought it was constructed of copper. He states that "The Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius in Copper, is the finest now known to be in the world..."[71] The identification of the bronze material used to construct this statue escaped these authors. Perhaps it was a careless mistake which was repeated by travellers, or maybe they did not know or care to identify the metal.

The Farnese Bull, called the Toro by seventeenth and eighteenth-century travellers, is another classical sculpture at which these authors marvelled (Plate 1).[72] Found in the Baths of Caracalla in 1545, this marble group is an early third-century Roman version of a second-century B.C. Hellenistic bronze, as described by Pliny, and made by the Rhodian sculptors Apollonius and Taurikos.[73] Its complex composition is believed to depict the

---

[70] Wright, p.320.

[71] Wright, p.320.

[72] Haskell and Penny, p. 11.

[73] Pliny's passage on the Farnese Bull is as follows:
"Asinius Pollio, being a man of great enthusiasm, naturally wanted his art collection to be seen. In it are..the Hermerotes of Tauriskos...and a Zethos and Amphion along with Dirke, the bull and the rope - all carved from the same piece of stone - a work by Apollonios and Tauriskos brought from Rhodes." Pliny, Natural History. Book 36,

fable of Dirce and Antiope, a tragedy told by Euripides.[74] The fable is as follows: Antiope, princess of Thebes, is raped by Zeus and banished by her parents. In the countryside she gives birth to twins who are saved by a shepherd. Antiope is then taken prisoner by Dirce, the new queen of Thebes, who tortures her for twenty years. She eventually escapes, but unfortunately meets up with Dirce at a Bacchic feast. Dirce orders the now adult twins to tie Antiope to a raging bull. The shepherd intervenes and reveals to the twins the identity of their mother. They then release Antiope and put Dirce in her place. This sculpture group represents the twins preparing to tie Dirce to the bull as Antiope observes. Authors in this survey refer to this story, and all display a somewhat similar approach to their description of this piece.

Lassels' description of the Farnese Bull is both visual and mythological in nature. Lassels writes:

> I saw...the famous Toro. It is a statue of a great bull, to whose Horns, a rope being tied at one end, and at the other end of it a womans hair, two lusty fellows are striving to push this bull from a promontory, into the sea below, and the woman together with him, to make her away. The story is known, and it is of Amphion and Zetus, who to revenge their mother Antiope for the wrong done her by Dirce (who had got Licus King of Thebes, to repudiate Antiope, to marry her) took this

---

lines 33-34.); translation by J.J. Pollitt, The Art of Ancient Greece: Sources and Documents. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) p.115. Phrases from this passage are recited time and time again by travellers who included this statue in their journals.

[74] The Farnese family acquired the statue in 1546. By 1550 the piece was partially restored and placed in one of the Farnese courtyards as a fountain. In 1588, this idea was abandoned and "...the group was protected by some sort of enclosure...though permission to inspect it could be obtained without difficulty." The subject of the group, in the condition in which it was found, was far from obvious. Aldrovandi and Vasari interpreted it as a Labour of Hercules. By the 1580's, however, "...it had certainly been restored in line with Pliny's account of a large marble group carved by Apollonius and Tauriskos of Rhodes which represented the fable of Dirce..."
Today the Farnese Bull is in the National Museum of Naples and it has been discovered to be made from 5 pieces of marble not just one block. Haskell and Penny, p.165.

> Dirce, and tying her to a Bulls Horns, threw them both, the Bull and the woman into the sea. The Bull, the two brothers, the woman, a little boy, and a dog, are all cut out of one marble stone.[75]

Lassels has provided a detailed mythological account of the story for his readers. As with other writers and other pieces it seems evident that these travellers are more interested in the stories than in the actual artwork.

Acton also spends a considerable amount of time discussing the Farnese Bull. He begins by noting the number of figures contained in the group: "From thence we went to Farnesi's palace, where we saw that Incomparable masterpiece that was brought from Rhodes, consisting of 7 figures...a bull, a dog, 3 men, and 2 women: all these 7 figures as big as life, are cut out of one intire piece of marble, and do all naturally joyn in some part or other."[76] He also believes that this sculpture group depicts the story of Antiope, and relates it to his readers:

> The figures do represent the history of Licus, King of Thebes, who took to wife Anthiope, Daughter of Nycteus , King of Ethiopia, whom Jupiter defiled, putting on the form of a satyr, where upon Licus put her away and married Dirce who persuaded the king to keep Antiope close prisoner, lest she should return into his favour again, which accordingly was done, but Jupiter, out of compassion, soon released her, and then she was delivered two sons, Amphion and Zetus, who after they came to understand the injury done to their mother by Licus and Dirce, they took Dirce and by the Hair of the Head tyed her to the horns of a mad bull, from which cruelty after she had suffered a long time, by the clemency of the Gods she was delivered but Licus they killed.[77]

---

[75] Lassels, p.135.

[76] Acton, p. 33.
Acton's comment that the statue group is cut out of "...one intire piece of marble" is again a topos from Pliny's Natural History, Book 36 Lines 33-34. See footnote 73.

[77] Acton, p.33 & 34.

He includes the names of the sculptors, though one is incorrect: "...Appolonius and Lauriscus, 2 of the most famous sculptors of that age, willing to transmit this tragical story to posterity made this piece, as it is likewise reported by Pliny, in his 36th book, and chapter 5."[78] Acton also provides an account of how the piece came to Rome, who owned it, and how it eventually came to the Farnese family: "...afterwards amongst other Antiquities [it] was brought from Rhodes to Rome by Affinios Pollion, most famous at the time of Augustus, and kept in the Baths of Antonius Pius, Caracallus, the Emperor, under Mount Aventin, and in the reign of Pope Paul the 3rd. named Farnese, was found in the ruins of those Baths, and by him put into order and placed where you now see it."[79] History, again, takes precedence over art. Acton does not devote any attention to the artistic or formal qualities of the statue, but rather concentrates on discussing the historical or literary information about this group.

The last author to discuss the Farnese Bull at length is Smollett.[80] Smollett's journal entry not only describes where the piece was housed, and the story it is based on, but also expresses his opinion about the drama of the action and emotions of the figures conveyed by the sculpture. He writes, "In a little house, or shed, behind the court, is preserved the wonderful groupe of Dirce, commonly called the Toro Farnese, which was brought hither from the thermae Caracallae. There is such spirit, ferocity, and indignant resistance expressed in the bull, to whose horns Dirce is tied by the hair, that I have

---

78 Acton, p. 34.

79 Acton, p.34 & 35.

80 Balfour refers briefly to the Farnese Bull on p.129 &130 of his journal and Wright on p.326 in his work.

never seen any thing like it, either upon canvas or, in stone."[81] He goes further in his discussion, by describing the style and precision of the chiselling upon the marble. Smollett writes, "The statues of the two brothers...are beautiful figures, finely contrasted, and the rope, which one of them hold in a sort of loose coil, is so surprisingly chizzelled, that one can hardly believe it is of stone."[82] None of the other authors in this section speak about the sculpture group in the way Smollett does, for he actually offers some comment on the artistic appearance and condition of the statue. He almost seems to equate the drama of the story with the artistry of the sculpture.

The three seventeenth-century journals are quite similar in their discussion of classical monuments. Generally, Lassels, Acton, and Balfour have covered similar antiquities, and appear to follow a set agenda in describing them. Each author focuses on architecture for the lengthiest discussions and does not dwell on works in other media. From their descriptions it is also apparent that the authors' primary focus is the history of the monuments and their literary correspondences, not the artistry of the objects.

The three eighteenth-century travellers generally include more information about individual sculptural pieces than the seventeenth-century travellers, but on the whole architecture dominates their journal entries as well. Addison, Wright, and Smollett include a few pieces perhaps of personal interest, which are not common to them all. For example, Addison takes careful note of ancient musical instruments depicted in classical sculpture,

---

[81] Smollett, p. 289.

[82] Smollett, p.289.

and throughout his account, spends a fair amount of time describing them: "I could not forbear taking particular notice of the several musical instruments, that are to be seen in the hands of the Apollo's, Muses, Fauns, Satyrs, Bacchanals, and Shepherds, which might certainly give a great light to the dispute for preference between Ancient and Modern Musick."[83] Addison then goes on to compare the ancient instruments to modern ones, as well as to provide detailed descriptions of the appearance of the ancient ones. He says, "By the appearance they make in marble, there is not one string instrument that seems comparable to our violins, for they are all play'd on, either by the bare fingers, or the plectrum, so that they were incapable of adding any length to their notes, or of varying 'em by those insensible swellings and wearings away of sound upon the same string; that give so wonderful sweetness to our modern musick."[84] Addison was obviously knowledgeable about the types of sounds an ancient stringed instrument would make when played with fingers compared to a modern violin. He further criticizes the sound quality of ancient instruments by saying, "Besides, that the string-instruments must have had very low and feeble voices, as may be guess'd from the small proportion of wood about 'em, which could not contain air enough to render the strokes in any considerable measure, full and sonorous."[85] This passage reveals Addison's interest in an aspect of the classical world which no other author from this survey even contemplated. This type of information would probably make the readers think and be

---

[83] Addison, p. 322.

[84] Addison, p. 322.

[85] Addison, p. 322.

more observant of classical instruments, the next time they saw them in a classical sculpture.

Addison, again unlike the other authors, devotes several pages to his study of ancient coins. Addison feels that when people examine sculpture they need to be familiar with coins as well: "A man takes a great deal more pleasure in surveying the ancient statues, who compares them with medals, than it is possible for him to do without knowledge this way, for these two arts illustrate each other."[86] He goes on to express his belief that coins help to decipher the faces on statues; for example, Addison mentions that "In the Villa Pamphilia stands the statue of a man in woman's cloaths, which the antiquaries don't know what to make of, and therefore pass it off for an Hermaphrodite, but a learned medalist in Rome has lately fixed it to Clodius, who is so famous for having intruded into the solemnities of the Bona Dea in a women's habit, for one sees the same features and make of face in a medal of the Clodian Family."[87] Addison then goes on to list the number of famous statues placed on coins, like the Farnese Hercules, the Medici Venus, the Apollo Belvedere, and the Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius.[88] From the number of well-known statues placed on coins, Addison astutely concludes, "...I think, from hence, that these statues were extremely celebrated among the old Romans, or they would never have been honour'd with a place among the Emperor's coins."[89]

---

[86] Addison, p.347.

[87] Addison, p. 347.

[88] Addison, p. 348.

[89] Addison, p. 350.

Wright seems fascinated with the statues of Niobe and her children (Plate 2). This sculpture group was found in Rome in 1583, and was soon after bought by the Medici family.[90] Wright describes the group as he saw it in the Medici villa, commenting on both the placement of the figures and their actions: "The Niobe herself is excellent, so are two of the daughters that stand in front; and the son who is between them, and has one hand grip'd and pressing on his thigh (expressing great anguish by that, and by his head being flung up) the other resting on the point of a rock, with one hand brings some drapery over his head (as if therewith he would defend himself) and the other stretch'd out, is excellent too, and so is the one that lies alone, dead."[91] Wright's interpretation of the emotional expressions of the figures is very good, so that if one had not seen this group, one could form a mental picture of it. He says, "...only one represented as dead, the rest appear all aghast, as thunder-struck, some kneel on the grounds, others with the limbs stretched, even to a degree of distortion, which I doubt not was intended to express their greater anguish. The miserable mother is rais'd upon an Eminence behind having her distres'd children all in agonies before her; the youngest, who has run to her lap for shelter, she hovers over."[92] Wright is sympathetic to the plight of Niobe and her children in his recording of the

---

[90] According "...to a letter on 8 April 1583 written by Valerio Cioli, a sculptor and restorer, to the secretary of the Grand Duke, Francesco I, of Tuscany, most of the statues which compose the Niobe Group had been discovered,...on 25 June of the same year, they were purchased by Cardinal Ferinando de' Medici from the Varese Family." Today the Niobe group is in the Uffizi in Florence. The sculptural group dates to the fourth or third century B.C. Haskell and Penny, p. 274.

[91] Wright, p. 328.

[92] Wright, p.329.

piece. He also relates the words of Ovid, who he feels expresses verbally what Niobe would be saying at the moment represented in marble: "Ovid exactly describes the attitude and gives us the words one would imagine Niobe to be speaking: 'to shield the last her mother, over her body cast; this one, she cries, and that the least, O save! The least of many and but one I crave.'"[93] Wright believes that it is probable that Ovid wrote these lines after seeing the Niobe sculpture group.[94] He also relates that "Since the days of Pliny they were agreed to be antique and of the hand of either Scopas or Praxiteles, tho' of which of the two was disputed."[95] It seem quite evident from the way Wright speaks of this piece, that he very much admired it and found it worthwhile to document, but he again devotes more attention to drawing literary connections to this piece than describing its artistic qualities. This yet another example of a writer linking the art to a literary or historical source rather than discussing the piece itself.

It is extremely surprising that the Laocoon group (Plate 3) is not extensively discussed in the journals of most of the authors included in this survey. Right from the moment the Laocoon sculpture was re-discovered in Rome in 1506, it had a profound effect on artists and admirers.[96] The Laocoon was the most enthusiastically written about and rendered antique

---

93 Wright, p. 329.

94 Wright, p.329.

95 Wright, p.330. The reference is to Pliny's Natural History, Book 36, line 28. "There is equal doubt as to whether the 'Dying Children of Niobe' in the temple of Apollo Sosianu [in Rome] were made by Skopas or Praxiteles." Again the importance of Pliny for historical information is evident. (trans. J.J Pollitt)

96 Haskell and Penny, p.243.

sculpture in engravings and in casts for centuries.[97] Thus it is odd that the travellers in this survey, with the exception of one, Smollett, chose not to carefully and thoroughly describe the Laocoon in their travel journals. Perhaps they felt that the sculpture group was already widely discussed and there was no need for further discussion.[98]

It is however worthwhile to examine Smollett's journal passage on the Laocoon, for the way he describes the piece makes it obvious that it had a great impact on him. Indeed he seems to have had more interest in it than in any other work of classical sculpture referred to in his journal. He writes: "As for the famous groupe of Laocoon, it surpassed my expectation. It was not without reason that Buonaroti called it a portentous work, and Pliny has done it no more than justice in saying it is the most excellent piece that ever was cut in marble..."[99] Pliny's description of the Laocoon in his Natural History was well known in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.[100] Smollett informs his readers that there had been some

---

[97] Haskell and Penny, p.243. "In about 1510, Bramante arranged for four of the leading sculptors in Rome to copy the Laocoon in large wax models...By 1523...the most famous full-size marble copy was being carved by Bandinelli...A bronze copy,...was made for Fontainebleau and Sansovino's bronze...[for] Cardinal Grimani. A marble copy by Jean-Baptiste Tuby was made for Versailles in 1696..." This is just a partial listing, please see Haskell and Penny's book for a more detailed account.

[98] In the sixteenth century much was published on the Laocoon group by Italian observers like Aldrovandi and Sadoleto. The Laocoon group stood in a niche at the Belvedere courtyard. Traveller's were allowed in to view the art only with special permission from the Papal organizers. For further discussion, see Haskell and Penny, pp.243-246, and Treasures of the Vatican Collection, pp.9-15.

[99] Smollett, p.286. The Laocoon dates to the Hellenistic period.

[100] Pliny's Passage on the Laocoon group reads as follows:
There are many whose fame is not preserved. In some cases the glory of the finest works is obscured by the number of the artists, since no one of them can monopolize the credit, nor can the names of more than one be handed down. This is the case with the Laocoon, which stands in the palace of the Emperor Titus, a work to be preferred to all that the arts of painting and sculpture have produced. Out of one block of stone the consummate

controversy whether Pliny's passage discusses this specific statue: "...the famous Fulvius Ursini is of the opinion that this is not the same statue which Pliny described."[101] He continues, "Be that as it may, the work which we now see does honour to antiquity. As you have seen innumerable copies and casts of it, in marble, plaster, copper, lead, drawings, and prints, and the description of it in...twenty other books of travels; but that neither they nor I, nor any other person, could say too much in its praise."[102] Smollett thus indicates the popularity of the Laocoon in his day, and that it was well known prior to his visit, yet he felt that not enough could be said about the piece. Smollett also mentions that Michelangelo did some restoration work on the Laocoon, but that "...the joinings, were so artfully concealed as to be invisible."[103] Smollett's discussion of the Laocoon is interesting and informative to his readers. However, in keeping with other eighteenth-century writers, he does not provide much visual description of the Laocoon, or praise the extreme naturalism and unrestrained emotion, or marvel at the idealistic qualities of the figures which had made it so popular.[104] He fails to convey the sense of the awe-inspiring nature of the sculpture, and why it was impossible to " say too much in its praise."

---

artist Hagesandros, Polydoros, and Athenodoros of Rhodes made, after careful planning, him [Laocoon], his sons, and the marvelleous intertwining of the snakes. (Pliny Natural History, Book 36-37.)

101 Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600) was a curator and collector for the Farnese library. He was also a published author on topics such as ancient coins and portrait of herms. Haskell and Penny, p.52

102 Smollett, p.286.

103 Smollett, p.286. Some of the restoration work on the Laocoon was attributed to Michelangelo in the eighteenth century, but whether or not he was actually responsible is uncertain. Haskell and Penny, p.246.

The examination of the classical monuments discussed in the six travel journals provides several types of relevant information. First, it gives one a clear idea of the types of classical antiquities which were considered worthy of mention by these authors. Also, one has a better understanding of the amount of time these particular travellers chose to dedicate to certain ancient monuments. This survey indicates that there was a reasonably standard itinerary which would have been followed by most travellers. They all seem to have examined the same types of classical objects, which indicates that there was not much diversity or variety in what travellers sought to view. On most occasions, the way they have described the classical monuments is also quite similar, though at times one or two authors vary in opinion. As the last section of this chapter indicates, there are also a few examples of specific ideas and issues relating to classical monuments which are unique to one or two authors. But on the whole, they are repetitive in the information they relate to their readers. An important similarity they all share is that they focus on reporting the historical and literary information about a piece, rather than describing the aesthetic and artistic qualities of the object. Perhaps the authors felt more comfortable in discussing the historical or mythical background, because they thought this information would be more significant or could provide more validity to the piece. They also seem to examine the art object in a manner which confirms or extends the literary

---

104 I do not mean to suggest that Smollett and other travellers discussed in this chapter were "wrong" in not discussing the style or artistic qualities of piece and choosing instead to focus on the historical or literary information about a piece. Rather, this point has been highlighted in order to later illustrate how the Richardsons' approach was different.

or historical accounts.[105] Perhaps, to these authors it was not a worthy pursuit to devote much time to describing the artistic characteristics of an object, but linking the classical piece to literature or history somehow strengthened and added substance to their discussion of the art. But above all this survey provides a context for the Richardsons' travel journal, and will be useful to illustrate how the Richardsons' journal fits into the larger genre of British seventeenth and eighteenth-century travel literature in general. I intend to demonstrate, by way of contrast, the originality of some of the Richardsons' observations, and the extensiveness of their descriptions and interpretations of classical antiquities.

---

[105] For a detailed discussion of the use of ancient art as a confirmation for literary and historical accounts see Francis Haskell, History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

Chapter Three: The Richardsons and the Construction of their 1722 Travel Account

Jonathan Richardson Senior (1667-1745) and his eldest son, Jonathan Richardson Junior (1693-1785), were both great lovers of the arts. Jonathan senior was a talented draftsman and portraitist in London during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.[1] Although painting may have been Jonathan senior's career, he also devoted much of his time to writing theoretical books about painting and connoisseurship. His books include: An Essay on the Theory of Painting (1715) and Two Discourses (1719).[2] His love of art also engendered a fondness for English literature. In a collaborative project with his son, Jonathan senior produced a text called Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost (1734), in which they closely examined and offered their own analysis of the epic poem. He also committed his own poetical verses to paper. A book of Jonathan senior's poems was published after his death by his son entitled, Morning Thoughts: Or Poetical Meditations, Moral, Divine, Miscellaneous. Together with Several Other Poems on Various Subjects (1776). His contributions to the literary and artistic community of London during the early eighteenth century were both diverse and extensive.

---

[1] The earliest biography on the Richardsons' is in Horace Walpole's book Ancedotes of Painting in England; With Principal Artists, 3 vols. (London: Lowrex and Co., 1888), pp.273-276. There is also a short biography on them in G.W. Snelgrove, "The Work and Theories of Jonathan Richardson," Ph.D. diss. and in Sir Leslie Stephan and Sir Sidney Lee (eds.) The Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. 19. pp. 1122-1124. The fullest biography of Jonathan Richardson is an unpublished manuscript by Carol Gibson-Wood, which I have used for much of the information presented in this chapter.

[2] The full title of Two Discourses is Two Discourses. I. An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as it Relates to Painting...II. An Argument in Behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur.

Jonathan senior's interest in literature and art included a fascination with antiquities. Though information on his formal education is sketchy, from the classical knowledge illustrated by his writings, it seems likely that Jonathan senior attended grammar school, where he studied classical languages and authors.[3] This early exposure to the classical past would continue to inspire and intrigue him in his adult years. He diligently made numerous sketches of ancient sculptures, a popular and common exercise for eighteenth-century artists. However, as Carol Gibson-Wood points out in her article, "Jonathan Richardson as a Draftsman," this "...practice of producing studies after Antique statues was well established among eighteenth century artists, but it is unusual for an English portraitist (especially one who had never travelled abroad or studied at an academy) to have executed so many drawings of this type."[4] Jonathan senior obviously had a great respect for classical art as he dedicated much of his time and effort to studying its form and style. According to Gibson-Wood, Jonathan senior "...apparently executed his sketches as a way of studying the principles of classical idealization that he praised repeatedly in his writings. He recommended the study of the Antique for painters to rise above imperfect natural appearances."[5] He admired the flawless, idealized qualities of classical figures and wanted to emulate that characteristic in his own work and encourage others to do the

---

[3] Gibson-Wood's unpublished book.

[4] Carol Gibson-Wood, "Jonathan Richardson as Draftsman," Master Drawings, Vol. 32 No.3 (1994) p.205.

[5] Gibson-Wood, "Jonathan Richardson as Draftsman," p.205.

same. Jonathan senior even acquired original fragments of classical sculpture in his art collection as well as several casts and copies.[6]

This appreciation for literature and art, especially that of the Ancients, was instilled in Jonathan junior. Jonathan senior fathered eleven children, of whom only five lived to adulthood.[7] Of all his children, he was most proud of his eldest son and namesake. Jonathan junior was both dutiful and respectful towards his father, and they enjoyed a close relationship, sharing many of the same interests and fascinations. Gibson-Wood further illuminates this adoring father and son relationship: "Jonathan junior was the obedient child who had his father's serious and studious temperament, who shared his father's interests in literature and art, and who was given opportunities of education, travel and leisure that Jonathan senior had not himself enjoyed."[8] Though Jonathan senior moulded his son to value many of his own interests, he never encouraged Jonathan junior to pursue a career as a professional portraitist. Instead, he desired a "Gentleman's" up-bringing for him, including a life-style devoted to education in foreign and classical

---

[6] Gibson-Wood, "Jonathan Richardson as Draftsman." p.205.
Jonathan senior's classical art collection was extensive. A listing of his ancient art acquisitions is provided by a catalogue from an auction of Jonathan senior's collection after his death. His ancient art collection included: 2 basso relievos of Trajan's pillar, 3 small heads of Trajan, 1small head of Antinous, an antique figure of Flora, a trunk of Antinous, 2 heads of Galba and Niobe, Medusa, Cicero, a small head of Venus, a head of Hercules, Homer from the Farnese Collection, Apollo Belvedere, Hercules and Anteus, Venus Callipypis, Venus of Medicis, a model of Aeneas and Anchises, a model of a muse, and 6 ancient gems. A Catalogue of the Genuine and Entire Collection of Italian and other Drawings, Prints, Models and Casts. Of the Late Eminent Mr. Jonathan Richardson. Painter, deceased. Sold by auction by Mr. Cook. Thurs. 22nd Jan. 1746.

[7] Gibson-Wood, unpublished book p.11.

[8] Gibson-Wood's unpublished book p. 31.

languages, literature, art and natural history. Jonathan junior was not expected to establish any particular career or professional service; rather his father wanted to provide a leisured life filled with study and travel. Information on Jonathan junior's formal education does not indicate that he ever attended a university.[9] It is rather surprising that Jonathan senior, who obviously appreciated the study of modern and classical languages, literature, and art, did not send his son to an institution of higher learning where these subjects would have contributed to his son's "Gentleman's" education. Perhaps Jonathan junior had private tutors, and he was probably well enough coached by his father that a formal education at a university was not necessary. Nevertheless, the most significant contributions the father made to the son's education were his two trips abroad. Travel to mainland Europe was intended to add the final touches to Jonathan junior's intellectual growth. His first tour to the continent in the fall of 1716 was for only six weeks, and included just Holland and Flanders.[10] On this trip, Jonathan junior viewed "...twenty collections of paintings and drawings, and took copious notes on their contents."[11] The second trip was most likely undertaken in 1720, and included France, the Netherlands, and Italy. During

---

[9] Gibson-Wood points out that Richardson senior "...apparently did not send his son to university, there being no record of matriculation at either Oxford or Cambridge." unpublished book p.33.

[10] Gibson-Wood, p.33 unpublished book.

[11] Gibson-Wood, p.33 unpublished book.
Jonathan junior would have been well prepared to discuss the arts he saw abroad especially since his father had an extensive collection of drawings, paintings, copies, casts, and original classical pieces. Jonathan junior having been exposed to these examples especially those of the classical sculpture no doubt helped him in his examinations of them when travelling.

this tour, Jonathan junior kept extensive notes on the art and architecture of each country. Upon his return, Jonathan senior, using the long letters written by his son during the trip, as well as his travel notes, collaborated with him to produce a book. This travel journal, called An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, etc...with Remarks was published in 1722. It became very popular in England, was translated and published into French six years after its first release, and appeared in a second English edition in 1754. In the preface to the journal, Jonathan senior describes the important qualities a traveller should possess to fully appreciate travel abroad. He writes, "Whoever would travel with advantage ought to have the languages, a competent stock of learning, and other Gentleman-like accomplishments, civility, good-nature, [and] prudence...And before he sets out he ought to know as much of what he goes chiefly to observe upon, as can be learn'd at hom[e]: add to this a hearty love for that particular study; and proper recommendations."[12] From this passage it is clear that Jonathan senior felt a traveller should acquire a gentleman's education and values. One must have a command of foreign languages, as well as excellent knowledge of the objects one is going to observe. The education of Jonathan junior would have likely qualified him under his father's criteria as a gentleman scholar. Since detailed descriptions of the antique objects in Italy, most especially Rome, comprise a large component of the journal, it is evident that the Richardsons' fascination with the material remains of the classical past was a primary focus. In this respect they were very much a part of the national trend amongst the literate classes to exalt

---

[12] Jonathan Richardson Sr. & Jr., An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy, etc...with Remarks (London: J. Knapton,1722), p. 19.

the virtues of ancient art and literature. It can also be argued that the Richardsons' account of the ancient remains contributed to the public desire to learn about the classical past, and the popularity of their book indicates the respect many had for their descriptions and interpretations of classical objects.

The Making of the Journal

The Richardson journal was constructed using letters written by Jonathan junior to his father, on-site notes, and information the son could recall upon returning from his travels. Jonathan senior played a significant role in its development. He was the person responsible for the organization and layout of his son's notes and observations, about which he says:

> Whether I have done well or not, in publishing this account, I am oblig'd in justice to take it upon myself, and to declare, as I do, that 'tis my own act. I had an undoubted right to dispose of these papers as I thought fit. I am well satisfy'd my son when he was abroad was not umindful of his own particular pleasure...but I am no less persuaded that what he principally intended in making, and noting down his observations was to gratify me.[13]

Although the father bestows a considerable amount of credit on his son for shedding light on the works recorded, it was probably Jonathan senior who was chiefly responsible for the analytical commentary, since it was he who had written extensively on art theoretical topics.[14] In the preface, Jonathan senior declares: "I have been ever since upon all opportunities getting

---

[13] Richardson Sr. & Jr., An Account. On page II of the unpaginated preface.

[14] As mentioned in this chapter, Richardson senior wrote An Essay on the Theory of Painting (1715) and Two Discourses (1719).

further light into these matters; chiefly from him; but sometimes from others, and from Books; comparing his Accounts with Theirs, and making some improvement by the hints...thus received."[15] Therefore, it is clear that Jonathan senior had added what he called "improvements" to the observations his son and others had made in their accounts. Although Jonathan senior explains that he tried to keep the discussion in the journal mostly in his son's style, he indicates his involvement by having "...enlarged upon the materials...given [him], and to his [son's] remarks have added many others of [his] own."[16] Also in the preface, Jonathan senior expresses some defensiveness towards those readers who may criticize him for collaborating on a book which deals with art objects he has not seen first hand. But he tries to dispel such criticism by clarifying that "such [people] may please only ...to observe that my remarks are chiefly upon the way of thinking; which is seen in a print, or a drawing, as well as in the thing itself."[17] Jonathan senior also states the reasons why he and his son decided to publish such a book. He explains that those who are compelled to seek out and describe pieces which made an impression on them ought to share their ideas, "as every picture, statue, or bas-relief, besides what it was intended to exhibit, leaves upon the mind of him that sees it an idea of itself, distinguished from every other of its kind, he that would describe them should endeavor to communicate such distinct ideas."[18] He then describes the process by which he and his son selected the pieces represented in the journal. They included those objects

---

[15] Richardson Sr. & Jr., An Account. On page III of the unpaginated preface.

[16] Richardson Sr. & Jr., An Account. On page III of the unpaginated preface.

[17] Richardson Sr & Jr., An Account. On page III of the unpaginated preface.

[18] Richardson Sr. & Jr., An Account. On page VII of the unpaginated preface.

which had a personal impact on his son: "We have endeavored thus to describe some of the most considerable things my son saw; other[s] of them have not been so fully and accurately described, as sometimes not having had means or opportunities to do it, but chiefly from pure choice, [and] to avoid tediousness, and repetitions."[19] He further justifies this approach arguing that those examples "...were what stepped out of the crowd, and touched [him] most; whether by a certain degree of goodness, or for their rarity, or other particularity."[20] Thus Jonathan senior informs the reader that the art works illustrated in the journal represent a selection determined by what he and his son felt were the most worthy to include. The Richardsons were also conscious of other travellers' descriptions of the same classical pieces, for they claim to have made a strong effort to avoid stale repetition. Finally, towards the end of the preface, Jonathan senior bluntly expresses their main motivation for publishing the accounts, writing that he and his son "...have often complained, and justly, of the superficial accounts we have had of these things: and that they are little other than catalogues and panegyricks; we [intend] to give a more distinct idea of them; 'tis therefore we write."[21] They boldly reject earlier journals for their trivial discussions and label them as mere "catalogues." It seems clear that the Richardsons felt it necessary to produce a new discussion which provided the reader with more than just a listing or brief description of the arts in Europe. In their journal, they planned to present more detailed interpretations of frequently examined

---

[19] Richardson Sr. & Jr., An Account. On page VII of the unpaginated preface.

[20] Richardson Sr. & Jr., An Account. On page VII of the unpaginated preface.

[21] Richardson Sr.& Jr., An Account. On page XVI of the unpaginated preface.

pieces. The Richardsons' agenda, then, was not only to describe a selection of art objects, but to offer their own analyses and ideas about them, going beyond the shallow accounts published elsewhere.

The Journal/What Richardson Junior Viewed

The journal begins with the description of many of the drawings and paintings by well known artists, including Raphael, Giulio Romano, Parmigianino, and Annibale Carracci, held in private and public collections in the Netherlands and France. Jonathan junior, however, spent most of his travel time in Italy, visiting Milan, Modena, Piacenza, Parma, Bologna, Florence, and Rome. Although he commented on many statues and paintings from the Renaissance and Baroque periods, Jonathan junior had a particular fascination with the antique marvels.

Although the antiquities of Rome are the main focus of the Richardsons' journal, their opinions and interpretations of the classical art in the Ducal Palace at Florence (the Uffizi) illustrate that these works were also considered significant as points of comparison. There are detailed descriptions of several antique sculptures from this collection.[22] Jonathan junior spent over ten hours admiring and studying the numerous antique statues at the Grand Duke's palace.[23] The one ancient sculpture which affected Jonathan junior above all others was the Venus de Medici. The

---

[22] The antique sculpture from this collection discussed in the journal include: a Bacchus (p.44), Hadrian bust (p.46), Antinous bust (p.46), Chimaera (p.47), Ganymede (p.47), Alexander the Great (p.48), Tuscan Orator (p.48), Caracalla bust (p.50), Greek philosopher (p.52), Narcissus (p.53), Medici Venus (p. 56-57), and Venus Victrix (p.57). These are the pieces discussed most frequently. There are many more antiquities from the Grand Duke's collection which are listed with only a brief mention.

[23] Richardson Sr. & Jr., An Account, p.56.

manner in which the appearance of the statue is described indicates that the Richardsons actually believed this work to be the perfect example of classical sculpture. It is referred to repeatedly in their discussion of other classical pieces in Florence and Rome, becoming in a sense, a measuring stick against which all other antique sculpture was judged. A fuller discussion of the Venus de Medici, as viewed by the Richardsons, will be given in the next chapter.

It was Rome, however, which was the high point of Jonathan junior's voyage. He visited all the major ancient and modern sites in the city, but the entries concerning the classical sculpture clearly dominate the discussion. Surprisingly, there is no reference to the magnificent ancient Roman architecture. This appears to have been deliberately excluded, perhaps because the Richardsons were aware that earlier travel journals had already discussed the classical architecture at great length. The title of their journal provides another clue that their book is primarily dedicated to exploring the "statues, bas-reliefs, drawings, and pictures in Italy etc..." Their well-defined intent allowed Jonathan junior to seek out and explore significant venues which housed antique sculpture including: the Capitol, the Villa Medici, the Palazzo Farnese, the Palazzo Giustinani, the Villa Mattei, the Vatican, the Palazzo Chigi, the Villa Borghese, and the Villa Aldobrandini. In some cases, pieces are briefly mentioned; in others, small descriptions are provided; and in other instances quite detailed and full discussions of classical sculpture are given. The next chapter will focus on case studies of specific examples of statues recorded in the journal which will illustrate the original observations by the Richardsons about classical art.

Chapter Four: An Examination of the Richardsons' Travel Account

An Account of Some Statues, Bas-Relief, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, etc...with Remarks, by Jonathan Richardson Senior and Junior, is very different from the typical travel literature of the early eighteenth century. It was clear from the examination of the six travel journals discussed previously that the authors sought similar classical monuments to study. It became evident that the authors were more interested in recounting the history and mythical stories associated with classical objects than in giving the reader an accurate and detailed account of the pieces' appearance. As this chapter will reveal, the Richardsons had a different agenda in their approach to the antiquities. Unlike the other travellers, the Richardsons focus on describing the artistic qualities of ancient objects and do not fill their journal only with historical detail; rather, they attempt to draw their readers' attention to the aesthetic value of ancient art. Their aesthetic evaluation includes the critique of the formal and artistic qualities of a given statue as well as its presentation of idealistic beauty. As Haskell and Penny have pointed out, "the Richardsons are quite exceptional, and very few other authors looked as consistently at ancient art with artistic value as their prime concern."[1] Their careful aesthetic evaluations of ancient sculpture indicate a sophisticated notion of "classical" qualities. They repeatedly praise the restrained emotions and inward pathos illustrated in classical figures and these ideals form their aesthetic criteria for classical sculpture. Furthermore, their aesthetic and artistic appraisal is based on Jonathan junior's close scrutiny of each piece. On several occasions he even scaled the walls of

---

[1] Haskell and Penny, p.45.

private villas to get a clear and intimate look at certain statues.[2] These close, personal examinations allowed Jonathan junior the opportunity to describe the minutest aspects of each sculpture. The Richardsons' analysis also involved discussion of the quality of the restoration work done on the pieces, which was uncharacteristic for eighteenth-century travel literature. This evaluation and criticism of the restoration work illustrates their concern and interest in all aspects of ancient sculpture. In general, the Richardsons' approach to the discussion of ancient art is different from others, and this can be attributed in part to the fact that Jonathan senior was an artist, and the descriptions are derived from an artist's perspective. His sensitivity to all aspects of an art object, from its positive to negative qualities, probably influenced Jonathan junior in his observations. With the keen eyes of an artist Jonathan senior expresses his concern with the artistic creation and process. His point of view is not that of an historian, but rather that of an artist, and thus he draws attention to the aesthetic and formal qualities of ancient art.

Although the Richardsons' aesthetic approach was their most important contribution to the study of classical sculpture, it was not their sole contribution. In addition, they also formulated theories about the issue of stylistic differences between Greek, Roman and Etruscan art. The Richardsons seem to be the first to ponder the distinctive sculptural styles which characterize the different periods of classical culture. Not only are the Richardsons' analyses of classical art astute and thought provoking, they also

---

[2] Jonathan junior climbed over the wall surrounding the Medici garden in Rome to view the statue of "Cleopatra dying". This will discussed later in the chapter.

anticipate the theories of later antiquarians like Winckelmann, and even modern art historians.[3]

A detailed examination of a few classical sculptures, including the Venus de' Medici, the Niobe group, the dying Cleopatra, the Livia Mattei, the Farnese Bull, the Poppaea, the Apollo Belvedere, and the Laocoon group, will help to reveal the Richardsons' thoughts, opinions, and value judgments about classical art. These classical pieces have been selected because they seem to best illustrate the Richardsons' ideas, arguments, and theories about ancient sculpture. This examination will thus attempt to highlight the thematic and theoretical concerns of the Richardsons and to analyze and understand why they wrote about specific monuments. Also at issue is why the Richardsons focused on certain aspects of these objects; what they thought was most admirable and why. I will also seek to determine how they established their evaluations and perceptions about classical sculpture.[4]

Case Studies

We can begin our examination using the Richardsons' favourite piece, the Venus de' Medici, (Plate 4) of which Jonathan junior wrote, "when I had spent above ten hours in this gallery, considering the beauty of the statues

---

[3] Haskell and Penny, p.61.

[4] The Richardsons' journal provides detailed accounts of the artistic appearance and quality of classical sculpture as well as some theoretical thoughts. But on the whole the journal focuses more on the aesthetic characteristics of the objects, than theoretical explanation. Thus, to add depth and for a better understanding of the Richardsons' observations, I will employ Jonathan senior's An Essay on the Theory of Painting whenever necessary to clarify their thoughts about classical art. Although this is a book on painting, Jonathan senior consistently makes references to sculpture and art in general. This book may help us to understand his points of view and biases about ancient art.

there, and perpetually found something new to admire, 'twas yet impossible to keep my eyes off of this [Venus de Medici]...whilst I was in the room."[5] Their introduction to this piece provides historically useful information about the location of the statue when viewed in 1721. They explain, "Going out of the Grand Duke's gallery on one side by a thick door full of great iron nails, you come presently to another like it, which opens into the Tribunal. It is octagonal, about 25 to 30 foot diameter, with the windows at the top, and a round table in the middle. The figure fronting the door is the Venus of Medicis..."[6] Later in the discussion the condition and appearance of the marble is described. According to Richardson junior, the Medici Venus is made of "...clear white marble turned a little yellowish; a beautiful colour; the effect of time: when the sun shines on it (for I have seen it all hours of the day, and in all accidents of light) 'tis almost transparent."[7] Apparently,

---

5 Richardson Sr. & Jr. p.56.

An early well-known account of the Venus de' Medici was given by Francois Perrier. He also made three plates of it for his anthology of the most admired statues in Rome, called Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum que temporis dentem invidium evase (1638). Haskell and Penny, p.325.

In order to hypothesize early sources which the Richardsons may have consulted, I have referred to Haskell and Penny who list in chronological order early published sources on particular classical statues. I am only suggesting which writers could have been a source for the Richardsons. In this case I am assuming the Richardsons would have been familiar with Perrier's book and may have received some background information on the statue from him.

6 Richardson Sr. & Jr. .55.

Venus de' Medici dates to the Hellenistic period. Andrew Stewart, Greek Sculpture: An Exploration. vol.2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.), p.52.

Originally the Venus de' Medici was owned by Pope Innocent XI who "...surprised his contemporaries by permitting the removal of this 'miracle of art' to the [the Medici in] in Florence; he was supposed to have done so because of the lewd behaviour which she excited. Once installed in the Tribuna the statue was revered as the most beautiful Venus and one of the half-dozen finest antique statues to have survived." Haskell and Penny, p.325.

Today the statue is housed in the Uffizi at Florence.

Richardson junior held preconceived negative notions about the Medici Venus which he had gathered from studying casts at home, for he comments "I confess before I saw this statue I had some prejudice against it, from what I had observed in the casts...",[8] but upon viewing the original, he was struck by the beauty and fleshiness of the figure. He describes the statue as having "...such a fleshy softness, one would think it would yield to the touch. It has such a beauty, and delicacy; such a lightness;...that by it the other two Venus' look robust..."[9] Even though Richardson junior was captivated by this stunning statue, he does not idealize his description nor does he ignore the flaws of the piece. He critically points out that "...the head is something too little for the body, especially for the hips and thighs; the fingers excessively long and taper, [at the tips] and no mark for the knuckles, except for the little finger of the right hand..."[10] This remark also indicates how patiently and devotedly Jonathan junior had examined the statue, and it is a good illustration of the Richardsons' up-close and thorough approach to the study of classical sculpture. While their admiration of the soft, tender rendering of the skin in marble indicates their appreciation of its life-like qualities, they also comment on the statue's faults and imperfections. The Richardsons' purpose in doing this was perhaps to provide not merely simple descriptions of the statue, but also to offer their own ideas on how the Medici Venus

---

[7] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p. 56.

[8] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p. 56. See footnote in chapter 3 which lists the Medici Venus as one of the copies in Jonathan senior collection.

[9] Richardson Sr. & Jr.,p.57. The other two Venus' are Venus Victrix and Venus Urania which were placed by the Venus de' Medici.

[10] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.57.

succeeded and how it could have been improved, and perhaps to encourage the reader to develop a critical and careful eye when observing works of art.

The Richardsons also contribute valuable information about the condition of the Venus de' Medici. For example, they point out the damaged areas of the statue: "this wonderful statue has been broke[n] in several places, but well put together again; so that some of the fractures are not seen, unless one examines it well. Both the thighs, the legs just under both the knees, and above the joining of both the feet, have been broke[n]; and the middle of the right leg; both the arms have been off, just below the arm-pits."[11] This type of technical information about the statue reveals their close observation.

The Niobe and her children sculptural group is another piece which Jonathan junior examined (Plate 2). He says, "I consider'd this [the Niobe], and every part of it for several hours alone.[12] The Richardsons describe the placement of the figures and their disapproval of such a grouping. They explain:

> the figures are placed upon a vast rock-like heap of stone, about the bigness of an ordinary room, and not group'd at all; every one is detach'd from the other, but nevertheless by 3's, of which there is 5; they form a sort of a square, 3 figures on each side, and 3 in the middle, in all 15, comprehending the horse. This injudicious way of setting them is very offensive to the eye at first view.[13]

---

11 Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.57.

12 Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.124.

For a discussion on the Niobe group's rediscovery and ownership see pp. 32-33 in chapter two. The statue group was dislayed in the Medici garden in Rome in the eighteenth century. Today it is in the Uffizi in Florence. Haskell and Penny, p.274.

13 Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.124-25.

In 1583 most of the statues from this group were rediscovered. An early account of the Niobe group is found in Giacomo Lauro, Antiquae Urbis (1612). But Perrier was

In terms of the visual quality of the pieces, the Richardsons believed that not all were tasteful. Some figures they did approve: "...the Niobe herself, and the daughter she covers are divine, and so is she that keeps up her drapery with her hand over her shoulder; the head of another of the daughters is so too, as is the whole figure of one of the sons that is dead, and which is of the most beautiful Parian marble; which the other figures are not."[14] Then Richardson junior comments, that the figure of the dead son is "...the best figure of them all to my taste; and for attitude, and contour, equal to any in Rome, take[n]...in any view."[15] The Richardsons were obviously impressed by this piece not only because they found it aesthetically pleasing in its visual appearance, but also in terms of its expression and attitude. Their opinion of the dead son figure is unique among critics. In his discussion of this group, Wright talks extensively about the expression and attitude of the other statues, but he does not mention the figure of the dead son as an admirable piece. Wright is more intrigued by the animated and anguished faces of living figures. Why would the Richardsons be more captivated by the figure of the dead son than by any of the other figures and consider its "attitude and contour" to be equal to any in Rome? A close examination of the piece may provide useful insight into the Richardsons' approval of this statue (Plate 5). The deceased figure lies nude upon a mound of drapery. One arm is placed on his abdomen and the other stretches back over his head. He lies peacefully

---

the main authority on this piece and the Richardsons could have obtained some of their historical information from him. Haskell and Penny, p. 274.

[14] Richardson Sen. & Jr., p.125. Wright had also discussed this group (see ch. 2) and he listed several other pieces he admired of which the Richardsons did not approve.

[15] Richardson Sr. & Jr. p.125.

and lacks the tormented and anxiety-ridden faces of the others in the group. Richardson senior, in his book An Essay on the Theory of Painting, often makes references to the need for artists to idealize and improve upon nature, as well as to represent the grace and sublimity of the figures.[16] He also emphasizes the importance of portraying calm and restrained emotions in facial expressions. Perhaps the Richardsons' respect for this piece stems from Jonathan senior's theories about representing idealized figures, not just in physical beauty, but in attitude as well. Richardson senior had written in his own work that one should"... represent nature, or rather the best of nature; and where it can be done, to raise and improve it: to give all the grace and dignity the subject has..."[17] He continues, "...what gives...the ancients the preference, is, that they have not servilely followed common nature, but raised, and improved; or at least have always made the best choice of it."[18] The artist has made 'the best choice' because he raised and improved the statue of a deceased individual. Thus the Richardsons perhaps felt that this piece was admirable because despite its depiction of a dead individual, the figure is not grotesque, but is still idealized and beyond nature in its representation.

---

[16] On the issue of perfecting upon nature in art, Jonathan senior writes, "...in good [art] we always see nature improv'd or at least the best choice of it. We thus have nobler and finer ideas of men...than we should perhaps have ever had; we see particular...beauties which are rarely, or never seen by us..."Richardson Sr. An Essay on the Theory of Painting, p.17.
Thus Jonathan senior is advocating that figures depicted in art should be represented as the ideal - a level we should aspire to but seldom if ever reach, but which can be achieved in artistic representations.

[17] Richardson Sr., An Essay on the Theory of Painting, p.V.

[18] Richardson Sr., An Essay on the Theory of Painting, p.171.

They were also intrigued by the Niobe statue herself: "the air of her head is particularly fine..."[19] The 'air of the head' as expressed by Jonathan senior is an important aspect of the figure for him because it depicts the grace and greatness of a figure. He explains, "The airs of the heads must especially be regarded. This is commonly the first thing taken notice of...This first strikes the eye, and affects the mind when we see [Art]."[20] Thus he approves and admires the captivating appearance of the Niobe. In general, however, the Richardsons were not particularly impressed with the other statues in the Niobe group; they comment: "some (those I have mentioned) are very fine, the rest are indifferent, or very bad."[21] It is interesting to note that they discriminate carefully between the individual figures in the group rather than making a sweeping pronouncement about the piece as a whole. This again indicates their individualized and careful attention to each statue.

Although the Richardsons did not appreciate the group overall, as had other travellers like Wright, their passage reveals that they thought more critically about the piece than others because they drew attention to expressions and overall condition of the Niobe group. Most of the other authors seem to acquiesce with the collective opinion that all classical objects are good, whereas the independent and thoughtful critiques of the Richardsons are more discriminating. Their critical comments might also be attributed to the fact that they noticed some peculiar aspects of the Niobe group which had eluded other observers. A good example of this is the figure

---

[19] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.125.

[20] Richardson Sr., An Essay on the Theory of Painting, p.190.

[21] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.125.

of an old man: "There is an old man; He from the first seem'd to have no relation to the rest of the figures, except that he is in fright at something from above, ...[the] fright is nobly express'd: and enquiring more strictly into it, I found that his head, which appears to be Roman upon all accounts, has also the eye-balls mark'd, which the Greeks never did, nor is this done in any of the other figures."[22]

This revealing discussion also indicates their substantial knowledge of classical sculpture. They clearly understood the differences between Greek and Roman sculptural styles. The Richardsons are the first writers on the Niobe group to recognize the stylistic differences between the old man and the other figures, and they are the only authors who address a distinction in sculptural style between the Greeks and the Romans, labelling this piece as Roman, not Greek, for many reasons, but primarily because the old man has well defined (carved in) eye-balls, a facial feature which they believe was never portrayed in Greek art.[23] Roman art is known for its depiction of naturalistic details like the illustration of eye-balls, whereas Greek art is more idealized than realistic. Although the Richardsons do not conclude that this piece is a Roman copy of a Greek original, they are aware of its contradictory appearance and style in relation to the rest of the group. In addition, they also note the different types of marbles used for the

---

[22] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.125.

[23] The eyes would have been painted in on Greek statues, but the Richardsons were probably not aware of this, since very few Greek statues have survived with the paint still visible. Greek sculpture was richly painted; "...traces of coloured designs survive on the drapery. The hair was painted, as were such details as the eyes, lips, and eyebrows." William R. Biers, The Archaeology of Greece: An Introduction (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp.164-165.

sculptures.[24] In summary, it would seem that the Richardsons had looked at the Niobe group more carefully than their contemporaries. Rather than relating the Niobe myth and recounting minor details about the sculptural group, they have instead recognized unusual features of the group and provided insightful criticism about the aesthetic representation of the group in their overall evaluation.

A statue of Cleopatra, which they refer to as the "Cleopatra dying" (today known as the Sleeping Ariadne), is another piece which they greatly admired (Plate 6).[25] Jonathan junior likely had some foreknowledge of this piece, or was encouraged by his father to record it personally, as he was required to make a special effort to locate the figure in the Medici garden at Rome: "I clamber'd up a piece of the ancient wall of Rome to get to this figure to consider the features distinctly..."[26] This is yet another example of the importance he attached to being able to make a close, individual examination of his subjects.

---

[24] It is difficult to know if the Richardsons actually knew that the marble used for the dying son was Parian or whether they are quoting the information from someone else. But since Jonathan senior was an artist, he may have been able to identify different types of stone.

[25] This statue is now housed in the Vatican Museum in Rome.

[26] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.126.
The Cleopatra was much admired by artists and connoisseurs. Many poems were written about it in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by authors such as: Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1539), Bernardino Baldi (1553-1617), and Agostino Favoriti (1624-1682). These poems were so popular that they were carved into plaster copies of the statue. Perrier is again the main early seventeenth century source on this piece whom the Richardsons could have consulted. Haskell and Penny, p.186. The Cleopatra is believed to be a masterpiece of the Pergamene school dating from the second century B.C., and originating in the workshop of Dionysos. Wolfgang Helbig, Fuhrer durch die offentlichen Sammlungen klassicher Altertumer in Rom, Vol I (Tubingen, 1963), pp. 109-110.

Nor was Jonathan junior disappointed with his efforts, as he speaks of the Cleopatra with much regard: "Cleopatr[a] dying ; this figure touch'd me most of any in the garden; 'tis 3 times as big as life; the head is of the greatest Greek taste..."[27] Although they refer to this face as being in a Greek style, they do not elaborate on how this is determined or indeed, how it is distinguished from the Roman, as they had done when discussing the Niobe piece. However, this passage does again suggest that the Richardsons were making a conscious effort to distinguish between Greek and Roman styles. One could speculate that it was the idealized appearance of Cleopatra's face that led them to identify it as "Greek." Richardson junior was also captivated by Cleopatra's facial expression. He explains that, "the expression is moving; she is most evidently in great agony, but without any manner of grimace, or apparent alteration in her face, but [just] that the lid of one of her eyes is more drawn over than the other, and her chin seems to be drawn tight [sic]."[28] It is the subtle and sublime gestures of her "great agony" that attract the Richardsons' admiration. They prefer the subtlety of a drawn eye-lid and tightened chin over outwardly exaggerated displays of pain and anguish. Their praises for the Cleopatra statue are directed to the same qualities they admired in the dead son of the Niobe group - the quiet grandeur and calm misery of a dying individual.[29] The Cleopatra figure again exemplifies the

---

[27] Richardson Sr. & Jr.,p.126.

[28] Richardson Sr. &Jr., p. 125.

[29] Jonathan senior believed art should instruct proper morals and "...express great, and noble sentiments..." as the dying son represents. He also says that, "...men are excited to imitate the good actions and persuaded to shun the vices..." by the examples illustrated in art. Richardson Sr., An Essay on the Theory of Painting, p.14

idealized greatness that Jonathan senior identified in his theoretical writings as the highest aim of art.

The Richardsons' discussion of another statue, the Livia Mattei, which Jonathan junior viewed at the Villa Mattei, is also informative, as it allows us to examine their opinions about portrait representations (Plate 7). The Richardsons seem to be aware that there are problems in identifying this figure, for they refer to her as Livia Mattei, but place in brackets the name Faustina.[30] Livia was the wife of Augustus and Faustina the wife of Antoninus Pius. At any rate, the woman is identified as a matron "...with an air majestick altogether, and forboding not withstanding the greatest sweetness, and good nature..."[31] Jonathan senior advocates that an artist must depict women as though they possess high morals and they should be"...modest, discreet, to have an air something Angelical and...to add...joy or peace of mind..."[32] Thus he approves the manner in which the artist was able to bestow worthy and admirable qualities in the figure of Livia.

---

30 This statue is known as Livia Mattei, Pudicity, Faustina, Livia, Livia as Melpomene, Melpomene, Sabina, Sabina as Juno Matrona.
Paolo Alessandro gives an earlier account than the Richardsons of this statue in his Raccolta di Statue antiche e moderne, data in luce...da Domenico de Rossi (1704). Owned by the Mattei family, "together with other antiquities in [their collection], it is likely to have been discovered on the family's Roman estates in the last 3rd of the sixteenth century." Presently the Pudicity is in the Vatican Museum in Rome.Haskell and Penny, p.300. The Pudicity is catalogued in Helbig as a portrait of the late first century A.D. Vol. I pp.321-322.

31 Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.133.

32 Richardson Sr., An Essay on the Theory of Painting, pp.185-186.
Richardson sen. continued explaining how art in general should instruct proper behaviour for humans, "[Art] relates the histories of the past and present times, the fables of the poets, the allegories of the moralists, and the good things of religion, and consequently [art] besides it being a pleasant ornament, besides that 'tis useful to improve and instruct us 'tis greatly instrumental to excite proper sentiments and reflections,..." p.10.

The Richardsons provide a good description of the statue's drapery and physical appearance. They observe that:

> ...she is cloath'd enough for a matron, but not so much as to hide the most perfect shape, and the softest, easiest turn'd limbs of the world. Her head is cover'd with the same drapery that cover(s) her all over, and which she holds up to her breast (which otherwise would have been too evident) with her hand, which is seen most gracefully through it: This action has another good effect by putting the drapery which falls down before her at a greater distance from her body and so excuses the showing [too] much of the naked.[33]

The Richardsons are impressed by the tasteful manner in which the drapery covers her body. They admire the way the drapery conceals her, yet without smothering her body, and the artistry required to maintain the sense of a solid body beneath the folds of her garment. They refer to this statue as a portrait and compare it to the Medici Venus writing, "the Venus of Medicis [is] quite of another character (as a statue) from this of Livia: That which charms in the Venus is a certain symmetry and inexpressible lightness, delicacy, and softness in the whole, and a contrast that touches without knowing why..."[34]

Like other observers including Lassels, Acton, Balfour, and Smollett the Richardsons had much to say about the Farnese Bull (Plate 1). They too felt it necessary to recount the myth of Dirce and Antiope in their examination of the sculptural group,[35] perhaps believing the story to be of particular interest and vital for their readers' understanding. This is, however, contrary to their usual practice, but because all that is represented is

---

33 Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.133.

34 Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.133. The comparison is just meant as a contrast.

35 See chapter 2 for an overview of the myth.

a woman who watches two men tie another woman to a bull they obviously felt an explanation was warranted.[36] In addition to its history, the Richardsons provide much technical information about the Bull's size and condition. They explain that: "This [Toro] is esteem'd the greatest group of antique statues cut out of one stone... 'tis of fine white marble, something above 13 ft high, and the rock, which is the ground of it, is about 10 foot two inches in length, and breadth in the utmost extremities, for 'tis not of a regular form."[37]

About the history of the survival of this piece from antiquity, the Richardsons write:

> 'Tis the work of Apollonius and Tauriscus, Rhodians, judg'd to be brought to Rome in the time of Augustus, and to be the same which stood before the house of Asinius Pollio. 'Twas found in the Thermes of Antinous in the time of Paul III...and by him brought to the Palace Farnese; but being broken in many small pieces, the cardinal of that name caus'd them to be put together, which was done without the addition of any other, the whole work being found.[38]

---

[36] As mentioned in chapter 2, many travellers were confused about this piece. Some believed it depicted a labour of Hercules.

[37] Richardson Sr. & Jr.,p.146.

[38] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.147. The Toro was found in the Baths of Caracalla. When the group was first found in 1545 it was believed to illustrate one of Hercules' Labours. "By the 1580s, however, it had certainly been restored in line with Pliny's account of a large marble group carved by Apollonius and Tauriscus of Rhodes which represented the fable of Dirce..." Louis de Montojosieu, author of Oeuvres Completes wrote about his theory on the relationship between the sculptural group and Pliny's account of the fable. The Richardsons may have been familiar with his book, which would have provided them with the historical background and arguments about this piece. They claim that the Farnese Bull was put together without any additional restoration of the pieces. This is not true; the piece had restoration work done on it twice, once in 1550 and again later in 1788; see Haskell and Penny, p. 165.

This historical review is quite useful in informing the reader about the condition of the sculptural group, when it was found and how it had been restored, again illustrating their unique interest.

In addition, they also offer their opinions and interpretations of the artistic qualities of the sculptural group. In general, the Richardsons' reaction to the Farnese Bull is positive: "the figures are very fine, especially the Dirce, in broad parts more remarkably than any other statues."[39] They also note that, "'Tis in a great taste, but extremely hard, and without any delicacy at all."[40] Once again they have expressed their disdain for unsubtle qualities in carvings, thus hinting at their preference for more idealized and delicate features.

Concerning the animals and the rope in the sculptural group, they state, "the animals are but indifferent, and the rope very poor."[41] Though other authors, like Smollett, spoke highly of the rope, declaring it so finely chiselled that it was hard to believe it was made of stone,[42] the Richardsons clearly did not share this view. In a further elaboration they explain that the rope, "...which is ty'd to the bull's horns is a considerable length, and detach'd from the other parts of the marble, but has so escap'd the common injuries of time and accidents, that it is intire, and unrepair'd; 'tis therefore call'd one of the miracles of Rome."[43] However, they find its execution to be poor,

---

[39] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.146.

[40] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.146.

[41] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.146.

[42] See chapter 2, note 80.

[43] Richardsons Sr. & Jr., p.146.

although do not, unfortunately, elaborate this view. But their negative evaluation of the rope reveals that they are not fascinated by mere verisimilitude or intact survival; just because other travellers agreed on praising this piece for these reasons does not mean the Richardsons had to conform.[44] Although they agreed it was a "miracle" of Rome, because it had survived undamaged, perhaps they felt that it did not warrant their approval on aesthetic grounds. Rather than focusing on the mundane detail of the rope, the Richardsons concentrate on discussing the expressions and artistic qualities of the figures in the group, features which were obviously more important and valuable to them.

The Richardsons' positive responses to the Farnese Bull include their noting that "the airs of the heads of the principal persons are exquisite, there is a noble rage, and vengeance in those of the 2 brothers; and the fear, and sorrow of Antiope is very strong and touching."[45] Again, it is clear that the focus of the Richardsons' discussion is about the facial expressions and emotions conveyed in art, for they repeatedly stress their admiration for sculptures which were aesthetically pleasing in their construction as well as for the manner in which emotions were depicted. They clearly valued the restrained and inconspicuous ideal representation of emotions in classical sculpture.

The Richardsons' appreciation of cool and serene facial expressions is further illustrated in their discussion of another statue at the Farnese Palace,

---

[44] The other travellers' praise for the rope could also be just another topos, which also illustrates that these authors were caught up in repeating past and common praise, unlike the Richardsons.

[45] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.148.

the Poppaea Sabina (Plate 8). Although there seems to have been confusion about the true identity of this piece, the Richardsons believed her to be Poppaea Sabina, whom they explain to be "...the wife of Nero that he kill'd with a kick."[46] They describe the appearance of the statue and their admiration for her facial expression, writing that, "She sits melancholy, leaning backward in her chair,...her legs a little put out forward; an exquisite melancholy air of the head, 'tis one of the finest in all respects of any in Rome, particularly for the expression, which cannot be excell'd."[47] The Richardsons obviously found this piece to be extraordinary, especially in the representation of the subject's sober, thoughtful mood. There are no outward signs of grief or depression, but rather a refined, subtle indication of a pensive melancholy in Poppaea Sabina's blank eyes, firmly closed mouth, and taut jaw. The Richardsons convey how strongly they felt about this piece with reference to its facial appearance, but do not fully explain why they believe this to be the "finest in all respects of any statue in Rome." While they do not elaborate on this evaluation, their enthusiasm for calm and aloof facial expressions is once again confirmed.

---

46 Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.151. Haskell and Penny have a list of different names for this piece p.133. This piece "...was not celebrated in the sixteenth century, nor in the seventeenth century ...and it is not included in either of the two most influential anthologies of the most admired antique statues published by Perrier in 1638 and by de Rossi in 1704." Francois Mortoft gave a catalogue description of the statue in this travel journal in 1658 but offered no serious discussion. But by 1714, Comte de Caylus described the Poppaea Sabina as "le plus beau morceau" in his Voyage d'Italie and by the mid-eighteenth century its fame became well established. Presently this statue is exhibited in the Capitoline Museum in Rome; see Haskell and Penny, p.133. This statue is catalogued in Helbig as representing Helena, mother of Constantine, and contemporary with her ascendency (324-9A.D.) Vol. II, pp.153-4.

47 Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.151.

The Richardsons' discussion of the famous Apollo Belvedere again focuses on its restoration and is perhaps surprisingly moderate in its praise, especially since it was one of the most celebrated statues that survived from antiquity (Plate 9).[48] They inform the reader of the condition and restoration process, offer their aesthetic analysis, and describe its origins. About the condition of the Apollo Belvedere, they write "...the face is intire, and the head was never broken off. The right-leg has been broken in pieces, and ...'tis ill set together again, and what was wanting supply'd with mortar; the left-leg is damag'd from the knee to the foot, and repair'd also with mortar, but looks ragged;..."[49] Thus the restoration work was not well done in their opinion, and consequently they are very critical of the statue's appearance. The Richardsons believed that the artist had represented the moment when Apollo "discharged his arrow at the python..."[50] and considered the statue to be a Greek original. They also claimed "...that this was the Apollo of Delphos that gave the oracular answers; and that when it ceas'd to do so, Augustus caus'd it to be brought to Rome."[51] This was a theory widely believed in the early eighteenth century, one which the Richardsons accepted.[52] About the

---

48 "It is recorded in the Vatican by 1509 and in the Belvedere by 1511. It was certainly in a niche in the Belvedere statue court by 1523..." Haskell and Penny, p.148. It is catalogued in Helbig as a copy of the early Hadrianic period of a bronze original by Leochares. Helbig, Vol. I, pp.170-2.

49 Richardson Sr. & Jr., p. 275. In early drawings of the Apollo much of the left forearm and some of the right hand as well as both legs are shown to be damaged. Additions and repairs were made on the Apollo about 1532 or 1533. Haskell and Penny, p. 148.

50 Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.276.

51 Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.276.

52 Haskell and Penny, p. 148 refer to the varying theories on the origin of the Apollo.

facial appearance of the Apollo, they write that it "...has an air, particularly in the head, exquisitely great, and awful, as well as beautiful."[53] Their discussion of the artistic qualities of this piece is brief, perhaps because they believed most of it was restored, and thus not enough of the original survived to comment on at length, or perhaps because it was so popular that they felt not much was left to be reported, and wished to avoid stale repetition. Nonetheless, the Richardsons' discussion of this piece is more informative than the earlier records.

The Richardsons' account of the highly celebrated Laocoon Group, is both extensive and intriguing (Plate 3).[54] They discuss many aspects of this ancient sculptural group, including its condition, restoration, discovery, and the debate about its authenticity. Although they clearly admired this piece, this again did not prevent them from suggesting how it should have been improved. Their first words demonstrate their fascination: "the Laocoon stands in a sort of nich[e], not so near the wall but that one may go round it: 'Tis upon a pedestal near the height of a man from the ground, and much bigger than... life: of fine, white, transparent marble, so that it has a very pleasing look, without considering the work, which is the most exquisite that can be imagin'd, and highly finish'd..."[55] They claim that the Laocoon group is so visually pleasing and captivating that one would not need to study the

---

[53] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.276.

[54] The Laocoongroup was discovered on Jan. 14,1506 on the property of Felice de'Freddi near S. Maria Maggiore, Rome. It was brought by Pope Julius II soon afterwards and was exhibited in Belvedere Court at the Vatican, where it is still housed today.

[55] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.276.

work for long to determine that it is "the most exquisite" statue which "can be imagin'd."

The Richardsons' detailed accounts of the Laocoon's restoration work provide a useful record for modern readers, giving a clear idea of the condition of the piece at the time of writing. The Richardsons took a dim view of the restoration: "Part of its beauty is however impair'd, for the right-arm of the principal figure (for 'tis a groupe, Laocoon, and his 2 sons, with the serpents twisting themselves about their limbs,) is lost, and one of terra cotta substitut'd in its place. This being rough, unfinish'd and not good work, and moreover of a colour disagreeable, the eye is something offended."[56] The Richardsons are not circumspect and recommend a better replacement be created for the arm.

Relying upon Pliny, they also repeat historical data about the Laocoon, as well as the circumstances of its unearthing. They believe the Laocoon was created "...in the eighty-eighth Olympiad, the year 324...about 400 years before Christ, is the work of Agesander, Polydore, and Athenodorus, Rhodians, and cut out of one block of marble, according to Pliny; but 'tis said Michel Angelo discover'd where two pieces had been join'd. 'Twas found in the dirt, and rubbish, in the Therms of Titus, ...about the year 1506."[57] Although other

---

[56] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p. 277.

[57] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.277.

"Writing on 28 February 1567, Francesco, the son of Pope Julius II's architect Giuliano da Sangallo, recalled how, over half a century earlier, his father had been summoned to inspect the newly discovered sculpture and invited Michelangelo to accompany them, and how his father had instantly recognized the group as that referred to by Pliny (as an ornament of the palace of Titus, the work of Hagesandrus, Polidorus, and Athenodorus of Rhodes, of all paintings, sculptures, the most worthy of admiration)." Haskell and Penny, p.243.

Pliny's account of the Laocoon group:

authors provided the same contextual information, the Richardsons also discuss other aspects of the history of the piece, for example its authenticity, and as well comment on its aesthetic appearance.

Unlike other commentators, they present evidence which some believed to indicate that the Laocoon is a copy, and provide their own opinions concerning the originality of the statue. Since additional fragments of a serpent were found in the same area where Pliny wrote the Laocoon once stood, and because this Laocoon was not built from one piece of marble as Pliny also claimed, some doubt had been cast about the authenticity of the piece right from the time of the statue's discovery in 1506.[58] This debate about the originality of the Laocoon was initiated in the sixteenth century and the Richardsons also participated in this argument. They explain that "there were fragments, that is, pieces of the serpent of such another Group found in the [same] ruins, which were...those of the house of Titus mentioned by Pliny as the place where this group stood, and which were imagin'd therefore to be parts of the true Laocoon, and that we have a copy only."[59] Thus many believed that since fragments of another serpent were also found in the ruins of Titus's palace, then the existing one might be a mere copy and the

---

"...the Laokoon in the palace of Emperor Titus, a work that must be considered superior to all other products of the arts of painting and sculpture. From one stone the eminent artists Hagesandros, Polydoros and Athenodorus of Rhodes, following an agreed-upon plan, made him [Laokoon], his sons and the marvellous intertwining of the snakes." (Pliny, Natural History. Book 36. 37.)
The Laocoon was placed in the Vatican Museum by Pope Julius II and still remains there today. "The famous Laocoon in the Vatican Museum seems to be identical with the group seen by Pliny, although the Vatican group is admittedly made of seven blocks, not one." The statue is believed to date to "...the first century A.D. , although earlier dates are conceivable and have been proposed." J. J. Pollitt. p.114-115.

58 For a more detailed account of this debate, please see Haskell and Penny, pp.246-247.

59 Richardson Sr.& Jr., p.277.

fragments could be what was left of the original. The Richardsons have doubts about this theory and strongly defend the Laocoon group as the original: "so little is left of those fragments, that one can't tell what the work was; but as the Laocoon we have, has all possible intrinsick marks of originality, the objection that may arise from the finding of those pieces of the serpent can have very little weight..."[60] They also feel that it is unimaginable that two statues of the Laocoon could have been created: "...'tis altogether inconceivable that there should have been another, a better than this, which is in the utmost perfection of antique Greek sculpture.[61] To emphasize the seriousness of their claim that the Laocoon is an original, the Richardsons challenge their readers to consult Pliny's text: "those that have a mind to see upon what authority some particulars I have mention'd is founded, and to know more concerning this groupe, may consult Pliny, Lib. 36. Cap. 5."[62] The Richardsons were clearly confident, examining the evidence available, in arriving at their conclusions. They do not base their belief on only sentimental feelings or wishful thinking, but also on some research and reasoning. This further illustrates their dedication to fully expressing their ideas about classical sculpture, as well as providing a visual description.

Controversy has continued to rage in the centuries since the re-discovery of the Laocoon, concerning whether or not the statue was modelled on the passage in Virgil's Aeneid in which the story of Laocoon is related. The Richardsons challenge the theory that Virgil's description of Laocoon's

---

60 Richardson Sr. & Jr., p. 278.

61 Richardson Sr. & Jr.,p.278.

62 Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.278.

fate inspired the creation of the statue. They believed that "whatever was the story from whence these sculptors made this amazing piece of art, and whoever it was invented by, 'tis certainly much more ancient than Virgil."[63] They refer to a seventeenth-century scholar, Massei, who took the opposite view of the association between Virgil and the Laocoon: "Massei in his notes on this groupe, says that Virgil's account of it is so exactly like this as if he had seen, and intended to describe this very thing."[64] The Richardsons felt Massei's conclusion was in error and that he had not closely examined the evidence, writing:

> ...but surely this writer never consider'd, and compar'd these two works, for besides other circumstances in which they differ, the way of thinking is very unlike. The poet...is rather more particular in the images of the serpents than of the priest, and his sons; but he makes Laocoon roar out hideously 'Clamores simul horrendos ad sidera tollit.'[65]

---

63 Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.278. Also they believe it was created 300 years before Virgil wrote the Aeneid.

64 Richardson Sr. & Jr., pp.278-279.

65 Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.279. Translation of the Latin line: "Sending to heaven his appalling cries." line 300
Laocoon tried to warn the Trojans not to bring the wooden horse into the city,telling them it was a trap set by the Greeks. The goddess Minerva, who supported the Greeks sent snakes from the sea to dispose of Laocoon and his sons.
The passage is as follows: "...on the calm sea, twin snakes....coiling and uncoiling, swam abreast for shore,...Now came the sound of thrashed seawater foaming; Now they were on dry land, and we could see Their burning eyes, fiery and suffused with blood,...They slid until they reached Laocoon. Each snake enveloped one of his boys,...Next they ensnared the man as he ran up...coils like cables looped and bound him twice round the middle; twice about his throat...While with both hands he fought to break the knots,...sending to heaven his appalling cries.."lines 280-300.
Virgil, The Aeneid, trans. R. Fitzgerald.(New York: Vintage Books, 1983).

The Richardsons interpret the statue as representing a different moment from Virgil's description, and they completely reject the idea that the sculptural Laocoon could desperately be letting out pathetic cries to heaven. They argue, "the sculptors on the contrary have fix'd their point of time to that when his strength was in a great measure exhausted, and he ready to sink under the weight of his vast calamity; his mouth is open'd but a little, and he looks up as imploring pity, and succour from the gods, without any appearance...of hope, but seeming in great pain."[66] Laocoon is not shouting out for help: the priest is too dignified for that type of behaviour, but the expression of pleading for aid is conveyed through his eyes and face. The result of the sculptor's work, "... gives an opportunity of a fine expression, and one more noble, and more suitable to his sacerdotal character, than that violent emotion that must have appear'd had the sculptors taken him in the same view as Virgil did."[67] Jonathan senior states in his book on the theory of painting that a figure or figures in art must be graceful and great in respect to their actions and motions: "the figures must not only do what is proper, and in the most commodious manner, but as people of the sense, and breeding...would or should perform such actions...They must sit, walk, lye,...[and] die...do everything with grace."[68] Thus again, Jonathan senior's theoretical beliefs about proper actions and emotions in art are represented in his view, on the Laocoon.

This analysis again demonstrates that the Richardsons approve of and glorify the inner restraint of emotions in ancient figures over outwardly

---

66 Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.279.

67 Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.279.

68 Richardson Sr., An Essay on the Theory of Painting, p. 190.

anguished, distressed expressions. Though Laocoon is clearly suffering and in pain, the Richardsons interpret the priest's expression to be far more subdued and respectable than his image would have been had the sculptors followed Virgil's "overly dramatic" description. Classical sculpture which portrays calm and subtle emotions is viewed as the Richardsons' ideal. They hold fast to this ideal even with respect to the Laocoon, which could easily be interpreted in contrary terms. To arrive at this conclusion, the Richardsons' conducted an extensive analysis of the artistic and formal qualities of the Laocoon. They examined the sculpture in minute detail and pointed out to the reader the physical perfections of the piece, while also attempting to explain why certain characteristics were depicted. The Richardsons believed that the artists' main purpose was to design "...a man in the utmost perfection,"[69] rather than to personify Virgil's account. The artists had succeeded because they were able to find the balance in their portrayal of the figures. To illustrate this point, the Richardsons note that the characters of the two boys could not be too young, too old, too delicate , nor too ungentle, but rather had to be balanced and harmonious in relation to their father.[70] The Richardsons feel that "...the two sons of the priest, together with the serpent being very subservient, as contrasting, and enriching the figure, makes it the best that can possibly be imagin'd for the design of the sculptors."[71] They not only approve of the proportions of the figures, but also defend the design against any reader who may find it absurd: "these Great

---

[69] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.356.

[70] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.356.

[71] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p. 356.

Masters had another view, and their conduct has been the wisest that could possibly have been:...by making the young men larger...these would have hid or embarass'd their Laocoon, and divided, and perplex'd the attention and so in a great measure frustrated their design."[72] The artists were also to be commended for showing Laocoon actively participating in the scene because "...something besides its masculine beauty [is used] to awaken the attention of the beholders: and this moreover puts the muscles in motion, and makes them more apparent."[73]

The Richardsons' final observations about the Laocoon concern the priest's lack of dress. They approve of the nude appearance of the Laocoon because they believe clothing would have ruined the overall design, and defend the figure's depiction against modern viewers who criticize the piece because of its "improper exposure," given that Laocoon was a priest.[74] The Richardsons claim that if the artists had altered the nude illustration of Laocoon, "...instead of the finest piece of sculpture in the world we must have had a very indifferent one..."[75] In general, they are critical of other viewers who may have judged Laocoon harshly on such a trivial matter as its nudity and stress that the nudity is important to the design, proportion, and overall character of the figure. The Richardsons' investigation of the Laocoon is informative with regard to their opinions and evaluations of its condition,

---

[72] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.356.

[73] Richardson Sr. &Jr.,p.356.

[74] "If the people of these times thought as those as in ours, how would the low criticks have triuph'd on these artists representing a priest naked, who was surpriz'd by this terrible accident just as he was sacrificing!"

[75] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p. 280.

restoration, and physical appearance; and most importantly, with regard to their theories on the conception and creation of the Laocoon. Our understanding of what the Richardsons value in classical sculpture, and why, is enhanced by examining their discussion of this famous classical piece.

The Richardsons' theoretical concern about the distinction between Greek and Roman style deserves special consideration since it reflects one of their most important contributions to the study of classical sculpture. In observing classical sculpture they often allude to the stylistic differences between Greek and Roman art. Though it is difficult to determine how they categorized Greek style and how they distinguished it from Roman, the Richardsons appear to have been conscious of some stylistic variations between Greek and Roman sculpture and on occasion refer to it in their discussions. In the case of the old man in the Niobe group, however, the Richardsons explained why they felt it was a Roman copy, indicating that the well defined eyes were a Roman sculptural characteristic. They seem to have had an understanding that Roman art is more mundane and realistic than Greek art. Greek art is much more refined and elegant, and thus would not include such a realistic feature as defined eye-balls.

In other cases, however, the Richardsons did not indicate their specific criteria for identifying the Greek style; we must then rely on their more general comments. In examining their accounts of the dying Cleopatra and other statues, it becomes apparent that these pieces had certain common characteristics which might help to explain their reasons for identifying these works as Greek. For example, the Richardsons observed a dying Alexander the Great, "...as big as the life; great and vast taste, Greek:..He is dying throughout without agony, except [for]...a little turn of the eyes [which]

expresses [agony or pain],... [yet] at the same time gives a grandeur to the whole."[76] With respect to a statue of a philosopher, observed in Rome, the Richardsons wrote, "...Philosopher, a noble figure, as big...as the life; his hand under his chin, holding a scroll of paper; the drapery in great folds and simple: his air very thoughtful, and something like Homer; the posture grand, and unaffected; of Greek taste."[77] From these descriptions we can see that they seem to characterize Greek sculpture as utilizing simple, elegant drapery folds, and most importantly calm, noble facial expressions. In the Richardsons' view, Greek art emphasized flawless and immaculate characteristics in their sculptures. The figures, regardless of who they may be, are all perfect, carefully detailed but in an idealized manner, whereas Roman art accentuated minute individual characteristics like the eye-balls of a figure. The illustration of eye-balls, according to the Richardsons, makes the figure too direct, unlike the blank eyes in Greek sculpture which emphasize the aloofness and sublimity of the figure. Jonathan senior supports this opinion in his theory book, writing that an artist must raise the "...ideas beyond what he sees, and form a model of perfection in his own mind which is not to be found in reality; but yet such a one as is probable and rational. Particularly with respect to mankind, he must as it were raise the whole species, and give them all imaginable beauty and grace, dignity, and perfection..." as the Greeks had.[78] It can perhaps be deduced that the aloof and dignified appearance of a

---

[76] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.280.

[77] Richardson Sr. & Jr., p.52.

[78] Richardson Sr., On the Theory of Painting, pp.172-173.

figure, regardless of its condition, was the basis upon which the Richardsons identified Greek sculpture.

The Richardsons also seem to have been able to identify sculpture which is neither Greek nor Roman in style: for example, in their account of a statue depicting an orator, they wrote:

> ...Tuscan orator, a great taste and fine expression of energy. The arm that stretches out is well drawn, and easy: there are no eyes, but holes where they had been, probably of silver,...sandals upon his feet; he holds one hand down, which is in an action as if he held stuff between his finger and his thumb; he has a ring upon one of his fingers. It is hollow brass, and in several places behind not broken, but rotted and decay'd by pure length of time. 'Tis certainly very ancient; the taste though great is hard, and very different from that of the Roman, Greek,...[it is] truly Hetruscan...[79]

The Richardsons do not explain why they feel the piece is Etruscan, but this passage does illustrate that they were aware of other stylistic differences. Though the issue of Greek and Roman stylistic concerns is rather underdeveloped in the Richardsons' criticism of classical art, they do occasionally make attempts to indicate the distinctions between Greek and Roman sculptural forms to the reader. Of the six travel journals discussed in chapter 2, not one mentions the distinctions between the styles of ancient sculpture. But Jonathan senior as an artist and connoisseur was probably more aware and sensitive to stylistic variations, and was thus able to add this element to his examination of classical art. Since both father and son were collectors, and Jonathan senior had written extensively about how to differentiate styles of paintings and to distinguish between copies and

---

[79] Richardson Sr., & Jr., p. 48.

originals in his Two Discourses, this sort of attentiveness was something they were able to bring their observations.

Conclusion

We can identify four important aspects of the Richardsons' approach to their study of classical sculpture: first, their desire for intense, close, and individual examination of the statues, as indicated by Richardson junior's active pursuit of pieces of interest as well as their detailed accounts of minute anatomical features; second, their interest in the restored elements of classical pieces; third, their attempt to recognize the distinctive styles of the Greeks and Romans; and fourth, their aesthetic evaluation of the ancient works based on their own criteria, revealing a sophisticated notion of "classical" qualities in ancient sculpture.

These contributions make the Richardsons' treatment of classical sculpture unique when compared with earlier commentators, and even some later ones like Wright and Smollett. The Richardsons' agenda, as mentioned in their preface, was to shed further light on ancient sculpture, and they have succeeded with their keen, careful, and dedicated observations and analysis. They did not simply provide visual descriptions of classical sculptures as other commentators had done. Instead they provided their readers with a detailed examination of classical sculpture which has led to a deeper understanding of the subject. Later writers on classical art like Johann Joachim Winckelmann picked up where the Richardsons left off and benefitted in their own analyses of ancient sculpture from the contributions made by the Richardsons' journal.

Chapter Five: The Richardsons and Winckelmann

Introduction

Although the Richardsons' account of the ancient statues is classified as a travel journal, it can perhaps be better understood as a turning point in travel literature. The Richardsons' journal is not a mere guidebook meant simply to direct tourists to some of the significant classical objects in Rome. Rather, their book focused on classical sculpture in an analytical manner, carefully detailing the aesthetic qualities of ancient sculpture and consciously incorporating close, individual observation into their personal interpretations. This method set the Richardsons' travel journal apart from others.

The Richardsons' approach to the study of classical antiquities had a positive impact on later eighteenth-century writers. One such antiquarian is Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768), whose study of ancient art, for its time, has been considered one of the most substantial and significant analytical documents on this subject. In many respects, Winckelmann's theories and approaches to the examination of classical sculpture were original, but it also seems evident that in certain ways his work was anticipated, and perhaps influenced by the Richardsons. Winckelmann seems to have read and was quite familiar with the content of the Richardsons' travel journal, as comments in the preface to his book History of Ancient Art indicate.[1] Winckelmann is not generous with compliments towards the Richardsons' travel journal, but he does mention that it was the best guidebook available at the time despite its omissions and errors.

---

[1] Johann Joachim Winckelmann. History of Ancient Art, Vol. 1 (translated by Alexander Gode) (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1968), p.6.

Winckelmann explained, "Richardson has described the palaces and villas in Rome, and the statues in them, like one who had seen them only in a dream. Many palaces he did not see at all, on account of his brief stay in the city, and some, according to his own statement, he visited but once; and yet his work, in despite [sic] of its many deficiencies and errors, is the best we have."[2] Thus, although Winckelmann raises problems with the Richardson journal, in his opinion it was the most valuable discussion of the ancient sculpture prior to his own work. This is noteworthy because it indicates that a scholar of Winckelmann's stature did not think that the Richardsons' book had been superseded in the thirty-five years since its publication.

In this chapter, I will focus on the relationship between the Richardsons' theories and those of Winckelmann. The issues to be examined are: the similarities and differences between the Richardsons' and Winckelmann's attitudes and approach to classical sculpture; and which of Winckelmann's ideas seem to derive directly from the Richardsons. The Richardsons and Winckelmann had somewhat different aims in their studies of classical art. As has already been discussed, the Richardsons emphasized the beauty and artistic qualities of a piece. Although Winckelmann also praises the aesthetic aspects of the sculpture, his analysis of the art on the whole is meant to reveal and accentuate the Golden Age of Greek civilization.[3] In other words the Richardsons are

---

[2] Johann Joachim Winckelmann. History of Ancient Art, Vol.I p.6.
Magnino also mentions Winckelmann's comment about the Richardsons' book: "It [the Richardsons' account] enjoyed an uncommon regard: Winckelmann still maintained it to be in a certain sense the best book on the figurative arts,..." Julius Schlosser Magnino. Die Kunstliteratur. (trans. by Filippo Rossi) (Florence, 1979.) p. 539.

[3] Hugh Honour, in his book Neo-Classicism, devotes some attention to Winckelmann. He discusses his contributions to the study of classical sculpture and summarizes the

interested in drawing attention to the formal characteristics of the art, but Winckelmann uses classical art as a means to an end, namely to illustrate his adoration of an ideal classical past. Another difference in their discussion is that the Richardsons are fascinated with the restoration process. Richardson senior, being an artist, has keen eyes and is sensitive to the creative process, whereas Winckelmann does not comment at length on the restored condition of the pieces. Both the Richardsons and Winckelmann share an interest in a close examination of the anatomical features of sculpture. Winckelmann could have adopted this type of study from the Richardsons. They both use their anatomical examinations to emphasize the aesthetic qualities of a statue. The Richardsons not only draw attention to the anatomical detail to praise a piece, but when it is warranted they do criticize the statue if it has flaws. Winckelmann also criticizes aspects of a piece, but sparingly, and in general he is excessively positive, and at times even embellishes the appearance of a statue.[4] I will attempt to address these concerns by presenting case studies of classical statues discussed both by the Richardsons and by Winckelmann in his work History of Ancient Art.[5] The

---

content of Winckelmann's book on the History of Ancient Art. Honour comments that Winckelmann was influential in educating people about ancient Greek art but also in using the art to emphasize Greek civilization. He writes, "He [Winckelmann] taught his age to look with new eyes not only at antique statues and vases but at Greek civilization as a whole...The passionate urgency and almost missionary zeal of the Enlightenment breaks through his pages as he stresses again and again that antique statues are not merely relics of a vanished civilization, but living works of art of relevance to his contemporaries because they embodied the essence of the Greek spirit." Hugh Honour, Neo-Classicism (London: Penguin Books, 1977), p.58.

[4] Winckelmann "...was, in fact, too passionate and tremulously responsive to be a scholarly archaeologist, too poetic and unsystematic to become an aesthetic philosopher. His genius lay in interpretative writing." Honour, p. 58.

[5] Though Winckelmann has written several books on classical art, it is this text which contains his detailed and thorough examinations of ancient sculpture.

four classical pieces included are: the Medici Venus, the Niobe group, the Apollo Belvedere, and the Laocoon.

Background on Winckelmann's Life, Reputation, and Fascination With Ancient Art

Johann Joachim Winckelmann was born in Prussia in 1717. He was educated in theology at the University of Halle (1738-40), and later began a program in medicine and science at the University of Jena (1741-2). Winckelmann, however, did not pursue his study of medicine for long. Instead, as a result of his exposure to Greek texts as a reader for a blind rector of the Lutheran church at Halle,[6] he developed a passion for Greek literature and history. After spending five years as a teacher for a village school at Sechausen in Altmark district, where he mastered classical languages and literature, Winckelmann was offered the position of librarian and assistant to Count Heinrich von Bunau at Nothnitz, near Dresden.[7] The Count had a modest art collection, which stimulated Winckelmann's interest in the material remains of the ancients. In 1754, Winckelmann moved to Dresden and was employed as Cardinal Passionei's librarian. Under Passionei's patronage, Winckelmann published his first text on Greek art in 1755 entitled, Gedanken über die Nachanmung der griechischen Werke in Malerei und Bildhauerkunst (On the Imitation of the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks.)

---

[6] David Irwin, Winckelmann: Writings on Art, (London: Phaidon Press, 1972) p.3.

[7] David Irwin, p.4

Even though his position in Dresden allowed Winckelmann greater access to other collections of antiquities, he longed to work in the heart of the classical world. Eventually, he obtained a scholarly appointment with Cardinal Archinto (1756) and Cardinal Albani (1758), which allowed him to relocate to Rome.[8] For several years Winckelmann worked for Cardinal Albani and published short essays on famous classical statues like the Apollo Belvedere and the Torso Belvedere (1759), as well as a lengthy treatise called Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der Alten,(Remarks on the Architecture of the Ancients 1762).

Winckelmann's reputation as an ancient art scholar became so highly valued that, in 1763, he was selected as the prefect of antiquities at the Vatican. This position gave Winckelmann "...power over excavations and export - an influential post since important discoveries on papal territory...had first to be offered to the Pope before purchase by another collector or export permission would be granted."[9] It was in 1764 that he wrote his massive document on the Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums,(History of Ancient Art.) This book provides an extensive study of ancient art from Egypt, Etruria, Greece, and Rome. Winckelmann carefully examines the artistic traditions of each culture,[10] and organizes the art from

---

[8] Winckelmann received this appointment after converting from a Lutheran to a Roman Catholic. He was encouraged by Cardinal Archinto to do this in order for him to acquire the position in Rome. David Irwin, p.7.

[9] David Irwin, p.9.

[10] Winckelmann's History of Ancient Art, "...had a remarkable impact for a scholarly antiquarian publication. It presented a comprehensive synthesis of available knowledge about the visual artefacts of the ancient world, and as such was hardly an easy read. Four main sculptural traditions were discussed in detail: athe ancient Egyptian, Etruscan, Greek, and Roman." His book became the standard text on ancient art in the late eighteenth century because "it was partly Winckelmann's sheer

each culture into different categories, based on style.[11] Winckelmann continued to be employed by the Vatican until his death in 1768.[12]

Based on both a detailed analysis of classical literature and an intimate familiarity with original classical artworks in Rome, Winckelmann's publications comprise the most extensive study of classical art in the eighteenth century. The central theme in his academic writings is the emphasis on the importance of idealistic qualities rendered in classical sculpture. He argued that perfect beauty did not exist in nature and consequently, "...that in order to create a beautiful...work of art, the artist must select different elements which contain beauty, combine them, and thus produce an idealized image more beautiful than nature itself could ever supply."[13] Although this idea of perfect beauty had been a common notion since the Renaissance, Winckelmann set out to demonstrate this concept by close analysis of the art. Winckelmann believed that it was in the art of

---

scholarly achievement in gathering together and imposing a new order on the vast range of textual and visual evidence relating to the art of antiquity. His [book] also functioned as a more general inspiration for art-historical studies by establishing a model for conceptualizing the entirety of an artistic tradition through a systematically conceived history of its rise, flourishing, and decline." Alex Potts, Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 11 - 13.

11 In terms of organizing ancient Greek and Roman art, Winckelmann divided it into four periods, "...each with its own style: the early or archaic style (before Phidias), the sublime or grand (Phidias and his contemporaries), and the beautiful (Praxiteles to Lysippos) and finally the long period of the imitative style which persisted until the fall of the Roman Empire." Honour, p. 59.

12 In 1768, Winckelmann journeyed north to Germany and Austria. He was honoured by the Empress Maria Theresa at the Viennese court, and presented with gold and silver medallions. On his way back to Rome, Winckelmann befriended an ex-criminal, Arcangeli. It is believed Arcangeli stabbed Winckelmann for the medallions on June 8, 1768. David Irwin, p.9.

13 David Irwin,p.32.

Greece and Rome that one finds the best examples of this idealized beauty.[14] The Richardsons shared the opinion that classical sculpture epitomized the concept of idealized and beautifying qualities in art. Not only did Winckelmann praise classical sculpture for its representation of idealized beauty, he also strongly believed that the "noble simplicity" and "calm grandeur" were other important characteristics of ancient art.[15] The Richardsons' and Winckelmann both excessively emphasize their approval of the tranquil and stoic expressions displayed by classical statues. In these particular compliments to antique art, Winckelmann clearly echoed the feelings of the Richardsons. To better examine the connections and differences between their respective approaches to classical sculpture, let us now turn our attention to the antique pieces discussed by Winckelmann.

Case Studies

Winckelmann's eloquent description of the Medici Venus is quite different from that of the Richardsons: "The Medicean Venus, at Florence, resembles a rose which after a lovely dawn, unfolds its leaves to the rising sun; resembles one who is passing from an age which is hard and somewhat harsh-like fruits before their perfect ripeness-into another..."[16] The

---

14 "It was not uncommon, even before Winckelmann, to see the highest and purest manifestations of the antique ideal as Greek rather the Roman. But this distinction was only rarely seen as a historical one. Greek art was not necessarily defined as being early Greek or pre-Roman in origin. Sculptures were Greek if they were ideal representations of mythological figures, distinguished by their nudity or by ideal drapery that revealed the forms of the nude. Greekness was above all a generic category."Potts, p.18.

15 David Irwin, p.50.

16 Winckelmann, History of Ancient Art, p.232.

Richardsons, however, were not so subjective in their discussion, as they preferred a more direct and objective approach. In his interpretation of the statue's facial expression, Winckelmann does not simply relate the visual appearance, but rather takes the opportunity to incorporate his knowledge of classical literature and thought. For example, he writes "...the Medicean Venus, has in her softly opened eyes that expression of tenderness and love which the Greeks term *TO UYPOV* - "liquid," it is owing entirely to the lower eyelid being somewhat elevated..."[17] He continues, "This look is, however, entirely free from wantonness, for Love was regarded by the ancient artists and intelligent Philosophers as, in the words of Euripides, the associate of wisdom..."[18] It is easy to understand Winckelmann's opinion that this Venus lacks any sexual impulse, since the goddess appears to be modestly covering herself. In general, however, it is evident that Winckelmann is more interested in exploring the ethos of the goddess, rather than just providing a visual account of her appearance, which can perhaps be attributed to Winckelmann's desire to make the reader aware of his extensive knowledge of things ancient as opposed to simply describing the piece in question. In their positive comments, the Richardsons were attempting to draw attention to the aesthetic and formal qualities and the craftsmanship, whereas Winckelmann's praises evoke the inner spirit of the figure and, by extension, that of the civilization which created it.

Although Winckelmann's account of the Venus de' Medici is aimed at revealing the inner spirit and character of the goddess, he does offer some

---

[17] Winckelmann, History of Ancient Art,p.232.

[18] Winckelmann, History of Ancient Art, p.232.

description of the statue's physical appearance. Like the Richardsons, Winckelmann criticizes a flaw in the figure. He explains that he noticed an "...imperfection in the chin of the Medicean Venus, namely, its flattened tip, in the middle of which is a dimple. Such flatness of surface is not to be found either in nature or in a single antique head. As, however, our sculptors are continually making copies in marble of this statue, they imitate with the utmost exactness the unusual flatness of its chin as a beauty, and they cannot be convinced that a broad, flat chin is not beautiful."[19] Thus the Richardsons faulted the Venus for the size of her head and the lack of knuckle detail on her fingers, and Winckelmann disapproved of the chin. These particular passages indicate that neither author was afraid to criticize aspects of this highly praised ancient statue. This also serves to indicate Winckelmann's close personal examination of classical sculpture, and a fascination with details similar to that of the Richardsons.

The Niobe and her children, is also discussed by Winckelmann. Unlike the Richardsons, he focuses solely on the figure of Niobe protecting her daughter as the most admirable of the group. Winckelmann considers Niobe and her daughter to be absolutely divine, for he says, "...so great is the unity of form and outline, that it appears to have been produced not with labor, but awakened like a thought and blown out with a breath;"[20] Winckelmann, although considering the actual sculpting process, indicates no real awareness of this from an artist's point of view - it is simply a figure of speech for him. It is obvious that Winckelmann esteemed the Niobe and

---

19 Winckelmann, History of Ancient Art, p.285.

20 Winckelmann, History of Ancient Art, p.133.

her daughter for its apparent ease of construction, but he fails to support his statement with a closer, analytical discussion of the physical appearance of the statue, and thus leaves the reader without any clues to the veracity of his claims. Instead, Winckelmann seems to be more interested in describing the way the figure exudes its inner pathos through its sublime expression:

> ...the artist of the Niobe ventured into the kingdom of incorporeal forms, and mastered the secret of uniting the anguish of death with the highest beauty; he became a creator of pure spirits and heavenly souls, which, exciting no desires of the senses, produced a contemplative consideration of beauty of every kind; for they seem to have been formed, not for the expression of the passion, but simply for the lodgement of them.[21]

Similar to the Richardsons, Winckelmann respects the calm and noble facial expressions of this classical piece. Although the Richardsons praised the dying son from this sculptural group for not depicting overt physical strains or anguish, it is evident that Winckelmann appreciated those very same qualities which he believed were exhibited in the Niobe herself. But overall, both the Richardsons and Winckelmann are in agreement that tranquil figures with restrained expressions in classical sculpture are most praiseworthy. However, this again reveals that Winckelmann focuses mainly on praising the spirit of the Greek civilization which produced the work, rather than drawing more attention to the artistic and formal qualities, as did the Richardsons.

In the Richardsons' discussion, the figure of the old man is claimed to be a Roman copy. Winckelmann does not refer to this piece explicitly, but it is evident that he was quite aware of the different styles, not only of the Greeks and the Romans, but also of the different cultural epochs of Greece

---

[21] Winckelmann, History of Ancient Art, p. 133.

itself. For example, Winckelmann categorizes the Niobe group as belonging to the Grand style of Greek art: "The Niobe and her daughters are to be regarded as indisputable works of the grand style..."[22] Winckelmann considers the grand style which he assigns to the fourth century B.C., to be less scientific but more refined, more beautiful, and more "grand" than the previous style.[23] The characteristics he identifies as defining this style are contorted poses and strong emotions. Winckelmann believed that the Niobe group best exemplified the style from this period.

In the History of Ancient Art, Winckelmann has organized his text in terms of categories which he established to differentiate between the styles of different ancient cultures, as well as the different styles within each respective culture. The Richardsons were not so sophisticated in their analyses of different artistic styles, as they were just beginning to recognize the distinctions. However, both were in agreement that Greek art was more idealized and sought to perfect nature, whereas Roman art emphasized individual characteristics and was more true to nature. Winckelmann expanded on this basic idea, which had earlier been suggested in the Richardsons' Account.

Although some of the differences in their respective accounts of classical sculpture have already emerged, their different approaches become even clearer in examining Winckelmann's discussion of the Apollo Belvedere. He interprets this piece subjectively, and excessively idealizes this statue to such a degree that it is quite difficult for one to receive an accurate

---

[22] Winckelmann, History of Ancient Art, p.133.

[23] Winckelmann, History of Ancient Art, p. 130

idea of the Apollo. He writes, "Among all the works of antiquity which have escaped destruction the statue of Apollo is the highest ideal of art...This Apollo exceeds all other figures of him..."[24] At times the reader does receive a brief illustration of the physical appearance of the Apollo Belvedere, but on the whole the visual analysis is entangled within lengthy poetic descriptions of the god's inner character. For example, Winckelmann says, the Apollo's

> ...stature is loftier than that of man, and his attitude speaks of the greatness with which he is filled...the charms of youth the graceful manliness of ripened years, ...plays with softness and tenderness about the proud shape of his limbs. Let thy spirit penetrate into the kingdom of incorporeal beauties, and strive to become a creator of heavenly nature, in order that the mind may be filled with beauties that are elevated above nature; for there is nothing mortal here, nothing which human necessities require. Neither blood-vessels nor sinew here and stir this body, but a heavenly essence, diffusing itself like a gentle stream, seems to fill the whole contour of the figure.[25]

Winckelmann also focuses on the subtle and noble expression of Apollo even though he has just slain the python:

> He has pursed the Python, against which he uses his bow for the first time; with [a] vigorous step he has overtaken the monster and slain it. His lofty look, filled with a consciousness of power, seems to rise far above his victory, and to gaze into infinity. Scorn sits upon his lips, and his nostrils are swelling with suppressed anger, which mounts even to the...forehead; but the piece which floats upon it in blissful calm remains undisturbed, and his eye is full of sweetness...[26]

---

[24] Winckelmann, History of Ancient Art, p.312.
When Winckelmann "...singled out the Apollo Belvedere as the highest ideal of art among the works of antiquity that have escaped its destruction, he envisaged it as a complex intermingling of erotically charged beauty and sublime power and elevation." Potts, p. 118.

[25] Winckelmann, History of Ancient Art, p.313.

[26] On the expression of the Apollo, Winckelmann continues:
"The Vatican Apollo was intended to represent this deity in a state of anger over the serpent, Python, slain by his arrows, and at the same time with a feeling of contempt

Thus Winckelmann's study of the Apollo constantly emphasizes the "calm simplicity" and "quiet grandeur" so perfectly rendered in this classical sculpture. The Richardsons valued these same qualities and these ideas could have been drawn by Winckelmann from the Richardsons' work. However, Winckelmann's passionate and enthusiastic interpretation of the Apollo Belvedere romanticizes the figure, whereas the Richardsons are not so effusive in their praise.[27] They take a more practical approach and are more concerned with revealing the damages and repairs to the Apollo. As discussed, the Richardsons perhaps felt not enough of the original survived to warrant focusing on its formal qualities and thus have centered their description on its physical condition. Winckelmann is not interested in the restoration of the piece. Thus the different approaches of the Richardsons and Winckelmann in their analysis of this classical sculpture are evident. Although both of them draw their readers' attention to the aesthetic value of the statue, the manner in which they carry out this task is different. The Richardsons criticize the restoration of the Apollo Belvedere, yet praise its beauty. The Richardsons do not belabour or exaggerate the ideal qualities of the statue (maybe because they believed enough had been said on that topic) and choose to devote their attention to aspects which were previously ignored. Winckelmann, on the other hand, seems interested in glorifying the aesthetic qualities of the statue to the point that he actually embellishes the

---

for his victory, which to a god was an easy achievement. As the skilful artist wished to personify the most beautiful of the gods, he expressed only the anger in the nose-this organ, according to the old poet [Homer] being its appropriate seat-and contempt on the lips." History of Ancient Art. p.248.

[27] What places "...Winckelmann's reading of the Apollo Belvedere most evidently apart from other descriptions of the period is his elaborate dramatization of the spectator's response to the work. Here he both echoes and disrupts the shifting position of the viewer in contemporary theories of the experience of the sublime..."Potts, p. 127.

Apollo's physical appearance. He does not allude to any flaws it may have. Winckelmann may not provide his readers with a completely accurate illustration of the Apollo, but nevertheless his description is imaginative and poetic, emphasizing the idyllic qualities of the statue.

Winckelmann's account of the Laocoon group, like the Richardsons', is rich and extensive. Similar to the Richardsons, Winckelmann provides detailed historical information on such topics as the re-discovery of the piece, when it was created, the artists responsible for its production, how it was made; and the restoration process. For the most part, Winckelmann's discussion of these categories is not original and only revisits issues raised by previous writers.[28] It is not necessarily the ideas presented in Winckelmann's account of the Laocoon group that are unique, for he basically expands on issues originally raised by the Richardsons; rather, it is his approach and method of relating the statue to the reader which is fresh and innovative. In Winckelmann's evocation of the Laocoon, he seems to be trying to place himself in the position of the hero, in order to share his thoughts and experience his emotions. Laocoon, Winckelmann states, is a statue representing a man in extreme suffering who is

> striving to collect the conscious strength of his soul to bear it. While the muscles are swelling and the nerves are straining with torture, the determined spirit is visible in the turgid forehead, the chest is distended by the obstructed breadth and the suppressed outburst of feeling, in order that he may retain and keep within himself the pain which tortures him. The indrawn anxious sigh and the inhaled breath exhaust the belly, and make the sides hollow to such a degree that we are almost able to see the movements of the entrails.[29]

---

[28] Winckelmann, History of Ancient Art, p.229.

[29] Winckelmann, History of Ancient Art, p.230.

Winckelmann's graphic description of the Laocoon's physical appearance brings the statue to life for his readers, communicating a vivid impression of the suffering figure. Winckelmann shares the same positive sentiment as the Richardsons with regard to the noble and restrained facial gestures.[30] He writes, Laocoon's "...own suffering seems to distress him less than that of his children, who turn their faces to their father and shriek for aid; the father's feelings are visible in the sorrowful eyes, and his pity seems to float on them in a dim vapour. The expression of the face is complaining, but not screaming; the eyes are turned for help to a higher power."[31] He further discusses the duality of emotions between expressing pain and the suppression of pain as represented in the Laocoon: "the struggle between the pain and the suppression of the feelings is rendered with great knowledge as concentrated in one point below the forehead; for whilst the pain elevates the eyebrows, resistance to it presses the fleshy parts of the eyes downward and towards the upper eyelid, so that it is almost entirely covered by the overhanging skin."[32] In agreement with the Richardsons, Winckelmann believed that even though Laocoon represents a figure in a state of intense suffering, this suffering is illustrated only out of necessity and he has

---

[30] The statue of the Laocoon group "...played a key role in eighteenth century discussions of visual art as a model of how a terrifying subject could be presented so as to offer the spectator an uplifting experience." Potts, p. 136.

[31] Winckelmann, History of Ancient Art. p.231.
To Winckelmann "Beauty of form, to be sure, takes precedence and must be preserved at all costs; no expression must ever be so violent as to affect the facial features and the body's posture, and thus the very forms on which beauty depends. The Laocoon is a sophisticated example of expressing emotion in art." Wolfgang Leppmann, Winckelmann. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970.) p. 275.

[32] Winckelmann, History of Ancient Art.p. 231.

honourably suppressed all visible manifestations of pain.[33] In other words, Winckelmann, like the Richardsons, interpreted Laocoon as too dignified to vocalize screams of agony, his pain and request for help being conveyed only through his subtle facial gestures.

The Richardsons and Winckelmann both approved of the Laocoon's nude representation. The Richardsons felt that the lack of clothing on the priest allowed the artists to accentuate the overall design, proportions, and character of the figure. Winckelmann shared the same view, suggesting that "...had Laocoon been covered with a garb becoming an [ancient] sacrificer, his sufferings would have lost one half of their expression."[34] Neither author allows eighteenth-century ethical and moral concerns, or details of historical accuracy to cloud their interpretation of the nude state of the priest. They both feel it was essential for Laocoon to be illustrated without any clothing because it emphasized his emotional condition.

Conclusion

The manner in which the Richardsons and Winckelmann approached their respective studies differs in some respects. The Richardsons not only focused on praising the noteworthy aspects of a statue but also registered their criticism whereas Winckelmann was more reticent in voicing criticism. The Richardsons' concern with and sensitivity to the creative process brought

---

[33] Winckelmann describes the expression of the Laocoon as: "...the determined spirit of a great man who struggles with necessity and strives to suppress all audible manifestations of pain." History of Ancient Art, p.251.

[34] Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks with Instructions for the Connoisseur, and an Essay on Grace in Works of Art (trans. Henry Fusseli. London: A. Millar, 1765), p. 34.

their focus to the restoration work; however, in this regard Winckelmann was not as consistent. Thus the Richardsons' attention to detail and their evaluation of restoration work gives the reader a fuller and perhaps more accurate and honest analysis of the statues. Whereas Winckelmann, with his eloquent and vivid prose, at times embellishes the appearance of some classical pieces, to the extent that "...some subsequent travellers have recorded their disappointment that the antique statues are not as fine as Winckelmann's descriptions led them to expect."[35] In addition Winckelmann does not base his interpretation of classical sculpture solely on a visual analysis, choosing instead to combine his personal examination with his knowledge of Greek literature, philosophy, and history.[36] This aspect of Winckelmann's approach is also distinct from the Richardsons'.

There are, however, important similarities between the studies of Winckelmann and the Richardsons including: attention to detail; focus on aesthetic qualities; description of certain statues as incarnations of the 'ideal' in art; and the recognition of stylistic differences between Greek and Roman works.

Both the Richardsons and Winckelmann carefully described minute aspects of classical sculpture as in the description of fingers, knuckles, and chin of the Medici Venus. These authors' discussion of the Niobe group centred on the statue's aesthetic aspects, but a clearer example is provided by the Laocoon group, praised by both the Richardsons and Winckelmann as the representation of the ideal in classical art because of its honourable

---

[35] David Irwin, p.50.

[36] Hatfield, p.19.

portrayal of emotions and for its perfect depiction of the figure's anatomy. Winckelmann, like the Richardsons, recognized the stylistic differences between ancient culture groups, but Winckelmann was able to define this more fully. Although Winckelmann identified these principles in a more systematic manner, the threads of this thinking can be seen in the work of the Richardsons.

Conclusion

An examination of the Richardsons' travel journal has revealed their keen interest in observing and discussing the classical sculpture in Rome. In relation to the other travel accounts surveyed in this thesis, the Richardsons' approach to describing ancient art was different. They were the first authors to draw the viewer's attention to the artistic and formal qualities of classical monuments, which was rare for their time. Most late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century travellers devoted more time to repeating the history and mythical tales connected with classical objects than in providing the reader with a detailed and precise account of the pieces' appearance. The authors included in the comparative study were all more confident in relating the historical or mythical background, probably because they believed this information was more important or added more validity to the piece. The writers on most occasions have recounted literary and historical passages from classical sources as a standard topos. Since these authors most often repeated the same information, there was little originality or variation in their travel accounts. At times they would offer some comment on the aesthetic characteristics of an object, but generally only to praise a piece and rarely to criticize or recognize a flaw. In general these authors gave blanket compliments to classical objects simply because they were ancient, without any discussion explaining or defining reasons which rendered it praiseworthy.

The Richardsons' travel account offered the eighteenth-century reader a different perspective on classical art. Although they also discussed historical and mythical information associated with specific ancient objects, the Richardsons' main concern was the evaluation of its aesthetic qualities,

which consisted of critiquing the formal and artistic features of classical statues as well as their depiction of idealistic beauty.

From our study of the Richardsons' account we were able to identify four significant aspects to their examination of ancient sculpture: one, their close and personal examinations of statues which allowed for detailed descriptions of its anatomical representations; two, their evaluation and criticism of the restoration work done on the pieces; three, their attempt to acknowledge the stylistic differences between Greek, Roman, and Etruscan art; and four, their overall discussion of the aesthetic value of ancient sculpture. These particular characteristics of the Richardsons' study of classical art clearly reveal their distinct approach for their time. Jonathan senior's background as an artist influenced his and his son's examination of ancient objects from that unique point of view. With his artistic knowledge, Jonathan senior therefore desired close, individual inspections of the object, noticed the restoration flaws, recognized stylistic variations, and in general was more interested in the formal appearance and artistic creation of classical statues.

Overall the Richardsons' interpretation of classical art may not be so significant from a modern perspective, but within the context in which it was written and in relation to other contemporaneous travel literature, the Richardson journal was original to the eighteenth-century readership; as Haskell and Penny asserted, "the Richardsons are quite exceptional, and very few other authors looked as consistently at ancient art with artistic value as their prime concern."[1]

A good indication of the value placed on the Richardsons' account is how well it was received in the eighteenth century. Their journal was not

---

[1] Haskell and Penny, p. 45.

only popular with British readers, it was also well respected by the French. It was a rare privilege for an English book on the arts to be translated into French, and this honour was bestowed on the Richardsons.[2] Contemporaries of the Richardsons have revealed the usefulness and importance of their journal in their respective essays. George Vertue, an eighteenth-century engraver and writer, compiled extensive notes on the arts and artists of England. He was well acquainted with the Richardsons. Unfortunately, Vertue died before he could complete his book; however, Horace Walpole was able to finish and later publish the book entitled the Anecdotes of Painting in England; With Some Account of the Principal Artists.[3] Walpole commented on the Richardsons' account, saying, " In 1722 came forth 'An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings and Pictures, in Italy etc...with Remarks' by Mr. Richardson, sen. & jun. The son made the journey, and from his notes, letters and observations, they both at his return compiled this valuable work...This book...[is] full of matter, good sense, and instruction: and the very quaintness of some expressions, and laboured novelty, show the difficulty the author[s] had to convey...visible ideas through the medium of language."[4] Although Vertue recognized the problems the Richardsons had in relating some of their ideas on paper, he does praise their book for its extensive information, "good sense, and instruction."

---

[2] Haskell and Penny, p. 61.

[3] Horace Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting in England; With Some Account of the Principal Artists. 3 vols. (London: Lowrex and Comp., 1888).
Vertue spent years compiling notes on the English arts and artist. Walpole explains in the preface, "Mr. Vertue had for several years been collecting materials for this work: he conversed and corresponded with most of the virtuosi in England:..He wrote down everything he heard, saw, or read."p. vi.

[4] Walpole, vol. 2, p. 273.

The French edition of the Richardsons' travel account was published in 1728. With this version, an introductory essay entitled Discours Préliminaire sur le Beau Idéal was included, written by L.H. Tenkate, a Dutch art theorist.[5] In this essay, Tenkate highly commended the Richardsons' journal, for he believes it provides an abundance of information on the arts of Rome, compared to earlier accounts which do not give a complete or satisfying discussion.[6] He also assures the reader, that with the Richardsons' book, they will not be lost in a pompous display of praise and flattery or vain admiration about the arts without an explanation or detailed discussion.[7] In other words, Tenkate feels the Richardsons provide the reader with a better understanding of why a piece may be considered admirable, rather than blindly bestowing it with praises.[8] It is clear, then, that the Richardsons' travel account was a well respected work in the eighteenth century.

---

[5] He wrote the essay in 1724, but it was translated into French a few years later to accompany the French edition of the Richardson book.

[6] He urges the readers not to be apprehensive with the Richardsons' book, because it is filled with ample details and judicious observations of the most beautiful pieces in Italy. Tenkate's French passage is as follows: "Les beautés des Statues Antiques, des peintures exquises and des desseins fameux des grands maîtres fournissent aux curieux une matière si riche and si abondante, qu'elle semble etre inépuisable. Les auteurs qui en ont écrit, jusqu'à-present, nous en ont dit de fort belles choses; mais, comme on sent bien, qu'ils n'ont pas dit tout ce qu'on pouvit dire, sur ce sujet, ce qu'ils ont donné de beau n'empêche pas qu'on ne souhaite d'en apprendre quelque chose de plus. Ainsi, je ne doubte aucunement, que tous les curieux and les connoisseurs de l'art, qui liront ce Traité de M. Richardson, père & fils, n'en soient fort satisfaits[sic]. Ils y trouveront un ample détail de ce que le fils a vu de plus remarquable, dans son voiage, avec les observations judicieuses de l'un & de l'autre, sur les plus belles pieces d'Italie,..."p. III and IV.

[7] Tenkate's passage continued: "Le Lecteur ne doit point aprehender ici de se perdre dans un pompeux étalage de louanges flateuses, qui ne servent d'ordinaire qu' a faire naître des idées confuses & une vaine admiration, sans donner une connoissance exacte du caractère des maîtres, sans faire discerner leur fort d'avec leur foible, & sans en marquer le beau & le défectueux."

[8] Nicholas Vleughel is another eighteenth-century source who referred to the Richardsons' travel account in his Dolce, Dialogo della Pittura di M. Lodovico Dolce, intitolata

The Richardsons' approach to their discussion of ancient statues, with their close observations and detailed analysis of aesthetic qualities, had a positive effect on the genre of travel literature and later writers on classical art. Their journal was not a simple guidebook for tourists, pointing out important classical monuments in Rome or regurgitating the same historical and mythical facts, but a theoretical book that offered a more analytical description of artistic and formal characteristics of classical sculpture. The Richardsons' travel journal can be perceived as a turning point in eighteenth-century travel literature, which led to more scholarly discussions of ancient art such as the works of Winckelmann.[9] It seems as though Winckelmann expanded on the Richardsons' initial undertaking, since he too focused on the aesthetic value of classical art and attempted to define the stylistic differences in ancient sculpture. Although Winckelmann's books on ancient art were also well-received, and widely read, it can be speculated that the Richardsons prompted the development of a new public audience who sought literature that analyzed and described the artistic and formal aspects of classical art. Just as a wider reading public was emerging in the early eighteenth-century in England, one which was now more familiar with classical issues through popular literature like The Spectator, the Richardsons' book also provided a similar audience with a discussion and a new level of criticism about classical sculpture.

---

l'Aretino (Firenze, 1735). He was the director of the French academy in Rome. In his preface, Vleughel makes numerous references to French edition of the Richardsons' journal.

[9] Winckelmann was not the only German writer on the arts aware of the Richardsons' travel journal. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781) also recognized their book and criticized their discussion of the Laocoon in his essay, Laocoon: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry, pp.42-43. This further emphasizes how well known and how seriously the Richardsons were taken, since even Lessing acknowledged their ideas.

In general, the Richardsons' travel journal can be celebrated not only for its focus on the aesthetic evaluation of classical sculpture, but also because it attempted to encourage travellers to observe art for themselves and to establish their own opinions about it. Leading by example, the Richardsons' critique of ancient art promoted a new attitude and new approach to examining art, that one can use one's eyes to form one's own thoughts about classical objects. From a modern perspective their journal is perhaps not so novel, but considered within the context in which it was written, and from its wide distribution, it can be seen as a significant contribution to the development of art historical literature in the eighteenth century.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Acton, William. A New Journal of Italy. London, 1691.

Addison, Joseph. Remarks on Several Parts of Italy etc. in the Years 1701, 1702, 1703. London: J.Tonson, 1705.

Balfour, Sir Andrew. Letters Written to a Friend Containing Excellent Directions and Advice for Travelling thro' France and Italy. Edinburgh, 1700.

Blainville, M. de. Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and other Parts of Europe, but Especially Italy. 3 vols., London, 1743-5.

A Catalogue of the Genuine and Entire Collection of Italian and Other Drawings, Prints, Models, and Casts. Of the Late Eminent Mr. J. Richardson, Painter, deceased. sold by auction by Mr. Cook. 22nd Jan. 1746.

Dio Cassius. Roman History. Trans. Ernest Cary. Cambridge University Press, 1961.

Lassels, Richard. An Italian Voyage, or a Compleat Journey through Italy London: Richard Wellington, 1670.

Lessings, Gotthold Ephraim. Laocoon: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1984.

Montaigne, Michel de. Montaigne's Travel Journal. San Francisco: North Point Press, 1983.

Richardson, Jonathan Sen.&Yr. An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy, etc...with Remarks. London: J. Knapton, 1722.

Richardson, Jonathan Sen. An Essay on the Theory of Painting. 1725, rpt. London: Scolar Press, 1971.

Richardson, Jonathan Sen & Yr. Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost. London: Ams Press Ltd.,1734.

Richardson, Jonathan Sen. Two Discourses. I. An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as it Relates to Painting...II. An Argument in Behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur. 1719, rpt. London: Scolar Press, 1972.

Smollett, Tobias George. Travels through France and Italy. London: Oxford University Press, 1907.

Virgil, The Aeneid. Trans. R. Fitzgerald. New York: Vintage Books, 1983.

Vleughel, Nicholas. Dolce, Dialogo della Pittura di M. Lodovico Dolce, Inititolata l'Arentino. Firenze, 1735.

Winckelmann, Johann Joachim. History of Ancient Art. Vol. I &II Trans. by Alexander Gode.New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1968.

Winckelmann, Johann Joachim. Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks 1765. Trans. by Henry Fuseli. Menston: Scolar Press Ltd., 1972.

Wright, Edward. Some Observations Made in Travelling Through France, Italy, and in the Years 1720, 1721, and 1722. (2 Vols.) London, 1730.

Secondary Sources

Ashmole, B. The Classical Ideal in Greek Sculpture. Cincinnati, 1964.

Bate, Walter Jackson. From Classic to Romantic: Premises of Taste in Eighteenth Century England. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946.

Beardsley, Monroe C. Aesthetic from Classical Greece to the Present. A Short History. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1966.

Bianchi, Bandinelli. Rome, the Centre of Power: Roman Art to A.D. 200. London: Thames and Hudson, 1970.

Bianchi, Bandinelli. Rome, the Late Empire: Roman Art A.D. 200 to 400. London: Thames and Hudson, 1971.

Bieber, Margarete. Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art. Chicago: Argonaut Inc., 1964.

Bieber, Margarete. Ancient Copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art. New York: New York University Press, 1977.

Bieber, Margarete. "Copies of Greek Statues in Roman Provinces." Hommages à Albert Genier Collection Latomus. No# 18. pp.288-293.

Bieber, Margarate. Laocoon: the Influence of the Group Since its Rediscovery. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1967.

Bieber, Margarate. "Pliny and Graeco-Roman Art." Hommages à Joseph Bidez et a Franz Cumont Collection La tomus. 2 (1949) pp. 39-42.

Bieber, Margarate. "Portraits of Alexander the Great." Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society. No# 93. pp. 373-426.

Bieber, Margarete. The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.

Black, Jeremy. The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.

Boardman, John. Greek Sculpture: the Classical Period. London: Thames and Hudson, 1985.

Boardman, J. , J. Griffin and O. Murray. Oxford History of the Classical World. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Bober, Phyllis Pray. Drawings After the Antique by Amico Aspertini. London, 1957.

Bober, Phyllis Pray. Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources. Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1967.

Bond, Donald (ed.) The Spectator. 6 vols. Oxford: The Clarenden, 1965.

Boswell, James. Boswell's Notebook, 1776-1777. London: H. Milford, 1927.

Boucher, Bruce. "Leone Leoni and Primaticcio's Moulds of Antique Sculpture." Burlington Magazine. (1981) pp.23-6.

Boulter, C.G. (ed.) Greek Art: Archaic into Classical. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985.

Brilliant, Richard. Roman Art from the Republic to Constantine. London: Phaidon, 1974.

Breckenridge, J.D. Likeness: a Conceptual History of Ancient Portraiture. Evanston, 1969.

Breckenridge, J.D. "Roman Imperial Portraiture from Augustus to Gallienus."

Aufstiegund Niedergang der Römischen Welt. 11.12.2 (1981) p.478-512.

Brown, Blanche R. Anticlassicism in Greek Sculpture of the Fourth Century. New York, 1973.

Brummer, Hans Herik. The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere. Stockholm: Almiqvist and Wiksell, 1970.

Burn, Robert. Roman Literature in Relation to Roman Art. New York/London: Kennikat Press, 1969.

Bury, J. and R. Meiggs. A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great. London, 1975.

Carpenter, T.H. Art and Myth in Ancient Greece. London: Thames and Hudson, 1991.

Carpenter, Rhys. Greek Sculpture: A Critical Review. Chicago: the Chicago University Press, 1960.

Charbonneaux Jean, Roland Martin and Francois Villard. Classical Greek Art. New York: George Braziller, 1972.

Charbonneaux, Jean, Roland Martin, and François Villard. Hellenistic Art (350-50 B.C.). New York: George Braziller, 1973.

Clarke, M.L. Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959.

Daniel, G. A Straight History of Archaeology. London, Thames and Hudson, 1981.

Dobai, Johannes. Die Kunstliteratur des Klassizismus und der Romantik in England. Band I 4vols. 1700-1750. Benteli: Bern, 1974.

Fairbanks, Arthur. Greek Art: The Basis of Later European Art. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1963.

Ford, Boris. Eighteenth Century Britain: The Cambridge Cultural History. vol. 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Ferguson, John. The Heritage of Hellenism. New York, 1973.

Furtwängler, Adolf. Master Pieces of Greek Sculpture. Chicago: Argonaut Publishers, 1964.

Gayley, Charles Mills. The Classical Myths in English Literature and in Art. New York: Ginn and Comp., 1939.

Gibson-Wood, Carol. "Jonathan Richardson, Lord Somer's Collection of Drawings, and Early Art-Historical Writing in England." Journal of the Warburg and Courtald Institutes. 52. (1989), pp.167-187.

Gibson-Wood, Carol. "Jonathan Richardson as a Draughtsman." Master Drawings. 32. No.3 (1994) pp.203-229.

Gibson-Wood, Carol. "Jonathan Richardson and the Rationalization of Connoisseurship." Art History. Vol. 7 No# 1. (1984) pp.38-56.

Goldsmith, Simon and Robin Osborne (ed.) Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture. Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 1994.

Gombrich, E.H. "The Belvedere Garden as a Grove of Venus." Symbolic Images. Oxford: Phaidon, 1972. p.104-108.

Grant, Michael. Past and Present: the Continuity of Classical Myths. Toronto: Hakkert, 1972.

Grant, Michael. The World of Rome. London: Weindenfeld and Nicolson, 1960.

Green, P. From Alexander to Actium: the Hellenistic Age. London, 1990.

Gregorius, Magister. The Marvels of Rome. Trans. John Osborne. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1987.

Hadas, Moses. A History of Latin Literature. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952.

Harris, Mark (ed.) The Heart of Boswell. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981.

Haskell, Francis. History and its Image: Art and the Interpretation of the Past. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

Haskell, Francis, and Nicholas Penny. Taste and the Antique: the Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

Hatfield, Henry Caraway. Winckelmann and His German Critics 1755-1781: A Prelude to the Classical Age. New York: King's Crown Press, 1943.

Haynes, Jonathan. The Humanist as Traveler: George Sany's Relation of Journey Begun A.D. 1610. Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986.

Helbig, Wolfgang. Führer durch die offentlichen Sammlungen Klassicher Altertumer in Rom. 4th ed. 4vols. Tubingen, 1963-72.

Henig, Martin (ed.) A Handbook of Roman Art: A Survey of the Visual Arts of the Roman World. Oxford: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1983.

Hibbert, Christopher. The Grand Tour. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969.

Highet, Gilbert. The Classical Tradition. New York: Harper and Row, 1962

Honour, Hugh. "After the Antique: Some Italian Bronzes of the Eighteenth Century." Apollo (1963) p.194-200.

Honour, Hugh. Neo-Classicism. London: Penguin Books, 1977.

Howarth, David. Lord Arundel and His Circle. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Irwin, David (ed.). Winckelmann: Writings on Art. London: Phaidon Press, 1972.

Jex-Blake, K. The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art. Chicago: Argonaut Inc., 1968.

Jones, H. Stuart (ed.). A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome: the Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino. Oxford, 1912.

King, William. An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes. London: Centaur Press Ltd., 1965.

Kirby, P.F. The Grand Tour in Italy 1700-1800. New York: S. F. Vanni, 1952.

Kleiner, Diane E.E. Roman Sculpture. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

Krauthemier, Richard. Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980.

Lavin, Marilyn Aronberg. Seventeenth Century Baberini Documents and Inventories of Art. New York: Columbia University Press, 1975.

Leppmann, Wolfgang. Winckelmann. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970.

Levine, Joseph M. "Ancients and Moderns Reconsidered." Eighteenth Century Studies. 15 (1981) pp. 72-89.

Levine, Joseph M. Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987.

Lilleywhite, Bryant. London Coffee Houses: A Reference Book of Coffee Houses of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963.

Lipking. Lawrence. The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth Century England. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1970.

Macandrew, Hugh. "A Group of Batoni Drawings at Eton College, and Some Eighteenth century Italian Copyists of Classical Sculpture." Master Drawings (1978) pp. 131-150.

Macdonald, Daniel (ed.) Joseph Addison and Richardson Steele: Selected Essays from "The Tatler," "The Spectator," and "The Guardian." New York: The Bobbs and Merill Comp., 1973.

Magnino, Julius Scholosser. La Letteratura Artistic. Trans. by Filippo Rossi from the original German Die Kunstliteratur, 1924, with additions by Otto Kunz. Florence, 1979.

Mattingly, Harold and Edward A. Sydenham. The Imperial Coinage: Vol. I Augustus to Vitellius. London: Spink and Son Ltd., 1968.

Morford, Mark. P.O. and Robert J. Lenardson. Classical Mythology. New York: Longmon Inc., 1985.

Morley, Henry (ed.) The Spectator. 8 vols. London; George Routledge and Sons Ltd., 1964.

Onians, J. Art and Thought in the Hellenistic Age: the Greek World View, 350-50 B.C. London: Thames and Hudson, 1979.

Parks, George. The English Traveller to Italy. Roma: Edizioni di Storia Letteratura, 1954.

Pollitt, Jerome Jordan. Art and Experience in Classical Greece. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Pollitt, Jerome Jordan. Art in the Hellenistic Age. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Pollitt, Jerome Jordan. The Art of Ancient Greece: Sources and Documents. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Pollitt, Jerome Jordan. Art of Rome, c. 753 B.C.-337 A.D. Sources and Documents. Englewood Cliffs: Prentince-Hall, 1966.

Potts, Alex. Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Praz, Mario. On Neoclassicism. Trans. Angus Davidson. London: Thames and Hudson, 1969.

Reinhold, Meyer. Past and Present. The Continuity of Classical Myths. Toronto: Hakkert, 1972.

Richter, G.M.A. Ancient Italy: A Study of the Interrelations of its Peoples as Shown in their Arts. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955.

Richter, G.M.A. The Portraits of the Greeks. 3 Vols. Oxford: Phaidon, 1965.

Richter, G.M.A. "How were the Roman Copies of Greek Portraits Made? Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts, Romische Abteilung. LXIX (1962) pp.52-8.

Richter, G.M.A. Sculptures and Sculptors of the Greeks. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970.

Ridgeway, Brunilde Sismondo. Fifth-Century Styles in Greek Sculpture. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Ridgeway, Brunilde Sismondo. Hellenistic Sculpture I: The Styles of ca. 331-200 B.C. Wisconsin: the University Wisconsin Press, 1989.

Ridgeway, Brunilde Sismondo. Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture: the Problem of the Originals. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Ridgeway, Brunilde Sismondo. The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Ridgeway, Brunilde Sismondo. "The State of Research on Ancient Art." Art Bulletin. 68 (1986), pp. 7-23.

Ridgeway, Brunilde Sismondo. "The Study of Classical Sculpture at the End of the Twentieth Century." American Journal of Archaeology. 98 (1994) pp. 759-772.

Robertson, Martin. A History of Greek Art. 2 Vols. London: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Rosenblum, Robert.Transformation in Late Eighteenth Century Art. New Jersey: Princeton University Pres, 1967.

Rossi, Lino. Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars. Trans. J.M.C. Toynbee. London: Thames and Hudson, 1971.

Sandys, Sir John Edwin. A History of Classical Scholarship: From the Revival of Learning to the End of the Eighteenth Century (In Italy, France, England, and the Netherlands.) 2vols. New York: Hafner Pub. Co., 1958.

Scherer, Margaret R. Marvels of Ancient Rome. New York: Phaidon Press, 1956.

Sear, Frank. Roman Architecture. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982.

Sellers, E. The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art. Trans. by K. Jex-Blake. Chicago: Argonaut Inc., 1968.

Sells, A. Lytton. The Paradise of Travellers: An Italian Influence on Englishmen in the Seventeenth Century. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1964.

Sheard, Wendy Stedman. Antiquity in the Renaissance. Catalogue of the Exhibition Held April 6 - June 6, 1978. Northampton: Smith College Museum of Art, 1979.

Smith, G.Gregory (ed.) The Spectator. 8 vols. London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1897.

Snelgrove, G.W. "The Works and Theories of Jonathan Richardson." Diss. University of London, 1936.

Stephen, Sir Leslie and Sir Sidney Lee (eds.) The Dictionary of National Biography. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917.

Stewart, Andrew. Greek Sculpture: An Exploration. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

Strong, Donald. Roman Art. London: Penguin Books, 1988.

Strong, D.E. Roman Imperial Sculpture. London: Tiranti, 1961.

Summerson, John. Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830. 8th ed. London: Penguin Books, 1991.

Taylor, Thomas. The Gentlemen's Pocket Companion for Travelling into Foreign Parts. 1722.

Thomas, William. The Historie of Italie. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1977.

Tinker, Chauncey Brewster (ed.) Letters of James Boswell. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924.

Toynbee, J.M.C. Roman Historical Portraits. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978.

Treasures of the Vatican Collections. New York: Annellen Publications, Inc., 1983.

Vermeule, C. European Art and the Classical Past. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964.

Vermeule, C. Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste: The Purpose and Setting of Graeco-Roman Art in Italy and the Greek Imperial East. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972.

Vogel, Lise. The Column of Antoninus Pius. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.

Walpole, Horace. Anecdotes of Painting in England; With Some Account of the Principal Artists. 3 vols. London: Lourex and Co., 1888

Wilamowitz-Moellendroff, V.von. History of Classical Scholarship. Trans. by Alan Harris. London: Gerald Duckworth and Co. Ltd., 1982.

Woodhead, A.G. The Greeks in the West. London: Thames and Hudson, 1962.

Plate One: Farnese Bull

Plate Two: Niobe and her Daughter

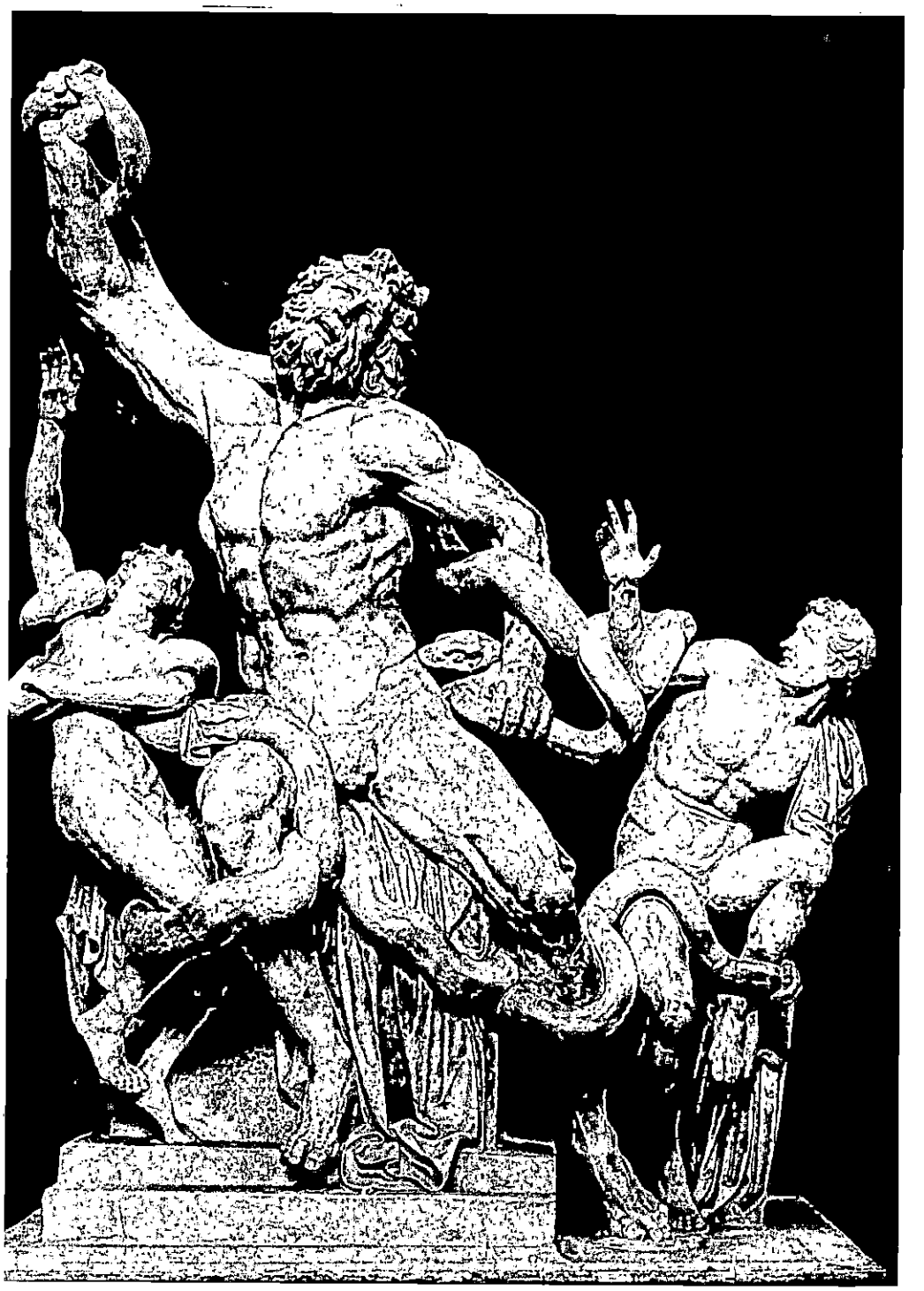

Plate Three: Laocoon Group

Plate Four: Venus de' Medici

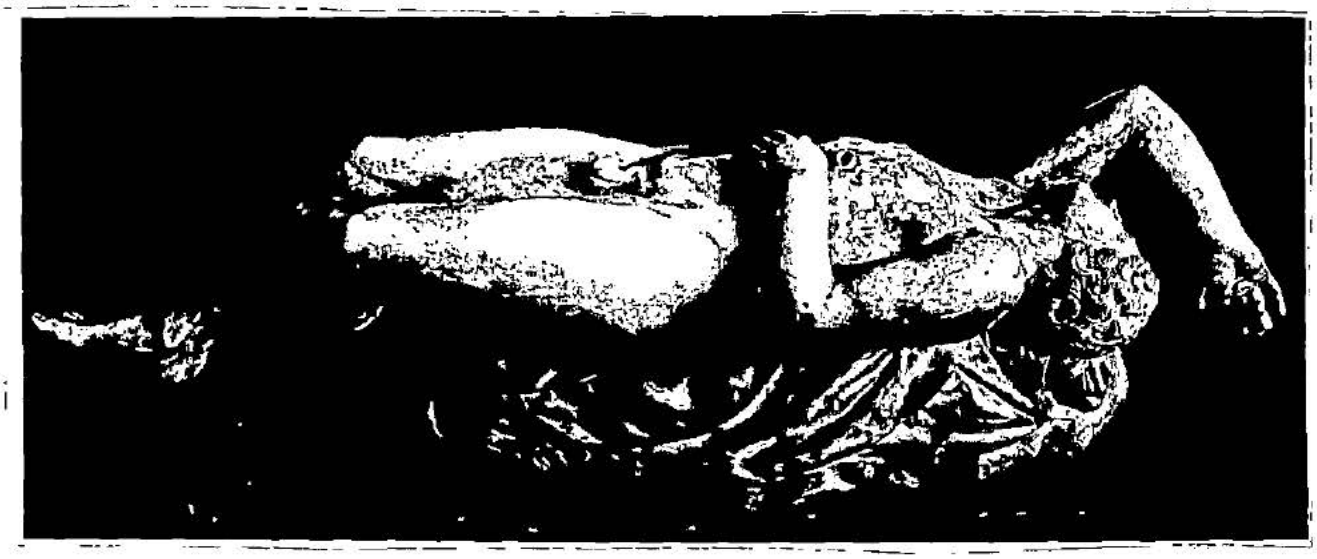

Plate Five: Dead Son from the Niobe Group

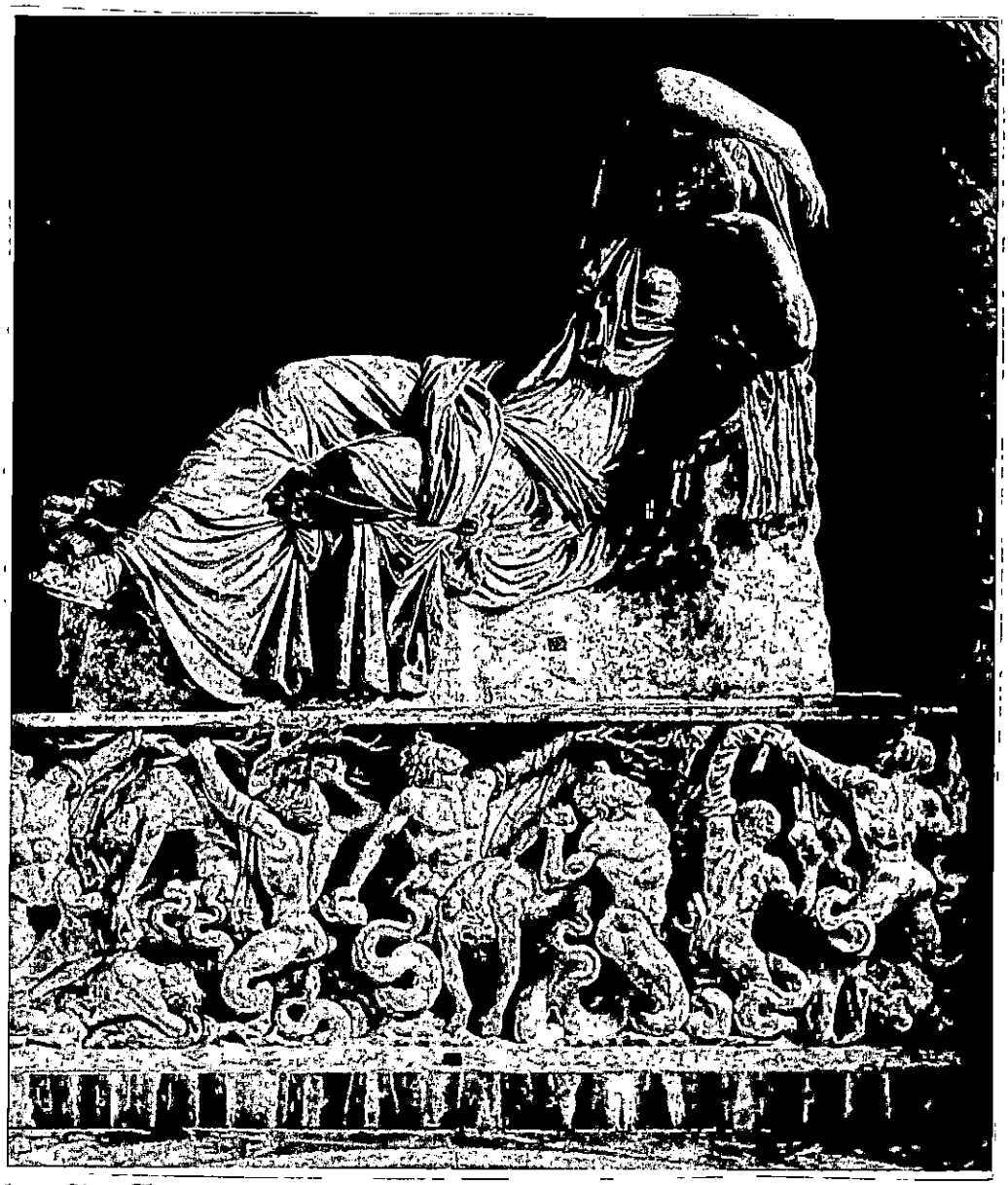

Plate Six: Cleopatra

Plate Seven: Livia Mattei

Plate Eight: Poppaea Sabina

Plate Nine: Apollo Belvedere

VITA

Surname: Bedi Given Name: Shailoo

Place of Birth: Dhariwal, India

Educational Institutions Attended:

University of Victoria	1988-1993 1994-1996

Degrees Awarded:

B.A. (Classical Studies and History in Art)	University of Victoria	1993

Honours and Awards:

The Cecilia Green Memorial Scholarship	1988
The President's Scholarship	1992
The Martlet Chapter IODE, Prize for Scholarship in History in Art	1992
The Edward B. Paul Memorial Scholarship	1992
The University of Victoria Fellowship	1994-1996
The Flora Hamilton Burns Fellowship	1995-1996

Publications:

_____

_____

_____

_____

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant the right to lend my thesis to users of the University of Victoria Library, and to make single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the Library of any other university, or similar institution, on its behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or a member of the University designated by me. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis: Antiquity Observed: The Jonathan Richardsons (Sen. & Jr.) on the Sculpture of Greece and Rome.

Author [redacted]

August 13, 1996