The Grand Tour was an educational voyage through Europe’s main continental cities meant for a young gentleman to complete his education through exposure to ancient culture, art and politics. The tour’s popularity began in the late seventeenth century and lasted into the early nineteenth century. Grand Tourists were typically of the Northern European nobility, and most were British. The young nobleman would travel with a bearleader, a sort of mentor and guide who would teach him along the way and deter him from any distractions. Rome, the heart of the ancient Republic, was the main destination of the Grand Tour. However, many tourists found Venice a fascinating city, as they perceived it to be the only place in which the spirit of the Roman Republic was still alive in the government and society.

The association of Venice with ancient Rome was rooted in the Venetian governmental system. In the late eighteenth century Venice had “preserved their laws inviolate, their city unattempted, and their republic respectable, through all the concussions that [had] shaken the rest of Europe”. Its system of government resembled that of ancient Rome and consisted of a Senate made up of the oldest male member of each noble family; a decision making council, The Council of Ten, whose members were elected from the Senate; and a head of state, the Doge, who served for life after being elected by a secret vote in the Senate. The government functioned because the “preservation of the Republic [was] that to which all other considerations submit”, even if this meant implementing methods “which others do not think consistent with their honour to put in practice”.

The Venetian Republic’s success laid also in its military power. The Republic was unconquered, and even evaded the influences of the Papacy from the time of its inception until 1797, when it fell to the Napoleonic Armies and became part of the Austrian Empire. Venice’s location on the Adriatic Sea is what allowed it to remain unconquered for so long. The city is built on a series of islands and is more easily accessible by sea than by land. At the republic’s peak, the Venetian navy was untouchable and its wealth from the spoils of conquered enemies, mercantile commerce and control of trade routes between Asia and Europe was unmatched. The British in particular admired Venice for these qualities and felt the two island maritime powers shared a special, unique relationship bred from similarity. Great Britain identified with Venice as a stronghold of Republican virtue able to escape the grasp of the Catholic Church, a great Naval power, and a pioneer of overseas trade and commerce. At the peak of the Grand Tour, in the mid-eighteenth century, Venice was on a decline in worldly power and influence, but the British still sought the lessons of ancient Rome by way of the Venetian example.

Venice’s liberal spirit, which was so well respected by the British in its relation to governmental and intellectual matters, also caused a decline in respect from some British travelers as it allowed for the development of brothels, casinos and carnivals. In Venice, there were “no unpermitted frolics” and members of the nobility were those who indulged most. The Venetians were well known for their late hours and copious consumption of coffee. Many British visitors could not contemplate how
society functioned for lack of sleep. Young men on the Grand Tour would partake in late night diversions and extra-marital affairs, which were common and expected among the Venetian nobility. Some veterans of the Grand Tour found this to be unacceptable and to have the reverse effects meant by the tour. Young men, it seemed to some, would return to England less educated than they left it, having been consumed by the temptations and debauchery found in Venice. This, however, was not meant to be completely avoided; it was originally thought that exposure to and participation in vice abroad would leave the young man satisfied so that he could return home without any desires for pleasure-seeking and with the ability to focus completely on his role as an English nobleman, and usually Parliamentarian. As the Grand Tour continued throughout the eighteenth century, it became increasingly frowned upon, as young men returned ruined rather than refined. This phenomenon is well illustrated by a poem about the youngest member of a well-known noble family:

“So have I seen some youth set out,
Half Protestant, half Papist;
And wand’ring long the world about
Some new religion to find out,
Turn Infidel or Atheist.”

The British still traveled to Venice despite this potential setback and the waning connection to Roman greatness that resulted from the declining government (especially after the fall to Napoleon in 1797). The duality of Venice -- its past glory and present ability to corrupt -- was attractive in its own right. Tourists were interested in Venice’s present state and would participate in high society and observe their surroundings for it was “entertaining to the traveler”. William Beckford enjoyed Venice for he could “find everyday some new amusement”. Most of these travelers, however, would conclude that Venice was a “fine town for a fortnight, but not to dwell in always”. The vice inherent in the Venetian lifestyle was intriguing at first, but eventually wore out most visitors.

Venice, however corrupted or exhausting, would never be cut out of the Grand Tour because it contained many attractions important to the past that was being studied. Built from the immense wealth of the peak years of the republic, Venice remained of great architectural interest. Its churches, squares, bridges and palaces all contributed to modern architecture. The interiors of its wondrous edifices were just as grand and were decorated by the masters of the Venetian Renaissance. Even the contemporary artists in Venice were becoming more popular, usually out of their connection with the Grand Tour. As Venice was becoming unattractive in relation to the original goals of the Grand Tour, it was becoming more attractive for its art and architecture, subjects that were gaining interest, partially as a result of the Grand Tour itself.

The changes in the function and usefulness of the Grand Tour can be traced through travel guides and diaries from the time period. Through a close, chronological analysis of British travel literature spanning from the late 17th century to the early 19th century it becomes clear that what constituted a completed education, in the sense of the Grand Tour, changed. Earlier texts focus mainly on attractions in Venice that are connected to classical texts or have associations with history. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Grand Tourists’ education focused more and more on the modern, and increasingly on the subject of art and architecture. The places and works of art visited and seen do not change but their reasons for importance do. Closer to the beginning of the eighteenth century, tourists focus on who is in a work of art and what their historical contribution to Europe is. Throughout the century, the tourists’ focus on a work of art for the artist and their contribution to the history of art illustrates changes in how art was viewed.

Grand Tour Diaries: Changes in an Education

The Grand Tour had sparked the commoditization of art, an interest in art history and rise of connoisseurship earlier in the century, and by the later half of the 18th century a heightened interest and familiarity with Venetian art is evident in travel writing and British culture. Throughout the eighteenth century, the goals of the Grand Tour shifted. There were open debates over the changes in the usefulness of travel and whether or not the Grand Tour was really beneficial to an education or not. In reality, the education’s focus was what changed, and not the usefulness of the tour as a whole. In the beginning of the century, there was a focus on history, on an objects association with history and on an objects monetary value. As time progressed and art became a more popular area of study and infiltrated public interest, the Grand Tour became more valuable in relation to the study of Renaissance art and architecture as well as contemporary, eighteenth century art. Through analyzing travel writing from the era of the Grand Tour, we can trace this shift in its
relation to the British in Venice.

The texts analyzed will be Richard Lassels’ A Voyage of Italy published in 1670, Joseph Addison’s Remarks on Several Parts of Italy written in 1703, William Beckford’s Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents initially published in 1783, Hester Lynch Piozzi’s Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey Through France, Germany and Italy written in 1788 and John Eustace’s A Classical Tour through Italy written in 1813.

Richard Lassels: The Traditional Bear-Leader

Richard Lassels was a British Classics Professor and a Catholic Priest who traveled the continent five times as bear-leader. The trip we will be discussing was made in 1668. Lassels’ background dictates that his writing focuses on the educational value of aspects of Venice as well as their historical implications. Lassels refers to Venice as the “ancientest Republic in Europe” on the first page in his work, The Voyage of Italy, about Venice14. He is there because of this ancient association and wishes to study Venetian history and how this history can be of value to a student. He wants his students to absorb the power, riches and successes of Venice as an example of a Republic reminiscent of ancient Rome. Art is not something yet valued as an academic subject as we will see through looking more closely at Lassels’ focus.

When Lassels discusses Venetian imperial power, he spends a page and a half telling the story of how the Venetian treasury came to exist. At the end of the story, he states: “This whose whole history I saw painted in the Palace of Cornaro by the hand of Paulo Veronese”15. Lassels then jumps right back into discussing Venetian power and riches even though he believes Veronese is one of the “rarest Painters that were in Italy”16. The artists of the Venetian Renaissance, Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, Bassano and Bellini, are mentioned in Lassels work, but he has no interest in elaborating on their works, only on the stories their works evoke.

Lassels mentions artwork only as an introduction into a discussion about Pope Alexander III during his visit to the Convent of La Carità, where the Pope stayed during his exile from Rome. He is concerned with who is in a painting, not who painted it. The passage discusses the history of the Pope’s exile and his recognition by Emperor Frederic Barbarossa and only mentions at the end of the passage that the painting was “by the hand of Bassano”17. Lassels is more concerned with the deeper history that the painting and the Convent bring about. He fails altogether to alert the reader that this Convent was partially designed by Palladio.

He does briefly mention “Palladio, the famous architect” in relation to San Giorgio Maggiore18. However, Lassels quickly draws the reader’s attention to a “great silver Lamp” and a “pillar of Marble”. Lassels focuses on the material value of buildings, not on their architectural structure or genius. The Rialto Bridge is mentioned for its architectural value, as it is “one of the finest bridges in Europe” because it is made of only one arch that stretches over the whole canal19. The Rialto, however, is more important to Lassels because it “cost two Hundred and fifty Thousand Crowns”20. Lassels repeatedly states how much something costs or how much an object is worth, most likely to hint at Venetian power so that he can return to discussion of the commercial and governmental power of Venice.

We see similar patterns in Lassels’ writing on sculpture. Lassels was curious about a sculpture in Saint Mark’s Square and thought to inquire about who the men in the sculpture were, not who erected the sculpture. He spends a few sentences discussing the men portrayed in the sculpture who are merchants responsible for bringing jewels to the Venetian treasury. No artist is named21. On the opposite page, he begins to discuss another sculptural series in Saint Mark’s Square, the four bronze horse brought back from Constantinople. He takes care to say they “Came out of the shop…of Lippus a famous Statuary in Greece”22. It is possible that the sculpture of the merchants was simply not of artistic value, but it is more likely that Lassels is less interested in its artistic value because a Classical artist did not execute it. The story of the merchants is more relevant than a modern or Renaissance artist to the message Lassels wishes to convey; Venice is a powerful, rich Republic that carries the spirit of ancient Rome and which can be studied as an example of a successful and liberal state.

Joseph Addison: The Political Traveler

Joseph Addison’s Remarks on Several Parts of Italy is similar to Lassels’ text in that its focus is the Venetian government and its connection to Rome. Addison does believe Italy as a whole is a “great school of music and painting” and has the “noblest production of statuary and architecture, both ancient and modern” and that Venice’s palaces have “in greater plenty than any other place in Europe” works “from the best masters of the Lombard
Beckford did not get along well with his family. Maybe guide through his thoughts and experiences as he travels. He is not simply writing a guide to his travels, but a title, Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents proves await him and does not have many expectations. Even going to see, but wishes to give an honest account of hisThis is romantic in a sense, as he seeks what experiences are being commoditized into something that can be purchased and used by a traveler to study them. However, there are still no comments about the artists associated with these monuments and buildings.

Addison brings up the Venetian theatrical forms of Opera and Commedia del’Arte, but quickly diverts attention to their Classical connections. He states that the Commedia del’Arte is “derived…from the Greek and Roman theatre” and that the Opera’s “arguments are often taken from some celebrated action of the ancient Greeks or Romans”26. To him, they are more valuable for their associations than for their contribution to modern theatre or music. Addison is interested in how Venice is associated with the past rather than the present, and concludes that is it “too modern” for his purpose of revisiting the Classics27.

William Beckford: The Student of Experience

Eighty year later, in William Beckford’s Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents, we can see a vast array of changes in the traveler’s motives and goals. William Beckford was a member of the aristocracy and he took on the Grand Tour as a traditional student. From the outset he has different goals than his predecessors. Beckford admits on page one that “A frequent mist hovers before my eyes, and, through its medium, I see objects so faint and hazy, that both their colours and forms are apt to delude me. This is a rare confession, say the wise, for a traveler to make”28. He admits he does not know what he is going to see, but wishes to give an honest account of his travels unlike others who only share “pretty accounts”29.

This is romantic in a sense, as he seeks what experiences await him and does not have many expectations. Even the title, Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents proves this. He is not simply writing a guide to his travels, but a guide through his thoughts and experiences as he travels. Beckford did not get along well with his family. Maybe his attitude toward the tour they sent him on grew from his will to do exactly the opposite of what was expected of him. However, his text, although rebellious at moments, still shows an interest in the past. His version of the past is different than others. It describes a passing memory of former glory, but does not make the past the main focus of his trip. His focus on the past is also accompanied by serious discussion of modern art and architecture, something not seen in the earlier texts.

Beckford’s nostalgia for the Classics is illustrated by his recitation of Sophocles in Saint Mark’s Square30. He is so taken with the Square at sunset that it brings back imagined scenes of the past, causing Beckford to recite lines from an ancient play and reminisce. The buildings of Venice here still evoke the past, but it is their beauty at sunset that brings about the monologue. Beckford thinks Saint Mark’s Square is “one of the most striking groups of buildings art can boast of”31. He considers these buildings art. Before, similar discussions of the past are more factual; the buildings are merely entryways into the topic of choice. Beckford believes Venice “left such superb and beautiful edifices behind them, as will, for ages to come, remain indisputable proofs of their taste for ancient architecture”32. He uses the word “ancient” to describe Venetian architecture and connect it to the past, but what is new here is that he is describing buildings at all. He does not qualify this statement with any sort of description of why they are connected to the past; it is the architecture alone that creates the connection.

At Saint Mark’s Square Beckford “applauded the genius of Palladio” for his work on the Colonnade33. Palladio’s Saint Giorgio Maggiore is, “by far the most perfect and beautiful edifice my eyes ever beheld” and his Redentore “so simple and elegant, that I thought myself entering an antique temple”34. Palladio is not only more famous than he was earlier in the century, but is a “genius”, his works the “most perfect”. Buildings are described as ancient and inspire nostalgia for the imagined past; but Beckford is devoting space on the page to the description of these buildings, something not seen before. He does not mention anymore about them, only how wonderful they, and their creator, are.

Beckford also spends more energy describing painting than visitors did earlier in the century. When he sees Paolo Veronese’s The Marriage at Cana, he discusses the technique and beauty of the work, not just the story it narrates. Beckford “never beheld so gorgeous a group of wedding-garments before” with “every variety of fold and
plait”35. He then discusses the “attitudes and countenances” of the characters in the work36. Maybe he tells less of the story in the painting because it is a “fictitious repast” but regardless if the story is important or not, Beckford spends a paragraph describing how the painting looks, a new concept in travel writing37. Titian gets less attention, but when Beckford mentions San Giovanni e Paolo, he takes care to inform the reader that it is a “church ever celebrated in the annals of painting, since it contains that master-piece of Titian”38. A comparison with Lassels’ visit to San Giovanni e Paolo is illustrative of the way viewing art was changing. Lassels’ description of the church includes a tomb of an English Lord, an equestrian statue of a “great Commander” that “the Senate decreed… to be erected”, and the subject of Titian’s painting, St. John and Paul, before noting “The Refectory is famous for painting”39. The monuments in the Church are more important for their subjects and financiers than for their artist.

Beckford frequently references an assumed familiarity with Venice that he expects his readers to have. Upon arrival in Venice, Beckford “began to distinguish Murano, St. Michele, St. Giorgio in Alga, and several other islands…which I hailed as old acquaintance; innumerable prints and drawings having long since made their shapes familiar”40. He knows what Venice looks like although he has never been there. Previous Grand Tourists brought back view paintings, prints and drawings depicting the places they went, which greatly enhanced general knowledge, expectations and awareness of Grand Tour destinations, geography and monuments. Not only does Beckford have expectations of Venice, but he also assumes his reader knows something about Venice, even if they have not traveled there themselves. Santa Maria della Salute is not described because it “would be time lost” as “one glance upon the worst view that has been taken of [it], conveys a far better idea than the most elaborate description”41. Beckford has “no terms to describe the variety of pillars, of pediments, of mouldings, and cornices…that adorn these edifices” because “the pencil of Canaletti conveys so perfect an idea, as to render all verbal descriptions superfluous”42. He assumes his reader knows the Venetian view painter Canaletto and has seen his works; Canaletto painted specifically to sell to the British tourist earlier in the century and Beckford’s statements confirm his success. Beckford’s readers were most likely of the upper and upper-middle class, and therefore not exemplary of the entire British population. But Beckford’s assumptions suggest an increase in knowledge of modern Venetian art in British culture.

Hester Lynch Piozzi: The Female Companion

Similar ideas are found in the work of Hester Lynch Piozzi, a female member of the British aristocracy. Piozzi was born into the Salisbury family in 1741. Her first husband, Henry Thrale, introduced her to Dr. Samuel Johnson and she is most well known for her relationship with him. Later in her life she married an Italian musician, hence the surname Piozzi, and it was with him that she traveled to Italy. She set off on a continental tour in 1784 with different goals than the previous diarists because she was not there specifically to learn or teach, she was there to travel. She came “to Italy to look at buildings, statues, pictures, people!”43. Her interest in art, since she was not specifically a student or a teacher, shows an increased interest in connoisseurship, knowledge of art, and the desire to travel and see art. She has expectations of Venice similar to Beckford’s as the city’s “first appearance…revived all the ideas inspired by Canaletti…to such a degree indeed, that we knew all the famous towers, steeples, &c. before we reached them”44. She also refers to Canaletto as an “excellent painter”, alluding to the fact that he was well known shortly after his death and people were looking at the quality of his work, not just the subject45.

Her interest in Renaissance art is also more advanced than her predecessors. Painters should study Bassano’s Noah’s Ark, according to Piozzi, because it “is considered as a model of perfection from which succeeding artists may learn to draw animal life”46. As with Beckford, the quality of artistic work is what matters to Piozzi, not simply the subject of a work of art. Piozzi is not admitted to see Veronese’s Marriage at Cana because she is female, but is disappointed because she has heard much about the piece and its value47. The Venetian Renaissance artists were becoming more and more well known within British culture.

An interest in the Classics and the past, however, had not completely faded. Piozzi mentions that “the soul of old Rome has transmigrated to Venice” and is interested in finding a certain piece of red marble that Pope Alexander III had allegedly stepped on48. She discusses Phidias, a classical sculptor, when she sees his work, Jupiter, at the Public Library49. This interest in the Classical and Medieval eras, however, it accompanied by a greater interest in the Renaissance and contemporary periods. Venice was
“so often described, so certainly admired,” that its monuments and art were increasingly popular.

John Eustace: The Post-Napoleonic Professor
In John Eustace’s text A Classical Tour through Italy about a journey made in 1803, there is a revival of classical interest as well as a new interest in modern art. Eustace was a British Professor and Priest; his occupation may account for his interest in the Classics and the past. References to the past mostly relate to the “preserved…spirit of the ancient Romans” and Venice’s “striking resemblance to the great parent Republic”, or the traditional associations of Venice with ancient Rome.

Eustace states his goals for travel in the Preliminary Discourse, which coincide with a traditional Grand Tour. His book is “addressed solely to persons of a liberal education” who “easily comprehend the necessity of providing before-hand the information requisite to enable him to traverse the country without constant difficulty, doubt, and inquiry”52. For Eustace, “familiar acquaintance…with the ancients is evidently the first and most essential accomplishment of a classical traveler”53. For Eustace’s traveler, however, it is also “absolutely necessary to acquire a general knowledge of the principles of…three great arts,” architecture, sculpture and painting.

Eustace’s goal is traditional in its emphasis on education as the purpose of travel, but he expects that his students know not only about the Classics and the past, but also about Renaissance and modern art, artistic techniques and artists. Here, art has become completely engrained in the academic world.

Eustace’s reader also should learn, before leaving on the tour, “the five orders, according to Palladio’s system”55. Knowledge of Palladio’s work is no longer sufficient, a prepared traveler must also know his technique and style. Palladio is discussed often in Eustace’s text. San Giorgio Maggiore is “an exquisite work of Palladio” and other buildings of Palladian design “merit particular attention”56. Palladio’s genius has assured that the churches of Venice are “of a better style in architecture…than those of any other town in Italy” excluding Rome57. Saint Mark’s Square “is inferior…to many squares in many great cities; yet as one side is the work of Palladio…its appearance is grand and striking”58. Palladio has clearly risen to importance in the academic world and study of art history, and has granted Venice importance in the study of art since it offers to “the attentive observer…the history of architecture in the streets”59.

In relation to painting, Eustace’s analysis reverts back to the beginning of the century in discussion of the subjects, but also discusses the artists and their techniques. Paintings in the Doge’s Palace are “by the first masters of the Venetian school…Titian, Paolo Veronese, and Tintoretto, have exerted all their powers, and displayed all the charms of their art to adorn the senate-house, and to perpetuate the glories of the republic”60. Art here is a tool used to honor and remember the past. Although Eustace uses the paintings to discuss the story of the Venetian Republic, he still credits the artists as having and using “powers” and “charms”. The artists, earlier in the century, only receive passing mention. Their talent is now respected and Eustace acknowledges that their talent made possible the narration of the Republic through works of art. This chain of connecting thoughts leading up to the discussion of the painting’s subject was not seen in Las-sels’ or Addison’s texts.

Eustace clearly has an interest in Venice due to its contribution to the art world, but still desires that his readers will take away its connection to ancient Rome to as the main message. After discussing Venetian art at length, he asks but “why enlarge on the beauty, on the magnificence, on the glories of Venice? Or, why describe its palaces, its churches, its monuments? That liberty which raised these pompous edifices in a swampy marsh, and opened such scenes of grandeur in the middle of a pool, is now no more!”61. Venice fell to Napoleon in 1797, and therefore no longer represented the ideals Grand Tourists were supposed to learn about. However, Eustace himself answers this question with his texts focus on art. Venice may have lost its “glory”, but “beauty”, “magnificence”, “palaces”, “churches” and “monuments” were still available for view and study. It may be more difficult to connect Venetian buildings and beauty with the “liberty which raised” them, but they had become of value for the study of art and architecture.

Art for Art’s Sake
Throughout the eighteenth century art for art’s sake became an accepted and common idea. Viewing art became an activity on its own rather than one connected to historical and classical study. This phenomenon occurred in part because of the Grand Tour since more people were able to see more art and buy more art. In Venice, British tourists created an environment where art and artists flourished. Venice in the eighteenth century was a microcosm of the commercial art world today; dealers would seek out
buyers for artists who would then paint what they could sell.

As Venice developed into a dream for artists who fit the mold, it also became a dream for travelers interested in viewing art. The interest in buying eighteenth century Venetian artists was accompanied by a heightened interest in Renaissance and modern art and architecture. As illustrated by tracing the developments in viewing Venetian art in British travel accounts of Venice, art and art history came to the forefront of artistic discussions in the eighteenth century. No longer was the subject of a piece of art its most interesting aspect. The artists and their artistic techniques became equally, if not more talked about during visits to Venice by British travelers.

Venice’s steady decline in political power and eventual loss of political power in 1797 was partly responsible for this transition, but it is important to point out that this does not entirely account for the shifting goals of the Grand Tourist. John Eustace, who supported the view of Venice as a political reference, disapproved of the travel writing by Joseph Addison despite the similar focus to Eustace’s work and its century-long credibility. Addison wrote in the early eighteenth century but by the end of the eighteenth century, it was believed that “prejudice had narrowed his extensive views, religious acrimony had soured his temper, and party spirit had repressed his imagination”62. Eustace believes in the Venetian association with ancient Rome and politics, but due to the minimal discussion of art in Addison’s text, he cannot support it as a viable source when traveling to Italy. The hundred years between the penning of these works saw art’s role in the Grand Tour change from art as an illustrative aid to an historical narrative or political reference to art for art’s sake. This was the beginning of art as a stand-alone academic subject, an area of connoisseurship and a commercial enterprise.

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Endnotes

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