Maps and the Italian Grand Tour:

Meanings, Mobilities and Materialities in George III's Topographical Collection, 1540-1789

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Declaration of authorship

I, Jeremy Nicholas Wilkins Brown, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: ______________________________

Date: ______________________________

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Abstract

This thesis is concerned with the use of maps by British grand tourists to Italy during the early modern period. Primarily, it studies the cartographic material contained within the British Library's King George III's Topographical Collection, formerly part of his private reference library (before it was donated to the British Museum). The usefulness of maps for Grand Tour journeys has frequently been assumed in historical narratives but discussion is generally cursory, instead favouring the important literary productions or artistic collections that resulted from touring. This thesis applies concepts developed in the history of cartography, the history of the book and visual and material culture studies in order to explore travellers' interactions with maps of Italy. Divided into four thematic chapters that deal in turn with the topics of education, topography, travel and return, the thesis examines when and how maps were deployed by British travellers on the Italian Grand Tour.

Having introduced the aims, objectives and key themes of the thesis, Chapter 1 locates the Grand Tour in the history and historiography of travel, whilst also dealing with the growth of map collecting in the early modern period. In Chapter 2, I review theoretical understandings of the nature of maps, showing how these have underpinned my research framework, but have also been complemented by methodological exchanges with visual and material culture studies. Chapter 3 explores the theme of education: how and what did British travellers learn about Italy through maps. It centres on a case study that describes and analyses annotated maps that were seemingly used for geography homework, most likely assigned to King George III when he was Prince of Wales. Interactions between myth and geography in the production of maps of Calabria are the focus of Chapter 4; the imaginations of both the mapmaker and the map user are shown to be significant to the complex and changing genre of topography in the early modern period. In Chapter 5, I address maps that were more specifically designed for wayfinding. After surveying the history of written itineraries and the display of roads and post houses on maps of Italy, I concentrate on the sudden growth and pirating of printed strip-map atlases of Italy in the 1770s. Questions about the role of maps in self-fashioning after return from a

Grand Tour are considered in Chapter 6, which analyses the role of maps in Grand Tour portraits by the eighteenth-century Italian artist Pompeo Batoni.

The narrative provided by this thesis has a twofold ambition: to highlight the King's Topographical Collection as a rich and broadly overlooked archival resource and to redress some of the balance that has been weighted against maps as an aspect of study in the context of the Grand Tour. Blurring the boundaries between map history, art history and cultural geography (among other humanistic disciplines), the thesis combines recent theoretical developments concerning the processual nature of maps with an appreciation for maps as physical objects, as well as visual artefacts and cultural representations of space. This leads to an analysis that details the numerous and creative ways in which maps were not only put to work by but also influenced British travellers, demonstrating that maps were a vital presence in the material culture of the Grand Tour.

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List of abbreviations

BL – British Library

RA – Royal Archives

Introduction

Between June and August 1828, 65,000 volumes and 800 boxes of unbound pamphlets were dispatched from Kensington Palace to the British Museum, to be set up in the purpose-built King's Gallery (now the Enlightenment Gallery). It was a process that had begun five years earlier when George IV presented the King's Library to the nation, not having any interest in maintaining its substantial upkeep himself. The vast majority of the books and manuscripts had been acquired during the reign of his father, George III, a prolific collector with wide-ranging interests.[1] Approximately 40,000 items from the royal geographical collections, the care of which had also been a duty for the royal librarians, soon followed in the wake of the Royal Library. That material now comprises the King's Topographical Collection at the British Library, an assemblage of printed and manuscript maps, topographical views and geographical ephemera that documents the entire planet, from its place in the solar system to individual sites of interest. Integrating historical knowledge with the most up to date items about the celestial and terrestrial spheres, the King's Topographical Collection has been called 'probably the finest in the world for the eighteenth century'.[2] Despite this claim, the history of its formation and development is still now coming to light, and its research potential as a historical and geographical archive of the early modern period has yet to be fully realised.

With 10 of the 124 volumes of the King's Topographical Collection as its backbone, this thesis seeks to unlock some of that potential. It does so by situating the cartographic material on the Italian peninsula and its neighbouring islands in the context of the Italian Grand Tour. The Italian Grand Tour has been a subject of enduring popularity in recent decades, but little attention has been paid to how maps might have shaped travellers' geographical imaginations of Italy, influenced their

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[1] On the history of the King's Library, see John Brooke, "The Library of King George III," *The Yale University Library Gazette* 52, no. 1 (July 1977): 33-45; Elaine M. Paintin, *The King's Library* (London: The British Library, 1989); and Graham Jefcoate, "'Most Curious, Splendid and Useful': The King's Library of George III," in *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Kim Sloan (London: British Museum, 2004), 38-45. On the entire suite of collecting interests of George and his wife Charlotte, see, Jane Roberts, ed., *George III & Queen Charlotte: Patronage, Collecting and Court Taste* (London: Royal Collection, 2004), esp. Jonathan Marsden, "Patronage and Collecting," in *George III & Queen Charlotte: Patronage, Collecting and Court Taste*, ed. Jane Roberts (London: Royal Collection Publications, 2004), 154-167. Jeremy Black, *George III: America's Last King* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 162-184.

[2] Helen Wallis, "A Banquet of Maps: An Account of the Map Collections of the British Library," *The Map Collector* 28, (1984): 7.

experiences abroad or affected their memories of travel. Approaching the maps in the Italian volumes as an exemplary archive of material available to early modern grand tourists, this thesis will explore how and when maps were encountered and deployed. The overarching aim of the thesis is to consider the different ways in which maps contributed to early modern travel cultures and the range of situations in which travellers to Italy interacted with maps.

This thesis is underpinned by the idea that representation, materiality and performance are not incompatible strands of research; rather, they should be considered together in the analysis of historic maps. My focus throughout the thesis is primarily on interactions between travellers and maps, for, as recent theoretical work has shown, it is out of the processes of production, circulation and, in particular, consumption that new meanings emerge. Much like the travellers themselves, maps and their meanings were not static; one of the ambitions of this project is to chart the different places in which travellers encountered maps and how situational context was fundamental to the creation of meaning. Following the trajectories of both the travellers and the objects themselves has been helpful to answering this question. Moreover, while maps did project certain images of Italy into the minds of travellers, it is important to appreciate that their materiality is an inseparable part of their nature. The diverse forms of material supports, from monumental mural maps to foldable pocket plans, prompt different engagements and reactions. Therefore, only with an awareness of the impact of the phenomenological in the cartographic encounter can we fully appreciate maps' vital influence on travellers' experiences of Italy, and their place within the material culture of the Grand Tour.

More specifically, this thesis explores issues of representation, materiality and performance by way of the topics of education, topography, travel and return—the subjects of the four thematic chapters of the dissertation. It does so by drawing on illustrative accounts of grand tourists and by conducting close readings of particularly telling maps from the Italian volumes. Rather than focusing exclusively on travellers' experiences abroad, these topics form a narrative arc that broadly reflects the wider progression of an early modern traveller to Italy, from maps used in schooling to maps as mementos.

This thesis is the result of a Collaborative Doctoral Partnership between Royal Holloway, University of London and the British Library. The aim was to research the cartographic material of the Italian volumes of the King's Topographical Collection. Among other things, the partnership gave me the opportunity to engage closely with the maps as physical objects, which was invaluable to appreciating the importance of their materiality. The wealth of high-quality material in the Italian volumes, the relative comprehensiveness of its range and the collection's novelty to modern scholarly eyes make it an ideal archive to study. Indeed, owing to the distinct trajectory of the Italian volumes' development, compared with the rest of the collection, situating and studying them within the context of the Grand Tour as a separate unit is legitimate.

The collecting of material for the Italian volumes began in the 1750s – when George was still Prince of Wales – under the direction of his tutor and his royal librarians, an aspect that will be further explored in Chapter 3. As a result, in these volumes we encounter the kind of historical and cultural items that makes them far closer to the acquisitions of the travelling collectors and connoisseurs of the period than in other parts of the King's Topographical Collection. During George's lifetime, the King's Topographical Collection was part of an even larger royal geographical collection. Together with the King's Maritime Collection, which has made its way to the British Library in a staggered and piecemeal fashion over the past 200 years, and the King's Military Collection, which remains separate at Windsor, the King's Topographical Collection completed the "General Atlas", as it was known to George and his contemporaries. Whilst the three collections were physically separated in 1828, it seems that as conceptual categories the topographical, maritime and military collections began to emerge in the previous decade. With a growing backlog of material to accession, George's chief librarian, Sir Frederick Augusta Barnard, began the mammoth task of cataloguing the collection in the 1810s; the five volumes of the catalogue for the King's Library were published between 1820 and 1829.[3]

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[3] The best description and history of the formation, development and legacy of the royal geographical collection is found in Peter Barber, "George III as a Map Collector: The Development and Destiny of King George III's Geographical Collections," paper presented at *Maps, Their Collecting and Study: A Fifty Year Retrospective, The Nineteenth Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr., Lectures in the History of Cartography*, The

Writing the introduction to the first volume, Barnard had a chance to look back on over half a century of service to the Royal Library. Not only had he seen the collection grow, but he was partly responsible for how it had grown. Early on in his career, Barnard had been sent to Europe to act as an agent and acquire items for the library. On 28 May 1768, prior to his departure in July, Barnard received a letter from Samuel Johnson, whom he had approached for advice on what kind of material to purchase for the royal collection. Johnson's reply was reprinted in full in the catalogue and, among many other useful pieces of advice, it suggested that:

> It will be of great use to collect in every place Maps of the adjacent country, and Plans of towns, buildings, and gardens. By this care you will form a more valuable body of Geography than can otherwise be had.[4]

Concentrating on large scale maps and plans, the royal librarians did indeed shape the General Atlas into a valuable body of geography that provided up to date, practical information to the king about geopolitical and military affairs. But whilst the topographical material covering the Netherlands, the American colonies and parts of Asia, for instance, was tailored to this end, the value in the Italian section lay elsewhere. The material in the Italian volumes has a similar interest in local maps and high resolution, precise topography. Many items found throughout go beyond the traditional meaning of a map: alongside chorographical maps of Tuscany, for example, we find engravings of the pavement of the Duomo in Siena. The Italian volumes were, in a sense, a vast, extra-illustrated atlas. Juxtaposing different forms of geographical knowledge – regional maps, city and garden plans, architectural prints and

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Newberry Library, Chicago, 28 October 2016, which also covers the separate cataloguing and extraction of maritime and military related material in the 1810s and 1820s. See also Peter Barber, "King George III's Topographical Collection: A Georgian View of Britain and the World," in *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Kim Sloan (London: British Museum, 2004), 158-165; Peter Barber, "George III and His Geographical Collection," in *The Wisdom of George the Third: Papers from a Symposium at The Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace, June 2004*, ed. Jonathan Marsden (London: Royal Collection, 2005), 263-289; and Peter Barber, "Introduction: George III's Topographical Collection," in *George III and the Hispanic World: Maps and Views from the Collection of King George III* (London: British Library, 2015), 8-13.

[4] Sir Frederick Augusta Barnard, *Bibliothecœ Regiœ Catalogus* (London: Excudebant Gul. Bulmer et Gul. Nicol., 1820), 1:v.

topographical views – they provide a thick, layered description of place, ideal for armchair travel. Although George never went on a Grand Tour, he was certainly able to see the country's wonders from the comfort of his library. From this, it followed that the maps contained within the Italian section could be researched in relation to the Grand Tour. But if George was undertaking an ersatz Grand Tour in London, what was it that so many of his peers were doing abroad? In short, what was a Grand Tour?

While different scholars have applied the term "Grand Tour" in a variety of ways, as we shall see in the following chapter, here I use it in the sense of a discursive ideology that framed travel culture and shaped touristic practices across the early modern period, rather than as a defined and locatable practice.[5] For the purposes of this study, then, the Grand Tour is conceived of as a lengthy period of travel around the chief cities of Western Europe that young, aristocratic men were encouraged to undertake for broad educational purposes and to foster virtuous masculine values. In this sense, I pick up a rather conventional conception of the Grand Tour, albeit one whose applicability has been reaffirmed in recent years by historians such as Sarah Goldsmith.[6] Recent scholarship has also provided increasingly nuanced impressions of the demographics, destinations and activities of travellers within early modern Europe. Nonetheless, the essential criterion for discussing certain travellers in this thesis was always the extent to which we have evidence of their use of maps, either through their own testimony or through an indirect source. Consequently, the profiles of the travellers whom I draw upon in this thesis generally gravitate towards mainstream upper class males. Having said that, this thesis recognises that the Grand Tour did not comprise the totality of early modern travel nor were aristocratic grand tourists the only type of traveller in Italy.

[5] This is similar to how it is expressed in James Buzard, "The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840)," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 38: 'The Grand Tour was, from start to finish, an ideological exercise. Its leading purpose was to round out the education of young men of the ruling classes by exposing them to the treasured artifacts and ennobling society of the Continent'.

[6] Sarah Goldsmith, "Dogs, Servants and Masculinities: Writing about Danger on the Grand Tour," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40, no. 1 (2017): 3, and Sarah Goldsmith, "Nostalgia, Homesickness and Emotional Formation on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour," *Cultural and Social History* 15, no. 3 (2018): 333-334.

As a part of the discourse of gentlemanly education, the idea of the Grand Tour provided reasons for travel and helped travellers structure their activities within an intellectual framework. We find it emerging as a concept in humanist discourse in the mid to late sixteenth century, while its value and popularity as a conceptual touchstone began to wane in the late 1700s. The date range in the title of the thesis, 1540-1789, thus reflects in broad and fluid terms the timeframe of the Grand Tour. However, these dates were chosen principally as references to the earliest and latest cartographic material analysed in the thematic chapters. The former refers to an anonymous engraving depicting the eruption of Monte Nuovo in the bay of Pozzuoli from c. 1540; the latter to the publication of sheet "no. 28" of Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni's *Atlante geografico del Regno di Napoli* in 1789.

The thesis begins with two preliminary chapters followed by four thematic chapters. Chapter 1 reviews key literature on the Grand Tour and early modern travel. As a topic of study, the Grand Tour garners attention from varied quarters of scholarship, and this diversity has led to numerous and sometimes disparate conceptions, which are reviewed. The chapter identifies, in broad terms, two different camps of scholarship: those with traditional art historical interests, such as Italian Renaissance art or the history of collections; and those concerned with analysing the literary techniques and content of Grand Tour travel texts. Although some exceptions are noted at the end, the chapter highlights how studies on the Grand Tour have tended to neglect the role of maps in early modern travel, leading to an incomplete picture.

In Chapter 2, I review theoretical understandings of the nature of maps from the second half of the twentieth century to the present day. In conjunction with the most recent developments in the history of cartography, I lay out a post-representational methodology with a tripartite ambition. Due consideration of maps' processual nature and their materiality complements iconological analyses of maps as visual artefacts and cultural representations of space. I argue that we must focus on grand tourists' physical encounters with cartographic material in order to fully appreciate the influence maps had on early modern travel practices. The chapter closes with a

description and analysis of the contents of the Italian volumes of the King's Topographical Collection and reflects on the benefits of cataloguing – an object-oriented approach – that was a key part of the collaborative project.

Chapter 3 explores how maps were used as teaching aids to enhance geographic education. After tracking the position of geography within the curricula of early modern schools, traditionally oriented towards the Classics, the chapter reviews some of the innovative learning exercises deploying maps that began to be implemented in schoolrooms in the eighteenth century as well as the theorisation of the Grand Tour as a form of education. The chapter then explores how the collection was used to prepare George for an armchair Grand Tour, culminating in an exceptional case study of two annotated maps that were seemingly used to teach George about Sicily. The case study builds on the implication that the King's Topographical Collection was utilised for George's education under the direction of his principal tutor, John Stuart. Secondly, it demonstrates how maps could be fundamental in shaping travellers' geographical imaginations of Italy.

Chapter 4 is concerned with how the changing meaning of topography in the early modern period affected the nature of mapping projects in the Italian south, and the image of Calabria presented to grand tourists. The chapter reveals how historical and cultural understandings of place were intertwined with the making of maps until the late eighteenth century, when the precise delineation of the physical landscape came to dominate cartographic endeavours. It also explores how British grand tourists' expectations and experiences of place were affected by reading maps. It does so by looking at the mapping of an area of Calabria steeped in Homeric mythology and the accounts of British travellers, paying particular attention to that of Henry Swinburne who went there in 1777.

In Chapter 5, I address maps that were designed specifically for route planning and wayfinding. After surveying the history of written itineraries and the display of roads and post houses on maps of Italy, I concentrate on the sudden growth in the 1770s of an exciting new cartographic commodity: the road atlas. Many comparable competing atlases of Italian roads came onto the market in this decade; some quickly ran through

multiple editions. All were made according to an innovative physical design and utilised a distinct, pared-back cartographic aesthetic. Trumpeting values such as self-reliance, economy and efficiency, these atlases heralded the end of the aristocratic Grand Tour and the chapter argues that we can identify the beginning of tourism's democratisation before the nineteenth century, when scholars typically begin accounts. The chapter closes by speculating on the origins of these road atlases in a Florentine map workshop run by the Giachi family.

Questions about the luxury status and memorial function of Grand Tour maps are considered in Chapter 6, which analyses a series of portraits containing maps by the eighteenth-century Italian artist Pompeo Batoni. Though typically seen as generic symbols of travel, in this chapter I identify the maps in Batoni's portraits as real historical examples, increasing our understanding of Batoni's artistic method. Furthermore, by focusing on the material and corporeal aspects of these painted map encounters, the chapter, from a theoretical perspective, demonstrates that new and different narratives that complement and go beyond iconographic interpretations are possible. Empirically, the chapter suggests that maps could have had enduring and deeply personal meanings as souvenirs and mementos, going beyond their commercial, scientific or political value.

I conclude with general reflections on the role of maps in the Grand Tour, as well as on the need to be sensitive to the processual nature of maps in historical narratives of map encounters. Taken as a whole, the chapters detail through close readings of maps in the King's Topographical Collection the numerous and creative ways in which maps were not only put to work by but also had agency over British travellers. Maps emerge as a vital and meaningful presence in the material culture of the Grand Tour.

Chapter 1

Mapping literatures of the Grand Tour

Introduction: Prince Edward's "Journey thro' Italy"

Though George III never conducted a Grand Tour, his younger brother, Prince Edward Augustus, Duke of York and Albany, did. Departing London for Portsmouth on 1 September 1763, the 24-year-old prince was to travel around Italy and return speedily through France the following August. The cessation of Anglo-French hostilities following the signing of the Treaty of Paris in February 1763 allowed Edward, as it did for many of his contemporaries, the opportunity for such a journey without the immediate threat of political violence. On 28 November, he arrived in Genoa by ship, the *Centurion*, having already stopped at Lisbon, Gibraltar and Mahón, which was then ruled by the British as Port Mahon. *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* commemorated the prince's journey by printing two articles in the issues for September and October 1764, the first of which was bedecked with a foldout map so that readers could trace his progress around the peninsula.[1] Edward's itinerary took him through many of the chief cities of the Italian peninsula: Genoa, Turin, Milan, Florence, Siena, Rome, Mantua, Verona, Venice, Vicenza and Padua.

The two "brief recapitulations" in the *Gentleman's Magazine* related some choice events of Edward's yearlong sojourn, noting above all the public marks of respect and honour afforded to the prince by various Italian sovereignties and municipalities. In early April 1764, Sir John Dick, the British Consul at Livorno from 1754 to 1776, led a detachment of dragoons four miles outside of the city to intercept the prince, whose entrance through the city walls was to the booming of three rounds of cannon fire. During Holy Week in Rome, the prince assisted in all the functions that took place in St Peter's Basilica and was gifted a set of 'the prints of Rome, elegantly bound, with two fine pictures' by the Pope himself. And for the prince's birthday on 4 June, the Venetian Republic put on a series of public boat races, reportedly attended by a crowd of 200,000 citizens.[2] Yet *The Gentleman's Magazine* also related how Edward was beset by a few of the common discomforts of travel. On the crossing from Menorca to

[1] *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* 34, (London: Printed for D. Henry and R. Cave at St. John's Gate, 1764): 431-435 and 482-483, see also the notes on 141, 193, 245, 297-298, 345, 395 and 447.
[2] *Gentleman's Magazine* (1764): 432, 245, 435 and 298.

Figure 1.1: J. Gibson, *An Accurate Map, of His R. H. the Duke of York's Journey thro' Italy in 1763 & 1764*, in The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle 34, London: Printed for D. Henry and R. Cave at St. John's Gate, 1764: facing page 432.

Genoa, the ships conveying the prince endured 'a terrible storm' that put them 'in great distress'. In the mountains north of Genoa, in mid-February, the prince's carriage broke down, and he was forced to complete the trip to Alessandria on

horseback. And at Padua the summer heat was so oppressive that Edward did not take up his hosts' offers of entertainment.[3]

Edward's journey through Italy corresponds well to the definition of a traditional Grand Tour, albeit it was more spectacular and in parts even reads like a royal progress. Not only did his itinerary cover the principal touristic cities of Italy, but it also featured aristocratic society.[4] He enjoyed secular and religious festivities at Rome; he dined with royalty in Lisbon, Turin and Parma; and rubbed shoulders with local nobility and British dignitaries at operas, balls and hunts wherever he went. As he was travelling "incognito" as the Earl of Ulster – hoping to circumvent any issue of protocol in Rome regarding James Stuart, the Old Pretender, who also went by the title of the Duke of York – we can infer that Edward's motives for travel were primarily cultural and edifying rather than diplomatic. In Siena, for instance, Edward 'visited the principal curiosities of the place, among which, that of the beautiful pavement of the old cathedral' – called 'perhaps the greatest in the world' – while in Rome the famous antiquarians Thomas Jenkins and Johann Joachim Winckelmann were nominated as his guides.[5] Edward thus conforms to a conventional image of the grand tourist, epitomised by the portrait he commissioned from Pompeo Batoni: a young, male, British aristocrat travelling Italy in the eighteenth century. This stereotype has a long shadow: in 1914 William Mead was describing the Grand Tour as 'not merely a pleasurable round of travel, but an indispensable form of education for young men in the higher ranks of society'. Arguably, it reached its zenith in popular imagination in the 1997 exhibition on the Italian Grand Tour held at the Tate Gallery.[6]

Not everyone agrees with this conception of the Grand Tour, and the first section of this review chapter will survey the various understandings of the phenomenon put forward by historians of travel. While the traditional ideology of the Grand Tour

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[3] *Gentleman's Magazine* (1764): 431, 432 and 345.
[4] No doubt because of the recent hostilities, Edward rushed through France in just nine days on his return leg. He arrived in Nice on 20 August and was in Dover by 28 August.
[5] *Gentleman's Magazine* (1764), 435. On Edward's time in Rome, see Lesley Lewis, *Connoisseurs and Secret Agents in Eighteenth Century Rome* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1961), 204-208.
[6] William Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914), 2-3. Cf. the exhibition catalogue: Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, eds., *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996).

remains an important touchstone for this study, many have inflected its definition according to geography, chronology or demographics, among other factors. In fact, in recent years, our picture of early modern travel culture has been contested and scholars are now recognising the existence and embracing the study of other contemporaneous modes of travel and a more diverse type of traveller in addition to that of the traditional Grand Tour.

The second section will review some of the studies of scholars from art historical disciplines. When examining the material culture of the Grand Tour, art historians have generally interpreted the "fine arts" of the Italian Renaissance – painting, sculpture, architecture. While some have researched individual pieces of art, others have charted the development of significant collections; in both cases cartographic items have tended to be neglected, despite evidence that maps were prized as luxury goods. A concurrent strand of art historical research concentrates on biographical studies of artists, agents and collectors who were travelling in and around Italy at the time of the Grand Tour.

The third section will review the ways historians have utilised Grand Tour travel accounts as sources. While some have mined published texts for entertaining content and literary analysis, others have argued that manuscript sources provide a more trustworthy account of travel experience. Overall, these analyses have directed their attention to textual representations found in travel accounts, diaries, correspondence, and analysed their rhetorical tropes, the changing demographics of authorship and the impacts of author positionality and intellectual movements on writing styles.

How the Grand Tour has been situated within the history of tourism – often as an embryonic phase of modern tourism, lacking its technologies and infrastructure – will be reviewed in the fourth section. Generally, historians of tourism have approached the Grand Tour through analyses of guidebooks, and have charted their development with regard to content, format and structure. Recent research on modern tourism has disputed the longstanding assumption that the changing content of guidebooks is indicative of changing experiences of tourists. In the final section, some exceptional studies that consider the role of maps in the Grand Tour will be indicated. In terms of

guidebooks and travel accounts, writers and editors frequently deployed cartography to supplement and spatialise the narrative, to add commercial value to the publication or to highlight the trustworthiness and originality of the author.

The principal aim of this chapter is to review how the Grand Tour has been studied by scholars from a broad range of disciplines. Cumulatively, the sections expose how maps have rarely been considered as objects of study *per se* in the context of the Grand Tour. Instead, maps are more likely to be used as straightforward documentary evidence of touring – much like the map of Edward's itinerary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (fig. 1.1) – or are simply left out of histories of the Grand Tour altogether. Perhaps this is because maps do not fall within the traditional remit of art or literary historians, whose work has been at the forefront of the study of the Grand Tour, while map historians have focused more on European voyages of discovery. Or perhaps some scholars have deemed maps to be immaterial in early modern European travel practices, perceiving them to be useless, such as Ernest Bates: 'As for sixteenth-century maps, they seem meant for gifts rather to an enemy than to a friend'.[7] But maps had many more applications and potential significances in early modern society than merely as functional wayfinding devices, which only fully developed in the nineteenth century. Thus, a minor intervention is needed in studies of the Grand Tour: little research has been conducted on how grand tourists' understandings of place and their experiences of travel could be shaped by maps of Italy. As complex and layered image-objects, maps – and associated mapping practices – offer particular ways of reflecting and reflecting on the cultural and physical landscape. By bringing them into discussions of the Grand Tour, we can better understand how early modern travellers conceptualised, experienced and remembered Italy.

[7] Ernest Stuart Bates, *Touring in 1600: A Study in the Development of Travel as a Means of Education* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911), 53-54.

Understandings of the Grand Tour and early modern travel cultures

The articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* that cover Edward's undertaking refer to it as a journey to or travels through Italy; at no point do they employ the term "Grand Tour". In truth, the term has been used more frequently by twentieth- and twenty first-century historians than it ever was by early modern contemporaries.[8] Moreover, various and not always congruous definitions of the Grand Tour have been put forward by scholars when they have explained the scope of their studies. These definitions have been inflected in a number of ways according to judgements on, for instance, the extent and significance of the Grand Tour's geography, on its temporal bounds or on the social profile or the mobility of the travellers; yet such defining criteria are also met with criticism.[9] Some have employed the Grand Tour as a catch-all term that includes all British travel in Europe across the early modern period.[10] Indeed, researching eighteenth-century unpublished travel diaries, Jeremy Black perceived little discernible difference between the practices of grand tourists in traditional destinations – France and Italy – and those of travellers in the rest of the continent. Black therefore expanded the scope of his work on the Grand Tour 'to include all British tourism in Europe'.[11] Others have forsworn definitions of the Grand Tour entirely, arguing instead that 'because of its capaciousness and because of its complicated legacy … The Grand Tour itself was actually a fairly vague

[8] Jean Boutier, "Inventing the 'Grand Tour': An Historiographical Success Story, between Anticipation and *Nachleben*," paper presented at *The Art of Travel 1500-1800: Invention, Tradition, Innovation*, National University of Ireland Galway, 7 November 2016. Cf. Gerrit Verhoeven, *Europe within Reach: Netherlandish Travellers on the Grand Tour and Beyond (1585-1750)*, tr. Diane Webb (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 4.

[9] Having reviewed a range of options put forward by previous scholars, Michael Heafford claimed: 'When definitions are explored the results are all too often simplistic' in Michael Heafford, "Between Grand Tour and Tourism: British Travellers to Switzerland in a Period of Transition, 1814-1860," *The Journal of Transport History* 27, no. 1 (2006): 26.

[10] Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 11-15.

[11] See the preface of Jeremy Black, *The British and The Grand Tour* (Beckenham: Croom Helm, 1985). However, Black's later publications on the subject focus exclusively on France and Italy, among which see in particular: Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 2003); Jeremy Black, *France and the Grand Tour* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003) and Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

construction'.[12] Both positions, however, are problematic. In the former construction, the term's actual significance is unclear, while the latter places the burden on readers themselves to define it. But between incorporating all British tourism in Europe in the early modern period and being a vaguely defined construction, the Grand Tour has been delineated in a number of different ways.

The geographical limits placed on the Grand Tour by tourists and critics has varied across the years. The Grand Tour has most frequently been associated with a trip to Paris and the principal cities of Italy, with Rome called the 'unequivocal climax'.[13] John Towner, however, questioned whether the Grand Tour was truly limited along these narrow geographic lines, arguing instead that the itineraries described in Thomas Nugent's 1749 multi-volume work, *The Grand Tour*, which also included Germany and the Low Countries, give 'an idea of the maximum extent of eighteenth-century Grand Tour destinations'.[14] Towner's quantitative analysis of British travel writing between 1547 and 1840 suggested there was steady traffic around this wider circuit, although the road to Rome was the most frequented.[15] It is clear, however, that travel to or through certain areas was disincentivised or even precluded entirely by sporadic events that affected all or parts of the hypothetical Grand Tour itinerary at various times throughout the early modern period. As Black discussed, outbreaks of disease, civil unrest and war had a significant impact on the patterns and flows of tourists.[16]

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[12] Lisa Colletta, "Introduction: The Grand Tour and its Legacy," in *The Legacy of the Grand Tour: New Essays on Travel, Literature, and Culture*, ed. Lisa Colletta (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), ix-x.

[13] Barbara Ann Naddeo, "Cultural Capitals and Cosmopolitanism in Eighteenth-Century Italy: The Historiography and Italy on the Grand Tour," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 10, no. 2 (2005): 183. The primacy of Italy was asserted in, among others, Geoffrey Trease, *The Grand Tour* (London: Heinemann, 1967), 2: 'whatever path you chose, you could hardly consider yourself a Grand Tourist unless you somehow reached Italy'.

[14] John Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World, 1540-1940* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1996), 107. And see Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour* (London: S. Birt, D. Browne, A. Millar, and G. Hawkins, 1749), 1:vi: 'The whole work is divided into four volumes, the first contains the Netherlands, the second Germany, the third Italy, the fourth France, which comprehends what is commonly called the Grand Tour'. However, Nugent also affirms a special status for Italy in Nugent, *Grand Tour*, 3:60: 'There is no country in Europe where travelling is attended with so much pleasure and improvement as Italy'.

[15] John Towner, "The Grand Tour: A Key Phase in the History of Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 12, (1985): 302-303 and 313-315.

[16] Black, *British Abroad*, 166-192.

The periodisation of the Grand Tour is also debateable and scholars have adopted a range of time periods. As explained in the Introduction, while the date range in the title of this thesis refers primarily to the earliest and latest cartographic material analysed in the thematic chapters, it also has a basis in the chronology of the Grand Tour. At the start of this period, around the middle of the sixteenth century, we begin to see British travellers going abroad for educational purposes, beyond simply enrolling at foreign universities such as at Padua.[17] William Thomas published the *Historie of Italie* in 1549 and it seems likely that he would have toured parts of the peninsula in preparation for that work. Adopting this early start point, Edward Chaney has cast Thomas Hoby (travelling 1547-50) as a 'prototypical Grand Tourist, a corrective to our exclusively eighteenth-century idea of the phenomenon'.[18] Others, meanwhile, have seen political landmarks in the seventeenth century, such as the peace treaties signed in 1604 and 1630, as decisive moments in the development of the Grand Tour.[19] Nevertheless, the eighteenth century is considered the heyday of the Grand Tour. Rosemary Sweet extended the scope of her study on grand tourists' textual representation of Italian cities to the long eighteenth century, starting from around 1690 when the numbers of travellers rose appreciably. Black, on the other hand, started his accounts of the Grand Tour from the conclusion of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1713, highlighting the lessening of religious conflict and the threat of Jacobitism as crucial aspects of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour.[20]

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[17] Michael Brennan points to the reign of Edward VI (1547-1553) in Michael G. Brennan, ed., *The Origins of the Grand Tour: The Travels of Robert Montagu, Lord Mandeville (1649-1654), William Hammond (1655-1658), Banaster Maynard (1660-1663)* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 2004), 9-13. Similarly, Cesare de Seta points to the reign of Elizabeth I from 1558 in Cesare de Seta, *L'Italia nello specchio del Grand Tour* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2014), 108-109.

[18] Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), xiv.

[19] John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad 1604-1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1989). In his earlier biographical study of Richard Lassels, Chaney took 1630 as his start point, see Edward Chaney, "Richard Lassels and the Establishment of the Grand Tour: Catholic Cosmopolitans and Royalists in Exile, 1630-1660" (PhD diss., University of London, 1982), 2.

[20] See Wilton and Bignamini, *Lure of Italy*, passim. Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c.1690-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 5 and 10. For a predominately eighteenth-century timeframe, see the various publications of Jeremy Black.

Most accounts of the Grand Tour continue into the late eighteenth century; the date of 1789 is doubly significant as it marks the beginning of the French Revolution. The upheaval caused in the following years by the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, and the consequent hiatus of much intra-European travel until 1815, are often taken as a pertinent and convenient end point to studies of the Grand Tour.[21] At the same time, around the turn of the century, more and more travellers were seeking out the rugged landscapes and romantic ruins of Greece and the Levant.[22] However, Sweet has cautioned that 'it would be unwise to assume that the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars marked such an abrupt transition in the development of Britain's relationship with Italy, its culture and its history'.[23] It is more the case that the Grand Tour was already evolving in the eighteenth century in complex ways that become more clearly identifiable after the cessation of hostilities in 1815. Aspects of this eighteenth-century evolution come to the fore in Chapter 6 when the wider significance of the appeal and use of road atlases from 1771 is discussed.

The choice of timeframe is often related to debates about the principal motivation for the Grand Tour. For Cesare de Seta, the essential difference between the modern traveller and the medieval pilgrim was the desire to obtain secular knowledge as opposed to religious revelation.[24] While some of the behaviour and patterns of the Grand Tour grew out of those of pilgrims, secular justifications for travel were necessary so that Protestants could travel into Catholic lands to admire – or revile – aspects of their society, history and culture with moral security. The arguments given by humanists in the late sixteenth century for travel highlighted its potential to educate the individual personally and professionally, and thus to benefit society. Over the course of the sixteenth century, state papers 'indicate that the usual reasons of diplomacy, church affairs, and trade ensured a steady flow of Englishmen through French and Italian territories' and it became increasingly common for envoys to reside permanently at the foreign courts of European nations.[25] Contingent to this, travel

[21] For instance, Black, *British Abroad*, viii.
[22] Robert Eisner, *Travelers to an Antique Land: The History and Literature of Travel to Greece* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 63-123.
[23] Sweet, *Cities*, 266.
[24] de Seta, *L'Italia nello specchio*, 23-31.
[25] Brennan, *Origins*, 14. And see Peter M. Barber, *Diplomacy: The World of the Honest Spy* (London: British Library, 1979), 14-25.

abroad was encouraged as part of the professional education of young members of the ruling class in order to gain skills and experience that would assist them in future careers. In part, this was fuelled by a reverence for Italian courtly culture, which had spread to Britain through publications such as Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1528) and its translation into English as *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio* by Thomas Hoby in 1561.[26] In time, a greater focus on the artistic achievements of the Italian Renaissance was incorporated into itineraries; Chaney has argued that intellectual curiosity not only justified 'a non-religious appreciation of art and architecture, even religious art', but also 'led to comparison and hence, eventually, to the cultivation of what became known as "taste"'.[27] The realities of travel may not have matched up to the ideal, however, considering that guidebooks were marketable products, appealing to consumers through ambitious promises of social and intellectual gain from travel in order to sell copies. Historian Gerrit Verhoeven, in his study of early modern Dutch travel, argued that the surest way to gauge an individual's reasons for travel was by studying the activities undertaken *en route*, which could be quite subjective.[28] In practice, possible motivations for travel were many: leisure, career, religion, commerce, diplomacy, military, health and exile, none of which were mutually exclusive with education.

As a term, the Grand Tour implies a degree of homogeneity in the practices and experiences of travel that, in reality, was lacking.[29] Whilst the educational mode of travel was promoted among members of the landed classes, in recent years historians have been moving away from the idea that young, male, aristocratic British grand tourists dominated early modern travel. Towner's quantitative analysis of the social profiles of travel writers demonstrated that the demographics of early modern travel were always far more varied than suggested under the stricter definitions of the

[26] George B. Parks, "The Decline and Fall of the English Renaissance Admiration of Italy," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (Aug., 1968): 341-357; Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 58-101.
[27] Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 204-205.
[28] Verhoeven, *Europe within Reach*, 53.
[29] Jeremy Black drew attention to this diversity in Black, *British Abroad*, 301: 'Given the extraordinary variety of tourists and their writings it is difficult to summarize the evidence on such questions as how far they were affected by the experience of travel'.

Grand Tour.[30] The clergy, tutors, professionals, artists and writers all rode alongside British noblemen, and in the second half of the eighteenth century female travellers and family groups went abroad in increasing numbers. Indeed, Sweet, Verhoeven and Goldsmith, the authors of a recent volume, have argued that because previous scholarship had such an overriding focus on the aristocratic Italian Grand Tour, 'other itineraries and travelling agenda have tended to be overlooked'. Consequently, they decided to decentre Italy from the narrative and concentrate on 'neglected travellers, itineraries and destinations'.[31] At the same time as the Grand Tour, shorter trips to spa towns for health, domestic or northern tours, or journeys combining business interests or professional development with leisure were all taking place.[32] To a greater or lesser extent, these journeys were affected by the ideals and practices of the Grand Tour. Having investigated the range of Netherlandish travel practices, Verhoeven concluded that 'it is time to endorse the idea that the Grand Tour was just one – albeit spectacular – form of early-modern travel behaviour, one which gave birth to new modes of travel in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries'.[33]

It has been argued that the expanding and diversifying demographics, and the trend of tailoring touristic infrastructure towards the middle class in the early nineteenth century, are what brought about the end of the Grand Tour. Focusing on this loss of exclusivity, Agnieszka Sobocinska and Richard White stated that Mariana Starke's *Letters from Italy* (1800) 'sounded the death-knell of the true aristocratic Grand Tour by writing for middle-class families, telling them what to see and how to do it

[30] Towner, "The Grand Tour," 304-310. The narrow definition is epitomised in Bruce Redford, *Venice & the Grand Tour* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 14: 'the Grand Tour is not the Grand Tour unless it includes the following: first, a young British male patrician (that is, a member of the aristocracy or the gentry); second, a tutor who accompanies his charge throughout the journey; third, a fixed itinerary that makes Rome its principal destination; fourth, a lengthy period of absence, averaging two to three years'.
[31] Rosemary Sweet, Gerrit Verhoeven and Sarah Goldsmith, "Introduction," in *Beyond the Grand Tour. Northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour*, ed. Rosemary Sweet, Gerrit Verhoeven and Sarah Goldsmith (London: Routledge, 2017. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315569277), paras 8.7-8.8.
[32] See, for instance, Richard Bates, "The Petit Tour to Spa, 1763-87," in *Beyond the Grand Tour. Northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour*, ed. Rosemary Sweet, Gerrit Verhoeven and Sarah Goldsmith (London: Routledge, 2017. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315569277).
[33] Verhoeven, *Europe within Reach*, 9.

economically'.[34] Nevertheless, many of the places and sites in Italy continued to marvel travellers despite the new age of tourism; among the attractions were the artistic treasures that have been widely studied by art historians.

Art historical scholarship on the Grand Tour

In studies of the Grand Tour, art historians have tended to neglect the place of maps in the material culture of European travel, focusing instead on the fine arts. Often reflecting on the impact on the histories of taste and aesthetics, art historians have noted grand tourists' role in facilitating a material and cultural exchange in the early modern period. Going back to Albrecht Dürer in the 1490s, there was a long tradition of northern artists crossing the Alps in order to train at Italian schools and imitate the beauty of ancient marbles. Even the Italian countryside was seen as a kind of open-air studio: painters such as Nicolas Poussin and Claude Lorrain flocked to the Roman Campagna to compose idealised and classicised landscapes. The classical tradition had protean manifestations, however: David Watkin, for instance, has tracked the history of British interest in Vitruvius and architectural Grand Tours more broadly.[35] For these reasons, art historians have traditionally approached the topic in two ways: firstly, they have studied the various people who travelled to or settled in Italy – artists, architects, patrons, collectors and agents – and who hence acted as conduits of Italian culture to other nations. Secondly, they have researched and interpreted the antiquities and fine arts – paintings, prints and drawings, monuments and sculpture – that fascinated travellers reacted to or brought home.[36]

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[34] Agnieszka Sobocinska and Richard White, "Travel Writing and Tourism," in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, ed. Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 569.

[35] On historic British interest in Vitruvius, and architectural Grand Tours more broadly, see David Watkin, "The Architectural Context of the Grand Tour: The British as Honorary Italians," in *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond*, ed. Clare Hornsby (Rome: British School at Rome, 2000), 49-62.

[36] Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981) and cf. Adriano Aymonino, Anne Varick Lauder and Eloisa Dodero, eds., *Drawn from the Antique: Artists and the Classical Ideal* (London: Sir John Soane's Museum, 2015); Roberto Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969).

As the second half of the eighteenth century saw a large number of aspiring British artists and architects travelling to Italy for professional reasons, art historians have studied their time abroad within the context of the Grand Tour. Recent exhibitions on travelling artists have continued to highlight the important role that Italian, and especially Roman, landscapes, antiquities and monuments played in artists' training, compositional development and career progression.[37] In addition to the impact that Italy had on certain individuals' *oeuvres*, art historians have also emphasised the influence of Italian culture on histories of taste, aesthetics and connoisseurship within British society. Sigrid de Jong has discussed how the diverse reactions from travelling British architects to the "re-discovered" Grecian temples at Paestum and elsewhere in southern Italy and Sicily helped fuel intellectual debate at home.[38] Sometimes known as the Greco-Roman controversy of the 1760s, the debates over the relative superiority of Greek and Roman architecture and ornament had an enduring effect on architectural thought. In tandem with an exhibition at the British Museum, Ian Jenkins and Kim Sloan have highlighted how William Hamilton's personal collection of antique vases helped shape the design of luxury British tableware by designers such as Josiah Wedgwood.[39] Iain Gordon Brown demonstrated how Robert Adam's reputation – like many other artists – was built on what was learnt abroad, and, perhaps more significantly, the publications arising from Grand Tours.[40]

Artists touring Italy hoped to further their training or secure future work, but travellers also employed artists when in Italy. As charted by Christopher Johns, it

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[37] For example, the 2014 Yale-Cardiff exhibition devoted to Richard Wilson, the British Museum's 2016 exhibition on Francis Towne and the Victoria and Albert Museum's 2013 exhibition on William Kent all contained a degree of focus on the respective individual's activities in Italy. See the accompanying catalogues: Martin Postle and Robin Simon, eds., *Richard Wilson and the Transformation of European Landscape Painting* (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 2014); Richard Stephens, *A Catalogue Raisonné of Francis Towne (1739-1816)* (published online by the Paul Mellon Centre), http://www.francistowne.ac.uk/; Susan Weber, ed., *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2013).
[38] Sigrid de Jong, *Rediscovering Architecture: Paestum in Eighteenth-Century Architectural Experience and Theory* (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2014).
[39] Ian Jenkins and Kim Sloan, eds., *Vases and Volcanoes: Sir William Hamilton and his Collection* (London: British Museum Press, 1996).
[40] Artists' publications served as an advertisement of their abilities, as with Adam's catalogue on the little-known yet spectacular Palace of Diocletian at Split; Iain Gordon Brown, *Monumental Reputation: Robert Adam and the Emperor's Palace* (Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 1993).

became fashionable for those who had sufficient wealth to commission a portrait by an Italian artist, or a British artist living and working in Italy, when abroad.[41] In the middle decades of the eighteenth century, artists such as Pompeo Batoni and Anton Raphael Mengs made good business painting the portraits of the streams of foreign tourists passing through Rome.[42] Bruce Redford, in particular, has investigated how a specific Grand Tour culture was instilled into portraits of the members of the Society of Dilettanti by society portraitist George Knapton and others.[43] Both British and Italian artists were assisted in their careers by a host of intermediaries, such as diplomats and art agents, whose biographies have been a perennial subject of interest. Whilst also acting as *ciceroni* to grand tourists in Rome, Gavin Hamilton and Thomas Jenkins, for instance, played crucial roles in facilitating the acquisition of newly excavated antique marbles by obtaining export licences, as has been detailed by Ilaria Bignamini and Clare Hornsby.[44] Another figure active in Rome for a number of decades in the eighteenth century, James Byres, is supposed to have funnelled many British clients to Batoni; it is a testament to the strength of their friendship that Byres was executor of the painter's will.[45]

Whilst grand tourists could practise and show off their taste by performing interpretations of pieces of art in conversation with other cognoscenti, the very act of

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[41] See for example, Christopher M. S. Johns, "The Entrepôt of Europe," in *Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Edgar Peters Bowron and Joseph J. Rishel (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art in association with Merrell, 2000), 17-45, esp. 36-40.
[42] Edgar Peters Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue of his Paintings* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016); Steffi Roettgen, *Anton Raphael Mengs (1728-1779) and his British Patrons* (London: English Heritage, 1993).
[43] Bruce Redford, *Dilettanti: The Antic and the Antique in Eighteenth-Century England* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008), 13-43 and Bruce Redford, "Grecian Taste and Neapolitan Spirit: Grand Tour Portraits of the Society of Dilettanti," in *Rediscovering the Ancient World on the Bay of Naples, 1710-1890*, ed. Carol C. Mattusch (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2013), 177-188. And cf. Jason M. Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti: Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).
[44] On Henry Wotton, British diplomat to Venice in the early seventeenth century, and his impact on the activities of the Earl and Countess of Arundell, see Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 205-208 and Edward Chaney and Timothy Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 179-198. On Hamilton and Jenkins, Ilaria Bignamini and Clare Hornsby, eds., *Digging and Dealing in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, with additional research by Irma Della Giovampaola and Jonathan Yarker (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 195-207 and 209-221 respectively. Also Brinsley Ford, "Thomas Jenkins: Banker, Dealer, and Unofficial English Agent," *Apollo*, (June 1974): 416-425.
[45] Edgar Peters Bowron, "Introduction," in *Pompeo Batoni (1708-87) and his British Patrons* (London: Greater London Council, 1982), 7-20.

collecting was another means of expressing connoisseurship, by exercising choice in acquisitions.[46] Thus, art historians have concentrated on the impact on the history of taste and aesthetics that major collections have had, such as the development of the royal collection of Charles I (or indeed George III, which we shall explore further in Chapter 3). Although the artistic court culture that Charles fostered did not go down well in all quarters, his Italian paintings and sculpture, combining his personal taste with the prevailing fashion, have been considered an assertion of his royal authority.[47] In a similar vein, Philip Ayres has argued that the oligarchy of the British ruling class, self-identifying with the imperial Roman paradigm after the Glorious Revolution, asserted their cultural and political dominance through the possession and display of classical antiquities.[48]

In addition to collections of painting and sculpture, libraries and printed material have also been studied. One of the most prolific and well-known collectors of the eighteenth century was Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester, who travelled around western Europe between 1712 and 1718 acquiring a large number of paintings, sculpture and books.[49] D. P. Mortlock's survey of the library at Holkham Hall reconstructed when, where and for how much the incunabula, manuscripts and volumes were bought. Many came from Coke's tour of Italy, tracing his personal scholarly interests through the library and its usage.[50] But whilst Mortlock's description of the Holkham Hall library mentioned the existence of a sumptuous atlas by Joan Blaeu, and around 15,000 maps

[46] Joseph Burke, "The Grand Tour and the Rule of Taste," in *Studies in the Eighteenth Century: Papers Presented at the David Nichol Smith Memorial Seminar, Canberra 1966*, ed. R. F. Brissenden (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1968), 231-250; Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 203-214; Clare Hornsby, "Introduction, or Why Travel?" in *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond*, ed. Clare Hornsby (London: The British School at Rome, 2000), 3-11.

[47] On the historical context of Charles I's collection, see Arthur MacGregor, "The King's Goods and the Commonwealth Sale, Materials and Context," in *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (London: A. McAlpine; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 13-52 and Ronald Lightbrown, "Charles I and the Tradition of European Princely Collecting," in idem, 53-72.

[48] Philip Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[49] Andrew W. Moore, *Norfolk & the Grand Tour: Eighteenth-century Travellers Abroad and their Souvenirs* (Norwich: Norwich Museum Service, 1985).

[50] D. P. Mortlock, *Holkham Library: A History and Description*, with a foreword by the Earl of Leicester ([England]: Roxburghe Club, 2006), 33-96. And cf. Viccy Coltman, *Fabricating the Antique: Neoclassicism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 1-64.

that were bought from Thomas Innys, no attempt was made to situate them within the rest of the library or to search for possible usages.[51]

Indeed, across the extensive material landscape of the Grand Tour that has been variously analysed by art historians, maps are generally missing from the picture. By contrast, a recent exhibition on the *Westmorland*, an armed merchant ship that was captured in 1779 by two French warships while *en route* to London with a cargo full of the souvenirs of wealthy British tourists, laid bare that maps were among the items that grand tourists prized.[52] The reconstructed inventories revealed that alongside Batoni portraits, philosophical tracts, antique marbles and modern copies, were the latest maps, travel guides and foreign phrasebooks. In a well-grounded article on the evolution of the library of Belton House in Lincolnshire, book historians Abigail Brundin and Dunstan Roberts explored the re-use of travel volumes and the additions made by successive generations of grand tourists, paying attention to the presence of cartography. They found that, just like books, maps firstly could embody the memories of touring for travellers at home as evocative souvenirs; secondly, these objects, while documenting the movements of past tourists, also shaped the experiences of future generations who might refer to them.[53]

Literary scholarship on the Grand Tour

The historical affinity between travel and literature, especially regarding the development of fiction and the novel during the eighteenth century, has long been recognised.[54] With regard to travel literature in the early modern period *per se*,

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[51] Mortlock, *Holkham Library*, 69-74.
[52] Exhibition catalogue: María Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui and Scott Wilcox, eds., *The English Prize: The Capture of the Westmorland, An Episode of the Grand Tour* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012).
[53] Abigail Brundin and Dunstan Roberts, "Book-Buying and the Grand Tour: The Italian Books at Belton House in Lincolnshire," *The Library* 16, no. 1 (March 2015): 55-56, 67 and 71-73; and cf. Jill Bepler, "Travelling and Posterity: The Archive, the Library and the Cabinet," in *Grand Tour: adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Rainer Babel and Werner Paravicini (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2005), 191-203.
[54] Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1983); Charles L. Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction: Form*

untangling the complicated mixture of formats, styles and voices is still a central issue for literary historians as the genre 'includes letters, diaries, memoir, scientific modes and fictional forms of narrative', as recently highlighted by Nandini Das and Tim Youngs.[55] Many early histories of the Grand Tour can be characterised as drawing upon the varied travel literature in order to construct a patchwork account of a "typical" itinerary from picaresque, poetic or descriptive anecdotes. Taking the travel texts at face value, the general intention of these works was to entertain the reader and to give a broad impressionistic account of the places and experiences of travel in the early modern period, rather than to analyse in depth the literary aspects of these texts or their implications for British society.[56] By quoting the more exciting and distinctive passages of a limited number of well-known authors, a second effect has been the creation a somewhat clichéd canon of published texts, aided by the compilation of anthologies for students.[57]

No author could escape a degree of literary artifice in their work, though many travel texts present themselves as straightforward accounts. Historians have cautioned against the unscrutinised acceptance of travellers' statements, especially regarding published sources. It was for this reason that Black argued that 'published travel literature should be sharply differentiated from letters and journals never intended for publication'. Correspondence and journals are therefore seen as providing a more direct and unmediated account of the actual experiences of travel, hence Black paid closer attention to manuscript archives.[58] Published Grand Tour accounts must be looked at within the framework of broader cultural attitudes towards travel and Italy, for they were liable to be moderated with regard to audience expectations. While

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and Convention in 18th-Century Travel Literature (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

[55] Nandini Das and Tim Youngs, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, ed. Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 11.

[56] For work in this vein, see Trease, *Grand Tour*, and Christopher Hibbert, *The Grand Tour* (London: The Hamlyn Publishing Group, 1969), 96-165.

[57] The emergence of a "canon" of Grand Tour accounts has been aided by anthologies such as Roger Hudson, ed., *The Grand Tour, 1592-1793* (London: The Folio Society, 1993); and Elizabeth A. Bohls and Ian Duncan, eds., *Travel Writing 1700-1830: An Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 5-95. More consideration is given to the range of travellers' responses in Manfred Pfister, ed., *The Fatal Gift of Beauty: The Italies of British Travellers, an Annotated Anthology* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996).

[58] Black, *British Abroad*, v-vi. These points are reiterated in Sweet, *Cities*, 3-5 and 15-17.

seventeenth-century travel literature has been considered as tending towards encyclopaedism, increasingly towards the end of the eighteenth century travellers affected the role of the eyewitness reporter, with purportedly "on the spot" observations validating their claims to accuracy, though such claims had more relevance for voyages to less familiar places.[59]

Historians of travel have highlighted the inherent conventionality of the neo-classical Grand Tour, perhaps best epitomised by the famous remark of Samuel Johnson: 'A man who has not been in Italy, is always conscious of an inferiority, from his not having seen what it is expected a man should see'.[60] In this light, the Grand Tour has been cast as a rite of passage for young aristocrats in which they were expected to visit classical sites of Europe and gaze at Renaissance masterpieces. Responses were largely codified and, as a result, the ways in which travellers reacted to the foreign was fraught with the danger of transgressing expectations at home. Chloe Chard has argued that the degree of cultural regulation shifts into focus in examples of grand tourists who got it wrong and whose accounts were subsequently derided. Such 'inadequate travellers' were those who failed at deriving instruction or pleasure from a Grand Tour, like the maligned Tobias Smollett.[61] However, it should also be borne in mind that there were other restrictions to what could be said about travel experience in Italy given the limited and static nature of touristic infrastructure and technologies between the sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[62]

After it was recognised that an over-emphasis on the aristocratic Grand Tour 'may obscure important social, gender and national differences', scholars such as Katherine Turner have noted and analysed how factors such as gender, class and nationality manifested themselves in travel literature.[63] In fact, as Turner made clear, there was a rising anti-aristocratic strain in travel writing in the second half of the eighteenth century.[64] The role of the Grand Tour in cultivating virtuous masculine traits in young

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[59] Judith Adler, "Origins of Sightseeing," *Annals of Tourism Research* 16, (1989): 7-29.
[60] Cf. Sobocinska and White, "Travel Writing and Tourism," 566.
[61] Chard, Pleasure and Guilt, 23-26.
[62] Judith Adler, "Travel as Performed Art," *American Journal of Sociology* 94, no. 6 (May 1989): 1366-1391.
[63] Katherine Turner, *British Travel Writers in Europe 1750-1800: Authorship, Gender and National Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 17.
[64] Turner, *British Travel*, 44-48.

British nobleman was increasingly coming under attack. Michèle Cohen has argued that by the 1750s the discourse of ideal British masculinity had shifted away from French and Italian politeness towards a British conception of chivalry. The reaction against foreign manners was such, in fact, that the Grand Tour was being repositioned as an effeminising threat to young noblemen.[65] In addition to analysing the impact of gender on textual representations of place on the Grand Tour, Sweet has considered how and why the actual experiences of women travellers in Italy differed to those of men; scholars have begun reading travel texts 'against the grain' to uncover the experiences of those travellers who have been neglected in existing accounts of the conventional Grand Tour.[66] Moreover, scholars have been increasingly interested in delineating the differences between national cultures of travel and in making comparative studies. For it was not just the British who went abroad, but significant numbers of Dutch, German and French tourists were also travelling in the Continent throughout the early modern period.[67]

In the last few decades of the eighteenth century, the intellectual movement of Romanticism affected both the practices and the literary culture of the Grand Tour in a variety of ways. Many travellers and professional writers rejected the neo-classical itinerary of the Grand Tour and instead sought to distinguish themselves either by travelling beyond the traditional confines of Italy or through the novelty of their reflections. Following the aesthetic movement of the day, they sought out the sublime and picturesque alpine regions of France, Italy and Switzerland, seeing the Alps as a playground to be explored rather than simply an obstacle to be crossed.[68] Analysing a

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[65] Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1996); and Michèle Cohen, "The Grand Tour. Language, National Identity and Masculinity," *Changing English* 8, no. 2 (October 2001): 129-141; Michèle Cohen, "'Manners Make the Man': Politeness, Chivalry and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750-1830," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005): 312-329.
[66] Sweet, *Cities*, 27-62; Sweet, Verhoeven and Goldsmith, "Introduction," para 8.8.
[67] On French tourists, see Gilles Bertrand, *Le Grand Tour Revisité. Pour une Archéologie du Tourisme: Le Voyage des Français en Italie, Milieu XVIIIe – début XIXe Siècle* (Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 2013), https://books.openedition.org/efr/1974. On German travellers, see Mathis Leibetseder, "Across Europe: Educational Travelling of German Noblemen in a Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Early Modern History* 14, no. 5 (2010): 417-449. On Dutch tourism, see Verhoeven, *Europe within Reach*. And for multiple perspectives, see Sweet, Verhoeven and Goldsmith, *Beyond the Grand Tour*.
[68] Jordan Girardin, "Travel in the Alps: The Construction of a Transnational Space through Digital and Mental Mapping (c. 1750s-1850s)" (PhD diss., University of St Andrews, 2017), 25-57.

related literary phenomenon, James Buzard tracked the rise of "anti-tourists" around the turn of the nineteenth century, who 'chafed at imitation and repetition' and therefore purposefully positioned themselves as different from grand tourists.[69] These kinds of tourists were more concerned with exploring the revelatory effects of travel on the self rather than enumerating traditional neo-classical tourist sites, which was reflected in the way they wrote.

The Grand Tour in histories of tourism

Tourism is something with which almost everyone can identify, and yet it is rather difficult to define. Cultural historian Paul Fussell found the mass and inauthentic nature of tourism to be dehumanising, thereby casting modern tourism in a profoundly negative light. Seeking 'the security of pure cliché', the tourist, according to Fussell, was on the opposite end of the spectrum to the heroic and risk-taking explorer.[70] Agreeing that the large scale, codified and leisured approach to visiting foreign sites is what epitomises modern tourism, John Urry and Jonas Larsen nevertheless emphasised that there is no all-encompassing definition and no universally shared experience. Instead, they argued that 'tourist gazes are structured according to class, gender, ethnicity and age' and are constructed against a changeable other.[71] Histories of tourism are often preoccupied with locating the beginning of "modern" leisure travel. According to Urry and Larsen, the phenomenon emerged around 1840 with the invention of the daguerreotype, the first package holidays and the proliferation of rail transport across large parts of Europe.[72] The increasing spread and specialisation of touristic institutions that began to arise in the 1820s – in the form of guidebooks, hotels and transportation services – also marked the point of

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[69] James Buzard, The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 110 and cf. 80-154.

[70] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 39 and cf. 37-49.

[71] John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London: Sage Publications, 2011), 3-5, 6: 'before the nineteenth century, few outside the upper classes travelled to see objects unconnected with work or business. And it is this which is the central characteristic of mass tourism in modern societies, namely that much of the population in most years travels somewhere else to gaze upon it and stay there for reasons basically unconnected with work'.

[72] Urry and Larsen, *Tourist Gaze*, 14.

transition to modern tourism for Lynne Withey.[73] In these kinds of histories of tourism, the Grand Tour is reified as an embryonic stage in the development of tourism that simply lacked modern touristic trappings and infrastructure.[74]

The development of the guidebook and, more broadly, travel texts often has a central place in these discussions. One of the problems, as described above, was that single Grand Tour travel texts could contain a wide range of content and styles, such as digressive and sentimental tales of the author's own experiences, general social observations, historical quotations as well as practical recommendations. Published in 1800, the *Letters from Italy* by Mariana Starke is a good example of the extent to which genres were mixed in Grand Tour travel texts. Often taken to be the progenitor of the modern guidebook, Starke's epistles are at once a distinctly personal and literary format, yet they are also full of practical information about accommodation, transportation and touristic sites and deploy an innovative three-star review system.[75] Accordingly, scholars such as Nigel Leask have identified the late eighteenth century as the beginnings of the bifurcation of travel literature into the more distinct and recognisably modern genres of literary travelogue and utilitarian guidebook.[76]

Many studies of early modern guidebooks to Italy have surveyed changes of content and structure over time, charting guidebooks' development into "modern" formats such as Murray's or Baedekers, or they have focused on elucidating the publication histories of individual works. Chaney, for instance, surveyed the content of travel books to Italy from 1549 to the end of the eighteenth century, setting the changing destinations in the context of wider cultural interests. In terms of geographical

[73] Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750 to 1915* (London: Aurum Press, 1997), 63-74.
[74] See the discussion on the Grand Tour in Withey, *Grand Tours*, 3-31. Cf. the criticism of this periodization in Victoria Peel and Anders Sørensen, *Exploring the Use and Impact of Travel Guidebooks* (Bristol; Buffalo; Toronto: Channel View Publications, 2016), 33-39.
[75] Mariana Starke, *Letters from Italy, between the Years 1792 and 1798* (London: R. Phillips, 1800), 1:188: 'In describing paintings, statues, &c. I have generally marked the most celebrated with one or more admiration points, according to their merit'; the symbol Starke used was an exclamation mark.
[76] Nigel Leask, "Eighteenth-Century Travel Writing," in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, ed. Nandini Das and Tim Youngs, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 99-100.

coverage, Chaney asserted that Lassels's *Voyage of Italy* 'may be considered the first comprehensive English guidebook to Italy' while also conceding that the accolade could go to John Raymond's 1646 *An itinerary contayning a voyage, made through Italy*. Giles Barber, on the other hand, highlighted some of the more influential English guidebooks of Italy, beginning with Edmund Warcupp's 1660 translation of François Schott's *Itinerarium* that first appeared in 1600.[77] In Barber's survey, the influence of guidebooks is determined by commercial success, which is measured chiefly by how many editions were produced. Similarly, histories of individual titles have highlighted the areas in which editions were updated and the extent to which rival publications copied or derived the original information.[78]

The modern tourist, according to Fussell, is unwilling or unable to operate outside of the written recommendations of the guidebook. Taking this argument to the extreme, Olivia Jenkins figured modern tourists as being trapped, so to speak, in a "circle of representation", whereby they can only recreate the pictures and experiences that were already represented to them in touristic marketing.[79] Guidebooks too have had a substantial and potentially malevolent impact on the practices of tourism for some historians, by 'shaping the itineraries, prejudicing the outlook, and preconditioning the reactions' of the tourists who read them.[80] Many guidebooks' central claim – to provide a more independent mode of travel that liberated tourists from the dictates of postilions, hoteliers and *ciceroni* – is thus tinged with a degree of irony.

[77] Edward Chaney, "The Grand Tour and the Evolution of the Travel Book," in *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996), 95-97; Giles Barber, "The English-Language Guide Book to Europe up to 1870," in *Journeys through the Market: Travel, Travellers and the Book Trade*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Folkestone: St Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1999), 93-106.

[78] An early and notable study in this regard is Esmond Samuel de Beer, "François Schott's *Itinerario d'Italia*," *The Library* (Fourth Series) 33, nos. 2/3 (September-December 1942): 57-83.

[79] The "circle of representation" is a term that tourist scholars have used to describe the circular proliferation of iconic images, initially projected for marketing purposes before being reproduced in tourists' own holiday photography, cf. Olivia H. Jenkins, "Photography and Travel Brochures: The Circle of Representation," *Tourism Geographies* 5, no. 3 (2003): 305-328.

[80] Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey, *John Soane: The Making of an Architect* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 129.

In general, then, guidebooks have been taken to be 'powerfully constitutive of the experience of sightseeing', but historians of tourism Victoria Peel and Anders Sørensen have argued against 'the untested assumption of tourist behaviour in response to text'.[81] According to Peel and Sørensen, textual criticism 'cannot define the totality of use' of guidebooks. Historians must instead take into account the "guidebook in action", that is, how it was used by the consumer or its effects on tourist destinations. Their sociological investigation on when, why and how modern guidebooks are used tourists has emphasised 'the role of human agency and individualised response', 'counter[ing] the stereotypical depiction of guidebook usage as slavish and linear'.[82] Whilst it may be anachronistic to apply their findings to the Grand Tour, the conclusion does chime with Black's assertion of the genuine agency of grand tourists in Italy: 'The standard itinerary, the guidebook and the bearleader had never shaped the perception of Italy as closely or rigidly as is sometimes suggested'.[83]

Travel and cartography

Maps – whether viewed alongside texts or regarded singly – were recognised as being capable of enabling armchair travel and stimulating internal voyages of discovery. Theodore Cachey noted that this aspect of cartography was appreciated by Petrarch and Ludovico Ariosto, while Genevieve Carlton has observed that mapmakers and sellers in sixteenth-century Italy promoted maps' ability to help travellers fondly remember past journeys.[84] Indeed, scholars have demonstrated medieval itineraries and maps of the Holy Land were used in an introspective and devotional manner in

[81] Sweet, *Cities*, 21. Peel and Sørensen, *Use and Impact*, 42.
[82] Peel and Sørensen, *Use and Impact*, 129 and 43, cf. 110-130.
[83] Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 67: 'If tourists, naturally independent, ended their journeys with different experiences, this diversity increasingly accorded with a stress on personal intellectual and emotional responses to travel that became stronger in the closing decades of the century'.
[84] Theodore J. Cachey Jr., "Maps and Literature in Renaissance Italy," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1:450-460. Genevieve Carlton, *Worldly Consumers: The Demand for Maps in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 134.

effect aiding virtual pilgrimage.[85] However, the relationship between maps and historic tourism has not yet been fully explored.

A few studies, particularly the work by map historian Jordana Dym on the role of cartography within travel texts, have begun to explore maps' place in historic travel. Outside of the context of the Grand Tour – post-independence Central America – Dym found that maps 'post-dated, rather than preceded, the voyage' for the most part.[86] When maps were incorporated into travel texts, whether they were by professional travel writers, utilised for commercial ventures or presenting scientific explorations, they could communicate diverse kinds of information to the reader about the voyage or the topography, from the cultural or scientific to the commercial or personal. Dym has explored how maps in Grand Tour guidebooks could take on a number of functions too. Large foldout maps opposite the first or last page set the stage and orientated the reader. Thematic maps highlighted the original information (of particular route or topographical analysis for example) provided by the author's journey and increased the credibility of the author just as other paratextual devices. From a publisher's perspective, maps added value and prestige to a title and popular maps travelled between many editions.[87]

In another study, Dym investigated the role of cartography in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travel literature. By comparing cartographic elements in guidebooks of France and Italy with those of Asia, Dym found a fundamental difference: 'Grand Tour accounts were unlikely to include travel[l]ers' maps or, indeed, maps of any kind'.[88] Because the Grand Tour was essentially an urban phenomenon,

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[85] Daniel K. Connolly, "Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris," *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 4 (Dec. 1999): 598-622; and Pnina Arad, "Pilgrimage, Cartography and Devotion: William Wey's Map of the Holy Land," *Viator* 43, no. 1 (2012): 301-322.

[86] Jordana Dym, "'More Calculated to Mislead than Inform': Travel Writers and the Mapping of Central America, 1821-1945," *Journal of Historical Geography* 30, (2004): 344.

[87] These points are discussed in Jordana Dym, "Travel Writing and Cartography," in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, ed. Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 423-441 and Jordana Dym, "Travel and Cartography," in *History of Cartography, Volume Four: Cartography in the European Enlightenment*, ed. Matthew H. Edney and Mary Sponberg Pedley (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, [forthcoming 2019]).

[88] Jordana Dym, "The Familiar and The Strange: Western Travelers' Maps of Europe and Asia, ca. 1600-1800," *Philosophy & Geography* 7, no. 2 (August 2004): 156.

and because grand tourists were often directed by a knowledgeable tutor or availed of the services of local guides, the need for wayfinding maps was not particularly strongly felt on the part of the tourist. A lot of the navigational decisions would either have been planned out in advance or placed in the hands of a guide. But that is not to say that maps were not present on Grand Tour journeys. As Dym has suggested, the need for maps – or indeed locational geography in general – in guidebooks to Italy was not felt as much as for accounts of more distant lands firstly because the lands of Italy were already familiar to British readers and secondly because maps of sufficient quality were available locally at many destinations.[89] When maps started becoming more present in late eighteenth-century travel texts of Italy, it was because, Dym argued, travellers were looking at the land through innovative, mostly scientific, lenses, such as the maps of soil type in Arthur Young's travel account of France.[90] By contrast, reading the anecdotal evidence of travellers in Rome in the late eighteenth century, Sweet noted greater attention in travel journals to specific routes and spatial relationships between sites. She inferred that tourists were increasingly 'attempting to use maps to find their way around' causing 'a paradigmatic shift in the way in which people conceptualised their own knowledge and spatial awareness of a city'.[91] Tourists were becoming more self-reliant and cartographic aides of travel appeared on the market to service their needs.

The historiography of the Grand Tour is wide and varied, ranging over art historical, literary and touristic topics of concern. Whilst historians have debated the precise meaning and nature of the Grand Tour—its scope, chronology and demographics—the research agenda has been dominated for the most part by interpretations of the artistic culture of the Grand Tour and by textual criticism of travel accounts. Not traditionally seen as *objets d'art*, maps are rarely studied by art historians despite their evocative visual qualities, even when they were acquired alongside artworks and

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[89] Dym, "Travelers' Maps of Europe and Asia," 158-164.
[90] Dym, "Travelers' Maps of Europe and Asia," 180-185. Arthur Young, *Travels during the years 1787, 1788, and 1789: undertaken more particularly with a view of ascertaining the cultivation, wealth, resources, and national prosperity of the kingdom of France* (London: W. Richardson, 1794).
[91] Sweet, *Cities*, 106-107.

antiquities. And yet, the reconstructed inventories of the *Westmorland* testify to their place in the high material culture of the Grand Tour. Renaissance cartography's strong links to painting, which will be discussed further in the following chapter, and the early recognition that domestic map collections and displays could fashion public identities, in ways similar to the fine arts, also seriously question this oversight.[92] Conversely, the central focus of historians of travel has been on textual representations of the Grand Tour and on analysing their rhetorical features and literary context. Although some exceptions have been noted, maps have rarely been considered for how they might have affected textual representations, individual understandings of place or the actual experience of travel in Italy. In fact, in each of the sections discussing how art historians, historians of travel literature and historians of tourism have approached the Grand Tour, maps have been broadly absent. Or, as in the case of the recent project at Stanford University, maps are used simply as illustrations of Grand Tour journeys. Although the project applied maps from an altogether different angle – as a research output of digital scholarship and as an interpretative tool of "big data" – it demonstrates a lack of critical engagement with maps.[93] Such an attitude is likely born out of the traditional understanding of maps' nature as unproblematic scientific representations of the world's surface, still prevalent outside of the disciplines of geography and map history, and does not take into account more recent approaches to maps as cultural artefacts. The next chapter will discuss some of these developments and will lay out the best way to study the maps in the King's Topographical Collection from the perspective of the Grand Tour.

There is a tendency to view journeys in isolation and the accounts of travel as narratives in and of themselves. Arguing against this practice, Richard Ansell called for explorations of early modern travel culture to feature questions about how the varied upbringings of travellers, for instance, affected individual experiences of travel.[94] Indeed, it is only recently that scholars have recognised the need for 'a

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[92] Carlton, *Worldly Consumers*, 143-162.
[93] Giovanna Ceserani et al., "British Travelers in Eighteenth-Century Italy: The Grand Tour and the Profession of Architecture," *The American Historical Review* 122, no. 2 (April 2017): 425-450. For the Stanford University project, see https://www.grandtour.stanford.edu.
[94] Richard Ansell, "Educational Travel in Protestant Families in Post-Reformation Ireland," *The Historical Journal* 58, no. 4 (2015): 931-958; and Richard Ansell,

consistent focus on the praxis and experience of travel'.[95] While some turned to manuscript sources in search of unmediated accounts of experience, the study of maps offers an alternative approach: telling history from objects is one of the central concerns of material culture studies.[96] So whilst maps had spectacular functions in galleries and libraries as status symbols and luxury goods, they also had become everyday objects to some sections of early modern society. As versatile cultural artefacts with context-dependent meanings, maps could be put to work in a range of contexts. Consulted in preparation for travel, bought in foreign markets, carried on the road and cherished as commemorative icons, maps' varied lives make them extremely pertinent to the study of the diverse histories of early modern travel culture and the wider biographies of travellers.

"Foubert's Academy: British and Irish Elite Formation in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Paris and London," in *Beyond the Grand Tour. Northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour*, ed. Rosemary Sweet, Gerrit Verhoeven and Sarah Goldsmith (London: Routledge, 2017. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315569277), para. 11.3.

[95] Sweet, Verhoeven and Goldsmith, "Introduction," para. 8.8.

[96] Paula Findlen, "Early Modern Things: Objects in Motion, 1500-1800," in *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800*, ed. Paula Findlen (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 3-27.

Chapter 2

Researching the Italian volumes: A processual approach to map history

This chapter seeks to answer the question: how should we read the maps in the Italian volumes in relation to the cultures and practices of the Grand Tour? In order to answer this question, it is first necessary to review some of the most influential theoretical and methodological texts that have appeared in map history in the last few decades. Therefore, the chapter begins by setting out the philosophical basis that has supported the research of thesis – a processual understanding of maps – and explaining how map scholars arrived at this position from the critical cartography that dominated the field in the 1990s. The chapter then highlights some recent studies in the history of cartography that have implemented a processual approach and explores why they have made the mapping practices of production, circulation and consumption their focus. Having thus taken these epistemological developments into consideration, the chapter introduces the methodological framework that informed the research into the influences that early modern maps of Italy had within the practices of the Grand Tour. This framework is divided into three complementary approaches: a contextual approach aiming to understand maps within the wider political, social and material cultures of the Grand Tour; an experiential approach that concentrates on the meanings that emerged from encounters between grand tourists and maps; and a material approach that considers how the diverse physical forms of maps could have an effect on the mapping practices in which grand tourists engaged.

Whilst a processual understanding of maps and the three approaches shaped the direction of the project, a major influence on the day to day method of research came from "cataloguing" in two general senses. In the first sense, catalogues and cartobibliographies were utilised as tools to help make sense of the maps in the Italian volumes. In the second sense, I draw on cataloguing as a process that guided my research, both as a way of structuring information within and around the maps, and since it demanded an extended period of time interacting with maps from which the ideas, associations and arguments of the thesis were born. After situating my research within a broader project at the British Library, the chapter ends by presenting an overview of the contents of the Italian volumes of the King's Topographical Collection. The data harvested from the project is visualised to give a sense of the scope and contents of the Italian maps, and some brief analytical remarks about the geographical and temporal patterns are offered on the basis of these graphs.

From a critical cartography to a processual understanding of maps

Epistemologically, the approach of this thesis is underpinned by a processual understanding of maps. The term 'processual mapping' was coined in an article by Rob Kitchin and Martin Dodge in which the authors proposed a post-structuralist understanding of maps.[1] They theorised that the ontological nature of maps is not secure – no map has a fixed meaning – and thus they advocated thinking about maps as 'ontogenetic'. By this they meant that maps emerge through processes, perhaps better described as works in progress. Maps' meanings are brought into being not through the representation of space but rather through a diverse set of mapping practices. The authors' subsequent work with Justin Gleeson expanded on their earlier statements:

> Mappings unfold through a plethora of contingent, relational and contextual practices and do diverse work in the world through discursive events and material sites in conjunction with other modes of communication (such as text, images, spoken word, interactive new media) and forms of practice (such as collaboration, presentation, publication, debate).[2]

A processual understanding thus requires researchers to focus on the different mapping practices through which meaning emerges. This extends to the three characteristic practices related to mapping: production, circulation and consumption.[3] Such an approach aims to situate maps within their wider social and historical contexts, to study them within their relevant material culture and to investigate how different actors understood and used them.

This new epistemology seeks to go beyond the ideas of critical cartography, which have been guiding the approaches of map historians since the late 1980s. Instead of having

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[1] Rob Kitchin and Martin Dodge, "Rethinking Maps," *Progress in Human Geography* 31, no. 3 (2007): 331-344.

[2] Rob Kitchin, Justin Gleeson and Martin Dodge, "Unfolding Mapping Practices: A New Epistemology for Cartography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38, no. 3 (2013): 494.

[3] Matthew H. Edney, "Academic Cartography, Internal Map History, and the Critical Study of Mapping Processes," *Imago Mundi* 66, Supplement (2014): 94-98.

a narrow focus on map content and mapping technologies, critical cartography, under its chief advocate, Brian Harley, aimed to reposition the entire endeavour of map history towards investigating the social effects of maps. In part, the philosophy behind critical cartography was fuelled by a reaction against some of the prevailing beliefs in the discipline at the time, namely, the empiricist notions of objectivity and progress. Denis Wood and John Fels characterised the empiricist outlook: 'The most fundamental cartographic claim is *to be a system of facts*, and its history has most often been written as the story of its ability to present those facts with ever increasing accuracy'.[4]

The first main tenet of the empiricist philosophy of maps was that of objectivity, or, as Matthew Edney put it, 'the ontological assumption that the world possesses a quite unambiguous existence and can therefore be objectively known'.[5] A belief in maps' objectivity requires a representational mode of thinking, in which maps are conceived of as mimetic or "natural" conveyors of geographical truths. A consequence of considering maps as more or less objective representations of the world is the notion of progress: that the passage of time brings inevitable, accretive improvements to geographers' ability to map the world. Thus, empiricist narratives contend that as more – and more accurate – data about the world is collected, mapmakers produce better and more comprehensive maps. Such narratives generally positioned current western cartography at the forefront of a line, stretching back to prehistory, of cartographic endeavours that have succeeded to variable extents to portray the world accurately.

To counter the empiricist ideology, Harley, together with David Woodward, founded the monumental *History of Cartography* project. The first volume was published in 1987 and focused on the mapping traditions of pre-modern Europe and the Near East. Setting out the basis for the volume, Harley and Woodward chose a purposefully broad

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[4] Denis Wood and John Fels, "Designs on Signs / Myth and Meaning in Maps," *Cartographica* 23, no. 3 (1986): 63. See for example, Gerald R. Crone, *Maps and Their Makers: An Introduction to the History of Cartography* (London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1953), xi: : 'The history of cartography is largely that of the increase of accuracy with which … elements of distance and direction are determined and … the comprehensive of the map content'.

[5] Matthew H. Edney, "Cartography Without 'Progress': Reinterpreting the Nature and Historical Development of Mapmaking," *Cartographica* 31, nos. 2/3 (1993): 55.

definition of maps as 'graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world'.[6] A more encompassing definition facilitated research into maps employing non-western visual modes, created with non-western technologies or that did not refer to Earth, which previously would have been characterised as primitive or dismissed as for their inaccuracies. In the introduction to the volume, Harley disavowed the notion that maps were objective representations of the world, free from bias or rhetoric. Instead, he stated that maps were 'representations of belief and ideology – rooted in particular cultures and institutions – as well as "factual" images of scientific knowledge'.[7] In order to reveal the beliefs and ideologies that lay behind a map's creation, Harley proposed conceiving of 'the map as a graphic text'.[8] Through this deconstructive approach, he argued that map scholars would be able to reveal the subtext of a map's representation and consequently how maps benefited or oppressed different social groups.

In later essays, Harley developed the method that he had expounded in the first volume of the *History of Cartography* project.[9] By focusing on the internal and external power of maps, an idea that Harley derived from the work of Michel Foucault, he gave critical cartography a strident push for social justice. While there have been detractors of Harley's work, his promotion of critical cartography exposed map historians to the idea that social and cultural ideologies could shape maps' visions of

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[6] J. Brian Harley and David Woodward, "Preface," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 1: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. Brian Harley and David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), xvi.
[7] J. Brian Harley, "The Map and the Development of the History of Cartography," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 1: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. Brian Harley and David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 3.
[8] Harley, "The Map and the Development," 2. Harley is quoted as saying that he hoped the project would 'blaze the trail for new interpretive approaches to the material' in David Woodward, "J. B. Harley (1932–1991)," *Imago Mundi* 44, (1992): 122.
[9] J. Brian Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, ed. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 277-312, and J. Brian Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," *Cartographica* 26, no. 2 (1989): 1–20. A slightly revised version of the latter appeared three years later as J. Brian Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," in *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*, ed. Trevor J. Barnes and James T. Duncan (London: Routledge, 1992), 231-247.

the world. Critical cartography has been successful in legitimising complex, subtextual readings of maps, where before maps were seen as straightforward depictions of territory.

The drawbacks of figuring maps as socially constructed texts have led to some frustration among map scholars. Although maps were no longer thought of as objective representations of the Earth, critical cartography worked within a representational mode of thought. It still sought to derive meaning from the map's image – Harley merely shifted the emphasis to incorporate subtextual interpretation. So, one of the criticisms of the deconstructive approach is that it focuses too heavily on maps' visual representation of space and fails to take into account material qualities or the dynamic ways in which humans interact with maps. In fact, this was a criticism that was levelled at the broader discipline of cultural geography from the late 1990s by human geographers such as Nigel Thrift, who called the conclusions drawn from cultural geography's emphasis on representation 'anaemic and predictable'.[10] This criticism led to the development of nonrepresentational theory, one of the core tenets of which is the insistence on 'not prioritising representations as the primary epistemological vehicles through which knowledge is extracted from the world'.[11] Instead, nonrepresentational theory directs researchers' attention towards how precognitive processes and embodied practices are bound up in how humans experience and know the world. Thrift and other proponents aimed to enliven the so-called 'dead' geographical narratives that arise from analysis of representations.[12]

Whilst Kitchin and Dodge coined the term processual mapping in 2007, the concepts behind it are grounded in earlier work on map use that were inspired by nonrepresentational theory. Two articles in the early 2000s by Vincent Del Casino and Stephen Hanna provided significant contributions to the development of a processual understanding. Applying nonrepresentational approaches such as Judith

[10] Nigel J. Thrift, "Non-Representational Theory," in *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, ed. R. J. Johnston (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 556.
[11] Derek P. McCormack, "Diagramming Practice and Performance," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23, (2005): 122.
[12] Audrey Kobayashi, "Representation and Re-presentation," in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, ed. Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift (Oxford: Elsevier, 2009), 9:347-350.

Butler's performance and identity theory to the study of maps, Del Casino and Hanna were principally concerned with bridging the perceived divide between the map (as a representation) and the territory (as a place of human experience).[13] Therefore, in their analyses of tourist maps, they devised the concept of the "map space": 'A map space is not bound by the margins of the paper on which it is printed, but is inscribed with meaning through its intertextual linkages with other texts and spaces'.[14] In a later article, Del Casino and Hanna argued that maps are 'infused with meaning through contested, complex, intertextual, and interrelated sets of socio-spatial practices', closely aligned with how Kitchin and Dodge conceived of maps as ontogenetic.[15] Rather than being fixed at the moment of production as in Harleian readings, they contended that maps' meanings emerged through use: every 'reading produces and reproduces map spaces through the multiplicity of performances that social actors deploy in their mundane interactions with maps'.[16]

Subsequent iterations of non-representational theory have since employed other prefixes such as "more-than" and "post" in order to nuance the approach. This has led to some semantic uncertainty and lack of cohesion, especially as scholars in map studies have variously employed the terms. In response to the ambiguity, Tania Rossetto surveyed the uses of non-, more-than- and post-representational cartography through recent key publications in order to clarify their nuanced meanings.[17] Settling on "post-representational cartography" as it more clearly signals that maps' representations are not to be dispensed with, Rossetto concluded by saying that map scholars must perceive and study maps 'as images among other images, things among

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[13] For a summary of performance theory in relation to maps and mapping see Chris Perkins, "Performative and Embodied Mapping," in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, ed. Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift (Oxford: Elsevier, 2009), 8:126-132.
[14] Vincent J. Del Casino Jr. and Stephen P. Hanna, "Representations and Identities in Tourism Map Spaces," *Progress in Human Geography* 24, no. 1 (2000): 30; and cf. Vincent J. Del Casino Jr. and Stephen P. Hanna, "Mapping Identities, Reading Maps: The Politics of Representation in Bangkok's Sex Tourism Industry," *Mapping Tourism*, ed. Stephen P. Hanna and Vincent J. Del Casino Jr. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 161-186.
[15] Vincent J. Del Casino Jr. and Stephen P. Hanna, "Beyond The 'Binaries': A Methodological Intervention for Interrogating Maps as Representational Practices," *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographers* 4, no. 1 (2006): 36.
[16] Del Casino and Hanna, "Binaries," 51.
[17] Tania Rossetto, "Semantic Ruminations on 'Post-Representational Cartography'," *International Journal of Cartography* 1, no. 2 (2015): 151-167, esp. 159-162.

other things and events among other events'.[18] For me, this is the clearest expression of how to study maps, especially in relation to the Grand Tour. Whilst maps are fundamentally representational, if we are to understand their role within early modern travel culture then we must also recognise how their materiality and the practices involved in their use influenced their meaning.

Studying historic maps

Methodologically, the implications of adopting a processual approach on how map historians should go about their research are still being explored. One issue is that many of the map scholars who have been involved in the development of the theory are interested in modern or digital cartographies. Generally, their discussions are tailored towards contemporary issues and as such advocate employing ethnography to elucidate mapping practices.[19] Traditional ethnographic data collection methods, such as participation, observation and interview, are unsuitable for a historical subject. So how, then, should we frame and conduct research on historic maps under a processual approach?

In recent years, a few map historians, particularly Matthew Edney, have adopted a processual approach and have been promoting the concept with increasing alacrity.[20]

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[18] Rossetto, "Semantic Ruminations," 164.

[19] The processual approach is introduced as the 'philosophical terrain of contemporary cartography' in Rob Kitchin, Chris Perkins and Martin Dodge, "Thinking About Maps," in *Rethinking Maps: New Frontiers in Cartographic Theory*, ed. Rob Kitchin, Chris Perkins and Martin Dodge (London: Routledge, 2011), 2. Ethnographic methods are proposed in Martin Dodge, Chris Perkins and Rob Kitchin, "Mapping Modes, Methods and Moments: A Manifesto for Map Studies," in *Rethinking Maps: New Frontiers in Cartographic Theory*, ed. Rob Kitchin, Chris Perkins and Martin Dodge (London: Routledge, 2011), 220-243, and Michael Duggan, "Mapping Interfaces: An Ethnography of Everyday Digital Mapping Practices" (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2017).

[20] Martin Brückner, *The Social Life of Maps in America, 1750-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 1-15; Edney, "Academic Cartography,“ 94-98; Matthew H. Edney, "Map History: Discourse and Process," in *The Routledge Handbook of Mapping and Cartography*, ed. Alexander J. Kent and Peter Vujakovic (London: Routledge, 2017), 68-79; Matthew H. Edney, "What is a Processual Approach to Mapping?" *Mapping as Process* (blog), 11 January 2018, https://www.mappingasprocess.net/blog/2018/1/11/what-is-a-processual-approach-to-mapping; Matthew H. Edney, *Cartography: The Ideal and its History* (Chicago: The

Fundamentally, the approach requires that map scholars have 'an overt emphasis on process, on the ways in which people produce, circulate, and consume these things called maps'.[21] As a starting point to the conceptual framework, Edney stated that the 'significance of any map is defined not by its content but by its context: why it was made, for whom and how did they use it?'[22] To begin answering these questions, Edney suggested five principal elements to investigate in an old map: the date and place of production; the mode; the physical context; internal proclamations; and any indications of use. At first glance, it seems there is no place for the analysis of a map's content. But the content of a map is used to explicate its mode, a concept promoted by Edney to refer to different categories of map. For instance, in Edney's framework, a general map of Italy and a town plan of Rome are separate modes of mapping. However, modes do not just categorise the finished product. The range of techniques, instruments, actors and networks involved in the creation of the map also distinguish modes. Moreover, different modes direct the physical forms on which maps were inscribed and the places through which they circulated; modes display different patterns of consumption.[23] In choosing a processual approach to researching maps, we must take into consideration this diverse array of mapping practices.

A processual approach offers researchers an alternative to studying rare and expensive maps valued by collectors, "first discovery" maps of European explorers and "great" maps of high political or scientific importance. Johanna Skurnik characterised a processual approach as 'a prolific starting point in attempting to uncover what lies beyond maps that are often characterized as "imperial maps"; those that are frequently argued to have extensively shaped our comprehension of the world'.[24] Instead, by refocusing our attention on mapping practices and on how meaning emerges from interactions between maps and map users, a processual approach allows us to perceive the influence of *all* maps. It gives equal attention even to those

University of Chicago Press, 2019), 9-49, esp. 35-49; Johanna Skurnik, "Making Geographies: The Circulation of British Geographical Knowledge of Australia, 1829-1863" (PhD diss., University of Turku, 2017), 19-23.

[21] Edney, "What is a Processual Approach?"

[22] Edney, "Discourse and Process," 78.

[23] On modes, see Edney, *Cartography*, 27-36.

[24] Skurnik, "Making Geographies," 19.

"little" maps 'that have been of small historical consequence but were best sellers, ranging from atlas foldouts and book maps to school maps and magazine inserts'.[25]

To fully grasp the influence of maps within the culture of the Grand Tour, then, we must analyse the diverse sets of mapping practices in which grand tourists engaged. Separating mapping practices into production, circulation and consumption, this thesis concentrates primarily on how travellers consumed maps, though issues of production and circulation are still important features. In past scholarship, particularly the work of Jordana Dym, as we saw in Chapter 1, there has been some attention to how grand tourists produced and circulated maps by inserting them into their own travel guides. Where and when did grand tourists take part in mapping practices? How did certain maps of Italy shape grand tourists' understandings and experiences of Italy? How did the material forms of maps produce or affect the meanings that emerged from grand tourists' embodied engagement with them? To begin answering these questions, I had to construct a methodology that approached the historic material in the King's Topographical Collection in conjunction with the epistemological developments of the twenty-first century.

The following section presents the methodology as three complementary approaches – contextual, experiential and material – that operate at different scales and with different focuses. Inevitably, there is some overlap between them. In an attempt to reanimate maps as circulating objects, I drew inspiration from related disciplines such as art history and material culture studies, and their intersection with map history. But it was not enough to survey the cartographic material available to grand tourists, without considering how it was consumed. Therefore, figuring maps as evocative representations and as material objects with varied forms designed to be handled, the thesis takes an innovative focus on cartographic encounters between maps and map users. It is thus best suited to recapturing the meanings that arose from the mapping practices of grand tourists.

[25] Brückner, *Social Life of Maps*, 4. For a discussion of the distinction between "great" and "little" maps, see Catherine Delano-Smith, "The Map as Commodity," in *Plantejaments i Objectius d'una Història Universal de la Cartografia / Approaches and Challenges in a Worldwide History of Cartography*, ed. David Woodward, Catherine Delano-Smith and Cordell D. K. Yee (Barcelona: Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya, 2001), 91-109.

Contextual approach

The first approach requires us to look at the discourse in which a map is situated.[26] Part of the way maps produce meaning is through intertextual links with other cultural representations that reach out beyond their margins. Grand tourists would have understood maps in relation to a web of historical and geographical material, such as guidebooks and topographical prints. The approach also requires us to situate early modern maps of Italy within the broader political, social, material and intellectual contexts in which they were produced and interpreted. As the programme of the "new" history of cartography under Harley stated, maps are social constructions of space and must be analysed as such. To evaluate maps in this manner, then, we must have a proper grounding in the culture and practices of the Grand Tour as well as an eye to Anglo-Italian history throughout the early modern period. We should develop our "period eye" – to borrow a term from a Renaissance art historian – and try to see through the eyes of our subjects at their world.[27]

The approach of art historians, reading artworks against their historical backdrop has been beneficial when directed towards map historical studies. In particular, the work of Francesca Fiorani on the mural maps in the Vatican Palaces and in the Guardaroba Nova in Florence, both creations of the polymath Egnazio Danti, demonstrated how a full appreciation of their context and intertextual links gave the maps a polysemic nature.[28] As was common in Renaissance chorographical or regional mapping, the paintings in the Vatican *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*, executed under Pope Gregory XIII (r. 1572-1585), combined a cutting-edge geometrical framework with landscape painting. Rather than focusing on the scientific or descriptive elements of this kind of mapping, Fiorani was struck by how 'their metaphorical meanings were created by the interaction of the painted maps with images of history, mythology, zoology, botany, and religion and could be fully grasped only through the first-hand

[26] On mapping discourses, see Edney, *Cartography*, 36-44.
[27] Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 29-108.
[28] Francesca Fiorani, The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

experience of the rooms that contained them'.[29] Her interpretation was tied to 'the circumstances of production, their original location, and the political and religious beliefs of their patrons'.[30] Fiorani's concern with historical and physical context illustrates a contextual approach, with its emphasis on intellectual and discursive history and intertextual connections.

Whilst mural maps are a prominent example of the strong link between art and cartography, artistry is present in all maps and is an essential component of their representational nature. An appreciation of visual iconography must be considered, even in maps that adopt a more 'scientific form'.[31] However, for much of the second half of the twentieth century map scholars maintained that artistry was diametrically opposed to science. The narrative divided the history of cartography into two phases with a tipping point some time during the Enlightenment when the science "inevitably" triumphed over art. As late as 1980, Ronald Rees espoused such a view in an article surveying the links between cartography and art:

> Mapmaking as a form of decorative art belongs to the informal, prescientific phase of cartography. When cartographers had neither the geographical knowledge nor the cartographic skill to make accurate maps, fancy and artistry had free rein.[32]

We now look at the sober and unadorned aesthetics of Enlightenment cartography not as more accurate mode of representation but in terms of a 'rhetoric of neutrality'

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[29] Francesca Fiorani, "Cycles of Painted Maps in the Renaissance," in *The History of Cartography, Volume Three: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1:827.
[30] Fiorani, "Cycles," 804.
[31] This is in contrast to Jeremy Black, *The Power of Knowledge: How Information and Technology Made the Modern World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 218: 'In the West, maps had moved on from being an aspect of visual culture deriving much of its potency from iconography. This change was natural in a society increasingly impressed by the idea that authority should take scientific form'.
[32] Ronald Rees, "Historical Links between Cartography and Art," *Geographical Review* 70, no. 1 (Jan. 1980): 62. Adopting a similarly belittling tone towards pre-modern cartography, Raleigh Skelton saw artistry as a symptom of ignorance and unsophistication: 'Until the 18th century, the map-maker was handicapped by many deficiencies of knowledge and technique … But, if these constraints reduced the scientific usefulness of his map, they offered the cartographer a larger field in which to exercise his sense of fitness in design and pattern, his ingenuity in ornament, and even his fancy', see Raleigh Ashlin Skelton, *Decorative Printed Maps of the 15th to 18th Centuries* (London: Staples Press, 1952), 1.

designed to confer the impression of accuracy and to conform to prevailing standards.[33] Having brought together art historians interested in maps for the 1980 Nebenzahl lectures, Woodward declared: 'The thinking on this matter is rapidly changing … It can readily be seen that art and science have coexisted throughout the history of mapmaking'.[34] A central principle of Woodward's volume was breaking down the boundaries between "works of art" and other visual representations, instead concentrating on the artistic method as a creative process shared by artists and mapmakers. Thus, the contextual approach recognises that maps' aesthetic elements are not the symptom of improper cartography or concealing a lack of geographical knowledge, but an integral part of how meaning is produced.

Maps have diverse styles of visual representation. The bird's eye perspective is a dynamic mode of representation, capable of shifting between the pictorial and the cartographic. When Stephen Daniels looked at pictures of English estates between 1670 and 1730, he found significant crossover between modes: plans contained topographical vignettes while prospects had mapped elements of the landscape, generally with the aim of best expressing the pride and power of the owner.[35] Turning to Italy, Lucia Nuti and Jürgen Schulz both investigated how representations of cities can be read as complex images. Schulz, analysing early city views, contended that 'prints that were published for no reason other than to represent a faithful likeness of the subject city do not occur before the 1540s'.[36] Previously, city plans 'had some abstract or conceptual meaning beyond their significance as topographical records', as in the case of Jacopo de' Barbari's view of Venice which Schulz saw as 'a visual metaphor for the Venetian State'.[37] Nuti, for her part, looked at how sixteenth-century artists overcame 'the limits of topographical conditions' by creating what she termed the "perspective plan" – a blend of geometrical and pictorial modes.[38] The resulting

[33] Robin Kinross, "The Rhetoric of Neutrality," *Design Issues* 2, no. 2 (1985): 18-30.
[34] David Woodward, "Introduction," in *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 2.
[35] Stephen Daniels, "Goodly Prospects: English Estate Portraiture, 1670-1730," in *Mapping the Landscape: Essays on Art and Cartography*, ed. Nicholas Alfrey and Stephen Daniels (Nottingham: University Art Gallery Castle Museum, 1990), 9-12.
[36] Jürgen Schulz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500," *The Art Bulletin* 60, no. 3 (Sept. 1978): 471.
[37] Schulz, "Barbari's View of Venice," 468.
[38] Lucia Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language," *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (March 1994): 117.

plans adopted an impossible, imaginary bird's eye viewpoint that was an ongoing fascination in European geographic visualisations.

An interdisciplinary approach at the intersection between map and art history can provide innovative conclusions, for example in relation to studies on Johannes Vermeer and similar seventeenth-century Dutch artists. Svetlana Alpers, for instance, found a degree of similarity in the acts of painting and mapmaking in Dutch topographic art of the late seventeenth century. Analysing paintings, Alpers found that Vermeer and others employed a different perspectival mode to Italian art, calling it "mapping impulse":

> Like the mappers, they made additive works that could not be taken in from a single viewing point. Theirs was not a window on the Italian model of art but rather, like a map, a surface on which is laid out an assemblage of the world.[39]

Vermeer's domestic scenes were in the frame of James Welu's research, which attended to the maps decorating the walls of seventeenth-century Dutch homes. Contemplating the Delft-based artist's cartographic sources, Welu speculated about the existence of a lost map based on Vermeer's painting.[40] Mapping practices produce diverse visual representations, which must be analysed in an iconographic manner. This takes into account the precise historical context within which they were created as well as the broad intellectual and material network in which they were interpreted.

Experiential approach

The second approach concentrates on moments of interaction between grand tourists and maps, attempting to recapture the experiences of travellers and grasp the outcomes of these performances. First, this approach requires us to turn to accounts of grand tourists' personal experience of maps. As such records are not abundant for

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[39] Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), esp. 119-168, quote from 122.
[40] James A. Welu, "Vermeer: His Cartographic Sources," *The Art Bulletin* 57, no. 4 (1975): 529-547; James A. Welu, "The Map in Vermeer's *Art of Painting*," *Imago Mundi* 30, (1978): 2+9-30.

the pre-modern era, I draw on a range of material including written sources, such as letters or guidebooks, and visual material, such as portraits. This approach proceeds under a similar premise to the argument made by Peel and Sørensen about the assumption of touristic experience from the textual analysis of guidebooks, as reviewed in the previous chapter. Just as historians of tourism must investigate the ways in which tourists consume guidebooks in order to find out how and why they were used, so too must we investigate the ways in which grand tourists consumed maps. Responses to maps are highly situated and subjective, and, in consequence, this thesis appreciates that grand tourists consumed maps idiosyncratically. Indeed, Diane Dillon has argued that studying the consumption of maps allows us to grasp how they were wrapped up in personal experience and processes of identity-making: 'The places where we live, the sites we visit, and the goods we acquire in each location exert a powerful influence in shaping the self'.[41]

Therefore, it is important to look for documented map interactions and not merely take the claims made by the mapmaker or by advertisements at face value. On this point, Peter Barber cautioned that 'no evidence has yet come to light that these particular maps were actually used for their advertised purpose' in a survey of private and public map use in the later Stuart period.[42] Furthermore, Genevieve Carlton has underlined how the ambiguous nature of maps in sixteenth-century Italy was an essential attraction to consumers, who could utilise the 'cartographic flexibility' to shape maps' essentially open meanings to their own purposes.[43]

Thinking about cartographic encounters raises our awareness of the actions of the map user. Recognising that interacting with maps is a multisensory process, this approach carefully considers the role of the tourist body in map consumption. Recent studies emphasising the importance of the body in the creation of meaning generally see map use as an event in which the eye and the hand both take part. Looking at

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[41] Diane Dillon, "Consuming Maps," in *Maps: Finding our Place in the World*, ed. James R. Akerman and Robert W. Karrow Jr. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 290.
[42] Peter Barber, "Necessary and Ornamental: Map Use in England under the Later Stuarts, 1660-1714," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 14, no. 3 (1990): 22.
[43] Genevieve Carlton, *Worldly Consumers: The Demand for Maps in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 162 and cf. 141-142.

how bodies are implicated in the physical use of atlases, Veronica della Dora explored the degree of authorship that is generated in the performative encounter between object and user. Aligning with Kitchin and Dodge's ontogenetic conception of mapping, della Dora concluded that maps and atlases are 'constantly redefined through the user's embodied performances'; that is, through turning pages or zooming in. The meanings arising from cartographic performances are thus 'fleeting products of specific physical encounters in space and in time'.[44] In a similar fashion, Daniel Connolly, researching the medieval itinerary maps of Matthew Paris, argued that the 'multisensorial experience' of turning pages and lifting flaps was a necessary component for the construction of 'a performative setting in which the monk could realize an imagined pilgrimage to the Heavenly Jerusalem'.[45]

While the cartographic gaze may be construed as an attempt to transcend the limits of the human body, recent scholarship on perception has been eager to integrate the roles of other senses besides sight in the act of vision.[46] Appreciating that the 'visual dimensions of the [object] should not be separated from its materiality, its smell, or its other sensory qualities', Sarah Pink, for instance, has argued that 'a fundamental recognition of the issues raised by multisensoriality is required' when analysing visual material.[47] The practice of vision is more than the intellectual apprehension of visual imagery. Experiencing a map does not simply involve the passive absorption of geographical knowledge; rather, it incorporates embodied actions and calls upon multiple senses through which we interpret our surroundings as well as the specific material objects that we encounter.

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[44] Veronica della Dora, "Performative Atlases: Memory, Materiality, and (Co-)Authorship," *Cartographica* 44, no. 4 (2009): 252. Furthermore, studying the exhibition of landscape panoramas in the nineteenth century, della Dora has also emphasised the performative nature of the transmission and acquisition of geographical knowledge, for which see Veronica della Dora, "Putting the World into a Box: A Geography of Nineteenth-Century 'Travelling Landscapes'," *Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography* 89, no. 4 (2007): 304: 'It is through these geographical encounters, local encounters that are at once imaginative and physical, that geographical knowledge is continuously produced and reproduced'.
[45] Daniel K. Connolly, "Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris," *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 4 (Dec. 1999): 606.
[46] For more on the human quest to attain a godlike perspective on the world, see Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).
[47] Sarah Pink, "A Multisensory Approach to Visual Methods," in *Sage Handbook of Visual Research Methods*, ed. Eric Margolis and Luc Pauwels (London: Sage, 2011), 602 and 603.

A greater focus on corporeal encounters with maps has also prompted discussion about the movements of the eye when reading maps. Christian Jacob, for instance, looked in detail at the different reading strategies, or "visual itineraries", that the user can adopt, such as by following natural contours and features, scanning along lines of latitude/longitude or radiating out from a point in concentric circles. Jacob concluded that 'the reader of the map thus projects his or her own unconscious geometry' onto the map, from which subjective readings emerge.[48] A natural progression is the temporality in map reading: some maps do not – indeed cannot – divulge all of their information in a single, sweeping glance and thus require repeated and progressive viewings for the acquisition of knowledge. Taking Pierre Desceliers's vast 1550 world map by way of example, Jacob argued that it 'allows the world to be discovered from day to day, to be the invention, with each new glance, of an island or a people that emerge out of nothing and take their place in a space hereafter structured by one's viewing, knowledge, and memory' and that any 'map of this kind is a machine that generates imaginary voyages'.[49] These statements clarify the methodological importance of focusing on every cartographic encounter as a complex and distinct event, the outcomes of which are unpredictable. By focusing on multisensoriality in map encounters we can reveal the fleeting and personal ways in which maps could animate tourists' experiences of the Grand Tour and shaped their reactions to and memories of sites within Italy.

Occasionally we find vestiges of past encounters fused onto the surface of the map. The maps in the King's Topographical Collection were not all kept as "ideal copies", but as part of a working collection handled by George and others. Fingerprints are visible hovering over the Gulf of Trieste in Stefano Scolari's *Golfo di Venezia overo Mare Adriatico* (fig. 2.1) and on the verso of a manuscript fortification plan of Otranto contained within a volume sent to George by Sir William Hamilton in 1766, *A Collection of Plans of all the Fortified Places in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies*.[50] Regardless of whose fingerprints these might be – tantalising though it is to speculate – these examples each stand as a testament to the "map-body connection" and early

[48] Christian Jacob, *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History*, ed. Edward H. Dahl and tr. Tom Conley (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 313, and cf. 305-313.
[49] Jacob "Sovereign Map," 312.
[50] Maps K.Top.79.12. and Maps 118.d.1..

modern maps' inherently tactile nature.[51] While the experiential approach laid out in this section has been concerned with by the user's embodied encounters of maps, the third approach turns its attention towards the other half of this dynamic: the object itself.

Figure 2.1: Fingerprints over the gulf of Venice. Detail of Stefano Scolari, *Golfo di Venetia overo Mare Adriatico*, Venice, 1660. BL Maps K.Top.79.12.

Material approach

The fingerprints in Scolari's map of the Gulf of Venice break through the map's illusory image and force us to confront the map's physical nature. This is the focus of the material approach. There has been a growing appreciation in map history for how issues around materiality can complement our understanding of mapping practices.

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[51] Dillon stressed the importance of focusing on the 'map-body connection' as both map-makers and users experience maps haptically as well as optically in Dillon, "Consuming Maps," 328-329.

Fundamental to this shift is the assertion that maps cannot be thought of as isolated images of space: the map's content is inextricably folded into its form. On this point, Jacob surveyed the variety of physical supports onto which map images can be inscribed, concluding: 'The medium, whether it is suited to incision, molding, drawing, weaving, or painting, often determines the nature both of how the map is made and how it is read'.[52] At the same time, cultural geographers have also been increasingly interested by how materiality affects 'the circulation of place through space and time' in relation to images of landscape. For instance, della Dora advocated 'a research framework in which "object-hood" is regarded as complementary to iconographic analysis' to reconsider how geographical knowledge was transmitted and reproduced.[53]

A material turn was in part spurred on by the contention that objects exchanged between people and societies have "social lives". The progenitor of this argument, Arjun Appadurai, was interested in illuminating historic cultures by investigating the material goods that circulated and were consumed within them:

> We have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories. It is only through the analysis of these trajectories that we can interpret the human transactions and calculations that enliven things.[54]

At the same time the technique of writing object biographies was developed. Though there are many kinds of object biographies, such as economic or technical, Igor Kopytoff demonstrated that writing *cultural* biographies sheds light on how both individuals and societies can bestow or overwrite culturally specific meanings onto

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[52] Jacob "Sovereign Map," 46 and cf. esp. 39-98. In the concomitant field of art theory, William Mitchell uses the word "picture" to describe and appreciate an image set in or on material support, cf. W. J. T. Mitchell, *What do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), xiii.
[53] Veronica della Dora, "Travelling Landscape-Objects," *Progress in Human Geography* 33, no. 3 (2009): 334 and 343; and cf. della Dora "Putting the World into a Box," 291: 'materiality, performance *and representation* are not necessarily opposed (as it is sometimes thought), but rather they work together'.
[54] Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 5.

objects.[55] Following this material turn, scholars began to investigate objects' agency in the social contexts through which they passed. Writing object biographies was seen as a way to place their influence on society at the forefront. Taking Kopytoff's cultural biographical approach to the field of archaeology, Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall similarly argued that it is the 'social interactions between people and objects [that] create meaning'.[56] Undertaking an object biography therefore involves integrating close analysis of material sources with information about social consumption gained from other records, such as visual or verbal documents, making this kind of material focus similar to the experiential focus outlined above.[57] So far, a few studies within the history of cartography have applied a biographical approach, with recent publications suggesting that the method can still be productive.[58] Nowhere is this deployed with more clarity than in map historian Martin Brückner's investigation into the influence of maps in early American society, which approaches maps 'as things whose social lives reveal in full their material and cultural utility and value'.[59]

In addition to looking more closely at the physical forms of maps, we must also situate different genres of maps within broader circuits of material culture, where their value and utility may be distinct. As valuable commodities exchanged in the market, as sumptuous atlases studied in reference libraries, as embroidered "map samplers"

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[55] Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 68.
[56] Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall, "The Cultural Biography of Objects," *World Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (1999): 170.
[57] In one sense this approach zooms in to tell the life stories of individual objects and their users, whereas an alternative materialist approach analyses specific objects in order to represent broader historical narratives, a good example of which is Timothy Brook, *Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2007).
[58] A monograph clearly inspired by the groundwork of Kopytoff and, more recently, that of Martin Brückner, is: Christian J. Koot, *A Biography of a Map in Motion: Augustine Herrman's Chesapeake* (New York: New York University Press, 2018), esp. 9-13. See also Veronica della Dora, "From Book to Map: Power, Portability and Performance in an Eighteenth-century Anonymous French Traveller's Map of Cyprus," in *Mediterranean Cartographic Stories: Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Masterpieces from the Sylvia Ioannou Foundation Collection*, ed. Panagiotis N. Doukellis (Athens: Sylvia Ioannou Foundation, 2019), 130-149. It is interesting to note that a year after Appadurai's volume appeared Harley wrote a short article articulating four potential "biographies" of his favourite map: an unremarkable, mass-produced Ordnance Survey sheet of Newton Abbot in Devon that held poignant memories for him, for which see J. Brian Harley, "The Map as Biography: Thoughts on Ordnance Survey Map, Six-inch Sheet Devonshire CIX, SE, Newton Abbot," *The Map Collector* 41, (1987): 18-20.
[59] Brückner, *Social Life of Maps*, 3.

made by schoolchildren, as expressions of pride displayed in private homes and as mobile way-finders in the pockets of travellers, early modern maps had a host of forms that engaged with different material cultures.[60] Brückner argued that understanding how maps wielded social influence requires us to ask new questions about their material nature and their relationship to other items within the same class of material culture.[61] For instance, if a map was destined to hang on the wall then it entered into the material world of interior decoration where it competed for attention against paintings, sculpture, tapestries and furniture.[62] Thus, it is not enough to compare maps that were constructed in the same way or made from similar source materials.[63] It is more pertinent to look at the systems of intertextuality into which maps entered, for similar maps can function in different ways if they are tipped into local histories or into cosmographies, or displayed as wall maps or collectibles. Therefore, along with everything else we must pay attention to the physical contexts or sites within which maps circulated and were consumed.

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[60] A pioneering treatment that historicises maps as a part of material culture can be found in Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 79-130. On the early modern map trade, see Mary Sponberg Pedley, *The Commerce of Cartography: Making and Marketing Maps in Eighteenth-Century France and England* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005). On maps in libraries, see Dillon "Consuming Maps," 292-299 and George Tolias, "Maps in Renaissance Libraries and Collections," in *The History of Cartography, Volume Three: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1:637-660. On map samplers, see Judith Tyner, *Stitching the World: Embroidered Maps and Women's Geographical Education* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015). On the display of maps in Renaissance Italy, see David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors & Consumers* (London: The British Library, 1996), 75-102 and Carlton, *Worldly Consumers*, 143-158. On travel maps, see Catherine Delano-Smith, "Milieus of Mobility: Itineraries, Route Maps, and Road Maps," in *Cartographies of Travel and Navigation*, ed. James R. Akerman (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 16-68 and Brückner, *Social Life of Maps*, 247-276.

[61] Martin Brückner, "Beautiful Symmetry: John Melish, Material Culture, and Map Interpretation," *The Portolan* 73, (Winter 2008): 34: 'How do maps materialize as objects in their respective material worlds of public and private spaces? How do cartographic artifacts actively structure the social rituals and spaces in which they circulated'? Denis Cosgrove also recognised the need for a different line of questioning following 'the insertion of the map, once produced, into various circuits of use, exchange and meaning: that is, the map as an element of material culture' in Denis Cosgrove, "Introduction: Mapping Meaning," in *Mappings,* ed. Denis Cosgrove (London: Reaktion, 1999), 9.

[62] On this point see Martin Brückner, "The Ambulatory Map: Commodity, Mobility, and Visualcy in Eighteenth-Century Colonial America," *Winterthur Portfolio* 45, nos. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2011): 150-151; and cf. Margaret Beck Pritchard, "Maps as Objects of Material Culture," *The Magazine Antiques* 159, no. 1 (Jan. 2001): 212-219.

[63] Cf. Edney's demonstrative analysis of maps of the same area of New England in Edney, "A Processual Approach?".

Therefore, having explained the conceptual framework that underpinned the analysis of this thesis, outlined in the previous sections as a threefold focus on the contextual, experiential and material aspects of maps, the next section will reflect upon the practicalities of the research undertaken into the Italian volumes of the King's Topographical Collection.

Cataloguing as method

In practice, cataloguing had a major influence on the day-to-day method of researching maps in two ways: first as a source of information and second as an interpretive process. In the first instance, catalogues were used as a tool to benefit my research. Many of the maps in the King's Topographical Collection are preserved in multiple examples and have been written about before. Hence, useful contextual information about well-known mapmakers, map-publishers and the production of certain maps can be found in an array of published Italian carto-bibliographies, survey essays or other institutional catalogues. Moreover, as the research period of this thesis coincided with a wider project underway at the British Library aiming to catalogue and image the entirety of the King's Topographical Collection, the entries for the material in the Italian volumes were being updated and expanded with new information. Being able to access and extract information such as a map's title, creator, date, publication details and any relevant secondary literature from catalogues and cartobibliographies was essential to properly comprehending and contextualising the maps in the Italian volumes. Together with my own notes, the data harvested from the British Library's catalogue allowed me to create various graphs and visualisations of the Italian volumes, which will be displayed in the final section of this chapter. At a glance, they help to situate the maps and some of the people involved within the broader picture of early modern Europe.

In the second instance, the manner of structuring cartographic information when analysing the distinctive features of a map was influenced by cataloguing. When first inspecting an object, my eye was seeking out many of the fundamental descriptive details that would appear in a catalogue entry for a map – names, dates and the

geographical coverage. Beyond those initial observations, the type of map, any unusual topographical features or distinctive mapping styles were noted, as was contextual information such as any signs of use or reasons for production. Approaching the material with an open mind, I conducted a preliminary survey of the Italian volumes in order to explore potential themes, before beginning a systematic, item by item inspection of the maps therein to take more detailed notes. This second more in depth overview was done in the expectation that sustained physical and visual engagement with the maps in the Italian volumes would give rise to the themes, case studies and narrative arc of the substantive chapters.

In this sense, I would figure "cataloguing", as a systematic process of handling in turn, scanning the maps and recording information, as part of the creative, interrogative method – similar to the argument recently made by Nicholas Thomas about the "museum as method". Asserting that curatorial activity is 'driven by curiosity, which is to say that it is open to the unexpected, to whatever one may encounter', Thomas argued that there is 'value in looking for, at, or into things, in a manner only weakly guided by theory'.[64] Accordingly, Thomas identified three key "moments" distinct to the practices of museums and curators in which knowledge is produced: discovery, captioning and juxtaposition.[65] Whilst in Thomas's definitions the moment of juxtaposition is more about the way museums exhibit objects, the discovery and captioning phases are analogous to what I am talking about by the process of cataloguing. By "discovery" Thomas meant the moments that unexpected intellectual connections are made when happening upon objects, whereas "captioning" relates to the selective distillation that occurs when we choose how to define and describe items, having considered all the different ways in which biographic captions about them could be written. In a similar fashion, then, the questions, ideas and arguments that feature throughout this thesis arose through over three years of interactions with the maps. It was by giving sustained attention to and having repeated encounters with the maps of the Italian volumes that I was able to make unexpected discoveries and associations and to decide how to describe both the representative and the remarkable maps that are included as case studies.

[64] Nicholas Thomas, *The Return of Curiosity: What Museums Are Good for in the 21st Century* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), 101-102.
[65] Thomas, *Return of Curiosity*, 101-114.

An additional outcome of the cataloguing was the accretion of additional, sometimes miscellaneous information about particular maps, some which could not be fitted into the thematic chapters. Identified from the outset as a benefit of the collaboration between the library and the university, these supplementary comments will be incorporated into the catalogue entries available to the public. Once again, it was the time afforded to me to handle and interact with the material that made this possible. For while sometimes the process of looking through the material proceeded in a linear way, other times I was prompted to return to maps I had seen before or to skip ahead in hope of finding something. For instance, after seeing a printed map of southern Campagna signed by the Neapolitan Paolo Petrini, I was able to attribute nine other anonymous maps to him having been reminded of the similar style of engraving.[66] There are many similar examples of micro-histories in the collection that unfolded through the course of the research process that could be included.

A quantitative overview of the Italian volumes of the King's Topographical Collection

It is difficult to express the physical weight and diversity, the scope and depth of the content and the broad temporal bounds of the material in the Italian volumes, let alone the King's Topographical Collection as a whole. The quantitative overview presented here is designed to illuminate the overall shape of the Italian volumes with greater clarity and conciseness. Instead of drawing conclusions from a macroscopic analysis, my aim with these graphs is to present a broad overview of the Italian volumes as a contextual base for the thematic chapters to come. The graphs show how the material is distributed through the ten volumes, where and when the items were made, and who the mapmakers and map publishers were. They also plot how some trends changed over time. First of all, there will be a brief description of how the collection is stored and how the Italian volumes are arranged.

[66] Maps K.Top.83.46.b.: Paolo Petrini, *Campagna Felice ò Terra di Lavoro Meridionale*, (Naples, c. 1700); the other maps by Petrini are Maps K.Top.83.26., .31., .37., .40., .43., .46.a., .82., .89., .94..

Figure 2.2: Boxes of the General Atlas in the Enlightenment Gallery of the British Museum. Volumes 75 to 78 would have held material on Italy as a whole and large parts of northern Italy.

Today, the King's Topographical Collection is divided into 124 "volume" shelf marks, which relate to the boxes of the General Atlas that are preserved at the British Museum and remain on display in the lower sections of some display cases in the Enlightenment Gallery (see fig. 2.2). Physically, however, the collection is more disparate than suggested by the shelf marks of these volumes. Since the 1940s, loose sheets have been bound together in 243 large beige guard volumes with green leather spines, so that many of the 124 "volumes" are in fact composed of more than one actual guard volume. Atlases and large maps needing rollers are kept separately, as they

used to be, and, on the whole, they have distinct shelf marks to reflect that fact, but they also retain a notional place within the guard volumes as marked by a cover sheet. On the whole, the individual sheets within a volume seem to be in the original order from George's lifetime, when they were part of the General Atlas.

The material is arranged into volumes along geographical lines. While the first volumes of the collection cover the mapping of the globe and the stars followed by historical maps of, for instance, classical or biblical times, the remainder of the collection examines each country or region in turn before passing to the next. Each country or region has a varying number of volumes depending on the amount of material on it; unsurprisingly Britain has the most with forty-six volumes, although Italy is well represented with ten. Within each country or region, the material is subsequently arranged according to a scaling hierarchy, covering one district at a time and zooming in to show the neighbourhoods, towns and even individual buildings before moving on to the next. When there are multiple maps at the same scale, whether they depict countries, districts or towns, they are arranged in chronological order, and maps always precede views.

Numbered 75 to 84, the ten volumes devoted to the Italian peninsula and its neighbouring islands are grouped according to the eighteenth-century geopolitical situation. Peter Barber has suggested that the structure of the entire collection was fixed by the year 1772 or earlier, given that, among other political anachronisms, a distinct section exists for the Kingdom of Poland, which began to be dismembered after 1772.[67] Thus, maps and views of areas that today are not part of Italy, such as Savoy or Corsica, remain in the Italian volumes. Equally, nearly the entire southern half of the peninsula falls in a single volume, 83, that was given over to the Kingdom of Naples, which stretched from modern-day Abruzzo to Calabria. Table 2.1 shows a simplified contents list of the Italian volumes.

[67] Peter Barber, "George III as a Map Collector: The Development and Destiny of King George III's Geographical Collections," paper presented at *Maps, Their Collecting and Study: A Fifty Year Retrospective, The Nineteenth Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr., Lectures in the History of Cartography*, The Newberry Library, Chicago, 28 October 2016.

Table 2.1: The Italian Volumes of the King's Topographical Collection

Volume No.	Contents
75	Italy: general; routes; rivers; parts
76	Duchy of Savoy and Piedmont
77	Duchy of Milan; Duchy of Cremona; Republic of Genoa; Duchy of Parma and Piacenza
78	Duchy of Mantua; Duchy of Modena; Republic of Venice (north and west)
79	Republic of Venice (south and east)
80	Grand Duchy of Tuscany; Papal States (north and east)
81	Rome and environs
82	Papal States (south); Duchy of Urbino
83	Kingdom of Naples
84	Sicily; Sardinia; Corsica; Maltese archipelago

As the definition of a map is highly contested among map scholars, for the purposes of this quantitative analysis, two things were considered of primary importance: what was the perspective and what was the purpose of the object.[68] In its most essential form, according to Edney, a map is a product of mapping; it is 'a text representing spatial complexity'.[69] Accordingly, the appearance of the maps in the King's Topographical Collection varies quite dramatically, from complex projections of Earth to diagrammatic route maps. With regard to the Italian volumes, maps take on a variety of visual forms: general maps of countries and areas, city and town plans, fortification and garden plans, and bird's eye views from a range of perspectives. There are also many representations of place, especially of Rome, that are included in the Italian volumes because of their topographic interest, but which were not deemed maps. Any representation that adopted a human perspective was considered a view. There are many building plans in the Italian volumes that could be classified as a kind of thematic map. They were not included in this study, however, as their primary function relates more to the conventions of architecture than to representing spatial complexity.

[68] Edney, *Cartography*, 20-26.
[69] Idem, 41.

For some of the graphs in this quantitative overview I make a distinction between a map and "cartographic production". Whilst the definition of a map comprises all those representations described above, it must be noted first that multi-sheet maps that have been kept as separate sheets are counted as multiple maps; second that all maps within atlases catalogued are included individually.[70] Under the definition of a cartographic production, on the other hand, an atlas, a multi-sheet map and a single sheet map each count as one. Both classifications have their own logic and result in different totals. In the following graphs I alternate between these definitions to present various visualisations of the Italian volumes in the clearest way possible.

Furthermore, on account of the variety of formats in which multi-sheet maps were presented in the early modern period, the ambiguity of the term "atlas" and past cataloguing decisions, any count of the maps in the Italian volume involves decisions. The subjectivity of these decisions can be seen through the three following examples, which also show how knowledge about the complexities of maps' production histories and their dual status as commercial goods and collectibles unfolded as questions were put them during the cataloguing process. First, there are two copies of Matthaeus Greuter's twelve-sheet *Italia* (1695) in the Italian volumes, one has been pasted together to form a single giant wall map, the other is bound in a short volume as separate sheets.[71] Second, in 1765, Andrew Dury published an "atlas" containing four maps on twenty-one plates, presented sheet by sheet: one map of Sardinia, one of the Republic of Genoa and reduced versions of each serving as visual indices.[72] Finally, between 1788 and 1812, Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni produced a survey of the Kingdom of Naples in so many plates that the final publication was styled an atlas (*Atlante Geografico del Regno di Napoli*) and included thirty-two maps. Yet because of the *Atlante Geografico*'s fragmented publication history – the maps themselves were published individually in two tranches, from 1788 to 1794 and from 1804 to 1812

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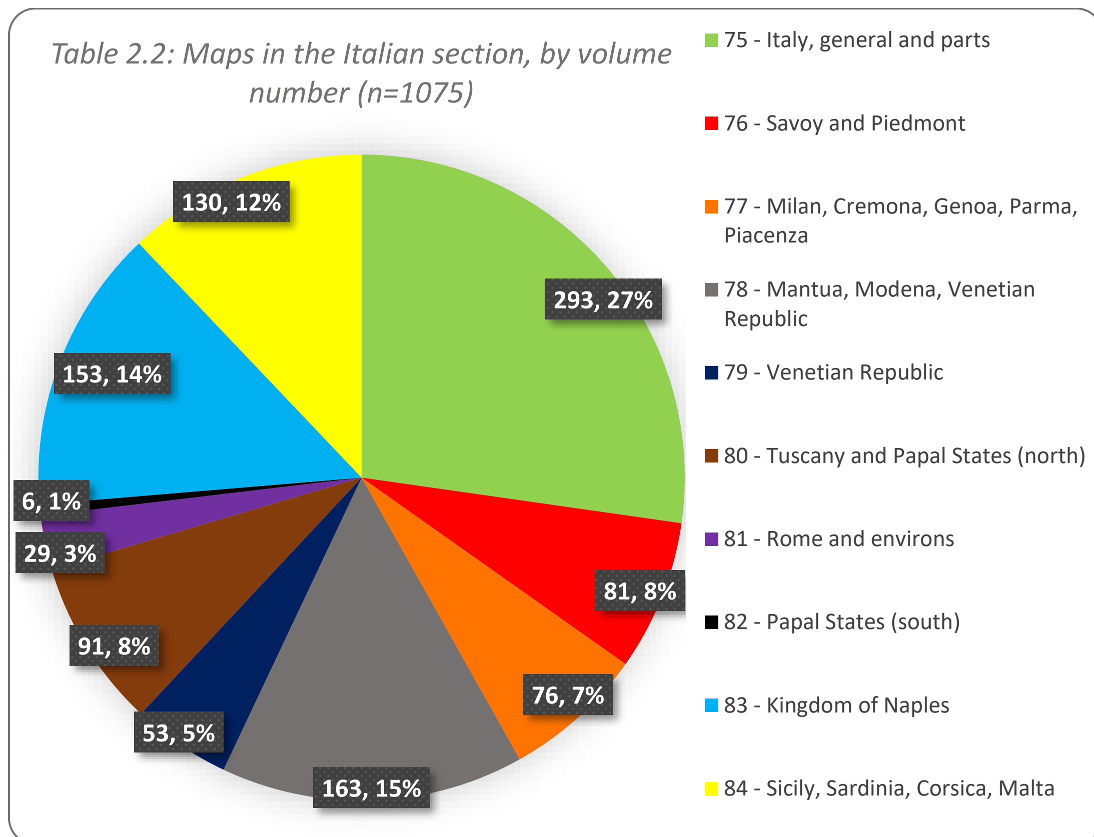
[70] For an example of multi-sheet maps, see the five sheets of Placide de Sainte Hélène's map of the River Po, published by Covens and Mortier in 1735; Maps K.Top.75.61.1.-.5..
[71] Maps 4.TAB.26. and Maps K.Top.75.17.2.5 TABEND..
[72] Maps 1.TAB.35..

– and because of its contemporaneity with the collection, the shelf-marks given to these items do not treat them as being part of an atlas.[73]



The first graph (table 2.2) shows how the maps are distributed through the ten Italian volumes. Volume 75 dominates with over a quarter of the maps, since it contains not only a large number of items but also the greatest share of atlases, one of which has seventy-one maps. There is a surprisingly small number of maps – thirty-five, less than four per cent of the total – for the volumes covering Rome and its environs. However, volume 81 (Rome and the Roman Campagna) is mostly comprised of topographical views and architectural plans and elevations. In fact, in terms of the quantity of all material, volume 81 has the most amount of items. Finally, the total for volume 78, covering the Duchies of Mantua and Modena and the Republic of Venice, is boosted by the "Molino atlas" (Maps 6.TAB.4. and Maps 6.TAB.5.) whose two volumes contain forty-eight and sixty-four maps. The proportion of maps for the

[73] The BL has the first tranche of ten maps published in preparation for the *Atlante Geografico*, for which see Maps K.Top.83.23.a.-.k.. For more on the *Atlante Geografico*, see Vladimiro Valerio, *Società, uomini e istituzioni cartografiche nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia* (Florence: Istituto Geografico Militare, 1993), 121-217.

territories of the Republic of Venice was surely boosted by the purchase of the library and collections of the British ambassador in Venice, Consul Joseph Smith, in 1762. There is a wealth of architectural material for Venice for the same reason.

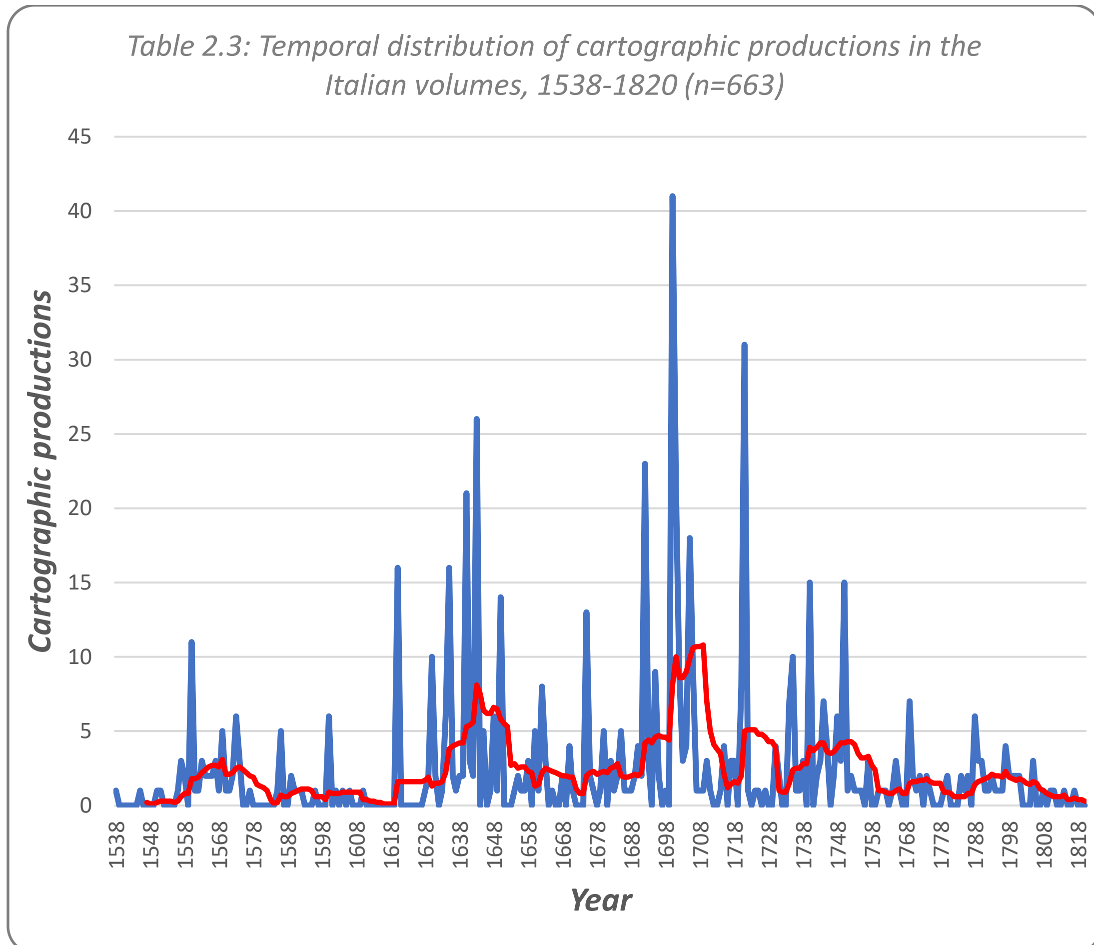
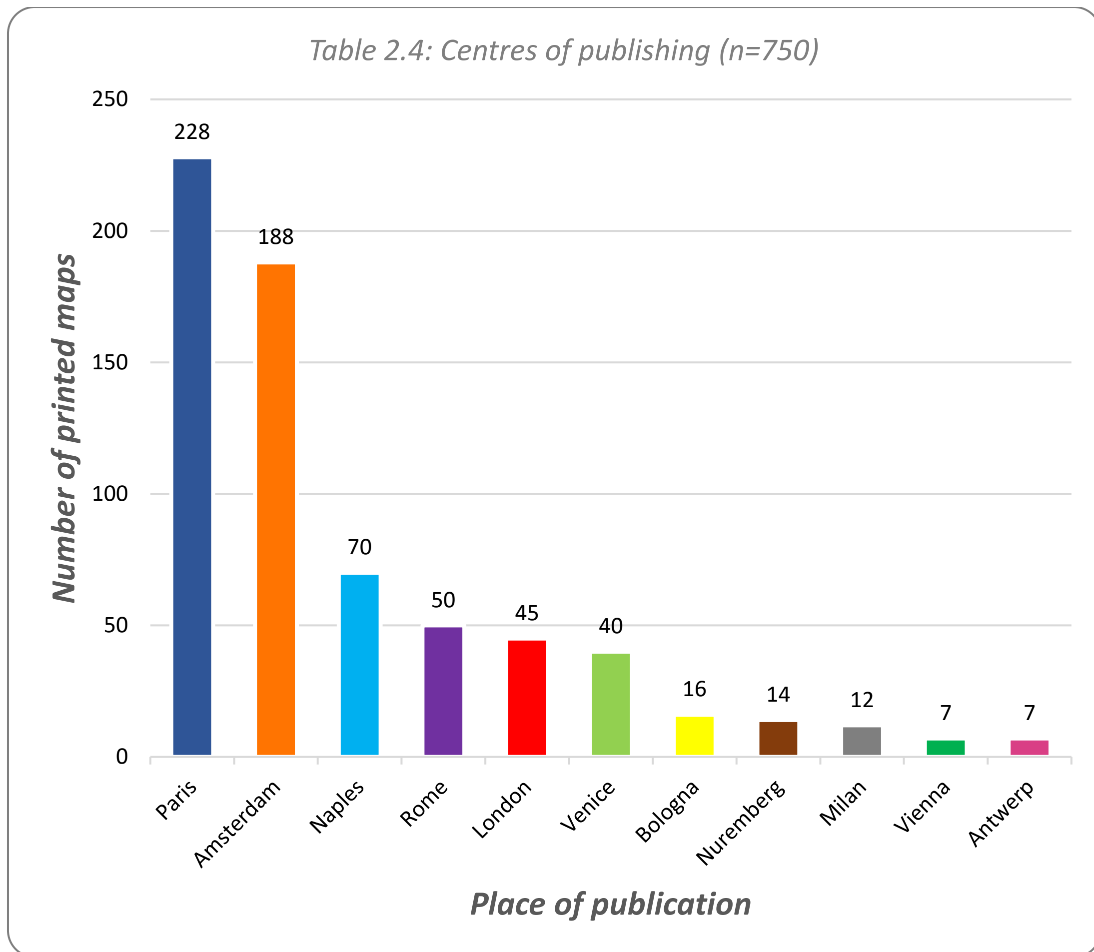


Table 2.3 shows the temporal distribution of cartographic productions in the Italian volumes, with a ten-year moving average shown in red. Cartographic productions were chosen for this visualisation instead of maps as otherwise the scale of the graph would have been skewed by the six atlases that contain over thirty-five maps. In terms of dating the cartographic productions, estimates were included in order to represent as many items as possible. In some cases, especially manuscript material, it was not possible to identify a precise date. The estimates vary from highly probable years of production to quite substantial ranges (the largest of which spans forty years). Single year estimates, the median of date-ranges and the termini for the few cases of *termini post* or *ante quem* have all been accepted. The starkest instance is the large peak at 1721, almost entirely comprising maps by the Amsterdam publishing house Covens

and Mortier. Formed after Cornelis Mortier partnered with his brother-in-law Johannes Covens, from 1721 until around 1750 the firm reissued old plates with an imprint that often had no date, making 1721 the *terminus post quem* for much of their work.[74] So while this graph should be seen as impressionistic, it does indicate some general points.

First, the vast majority of material that was acquired was historic. Almost ninety per cent of the maps date to before 1755, the year in which George's tutor, Lord Bute first became involved in his education. As we shall explore in Chapter 3, Bute displayed a good knowledge of historic maps of Italy, asking royal agents to purchase many exemplary pieces. The second point is that there is a notable quantity of material originating in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. Most of these early maps came from the so-called Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo, via the purchase of Cardinal Alessandro Albani's collection in 1762. Third, the high moving average throughout the 1630s and 1640s relates to the considerable activity in Amsterdam at that time by the likes of Willem Janszoon Blaeu, Hendrik Hondius, Jan Jansson and Joan Blaeu. Finally, the largest peak (1700) gives a sense of the international market for maps at this time: the forty-one cartographic productions issued in this year came from mapmakers and publishers in Amsterdam, Paris, Naples and London. In addition to these points, it is tempting to read a correlation between the intensity of mapmaking and periods of international tension that accompanied the anticipated or actual outbreak of hostilities in Italy. For instance, in both the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) and the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) northern Italy suffered as a theatre of war. It would not be surprising if mapmakers and map-sellers capitalised on the increased curiosity in distant places caused by foreign wars to make and sell their products.

[74] Their imprint generally follows a variation of "se vend A Amsterdam Chez Covens et Mortier" and was employed until 1750. On the history of the Covens and Mortier firm see Marco van Egmond, *Covens & Mortier: A Map Publishing House in Amsterdam, 1685-1866* (Houten: HES & De Graaf publishers B.V., 2009), 55-72.



The cities in which the most printed maps were published are shown in Table 2.4. Only those cities where more than five maps were published are shown. Thus, fourteen cities in which fewer than five maps originated and five maps whose origin could only be narrowed down to Italy were excluded, as were the thirty-seven maps with no identifiable place of publication. Amsterdam and Paris have long been recognised as major centres of cartographic publishing in the early modern period; equally, in broad terms there was a general movement in terms of output over the early modern period from Italy to Amsterdam to Paris, and then to London. Further breaking down the published map data into graphs showing the date of publication for the six most productive cities, the pattern becomes clearer, for which see Tables 2.5-2.10. It is particularly apparent when looking at the early median year for Venice – 1568 – and late median year for London – 1774.

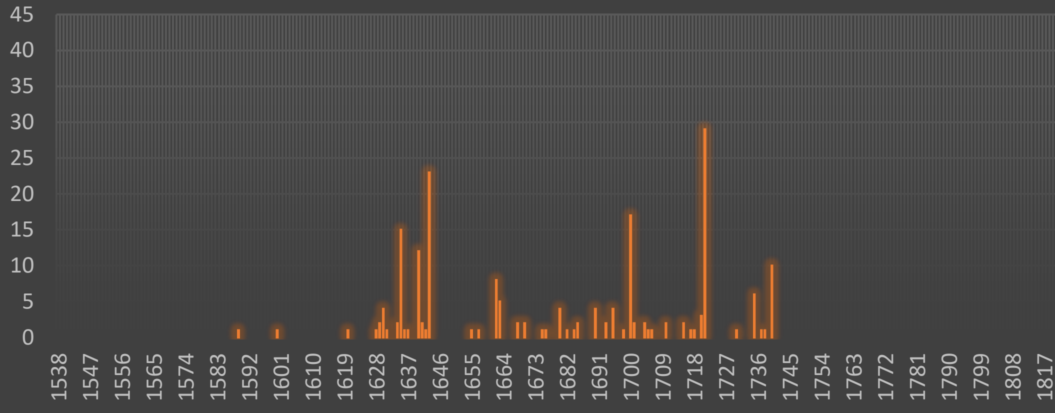


Table 2.5: Maps published in Amsterdam
Median year: 1680
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1538 1547 1556 1565 1574 1583 1592 1601 1610 1619 1628 1637 1646 1655 1664 1673 1682 1691 1700 1709 1718 1727 1736 1745 1754 1763 1772 1781 1790 1799 1808 1817

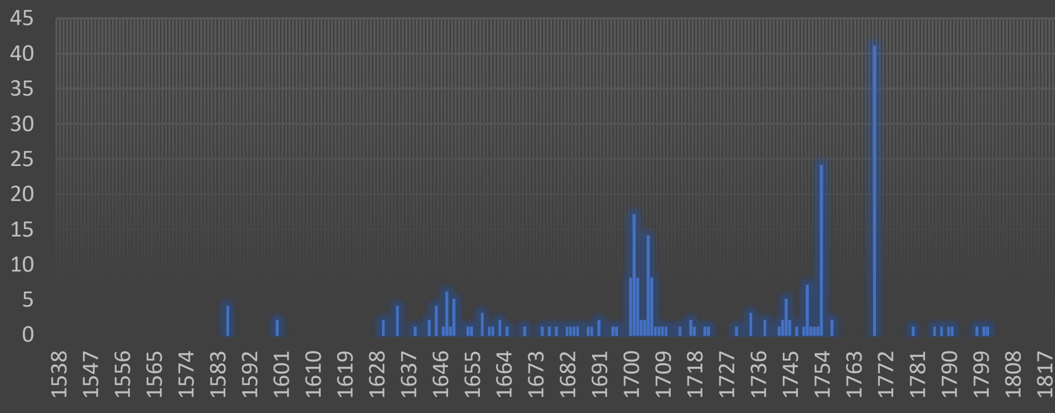


Table 2.6: Maps published in Paris
Median year: 1706
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1538 1547 1556 1565 1574 1583 1592 1601 1610 1619 1628 1637 1646 1655 1664 1673 1682 1691 1700 1709 1718 1727 1736 1745 1754 1763 1772 1781 1790 1799 1808 1817

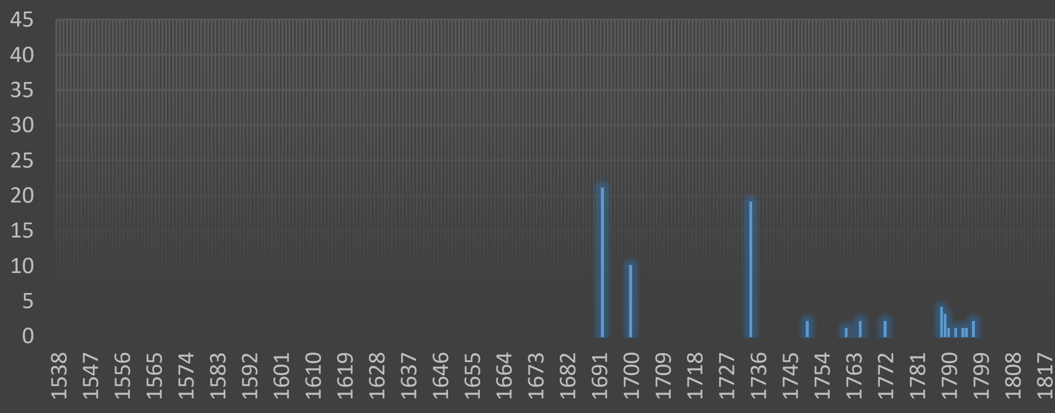


Table 2.7: Maps published in Naples
Median year: 1734
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1538 1547 1556 1565 1574 1583 1592 1601 1610 1619 1628 1637 1646 1655 1664 1673 1682 1691 1700 1709 1718 1727 1736 1745 1754 1763 1772 1781 1790 1799 1808 1817

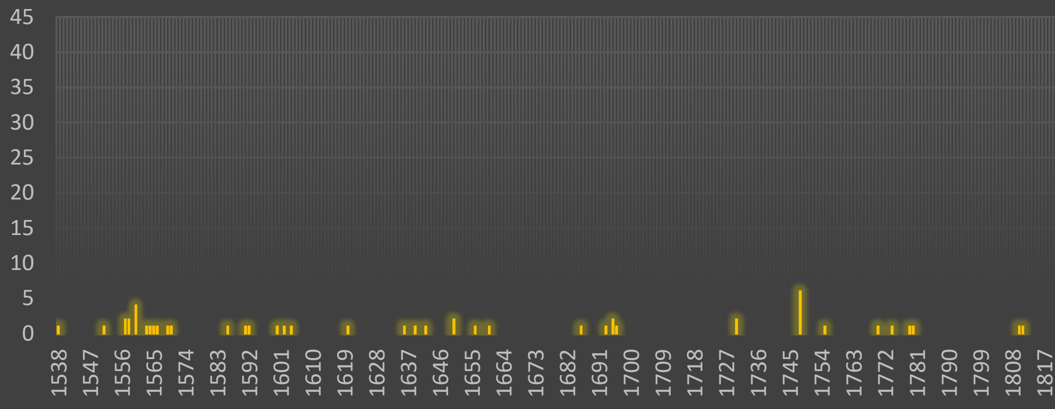


Table 2.8: Maps published in Rome
Median year: 1639
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1538
1547
1556
1565
1574
1583
1592
1601
1610
1619
1628
1637
1646
1655
1664
1673
1682
1691
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1754
1763
1772
1781
1790
1799
1808
1817

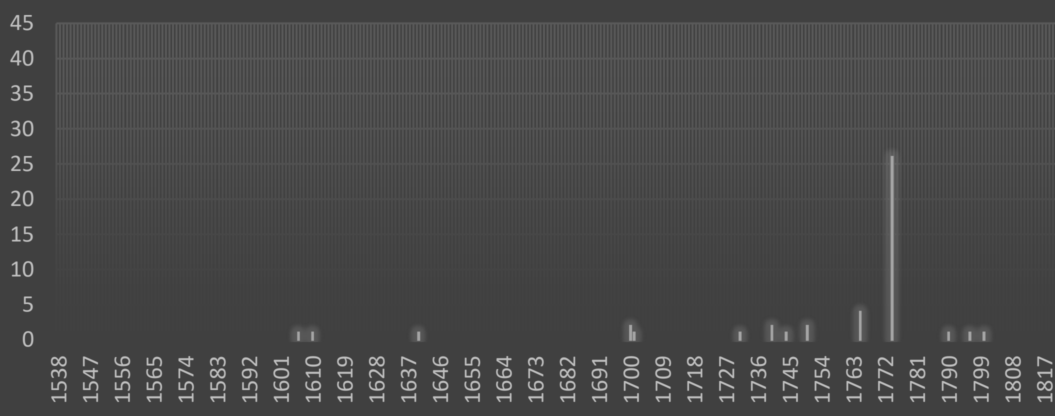
Table 2.9: Maps published in London
Median year: 1774
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1538
1547
1556
1565
1574
1583
1592
1601
1610
1619
1628
1637
1646
1655
1664
1673
1682
1691
1700
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1745
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1763
1772
1781
1790
1799
1808
1817

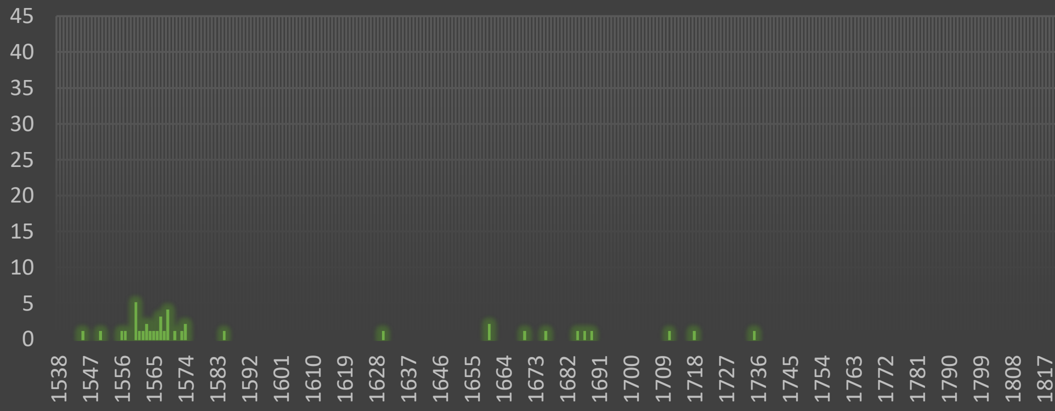
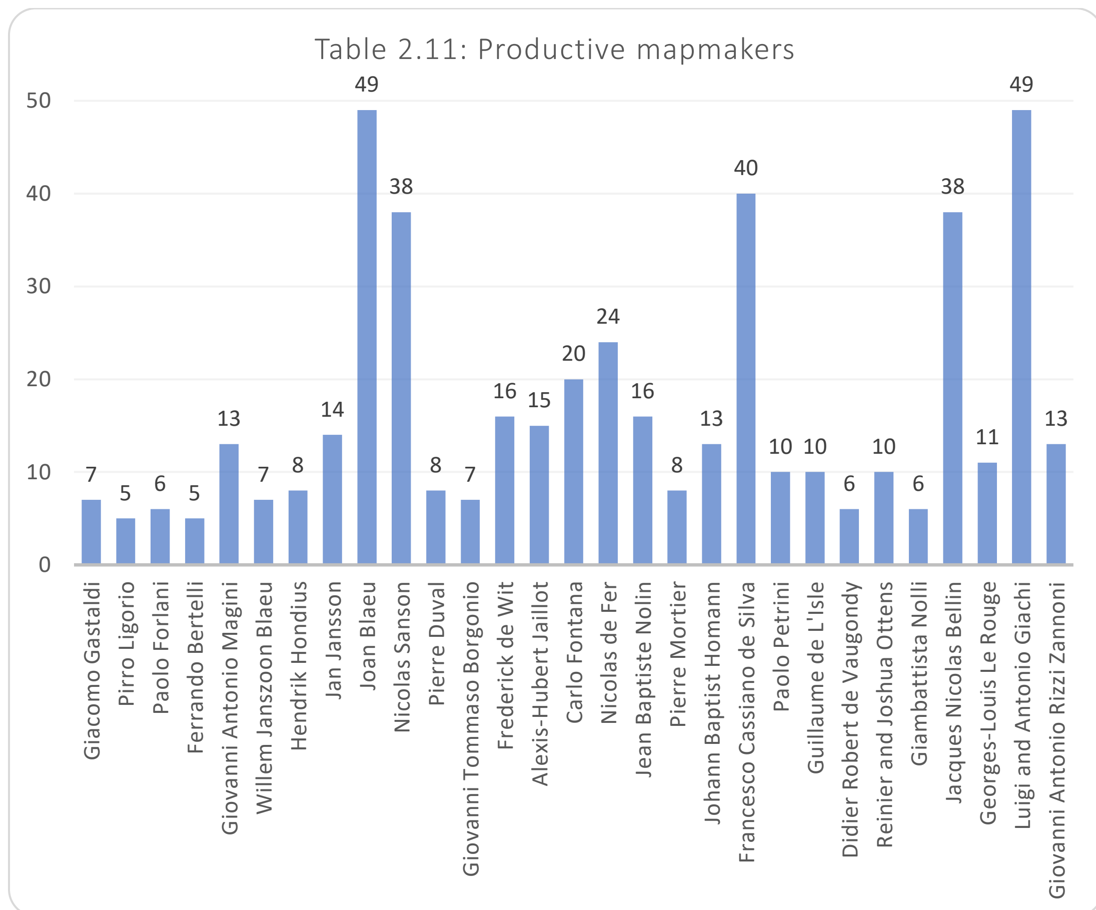
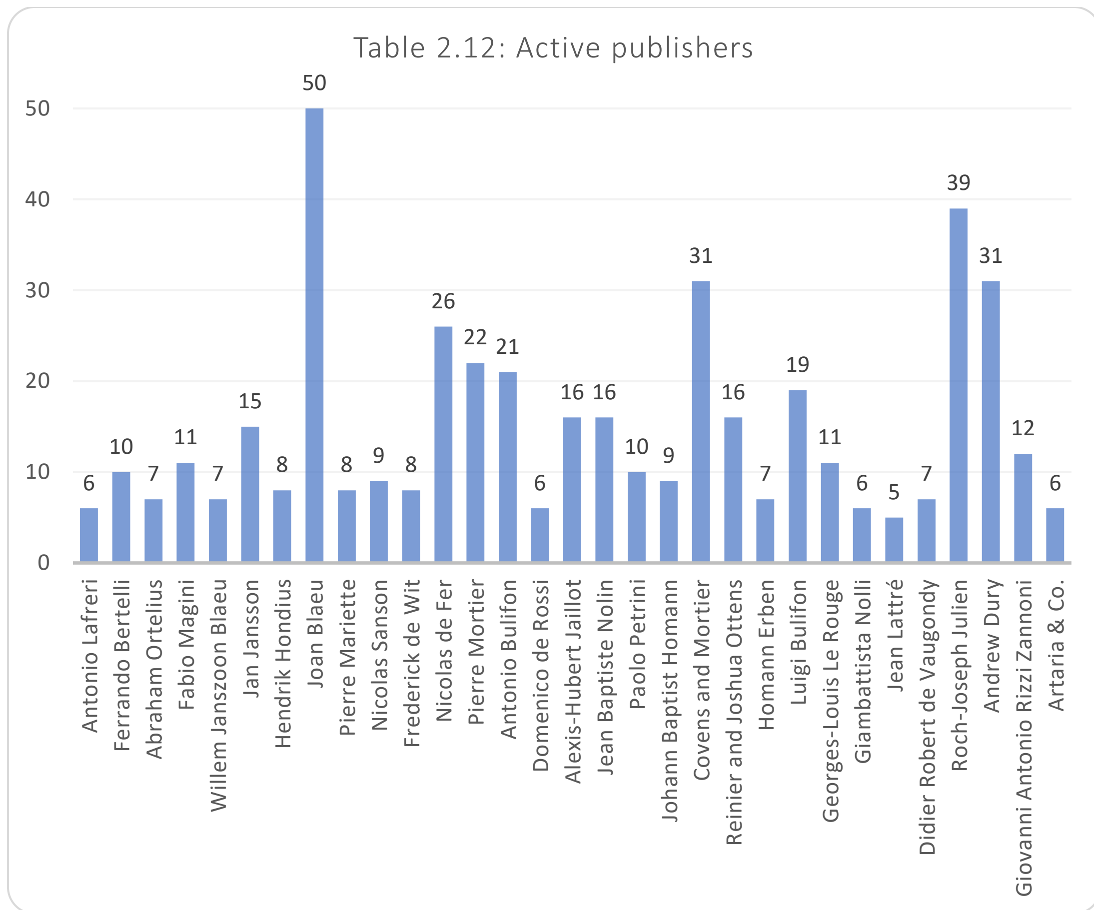


Table 2.10: Maps published in Venice.
Median year: 1568
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1538
1547
1556
1565
1574
1583
1592
1601
1610
1619
1628
1637
1646
1655
1664
1673
1682
1691
1700
1709
1718
1727
1736
1745
1754
1763
1772
1781
1790
1799
1808
1817

Almost 200 individuals feature in the Italian volumes as named or identified mapmakers, and there are sixty-three cartographic productions where no secure identification could be made. Twenty-nine of these known mapmakers were responsible for creating five or more maps, and in Table 2.11 they have been plotted in an approximately chronological order according to their date of birth. Many of the most prolific and longstanding European mapmakers have work in the Italian volumes, though perhaps attention should be drawn to the joint-largest peak of the less widely known Luigi and Antonio Giachi, whose contribution in the form of Italian post-road maps will be analysed in Chapter 5. As a counterpart to the mapmakers, Table 2.12 shows the most active publishers or publishing houses (again showing those publishers with more than five maps), also plotted in an approximately chronological order, according to their earliest publication in the Italian volumes.





In this chapter I have reviewed how recent epistemological developments in cartographic scholarship have unsettled the ontology of maps, leading to a processual understanding that recognises that meaning emerges from practices. Such an understanding influences our research frameworks by directing our attention principally to the mapping practices of production, circulation and consumption. In order to explore these practices comprehensively, the framework adopted to study the maps in the Italian volumes of the King's Topographical Collection has been explained as a threefold approach on the contextual, experiential and material aspects of maps. As this thesis seeks to appreciate how maps were used by grand tourists and their role in the culture of the Grand Tour, it pays particular attention to the practices and patterns of consumption. The focus on maps as images, objects and events is the best way to elucidate and comprehend their influence in the visual and material cultures of the Grand Tour and their agency in cartographic encounters. Thus, while repeated and sustained research into the cartographic archive gave rise to the themes and case

studies in the substantive chapters to come, maps will also be placed alongside Grand Tour accounts, guidebooks and moments of interaction with grand tourists. As will become clear, maps could have diverse, unexpected and significant impacts on grand tourists' expectations, experiences and memories of the Grand Tour. I shall begin by exploring maps' role in educating young British travellers about Italy.

Chapter 3

Education

On 20 March 1751, Frederick, the Prince of Wales, died, leaving behind his wife, Princess Augusta, and their nine children. George, Frederick's oldest son, would have been just twelve when his father died. Later that year, the artist George Knapton captured the royal family in a poignant group portrait, *The Family of Frederick, Prince of Wales* (fig. 3.1). Although Frederick's physical presence was no longer possible, Knapton did him and his family the honour of including him by other means. To this end, the painter depicted Frederick in an imagined full-length portrait, seen hanging up on the wall to the rear left, looking down in a paternal manner on the new Prince of Wales, George, and his younger brother Edward Augustus. The two young princes are engaging in a moment of quiet and contented study, an activity of which Frederick would have no doubt approved. George sits in an easy manner with a plan of the fortifications of Portsmouth, while Edward has come up alongside to join him, one hand on his brother's shoulder the other picking up the corner of the paper. Looking

Figure 3.1: George Knapton, *The Family of Frederick, Prince of Wales*, 1751. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019.

Figure 3.2: Richard Wilson, Francis Ayscough with the Prince of Wales (later King George III) and Edward Augustus, Duke of York and Albany, ca. 1749. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

to his younger brother, George is pointing out some topographical feature on the map, perhaps noticing a peculiar or important element of the harbour's defences.[1]

Two years prior to Knapton's portrait of the royal family, Richard Wilson's *Francis Ayscough with the Prince of Wales (later King George III) and Edward Augustus, Duke of York and Albany* (fig. 3.2) had already depicted George with cartographic material in the frame. This earlier work places the young prince in a different context: a scholastic setting. Standing to the left of the picture in his religious habit, the teacher, Francis Ayscough (1701-1763), was an Oxford-educated clergyman who since 1744

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[1] On the identification of the plan, see Peter Barber, "George III as a Map Collector: The Development and Destiny of King George III's Geographical Collections," paper presented at *Maps, Their Collecting and Study: A Fifty Year Retrospective, The Nineteenth Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr., Lectures in the History of Cartography*, The Newberry Library, Chicago, 28 October 2016. On the painting in general see Oliver Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London: Phaidon, 1963), 1:189.

had been in charge of the princes' general and religious education.[2] Ayscough was unpopular with the princes, perhaps reflected in the way Wilson has depicted him, with a somewhat haughty and austere pose and his hand resting impatiently on a book. To the left of the sofa, in the bottom right hand corner of the painting, a large folio volume, the binding of which is decorated with the Prince of Wales's feathers, rests on a globe.[3]

These two portraits provide a snapshot of life inside the Prince of Wales's household around 1750. For both of these portraits, the inclusion of the map and the globe would surely have been discussed and agreed upon between the painters and the royal family. While as objects they certainly make for appropriate accompaniments, expressing both princely authority and polite sensibility, they also clearly indicate that the young Prince George had an early fascination in cartography. And it was perhaps in Ayscough's lessons that his lifelong passion was first kindled. Seen together, the two painting are also a poignant reminder that George lost his father at a young age, and that it subsequently fell to his tutors to guide him into adulthood. After Frederick's death, Ayscough was replaced by a series of more or less successful preceptors and sub-preceptors, before a lasting match was made with John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, in 1755.[4] While maps and globes may have been used under Ayscough's watch, there is no doubt that Bute keenly fostered George's love of cartography.

This chapter will explore these two points: the role of maps in George's geographical education and the form and direction that this education took under Bute, his most influential tutor. Today, the King's Topographical Collection remains as a physical manifestation of George's continuous interest in cartography throughout his life. During his lifetime, the royal geographical collection was no doubt seen as an

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[2] Ayscough is presumed to be the author of a diary dating to 1742-43 which contained details only someone intimately involved with Prince Frederick's finances and politics could know; it was likely through his connection to the crown prince that he gained the post of tutor to George and Edward. See M. St John Parker, "Ayscough, Francis (1701-1763), Courtier and Church of England Clergyman," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sept. 2004, accessed 28 Feb 2017, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/951.
[3] For details on the painting see John Kerslake, *Early Georgian Portraits* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1977), 1:9-11.
[4] On the chronology of George's tutors, see Jeremy Black, *George III: America's Last King* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 6-10.

impressive reflection of his princely *gloire*. However, when it comes to Italian volumes of the collection, the prestige and the educational value of the topographical material ran together. But the extent to which its maps were utilised as an educational resource has been underappreciated. That these two facets are linked is evident from certain purchases for the royal collections made in Italy during the 1750s and 1760s under the guidance of Bute, acting on behalf of George. These purchases are of a different kind to those for other sections of the collection: they are more cultural in nature and include difficult to acquire historical examples. From 1755, when Bute took charge of George's educational programme, George was swept up by the vision his tutor and mentor had for him as a virtuous monarch.

Bute's plan for George's studies, I shall argue, was to furnish his collection with such maps that enabled him to become an armchair traveller to an Italy framed by classical antiquity. As cultural expressions of space as well as representations of the physical landscape, maps have the potential to impart a variety of lessons to the user. Effectively standing in place of a real Grand Tour, the topographical material acquired for Italy not only allowed George 'to roam the world from his study' but also engaged him, vicariously, in a Grand Tour culture of collecting.[5]

In examining this topic, I shall bring to bear a range of documentary records, including correspondence between Bute and the royal librarian Richard Dalton and school essays from George's adolescence, and relate them to maps from the Italian volumes of the King's Topographical Collection. The chapter will culminate in an exceptional case study that brings to light two printed maps of Sicily in the King's Topographical that have been inscribed with manuscript annotations. By scrutinising these annotations, it will speculate as to the identity of the author and recipient of these instructions, with the weight of evidence pointing equally to the Swiss scholar Johann Caspar Wettstein (1695-1759) and Prince George. The study of marginalia has already proved useful for historical geographers charting how books were differently received according to location and this chapter will apply that approach to map history, arguing that it offers a way of recapturing transient cartographic interactions

[5] Peter Barber, "Mapmaking in Hanover and Great Britain," in *Als die Royals aus Hannover kamen: The Hanoverians on Britain's Throne 1714-1837*, ed. Katja Lembke (Dresden: Sandstein, 2014), 157.

from the past.[6] More specifically, the case study demonstrates how two general maps of Sicily were transformed into a personalised and innovative lesson in Sicilian geography and history that communicated cultural and geographical knowledge that was suited not just to a typical grand tourist, but also specific to the Prince of Wales's interests. Their existence indicates that maps were an important part of George's educational upbringing and that the collection itself was utilised to that end. Furthermore, the case study demonstrates how the study and use of maps could contribute to grand tourists' geographical imagination of Italy prior to their conducting a Grand Tour. Since George never went abroad, map use can instead be viewed as part of his armchair exploration of the world.

But before investigating how George learned about Italy through maps, it will be necessary to give some context to education across the early modern period in general, and more particularly in the second half of the eighteenth century. The following sections will first review the increasing role of geographic subjects in school curricula in the eighteenth century. Secondly, they will explore teaching methods and instruments, paying particular attention to how maps were being put to use in innovative ways. Thirdly, I shall examine the rise of travel as a form of education from the mid-sixteenth century, and the concurrent theorisation of travel as the *ars apodemica*, as it was known to some humanists.[7]

Early modern curricula: Classics and Geography

Georgian Britain witnessed a raft of profoundly significant developments regarding both general and geographical education. Almost every aspect of education was affected: children were disciplined less harshly; educational facilities multiplied;

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[6] See in particular, Innes M. Keighren, *Bringing Geography to Book: Ellen Semple and the Reception of Geographical Knowledge* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010) and cf. Innes M. Keighren, "Geographies of the Book: Review and Prospect," *Geography Compass* 7, no. 11 (2013): 745-758. Also cf. Heather Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

[7] In ancient Greek, *apodēmia* meant going or being abroad, cf. entry for "apodēmia" in Henry George Liddell et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1996). John Evelyn described his desire to travel as an '*Apodemick* humour' in John Evelyn, *The State of France* (London, 1652), a5 verso.

curricula were re-examined; costs fell; specialised didactic literature appeared; and novel educational toys became commercially successful.[8]

Despite these changes, the primacy of Classics in the education of royal and upper-class children remained relatively constant throughout the early modern period.[9] It had been the core of the humanist curriculum designed for the governing elite since the likes of Erasmus had promoted its moral benefits. A thorough grounding in the languages and literature of ancient Greece and Rome were thought to be effective at instilling the good judgment, critical reasoning and all necessary virtues for ruling, as well as being aligned to the elite cultural taste of period.[10] It seems that the teaching of geography did come into this broad humanist education, but for the most part was approached through classical texts such as those by Ptolemy and Pliny.[11] This extended to the use of maps, which humanists had recognised, since at least the end of the fifteenth century, as adding value when teaching various lessons.[12] For instance, Thomas Elyot saw the value of studying historical maps to learn about ancient places, writing in 1531 that 'to prepare the childe to understandynge of histories… It shall be therefore and also for refreshing the witte, a convenient lesson to beholde the olde tables of Ptholomee'. Elyot also appreciated the efficacy of hands-on lessons, going on to state that while there were 'very good' textual descriptions of the world, 'there is none so good lernynge, as the demonstration of cosmographie, by materiall figures and instrumentes'.[13] Indeed, geographical knowledge and skill with maps were deemed polite accomplishments for a cultured gentleman throughout the

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[8] John Harold Plumb, "The New World of Children in Eighteenth-Century England," *Past & Present* 67, (May 1975): 64-95.

[9] Martin Lowther Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 34-60.

[10] On how the liberal arts and humanist educations of Tudor and Stuart princes and princesses affected their ruling styles and their interests during their reigns, see Aysha Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[11] This trend has been identified within British universities in Charles W. J. Withers and Robert J. Mayhew, "Rethinking 'Disciplinary' History: Geography in British Universities, c.1580-1887," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 27, no. 1 (2002): 11-29. And cf. Catherine Delano-Smith, "Map Ownership in Sixteenth-Century Cambridge: The Evidence of Probate Inventories," *Imago Mundi* 47, (1995): 67-93.

[12] Lesley B. Cormack, "Maps as Educational Tools in the Renaissance," in *The History of Cartography, Volume Three: Cartography in the European Renaissance,* ed. David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1:622-636.

[13] Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the gouernour deuised by Thomas Elyot knight* (London: In edibus Tho. Bertheleti, 1531), folio 37r.

early modern period. To be expert was thought beneficial both to the state and to the individual, but to be ignorant was to open oneself up to criticism and ridicule.[14]

In this way geography was subsumed within the teaching of the broad humanist programme. But Robert Mayhew has argued that there was a 'bifurcation into scholarly and commercial elements' in the teaching of geography over the course of the eighteenth century and that 'the sites of humanist and practical education being separated by a social gulf'.[15] So while the mathematical and cosmographical variant of geography continued to exist in universities and schools following humanist courses, geographical courses such as navigation, drawing and surveying were being offered in private and commercial schools to cater to modern educational purposes. Public schools, such as Eton, Westminster and Winchester, maintained a demanding focus on the classics in the second half of the eighteenth century. For instance, William Hickey, a pupil at Westminster in the early 1760s, remarked that "nothing is taught but the classics" – an exaggeration surely, but a telling one.[16] Indeed, reconstructed timetables show that 14-year-old boys at Eton had around 80 percent of their scheduled class-time devoted to Classics in the late 1760s.[17] Learning was expected to continue outside scheduled class-times and often this extra-curricular activity had a more well-rounded scope. The study of classical texts naturally led to the exploration of contingent subjects. The notes of an assistant master at Eton, Thomas James, drawn up between 1766 and 1771, state:

> The Sixth Form boys, and the Fifth, are supposed to read at their leisure hours, Dr Middleton's *Cicero*, Tully's *Offices*, Ovid's long and short verses, *Spectator*, etc. Milton, Pope, Roman History, Græcian History, Potter's *Antiquities*, and Kennet's and all other books necessary towards making a compleat scholar.[18]

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[14] Jonathan M. Smith, "State Formation, Geography, and a Gentleman's Education," *Geographical Review* 86, no. 1 (January 1996): 91-100.
[15] Robert Mayhew, "Geography in Eighteenth-Century British Education," *Paedagogica Historica* 34, no. 3 (1998): 768.
[16] M. V. Wallbank, "Eighteenth Century Public Schools and the Education of the Governing Elite," *History of Education* 8, no. 1 (1979): 14, quoting Alfred Spencer, ed., *The Memoirs of William Hickey* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1913), 41.
[17] Wallbank "Public Schools," 5.
[18] Henry C. Maxwell Lyte, *A History of Eton College* (London: Macmillan, 1899), 321. Cf. Wallbank, "Public Schools," 15.

But whilst the continued importance of classical studies through the eighteenth century certainly rang true for elite and privileged public schools, its dominance reduced in other settings, such as in grammar or, even more so, commercial schools. Responding to Britain's ascending global empire as well as particular local needs, and as more of the middling sort were enrolling in education, schools and academies were beginning to provide 'an education that was modern in outlook… more frequently commercial and social, and less frequently classical and mathematical'.[19] Paul Elliott and Stephen Daniels have argued in turn that the introduction of geography to Georgian grammar schools was variably implemented according to domestic, institutional and national factors. The pressure on grammar schools to be receptive to change came from a range of social demands: local commerce and industry, the social profiles of pupils and the agendas of individual schoolmasters all played a role in modernising methods and the teaching of geography.[20] The specialised, professional curricula providing more vocational skills – 'for the Counting-House or Trade, the Law or a Stewardship, the Army or Navy' – that was on offer at Wakefield in the late eighteenth century all list 'The USE of the *Terrestrial Globes* and *Maps*' as part of each course, in addition to the usual teaching of writing and arithmetic.[21] Alongside the new subjects being introduced to curricula were novel manners of teaching. On the one hand, educators were catering their lessons to their younger audience and on the other the commercial sector was innovating map design so that they could be put to use as educational devices.

Geographical teaching methods and maps as teaching aids

The method of teaching geography most recommended in educational manuals from the Georgian period was the rote learning of facts. An exemplary expression of how rote learning was applied is found in Sir Richard Phillips's *Grammar for General Geography*, published in 1819:

[19] Plumb, "New World," 72-74.
[20] Paul Elliott and Stephen Daniels, "'No Study So Agreeable to the Youthful Mind': Geographical Education in the Georgian Grammar School," *History of Education* 39, no. 1 (Jan. 2010): 15-33.
[21] Plumb, "New World," 94-95.

> The proper mode of using this little book to advantage will… be to direct the pupil to commit the whole of facts to memory, at the rate of one, two, or three, per day, according to age and capacity.[22]

Rote learning as a method had been employed since at least the seventeenth century, and it continued into the nineteenth. The long eighteenth century witnessed a 'gradual rather than meteoric' awakening to the concept and development of specialised children's literature over the course of the long eighteenth century.[23] Educators did attempt to cater to their younger audience; one way this was achieved was by changing the format of how facts were presented. In 1710, for instance, Nathaniel Crouch's *A Short and Easie Method* tried to enliven the descriptive geography of Britain by presenting it in a question and answer format in both French and English.[24]

Diaries provide another avenue for investigating how geography was taught and even how maps were utilised in educating children. Writing in 1767 about her two years and seven-month-old daughter Queeney, Hester Thrale noted her remarkable feats of memorisation:

> She has too by the help of the dissected Maps acquired so nice a knowledge of Geography as to be well able not only to describe the four Quarters of the World, but almost, nay I do think every Nation on the Terrestrial Globe, & all the principal Islands in all parts of the world: these—with the most remarkable Seas, Gulfs, Streights &c. She has so full Acquaintance with, that She discovers them coloured, or penciled, separate or together in any Scale small or great, Map or Globe.[25]

Accounts like this one give an example of how maps could be used to the advantage of learning geography. It also displays a standard conception of geographical knowledge as being limited to facts about the locations, names, shapes and national borders of

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[22] Sir Richard Phillips, *A Grammar for General Geography for the Use of Schools and Young Persons* (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1819), iv.
[23] Andrea Immel, "Children's Books and School-books," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, volume 5: 1695-1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 749.
[24] Mayhew, "Geography in Eighteenth-Century," 734-735.
[25] Mary Hyde, *The Thrales of Streatham Park* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977), 24-25.

the lands and waters of the world; it shows the results of rote learning of facts as a process of accretive memorisation.

Historians have analysed the recommended and ideal methods of instruction discussed in such textbooks and manuals, but the relationship between educational theory and the actual teaching of geography is not necessarily straightforward. Indeed, when investigating reading habits in the eighteenth century, Matthew Grenby's analysis of extra-textual marks in children's and school books found that there were significant discrepancies between the rhetoric of instruction and the realities of everyday usage.[26] Understanding how education took place on a day to day level in the past thus requires a different approach. Grenby advised, therefore, that 'of all the kinds of evidence available to the modern researcher, it might be said that only the physical marks in the books themselves may be read as reasonably objective'.[27] There are problems with a focus on marginalia: annotated records are more difficult for researchers to find and interpret, and other documentary evidence of historic learning, such as student workbooks, exercise sheets or essays, do not exist in vast quantities. This is not wholly surprising *per se*: mocked up schoolroom documents would have been considered more ephemeral than textbooks or teaching manuals and consequently are more likely to have been discarded after consumption. But Grenby and others argue that only by incorporating annotations and marginalia into their analyses can researchers fully grasp the reception and use of children's educational materials by teachers and students.[28]

Map samplers provide an excellent example of the type of object made by students during the course of geographical learning that may have been discarded. A map sampler was an embroidered work of cartography that could depict any part of the world from a local to a global scale. It was a practice that flourished in girls' education

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[26] Matthew O. Grenby, "Delightful Instruction? Assessing Children's Use of Educational Books in the Long Eighteenth Century," in *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices*, ed. Mary Hilton and Jill Shefrin (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 181-198.
[27] Grenby, "Delightful Instruction," 184.
[28] Grenby, "Delightful Instruction," 197-198; Immel, "Children's books," 747-749.

between 1770 and 1840 that started in Britain before being transmitted to America.[29] The exercise was designed to teach geography and needlework simultaneously. Hester Thrale, for instance, remarked in her diary that another of her daughters, Susanna, had produced a map sampler at school.[30] Although for some displaying a map sampler at home was a mark of pride, for others their primary purpose lay in the process of their creation. Certainly from an educational perspective the embodied act of stitching the world adds a valuable element to learning beyond the resulting cartographic image. The survival rate of map samplers is undoubtedly low, and those that have survived the test of time are a remarkable material testament to education in practice.

Since the sixteenth century, map-sellers understood maps' perceived educational potential and so map-makers designed their products to appeal to consumers' curiosity about the world wherever possible.[31] While that was true even for general maps, from the middle of the seventeenth century maps had been commercialised as educational tools, being specially designed for cartographic board games. French mapmaker Pierre Duval created the first of its kind in 1645, *Le Jeu du monde*, whose design and rules are like the modern-day Snakes and Ladders.[32] However, while educational board games were successful in France, they did not pass to England until 1759, when John Jefferys invented *A Journey through Europe, or the Play of Geography*. The spatiality and variety of cartographic representation lends itself well to such game formats, combining visually pleasing aesthetics, cutting-edge cartography and a haptic interaction.

In 1766, the first commercially available dissected maps – of the kind mentioned by Hester Thrale above – came on to the market: John Spilsbury's *Europe divided into its Kingdoms &c.* (fig. 3.3).[33] A year later, Spilsbury extended his jigsaws to encompass

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[29] An excellent contextualising history can be found in Judith A. Tyner, *Stitching the World: Embroidered Maps and Women's Geographical Education* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).
[30] Hyde, *The Thrales*, 178.
[31] Genevieve Carlton, *Worldly Consumers: The Demand for Maps in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 126-142.
[32] Gillian Hill, *Cartographical Curiosities* (London: British Library, 1978), 7.
[33] The British Library has the only known copy of this earliest edition: BL Maps 188.v.12.

Figure 3.3: John Spilsbury, *Europe divided into its Kingdoms &c.*, London, 1766. © The British Library Board. Maps 188.v.12.

the other three continents of the known world, Africa, America and Asia, as well as individual countries. Although they do not have the familiar interlocking pieces of today's types, these jigsaws were yet another innovative cartographic product that had the express purpose of geographic education. Indeed, map-sellers underscored the educational potential for children when marketing dissected maps, as evidenced in Bowles and Carver's 1795 catalogue: 'Designed for the use of schools, and for teaching young Ladies and Gentlemen the Geography of the World, or any particular part thereof, in an easy and entertaining manner'.[34]

In fact, there is evidence to suggest that before Spilsbury's commercial models came onto the market, bespoke jigsaws had been produced for the children of George and

[34] As quoted in Hill, *Cartographical Curiosities*, 16.

used in their education by their governess Lady Charlotte Finch.[35] Furthermore, Peter Barber has found evidence to suggest that George himself had prototypes of dissected maps in his childhood.[36] A letter penned by Swiss scholar Johann Caspar Wettstein – Prince Frederick's chaplain and private secretary – to George's Swiss governess indicates that in December 1744 he sent dissected map puzzles that he had made himself to London for the use of George and his younger brother Edward.[37] If George did indeed enjoy bespoke dissected maps in his own childhood, then it is likely that he would have urged his children's governess to employ them in turn as educational toys.

All of these innovatively designed maps capitalised on consumers' curiosity about the world and maps' capability to spark internal journeys. Again, this aspect of maps had been noted early on by Thomas Elyot, who clearly saw map-reading as an enjoyable and accessible stand-in for travel:

> For what pleasure is it, in one houre to beholde those realmes, cities, sees, ryvers, and mountaynes, that uneth in an olde mannes life can nat be journaide and pursued. What incredible delite taken in beholding the diversities of people, beastis, foules, fisshes, trees, frutes, and herbes; to knowe the sondry maners & conditions of people, and the varietie of their natures, and that in a warme studie or perler, without perill of the see, or daunger of longe and paynfull journayes. I can nat tell, what more pleasure shulde happen to a gentil witte, than to beholde in his owne house every thynge that with in all the worlde is contained.[38]

Some board games took imaginary armchair travel a step further by construing the player as a voyager across the map. In Thomas Jefferys's *The Royal Geographical Pastime or the Complete Tour of Europe*, published in 1768 and dedicated to George's son, players move from place to place, acting like grand tourists, with the aim of

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[35] Spilsbury first commercialised jigsaw maps, cf. Linda Hannas, *The English Jigsaw Puzzle, 1760-1890* (London: Wayland Publishers, 1972), 15-24; and Jill Shefrin, *Neatly Dissected for the Instruction of Young Ladies and Gentlemen in the Knowledge of Geography: John Spilsbury and Early Dissected Puzzles* (Los Angeles: The Cotsen Occasional Press, 1999), 7-11.

[36] Barber, "George III as a Map Collector."

[37] BL Add. MS 32417, ff. 266-67: in the letter, Wettstein mentions certain 'maps and cut-outs' ('les Cartes et le découpures'). On this discovery, see Peter Barber, *A Curious Colony: Leicester Square and the Swiss* (London: Jannuzzi Smith Editions, 2011), 26.

[38] Elyot, *Governour*, 37v.

completing a circuit of Europe.[39] Each stopping point had information attached to it, thus adding the educational benefits of the Grand Tour's topography to the fun of the game's adventuring format. The success of such games took advantage of the allure of the leisured yet edifying mode of travel encapsulated by the Grand Tour, the personal and societal benefits of which had been theorised since the late sixteenth century.

Ars apodemica: The Grand Tour as education

From around 1570, humanist scholars around Europe began to spell out an ideology of travel as education in formal methodological treatises on its benefits and drawbacks, and their arguments reverberated through the following two centuries.[40] The degree of continuity that persisted in the justifications for travel through the early modern period is highlighted by a recycled metaphor from a book of maxims published in 1799. In it, Augustine of Hippo, supposedly musing on the benefits of travel, was said to have remarked that 'the world is a great book, and none study this book so much as the traveller. They that never stir from their home read only one page of this book'.[41] By invoking the saint, the author certainly gave the approbatory saying a venerable pedigree, but it was in fact a paraphrasing – and misinterpretation – of the words of a Catholic tutor, Richard Lassels, in the preface to his guidebook, *The voyage of Italy*, published in Paris in 1670 two years after his death.[42] Lassels's preface was discussing the host of advantages that travel abroad brought, from teaching travellers

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[39] Adrian Seville, *The Royal Game of the Goose: 400 Years of Printed Board Games* (New York: The Grolier Club, 2016), 65-67.

[40] On German and Dutch travel theorists in the second half of the sixteenth century, see Justin Stagl, "The Methodising of Travel in the 16th Century," *History and Anthropology* 4, no. 2 (1990): 303-338. Taking in a wider timeframe as well as British writers, see Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Instructions for Travellers: Teaching the Eye to See," *History and Anthropology* 9, nos. 2/3 (1996): 139-190. See also George B. Parks, "Travel as Education," in *The Seventeenth Century: Studies in the History of English Thought and Literature from Bacon to Pope*, ed. Richard Foster Jones (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965), 264-290.

[41] John Feltham, *The English Enchiridion; Being a Selection of Apothegms, Moral Maxims, etc* (Bath: printed by R. Cruttwell, 1799), 2.

[42] Richard Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy, or, A Compleat Journey through Italy …* (Paris, 1670), aiii recto: 'its certain, that if this world be a great *book*, as *S. Augustine* calls it, none study this *great Book* so much as the Traveler. They that never stir from home, read onely one page of this *Book*'. On the life of Lassels, see Edward Chaney, "Richard Lassels and the Establishment of the Grand Tour: Catholic Cosmopolitans and Royalists in Exile, 1630-1660" (PhD diss., Warburg Institute, 1982).

hardiness, humbleness, foreign languages, good manners and taste, to benefitting their country through professional development – and this edifying aspect of travel was the central tenet of the ideology behind the Grand Tour.

The Grand Tour was seen as providing an extension (or alternative) to school and university learning that, as we have seen, was heavily based on classical texts and wisdom. Lassels exhibited the degree to which movement through foreign lands was wrapped up in textual understandings of landscape when he coined the term "Grand Tour":

> In fine, its an excellent Commentary upon histories; and no man understands *Livy* and *Caesar*, *Guicciardin* and *Monluc*, like him, who hath made exactly the *Grand Tour* of France, and the *Giro* of Italy.[43]

According to Lassels, then, travelling around France and Italy could enhance knowledge of classical antiquity. Consequently, much of tourists' attention was directed towards the material remains of ancient Rome.[44] However, Lassels also referenced more recent histories of France and Italy that might help the traveller grasp the nature of contemporary foreign cultures and political systems, the assessment of which was also seen as a key outcome of travel abroad.

A famous British proponent of foreign travel was Francis Bacon, who, in his expanded book of essays, published in 1625, put forward a prescriptive method of how to travel for personal and societal benefit.[45] First of all, Bacon required that the traveller 'must

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[43] Lassels, *Voyage*, unpaginated. As implied by the italics, the term is most likely borrowed from the French language. In the preface, Lassels apologises for the use of 'exotick words' (a ii verso), justifying his imports on the grounds that they had precise, technical meanings, such as 'Coupolas' to describe church architecture. It is quite possible that the term "Grand Tour" was appropriated from the historic practice of French itinerant journeymen who would conduct a "tour de France" as part of their training.

[44] On the prevalence of antiquarian themes in the early seventeenth-century travel texts of George Sandys and Thomas Coryate, among others, see Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 139-168.

[45] Bacon's essays were first published in 1597, with the essay "Of Trauaile" appearing in a revised and enlarged later edition: Francis Bacon, *The essayes or counsels, ciuill and morall, of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban* (London: Printed by Iohn Haviland for Hanna Barret, 1625), 100-104.

have some entrance into the language before he goeth' so as not to waste time on the rudiments of languages when abroad. Next, Bacon recommended that travellers procure an experienced, knowledgeable and well-connected tutor who 'may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go; what acquaintances they are to seek'. Bacon then advised that the traveller should 'carry with him also some card [i.e. map] or book describing the country', to help comprehend any observations made, which must be kept in a diary for future use. Among some final points of advice, including how to cultivate the acquaintance of 'persons of quality', Bacon stated that the traveller should 'sequester himself from the company of his countrymen'. In Bacon's eyes, then, total immersion in the local culture was better for soaking up the benefits of foreign travel.

Thus, travel was seen as providing a chance to acquire knowledge for the good of society, gained by empirical observation. This soon extended to the artistic and architectural achievements of the Italian Renaissance and the contemporary politics, manners and language of noble society in both France and Italy. Over time, travel to Italy came to incorporate more and more the refinement and cultivation of taste and connoisseurship.[46] Travel abroad continued to be a dominant part of the elite educational discourse for a long time before coming increasingly under attack in the eighteenth century on a number of fronts, not least because the reality of individual pleasure often trumped the ideals of personal development and societal benefit.[47]

[46] Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), 203-214.

[47] Michèle Cohen, "Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth-Century England," in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, ed. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (London: Longman, 1999), 44-61 and Michèle Cohen, "The Grand Tour. Language, National Identity and Masculinity," *Changing English* 8, no. 2 (October 2001): 129-41. It is worth pointing out that travel to France and Italy was a source of tension for some in the British Isles from the outset. There was a persistent counter-current against foreign travel to Italy, broadly on the grounds of the dangers of its religious and moral depravity, that arose almost contemporaneously with its promotion, for which see Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), esp. 41-73 on Roger Ascham's *The Scholemaster* (1570).

A princely education: Bute the tutor

George's most successful tutor was John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, a man of wide interests with particular achievements in botanical science. Educated at Eton College and Leiden University, Bute did not have an opportunity to undertake a Grand Tour to Italy himself until after his political fall from grace.[48] Before he became George's tutor, the Scottish nobleman had been in Prince Frederick's circle of intimates since the late 1740s, and after Frederick's death in 1751, he remained close to Princess Augusta. As indicated by a letter dating to June 1756, it seems that Bute had been attending on George since the summer of 1755, and this was probably the time when he formally took charge of George's education.[49] Indeed, after George's request a couple of months earlier, George II appointed Bute as Groom of the Stole in September 1756, confirming the earl's high standing in George's princely household. Bute was well-read and he fostered similar interests in the arts and sciences in his charge. For instance, encouraged by his tutor's knowledge of architectural history, George developed a keen interest in it too, although the teaching of architecture and drawing was to be done by others.[50] Bute's good example as a scholar, connoisseur and bibliophile was grafted onto George's collecting activities too, for in the late 1750s and early 1760s, it was Bute's energy that drove many of the acquisitions for the royal collections, including the General Atlas. After his fall from grace, Bute amassed a respectable library and collections of paintings and specimens in his own right, and it is through his correspondence with agents and dealers in Italy that he showed himself to have an acute awareness of rare and old maps.[51]

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[48] An in-depth study of Bute's life is found in Francis Russell, *John, 3rd Earl of Bute: Patron & Collector* (London: Merrion Press, 2004), see esp. 28-42, 55-59, and 217-227 for his early relationship with George and the royal collections.
[49] Romney Sedgwick, ed., *Letters from George III to Lord Bute, 1756-1766* (London: MacMillan and Co. Ltd, 1939), 2: George to Bute, 31 June 1756, 'I have had the pleasure of your friendship during the space of a year'.
[50] David Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (London: Royal Collection Publications, 2004), 55-75 and 56: 'It is impossible to over-emphasise the importance of Bute in shaping the tastes of the future George III in everything from art and architecture to the collection of scientific instruments'.
[51] Russell, *Bute*, 114: in January 1772 Bute is recorded as requesting rare maps, which in some cases were 150 years old, from his friend, scholar, and later English ambassador at Venice, John Strange.

In fact, as we shall see in the following section, he was to bring this carto-bibliographic knowledge to bear vis-à-vis collecting for the King's Topographical Collection as a part of the comprehensive moral and cultural education he planned for George. Since George never travelled abroad on a Grand Tour of Europe like so many of his peers, his experience of the world beyond the shores of Britain was through his maps and other geographical learning – not travel itself. But before turning to the evidence from the King's Topographical Collection, the current section will explore the remarkable assemblage of documents from George's childhood preserved at the Royal Archives at Windsor: a great number of essays written by the prince in his teenage years have survived, as well as other related papers. Though not securely dated, many of George's surviving essays are estimated to be from the middle years of the 1750s on the basis of their subject matter and sophistication. Moreover, the material covered by these essays exhibits a broad curriculum, ranging from British politics, history, European languages, mathematics, natural sciences and, of course, geography; their content reveals that George had a rather traditional, although bespoke, education in eighteenth-century terms. And by analysing the essays in relation to the maps in the Italian volumes, we can build up the fullest possible picture of George's geographic education, allowing us not only to grasp the role of maps within that education, but also to discern the prince's geographical imagination of Italy.

Although most of what George and Bute corresponded about were the political and military events happening in the late 1750s, the didactic element to their relationship evidently remained long after George came of age in 1756. In an undated letter, estimated to be from September 1758, George wrote: 'I therefore desire that we may regulate my studys, and that you would at least once a week examine what I have done'.[52] Thus, Bute was not just playing the political mentor to George in his young adulthood, but was still performing in his capacity as an educator. As George would have been 20 years old at this point, this role would have been akin to a university supervisor.

[52] Sedgwick, *George*, 14-16; the undated letter has a similar character to another from George to Bute dated 30 September 1758, in which George noted 'I have just receiv'd the books'.

The close attention and focused direction of Bute's influence on George's education is clear. One anonymous document, presumed to be written by Bute on the basis of the handwriting, spelled out a treatise on educating princes.[53] It began by acknowledging that 'Nothing can be of greater importance to any society of Men, than the Characters of those who govern, or who are to govern in it', which are formed 'almost intirely' by their education. The foremost intention of this educational plan, then, was to inculcate a sense of morality: 'a Horror of Vice may be contrasted on every occasion with the beauty of Virtue'.[54] Indeed, John Bullion has argued that Bute's relative success with the prince compared to his predecessors lay in his giving George a vision of the future to work towards – a mission of moral and virtuous reformation in British politics and society – as well as instilling confidence in him to do so.[55]

The document then goes on to briefly enumerate the subjects that should be taught to princes, with the second half of the text recounting an acceptable version of modern history beginning in the fifteenth century. In line with typical eighteenth-century curricula, as reviewed above, the author values learning ancient Greek and particularly Latin, the reason being: 'Their Histories indeed, contain many great Examples and many wise Reflexions; and both their Histories and their Poetry may contribute to elevate the sentiments with the love of Virtue'.[56] Indeed, this sentiment was reflected in one of George's essays on antiquity, in which he argued that 'the great action of Regulus will furnish us a proof of this assertion': virtuous men sprang from 'the ability with which the Legislatures of those Nations united the Publick & Private interest'.[57]

Though the Knapton portrait (fig. 3.1) is slightly before Bute's time, these documents cast a different light on it. The plan that George was represented holding was chosen as a suitably princely scientific instrument and no doubt reflected his personal fascination with cartography. But the fact that it was a plan of Portsmouth was

[53] RA GEO/ADD/32/1731.
[54] RA GEO/ADD/32/1731, ff. 1 and 3.
[55] John L. Bullion, "The Prince's Mentor: A New Perspective on the Friendship between George III and Lord Bute during the 1750s," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 21, no. 1 (Spring, 1989): 34-55.
[56] RA GEO/ADD/32/1731, f. 3.
[57] RA GEO/ADD/32/680, ff. 1-2.

designed to convey an appropriate sense of duty concerning the defence of the nation, both by the depiction of its fortifications and as its place as a chief harbour of Britain. This kind of study would surely have been considered the kind of 'wise conduct' that had been recommended to George in a pamphlet on ruling written by his father, Frederick, then looking down on him.[58] It is also an endeavour that would have been encouraged by Bute in preparing George for kingship. Indeed, it was through his early interactions with maps that George developed the lifelong passion that caused one contemporary biographer to remark:

> Topography is one of the King's favourite studies; he copies every capital chart, takes models of all celebrated fortifications, knows the soundings of the chief harbours in Europe, and the strong and weak sides of most of the fortified towns.[59]

Indeed, the two prevailing subjects in the plan for educating princes were 'not only ornamental but useful to be learned by Children and even by such Children as we speak of here: A knowledge of chronology for instance, and much more of Geography'.[60] The kind of geography proposed by the document accords with what modern scholars have detected about eighteenth-century practices: namely, that to an extent it was assimilated into the teaching of other subjects:

> A competent knowledge of Geography is to be had without teaching it as a distinct science… We may learn it, if I may say so, by the by, in reading of Histories, of Voyages, and even of Gazette's, by observing on the Maps the position of Countries, of Towns, of Rivers and of Mountains relatively to one another.[61]

So whilst knowledge of foreign places was acquired through diverse methods, "On Travelling", an intriguing two-page essay by George, demonstrates that the prince appreciated that travel was also a manner of acquiring knowledge, focusing almost entirely on the benefits of a journey to Italy. Though George does not employ the phrase, the essay spells out the educational benefits of a conventional Grand Tour,

[58] RA GEO/MAIN/54230r: 'A Wise and Brave Prince, may often times, without armies put a stop to the confusion … Many times t'is done only by the Weight of his Authority, which may be got no other way, than by a Wise Settled and Steady conduct'.
[59] Ingram Cobbin, *Georgiana: or, Anecdotes of George the Third* (London: W. Whittemore, 1820), 16.
[60] RA GEO/ADD/32/1731, f. 4.
[61] RA GEO/ADD/32/1731, f. 5.

which consisted, according to George, of 'the knowledge of the Customs, dispositions, Laws, & Characters of the Nations we have visited'.[62] The points covered in the essay are not novel and were standard arguments of travel theory by the eighteenth-century – George was likely paraphrasing a travel text. For instance, just as we read in Bacon earlier, George conceded that in acquiring knowledge of foreign places a younger traveller required 'the judicious representations of his conductor' in order to focus his mind. Or, displaying an aversion to fellow countrymen while abroad, George argued that one should visit a town 'not much frequented by foreigners, there to learn the language', noting that Siena or Pisa are good places for this activity.[63]

A very prominent motive for travelling to Italy in the essay is that it provided the opportunity to see the places famous in classical Roman literature, both prose and verse, and also the material remains of antiquity.

> The Roman History should be a little run over that the places famous in that History for battles & other memorable events may be particularly notic'd; also the Antient Poets as far as [they] paint any of the beautys of Italy; An[ti]quitys as far as relates to that Country with those materials.[64]

Just like Lassels before him, George thus saw the value of an Italian Grand Tour as bringing classical literature to life. The memory of the classics was both extracted from and grafted onto the landscape; authors reacted to vestiges of antiquity by citing remembered verses in reverie and sought out specific sites for their importance in ancient texts. There was thus something of a privileging of topography that had a literary pedigree. Scholars have judged the early eighteenth-century traveller Joseph Addison, whose *Remarks on several parts of Italy* was first published in 1705, as epitomising this mode of travel and classical reverence when interacting with the

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[62] RA GEO/ADD/32/1734, ff. 1-2.
[63] The people of Tuscany, and of Siena in particular, were regarded as speaking the best form of Italian; for instance Tobias Smollett, writing about Siena in 1765: 'the inhabitants pique themselves upon their politeness, and the purity of their dialect. Certain it is, some strangers reside in this place on purpose to learn the best pronunciation of the Italian tongue'. Tobias Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 245.
[64] RA GEO/ADD/32/1734, ff. 1-2.

Italian landscape.[65] Though Addison's manner was criticised by some, the instinctual reaction of many grand tourists when confronted with antique ruins was recourse to passages of classical literature that would have been first taught in their youth.[66]

Whilst George argued that it is best for travellers not to spend too much time around fellow countrymen, he did have some advice on what company should be kept: 'I would recommend the cultivating the acquaintance of all Men of Letters'.[67] Though he was never to conduct such a trip in reality, in his essay George was proposing the ideal activities for a conventional Grand Tour: learning foreign languages fluently, mixing with local scholars and viewing antiquities. And if we examine some of the material that was being brought in to the royal geographical collections in the late 1750s and early 1760s under the direction of Bute, we get a sense that George's tutor was trying to compensate for this fact by using the royal geographical collections to fire George's imagination with material of the cultural wonders of Italy from the comfort of his library.

Bute and the Italian acquisitions for the General Atlas

Correspondence between Bute and one of the royal librarians, Richard Dalton, indicates that he had been giving specific instructions about what to buy for the royal collections. Dalton had been a librarian for George since 1755 and had visited Italy on more than one occasion to act as his representative and agent in buying books, paintings and maps; he became keeper of medals and drawings and subsequently surveyor of the King's pictures in 1774. During his third trip to Italy, Dalton wrote in one letter to Bute dated 3 March 1759: 'According to your orders … [I] have purchas'd

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[65] Nigel Leask, "Eighteenth-Century Travel Writing," in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, ed. Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 94-95.

[66] There is of course an element of literary artifice in such a practice. Nevertheless, see, for instance, Smollett, *Travels*, 260: Smollett, when viewing the Mausoleum of Augustus in Rome, 'remembered Virgil's pathetic description of Marcellus, who was here intombed.

Quantos ille virum, magnum mavortis ad urbem
Campus aget gemitus, vel que Tyberine, videbis
Funera, cum tumulum, preter labere recentem'.

[67] RA GEO/ADD/32/1734, f. 1.

the Maps of Cantelli, Magini & Ameti'.[68] In asking for these maps, Bute was not only displaying a good knowledge of Italian cartography, but also, in hoping to procure exemplary topographical pieces, was acting in his educative role to improve George's cultural knowledge of Italy.

The letters to Bute also relate that during that same trip Dalton had made contact with the British consul in Venice, Joseph Smith, in late March 1759, enquiring after the prospect of purchasing the diplomat's library.[69] Though the negotiations faltered, possibly because of the ongoing Seven Years War, they were ultimately successful. Dalton returned in December 1762 to finalise the deal and supervise the transfer of the items. The purchase of Smith's vast library and art collection greatly increased the holdings of the King's Library and elevated its status respectably.[70] Furthermore, it accounts for the richness of the material in the topographical collection, particularly of architectural volumes, on Venice and the Venetian Republic.

Also in 1762 negotiations were proceeding between architect James Adam, acting as George's representative, and Cardinal Alessandro Albani about the purchase of his collection.[71] The letters from Adam document the back and forth of the sale in some detail and also make it clear that Bute was supervising the purchase of the collection for George's library. The reasons for Bute's wanting it are clear, for the Albani Collection had a distinguished history. In 1721 Albani inherited the collection of his uncle, Pope Clement XI, who in 1703 had purchased the "Paper Museum" of Cassiano dal Pozzo's as well as Roman artist Carlo Maratta's collection. Assembled during the seventeenth century for the most part by Cassiano and his younger brother Carlo Antonio, the Paper Museum contained roughly 7,000 prints, drawings and watercolours. It was conceived as an attempt to embrace and record all human

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[68] Russell, *Bute*, 223; Russell appends a selection of letters held in Mount Stuart Archive. Maps by Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola, Giovanni Antonio Magini, and Giacomo Filippo Ameti are still in the King's Topographical Collection today.
[69] Antony Griffiths, "The Prints and Drawings in the Library of Consul Joseph Smith," *Print Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (June 1991): 127-129.
[70] Cf. John Brooke, "The Library of King George III," *The Yale University Library Gazette* 52, no. 1 (1977): 35.
[71] On the sale and Adam as representative, see principally, John Fleming, "Cardinal Albani's Drawings at Windsor: Their Purchase by James Adam for George III," *The Connoisseur* 142, (July-December 1958): 164-169.

knowledge in visual form, reflecting the far-reaching taste, erudition and ambition of its creator.

After the importance of the dispersed print collection of dal Pozzo, now mainly split between the British Library and Windsor Castle, was raised by Antony Griffiths in 1989, work began on a project to reconstruct its contents.[72] Working on the catalogue that includes cartographic material, Mark McDonald has been able to positively identify ninety maps in the King's Topographical Collection that could be traced to dal Pozzo on the basis of original mounts, marks and stamps. Though it seems highly likely that many of the Italian printed maps of the sixteenth, and possibly even the early seventeenth, century in the King's Topographical Collection originated in the dal Pozzo collection, the majority have lost all physical trace of their original context and, therefore, we cannot be certain of their provenance.[73] Nevertheless, it is fair to say that by purchasing Albani's collection, Bute acquired a wealth of rare, historic topographical material on Italy for George. For it was only by purchasing pre-existing collections like Albani's that eighteenth-century map collectors could acquire historic material, as there were no antiquarian map dealers in today's manner.[74]

One of the historic mapmakers whom Bute had requested by name was Giacomo Filippo Ameti, who produced maps of the region of Lazio in the late seventeenth century. If we look at some of the details on a map by Ameti in the King's roads are Topographical Collection, then we can grasp why Bute would have wanted George to have it. Ameti's map of the region around Rome, *Il Lazio, con le sue piu cospicue strade, antiche e moderne e principali casali e tenute di esso*, was published in 1693 by Domenico di Rossi in four parts, the area being split into two "terrestrial" and two "maritime" sheets, that is, inland and coastal.[75] As the title professed, the map shows

[72] Antony Griffiths, "The Print Collection of Cassiano dal Pozzo," *Print Quarterly* 6, no. 1 (March 1989): 2-10.
[73] Mark P. McDonald, *The Print Collection of Cassiano Dal Pozzo: Architecture, Topography and Military Maps* (London: Royal Collection Trust and the British Library in association with Harvey Miller, 2019), 1:1-12 and 3:497. McDonald adopted a cautious approach for inclusion in the catalogue, so the real count is likely to be higher.
[74] However, old stock could remain in shops for decades if too many were printed, on which see Mary Sponberg Pedley, *The Commerce of Cartography: Making and Marketing Maps in Eighteenth-Century France and England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 78.
[75] BL Maps K.Top.81.5.a-d.

Figure 3.4: Giacomo Filippo Ameti, *Il Lazio, con le sue piu cospicue strade, antiche e moderne e principali casali e tenute di esso. Parte Prima Maritima*, Rome: Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi, 1693. © The British Library Board. Maps K.Top.81.5.

the region's road network, both ancient and modern, in quite some detail. In the first maritime part of the map, portraying the area immediately around Rome, ancient roads dominate (fig. 3.4) – the many solid lines signify ancient roads, while modern ones are marked by dotted lines. These roads radiate outwards from the city's gates,

whose numbers correspond to a key that lists both their ancient and modern names. There is, in fact, an even stronger emphasis on the antiquarian topographical elements than the title suggested, as we can see depictions of half-ruined aqueducts winding through the Roman landscape. Indeed, toponyms are registered in Latin and Italian all over the map.

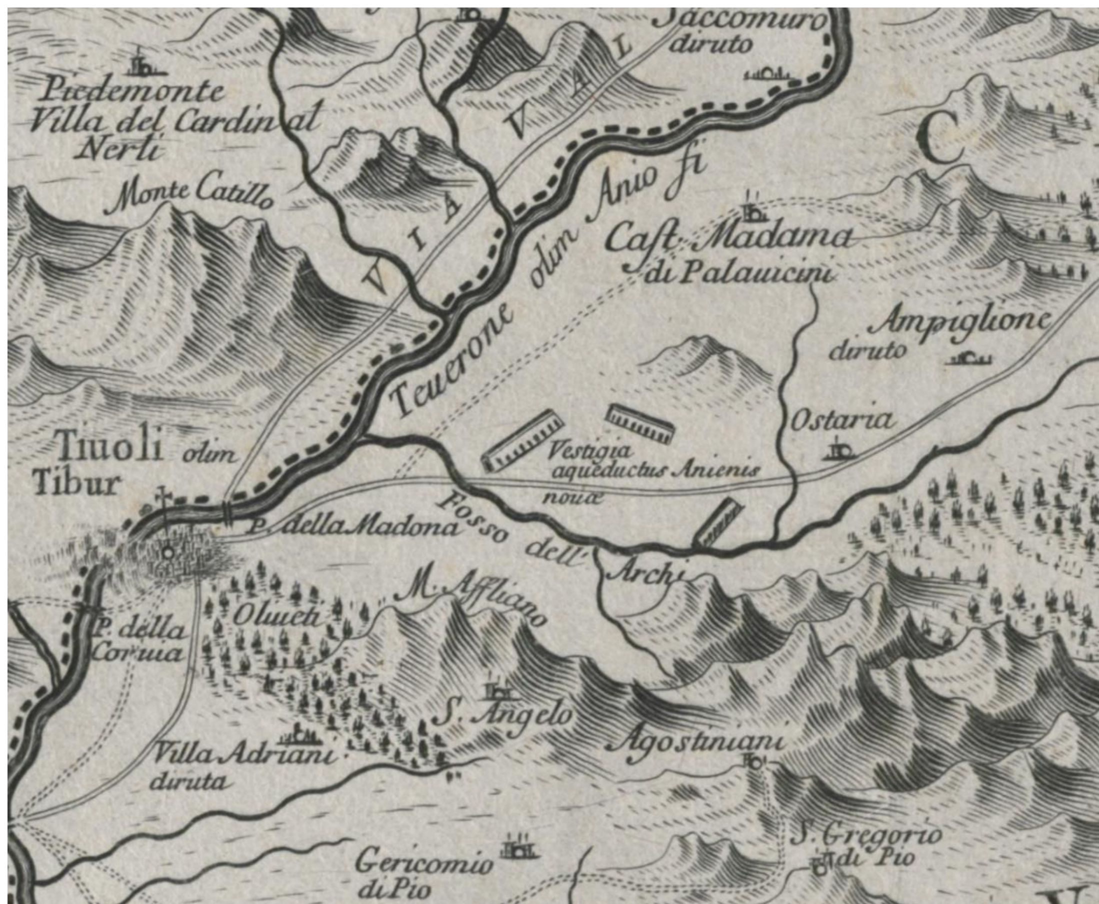

Figure 3.5: Detail of Giacomo Filippo Ameti, *Il Lazio, con le sue piu cospicue strade, antiche e moderne e principali casali e tenute di esso. Parte Prima Terrestre*, Rome: Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi, 1693. © The British Library Board. Maps K.Top.81.5.

The first terrestrial part of Ameti's map, depicting an area further inland to the north west of Rome, similarly provides topographical features that would have interested a grand tourist. Ameti continued his practice of mapping antiquarian sites, particularly visible around the town of Tivoli, a destination visited by British travellers: the map marks the remains of the Aqua Anio Novus to the south-east of Tivoli, while the ruins of Hadrian's villa, a perennial stopping point, are helpfully located nearby to the south (fig. 3.5). There is also an interest in the social landscape of Lazio, for the villages and occasionally villas under the influence or possession of prominent Italian families are

marked, seen dotted throughout the countryside. For instance, the villa of Cardinal Francesco Nerli (1636-1708) is proudly labelled at Piedemonte, a short distance north-west of Tivoli. Though by George's time the cardinal's connection to this place would have been a historic note, it does foreground the aspect of the aristocratic Grand Tour that George touched upon in his essay – namely, cultivating 'Men of Letters'. One final feature remains to be noted which relates to a more quotidian aspect of travel: signs for "Ostaria" – roadside inns – are scattered along the roads throughout Ameti's map. In 1815, Richard Colt Hoare recommended Ameti's maps of Lazio in the bibliography of his guidebook, *Hints to Travellers in Italy*, noting their portrayal the Roman roads.[76] But perhaps it was also Ameti's rare attention to this practical feature of the traveller's landscape that prompted his recommendation. Whilst we can speculate as to the reasons why Bute requested Ameti's maps for George's pleasure or education through a detailed examination, preserved in the volume for Sicily is a more concrete and extraordinary instance of princely geography homework.

Learning with maps: The Sicilian assignment

Having reviewed the status of geography and travel in eighteenth-century education in general and the deployment of maps in classrooms, the following case study elaborates on how maps from the General Atlas were used for George's geographic education through a case study. Prior research has uncovered some instances of maps in the King's Topographical Collection having been used for education, but so far, this aspect has not been examined in depth.[77] Giving this aspect greater consideration, the case study involves two maps of Sicily from the King's Topographical that were anonymously annotated in such a way that suggests they were part of a piece

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[76] Richard Colt Hoare, *Hints to Travellers in Italy* (London: John Murray, 1815), 98: 'N.B. In this chart the course of the Roman roads is laid down'.

[77] For instance, William Augustus, a son of George II, was taught about the complex balance of power between Germanic states in the Holy Roman Empire with a bespoke map coloured for that purpose, which was inherited by George; BL Maps K.Top.87.38. For a discussion of that map, see Peter Barber and Tom Harper, *Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda and Art* (London: British Library, 2010), 150-151. Similarly, the map depicted in the Knapton family portrait – and held by George – is in fact based on one found in the King's Topographical Collection: John Peter Desmaretz's plan of the fortifications of Portsmouth dating to 1750; BL Maps K.Top.14.29, .30, .41. On the identification, see Barber, "George III as a Map Collector."

Figure 3.6: Pierre Duval, *La Sicile, Avec les anciens noms de presque toutes ses Places, Riveres, Chasteaux et diverses observations nouvelles*, Paris: Rue Froimanteau [Pierre Moullart-Sanson], [after 1710]. © The British Library Board. Maps K.Top.84.15.

of princely geography homework. By attending to the marginalia, as advocated by Grenby and Immel, we can reveal not only the lesson's intention, providing a rare opportunity to examine geographical teaching in practice, but also who was involved. Overall, the case study suggests how learning through maps became part of George's armchair exploration of the world through the topographical material provided for

him by his tutor, Bute, and others. Moreover, in an exemplary fashion, it demonstrates how maps and map use were part of the process of constructing grand tourists' geographical imaginations of Italy.

The first map of the case study is a version of Pierre Duval's *La Sicile, Avec les anciens noms de presque toutes ses Places, Riveres, Chasteaux et diverses observations nouvelles*, which was first printed in 1675 and was included in Duval's 1677 atlas, *Cartes de geographie les plus nouvelles et les plus fideles*.[78] George's copy of Duval's map is a later reissue, which we can tell from the changes made to the copperplate, done after 1710, by Pierre Moullart-Sanson (fig. 3.6). Faint traces of the erased original publication details are still visible in the cartouche in the bottom left of the map, which now includes a new signature: 'chez le Sr. Sanson, G[eographe]. de R[oi]., rue Froimanteau'.[79] The topography of Sicily remains the same between editions, portraying the political boundaries in the island, locating its rivers and mountains – including a dramatic, erupting Mount Etna – and giving the names of towns in Italian and Latin wherever possible. Indeed, Duval's *La Sicile* is a rather standard representation of Sicily for its time, based on a compilation of proxy sources as opposed to on-the-ground survey, but George's copy is transformed into a remarkable object because of the handwritten annotations below the margin. Translated from French, the inscription reads:

> You should write the names of the seas I have circled in pencil on the maps that you are working on. It is necessary that each section has both names of its sea: for example, 'the Sea of Sicily formerly the Ionian Sea' should be written on the map where Messina is, the same thing for where Syracuse is, and so on. I am sending the sheet where Messina is for that reason, and the general map so you can write down the matching names of the seas. I am in quite a hurry about everything. I am also sending another of two sheets stuck together so you can put the names of

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[78] Mireille Pastoureau, *Les Atlas Français XVIe-XVIIe Siècles: Répertoire Bibliographique et Étude* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, Département des cartes et plans, 1984), 345.

[79] According to Ronald Tooley, Pierre Moullart-Sanson worked from premises on the Rue Froimanteau in Paris from 1710, giving us a *terminus post quem*, for which see Ronald Vere Tooley, *Tooley's Dictionary of Mapmakers* (Tring: Map Collector Publications, 1979), 559. It seems likely that this map of Sicily was reissued to be included in the undated Sanson family atlas, *Les Tables et les cartes de la Géographie Ancienne et Nouvelle*, that was also published at Rue Froimanteau (and therefore the work of Pierre Moullart-Sanson), for which see Pastoureau, *Atlas Français*, 416-417.

> the seas there. Do not forget above all to mark the Lipari Islands.[80]

As the inscription suggests, the various seas surrounding Sicily are circled in pencil; the author of the note even repeated the exact wording that was printed on the map to the east of the island: 'Mer de Sicile autrefois Mer Ioniene'. The marginalia thus appear to be the rubric of a map-based learning exercise. Reflecting the contemporary emphasis on the learning of facts, the objective with this map was to learn the names of marine regions surrounding Sicily. But the instructions called for a more creative and embodied engagement with the geography rather than straightforward memorisation by rote. The lesson encouraged an approach closer to learning-by-doing, asking for the highlighted features to be reproduced by the student on a separate map.

The marginalia also mention a second map in two sheets ('J'envoye aussi celle en deux feuilles'). In George's copy of Joseph Archivolti Cavassi's *L'Isle et Royaume de Sicile* (fig. 3.7), published in 1714 by Nicolas de Fer, we find a map that not only fits the physical description, being two sheets stuck together, but also one that has been annotated in a similar fashion. In itself, Cavassi's map provides a fascinating portrait of Sicily, since the mapmaker has put short captions underneath certain places, evoking a paradigmatic historical or mythological event or recalling a specific literary reference, to give them extra significance. And it is this descriptive topographical information that the annotator was drawing attention to with pencil highlighting. Some of the larger cities in Sicily have been circled, such as Syracuse and Agrigento, which is famed for its Grecian ruins, but so too are lesser towns such as Trapani and Lentini. Each of the circled places carries a historic, literary or even mythological description. For instance, under Syracuse we can read about the ancient siege of 214-212 BC: 'Archimedes was protected for a long time by his knowledge of mathematics

[80] The transcription runs: 'Il faut ecrire sur les cartes ou vous travailles les noms des Mers quejais entouré au Crayon il faut que chaque quart porte le nom repette des Mers / exemple Mer de Sicile autrefois Mer Ioniene se écrira sur la carte ou est Messine a la mesme chose sur celle ou est Siracuse &c. J'envoye ~~celles~~ le quart ou est Messine pour cela et la carte generalle pour y mettre les mesmes noms de Mer. Je suis bien presse du tous / J'envoye aussy celle en deux feuilles collées ensemble pour y mettre les noms des Mers. N'oublies pas saus touttes de mettre isles de Lipari'. Translations are the author's own.

Figure 3.7: Joseph Archivolti Cavassi, *L'Isle et Royaume de Sicile*, Paris: Nicolas de Fer, 1714. © The British Library Board. Maps K.Top.84.21.

against the attacks of the Roman fleet commanded by the Consul Marcellus'.[81] Trapani, in the west of the island, is connected explicitly to a passage in Virgil's *Aeneid*

[81] 'Saragousa ou Archimede par sa Science dans les Mathematiques se defendit long temps contre les attaques de la Flotte Romaine commandée par le Consul Marcellus'.

by its description that notes it was 'where Anchises, the father of Aeneas, died. Virg. Aen. 3'.[82] By contrast, the island's capital city, Palermo, is not circled; presumably as the map reveals nothing more about the place than its Latin name, Panormus. Taking in all the circled sites, a carefully selected picture of Sicily is constructed whereby places are defined by these singular episodes; classical heritage is particularly, though not exclusively, prized. Under Catania, the description that states 'the city was entirely ruined by an earthquake in the year 1593 [1693]' is also circled.[83]

So while the purpose of the inscription was to give the instructions to a geographical learning exercise, what can we glean from it as to the identities of the people involved? At first glance, it might seem surprising that a note on a map in the King's Topographical Collection was written in French, but not when we consider that language learning was a common practice for royal and upper class children. For instance, we know that George II had employed a French cartographer and grammarian, Jean Palairet (1697-1774), to tutor his own children in French, and that George III himself learned French in addition to German and Latin.[84] Indeed, it is noteworthy that the author of the marginalia used the courtesy form 'vous' instead of 'tu', an inversion of the common teacher-student hierarchy that we might otherwise expect. But this would make sense if the recipient was of such high social status – princely even – that the author had to address them so politely.

As an educator of both French and geography with connections to the royal household, Palairet could have been the annotator of these maps. He produced *A New Royal French Grammar*, which went through multiple editions in the eighteenth century and was in fact dedicated to his royal pupil, William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland – George's uncle.[85] Moreover, in 1755, Palairet created the *Atlas Méthodique*, a creative learning atlas for children. The *Atlas Méthodique* was divided into sections that cover designated areas in turn, beginning with the continents of the world before

[82] '… ou mourut Anchise Pere d'Enée. Virg. Aen. 3'. Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, III.707-711.
[83] 'Cette Ville fut entierement ruinée par le Tremblement de Terre l'An. 1593'.
[84] Jean Palairet, *A New Royal French Grammar*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed for John Nourse, 1733). The title page described Palairet as 'Writing-Master to Their Royal Highnesses the Duke, Princess *Mary*, and Princess *Louisa*' and cf. Shefrin, *Such Constant Affection*, 22-25. John Brooke, *King George III* (London: Constable, 1972), 42.
[85] Palairet, *French Grammar*, iii-iv.

moving to individual European countries. Each section contains a series of three or four maps, which add further topographical details to the area with each iteration, thereby building up geographical knowledge of the world progressively. Had Palairet annotated Duval's map of Sicily as a lesson for William Augustus, then it is possible that the map became incorporated into the King's Topographical Collection after George inherited the Cumberland Collection in 1765.[86]

Despite Palairet's relevant expertise and his relationship to George II and his children, a comparison of the marginalia with other documents penned by Palairet leaves this supposition inconclusive at best.[87] But there was another gentleman circulating around the Hanoverian royal family who had a similar interest in cartography and closer matching handwriting. That man was Johann Caspar Wettstein, who, significantly, as we learned above, had already been involved in sending maps to George in the past. Further contextual information strengthens the likelihood of Wettstein's authorship of the marginalia. A scholar in his own right, Wettstein corresponded with Swiss mathematician Leonhard Euler during the 1740s and 1750s, with whom he discussed and exchanged the latest maps.[88] And although Wettstein was born in the predominately German-speaking Basel, it is entirely plausible that he would have been taught the French cursive style used by the annotator of Duval's map. Indeed, Wettstein's handwriting bears a resemblance to that of the Sicily map inscription (fig. 3.8), and, whilst there are some minor differences, it is closer to it than Palairet's.[89]

Further evidence from which we can infer that the map was sent by Wettstein to George comes from the content of the lesson itself. While many of the highlighted places on Cavassi's map relate to extraordinary classical or mythological events, the

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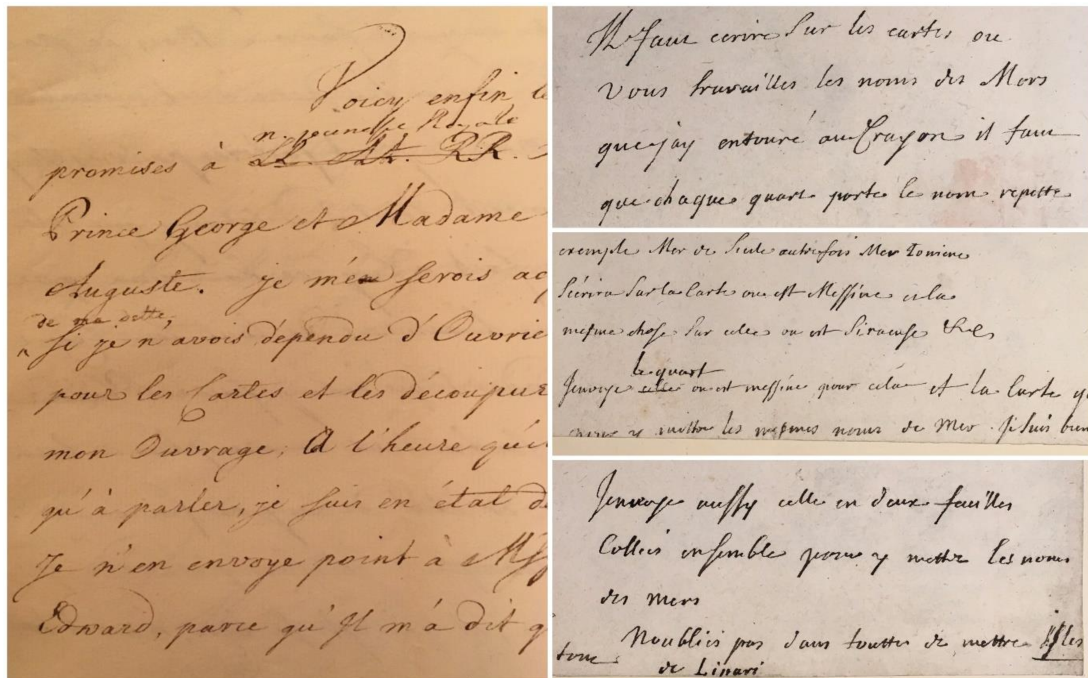
[86] Peter Barber, "George III and His Geographical Collection," in *The Wisdom of George the Third: Papers from a Symposium at The Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace, June 2004*, ed. Jonathan Marsden (London: Royal Collection, 2005), 270.
[87] Cf. BL Add. MS 38729 ff. 188-196.
[88] For more details about Wettstein's life, see Barber, *A Curious Colony*, 20-29. See Euler's Correspondence with Wettstein, available on the Euler Archive website. Accessed 28 March 2018.
http://eulerarchive.maa.org/correspondence/correspondents/Wettstein.html.
[89] BL Add. MS 38417, ff. 266-67. While there is a difference between the double 's', note the similar flourishes added to majuscule letters, namely in the Ls, Js and Cs, as well as the angular majuscule Ms; compare also the writing of 'envoye'.


Voicy enfin l
promises à L. A. R.
Prince George et Madame
Auguste. je m'en ferois ac
si je n'avois dependu d'Ouvri
pour les Cartes et les decoupeur
mon Ouvrage; A l'heure qu
qu'à parler, je suis en état d
Je n'en envoye point à M
Edward, parce qu'il m'a dit q

Il faut écrire sur les cartes ou
vous travailles les noms des Mers
que j'ay entouré au Crayon il faut
que chaques quart porte le nom repette

exemple Mer de Sicile autrefois Mer Ionienne
s'écrira sur la Carte ou est Messine cela
mesme chose sur celles ou est Siracuse &c
Jenvoye le quart ou est messine pour cela et la carte

Jenvoye aussy celle en deux feuilles
Collées ensemble pour y mettre les noms
des Mers
N'oubliés pas d'aussi de mettre Isles
de Linari

Figure 3.8: Wettstein (?) handwriting: A comparison between BL Add. MS 38417 f. 266r and the annotations on BL Maps K.Top.84.15.

circling of 'C. Passaro autrefois Promontorium Pachinum' is an exception. However, George's interest in the British Navy provides an explanation, for Cape Passaro, on the south-eastern tip of Sicily, marks the spot of a naval battle of 1718 in which a British fleet triumphed over the Spanish navy. Drawing attention to the location of the victory, this highlight, therefore, not only served as a patriotic reminder of a British triumph, but also was designed to pique George's personal interests.

Similar to the dissected maps he had sent to George and his brother, the care with which Wettstein attempted to engage George in the geography of Sicily through an innovative learning exercise is clear. But while the lesson was in part bespoke to George's interests, the annotations on Duval's *La Sicile* exclusively highlight the names of the seas around Sicily, a focus which broadly corresponds to the emphasis placed on fact learning in eighteenth-century geographical education. On the second map, *L'Isle et Royaume de Sicile*, Wettstein chose to highlight places that had been captioned with singular moments of classical history and mythology. It seems that the way Cavassi's map reduces places and sites of interest to a single, memorisable piece of information, which could be learned and repeated, was prized by Wettstein to teach George about Sicily. In fact, as a teaching method, places were defined by

paradigmatic events or facts increasingly in the late eighteenth century and nineteenth century in educational board games and geographical textbooks.[90]

The essence behind the lesson is in keeping with our understanding of long eighteenth-century educational methods, albeit employing an innovative approach. Engaging spatial and embodied learning, map drawing as a teaching exercise, was not widely adopted in schooling until later in the eighteenth century. Thus, by asking the pupil to reproduce place-names on a separate map to learn the maritime and terrestrial geography of Sicily, the assignment prefigured contemporary educational practices, similar to Wettstein's bespoke dissected maps. In analysing extra-textual marginalia such as we find on these maps, the case study allows for the transition between educational theory and practice. Indeed, the pencil circles over the Sicilian sites and seas indicate where George's attention was directed, and what types of knowledge was put to him. The concentration of the captions on ancient history and Greek and Roman literature not only ties into school and university curricula that drew heavily from the classics, but also connects the maps to the reverential attitudes that many British Grand Tourists affected when visiting antiquarian sites on the 'Classic Ground' of Italy.[91] Through the choice of map and the selected annotations, Wettstein directed George's eye towards a predominately antiquarian image of Sicilian geography. In this instance, then, we gain a better understanding of how maps contributed to George's conception of Sicily, and by extension revealing how they could fashion grand tourists' geographical imaginations of Italy.

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This chapter has explored how the annotations on two printed maps of Sicily transformed them into a unique lesson in geography whilst also setting this lesson within the wider context of eighteenth-century education. The transitory nature of map use makes understanding the processes involved in cartographic interactions problematic. Drawing on recent work in book history and the history of education

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[90] Cf. Jane Dove, "Teaching Children the Geography of England and Wales: An Analysis of Selected Georgian and Victorian Textbooks and Educational Pastimes," *Paedagogica Historica* 53, no. 4 (2017): 347-363.

[91] Joseph Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, &c.: In the Years 1701, 1702, 1703*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed for J. Tonson, 1718), ii.
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concerned with marginal dialogue, this chapter has focused on marginalia as a way of recapturing transient cartographic interactions from the past. In this instance, the marginalia exhibit for us a map-based learning exercise: the meanings of the two printed maps were, in effect, remade anew by the annotations, functioning as pedagogical tools in a fleeting episode of education in practice. The maps examined in the case study are, therefore, not simply a rare occurrence of cartography being deployed in the classroom in the mid-eighteenth century, but even more so, a telling episode in the education of a prince. With George benefitting from 'the constructive influence of Bute in every facet of his artistic and intellectual life', his tutors aimed to provide a broad cultural education.[92] Part of George's geographical knowledge was delivered through the topographical material of the King's Topographical Collection, an underappreciated facet of the collection, at the same time as when acquisitions were being overseen by Bute. While many of his peers were preparing to experience Italy on a Grand Tour, George's perception of the country was built solely through his use of geographical material such as maps. By examining this exemplary episode of cartographic interaction, this chapter has aimed, above all, to demonstrate how grand tourists' geographical imaginations of Italy could be fashioned, in conjunction with other material, through maps and map use.

The image of Sicily in Cavassi's map was steeped in classical culture to such an extent that the fictional mythological horrors in Homer's *Odyssey*, Scylla and Charybdis, that plagued the Strait of Messina were marked by a whirlpool and a rocky outcrop. Attempting to pass by the monster Scylla and the whirlpool Charybdis, Odysseus was shipwrecked and ended up floating to a mythical island known as Ogygia. The impact this story had on the minds of later cartographers and travellers affected not only the way the southern Italy was mapped in the early modern period, but also the expectations and experiences of one grand tourist in particular, as we shall discover in the next chapter.

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[92] Francis Russell, "Lord Bute and King George III," in *The Wisdom of George the Third: Papers from a Symposium at The Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace, June 2004*, ed. Jonathan Marsden (London: Royal Collection, 2005), 41.

Chapter 4

Topography

In May 1777, English grand tourist Henry Swinburne was making his way down the eastern coast of Calabria in southern Italy. He had decided to hire a felucca from Crotone to Catanzaro, because it would give him 'an opportunity of seeing some places that lie out of the direct route by land'.[1] One such place Swinburne wanted to visit was an island 'marked in every map as the habitation of Calypso'.[2] As a reader of Homer's *Odyssey*, Swinburne knew that Calypso was the goddess who had detained Odysseus for seven years after the Trojan War on an island known as Ogygia.[3] In the *Odyssey*, Homer had described how Odysseus floated to Ogygia on the wreckage of his ship, after he barely managed to escape the monster Scylla and the great whirlpool Charybdis that plagued sailors passing through the Straits of Messina:

> I let go my hands and feet and dropped myself way down to splash into the sea below, besides the timbers of floating wood. I clambered onto them, and used my hands to row myself away, and Zeus ensured that Scylla did not see me, or else I could not have survived. I drifted for nine days. On the evening of the tenth, the gods helped me to reach the island of the dreadful, beautiful, divine Calypso.[4]

No doubt Swinburne's interest had been piqued when he discovered that the mythical island appeared to exist, according to his maps, just a few miles off the coast near the Capo Colonna, south-east of Crotone. Of the few pages that Swinburne devoted to describing the journey south to Catanzaro, his trip to Ogygia was the main event. Yet his hopes for what he might encounter there were dashed by the reality of the island:

> Things must have changed wonderfully since the time of Ulysses, or the goddess have daily worked a miracle in providing food, without which supernatural assistance the shipwrecked hero had died of hunger: at present this rock would scarcely maintain a sheep.[5]

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[1] Henry Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies, by Henry Swinburne, Esq. In the Years 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780* (London: Printed for P. Elmsly, in the Strand, 1783-85), 1:321.
[2] Swinburne, *Travels*, 1:324.
[3] However, Swinburne's memory let him down him somewhat, for he mistakenly called it 'Ortygia', which is the island at the historic centre of Syracuse in Sicily, in idem, 1:325 and 1:326.
[4] Homer, *The Odyssey*, tr. Emily Wilson (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2017), XII.440-449.
[5] Swinburne, *Travels*, 1:324.

Dismayed and confused by the thought that Odysseus had once inhabited the spit of rock that he was visiting, Swinburne ventured to suggest that the 'scholiasts' who located Ogygia in Calabria might have been incorrect. Although he suggested that Odysseus might have floated to one of the Balearic Islands instead, he was unwilling to let go of his preconceptions entirely. Thus, Swinburne tried to rationalise the geographical situation before him, though it was so incongruous with the Homeric myth:

> Perhaps the sea has covered large tracts of land near this cape, and the rocky islets we still perceive above the waters, may be no more than the tops of the hills that rose upon the beautiful plains where Calypso and her nymphs were said to wander.[6]

Swinburne left disenchanted by the whole experience, and his account ends on a ruefully prosaic note: 'I found no charms on the island powerful enough to detain; and therefore, after a breakfast on prawns and limpets, caught and dressed by my steerman, I put off'.[7]

Swinburne's disillusioning trip to the island – one he believed was the mythical Ogygia he had seen portrayed on maps of Calabria – provides a useful entry point to exploring the major themes of this chapter: topography, its meaning and its relation to mapmaking and the Grand Tour. What did the concept of topography mean in the early modern period, and did its practice change between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries? If so, how did this development affect the way in which regional maps of Italy were produced and how they looked?

In the past, practitioners of topography have variously called upon textual geographies, local histories, cartography and other visual representations of place. Long a central concept in the modern discipline of geography, place, as defined by Tim Cresswell, is at its simplest 'a meaningful location'.[8] According to Yi-Fu Tuan, we must turn to the broad realm of human experience to understand how meaning is inscribed on to a location. The unique identity of places is partly constructed by an array of

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[6] Idem, 1:325.
[7] Idem, 1:326.
[8] Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 7.

historic and literary associations – even fictional ones. In support of this assertion, Tuan cited a conversation between the scientists Niels Bohr and Werner Heisenberg that took place during a trip to Kronberg Castle in Denmark about how their perception of the place changed irrevocably after knowing that Hamlet was supposed to have lived there.[9]

In recent years, the term topography has resurfaced in discussions among art historians, who have sought to rehabilitate "topographical art" as an artistic genre that was not merely uninspired landscape imagery.[10] In particular, Felicity Myrone has stressed that topographical art cannot simply be judged on its aesthetic merits in comparison to idealised landscape images. Instead, Myrone argued for a broader interpretive framework that takes into account how topographies are contingent on the contexts of commercial entrepreneurship, antiquarian research, collecting and connoisseurship.[11] In a similar vein, John Barrell's recent study on the Welsh artist Edward Pugh emphasised topographical art's ability to connect people to places unlike traditional landscape art. Barrell argued that Pugh's local views visualised social aspects of historic landscapes, similar to Stephen Daniels's analysis of John Britton's 1834 map of the borough of St Marylebone.[12] Daniels summarised Britton's attitude to topography as 'a multi-dimensional portrayal of the particulars of a place and people, a matrix of local history and geography', and consequently demonstrated how Britton used his complex map to celebrate reformist politics and to affirm local identities in his home borough.[13]

So what were the effects of topographical maps on grand tourists' understandings and experiences of Italian places? Swinburne's illustrative account at once highlights the

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[9] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 4.
[10] See in particular John Bonehill and Stephen Daniels, eds., *Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2009); and the recent conference *Transforming Topography* held at the British Library on 6 May 2016 and the resulting website curated by Felicity Myrone: https://www.bl.uk/picturing-places/themes/transforming-topography.
[11] Felicity Myrone, "'The Monarch of the Plain': Paul Sandby and Topography," in *Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain*, ed. John Bonehill and Stephen Daniels (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2009), 56-63.
[12] John Barrell, *Edward Pugh of Ruthin (1763-1813): A Native Artist* (Wales: University of Wales Press, 2013), esp. 31-32 and 142-148.
[13] Stephen Daniels, "Mapping the Metropolis in an Age of Reform: John Britton's London Topography, 1820-1840," *Journal of Historical Geography* 56, (2017): 70.

processes by which maps could shape the geographical imaginations of grand tourists and consequently influence their movements within and experiences of Italy. When thinking about Calabria, and more specifically the area near Crotone where Ogygia was thought to be, Swinburne perceived the local landscape partly through his memory of Homer's *Odyssey*. Thus the story also indicates how maps were embedded in and interpreted through other cultural texts.

This chapter seeks to address these questions. Recognising that topography had competing definitions that came in and out of focus over time and in different national traditions, the first half of the chapter will chart its changing meanings. While art historians have looked at topography's meaning in relation to topographical views, it is time to consider how cartographic practices may have influenced the trajectory of topography, or indeed, how the changing conception of topography may have affected the way in which terrain was represented cartographically. For if in the sixteenth century its practices were linked to antiquarian research, topographical mapping by the early nineteenth century had come to embody large-scale maps and the accurate depiction of the height and features of terrain. Indeed, the term came to define part of George's General Atlas, with the "topographical" material being separated from the maritime and military-themed maps.[14] As a category, however, "topographical" is rather messy, incorporating maps and views of many kinds. The Italian volumes exhibit a particularly broad range of material dating back to 1540, which allows us to make a diachronic analysis of topographical mapping practices.

The second half of this chapter will explore how the headland south-east of Crotone around the Capo Colonna was represented topographically through the early modern period. By drawing on the evidence of a variety of maps in the Italian volumes as well as textual topographies of Calabria, it will chart how these representations contributed to an antiquarian imagination of the Capo Colonna at the outset of the Grand Tour, and chimed with grand tourists' perception of the instability of Southern Italy. Calabria was rarely visited by grand tourists and mapmakers alike and thus

[14] Myrone, "Paul Sandby," 57-63: highlights how in the nineteenth century some views were removed from the King's Topographical Collection to the British Museum's Prints and Drawings department on account of their perceived artistic merit, while those views that were considered topographical were left alone.

remained somewhat obscure in the perceptions of outsiders. John Evelyn typified the attitude of most grand tourists towards the south of Italy when stating that only 'plain and prodigious barbarism' lay beyond Naples, as the edge of civilised Europe.[15] The reasons for this attitude relate to Calabria's real and imagined remoteness with respect to outsiders, which is part of the reason why I have chosen to focus on this part of Italy. The mappings of this area, then, from the antiquarian endeavours of Pirro Ligorio and Prospero Parisio in the sixteenth century to the precise topographical survey of Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni in the late eighteenth century, present us with a perfect case study to explore how the shifting conception of topography was reflected in the practices of map production.

The history of topography

Topo'graphy. *n. s.*
[topographie, Fr. τόπο- and γράφω]
Description of particular places.[16]

Since it has adopted different definitions through time and across space, the meaning of the concept of topography is difficult to articulate precisely. Samuel Johnson presented us with one definition, as above, in his influential English language dictionary of the second half of the eighteenth century. The first and sixth editions (published in 1755 and 1785) provided a snapshot in time of how the word was being used, at least from the outset of George's collecting to a few decades prior to the re-organisation of the collection. Johnson succinctly defined topography as a textual practice of place. He cited exemplary usages by respected modern authors to increase the authority of his dictionary. Although Johnson did nod his head to the long history of the word in the entry by giving the French and ultimately Greek etymological roots, the simple authority of his dictionary with its spare language concealed the strikingly complex past behind the term.

[15] William Bray, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1907), 1:161.
[16] Entry for "Topography" in Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 6th ed. (London, 1785); cf. the entry for "Topographer" as 'One who writes descriptions of particular places'.

The concept of topography had re-entered the European consciousness following the transmission and translation of the work of the second-century Alexandrine geographer Ptolemy in Italy in the fifteenth century. In the first book of the *Geography*, Ptolemy attempted to establish the difference between the disciplines of geography (*geōgraphia*) and chorography (*chōrographia*). In the most recent translation of the book, Len Berggren and Alexander Jones rendered these words as "world cartography" and "regional cartography" respectively, choosing these more specific designations as opposed to simple transliterations because of the inferred meaning of the text. One of the differences between the two is a matter of scale:

> World cartography [*geōgraphia*] is an imitation through drawing of the entire known part of the world… regional cartography [*chōrographia*], as an independent discipline, sets out the individual localities, each one independently and by itself, registering practically everything down to the least thing therein (for example, harbors, towns, districts, branches of principal rivers, and so on).[17]

In Ptolemy's conception then, the aim of geography was to make visible the whole of the earth, whilst chorography delineates only the *chōros*, a rationally bounded space, which in practice related to countries or regions.[18] In this initial duality there was no mention of topography. But later, when discussing the second difference between geography and chorography – the different techniques to be employed – Ptolemy revealed what topography meant in ancient Greek, albeit in an oblique manner:

> Regional cartography deals above all with the qualities rather than the quantities of the things that it sets down; it attends everywhere to likeness, and not so much to proportional placements. World cartography, on the other hand, [deals] with the quantities more than the qualities, since it gives consideration to the proportionality of distances for all things, but to likeness only as far as the coarser outlines [of the features], and only with respect to mere shape. Consequently, regional cartography requires landscape drawing [*topografias*], and no one but a man skilled in drawing [*grafikos anēr*] would do regional cartography. But world cartography does not [require

[17] J. Lennart Berggren and Alexander Jones, *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 57 and see 57-59 for the full discussion.
[18] Fred Lukermann, "The Concept of Location in Classical Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 51, no. 2 (June 1961): 200-201.

> this] at all, since it enables one to show the positions and general configurations [of features] purely by means of lines and labels.[19]

According to Ptolemy, representations of the world were made with geometry and had an emphasis on location and relational distance, while representations of regions should have a greater emphasis on visual similitude and thus requiring a more artistic approach. The implication of Ptolemy's phrase, *grafikos anēr* ('a man skilled in drawing'), is that a topographer needed artistic ability to represent *chōra* and *topoi* – regions and places. This makes Berggren and Jones's translation of "*topografias*" as "landscape drawing" appropriate. As Dario Tessicini has made clear, most early commentators were interested by the methodological distinction between geography and chorography; for Ptolemy and his fifteenth- and sixteenth-century readers, the two terms did not merely signify a difference in scale.[20]

Though the work has traditionally been thought of as having a major influence on Renaissance cartography, recent studies by Patrick Gautier Dalché and George Tolias have argued that modern map historians have overemphasised the impact of the rediscovery of Ptolemy's *Geography*.[21] By looking at the ways in which Ptolemy's work was used by humanists, Gautier Dalché concluded that 'first and foremost, the *Geography* was seen as a compendium of ancient place-names'.[22] Its implications on mapmaking were not fully recognised until later. In part, this was because some of the humanists who were engaging with the text were more interested by the antiquarian value of its geography. In particular, scholars used Ptolemy to help them to identify, map and compare the cities, rivers, mountains, and events recited in ancient geographical and historical texts. A typical example of this type of endeavour are the atlases of Abraham Ortelius, also a respected antiquarian, who wrote:

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[19] Berggren and Jones, *Ptolemy's Geography*, 58.

[20] Dario Tessicini, "Definitions of Cosmography and Geography in the Wake of Ptolemy's *Geography*," in *Ptolemy's Geography in the Renaissance*, ed. Zur Shalev and Charles Burnett (London: Warburg Institute, 2011), 31-49.

[21] Patrick Gautier Dalché, "The Reception of Ptolemy's *Geography* (End of the Fourteenth to Beginning of the Sixteenth Century)," in *The History of Cartography, Volume Three: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1:285-364, and George Tolias, "Ptolemy's *Geography* and Early Modern Antiquarian Practices," in *Ptolemy's Geography in the Renaissance*, ed. Zur Shalev and Charles Burnett (London: Warburg Institute, 2011), 121-142.

[22] Gautier Dalché, "Reception of Ptolemy's *Geography*," 359.

> We have added the ancient names mentioned by old writers, but now vulgarly unknowne. Which, as we doubt not, we have done with the good leave and liking of the Authors themselves: so I hope it will be a thing very pleasing to all such as are readers and student of old Histories and Antiquities.[23]

There were, however, different conceptions among ancient geographers as to the definitions of topography or chorography.[24] Not reliant on a mathematical construction of the cosmos in the manner of Ptolemy, Strabo's practice was to narrate place. Not simply locating the features of the territory in relation to one another, Strabo called upon the historical, political and cultural aspects that were situated locally.[25] This descriptive textual approach is more similar to the way human geographers, such as Tuan, have defined place – as a socially-constructed and experienced space – than the visual, more cartographic manner of depicting place advocated in Ptolemy.[26]

To complicate matters, there were different national traditions when it came to topography. We have a good example of both the theory and the practice of chorography and topography in Italy in the 1570s through the work of one individual: the Perugian artist scholar Egnazio Danti (1536-1586). In a scientific handbook published in 1578, Danti attempted to categorise and structure branches of "mathematical" science, including the different kinds of geography.[27] In his conception, chorography was the visual description of particular places, an example of which, according to Danti, was his father's map of the city and neighbourhood of Perugia. In terms of methods, Danti stated that 'although chorography can be done by a geometer, since it is a science subaltern to geometry, it can also be realised as a

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[23] BL Maps 9.TAB.8.: Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (London: John Norton, 1606), folio 1v..
[24] A survey of the range of meanings of geographical terminology among ancient authors can be found in Lukermann, "Location in Classical Geography," 194-210; and Daniela Dueck, with a chapter by Kai Brodersen, *Geography in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 35-50.
[25] See, for instance, Daniela Dueck, "Spicing up Geography: Strabo's Use of Tales and Anecdotes," in *The Routledge Companion to Strabo*, ed. Daniela Dueck (London: Routledge, 2017), 219-232.
[26] Kenneth R. Olwig, "*Choros, Chora* and the Question of Landscape," in *Envisioning Landscapes, Making Worlds*, ed. Stephen Daniels et al. (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), 44-54.
[27] Egnazio Danti, *Le Scienze Matematiche Ridotte in Tavole* (Bologna: la Compagnia della Stampa, 1578).

mechanical art by a simple painter'.[28] Topography, on the other hand, was 'also that which describes particular places, but making such a description with words, has no need either for geometry or for drawing'.[29] Thereby asserting that topography was a purely literary practice, Danti cited some exemplary passages from classical literature, such as the Roman historian Livy's description of Cannae. A few years after this publication, Danti oversaw the creation of the *Galleria delle carte geografiche* in the Vatican Palaces for Pope Gregory XIII, in which painted mural maps adorn the walls; with remarkable affinity to Danti's words in his handbook on mathematical sciences, the maps display both the pictorial and geometrical qualities with which chorography was practised.[30]

By contrast, in England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, writing the history and geography of counties was considered primarily an act of chorography. For John Dee, who was writing in 1570 (almost contemporaneously with Danti), chorography was synonymous with topography.[31] And in fact, modern historians more often speak of a British "chorographical" tradition when referring to early modern works on the history and geography of regional landscapes.[32] Such terminology goes against Danti's distinction between chorography as a visual practice and topography as a textual one. Dee's wording is slightly ambiguous, but by suggesting that chorography is an "underling of geography," which in his mind

[28] Danti, *Scienze*, 44: 'la corografia ancorche possa essere esercitata dal Geometra, & sia scienza subalternata alla Geometria, può anco essere come arte mecanica esercitata dal semplice Pittore'.
[29] Ibidem: 'Topografia, che anco essa descrive i luoghi particulari, ma facendo cotale descrittione cō parole non ha bisogno ne della Geometria, ne del disegno'.
[30] The Gallery of Maps is discussed in depth in Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography, and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 172-252.
[31] John Dee, *The Mathematicall Praeface to Elements of Geometrie of Euclid of Megara* (Project Gutenberg EBook: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/22062/22062-h/22062-h.htm, [1570]), f. Aiiij: 'Chorographie seemeth to be an vnderling, and a twig, of *Geographie*: and yet neuerthelesse, is in practise manifolde, and in vse very ample. "This teacheth Analogically to describe a small portion or circuite of ground, with the contentes: not regarding what commensuration it hath to the whole, or any parcell, without it, contained. But in the territory or parcell of ground which it taketh in hand to make description of, it leaueth out (or vndescribed) no notable, or odde thing, aboue the ground visible ... Some also, terme this particular description of places, *Topographie*'.
[32] See Richard Helgerson, "The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England," *Representations* 16, (Autumn 1986): 50-85, and Darrell J. Rohl, "The Chorographic Tradition and Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Scottish Antiquaries," *Journal of Art Historiography* 5, (December 2011): 1-18.

concerned making maps of the world, chorography may have included mapping as well as textual approaches to describing place. Aside from the confused semantic variation as to naming what regional historical geographers were doing, it seems clear that there was a diversity in the practice of representing place – and most endeavours embraced interdisciplinary approaches and multimedia productions. A typical publication featured references to relevant literature (both prose and verse), visualised the area through images (cartographic or pictorial), and incorporated recent archaeological findings, such as the profiles of numismatic evidence.[33]

An emphasis on scale: The emergence of topographic mapping

Over time, mapmakers began to preoccupy themselves with topography's relation to map scale more and more, as the idea set in that cartography was simply the process by which the earth was reduced according to a mathematical ratio. This signalled a shift away from descriptive geographies being incorporated into regional mapping practices. In the seventeenth century, the shift is best expressed in Joan Blaeu's monumental *Grand Atlas* of 1663. Instead of focusing on the methodological distinctions between geography, chorography and topography, Blaeu considered that the different terms were progression on a geographical hierarchy, which allowed mapmakers to describe the smallest territories to the universe entire. Having zoomed in from cosmography, which was the mapping of the heavens, Blaeu believed that topography, simply put, was the mapping of smaller areas than chorography:

> Geography is in turn divided into two branches, namely chorography and topography. Although these words may appear to have the same meaning, by chorography we commonly mean the description of particular countries, as of Spain, of Italy, of Germany, etc, with all the cities, towns, forests, mountains, and rivers which are contained therein, without any regard to the

[33] Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13, nos. 3/4 (1950): 285-315; Gwyn Walters, "The Antiquary and the Map," *Word & Image* 4, no. 2 (1988): 529-554. The different national characters of European antiquarian research traditions are surveyed in Alain Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past: The Origins of Archaeology* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 121-177.

> neighbouring regions, nor to the bounds of the whole Earth. And by Topography we mean the description of individual parts of a chorography, as of some city, town, castle, or any other small place, for which one meticulously treats every tiny detail.[34]

Just as map scale took precedence over method and sources in the meaning of topography for Blaeu, so too for John Gregory writing in Scotland in the mid-seventeenth century.[35] This emphasis on scale heralded the developments of the following century, which crystallised topographic mapping in the more modern sense of the term – a map that is a large-scale representation focusing on the lie of the land.[36]

Before the mid-eighteenth century, the term topography or its adjective topographic/al was rarely applied to maps. And yet, today, the *topographic* map is arguably the first and most familiar idea that we might call upon with regard to the use of the adjective. Although Alistair Pearson has recently stated that there is a 'lack of unanimity regarding the definition of the topographic map', the competing paradigms that he referred to affirmed these core facets of a topographic map: first, the application of a large scale and second a detailed representation of geomorphology.[37] The first facet

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[34] Joan Blaeu, *Le Grand Atlas, ou Cosmographie Blaviane, en laquelle est exactement descritte la Terre, la Mer, et le Ciel* (Amsterdam, 1663), 1: ch. I (De la difference de la Cosmographie, Geographie, et Chorographie): 'La Geographie est derechef distinguée en deux parties, à sçavoir, Chorographie et Topographie. Lesquels mots combien qu'ils ayent une mesme signification, toutesfois communement par la Chorographie on entend la description particuliere de quelque pays, comme de l'Espagne, de l'Italie, de l'Allemagne, &c. avec toutes les villes, villages, forests, montagnes et rivieres qui y sont contenues, sans avoir aucun esgard aux regions voisines, ny à l'enceinte de toute la terre: mais par la Topographie, la description particuliere des parties de la Chorographie, comme de quelque ville, village, chasteau, tout ou autre petite parcelle, où on considere exactemente jusque aux moindres choses'.

[35] John Gregory and John Gurgany, *Gregorii Posthuma. Or, Certain Learned Tracts* (London: William Du-gard for Laurence Sadler, 1650), 322-23, in which John Gregory, a Scottish mathematician and astronomer, articulated the same sentiments as Blaeu in a section entitled "Of Topographical Maps".

[36] Paul Harvey defined it thus: 'By a topographical map we mean a large-scale map, one that sets out to convey the shape and pattern of landscape, showing a tiny portion of the earth's surface as it lies within one's own direct experience, and quite distinct from small-scale maps that show us the feature of whole provinces, nations and continents' in Paul D. A. Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures and Surveys* (London; New York: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 9. A preoccupation with scale has led some map historians to anachronistically apply the modern conception of topographic maps, such as Paul Harvey's study, in historical analyses of large-scale maps. And cf. the discussion in Catherine Delano-Smith and Roger J. P. Kain, *English Maps: A History* (London: British Library, 1999), 49-54.

[37] Pearson used the definitions of a topographical map provided by the United States Defense Mapping Agency and Francis John Monkhouse in Alistair W. Pearson,

simply requires that the area depicted by the map must be small enough to allow for all features of the landscape, both human and natural, to be mapped; the second that the map include an accurate representation of the surface, depth and altitude of the terrain.

The London mapmaker John Andrews and publisher Andrew Dury exhibited an early and exemplary usage of the adjective "topographical" to this end in an advertisement they sent to potential subscribers for a planned new map of Kent. Dated 1 September 1765, the single sheet bill helpfully added a precise rubric to their proposition:

> John Andrews and A. Dury, propose publishing by SUBSCRIPTION, A TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP of the COUNTY OF KENT, In Twenty-five Sheets of Imperial Paper, On a Scale of TWO INCHES to a MILE. In which shall be expressed all the Main and Cross Roads, Lanes, Paths, Walls, Pales, Hedges, Hills, Valleys, Rivers, Brooks, Ponds, Bridges, Mills, Woods, Heaths, Commons, Parks, Churches, Noblemen and Gentlemens Seats, Houses, Gardens, Cottages, and every Thing remarkable in the County, with the Division of the Parishes.[38]

The wording of the advertisement thus encompassed the two modern distinctions of topographical maps, as highlighted by Pearson. First, that the map was of sufficiently large scale – in this case two inches to a mile – and, second, that the map was attempting to delineate the landscape in such detail that, along with all the other static human and natural features of the county, even individual hedgerows would be visible. In the resulting map, published in 1769 with the same proposed title, *A Topographical Map of the County of Kent*, we can see the realisation of the trajectory of the term "topographical" in relation to mapmaking that was first discerned in Blaeu's introduction a century before.[39] As the emphasis on scale caused greater attention to be paid to the mathematical reduction of landscape, so the primary focus of topographical maps, in the modern conception just as for Andrews and Dury, moved towards the detailed depiction of the surface of the earth, reduced according to its

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"Topographic Map," in *The History of Cartography Volume Six: Cartography in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Mark S. Monmonier (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 2:1539-1545.

[38] John Andrews, *By desire of several noblemen, gentlemen, and others, John Andrews and A. Dury, propose publishing by subscription, a topographical map of the county of Kent, in twenty-five sheets* ... ([London, 1765]).

[39] BL Maps 1.TAB.21.(22.).

scale. And yet, returning to its definition in Johnson's dictionary, up until the late eighteenth century "topography" almost exclusively referred to a genre of literature, the written descriptions of places.

Topography and art history

At the same time as this reclassification of topography in relation to mapmaking was occurring, the term was beginning to be applied to the visual arts to distinguish between views of real places as opposed to generic landscapes. John Barrell investigated the usages of the adjective "topographical" between 1750 and 1810, discovering that, for the most part, topography was a genre of literature in accordance with Johnson's dictionary.[40] When the word was applied to visual representations, it was mostly to describe antiquarian images of old monuments or buildings. Indeed, only a minority of usages of the adjective "topographical" actually referred to any kind of image-making, let alone that which was analogous with landscape art before 1810. And yet, as the language of art historians shifted over the course of the nineteenth century, by 1870, Barrell concluded, topography had become a distinct genre of art, where no such category had existed a hundred years earlier. Reconsidering the topographical artwork of Paul Sandby, Felicity Myrone has revealed how the term "topographical" was initially employed in a pejorative tone by institutional art historians.[41] Used to belittle landscape art depicting real places instead of idealised, Claudian views, Henry Fuseli exemplified this attitude when he was lecturing at the Royal Academy in the 1790s about which styles to avoid:

> The last branch of uninteresting subjects, that kind of landscape which is entirely occupied with the tame delineation of a given spot; an enumeration of hill and dale, clumps of trees, shrubs, water, meadows, cottages, and houses, what is commonly called Views. These, if not assisted by nature, dictated by taste, or chosen for character, may delight the owner of the acres they enclose, the inhabitants of the spot, perhaps the antiquary or the

[40] Barrell, *Edward Pugh*, 142-148.
[41] Myrone, "Paul Sandby and Topography," 56-63.

> traveller, but to every other eye they are little more than topography.[42]

But, as highlighted above, the nature and effects of topographical views are now considered to be different to traditional landscape art. Indeed, this was an aspect that was recognised in Archibald Alison's *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (1790). Alison argued that as objects of beauty become familiar to us, our ability to appreciate them aesthetically diminishes and instead we value their functional properties in our daily lives. For instance, the streams and woods that were once prized for their gentleness or solemnity, once familiar, 'become boundaries or land-marks, by which [our] knowledge of the neighbourhood is ascertained'.[43] Indeed, Alison ascribed part of the process of familiarity to the naming of places, for 'in marking the particular situation or place of such objects, naturally leads [us] to consider the objects themselves in no other light than that of their place or situation… They now occur to [our] mind, only as topographical distinctions'.[44] The implication is that topographical views cannot aspire to be beautiful, Barrell has argued, reading Alison's extended passage against the grain, 'that the very value of topography is that it is a way of knowing and understanding a *place*'.[45] That being said, it is clear that in the eighteenth century, stable categories of topographical art, mapping and literature did not exist. Rather, the various forms of topography contributed, often in tandem, to the process of how people comprehended and connected with places. Certainly Swinburne's story of Ogygia demonstrates how texts, maps and experience are bound together in the understanding of places. With that in mind, let us now investigate how the mythological landscape of Calabria was mapped, both by writers and by mapmakers, in the early modern period.

The historical topography of the Capo Colonna and Ogygia

[42] John Knowles, ed., *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), 2:217-218.
[43] Archibald Alison, *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (Edinburgh: Printed by J. J. G. and G. Robinson, London; and Bell and Bradfute, 1790), 71.
[44] Idem, 72.
[45] John Barrell, "Landscape and Place," *Picturing Places*, accessed 2 February 2018, https://www.bl.uk/picturing-places/articles/landscape-and-place.

The southernmost part of mainland Italy, Calabria is a rough and mountainous province. Over 90 per cent of its land surface lies 200 metres above sea level and often rises dramatically from the shoreline. Three mountain ranges dominate the province, from north to south: the Pollino, the La Sila and the Aspromonte massifs, each of which have peaks above 2,000m. Geologically, Calabria sits on top of a tectonic unit known as the Calabrian Arc, which extends from north eastern Sicily to the southern Apennines in Basilicata and into the Ionian Sea. The Calabrian Arc has been attributed with generating historic large earthquakes. Together with Mounts Vesuvius and Etna and the volcanoes in the bay of Pozzuoli, this seismic activity has come to characterise southern Italy. Indeed, a number of eruptions and earthquakes struck the region in the early modern period, particularly during the late eighteenth century. The seismic and volcanic activity late in the period of the Grand Tour coincided with a burgeoning geological interest in Italy from travelling British scientists.[46] The late eighteenth century was also a period of increased general touristic activity and cartographic scrutiny in the south.

The headland from which the Capo Colonna extends is formed of plains that gently rise towards the west into the heights of the La Sila massif. Known to the ancients as the *Promunturium Lacinium* after a large temple dedicated to the goddess Hera Lacinia at the extremity of the cape, the Capo Colonna is so called today because of the single Doric column that stands as the final vestige of that holy site. The cape had been known as Capo *delle Colonne* earlier in the period, but over time the columns of the temple had fallen into ruin or were transported away to be reused. From the fifteenth to the early nineteenth century, the area lay within the old province of *Calabria Ultra* – the southern half of modern Calabria – then one of the twelve provinces that made up the Kingdom of Naples. The nearby the city of Crotone was and still is the most significant human settlement in the province; in fact, it has remained so since its founding in 709/708 BC as a Greek colony. A host of mythological and historical figures of the ancient world were believed to have graced the area. Pythagoras, for instance, established his school in Crotone, while the nemesis of

[46] On the popular British interest in volcanoes, especially Vesuvius, see Richard Hamblyn, "Private Cabinets and Popular Geology: The British Audiences for Volcanoes in the Eighteenth Century," in *Transports: Travel, Pleasure and Imaginative Geography 1600-1830*, ed. Chlöe Chard and Helen Langdon (Yale: Yale University Press, 1996), 179-205.

Rome, Carthaginian military commander Hannibal, reputedly massacred some of his own allies nearby. It was said that Hercules had travelled in the area and Zeus's twin sons, Castor and Pollux – the Dioscuri – had a significant local cult among the Greeks in Calabria, particularly in the rival cities of Crotone and Locri.[47] Indeed, as we have seen, it was believed that Odysseus had been held captive on an island just off the coast of the Capo Colonna. This tradition, however, was one of many competing theories about Ogygia.

Ever since Homer had described the legendary Ogygia as 'a sea-girt isle, where is the navel of the sea', scholars have been speculating about Ogygia's true location.[48] Some have argued that Ogygia lay in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean.[49] Others have argued, and still do to this day, that Homer was referring to Gozo, the second largest island in the Maltese archipelago.[50] Despite these continued debates, the question has never been resolved by historical geographers. Nevertheless, the tradition that placed Ogygia in Calabria had a long history, stretching back to Roman times, and affected the way people thought about Calabria in relation to the Homeric myth for a long time. Compiling his *Natural History* in the first century, Pliny had written that 'ten miles from the land of the *Promunturium Lacinium* is the island *Dioscoron*, and another *Calypsus*, which Homer is believed to have called Ogygia'.[51]

Italy's most influential geographer of the sixteenth century, Leandro Alberti, picked up on this passage in his monumental descriptive geography of Italy, *Descrittione di*

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[47] For an account of the mythology and historiography about Castor and Pollux in this part of Magna Graecia during the fifth and sixth centuries BC, see Nigel Nicholson, *The Poetics of Victory in the Greek West: Epinician, Oral Tradition, and the Deinomenid Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 135-140. Following Strabo, the Renaissance geographer Leandro Alberti recorded that there used to be a temple to the Castor and Pollux on the banks of the river Sagra near Locri in Calabria, in Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta Italia* (Venice: Pietro de i Nicolini da Sabbio, 1551), 178v.

[48] Homer, *The Odyssey*, tr. A. T. Murray (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1919), 1:I.50.

[49] Plutarch believed that Ogygia was a five-day sail west of Britain, Harold Cherniss and W. C. Helmbold, trs., *Plutarch: Moralia, Volume XII* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), ch. 26.

[50] Based on toponymic and etymological analysis, Gozo is identified as Ogygia in John Vella, "Homer's Ogygia: An Imaginary or a Historiography?" *Athens Journal of History* 3, no. 1 (January 2017): 49-69.

[51] Karl Mayhoff, tr., *C. Plini Secundi Naturalis Historiae Libri XXXVII* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906), III.40: 'promunturium lacinium, cuius ante oram insula [x] a terra dioscoron, altera calypsus, quam ogygiam appellasse homerus existimatur'.

tutta Italia, first published in 1550. No mere armchair geographer, Alberti's work is distinguished from previous histories of southern Italy by, among other aspects, the fact that he had actually travelled there. At the age of fourteen, Alberti had moved to a Dominican college in Bologna to become a friar. Spending most of his life at the college, Alberti was able to receive the education he needed in later life to compile the *Descrittione*. Furthermore, in 1525, because of his calling, Alberti accompanied the newly elected master of the order, Francesco Silvestri of Ferrara, on a tour of Dominican monasteries and convents.[52] Between 1525 and 1526, the group travelled through Puglia, Sicily, Calabria, Lucania, and Campania, during which time Alberti had the opportunity to experience sites first-hand, whilst also gaining access to local manuscripts and historians. Notwithstanding his travels around Calabria, this part of Alberti's text rests heavily on classical accounts of the area. In the relevant chapter on Calabria, having already discussed why the Capo Colonna was called the *Promunturium Lacinium* in ancient times, Alberti wrote, 'Ten miles out to sea, off the *Capo delle colonne*, appear two islands, namely *Diescorono* and *Calipso*, which was called *Ogigia* by Homer'.[53] This was almost a direct translation of Pliny into Italian.

Locating Ogygia on sixteenth-century maps

After Alberti popularised the theory of Ogygia being in Calabria by repeating the Plinian tradition, the island's geography was soon reified by mapmakers who were keen to map the journeys of heroes from classical literature. Already noted above for his interest in historical geography, Flemish mapmaker Abraham Ortelius drew a map that posited the route of Odysseus's travels, entitled *Ulyssis Errores ex Conatib. Geographicis* (fig. 4.1). Inset into a larger map of the Indian Ocean as it was known to

[52] For further details about Alberti's life and the context of the production of his *Descrittione*, see Giovanna Ceserani, *Italy's Lost Greece: Magna Graecia and the Making of Modern Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 24-32, esp. 26-27.

[53] Alberti, *Descrittione*, 180v: 'Ne'l mare davanti al Capo delle colonne .10. miglia discosto, appareno due Isole cioè Diescorono & Calipso da Homero Ogigia nominata'. The island called "Diescorono" by Alberti, and variously by others, is a reference to Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri.

Figure 4.1: Abraham Ortelius, *Ulyssis Errores ex Conatib. Geographicis*, London: John Norton, 1606. Maps 9.TAB.8.

the Roman historian Arrian, this map was part of Ortelius's *Parergon*, the first ever historical atlas published in 1579. Maps depicting Odysseus's circuitous route home around the Mediterranean continued to be popular for many years, and the map was reissued or copied for historical atlases even in the seventeenth century, by publishers such as Jan Jansson (1652) and Pierre Duval (1662).[54] But Homer's myth was also woven into maps of modern Calabria.

Calabria was one of the last regions of Italy to be mapped commercially. The south of Italy in general was mapped later in comparison to the rest of the peninsula and in fact the first printed maps that showed the region of Calabria were of the Kingdom of Naples as a whole. Two maps of the kingdom appeared one year after the other in the

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[54] For Jansson's historical atlas, see Jan Jansson, *Accuratissima Orbis Antiqui Delineatio* (Amsterdam, 1652); and cf. Cornelis Koeman, *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici*, compiled by Peter van der Krogt ('t Goy-Houten: HES, 1997-), 1:497. For Duval's historical atlas, see BL Maps 118.b.22., Pierre Duval, *Diverses cartes et tables pour la geographie ancienne pour la chronologie et pour les itineraires et voyages modernes* (Paris, [1670]); and cf. Mireille Pastoureau, *Les Atlas Français XVIe-XVIIe Siècles: Répertoire Bibliographique et Étude* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, Département des cartes et plans, 1984), 156-157. The tradition of mapping Odysseus's route and the fantastical places in Homer's world has continued; it was a particularly popular subject in historical atlases of the nineteenth century, for which see Armin and Hans-Helmut Wolf, *Die wirkliche Reise des Odysseus: zur Rekonstruktion des Homerischen Weltbildes* (Munich: Langen Müller, 1990), 144-206.

1550s, published in the two major centres of cartographic production in Italy in the sixteenth century: Venice and Rome, and thus both were likely responding to a perceived gap in the market.[55] The first is an anonymous map entitled *Regno di Napoli*, published in 1557 by the Venetian press *Libreria della Stella* associated with Giordano Ziletti (fig. 4.2). The following year, the Roman printing house run by Michele Tramezzino published Neapolitan scholar Pirro Ligorio's *Nova regni Neapolitani descriptio* (fig. 4.3).[56] The copies in George's collection probably originated in Cassiano dal Pozzo's collection.

The maps are both oriented with north-east at the top and cover the southern half of Italy, the Mezzogiorno. The left-hand border in both creates a line running roughly between Rome and Ancona and the territory depicted extends through southern Italy to include the north-east tip of Sicily in the bottom right. On account of the exaggerated curvature of the bays and headlands found in both maps, we can assume that both mapmakers were drawing on nautical charts of the preceding centuries as bases for the geography of coastline.[57] Broadly speaking, that is where the stylistic similarity ends. Having noted some geographic dissimilarities between the maps, Roberto Almagià maintained that they were made independently of one another, despite being published almost contemporaneously.[58]

If we turn our attention to the depiction of Calabria in these two maps, then we discover that both located the mythical island of Ogygia in the Ionian Sea near the coast of the Capo Colonna. In the Venetian map of 1557, there are two islands – one called 'Diescorno' and the other 'Calisso' – a short distance out to sea from the Capo Colonna, here labelled 'C. delle Colonne'. Ligorio's map of 1558 similarly plots two islands, this time labelling the northerly island 'Dioscoro' and the southerly island 'Calipsus ouer Ogygia' (figs. 4.4). Such places were non-existent, at least not in the

[55] Giovanni Brancaccio, *Geografia, Cartografia e Storia del Mezzogiorno* (Naples: Guida Editori, 1991), 136-147.
[56] For the map published by Ziletti, see BL Maps K.Top.83.2 and for Ligorio's map see BL Maps K.Top.83.3.
[57] On the history of nautical charts of southern Italy, especially in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, see Brancaccio, *Geografia, Cartografia e Storia*, 121-127.
[58] On the history of mapping southern Italy in the sixteenth century, see Roberto Almagià, "Studi Storici di Cartografia Napoletana," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 38, fasc. 1 (1913): 3-35.

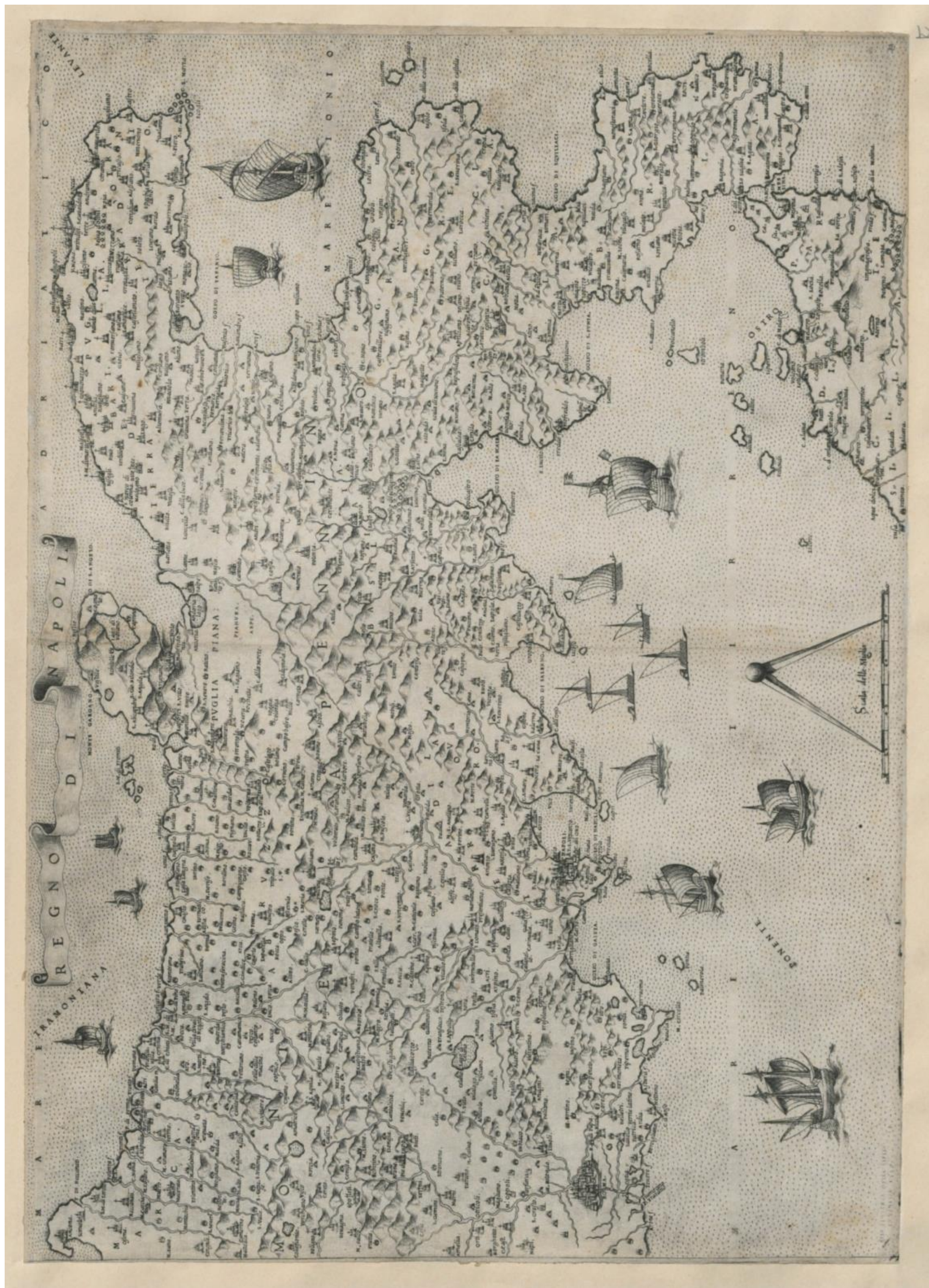

Figure 4.2: Anonymous, *Regno di Napoli*, Venice: alla Libreria della Stella [Giordano Ziletti], 1557. © The British Library Board. Maps K.Top.83.2.

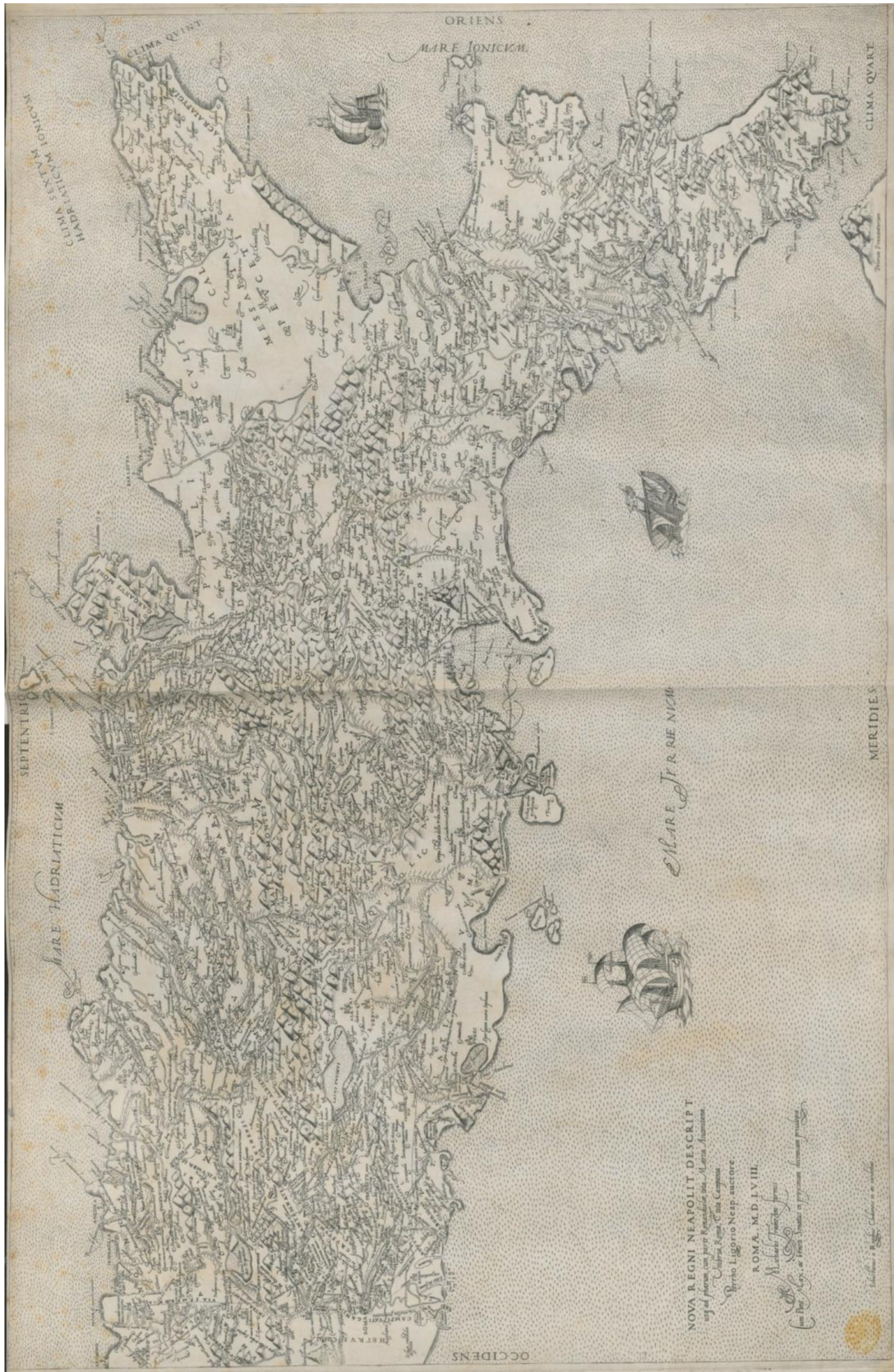

Figure 4.3: Pirro Ligorio, *Nova regni Neapolitani descriptio*, Rome: Michele Tramezzino, 1558. © The British Library Board. Maps K.Top.83.3.

Figure 4.4: Ogygia and the Capo Colonna. Detail of Pirro Ligorio, *Nova regni Neapolitani descriptio*, Rome: Michele Tramezzino, 1558. © The British Library Board. Maps K.Top.83.3.

magnitude suggested here, so why were these fantasy islands mapped? Both mapmakers must have been using Albert's recently published textual geography of Italy, the *Descrittione di tutta Italia*, as a source for their maps. If the concurrence of the islands' names was not enough proof, then two additional details in Ligorio's map confirm that Alberti, and ultimately Pliny, was the geographical source. For Ligorio recognised that the island he called Calipsus was also called Ogygia ('ouer Ogygia') and he also marked the distance between the islands and the shore as ten miles ('Lacinium Prom[unturium] 10').

Unlike the map published in Venice by Ziletti, Ligorio's map has a pronounced antiquarian focus, reflecting his own interests as a classical scholar. First, Ligorio was deeply concerned with comparative toponymy, as were many other likeminded antiquarian scholars of his day. Thus, his map provided nomenclature in both Italian and Latin, carefully recording the names of ancient tribes, lost cities and Roman roads wherever possible. Second, Ligorio developed a code using letters and numbers for noting the distances between places. Alongside the toponyms of various places across his map are letters and numbers that have a corresponding pair elsewhere. For

example, over both Reggio Calabria and Policastro Bussentino is the letter 'Ω' and the number '100', indicating the towns are 100 miles apart. This information is in accordance with what is recorded in Alberti's *Descrittione*, but ultimately derives from Pliny. Similarly, the climatic bands which are marked on the right side of the map have their origin in Pliny.[59] When thinking about the practices and outputs of antiquarian study in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Tolias concluded that one function of maps was 'as mnemonic tools that enable one to evoke historical readings; they are a form of history's *inventio*'.[60] This certainly applies to Ligorio's map: it was made by and for the student of antiquity, and designed to sit alongside classical texts like Pliny's.

Ligorio, however, did not simply transcribe the classical word onto his maps. As a mapmaker, he had developed a distinctive approach that made full use of his career as an antiquarian and his knowledge of classical art and architecture. Born in Naples around 1513, Ligorio had been working in Rome since the 1530s, and had become one of the foremost scholars on Roman antiquities, having already produced works on the antique remains of Rome during the 1550s.[61] In the middle decades of the sixteenth century, he was variously employed as papal architect and as the antiquarian and archaeologist of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, for whom he would later manage the excavation of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. Over the years, Ligorio had developed an idiosyncratic approach to archaeological findings and drawing antiquities, in which he rather creatively restored material remains into what he believed was their ideal state.[62] With regard to mapmaking, in 1561 Ligorio created a map of ancient Rome entirely reconstructed from the vestiges of buildings, textual inferences, comparative architecture and a good deal of imagination, all in order to glorify the Roman past, and

[59] Giovanni Bonacci, "Note Intorno a Pirro Ligorio e alla Cartografia Napoletana della Seconda Metà del Secolo XVI," in *Atti del V. Congresso Geografico Italiano tenuto in Napoli dal 6 a 11 Aprile 1904* (Naples: Top. A. Tocco & Salvietti, 1905), 2:818-820.
[60] Tolias, "Ptolemy's *Geography*", 134.
[61] The most comprehensive biography is David R. Coffin, *Pirro Ligorio: The Renaissance Artist, Architect, and Antiquarian: With a Checklist of Drawings* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004).
[62] On Ligorio's reconstructive method, see Erna Mandowsky and Charles Mitchell, eds., *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities: The Drawings in MS XIII.B.7 in the National Library in Naples* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1963), 35-50.

Figure 4.5: Ostia and Rome. Detail of Pirro Ligorio, *Nova regni Neapolitani descriptio*, Rome: Michele Tramezzino, 1558. © The British Library Board. Maps K.Top.83.3.

Figure 4.6: Antiquities around the Bay of Naples. Detail of Pirro Ligorio, Nova regni Neapolitani descriptio, Rome: Michele Tramezzino, 1558. © The British Library Board. Maps K.Top.83.3.

so too the illustrious present which was preoccupied with emulating it.[63] As it was a map of the modern Kingdom of Naples, the *Nova regni Neapolitani descriptio* did not employ such a reconstructive approach and there are consequently fewer pictorial depictions of antiquities. Nevertheless, Ligorio portrayed the amphitheatre at

[63] Howard Burns, "Pirro Ligorio's Reconstruction of Ancient Rome: The *Antiquae Urbis Imago* of 1561," in *Pirro Ligorio: Artist and Antiquarian*, ed. Robert W. Gaston (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 1988), 19-92. On the cartographic comparisons between ancient and modern Rome produced by a number of mapmakers in the sixteenth century, see Jessica Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined: Early Modern Maps of the Eternal City* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 119-161.

Pozzuoli, the theatre and aqueduct at Minturno, a reconstruction of the Claudian port at Ostia (figs. 4.5-4.6), and, of course, the two Doric columns that adorned what was then known as the Capo delle Colonne.

While Ligorio had a recorded interest in portraying the material remains of antiquity on his maps, Prospero Parisio's later map, *Calabria*, devoted exclusively to the province, went even further in displaying material remains (fig. 4.7).[64] Parisio was an archaeologist from Cosenza who had a renowned numismatic collection, which he brought to bear as a source of inspiration for his map. Published first in 1589 and again in 1592 in an updated form, Parisio's map greatly altered the image of Calabria in comparison to previous representations. The outer margin is adorned with two rows of ancient Greek coins from the chief cities of the province, while the inner margins provides a description of the history and geography of the territory and comprehensive catalogues of famous people from Calabria, including saints, martyrs and clergymen, philosophers, military leaders, poets, musicians and athletes from ancient times to the present day. The map thus projected a multifaceted image of Calabria that wove the social history and material remains of its significant places together with a cartographic representation of the land.

Evidently proud of his home region, Parisio's map created an identity for Calabria as much by presenting its social and material history to the user as by presenting an image of its topography. Ligorio's mapping of the Kingdom of Naples took part in a similar process of place-making by connecting the land to its ancient history, as read in the ancient textual geography of Pliny and transmitted into Renaissance Italy via the writings of Alberti. But even more so, regarding the Capo Colonna and the legendary Ogygia, Ligorio wove the mythical geography of Homer's Odyssey into the fabric of the province. For some grand tourists travelling in the remote south of Italy, islands could hold a certain mystique, even fomenting mythical visions. For instance, John Dryden Jr., sailing around Capri in a felucca in October 1700 described the famous Blue Grotto as 'so romantique, that we cou'd not but fancy it belong'd to some

[64] BL Maps K.Top.83.34.: Prospero Parisio, *Calabria* (Rome, 1592).

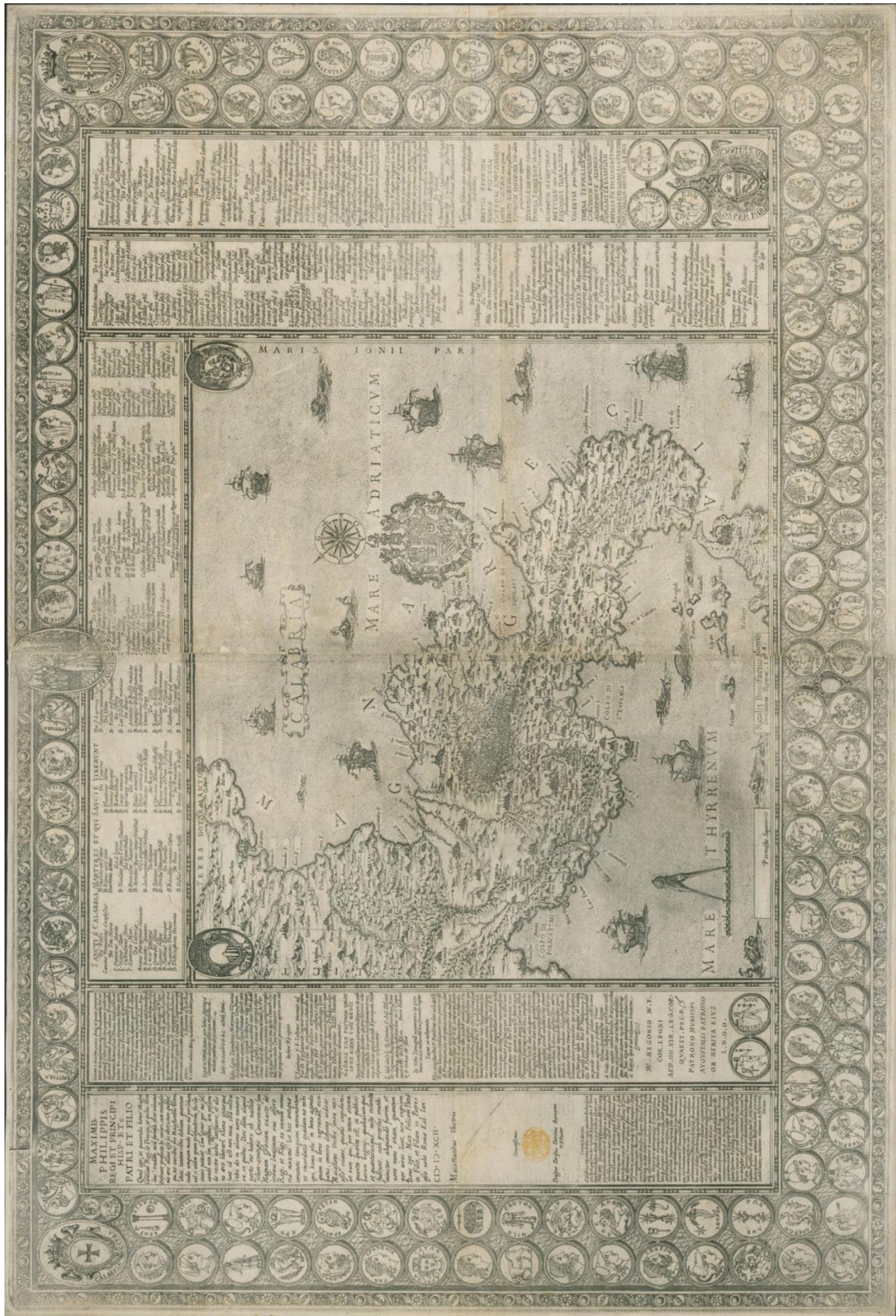

Figure 4.7: Prospero Parisio, *Calabria*, Rome: Natale Bonifacio, 1592. © The British Library Board. Maps K.Top.83.34.

sea god, as his court or palace'.[65] While Ligorio as a mapmaker was personally influenced by the literary associations of place, it must be recognised that his map, and others like it, are in part responsible for constructing a geographical imaginary of Calabria. For as we read in the story of Swinburne's quest to find Ogygia, the mapping of myth could have a direct influence on modern perceptions of and interactions with the land.

Debating Ogygia in Italian textual geographies

Once these maps had followed Alberti's text in asserting that Ogygia lay off the Capo Colonna, the question of the island's existence was unavoidable in the intellectual discourse on Calabrian topography. Over the next one hundred years, discussion in written geographies slowly moved away from identifying the location of the mythical islands towards disavowing their presence. The process was gradual as Italian geographers' confidence in their predecessors' authority wavered. There were those who continued to affirm the Plinian tradition, such as the historian Gabriele Barrio, by mentioning the islands and highlighting the Homeric association. In the section on the Capo Colonna, Barrio's antiquarian handbook of Calabria, published in 1571, paraphrased what was said in Pliny's *Natural History* about Ogygia.[66] Similarly, even in 1623, Giovanni Nicolò Doglioni was confident enough to repeat Alberti almost verbatim.[67] But there was some disagreement around this time as well. By contrast, historian Girolamo Marafioti downplayed the mythical connection in his work on the history of Calabria from 1596. First, he only mentioned the islands off the Capo Colonna in the last sentence of his description of the area, almost as an afterthought, and second, he elided any overt association with Homer, simply stating that there was an island called 'Calisso'.[68] Finally, the historian Giovanni Battista di Nola Molisi, who was born and lived in Crotone, published a work on the history of the city in 1649.

[65] John Dryden Jr., *A Voyage to Sicily and Malta* (London: J. Bew, 1776), 5-6, and see also Paul Franklin Kirby, *The Grand Tour in Italy (1700-1800)* (New York: S. F. Vanni, 1952), 47.
[66] Gabriele Barrio, *De Antiquitate et Situ Calabriae. Libri Quinque* (Rome: Iosephum de Angelis, 1571), 4:310.
[67] Giovanni Nicolò Doglioni, *Anfiteatro di Europa* (Venice: Giacomo Sarzina, 1623), 708.
[68] Girolamo Marafioti, *Croniche et Antichità di Calabria* (Naples: Stamperia dello Stigliola a Porta Regale, 1596), 3:210v..

As a local to the area, he was confronted by a reality that did not match up either to Homer's mythical geography or even to some of the modern geographies. Molisi reconciled the situation in his text by stating flatly: 'there used to be two little islands that are not visible today, one called *Diescorono* and the other *Calipso*, which Homer named Ogygia'.[69]

Apart from historical atlases, which, as we have seen, continued to portray Ogygia in maps of Odysseus's travels throughout the early modern period, maps of Calabria rarely depicted the Homeric island after the anonymous Venetian map and Ligorio's map in the 1550s. Thus, the island's waning representation in cartography mirrored the increasing lack of confidence in Ogygia's existence that obtained among Italian geographers in the seventeenth century. Just as Molisi stated in 1649 that Ogygia no longer had existed, so too mapmakers erased all trace of the mythical island off the coast of the Capo Colonna from their maps. When Giovanni Antonio Magini did not map Homer's Ogygia in his authoritative atlas, *Italia*, published posthumously in 1620, it proved to be a decisive cartographic statement on the island's existence. The cartographic image of Calabria and the Capo Colonna remained rather static for 150 years: later mapmakers deferred to Magini's maps of Calabria, and the Mezzogiorno more broadly, until the publication of Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni's four-sheet map of the Kingdom of Naples in 1769.[70] A series of Grand Tour travel accounts were published about the south of Italy in the late eighteenth century, the same time as Rizzi Zannoni was working. Curious about the region's antique past and its volcanic present, grand tourists' general perception of the Calabrian landscape was anything but static, as the next section will explore.

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[69] Giovanni Battista di Nola Molisi, *Cronica Dell'Antichissima, e Nobilissima Citta di Crotone e Della Magna Grecia*... (Naples: Francesco Savio, 1649), 65: 'apparivano due Isolette l'una chiamata Diescorono, & l'altra Calipso, da Homero Ogigia nominata, le quali hoggi non pareno'.
[70] Cf. statement made in Ilario Principe, ed., and Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, *Atlante geografico del Regno di Napoli* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 1994), 9.

Grand tourists' perceptions of southern Italy

The reasons why grand tourists did not begin venturing further south than Naples with any degree of regularity until the late eighteenth century were many. As Sharon Ouditt observed: 'Repeated earthquakes, the Spanish viceroys' and Bourbon kings' neglect of communication systems in the Kingdom of Naples, the height and impenetrability of the Apennines, and the presence of bandits lent the area a mythical character of irredeemable instability'.[71] Thus not only was the terrain rough and inaccessible and the region's infrastructure impracticable, but also, and perhaps more importantly for outsiders, it was perceived to be so. There is no one reason for grand tourists' incorporating new destinations into their routes, which were themselves idiosyncratic. In the 1760s, the "rediscovery" of Paestum, which had strangely escaped the attention of grand tourists for so long, sparked what has been called the Doric Revival in Britain.[72] A slew of publications on the antique remains around Paestum appeared in both France and England from the late 1760s, following trips by artists and antiquarians such as Johann Winckelmann. Thus, grand tourists began to turn their gaze into the untrodden parts of Italy in hope of further discoveries. But it is also true to say that travellers were finding the traditional routes increasingly uninspiring and were looking for original experiences.[73] This feeling was expressed by James Boswell in 1769. Explaining his reasons for choosing to go to Corsica, Boswell wrote: 'I wished for something more than just the common course of what is called the tour of Europe'.[74]

Additionally, there were more and more scientifically-minded travellers interested in exploring the areas of heightened seismic and volcanic activity in Campania and the Mezzogiorno. Caught up in this vogue Sir William Hamilton, long-time British envoy to the Kingdom of Naples, host to British tourists and collector of antiquities,

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[71] Sharon Ouditt, *Impressions of Southern Italy: British Travel Writing from Henry Swinburne to Norman Douglas* (London: Routledge, 2014), 89.
[72] James Stevens Curl, *Georgian Architecture* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 2002), 74-76.
[73] The beginnings of the "anti-tourist", developed in James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 80-154.
[74] James Boswell, *An Account of Corsica, the Journal of a Tour to that Island, and Memoirs of Pascal Paoli* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1769), 287.

Figure 4.8: Anonymous, *Il vero disegnio in sul proprio luogho ritratto dei infelice paese di pozuolo*, [Rome?], [c. 1540]. © The British Library Board. Maps K.Top.83.71.

published his *Campi phlegraei* (1776). In one section of the work, for instance, Hamilton transcribed, translated and commented on two sixteenth-century Italian sources that described the cataclysmic creation of the Monte Nuovo near Pozzuoli in 1538.[75] The eruption of the volcano and the new topography of the Phlegraen peninsula were memorialised shortly after in a map of the Bay of Pozzuoli (fig. 4.8).[76] The seismic and volcanic activity caused grand tourists to see southern Italy's landscape as unstable, capable of being dramatically altered through these tumultuous events.[77] Mountains were seen to rise and fall and islands were even being reported to burst out of the sea. In May 1770 the British grand tourist Patrick Brydone chartered a boat from Naples to Sicily in order to avoid the notorious *banditi* of the Mezzogiorno. Before the course of the *Charming Molly* turned southwards to follow the rugged Calabrian coastline, Brydone had some time to reflect upon the

[75] Sir William Hamilton, *Campi Phlegraei. Observations on the Volcanos of the Two Sicilies, As they have been Communicated to the Royal Society of London* (Naples, 1776), 1:70-80.
[76] BL Maps K.Top.83.71.: Anon., *Il vero disegnio in sul proprio luogho ritratto dei infelice paese di pozuolo* ([Rome], [c. 1540]).
[77] For more on the British perception of southern Italy as an unstable, see Ouditt, *Impressions*, 89-95.

panorama that was laid out before the gunwales. His overriding impression of the Campanian landscape was one of extreme volatility:

> Mountains and islands, that were celebrated for their fertility, changed into barren wastes, and barren wastes into fertile fields and rich vineyards. Mountains sunk into plains, and plains swelled into mountains. Lakes drunk up by volcanos, and extinguished volcanos turned into lakes. The earth still smoking in many places; and in others throwing out flame.-In short, Nature seems to have formed this coast in her most capricious mood; for every object is a *lusus naturae*. She never seems to have gone seriously to work; but to have devoted this spot to the most unlimited indulgence of caprice and frolick.[78]

For Brydone, then, the smouldering and sulphurous Phlegraean Fields and the volcanic islands in the Bay of Naples were not so much places for scientific enquiry, which had drawn so many of his contemporaries to come to this part of the Italy. Instead, the coastal profile seemed so changeable, so unstable to him that he could not but apprehend it as tangible metaphor of a land in chronic, regenerative flux. It was a flux driven by a nature personified as 'capricious', with the landscape being construed as a melting pot of playful yet impermanent topography.

At nature's whim, any aspect of the capricious southern topography could be inverted – height and depth, fire and water, even life and death. Later in the text, Brydone mused that 'this part of our earth… like the phœnix, has risen again from its own ashes, in much greater beauty and splendour than before it was consumed'.[79] Hearing reports that 'a very violent eruption' at Stromboli 'had begun to form a new island at some distance from the old', Brydone's party headed towards the Lipari Islands. They were unable to verify the reports. 'Unfortunately,' Brydone wrote with a hint of disappointment, after spending a night just off of Stromboli, 'at present we can see no appearance of any new island, nor indeed of any lava that has of late sprung from the old one'.[80]

[78] Patrick Brydone, *A tour through Sicily and Malta. In a series of letters to William Beckford, ... from P. Brydone, F.R.S.* (London: W. Strahan; and T. Cadell, 1775), 1:19-20.
[79] Brydone, *A tour through Sicily*, 1:24.
[80] Idem, 1:28-29.

Though Brydone did not set foot Calabria, his characterisation of Campania as unpredictable and volatile seemed appropriate for that province in the eyes of other grand tourists. Surveying the devastation caused by the 1783 earthquake in Calabria, the Reverend Brian Hill, who toured the south in 1791, seized upon Brydone's characterisation and repurposed it. Showing in a small way how the British geographical imagination of the south of Italy was perpetuated, Hill closely echoed the words of Brydone:

> However terrible the earthquakes were at Messina, they were much more so in Calabria, where mountains were changed into vallies, and vallies into mountains, rivers turned, lakes formed, and the whole face of the country visibly altered.[81]

And it is within this context – perceived remoteness, antiquarian curiosity and geographical instability – that the Neapolitan ambassador in Paris, Ferdinando Galiani, commissioned the Paduan surveyor Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni around 1766 to redraw the map of the Kingdom of Naples.[82] For while the territory had seen a number of intense earthquakes and eruptions, Calabria's topographical image had remained largely unchanged since the maps of Magini first produced in 1620.

Rizzi Zannoni's *Carta Geografica* of 1769: A new mountain rises on the Capo Colonna

In 1769, Rizzi Zannoni published his map of the Kingdom of Naples, *Carta Geografica della Sicilia Prima o sia Regno di Napoli*, in four separate sheets at his printing house in Paris.[83] Rizzi Zannoni brought two significant innovations to his maps: one to the

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[81] Rev. Brian Hill, *Observations and Remarks in a Journey through Sicily and Calabria* (London, 1792), 131, quoted in Ouditt, *Impressions*, 95. The passage was paraphrased again in the nineteenth century to describe the mountains in Abruzzo and Calabria in [Sydney,] Lady Morgan, *The Life and Times of Salvator Rosa* (London: Henry Colburn, 1824), 1:107-108: 'those amphitheatres of rocks… were still freshly stamped with the commotions of that Nature, which in such altitudes knows no repose. There, almost within view of the bold and solitary student, hills sunk to valleys, valleys swelled to hills,—rivers shifted their courses, and latent fires broke forth to scathe the vigorous vegetation which their own smothered ardours had produced'.

[82] Vladimiro Valerio, *Società, Uomini e Istituzioni Cartografiche nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia* (Florence: Istituto Geografico Militare, 1993), 84.

[83] BL Maps K.Top.83.22.a-.d.

layout and the other to the style. First, Rizzi Zannoni did not map the Kingdom of Naples along the old provincial borders, instead he divided the whole of southern Italy into four quadrants. Second, he adopted a new method of portraying relief. No longer were mountains drawn pictorially as if in perspective. Instead, he used shading to indicate the steepness and altitude of the terrain, as if seen from above with light coming from the top left of the map. In contrast to the Ligorio's map of the Kingdom of Naples, antiquarian elements are mostly eschewed; Rizzi Zannoni's focus was more on the physical features of the landscape. Having said that, Rizzi Zannoni drew attention to the newly completed Royal Palace at Caserta (1752-59), a few miles north of Naples, by making the grounds and buildings around two times larger on the map than they were in reality – a nod of the head to his royal patron.

For all the novelty in the way that Rizzi Zannoni depicted relief, the replication of familiar geographical inconsistencies betrays his dependence on the geography of previous maps. As his predecessors before him, Rizzi Zannoni depicted a non-existent mountain range that connected the main spine of the Apennines to the Monte

Figure 4.9: The Apennines and Monte Gargano. Detail of Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, *Carta Geografica della Sicilia Prima o sia Regno di Napoli*, Paris: Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, 1769. © The British Library Board. Maps K.Top.83.22.b.

Gargano, and another that extended deep into southern Apulia, which, as was previously noted by the tourist George Berkeley in 1717, is quite low and flat (figs. 4.9-4.10).[84] In many prior maps there were mountains in those regions, and, as he was working primarily from Paris, Rizzi Zannoni's 1769 maps were evidently compilations of multiple sources.[85] But there is one feature that did not appear in previous maps of the area.

Figure 4.10: Mountains in Apulia. Detail of Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, *Carta Geografica della Sicilia Prima o sia Regno di Napoli*, Paris: Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, 1769. © The British Library Board. Maps K.Top.83.22.d.

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[84] George Berkeley and Alexander Campbell Fraser, ed., *The Works of George Berkeley, D.D., Formerly Bishop of Cloyne: Including his Posthumous Works* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), 4:272: 'No mountains in the heel of Italy. Coarse pasture, open corn; all the way corn and pasture; open country; hills at our left distant, sea near our right. N.B. Mistake in the maps making the heel mountainous, there being nothing more than gentle hills or risings, and few of them'.

[85] Galiani helped Rizzi Zannoni gather sources in order to complete these maps, for which see Valerio, *Società, Uomini e Istituzioni Cartografiche*, 78-98.

Figure 4.11: The Monte della Sibilla on the Capo Colonna. Detail of Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, *Carta Geografica della Sicilia Prima o sia Regno di Napoli*, Paris: Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, 1769. © The British Library Board. Maps K.Top.83.22.c.

A short distance south of the Capo Colonna, Rizzi Zannoni mapped a mysterious mountain called the *Monte della Sibilla* – or the Sibyl's Mountain (fig. 4.11). There is no immediately obvious source for the mountain, which in any case does not exist, for whilst earlier maps sometimes portray mole-hill symbols in the area, no printed map had ever named a peak there the *Monte della Sibilla*. As a feature, this toponym was not alluded to in any written account of Calabria between the fifteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries.[86] It seems unlikely that Rizzi Zannoni misidentified this new mountain with the Sibyl's cave at Cuma or the *Monti Sibillini* in Umbria and Marche, or corrupted the name of the nearby La Sila mountain range. It is possible that Rizzi Zannoni found the Sibyl's Mountain in some fifteenth century manuscript, which we know he used as a geographic source. In a series of letters to Bernardo Tanucci, the prime minister at Naples, in the spring and summer of 1767, Galiani revealed his excitement at discovering some manuscript maps of the kingdom of Naples from the Aragonese period.[87] As the ink on the original parchments was in poor condition,

[86] None of the Italian geographers quoted above mention the *Monte della Sibilla*.
[87] For a summary of this activity, see Valerio, *Società, Uomini e Istituzioni Cartografiche*, 36-40.

Galiani had the maps copied and sent these to Rizzi Zannoni in Paris. Vladimiro Valerio has noted how Galiani immediately realised the maps' utility for historical research on archaeological sites and unusual toponyms. Whilst these manuscript maps may hold the answer as to why Rizzi Zannoni mapped the *Monte della Sibilla*, I would also contend that the vibrant cultural landscape of the Capo Colonna played a part in how it was represented cartographically.

As we have explored in the preceding sections, the Capo Colonna had a rich tradition of Greek poetry, antique remains and classical history that still captured the attention of early modern geographers and travellers. Without having travelled there and so working from previous cartographic iterations and textual sources, I would argue that the mythological reputation of the area, its cultural landscape and the preceding cartographic iconography of the Capo Colonna made such a name plausible to Rizzi Zannoni, however he may have come by it in the first place. The identification of Sibyl in Calabria would certainly not be out of character for a headland that had in the past played host to Odysseus, Hercules and the twin sons of Zeus, Castor and Pollux. In fact, we can speculate that Rizzi Zannoni knew of the debate about the location of Ogygia, as there are many islands off that coast. Though small and unnamed, these islands could be an echo the maps of the 1550s, as well as the Italian textual geographies, that represented Ogygia there. Indeed, though in general there are few pictorial features in the maps, Rizzi Zannoni highlighted the deeply classical nature of this region by depicting a lone Doric column at Capo Colonna.

In the years that followed the publication of these maps, grand tourists such as Swinburne, Brydone and Hill came to the Italian south. Swinburne noted on multiple occasions that he had used Rizzi Zannoni's maps in his travels, though mostly to point out flaws in their topography in comparison to the landscape he experienced.[88] Brydone and Hill, on the other hand, focused on the volatility and changeability of the landscape. Just as mountains sunk into plains in their characterising accounts of the volatile landscapes of southern Italy, so too the *Monte della Sibilla* disappeared from Rizzi Zannoni's maps after he surveyed the Capo Colonna in the 1780s.

[88] Swinburne, *Travels*, 1:151-152 and 1:210-211.

The “new face” of Calabria: Rizzi Zannoni’s topographic map of the Capo Colonna in 1789

A profound change to the representation of Calabria was set in motion in 1781 with the arrival of Rizzi Zannoni in the Kingdom of Naples, newly instated as the royal geographer. King Ferdinand IV had instructed him to update his earlier work through a comprehensive remapping of the kingdom, and Rizzi Zannoni had it in mind to emulate the geodetic survey that had been ongoing in France under the Cassinis. This was a project that consumed Rizzi Zannoni until his death in 1814, resulting in a thirty-one-sheet atlas of unprecedented detail with the general title *Atlante geografico del Regno di Napoli*. It was published piecemeal from 1788.[89] The maps showcased a practice of depicting relief similar to Rizzi Zannoni’s previous maps of 1769, but the orography had been updated. No longer reliant on his predecessors or second-hand testimony, Rizzi Zannoni’s new maps portrayed the physical features of the landscape as they were calculated by his measurements. The surveys were conducted according to a cartographic philosophy that valued above all precise scientific instrumentation and mathematical techniques of reduction, embodying the central facets of the Enlightenment’s quantifying spirit. The cultural landscape, which was at the fore in Ligorio’s sixteenth-century map, and still detectable in 1769, was consigned to the past.

Rizzi Zannoni’s atlas contained many amendments of the four-sheet map of 1769, including a dramatic transformation of the topography of the Capo Colonna, the twenty-ninth sheet.[90] In a remarkable volte face, all trace of the Calabrian Sibyl was wiped from the map. Twenty years on since he had raised the *Monte della Sibilla*, Rizzi Zannoni depicted the low-lying *Piano di Bonace* (fig. 4.12). The other curious features of the Capo Colonna were also erased: there are no Doric columns and no

[89] On the history of this survey see Valerio, *Società, Uomini e Istituzioni Cartografiche*, 121-217.

[90] The maps in the atlas were published piecemeal as and when they were completed, and in two tranches, first between 1788 and 1794 and second between 1804 and 1812. It must be noted that the copy in George’s collection is numbered sheet 28, as it is an earlier, perhaps the first, state, which was arranged according to an earlier order. Some of the maps published in the first tranche were re-engraved in 1804. Presumably the re-ordering took place around this time too and the sheet was finalised as number 29 in the complete atlas.

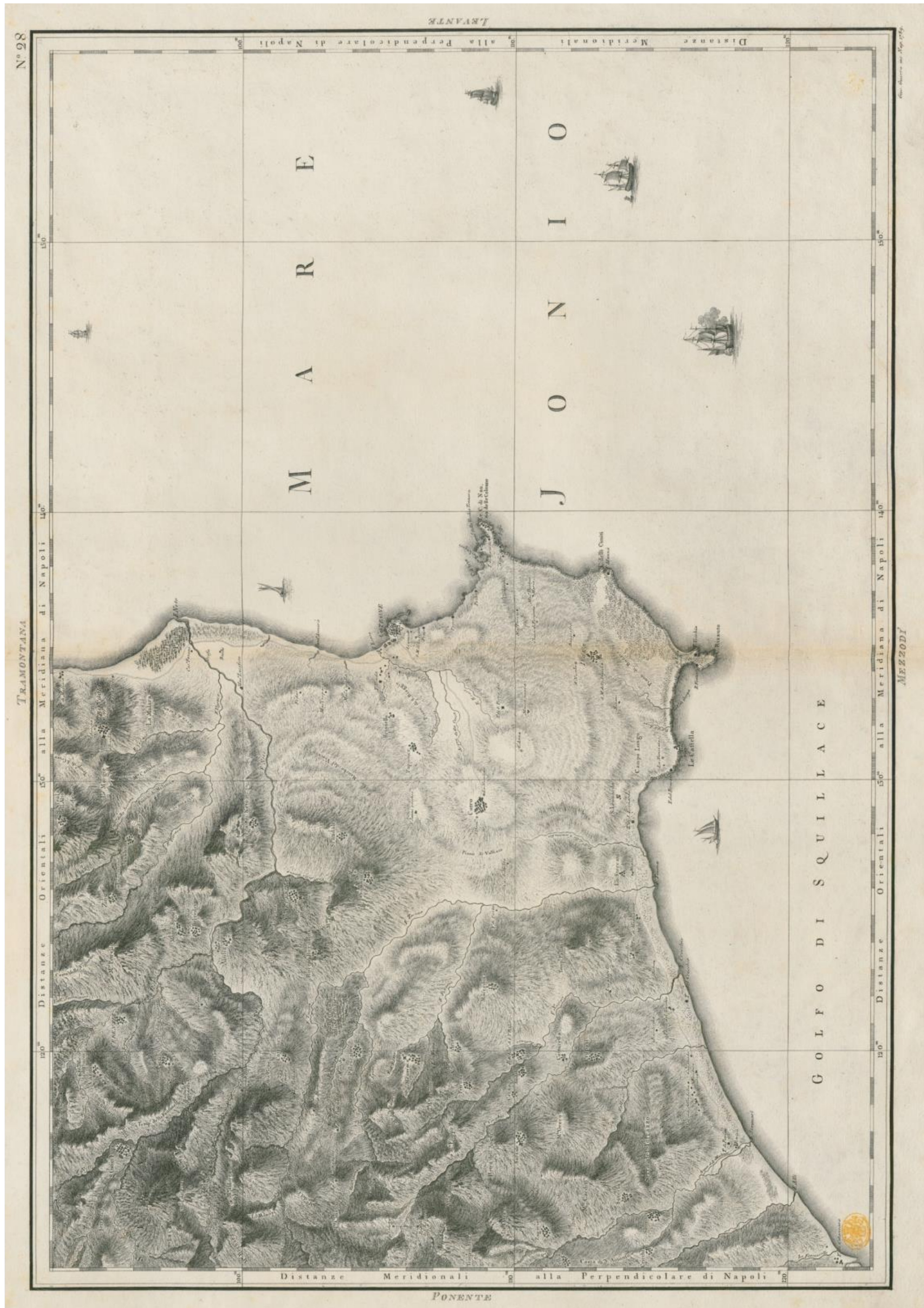

Figure 4.12: The Piano di Bonace replaces the Monte della Sibilla in Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, sheet no. 28 (Crotone and the Capo Colonna) of *Atlante geografico del Regno di Napoli*, Naples: Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, 1789. © The British Library Board. Maps K.Top.83.23.c.

unnamed islands. There was no place for the immeasurable human, historic and cultural elements of landscape. Similar to how as an artistic genre topographical came to mean the depiction of real landscapes, the type of mapping practised by Rizzi Zannoni, topographic mapping, focused on the detailed depiction of terrain relief, grounded as it was in the sober and scientific aesthetics of the Enlightenment mode of mapping. The dramatic shift in method and appearance of the Capo Colonna in Rizzi Zannoni's two mapping endeavours, first in 1769 and then again in 1789, demonstrates the increasing acceptance of the modern definition of topography, which, as reviewed above, had been developing in the late eighteenth century. Indeed, the cartographic image of Calabria changed so much that Roberto Almagià said that it had been given 'a new face'.[91] The topographic image of the Capo Colonna had evolved from a site associated with Greek mythology and antiquity into a territory defined by its relief.

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The history of topography shows it to be a complex term with different forms, methods and national traditions. This chapter has reviewed the varied conceptions and practices of topography across the early modern period, paying particular attention to their relation to mapmaking. Sixteenth-century mapmakers drew upon historical geographies and antiquarian research about Calabria in the production of their regional maps. The resulting representations offered map users a layered portrayal of places in southern Italy that evoked social, cultural and historical dimensions of its landscapes. As cartographers became more focused on a hierarchy of scales, topography was figured more and more as synonymous with large-scale mapping. This chapter has identified a trend in the late eighteenth century whereby visual topographical practices increasingly linked to the representation of real terrain, both in pictorial and cartographic forms and how this influenced, or even shaped the geographical imaginations of grand tourists.

[91] Writing about Rizzi Zannoni's survey, Roberto Almagià wrote that 'la Calabria vi appare – dirò così – con una nuova faccia' ('Calabria appears to us – so to speak – with a new face') in Roberto Almagià, "Sguardo allo Sviluppo Storico della Cartografia della Calabria," *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 25, fasc. 1-2 (1956): 156.
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In order to highlight the developments in topography and its influence on grand tourists' imagination and experience, early modern cartographic representations of the Capo Colonna in Calabria were chosen as a case study for this chapter. The Homeric myth of Ogygia off the shore of the Capo Colonna had been tied to the landscape since the Roman geographer Pliny and transmitted into the early modern period through Renaissance geographer Leandro Alberti. Ogygia rose in sixteenth-century maps, such as that of Pirro Ligorio, that presented the landscape of Calabria partly through its mythological history. Prospero Parisio offered an alternative picture of the places of Calabria: filtered through its social history and the rich archaeology of ancient Greece. Topography, in their eyes, was an associative and multifaceted endeavour. Although Ogygia subsequently disappeared from maps of Calabria, the writings of grand tourists suggest that the memory of a Grecian heritage persisted throughout the early modern period.[92] In particular, the account of Henry Swinburne intersected with the mythological history of Ogygia, allowing us to glimpse how maps played a role in forming geographical imaginations and how they could affect the movements and experiences of travellers.

Furthermore, the remote, volatile and varied terrain of Calabria presented mapmakers with a complex task. As reports of mountains and islands appearing overnight titillated grand tourists in the Mezzogiorno, it is tempting to cast Ogygia's disappearance as a result of the geological volatility of southern Italian landscapes that was impressed upon grand tourists. In reality, the island's omission from maps speaks to the emergence of topographical mapping in the late eighteenth century. The publications of Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, firstly his four maps of the Kingdom of Naples in 1769 and then his significantly enlarged atlas published piecemeal between 1788 and 1812, are symptomatic of the movement towards this new mode of mapping. It was a combination of his working remotely from historic sources and Calabria's perception amongst outsiders as having an unstable landscape that allowed a mythical topography to persist in Rizzi Zannoni's first map of the Capo Colonna, in which we see the *Monte della Sibilla* rise. However, in Rizzi Zannoni's

[92] Swinburne indicated this in the preface of his travel account. See, Swinburne, *Travels*, 1:iii: 'Our earliest education has made us acquainted with those classic regions; Poetry and History have rendered their topography familiar to us, and every school-boy can point out the ruins of Magna Graecia and Sicily'.

second map of the area the mountain made way for the *Piano di Bonace* – a change of course that epitomised the topographical mode, which was focused on precisely measuring the physical landscape and portraying relief in high definition.

While Swinburne felt that he had to note errors in maps as he went from place to place in southern Italy to improve his stock as a serious travel writer, the maps that he mentioned like Rizzi Zannoni's were not created with the traveller in mind. The next chapter, however, will move from maps as shaping grand tourists' antiquarian imagination to maps as instruments of travel.

Chapter 5

Travel

In one of the eighteenth century's most popular and successful books, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, by Laurence Sterne, Walter Shandy, father of the protagonist, considered following the fashion of the day and sending his firstborn son on a Grand Tour of Europe. Eager to take part in the sort of tour for which he never had the opportunity, and being rather thrifty in nature, Walter began to meticulously reckon the cost of such a journey. Tristram Shandy then described how Walter was frustrated in his calculations for a second time by his servant Obadiah bringing some bad news:

> When my father received the letter which brought him the melancholy account of my brother *Bobby*'s death, he was busy calculating the expence of his riding post from *Calais* to *Paris*, and so on to *Lyons* … Till that moment, my father, who had a map of *Sanson*'s, and a book of the post roads before him, had kept his hand upon the head of his compasses, with one foot of them fixed upon *Nevers*, the last stage he had paid for – purposing to go on from that point with his journey and calculation.[1]

Though fictional, the passage detailed one of the primary ways in which travellers around Europe in the early modern period interacted with maps: by deploying them to plan routes. Historians have noted that as the eighteenth century progressed there was an increasing inclination towards the development and use of scientific instruments, especially regarding mapmaking and observations made during foreign travel.[2] Sterne therefore, had inspired Walter with some of the spirit of the Enlightenment. Trusting his geographical instruments and his own ability to use them, Walter deployed a map of the post routes of France by Nicolas Sanson to plan the stages of his trip (a later example is seen in fig. 5.1), a book of post roads with which to work out the cost of hiring horses or riding on public carriages and a pair of compasses for good measure. Sanson's postal map had an enduring popularity: it went through almost 120 editions from its first publication in 1632 up to 1870, enabling

[1] Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (London: Printed for T. Becket and P. A. Dehont, in the Strand, 1762), 5:17-19.
[2] Michael T. Bravo, "Precision and Curiosity in Scientific Travel: James Rennell and the Orientalist Geography of the New Imperial Age (1760-1830)," in *Voyages & Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, ed. Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (London: Reaktion, 1999), 163-183.

travellers to plan journeys in France throughout the early modern period.[3] Working out the financial arrangements of travel has always been an important concern, but especially so for grand tourists, whose occasionally extensive travels could grow to be very expensive.[4]

Figure 5.1: Nicolas Sanson, *Carte Particuliere des Postes de France*, Amsterdam: Covens et Mortier, after 1721. © The British Library Board. Maps K.Top.56.53.

[3] Clemente Fedele and Mario Gallenga, *Per Servizio di Nostro Signore: Strade, Corrieri e Poste dei Papi dal Medioevo al 1870* (Prato: Istituto di Studi Storici Postali, 1988), 199.
[4] On the cost of a tour to Italy, see Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 94-103.

Many travellers embarking on a Grand Tour would have arrived in Calais and proceeded through France, just as Walter planned to, quite often with the intention of visiting the Italian peninsula. Most people who moved about in the early modern period, however, would have been restricted to their immediate locales – an extended trip through Europe was by no means the most common type of travel. And there is a significant difference between moving locally and a Grand Tour in the geographical knowledge involved: the former calls upon the mental maps formed from lived experience of space, the latter requires textual and graphic aids such as those utilised by Walter. He was engaging in what is termed route-planning, an activity that map historians have stressed is very different to wayfinding.[5] An abstract exercise by definition, route-planning indicates the consideration and determination of possible ways to get from A to B – a route. By contrast, wayfinding is a highly contextual act involving the traveller and the visible landscape. It is a process undertaken continuously while on the move. Abstract routes planned in advance can often differ depending on real features of the terrain – the road under one's feet.[6]

Though maps and travel are often thought of going hand in glove, the evidence suggests that maps, as wayfinding devices, were rarely deployed by European land travellers in the early modern period. Analysing the materials late medieval and Renaissance travellers drew on, Catherine Delano-Smith stated that 'very few [pilgrims] would have even seen a map, partly because maps were the last thing needed in the actual process of travelling'.[7] This remained the case until regions were surveyed in sufficient detail to show local roads with accuracy, a process that was occurring in Europe over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Instead, other more practical aids were used for wayfinding, such as the itinerary, which was in its basic form a list of the significant places and landmarks passed *en*

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[5] Catherine Delano-Smith and Roger J. P. Kain, *English Maps: A History* (London: British Library, 1999), 142-178; Catherine Delana Smith, "Milieus of Mobility: Itineraries, Route Maps, and Road Maps," in *Cartographies of Travel and Navigation*, ed. James R. Akerman (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 16-68; James R. Akerman, "Finding our Way," in *Maps: Finding our Place in the World,* ed. James R. Akerman and Robert W. Karrow Jr. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 19-63.

[6] On the etymology of 'route' and 'road', see Delano-Smith, "Milieus of Mobility," 29-33.

[7] Catherine Delano-Smith, "The Intelligent Pilgrim: Maps and Medieval Pilgrimage to the Holy Land," in *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050-1550*, ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 107.

route to a destination. Knowledge of routes was commonly stored in textual form, and there appeared to be little need or demand to put an itinerary into a graphic format. On the importance of gaining information *en route* Roger Kain and Delano-Smith pointed to the rise of multi-lingual phrasebooks, which started to appear from the 1530s, concluding that 'early modern travellers relied on the primeval modes of way-finding, those of looking for landmarks and asking for directions'.[8]

Common sense tells us that plotting compass points on a general road map of France while on the road between two towns would not have been a practical or even helpful action. From 1771, however, travellers in Italy could purchase innovative cartographic products that were specifically designed for wayfinding: strip-map road atlases. A flurry of similar publications with only minor variations appeared across western Europe in the final three decades of the eighteenth century, indicating significant market demand. But why did these atlases proliferate at this time, and what effect did their appearance have on the material culture and touristic practices of the Grand Tour?

Before investigating these atlases, the chapter will survey the broad range of navigational devices available to grand tourists in the early modern period and the advice about using them. First, it will look at the history of the representation of roads on maps in early modern Europe, paying more attention to maps of Italy. The second section will then turn to the advice that was given to grand tourists regarding when and what maps to acquire and how to use them. Thirdly, the chapter will explore what other kinds of resources were available to travellers in Italy, from descriptive guidebooks of Italian sites, to knowledgeable antiquarian guides and finally to written itineraries that helped one navigate around the country. The remainder of the chapter will analyse the Italian road atlases that burst on to the market in the early 1770s and investigate their impact as specialist navigational devices. After considering the first two printed atlases that appeared in 1771, the chapter will then explore two later atlases from the Italian volumes of the King's Topographical Collection: Andrew Dury's *The Roads of Italy* (1774) and a hastily translated derivative with uncertain

[8] Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps*, 168-169 and fn. 7, referring to Noël Berlaimont's seven language travel handbook of 1586 that contained a chapter of phrases for asking the way.

origins. The analysis will conclude by considering these atlases' relationship to a group of manuscript road atlases that were circulating in Europe around the same time, and by speculating on their origins in a Florentine cartographic workshop owned and run by the Giachi family.

The atlases were all small and portable volumes composed of folding strip-maps of the post roads of the Italian peninsula. Through their strip-map form of representation, they achieved a level of detail on Italian roads not seen before. While the representation was novel with regards to Italy, road maps became part of the broad apparatus of devices with which travellers could observe and master the land. This chapter argues that the materiality of the portable atlases with their foldout maps caused the ways in which grand tourists interacted with navigational tools to change. Furthermore, by repeatedly emphasising practical and financial advice, the values that the atlases embodied – economy, efficiency and self-reliance – speak to the evolving nature of the travel in the eighteenth century, as its culture was moving away from the aristocratic mode of touring.

The history of road maps in Europe

There had been a few attempts to delineate the road network throughout Europe from the early sixteenth century, such as Erhard Etzlaub's famous *Das ist der Rom-Weg* of c. 1500 and Martin Waldseemüller's *Carta itineraria Europae* of 1511. Designed to assist pilgrims, Etzlaub's map showed the major stopping points on the *Via Francigena* as it worked its way south to Rome.[9] While Sanson's 1632 *Postes de France* was the first national map of a road network, similar mapping projects were not completed for Britain and Italy until the late seventeenth century.[10] In England, roads were first added to printed topographical maps in the 1590s by John Norden and Philip Symonson, and were only customarily marked on county maps from the 1690s

[9] Akerman, "Finding our Way," 45-46: maintained that Etzlaub's map was intended for use on the road, as distances between stopping points were noted.
[10] Herbert George Fordham, *Studies in Carto-Bibliography, British and French, and in the Bibliography of Itineraries and Road-Books* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914) remains a useful carto-bibliography for Britain and France.

onwards with Robert Morden.[11] The first work to comprehensively plot the roads of England and Wales was John Ogilby's *Britannia* which first appeared in 1675. Instituting a new way of marking different roads, Ogilby's *Britannia* had used different symbols to distinguish between turnpike and other roads, and between open and enclosed roads.[12] Nevertheless, the symbols for a road – an unbroken line for enclosed, dashed for open – were still ambiguous as to the capacity, for they might relate to a main road for vehicular traffic, a bridleway, or even a footpath. Furthermore, there was no assurance as to the quality of what lay underfoot. This continued to be the case even in more systematic and institutional mapping in the nineteenth century, as Yolande Hodson has shown.[13] Indeed the main criticism of the Old Series of the Ordnance Survey was that there was no distinction between metalled and unmetalled roads.

The trajectory for Italy followed a similar pattern and chronology. In general, roads only became more regular features of printed maps of Italian states or regions in the late eighteenth century. Before then, they were shown with intermittent frequency. There were exceptions: mapmakers who were interested in the history of the land frequently marked roads that held antiquarian interest, as we saw in the previous chapter in Pirro Ligorio's map. Mapping projects of smaller areas appear more likely than larger surveys to include road networks in the sixteenth century.[14] Another early exception is Pietro de' Nobili's 1560 map, *Paese di Roma*, which showed the main arterial roads emanating from Rome.[15] De' Nobili's map proves to be something of an anomaly, though, as modern roads disappeared from maps of the Roman countryside for over a century. In any case de' Nobili gave no indication of the size or quality of what lay underfoot and it is unclear who he was marketing his map towards. The

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[11] Fordham, Itineraries and Road-Books, 27-30. See also R. A. Carroll, *The Printed Maps of Lincolnshire 1576-1900: A Carto-Bibliography with an Appendix on Road-Books 1675-1900* (Woodbridge: Lincoln Record Society, 1996), for a more detailed survey on Lincolnshire, although much of the material applies to England as a whole.
[12] Enclosure could indicate hedgerows, fences or the mounds of earth on either side of the road that formed through the continual passing of traffic. It was strategically important information: travellers on enclosed roads were more susceptible to ambush.
[13] Yolande Hodson, "Roads on OS One-inch Maps 1801-1904," *Rights of Way Law Review* 9, no. 3 (2000): 119-127.
[14] For instance, see the large-scale map of the island of Ischia near Naples: BL Maps K.Top.83.48.: Julius Jasolinus, *Ischia, quae olim Aenaria. Ab Aeneae classe hic appulsa sic nominate* (Antwerp, 1590).
[15] BL Maps K.Top.84.1.: Pietro de' Nobili, *Paese di Roma* (Rome, 1560).

roads of Lazio reappeared definitively in 1693, when Giacomo Filippo Ameti produced his *Il Lazio con le sue piu Cospicue Strade Antiche, e Moderne e principali Casali, e Tenute di esso*, marking both modern and Roman roads in exceptional detail.[16] As we have read in Chapter 3, Ameti's maps were well-regarded by grand tourists, even in the early nineteenth century.

In 1665 the notable French map publisher Pierre Duval produced an atlas called *Cartes pour les itinéraires et voyages modernes*, the maps of which each showed specific routes.[17] In the twenty-seventh map, entitled *Itineraire d'Italie où sont les routes de Nice à Rome, par Genes, Lucques et Florence et de Rome à Venise par Lorete*, Duval turned his attention to roads in Italy. Excluding Piedmont which is hidden by the cartouche, the map showed the region from the Alps to Rome. It also contained two inset maps of the routes from Venice to Austria and from Rome to Naples, which expanded its scope to almost the entire peninsula. Also worthy of mention is the 1701 map of the roads from Paris to Rome by Jean-Baptiste Nolin. *Les Differentes Routes Pour Aler de Paris a Rome* presented the viewer with their various options for travelling by road from the French capital to the seat of the papacy.[18] Both Duval's and Nolin's maps have an echo of Etzlaub's *Das its der Rom-Weg*: they demonstrated an appetite from abroad to breach the peninsula and know Italy's roads up to Rome, connecting them to a longer tradition that considered Rome as a centre, or rather as the centrifugal point of pilgrimages.

The lack of a general map showing the post roads of the Italian peninsula was clearly felt by contemporaries in the late seventeenth century. Giuseppe Miselli, who had been a courier for the Papal States for many years, lamented the fact that not every country had maps of post roads. In the foreword to his guide to travelling Europe, *Il Burattino veridico, overo, instruzione generale Per chi viaggia*, published in 1682, Miselli confessed:

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[16] BL Maps K.Top.84.5.a-d.: Giacomo Filippo Ameti, *Il Lazio con le sue piu Cospicue Strade Antiche, e Moderne e principali Casali, e Tenute di esso* (Rome, 1693).
[17] Mireille Pastoureau, Les Atlas Français XVIe-XVIIe Siècles: Répertoire Bibliographique et Étude (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1984), 154-55.
[18] BL Maps K.Top.75.58.2.: Jean-Baptiste Nolin, *Les Differentes Routes Pour Aler de Paris a Rome et aux Villes Considerables d'Italie, ou est Aujord'huy le Theatre de la Guerre* (Paris, 1701).

> If time had allowed me to do so, I would have gladly formed some geographical maps of post roads (as Sanson has done with all his maps of France) so as to place the journeys described here before your eyes.[19]

Miselli's call for more specialised maps of the roads of Italy was answered in 1695 by the Italian mapmaker Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola. *L'Italia con Le sue Poste e Strade Principali* (fig. 5.2) was published in Rome by Domenico de Rossi and was included in editions of the de Rossi family atlas, *Mercurio Geografico*. Not only has it been claimed to be the earliest road map devoted exclusively to Italy, but it remained as the basis for all general post maps of Italy until the end of the eighteenth century.[20] Not surprisingly, Cantelli was a mapmaker whose work Lord Bute had requested the agent Richard Dalton to purchase and, as a result, George owned two volumes of the *Mercurio Geografico*.[21] It was, however, a large reference atlas, so its utility for travellers beyond route-planning is uncertain. The advice grand tourists were given, then, typically concerned other maps.

Advice for grand tourists: Maps and atlases for travel

How to practise foreign travel had been debated and regulated in theoretical treatises since the end of the sixteenth century (see Chapter 3). In general, most travel manuals contained some advice, which was often repeated in the preface of guidebooks, on how to use and where to find maps. There was general consensus that competence in the use of maps and globes was not only useful but necessary for making the types of geographical observations, which should be recorded by travellers interested in benefitting society. James Howell (c. 1594-1666), writing one of the earliest and most influential manuals for travel in 1642, instructed that the traveller should

[19] Giuseppe Miselli, *Il Burattino Veridico, Overo, Instruzione Generale Per chi Viaggia, con la Descrizione dell'Europe, distinzione de' Regni, Provincie, e Città, e con la Tavola delle Poste nelle vie più regolate, che al presente si trovano* (Rome: Michel'Ercole, 1682), "Al discreto lettore": 'se il tempo me l'avesse permesso, averei volentieri fatte formare alcune Carte Geografiche delle Poste (come hà fatto il Sansone di tutte quelle della Francia) per sottoporre all'occhio i Viaggi, che si descrivono'.

[20] Fedele and Gallenga, *Strade, Corrieri e Poste*, 200.

[21] George owned two later editions of Domenico de Rossi, *La Guida del Mercurio Geografico per Tutte le Parti del Mondo* (Rome, [post 1723]): Maps 1.TAB.6. and Maps 4.TAB.19,20.

Figure 5.2: Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola, *L'Italia con Le sue Poste e Strade Principali*, Rome: Domenico de Rossi, 1695. BL Maps 4.TAB.19,20. no. 81.

'understand the use of the Map and Globe, to find out the Longitude and Latitude of all places, and to observe and compare the temper of them as hee shall passe along'.[22] This would become a standard piece of advice given to travellers, however, it relates more to the traveller in the study, interacting with geographical instruments to plan routes or record observations. But Howell went on to relay further advice, this time more directed to the traveller on the road. Specifically, his advice stipulated that travellers should purchase material prior to departure and, upon arrival in a new place, attempt to achieve a panoramic view from above with their own eyes:

> It were very requisit to have a book of the *Topographicall* description of all places, through which hee passeth; and I think *Bertius*, or the Epitome of *Ortelius*, which are small and portable, would bee the best. At his first comming to any Citie he should repaire to the chief Church (if not Idolatrous) to offer up his sacrifice of thanks, that he is safely arrived thither, and then some have used to get on the top of the highest Steeple, where

[22] Edward Arber, ed., James Howell, B.A., *Instructions for Forreine Travell. 1642. Collated with the Second Edition of 1650* (London: 5, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, W.C, 1869), 18.

> one may view with advantage, all the Countrey circumjacent, and the site of the City, with the advenues and approaches about; and so take a Landskip of it.[23]

The most essential characteristic for a reference book to be used while travelling, as here indicated by Howell, was that it needed to be 'small and portable'. On this point, Howell recommended first the Flemish mapmaker Petrus Bertius, who made a pocket atlas based on Barent Langenes's *Caert-Thresoor* (1598). Second, Howell mentioned the '*Epitome* of Ortelius', which could relate to two pocket atlases of the 1600s, one sold by John Norton from 1601 or 1602, the other by James Shaw from 1603. Both were English translations of pocket atlases that had been produced in Dutch or Latin and published in previous years in Paris and Antwerp.[24] It seems likely that Howell had the English editions in mind in his recommendations for travel aides. Smaller and thus less costly, these pocket atlases allowed maps to be bought and viewed by a larger cross-section of European society. Moreover, the size of pocket atlases – generally six by four inches or seven by five inches – encouraged them to become travel companions.

And so, with the publication in London of the reduced atlases of Norton and Shaw, transportable atlases of the world and its regions became available for the first time to a newly defined section of the British public. The lower cost of these simpler productions would no doubt have contributed to their being more readily taken on voyages. When Laurence Worms deemed that 'neither publication had any significant success' on the basis of the number of surviving copies, he did not seem to be considering their utility for travellers.[25] In fact, it is surely an indication of enduring popularity that Howell was recommending these atlases some forty years after they

[23] Arber, *James Howell*, 21.
[24] On the book trade in London in the 1590s and 1600s, see Laurence Worms, "Maps and Atlases," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 4: 1557-1695*, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie, with the assistance of Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 235. On the epitomes of Ortelius, see Cornelis Koeman et al., "Commercial Cartography and Map Production in the Low Countries, 1500-ca. 1672," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 2:1331-1333.
[25] For a short description of the first two English versions of the *Epitome*, see Laurence Worms, "The London Map Trade to 1640," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 2:1706-1707.

had first been sold in London. Moreover, Norton's *Epitome* went through second and third editions in 1610 and 1616, possibly as the earlier editions had been used to destruction. Thus, there may be other factors that resulted in the relative scarcity of these publications as opposed a lack of success. Not only were they designed to be portable, but they were clearly recognised to be so. There is a greater chance that these atlases found their way into the trunks of travellers who went abroad and were used there, and quite possibly were disposed of either because they had served their purpose or because they had become worn or damaged. This type of usage is in opposition to the way grand atlases were treated, which remained in the relative safety and stability of private or institutional libraries as reference books and status symbols.

Howell is unspecific about when travellers should acquire maps needed for trips abroad, although it seems like he was referring his audience to items that were available in England. Other writers, both French and English, are clearer in their instructions, especially later in the period. The advice given in the 1770s by Louis Dutens in his *Itinéraire des routes les plus fréquentées*, part itinerary and part guidebook, is that maps and town plans should be bought as the traveller passed from place to place: 'La premiere chose, que l'on doit faire en arrivant dans une grande ville, est d'envoyer chercher le *Plan*, la *Description*, & le *Calendrier*'.[26] This was echoed in 1787 by the English grand tourist Thomas Martyn, who, evidently a reader of Dutens, had the same advice about what to do upon arrival in a new place, but added a couple of items to be brought in advance, naturally including his own guidebook:

As soon as you are arrived in any town, and have made the agreement for your board and lodging, send out for a map of the country, a plan of the town, and the guide-book; there is scarcely a town in Italy, which has not one of these, tolerably executed, where every thing that is to be seen in the place, good, bad, and indifferent, is described most minutely. This, with the map and plan, M. Dutens's excellent *Itineraire*, and the

[26] Louis Dutens, *Itinéraire des Routes les plus Fréquentées, ou, Journal d'un Voyage aux Villes Principales de l'Europe en 1768, 1769, 1770, et 1771* (Paris: Chez Pissot, 1775), vii-viii. In 1777 editions were published in Paris, again by Pissot, and in London by Andrew Dury. John Highmore's 1782 translation runs: 'The first thing to be done on arriving at any great town is to send for a plan, the description of it, and an almanack'.

following little work, will probably answer all the necessary demands of the traveller.[27]

We have evidence from one of the earliest grand tourists that the practice of buying maps abroad took place. Travelling Europe in the final decade of the sixteenth century, Fynes Moryson recorded two items which he thought useful to purchase immediately upon his arrival in Lübeck in 1591:

> I bought the foureteenth Booke of *Amadis de Gaule,* in the Dutch tongue, to practise the same: for these Bookes are most eloquently translated into the Dutch, and fit to teach familiar language; and for this Booke I paid eighteene lubecke shillings, and for the binding foure; and for a Map of *Europe* to guide me in my iourney, I paid foureteene lubecke shillings.[28]

Map sellers' catalogues corroborate the notion that travellers were able to purchase whichever regional and national maps they needed locally. Early in the eighteenth century, printed sale catalogues for the de Rossi family shop, a major map seller in Rome for over a generation, document a wide selection of maps for sale that were up to date and covered every region of Italy.[29] Not surprisingly, the catalogue recorded useful maps for travel, such as Cantelli's 1695 road map of Italy and Ameti's detailed maps of Lazio from 1693.

Testimony such as this suggests that throughout the early modern period travellers could acquire whatever cartographic material they might need on their travels. In addition, geographical knowledge of Italy and western Europe was sufficiently taught, at least to the elite, that in general maps were not seen as necessary inclusions in early modern travel accounts of Italy, in contrast, for example, to accounts of the relatively unfamiliar territory of the South Pacific.[30] As Thomas Nugent wrote in his guidebook

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[27] Thomas Martyn, *The Gentleman's Guide in his Tour through Italy. With a Correct Map, and Directions for Travelling in that Country* (London: Printed for G. Kearsley, No. 46, Fleet Street, 1787), xix-xx.
[28] Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Written by Fynes Moryson Gent.* (London: Printed by Iohn Beale, dwelling in Aldersgate street, 1617), 1:56-7.
[29] Domenico de Rossi, *Indice delle Stampe Intagliate in Rame a Bulino, e in Acqua Forte Esistenti nella Stamperia di Domenico de' Rossi, Erede di Gio. Giacomo* (Rome: Stamperia di Domenico de Rossi, 1705), 3-15 covers the maps.
[30] Jordana Dym, "The Familiar and The Strange: Western Travelers' Maps of Europe and Asia, ca. 1600-1800," *Philosophy & Geography* 7, no. 2 (August 2004): 155-191.

of 1749, *The Grand Tour*, 'most gentlemen are presumed to have some knowledge of geography', referring to France, Italy, Germany and the Low Countries. Nugent went on to excuse his map-less guidebooks on the grounds that tipping small maps into the work would 'rather mislead than instruct the reader'. Instead, Nugent suggested that travellers 'ought therefore to be provided with larger maps, which they may carry about them without much trouble, by rolling them upon round sticks'.[31]

It was, of course, entirely possible to travel without looking at a map. In contrast to any example that we might cite in favour of map use on the Grand Tour, we must remember the case of William Cobbett, who, even in 1823, preferred a handwritten itinerary to guide him through Kent:

> The rotten borough of New Romney came next in my way; and here, to my great surprise, I found myself upon the sea-beach; for I had not looked at a map of Kent for years, and, perhaps, never. I had got a list of places from a friend in Sussex, whom I asked to give me a route to Dover, and to send me through those parts of Kent which he thought would be most interesting to me.[32]

There was also a host of resources beyond maps and plans available to the grand tourist. Some, like Cobbett, preferred to use itineraries, lists of places along a given route, printed versions of which had codified the well-trodden road network of Europe from the beginning of the early modern period. Others read the descriptions of touristic sites of Italy and followed the recommendations in guidebooks and other travellers' accounts. A few relied on experienced guides for all or part of their journey, and *ciceroni*, *vetturini* and *laquais de place* could be hired locally as required.

Further resources: Guidebooks, guides and itineraries

The reconstructed inventories of the *Westmorland* – the British ship that was captured in 1779 transporting grand tourists' goods from Italy to England – have

[31] Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour* (London: S. Birt, D. Browne, A. Millar, and G. Hawkins, 1749), 1:iv and vii.
[32] William Cobbett, *Rural Rides … During the years 1821 to 1832* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1885), 1:304-305, quoted in Donald Hodson, "The Early Printed Road Books and Itineraries of England and Wales" (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 2000), 2:519.

revealed that a range of guidebooks were in the hold.[33] According to María Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui, one of the curators of the exhibition on the ship's cargo, 'the *Westmorland* presents us with a time capsule from 1779, a window into the art market and the collecting culture of the Grand Tour at a very precise moment'.[34] Therefore, the inventories delineate precisely what material grand tourists were drawing upon for practical advice about travel in Italy in the late eighteenth century. Had they arrived in Britain, some of the luxury, foreign volumes would have been prized possessions in domestic libraries and potentially referred to for future visits to the Italian peninsula. The cargo contained copies of the first two volumes of the *Voyage d'un François en Italie*, a popular French guidebook written in 1769 by Joseph Jérôme Le Français de Lalande. Two copies survived of Giuseppe Vasi's *Itineraire instructif divisé en huit journées* from 1773. This novel guidebook divided up the sights of Rome into eight day-long walking tours, in which tourists were expected to visit, on average, almost fifty sites per day.

Another book in the *Westmorland* inventories was Pietro Rossini's *Il Mercurio errante delle grandezze di Roma: tanto antiche, che moderne* (1776). First published in 1693, Rossini's guide went through twelve editions until 1789. With each successive edition more information was added to the text on the palaces, churches and antiquities of Rome, and buildings were updated as they were constructed or restored.[35] Rossini was a respected antiquary and, during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, acted as a *cicerone* – a kind of early tour guide – for foreign visitors to Rome. *Ciceroni* such as Rossini provided tourists with a structured and, hopefully, intellectually stimulating way of navigating the unfamiliar spaces of Italy. It was a method that had no immediate need for maps, itineraries or guidebooks. Indeed, as we have seen in Chapter 3, hiring an experienced and knowledgeable tutor had been

[33] María Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui and Scott Wilcox, eds., *The English Prize: The Capture of the Westmorland, An Episode of the Grand Tour* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012).
[34] María Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui, "The *Westmorland*: Crates, Contents, and Owners," in *The English Prize: The Capture of the Westmorland, An Episode of the Grand Tour*, ed. María Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui and Scott Wilcox (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012), 27.
[35] On Rossini and the editions of the *Mercurio errante*, see Martha Pollak, ed., and Clare Baines et al., *The Mark J. Millard Architectural Collection. Volume IV: Italian and Spanish Books, Fifteenth through Nineteenth Centuries* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2000), 367-370.

a recommended practice for young grand tourists since the beginning of travel theory, particularly for those with sufficient wealth. Hiring guides was a common practice in Rome, where there was so much to see. Tourists could employ a *laquais de place*, a local connoisseur or one of the resident British antiquarians, a practice endorsed in Nugent's *The Grand Tour*:

> 'Tis requisite to have a skilful antiquarian at *Rome*, which saves a person a great deal of trouble by directing him to the several remains of antiquity that are particularly worthy of a traveller's notice. These antiquarians are ridiculously distinguished by the name of *Ciceroni*, and may be retained for three or four pistols a month. Those who do not chuse to be at that expence, may hire them at so much a day.[36]

Grand tourists eager to learn about the ancient remains in and around Rome took up the opportunity. James Boswell, in Rome through March and April 1765, enrolled himself in a six-day course of Art and Antiquities with the Scottish antiquary Colin Morison. Boswell was a model student of antiquity, admitting two days into the course: 'Struck by these famous places, I was seized with enthusiasm. I began to speak Latin' – a practice the two Scots kept up for the entirety of the course. Nevertheless, as Boswell recorded under the entry in his diary for 25 March, maps could be incorporated into the teaching and understanding of place on the Grand Tour:

> Then we went to the Capitoline hill. We climbed on the roof of the modern Senate, from which Mr. Morison pointed out ancient Rome on its seven hills. He showed me a little map of it, and read me a clear summary of the growth of this famous city to its present extent.[37]

So whilst some were directed around ancient sites by human guides, and others followed the pre-ordained walking tours in Vasi's itinerary of Rome, the more typical kind of itinerary had a wider scope, detailing the roads and post houses of a particular region, country or even Europe as a whole.

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[36] Nugent, *Grand Tour*, 3:65.

[37] Frank Brady and Frederick A. Pottle, eds., *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Italy, Corsica, and France, 1765-1766* (New York; Toronto; London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955), 60-61.

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Figure 5.3: The road from Florence to Rome; itinerary on the left, remarks on the right. Louis Dutens, *Itinéraire des routes les plus fréquentées*, Paris: Chez Pissot, 1775, 54-55.

One of the books recommended to grand tourists by Thomas Martyn, mentioned in the previous section, was Louis Dutens's *Itinéraire*, which, from its initial publication in 1775, proved to be an enduringly popular item among European travellers. Over the following years, the itinerary went through many editions: a second, quickly following the first, was published in Paris and London in 1777, and the work was fully translated into English in 1782 by John Highmore. Travel writer Richard Colt Hoare put Dutens's *Itinéraire* in the bibliography to his 1815 guidebook, *Hints to Travellers in Italy*.[38] A combination of a cultural guidebook and traditional itinerary, the popularity of the *Itinéraire* lay in its clarity and simplicity. On the left-hand page, the reader could see a tabulated itinerary route that detailed the number of posts, the distance in English miles and an estimated travel time between posts; there are also occasional observations on the state of the roads or the pleasantness of the views (fig. 5.3). The right-hand page elaborated on the itinerary, noting and describing the famous antiquities, architecture and artworks as well as the accommodation in the

[38] Richard Colt Hoare, *Hints to Travellers in Italy* (London: John Murray, 1815), 98.

chief towns on each route. Some notes were brief but in the case of Rome, for instance, they ran to eight and a half pages.

Though Dutens's *Itinéraire* achieved popularity among grand tourists, the information that it presented to the reader was not novel. Since at least the beginning of the seventeenth century, postmasters, couriers and travellers had been codifying knowledge of roads and post houses in a variety of itinerary guidebooks. An early example is Ottavio Codogno's *Nuovo itinerario delle poste per tutto il mondo* (Milan, 1608), which from 1623 was known as the *Compendio delle poste*.[39] As the deputy postmaster of the state of Milan, Codogno was able to draw upon his personal experience of travelling by post to compile his comprehensive description of the roads of Europe. It had a lasting impact throughout the seventeenth century, as the information on routes was updated from edition to edition. Its impact also extended into later similar works, such as Miselli's *Il Burattino Veridico* or even Dutens's itinerary.

Grand tourists and post-books

Besides couriers like Codogno and Miselli, there are also documented cases of grand tourists using written itineraries. For instance, having arrived in Florence in April 1780 after almost two years on the Continent, architectural student John Soane bought a copy of Dutens's *Itinéraire* for the final leg of his tour of Italy.[40] Dutens's *Itinéraire* was part of an array of items that Soane carried with him on his tour that were used in conjunction with each other, as well blank travel diaries and sketchbooks. In addition to items purchased *en route*, Soane brought guidebooks from home, such as de Lalande's *Voyage d'un François en Italie* (1769) and Anna Riggs

[39] A contextualising history can be found in Clemente Fedele, "La Geografia Postale di Ottavio Codogno," in *Europa Postale: L'Opera di Ottavio Codogno Luogotenente dei Tasso nella Milano seicentesca*, ed. Clemente Fedele, Marco Gerosa and Armando Serra (Camerata Cornello: Museo dei Tasso e della Storia Postale, 2014), 25-65.
[40] Soane Library 2160 (AL34B): a second edition published in 1777 in London by Andrew Dury. For an extended account of Soane's Grand Tour, see Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey, *John Soane's Architectural Education, 1753-80* (New York and London: Garland, 1977), 295-337; and Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey, *John Soane: The Making of an Architect* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 129-147.

Image removed for copyright reasons

Figure 5.4: Soane’s copy of Dutens. Sir John Soane’s Museum 2160 (AL34B).

Miller’s *Letters from Italy* (1777). The numerous annotations scribbled by Soane inside Dutens’s little itinerary attest to its constant and varied use, ranging from a practical travel aid to an *ad hoc* notepad. First, he used it to record his swift progress: jotting down the date that he arrived in different towns in northern Italy.[41] Second, he seems to have used it to satisfy his curiosity in idle moments on the road. No doubt referring to the clearly formatted distance tables in the itinerary, Soane calculated the total distance that he had travelled on his journey from London to Naples.[42] Third, in order to aid future reference, or simply because he was a perfectionist, Soane updated

[41] See pages 72-74: next to Ferrara: ‘Monday May 1st’; Padua: ‘2nd’; Vicenza: ‘1780 May 3rd’; Verona: ‘4th’.

[42] ‘From London to Paris 320 ¼ / Paris to Lyons 300 / Marseille to Nice 152 ½ / Nice to Genoa 236’, and ‘From Genoa to Bologna 193 ½ / Bologna to Florence 72 ½ / From Florence to Rome 175 ½ / 441 ½ / to Naples 152 $\frac{3}{5}$ / 595 $\frac{1}{5}$’.

Dutens's information about the currency exchange rates and prices of hiring horses for the state of Milan and in a few cities in Switzerland.[43] Finally, it is clear that Soane engaged with the *Itinéraire*'s social and cultural descriptions of places. Sometimes he underlined particular works of art or sites of interest in approval, but in Florence, he deviated from Dutens's authority. The Ponte Santa Trinita, in Soane's eyes, was 'neither handsome, or strong, & wants character' (fig. 5.4).[44] Other times Soane's notes were less methodical and more coincidental. In Genoa, Soane reflected, apropos of nothing, 'Galley slaves as at Naples'; on the same page he sketched a miniature ground plan and elevation of the Palazzo Durazzo, jotting down its chief architectural features.[45] As a portable pocketbook, then, the *Itinéraire* was on hand whenever Soane needed to look something up or indeed to write something down.

Prized for their utility, pocketbooks in fact had a negative impact on the Italian perception of grand tourists. Contemporaries began to characterise grand tourists as being slavishly dependent on guidebooks. Grand tourists' lack of original thought became a point of indignation and a joke in some quarters. Responding to two recent and particularly negative travel accounts of Italy, in 1768 the London-based Italian teacher Giuseppe Baretti wrote of the ignorant and disinterested characters of English tourists who 'saw little, inquired less, and reflected not at all'.[46] An anecdote of the French magistrate Jean-Baptiste Mercier Dupaty is even more revealing. Recording a conversation he had with a 'well-informed' Pisan in the early 1780s, Dupaty told of the surprise of his interlocutor after he had praised the new hospital in Pisa:

> You have seen our hospitals? You do not travel then like the mob of Englishmen? There are not two in a hundred of them who seek for information. To hurry over a number of leagues by land or water, to drink punch and tea in taverns, to speak ill of every

[43] See page xxii: under Milan: '1780 This exists no longer, the Venetian Seq. / is worth 14½ Livres of Milan, Louis d'or / is worth 30.8 ---- [illegible] 20 S = 1 ---- [illegible]. And below Switzerland: 'Basle, Zurich, Schauffhausen, un Louis d'or neuf / é (?) vaut onze Florins / A single horse per day, un Écu de france, you pay / his keep, return &c'.
[44] See pages 52-53.
[45] See pages 44-45.
[46] Giuseppe Baretti, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy* (London, 1768), quoted in Paula Findlen, "Introduction: Gender and Culture in Eighteenth-Century Italy," in *Italy's Eighteenth Century: Gender and Culture in the Age of the Grand Tour*, ed. Paula Findlen, Wendy Wassyn Roworth and Catherine M. Sama (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009), 4.

> other nation, and continually to boast of their own, is all the generality of Englishmen understand by travelling: the post-book is their only source of information.[47]

Although Dupaty was all too willing to share his educated Pisan friend's words, this damning observation indicates an increasingly condescending attitude towards the evolving practices of the Grand Tour. In comparison to the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, tourists were overall travelling faster, spending less time abroad and less focused on educational activities after the end of the Seven Years' War. As itinerary-focused guidebooks like Dutens's were becoming more condensed, British grand tourists were perceived as increasingly vacuous, consulting nothing more intellectual or elevated than a practical guidebook. For the joke to make sense, post-books must have been a common sight in the pockets of travellers in the 1770s and 1780s. Part of the problem, of course, was that pocketbooks had an increased visibility that resulted from their being designed to fit the pocket and to be consulted as the tourist went about – making them the props of a public performance of tourism.

Having reviewed the advice that was prescribed to travellers, the range of guidebooks and written itineraries available for purchase, and the testimony of grand tourists, the previous two sections have made clear that maps were just one part of a broader set of geographical apparatus that grand tourists used to know and master the land. It was an approach to Italian land that drew upon an array of instruments to survey Italian territory, that advocated the drawing of maps and landscapes to better internalise Italian topography, and that utilised human and non-human guides navigate through Italian space. Emerging suddenly in the early 1770s, road atlases became another item that grand tourists could add to their inventories. The following sections will investigate how the popularity of these items, which attempted to direct and inform in a succinct manner, signalled an increasingly commoditised and independent mode of travel.

[47] Charles-Marguerite-Jean-Baptiste Mercier Dupaty, *Travels through Italy, in a Series of Letters; Written in the Year 1785, by the Abbé Dupaty. Translated from the French by an English Gentleman* (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, Pater-Noster-Row, 1788), 75.

Italian Road Atlases I: The initial publications in 1771

Pocketbook itineraries such as Dutens's *Itinéraire* were not the only form of "post-book" available to grand tourists at the time when Dupaty's Pisan associate was deriding them. Pocketbook atlases of Italian post roads had been sold in Italy and abroad from 1771. By that time, modern visualised itineraries had been on the market in Europe for almost a century, after Ogilby's atlas of English and Welsh roads was first produced. So when the first road atlas for Italy, called *Direzione pe' Viaggiatori in Italia colla notizia di tutte le poste e loro prezzi*, was made by Carlo Barbieri, the concept was familiar to travellers. While in Ogilby's *Britannia* each route took the form of an artificial scroll unfurling up a page that had been split into columns, in Barbieri's atlas, and those that followed, every map was printed on a long strip of paper that had to be manually unfolded. These strip maps achieved through their material design what Ogilby had brought about through visual conceit. Unlike Ogilby's magnificent reference work, the Italian road atlases were made for travellers' pockets and had more in common with the reduced versions of the *Britannia* that were made in the eighteenth century.[48]

Little is known about the creator of the first printed road atlas, Carlo Barbieri. Instead of being identified on the title-page, Barbieri signed the dedicatory letter, which was dated to 9 March 1771 and written in Bologna, where the atlas was published by Giovanni Battista Sassi.[49] While the maps in the *Direzione* are in Italian, the atlas was bilingual, with the text in both French as well. The preface is followed by a table that sets out the rental prices for one and two horses in the Papal States, Tuscany, the Kingdom of Naples, Piedmont, Milan, Genoa, Parma and Modena, Piacenza and Venice. In Barbieri's model, the main part of the atlas comprises twenty-four routes along major postal roads between two Italian cities, with a similar layout to Dutens's *Itinéraire*. Each route contains the itinerary in a textual format on the left-hand page, listing the post houses in their correct sequence and the distances between them.

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[48] For general information, see Herbert George Fordham, *John Ogilby, 1600-1676: His Britannia and the British Itineraries of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1925).

[49] A brief description of the work can be found in Rodney W. Shirley, *Maps in the Atlases of the British Library: A Descriptive Catalogue c. AD 850-1800* (London: British Library, 2004), 1:193, "T.BARB-1a".

Occasionally the text offers useful information to travellers, such as the best inns to stay at overnight. On the facing page is a foldout map that visualises the itinerary.

Though the scale of the maps is large, the topographical detail is highly selective, only showing features in the immediate vicinity of the roads, such as hills, rivers and towns (fig. 5.5); there are very few sites of interest marked. The perspective on the land is what Daniel Maudlin called a 'narrow view of nature', focusing only on details relevant to a traveller.[50] The location of every post house, for instance, is marked out by a special symbol. The total distance of the route is always found underneath the title of the map in Italian miles and in the number of posts; sometimes the distance in posts is shown between stopping points. While the form of representing the Italian road system was strikingly novel, detailing which routes to take to cross Italy and where to stay along the road was not new information, as itineraries such as Codogno's had

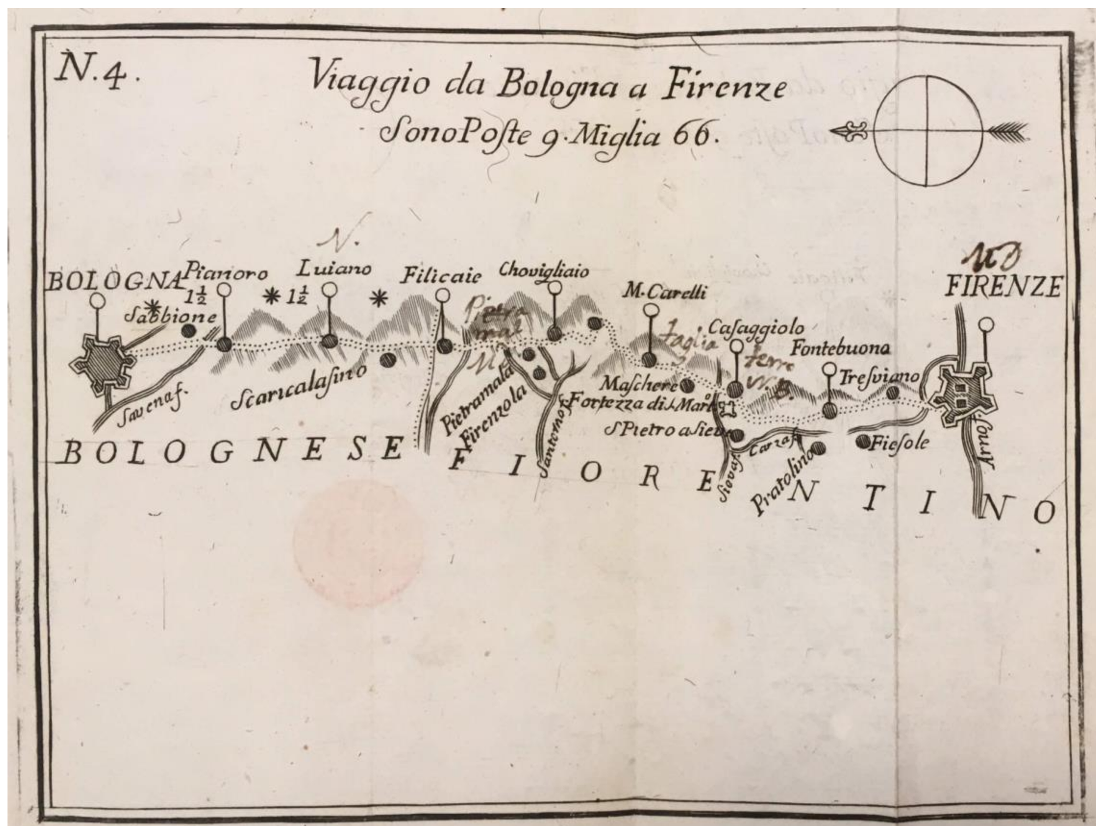

Figure 5.5: *Viaggio da Bologna a Firenze*, in Carlo Barbieri, *Direzione pe' Viaggiatori in Italia*, Bologna: Gio. Battista Sassi, 1771.

[50] Daniel Maudlin, "The Natural World through Early Modern Strip Maps: A Narrow View of Nature," *Picturing Places*, accessed 28 April 2019, https://www.bl.uk/picturing-places/articles/the-natural-world-through-early-modern-strip-maps.

been in existence since the early seventeenth century. But the innovation that Barbieri and his competitors brought to bear in his small atlas was to compile and summarise written information already available – travel, financial, accommodation – and to combine it with clear and immediate visualisations of every major route. Viewing Barbieri's model in aggregate, the maps give good coverage on north-central Italy, with few routes further south than Florence. There are two routes going to Rome and only one to Naples. The atlas has been positioned as if the user is departing from Bologna, with the contents page describing the maps as going from Bologna, even if it is not depicted.

The second atlas, the *Viaggi d'Italia dichierati per alcune carte da viaggiare con osservazioni prese da moderni viaggiatori*, was also published in March 1771, but in Augsburg by Conrad Heinrich Stage. The maps are signed variously by members of the Lotter family: father Tobias Conrad, and sons Gustav Conrad and Georg Friedrich.[51] The layout of the atlas differed considerably to Barbieri's, beginning with sixty-four pages of text. These prefatory statements provide similar practical and financial information and the written itineraries, but also a descriptive geography of Italy. Written by Christian Ulrich Wagner, this text goes into greater depth than in Barbieri concerning the sites of antiquarian, architectural and artistic interest to be found along the way of the itineraries. In this respect, the Lotter atlas was like a traditional travel text or *vade mecum* with the addition of strip maps, as opposed to the integrated and digested format presented by Barbieri. It heralded the coming of the all-in-one form of travel guidebook, such as the publications of Murray and Baedeker in the nineteenth century. The Lotter atlas has fewer maps than Barbieri's *Direzione*, just fifteen, though in their concept and execution they are almost identical (fig. 5.6). The most significant change in the content was the inclusion of a map of the

[51] Shirley, *Maps in the Atlases*, 1:664, "T.LOTT-3a": the editing of the *Viaggi D'Italia* is confused and it is difficult to attribute this atlas to one individual or place; it was evidently a group effort. The title-page gives the shop of Conrad Heinrich Stage in 'Augusta' (Augsburg), but the preface is signed by 'G. A. M.' on 25 March 1771; on the other hand, the colophon states that the main text was printed in Ulm by 'C[hristian]. U[lrich]. Wagner'. Following Shirley, I will refer to it in the text as the Lotter atlas for clarity's sake, as the Lotters were the mapmakers. For a brief history of the Lotters see Michael Ritter, "Seutter, Probst and Lotter: An Eighteenth-Century Map Publishing House in Germany," *Imago Mundi* 53, no. 1 (2001): 130-135.

road towards Trento and Trieste, and the Brenner Pass, allowing access to Innsbruck and Augsburg.

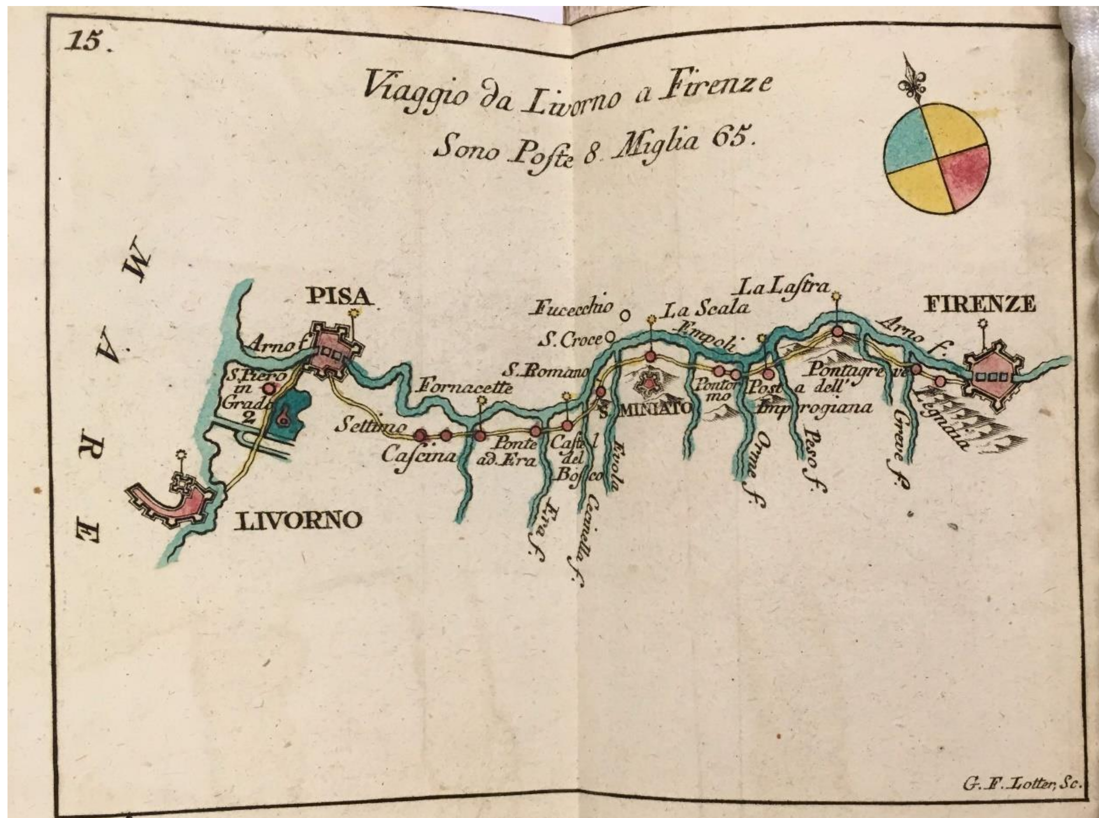

Figure 5.6: Georg Friedrich Lotter, *Viaggio da Livorno a Firenze*, in *Viaggi d'Italia dichierati per alcune carte*, Augsburg: Conrad Heinrich Stage, 1771.

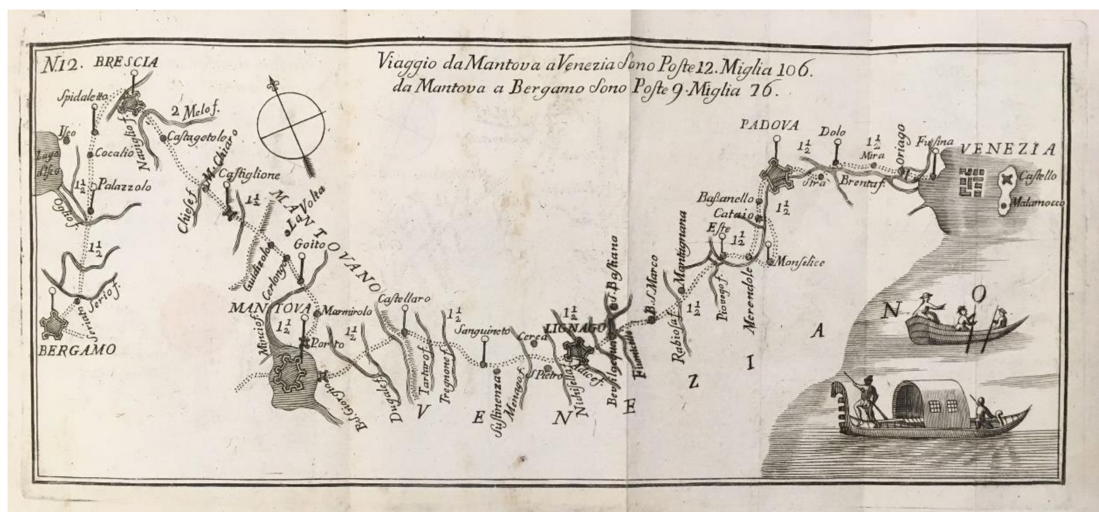

Figure 5.7: *Viaggio da Mantova a Venezia … da Mantova a Bergamo*, in Carlo Barbieri, *Direzione pe' Viaggiatori in Italia*, 3rd ed., Bologna: Gio. Battista Sassi, 1773.

True to the strip-map genre, consistent orientation was not of primary importance in either atlas: orientation varies from map to map and sometimes even within the same map.[52] For example, the road from Brescia to Bergamo was added to the original map of Mantua to Venice for the third edition of Barbieri's *Direzione* (fig. 5.7). But the orientation of the map is warped: the road, which in reality should continue to the upper left, has been bent down simply so that it could be fitted to the plate. The preface to the Lotter atlas sums up the intentions and compromises of strip-maps perfectly:

> Nothing else was asked of us except to hastily compose a pack of travel maps for merchants, who, as everybody knows, do not rack their brains in examining the degrees of longitude and latitude. This is precisely the reason that compelled us to get rid of them, although they are normally placed on maps. Rather it is only a matter of knowing the places through which you have to pass on your journey.[53]

Though it claimed to be marketed towards travelling merchants, given the wealth of cultural information it seems more likely that it was picked up by leisure travellers such as grand tourists. The Italian atlases were therefore creating a new space in the market of travel guides, a space that utilised and re-invented written itineraries, topographical maps, and guidebooks. According to the preface of the *Direzione*, Barbieri had designed it 'in such a way that every traveller, without asking anyone, can learn from the present work' about all of the postal roads of Italy, the staging-posts, cities, castles and rivers that one passes, and the price of hiring horses within each Italian state.[54] A similar phrase recurs in the Lotter atlas, including the exact same wording for 'without asking anyone' – *senza domandare ad alcuno*.

[52] Alan M. MacEachren, "A Linear View of the World: Strip Maps as a Unique Form of Cartographic Representation," *The American Cartographer* 13, no. 1 (1986): 14.
[53] Tobias Conrad Lotter et al., *Viaggi d'Italia dichierati per alcune carte da viaggiare con osservazioni prese da moderni viaggiatori* (Augsburg: Conrad Heinrich Stage, 1771): 'altro non è stato chiesto da noi se non che di comporre frettolosamente un mazzo di carte da viaggiare in prò de' mercatanti, i quali, siccome ogniun sa, non vanno stillandosi il cervello nell'esaminare li gradi di lungitudine e di latitudine. Questo è appunto la cagione che ci ha sospinto a levar via li gradi, che mettonsi ordinariamente a canto delle carte. Qui si tratta solamente di sapere i luoghi, per i quali si ha da passar sul viaggio'.
[54] Carlo Barbieri, *Direzione pe' Viaggiatori in Italia* (Bologna: Gio. Battista Sassi, 1771), x: 'di maniera che ogni Viaggiatore senza domandare ad alcuno, potrà essere informato dal presente libro'.

Supplementing an already wide array of equipment available to travellers, both atlases were simultaneously enabling and promoting self-reliant travel.

It is notable how quickly Barbieri's *Direzione* went through multiple editions: the third and fourth editions were published in 1773 and 1775, and it had its sixth iteration in 1790. Although the title-pages of these later editions professed to corrections, the quality of the maps got worse. By the third edition, six maps had become mirror images of the originals, thus making the orientation incorrect. For instance, it appears that one must travel northeast to get from Ancona to Rome. Thankfully, because of the sequential nature of itineraries, these oversights did not completely devalue the maps. Aside from these unfortunate alterations, the most prominent update in these new editions were the ornamental ships drawn in the coastal sections of the maps.

Following the publication of the Barbieri and Lotter atlases in Bologna and Augsburg, derivate works appeared in quick succession in London and Paris, and further works still in Rome, Turin, Florence and Genoa.[55] Curiously, they all maintained remarkably similar cartographic styles, content and physical design. Mapmakers across Europe evidently saw an opportunity to profit by filling a newly found space in the trunks and pockets of travellers with the all-in-one road atlas travel guide. These all-in-one handbooks were re-inventions of previous material that had indicated itinerary routes and lodging, European exchange rates, and cultural and historical information too. In France, Jean-Domenique Cassini recognised the importance of these new road atlases in the preface of his *Manuel de l'Étranger qui Voyager en Italie* (1778). Discussing maps for travellers, Jean-Domenique Cassini highlighted two works that he had found particularly useful. The first was Louis Desnos's road map of Italy published in 1766, which he recommended as a general map, though he

[55] See: Francesco Tiroli, *La vera guida per chi viaggia* (Rome: P. Giunchi, 1775); [Francesco Tiroli], *Guida per il viaggio d'Italia* (Turin: Reycends, 1776); Anon., *La guide pour les voyageurs* (Florence: Vincent Landi et Joachim Pagani, 1779); Anon., *Guida per il viaggio d'Italia in posta* (Genoa: Ivone Gravier, 1786). Most are found in Aldo di Biasio, "Le Strade della Posta: le Carte Generali d'Italia dal XV al XVIII Secolo," *Storie di Posta* 8, (Nov. 2013): 44-48. Focusing on the situation for French travellers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Gilles Bertrand discusses road atlases, itineraries and narrative guidebooks in detail in Gilles Bertrand, *Le Grand Tour Revisité. Pour une Archéologie du Tourisme: Le Voyage des Français en Italie, Milieu XVIIIe – début XIXe Siècle* (Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 2008), 177-213.

complained that 'the scale is too small'. The second was Barbieri's *Direzione*. Cassini claimed: 'What travellers use most is a book found in Bologna called *Direzione de' Viaggiatori in Italia colla notizia di tutte le poste*, etc.'.[56] Though he corrected, adapted and reduced in number the maps in Barbieri's atlas for his own work, Cassini maintained that the atlas had served him well.

The sudden publication and proliferation of road atlases in the 1770s is not only testament to these items' popularity among grand tourists, but even more so it is an indication of how commoditised intra-European travel was at this time, especially with regard to the Italian peninsula. It was not long before London map publishers released their own versions.

Italian Road Atlases II: Andrew Dury, *The Roads of Italy*, 1774

To better understand the situation for British grand tourists, the following two sections turn their attention to the first road atlases of Italy to be published in London in the middle years of the 1770s. Copies of both were purchased for George's collection. In content and style, they both take Barbieri's *Direzione* as their model. But in their own way they each display varying levels of dependence and originality, as well as some interesting peculiarities. London map publisher Andrew Dury first seized the opportunity to offer the road atlas directly to the British public, publishing the work in 1774, the short title of which is *The Roads of Italy*.[57]

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[56] Jean-Domenique Cassini, *Manuel de l'Étranger qui Voyage en Italie* (Paris, 1778), vii-viii and fn. 1: 'On trouve à Paris chez Desnos une carte d'Italie, comprenant toutes les grandes routes et les distances des postes, mais l'échelle en est trop petite. Ce dont les voyageurs font le plus d'usage, c'est d'un livre qui se trouve à Bologne intitulé, Direzione de' Viaggiatori in Italia colla notizia di tutte le poste, &c., Cet ouvrage, quoique fait avec peu d'intelligence, nous a beaucoup servi; on a corrigé une partie des fautes qui s'y trouvent, changé l'ordre & la distribution des cartes, de telle maniere que vingt cartes de l'ouvrage Italien se trouvent réduites à huit dans le nôtre, et les objets y sont mieux rendus'.

[57] BL Maps 118.b.12.: Andrew Dury, *The Roads of Italy, Engraved on Twenty Six Copper Plates from the Manuscript Drawings of a Nobleman of Distinction. Wherein are found all the Cities, Towns, Villages, Rivers, Remarkable Views &c: to be met with on the Road, with proper descriptions; Also a Regular account of the Posts, the price of Horses & the Principal Inns, either upon the Road, or in the Towns, with their prices. To which is*

The area covered by the maps in *The Roads of Italy* is very similar to Barbieri's *Direzione*. In total, there are twenty-seven maps in *The Roads of Italy*: one general indexical map of Italy opposite the contents page that visualises all the routes at once (fig. 5.8), followed by twenty-six road maps.[58] There a few differences in content: four additional maps and two omissions. Dury omitted two superfluous routes in northern Italy, as the roads were shown in other maps. It is possible that the four new maps were chosen to reflect the interests and movements of British grand tourists. One is an alternative, inland road from Rome to Naples, perhaps for those wishing to avoid the malarial Pontine Marshes along the coast. Another extends the coverage further south following the road towards Messina in Sicily, anticipating the burgeoning interest in southern Italy from Patrick Brydone and Henry Swinburne. The final two added maps were roads from Pisa to Poggibonsi and from Genoa to Alessandria, whose purpose is not entirely clear. Perhaps the increased coverage on those areas was related to the fact that Genoa and Livorno (fig. 5.9) were the two most frequented ports for arriving and departing British travellers.

All of the maps are finely engraved and carefully hand-coloured, and most are signed by Dury's collaborator, Peter Andrews. They vary in size depending on the length of the route: from 18cm long for the short trip from Florence to Bologna, to 57cm long for the road from Turin to Bologna (figs 5.10-5.11). Wherever possible, Dury gave detailed information about accommodation – not found in previous atlases – such as for the unusual bed and board situation in Rome:

> In Rome there are no hotels as in other towns, instead one finds excellent lodgings in certain townhouses, where one pays so much per day or per month for the apartment, etc.. With respect to food, there are many suppliers who will provide stock for you according to a price that is agreeable. There are some who rent apartments to foreigners, including the following: Mr Duprè, Mr

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added several other useful Instructions which render it extreemly necessary for every Person who travels in that Country (London: Printed for Andrew Dury in Duke's Court, St. Martin's Lane, 1774); the work has a second title-page in French (and a direct translation of this in Italian immediately afterwards) which causes the work to be known in some places as *Le Porte-Feuille nécessaire* (or *Il Portafoglio necessario*).

[58] It must be noted that not all the roads that existed in Italy are contained in Dury's atlas or indeed in the small general map. For assurance on this point, see earlier postal maps of Italy or Europe, such as John Rocque's *Carte Générale des Postes de l'Europe* (London, 1758), which clearly demonstrates that the road network, particularly in southern Italy, was more extensive than suggested by any of these road atlases.

Figure 5.8: *Carta generale delle Poste d'Italia*, in Andrew Dury, *The Roads of Italy*, London, 1774.

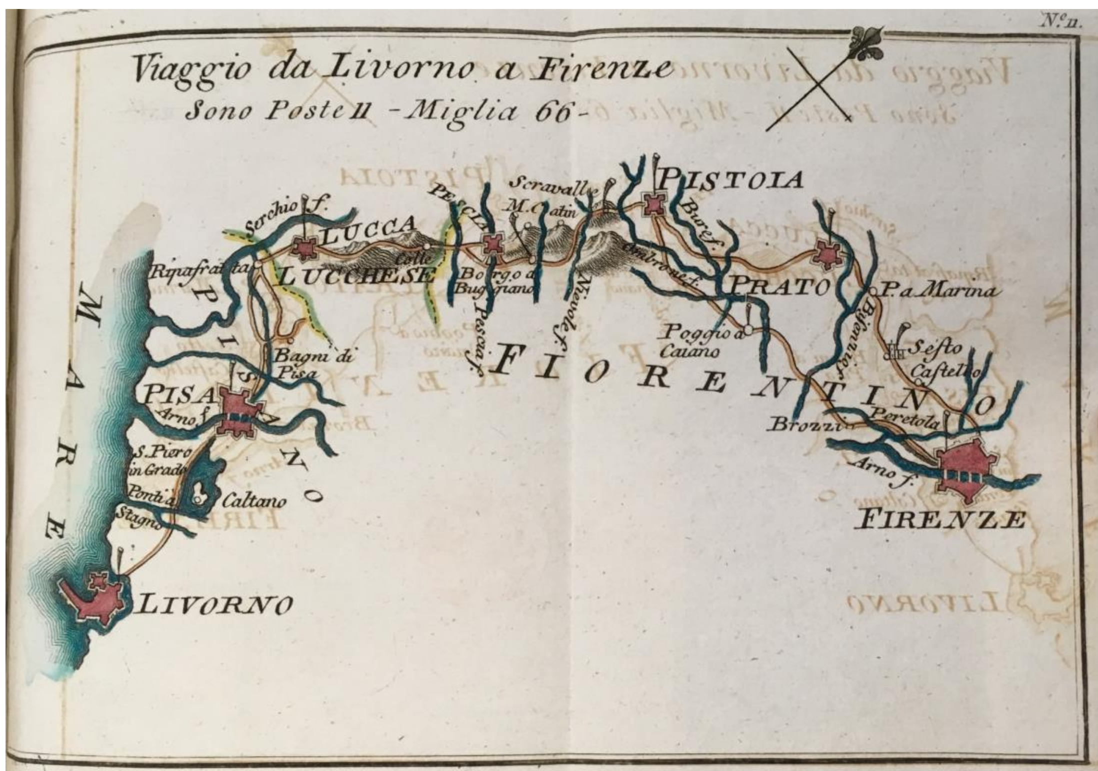
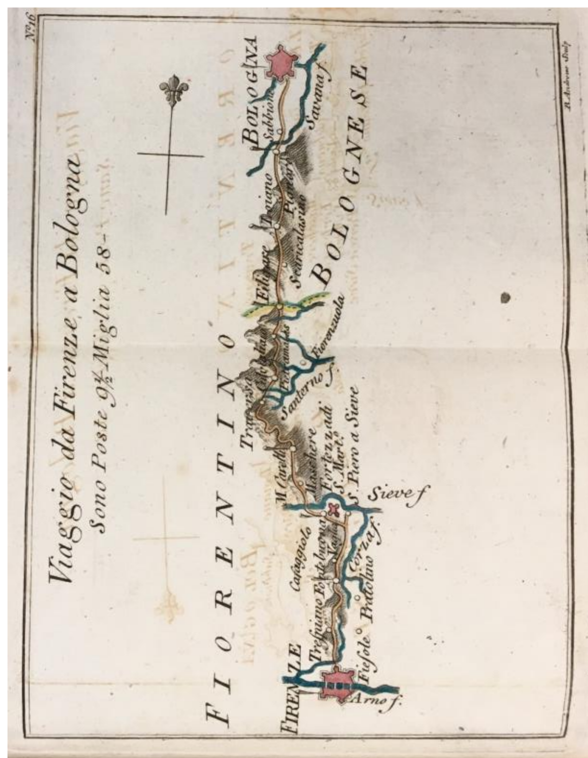


Figure 5.9: *Viaggio da Livorno a Firenze*, in Andrew Dury, *The Roads of Italy*, London, 1774.



Above, figure 5.10: *Viaggio da Firenze a Bologna*, in Andrew Dury, *The Roads of Italy* London, 1774.

Right, figure 5.11: *Viaggio da Torino a Bologna*, in Andrew Dury, *The Roads of Italy* London, 1774.

> Benedent, Madame Stuart, Mr Meno Taylor (an Englishman), Lord Pio at the Ville de Londres in the Piazza di Spagna, Mr Damon, and many others. All of the above lodgings can hold an entire family, or two or three lords.[59]

The information about accommodation is not always as detailed or promising. On the new itinerary between Naples and Messina, Dury lamented the state of lodgings: 'The hotels along this road are few and rather foul. The best are at Salerno, Lauria, Cosenza and Monte Leone'.[60] Generally, Dury advised staying at the post-houses.

Dury's preface elaborated on the promise of secure and self-reliant travel that the atlases of Barbieri and the Lotters had raised. It began on a cautionary, albeit grandiose, note:

> Rousseau said that the lot of the rich is to be endlessly deceived and taken advantage of on the market. No one is more likely to feel this truth than the Lords who travel in foreign lands. Finding themselves, so to speak, in a new world, and being unable to see for themselves, they are forced to surrender blindly to the hands of a valet, or else to rely on the integrity of postilions & innkeepers who are constantly on the lookout for the wallets of passers-by who travel by post, especially when it comes to English Lords.[61]

Dury then professed that he was doing a public good, for, by publishing his road atlas, 'travelling Lords will no longer be susceptible to being duped on the road, and will even

[59] Dury, *Roads of Italy*, 13-14: 'A Roma non vi sono osteriè come negli altri luoghi, ma si trovano delle buonissime locande in case particolari, dove si paga un tanto per giorno o per mese, pe l'appartamento, &c. Rispetto al vitto, vi sono molti trattatori che lo somministrano secondo il prezzo chesi conviene. Quelli che affittano appartamenti per i forestieri sono i sequenti: Monsù Duprè, Monsù Benedent, Madama Stuart, Monsù Meno Sarto Inglese, il Sign. Pio alla Ville de Londres in piazza di Spagna, Monsù Damon, e molt' altri. Tutti i prefati alloggj possono contenere una famiglia intera, oppure due o tre Signori'.
[60] Idem, 17: 'Le osterie per questa strada sono rare e assai cattive; le migliori sono a Salerno, Lauria, Cosenza e Monte Leone'.
[61] Idem, Avis au public: 'Rousseau a dit que le sort des riches est d'être toujours trompés & mal servis sur le marché. Personne n'est plus à portée de sentir cette vérité que les Seigneurs quo voyagent dans les pays étrangers. Se trouvant, pour ainsi dire, dans un nouveau monde, & ne pouvant rien voir par eux-mêmes, ils sont forcés de se livrer aveuglement entre les mains d'un valet, ou bien de se reposer sur la probité des postillions & des aubergistes, qui sont perpetuellement à l'affût de la bourse des passans qui voyagent en poste, & sur-tout quand il s'agit de Seigneurs Anglois …C'est pourquoi j'ai cru faire une chose agreable au Public, en lui présentant le Porte-Feuille nécessaire, par le moyen duquel les Seigneurs qui voyagent ne seront plus exposés à être la dupe sur leur route, & pourront même voyager plus agréablement & plus à leur aise'.

be able to travel in a more agreeable and comfortable manner'. Presenting grand tourists' interactions with those involved in tourist infrastructure in Italy in a fearful manner, Dury set up his atlas as the solution to the dangers of travel. To protect against these pitfalls, not only did Dury supply the usual price-guide to hiring post-horses, but also included a section on the exchange rates of Italian currencies (although the exchanges were made into French sols rather than British pounds).

Italian Road Atlases III: A Brief Account of the Roads of Italy, 1775

A year after Dury published his road atlas, another, very similar one appeared ostensibly in London. It was a discreet and peculiar publication. The title-page announced the book with little fanfare: *A Brief Account of the Roads of Italy*, with an imprint simply of 'London 1775'.[62] Somewhat suspiciously, no author or publisher is given. Without a named author or printing house, we cannot be sure of the publication details, nor could the public at the time. It could be that these details were withheld deliberately, either because the creator did not have a printing license or was pirating a previous atlas. *A Brief Account* was not a straight copy of either Dury's or Barbieri's atlas. Rather, analysis of the maps and written itineraries suggest that it was a compilation of the two, also incorporating outside sources. While the style of the maps' topography remains consistent, they do not always correspond with the accompanying itineraries.

There are the most amount of discrepancies on the route between Naples and Messina. In Calabria, on the road around Cosenza, the itinerary includes post houses at Celse Segne, Pantoni, Rogliano, Pigliano, which are nowhere to be seen on the map (fig. 5.12). Instead, La Regina, Belito, Martorano, and S. Biagio are marked with the symbol for post houses. In some cases, the information can be traced to Dury, and in

[62] BL Maps 118.b.13.: Anon., *A Brief Account of the Roads of Italy for the Use of Gentlemen who travel with the Post, with a full Description of the Cities, Towns, Villages, and Rivers, and an explination of the Views for Some Milles on each Side of the Road in Twenty-three Geographical Maps, with an exact account of the Posts, of the price to be paid for the Post-horses, and all the best Inns as well in the Towns as on the Roads, and many other necessary and Profitable things* (London [Italy?], 1775).

Figure 5.12: The post houses written out in the itinerary – Celse Segne, Pantoni, Rogliano and Pigliano – do not appear in this stretch of the road around Cosenza. Detail of *Viaggio da Napoli a Messina*, in Anonymous, *A Brief Account of the Roads of Italy*, London [Italy?], 1775.

others to Barbieri. In the itinerary from Bologna to Ancona, the author wrote 'here you pass the river Conca & pay as before this is often a dangerous river', which is a paraphrased translation of Barbieri.[63] No such advice appears in Dury. Conversely, the author often incorporated and embellished advice given by Dury. Discussing the road from Genoa to Pisa, the author states:

> the roads from Genoa to Pisa are inaccessable except on horse back. the mountains being to high. you must embarque witch your carriage & baggage on board a feluca at Genoa. for Lerici. if you Can take the opportunity of a Courier either of france or of Genoa. witch is 2. o 3. times every week. you will pass with more convenience. you must otherways hire a barque for your self wich will be more expensive. you Cross a small arm of the Sea. call'd the Gulph of spezia. witch you Cross in few hours to Lerici you have then a level road to Pisa.[64]

[63] Anon., *A Brief Account*, 11; cf. Barbieri, *Direzione*, 1: 'Si passa il Fiume Conca, e si paga Paoli 1. come sopra, quando questo Torrente è gonfio, e [sic] pericoloso'.
[64] Anon., *A Brief Account*, 19-20.

This is a very comparable, although slightly altered, translation of Dury; it is fairly indicative of many other passages that superficially contain the same information.[65]

The altered selection and arrangement of route maps may reveal something of the author's intentions. Although the quality of the engraving is inferior to Dury's or Barbieri's atlases, the maps are presented in an order that is more logical for a British traveller. The first six maps follow a progression from the north of Italy to the very south. Starting from Turin, the first major city a British grand tourist would arrive at having crossed the Mont Cenis or Col di Tenda passes, the road maps follow the roads in turn to Milan, Bologna, Ancona, Rome, Naples and finally to Reggio Calabria, at the extremity of the peninsula. The omission of certain maps that had appeared in previous atlases, depicting the roads going towards southern Germany and Austria via the Brenner and Tarvisio Passes re-enforces the idea that the was tailored towards

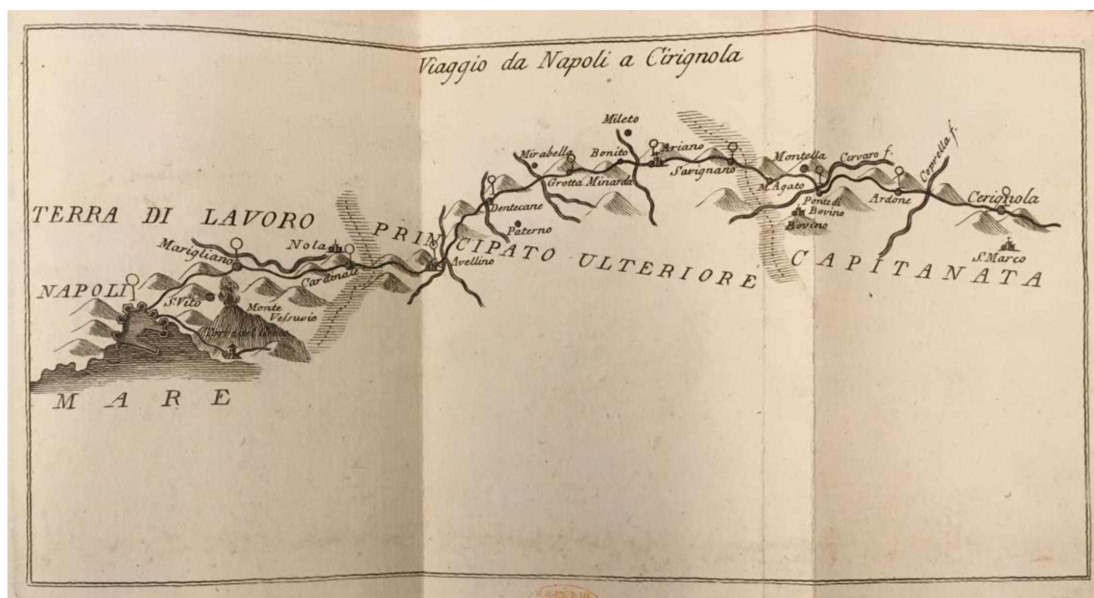


Figure 5.13: *Viaggio da Napoli a Cirignola*, in Anonymous, *A Brief Account of the Roads of Italy*, London [Italy?], 1775.

[65] Cf. Dury, *Roads of Italy*, 18: 'Da Genova a Pisa le Strade sono impraticabili a motivo delle montagne; cosicchè questo viaggio non si può fare che a cavallo; e la cosa più espediente è d'imbarcarsi con tutto il bagaglio a Genova per Lerici; e ciascuno potrà servirsi delle barche che portano i Corrieri di Francia e di Genova a Lerici. E se i corrieri fossero già partiti si potrà prendere a nolo una felucca per far il tragitto'. ('From Genoa to Pisa the roads are impracticable on account of the mountains, such that this journey cannot be made except on horseback. The most expedient thing to do is to set sail with all your baggage from Genoa to Lerici, and anyone can use the boats that carry the couriers of France or Genoa to Lerici. But if the couriers have already departed, you can hire a felucca to Noli in order to make the crossing from there').

a British traveller. There is also a new itinerary in southern Italy not seen in any other road atlas at that time, depicting the road from Naples to Cerignola in Apulia (fig. 5.13). Though the map was new, the route certainly was not. Couriers and pilgrims, arriving from and departing to the entire Greek region, had been travelling on the road from Naples to the end of Apulia for centuries.[66] It was known to British map publishers, as it was portrayed in John Rocque's postal map of Europe (1758). Was this map included as a response to more British grand tourists turning their attention south in these decades?

Before the itinerary maps, the work contained a short preface and the customary section that detailed the prices of hiring horses in Italy. Much like the work as a whole, the preface was full of typographic and spelling mistakes that cast a degree of suspicion on its origins. A particularly oddly-phrased, error-strewn, and unexpectedly chauvinistic piece of advice in the preface runs 'the italian is polite & Courteous when cively us'd. but revengefull & blood-thirsty when provokt & by pay ing their just due wich. is here sett dowu. you may make the tour withou' a word of dispute'.[67] It seems inconceivable that a native English speaker would have rendered this translation or set the type without correcting these mistakes. More likely, the author of the text was of Italian origin and the atlas was rushed to print. In one passage describing where to stay around Naples, the following is written: 'there is a good house was formerly a Pallace of a prince in a fine situazion large & comodious with a beauty full prospect of the Sea it is at Crocella and kept by one Lemon'.[68] In another particularly telling passage on the lodgings in Rome, the author wrote: 'the inglish Taylor he lives on the place d'Spain where all the inglish lives'.[69] The syntax and spelling of words in these phrases, particularly of "English", seem to be errors that would come more naturally to a native Italian speaker.

These peculiar elements cast *A Brief Account*'s vague publication details into doubt. Was the atlas really created in London, as the title-page professed? Beginning as it

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[66] Nikolaus Schobesberger et al., "European Postal Networks," in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 28.
[67] Anon., *A Brief Account*, unpaginated.
[68] Idem, 15-16.
[69] Idem, 14.

does with an itinerary from Turin, it is quite possible that this atlas was printed somewhere around the northwest of Italy, to be sold to newly arrived English speaking travellers. This is corroborated by a linguistic analysis that indicates the author was a native Italian speaker. However, despite these facts, the atlas's typography is not consistent with that of Italian presses, as *A Brief Account* employs the letter "w" as opposed to a double "u".[70] The author may have wanted to maintain anonymity because it had a parodic element to it, poking fun at ignorant and bigoted British grand tourists along the lines of Baretti and Dupaty. But the effort and expense of engraving and printing twenty-three maps calls that theory into question. Instead, the typographic errors and general lack of editing point to a work that was produced hastily in order to capitalise on demand and turn a quick profit. Regardless of where it was published and sold, *A Brief Account* had two marketable advantages to the atlases that had come before it. First, it was available in English (of sorts); second, the itineraries were arranged in an order more suited to the practices of British grand tourists. Though it was not as polished as its competition, that *A Brief Account* was produced at all demonstrates how contested the market of guidebooks was in the late eighteenth century and how commoditised travel had become. It also speaks to the esteem in which these road atlases were held by contemporaries for it to become part of George's General Atlas.

Italian Road Atlases IV: Epilogue – Florentine origins

Regardless of whether they were published in Bologna or in London, the maps in all of the different late eighteenth-century road atlases maintained a remarkable level of consistency in terms of their cartographic style. Above all, this indicates that they had a common source. In the full English title of his *Roads of Italy*, Dury gave a hint regarding this common source, claiming that his maps were based on 'the manuscript drawings of a nobleman of distinction'. Were these manuscripts the common source behind the atlases?

[70] I am grateful to Stephen Parkin for this and other considerations about the atlas's origins.

In the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence, there are two examples of manuscript road atlases, both called *Viaggi d'Italia I più frequentati, e particolarmente da chi viaggia per le Poste, le quali si distinguano dalla presente figura.* Significantly, one of these atlases was signed by an Antonio Giachi (fig. 5.14).[71] Antonio was the son of Luigi Giachi, who had founded a cartographic workshop in Florence the middle of the eighteenth century. From around 1750 to 1790 Luigi, Antonio and his brother Francesco produced manuscript maps. Principally their maps charted Tuscany's internal borders to help with the administration of the territory. Clearly, Antonio Giachi produced at least one atlas of the post roads of Italy and, given the similarities in title, style, symbols and purpose, was most likely the source of the other atlas in Florence.[72] In fact, there were a number of variant copies of manuscript road atlases in circulation around this time, including one now at the British Library, that can also be attributed to Giachi.[73] In 1818, the British Museum acquired an unsigned manuscript road atlas with almost exactly the same title as Giachi's atlas (fig. 5.15) and fourteen maps, one fewer than the Lotter atlas. Aside from lacking the route from Mantua to Trento, it has the same coverage and order as the Lotter atlas.[74]

Comparing the maps in the British Library's anonymous manuscript atlas and the Florence Giachi atlas demonstrates its striking similarity on a cartographic level – even the pictorial hills are in the same place and style (figs 5.16 and 5.17; cf. figs 5.5 and 5.10). Furthermore, Giachi employed a phrase that was taken up and repeated in many of the printed road atlases of the 1770s: 'senza domandare ad alcuni' – 'without asking anyone'.

[71] Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Firenze II.XI.4 is the signed copy: Antonio Giachi, *Viaggi d'Italia I più frequentati* (c. 1770); BNCF II.XI.76 is the unsigned copy.
[72] The Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale has digitised 250 manuscript maps by the Giachis, including the two road atlases. See http://www.internetculturale.it/it/41/collezioni-digitali/26214/ for more information.
[73] Two in the Biblioteca Civica of Orvieto are mentioned in Di Biasio, "Strade, corrieri e poste," 46-47. The Fordham Collection at the Royal Geographical Society also has a manuscript road atlas, cf. M. J. Freeman and J. Longbotham, eds., *The Fordham Collection: A Catalogue* (Norwich: Geo Abstracts, 1981), no. 659.
[74] Add. MS 6143. Cf. Shirley, *Maps in the Atlases*, 2:1774, "MS.ANON-39a". On the sale of the library of the late Pierre-Louis Ginguené, see *Catalogue des Livres de la Bibliothèque de Feu m. P.-L. Ginguené* (Paris: chez Merlin, 1817), 301, no. 1207.

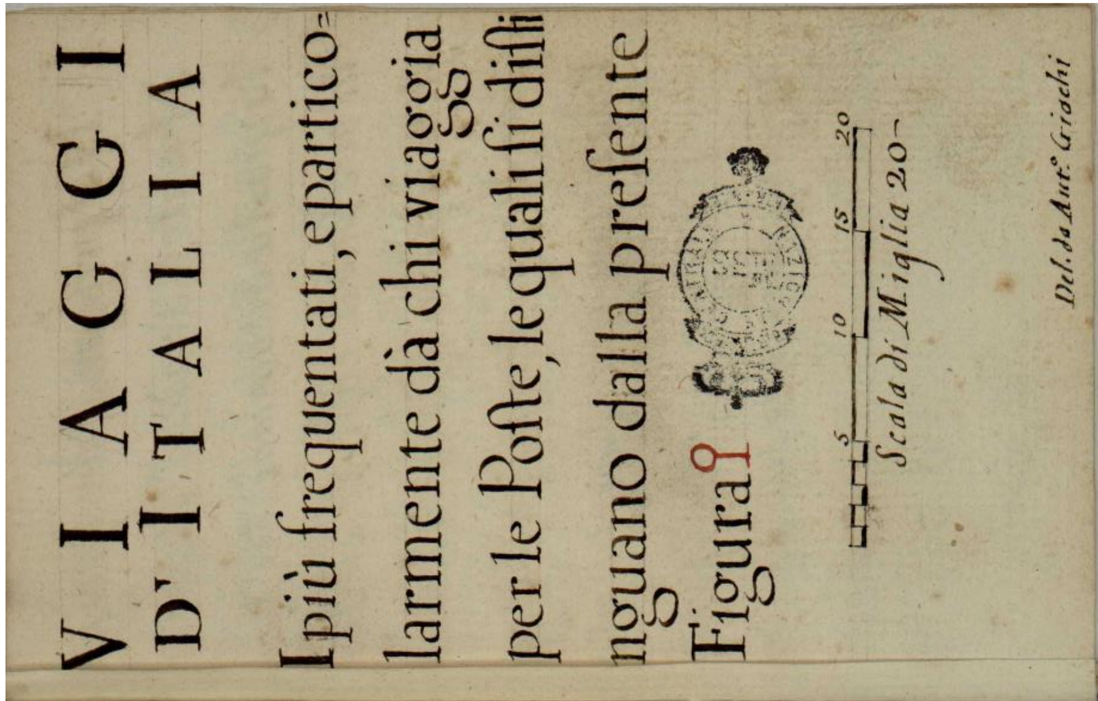

Figure 5.14: Title page of Antonio Giachi, *Viaggi d'Italia I più frequentati*, c. 1770. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze II.XI.4, folio AC1r. Image created by Internetculturale.it and used under CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 IT.

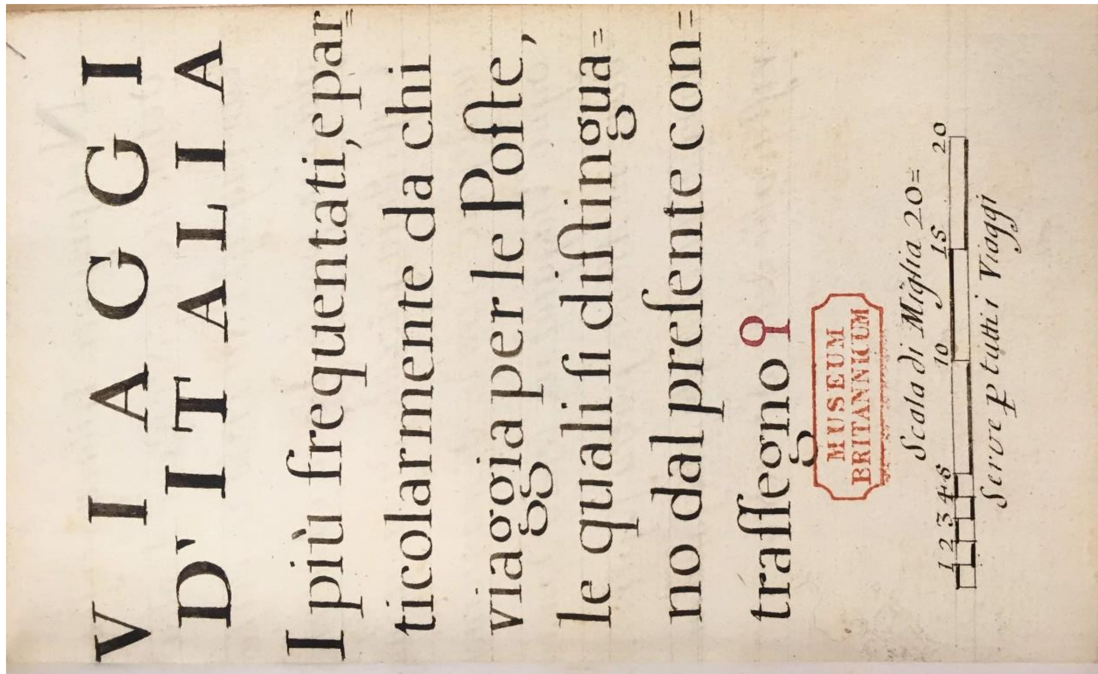

Figure 5.15: Title page of [Antonio Giachi], *Viaggi d'Italia I più frequentati*, c. 1770. BL Add. MS 6143, folio 1.

Figure 5.16: Antonio Giachi, *Viaggio da Firenze a Bologna*, in *Viaggi d'Italia I più frequentati*, c. 1770. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze II.XI.76, folio C4r. Image created by Internetculturale.it and used under CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 IT.

Figure 5.17: [Antonio Giachi], *Viaggio da Firenze a Bologna*, in *Viaggi d'Italia I più frequentati*, c. 1770. BL Add. MS 6143, folio 10.

It is my contention, then, that we should attribute Antonio Giachi, or members of the Giachi workshop in Florence, with the creation of all the manuscript road atlases, including Add. MS 6143. Assuming that the road atlases originated first in manuscript form, the Giachis are therefore responsible for the flourishing of Italian road atlas as a product in the late eighteenth century. I would argue that the stylistic similarities between all the printed road atlases appearing from 1771 are because the map makers and publishers – Barbieri, the Lotters, Dury etc. – were all working from manuscript atlases produced by Antonio Giachi or another member of the workshop. It stands to reason that any variations in the printed atlases in the number or coverage of post road maps resulted from there being multiple manuscript atlases in circulation. In fact, it is likely that the Giachi workshop was making atlases to the specifications of the buyer, as attested by the variety of copies preserved in libraries across Europe.

One question still remains: who was Dury's 'nobleman of distinction'? It seems unlikely that he would have referred to Antonio Giachi in such a way, even if he was a member of the Florentine aristocracy. Perhaps, then, Dury had obtained his manuscript maps from someone who had been on a Grand Tour and had acquired a bespoke road atlas in Florence. There are a number of reasons why we might suspect that person was John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute. First, Bute had been connected with Dury's work in the past: for instance, Dury's atlas of the Kingdom of Sardinia and the Republic of Genoa, first published in 1765, was dedicated to Bute.[75] Indeed, Bute also had a documented interest in manuscript road maps, having commissioned a set of plans of the different roads from London to his estate at Luton Park.[76] Given the cloud he was under following his resignation from the ministry in 1763, Bute may have been cryptically described by Dury as a 'nobleman of distinction'. Finally, choosing to undertake a Grand Tour in the late 1760s, Bute was in Italy at the same time as Antonio Giachi was producing his bespoke atlases.[77] It is therefore possible that Bute purchased a road atlas made by Antonio Giachi, now lost, when he was in Florence, before later passing it to Dury for publication.

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[75] Maps 1.TAB.35.: Andrew Dury, *A Chorographical Map of the King of Sardinia's Dominions …* (London, 1765).
[76] BL Add. MS 74215.
[77] Francis Russell, *John, 3rd Earl of Bute: Patron & Collector* (London: Merrion Press, 2004), 64-123.

Printed road atlases of Italy were published across Europe in quick succession from 1771, with some running to many editions. This chapter has conducted an in-depth investigation on these road atlases, a new form of cartographic representation for Italy little studied in map history, that achieved an unprecedented level of detail of the landscape of the road. In order to provide the necessary context for that analysis, it first reviewed the history of roads on maps of the Italian peninsula, before turning to the variety of other resources on the market across the early modern period. Both general and road maps were recommended as useful cartographic sources in guides to travel, while a host of tourist guidebooks, descriptive travel accounts, practical itineraries and human guides also proliferated. Rather than being revolutionary, then, road atlases supplemented and diversified an already broad apparatus of instruments available to grand tourists for navigating and comprehending Italy.[78] Their sudden emergence in the last three decades of the eighteenth century was owing chiefly to the work of the Giachi family, who, from around the late 1760s, disseminated bespoke manuscript atlases from their workshop in Florence. The success of the printed versions testifies to the increasing commodification of tourism that occurred over the eighteenth century.

This chapter has also explored how portable wayfinding instruments affected and responded to the practices and perceptions of grand tourists. In the decades after the Seven Years War, there were proportionally fewer aristocratic tourists and young noblemen accompanied by tutors around Italy. The numbers of middle-aged, middle class, female and professional travellers were heading to the Continent were rising. Though the information provided was not revolutionary, the rhetoric of road atlases did signal the increasing rejection of the discourse of the Grand Tour and a movement towards a more democratic mode of travel that valued economy, efficiency and self-reliance. By the 1770s, then, the demands of the changing demographic of European leisure travel were being reflected by the routine inclusion of lists on the price of hiring horses and carriages, on exchange rates and on the various monetary systems

[78] Since road atlases owed so much of their information to published itineraries, road atlases do not indicate a historical rupture, a question posed in Bertrand, *Le Grand Tour*, 177-178.

throughout Italy. The road atlases discussed in this chapter therefore represented a more financially conscious, time sensitive and independent approach to travel, an aspect that was repeatedly highlighted in prefaces that claimed to have all the necessary information – 'senza domandare ad alcuno'.

In comparison to the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the average tourist, after the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, was travelling faster, spending less time abroad and less focused on educational activities. The demands of the changing demographic affected a change in the material form of guidebooks: smaller in size and therefore in content too. The "post-books" so scorned by Dupaty's irked Pisan suggested that pocketsize tourist guides were not only becoming more common but were being used more publicly by tourists in the late eighteenth century. By contrast, traditional guidebooks, such as de Lalande's eight-volume *Voyage d'un François en Italie* (1769), had aimed for encyclopaedic authority and a high degree of erudition. Itineraries and road atlases provided an alternative format that connects them to the development of modern tourist guidebook formats, such as those published by Murray and Baedeker in the nineteenth century. A consequence of the divergence of these two types of guidebooks led to the emergence of a negative stereotype about tourists, who were seen as lacking the adventurous spirit and originality of thought to break away from their prescriptive and superficial guidebooks.

While road atlases and guidebooks have been considered quintessential items in the material culture of travelling, historians of tourism have figured the objects that tourists take home as souvenirs. The next chapter will explore how grand tourists' maps could transform into souvenirs upon their return and the implications of that process on the maps' meanings.

Chapter 6

Return

Having arrived in Calais in July 1775, grand tourist George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, went on to spend three years on the continent with his tutor David Stevenson. According to the reconstructed inventories of the *Westmorland*, Legge purchased a wide variety of objects when he was in Italy: from books on Italian art, theatre and history and a popular Italian guidebook, to copies of a Raphael and a Domenichino and lava samples from Vesuvius.[1] Also recorded in the inventories were some of the latest pieces of Italian cartography bought by Legge's tutor, Stevenson, and, the most lavish of all, a likeness by Pompeo Batoni. Perhaps some of Stevenson's interest was passed on to his charge, for in the portrait (fig. 6.1), we see Legge grasping the edges of a map of Italy in a moment of quiet study.

To bring home a portrait by Batoni as a souvenir of a Grand Tour has been figured by some as the height of sophistication for British travellers.[2] From the late 1740s, Batoni developed an iconic Grand Tour style that not only proved popular among British patrons but also enabled him to turn out high quality portraits in quick succession.[3] Research on Batoni's working practices has discovered that he generally took his clients' likeness across two or three short sittings; the rest of the composition he filled in with the sitter absent, drawing on types and models worked out beforehand.[4] So popular was his style, in fact, that of the 193 known individual sitters, 154 – almost 80 per cent – were British.[5] As opposed to the maps and globes that appear in a dozen of his portraits, art historians have generally pointed to the recurrence of some of the more notable Roman material remains or iconic views – such as the Colosseum or busts of the *Minerva Giustiniani* – when characterising his distinctive Grand Tour style. In fact, Batoni is almost unique in his including maps as accessories in his portraits of tourists; his contemporaneous rival, Anton Raphael Mengs, never once figured a sitter holding a map.

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[1] María Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui and Scott Wilcox, eds., *The English Prize: The Capture of the Westmorland, An Episode of the Grand Tour* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012), 276-285.
[2] Andrew W. Moore, *Norfolk & the Grand Tour: Eighteenth-Century Travellers Abroad and their Souvenirs* (Norwich: Norfolk Museum Service, 1985), 15-16.
[3] On the development of Batoni's style, see Edgar Peters Bowron and Peter Björn Kerber, eds., *Pompeo Batoni: Prince of Painters in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 50-87.
[4] Bowron and Kerber, *Prince of Painters*, 143-176.
[5] These figures are out of date but remain representative; Edgar Peters Bowron, "Introduction," in *Pompeo Batoni (1708-87) and his British Patrons* (London: Greater London Council, 1982), 7-8.

Figure 6.1: Pompeo Batoni, *George Legge, Viscount Lewisham*, 1778, Museo del Prado.

When art historians have thought about how Batoni constructed his iconic pictorial spaces through the material culture of the Grand Tour, they have generally neglected maps. The maps' meanings have also been reduced: on the whole, art historians interpreted cartographic items in portraits as operating on an emblematic level, such

as to indicate the extent of a monarch's authority or the professional achievements of an explorer, or in the case of Batoni, to signify the destination of a Grand Tour. An example of art historians' indifference to maps in comparison to *objets d'art* is evident in Batoni's latest catalogue raisonné, when Edgar Peters Bowron stated that Legge was 'holding a map of Italy', before going on to detail the history of the antique bust behind him.[6] In contrast to this attitude, I argue in this chapter that the maps portrayed in Batoni's paintings have meanings beyond the symbolic; meanings that can only be accessed by paying attention to both the map and the sitter – and the moment of interaction between them.

It is difficult to securely identify which map Legge holds: Batoni has pared back elements of its visual individuality to the point where it has almost become generic. The map shows Italy, with the majority of Sicily and the southern portion of Sardinia cut off, in accordance with the geographical framing of the peninsula set down by the seventeenth-century mapmaker Nicolas Sanson. The various sovereignties have been given washes of colour in a manner that was quite common. However, the title, 'Carte per Italia', is an oddly worded and vague blend of French and Italian that corresponds to no known work. However, the position of the title suggests a possible match: Pierre Duval's *Carte de l'Italie et des Isles adjacentes* (fig. 6.2), the title of which is similarly placed in the lower middle section, albeit in a cartouche.[7] If Batoni was indeed drawing on Duval's map, he has clearly employed a degree of artistic licence, for he co-opted the bottom margin for his own signature. But why did Legge and other British grand tourists choose to be portrayed holding a map like this? What was its effect?

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[6] Edgar Peters Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue of his Paintings* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press; In association with The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston; The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2016), 1:541.

[7] The final state of Duval's map was completed in 1688, but continued to be printed by Duval's heirs for around twenty years, who were granted multiple privileges until at least 1711, cf. Mireille Pastoureau, *Les Atlas Français XVIe-XVIIe Siècles: Répertoire Bibliographique et Étude* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1984), 137. It is not a problem that, by the time Batoni was painting, this map could have been up to ninety years old. Although there was no antiquarian map trade as such, depending on the quantity of the print run and market demand, stock could remain unsold for decades, on which see Mary Sponberg Pedley, *The Commerce of Cartography: Making and Marketing Maps in Eighteenth-Century France and England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 78. Furthermore, the *Westmorland* inventories document maps from the late seventeenth century present in the hold. For instance, Frederick Ponsonby, Viscount Duncannon, shipped home not only the recent John Rocque's 1754 map of Paris, evidently brought in preparation of visiting that city, but also Jean-Baptiste Nolin's *Le Canal Royal de Languedoc* (1697) and *Diocese de Nismes* (1698).

Figure 6.2: Pierre Duval, *Carte de l'Italie et des Isles adjacentes*, Paris, 1688. BL Maps K.Top.75.21.

What has been overlooked is that the maps painted by Batoni are not just symbols for the act of travel, but related to real, material objects held and manipulated by Batoni's sitters in his studio. Looking beyond symbolic readings, then, I propose to attend to the haptic nature of maps, casting Batoni's much-discussed Grand Tour portraits in new light. This side of the maps' story has been left untold. The choreography of Legge's portrait, for instance, powerfully captures the act of someone inspecting a map of Italy. His map is a true icon of tactility, for one rarely studies a map like this without grasping and manipulating it with one's hands. While the map faces us in a more natural orientation, for that to be the case we must recognise that Legge was holding it at an awkward, oblique angle, meaning that he has not just been handling the map idly but rotating it with the intention of inspecting a certain feature. It is a relatable pose and, doubtless, actions like this one had been performed by many grand tourists before Legge, and the sight of this grand tourist unfurling a map would elicit memories for anyone who had been on a similar journey.

Drawing on recent work that has figured souvenirs as 'touchstones of memory', with the ability to 'evoke powerful memories of experience and mediate our sense of place, enveloping the past within the present', this chapter asks what happens when we think about maps as souvenirs.[8] Historians of tourism have noted that any object can have its meanings transformed to become a souvenir – a process that often happens unintentionally or in retrospect – not just the cheap, mass-produced kitsch with which the term has historically been associated.[9] Brought back home from travels, souvenirs connect the tourist to a different time and space and have the power to elicit memories and emotions through tourists' subsequent corporeal interactions with them.[10] How did maps retain significance or produce new meanings after grand tourist had returned home? In order to explore how maps continued to be valued in the afterlife of Grand Tours, this chapter will concentrate on the maps in Batoni's portraiture and on how his grand tourist clients were depicted interacting with them. As material objects that circulated during the course of Grand Tours, maps could hold and evoke the memories of travel just like any souvenir, accruing sentimental value that map makers and users might not have intended. Accordingly, this chapter will pay considerable attention to how materiality and hapticity could alter maps' potential meanings for grand tourists.

In line with the suggestions of a recent methodological exploration on the tactility of maps, this chapter employs a sensibility towards the material and affective qualities of maps as objects and 'the interconnectedness of seeing and touching (i.e. the capacity of the visual to evoke the tactile and the sensation of touching through seeing)'.[11] In the past, map historians have neglected the inherent tactile nature of map use by placing the 'tactile map' in a class of its own designed to assist the visually impaired.[12]

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[8] Nigel Morgan and Annette Pritchard, "On Souvenirs and Metonymy: Narratives of Memory, Metaphor and Materiality," *Tourist Studies* 5, no. 1 (2005): 31.
[9] Noga Collins-Kreiner and Yael Zins, "Tourists and Souvenirs: Changes through Time, Space and Meaning," *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 6, no. 1, (2011): 21-22; Kristen K. Swanson and Dallen J. Timothy, "Souvenirs: Icons of Meaning, Commercialization and Commoditization," *Progress in Tourism Management* 33, (2012): 489-499.
[10] Michael Haldrup and Jonas Larsen, "Material Cultures of Tourism," *Leisure Studies* 25, no. 3 (2006): 275-289.
[11] Tania Rossetto, "The Skin of the Map: Viewing Cartography through Tactile Empathy," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 37, no. 1 (2019): 88.
[12] Helen Wallis and Arthur Robinson, eds., *Cartographical Innovations: An International Handbook of Mapping Terms to 1900* (London: Map Collector Publications for the International Cartographic Association, 1987), 70.

Recently, however, scholars in map history and other disciplines have underlined the importance of understanding that the act of vision is a multisensory experience.[13] Analyses of visual practices must therefore include considerations of how the body of the user and the material qualities of objects can influence perceptions (see the material and experiential approaches, laid out in Chapter 2). In Batoni's portraits, we find evocative portrayals not only of the tactile nature of maps, but of 'everyday material encounters' of grand tourists interacting with maps.[14] This chapter focuses above all on the embodied encounters between maps and grand tourists, since, as Tania Rossetto argued, 'considering mapping through touch assists in revealing the transitory, short-lived and ungraspable nature of mapping itself'.[15]

In the following discussions, I have incorporated an appreciation of the different senses involved in map encounters from my own perspective, by identifying and handling the maps portrayed in Batoni's portraits, copies of which are now held in the British Library. The chapter emlpoys this auto-ethnographic approach in complement to traditional iconographic deconstructions of the maps in Batoni's portraits.

The chapter has been structured as a kind of catalogue raisonné that presents five Batoni portraits in three sections. Each section approaches the maps in Batoni's portraits from a different perspective, exploring aspects of their materiality and the material encounters with grand tourists in the paintings. Adopting a biographical approach to Antoine Ménard's *Carte Generale d'Italie Et des Isles Adjacentes Tiré des Bons Auteurs*, the first section investigates how different meanings emerge and come to the fore as maps pass into new phases of life. Originally part of an atlas designed for the entertainment of the highest echelons of society in the early eighteenth century, this map found its way into Batoni's studio where it was used as an accessory in an unidentified sitter's portrait. Sold recently for close to $1 million, Ménard's map now hangs in a private collection; in each of these contexts, distinct values take

[13] Diane Dillon, "Consuming Maps," in *Maps: Finding our Place in the World*, ed. James R. Akerman and Robert W. Karrow Jr. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 328-343. Sarah Pink, "A Multisensory Approach to Visual Methods," in *Sage Handbook of Visual Research Methods*, ed. Eric Margolis and Luc Pauwels (London: Sage, 2011), 601-605.
[14] Rossetto, "Skin of the Map," 84.
[15] Idem, 99.

precedence and the meaning of the map changes. The second section focuses on the corporeal interaction between Batoni's sitter Richard Milles and a folded map of Italy. After unpacking the utility and significance of gestures in painting, this section dwells upon the haptic nature of map encounters. This section attempts to grasp the importance of touch in the creation of maps' meanings and in recreating the experiences and evoking the memories of travel. The third section groups three portraits together as they each depict a version of the same map: Joseph Jérôme Le Français de Lalande's *Plan de Rome, Extrait de celui qui fut Publie Par J.B. Nolli, en 1748* taken from the same author's popular guidebook, *Voyage d'un François en Italie* (1769). Fittingly, this section is concerned with material transformations and the effect they can have on perception. Contingent on the environment in which they are situated and forever bearing the marks of their past use, the maps in these three portraits are shown to subtly change with variations in light and shadow, folds and curls, and the effects of time. The fact that they appear in painted form adds another level to their representation – pigments, like paper, are vulnerable to the elements.

Section 1: Map biography

Pompeo Batoni, Portrait of a Gentleman*, 1758-59, Private collection:*[16]

Thought to be a portrait of one of the Van Loos for most of the twentieth century, *Portrait of a Gentleman* (fig. 6.3) was attributed to Batoni prior to its sale in London on 5 July 1984.[17] Its reassessment meant that it entered into Batoni's corpus in time to be included in Anthony Clark's catalogue raisonné the following year. The half-length portrait was recently sold at a Christie's sale in New York on 25 January 2012 for $866,500 and now resides in a private collection. The identity of the sitter remains unknown. His demeanour exudes confidence and not a little gravity and his facial

[16] Anthony Morris Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue of His Works*, ed. Edgar Peters Bowron (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1985) 276; Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni*, 1:267-68; Christie's, "Lot 34: Property of a Gentleman," Sale 2534; Old Master Paintings I; New York; 25 January 2012, accessed 3 Sept 2018, https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/pompeo-girolamo-batoni-lucca-1708-1787-rome-5529483-details.aspx.
[17] The painting was sold as a "Van Loo" (lot 111) at Christie's, London, on behalf of Mr J Eyles on 17 December 1904.

Figure 6.3: Pompeo Batoni, *Portrait of a gentleman*, 1758-59, Private collection. © Christie's / Bridgeman Images.

features have been captured by Batoni with a crisp freshness. The detail of the gold embroidery on the scarlet coat and deep-blue waistcoat as well as on the lace cuffs and ruffles is exceptional. Flanked by a porphyry column, the man is pictured in one of Batoni's paradigmatic interiors, with a distant view of the Colosseum through an

opening over his left shoulder. As noted above, Batoni's use of the Colosseum as a visual motif became a frequent strategy in structuring the space of his Grand Tour portraits. The sitter stands at a desk, holding a book to his midriff in his right hand, with a finger keeping open a certain page; a tricorne under his left arm, he points to a map laid out on the table, upon which also rests a small bronze statue of the *Venus de' Medici*. The use of this miniature statuette as a portrait accessory is, as Clark noted, unique in all of Batoni's work.[18] Bowron added to this by stating that the statuette was 'probably by Giacomo Zoffoli'.[19] But both Clark and Bowron (and indeed the lot essay in the painting's recent sale at Christie's) fail to recognise that this particular map is also a unique accessory in Batoni's *oeuvre*, passing it over by remarking that the sitter is pointing to 'a map of Italy'.

The map that Batoni painted in the *Portrait of a Gentleman* is a version of Antoine Ménard's *Carte Generale d'Italie Et des Isles Adjacentes Tiré des Bons Auteurs* from 1711 and published again in 1719 with the signature changed to Jacques Chiquet (figs 6.4-6.5). There are several indicators supporting this identification. First, the inclusion of boxed-off side panels consisting of text is very uncommon for maps of Italy in the first half of the eighteenth century. Besides Henri Abraham Chatelain's *Nouvelle Carte de l'Etat present de l'Italie*, which, though visually similar, is too large, there are no other examples with side panels of text from this period. Ménard's map has side panels – listing the popes from St Peter to Callixtus III (d. 1458) – as also seen in the Batoni portrait; there is even a double panel beneath the Salento peninsula in the bottom right corner. Second, Batoni has faithfully depicted the cartouche that decorates the top right of *Carte Generale d'Italie*. One can clearly see the dark outline and the curving and tasselled bottom-edge of the curtain that enwraps the cartouche right below the outstretched forefinger of Batoni's sitter. Third, the arrangement of the lands and seas in relation to the margins matches up with Ménard's map: Dalmatia slips away halfway down the right side, and a light brown patch beneath the sitter's cuff is an indistinct indication of Sicily, beside the pink outline of Calabria. Fourth, at just 14.8 x 20.8 cm Ménard's is a fairly small map, but positioning the map to recreate the perspective of Batoni's portrait demonstrates that his depiction of the

[18] Clark, *Pompeo Batoni*, 276.
[19] Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni*, 267.

Figure 6.4: Antoine Ménard, *Carte Generale d'Italie Et des Isles Adjacentes Tiré des Bons Auteurs*, Paris: Jacques Chiquet, 1711. BL 679.e.5.

Figure 6.5: Jacques Chiquet, *Carte Generale d'Italie Et des Isles Adjacentes Tiré des Bons Auteurs*, Paris, 1719. BL Maps C.29.d.30.

pointing hand fits in proportion to the map's size (figs 6.6-6.7).[20] In addition to these points, the colouring in the British Library's Chiquet map is similar to the one depicted in the portrait. However, this is not a sure indication since, as Mary Pedley has explained, mapmakers could choose various manners of colouring or indeed sell maps without colouring, all of which was reflected in the price.[21]

Little is known about Ménard, whose only known cartographic work seems to be the atlas in which the Carte Generale d'Italie is found: Le nouveau et curieux Atlas Geographique et historique, ou Le Divertissement des Empereurs, Roys, et Princes. All but one of the maps is dated to 1711, which may indicate that that they were available separately.[22] Not much more is known about the publisher Chiquet. He had been working in Paris as an engraver and bookseller since 1687 and in 1719 reissued *Le nouveau et curieux Atlas* under his name alone.[23] The title of the first edition in 1711 dedicated the atlas to Charles Dusoul, with the second page given to a dedicatory text. In the second edition, Chiquet changed the title's dedication to the Duke of Orléans and removed the dedicatory page to Dusoul; Chiquet did not correct the numbering of the pages to reflect the omission. The title-pages advertise that the atlases were available at Chiquet's shop on the Rue Saint-Jacques on the left bank of the Seine. This address was in the heart of the university quarter – the area in Paris in which booksellers traditionally clustered.[24] Chiquet died in 1721 and had only published one other geographical work – an atlas of France – also in 1719. Thus, Chiquet's reputation as a map publisher was never fully established nor are his works widely disseminated.

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[20] A crack along the top-right margin confirms the map was printed from the same plate.
[21] Pedley, *Commerce of Cartography*, 67-70.
[22] BL General Reference Collection 679.e.5. See also Rodney W. Shirley, *Maps in the Atlases of the British Library: A Descriptive Catalogue c. AD 850-1800* (London: British Library, 2004), 1:676, "T.MEN-1a" and "T.MEN-1b". Walter Goffart maintained that a second edition was published in 1713, crediting Catherine Hofmann with the judgement in Walter Goffart, *Historical Atlases: The First Three Hundred Years, 1570-1870* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 451-452, 478 and 491.
[23] BL Maps C.29.d.30. For more on Chiquet's life, see Maxime Préaud et al., eds., *Dictionnaire des Editeurs d'Estampes à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Promodis / Editions du Cercle de la Librairie, 1987), 87-89.
[24] Mary Sponberg Pedley, "The Map Trade in Paris, 1650-1825," *Imago Mundi* 33, (1981): 33-45.

Figure 6.6: Re-enacting Batoni with Chiquet's *Carte Generale de l'Italie*, BL Maps C.29.d.30.

Figure 6.7: A touching sight. Detail of Pompeo Batoni, *Portrait of a gentleman*, 1758-59, Private collection. © Christie's / Bridgeman Images.

Le nouveau et curieux Atlas is a typical but reduced cosmography of the early eighteenth century. It consists of twenty-six maps, the first four dealing with the stratification of the globe, astronomy and astrology, the remaining twenty-two detail the geography of the globe; a page of text follows each image. The geographical maps are ordered in a conventional manner, starting with a double hemisphere world map, proceeding to the continents, and then delineating the individual countries of Europe, as well as one map on the Ottoman Empire showing Anatolia, the Middle East and the North African coast. It ends with a four-page appendix containing the geography of the Catholic Church, listing all the ecclesiastical provinces throughout the world with their suffragan dioceses and giving the year in which the dioceses were canonically erected. In contrast to the near contemporary *Atlas Historique* by Chatelain, mentioned above, *Le nouveau et curieux Atlas* was far less weighty, both physically and intellectually. According to its full title *Le nouveau et curieux Atlas* was originally created for 'the entertainment of emperors, kings and princes'.[25] If we take this at face value, then Ménard and Chiquet intended the atlas more to delight upper-class readers than to be an authoritative geographical tome. Nevertheless, the social histories listed in the side-panels signify the map's indebtedness to more intellectual reference atlases.

The *Carte Generale d'Italie* depicts the Italian peninsula, described in the accompanying text as 'the garden of Europe', from the French and Swiss Alps in the north to Sicily in the south, following Nicolas Sanson's traditional geographical framing of the Italian peninsula. Dotted lines indicate the borders between the various sovereignties in Italy, and fainter dotted lines show regional boundaries. The British Library's copy of the Chiquet atlas has colour added to the borders and coastlines, whilst the its copy of Ménard's atlas is much more exquisitely coloured – the regions, seas, margins, scale bars, text boxes and cartouche have been filled in with colour in the Dutch manner and every town with a cathedral has been given gold illumination. The paper used in the Chiquet atlas bears a grape watermark, which, according to Edward Heawood, generally indicates an origin in southern or south-western France, or perhaps the Auvergne region. A bunch of grapes was the most common watermark

[25] 'Le Divertissement des Empereurs, Roys, et Princes'.

found on the smaller sizes of paper in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[26] The paper used for Ménard's atlas came from a different mill, bearing a watermark that resembles the 'tower' type as classified by Briquet.[27] The difference in thickness is noticeable between these editions: Ménard's atlas consists of thick and stiff card whilst Chiquet employs a more typical variety – thinner, more pliant and faintly translucent. Not only can you feel the difference as you run your finger along the surface, but you can hear it in the different quality of the frictional sound this action produces. The thicker paper in Ménard's atlas has a lower and grainier sound to it, whereas that of Chiquet gives off a soft and higher-pitched tone and crackles when turned in the way that dry and slightly warped old paper does.[28]

Having briefly reviewed the origins of the map painted by Batoni, we might now consider how the value and meaning of the *Carte Generale d'Italie* transformed as it moved from Chiquet's shop in Paris into the hands of the sitter in Batoni's Roman studio and back to Britain as a work of art. In order to elucidate these transformations, it will be helpful to adopt a biographical approach and consider how the map operated similarly to the travelling landscape-objects, defined by Veronica della Dora. [29] As maps move around, their meanings might change, even if their forms or their representations remain unchanged. Indeed, every time they are deployed within a different context, new values and meanings become open and they are, in a sense, 'remade anew'.[30]

Our anonymous sitter may have purchased *Le nouveau et curieux Atlas* in Paris at Chiquet's shop on the Rue Saint-Jacques. Travelling through France *en route* to Italy, he may have been attracted by the atlas's promises of entertainment. It is also possible the atlas was bought elsewhere, for as we know, by the eighteenth century, maps

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[26] Edward Heawood, "The Use of Watermarks in Dating Old Maps and Documents," *The Geographical Journal* 63, no. 5 (May 1924): 397-98 and 404.
[27] Charles Moïse Briquet, *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier dès leur Apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600. Avec 39 Figures dans le texte et 16,112 Fac-similés de Filigranes* (Paris: Alphonse Picard & Fils, 82, rue Bonaparte, 1907), 4:798.
[28] I cannot be certain that these observations on the material aspects of the map apply universally or even to the map in Batoni's *Portrait of a Gentleman*, having only inspected the British Library's copies in person.
[29] Veronica della Dora, "Travelling Landscape-Objects," *Progress in Human Geography* 33, no. 3 (2009): 347-350.
[30] Rob Kitchin and Martin Dodge, "Rethinking Maps," *Progress in Human Geography* 31, no. 3 (2007): 339.

moved around between international map sellers.[31] Alternatively, Batoni himself could have acquired the atlas in this manner and extracted the map from it for use in the studio. Once the map of Italy had been extracted from the atlas, it underwent its first transformation in meaning. Divorced from the context of the small reference atlas, *Carte Generale d'Italie* no longer related the land of Italy to the structure of the world and the cosmos. In fact, in the studio of the artist, the material qualities of the map as a prop became more important than its visual representation. The map turned primarily into an object to be held and manipulated with the hands rather than an image to be contemplated. Lying on the table before the sitter, the map prompted physical contact, and this studio interaction with the map as a prop affected the development of the painting.

Employed as a prop in Batoni's studio, the map then becomes an integral part of pictorial composition of the painting. Indeed, as the sitter stretches out his left arm to point to the map, so too does our eye extend down the diagonal line to follow the gesture. The shape and the colour of this artificial map interact with other pictorial elements in the painting: the curling edge of the paper contrasts with the hard, straight lines of the table on which it rests; the light cream colour of the paper bounces off the white of the sitter's cuffs, ruffles and finds a counterpoint in his face. In iconographic interpretations of Batoni's portraits, art historians have considered what the painted maps could symbolise. Put in the hands of a grand tourist, the map becomes an object of utility, regarded for its capacity to guide the traveller and aid in planning routes. In this respect, the image of a map is taken as a metonymic device for the act of travel itself. Just as the distant view of the Colosseum signifies the city of Rome and its entire antique heritage, so too the map is a distinctive sign for the Grand Tour.

Yet another transformation in meaning occurs when we consider the afterlife of this painting. Like so much of Batoni's work, this portrait was transported back to Britain to be kept in a private collection, in which it has remained for the last 250 years. Materialising the experiences of the sitter's journey to Italy, and enabling their recall,

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[31] Mary Pedley, "Maps, War, and Commerce: Business Correspondence with the London Map Firm of Thomas Jefferys and William Faden," *Imago Mundi* 48, (1996): 161-173.

the painting and the map act as a souvenir of travel can act as a personal memento, a 'touchstone of memory'. The semi-public display of the portrait at home would have played a role in fashioning the identity of the owner. As a luxury item in itself, the painting spoke to his wealth and status. As a souvenir of travel – a touchstone of memory – the representation reinforced the sitter's life narrative. And by choosing to be depicted with a map, the sitter affected an air of polite sensibility and education through cartography's status in eighteenth-century society.

A final point comes to the fore from this painting's recent history: in 2012 this painting sold for $866,500. No longer in the hands of the sitter or his descendants, the sentimental value for the family is lost. Passing into the hands of collectors, *Portrait of a Gentleman*'s price tag speaks of its value more generally as a collectible piece of art and a luxury cultural good. Ménard's *Carte Generale d'Italie* is thus an integral pictorial component of an artwork that auction houses and connoisseurs judge a visual triumph.

Section 2: A touching sight

Pompeo Batoni, Portrait of Richard Milles*, 1759, National Gallery, London.*[32]

The publication of John Ingamells's *A Dictionary of British and Irish travellers in Italy, 1701-1800* in 1997 made it possible for Francis Russell to identify the sitter in our next portrait (fig. 6.8).[33] In the dictionary entry for Edward Knight, Ingamells referred to a letter of 16 December 1758 from the architect Robert Mylne, then in Rome, who disclosed that he had recently given architectural lessons to a 'Mr Knight of Kent' and a 'Mr Milles'.[34] From this detail, Russell surmised that this was Edward Knight's neighbour Richard Milles (c. 1735-1820), who was recorded as being in

[32] Clark, *Pompeo Batoni*, 273; Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni*, 269-271; The National Gallery, "Pompeo Girolamo Batoni, Portrait of Richard Milles," accessed 3 Sept 2018, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/pompeo-girolamo-batoni-portrait-of-richard-milles.
[33] For a brief biographical sketch, see Francis Russell, "A Batoni Patron Identified," *The Burlington Magazine* 140, no. 1147 (1998): 682-683, and Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni*, 270.
[34] John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701-1800, Compiled from the Brinsley Ford Archive* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 518.

Figure 6.8: Pompeo Batoni, *Portrait of Richard Milles*, 1759, National Gallery, London.

Florence in December 1758 as well as Rome again in early 1759. The combination of this biographical note and the painting's provenance history make Russell's identification very probable. Mary Milles, the daughter and sole heir of Milles and his wife Mary Elizabeth, married the future 2nd Baron Sondes, Lewis Thomas Watson. It

was from Sondes family that Agnew & Sons bought the *Portrait of Richard Milles* for the National Gallery in 1980, where it remains today.

Spilling over the green cloth-clad table on which it rests, the map pictured in *Portrait of Richard Milles* presents itself to the viewer in some detail. Nonetheless, its identity has so far remained a mystery to art historians who have looked at this painting. Clark described it as 'a map of Northern Europe and Italy', when in fact no part of Northern Europe is represented.[35] Bowron amended this observation by stating that it 'shows the Gulf of Venice'.[36] Upon closer inspection (fig. 6.9), we see that it is a map of Italy that has been folded in half. With the south of the peninsula obscured from view underneath the northerly portion that shows Venice, the Alps and Dalmatia. What most interested both Clark and Bowron about this map was it as a marker of Milles's itinerary. They both commented that Milles is pointing to the word 'Grisons', labelled on the map in its antiquated or regional Italian form, 'Grisoni'. In their opinion, this indicated that Milles had travelled through the alpine federation of Graubünden at some point during his continental tour.[37] Though we know little about Milles's movements and have no evidence to connect him to the Valtellina region over which his finger hovers, it is a sensible reading given that the background of the painting is mountainous and the continued hostilities of the Seven Years' War would have made travel through France undesirable. However, the map is read solely as an emblem of travel and of being abroad – there is little interest in the map as a material object.

As in the case of *Portrait of a Gentleman* discussed above, several material and stylistic elements of the map painted by Batoni in *Portrait of Richard Milles* allow us to make a correct identification. The map Milles gestures to is Johann Baptist Homann's *Italia Cursoria* (fig. 6.10), published in Nuremberg around 1716-1724.[38] A

[35] Clark, *Pompeo Batoni*, 273.
[36] Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni*, 271.
[37] Ibid.; and cf. the curator's description in National Gallery, "Richard Milles."
[38] BL Maps.K.Top.75.54.: Johann Baptist Homann, *Italia Cursoria, Seu Tabula Geographica in qua omnes viæ angariæ et Stationes Veredariorum ordinariæ, per totum Italiam Cursoribus constitutæ exhibentur* (Nuremberg, 1716-1724). I follow Markus Heinz's dating in Michael Diefenbacher, ed., *'auserlesene und allerneueste Landkarten': Der Verlag Homann in Nürnberg 1702-1848* (Nuremberg: Stadtarchivs Nürnberg and the Museen der Stadt Nürnberg, 2002), 248.

correct reading of the map's toponymic spelling was a factor in coming to this conclusion, for, though the modern Italian name for Graubünden is Grigioni, the writing of "Grisoni" in both Batoni's portrait and Homann's map is evidence that Batoni stuck to his model. And to be sure, Batoni kept to Homann's toponymy in the Gulf of Venice: 'Golfo di Venetia overo Mare Adriatico' and 'Mare et Isola [di Dalmatia]' (cf. figs 6.9 and 6.10). In the top right corner of Homann's *Italia Cursoria* we find three scale bars above a compass, which, though uncoloured, follow the engraving faithfully. Furthermore, we see Venice and the *terra firma* looming large in pink, the Dalmatian coast and islands below in green, the Papal States have been done in blue, while the northern part of the Kingdom of Naples is in yellow. Some correspondence between Batoni and Homann is lost in the countries that are behind Milles's hand: if the country coloured in green-blue is Piedmont, then the State of Milan must be entirely hidden, rather improbably, by Milles's forefinger. Regardless, Batoni's depiction corresponds to Homann's engraving, for, as noted above, the colours added to printed maps would vary from issue to issue depending on the colourist and the specifications of the buyer.

A final indication that Batoni was painting a copy of Homann's map is the size of the object in relation to Milles. Following in the tradition of general post road maps of Italy that was established by Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola, whose *L'Italia con Le sue Poste e Strade Principali* was first published in 1695 (see Chapter 5), Homann's *Italia Cursoria* measures 43.4 x 53.5 cm. This is roughly three times taller and two and half times wider than the map depicted in Batoni's *Portrait of a Gentleman*, Ménard's *Carte Generale d'Italie*. Given that the map is folded in two, the size is accurately reflected. Indeed, the width of the map is emphasised by the way that it droops over the table. The materiality of the map is not the only emphasis, for Batoni has captured Milles in a moment of cartographic encounter.

Stretching out his left arm and hand towards the desk, with palm facing towards the viewer and forefinger extending to a point on the map, the gesture of Milles is strikingly similar to that of the sitter in *Portrait of a Gentleman*, in the previous section. Given the contemporaneous dates of composition, perhaps Milles had seen the other portrait in Batoni's studio and requested it for his own commission.

Image removed for copyright reasons

Figure 6.9: The Grisons and the Gulf of Venice. Detail of Pompeo Batoni, *Portrait of Richard Milles*, 1759, National Gallery, London.

Figure 6.10: Johann Baptist Homann, *Italia Cursoria*, Nuremberg, 1716-1724. © British Library Board. Maps.K.Top.75.54.

Alternatively, maybe Batoni, satisfied with the design or subsequent execution of *Portrait of a Gentleman*, decided to apply the pose to Milles's likeness in order to convey a sense of immediacy and engagement with the accoutrements around his sitter. The description for the Christie's sale lot of *Portrait of a Gentleman* describes the engagement as, 'suggesting that he has been diligently studying the history, geography and culture of this foreign land', which applies equally to Milles's likeness.[39] The sitter's gesture, I would argue, was in fact integral to the process of studying and learning from maps, rather than being simply suggestive. The hand's interaction with the map – tracing the lines of rivers, marking places with the fingertip, physically underscoring areas – guides the eye and focuses the mind. Meaning emerges from that haptic moment of interaction between the map and the map user, and it is of paramount importance that Batoni decided to portray the gesture.

Used to augment or even replace verbal communication, gestures 'belong to an ephemeral world'; since they usually 'do not leave any traces for historians', gestures are particularly suited to and meaningful in visual records such as painting.[40] While gestures have culturally and temporally situated meanings, pointing belongs to a class known as deictic gestures, which require a signified object, location or direction in order to function effectively.[41] Whether done with the forefinger, the whole hand, the eyes, or any other part of the body, the meaning conveyed by a deictic gesture can be inflected depending on the manner in which it is performed. Different hand shapes can lead to different 'tones'. For example, pointing at a person with the forefinger extended is associated with a command or an accusation, whereas a flat palm is used to offer or present.[42] Thus, as his forefinger extends outwards with an open palm, Milles's gesture has been understood as him indicating the *Graubünden* region in Switzerland, the purpose of which is inferred.

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[39] Christie's, "Lot 34."
[40] Jean-Claude Schmitt, "The Rationale of Gestures in the West: Third to Thirteenth Centuries," in *A Cultural History of Gesture: From Antiquity to the Present Day*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 62.
[41] Adam Kendon, *Gestures: Visible Action as Utterance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 17-42 and 99-101.
[42] On the different manners of pointing, see Kendon, *Gestures*, 199-224.

Arguing that readers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were more aware of and engaged their hands more than modern readers, William Sherman considered reading in the early modern period an 'embodied practice'.[43] There is little doubt that this also applies to the act of reading maps. As stated above, it would be wrong to think that haptic interactions with maps only occur with curious or specifically "tactile" maps. Batoni's portraits of grand tourists holding and pointing at maps demonstrate that the map-body connection applies to paper maps. In fact, Batoni was unique as a Grand Tour portraitist in capturing material encounters with paper maps that embrace their inherent tactility.

Rossetto argued that by focusing on 'everyday material encounters' – in this case the physical interactions between grand tourists and maps – we can draw out different narratives that are not tied to maps' politicised representations.[44] In this regard, the conceptual framing of maps as souvenirs helps us to cut through to the idiosyncratic and sentimental meanings that emerge from map use. While the power of souvenirs is now recognised to lie in their ability to evoke memories through continued engagement, recent scientific studies have indicated that even the observation of touch can cause vicarious responses.[45] Thus observing Milles's left forefinger resting on the surface of the map evokes visions of past and future manipulations. The two vertical creases, one running through Venice, the other through the Dalmatian coastline, are visible traces, almost tangible in our own minds, that this map has been handled before. Folded in different ways, it has been made a more manageable size, perhaps to expose a certain region to scrutiny or to expunge an irrelevant one. The crinkled edges and uneven surface suggest a number of foldings and unfoldings. Furthermore, the right side of the map gently curls in on itself, implying that the map had been rolled up at some point, perhaps for storage or transportation.

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[43] William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 48.
[44] Rossetto, "Skin of the Map," 84.
[45] Rossetto, "Skin of the Map," 87-89, referring to Michael Schaefer, Hans-Jochen Heinze and Michael Rotte, "Embodied Empathy for Tactile Events: Interindividual Differences and Vicarious Somatosensory Responses during Touch Observation," *NeuroImage* 60, (2012): 952-957.

If we consider the map in Batoni's portrait of Richard Milles iconographically, its visual representation of the Italian peninsula and the Alps is of course important. From this perspective we can draw out the tacit meaning in Milles's gesture towards the Graubünden region of Switzerland: the image of the map is operating as a metonymic symbol for his Grand Tour. It might in fact be seen as the object *par excellence* to encapsulate the experiences of extended continental travel in the eighteenth century. But is it any less important that Richard Milles is physically interacting with the map as an object? I would argue that the physical engagement with the map is the necessary component in Batoni's construction of this idealized Grand Tour moment. Either the painter or his patrons chose to depict these interactions, rather than having a map hanging on a wall or lying undisturbed on a table. Just as we can recall memories and experiences of handling maps when we look at them being touched, so too would this portrait for Richard Milles and his Grand Tour in Italy. Since Batoni painted encounters with maps, he was able to turn them into potent souvenirs.

Section 3: Material transformations

1) Pompeo Batoni, Sir Gregory Page-Turner*, 1768-69, Manchester Art Gallery; 2) Pompeo Batoni,* Emperor Joseph II and his Brother Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany*, 1769, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna; 3) Pompeo Batoni,* Francis Basset, 1st Baron de Dunstanville*, 1778, Museo del Prado:*

Succeeding his father as 3rd Baronet in 1766, Sir Gregory Turner (later Page-Turner) was the son of a wealthy Oxfordshire landowner. In the same year, he was matriculated at Hertford College, Oxford, where, presumably, he formulated the plan with fellow student Richard Paul Jodrell to undertake a grand tour. In 1768-1769, Page-Turner and Jodrell travelled to Europe under the guidance of the experienced tutor William Patoun.[46] Page-Turner came to be known for, among other things,

[46] Patoun had written the "Advice on Travel in Italy", a MS in the Exeter Archives at Burghley House – for Brownlow Cecil, 9th Earl of Exeter, whom he accompanied as bear-leader in 1763-64; the text is reproduced in Ingamells, *Dictionary*, xxxix-lii.

having an extravagant style bordering on narcissism, which is exhibited in the vividly coloured and masterfully painted costume he wears in the Batoni portrait (fig. 6.11).[47]

Page-Turner stands at a green marble writing desk wearing an overcoat, a waistcoat and a pair of trousers, all finely embroidered scarlet, and assuming a pose that has been adapted from the *Apollo Belvedere*. Adding a degree of gravitas to the ostentation of Page-Turner's demeanour and costume is the collection of antiquities, literature and cartography arranged on the table behind, including one of Batoni's favourite accessories – a bust based on the *Minerva Giustiniani*. With his body turning to the right, Page-Turner rests his left hand on a map, which, drooping over the side of the desk, presents itself to the viewer almost entirely directly. Looking closer (fig. 6.12), we can see that the map has been given the title "Pianta di Roma". The zigzag of the Tiber's course snakes from top to bottom, coloured in a faint blue, whilst the distinctive trident pattern of the roads emanating from the Porta del Popolo is visible in the centre right. Page-Turner's hand, whilst stopping the map from slipping, simultaneously blocks St Peter's and the Vatican from view.

For much of its history, Rome had been mapped with east at the top. But in 1748, the Italian cartographer Giovanni Battista Nolli published a map of Rome that would prove to be a defining moment in the city's cartographic representation. Seen by many as the high point in Roman cartography, Nolli re-oriented the city so that north appeared at the top, just like the map held by Page-Turner. Nolli's map actually came in two sizes: a monumental twelve-sheet map entitled *Nuova Pianta di Roma Data in Luce da Giambattista Nolli l'Anno MDCCXLVIII*, and a reduced single-sheet version called *La Topografia di Roma*, called the *grande* and the *piccola* map respectively. The incredible detail of Nolli's *Nuova Pianta di Roma* ensured that it was still being used in some form or other for over 200 hundred years.[48] Given away by the northern orientation, the ultimate source of the map is thus easily identifiable as Nolli. However, Batoni does not recreate the full geographic and aesthetic details

[47] Clark, *Pompeo Batoni*, 311; Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni*, 414-417; Manchester Art Gallery, "Sir Gregory Page Turner," accessed 14 Sept 2018, http://manchesterartgallery.org/collections/search/collection/?id=1976.79.

[48] In fact, it formed the base of plans of the city by the Italian government until the 1970s, see Allan Ceen, "Nuova Pianta di Roma Data in Luce da Giambattista Nolli l'Anno MDCCXLVIII," *The Nolli Map and Cartography*, University of Oregon, accessed 14 Sept 2018, http://nolli.uoregon.edu/nuovaPianta.html.

Figure 6.11: Pompeo Batoni, *Sir Gregory Page-Turner*, 1768. © Manchester Art Gallery / Bridgeman Images.

of Nolli's *piccola* map: it lacks the decorative views of the city engraved by Piranesi in the bottom corners and does not show the area south of the Aurelian Walls. A derivative of Nolli's design appeared in Joseph Jérôme Le Français de Lalande's 1769

guidebook *Voyage d'un François en Italie* with the title, *Plan de Rome, Extrait de celui qui fut Publie Par J.B. Nolli, en 1748* (fig. 6.13).[49] Bowron contended that de Lalande's map must have 'circulated in the city in copies for tourists before its publication' in the guidebook, thus allowing Page-Turner to obtain a copy a year in advance.[50] And it is this map that forms the focus of this third section and ties these three portraits together, for Batoni would go on to use this map in two further portraits of grand tourists.

Figure 6.12: Pianta di Roma. Detail of Pompeo Batoni, *Sir Gregory Page-Turner*, 1768. © Manchester Art Gallery / Bridgeman Images.

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[49] Joseph Jérôme Le Français de Lalande, *Voyage d'un François en Italie fait dans les Années 1765 et 1766*, vol. 3 (Venice; Paris: et se trouve a Chez Desaint, Libraire, rue de Foin, 1769).
[50] Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni*, 417.

Figure 6.13: Joseph Jérôme Le Français de Lalande, *Plan de Rome, Extrait de celui qui fut Publie Par J.B. Nolli, en 1748*, Venice; Paris: chez Desaint, 1769.

Light and shadow

Mapmakers since the time of Giovanni Antonio Magini in the early seventeenth century had employed the formulaic phrase 'data in luce' in their map titles. Figuratively meaning to give birth or create, Nolli's usage in the mid-eighteenth century was no different. But if we consider a more literal translation, such as 'brought to light', then a certain irony arises in relation to Batoni's portrait of Gregory Page-Turner. For the map's surface is not only dimmed by the shadow of the sitter's body, but some parts are obscured outright by his hand and the inwardly curling right side. This play between light and shadow on the map makes apprehending the city's topography a difficult, even irresolvable, task for the viewer.

That being said, Batoni gives the impression that Page-Turner was studying the map in the moment just before the one had captured in this portrait. With one hand firmly holding the map and the other turned upwards while he turns his body away from the table, Page-Turner is caught in a pose of learned declamation. The tension thus created by the viewer not being fully able to see the map's image strikes at the heart of a critical aspect of 'processual' mapping: how maps are continuously reproduced in an interplay with their discursive and material contexts. In this conception of mapping, the kinds of highlighting and obscuring that result from the material effects of lighting have a role to play in creating meaning.[51]

This idea has been explored by the art historian Timothy Clark, who viewed two paintings by Nicolas Poussin, *Landscape with a calm* and *Landscape with a man killed by a snake*, every day for a period of three months, taking notes in a diary each time. One commentator summarised his experiences of environmental effects: 'Every "re-visitation" of the paintings was dramatically affected by the variations of the light in the room (from "uncooperative" artificial light to the "moody" natural light of

[51] Though the authors do not make an explicit connection to environmental effects, I would suggest that such considerations should be attended to when analysing how mappings unfold. Rob Kitchin, Justin Gleeson and Martin Dodge, "Unfolding Mapping Practices: A New Epistemology for Cartography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38, no. 3 (2013): 3: 'material assemblage and its interactions that shape a mapping's genesis and unfolding'.

Southern California, filtered through the museum's louvre windows)'.[52] Through this description we can understand how our impressions and interpretations of images, such as the map in Page-Turner's portrait, might be lead in different directions, depending upon the quality of the light cast onto the object at which we are looking. The environmental conditions of everyday usage very rarely match up the 'perfect' setting provided by the photography studio.

Weight and texture

The map of Rome in Page-Turner's portrait appears again in 1769 in a dual-portrait, one of Batoni's most important commissions, entitled *Emperor Joseph II and his Brother Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany* (fig. 6.14).[53] Subtly different in its appearance, the map in this portrait (fig. 6.15) now carries the title 'Plan de Rome, Extrait de celui …' the exact beginning of the plan contained within de Lalande's guidebook. This is the clearest evidence that Batoni had access to this particular in his studio for his portraits. Visually the prominent compass near the gardens of the Villa Doria Pamphili and the dark shading of the Aurelian Walls are indications. It is not, however, a perfect rendering of de Lalande's map. The numbered lists of place names on either side of de Lalande's map are not depicted, though there is ample space left for them in the painted version.

We can sense the weight and texture of the map on Joseph and Leopold's desk through Batoni's application of paint. The map spills over the edge of a table littered with learned accoutrements, although in this instance it presents itself to us with some subtle differences. Instead of being held by the hand of the sitter, the map is stopped from falling off the table by an inkwell placed on top, indirectly implying weight. But the gestures of the map – its physical arrangement and the way it is caught in motion – are becoming a familiar sight: as gravity pulls it to the floor, it independently curls

[52] Della Dora, "Travelling Landscape-Objects," 343, quoting from Timothy J. Clark, *The Sight of Death* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).
[53] Clark, *Pompeo Batoni*, 315-317; Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni*, 417-423; Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, "Kaiser Joseph II. (1741-1790) und Großherzog Pietro Leopoldo von Toskana (1747-1792)," accessed 3 Sept 2018, https://www.khm.at/de/object/eecca5b636/. There are a numerous versions of this portrait, a major one is at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

Figure 6.14: Pompeo Batoni, *Emperor Joseph II and his Brother Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany*, 1769, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna.

Figure 6.15: Plan of Rome. Detail of Pompeo Batoni, *Emperor Joseph II and his Brother Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany*, 1769, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna.

upwards and inwards as the fibres of the paper cause it to roll back into an accustomed position. It is caught in a tension arising from its own materiality. The slightly coarse texture of the paper's surface is captured in the uneven edges and the fold down the middle of the sheet. Batoni portrays in equal measure de Lalande's image of Rome and the objecthood of the map itself.

His painting of the map is an appreciation of its physical form – all of its weight, its surficial texture, the signs of past use are put on display. Maps like this one were very much an integral part of the material culture of the Grand Tour, and their size and weight had to be appreciated. When advising his readers about map collecting on the road, the author of the 1775 guidebook, *Itinéraire des routes les plus fréquentées*, Louis Dutens, whom we discussed in the previous chapter, gave due thought to the spatial requirements, which he believed were not considerable, for map souvenirs and collectibles such as de Lalande's:

> You can also build an excellent collection of maps while traveling, by buying the best map in every region showing the neighbourhood of the chief city, and that of the region on the

> largest scale … It does not take much space at the bottom of a trunk, and when you come back from your travels you will find that you have a better collection of maps than any you could have made in either Paris or London.[54]

And travellers did allocate space in their trunks for printed material bought abroad. On his way to Basel back to England, the unlucky tourist John Soane realised that one of his trunks had come loose as his carriage rattled along the road. The contents of that trunk, including his Royal Academy gold and silver medals, had spilled out at some point and, despite his desperate petitions to the authorities, Soane was unable to recover the items. The contents also comprised many of his memories of Italy, which, Gillian Darley believes, accounts for why that period of his Grand Tour is under-represented.[55] If tourists acquired such a quantity of material on their journey that it was unfeasible for them to cart full trunks around with them, then there was the option of shipping items home. But as in the case of the *Westmorland*, which we have seen, that route carried its own perils. Back in Britain, private libraries were built to house foreign books and maps or were extended to cope with the influx of new material.[56]

The duplicity of paint

Francis Basset, son of a wealthy Cornish landowner, travelled to Italy in 1777 under the tutelage of Revd William Sandys without having graduated from King's College, Cambridge. When Basset was in Rome, he commissioned two portraits from Batoni: a full-length and a half-length. Neither painting had been completed by the time Basset left Rome, so they were despatched on the *Westmorland* along with other goods purchased by Basset on his journey, such as a recent map of the Bay of Naples by

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[54] Louis Dutens, *Itinéraire des Routes les plus Fréquentées, ou, Journal d'un Voyage aux Villes Principales de l'Europe en 1768, 1769, 1770, et 1771* (London: André [Andrew] Dury, 1777), vi-vii: 'On peut aussi faire, en voyageant, une excellente collection de Cartes géographiques, en achetant dans chaque Province la meilleure Carte des environs de la Capitale, & celle de la Province sur la plus grande échelle … Cela ne tient pas beaucoup de place au fond d'un coffre, & au retour de ses voyages on se trouve avoire une meilleure collection de Cartes des Pays que l'on ne pourroit la faire à Paris ou à Londres'.

[55] Gillian Darley, *John Soane: An Accidental Romantic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 55.

[56] Brundin and Roberts, "Book Buying," 57.

Figure 6.16: Pompeo Batoni, *Francis Basset, 1st Baron de Dunstanville*, 1778, Museo del Prado.

Filippo Morghen, six watercolours of the Alban Hills by John Robert Cozens and a 1619 edition of Philip Clüver's *Sicilia Antiqua*. Both of Basset's portraits are dated to

1778 and now reside in the Museo del Prado in Madrid, having fallen victim to the same fate as the portrait of George Legge with which this chapter opened.[57]

In the full-length portrait, *Francis Basset, 1st Baron de Dunstanville* (fig. 6.16), Batoni paints his sitter in an outdoor setting, surrounded by foliage and a broken piece of marble frieze seen in other Batoni portraits. Basset leans on a plinth depicting a bas-relief of Orestes and Electra derived from the Roman sculptural group now at the Palazzo Altemps, Rome, unique in Batoni's *oeuvre*. In the background one can see the dome and façade of St Peter's and the Castel Sant'Angelo – 'Modern Rome' – aligned so that the view is looking south-west, as if from the Pincian Hill or the Porta del Popolo, the traditional entry point of Rome. Armed with his 'Plan de Rome', which is similarly derived from de Lalande's guidebook, Basset looks prepared to explore the sites of the city, just as James Boswell did with his *cicerone* Colin Morison (see Chapter 5).

Perhaps it was this almost mundane act of orientation in a foreign place, undertaken by Boswell and no doubt many others, which Batoni was intending to evoke with this portrait. And yet Basset's appearance is anything but mundane; Batoni has fashioned for him an idealised Grand Tour portrait. Fashionable, imperious and learned, Basset looks both comfortable in unfamiliar surroundings and confident in the presence of Roman antiquity, and the map speaks to the learned pretensions that grand tourists cultivated. In the imagined scenario, the map served to orient the user – Basset – and to guide him around the sites of Rome. As viewers in the present day, the map also helps us to locate the imagined space within the frame; it becomes an icon of place, representing Rome in a general rather than specific sense.

According to the Museo del Prado's description of the painting, the details of the map were in fact 'drawn in chalk over the oil paint and subsequently varnished' by

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[57] Clark, *Pompeo Batoni*, 345-346 (misidentified as Charles Cecil Roberts); María Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui, "Two Portraits of Francis Basset by Pompeo Batoni in Madrid," *The Burlington Magazine* 143, no. 1180 (July 2001): 420-425; Sánchez-Jáuregui and Wilcox, *English Prize*, 17-18, 186-187 and no. 21; Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni*, 541-544.

Batoni.[58] Thus the image of the map has been inscribed on top of the paint and yet is simultaneously part of the portrait. This peculiar technique raises the level of duplicity in Batoni's representations of maps. Even if the paint, or in this case, the chalk, depiction of the map varies, the image of the map signifies and is recognised as de Lalande's map of Rome. Furthermore, these varied depictions relate to a real map-object, which, as implied by its re-occurrence in portraits from 1768 to 1778, circulated in Batoni's studio for at least ten years.

These maps, as captured in minute detail by the Italian painter's brush and pen, were vulnerable to all sorts of material transformations. These changes could be caused by the effects of light and shadow, seen in signs of use like folding, rolling, tearing and smudging, or by natural processes that occur when paper dries, gets wet, becomes mouldy, etc. And when the map is replicated in paint, this separate version is vulnerable to change and degradation in its own way, which could arise from dirty varnish, over-enthusiastic cleaning, flaking, decaying or fading paint – in sum, a whole different raft of material transformations.[59]

By way of example, if we return briefly to Clark's discussion of *Landscape with a man killed by a snake*, we can see how material transformations might affect the meanings that we derive from images. Considering the time of day of the painting, Clark argued that Poussin was depicting the dark light just before dawn. However, in a recent study on the various material degradations that afflict artworks, Paul Taylor warned art historians about 'the pitfalls dug by time for the unwary'.[60] Taylor pointed to Clark's work as an example of a critique that misinterpreted the meaning of an artwork through insufficient appreciation of its condition. First Taylor noted that 'it is hard to work out any consistent lighting for this painting, since objects seem to be lit from a number of different directions'. According to Taylor, the gloomy light, which Clark saw as Poussin's depiction of dawn, is owing to the fact that the painting has been badly restored. Attempting to reinforce the painting's fabric, restorers unfortunately caused an 'overall darkening of tone, which has left parts of the painting almost invisible in

[58] Museo del Prado, "Francis Basset, 1st Baron of Dunstanville," accessed 18 Sept 2018, https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/francis-basset-i-baron-of-dunstanville/0aff8e93-c8d7-41d1-8873-3a67d55166e8.
[59] Paul Taylor, *Condition: The Ageing of Art* (London: Paul Holberton, 2015).
[60] Taylor, *Condition*, 10.

shadow'.[61] It is therefore uncertain which kind of light Poussin intended to paint, which in turn affects our interpretation of the scene.

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As stated in the introduction to this chapter, past readings of Batoni's paintings have focused on how the vistas of ancient Rome and the inclusion of antique marbles were critical component of the iconic "Grand Tour style". On the whole, art historians have been rather indifferent to Batoni's maps, seeing them as generic symbols of travel or of a specific itinerary, as opposed to distinctive objects. But as the *Westmorland* inventories make clear, maps were a constituent part of the material culture of the Grand Tour. In order to redress the imbalance, this chapter set out to make the painted maps in Batoni's portraits the primary focus of study.

Firstly, my analysis was able to identify the maps in the five paintings discussed as real historic examples, demonstrating through visual comparison the faithfulness with which Batoni depicted them in his paintings. Such faithfulness is indicative of the degree of respect that Batoni held for cartography, and no doubt also reflected the sitters' social standing or intellectual leanings. But even more so, as each section of the chapter has underlined, the identification of the maps allows us to grasp their purpose in Batoni's portraits. Despite previous assertions, they are not simply deployed emblematically as generic symbols of travel; as pictorial representations of real maps, they work in tandem with the map user in portraying memorable Grand Tour moments. As such, Batoni was exceptional as a portraitist in the eighteenth century for depicting maps as icons of tactility: for when Batoni painted maps, he painted interactions with maps.

Paying attention to what Rossetto has called 'everyday material encounters', this chapter has sought to unravel the meanings that emerge through these tactile interactions. As scholars in recent years have recognised that looking is an embodied process, we must take into account how all the senses – not just sight – influences the way we perceive objects. Maps have a particularly tactile nature: they demand that

[61] Idem, 17.
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we unfold and unroll them, provoking our fingers to trace the lines of their rivers and roads. Following calls to focus on the material qualities of maps and the haptic experience of using them, the methodology adopted in this chapter focused attention on the physical encounters between grand tourist and maps in Batoni's work. The analysis incorporated conclusions drawn from my own experiences of handling copies of the maps Batoni painted, which was invaluable in some cases.

As section one showed, maps' meanings are not fixed but are remade anew when they are deployed in different contexts. The second section demonstrated that once we have established the contextual framing, we must attend to the moment of interaction between maps and users. For grand tourists, touch was particularly important in turning maps into meaningful souvenirs. In section three, the varied forms of Batoni's map alerted us to how the material qualities of maps can affect our perception of them. In turn, those material qualities themselves can change over time or through use.

This chapter has argued that it is helpful to see maps as souvenirs in the afterlife of a Grand Tour. As souvenirs, maps that had been handled abroad could elicit memories and experiences of travel through subsequent engagements. Shown to be real objects that are distinguishable from sitter to sitter, the maps within Batoni's portraits are powerful commemorations of each individual's time on a Grand Tour. By focusing on the everyday encounters between grand tourists and maps, this chapter has illustrated how meaningful maps could be on an individual level, regardless of whether their representations had any political or scientific impact.

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to deepen our understanding of the culture and practices of the Grand Tour by exploring the place of cartography for early modern British travellers in Italy. Drawing on different case studies to illustrate the thesis's core themes, the substantive chapters are primarily the result of in-depth research into the cartographic content of the Italian volumes of the King's Topographical Collection. The central questions that have guided the research revolve around the mapping practices of consumption – how, when and why did grand tourists consume maps, and what meanings resulted from these practices of consumption? As they cannot tell the full story of how they were consumed by themselves, the Italian maps have been situated within the complex material culture and visual apparatus of the Grand Tour. With maps in their hands, grand tourists learned about, imagined, navigated and remembered Italy. Studying and recapturing the moments of interaction between grand tourists and maps has required a range of sources to be called upon and thus alternatives forms of evidence, such as grand tourists' own written accounts or visual records of map use have been integrated into the thesis's analysis.

As noted in the Introduction and explored in Chapter 3, it appears that George was being allowed an ersatz Grand Tour of Italy from the comfort of the royal library, on account of the special attention paid to the material acquired for the Italian volumes by his tutor, John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute. Moreover, the distinct history of these volumes legitimises the study of them as an exceptional cross-section of material available to early modern travellers. As evidenced by all the chapters, George acquired material that was referenced by many separate tourists. Nevertheless, it is difficult to equate the virtual tour that George could have undertaken using the topographical material in his General Atlas with the activities and experiences of his peers on the Continent as travel practices were diverse. Indeed, as the discussion in Chapter 1 made clear, the definition of the Grand Tour has been widely debated, with scholars adopting broader or narrower limits depending upon the scope of their studies. More recently, historians of travel have begun to reprioritise the Grand Tour, arguing that its continuous predominance in the historiography has on the one hand reified a homogeneous set of experiences that in reality was lacking, and on the other precluded interest into the practices and cultures of other modes of travel throughout the early modern period.

Previous research on the Italian Grand Tour has tended to focus on the important artistic productions – literary and visual – that resulted from touring. Many scholars have neglected to investigate the use of maps in early modern leisure travel practices, Grand Tour or otherwise, assumed the presence or disregarding the utility of early modern maps among grand tourists. Such an attitude is perhaps the result of a misconception about the work that maps do – they are not simply mirrors of the world, but operate in a way similar to other cultural texts and were placed into multiple kinds of material culture, from status symbols to wayfinding devices. Approaching the Grand Tour in material terms, the study of how maps were used by travellers reveals diverse and unpredictable engagements with the spaces of Italy. Chapter 3 and Chapter 6, for example, have demonstrated the usefulness of broadening the timeline of a Grand Tour to consider the activities undertaken both before and after travel, instead of honing in on the journey itself. As a whole, the chapters of the dissertation form a narrative arc that represents the different stages of a Grand Tour, thereby focusing attention on the different situations in which grand tourist might have encountered maps and on their different uses at each of these stages.

The maps discussed in the thesis were selected primarily on the basis of continual engagement with the Italian volumes of the King's Topographical Collection in order to release its potential as a cartographical archive of the Grand Tour. In undertaking this research, I adopted an approach, tailored to studying the maps of the Italian volumes in relation to the Grand Tour, that gave equal regard to maps' visual contents, materiality and embodied encounters. On an iconological level, cartographic representations can tell us as much about the mapped space as about the culture and society that created them, which I termed the contextual approach. Meanwhile, the second approach focused on the moments of intellectual and embodied interactions between tourists and maps in order to recapture the experiences of the travellers within these performances and to grasp their outcomes. Proceeding from the belief that as objects maps have agency in the world, the material approach appreciated that maps' varied material forms are involved in the creation and inflection of meaning.

As Chapter 2 reviewed, this threefold approach was built upon the theoretical developments of the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. After reconceptualising

the nature of maps as ontogenetic, map scholars have advocated what has come to be known as a processual approach to maps, figuring them as 'works in progress'.[62] Advancing this approach in line with recent calls in map history, I constructed a methodology that was suited to investigating how meanings emerged for grand tourists through the mapping practices of production, circulation and, in particular, consumption.[63] Implementing this methodology, the analysis of the substantive chapters draws out the significance of all maps – even ones that may have had no wider political or scientific consequences – for grand tourists.

As I have attempted to understand how maps elicited responses from and influenced the experiences of grand tourists, a number of general themes have recurred throughout the thesis. The first thematic context relates to the practices and geographies of map consumption among grand tourists. Maps laid the foundations for travel long before it had begun. In this respect, Chapter 3 uncovered that maps of Sicily were used in the schooling of George III, while Chapter 5 touched upon general road maps of Italy that were utilised to plan routes. Once a tourist arrived in Italy, the chance to use different kinds of maps in numerous ways arose. In Chapter 4, maps were seen to inspire day trips along the Calabrian coast, while in Chapter 5 pocket-size road atlases became available from 1771 to guide travellers along the roads between the major cities of Italy. Examining another context altogether, Chapter 6 showed how maps appeared in the artist's studio to operate as props alongside foreign tomes and antique marbles. Once tourists had returned home, maps could enter the sphere of domestic interior decoration, where they were displayed in and alongside paintings and other artefacts of touring. This thesis has shown that by extending the timeline of a Grand Tour to include the preparation for and afterlife of travel, we can recognise that the range of locations in which maps did work was broad. At a more general level, it also showed how the same cartographic object was not a static monolithic entity, but a mobile cultural artefact that changed its meaning according to the context.

[62] Rob Kitchin, Justin Gleeson and Martin Dodge, "Unfolding Mapping Practices: A New Epistemology for Cartography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38, no. 3 (2013): 480-496.
[63] In particular, Matthew H. Edney, *Cartography: The Ideal and its History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019), 9-49.

Concurrent to the first, a second theme of this thesis centres on how situational context was fundamental to the creation and emergence of maps' meanings for travellers. The purposes for which grand tourists drew upon maps prompted different kinds of engagement. For instance, in Chapter 3, maps of Sicily were brought to bear in an educational environment wherein they were annotated by one of George's tutors. As indicated in this handwritten rubric, certain features on the maps were intended to be copied out so that George would learn about the maritime geography and notable, historic locations of Sicily. Meanwhile, Chapter 4 demonstrated that maps are interpreted through an interconnected web of cultural texts, epitomised by Swinburne's account of his trip to Ogygia; in his case, a particular meaning was derived from maps of Calabria by seeing them through Homeric myth and in conjunction with the landscape of the Capo Colonna as he experienced it. In Chapter 5, road atlases not only served to navigate travellers along the highways of Italy, but their very use expressed a statement about independent mobility and a more economical attitude towards travel. But, as Chapter 6 showed, road maps, in the hands of a wealthy grand tourist such as Richard Milles, became status symbols and painted constituents of luxury portraits. Chapter 6 also meditated on how maps used or bought during the course of travels – whether they were city plans or road maps – could subsequently be valued as souvenirs, and thereby be transformed in meaning upon return from a Grand Tour. In each of the substantive chapters, then, the thesis has shown that the meanings arising from grand tourists' practices of consumption were highly situated – far beyond what the mapmaker might have had in mind during the maps' production.

A focus on materiality and the encounters between grand tourists and maps provided the third thematic context for the analyses undertaken in the thesis. The effect of maps' diverse forms of material support was to prompt different kinds of embodied engagement by grand tourists. In the schoolroom, this involved pen and pencil and, as speculated in Chapter 3, the tracing of lines and toponyms in the copying of Sicilian geography. The road atlases discussed in Chapter 5 adopted a novel material form by design: the inclusion of long foldout strip maps. The comprehension of Italian roads was therefore linked to the physical foldings and unfoldings performed by travellers on the road – the purpose made clear by their pocketbook size. Chapter 6 elucidated

how the pointing, handling and rotating of the map-prop in the studio was involved in the process by which, for some, a map could transform into not only a painted replica, but a souvenir – a 'touchstone of memory'.[64] The thesis has also sought to highlight how maps had agency in the world through their objecthood. Chapters 3 and 4 both considered how maps were profoundly involved in the shaping of tourists' geographical imaginations of different parts of Italy, the former of Sicily and the latter of Calabria. Meanwhile the strip maps examined in Chapter 5 promoted a simplified, narrow view of the landscape of the Italian road network in order to aid navigation. As icons of Italy, the maps in Pompeo Batoni's portraits were involved in the construction of an artificial and idealised Grand Tour setting.

Illustrating the practices of consumption through a series of telling examples, this thesis has constructed a patchwork of significant material encounters. By focusing on aspects of representation, materiality and performance, it has demonstrated how maps held a vital and meaningful presence in the material culture of the Grand Tour. Two further vignettes exemplify the idiosyncrasy of these processes, and lead us to consider some further questions that arise from the conclusions of this thesis. The first relates to a map produced to memorialise travel, and the second to a map that sparked an unexpected emotional response in a traveller in Italy.

In 1750, London mapmaker John Rocque published *A Plan of Rome* (fig. 7.1), which was heavily based on Giambattista Nolli's *La Topografia di Roma*, published just two years prior. Altering Nolli's map by highlighting certain buildings in darker ink, Rocque purposefully catered his publication towards a British audience of travellers interested in seeing the sights of Rome. Capitalising on the slowness of Nolli's associate, Girolamo Belloni, who had been touring cities of Europe to promote the map from 1747, to furnish foreign map suppliers, Rocque demonstrated a ruthless commercial awareness in quickly turning around a derivative publication.[65] While this speaks to the roles of maps and mapmakers in the growing commodification of travel in the eighteenth century, another story emerges from the dedicatory

[64] Nigel Morgan and Annette Pritchard, "On Souvenirs and Metonymy: Narratives of Memory, Metaphor and Materiality," *Tourist Studies* 5, no. 1 (2005): 29-53.
[65] On the production history of Nolli's map, see Mario Bevilacqua, *Roma nel Secolo dei Lumi: Architettura, Erudizione, Scienza nella Pianta di G.B. Nolli "Celebre Geometra"* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 1998), esp. 49-52.

cartouche. Rocque's map, unlike Nolli's, had been 'Humbly inscribed' to Sir Bourchier Wrey, a lesser nobleman from Devon. Though we cannot be sure, a dedication is a good indicator that Wrey funded the endeavour or assisted in its production in some form. Looking at Wrey's past, we can begin to understand why he might have wanted to be involved in such an endeavour. Having conducted a three-year-long Grand Tour, partly in Italy in the 1730s, Wrey joined a group of likeminded gentlemen in 1742 who had similarly undertaken an Italian Grand Tour and have enjoyed their time abroad.[66] This society, known as the Society of Dilettanti, had been formed in 1734 by 'some Gentlemen who had travelled in Italy, desirous of encouraging, *at home*, a Taste for those Objects which had contributed so much to their Entertainment *abroad*'.[67]

Figure 7.1: John Rocque, *A Plan of Rome*, London: 1750. BL Maps K.Top.81.22.

[66] Some biographical information on Sir Bourchier Wrey, sixth baronet, can be found in Stuart Handley, "Wrey, Sir Bourchier, Fourth Baronet (*c.* 1653-1696)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sep. 2004; accessed 4 Jan 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30025.

[67] Richard Chandler, Nicholas Revett and William Pars, *Ionian Antiquities* (London: T. Spilsbury and W. Haskell, 1769), i.

Funding the dissemination of images of the Eternal City was a telling choice in itself, notwithstanding the detail of Nolli's survey of Rome, which took twelve years and was roundly hailed as a cartographic triumph.[68] By patronising a map of Rome, seen by many as the traditional pinnacle of the Grand Tour, Wrey was making a carefully constructed public expression of his own identity. Not only did the activity fit perfectly within the ambitions of members of the Society of Dilettanti, but it showed off Wrey's cultural and historical sensibilities and his appreciation of the science of mapping.[69] Equally, however, Wrey's involvement in the production of an artefact such as a map of Rome indicates the continued significance of his experience of travel in Italy in his life, far beyond his return in the late 1730s. Rather, the map operates almost as a personal commemoration of his experiences of the Grand Tour, and shows his desire to share those experiences with others. All told, Wrey hit on a rather unique way of expressing the impact of the Grand Tour through maps.

In October 1784, Hester Lynch Piozzi crossed into Italy via the Mont Cenis pass, heading through the Val di Susa on her way towards Turin. In her subsequent account of the events of her travels, published in 1789, Piozzi recorded how she was overcome with emotion upon being confronted by an unexpected reminder of home – a map of London – in her overnight lodgings at a town near to Susa, presumably Sant'Ambrogio di Torino:

> At the next town, called St. Andrè, or St. Ambroise, I forget which, we got an admirable dinner; and saw our room decorated with a large map of London, which I looked on with sensations different from those ever before excited by the same object. Amsterdam and Constantinople covered the other sides of the wall; and over the door of the chamber itself was written, as our people write the Lamb or the Lion, "Les trois Villes Heretiques*".[70]

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[68] See the high praise of the map in January 1750 from Dr Edward Thomas, in BL Add. MS 19941, folio 33r: 'there has lately been published one of the noblest mapps of the City of Rome that can be imagined'.

[69] Wrey was considered by some to be boastful. His involvement in Rocque's project may therefore have been straightforward self-aggrandisement, or, by contrast, an attempt to remedy his less than shining reputation. For more see Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, c.1660-c.1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 110.

[70] Hester Lynch Piozzi, *Observations and reflections made in the course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany* (London: Printed for A. Strahan, and T. Cadell in the Strand, 1789), 1:43-44.

Piozzi's anecdote encapsulates some of the key themes of this thesis, illustrating how maps were not just part of the material culture of the Grand Tour, but elicited responses from grand tourists and were capable of altering the experiences of travel. Sometimes, as Piozzi discovered, they did so unexpectedly or unintentionally. In this case, maps of London, Amsterdam and Constantinople were operating in domestic interiors, hung as decorative images – one of the many ways in which maps were consumed. The meaning that Piozzi and other viewers derived from the map of London was influenced by the immediate material context of the display: as a group of the three chief heretical cities of Europe. But meaning was also affected by the idiosyncratic response of the individual viewer: as a traveller away from home, Piozzi was inspired with a sense of nostalgia for London by the sight of the map. An Italian viewer, on the other hand, might have reacted with a degree of religious superiority and moral security. Thus, this anecdote highlights the utility of recent ontological considerations, which assert that maps are best seen as emergent and highly situated processes.

Understanding that maps' meanings unfold in numerous, creative and unpredictable ways, it has been necessary for this thesis to conduct a series of close readings of maps and of grand tourists' material encounters – sometimes fleeting – with them. However, this raises a question about the applicability of this study. How far the histories explored in thesis are generalisable across the thousands of grand tourists and early modern travellers has not been addressed. Given the fragmentary nature of the evidence from the period and the situatedness of map use, it may be reductive to try to relate the impact of maps to the phenomenon as a whole. The sense offered by this thesis is that when maps are recognised as objects of study in themselves and are examined as a culturally rich source material, histories of their deeply personal impact emerge. On account of the methodology proposed and implemented in this thesis that has a strong material focus, extending and corroborating the conclusions would demand further research of individual maps looking in particular for signs of use. There may be many more moments of past encounters on the Grand Tour inscribed onto maps in institutional archives or private libraries of grand tourists or to be uncovered in unpublished travel diaries.

Furthermore, while this study has examined how maps of Italy influenced grand tourists' geographical imaginations and their travel practices, to what extent could it be replicated or redesigned for other countries within or without the traditional ambit of the Grand Tour? Were maps used in a similarly diverse range of situations or for similar purposes? Guidebooks from the early modern period attest that travellers had a nuanced idea of Europe arranged along the lines of 'confessional geographies'.[71] Understanding how maps interacted with varied religious framings of space has not been a focus of this study, but it could be implicated in mapping processes. There are suggestions, however, that the mapping practices explicated in this thesis do have efficacy to other areas of Europe. In 1643, John Evelyn bought and signed a map of Paris soon after his embarkation on a Grand Tour.[72] Such usage indicates that maps could be consumed in many of the same ways in France as in Italy: in Evelyn's case the map had a varied life first as a wayfinding device and later as a souvenir. Only by finding further signs of use will we be able to fill out our understanding of the significances of maps for early modern travellers within and beyond Italy.

[71] A topic explored in Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 13-66.
[72] The map is held in the British Library, Maps CC.5.a.500.: Jan Ziarnko, *Ville citte universite de Paris* (Paris, 1617). It has been discussed in Peter Barber and Tom Harper, *Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda and Art* (London: British Library, 2010), 90.

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