A Course of Antiquities at Rome, 1764

During the third quarter of the eighteenth century, neoclassicism displaced the rococo as the dominant artistic style in Europe. Its spread was powered intellectually by Enlightenment concepts that located models for human behavior and achievement in classical antiquity and given substance by direct contact with the ancient world, especially in Italy, through excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii, archaeological recovery of important pieces of classical sculpture, and publication of measured drawings and visual reconstructions of ancient ruins. Transmission of neoclassicism northward was furthered by travelers returning from Grand Tour trips to Italy. Aristocratic Englishmen, for example, often deferred the start of a professional or political career for the opportunity to broaden themselves through travel and the acquisition of foreign languages on the Grand Tour. They absorbed lessons from classical antiquity through the writings of classical authors on Roman history, visits to sites where important events had transpired, and the study and collecting of sculpture and artifacts—vases, coins, intaglios, etc.

The neoclassical style was not, however, rapidly adopted in Colonial America. Physical distance was one factor, but this paper will suggest that other factors were at work. The first recorded Americans arrived in Italy in 1760. In that year William Allen, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, sent his son, John, from Philadelphia abroad for a Grand Tour, accompanied by a young relative, Joseph Shippen. Rev. William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania), arranged for a young Philadelphia artist, Benjamin West, to sail with them in order to pursue the study of art in Italy. By the autumn of 1763 West, following three years of study in Italy, Allen and Shippen, along with the elder Allen and Provost Smith, were all in England. Their circle was enlarged by the presence of two more young Philadelphians. Samuel Powel (1738–1793, fig. 1), a 1759 graduate from the College of Philadelphia, belonged to a wealthy Philadelphia Quaker family. He later became both the last mayor of Philadelphia under the Crown (1775–76) and the first under the Republic (1789–90). Dr. John Morgan (1735–1789, fig. 2), after graduating from the College in the first class, 1757, served with the provincial Pennsylvania troops in the early campaigns of the French and Indian War as a lieutenant and surgeon. In 1760 he went to London to study medicine, and then spent two years of study in Edinburgh where he took his degree. Powel and Morgan planned to travel to Italy via Paris where Morgan would study medicine for a while en route. The other young men, having recently returned from Italy, undoubtedly gave them advice about what to see and do on their trip, and West perhaps suggested that in Rome they hire the cicerone James Byres as a guide to the antiquities. In the Spring of 1764 the two young Philadelphians took a three week “course of Antiquities” in Rome with Byres. Powel’s manuscript notes survive, as does a published fragment of Morgan’s notes.

Powel and Morgan, who considered themselves to be, and were, Englishmen, took their trip at the dawn of a brief golden age of the Grand Tour, the decade that lasted from the mid 1760s and the end of the Seven Years War to the mid 1770s and the initial crises of the ancien régime in France, when relative peace and stability on the continent facilitated travel. Tourists traveled to Rome by various routes. Those who sailed via Gibraltar (as did West, Allen and Shippen from Philadelphia in 1760) docked at Leghorn, and then traveled through Tuscany—Pisa, Lucca, Florence, Siena. Of those who came through France, some like Powel and Morgan took a ship from Marseilles, Nice or Toulon to Genoa or Leghorn and then followed a similar route to Rome; others came through the Alps and down through Turin, Milan and Verona. Some then continued on from Rome to Naples. The return route was often via Viterbo and up the Adriatic coast to Venice. Rome was the primary destination, the center for the study of both antiquities and old masters. The great masterpieces of classical sculpture were then almost all there, concentrated in the Vatican (Belvedere) and Capitoline collections, and in the private collections of four papal families—Farnese, Medici, Borghese and Ludovisi. In the early 1760s the city was rela-

tively small, completely enclosed within the old Roman walls with much open country remaining. Its population of about 130,000 was roughly twice that of Philadelphia, a quarter that of London. A substantial body of travel literature—guide books, descriptions, and travel diaries, many in English and some illustrated—gave increasingly specific directions and advice to travelers.

The area around the Piazza di Spagna, where the English Coffee House (café Inglese) was located, was the center of the English quarter. New arrivals often stayed there at the Ville de Londres until they found lodgings at the top of the Spanish Steps in the area of Trinità dei Monti. The literature informed tourists that it was appropriate to tip a servant who showed them through a palace; in a church one could ignore the ritual and sightsee as long as it was done quietly. Visitors were advised to make arrangements with a knowledgeable antiquarian or cicerone to see the sights, a process that might be expected to take about six weeks to “visit all the churches, palaces, villas, and ruins worth seeing in or near Rome.” About three hours would be spent in the morning seeing sights, followed by dinner and a rest, and then “conversazione” or other social diversions. The English were thought to have more money and to be more easily gulled than other continental travelers. They were eager to acquire works of art and other antiquities—it was claimed that they would carry off the Coliseum if it were portable—and sometimes relied on the advice of ciceroni who were not honest. The leading scholar-antiquarian in Rome, Johann Joachim Winckelmann, felt that the esthetic sensibilities of the English were, on the whole, low.

A number of antiquarians in Rome catered specifically to English travelers. The first, James Russel, arrived in 1740 and as the leading English speaking antiquarian enjoyed almost a monopoly on English visitors for several decades. Benjamin West’s traveling companions, John Allen and Joseph Shippen, took a course in antiquities with Russel in Rome in 1760. After Russel died in 1763, an informal contest for primacy ensued between two young antiquarians, Colin Morison, who was knowledgeable but cantankerous—Boswell found him “ill-humored” and “impertinent”—and James Byres, also well read and knowledgeable, but with a more pleasuring personality. Both Morison and Byres had come to Rome in the 1750s; they were Scots, of whom there were many in Rome, Catholic Jacobites clustered around the Old Pretender. Byres planned to study architecture, but abandoned it to study painting, as did Morison, with Anton Raphael Mengs. Although both subsequently switched from painting to become antiquarians and dealers, Byres continued to practice architecture.

Brinsley Ford has described Byres as “one of the dominant figures in Rome in the second half of the century.” Edward Gibbon, who arrived in Rome on Oct. 2, 1764, recorded later in his Memoirs that he began a course with Byres, “a Scotch antiquary of experience and taste,” on Oct. 6. Gibbon, an unusually knowledgeable and avid tourist, studied for eighteen weeks. He wrote that he “trod . . . the ruins of the Forum; each memorable spot where Romulus stood or Tully spoke, or Caesar fell, was at once present to my eye.” The course that Byres gave Powel and Morgan some months earlier, in which they were joined by two Bostonians, Thomas Palmer and “Mr. Apthorp,” was his first of which there is a record. They toured from 10:00 a.m. until 2:00 p.m. each day from Monday, May 21, until Friday, June 8, 1764, a total of nineteen days—an abbreviated course.

A comparison of Powel’s and Morgan’s notes, the latter more fulsome but covering only the first few days, reveals that they diligently transcribed what Byres spouted and set down few original thoughts or observations. The notes are, in this regard, disappointing inasmuch as they reveal little about the attitudes or values of these young colonial Anglo-Americans—their reactions to Italy or Rome or Italians or Catholicism, or their own esthetic preferences. On the first four days they visited the Vatican and St. Peter’s, seeing in sequence Raphael’s Loggia, the Vatican Library, the Sistine Chapel, the Sala Regia, the Capella Paolina, and St. Peters itself (including the Sacristy). Their laconic notes offer such uninformative generalizations as “noble,” “glorious,” “beautiful,” and “fine,” over and over. Byres’ critical observations are sometimes amusing in transcription: at Raphael’s Loggia his charges dutifully recorded the “noble but too straddling a fig. of the Almighty” in the scene of the Separation of Chaos. Powel recorded that in
the Hall of Constantine, designed by Raphael but mostly painted by Giulio Romano and others, the scene of Constantine's Battle with Maxentius influenced succeeding painters of battle scenes: "Le Brun, has stole much from it." The first day they viewed many of the finest pieces of Vatican sculpture in the Belvedere—Cleopatra, Commodus as Hercules, Meleager, Antinous, The Laocoön, The Apollo Belvedere, The Nile, and The Tiber. Byres knew how to amuse as well as edify his young charges. He gave them interesting tidbits of information—when you line up the cupola of St. Peter's with the obelisk in front of it, you perceive that the cupula leans because a column has sunk; the dome of St. Peter's is larger than the Pantheon; a single crossing pier occupies more ground than another entire church and convent in Rome (probably San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane). He told them that the female figure of "Justice" on Bernini's tomb of Alexander VII in St. Peter's, was "so admirable that it caused a Workman to attempt to enjoy her, after which the Pope caused a Drapery of Brass to be put over the Body."

At the Farnesina on Thursday they saw the Raphael ceiling and wall frescos, dismissing the colossal head lunette thought to be by Michelangelo (now given to Sebastiano del Piombo) as defective in proportion, and they admired the Callipygian Venus "regarding her Posteriors as She rises from the Bath, most exquisite. a lovely face & sweet A.—." At the Farnese Palace on Friday Powel transcribed favorable comments on The Farnese Captives, the bust of Caracalla, and The Farnese Bull, then housed in a detached shed. They spent a considerable amount of time admiring the painted Gallery which they were told was by Guido Reni and his pupils (rather than by Domenichino). At the nearby Palazzo Spada they viewed the statue of Pompey. On Saturday of the first week they went first to the Church of S. Filippo Neri, being his Feast Day, and heard the Pope say mass, and then to the Palazzo Falconieri and the Palazzo Santa Croce to see paintings. Sundays were best utilized by visiting churches, and they went to S. Pietro in Montorio to admire Raphael's Transfiguration, a picture lavishly praised in the guide-books as "the last performance of that divine artist and reckoned the finest picture in the world." Surprisingly, they did not mention Bramante's adjacent Tempietto.

During the second week they concentrated on visiting collections in palaces, beginning with the Palazzo Bonapaduli where they saw Poussin's Seven Sacraments. At the French National Church, S. Luigi dei Francesi, they admired the ceiling by Natoire, the Assumption behind the altar by Francesco Bassano, and especially the Domenichino fresco cycle on the Life of Sta. Cecilia; they completely ignored the three superb Caravaggio paintings of the Life and Martyrdom of St. Matthew. Byres, although knowledgeable, was very opinionated. He consistently expressed value judgments that favored antiquity, the Renaissance, and the more restrained expressions of the Baroque (Poussin, for example). Antiquity, especially the Apollo Belvedere, provided his standard of excellence. Caught up in the neoclassical reaction to the excesses of the rococo, he expressed distaste for the more baroque seventeenth-century painters, sculptors, and architects who anticipated it. He especially disliked Bernini who "spoilt the taste for Sculpture in Italy as Borromini did the taste for Architecture."

From San Luigi the group crossed the street to the Palazzo Giustiniani, and one can imagine Byres pausing in front of the facade and asking his group to look back admiringly at the sedate classical facade of S. Luigi to the right (fig. 3) and then at Borromini's spiral steeple of S. Ivo (fig. 4) whirling upwards to the left, denigrating the latter as an example of architectural degeneracy. Inside they saw the Minerva Giustiniani, now in the Vatican, noting that it was one of the finest statues in Rome.

Tuesday at the Palazzo Barberini they saw the Barberini Faun, now in Munich, "the best & one of the first Things in Rome—The Legs modern & bad," and many paintings, including Raphael's Fornarina. Occasionally here and elsewhere they would note that the engraver [Robert] Strange had a drawing or a print of a painting, presumably for sale. At the Palazzo Barberini Byres seems rather pointedly not to have shown them, or at least did not say anything worth noting down, about the Jenkins Venus, a version of the Medici Venus that the rival antiquarian dealer Thomas Jenkins had acquired from the artist Gavin Hamilton, restored, and sold to the Barberini.
FIGURE 3. Facade, S. Luigi dei Francesi, Rome. 1580- (Alinari).

Wednesday was spent at the Borghese Palace attending mostly to old master paintings, followed the next day by a visit to the Rospigliosi Palace, the high point of which was Guido Reni’s *Aurora* on the ceiling of the Casino in the garden.\(^{36}\) On Thursday afternoon they went to the Lateran where the Pope, Clement XIII, blessed the people from a loggia. The next day at the Palazzo Albani they saw “a Number of Pictures, tho not of the first Rate.” Then, after a visit to Santa Maria Maggiore, Byres took them to the small Church of St. Eusebius. One can almost hear Byres telling them as they entered that they were about to see one of the best examples of modern art, namely the ceiling of the *Glory of St. Eusebius* painted by Mengs in 1757–8 when Byres was studying with and helping him.\(^{37}\) Powel duly noted that the ceiling “is very finely done in fresco, & remarkable for ye Strength of ye Coloring.”

Saturday was spent at the Capitol, where Byres began by giving them some historical information. The Capitoline Hill provided the usual starting point for tours, a vantage point from which the cicerone could point out the seven hills and the principal sites of antiquity, map in hand.\(^{38}\) Weather was a factor in determining what was seen when: in fine weather the outdoor antiquities and ruins were visited; in rainy weather the statues and palaces were viewed; on a clear but windy day it was desirable to stay indoors and look at pictures in the good light.\(^{39}\) Since the Powel tour began at the Vatican rather than the Capitol, either weather was a factor or the desire to see famous works of art as expeditiously as possible outweighed the study of ancient history for the quartet of American tourists. On the Campidoglio they viewed the equestrian *Marcus Aurelius* “in a speaking Attitude. It was formerly gilt & is the finest in Rome. His Thighs too flat.” They admired a restored statue of *Roma* while ignoring the fine relief panel of the *Weeping Dacia* in its pedestal, and took a brief look at the Theatre of Marcellus and the Tarpeian Rock. They saw sculpture in the Palazzo dei Conservatori and in the Capitoline, including the *Marforio* (identified as the Rhine); *Dying Gaul, Antinous*, and *Cesi Juno* (“Arms Modern”). And they made note of Byres’ recommendation for outside reading—“Titi opere di Pitture e Sculture [sic]”—to get a fuller account of the busts in the “Chambers of Philosophers and Emperors.”\(^{40}\) On Sunday they went to San Paolo Fuori le Mura, and in the afternoon to the Villa Albani where “The Cardinall very affable & Polite ordered his Major Domo to Conduct us thro’ his Villa & Gardens—They are the most agreeable I have seen—The Architecture lovely.” It is puzzling that no reference was made to Mengs’ famous and influential ceiling fresco, *Parnassus*.

The final week, which included visits to the Altieri, Bolognetti and Corsini Palaces primarily to view paintings, began with a trip to the Coliseum. The notes do not indicate climbing the nearby Palatine Hill, but they mention a covered gallery that formerly led from the Coliseum to the imperial palace on the Palatine.\(^{41}\) At the Villa Borghese on Wednesday, “a Charming Country House,” they admired many major pieces of antique sculpture, including the *Borghese Gladiator*.\(^{42}\) Powel noted three works by Bernini—*David, Aeneas and Anchises*, and *Apollo and Daphne*, criticizing the last as “not pleasing—She a little like a fury—the figrs too long & lank,” reflecting Byres’ prejudice against Bernini.\(^{43}\)

Thursday they crossed the Tiber to the Corsini Palace to look at paintings; Powel noted, perhaps as an *aide memoire*, that Van Dyck prints could be bought in England for about five guineas. On the final day, they were “presented to his Holiness” and then went to the Baths of Titus “which are so ruined as not to afford great Instruction.” This was the Domus Aurea of Nero, now known as Baths of Trajan, but no mention was made of the subterranean grottoes, already well known in the Renaissance for their decorative “grottesche.” Perhaps these were too “rococoish” for Byres’ taste, or perhaps he felt that they were not worth the bother for this particular group.

Powel and his companions were in Rome during a burst of Enlightenment enthusiasm for all things antique. Robert Adam’s measured drawings and reconstruction of *The Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalato in Dalmatia* was published in London that same year, 1764. From Italy Powel returned to England where Adamesque neoclassicism was flourishing. When he finally went back to Philadelphia in 1767, Powel purchased a town house on South
Third Street that had been built two years earlier. It still stands as one of the finest downtown colonial houses in Philadelphia. Powel hired a local contractor to oversee substantial additions and alterations, and skilled local wood carvers and plaster workers to execute the work.\(^4\) In view of his first hand aesthetic experience of Rome, one might anticipate that Powel would have wanted work done in the latest classical taste, but that was not the case. The mantelpiece in the second floor drawing room (fig. 5) was carved by Hercules Courtenay, who had been apprenticed to Thomas Johnston in London, and who worked in Johnston’s rococo style.\(^4\) The molded plasterwork in the ceiling by James Clow (fig. 6) is completely rococo in design. The determining factor in opting for a dated style was not a lag in awareness of contemporary European styles, given Powel’s travel experience, but what was it? The answer can be found in a letter Powel received from his uncle in Philadelphia, Samuel Morris, to whom he had written in 1765 of his intention to buy furnishings while in England. Morris replied, “Household goods may be had here as cheap and as well made from English patterns. In the humour people are in here, a man is in danger of becoming Invidiously distinguished, who buys anything in England which our Tradesmen can...
furnish. I have heard the joiners here object this against Dr. Morgan & others who brought their furnishings with them."

Powel, a young man with political aspirations, evidently found it prudent to accommodate himself (literally) to local preferences. His repudiation of the classical taste to which he had been exposed in England and on the Grand Tour reflects the colonial mentality he encountered in America on the eve of the Revolution. A preference for adhering to styles that were old fashioned in England was not a new phenomenon in American art, and the reason was not simply a preference for giving custom to local craftsmen. Delay in the transmission of new styles from Europe was the norm throughout the colonial period, causing such anachronisms in American art as a William and Mary style in the first quarter of the eighteenth century after the reign of William and Mary had ended, and a Queen Anne style in the second quarter of the century beginning a decade after the death of Queen Anne. Colonial Americans referred to England as home, but the reference was to England as they remembered it. By the 1760s it seemed to an increasing number of Americans that England had gone astray; America was now the defender of traditional British values and virtues. And this political conservatism in America manifested itself in aesthetic conservatism. American objects such as furniture and furnishings in the rococo (or Chippendale) style, with their three-dimensional replication of organic forms, celebrated the physical world and the sensory experience of living in that world. The neoclassical style featured two-dimensional geometric shapes, products of the intellectual exercise of the mind, and motifs taken from the classical past. Only after American independence was achieved did the powerful symbolic potential of classical antiquity become valid and classicism pervade every aspect of life in the American Republic. For Samuel Powel in Philadelphia in the late 1760s and early 1770s, rococo discretion was the better part of neoclassical valor, and the aesthetic lessons of his "course of Antiquities" were set aside, at least for the time being.

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NOTES


5. He returned to Philadelphia in 1765 and subsequently founded the medical school at the College. Angelica Kauffman painted Morgan's portrait in Rome in return for medical services ([John Morgan], The Journal of Dr. John Morgan of Philadelphia From the City of Rome to the City of London, 1764 [Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1907], 38).
6. Powel noted in a letter to George Roberts dated September 1, 1763 that West had arrived from Italy and "I had the pleasure of a good deal of his company" (Robert C. Alberts, Benjamin West [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978]), 57 from the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 17 (1984): 37.


8. In a letter to a friend in Edinburgh dated Nov. 10, 1764 Morgan wrote "We had a private audience with the Pope, four English gentlemen of us being presented at that time. He was affable and courteous" ([Morgan], Journal, 26). Powel in a letter to a friend in Philadelphia dated Nov. 24, 1764, recounted that in Turin they received a permit from the King of Sardinia to see fortifications, "a favor granted to Englishmen only" (ibid., 28).


10. Ibid., 135.


12. Wilcocks, Roman Conversations, 1:165. The grandest entrance was from the north through the Porta Flaminia, now the Porta del Popolo. One major street running from Trinità dei Monti on the Pincian Hill to the Lateran, interrupted by S. M. Maggiore, was crossed at Quattro Fontana by the other main street which extended from the Porta Pia to the statue of Alexander and Bucephalus on the Quirinal.


Some books were devoted specifically to antiquities. Byres recommended Famiano Nardini's Roma Antica (Rome, 1666) and especially Ridolfino Venuti (Accurata e succinta descrizione della antichita di Roma, 2 vols. [Rome: G. B. Bernabè, e G. Lazzarini, 1763]) "as the best writers on the antiquities of Rome" (Brinsley Ford, "James Byres: Principal Antiquarian for the English Visitors to Rome," Apollo 99 (June 1974): 461, n. 32). Venuti's book, which contains a foldout map of Roman Rome and engraved views, discusses aspects of Roman topography and history in relationship to each other, moving from area to area as tourists would walk—the Palatine Hill, the Forum, the Campidoglio, the Forums of Trajan, Caesar and Augustus, and the hill districts—Quirinal, Viminale, Esquilino, Monte Celio, etc. Even before they left England Powel and Morgan may have seen Abbate R. Venuti, A Collection of some of the finest prospects in Italy: with short remarks on them (London: J. Nourse, 1762). Knowledge about the physical remains of antiquity greatly increased between the late seventeenth century and the third quarter of the eighteenth century. But even the earlier writings reflected considerable awareness of Ancient Rome, including parts that had not yet been excavated. Some of that knowledge came from close familiarity with the writings of ancient authors. When Joseph Addison was in Rome early in the eighteenth century, he constantly and thoughtfully related classical sculpture to descriptions by ancient poets and writers (Remarks on Several Parts of Italy [London: J. Tonson, 1703]). He made distinctions between heathen and Christian (that is, post-Constantine) antiquities and between the practical works of the commonwealth and the ostentatious and luxurious works of the emperors. He was also aware of the probability of important material underground.


Normal compensation for a cicerone was 3–4 pistoles a month. A coach and a pair of horses could be
hired for 10–12 pistoles a month. Either could be hired by the day (Nugent, 3:41–42). In 1766 one pistole, a Spanish gold coin also called a doblon, equaled approximately 0.83 Pounds Sterling (John J. McCusker, Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600–1775 [Chapel Hill, North Carolina: Univ. of North Carolina Press, c. 1978], 5, 6n, and 11).

17. Chiusano, 142.

18. Wolfgang Leppmann, Winckelmann (London: Gollancz, 1971), 237. Winckelmann, Secretary and Librarian to Cardinal Albani, did not like to take visitors around and did so only when pressed.


20. See Frank Brady and Frederick A. Pottle, eds., [James Boswell], Boswell on the Grand Tour: Italy, Corsica, and France, 1765–1766 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1935). Boswell took a “Course in Antiquities and Arts” with Morison that hit a high note on the Palatine Hill when they resolved to converse in Latin, but degenerated when they began to discuss religion (Morison and Byres were Catholic, as was Winckelmann). Boswell began his study with Morison on Monday, March 25, 1765, first witnessing Pope Clement XIII in a ceremony at S.M. sopra Minerva. Then they went to the Capitoline Hill, and from the roof of the Senate Morison pointed out the main sites of ancient Rome, beginning with the seven hills, referring to a map, and reading a summary of the city’s growth.

21. Byres, born in 1734, was the son of a Jacobite who fled Scotland after the Battle of Culloden. Andrew Lumisden, Secretary to the Old Pretender, brother-in-law of the British engraver Robert Strange, supported Byres as the successor to Russel, while Abbè Grant, another Scot who had followed the Old Pretender, James III, to Rome, championed Morison.


Morgan also wrote letters of introduction for Copley [whom he had never met] on November 24, 1773, at the request of his friend Thomas Mifflin of Philadelphia, whose double portrait with his wife Copley had just painted in Boston. These letters provide an insight into the people who were helpful to Morgan and Powel on their tour. They were addressed to Robert Rutherford (the agent for Philadelphia merchants who was exceedingly helpful to Benjamin West in Italy), “a considerable Merchant at Leghorn” who could introduce Copley to Sir John Dick, Consul at Leghorn, and Sir Horace Mann, the British Resident at Florence, which would be useful in getting access to the “Gallery of Painting there”; James Byres who was “very obliging in the charge he undertook of conducting Strangers to visit whatever was deemed curious and worthy of Observation in or about Rome, and in explaining the History of what he shewed”; Abbè Grant, a Scot who “procured Access for the party I was with to Persons of the first Distinction at Rome”; and Isaac Jamineau, the British Consul at Naples (Copley–Pelham Letters, 205–11). Morgan made no mention of either Thomas Palmer or Mr. Apthorp, the Bostonians who had taken Byres’ course with him, but perhaps Mifflin informed him that Copley already had letters from Palmer.

26. When English visitors went to the Vatican Library, a point was made of showing them the Henry VIII material. These included, first, his copy of the seven Sacraments against Luther which Henry sent to Pope Leo X to show how good a Catholic he was, and then Henry’s letters to Anna Boleyn “who they say made him an Apostate.” Some of the letters are in French, some in English. “In several of them His Majesty is very gay:—Hopes in a little time to kiss her pretty Bubbles, &c.” (Wright, 269–70).
27. Quotations and general information about the itinerary are from Powel's "Notes."

28. Now known as "Truth."

29. All subsequently removed to Naples and now at the Museo Nazionale.


32. Which Byres later bought and sold to the Duke of Rutland, replacing them with copies which he continued to show to his tourists (Ford, "Byres," 459). Powel referred to the palace as the Bocca Paduli. The contents of various Palaces they visited can be found described in Wright, 282 ff.

33. This was consistent with the guide books of the period; for example Wright, 249, discusses the S. Cecilia chapel extensively but makes no mention of Caravaggio.

34. Ford, "Byres," 458, quoting Dr. John Parkinson.

35. Thomas Jenkins was another knowledgeable presence in Rome. He may also have served politically as an agent of the British government, perhaps the opposite number to Andrew Lumisden (see n. 21 above).

36. Eleven years later, Copley, en route back to England, wrote to his mother from Parma that "I have procured the Copy of Guido's Aurora for Mr. Palmer. it is in warter Colours ... the original is a very fine thing indeed" (Copley-Pelham Letters, 330).

37. Mengs was primarily assisted here by his brother-in-law, Wanton von Maron (Dieter Honisch, Anton Raphael Mengs und die Bildform des Frühklassizismus [Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1965], fig. 32).

38. As Morison did with Boswell (see fn. 20 above).


40. Filippo Titi, Descrizione delle pitture, sculture e architettture esposte al pubblico in Roma . . . . (Rome 1763; published in 1675 as Studio di pittura, scoltura, et architettura nelle chiese di Roma, and later enlarged and reissued).

41. A blank page and a half in Powel's manuscript suggests that something was to have been added here.

42. Other well-known antique works they saw included the Borghese Dancers, Silenus with the Infant Bacchus (two versions), a replica of Camillus, The Centaur with Cupid, The Faun with Pipes, Dying Seneca and The Hermaphrodite (all now in the Louvre), as well as Cartius flinging himself into the Gulf.

43. The marked contrast between the twisting emotion of the Bernini groups and the static, timeless dignity of the classical sculpture at the Villa Borghese is still striking. Byres' negative response reflects the thinking of Winckelmann, who, in defining those aspects that characterized the non-beautiful in art (like caricature and realism), specifically selected and condemned Bernini's Rape of Proserpina as representing "Carnality" (Leppmann, 236). Winckelmann's writings epitomize the neoclassical reaction to the Rococo, and he undoubtedly exerted a powerful intellectual influence on the circles in which Byres moved (Leppmann, 165).

