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Shapes of Souvenir

Venetian Souvenirs / English Recollections of the Grand Tour

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for Luca

Introduction

This is an enquiry into the conception and making of 18th-century Venetian cityscapes collected as souvenirs by English travellers during the Grand Tour. While some of these artworks have received constant appraisal and critical attention, attempts to analyse them as memorials of their authors' pictorial practice, not only as memorials of their acquirers' visit to Venice, or as 'finished' collected or exchanged pieces were lacking. By exploring visual remembrance in relation to Venetian topography I intend to shift the focus from consumption to the production of mnemonic cityscapes.

Memory, past and travel are understood and experienced differently in the life of each individual. A uniform picture of the making and exchanging of souvenirs in 18th-century Venice is therefore illusory. What follows is an exploration, not a report, one that takes a logical, rather than chronological, path. The first thing to clarify is that meanings and historical contexts of *souvenirs* discussed in this work differ from contemporary clichés which associate souvenirs with trinkets and kitsch.

This enquiry into the conception and making of 18th-century Venetian views collected as souvenirs by English travellers during the Grand Tour looks at drawings and paintings as repositories of process, with the aim to uncover data relevant to the training and concerns of their authors, retrace patterns of thought, and explore visual remembrance triggered by cityscapes. The analyses, set in the cultural-historical context of Venetian view-painting, corroborate practices of contemporary English landscape painters who travelled to Italy and considers repercussions in polity and the economy, in order to refine extant critical interpretations of these artworks.

Versatile objects can convey different meanings: *souvenir* is here used as a *relation*. The physical object as 'souvenir' makes little sense in the absence of a *tension* between a

person and a *place*, or else it becomes something else, whether collectible or commodity. The sources for an enquiry into Venetian souvenirs should be able to reference what brings Venice to mind.

I chose to prioritise pictorial sources and written accounts of things *seen*.[1] The disenchantment with 'reading' images as if they were texts, which is currently fashionable, is not the reason for looking afresh at images. The reason is logic. Eighteenth-century Venetian pictorial souvenirs, like all objects of artistic craftsmanship, responded to requisites of organised content and identifiable aesthetic properties. These features were visual, and able to be perceived alongside, before, and beyond text.[2] Letters, guides, diaries are not ignored, but are brought in to confirm, challenge or refine predominantly visual interpretations.

Early modern and modern authors offering travel advice on Venice ranked seeing the city higher than reading a description of it.[3] It would be confining, if not misleading, to make text, rather than image, the backbone of the research. Eighteenth-century Venetian painters and draughtsmen were practitioners who expressed themselves *visually*, rather than textually. Their thoughts *preceded* process inasmuch as they led to it. In so doing, these artists and artisans relied upon tradition.[4] In the case of Venice, cityscapes were by and large representations of architecture: "[I]n fact, one learns much more rapidly from well-chosen examples, when measuring and observing whole buildings and all their details on a sheet of

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[1] If graphic signs or written text participate in visual works of art, it does not follow from this that these works abide primarily by norms of textual communication. See for instance Alfred Gell *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory,* Clarendon Press Oxford 1998, p6; see also Barbara Stafford *Good Looking: Essays on the Virtue of Images* The MIT Press 1996

[2] Rudolph Arnheim *Art and Visual Perception. A Psychology of the Creative Eye* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press 1974

[3] Except, of course, when those accounts were theirs: "And although one should reade all Topographers that ever writ of, or anatomiz'd a Town or Countrey, and mingle Discourse with the most exact observers of the Government thereof, and labour to draw and draine out of them all they possibly know or can remember; Yet one's own Ocular view, and personall conversation will still find out something new and unpointed at by any other" J. Howell *Forraine Travell…* 1642 p.5-6. The superior quality of the information gathered as ocular witness rather than cultured reader is commonplace in modern European travel literature, often authors of newly *written* guides claiming that theirs was the true, trustworthy, accurate companion to *sight*-seeing.

[4] See for instance Paolo Pino *Dialogo di Pittura di Messer Paolo Pino. Interlocutori Lauro E Fabio. Nuovamente dato in Luce con Privilegio In Vinegia per Paulo Gherardo* "noi pittori siamo intelligenti nell'arte nostra teoricamente senza operare" Venice 1548, foll.10; See further *A Painter's Musts and Must Nots*

paper, than one does from written descriptions."[5] However, visual knowledge[6] would have been verbalised or was transmissible in writing among early modern and modern Venetian architects and painters. I have just quoted from a source *written* by Palladio. However, in the case of studio practice, non-verbal forms[7] of communication would have been as important as verbal ones.

The system of studio apprenticeship involved chiefly teaching and learning by doing: demonstration and emulation[8] led to memorisation and recognition in the case of young apprentices, and it was a useful means of comparison for older ones. An emphasis on visual communication contributed to and proceeded from a belief that the gift of eye sight transcended and could effectively replace literacy[9], a belief of didactical consequence. While images appeared simpler than text, enabling quicker[10] perceptions, for makers of pictures they involved complex operations, provided visual support to memory and invited reflection on the collection and recollection of memorable[11] figures and views. The polysemy[12] of visual sources can be better contained when subject-matter is clearly defined. Therefore, the images discussed here are representations of Venetian places or things, painted, drawn or

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[5] Introducing *I Quattro Libri…* Palladio took care to defend his visual approach to architectural writing by linking it to graphical, rather than written information: Andrea Palladio *I Quattro Libri…* introductions to *Libri terzo* and *quarto*, Venice, 1570. See also Tracy E. Cooper *Palladio's Venice: Architecture and Society in a Renaissance Republic* Yale University Press 2005

[6] Keith Crithchlow *Proportional Rectangles* London, The Research Department of The Prince of Wales's Institute of Architecture 1997 p.25

[7] Arnheim, op. cit.

[8] A.A.Tait *The Adam Brothers in Rome. Drawings from the Grand Tour,* Scala Publications in association with Sir John Soane's Museum 2008; Especially relevant is Robert Adam's relationship with Clérisseau and Piranesi

[9] Often included as an argument in painting treatises: see for instance Roger De Piles (1635-1709). *Abregé de la vie des peintres , avec des reflexions sur leurs ouvrages, et un Traité du peintre parfait, de la connoissance des desseins, & de l'utilité des estampes,* Paris 1699, p.33-34
See also M. Baxandall *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy. A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* Oxford University Press 1972

[10] According to Arnheim, perceptive ability precedes intellective operations. See Arnheim, op. cit.

[11] see further *Mnemonics*

[12] Structuralist approaches consider the use of images for political or ideological purposes as historically connected to this double ability to instantly convey a meaning while withholding agenda available only to trained beholders. Multilayered interpretations of images, such as those occurring in the Russian Formal School or French semiotics, however acknowledge that images are able to resist an excessive diffusion of meaning. Images show something, and communication occurs, perceptually and intellectually, based on content. See V. I. Propp, R. Jacobson, S. Kracauer, Roland Barthes.

etched.

The shaping of urban views of Venice sought by English people embarking on the Grand Tour is corroborated by comparing and contrasting them with other types of visuals of the same sites, either by the same authors or involving similar methods. A developing interest in the antique, both as a source of knowledge and as a marketable asset prompted increasing numbers of English travellers to venture to Italy. By the 18th-century, the main sources for images circulating to and from London and Venice[13] were classical culture, the trading in luxury goods, Palladian architecture, theatre, opera and painting. All these visual sources possessed an inbuilt mnemonic aspect.

Until recently, this has not been much tapped into, and this research is partly intended to fill a gap. Over the last decades, analyses of systems of objects-of-memory seen in a historical context have used tools offered by cultural anthropology, history of economics, psychology and literary critique. Studies on memory were enriched with significant contributions and attempts have also been made to reflect on memory in terms of art practice.[14] The process of 'remembrance-through-object' during the modern period did not receive specific attention - I mean the process through which, figuratively speaking, the object-souvenir is infused with a set of qualities more easily associated with people than with things. This befits souvenirs, given that souvenirs are "things",[15] yet they seem to influence people. Psychologists looked at various aspects of the aesthetic experience, considering perceptual, emotional, intellectual and communication factors[16] that influence the making and the critical reception of art objects. Anthropologists have looked at the impact art objects

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[13] Joseph Addison *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy In the Years 1701, 1702,1703*, London, Jacob Johnson 1705, p.105-106

[14] Particularly the seminal book by Frances Yates *The Art of Memory* Routledge & Kegan Paul 1966; more recently, see Susannah Radstone & Bill Schwarz eds. *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates,* Fordham University Press 2010; Douwe Draaisma *Metaphors of Memory: A History of Ideas about the Mind* Cambridge University Press 2010; Harriet Harvey Wood & A. S. Byatt eds *Memory: An Anthology* Chatto & Windus 2008; David Farrell Krell *Of memory, reminiscence, and writing: On the verge* Indiana University Press 1990; Sara Andersdotter *Choking on the madeleine: encounters and alternative approaches to memory in a contemporary art practice*, Ph D thesis University of the Arts London 2015

[15] Appadurai op. cit.

[16] Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self,* Cambride University Press 1981

have on societies and studied their influence on people as social actors.[17]

However, studies on the processes of conception and making of *objects of memory* from the past are lacking. Two large areas of research have so far ran parallel: on the one hand, a study of souvenirs focusing chiefly on their present day social affordances; on the other hand, the study of artworks which functioned as souvenirs, such as cityscapes, done predominantly with art historical tools.

This work intends to allow for these two areas to be considered simultaneously, and mediate between too little and too much emphasis on aesthetic qualities in a discussion about objects specifically connected to mnemonic functions: Venetian cityscapes produced during the long 18th-century. If such works have historically served a mnemonic purpose, until now this has been mostly subsumed to their art-historical dimension as commissioned or collected art objects. Enquiries into their conception, production, and rhetoric have not consistently considered, nor chose to focus on a mnemonic dimension. Some eighty years ago, Walter Benjamin had already defined art "collecting [as] a form of practical memory."[18] Surely, his concern with the mnemonic role of objects was active rather than contemplative. Sensitive to the political affordances of artefacts from the past, he pointed out that political reflection weighed upon trading in the antique, which prompted him to launch a call to "shake kitsch" out of the 19th-century. Socio-political context will be accounted for throughout this study, however, when commercial or status-related considerations are surpassed, the social grip loosens and the discussions moves onto an intimate level. There is a risk of teleportation of contemporary constructs into the age of Enlightenment, by placing the emphasis on the commoditisation of culture. Accepting that souvenirs endure means also to accept that they are able to travel in and *out* of commoditisation each and every time people bestow on them an aura of 'extra-ordinary' relevance, and therefore treat them as exchanged objects whose monetary value is not the decisive reason for acquisition. This does

[17] Gell op. cit.

[18] "Il collezionismo è una forma di memoria pratica, ed è la più cogente tra le manifestazioni profane della 'vicinanza'. Ogni minimo atto della riflessione politica fa dunque in qualche modo epoca nel commercio dell'antiquariato. Noi costruiamo qui una sveglia che scuota il kitsch del secolo scorso e lo 'chiami a raccolta'" Walter Benjamin, *Opere Complete*, Einaudi 2000, Vol. IX *I passages di Parigi* [H Ia,2]

not mean that, in 18th-century Venice, the making and exchanging of pictorial souvenirs did not have a social dimension: catalysing cultural change and reflecting art market influences would place them in the 'public' sphere. It means that souvenirs should be looked at *both* in the ways in which they affected individuals and their private lives, and also in the ways in which they operated collectively on social groups, with repercussions on polity and the economy.

In the case of 18th-century English travellers, for whom marketing considerations had a more marked influence upon decisions and evaluations on matters of taste, this binary approach is appropriate. They were free from the confining type of art patronage, governed by the church and the state, which was common elsewhere in Europe.[19] According to Habermas, the emerging modern European 'bourgeois' society had a precedent in 17th-century English gentry. Social change informed not only public conduct but also the design of the private dwellings.[20]

With regard to the present-day discourse on souvenirs, Beverly Gordon's article in the Journal of Popular Culture some thirty years ago[21] called for serious and conspicuous studies on the subject of souvenirs, without however including, in her classification of souvenirs, objects previously regarded as "artworks". In the last few decades, on the scale of academic interest, while being left out of fine art arguments on account of their triviality, or referred to dismissively, souvenirs scored lower than kitsch, perhaps as they were not trivial enough. The impulse to dismiss souvenirs as trinkets was either too strong or not strong enough to invite reflection. New research started to appear only very recently, as the study of

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[19] S. Copley *The Fine Arts in Eighteenth-Century Polite Culture* in John Barrell ed. *Painting and the Politics of Culture: New Essays on British Art*, Oxford University Press 1992, p.14

[20] Habermas pointed out that: "already in the seventeenth-century British gentry, becoming more burgeois in orientation" appear to have moved away from a life-style that involved the "whole house" and that: "this privatisation of life" was reflected in domestic architecture:"[T]he line between private and public sphere extended right through the home. The privatised individuals stepped out of the intimacy of their living rooms into the public sphere of the salon, but the one was strictly complementary to the other. Only the name of the salon recalled the origin of the convivial discussion and rational-critical public debate in the sphere of noble society [...] This space was the scene of a psychological emancipation that corresponded to the political-economic one" J. Habermas *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (1962) 1991 MIT Press pp 45-46

[21] Beverly Gordon *The Souvenir: Messenger of the Extraordinary*, Journal of Popular Culture Winter 1986; 20, 3; pp. 135-146

souvenirs in early modern and modern Europe is still uncharted territory. At a preliminary stage, a few distinctions are in order. Firstly:

"[m]any people make a distinction between souvenirs and mementoes [...] They see souvenirs as commercially produced, purchased objects and mementoes as individually saved, non-purchased objects that have a personal meaning [however] on a structural and associative level they [souvenirs and mementoes] serve the same concretising function [...] a concrete reminder or tangible way of capturing or freezing a non - or extra-ordinary experience. This function can be most easily approached through the context of tourism".[22]

Beverly Gordon's discourse is coherent with Nelson Graburn's understanding of tourism as "contrast": we travel in search for difference and variety, or we do not travel at all. Gordon argued that souvenirs are closer to metonymic signs than to symbolic metaphors.

Literary critique approaches, such as the one taken by Susan Stewart, have emphasised instead the narrative nature of souvenirs, responsible for their metaphorical semantic scope.[23] Both Gordon and Stewart considered postcards as the quintessential souvenir, which invites a connection with pictorial practices of city and landscape painting before the age of mechanical reproduction.[24]

In the field of psychology, Czicksentmihalyi distinguished between souvenir and memorabilia, using the former term to discuss travel in reference to spacial distance, and the latter in reference to time-travel: a process enabled by commemorative objects[25] designed or designated to retrieve experiences or events from the past. Lowenthal wrote that : "we are at home in it because it *is* our home – the past is where we come from."[26] He argued that, not until the 18th-century, did the past become a "foreign country" i.e. a 'destination' eliciting

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[22] Beverly Gordon op.cit. p.

[23] Susan Stewart *On longing : narratives of the miniature, the gigantic, the souvenir, the collection,* Duke University Press 1993; A narrative-stress permeates the discourse in *On longing*... which favours a 'reading' of images. Metonyms are figures of speech; however, it should be noted that, once alienated from the context of origin, souvenirs may receive different i.e. 'new' interpretations, besides their role as reminders of the alienated context.

[24] Walter Benjamin *L'oeuvre d'art à l'epoque de sa réproduction mecanisée* trad. Pierre Klossowski in Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung Year 5, 1936 Paris Felix Alcan, pp. 40-66 available online at editions-ismael.com

[25] M. Csikszentmihalyi and E. Rochberg-Halton op.cit.

[26] D. Lowenthal *The Past is a Foreign Country* Cambridge University Press 1985 p.4

behaviours similar to the ones prompted by travel across space.[27] In other words, the past was no longer predominantly seen as a source of historical and cultural knowledge - a collective past there is, the interest in which expressed civic and humanistic concerns enhancing a sense of community. The past was also becoming a source of leisure and personal recollection: a private past. A more recent debate on the role of civic humanism in an 18th-century English "polite" culture considered "the terms of this civic discourse [as] undermined from within as the period develops, with the establishment of a news order of priorities in political and cultural debate, in which 'public virtues' are transformed into 'social virtues', as the category of the 'public' is increasingly displaced from its position of centrality, and as its concerns are privatised."[28] Hypothesising a generalised, decisive shift of interest from public to private in the social conduct of 18th-century Europeans would however risk attributing individualistic motivations to people and their actions even in unverifiable historical circumstances, while it could play down collective bonds increasing the coalescence of society as a whole. The concern with 'private' aspects of life introduces nonetheless an element of caution, useful when at discussing broad concepts and narrow case-studies at the same time.[29]

A second distinction stems from process, whether or not one chooses to disjoin craftsmanship from artistic skill. Different objects can be used to meet similar mnemonic ends, however, objects which are said to require little or no intellectual effort to produce are *different* from objects encapsulating considerable skill, practical and intellectual. In a simple way, souvenirs can be understood as *objects of memory*. Given that, undisputedly, memory requires operations of the mind, the criteria informing the choice of souvenirs surpass whimsical craves or shopping frenzies. Graburn placed aesthetic considerations outside the semantic area of souvenirs: he argued that their role was not to be beautiful, but to serve as auxiliaries to memory.[30] He wrote that:

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[27] ibid. p.

[28] S. Copley *The Fine Arts in Eighteenth-Century Polite Culture* in John Barrell ed. *Painting and the Politics of Culture: New Essays on British Art* Oxford University Press 1992; see also Barrell 1986

[29] G. Levi *L'eredità immateriale: carriera di un esorcista nel Piemonte del Seicento* Einaudi, 1985

[30] Nelson Graburn *Ethnic and Tourist Arts* 1976

"[t]he rationalization of production and the standardization or simplification of design of many souvenir arts have tended to give all commercial, contemporary arts a bad name. The symbolic content is so reduced, and conforms so entirely to the consumer's popular notion of the salient characteristics of the minority group, that we may call these items ethno-kitsch."[31]

Both Graburn and Gordon have shown how ethnic overtones associated with tourist experiences and products may contribute to the 'authentic features' sought as means to measure the quality of those experiences and products. Similarly to the authenticity of a local product or experience, it is worth noting that, at an associative level, the criterion of provenance serves similar purposes on an art collecting terrain.

Appadurai observed that, whenever rarity is no longer a relevant attribute of an object - for instance, when the object becomes increasingly available thanks to the opening of new travel routes, the improvement of existing ones, or when its production becomes simpler thanks to technological or economic factors - the way to preserve the object's exclusivity is to complicate the criterion of authenticity. Exclusivity translates into monetary value and signals social distinction as it presupposes access to unique sources: immaterial, such as skill or knowledge; and material i.e. prime matter and its physical attributes. However, a "complication" of the object's features for instance increased intricacy or higher complexity of finish are *not* logical consequences of a desire to secure its exclusivity.

Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner have identified the pitfalls

"of the victorian / hegelian construct of fine art equating an advanced stage of civilization and the will to attribute a simplification of form (sometimes symbolically charged) to a more refined type of artistic discourse in Western civilizations whereas geometrically simplified patterns in 'aboriginal' art were interpreted as signs of 'inferiority', 'ornamental character' or functional uses."[32]

Steiner also suggested that: "[a] particularly dense aura of inauthenticity surrounds objects produced for the souvenir and tourist trades because they are most obviously located at the intersection of the discourse of art, artifact, and commodity."[33] Here too, souvenirs are

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[31] ibid. p.6

[32] Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, University of California Press 1999

[33] Steiner in ibid. pp.

perceived as low-value serial objects, and seriality is seen as an explanation for the emancipation of the anthropologically postulated residual cult power embedded in 'authentic' artworks.

Whether signalling encoded messages or inducing action[34], souvenirs are something *other* than vehicles for aesthetic enjoyment or storage units for cultural-historical contextual data.[35] While 'something other' could be many things, things do not exist by themselves as souvenirs, but only through their owner`s will.[36] By which I mean: one, that souvenirs are to be understood as a *relation,* and two, that an object is not a person and therefore it cannot perform the actions characteristic of a human being.[37]

Having made these distinctions, an attempt to legitimate the rhetoric and roles of objects from the past used as auxiliaries to memory with help from a critique based on the study of present-day souvenirs will not get us far.
Whilst knowing what one looks for can simplify the search, it can also lead to easy assumptions. Looking at pictures *used* as souvenirs,[38] it could be tempting to postulate that they *were* souvenirs, and short-circuit the research on an assumption involving makers and

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[34] Trying to establish whether a system of social interaction which affects the making and exchange of souvenirs is soliciting (solely or predominantly) responses of linguistic or of visual nature in social actors is not the subject of this research. Nor is it to show predilection for a method: a language system, rooted in structuralism or a visual system, anthropologically analysing artistic expression.

[35] Appadurai op.cit. Also Baxandall *Painting and Experience*…for the shift from costly ingredient to skill in establishing value.

[36] The importance of this observation will emerge further, when discussing the question of *abstraction*. Stewart identifies the significance of souvenirs as residing outside the object and equates this 'outside' with "narrative". Susan Stewart *On longing : narratives of the miniature, the gigantic, the souvenir, the collection,* Duke University Press, 1993

[37] According to Gell, "prestations of 'gifts'" were "treated in Maussian exchange theory as (extensions of) persons [so] there is obviously scope for seeing art objects as 'persons' in the same way". It must be noted that, when studying animist societies, Mauss carefully guards himself from equating objects with people. Placing between brackets the essential word 'extensions', Gell eludes a plausible scope in Mauss's research, where the question of power objects exert on people is not resolved by automatically empowering objects. One can perceive, attribute or even manipulate objectual power *as if* it were personal. By "one" I mean people. As far as this research on souvenirs is concerned, objects possess no social agency other than the one societal charge bestows upon them at a given time and place. Societies are made of people, not objects. Discussing the "power" of objects, Greenblatt understands the notions of "resonance and wonder" as human, not 'objectual'. See Marcel Mauss *Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés primitives* l'Année Sociologique, seconde série, 1923-1924; Gell op. cit; and Stephen Greenblatt, *Resonance and Wonder* Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol . 43, No. 4 (Jan., 1990), pp. 11-34. Also see Jennier van Horn *The Power of Objects in Eighteenth-Century British America*, University of North Carolina Press 2017

[38] see for instance site of Woburn Abbey and British Museum on Thomas Jones… etc

'consumers' alike: that both parties were aware of a specific contract of offer and demand for pictorial mementoes. Based on this assumption, one could build a compelling argument about the "agency" of souvenirs, the stories they tell,[39] the social life[40] they show, their cultural biographies,[41] itineraries[42] and consumption. For we would already accept that they are souvenirs, since they had been deemed such since the very moment of their first[43] purposeful exchange.

What happened *before* the moment of exchange which led to the labelling of these cityscapes as souvenirs? What, if any, were the premises governing the conception and making of such pictures which enabled them to be evaluated, chosen and exchanged as souvenirs? These questions cannot be explored without an understanding of the setting for the existence and acceptance of these Venetian views as valid souvenirs. And this *precedes* consumption. The heterogenous patterns of consumption of Venetian imagery have led to conspicuous critical attention. I shall instead focus on production: the conception and making as what had *enabled* Venetian cityscapes to exist, travel, and possibly serve a mnemonic purpose. This is why the research focuses on artworks not as finished products, but as repositories of process.

These artworks encapsulate the memories of their maker as much as the topography of the place they represent. They are a memorial of the author's education, practical experience and socially informed artistic choices. This data cannot be retrieved, let alone interpreted, by postulating art objects as 'finished'. Plausible interpretations depend on what had actually contributed to the shaping of these images. The analysis aims to identify defining structural features of 18th-century Venetian cityscapes, and put these features in relation to the images' ability to call to mind. Retracing process may allow patterns of

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[39] "utter natural language in graphemic code" Gell op. cit.

[40] Arjun Appadurai *The Social Life of Things* Cambridge University Press 1988

[41] I.Kopytoff *The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process* in A. Appadurai ed. *The Social Life of Things* p. 64-94

[42] "In some contexts, the value of an object is determined by the journey it has made before coming within one`s reach" Hans Peter Hahn and Hadas Weiss eds., *Mobility, Meaning and the Transformations of Things,* Oxbow Books, Oxford and Oakville, 2013 introduction
See also Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner op. cit.

[43] Discussion with Giovanni Levi: "every new object that becomes the first of a series is a souvenir".

thought in the conception and execution of these pictures to emerge and enable a discussion on the ability of these authors *to adapt* and *to abstract*.

Accepting that an enquiry into practice could retrace the history of the making of these works seen as patterns of thought expressed through visual process would call for a broad exploration into the circulation and chronology of modes of practical thinking. It should consider practically taught, culturally and socially disseminated sets of values, and their forms of expression. Such an endeavour would expand exponentially the research and diffuse its focus on mnemonic pictures of Venice. Therefore the focus is on forms of visual thinking about the "built environment"[44] reflected in objects crafted according to historical notions of truth and beauty.

The objects themselves relate mostly to 18th-century Venice, the notions however transcend specific historical moments, while they document change over time. It is impossible to objectively and exhaustively re-create the context of origin of the artworks, both physically and because a present-day approach will always tend to impinge. Definitive labelling would be biased. However, pondering the weight of various standards informing the production of pictorial souvenirs is not an impossible task if information on historical practice can be retrieved. 'Practice' is here broadly understood as the process enabling the successful connection and negotiation between those looking for a souvenir and those able to provide one.

Structural analysis can offer a glimpse of the historical context, since changing canons of taste cannot be cut out from the modern intellectual debate on beauty, virtue, truthfulness, neither can they be separated from the act of perception enabling such debate. Socially mediated expressions of emotions felt and experiences lived by people coming in contact with the sights seen may have been sensitive to contradictory narratives, but their lexical and visual forms emerge however as surprisingly constant, at times even standardised. This is manna for the dwellers upon all-encompassing analyses of the 'rite - and - myth' kind which Venice incessantly offers, benefiting from its privileged historical

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[44] Linda Clarke *Building Capitalism: Historical change and the labour process in the production of the built environment* Routledge London 1992; Clarke analyses the urban tissue in terms of production, rather than consumption.

centrality. There will always be something essential, according to each one's approach, that is left out about Venice.

Should the making of memorable Venetian 'export items' be discussed in relation to the "painter`s brief"[45] or the "agency of the artwork"?[46] Both paths are grounded in social context. Placing artistic practices in their historical circumstances,[47] the research gratefully draws from arguments already won and re-assert that 18th-century travellers to Italy and Venice were not "innocents abroad."[48] They travelled with a set of pre-acquired data which served them to disambiguate, choose and classify the culture and society they had come to observe.

Ideally, the enquiry will prove the existence of intention.[49] Empirical experimentation can be pursued to 'see what happens' or to look for confirmations of an intuition, connecting 'why' to 'because'. This work is based on such an intuition. I argue that the practices of 18th-century Venetian *vedutisti*, whose works are seen in retrospect as souvenirs and which constituted visual reminders of Venice for English travellers on their Grand Tour, were as much informed by as they were formative of a broader social discourse which had metonymy, mnemonics and mathematics at its core. The common playing field is rooted in classical culture and it's early modern revival, referred to as Renaissance. The players are social groups which kept changing both in terms of membership and interests, while broadly involving the nobility and gentry, and the upper-working class, particularly artists and craftspeople. The research also aims to bring a new perspective in the controversy over the lack of topographical 'correctness' identifiable in many modern Venetian cityscapes.

I shall argue that, if views "*dal vero"* were not always 'true' this was not merely the

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[45] Baxandall, op. cit., p.42

[46] Gell, op. cit.

[47] See M. Baxandall *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* Yale University Press 1985 and Charles Bouleau *Charpentes. La Géométrie secrète des peintres*, Paris, Seuil 1963*;* also the recent exhibition *Portable Classic* at Fondazione Prada in Venice

[48] Mark Twain *The Innocents Abroad, or The New Pilgrims' Progress* 1869

[49] Which can be averted at any given stage in an object's physical duration, from design to dissolution as the object may be discarded, lost, unearthed and reused, see Hahn & Weiss op. cit. . We will receive different readings as to what intention is in various contexts of a given object.
John Evelyn Diary

result of artistic licence, of whatever aesthetically or politically informed scope, but of artistic *training*. In the social groups indicated above, taste and taught practice abided by rules of visual harmony, as part of a system of cultural exchange in which not only masters and apprentices, but also purveyors of pictures, played an active part.[50] A culture of reverence towards the classical tradition informed both personal itinerary and public conduct.

Drawing from various disciplines, this research subordinates them to pictorial praxis: choice of subject-matter, composition and execution. While generalising discourses are not intended here, a few observations should be made. In 18th-century England, the mainstream aesthetic discourse favoured unity, rather than fragmentation. A need for uniformity, if not universality, peaked in Burke's[51] and Reynolds's writings on optical perception, as well as on standards of beauty and taste.

In the 17th-century, English practitioners and theorists were essentially looking at Renaissance Italy and its classical models in terms of what these standards were and the means to achieve them.[52] Throughout the 18th-century, interpretations became increasingly attuned to local polity.[53] In this, English artists offered their own solution to end "*l'età della*

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[50] Fr. Haskell *Patrons and Painters: A study in the relations between Italian art and society in the age of the Baroque* Yale University 1980

[51] "We do, and we must, suppose that as the confirmation of their organs are nearly, or altogether the same in all men, so the manner of perceiving external objects is in all men the same, or with little difference [...] If we suffer ourselves to imagine that their senses present to different men different images of things, this sceptical proceeding will make every sort of reasoning on every subject vain and frivolous, and even that of sceptical reasoning itself, which has persuaded us to entertain a doubt concerning the agreement of our perceptions" Edmund Burke *On Taste: A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* 1756

[52] W. Aglionby *Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues...* London, 1685, see also William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, which was published in 8 editions between 1672 and 1701. See Craig Ashley Hanson *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* Chicago UP 2009 ; See Inigo Jones in John Summerson "John Dixon Hunt has demonstrated the powerful influence of Italian designs on English gardens of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century and suggested that it is here that we should look for the origins of the 'English' style" Stephen Bending *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Age of Enlightenment*, introduction p. 6, Vol.4 of *A Cultural History of Gardens*, Michael Leslie and John Dixon Hunt eds., Bloomsbury 2013 ; see Francis Haskell & Nicholas Penny *Taste and the Antique. The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900* Yale University Press 1981, translated in Italian by Einaudi in 1984 as *L'Antico nella storia del gusto: la seduzione della scultura classica 1500-1900*

[53] "'variety" should not be mistaken for bric-a-brack, a quest for structure equally informed discordant discourses on matters of taste and beauty - see later *A Painter's musts and must nots*

senettù e decrepidità"[54] which Italian painters and theorists decreed and deplored it had afflicted the arts as a terrible scourge during the second half of the 17th-century. At the same time, an interest in the empirical did not preclude scientific theorisation on the arts[55].

In terms of perception of beauty, given equal conditions, all people were thought to be equally equipped to perceive optically; it was easy to infer that they were equally able to do so aesthetically. A concern with universal truths informing the 18th-century intellectual discourse led its theorists to seek and find[56] similarities across the reasoning and emotions of different individuals, while the fact that these individuals had to be similarly knowledgeable remained implied. The belief that a "perfect beauty"[57] was not only 'out there' but within reach encouraged pursuit and required training.

Notwithstanding, the impossibility of reaching a consensus on a standard of taste was acknowledged, due to the "different humours of particular men" and "the particular manners and opinions of our age and country."[58] These factors were seen as testing, rather than

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[54] Giulio Mancini's description of what follows the papacy of Julius III to that of Clement VIII (roughly the second half of Cinquecento). See "Lomazzo's "Lament on Modern Painting" dedicated to the Bolognese painter Camillo Procaccini and published in 1589 [...] more of a rant against his peers than a careful analysis of causes"and Federico Zuccaro's "Il lamento della pittura su l'onde venete", Parma 1605. Cf. Philip Lindsay Sohm "The Artist grows Old: The Aging of Art and Artists in Italy, 1500-1800, Yale University Press, 2007, p.136 and foll

[55] In the second half of the 17th-century, John Evelyn and William Aglionby produced translations and adaptations of work on the subject of painting, in line with the Royal Society's approach to scientific truth."The Royal Society served as the institutional focal point for the reception of the fine arts in England during the Restoration period" Hanson, op. cit. p.98. See p.92 -99. Aglionby's "Italian bias" could have been political and confessional, however his influence upon the 18th-century English academic discourse via Richardson's writings is clear.

[56] "as there will be very little doubt that bodies present similar images to the whole species, it must necessarily be allowed that the pleasures and the pains which every object excites in one man, it must raise in all mankind, whilst it operates naturally, simply and by its proper powers only; for if we deny this, we must imagine that the same cause operating in the same manner, and on subjects of the same kind, will produce different effects, which would be highly absurd" Burke, op. cit. He explains the occurrence of "different opinions" with lack of education, literally: "wrong Taste is a defect of judgement [...] besides that, ignorance, inattention, prejudice, rashness, levity, obstinacy, in short all those vices which pervert the judgement in other matters, prejudice it no less in this, its more elegant and refined province [taste]" ibid.

[57] "We have no reason to suspect there is a greater difference between our minds than between our forms [...] Gentlemen, It has been the main scope and principal end of this discourse to demonstrate the reality of a standard in Taste, as well as a corporeal beauty; that a false or depraved taste is a thing as well known, as easily discovered [...] and that this knowledge is derived from the uniformity of sentiments among mankind, from whence proceeds the knowledge of what are the general habits of nature; the result of which is an idea of perfect beauty" Reynolds, *Discourse Seven* 1776.

[58] David Hume *Four Dissertations* London 1757

contradicting a belief in "the general principles of taste". Instead, these principles were considered "uniform in human nature" "universal, and nearly, if not entirely the same in all men."[59] Humours, age, and country in Hume's discourse hinted at "l'*ésprit du lieu*." Seen from the perspective of people interested in making pictures, *l'ésprit du lieu* seems to refer more to physical space rather than to intangible influences connected to it. As far as 18th-century English practitioners were concerned, the "genius of the place" was *subordinated* to the place, rather than haunting it.

"Consult the genius of the place in all,
That tells the waters or to rise and fall [...]
Paints as you plant, and as you work designs."[60]

Pope's poem dedicated to Lord Burlington praises the agreement between scope and context in any artistic endeavour, in this case landscape and architectural design. Clearly, in Palladian circles, knowing "the place" and "the age and country" was the rationale behind effective practice, and not an opportunity to conjure up spirits.

A postulated 'uniformity' of reasoning and feeling should not be confused however with a uniformity of *design*. From the 'uniformity' of feeling ensued, on the one hand, a widely shared opinion that whatever had rendered individuals dissimilar to the accepted standard seemed to be also what rendered them imperfect[61], while on the other hand, it ignited a debate on what the standard should be. The lack of 'uniformity' of design reflected the interdependence between standards of taste and social stances. Recent interpretations[62] of the "ideological implications of the eighteenth-century definition of polite culture" see artistic productions "justified in social terms through their role in cultivating the public civic

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[59] ibid.

[60] A. Pope *Moral Essays*, Epistle iv. Also quoted in Ackerman *La villa: Forma e ideologia* Torino Einaudi 1992, pp. 220-221

[61] "The organs of internal sensation are seldom so perfect to allow the general principles their full play, and produce a feeling correspondent to those principles. They either labour under some defect, or are vitiated by some disorder" Hume *Four Dissertations* 1757 Denver p.67

[62] John Barrell *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt. 'The Body of The Public',* Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1986; Stephen Copley and Peter Garside eds *The Politics of The Picturesque,* Cambridge University Press 1994

virtues" relevant to the citizens of a "republic of taste".

Whether or not accepting that this "republic of fine arts and taste" was conceived of in the minds of its citizens "as a political republic" with an emerging "vocabulary of politeness"[63], or whether English travellers on their Grand Tour saw themselves as His Majesty's subjects more than as citizens of a "republic" of taste does not change the fact that the purpose of the tour to Italy had been perceived and conceived as an occasion to establish a relationship with a classical model, whether in classical humanistic terms, especially in the 17th-century, or in terms challenging or refining them, as happened increasingly in the second half of the 18th and the early 19th centuries. In both situations, visual representations serving as mementoes ensuing from Grand Tour experiences were showing an awareness of and containing references to the classical tradition.

The question of memory triggered by objects in 18th-century England cannot be considered differently than historical ideas about aesthetic perception and taste. As I shall further argue[64], mnemonics, aesthetic taste and moral virtue met on a common ground. Rather than reinforce cultural and ideological clashes, this study looks at the mitigation brought by travel and sees "contrast" as a ratio between boredom and shock when experiencing a "new" tourist site. Differing social and aesthetic standards across the modern period - at least in times of peace - are understood as mediating between uniformity and variety, requiring adaptation skills[65] on the part of both travellers and the residents.

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[63] Stephen Copley discusses John Barrell's thesis on the non-linear transformation of "'public virtues' into 'social virtues', as the category of the 'public' is increasingly displaced from its position of centrality, and as its concerns are privatised". St. Copley *The Fine Arts in Eighteenth-Century Polite Culture* in John Barrell ed. *Painting and the Politics of Culture: New Essays on British Art*, Oxford University Press 1992, p.14

[64] see later Chapter 4 paragraph *Symmetry, Proportion, Order*

[65] and this is affine to the definition of "taste" which Baxandall gives "much of what we call 'taste' lies in this, the conformity between discriminations demanded by a painting and skills of discrimination possessed by the beholder [...] if a painting gives us opportunity for exercising a valued skill and rewards our virtuosity with a sense of worthwhile insights about the painting's organisation, we tend to enjoy it: it is to our taste"*Painting and experience*... Oxford UP 1972, p.34

Roadmap

Part 1 is concerned with context. In Chapter 1 I argue that standards of *recognition* and *association* had to be met so that cityscapes could serve as reminders of the places they represented. I explore how these standards were visually met and discuss the relation between the travellers' identity - as individuals and as members of the "public" - and visual records of their trip to Venice. This invites a discussion on expectation, which is the topic of Chapter 2. The expectations of 18th-century English travellers to Venice are explored to help refine the typology of visual representations they invited and reflected. I argue that Venice looked at once 'typified' and unfamiliar. A discussion on the "effect" of Venice explores linguistic equivalents of these visual expectations. Assessing the role of geometry and architectural drawing in painting cityscapes, I suggest that these skills not only facilitated accurate representations, but also empowered painters to claim the status of liberal artists. A possible flow of Venetian imagery from conception to destination is here sketched.

Part 2 looks at the composition of cityscapes focusing on their ability to call to mind what they represent. Connections between imagined, designed and built edifices are explored in Chapter 3, where mental and material architecture are put in relation with visual memory, and means of *abstraction* in the conception of cityscapes are discussed. Chapter 4 seeks visual sources to document the link between rhetoric and visual representation. I connect visual mnemonic techniques described in classical treatises of rhetorics with frontispieces embellishing title-pages of Renaissance treatises of architecture, observe their similarities rooted in classical culture, and consider the *mnemonic* dimension in the architect's and painter's concern with symmetry, proportion, order. In Chapter 5 I hypothesise pictorial, not just architectural compositional procedures ruling the design of title-pages of Renaissance treatises of architecture. Examples by Palladio and Serlio published in Venice in the 16th-century are studied to show that title-pages were also "pictures" not just architectural elevations. I suggest that 18th-century Venetian *vedutisti*, who depicted architectures designed by these architects, were looking at these treatises as sources of compositional, not just subject-matter inspiration. In Chapter 6 I discuss the circulation of these visual models and the weight that the principle of proportion and the use

of regular divisions had on the works of 18th-century English architects and draughtsmen. I argue that sash-windows provided examples of visual grids based on regular intervals, literally framing the English land and cityscape. A particular view from Vitruvius Britannicus is analysed as a visual point of encounter for architectural treatises, celebratory views and topographical *vedute*. The extent to which regular proportions influenced representations of architecture in 18th-century England is illustrated with examples of "gentlemen seats".

Part 3 analyses a few visual features of Venetian cityscapes, with the preliminary observation that these features had been used, virtually unchanged, to describe mental projections of "places" in the "art of memory" designed to improve intellectual performance and oratorial abilities. Chapter 7 looks at Venetian visual narratives and how can they affect the mnemonic quality of an image, considering political, economical and confessional aspects. Chapter 8 deals with the question of movement: tricks intended to "animate" static pictures are discussed, and representations of people analysed in terms of human scale, genre hierarchy and utility. Looking at how viewpoint and angle of representation in a cityscape reflect changes in ceremonial and maritime traffic, I argue that the limited availability of vantage points reinforced the 'iconicity' of a handful of observation points in Venice.

Part 4 is dedicated to a structural analysis of 18th-century Venetian cityscapes and their echo in subsequent representations of Venice by English painters. Considering cultural affinities, political ambitions and economic interests , I discuss in particular views which favoured multiplication and portability. Chapter 9 offers a praxis-based cultural-historical context for Carlevarijs' *Fabbriche*... album. I suggest that it was shaped as a liberal artist's portfolio, trace its Euclidean and Vitruvian models and its broader intellectual ambitions. Chapter 10 stresses Canaletto's role as painter of architecture, with the accent on the word "painter." I argue in favour of new, practice-based, reasons for 'artistic licence' in Canaletto's topographical views, specifically bi-dimensional compositional constraints, and also consider how Canaletto's figures enabled compositional devices and perceptual mechanisms enhancing the viewing experience. A discussion on the Visentini-Smith album in The Royal Collection allows to make observations on its mnemonic

intentions, organisation and content. A selection of drawings spawning across Canaletto's career are explored to underline refinements in the use of compositional grids. Chapter 11 analyses similarities in the works of Canaletto's contemporaries, looking at illustrated tourist guides and recurring practices in the works of several *vedutisti*. Chapter 12 considers forms of cultural borrowing in 18th-century English landscape painting, with a focus on pictorial emulation. I suggest that process-oriented emulation, rooted in the antique tradition of learning by copying, is gradually supplanted by status-oriented emulation as a means to authenticate the access to and understanding of masterly sources, reflecting a change from 'agora shared' skill to artistic 'self'. Examples allow to discuss rhetorics of public discourse and private evocation, between recollection and recognition. Case studying Turner's relationship with the work of Claude, I argue that Turner's visual recollection involved at once transmitting and concealing subject matter. Chapter 13 connects the practice of Venetian *vedutisti* with 17th and early 18th-centuries models of Roman view painting: considerations on the influence had by Claudean compositional procedures on picturesque views of English painters allows to identify an Italian pictorial souvenir Turner displayed into one of his paintings. In Chapter 14, I discuss the motif of the gilt frame as a means of establishing an artistic lineage from Turner to Canaletto. While, as a result of the fall of the Venetian Republic, subject-matter and mood shift from public-celebratory to private-evocative, I suggest that a resilience in terms of pictorial formulae used to represent Venice remains a means to favour *recognition*, no longer in terms of topography, but of credibility. Compositional procedures encountered in the practice of 18th-century Venetian *vedutisti* are discussed in the context of Turner's work. Concluding that Venetian cityscapes acquired as souvenirs by English travellers on their Grand Tour constituted visual places of encounter between pursuer and offerer, and that shared intellectual interests contributed to level differences in social status, I suggest that, by enabling a game of recognition of visual elements concurring to a 'finished' piece, Venetian cityscapes contributed to widen the understanding of connoisseurship, toward acknowledging that personal relationships of travellers with artworks they collected from sites they wished to recollect could not be reduced only to matters of taste and trade.

PART 1

Venice brought to mind

CHAPTER 1

Visual standards

What made 18th-century Venetian painted cityscapes memorable? I argue that at least two types of standards had to be met: 1) *recognition,* whether topographical, typological or atmospheric; 2) *association,* between person and place, between reception and perception, between acquired knowledge and perceived experience. Standards of aesthetic and economic evaluation, leading to the work's acceptance and acquisition, subsequently influenced the mnemonic quality of the cityscape to the extent to which they facilitated the work's recognition and allowed for 'balanced' associations. Clearly, a cityscape had to be first recognised as depicting a particular city or part of a city, the cognition of which had been previously acquired by the viewer. It also had to be relevant to its viewer in relationship to what had been recognised. This perceived relevance was a necessary condition, aside from getting the viewer's attention and interest, in prompting new associations or in reinforcing or refining existing ones.[66] If there was no association, the cityscape could not be a souvenir. While these standards referred to the viewer, they clearly informed the artist's conduct. How could standards of recognition and association be *visually* met? I shall consider two roles of structural features shaping pictorial souvenirs: the first, to organise content, meaning a visual process of *abstraction* which was regulated by *recognition*; the second, to provide a

[66] "the most beautiful landscapes in the world, if they evoke no memory, if they bear no trace of any notable event, are uninteresting compared to historic landscapes" Mme de Staël *Corinne* 1807 1:222 quoted in Lowenthal, 1988 p. 114

visual platform for a broader[67] social, political and cultural discourse, enabling *associations* between person and place, but also of ideas, which in turn expressed associations among conversant interlocutors; such associations required efforts of *adaptation* on both the author's and the viewer's part.

This visual negotiation between what was seen and what was offered as a representation of what was seen reflected a broader need of adaptation, required by the act of travelling, as well as the need to find a *ratio* between visual 'boredom' and visual 'shock'.[68] How did the roles and rhetoric of souvenirs channel and reflect their visual form?

In the case of pictorial souvenirs, a 'cityscape' has certain defining features; these features alone cannot be said to transform a Venetian *veduta* or *capriccio* into a souvenir. But the two enabling factors of *recognition* and *association* offer a lead. Studying the relationship between visual composition and mnemonic function of pictorial souvenirs is, as I said, made possible by looking at how these features contributed to an organised content which in turn afforded broader associations.

It is important to clarify first that structural analysis does *not* take the object out of its social context and that identifying visual features is the first step in a finer process of identification: of technical processes, involving materials, media, methods used to organise content and represent a *recognisable* topography, but also of social processes, inviting

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[67] A broad, 'universal' framework also informs critical approaches on souvenirs taken in recent years, emphasising physical or psychological factors which transcend time and space: the miniature-aspect has been connected to the souvenir by Susan Stewart, implying a fit-the-palm-of-the-hand uniform standard of measure, while the playfulness of small format objects has been identified as a stimulating factor in the child-like behaviour generally associated with tourist experiences by Beverly Gordon. Referring to "local" products, Gordon does not in fact endorse 'cultural geography' but implicitly acknowledges that, across time and space, tourists tend to seek those specific products creating a link with the "extra-ordinary" destination. See Susan Stewart op. cit. and Beverly Gordon op. cit. Recent contributions confirm this broad, transversal trend: see for instance, Nissa Ramsay *Taking place: refracted enchantment and the habitual spaces of the souvenir* in *Social & Cultural Geography*, Vol. 10, Nr. 2, March 2009, Routledge; David L. Hume *The Development of Tourist Art and Souvenirs - the Arc of the Boomerang: from Hunting, Fighting and Ceremony to Tourist Souvenir* in *International Journal of Tourism Research* II, p.55-70, 2009

[68] Discussing image efficacy and visual perception, Arnheim suggests the existence of a "basic law of visual perception - any stimulus pattern seen as simple as the conditions permit" and also the "law of pragnanz" or the "tendency to make perceptual structure as clear-cut as possible" by levelling differences or by sharpening them. See Rudolph Arnheim op.cit., p.63 and 67
Also see Marina Bianchi *In the name of the tulip. Why speculation?* in Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford eds. *Consumers and luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650 -1850, Manchester University Press,* p. 86-102, esp. pp 95-97

associations through knowledge sharing, taste shaping and emulation. Could this prove the existence of a "culturally endorsed aesthetic response"[69] from individuals or social groups? Aesthetic properties cannot and should not be separated from cultural milieu, as the author of the cityscape operated in it. Their existence represents a proof of intention, as supposing the absence of intention would render any artistic process meaningless.[70] As it will be further argued, in the case of a 18th-century view painting, 'meaning' was expected to *effect* a conscious change in the state of its beholder, not only aesthetic, but also moral or political.[71]

Iconic images and the issue of identity.

For all travellers to Venice or any other Grand Tour destination, pictorial souvenirs were *associated* to their visit: they represented the city or the place *and* bore witness to the effect the visit had had upon them as individuals and as members of 'the public'. Postcards, visual markers, whatever we may call them, would have exercised, then as now, their fascination on the viewer. Once visits paid to revered historical sites had been formalised, what were travellers to 18th-century Venice engaged in? One can suppose they sought visual records of these iconic places. A 'consumption' of souvenirs, conspicuous or veiled, by enlightened travellers who immersed in ephemeral experiences[72] similar to present-day cultural tourism paralleled to religious pilgrimage[73] is however unlikely.

Contemporary accounts[74] indicate that social behaviour of 18th-century Englishmen

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[69] Howard Morphy, with whom Gell disagrees, suggests that artistic production is triggering such a response. See Howard Morphy and Morgan Perkins eds,, *The Anthropology of Art: a Reader* Blackwell's 2006, also Howard Morphy and Marcus Banks eds., *Rethinking Visual Anthropology* Yale University Press 1997

[70] Which is different from the intentional use of accident in the creative process.

[71] See later the discussion on the ethical affordances of cityscapes in *Qual'effetto?* and the discussion on "diplomatic series" in *Viewpoint / Angle*

[72] See for example the introduction to John McCormick, Bernie Patrasik, *Popular Puppett Theatre in Europe, 1800 – 1914*

[73] Dean McCannell *Staged authenticity: Arrangement of Social Space in Tourist Settings* in *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 79 no. 3 Nov 1973 p. 589; id. *The Tourist*: A *New Theory of the Leisure Class* Schocken Books 1976

[74] J. H. Johnson *Venice incognito: Masks of the Serene Republic,* University of California Press, 2011

and women visiting Venice was constantly subjected to self-regulation. One could trade, subvert or betray social status by playing a role[75] or 'wearing the mask'. But at no point did English Grand Tourists seem to loose sight of *who* they were.[76] Even accounts of the puzzling effects Venice had on its visitors are tame tales of conquest narrating how the author-hero resists and survives the challenges of perception, and not confessions of powerless self-oblivion. More often than not, travellers had an exaggerated idea of what they might be able to do in anticipation of where they would travel. What they actually saw had a *visual effect* on them[77] and I shall explore shortly what this 'effect' could have meant. During the period studied, the urban site of Venice underwent political, demographical and structural changes. But whether or not the travellers' attention focused more on the site or on "the sense of self"[78] remains unanswered. The place itself, with its topography and peculiarities in moving within it, intervened in both cases, irrespective if whether the purpose of travel was the 'outer' or the 'inner' journey.

Travel literature sources, diaries or letters do not allow to infer that immersion in self-forgetting experiences was the path followed by English people on their Grand Tour. Recent research argues that temporary identity-trading games at Venice were less about deceit and more about swift, yet subtle forms of communicating social hierarchy, and that class-signalling occurred not in spite of exterior concealment, but in a way consistent with it.[79] Taken at face-value, contemporary accounts of travellers to Venice report that masks

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[75] See for instance Marcia Pointon *Killing Pictures* in John Barrell ed. *Painting and the Politics of Culture: New Essays on British Art*, Oxford University Press 1992, pp. 39-72*;* Matthew Craske *Art in Europe 1700 – 1830. A history of the visual arts in an era of unprecedented urban economic growth* Oxford University Press 1997; and J. H. Johnson op cit

[76] Frequent mentions of Venice as 'labyrinth', to the point that it became an 18th-century cliché, could have implied also a culturally aware 'take-possession' of the city, through a shared classical myth, rather than really experiencing 'loss', given that moving around was largely guided by hired gondoliers or ciceroni.

[77] William Beckford reports that he knew Venice before he saw it. See W. Beckford *Italy: with sketches of Spain and Portugal…* London 1834. William Freeman writes in 1729: "The description of the situation of Venice everyone knows but still it surprises when you first enter the town". Cf. Jeremy Black *Italy and the Grand Tour*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2003 p.39

[78] Bending p19 intro *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Age of Enlightenment* indeed one needs to ask "what the visitor's object of attention might be - the physical landscape or the sense of self"?

[79] J.H. Johnson op. cit

were mostly worn by Venetians.[80] Even people who 'traded' in identity, such as actors assuming new 'masks' with every role played, did not in fact loose themselves on the Rialto bridge.

On the contrary, even if accepting the existence of an underlying "staged authenticity"[81], this would have contributed to heighten their sense of identity.

"Shall call the winds through long arcades to roar,

Proud to catch cold at a Venetian door,

Conscious they act a true Palladian part,

And if they starve, they starve by rules of art."[82]

On 12 June 1764, the actor David Garrick writes from Venice to George Colman: "I have taken my evening walks of Meditation on the Rialto & have fancied myself waiting for my friend Pierre."[83] When Garrick jokingly recounts his character-impersonation 'trance' cut short at the sight of a passing Venetian nobleman in fancy dress, as he subsequently finds himself transported to a real Court of Justice "ready to burst with laughter" he administers a savvy dosage of fun calculated to enhance his reader's enjoyment.

A few years ago, a selfie-scene on the Rialto bridge stood out: a couple of young English-speaking tourists had confidently handed their camera to an elderly traveller, possibly British. No "genius loci" assumptions[84] are made here in mentioning their Anglophone extraction. I simply wish to clarify that from the *locus* in question - Venice -

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[80] Among many accounts, see for instance Richard Garmston esq. *A Journal of Travels through France & Switzerland…* 1707 BL manuscript

[81] Mc Cannell *Staged authenticity*

[82] Alexander Pope quoted in Bernard Denvir *The eighteenth Century: Art, Design and Society 1689-1789. A documentary history of taste in Britain*, Longman, 1983 p. 65

[83] "I have taken my evening walks of Meditation on the Rialto & have fancied myself waiting for my friend Pierre, but the whole idea had vanished at the Sight of a Venetian Noble, who can give you no Idea in look and dress but that of an Apparitor to a Spiritual Court in the Country - but then their Courts of Justice! & their Lawyers! If there is anything more particularly ridiculous than another, it is one of their Pleadings - It was some minutes before I recovered my Senses & when I found I was really awake & in a Court of Justice, I was ready to burst with laughter" David M. Little and George M. Kahrl, associate ed. Phoebe deK. Wilson, *The Letters of David Garrick* Vol. I p416, (Letter No332), London, Oxford UP 1963

[84] Linking to "cultural geography" studies: see for instance, Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann *Toward a Geography of Art* University of Chicago Press 2004

both these groups of people were equidistant, as they were indeed *equally distant*. They were 'foreigners' whose language I was able to understand. The couple leaned against the parapet and the structure of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* entered the improvised photographer's picture field. The historic building was then hidden under protective nets and rain-resistant billboards. "Move away from the plastic!!" screamed the tourist-photographer in such a horrified tone of voice that I was afraid someone must have fallen into the water. His cry for help warned against a different type of danger. Subject matter, not people had to be safeguarded and framed in an 'authentic' plastic-free past.

Standing on the same bridge two and a half centuries before, David Garrick was also projecting a historical picture onto a contemporary sight. In 18th-century England, Otway's and Shakespeare's plays were narratives easily associated with Venice, resulting in the superimposition of a stage-set for the past onto a present city. Garrick's letters suggest not as much that he expected to find at Venice the set of Otway's play, but that a culturally conditioned *association* was created by his personal superimposing of the set of "Venice preserv'd" onto Venice *observed*.[85] Since the past seemed and seems particularly present at Venice, *being* on the Rialto bridge is described by Garrick as an opportunity to access a "fancied" historical past. Eyesight turned into insight.[86]

Garrick's attempt at Venetian historical reenactment can be somewhat inferred from Zofanny's painting, now hanging at The Garrick Club, where Garrick and his leading lady dressed-up as Belvidera stand against a conventional set opening onto a loosely Venetian-like nocturnal cityscape: a silhouetted suggestion of the Salute, the iconic 17th-century Venetian basilica.[87] Characters from a religiously or allegorically charged past had shimmered before in contemporary outfits on the canvases of Paolo Veronese. Rather than accurately depicted, Garrick's choices for stage costume choices reflect, not the time

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[85] Thomas Otway *Venice Preserv'd, or A Plot Discover'd* London, 1704 BL; also *Letters written by the most ingenious Mr. Thomas Otway and Mrs. K. Philips Publish'd from their Original Copies*, London 1697 BL; Mary McCarthy *Venice observed* G. & R. Bernier, Paris 1956

[86] To paraphrase Rudolf Arnheim op. cit.

[87] It is worth noting that, in an equally theatrical setting, the *Capriccio with a monumental staircase* further discussed in the chapter on Canaletto, the "Venetian-ness" of an otherwise fictitious architectural cityscape is equally resolved by the inclusion of the skyline of the Salute and the Punta della Dogana.

described in Otway's 17th-century play, with its conspiracy-theory blending fact and fiction (the "Spanish conspiracy"),[88] but contemporary Venetian fashion.[89] The sumptuous costumes did not go down well with the audience.[90] Morals, economy and polity come to mind when trying to explain this reaction,[91] but so does the question of the audience's *expectation*. How was Venice at the time supposed to look on a London stage?

A play titillating the desire for domesticated exoticism and erotically tinged danger[92], *Venice preserv'd* had been designed to keep paying audiences engrossed. Garrick's managerial decisions staged Venice in a way at once relying on past imagery and revamping it. Was his planning for commercial success visually resolved in highlighting the recognisable and flattening the differences?[93] What Zofanny's painting transmits is the 'desired' image of the set, picking for the viewer and perhaps the spectator visual cues to a *recognition* expedition to Venice, and inviting *associations* stemming from the play's plot as much as from contemporary political and cultural context.

I argue that visual records of the trip to Venice pursued as souvenirs were chosen to *confirm* the owner's identity and to avoid testing or subverting it. This occurred in direct or subtle ways: authenticating the trip, confirming social status, giving cultural lustre, showing economic flair or even political insight or alluding to personal pursuits. Even though the uplifting beauties and the degrading attractions present in Venice could have led or required

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[88] *A Conspiracy of the Spaniards against the State of Venice*, London 1679 BL

[89] Having one's portrait done while posing in local gear had been a local attraction for Grand Tourists: it further authenticated the trip, while it responded to the charm of exoticism - see Craske op. cit. and Black op. cit.

[90] Kalman A. Burnim & Andrew Wilton eds., *Pictures in the Garrick Club, A Catalogue of the paintings, drawings, watercolours and sculpture compiled and written by Geoffrey Ashton*. Garrick Club, 1997, p.140

[91] one can speculate about the reasons for such a reaction, from readings of Max Weber emphasising the education in a protestant milieu, to a pragmatic trade-oriented approach in line with Adam Smith's opinion on "trinkets", to elite opinion-makers delivering judgements based on sensitivity to the nuances between the stridencies of would-be Venetian luxury, connected to the rarity and cost of materials used and amount of time and skill necessary for producing a richly decorated surface and a Neo-classical conception of taste a high-profile aesthetic reading considering. See Max Weber *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* 1930 (re-ed Routledge 2001); Adam Smith *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, London 1776; Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford eds. *Consumers and luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650 -1850, Manchester University Press*

[92] Lawrence Stone *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500- 1800* Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London 1977; see also Black op.cit.

[93] See Arnheim op.cit. pp 63-67

people to act out of character in unfamiliar circumstances, souvenirs were objects chosen *in the awareness that* they would be brought *home* i.e. to the familiar habitat of the 'self'. Even when a life-changing trip had prompted the choice of an unconventional souvenir, or if presuming that the owner had chosen to hide the souvenir from anyone else upon their return home, these choices would have served to enrich and expand the personality of its owner, in the interest of self-preservation, and with the benefit of 'self-improvement.'[94]

[94] See for instance, Sara Tarlow *The Archaeology of Improvement in Britain* Cambridge University Press 2007, p.177

CHAPTER 2

Grand expectations

Discussing 'visual expectations' of 18th-century English travellers in relation to the perceived image of Venice and the acquisition of Venetian pictorial souvenirs requires a few preliminary considerations. That expectations of the Grand Tour were great is no surprise. Factors involved in raising the stakes were political, as well as cultural[95] and economic.[96] Aristocratic parents expected their offspring to return home culturally versed and as socially polished adults[97], while the progeny themselves were most likely bursting with anticipation imagining themselves the protagonists of uncensored fun. People from the upper working-class, such as tutors, artists, art dealers, and ciceroni, whether freelance or employed, gravitated towards the elites. Filling a social role and taking advantage of the opportunities offered either during or following their stay abroad, they hoped to reinforce their social connections, their reputation for connoisseurship and their financial security. The gentry, and gradually the middle-class were driven by a variety of goals, from commercial

[95] see for instance John G. A. Pocock *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* Princeton University Press 2009 and David Solkin *Rewriting Shaftesbury* in John Barrell ed. 1992

[96] See for instance A.A.Tait, op. cit., pp. 105-107

[97] " Lord Shaftesbury. [to Mr. Locke] ...What I would gladly know of you, is Whether, in general, Travel be not an excellent school for our ingenuous and noble youth, and whether it may not, on the whole, deserve the countenance of a philosopher, who understands the world, and has himself been formed by it?" Richard Hurd *On the Uses of Foreign Travel Dialogues. Considered as a Part of an Englishman Gentleman's Education: Between Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Locke, 1764, p.10* . The dialogues are dated 1700 (dialogue 1 addressed to Robert Molesworth Esq.) For a critique of Shaftesbury's position on Locke, see Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness*: *Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England*, Cambridge University Press 1994*;* See also Shaftesbury, *Paradoxes of State, relating to the present juncture of affairs in England...1702* (quoted in Klein p140)

opportunity[98] to the pleasure of novelty[99] and emulation.[100]

Guidance was needed. The importance of guidance and tutorship[101] had already been averred prior to the Grand Tour period[102], and it has been considered as effective before, during and after travel. In many cases, the formative[103] nature of the Grand Tour prevailed[104], at least declaredly, upon leisurely opportunities. Overall opinion of the tour was however ambivalent. The notion of foreign travel encompassed many nuances between two principal approaches largely thought to be opposed to each other. On the one hand, travel could result in intensive formative experiences which led to lasting social ties and build moral strength through a connection to ancient virtues; on the other hand, it could mean selfish opportunities for pleasure and evasion, overshadowed at best by idleness and at worst by vice.

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[98] See Jan De Vries *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*, Cambridge University Press 2008; J. Brewer & R. Porter, eds *Consumption and the World of Goods*: *Consumption & Culture in 17th & 18th Centuries*, London Routledge 1993; Maxine Berg *The Age of Manufactures 1700-1820, Industry, Innovation and Work in Britain,* 2nd ed Routledge 1994

[99] Bianchi op. cit.

[100] Th. Veblen *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* 1899

[101] "[Locke:] even on the supposition that our Travellers were admitted into what is called, the best company. But how shall this privilege be obtained? In what country can it be thought that the politeness of eminent men will condescend to a free and intimate communication with boys of whatever promising hopes, or illustrious quality? Certain slight and formal civilities, your Lordship knows, are the utmost that can be looked for, and are indeed the whole of what our ill-prepared traveller is capable. Your Lordship did well to remind me of such societies as those in which you and I have, at times, been engaged. The recollection is, of course, flattering and agreeable. But let us presume upon ourselves, my Lord; the Limborchs and Le Clercs are not so obvious to every boy, as they were to us, or, if they were, everybody would profit not so well by them. And if private scholars be thus inaccessible, how shall we think to intrude on the business an occupations of experienced Magistrates and Ministers? And putting both these out for the question, who remain for the tutorage and instruction of these travelled Boys, but such raw, unaccomplished companions, as they left at home, and may find every where in abundance?" Richard Hurd, op. cit p 124-126 ; see also Daniel Webb *An Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting* London 1760; also Bernard Denvir op. cit. p. 94

[102] See for instance Cesare de Seta *Il mito dell'Italia e altri miti* UTET Università 2015

[103] In line with Renaissance acceptations. Palladio saw travel as the sole means to access, observe and measure classical sources: "non solamente ho rivolto con faticoso studio di molt'anni i libri di coloro, che con abbondante felicità d' ingegno hanno arricchito d' eccellentissìmi precetti questa scientia nobilissìma : ma mi son trasferito ancora spesse volte in Roma, & in altri luoghi d'Italia, e fuori; dove con gli occhi propri ho veduto , & con le proprie mani misurato i fragmenti di molti edifici antichi". Andrea Palladio *I Quattro Libri* Venice 1570, dedication

[104] J. Ingamells *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701-1800: Compiled from the Brinsley Ford Archive,* Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art Yale University Press 1997

"The manners conducive to liberty - independence, public-mindedness, martial strength, frugality, and simplicity - were those of the classical citizen as interpreted by Machiavelli. By contrast, the anti-world of the civic moralist was epitomised in luxury, a concept redolent of perversity: self-indulgent and private rather than public; soft and sensuous rather than martial; expensive rather than frugal; excessive rather than simple - in all ways, a threat to moral and economic independence"[105].

Lawrence Klein vivid rendition of this contrast indirectly warns against the infallibility of a critical approach pitting formative travel against leisurely travel, which should however be questioned. One may be tempted to consider that embracing travel as an enriching opportunity for the 'self' or refusing travel as a distraction, if not a destruction of a personality in-the-making were the only two ways in which the question was looked at. In other words, either avoiding cognitive closure by embracing the unknown or seeking cognitive closure by rejecting it.[106] This either-or discourse of two antinomic stances, 'virtuous travel' versus 'vicious travel' as it were, contributes little to our understanding of patterns of thought of specific individuals.[107] Contradictory attitudes to travel might have been alternatively true, applicable to different people, but they could also have been simultaneously motivating the same individual considering and experiencing travel.

The fact that expectations about Venice were shaped by as much as they were shaping visual representations of it is worth considering. Insight into how these images circulated, were appreciated or "consumed" - whether or not their mnemonic function was critically acknowledged - can be had from extant accounts, particularly those focusing on the history of collecting.[108]

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[105] Klein, op.cit p146

[106] Amos Tversky, Daniel Kahneman *Judgement under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases* in *Science, New Series* Vol. 185 No.4157 (Sep. 27, 1974) pp. 1124-1131; See also and Daniel Kahneman, Alan B Krueger *Developments in the Measurement of Subjective Well-Being* in *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Volume 20, Nr. 1, Winter 2006, pp.3-24 where painful and pleasurable experiences are understood based on context, mood (emotional state), and duration of stimuli, and a U-index is introduced to study the amount of time one is willing to spend in an unpleasant state.

[107] See Black op. cit. Introduction p.3 - 6 in which culture is seen "often at the cusp between cosmopolitanism and xenophobia". A contemporary need to label past experiences for which the context cannot be credibly reconstructed gets in the way of an insightful structural analysis, all subsequent inference should be made with an awareness of this fact.

[108] See for instance F. Haskell 1980, Michael Levey Early Renaissance, Pelican Books 1967 and K. Pomian *Collectionneurs amateurs et curieux Paris, Venise : XVIe- XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, Gallimard, 1987

Without pretending to extract a generalised pattern of image circulation rigorously observed in all cases, from conception to destination, visual expectations involved, firstly, channels of communication operating at distance, which could have been textual[109] or visual.[110] A distinction between the two is not worth pursuing in a study about visual expressions of the rhetoric of Venice. In both visual and textual sources, the Italian peninsula, with its geographical unity encompassing political fragmentation[111], was presented to English Grand Tourists as a scene of contradiction: the past of the Roman empire was compared and contrasted with the reality of small Italian Renaissance states, courtly aristocracies and modern Republics which in turn were contrasted with contemporary 18th-century mappings redesigning Italy's political and economic contours.

Secondly, visual expectation was linked to travelling objects:[112] as earlier said, a sense of anticipation was supported by Venetian imagery, which in turn weighed on the selection of activities and experiences among the wealth of stimuli that Venice had to offer, such as attend certain events or visit certain sites. Maps, albums of views, illustrated guides and other forms of pictorial representation also made itineraries visual.[113]

Thirdly, this required on site *adaptation* from both offerers and pursuers of pictorial souvenirs. Exposure to the previous data communicated through the above mentioned channels as well as interaction with travelling objects overlaid direct perceptions, the whole resulting in a composite visual kit that was stored and shared.

Fourthly and finally, expectation was contributing to re-shaping the travel narrative: once at home, this occurred through oral accounts; in the ways in which objects chosen as souvenirs of Venice were displayed[114]; through the possible production of subsequent imagery. All of

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[109] Frances Yates *The Art of Memory* Routledge & Kegan Paul 1966; see also Klein op. cit..

[110] James S. Ackerman *Palladio,* Penguin Books, 1966

[111] see for instance Braudel Mediteranee… Norbert Elias on courtly society

[112] The study of objects as part of a travelling material culture, researched with various methods. Marcel Rheims *La vie étrange des objets* Plon 1959; Appadurai op. cit; Kopytoff op.cit.; Hahn & Weiss op.cit

[113] Black *op.cit*.

[114] See further the discussion on views taken from opposite angles in Chapter 11 *Contemporary Competition* paragraph *Zucchi*

which fed the perceptions of future generations of travellers.

This one-two-three-four algorithm may broadly suggest the ways in which images of Venice were *used* - again, whether or not these uses involved mnemonic ends - while it does not offer much insight into the way they were produced. This enumeration should not be regarded as indicating a strict chronology and could not constitute an insightful statistical tool, since stages were omitted or could overlap. Sometimes, adaptation to the site, exposure to its visual representations, and even shaping of the visual narrative occurred simultaneously. A diary of one traveller could be the travel guide of another.

J. Milles travels to Italy in 1734 and the way in which he shapes his diary betrays the ambitions of an illustrated travel guide: the compilation of images is a visual record, but also a collage of the "Remarkable"[115] which substitutes draughtsmanship with print-collecting. When he does not find the image, Milles will however make a sketch, such as the suggestion of the doge's acorn hat hovering on a blank page in his manuscript diary shows.[116] The prints provide an indication of his itinerary and interests: Venice is documented with Coronelli's *Pianta Iconografica di Venetia Descritta…,*[117] to which iconic views of St. Mark's area are added, thoroughly annotated with translations of the captions. A personal record can thus be easier transformed into a potential means of social authentication of the trip to Venice.[118] On the plate showing *La Scala dei giganti* at *Palazzo Ducale*, In his diary, next to a sketch of the plan of the *cortile,* Milles adds the note: "a composite pillar upon each peer."[119] The importance of the fact that he is familiar with the Five Orders of Architecture will emerge further.[120] What can be immediately said is that this offers insight into what his selection criteria were. The previously mentioned interest in all things classical, shaped by education

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[115] see further the discussion on Aglionby in *Mnemonics*

[116] J Milles manuscript BL

[117] Vincenzo Coronelli *Pianta Iconografica di Venetia Descritta, e Dedicate, dal P. Maestro Coronelli Lettore e Cosmografo della Serenissima Repubblica All'Illustrissimo, et Eccellentissimo Sig. Carlo Ruzini Cav.,* Venice in ibid.

[118] Handwritten translations double the captions or comment on the images: "The staircase in the Doge's Palace called the staircase of the Giants"[…] Part of the Tower of St. Mark […] the buildings on one side of St. Marks's place called the new Procuratie" ibid.

[119] ibid. BL

[120] see Chapters 3 and 4

and informing expectation, was further reflecting upon social aspiration, perhaps to the status of a "connoisseur."[121]

When prints bore numbers, it was clear that they were part of a series; nonetheless, they could also be individually bought.[122] Here, disparate numbered plates are glued together, receiving *new* 'catalogue' numbers, so as to become a new series. Whether unable or unwilling to acquire the whole series of which these plates were a part it does not matter, Milles' decision to re-order the plates into his own *personalised* album shows an aspiration to the kind of editorial consistency which was the mark of artworks for well-to-do travellers. This aspiration to 'consistency' is also visible in another choice he makes: his bound diaries, though one bought in Rome and the other in Venice, are similar in aspect and size. Perhaps imagining these diaries on his library shelf or *écritoire*, and having completed 'volume one' between Rome and Venice, Milles ensures 'volume two' will follow.[123]

Without a doubt, factors of availability and economy intervened in the decision to acquire specific prints, along with aesthetic criteria. However, as I said, before all these factors could exert their influence, the images had to bear a reasonably *recognisable* resemblance to the sites depicted, which enabled viewers to make further *personal associations*. Data extrapolated from the use and reception of cityscapes as souvenirs may constitute a base and a means of verification for practice-based hypotheses related to their production. As earlier said, meanings attributed to Venetian imagery used as an auxiliary to memory should be thus discussed, whenever possible, from the moment of their conception. First, what did Venice offer in visual terms?

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[121] see later, also in Chapter 2, the paragraph *A Painter musts and must nots*. Milles also includes devotional images combining architecture with iconography, whether chosen for their availability or for religious reasons, or for both.

[122] see latter Chapter 9 on Carlevarijs' album *Le Fabbriche…*

[123] The quality of the paper in the diary bought in Venice is significantly poorer than that of the one acquired in Rome.

See it to believe it

Travellers to Venice conceived of it based on what they knew, because painting afforded "the pleasure [...] of travelling by land or water",[124] and on what they experienced while there. Often, these two types of sources offered contradictory information. The task of making sense of Venice was resolved with the mediating intervention of the traveller's own set of values, which was *applied* to Venice.

Undoubtedly, the urban tissue of Venice looked different in the 18th-century. Much less sightseeing could be accessed by foot than is possible today, which tied the traveller to going by water. This had the inevitable result of making the areas where one could walk stand out. In a way, these sites were more 'recognisable' and therefore more 'memorable' to the overwhelming majority of Grand Tourists, born and bread on the mainland, than the awe-inspiring view of a floating city, even if seen for the first time. The simple reason was that such sites could be reassuringly experienced in a familiar way, that is by strolling.

"A person accustomed to the rides, the walks, the activity of ordinary towns, soon grows tired of the confinement of Venice, and of the dull indolent see-saw motion of Gondolas. He longs to expatiate in fields, and to range at large through streets, without the encumbrance of a boat and a retinue of Gondolieri. We therefore left Venice on the sixth of March without much regret."[125]

While this text seems to describe a failed effort of adaptation on the traveller's part, it also offers a reason why the images of St. Marks Square, the Rialto area & bridge and the larger *campi* were rendered and perceived as iconic. One could walk there. In his manuscript *Journal of travels...* from 1707,[126] Richard Garmston esq. expressed, as others had before

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[124] "By the help of this art [painting] we have the pleasure of feeling a vast variety of things and actions, of travelling by land or water, of knowing the humours of low life without mixing with it [this is an evocative characterisation of the "safe exoticizing" experience which the city of Venice provided already in the early modern era] of viewing [...] all real or imagined appearances in heaven, earth, or hell" J. Richardson jr. *ed The Works of Mr. Jonathan Richardson, Consisting of I. The Theory of Painting II. Essay on the Art of Criticism so far as it relates to Painting III. A Science of A Connoisseur,* London 1773, p 3-4; The reference is, again, to Leonardo and the ideal of the demiurgical artist.

[125] *A classical tour* by Eustace Chetwode vol 1. chapter IV p209

[126] Garmston manuscript BL

him, the contradiction between a vividly perceived annoyance with Venetian mainland[127] and a sense of awe in front of the natural scenery. As he passes through "the most charming country [his] eyes ever beheld or [his] imagination can paint", he *writes*, and at the same time entrusts the scenery to *visual* memory, facilitated through pictures.[128] Arriving in Venice, countless travel accounts depict Venetian residents ritually inhabiting their city through a stroll in St. Marks Square, mirrored by foreigners, whom they observed and who observed them.[129]

Contemporary cognitive psychologists distinguish between visual learning and auditory learning, or between optical and phonic transmission of knowledge.[130] Recent studies suggest that learners find it easier to handle, or receive, store, process, decipher, codify new content with the help of pre-acquired knowledge. Experiential data tends to confirm this.[131] Comparing results obtained when learning a new language with and without the auxiliary of a familiar language is reported as follows: "from the perspective of paired-associate learning, the effect of study direction reveals the relative importance of encoding new information and attaching it to existing knowledge, compared with the relative difficulty of producing a novel word in the new language."[132] In other words: "a child learns to read what a child 'knows'"[133] - whether teaching involves 'seeing' concepts, or 'knowing' or

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[127] "I must confess I do not approve of the People of the Venetian State, they impose upon strangers more than any other people I ever met with & you pay more for going upon very bad Roads than in any other part of Italy" ibid.

[128] between Vicenza and Padua, Garmston notes "This day we passed through the most charming country my eyes ever beheld or my imagination can paint it was like a garden, Mulberry Trees & Maple Trees with vines running all over them likewise from tree to tree" ibid.

[129] see for instance Chapter 10 *Canaletto*

[130] Drawing largely on Arnheim: "Language cannot do the job directly because it is no direct avenue for sensory contact with reality, it serves only to name what we have seen or heard or thought" Rudolf Arnheim op.cit. introduction p.2

[131] see Ellyn Lucas Arwood *"Language Function: An Introduction to Pragmatic Assessment and Intervention for Higher Order Thinking and Better Literacy* London Jessica Kingsley Publishers 2010

[132] Schneider et al. quoted in Robert A Bjork and Judith F. Kroll *Desirable difficulties in vocabulary learning* American Journal of Psychology 2015 ; 128(2) pp. 241–252

[133] Heilman (2005/1964) quoted in Ellyn Arwood op.cit. pp124-125

'hearing' concepts.[134] But Venice looked as "an impossibility within an impossibility":[135] the sheer sight of it posed a *credibility*[136] dilemma for the modern traveller. This transcends the question of tools of choice or of channels of communication. It goes to the core issue, which is a *conceptual* one, in other words, *conceiving* of both what was 'seen' and 'heard'. Travellers had to decide whether they thought indeed that they needed to *see* it in order to believe it, or they felt that they could rely primarily on previous knowledge.

People coming to Venice would have combined pre-acquired vocabulary *and* visual knowledge in order to make sense of the city. This required[137] either circumscribing the unknown to what was 'known' - that is, previously seen or read in printed form or heard in oral accounts; or finding or inventing new knowledge capable of providing descriptions and explanations of the unknown. Intrinsically reinforcing already familiar experiences or challenging them, walking in Venice may not have felt different, but it *looked* different. If I say: "walk-on-water" extraordinary imagery springs to mind. Everyone at Venice looked as if they were doing just that. Looking at pictures of a city-built-on-water,[138] one might think that new, literally 'ground-breaking' expressions were appropriate to describe it. The construct of the 'uniqueness' of Venice, emphasising 'unique' attributes in order to describe and react to unique circumstances needs to be taken cautiously. Circumstances may have been unique, but the responses to them were not, even if they required a stretch of imagination and of vocabulary. 'Novelty' could not have been perceived as such unless in relation to something already familiar.

It is plausible to suggest that, similarly to learning a new language, compare-and-contrast processes were more often resorted to than to invention. Images or sensations of

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[134] Entering disputed territory, it would be interesting to assess how visual thinkers 'think' of Venice as opposed to auditory thinkers. Recent research argues that English is an 'auditory language' and dealing with information takes therefore preferential paths. see note above

[135] Howell op. cit.

[136] see *Part 4*

[137] No attempt is made here to consider images as codified language and take a semiotic approach to explain how travellers to Venice coped with visual content that challenged or confirmed their pre-acquired knowledge. The parallel between response to visual novelty and learning a new language is intended at a processual level.

[138] see for instance Addison, op.cit.

water indicating potential danger, as in the case of other extra-ordinary[139] stimuli, could not have been effectively coped with without reference to previous knowledge. Emotional and rational recognition offer reassurance in an unfamiliar place: travellers to Venice would have sought to reduce the level of the unknown or unfamiliar. Logical problem-solving and metonymic constructions alike proceed by expressing an entity in relation to another, whether by approaching the unknown through that which is known, or the whole from a part. 'Making sense' of Venice involved a process of *adaptation,* responding to various stimuli. The traveller's adaptability was constantly tested at Venice: a sense of out-of-place-ness contrasted with the process of acquiring new data. From literary accounts and from previous experiences, adaptation enabled people to explore opposing concepts: known - unknown, old - new, amateur - connoisseur, open - close, static - moving.

By any token, Venice seemed *new* to the majority of people travelling to it, notwithstanding that Venice reached people before they could reach Venice. Venice assailed their senses on many levels, challenging their imagination and stretching their powers to endure and cope with its novelty. Paradoxically, since the 16th-century, communication channels concurrently contributed already to rendering Venetian imaginary both *typified* and unfamiliar, through circulation of information prompting people who wished to travel; trading interests; access to main facilities and institution venues.

The proliferation of printed images of Venice, thanks to the role played by the Republic in the development of the early modern European publishing industry[140] allowed descriptions of the city to travel to people before they travelled to Venice. Superlative and celebratory evocations of Venice, communicated at first through written headlines, gradually combined with visual tropes, privileged areas of ceremony and encounter which they illustrated in maps and topographical prints, images of commercial hustle-and-bustle, depictions of means of transportation at once local and exotic. Engravings like *Famoso Ponte*

[139] Gordon op. cit.

[140] see discussion further on printed images in 16th-century Venice in *A lion's tale*

di Rialto (Fig. 1) or *La meravigliosa Piazza di San Marco*[141] (Fig. 2) or mirroring views of St Marks Square seen from the sea and flanked by the two columns guarding the *Piazzetta*,[142] are such examples. The shift from 'frontal' views[143] towards oblique views of the main entrance into Venice, St. Mark's basin and area, introduced a heightened 'sense of itinerary' similar to the way in which mainland Europeans perceived architecture in it's surrounding landscape. Ships could not sail perpendicularly into St. Marks. The ship would sail along the shore before anchoring and it was from this perspective that travellers would get their first sighting of the city before disembarking. Carlevarijs and other 18th-century painters were both aware of and contributed to this mode of viewing. The paintings are static images of St. Marks and the *Riva,* but the slanting angle, as I shall further argue,[144] nonetheless evokes a sense of something dynamic, as if seen from a boat in movement or by strolling.

In relation to trade, iconic imagery was concerned with orientation and recognition, albeit to fulfil a different function. It depicted, literally and figuratively, a familiar ground as a space to negotiate sales and acquisitions. *Il broglio* and the Rialto area were presented and advertised as economically as well as politically charged areas.

Ease of access to administrative and political headquarters sprung from economic and diplomatic forces. Diplomacy required inventiveness, often in a visual form. From an early stage Venice's unique transportation system has been an integral part of its urban image, creating memorable pageantry and reinforcing political stances in the eyes of foreign travellers. It must be observed that medieval and early modern representations of Venice prior to Jacopo de Barbari's map from 1500 show that there were still enough open areas between buildings.[145] These areas were accessible by foot. The '*naiveté*' of such representations does not allow us to calculate actual distances, since human size cannot be measured from the height of the entrances to the houses. However, water and earth are

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[141] Rasciotti, Donato *La meravigliosa piazza di San Marci di Venetia* 1580; Perrelle, Gabriel & Silvestre, Israël *Veuë Dú Port De Saint Marc De Venise.* / Israel Silvestre Invent. ; Perrelle Fecit. (1600); Prints part of the collection of King George III of Great Britain, BL

[142] *Atlas de Venise et de ses Monuments, Venice* 110.L.55, Victoria & Albert Museum

[143] see discussion on Toeput in Part 3, paragraph *Visual narrative*

[144] see Chapter 8 *Movement*

[145] Cod. Lat. XIV, 77(=2991), cc. 22v-23r. BNM

clearly demarcated, and both are visible. As the Venetian urban infrastructure gradually expanded, thanks to economy and politics, so did land gradually disappear from the 'picture' with the result of creating a striking skyline, composed solely of architecture and water. The 'optical' absence of land from the visual field, as well as the ubiquity of water were contributing, as I shall further argue[146], to gradually and intentionally crafting the image of Venice in a way favouring and communicating ceremony. Venice showed a typified, and at the same time unusual imagery *because* it involved water *and* built environment. If it was important, it had to involve water. Events were staged close enough to water to awaken awe, while at the same time being sufficiently land-based to maintain a sense of safety.

Venice down-size and up-scale

Critical approaches to the percept of Venice by 18th-century tourists are divided. Discussing Venice as a 'cityscape' we have an image of a "Gothic" town somewhat disappointing to travellers in search for the antique and who therefore preferred Rome,[147] and also a percept of a haven of Palladianism and classical revival.[148] A preliminary observation is that cityscapes prioritised buildings over people. The resulting image risked to be artificially monumentalised, at the cost of rendering it an archaeological site. This worked for Rome, perceived as the European quintessence of classical architecture and sculpture.

However, what Rome had and Venice lacked was *not* classical culture.[149] It was space.

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[146] see further Chapter 8 paragraph Viewpoint / *Angle*

[147] "[M]ore generally Venice was not a city that permitted tourists to commune with Classical civilisation. A medieval city, greatly embellished with the products of sixteenth-century Italian culture, Venice offered a different set of perceptions and in many respects was a distinct civilisation, certainly compared to the Classical-Baroque interaction of Rome" J. Black, op. cit. p 40.

[148] With the exception of iconic sites, 18th-century companion guides to artistic attractions in Venice and the Veneto often purposefully left out 'Gothic' architecture. Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi's *Forestiere…* of 1761 makes no mention of such examples in the entire city of Vicenza. See Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi *Il Forestiere Istrutto nelle cose più rare di Architettura e di alcune Pitture della città di Vicenza…*Vicenza 1780, facsimile edition by Dedalo Rome 2009; "Nel Forestiere Istruito… può sembrare straordinario che non vengano mai nominati i tanti edifici gotici di Vicenza. Questo si spiega con l'affermarsi, nella cultura architettonica dell'epoca, delle teorie del classicismo e dell'illuminismo", Editor's note, pVIII

[149] By the end of the 16th-century, the interest for collecting the antique, a long standing, massive cultural phenomenon in Venice - continuing well into the 19th-century - was an accountable fact; see K. Pomian op.cit.

Space was needed in order to allow past and present to co-exist peacefully, at least in architectonic terms. Rome boasted a juxtaposition of past and present. In Venice the lack of space led to their superimposition. On this grounds, the persistence of gothic architecture may well be seen as an urban expression of Venetian polity, that is, resilience to change and parsimony leading to over-consumption (to the point of erosion) of the extant material culture. Venetians had been reusing, restoring the same built structures, therefore resisting change. Unlike at Rome, those 'Gothic' houses would be, with a few important exceptions, *adapted*, rather than demolished. This comments on Venetian politics, where an oligarchic form of government survived until the dawn of the contemporary era, though in a fossilised shape, either slow or unable to react to social threat and opportunity.[150]

In conclusion, it can be said that *both* the "gothic" and the "classical" met on the grounds of practice in shaping the image of Venice. Cityscapes required simultaneous mental and manual operations. For the sake of definition, I shall briefly distinguish between intellectual and manual operations, before following the two parallel streams, practical and theoretical, as they occurred and therefore they should be considered: together.

Intellectual operations involved mnemonics, numerical calculus, abstraction, substitution, metonymy, comparison, projection. The relationship between parts and the whole and the process through which a part is made to stand for the whole are essential in a discussion about objects encapsulating records of travel. Manual operations encompassed drawing and mark-making, measurement, annotation, graphical elaboration and layout of organised content, technical operations involving materials and methods, such as mixing and applying colours in an orderly sequence. Both types of operations were encompassed in practice and reflected the Venetian urban tissue. Euclidean geometry, Vitruvian architecture, music, commercial mathematics, navigation:[151] all involved intellectual *and* manual skills. Once more, this enumeration should be proof enough that separating theory from practice

[150] And eventually leading to its downfall - see for instance the reports of ambassador Dolfin during his appointment in Paris, more interested in reporting on balloon entertainments than to offer space to report on the delicate and urgent matters. See papers Dolfin ASV

[151] Daud Sutton *Platonic and Archimedean Solids,* Wooden Books 1998

would limit the scope of this research which, rather than an art-historical enquiry, is an enquiry into the history of art *practice*.

Qual' effetto?

Were objects of memory designed according to expectations, or was expectation shaped by objects? How specifically did English Grand Tourists relate their expectations to the visual modes of recording their visit to Venice? With regard to 'visual' expectation, the first place to focus on is the discourse on painting in 18th-century England, especially landscape painting, as it projected and proceeded from attitudes toward 'landskips' in general, attitudes relevant to cityscapes and Venetian scenery in particular. With regard to modes of recording, the content and *maniera* of Venetian cityscapes sought as souvenirs can offer insight.

I shall refer to a small sheet of paper, worth reading in a discussion on practice, as it comes from a practitioner's hand. Among the Strange documents held at the British Library,[152] this brief note is included in the correspondence between James Smith Barry, British traveller to Venice and John Strange, British Resident in Venice. On Thursday evening [20 sept 1781], Mr Barry enquires about pictures of Bonifaccio.[153] A week later, on 28 September 1781, he writes a new letter, keen to ensure that his art dealings will be followed through after his departure, as he adds a post-scriptum to the letter:

"On my leaving Venise having seen some views of that place made by Fr Tironi I gave an Order for 10 at ten zecchinis each provided they were done well & allow'd to be so by Judges. ..[mark?] shd you not think me taking too much liberty I she [should] esteem it a favour would you be so kind to have this commission done for me particularly knowing your affairs & drawing upon me agreeable enclosed I send you the note of their sizes."

[152]SUPPLEMENTARY STRANGE PAPERS, Add MS 60537 : 1757-1787, BL

[153] whether Dei Pitati or Veronese it is not clear at this point of the letter, which instead states the English traveller's interest in Venetian Old Masters

The painter's[154] note is indeed enclosed with the letter. It is far more insightful than the mix of formal request and personal favour coming across from the written exchange between the two Englishmen. What does the addition of this note bring to the understanding of the missive and its context?

Of course the first reason for its inclusion is functional: the note gives an indication of size. Undoubtedly, this is a series of views, since all paintings were to be identical in size.

Secondly, the subject-matter of the paintings in the series plausibly offers highlights of an itinerary: "*S Giorgio, Piazzetta, Redentore, S Marco, Cristoforo di Murano, Rialto.*" Whether this itinerary had been or was to be physically completed, or visually referenced, authenticated or narrated is secondary. The nexus between personal narrative and ownership of the picture was based on a *declared* direct knowledge of the site. Narrative and picture endorsed each other: it was narrative which turned a picture into visual proof, which, in turn, enabled narrative. For contemporary commissioned pictures, subject matter and execution often weighed as much as, if not more than, the author's credentials: aspects pertaining to collecting and market value were less defining in the picture's perception and reception than in the case of an antique piece. The exception was when these aspects disclosed the author's connoisseurship and status, in which case they were subsumed to the narrative.

Thirdly, this list of agreed paintable places at Venice, in the final years of the Republic, confirms the long-maintained iconic status of a number of sites, visits to which had become fixtures on the Grand Tour trail. The six sites enumerated refer, unsurprisingly to St. Mark's, Rialto, Murano *and* Palladian architecture.

Fourthly and finally, the note ends elliptically with a mention of four further views of the Grand Canal. A metonymic[155] annotation uses one word to describe in an elusive way the further four views: *"ed altre 4 del canal grande di quelle che faranno più effetto."*[156]

Now, what did "effect" mean? To what intent had Tironi used this word?

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[154] for a biography of the artist, see Dario Succi *Francesco Tironi L'ultimo vedutista del Settecento veneziano* La Laguna

[155] See Stewart op. cit.

[156] "and four other views of the kind able to have the most powerful effect / have the strongest impact"

Question one requires a linguistic digression on the uses of the term "effect" in London and Venice during the long 18th-century. Present-day performative overtones did not seem to characterise the word "effect" before the mid 18th-century, at least not in Tuscan[157] lexical sources and scholarly literature. Here "effect" seemed solidly bound to its Latin etymology: the thing receiving its existence from a cause, at most an advantage ensuing from the completion of an action. Eighteenth-century English dictionaries concur in indicating this as the first meaning. As good dictionaries should, Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of English Language*[158] enlisted both extant and currently used meanings of "effect" so they should have been the ones coming into John Smith Barry's mind upon reading Francesco Tironi's note. To be sure "effect" was "that which is produced by an operating cause". However, the choice of examples *in* Johnson's *Dictionary* is indicative of ongoing shifts in meaning. He cites Locke: "effect is the substance produced, or simple idea introduced into any subject, by the exerting of power". Then he cites "Addison on Italy": "We see the pernicious effects of luxury in the ancient Romans, who immediately found themselves poor as soon as the vice got footing among them". We are thus receiving a reading of 'effect' as *influence,* which, as a plus, hints at travel to Italy seen as a historical incursion into classical culture. The following meanings are "Consequence", "Consequence intended, success[159], advantage", "Completion, perfection", "Reality, no mere appearance" and, finally, "[in plural] Goods, moveables."[160]

The influence held by Johnson's *Dictionary* expanded also through the efforts of other lexicographers. *The New English and French Pocket Dictionary* was a compilation of

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[157] For both chronological vicinity and degree of influence I have used the *Vocabolario della Crusca,* in its 1734 5th edition printed in Venice: "Effetto. Quello, che riceve l'essere dalla cagione, la cosa stessa [...] Effetto: Successo [where Successo meant - Il succedere, avvenimento | succeduto, that is "the occurance, the event occurred"] *Per Fine, compimento* [...] *Per Beneficio fatto* [...] *Per lo stesso, che Sustanza, avere*". The *Vocabolario...* together with Francesco Soave's *Grammatica ragionata della lingua italiana* of 1771 was instrumental in the diffusion of Tuscan models of spoken and written language. Other sources are Gian Pietro Bergantini and Francesco D'Aberti.

[158] in all editions starting with 1755

[159] A word with a similar evolution path, "success" was given as a synonym for "effect" for it meant at the time, both in London and in Venice, *completion / compimento*.

[160] Samuel Johnson *A Dictionary of the English Language*, London, 1785 edition, Vol. 1, p. 673

various sources, including Johnson's work, written by Thomas Nugent, a successful Grand Tour travel writer.[161] The dictionary "had more than 50 European editions and four American editions."[162] Bi-lingual dictionaries[163] were most useful in a context of travel and exchange, cultural and economic; the fact that a writer of travel guides took the pains to write one is a good reminder that the *same* words were used abroad as well as at home. In the edition of the *Pocket dictionary* published in 1781,[164] the year in which Tironi wrote the note, "effect" still gravitates around scope and causality.[165] By 1804 "effect" translates from English into French as a tool to measure success or completion.[166]

But what were the uses of the word *effect or effetto* in the artistic milieu? Already in 1548, Paolo Pino wrote from Venice, competing with the Venetian edition of Leon Battista Alberti's treatise published the year before:

"*Et che cusi sia, la ragione e ch'uno pittore non puo nell'arte nostra produrre effetto alcuno della sua imaginativa, se prima quella cosa imaginata non vien da gli altri sensi intrinseci, ridotta all'conspetto dell'Idea con quella integrità, ch'ella s'hà da produrre, tal che l'intelletto l'intende perfettamente in se stesso, senza mecare fuori del suo proprio, ch'è l'intendere, similmente sono intese l'altre arti liberali, come Dialetica, Grammatica,*

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[161] Thomas Nugent *The Grand Tour, or A Journey through the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, and France,* of which the third volume is dedicated to Italy. The four-volumes guide was reprinted more than fifty times since 1767. An entire volume was dedicated to Italy.

[162] Many editions were posthumous. "Thomas Nugent's The New Pocket Dictionary of the French and English Languages first published in 1767" Massimo Sturiale *Prescriptivism and 18th-century Bilingual Dictionaries* in Joan C. Beal, Carmela Nocera & Massimo Sturiale eds. *Perspectives on Prescriptivism. Linguistic Insights* 73 - *Studies in Language and Communication*, Peter Lang, Bern, 2008, p.182

[163] Glossary of art terms derived from Italian appeared in English in the second half of the 17th-century: "Evelyn, in the 1660s, and Aglionby, in the 1680s, struggled with the same dilemma of how to adapt the language of art, which had developed in Italy, for English readers" Craig Ashley Hanson *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* Chicago UP 2009 p 99

[164]French retroversion from English

[165] "effet -effect, deed | en effet - really | en effet - and indeed | pour cet effet -to that end" in *The new pocket dictionary of the french and english languages, containing ...by Thomas Nugent* Publisher s.n., 1781 available online at https://archive.org/details/newpocketdictio02nugegoog

[166] "effect" - of no effect - inutile |to no effect - vain | to this effect - | to take effect - reussir" *The New English and French Pocketdictionary Carefully Compiled from the Dictionaries of the French Academy, Dr. S. Johnson, and Others of the Best Authorities, by Thomas Nugent* .. 1804 available online at https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_n1tBM_p4RmAC

Retorica, & l'altre, onde noi pittori siamo intelligenti nell'arte nostra teoricamente senza operare […] Che val tal virtu non la facendo manifesta con l'effetto?"[167]

Therefore "effect" is a product of imagination, however it is a concrete product, a practical manifestation of an intellectual effort, and this ambivalence reflects the controversy over painting as a liberal or a mechanical art, which I shall briefly address.

In Pino's dialogue "effect" is connected to the category of "invention": one of the defining features in all modern discourses on painting, as much intellectual as it was mechanical. Among English practitioners and theorists of painting at the turn of the 18th-century the word "effect" was already used to mean "light effects" as well as "atmospheric effects" often with an augmentative intent,[168] referring to a striking, impactful image.

This remained the case until the end of the century, as illustrated in John Russell's treatise on pastel painting:[169] "It must be remembered, the light must be always placed against the dark, and the weak against the strong, in order to produce force and effect, and vice versa." Along with specific references to *chiaroscuro*, the word "effect" maintained a broader connection to pictorial composition. Marshall Smith had admonished in 1693: "[i]n supplying Light and Shadows observe to dispose of the Effects, by placing all the parts of the Subject, so that at the same time we may see what the whole Composition produces."[170]

The level of *abstraction* encapsulated in the word "effect" is clearly indicated in George Turnbull's *Treatise…* of 1740, where *represented* "effects of nature" are seen as *scientific* evidence not only of optical and meteorological phenomena, but of the abstract

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[167] Paolo Pino op.cit. foll.10

[168] Throughout Smith's treatise of 1693, the word is used with attributes like "best" or "extravagant": Marshall Smith *The Art of Painting According to Theory and Practice of the Best Italian, French and Germane Masters….* 2nd ed. 1693 London, BL

[169] John Russell *Elements of Painting with Crayons* 1777

[170] Marshall Smith, op.cit. p.86; "Effect" appears in numerous other places in Smith's treatise: Cap XXI The Effects of Light p54; "Nevertheless we must generally consider the best Effects of Nature" p58; Cap. XXVI Of Colours, their Natures and Effects p68-69; "If the Action be in Uninhabited places, you have liberty to represent the Extravagant Effects of Nature" p87; see also George Turnbull *A Treatise on ancient painting* London A. Millar 1740, p. 146. David Solkin quotes from Turnbull: "in short, Pictures, which represent visible Beauties, or the Effects of Nature in the visible World, by the different modification of Light and Colours, in consequence of the [Newtonian] laws which relate to light, are samples of what these laws do or may produce. And therefore they are proper Samples or Experiments to help and assist us in the Study of those Laws […] They are then Samples or Experiments in natural Philosophy" Solkin, op.cit. p.78

reasoning allowing for the understanding of natural laws:[171] "And therefore they are proper Samples or Experiments to help and assist us in the Study of those Laws [...] They are then Samples or Experiments in natural Philosophy". As David Solkin wrote, for Turnbull even "landscape paintings, are bound to promote an awareness of 'the moral Ends or Final Causes of Effects' that are manifest in the physical world". This moral overtone rendered the word "effect" a means of differentiation, on the painter's part, between mechanical reproduction of and ethical reflection on 'nature'. Ethically imbued ideas informed the approach to landscape, especially picturesque landscape, well into the early 19th-century.

That the meaning of "*effect*" kept gravitating around the aspect of light was partly due to the crucial role that theorists of the Picturesque considered it played in a painting. Light could transform views otherwise 'uninteresting' into paintings. William Gilpin's "explanation of terms" preceding his *Essay upon Prints...*[172] defines "Effect: arises chiefly from the management of light; but the word is sometimes applied to the general view of a picture". Later, responding to ethical concerns increasingly associated not just with historical-allegorical, but also to view painting, William Gilpin's desire to pursue and, ideally, produce images "analogous to various feelings, and sensations of the mind" prompted him to exclaim "where would be the harm of saying, that landscape, like history painting, hath its ethics!"[173] By contrasting "general effect" with "particular object" Gilpin implies the overall perception one has of a picture, as well as the need for unity of the "particular objects" composing it.

This hints, finally and most importantly, at a broader understanding of the term "effect" as criterion for measuring the "excellency" of a painting. The first treatise translating the Italian humanistic views on painting into English was William Aglionby's *Painting*

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[171] "Turnbull defines painting as a form of cultural expression that can marshal the conjoined resources of moral and natural philosophy for the advancement of human understanding. No doubt certain pictures are primarily moral, and others primarily natural; but even works that fall in the second category, such as landscape paintings, are bound to promote an awareness of 'the moral Ends or Final Causes of Effects' that are manifest in the physical world" Solkin, op. cit, p.78, Turnbull p.132

[172] William Gilpin *An Essay upon Prints Containing Remarks upon the Principles of Picturesque Beauty; the Different Kinds of Prints; and the Characters of the Most Noted Masters...*second ed. London 1768, Preface p. x

[173] Malcolm Andrews *The Search for the Picturesque*, p. 38; see also Gilpin, *Two Essays*, 1808 ed.

Illustrated in Three Diallogues…of 1685, in which the Royal Society fellow states: "So an Historical Piece that does not produce the Effect it is designed for, cannot pretend to an Excellency, though it be never so finely Painted."[174] In this context[175] "effect" clearly indicates a change in the beholder's state of mind or heart; the author further uses the epithets "joyful", "solemn" and "sad" as examples of possible "effects". Therefore, the purpose of the artwork is to instruct morally[176] as much as to please aesthetically.[177] Moreover, such an "effect" had to be 'effective immediately': "And a Piece that does not do this at first sight, is most certainly faulty."[178]

"Effect" not only meant 'impact' but implied pictorial 'quality' also in mid 18th-century Venice, as qualifying uses of the word show. For instance, the Italian translation printed in Venice in 1758 of Lacombe's *Le Spectacle des Beaux-Arts*… labels Pierre Patel, whose work will be further discussed in the context of the Claudean influence upon English landscape painting,[179] as "*pittore di cui abbiamo Paesi e pezzi d'Architettura d'una maniera vaga e d'un vivace colorito, ma per lo più i suoi lavori sono soverchio finiti, ne producono effetto.*"[180] Here "*effetto*" is a "consequence" understood as the degree of 'finish' or elaboration of a painting.

To recapitulate, for a modern landscape painter, such as Tironi "effect" was what powers of imagination could achieve on a piece of paper or canvas, thanks to a thorough and purposeful use of pictorial knowledge triggered by what light and weather conditions could do to the appearance of a city, inviting or allowing for reflection on 'morals', 'nature' or both.

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[174] William Aglionby op.cit. p.102

[175] ibid. p101 "the Art of Painting has three Parts; which are, Design, Colouring, and Invention; and under this third, is what which we call disposition; which is properly the Order in which all the Parts of the Story are disposed, so as to produce one effect according to the Design of the Painter; and that the first Effect which a good Piece of History is to produce in the Spectator; that is, if it to be a Picture of a joyful Event, that all that is in it be Gay and Smiling, to the very Landskips, houses, Heavens, clothes, &c. And that all he Aptitudes tend to Mirth. The Same, if the Story be Sad, or Solemn; and so for the rest. And a Piece the does not do this at first sight, is most certainly faulty"

[176] to prompt a change of mind

[177] according to the classical tradition

[178] William Aglionby op. cit. p. 101; see above note 169 for the full quote

[179] see further, in Chapter 13, *A Roman intermezzo*

[180] J. Lacombe *Dizionario portatile delle Belle Arti*, Venice, Remondini, 1758, p.280

Painted images of distant places represented geography while they reflected political ground, cultural climate and intellectual atmosphere.

We are now at question two, the question of intention in using the word. A number of hypotheses are listed. None can be upheld as 'true'; all are perfectly plausible, together or in part.

A first explanation for the use of the word in a note from a Venetian painter to an English gentleman *temporarily* in Venice could be the desire to increase chances of sealing the deal or as a form of insurance. B*efore* the execution of the commission, it promised its satisfactory completion: the specific sites of the four views of the Grand Canal had been perhaps left to the painter's discretion, who guaranteed to choose those which would "produce the greater effect."

At the same time, the mention of "Judges" implied, on the foreign interlocutor's part, both professional pressure and a leap of faith. The English traveller demonstrates that he is aware of what was expected from a connoisseur and patron of the arts: judgement. A hundred years earlier, William Aglionby's "epistle dedicatory" to the Earl of Devon had stated that the alliance "of Knowledge and Greatness, is always more Conspicuous, where the Maecenas is not only a Lover, but a Judge of the Beauties of Ingenious Productions."[181] Connoisseurship, understood as a state of insight or capacity of "judgement" could be attained through lengthy study and assiduous dedication, often involving travel and an outlay of time and money.

As earlier noted, the difficulty, if not impossibility, of reaching a consensus[182] on matters of taste would have rendered the pursuit of connoisseurship a chimeric goal had an enthusiasm for it not been stimulated with prizes otherwise unattainable: intellectual improvement, flawless insight, aesthetic delight, social success.[183] Aglionby's treatise is structured as a succession of "diallogues" between one who has travelled and one who has

[181] ibid. p.99

[182] Hume op.cit.

[183] Premising that connoisseurship was seen as a 'product' of the intellect, a balance between accessibility and exclusivity had to be reached for it. Cf Appadurai op. cit; See *Introduction*

not. The didactical tenet is clear: a classical formula of compare-and-contrast dialogue pits the doubtful against the expert, while the 'expert's metamorphosis is recounted in a 'before and after' testimonial on travel-enabled connoisseurship. 'Improvement' in the understanding and appreciation of the arts was therefore within reach for all those who travelled purposefully, in this case, to Italy. In response to the 'judgement' which James Smith Barry ascribed to the knowledgeable, Tironi's note promised 'effect' as a safe choice in the disputed territory of connoisseurship. By equating "effect" with 'quality' the painter bypassed a detailed agreement and managed to seem knowledgeable, while remaining vague. He avoided lengthy negotiations in a situation to be quickly seized on. Two types of images are described in this series: iconic identified sites, and unspecific views of the Grand Canal, defined by their "effect." Since the former were already agreed upon, it was important to ensure that their "effect" was not diminished by the choice and representation of the latter. As to the nature of the "effect" Tironi simply and assuredly claimed to *know* the kind of "effect" Mr James Barry Smith had in mind.

A second possibility is that, perhaps in light of previous experiences, Tironi had foreseen or supposed that his client desired to make an impression upon rejoining his social group back home. In Locke's words, the commissioned pictures would have then allowed their owner to introduce the right idea "into any subject, by the exerting of power" or, in today's words, to act as an 'influencer'. If a conspicuous consumption behavioural pattern had triggered the commission, Tironi's choice of words would have met the Englishman's desire.

A third hypothesis: as a person using *his hands* to paint, Tironi wanted to ensure that he did not appear diminished in the eyes of his commissioner, as a lower class manual labourer, one that makes x per y wide feet pictures of measured topographies. He distanced himself from manual labour by including an 'abstract' word in a note meant to deliver concrete measurements. In doing so, he relied on his commissioner's educated opinion.

In Dialogue III "how to know good pictures" Aglionby had observed "that till the Gentry of this Nation are the better Judges of the Art, 'tis impossible we should have an

Historical Painter of our own, not that any excellent Foreigner should stay amongst us."[184] In other words, the spreading of connoisseurship amongst the English gentry and the quality of local artistic production were mutually dependent.

The means of educating and refining connoisseurship went on growing as the 18th-century unfolded. The introduction to the 1773 edition of Jonathan Richardson's *Theory of Painting* compared to the first edition published in 1715 testifies to this change. Enough time had lapsed between the two editions to allow such teachings to permeate diverse layers of English society. In the 1773 edition, the preface written by Richardson's son stressed the importance of the first edition, particularly in its foresight, claiming that it had ignited the connoisseurship "science" in England[185] only to see it later become a mainstream discourse in aristocratic *and* gentry circles. That Richardson senior relied on pre-existing discourses in upholding connoisseurship has been demonstrated.[186] Though influential since its first publication[187], the reprint could now boast academic endorsement: printed for the bookseller[188] to The Royal Academy, the edition was dedicated to Richardson's most illustrious disciple, Sir Joshua Reynolds, elected first President of the Royal Academy in 1768. Richardson's words had a different resonance now:

"It was never thought unworthy of a gentleman to be master of the theory of painting. On the contrary, if such a one hath but a superficial skill that way, he values himself upon it, and is the more esteemed by others, as one who hath attained an excellency of mind beyond those that are ignorant in that particular. It is strange if the same gentleman should forfeit his

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[184] Aglionby op.cit p. 99

[185] Kept alive throughout the century, in the Neo-Palladian circles and in the discourse on taste in general, whether in scholarly discussions or in guides to collections. See for instance Thomas Martyn *The English Connoisseur…*Thomas Martyn *The English Connoisseur…*London 1766 and *An appendix to The gentleman's guide through Italy Containing catalogues of the paintings, statues, busts &c. By the author of the guide* London 1787

[186] Carol Gibson-Wood *Jonathan Richardson Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment* Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, 2000; See also Aglionby cited in Hanson op. cit, Marshall Smith op. cit.

[187] for instance Count Fr. Algarotti, a figure of European relevance among Venetian connoisseurs, possessed a French translation printed in The Hague in 1728 cf. *Catalogo dei quadri, dei disegni e dei libri che trattano dell'arte del disegno della Galleria del fu Sig. Conte Algarotti in Venezia, n.d.* [1776] Venice p. LXXV

[188] *The Works of Mr. Jonathan Richardson…Printed for T. Davies in Russell Street, covent Garden, Bookseller to The Royal Academy* London 1773

character, and commence mechanick, if he added a bodily excellence, and was capable of making, as well as of judging of, a picture. How comes it to pass, that one who thinks as well as any man, but hath moreover a curious hand, should, therefore, be esteemed on a class of men at all inferior?"[189]

It is clear now that Tironi did not sell subject-matter. He painted "*effetto*",[190] a word perhaps used not only to express, but also to produce what it meant. Used for effect. Tironi might or might not have used the word as a marketing tool, a criterion of taste or a tool for measuring artistic accomplishment. While it was used to *define* pictures, *"effetto"* did more. It synthesised, for the commissioner's ease of use, the types of 'value' an artwork held: material value, value as a cultural commodity able to signal or influence status, and the values placed on it by its beholder, whether aesthetic pleasure, intellectual improvement or emotional resonance, all values free from commercial exchange constraints. Although paid for with money, one of the many invaluable 'values' a cityscape might have had, was that it could become a souvenir of its owner's visit to the city it represented.

I shall now refer to the effects the distinction between liberal and mechanical arts had on the social standing of practising artists in 18th-century England and Venice as well as on the artistic training of English gentry and the upper working class.

A painter's musts and must nots

Had Leonardo stated: "*la pittura è cosa manuale*"[191] many fewer painters would have bothered to quote him down the ages.

The distinction between liberal and mechanical arts touches all discourses on the profession of painting in 18th-century London and Venice. Establishing painting as an

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[189] ibid. p. 15

[190] see Baxandall 1972

[191] Leonardo da Vinci - *Trattato della Pittura (XVI secolo), Parte prima 9. Come il pittore è signore d'ogni sorta di gente e di tutte le cose* "Ed in effetto ciò che è nell'universo per essenza, presenza o immaginazione, esso [the painter] lo ha prima nella mente, e poi nelle mani, e quelle sono di tanta eccellenza, che in pari tempo generano una proporzionata armonia in un solo sguardo qual fanno le cose".

intellectual activity in Georgian England was as important to English painters as it had been for 16th-century practitioners in the Italian peninsula. I shall not reiterate excellent accounts[192] already written but weigh the importance of this discourse on the conception of Venetian pictorial souvenirs, and therefore shall privilege sources which indicate the practitioner's standpoint, rather than the whole intellectual debate.

Based on this distinction, in 18th-century England, painting had the role "to communicate ideas."[193] As the use of the word "idea" suggests, for Richardson the scope of painting was intellectual. However, the core issue of the discourse, revolving around the dignity and social status of the artist, should not be misconstrued as a downsizing of practice. When Richardson, Reynolds and others postulated that to "copy" nature in a 'mechanical' way was not, or could no longer be a satisfying and dignifying intellectual activity, they did not in fact dismiss the praxis of *painting* nature, but communicated an on-going shift in the understanding of painting, from an activity aiming to replicate nature to one looking to "raise and improve nature"[194], in line with humanistic ideas disseminated in England in the 17th-century. Aglionby's painting treatise states that: "Though Nature be the rule, yet Art has the Privilege of Perfecting it."[195] Perhaps he is also expressing his personal discontent with winter, as he seems to long for a more Italian type of 'Nature':

"the world here in our northern climates has a Notion of Painters little nobler than of Joyners and Carpenters, or any other Mechanick, thinking that their Art is nothing but the daubing of a few Colours upon a cloth, and believing that nothing more ought to be expected from them at best, but the making a like Picture of a Bodys Face Which the most Ingenious amongst them perceiving, stops there; and though their Genius would lead them further into the noble part of History Painting, they check it, as useless to their Fortune, since they

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[192] See for instance Barrell 1986

[193] In discussing the "science of a connoisseur" Richardson clarifies his acceptation of the word. "An idea of painting, whereby it appears that it is not only a fine piece of workmanship, and an exact imitation of common nature; its business is chiefly to raise and improve nature, and above all to communicate ideas" Richardson op.cit. p.244-245

[194] ibid. p244

[195] Aglionby, op.cit. p11

should have no Judges of their Abilities, nor any proportionable Reward of their Undertakings."[196]

In his attempt to defend painters from accusations of "mechanicalness", though he argues in favour of their social recognition and financial success, Aglionby manages to stress the connection, rather than downplay the similarities with "Joyners and Carpenters" or mechanical imitators. By calling them "mechanick" the discourse seems offensive to carpenters.[197] Yet something happens between 1685, when Aglionby writes, and 1715, when Richardson expresses his views on the matter. For the latter, a good painting now needed to be "not only a fine piece of workmanship, and an exact imitation of common nature."[198] The difference can be sensed: "not only" implies *but also* rather than mean "not at all". The publishing of Sir Isaac Newton's *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica* in 1687, first in Latin and then in English in 1713[199] had echoed in all intellectual circles, rendering anyone claiming to be a *connoisseur* more sensitive to the mechanical parts of knowledge.[200] This effort of adaptation is reflected in the meaning of the word itself, which remains ambivalent until the end of the 18th-century: Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary*... defines "[m]echanicalness. n. f. [from mechanick] 1.Agreeableness to the laws of mechanism. 2.Meanness."[201] The adjective "Mechanical, Mechanick" similarly oscillates between contrasting acceptations:

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[196] ibid. pp. 98-99

[197] see below note 199

[198] Richardson op.cit.

[199] [199] Sir Isaac Newton *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica* London 1687, the first edition published in Latin with subsequent editions in English in 1713 and 1726

[200] John Barrell stresses that for James Barry: "[the] 'mechanical' aspects of painting [...] are [...] far more important to the creation of a civic art than they were to Reynolds". Barrell 1986 pp. 186-188; This needs to be considered perhaps in connection with Barry's confessionally charged views: "Though for Barry [...] religious images if not 'serving at once for books, intelligible to the unlettered, and for memorials to assist the recollection, and give fervour to the hearts of those who were better informed: and whenever the works of art have not answered these purposes, it is an abuse.'" quoted in ibid. p. 187; Perhaps the "mechanicalness" associated with the profession of "Carpenter" could not be resolved dismissively in a confessionally charged context, and Barry 'upgraded' "mechanicalness" in his theoretical discourse on painting. It is worth noting how, for Barry, the mnemonic value of a picture was bound to religion: catechetic prop or moral catalyst, an approach that goes back to early Christianism.

[201] Samuel Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language*... Vol.II L-Z p.107 in the digitised edition - 8th edition London 1799

"1. Constructed by the laws of mechanicks" - and here Johnson gives examples from Dryden referring to poetry, *and* from Newton with regard to "natural philosophy"[202]; 2. Skilled in mechanicks"; bred to manual labour." but still "3. Mean; servile; of mean occupation."[203]

Eighteenth-century artists-theorists seemed to worry more about discourses seeking to take ideas *out of* pictures than about those acknowledging the amount of "workmanship" which went *into* them."Natural pictures" through which painters aimed to "communicate ideas" occurred as *a result of* pictorial practice.[204] As discussed earlier,[205] a scientific mindset upheld by The Royal Society echoed from conducting an experiment to painting a picture: both were activities involving the use of the hands, which was subordinated to the intellect. Produce beauty or achieve knowledge were the results of these activities and while they had a material quality, they were not deemed manual.[206]

Richardson's list of the fields from which a painter was expected to draw offers a clear image of the synergy between theory and practice, poetry and painting or between intellectual and mechanical activities in general:

"A painter must not only be a poet, an historian, a mathematician, &c. he must be a mechanick, his hand, and eye, must be as expert as his head is clear, and lively, and well stored with science: he must not only write a history, a poem, a description, but in a fine character; his brain, his eye, his hand, must be busied at the same time. [the painter] must have a hand exact enough to form these in his work, answerable to the ideas he has taken of them."[207]

While Richardson subordinates pictorial activity and its outcome to the intellect, he does not prioritise among brain, eye and hand: they are to operate together. The range of disciplines

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[202] "[Example 1] Many a fair precept in poetry, is like a seeming demonstration in mathematics, very specious in the diagram, but failing in the mechanicks operation. Dryden [Example 2] The main business of natural philosophy, is to argue from phenomena without feigning hypotheses, and to deduce causes from effects till we come to the very first cause, which certainly is not mechanical; and not only to unfold the mechanism of the world, but chiefly to resolve these, and such like questions. Newton" ibid. p107

[203] "3. Mean; servile; of mean occupation." [Example 1] Know you not, being mechanical, you ought not to walk upon a labouring day, without the sign of your profession. Shakespeare" ibid. p. 107

[204] as noted earlier, see paragraph *Qual'effetto*

[205] ibid.

[206] As Jean Chardin is reputed to have said "on utilise des couleurs mais on peint avec le sentiment"

[207] ibid p 13-14

contributing to the making of a painter according to Richardson echoes William Aglionby's humanistic description of the painter as '*uomo universale*' from thirty years before:

"he who at the same time is both Painter, Poet, Historian, Architect, Anatomist, Mathematician, and Naturalist; he Records the Truth, Adorns the Fable, Pleases the Fancy, Recreates the Eye, Touches the Soul."[208]

Across the English Channel, the portrait of the "peintre parfait" reflected a politically different context in which "les beaux arts" were expected to flourish. Roger de Piles writes in 1699: "*Que si je veux apprendre l'Histoire, ce n'est point un Peintre que je consulterai, il n'est Historien que par accident*."[209] Nonetheless, de Piles was equally concerned with social expectation. A painter's social skills which, according to de Piles, were essential to one's fortunes, seemed to equally depend upon intellectual breadth:

"*Mais quoi que le Peintre réprésente la Nature par Essence, & L'Histoire par Accident, cet Accident ne lui doit pas être de moindre consideration que l'Essence, s'il veut plaire à tout le monde, & sur tout aux gens de Lettres, & à ceux, qui [considerent] un Tableau plûtôt par l'esprit qu par les yeux.*"[210]

All these sources aver the importance of connoisseurship, and acknowledge its social tenet. The controversy over painting as a liberal art in the Western world runs back to Plato. The connection between the discourse on imitation and the underrating of the figure of the

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[208] William Aglionby op. cit., the preface ; see also Carol Gibson-Wood op.cit.

[209] Roger de Piles' excursus on the requisites of a history painter is interestingly invited by Venetian practitioners: "Il est sans doute que si cette Essence dans les Tableaux des Peintres Vénitiens avoit été accompagnée des ornemens qui en relévent le prix, je veux dire de la fidélité de l'Histoire & de la Chronologie, ils en seroient beaucoup plus estimables : mais il est certain aussi que ce n'est que par cette Essence que les Peintres doivent nous instruire, & que nous devons chercher dans leurs Tableaux l'imitation de la Nature préférablement à toutes choses. S'ils nous instruissent, à la bonne heure, s'ils ne le font pas, nous aurons toûjours le plaisir d'y voir une espece de création qui nous divertit, & qui met nos passions en mouvement. Que si je veux apprendre l'Histoire, ce n'est point un Peintre que je consulterai, il n'est Historien que par accident […] Cependant on ne prétend pas icy excuser un Peintre en ce qu'il est mauvais Historien, car l'on est toûjours blâmable de faire mal ce que l'on entreprend" Roger de Piles *Abregé de la vie des peintres , avec des reflexions sur leurs ouvrages, et un Traité du peintre parfait, de la connoissance des desseins, & de l'utilité des estampes,* Paris, 1699 p.30-31

[210] ibid. p. 32

craftsman was largely based on Aristotle's parallel with slavery.[211] It concerned practising artists of the Renaissance,[212] south and north of the Alps. Countering the discourse of painting as "mechanical" in mid 16th-century Venice was a matter dealt with theoretically, but, however paradoxically, solved on the territory of manual practice. This could be achieved in various ways: by stressing intrinsic connections painting had with undisputedly intellectual activities,[213] especially the role draughtsmanship had in planning and design,[214] as it will be shown in the next chapter; by connecting the use of colours to "a wide set of traditions, allegorical, associative, symbolic"[215]; by emphasising studio practice and teaching as *intellectual* activities; therefore, their absence or faltering, explained in social, psychological and economic terms, was what rendered painting "mechanical."[216] In an analysis of this dispute in 18th-century England, John Barrell offers three arguments on why mechanics were ineligible for citizenship of the "republic of taste": firstly, craftsmanship

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[211] Barrell 1986. p.7

[212] see for instance Ben Thomas *Raphael and the idea of drawing* in *Raphael: The Drawings,* exhibition catalogue Ashmolean Museum, Oxford in collaboration with the Albertina, Vienna, Catherine Whistler and Ben Thomas eds. with Achim Gnann and Angelamaria Aceto, The University of Oxford, 2017, pp.43-45

[213] Leon Battista Alberti, *Libro Primo de la Pittura di Leon Battista Alberti,* Venice 1547: "Avendo io a Scrivere de la Pittura in questi brevissimi commentari, acciocché il mio ragionamento sia più chiaro, prima trarrò da i Matematici quelle cose, che mi parrano necessarie a la materia, le quali poi che si saranno intese, inquanto l'ingegno mi potrà servire, dichiarerò la pittura da i principi istessi de la natura. [first mathematics and then looking for it in nature] Ma in ogni mio ragionamento voglio, che questo sopra tutto riconsideri, che io non ragiono di questo cose da Matematico, ma come pittore. Percioche quegli con l'ingegno solo levata ogni materia misurano le specie…"

[214] see *Introduction*, pp. 5-6

[215] Lodovico Dolce *Il Dialogo nel quale si ragiona delle qualità, diversità e proprietà dei colori* Venice 1565; see also Andrew Morrall *Siben Farben unnd Künsten frey: The Place of Color in Martin Schaffner's Universe Table,* Research Working Group, Early modern Colour Worlds, Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Research Group 2011-2015. Studying the use of colour in Schaffner's septimal correspondences informing his model of the Ptolemaic universe, Morrall's work suggests that: "the Ulm artist [upheld] painting as a Liberal Art and [aimed to] the status of the artist as *pictor doctus*, one underlined by the inclusion of a self-portrait of the artist as Ptolemy himself".

[216] "La. Che val tal virtu non la facendo manifesta con l'effetto?
Fa. Cotesto operare è pratica, il qual atto non merta esser detto mecanico, imperò che l'intelletto non può con altro maggio, che per gli sensi intrinseci isprimere, & dar cognizione della cosa, ch'egli intende. Il che non è fuori dal proprio ufficio intellettivo per che gli sensi si muoveno retti dall'intelletto. Et svengano ch'alcuni dicano l'operar esser atto meccanico per la diversità di colori, & per la circoscittione del pennello, cosi nella musica alciando la voce, dimenando le mani per diversi istrumenti, nondimeno tutti noi siamo liberali in una stessa perfettione. Ma liberale si può dir la pittura […] à chi è concessa libertà di formar ciò, che le piace. […] L'arte in se non digraderà della prima degnità, come arte liberale, & virtù rara, ma noi artefici siamo disuguali a quel honore, & utilità convenevole à tal arte per tre cagioni. La prima è che noi vogliamo prima esser maestri, che discepoli, la seconda per la molta ignoranza di chi fa operare, la terza per l'avaritia de pittori, & di chi compera" Paolo Pino op. cit. BL

specialism meant focusing on 'particulars' not on 'universals', therefore craftspeople, concerned with their own personal and group interests could not envision the public interest; secondly, as a result, the range of experiences of such people appeared narrowed; thirdly, because these people concerned themselves with things, objects, matter, they were incapable of "abstraction."[217]

However, in the territory of painting, abstract terms have been used to define concrete practices. Pictorial skill, even if considered mechanical, and a capacity of *abstraction* were not perceived as irreconcilable: the practitioners' ability to express visually ideas which were formulated mentally appeared conditioned by how well did they succeed in doing so manually. Surely, claiming a liberal social status[218] required clearing pictorial practice from accusations of mechanical labour, and emphasising, at least in theoretical discourses, its conceptual part. This explains why the emphasis on "ideas" informs scholarly writings as well as recipe books and practical treatises. Seventeenth-century painting treatises written by artists-theorists across Europe, while they have a "theoretical"[219] emphasis, proceed nonetheless with the mindset and constant concern of authors who *see* and *reflect* on "ideas" or "effects" visually rather than *discuss* them i.e. move from text to image. A discourse on sentiment, expression and emotion runs parallel, constituting a

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[217] As earlier suggested by the use of 'abstract' words like "effetto"; See Barrell 1986, p. 7 and following

[218] See for instance biographical profiles of 17th and early 18th-centuries architects: Inigo Jones in John Summerson *Georgian London* - Barrie & Jenkins, London 1988; and Vanbrugh in Caroline Dalton *Sir John Vanbrugh and the Vitruvian landscape* Routledge 2012

[219] "treatises on painting, like those of Joachim von Sandrart [...] or Samuel van Hoogstraten [...] whose books date from 1675 and 1678 respectively, were far more concerned with the academic and theoretical aspects of painting, such as Rembrandt's use of chiaroscuro and colour, for example, than with the practical" Raymond White and Jo Kirby *Rembrandt and his Circle: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Paint Media Re-examined ,* National Gallery Technical Bulletin Volume 15 1994
See also William Aglionby 1685, Marshall Smith 1693, Roger de Piles 1699

further criterion of separation between the mechanical and the liberal[220] as Leonardo's "*moti mentali*" become enlisted as "parts of painting"[221] entitled "actions and passions."[222]

The emphasis on "ideas" determined practitioners to excogitate specific types of *abstraction* in order to communicate their authors' distancing from manual labour. These processes occurred in forms that *required* intellectual insight, while they made it *inseparable* from practical excellence. In fact, at the beginning of the 18th-century, both in London and in Venice the conviction that painting involved practical skill as much as intellectual insight was upheld by theorists and practitioners alike : "One Objection is, that [Painting] 'tis a Mechanick Art, but I think this is made by those who are little Skil'd in Liberall Arts or Read in History."[223] Marshall Smith's words echo ten years later on the frontispiece of a collection of views which will largely shape Venetian imagery for the next half of a century. Dedicating in 1703 his collection of views *Le Fabbriche …* to doge Luigi

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[220] see Alison Gopnik *How an 18th-Century Philosopher Helped Solve My Midlife Crisis: David Hume, the Buddha, and a search for the Eastern roots of the Western Enlightenment* in *The Atlantic* October 2015

[221] "La pictura contiene in sè tre parti principali, quali diciamo essere disegno, commensuratio et colorare" Piero della Francesco *De prospectiva Pingendi,* critical edition G. Nicco-Fasola, notes by E. Battisti & F. Ghione, Florence Le Lettere 1984 p.63 *Libro Primo:* Nicco-Fasola notes the correlation with the Albertian triad "circoscrizione, composizione, ricezione di lumi"and also that Alberti used "composition" to appeal to his literate friends, while Piero was chiefly concerned with geometry. See Leon Battista Alberti *De pictura.* The "parts of painting" theorised in modern Italy soon echoed north of the Alps: "Lord Arundel's librarian, Franciscus Junius, had divided painting into five parts: invention, design, colour, expression (including action and the passions), and disposition (or order)." Fréart adopted these for his Idée de la Perfection de la peinture of 1662, and the categories were reintroduced in England through Evelyn's translation of the work, published in 1668. Nodding towards these sources, De Piles admits that: "Many Authors who have written of Painting, multiply the parts according to their pleasure" but he defends Dufresnoy's classification on the grounds " that all the parts of Painting which others have named, are reducible into these three" Craig Ashley Hanson *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* Chicago UP 2009, p 103. See also de Piles' discourse on "*l'Essence de la Peinture":* "la Peinture [...] contient trois parties, la Composition, le Dessein, & le Coloris, qui sont l'Essence de la Peinture, comme le Corps, l'Ame, & la Raison sont l'Essence de l'Homme" Roger de Piles, op.cit. p27

[222] Remondini's translation of the Lacombe dictionary defines "passione - è questa della pittura un movimento del corpo, accompagnato da certi tratti sul volto, che denotano agitazione d'animo. Vi ha varie Passioni che producono moti assai diversi…" *Dizionario portatile delle Belle Arti* Venice 1758, p. 258, Alberti, Paolo Pino and Aglionby accommodate "passions" in their treatises. References to "passion" become fashionable as proof of insight into an updated discourse on painting and end up in unexpected places, such as new translations of Euclid, where the we read of "the passions of straight lines, and of the angles and arches that contain them": "le passioni delle rette tirate nel circolo, e degli angoli, ed archi, che contengono" Vitale Giordano in *EVCLIDE RESTITUITO overo Gli Antichi Elementi Geometrici Ristautati e facilitati da Vitale Giordano da Bitonto Lettore delle Matematiche nella Reale Accademia stabilita dal Re' Cristianissimo in Roma*, Rome 1680

[223] Marshall Smith op.cit. Chapter VI *The Objections against Painting Answer'd*

Mocenigo,[224] Luca Carlevarijs ensured that both intellectual effort and manual labour which, by the sweat of his brow, led to its completion, were acknowledged: "*à i sudori de la mano è state necessario unire l'azione dell'Intelletto con l'esercitio delle Matematiche, cioè Aritmetica, Geometria, Prospettiva et Architettura Civile.*"[225] (See Fig.33)

Such effort required the appropriate reward. The distinction between liberal artist and mechanical craftsperson had its economic translation in the distinction between a liberal professional's honorary and a labourer's wage . Richardson attacks the problem frontally: "Nor is it dishonourable for any of us to take money: He that stipulates for a reward for any service he does another, acts as a wise man, and a good member of society."[226] Beyond personal financial gain, the question of profit was thus broadened[227] to other forms of enrichment, encompassing social concerns such as improvement in the areas of civic humanism and polity.[228] It can be said, therefore, that the argument on painting as an art which did not require actual physical depiction anymore than it did mental depiction[229] remained a constant concern for its 18th-century practitioners and theorists.

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[224] For the discussion on Carlevarijs' *Fabbriche* see Chapter 9

[225] Luca Carlevarijs *Le Fabbriche e Vedute…* Venice 1703, title-page, BL; see discussion on this album in Chapter 9

[226] Richardson op. cit, p 16

[227] see 3.4 *Taste as a source of virtue and profit* in Denvir, op. cit, p. 71 where he cites Richardson's *A Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure and Advantage of the Science of a Connoisseur,* published together with his *Theory of Painting* in 1715 : "if gentlemen were lovers of painting, and connoisseurs, as of course, they will soon be, many sums of money which are now consumed in luxury, would be laid up in pictures, drawings and antiques". Stressing that antiques will soon be in dwindling supply, Richardson expresses the need to educate the taste for and support the production of contemporary art. A need that, as a practising artist, he surely felt strongly about.

[228] Barrell 1986 op. cit.

[229] Supporting the claim with authoritative sources, ideally classical: at p.9 "But (by the way) it is not every picture-maker that ought to be called a painter, as every rimer, or grubstreet tale-writer is not a poet, or historian: a painter ought to be a title of dignity" Richardson refers to Horace Sat. 4.v. 4I. and "ut pictura poesis"

PART 2

Abstraction

CHAPTER 3

Visual Memory

From the point of view of their reception, the factors of recognition and association enabled cityscapes to function as souvenirs, and their quality was often expressed and judged in terms of the "effect" they produced. How did this "effect" operate and how was it achieved visually? I shall explore several paths, first the relationship between visual representation and memory.

Mnemonics

So far, the rhetoric surrounding pictorial souvenirs has been, as rhetoric should be, verbal.[230] A visual approach to rhetoric will be preferred here, and, accordingly the sources will be treatises and manuals discussing visuals, whether painted, built or imagined. The role played by visual representation in bringing back things from the past and drawing close things that are distant has been a constant point of interest in the visual arts, regardless of the lens through which these things were seen. The mnemonic tenet could be considered chiefly functional as it can be read in Raphael's letter to pope Leo X: "*e serà questo quasi un dissegno della pianta, et un memorial per disegnar il resto*"[231] or even directly used to define aesthetic categories which will become mainstream in the 18th-century English

[230] For a broader view on the nexus between meaning, rhetoric and forms of transmission, see Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy *Figures of speech. Figures of Thought,* 1946

[231] "e serà questo quasi un dissegno della pianta, et un memorial per disegnar il resto" Raphael's letter to pope Leo X documents the artist's appointment in the supervision of archeological operations, aiming to unearth and restore, at least on paper, the original splendour of ancient Rome: John Shearman *Raphael in Early Modern Sources* 1483-1602, vol. 1, p. 524, 2003 quoted in Ben Thomas op. cit., note 3, p. 54

discourse on landscape painting. The definition of "*sublime*"[232] in Boileau's translation of Longinus,[233] allows to make an indirect association with the "extra-ordinary" nature of souvenirs suggested by Beverly Gordon.[234] According to Boileau "*[i]l faut donc entendre par sublime dans Longin, l'Extraordinaire, le Surprenant, & comme je l'ai traduit, le Merveilleux dans le discours.*"[235] However, the meaning of the word is further clarified: once more, "the infallible mark of the sublime" is to be found in a striking and indelible "effect", which requires and stimulates "thinking." Boileau writes of "hearing a discourse," however it should be noted that a lexical overlapping of "poetry" and "painting", echoing back to Horace, was widespread in humanistic circles of Renaissance Italy[236] reflecting the double tenet of rhetorics, verbal and visual, and that 17th and 18th-century painting treatises consistently refer to the need that painters be at the same time "poets."[237] This was something acknowledged in theoretical discourses on landscape until the end of the 18th-century.[238] The quality of a "sublime" painting to be *memorable* is clearly stated.

"*La marque infaillible du Sublime, c'est quand nous sentons qu'un Discours nous laisse beaucoup à penser; qu'il fait d'abord un effet sur nous, auquel il est bien difficile, pour ne*

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[232] Edmund Burke op.cit

[233] Nicolas Boileau *Oeuvres de M. Boileau Despréaux . Avec des éclaircissemens historiques donnez par lui-même… Tome Second* Geneva Fabri & Barrillot 1716, *Preface*

[234] Gordon op. cit; See *Introduction*

[235] Boileau op. cit. *Preface* p.8

[236] "That an analogy could exist between poetry and painting was recognised in contemporary Florence: the 1492 inventory of Lorezo il Magnifico lists one little painting as '*una poesia con 2 figure e piu paesj*'. And soon the Venetians were to allow to painted *poesie* the same freedom of invention as written poetry had long claimed for itself" Ronald Lightbown *Sandro Botticelli Life and Work* Paul Elek London 1978, Vol .1 p.90, referring to Archivio di Stato di Firenze Map 165, f. 38v "*uno colmetto dipintouj su una poesia con due fighure e piu paesj*"

[237] As seen previously in Chapter 2, paragraph *A Painter's musts and must nots*

[238] Claude Raffstein notes the role of built environment as data-transmitter from the past: "Le paysage construit qui se donne à voir dans l'instant présent est l'aboutissement d'un passé" then he observes the connection between the visual and the literary arts in the efforts to etablish a "science" of landscape: "En effet, Georg Foster et Alexander von Humboldt, pour ne citer qu'eux, à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, dans leurs efforts pour fonder la science du paysage, ont revendiqué d'abord et affirmé ensuite la necessité de décrire du double point de vue artistique et littéraire les paysages qu'ils observaient" Claude Raffstein *Paysages construites et territorialités* in *Disegnare Paesaggi Costruiti,* Gustavo Ambrosini, Antonio De Rossi, Luca Reinerio, Matteo Robiglio eds. Urbanistica FrancoAngeli 2003 pp. 29-36, esp. p. 29

pas dire impossible, de résister; & qu'ensuite le souvenir nous en dure & ne s'efface qu'avec peine."[239]

However, memory and mnemonic aspects were not considered only in the context of how art was perceived and received, they were also involved in how it was *conceived*. Before the 18th-century started, the English discourse on painting bound together travel, drawing, connoisseurship - as means of intellectual and social distinction - and visual memory more tightly than one might expect.

"It is the greatest Complement, Convenience, as well as Companion for Gentlemen that Travel, to take a Draught of all Remarkable Things and Places &c. which would be too great a charge for the narrow Treasury of the Memory."[240]

In a treatise of painting published at the turn of the 18th-century, Marshall Smith already connects, in a sole phrase, gentlemanly cultivation with draughtsmanship as a mnemonic tool. The logical succession of travel, noticing the remarkable, memorising it by drawing is nothing other than the process of *making* souvenirs. The 'target group' is clear: gentlemen on their Grand Tour. In this case, getting a record, whether made or acquired, of the place, took precedence over collecting or any commercial interest in visual representations. By this token, *any* view-painting was a *potential* souvenir.[241] However, the selection criterion for the content of visual souvenirs is also stated: "things and places" had to be "remarkable" that is, they needed to draw the attention or to exert influence. They had to produce an "*effetto"* that the beholder would use as a means of *association* with the place visited. A Hellenistic treatise of rhetorics allows to see that this was not a modern discovery:

"Now nature herself teaches us what we should do. When we see in every day life things that are petty, ordinary and banal, we generally fail to remember them, because the mind is not being stirred by anything novel or marvellous [...] ordinary things easily slip from the

[239] ibid. p. 31

[240] Marshall Smith op.cit.

[241] discussion with Giovanni Levi

memory while the striking and the novel stay longer in the mind. A sunrise, the sun's course, a sunset are marvellous to no one because they occur daily. But solar eclipses are a source of wonder because they occur seldom [...] nature shows that she is not aroused by the common ordinary event, but is moved by a new or striking occurrence. Let art, then, imitate nature, find what she desires, and follow as she directs. For in invention, nature is never last, education never first [...] We ought, then, to set up images of a kind that can adhere longest in memory. And we shall do so if we establish similitudes as striking as possible; if we set up images that are not many or vague but active (*imagines agentes*)."[242]

The 'uniformity' of opinion between an English treatise of painting published in the modern period and a Hellenistic treatise on the "art of memory" could appear "striking"[243] should one ignore the interest in the classical world, rhetorics and memory[244] included, as an accountable fact in 18th-century England. Memory needs help. Images can offer visual variety and "remarkable" or "striking" associations capable of assisting and improving memory. The perceptual patterns here described consider the "uniformity" of seeing and feeling earlier discussed as a given. Without this "something striking" would be an uncommunicable event. Therefore, inadvertently or intentionally, pictures afforded interactions with memory, be it as an auxiliary or as a repository. Pictures have been regarded as copies, substitutes, effigies, replicas, interpretations of subject matter, whether of 'nature' or 'culture'.

Accordingly, Richardson's discourse on visual representation discusses "copies" of "natural pictures" and uses landscape painting as an example:

"[i]n both [music and painting] we are delighted in observing the skill of the artist in proportion to it and our own judgement to discover it. It is this beauty and harmony which

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[242] Ad Herennium III, xxii quoted in Yates, p.9-10

[243] The long postulated hiatus of obscurity occurring during the Middle Ages and separating classical clarity from its Renaissance and 18th-century Enlightenment has been questioned, allowing to perceive a continuity of theories and practices connected to forms of artistic expression in the first millennium of the common era. See for instance the discourse on hylomorpishm in Umberto Eco *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*, Yale Nota Bene, 2002 edition; the interest in Hellenistic culture benefited directly from the forced emigration of Greek scholars from Byzantium to Venice around mid 15th-century. See Liz James *A Companion to Byzantium* Wiley-Blackwell 2001. Thank you to Emily Pott for this discussion.

[244] See David Farrell Krell op.cit, especially Part Two, *Hobbes and Locke* p.75, also Andersdotter op. cit. p. 40

gives us so much pleasure at the sight of natural pictures, a prospect, a fine sky, a garden &c. and the copies of these, which renew the ideas of them, are consequently pleasant."[245]

While, as we have seen, this is theoretical writing in favour of painting as a liberal art, with the use of "skill" as mitigating term between mechanical and liberal, this is also a pledge to use pictures as mnemonic vehicles of emotion and recollection: "much pleasure" procured by the sight led to a "consequently pleasant" representation.

In his argument, Richardson echoes the growing interest for landscape design in 18th-century England, and he clearly states that the role of "copies" is to "renew the ideas" of "natural pictures". The time lapse occurring between perception and representation requires an intellectual effort of memory. However, this does not offer insight into the specific means used by painters in order to avoid being labelled copyists, mechanical or "exact imitators" of "common nature"?[246] To this day, the debate on the question of visual description and visual projection animates the fields of architecture and cognitive psychology.[247] Possible solutions with regard to the practice of 'prospect' painting are here considered: the creative process of *abstraction* may operate in subtler ways, without breaking the bound between subject matter and composition, or in more simplistic ways, when ready-made formulae are applied with little concern for visual constraints inherent the visual content.[248]

To collect relevant data into 18th-century studio practices of painters and engravers of prospect views in Venice requires seeking for sources delivering teachings on the making of art objects: manuals, treatises and pattern books. It also requires to analyse the objects based on the sources. All of these books were, according to the social status of their users, either a substitute for or a reminder of academic formation. Practice was and is a form of enacting and constantly testing the practitioners' training. Empirical innovation and

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[245] Richardson p2-3

[246] ibid.

[247] see for instance G. Dematteis *Contradizzioni dell'agire paesaggistico* in *Disegnare Paesaggi Costruiti,* Gustavo Ambrosini, Antonio De Rossi, Luca Reinerio, Matteo Robiglio eds. Urbanistica FrancoAngeli 2003, pp 45-52, quoting F. Ferretti *Pensare vedendo. Le immagini mentali nella scienza cognitiva* Roma Carocci 1998

[248] Technique, compositional skill and creative knowledge have received symbolical readings rooted in cultural context. As said, the approach here privileges pictorial practice in its cultural and historical context. E. Panofsky *La Prospettiva come Forma Simbolica*, trad. E. Filippini, Milano, 1961, also see Ernst Cassirer *Philosophy of Symbolic Forms 1923-1929*

experiment had, and still have a threshold established and regulated by craftsmanship which could have been resumed as follows: in case of doubt, or if facing the risk of irreparable damage, do as you were taught.

Means of abstraction in the conception of cityscapes

Responding to the pressure put on painters by the distinction between liberal and mechanical arts, *abstraction* was an effective means of ensuring that the resulting work would not be considered "mechanick" in its servile acceptation. The etymology and uses in the fields of art history and psychology[249] of the word "abstraction" refer to a selection as a means of *distancing content from context*, with the question of *intelligibility* of the whole context from the selected content, and of the selected content in absence of the whole context left unresolved. In fact, this very *unresolvedness* opens the door for empowering objects, real or virtual, with the metonymic-mnemonic role of souvenirs. In the case of view painting, the practitioners' solution[250] to abstracting visual content involved graphic representation; the problem of representation had clearly and from the start involved a process of *abstraction*. Standing by the common ground of drawing was enough to ensure it. This was how abstract mathematical problems and observational drawings were expressed and solved: in a graphic form, as both involved not only observing with the eyes, but visual *thinking*.

The science of perspective, disseminated by its illustrious defender Alberti[251], his circle and followers, may now seem "abstract" enough, as it transfers three-dimensional content into two dimensions. However, it must be observed that the type of abstraction a representational cityscape involved was *operational*, rather than *conceptual,* as it was bound to representation. Given that the urban context had to remain recognisable in the "abstracted" content, *abstraction* meant, in a literal sense, to formally isolate "landscape"

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[249] "abstraction isolates, formalism fragments, and realism reifies" Leopoldo Bleger *José Bleger's thinking about psychoanalysis* The International Journal of Psychoanalysis Vol. 98, N.1, February 2017, pp. 145-169, p.151

[250] before photography changed these means

[251] Leon Battista Alberti op.cit. and Piero della Francesca *De Prospettiva pingendi* ….I used the critical edition by G. Nicco-Fasola, notes by E. Battisti & F. Ghione, Florence Le Lettere 1984

from nature[252], or to 'break down' the city from its entirety into its parts. In other words, making metonyms. This does not mean that *abstractio*n ceased to operate by maintaining a lifelike "illusion" or, even 'worse',[253] by pursuing it. In a sense, this set in motion a shift in the meaning of the notion of *imitation:* a 'downgrade' from the realm of interpretation to that of slavish representation, rather than a compelling record of human essence[254], for which words such as 'naturalism' or 'verismo'[255] had been used.

Therefore, I argue, it is plausible to suppose that the very submission to observation, whether real or 'illusory' it does not matter, which was an *accepted* requisite in prospect paintings, might have made painters weary of the risk of servitude to subject matter and, as a result, eager to explore further ways to *abstract* their pictures. Ignorance of how to do this carried the risk of rendering the sites depicted *unrecognisable*. This meant that *abstraction* had to be considered *before* the work was completed, and ideally from the time it was conceived as it involved manipulating 'reality' through a number of operations, to the extent to which the standard of *recognition* would allow it. Therefore, *abstract* thought had to precede and inform selective and creative choices, and had to advance work in line with organising principles. It meant moving from painting as 'illusion' to painting as "improvement" irrespective of whether 'nature' was natural or manmade. Possible operations are now explored.

Abstraction of content in cityscapes operated at least at two broad and different levels:

Firstly, cityscapes dealt with topography, providing a record of it in a recognisable form, in which the abstraction process occurred literally - as I said, subject-matter was

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[252] Simmel *Saggi sul paesaggio*, Monica Sassatelli ed. Roma Armando 2006 (Italian translation of *Philosophie der Landschaft* 1913) pp. 54-55

[253] According to the 18th-century fall-out with 'illusion' and the "deceptive" powers of painting see Barrell 1986.

[254] as previously understood in the practice of Leonardo and his Milanese followers, from Boltraffio, to Luini and Ambrogio Figino

[255] On "verismo" see Gregorio Comanini *Il Figino o vero del fine della pittura,* published in 1591, quoted in Linda Wolk-Simon *Naturalism in Lombard drawing from Leonardo to Cerano,* Painters of reality exhibition catalogue,p56 from Simonetta Coppa catalogue entries not 12-13, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan Nap. 906, Reg. Cron 896, inv. dis. 258 from 1986. Whenever the discourse about imitation and representation in the arts occupied modern writers, the classical anecdote of Zeuxis' grapes or its Latin versions resurge.

abstracted, that is, drawn away, separated from its context of origin. The simplest operation was framing.[256] *Recollection* preceded *invention* both at the point of conception of a cityscape and at its reception. Images had to depict an existing city. The sight recorded by the artist was recognised by viewers. They associated this visual record to its context of origin, which they recollected through the artist's work. Modern pictures of "prospects, fine skies and gardens"[257] were perceived as referencing something *other* than 'themselves': they were *records*, whether copies or enhancements of external views of "nature"[258].

A process of *selection* of content as a means of "improvement" was deemed necessary, and artists-theorists[259] refer to it in many ways and at length. Selection implied operations of *simplification*, for instance a reduction of the number of parts, *intensification*, that is, adding prominence to the remaining parts, and *clarification*, for instance facilitating perception by appropriately choosing and arranging or re-arranging parts into an understandable whole. As the rhetor had said: "images that are not many or vague".

As noted earlier,[260] throughout early modern Europe, painting was considered also a means to memorise figures and places. This was not theoretical thinking disjoined from praxis: it appeared, often opened treatises specifically dealing with composition, materials and methods of painting. In mid 16th-century Venice, painting, as a verb and as a noun, was seen as tool for and a repository of human memory:

"*Questa [la pittura] è quella divina inventione, il cui soggetto s'inalcia alla distinzione de i doi mondi, che conserva la memoria de gli huomini, dimostrando l'effigie loro, ch'aggrandisce la fama à vertuosi, componendo con altro, che cò parole gli atti suoi freggiati d'eterna gloria, eccitando i posteri a ragualiarseli di prodezza.*"[261]

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[256] Simmel op. cit; see also Karl Popper *Il mito della cornice* Il Mulino 2004 and Arnheim 1974

[257] Richardson op. cit.

[258] On the distinction between "first", "second" and "third" nature see John Dixon Hunt *Garden and the Grove The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination 1600 -1750,* London, J. M. Dent 1986

[259] Aglionby 1685, Smith 1693, Richardson 1715, Turnbull 1740, and Joshua Reynolds *Discourses on Art 1769-1790*, Colliers 1966 ed.

[260] see *Mnemonics* at the beginning of Chapter 3

[261] Paolo Pino, op. cit. foll.10

In late 17th-century England, the role of painting in memorising and passing on knowledge was already crystallised in the preface to Aglionby's painting treatise and subsequently informed the academic discourse throughout the 18th-century:

"If the desire of perpetuating our Memory to posterity, be one of the noblest of our Affections here below, certainly those Arts by which we attain that kind of Immortality, do best deserve to be Cultivated by us. Therefore Historians and Poets, who keep, as it were, the Registers of Fame, have always been courted by the Great and by the Good, as knowing that the Merit of their Actions depended upon their Pens [...] Providence yet kinder, gave us two arts, which might express the very Lines of the Face, the Air of the Countenance, and in it a great part of the Mind of all those whom they would undertake to represent; and these are, Sculpture and Painting."[262]

On a second level, forms of abstraction of visual content involved subject-matter remembered not for itself, but as a *metonym* for something else. In the case of cityscapes, a paradigm was the ruin or archaeological site as a reminder of an intact edifice or built area, in which case metonymic inference was rendered possible by the modular approach governing classical architecture, and proceeded by operations of addition. Palladio writes on the Temple of Neptune: "Tho' no Part of this Temple is now standing, yet from the Ruins of it, which are many, it was possible to come at the Knowledge of the whole; that is, the Plan, the Elevation, and the particular Members, which are artfully wrought."[263] This metonymic approach to visual content which I shall call *abstraction by addition* could be reversed, in an operation of *abstraction by subtraction,* achieved not through metonymically inferring the whole from the part, but by *effacing* existing shape, in other words, taking away parts from the whole. By parts, I mean also *pictorial* elements contributing to the rendering of the *image* of a city, and not simply the architectural elements composing an actual city or their visual representations featured in a cityscape. Examples of the *abstraction by subtraction* shall be discussed further:[264] it will be shown that the means of abstraction were to be found

[262] Aglionby op. cit. *The Preface*

[263] Palladio, CHAP. XXXI in Edward Hoppus & Benjamin Cole *First Book of Architecture With all the Plates exactly Copied from the first Italian Edition printed in Venice Anno Dom MDLXX,* London, 1736 BL

[264] See in Chapter 12, *Recognition and recollection*

in the author's practice as a painter, rather than as an architectural draughtsman or geometer. Ackerman asserted that:

"Palladio loved ruins but, like most lovers, he saw only what, and how, he wanted. He could be irrational, using elements of ancient architecture pictorially rather than tectonically. Admiring the effect of temple porticoes, he would put them on villas."[265]

While Ackerman refers to how Palladio treated the *space,* I shall take his observation further and apply it to Palladio's treatment of the *plane*.[266] The Vitruvian relationship between parts and ensemble will also be discussed shortly.

In terms of "landskip" subject-matter, classical vestiges were omnipresent in 17th-century Roman landscape painting as well as Dutch Italianate depictions imbued with the flair of the Roman campagna. Such images provided visual guidelines for art evaluation, shaping the early 18th-century English taste in painting. Safely anchored in the past, recent or remote, they afforded 'polite reflection' on that past, that is, reflection upon polity, not just politeness. "There was value in ancient buildings, with their 'magnificence' and 'Curious workmanship', as well as in their ability to prompt 'lively and Pleasing reflections'"[267] Sir John Vanbrugh advocates, at the beginning of the 18th-century.[268]

"[A]ncient buildings" had been conceived based on reference units i.e. modules which could be expressed *numerically;* this allowed observers the possibility to decipher the whole. Modular planning and production had practical and aesthetic qualities in building new edifices; they were easier and quicker to implement, and the resulting structure could be simultaneously perceived as harmonious whole *and* as rhythmical succession of its constituent parts.

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[265] Ackerman *Palladio*, p.182

[266] See Chapter 5 *Palladio*

[267] Sir John Vanbrugh *Reasons Offer'd for Preserving some Part of the Old Manor* quoted in Christopher Ridgway *Rethinking the Picturesque,* p. 173 and Appendix in Cristopher Ridgway & Robert Williams eds. *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque England,* Sutton Publishing in association with The National Trust, United Kingdom 2000

[268] Vanbrugh's stance points to the importance played by historical narrative in the eyes of 18th-century viewers; visitors would seek a story within the landscape, and owners would often provide it. See paper by Jocelyn Anderson in *Animating the Eighteenth-century Country House* NG conference March 2015 on Summer tours of Georgian country houses

"Proportion is a Correspondency and Agreement of the Measures of the Parts between themselves, and with the Whole in every Work. This Correspondency Vitruvius calls Commodulation, because a Modell [Module] is a Measure, which being taken at first, measures both the Parts and the Whole."[269]

Marshall Smith's treatise of painting confirms that Vitruvius was an essential lesson for painters, not just architects, and clearly for painters of architecture:

"And indeed it [painting] is a compound of many Arts: as Geomitry, Architecture, Arithmetick, Perspective &c. for a Painter cannot perform without Line, Superficies, Profundity, Thickness and Geometrical figures. Nor can Churches, Palaces, Amphitheatres, Bridges, Ports and other Buildings be Represented without Skill in Architecture. Nor without Arithmetick can he Understand the Proportion of Mans Body, to take it in any size; or the Proportion of Things either Artificiall or Naturall."[270]

With the exception of amphitheatres, Venice provided all the types of buildings above enumerated, and also an established tradition of 'modular' thinking.[271]

Until now, we have seen that *abstract* reflection on architecture could occur on paper, involving design and projection or in reality, retracing the missing parts or restoring actual ruins to their former glory. Both instances illustrate modes of *visual thinking*, which is to say that visual thinking and architecture shared an 'immediate' connection, given that it functioned regardless of its medium (paper or stone). This would invite consideration of a third broad type of abstraction, which literally took *place* where thoughts were thought to belong: in the mind. *Mental* visualisations of architecture were the foundation for the two

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[269] Marshall Smith op.cit. Chapter X *On Proportion* esp. p. 27

[270] Marshall Smith op.cit. The quote is from Chapter II "Appelles added the last Perfection by the help of Geometry and Arithmetick; without which, as his Master Pamphilus would say, no Man could prove a Painter; and |Bernard Lovinus would say, a Painter without Perspective was like a Doctor without Grammer. And indeed it is a compound of many Arts: as Geomitry, Architecture, Arithmetick, Perspective &c. for a Painter cannot perform without Line, Superficies, Profundity, Thickness and Geometrical figures. Nor can Churches, Palaces, Amphitheatres, Bridges, Ports and other Buildings be Represented without Skill in Architecture. Nor without Arithmetick can he Understand the Proportion of Mans Body, to take it in any size; or the Proportion of Things either Artificiall or Naturall"

[271] Daniele Barbaro 1567, Book IX Chapter VIII: "Et si come nelle maniere di fabbricare i Templi si piglia prima il modulo col quale si misura il tutto". Barbaro's interest in Vitruvius was perhaps prompted by Claudio Tolomèi, who had founded the Roman *Accademia della Virtù*, whom Barbaro met in Padua, while supervising the construction of the *Orto*, Botanic Garden of Padua around 1545; see Tracy Elizabeth Cooper *Palladio's Venice : Architecture and Society in a Renaissance Republic,* Yale University Press 2005 p. 11; See also Margaret Muther D'Evelyn *Venice & Vitruvius: Reading Venice with Daniele Barbara and Andrea Palladio* Yale University Press 2012

types of abstraction earlier mentioned. Nonetheless, at a preliminary, 'mental' stage, visualisations were not necessarily expected to take a projected or concrete form in order to enable abstract reflections on architecture. According to Vitruvius, an architect was the person who: "could imagine a building before it was constructed."[272] Moreover, imagining buildings was not the exclusive appanage of architects.

Equally relevant to architecture, given that they involved man-made constructions, were rhetors' *places* or *loci:* mental visualisations which could refer to real as well as to fictitious sites. They were consistently and for a long enough time used to impart rhetorical teachings and thus to make this usage meaningful. As Frances Yates has shown, in the classical and hellenistic world, the art of memory relied on finding a fit between textual content and visual trope: a 'catchy' visual event used as an effective mnemonic aid. According to Yates, every treatise repeated

"[The] subject matter, and as often as not the actual words of *Ad Herennium* (...) 'rules for places, rules for images, memory for things, memory for words' [...] The artificial memory is established from places and images (Constat igitur artificiosa memoria ex locis et imaginibus), the stock definition to be forever repeated down the ages."[273]

So, *loci* were mental projections of places. They were used to help memorise large quantities of text. It would make no sense to suggest that their choice would have aimed to render the task of memorising data more difficult rather than simplify it. The very purpose of the "art of memory" was to make things *easier* for rhetors and their students, by providing valid visual support for complex verbal content. In line with the earlier discussion[274] on types of learning and the acquisition of new knowledge, the kind of architectural structures *easiest* to imagine would have been those relying on *previously acquired* knowledge. In other words, extant, familiar, 'real' buildings. Simply put, the preferred type of visual mnemonic support was the

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[272] Margaret Muther D'Evelyn *op.* cit p.184 - quoting Vitruvius Book VI, Chapter VIII (Chapter XI in Barbaro's edition of 1567)

[273] Yates, op.cit. p.6-7

[274]See before discussion in Chapter 2, paragraph *See it to believe it*

easiest available in reality: classical Roman and Greek architecture.[275] Surely, *loci* were *imagined,* but so had been real buildings or architectonic sites: first imagined, then projected i.e. drawn or designed, and eventually built.

However, in a mnemonic context, the process of imagining these structures had a *simplifying* scope, and less of a real architect's concerns about function, endurance and aesthetics. As shown earlier, *simplification* was a means of *abstraction* in the composition of cityscapes. By the same token, simplicity did not imply simple-mindedness, neither did a simplifying intent suggest that mentally visualised architecture should be considered rudimentary, but that such architecture had to be effective for a different end, obeying rules *familiar* to the 'builder-in-the-mind' rather than inventing new shapes and new connections with would result in increasing the effort of memorisation. Yates collates three main antique sources for mnemonically taught rhetorics: the anonymous treatise *Ad Herennium*, Cicero and Quintilian.

In the first case, requisites for imagined, or 'fictitious' places are: placing memory aids in every fifth *locus*, for instance, and the image of an acquaintance named Decimus in the 10th place; avoiding excesses in imagining *loci, by* limiting the number of people inhabiting them, moderating size and intervals between salient features, as well as controlling the 'brightness' key.[276]

In Cicero, the importance of rhythmic succession of visual intervals is clear, and so is the suggestion that mnemonic techniques were widely spread:

"Consequently (in order that I may not be prolix and tedious on a subject that is well known and familiar) one must employ a large number of places which must be well lighted, clearly set out in order, at moderate intervals apart (*locis est utendum multis, illustribus, explicates, modicis intervallis*); and images that are active, sharply defined, unusual, and which have the power of speedily encountering and penetrating the psyche (*imaginibus autem agentibus, acribus, insignitis, quae occurrere celeriterque percutere animum possint*) […]

[275] "[I]n the ancient world, devoid of printing, without paper for note-taking or on which to type lectures, the trained memory was of vital importance. And the ancient memories were trained by an art which reflected the art and architecture of the ancient world" F. Yates, op.cit. p. 4

[276] ibid. p7-8

using the image of one word to remind of a whole sentence, as a consummate painter distinguishing the position of objects by modifying their shapes."[277]

Mnemonic places supporting a rhetor's discourse might well have been invented, while they were still rooted in classical Roman architectural models.

Quintilian's instructions are clear:

"it is an assistance to the memory if places are stamped upon the mind [...] Places are chosen, and marked with the utmost possible variety, as a spacious house divided into a number of rooms. Everything of note therein is diligently imprinted on the mind, (...) the first task is to secure that shall be no difficulty in running through these, for that memory must be most firmly fixed which helps another memory. Then what has been written down, or thought of, is noted by a sign to remind of it. [...] These signs are arranged as follows. The first notion is placed, as it were, in the forecourt; the second, let us say, in the atrium; the reminders are placed in order all round (...) This done, when it is required to revive the memory, one begins from the first place to run through all, demanding what has been entrusted to them, of which one will be reminded by the image. What I have spoken of as being done in a house can also be done in public buildings, or on a long journey, or in going through a city, or with pictures. Or we can imagine such places for ourselves. We require therefore places, either real or imaginary, and images or simulacra which must be invented."[278]

So not only could a *locus* be built around examples of domestic edifices, which may have suffered from excessive familiarity rather than novelty, but it could expand to imaginary strolls through wider urban sites and, more importantly, to "pictures" i.e. mental representations of *existing* visual representations of places and things, or *invented pictures* of such places and things. Moreover, by enumerating possibilities in this order, Quintilian confirms that a mnemonic tenet was already associated with visual representations of architecture in ancient Rome.

One can hypothesise about what an imagined architecture supporting a Roman rhetor's memorised discourse looked like. However, both it's rooting in classical examples and the organising features of the speech it recalled were laid out in a rhythmic succession. This had to be done in order to measure and manage duration, which represented a

[277] Cicero *De Oratore*, II, lxxxvii, 358, in ibid. pp.17-18

[278] Quintilian *De Institutio oratoria*, XI, ii, 17-22, in ibid. pp. 22-23

quantity. The length of the speech corresponded to the period of time necessary to complete the imagined itinerary. Rhythm and arithmetic are regulated by number.

The simplest proportion directly indicated in reference to mnemonic architecture can be found in *Ad Herennium* as occurring between numbers 5 and 10, that is, an octave or a ratio of 1:2. The specific reference to 5 and 10, rather than to 1 and 2 for example, invites a few hypotheses: firstly, that it was intended to created a habit of memory through training - a higher effort was needed to memorise a sequence of 5-10-15 than a sequence of 1-2-3; secondly, that a ratio had to be found between too little and too much data to ensure that it will be accurately remembered within the same orderly sequence; thirdly, that symbolic meanings associated with the numbers 5 and 10 intervened, 10 was considered a perfect number,[279] associated with the Divine, while 5 epitomised the Humane; finally, the visual weight expressed in the graphic representation of the Roman numerals "V" and "X" reflected their importance in a decimal system, which in turn explained their choice: along with "I" these numerals were the only three expressed through non-composite signs and instead contributed to form the graphical expressions of all other numbers from 0 to 10, starting with their immediate minors or majors.

As we have seen, the art of memory encouraged rhetors to resort to familiar faces in the right places, and have good old Decimus wait in room number 10. To ensure that the rhetorical discourse would flow convincingly, moving inside *imagined* or *imaginary* architecture meant projecting *visual equivalents* of mental counting. I shall look in a place where solutions used to organise visual content according to proportion and number abounded, a place where imagined and built edifices met: treatises of architecture.

[279] In Euclidean geometry, it summed up the necessary and sufficient number of points required in geometrical descriptions of space: point, line i.e. two points, surface i.e. three points, volume i.e. four points: 1+2+3+4=10. These definitions were circulating in Venice since the first printed edition of Euclid had been printed in 1482. See Alberti's and Pino's painting treatises.

CHAPTER 4

Visual Sources

The paradigm and visual source for Roman classical architecture in Renaissance Italy was Vitruvius. Following the Albertian-Brunelleschian (re)discoveries, the works of Euclid[280] and Vitruvius[281] had been revived, translated, compiled and interpreted in new treatises and accounts by Sebastiano Serlio[282], Antonio Labacco[283], Vignola[284], Palladio[285], Daniele Barbaro[286], Scamozzi,[287] among others[288]. These teachings reached areas where examples of classical architecture had disappeared or did not exist. An important observation to make is that, similarly to mnemonic architecture used by classical rhetors, these books were written and drawn with the intent to *simplify*, not complicate, the understanding of classical

[280] Euclid's *Elementa Geometriae* Venice woodcut 1482 see also Baxandall 1972 p. 31

[281] The first modern edition of Vitruvius was published in Venice by Fra Giocondo in 1511.

[282] "*I cinque libri…*" printed individually and then as a whole

[283] three editions of Labacco's treatise (first printed in Rome in 1552) appeared in Venice between 1567 and 1576 (see exemplary at Sir J. Soane's Museum) and a first edition in the Royal Collection

[284] Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, "*Le regole…*" 1562 Rome, reprint of the same year plus 6 new editions between Rome and Venice over the next decade

[285] "L'antichita di Roma" published 1554 in Rome and in 1555 in Venice, followed by the 1570 treatise "I Quattro Libri.." published in Venice

[286] *I dieci libri dell'architettura…*published by F. Marcolini, Venice 1556 offered a translation and commentary to Vitruvius by Daniele Barbaro with architectural drawings by Palladio, see also the 1567 edition of *I dieci libri*, and the *Pratica della perspettiva* of 1569.

[287] Vincenzo Scamozzi *L'idea della architettura vniuersale, di Vincenzo Scamozzi architetto veneto diuisa in 10. libri. Parte prima - seconda Venetiis, expensis auctoris, 1615 In Venetia…*

[288] Giovanni Giocondo *M. Vitruvius per Iocundum solito castigator factus cum figuris et tabula ut iam legiet intelligi possit* Venezia, Giovanni Tacuino, Venice 1511; Cesare Cesariano *Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione de architectura libri dece traducti de latino in vulgare raffigurati: commentati: & con mirando ordine insigniti…* Como, Gottardo Da Ponte 1521; Pietro Cataneo *I quattro primi libri di architettura di Pietro Cataneo senese…*Venezia, Aldo Manuzio eredi 1554; Giovanni Antonio Rusconi *Della architettura di Gio. Antonio Rusconi, con centosessanta figure dissegnate dal medesimo, secondo i precetti di Vitruvio…*Venezia, Giovanni e Giovanni Paolo Giolito De Ferrari 1590 (although ready for print around 1550, it was published posthumously by the heirs of Giolito); Silvio Belli *Libro del misurar con la vista di Silvio Belli vicentino […] senza travagliar con numeri, a misurar facilissimamente le distantie, le altezze, e le profondità con il quadrato geometrico e con altri stromenti"* Venezia, Domenico Nicolini da Sabbio 1565; Gioseffo Zarlino *Le istituzioni harmoniche del reverendo Gioseffo Zarlino da Chioggia…*; Venezia, Francesco De Franceschi 1562; Pirro Ligorio *Libro di m. Pyrrho Ligori napoletano, delle antichità di Roma…*Venezia, Michele Tramezzino 1553

architecture.[289] While various influences were at play in the renaissance of classical taste in early modern Italy, a systemic organisation of visual content based on the principle of *proportion*, understood as harmonious relationship between the parts themselves and the parts and the whole was constant in all these works. As it will be further shown, this principle channeled the "classical" taste in 17th and 18th-centuries England.[290]

Symmetry, proportion, order

To explain the formative influence that notions such as 'symmetry', 'proportion' and 'order' had on 18th-century cultured travellers to Italy, I shall underline from the start that, in modern Europe, the semantic scope of these words extended beyond aesthetic or utilitarian considerations, to encompass ethical[291] concerns. In 15th and 16th-centuries Italy, distinctions between theologians, merchants and artists can be described as *distinctions of choice, not of capacity*. In other words, while these distinct categories of people reasoned similarly, as educated members of the same social environment, they applied these reasonings and skills to different areas of activity i.e. religion, commerce or art.[292] The Renaissance model of the "classical citizen" was built around characteristics of timelessness and ubiquity[293] and, as such, could be easily adopted elsewhere, as indeed it was in the early 18th-century in England.[294]

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[289] "*I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* was published in 1570 in Venice. Though its author had a Humanist education of a kind, and shared the ideals of his teachers and patrons, it is not a Humanist book. Scholarship and ancient tradition are outweighed by practical know-how expressed in economical and forceful language [...] As the purpose was rather to simplify than to extend the understanding of ancient architecture, Palladio glossed over conflicts between Vitruvian laws of design and the actual buildings" Ackerman op. cit. p. 27

[290] see later *Palladianism*

[291] Arnheim quotes Spinoza's *Ethics* on order "For when things are arranged in such a way that when they are represented to us by the senses we can easily imagine, and in consequence, easily remember them, we cal them well ordered" Arnheim 1974 p. 55; Also, see before *Qual'effetto*

[292] As Baxandall has suggested, op.cit. 1972

[293] "The classical citizen - here I am paraphrasing John Pocock - did not see himself as the mere product of historical phrases, of a specific phase in the development of any individual nation, but as the personification of an ideal that transcended time and place" David Solkin op. cit. p91 in cf. J. G. A. Pocock op. cit. p 466

[294] Shaftesbury in *Weekly Register* February 1731 quoted in Denvir, op.cit.

Shaftesbury's[295] comprehensive definition of taste informed by ethical concerns[296] led him to equate taste with virtue; the notion of *virtù*[297] animated the intellectual discourses of 17th and 18th-century England: "an acquired capacity of distinction between beauty and error, founded in truth, or verisimilitudae at least [...] acquired by toil and study, which is the reason so few are possessed of it."[298] On the other hand, Locke's reservations about travel as a means of education contradicted Shaftesbury's cosmopolitan views. Still, both authors looked for principles. Charles Batteux's *Les beaux Arts reduits a un même principe* defines taste in a way underlining its ethical tenet:

"*Le bon Goût est un amour habituel de l'ordre. Il s'étend, comme nous venons de le dire, sur les moeurs aussi bien que sur les ouvrages d'esprit. La symmétrie des parties entr'elles & avec le tout, est aussi nécessaire dans la conduite d'une action morale que dans un tableau. Cet amour est une vertu de l'ame qui se porte à tous les objets, qui ont rapport à nous, & qui prend le nom de Goût dans les choses d'agrément, & retient celui de Vertu lorsqu'il s'agit des moeurs.*"[299]

Both Shaftesbury and Batteux equated taste with virtue, however the latter went further, and defined good taste *in visual terms:* "a common love of order" where "the symmetry of the parts among them and with the whole is as necessary in the conduct of a moral action as it is in a painting."[300] This is word for word the Vitruvian definition of 'symmetry' or

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[295] Recent research invites playing down the influence had by Shaftesbury's *Letter concerning Design* on Lord Burlington and his Palladian agenda. In terms of how intellectual discourse was expressed in visual terms, the discourse is far from being settled. See Alexander Echlin and William Kelley *A 'Shaftesburian Agenda'? Lord Burlington, Lord Shaftesbury and the Intellectual Origins of English Palladianism* Journal of Architectural History Vol. 59 2016, pp. 221-252; Shaftesbury *A Letter concerning the Art or Science of Design, written from Italy, on the occasion of the Judgement of Hercules, To My Lord...[sic], by Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury;* and Barrell 1988.

[296] Klein op. cit.

[297] thanks to Matthew Hardy for stressing this point. See J. G. A. Pocock *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* Princeton University Press 1975

[298] "A good Taste is not confined only to writings, but extends to paintings and sculpture, comprehends the whole circle of civility and good manners, and regulates life and conduct as well as theory and speculation" Shaftesbury - *Characteristicks*

[299] Charles Batteux *Les Beaux Arts Reduits A Un Même Principe* Durand, Paris 1746, p.124

[300] ibid.

commodulatio passed down along the ages.[301]

In England, Inigo Jones' projects and edifices had already provided examples of orderly design based on Vitruvius and its Palladian interpretations and on Jones' direct contact with Scamozzi during the former's visit to Italy.[302] This was reflected in painting, a representational art involving lines and colours, but one which required "a regard to the Rules of Symmetry and Perspective."[303] In line with Italian Renaissance teachings, Aglionby divided invention

"into Order and Decorum. By the first, the Painter places the parts of his Subject properly, so as the Spectator may imagine that the thing did not happen otherwise than as it is there Represented [...] though it imbrace never so many Figures, make it but one BODY, Agreeing with its self and in all its Parts."[304]

Ackerman's formulation is that proportion not only extended beyond beauty, it encompassed it. It encompassed more than beauty, virtually extending to all aspects of human existence. Among Palladio's friends, Silvio Belli had defined proportion as "the very source of just distribution, of beauty and of health."[305] Aglionby's treatise stated this and more: drawing was seen not only as the path to a good painting, but as a matter of survival; both military defence[306] and classical culture were seen as based on *order*. The absence of "order" and

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[301] Arnheim and Gombrich disambiguate between the modern acceptation of *symmetry* and its original sense, acknowledging that the meaning has shifted; Arnheim 1974; and E. Gombrich *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*. London: Phaidon 1960; According to Ghyka, Vitruvius states that "symmetry resides in the correlation by measurement between the various elements of the plan, and between each of these elements and the whole. [...] As in the human body [...] it proceeds from proportion – the proportion which the Greeks called analogia – it achieves consonance between every part and the whole [...] This symmetry is regulated by the modulus, the standard of common measure, which the Greeks called the number" cf. Matyla Ghyka *The geometry of art and life* Dover Publications, reedited 1977

[302] Thanks to Matthew Hardy for this reference.

[303] Aglionby op. cit. p5-6

[304] ibid. p.115-116. Also, the visual character of "necessity" seems timeless, and it remains paramount until the 20th-century: "visually, as well as physically, balance is the state of distribution in which all action has come to a standstill" and "shape, direction, location are mutually determined in such a way that no change seems possible" Arnheim op. cit. p20; see also Reynolds op.cit.

[305] Silvio Belli 1573 *Libro da misurare...* quoted in Ackerman op.cit. p.161

[306] F. Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme* Armand Colin 1979, Norbert Elias *The Court Society* Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1983

maturity led "Distracted and Confus'd Nations"[307] to perish. In terms of urban structure, pursuing order, understood in its Vitruvian sense, was seen as a means to reflect, if not to ensure, social order. The Orders of Architecture and the architect's orders were almost the same thing. They helped making sense of the spacial world, and therefore had to be followed, according to Serlio, with "diligentia" and without alteration[308], down to the tiniest stucco ornament:

"*così i Pittori, i Scultori, e quelli che fanno gli ornamenti di stucchi, e altre cose, disponghino tutte le opere loro conforme all'ordine dato dall'Architetto […] accio siano convenevoli al sito, & alla qualità dell'opera.*"[309]

Portfolio

Treatises of architecture taught how to build edifices. They also taught how to project them on paper. It was customary, from the Renaissance onwards, that the teachings contained in and delivered through these printed architectural treatises would figure in a condensed form on the title-page.[310] Serlio sets a compelling example:

"*Ho voluto nel principio di questo libro imitare i Comici antiqui , alcun de quali volendo representar una Comedia , mandava uno suo nuncio innanzi, che in succinte parole dava noticia a i spettatori , di tutto quello che nella Comedia si havea a tratare; Il perche havend'io in questo volume a trattare de le cinque maniere de gli edificij …] per dimostrar una regola generale, ad una guardata sola, & per esser meglio inteso da tutti, io porrò nei*

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[307] Aglionby op. cit.

[308] However, linear perspective was not the only concern for painters in general, not even for prospect painters in particular. See Sven Dupré *The Historiography of Perspective and Reflexy-Const in Netherlandish Art* in Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art/Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, vol. 61, 2011

[309] Serlio *Tutte Le opere* …Bolognese… In Vinegia 1600, Presso gli Heredi di …dedication Book 1, BL

[310] Francesco Barberi *Il frontespizio nel libro italiano del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento* Milano Il Polifilo 1969 esp. p. 60; see also Paolo Veneziani *Il frontespizio come etichetta del prodotto* in *Il libro italiano del Cinquecento: produzione e commercio* Rome Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato 1989 pp. 99-126.

principi de gli ordini i vocaboli di Vitruvio, accõpagnati cõ gli usitati moderni, communi a tutta Italia."[311]

Moreover, given such treatises' emphasis on order and proportion, the information on the title-page would not just refer to these concepts, but their very design would *illustrate* them. The title-page of an architectural treatise offered the opportunity to present a professional portfolio of the author. Sixteenth-century Italian treatises of architecture[312] appropriately opened with frontispieces shaped as architectural models. The repertoire included temple-like porticoes, arches and archways supported by massive piers or columns, cartouches, or other ornate framings.[313] Greek architecture was trabeated rather than arcuated, requiring alternations of horizontal and vertical members, lintels and posts. Both the height of Greek trabeation and the height of the Roman arch depended on the module i.e. the diameter of the column at its base. Pedimented frontispieces on title-pages were therefore based on a simple rectangular structure, which framed the visual field, and also literally afforded a glimpse *inside*: a rectangle described both the shape of an opening and the sheet of paper on which it was drawn. An opening into content and the author's expertise.

Seen in a broader context, the use of elevations of porticoes in guise of title-pages for architectural treatises, often looking more like a villa entrance than an altar piece, connotes the political and social changes in force in Renaissance Italy. Inhabited space in modern Italy had an inbuilt social component: receiving guests at home implied a level of trust and social ease unrivalled by ceremonial occasions. Publicising the architect's skills and credentials therefore started on page one: in the case of books on building, the title-page; in the case of houses, the entrance. Two facts support this affirmation: firstly, frontispieces offered the

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[311] Serlio op. cit.

[312] For example, the first translation of Vitruvius in another language other than Latin, published by Gottardo da Ponte in Italian in 1521. It shows a rectangular design surmounted by a triangular-shaped text surmounting it as a pediment. The rectangle frames an architectural design, a frontispiece with carved pillars flanking the allegorical drawing. The rectangle's proportions appear close to the Vitruvian canon of 2/3; Cesare Cesariano op. cit. Como, 1521

[313] "La cornice architecttonica - della quale si è preteso di trovare un precedence remoto negli archetti dei canoni eusebiani di evangelici dell'alto Medioevo - si presenta negl'incunaboli come imitazione d'inquadrature di cornici contemporanei e di architetture rinascimentali" Franco Barberi op. cit. p .41. See ibid. pp.122-137 on various designs for the frames of printed title-pages, many of which were based on architectural structures.

opportunity to exhibit the builder's coat of arms[314]; secondly, those paying a visit to "*il padrone di casa*" were also paying a visit to an inhabitable work of art. Building a house was also a form of 'branding' for builders in the business of building *more* houses. Guests with the same social status and economic power as the host could afford the builders' services, following or not a conspicuous-consumption pattern, while those unable to do so were nonetheless being exposed to the 'product'. This activated a word-of-mouth phenomenon, ideally reaching other social actors within the target group. There was lavish choice with regard to the design of the entrance to a town or country residence, as shown in Serlio's *Book of Doors*[315] from 1551. That these country residences were buildings not to be associated with ecclesiastical architecture was something that Palladio was careful to clarify. The suppression, or downplaying of the confessional tenet is given as one of the reasons for the popularity of the porticoed entrance with Anglo-Saxon builders and owners. As Ackerman[316] has pointed out, *domus* was a notion, accepted in relation to a home or domicile, long before it defined the crowning glory of what was to be built on faith.

As common-sense as it may seem, I shall emphasise that two-dimensional representations of harmonious three-dimensional architecture were *equally* designed to abide by the principle of proportion. Proportion shaped not only architecture but also *images* of extant and projected buildings, and even *imagined* ones. By and large, flat images of architecture, such as elevations and plans, were authored by architects, or people who had building experience or training. Establishing proportional intervals for a closed structure

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[314] Andrea Palladio *I Quattro Libri…* II p69 Ch. XVI: "frontispieces show the entrance to the house [are] useful for the builders' coats of arms" quoted in Ackerman 1966 p 65. This was well-known practice; Serlio writes: "To the Reader […] Sometimes I broke a pediment so as to place a tablet or a coat of arms there" p 2r *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture, Books VI and VII of 'Tutte L'Opere d'Architettura et Prospettiva' …*(in translation p461) Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks, volume two, Yale University Press, New Haven & London 2001

[315]*Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture Books VI and VII of 'Tutte L'Opere d'Architettura et Prospettiva' with 'Castrametation of the Romans' and 'The Extraordinary Book of Doors' [mistaken in the early 1600 for book 6] by Sebastiano Serlio* Translated from Italian with an Introduction and Commentary by Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks, Yale University Press, New Haven & London 2001 , Vol. two; see also Sebastiano Serlio *The Extraordinary Book on Architecture [of Doors] with privileges from the Pope, the Emperor, the most Christian King and the Venetian Senate;* Venice 1551

[316] "Politics and religion helped" Ackerman explains the popularity of Palladio's villa designs each ensuing a following p. 75 and fol. the popularity of print and the similarities between English squires and Venetian patricians taking an interest on mainland lifestyles for economic reasons, see especially Ackerman 1966 p.80 and p.260. See also Bernard Denvir op.cit.

was a procedure rooted in classical architecture: regular rows of columns formed the peristyle, metopes and triglyphs succeeded each other rhythmically on the entablature. As we have seen, counting up to ten - paragraphs, rooms, columns, intervals - was as much a mnemonic exercise as it was a way to organise the composition of a real or designed architecture.

CHAPTER 5

Visual grids

Why should title-pages of Renaissance treatises of architecture be relevant to 18th-century Venetian cityscapes? Firstly, the former were the closest equivalent of a pictorial composition that could be found in an architectural treatise, and, sometimes, an 18th-century reprint, commentary or translation of such a treatise would even see the direct involvement of a painter. G. Leoni's English edition of Palladio's *I Quattro Libri* is opened by a design by Sebastiano Ricci who was in London when his country fellow endeavoured to "improve" upon Palladio.[317] Secondly, it is perfectly plausible to think that painters who had to paint architecture, as 18th-century Venetian *vedutisti* did, were aware of, and had access to pattern books, and sometimes even to painting and architectural treatises (many of which had been printed and were being reprinted in Venice and the Veneto).[318]

Painters looking at treatises of architecture would have been interested not just, or not mainly, in how such edifices were built three-dimensionally, but in how they were represented bi-dimensionally: this was what their paintings had to show. I argue that the organisation of space in bi-dimensional title-pages[319] of architectural treatises in modern Europe offered procedures useful to 18th-century Venetian *vedutisti* in composing their pictures. As I shall further show, 16th-century Venetian architectural treatises would even provide *vedutisti* with bi-dimensional representations of the very architecture they had to paint.[320]

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[317] see further discussion in *Palladianism*

[318] "Il Signor Giuseppe Smith Inglese ¸ possiede qui in Venezia un ritratto del Palladio di mano di Bernardino Licino con la seguente iscrizione B, Licinii opus Andreas Paladio A. Annorum XXIII. MDXLI." footnote 1. introduction to Tommaso Temanza *"Vita di Andrea Palladio Vicentino Egregio Architetto…"*, Venice, Giambatista Pasquali, 1762; see also Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi

[319] and, secondarily, also headlines or end-page decorations.

[320] see Chapter on *Carlevarjs*

Harmonious proportions have been graphically represented in linear and planar forms as soon as they started to concern mathematicians, musicians and painters.[321]

The interest in proportion, founded in classical architecture, ran parallel with the interest in *pictorial* representations of such architecture. Drawn architectural frontispieces illustrated important publications in Renaissance Venice; their design reflected contemporary architectural practices.[322] Proportion was observed also in letter design: a treatise on how to use geometric patterns to draw letters appears in Venice in 1514.[323] On the facades and inner and outer walls of Renaissance edifices, tridimensional decorative elements and their painted "illusions" were interchangeable, thanks to linear perspective. This practice was taught and encouraged by means of architectural treatises. Serlio wrote: "Whatever is not to be made of stone and in relief should be done with painting, following the common saying: Praise the chisel, but use the brush | Painting is cheaper, and looks more plush."[324] It should be noted here that draughtsmanship practice in Renaissance Italy, defined by the word *disegno,* encompassed areas of activity for which today two different

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[321] *Libro Primo de la Pittura* di Leon Battista Alberti
"Avendo io a Scrivere de la Pittura in questi brevissimi commentari, acciocché il mio ragionamento sia più chiaro, prima torrò da i Mathematica quelle cose, che mi parrano necessarie a la materia, le quali poi che si saranno intese, inquanto l'ingegno mi potrà servire, dichiarerò la pittura da i principi istessi de la natura. Ma in ogni mio ragionamento voglio, che questo sopra tutto riconsideri, che io non ragiono di questo cose da Mathematica, ma come pittore" Lodovico Domenichi Venetian edition dedicated to Francesco Salviati, 1547; see also Baxandall 1972

[322] See Lilian Armstrong *Venetian and Florentine Renaissance woodcuts for Bibles, Liturgical Books, and Devotional Books* in *A Heavenly Craft: The Woodcut in Early Printed Books* exhibition catalogue Daniel De Simone ed. , George Braziller 2004, pp. 25-45, especially pp. 26-29 illustrated with *Biblia Italica* printed in Venice in 1494 and Dante's *Divina Commedia* published in Venice in 1491. It can be seen that architectural frontispieces framing the illustrations for these two books reflect contemporary built examples coming from the workshop of the Lombardo brothers. Similar See also Pittoni's series of views from 1583, exploring the possibilities offered by the growing interest for Roman antiquities seen in their original setting. A native of Vicenza, Pittoni's work is an important transitional phase from architectural elevation to painted cityscape.

[323] Sigismondo Fanti *Theorica et practica de modo scribendi fabricandique omni literarum species* Venice 1514; "the circle and the square, the building blocks of classical architecture and the basis for letter designs that appear in Pacioli's *Divina Proportione*, published in Venice in 1509, provide a starting point for Fanti" *A Heavenly Craft: The Woodcut in Early Printed Books* exhibition catalogue Daniel De Simone ed. George Braziller 2004 pp. 159-160; see also Giovanni Maria Fara *Albrecht Dürer: Institutiones Geometricae, Cosimo Bartoli: I Geometrici Elementi di Alberto Durero,* Edizione, saggio introduttivo e note di. Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento Nino Aragno 2008

[324] Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks op.cit p304 - corresponding to p150 in Sebastiano Serlio's Book VII; Earlier in Book VII (pp 290 -291, 292-293 respectively p.136-139) Serlio suggests for instance that a small inner courtyard of a palazzo "should be ornamented with beautiful painting, it could even be a small, secret garden". The illustration of this "secret garden" shows, again, a portico.

terms are used: *to design*[325] and *to draw*. A present-day tendency to distinguish between 'artistic' and architectural drawing would have been out of place.[326]

As said earlier, rules of design and architectural planning were analogue to mnemonic techniques used in the Hellenistic world. The latter, too, were disseminated in writing: "theatres of memory" were present in Venice in theoretical, sometimes even physical forms.[327] Serlio was aware of contemporary theories on rhetorics and mnemonic techniques and this informed his own writing on architecture.[328] While only Serlio directly acknowledges Alberti's work on architecture,[329] both Serlio's and Palladio's treatises declare that Vitruvius was their model.[330] Proportions based on Pythagorean consonances, explored in music, mathematics and the human body[331] found a visual expression in the architectural drawings present in these treatises. These proportions are: unison 1/1; octave or diapason 2/1; fourth (sesquitertium, or diatessaron) 4/3; fifth (sesquialterum, or diapente) 3/2; to which a tone, 9/8, or difference between a fourth and a fifth was added. In Vitruvius, the harmonious proportions upon which architectural models are built do not specifically take

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[325] For the meaning and importance of "design" in 18th-century England, see Shaftesbury *A Letter concerning the Art or Science of Design, written from Italy, on the occasion of the Judgement of Hercules, To My Lord...[sic], by Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury,* [n.d.] available online from the University of Leeds Special Collections Ref. GB 206 Brotherton Collection MS Lt 41

[326] The observation has also been made by Claude Raffstein op. cit.

[327] Pietro di Ravenna's 'Phoenix, or of artificial memory' enjoyed several successful editions between late 15th-century and late 16th-century. See Frances Yates, op. cit. , see also S. Goodman and L. Parisi *Machines of Memory* in S. Radstone and B. Schwarz eds. *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates* Fordham University Press 2010, pp. 343-365

[328] "Serlio's didactic programme in seven steps reflected contemporary rhetorical-mnemonic theory as devised by his friend, the Neo-Platonic philosopher (and magician) Giulio Camillo Delminio" "formulated in Camillo's MS Idea dell'Eloquenza (c.1530s)" Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks op.cit. introduction p xlvi and footnote where the authors refer to Carpo M. *Ancora su Serlio e Delminio. La teoria architettonica, il metodo e la reforma dell'imitazione* in Thoenes C. ed op cit 111-3 , see Tafuri M. op cit 61-2 L. Olivato *Per il Serlio a Venezia: Documenti nuovi e Documenti rivisitati* in *Arte Veneta* vol. 25 (1971) pp 284- 291; On Giulio Camillo's output in Venice, see also F. Yates op.cit. especially Chapters VI *Renaissance Memory: The Memory Theatre of Giulio Camillo,* and VII *Camillo's Theatre and the Venetian Renaissance*

[329]See Ackerman op. cit; see also Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks eds. op. cit, volume two, p.461

[330] pXLIX "Perché il prudente Architetto può sempre far elettion di quelle parti, che piu al suo comodo tornano; pur ch'egli non si allontani molto da i scritti di Vitruvio, & da la bona antiquità, la quale si conosce per i scritti d'esso autore" Serlio, *Regole...*

[331] Keith Critchlow op. cit.; Ackerman op. cit.; R. Wittkover *"Architectural Principles of the Age of Humanism", Parts III and IV,* London 1949

into account the golden ratio, the closest ratio being the 3/5.[332] The reason for which Vitruvius and other Renaissance architecture treatises do not mention the mean and extreme ratio i.e. golden ratio proportion, even though it had been used in Greek architecture, is still a subject of debate.[333] It is possible that, given irrational numerical form, it would have been easier for architects to share with builders designs which were simpler to calculate and reproduce, or at least approximate, and hence easier to build.[334] On the one hand, arithmetics required the extraction of root 5, on the other hand, the geometrical construction leading to finding the golden mean on a segment was easier achievable in painting than in architecture: this, because the two operated on different scales. On a different note, a simplified composition, rather than a more intricate one had more chances to be understood and shared both in the architect's and the painter's workshop. Dan Cruikshank[335] justly observed that one of the reasons why the visual 'vocabulary' in British architectonic decoration remained Palladian until the late 18th-century (and, it could be added, Neo-Classical until the end of the 19th-century) was practical: it was more convenient to ask builders to produce patterns and shapes they were already family with. As it will be shown[336] further, the use of simplified grids in the conception of cityscapes did not preclude the simultaneous use of more complex ones, nor did it prevent practitioners - who for reasons of convenience or training did not create intricate compositions - from achieving visual harmony with the help of simpler grids. The presence of simple grids in the composition of images that employed less time (reducing or simplifying the sequence of practical steps) is therefore logical.

The mathematical properties accounting for the fascination exerted by the golden

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[332] Caroline Dalton observes that root 2, the other irrational number occurring in Vitruvian architecture, could be obtained through a simple geometrical construction. See Dalton op. cit.; A classical example was the height of the doric pediment. For its construction, based on root 2, see Serlio *Tutte le opere*...1600 BL, specifically *Libro Quarto* Chapter XXVI

[333] thanks to Matthew Hardy for making the point

[334] See note above, and see later *The Georgian Window*. I am grateful to Matthew Hardy for raising this question.

[335] Dan Cruickshank and Peter Wyld *London: The art of Georgian Building* The Architectural Press Ltd: London 1975

[336] in Part 4

ratio became part of a debate on whether or not there exists an innate inclination in the viewer to perceive the ratio, in nature or in objects built using this proportion, as 'beautiful'. This debate reflected the awe in front of an expression of a supernatural order,[337] the treasuring of scientific achievement[338] and, more recently, a disinclination to spiritualise coincidences.[339] Rudolf Arnheim argued that the eye is drawn to 'asymmetrical' - in the term's present-day acceptation - visual events at a perceptual level, and that, therefore, visual communication of knowledge is perceptual and immediate, while intellectual interpretation as text, or as narrative, is subsequent.[340] The allegedly 'perfect' asymmetrical division, the golden ratio, has been previously summed up as a subconscious operation resulting in aesthetic satisfaction. Apart from the proportion 3/5 (0,6), relatively close to the golden ratio (0,6180339887), the series of Fibonacci,[341] in which each number is the sum of the preceding two, offers close approximations of the golden proportion, especially in higher numbers. This would have been easier to apply in architecture than the mathematical operation of extracting a root 5. In painting, a compositional grid on a rectangle can be obtained by finding on all sides the points of division into mean and extreme ratio. Ocular perception is bifocal, so golden ratio division points on each side should be two: measured

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[337] Luca Pacioli *De divina Proporzione* Paganino Venezia, 1509 (compiled by Luca Pacioli who includes the 60 plates with polyhedra and solids deduced from Leonardo's drawings and the version in volgare of Piero's Libellus') see American Scientific n 331, march 1996, pp70-77 ; "nelle lettere dedicatorie della summa de arithmetica, geometria, proportioni et proportionalità e del De divina proportione, sia nella prolusione al corso su Euclide tenuta nella Scuola di Rialto del 1508, sono tracciate le linee di un progetto finalizzato a ricondurre sotto l'egida della matematica tutto lo scibile umano" Antonio Pieretti *Luca Pacioli: La matematica come paradigma universale del sapere* Perugia Univ. Published in *Antologia della divina proporzione' di Luca Pacioli, Piero della Francesca e Leonardo da Vinci* Contin Duilio, Odifreddi Piergiorgio, Pieretti Antonio, Aboca eds. 2010, p.12; p. 85

[338] Johannes Kepler *Mysterium Cosmographicum de admirabile proportione orbium caelestium* 1596

[339] There has been much debate on the validity of Fechner's mid 19th-century influential experiments on the perception of the "golden rectangle". Ghyka has built his case around them. George Markowsky questioned the method used, as the criterion of "average perception" is irrelevant to individual perception. More recently Marco Livio published an extended divulgatory review of phi's affordances. Caroline Dalton, in her discussion on Vanbrugh and the Vitruvian landscape also suggested that "the presence of Phi in the proportions of ancient buildings or Renaissance architecture is speculative; George Markowsky argues that the human eye finds it impossible to distinguish the Golden Ratio from other proportions of similar dimensions" see Dalton, op.cit. p.11 and Mario Livio *The Golden Ratio: The Story of PHI, the World's Most Astonishing Number* 2003

[340] Arnheim op. cit.

[341] Leonardo di Pisa, "filius Bonacci": *Liber Abaci* 1202, 1228

from left to right and from right to left, in line with a tradition of eurythmic - symmetric constructions divisible by a central vertical axis. The grid traced by uniting the corresponding points on opposite sides looks like a table set for a game of naughts-and-crosses[342], built on a root 5 harmony. The four points of encounter of the lines of the grid produce nodal points [343]and the two pairs of parallels lines are also parallel with the rectangle's base and height. When regular, rather than 'irregular' divisions on the sides are measured, the visual grid can be equated to squaring; as examples will illustrate,[344] the function of these parallel lines based on harmonious intervals measured on the sides was *also compositional*.[345]

I argue that Vitruvian rules based on the modular principle, used to produce architectural drawings on the title-pages of Renaissance treatises, were also applied in the *planar composition* of those title-pages. Expressing modular thinking in a visual way led to establish regular intervals on the sides, similarly to rhetorical "intervals" or pauses,[346] or to classical intercolumniation. The eye, whether it was the maker's (rhetor, architect, painter) or the viewer's, perceived these intervals, whether they were imagined, actual or depicted, and irrespective of their mnemonic or aesthetic functions. Both architectural draughtsmanship *and* pictorial squaring, though the former 'complex' and the latter 'simple' were based on modular thinking. The diameter measured on the column's base would rule the column's height and the width of the arch of a drawn frontispiece, and the size of the square would decide the fitness of the grid when a pictorial composition required change, transfer, or scaling. Psychological reasons to explain the preference shown to parallel[347] lines

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[342] or a tic-tac-toe game in the US

[343] Arnheim, op. cit.

[344] see especially Chapter 10 *Canaletto*

[345] The double advantage that a grid of parallel lines had, useful in the composition *and* the multiplication or transfer of the work was clear to Renaissance practitioners. See Leon Battista Alberti, *De Pictura* , Proposition 34.

[346] On rhetorical 'pause' reflected in the transition from writing without spaces to leaving a "space between words" see Paul Saenger *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* Stanford University Press 1997

[347] "parallel lines are simpler than lines meeting at an angle because they are defined by one constant distance [...] An additional simplifying factor is conformity to the spacial framework of vertical and horizontal orientation" Arnheim op. cit. p. 57

can be mentioned, thanks to more recent research. What is clear, is that such grids had the advantage of being simple, as they provided clear rhythmic intervals on the surface by uniting corresponding division points (halves, thirds, fourths et c.) on opposite sides: the grids composed of intersecting horizontal and vertical grids were directly translatable in pictorial terms, since the shape of book pages *and* of pictures was (in most cases) rectangular.

While the fact that Serlio and Palladio used the rules they *taught* in their treatises in order to design the architecture decorating their title-pages is unanswerable, I suggest that, given the added visual weight title-pages held - as advertisements or as allegorical celebrations, often including portraits of the author or the sponsor[348] - they also required painterly skills in their conception. Essentially, both cityscapes and frontispieces drawn on title-pages were *images* of architecture. Title-pages, too, had to satisfy the requirement of "*imagines agentes*" and produce an "effect."[349] The borders of title-pages could also be considered as virtually framing a finished[350] "picture" - the constant concern for a *finished* appearance of title-pages since the print industry had begun to include visuals supports this hypothesis.[351] I shall now explore the presence of the suggested visual intervals in the designs of title-page of treatises by Serlio and Palladio; as will be shown,[352] their work was directly acknowledged in the practice of 18th-century Venetian *vedutisti*.

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[348] see further in *Palladio* the discussion on Ricci's design for Leoni's translation of Palladio's treatise, displaying a bust of Palladio. The portrait of the author or the person to whom the book was dedicated was frequently found on the frontispiece, and the practice originated in "sumptuous presentation medieval codices" Franco Barberi op. cit. p.117

[349] see earlier *Mnemonics,* esp. *Means of abstraction in the conception of cityscapes*

[350] For a more detailed discussion on 'framing' drawings and pictures see Chapter 14

[351] For a discussion on the evolution of the printed frontispiece in Renaissance Italy, see Franco Barberi op. cit.

[352] See Chapter 9

Serlio

The title-page of Serlio's 1537 edition of the *Regole Generali di Architettura…*[353] published in Venice, and dedicated to Ercole II of Ferrara has understated elegance. Serlio's frontispiece combines rigour of proportion with its artful concealment.[354] Beneath intricate, anthropomorphic and vegetal motifs - a telamon and a caryatid,[355] a festoon of Mediterranean fruit bordering the title cartouche - a geometrical composition underscores the regular divisions of architectural elements. A similar title-page design, with two telamon figures flanking the *cartiglio*, this time in the guise of a *velarium*,[356] appears in another book published in Venice in the same year*:* coincidentally, the *Opera Omnia* of the classical model of a rhetorician, Cicero.

Considering XY the height of Serlio's title page, measured as distance from the base of the plate to the upper edge of the entablement decorated with an Ancient Greek wave-pattern, I shall use it as reference to measure the human-shaped semi-engaged columns flanking the portico.

While allowing for a margin of error due to the thickness of line frequent in the case of woodcuts,[357] what follows is an astonishing succession of divisions of the segment XY, ruling the placement of both architectural and anthropomorphic motifs. I have divided XY in 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 equal parts and numbered all intervals from top to bottom. In the lower register, the interval between the 5/6 and 6/7 divisions define the thickness of the top of the pedestal-bases supporting the columns. Similarly, in the upper register, the distance between

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[353] Serlio *Regole Generali di Architettura Sopra le Cinque Maniere De Gli Edifici, Cioè, Toscano, Dorico, Ionico, Corinthio, Et Composito, Con Gli Esempi Dell'Antiquita, Che, Per La Maggior Parte Concordano Con La Dottrina Di Vitruvio. M.D.XXXVII In Venetia Per Francesco Marcolini Da Forli. Cum Privilegii.,* Venice 1537

[354] Alexander Pope on "concealment"

[355] Thank you to Mathew Hardy for identifying that these would be traditionally associated with *Theory* and *Practice.*

[356] *M. Tuliiii Ciceronis Opera Omnium Quae Has Tenus Excusant, Castigatissima Nunc Primum in Lucem Edita, Venetiis in Officina Lucae Antonii Iuntae* Venice 1537.

[357] "E un vizio degli storici moderni quello di attribuire facilmente gli errori alle loro fonti, anziché a se stessi […]L'esatezza dell'opera degli intagliatori variava dall'uno all'altro, e in ogni caso non si può stabilire con precisione le unità da lui [Serlio] adoperate" Juergen Schulz *Le antiche misure lineari secondo Sebastiano Serlio e il problema dei loro valori* in *Lezioni di Metodo: Studi in onore di Lionello Puppi* a cura di Loredana Olivato e Giuseppe Barbieri Terra Ferma 2002 pp 363- 371, p364

the 1/6 and 1/7 divisions indicates the thickness of the abacuses surmounting the columns, and the 1/8 provides the height of the corniches, just under the base of the pediment.[358] The half-human columns are literally split between their anthropomorphic and architectonic appearance by the horizontal octave 1/2. The 1/5 horizontal establishes the eye-level of the telamon and caryatid, 1/4 indicates the level of the chin, 1/3 indicates the heart level. (Figures 3 and 4). Since the abacuses of the columns act as an interrupted architrave, the entablature is wide as the outer limits of the narrow corniches separating the pediment from the frieze-like *mascheroni*. The width of the abacuses is then the sixth part of the entablature. If, instead, the width of reference is now taken as the segment between the outer edges of the two pillars (or receding walls) behind the telamon and caryatid, respectively, the width of each pillar is 1/6 of the segment A'B', while the 1/5 and 4/5 divisions of this segment frame the central cartouche hosting the title. (Figures 5 and 6). The height of the cartiglio coincides with 1/3 of the height, measured between the inner point of the triangular pediment and the base (Fig.7)

The designs for the title pages of Serlio's *Seven Books of Architecture* remain the same in the case of books 1, 3 and 7. Books 2 and 4 also share the same frontispiece design, while Books 5 and 6 have different compositions. Each of the four designs responds to criteria of organisation based on regular intervals. On the title-page of 1600 edition of *Libro Secondo*...[359] two standing allegorical characters hold, respectively, a long pair of dividers and an architect's *portfolio*, the other has a staff-ruler and a square. The size of the architectural tools supports the allegorical references invited by the two figures. These are tools for land measurement i.e. *geo-metria* and for free-standing (high) buildings i.e. *architectura*. At the same time, both these large spear-like instruments and the postures of the figures can be seen as alluding to depictions commemorating military exploits. Appropriately

[358] The iconic illustration of the Vitruvian canon by Leonardo at the Gallerie dell'Accademia in Venice

[359] *Il Secondo Libro di Prospettiva di Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese*, Venice 1600 ed, RC

in the presence of the seated allegory of peace which governs the centre-page, weapons[360] of destruction are metamorphosed into tools of construction.[361]

Palladio

Perhaps the most widely circulated and unanimously commended example of an 16th-century architectural treatise, at least as far as it concerned 18th-century English travellers to Italy, was Palladio's *I Quattro Libri…;* it had spawned numerous English editions,[362] among translations, interpretations and compilations.

On the title-page of *Book I*, the frontispiece crowned by an *arco spezzato* hosting a seated allegorical figure combines factual information with allegorical clues. Bringing now into the plane Ackerman's observation about Palladio's painterly treatment of solid figure, I shall argue that this page displays as much "painterly" as it does "tectonic" thinking; in other words, that visual elements were conceived and organised also into the *picture* not just into the elevation, frontal perspective, or illusion of a structure receding into space.

In order to show this, I shall consider the border that the woodcut itself provides as the *frame* of the 'picture'.

The first thing an architect or classically trained viewer[363] would note is the *type* of architecture designed by Palladio: the capitals look Corinthian; measuring the base of the columns and the *trabeazione* the use of a Composite order becomes plausible. If the module i.e. diameter of the columns' base is inferred by prolonging the lines defining the edges of the

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[360] "l'utile impresa dell'Architettura del Serlio mio Compare […] è tanto vaga di apparenza, si ben figurata, si perfetta di proportione nelle mesure, e si chiara ne i concetti; che non ci è dove avanzi il più, ne dove manchi il meno" Pietro Aretino, in his letter to the editor Francesco Marcolini endorses Serlio who dedicated the work to Ercole II of Ferrara. In 16th-century Italy, the Latin etymology of "arm" and "armare" meaning "tool" or "implement" was ambivalent. Sergio, op. cit.

[361] The allegory of peace is a recurring motif in Serlio's title-pages, probably due to the lasting impression left by the sack of Rome he had witnessed in 1527. Again, thanks to Mathew Hardy.

[362] "The key book that moulded the classical architect's mind was Andrea Palladio's Quattro Libri dell'Architectura which appeared in 1570, its first English translation being published in 1715 by Palladio's Venetian-born apostle Giacomo Leoni who had settled in England at an unconfirmed date before 1715 […] His [Palladio's] plates and words were totally convincing in communicating order, control, discipline, repose and ancient precedent." Dan Cruickshank and Peter Wyld op.cit

[363] see before the note in J.Milles's on the "composite columns" in Chapter 2

columns to the area partly hidden by the two allegorical figures standing on each side, the measurements taken on the frontispiece are: the base is almost 3 modules (diameters) high, the *trabeazione* is almost twice the diameter of the column, and the height of the columns is close to 10 modules, and certainly over 9 1/2; all these measurements are close enough to those given by Palladio for the Composite order. However, design variations and their relative sizes which may classify a structure into an order or another are no longer the issue if the focus is on the *picture* of the architecture, and not on the architecture depicted in it. This becomes possible by taking as reference the width and height of the *border,* not of the frontispiece. At the base, the width of the pedestals' platform (*cymation*), which supports the columns and accommodates the standing figures, is slightly narrower than the width of the bordering rectangle; the difference is greater at the base of the pedestals. These differences can be explained by a need to ensure the visibility of the classical design of each of the architectural elements, and because, in this case, the base of the framing border has probably been taken from the width of the pediment.

In the following pages it will be shown that verticals raised from the 1/3, 1/4, and 1/5 corresponding divisions on the base of the border were used to place decorative, not only functional architectural elements. On the one hand side, the drawn edifice would be an accurate representation of an edifice in the classical taste as ruled by Vitruvius; on the other hand, an elegant pictorial composition based on regular intervals could be obtained. The aleatory nature of decorative elements means that they were literally at the designer's latitude and altitude. Yet, here they were placed according to proportion. Reference grids could not be superimposed onto the picture at every step of the process if variations in scale were required for reprinting and multiplication purposes; nonetheless, such visual details provided useful reference points. Bi-dimensional planning was necessary when architects had to organise figures into the surface i.e. when they had to act as painters.

On the title page, raising verticals and horizontals from regular division points measured on the border's base and height, parallel lines to the base and top impart the rectangle in halves, thirds, fourths, fifths and sixths. These regular intervals have been numbered from top to bottom and from left to right, according to the direction of reading in

Latin and Italian (Fig.8).

The octave ratio, that is, the 1/2 division is obvious, given the picture's disposition around a vertical axis. Horizontally, the line which splits the picture in two establishes the height reached by the raised hands of the two standing female allegorical figures. Their attributes qualify them to impersonate geometry and architecture, while hinting at cartography, geography, cosmography. The central horizontal line also establishes the top volutes of the central oval medallion, by being placed tangentially to their inner, smaller swirl. The line is tangential also to the arch of a circle described by the quadrant held by the figure on the left, and divides in two equal parts the ruler with gradations being held by the figure on the right.

By joining the corresponding 1/3 and 2/3 points on the sides, new compositional alignments emerge. From top to bottom, the partition of the frontispiece appears as follows: the vertical thirds establish the left and right edges of the decorative panel behind the seated *Regina Virtus*. There was *no* 'modular' Vitruvian constraint ruling the shape or placement of a decorative pattern in this precise position, which lends a *compositional* role to the vertical thirds.[364] (Fig. 8) The Venetian damask pattern of the panel is common to early 16th-century Venetian religious imaginary, where swaths of precious fabric separate pictures of madonnas from their detailed, Northern Italian backgrounds[365], enhancing the statuary effect. In the lower register, the vertical thirds locate the *cartiglio*, cutting through the middle of the inwards revolving volutes which flank it. The upper horizontal third underlines the title of the work: the words "*I Quattro Libri*" and indicates the top of the capitols of the two pairs of columns on the sides. The lower horizontal third underlines the small figure of Venus raising up from the midst of the seas. Standing up in the guise of a ship mast[366], she unfolds a wind-catching sail at the centre of the oval medallion - which is also the centre of the frontispiece -

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[364] Moreover, as further shown, the same divisions appear in subsequent editions, always with a compositional role, even in the case of changes in design such in the case of the Hoppus & Cole edition. See later the paragraph *Palladianism*

[365] such as expanses of sky and mountain scenery with distant cities, rivers or the lagoon, animated by agricultural and hunting scenes often with symbolical meaning, separating 'here' from 'beyond'

[366] compare to Isaac Ware *The Four Books of Andrea Palladio's Architecture: wherein, after a short Treatise of the Five Orders, Those Observations that are most necessary in Building, Private houses, Streets, Bridges, Piazzas, Xisti, and Temples are treated of,* London 1738 BL

supported by a pilgrim shell serving as a boat. The upward-curved edges of the shell stop exactly below this 2/3 line, thus fixing its upper horizontal limit.

This type of representation[367] was already circulating in printed form in mid 16th-century Venice in the form of woodcut "talking initials" which embellished the editorial productions of the Gioliti printing house and those of its Venetian competitors.[368] In Palladio's frontispiece, however, the symbolic vessel also accommodates a seated female figure, crowned and cloaked. The allegorical representation of Venice as the 'Queen of the Seas' continued to be used until to the end of the Republic.[369] Here, Venice and Venus are in the same boat, and this was symbolically and politically connoted. In 1570, the Republic's dominion on the Mediterranean sea was challenged by the Ottoman Empire, and an allusion to the island of Cyprus, mythical birth-place of Venus and until the summer of that year a Venetian province would not have been hard to pick. On a different note, it should be noted how the picture in the medallion has been replaced in the 1616 edition[370] of *I Quattro Libri* with a seated figure contemplating a crucified Christ in the background, reflecting probably a different political climate following recent tensions between the Republic and the pope.[371]

The 1/4 and 3/4 vertical lines underscore architectural features such as the centre of the two symmetrical ram-horn, outward-revolving volutes flanking the throne of *Regina Virtus* and the outer tangent point of the inwards-revolving smaller volutes crowning the *arco spezzato*. Moving downwards, the lines establish the inner limits of the capitols of the columns and cross the measuring instruments held by the two standing female figures in

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[367] A model of classical derivation, the myth of the birth of Venus has been often represented, with the iconic painting by Botticelli (painted in 1530 to 1540, now at the *Uffizi* in Florence) still perhaps the most popular to the present day. On the controversy over Apelles' *Venus Anadyomene,* a mythical painting in itself and the birth of Boticelli's painting in the context of Angelo Poliziano's *Stanze,* see Ronald Lightbown op. cit. Vol .1 pp.85-90

[368] "V(enere), eretta, nuda, i capelli al vento, sulla conchiglia con in ambedue le mani le redini che guidano i delfini, mentre Cupido le punta contro la freccia incoccata". The initial "V" for Venus here described is found in works printed by Zini in 1547 and Boccaccio Griffi in 1552. Cf. Franca Petrucci-Nardelli, *La lettera e l'immagine: Le iniziali 'parlanti' nella tipografia italiana (sec. XVI-XVIII)* Biblioteca di Bibliografia Italiana CXXV Florence, Leo S. Olschki 1991 pp.39-40

[369] see later Chapter 7 paragraph *A lion's tale*; for a late example by Tiepolo, *Neptune offering gifts to Venice,* see Terisio Pignatti & Filippo Pedrocco *Giambattista Tiepolo: Itineraires vénitiens* Canal 1996 pp.67-68

[370] Andrea Palladio *I Quattro Libri…* Venice, Bartolomeo Carampello 1616

[371] The Venetian interdict of 1606-7

their raised hands. Therefore, the instruments are placed on nodal points on the harmonious grid dividing the frontispiece in quarters, as follows: where 1/4 left hand side vertical meets 2/4 horizontal; and where 3/4 right hand side vertical meets 2/4 horizontal.

Measurement tools such as rulers, dividers, squares and quadrants, used in geometrical drawing, scale variation, grid-tracing and transfer are therefore placed according to measure. That representations of these instruments held particular importance is also suggested by the differences between two stages of a frontispiece design attributed to Francesco Salviati[372] and made for Labacco's *Libro… appartenente a l'Architettura*[373] published in Rome in 1552. I argue that this design was a direct source of inspiration for Palladio's ornate façade. The differences between Salviati's design drawn in inks and Giovanni Battista Rossi's engraving for the title-page of Labacco's treatise rest mainly, besides the obvious addition of a title in the cartouche, in the realm of geometry. These changes regard mathematical instruments[374]: in the print, the figure on the left now holds, besides the square, a ruler; the quadrant held up by the figure on the right now has gradations and its position has been changed as if to point towards the tablet she holds in the other hand. The increased importance given to measurement tools in the visual narrative is clear, irrespective of whether the brief was internal, as in the case of an artist's pentimento, or external, as in the case of a specific request, suggestion, exchange of opinions circulating among draughtsman, engraver, sponsor, publisher or adviser, or even in the event of a response to or an anticipation of criticism.

Comparing Labacco's and Palladio's frontispieces, there is a lot of shared content. In

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[372] Philip Pouncey, quoted by Jane Roberts in *Italian Master Drawings from The British Royal Collection,* exhibition catalogue, Collins Harvill, London 1987 p76. Salviati is documented in Venice in 1539 and he was involved in the ceiling decorations of Palazzo Grimani in S. Maria Formosa; see Michael Hirst *Three Ceiling Decorations by Francesco Salviati* in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 26. Bd., H. 2 1963 pp. 146-165. Salviati left a lasting impression, since the Venetian editor Lodovico Domenichi dedicates his 1547 edition of Alberti's *Libro Primo della pittura…* to "Francesco Salviati Pittore Eccellentissimo."

[373] Antonio Labacco (1495?-1567) *Libro d'Antonio Labacco appartenente a l'architecttura nel qual si figurano alcune notabili antiquita di Roma*, Rome 1552
RCIN 1150643

[374] Philip Pouncey, in Roberts op.cit. pp 76-77

both 'covers', just as in Serlio's frontispiece to *Libro Primo dell'Architettura...*[375] two allegorical female figures, holding up geometrical instruments, stand on each side of a portico. Salviati's drawing is more direct in referencing the antique: the arched door is a window on the past, opening up to what today would be called an archaeological site. A landscape with classical ruins, it encompasses, among others, the shape of a Greek temple, a domed Pantheon-like structure with a small lantern on top, a ruined arch, an obelisk and scattered column drums lying in the foreground.

Other analogies can be made between Palladio's and Salviati's frontispieces, echoing Serlio. I shall focus on the 'drawings within the drawing' i.e. the tablets held by the allegorical figures. In Serlio's frontispiece, one such figure, obscured by a column, holds up a quadrant in her right hand while in the left hand she displays a tablet, which attracts attention as it is a point of tonal contrast; its lit surface stands out against the shaded figure. The tablet bears a geometrical design (Fig. 9): a circle inscribed in an equilateral triangle at the top and a hexagon inscribed in a circle at the bottom. In both Labacco's (Fig. 10) and Palladio's (Fig. 11) frontispieces, the tablets are held in hand, as if they are currently in use. In Salviati's design for Labacco's treatise the tablet is left blank. The print by G. B. Rossi after Salviati's design shows on the tablet - held by the figure on the right - the outline of a two-dimensional representation of an octahedron inscribed in a tetrahedron. In planar terms, the three radiating axes stemming from the centre of the triangle are halved, the centre-points on the radiuses are then connected to the middle points of the sides, creating a hexagon, whose points are then united, creating a six-pointed star. The larger geometrical figure at the bottom of the tablet shows, just like in Serlio, a hexagon within a circle, but at the same time, and more plausibly, a planar representation of solid figures: an icosahedron pictured inside a sphere. The spacial intent is evinced from the fact that the lines uniting the six points of the circumscribed hexagon are not continuous, but broken, and therefore they look more credible as independent triangular faces of a solid icosahedron structure seen in perspective. Given that Salviati had left the tablet blank, it is possible that Labacco himself provided the

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375 *Libro Primo d'Architettura di Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese nel quale con facile, & breve modo si tratta de' primi principij della Geometria...In Venetia, Appresso gli Eredi di Francesco de' Franceschi, MDC* Venice 1600

engraver Rossi with its content, resorting to a visual source close at hand, since he had trained with Serlio in Bologna.

In the engraved title-page of Palladio's *I Quattro Libri…* the tablet has moved into the hand of the figure to the left, in a somewhat contorted pose: the same hand manages to grasp a square, and as there are no fingers left to hold the tablet, it is held in mid-air by pressing it with the wrist against the hip. The solid figures drawn on the tablet in Rossi's engraving have (re)turned planar: in the upper register, the circle inscribed into an equilateral triangle, while below the larger circle persists (appearing as an ellipse, according to conventional foreshortening.)[376] The layout and shape of the geometrical drawings on the two tablets, Labacco's and Palladio's, mirror each other and echo Serlio's. Upper register: tetrahedron in sphere | triangle in circle; lower register: icosahedron in sphere | hexagon in circle or just circle. Contours and structure are responding: the faces of the tetrahedron, octahedron and icosahedron are all equilateral triangles.

Salviati's design for the frontispiece of Labacco's treatise seems to indicate the use of the golden ratio division (Fig. 12) The dimensions of Salviati's original ink & wash design and of Rossi's engraving (Fig.13) based on it differ; I have been able to measure on both the relative golden ratio divisions on the height corresponding to the distance between the foot of the columns' pedestals and the top of the portico's architrave. The sizes differ, the proportions are the same: the larger golden ratio segment coincides in both cases vertically with the height of the archway, and horizontally with the distance between the two protruding abacuses surmounting the columns. The fact that proportions are maintained from drawing to etching, indicates that proportional divisions provided a reference grid for transfer as well as well as maintained their role in the composition.

A final observation on Palladio's frontispiece it that, in the two English editions published between 1736 and 1738, the geometrical designs on the drawing tablets have become effaced, reduced to mere circular shapes seen in perspective, as if the tablets, not just the printing plates themselves had become consumed and only a clear tracing of the

[376] C. Winterberg *Petrus Pictor Burgensis (Piero della Francesca) De prospettiva Pingendi* , Strassburg, 1899; in the 1570 and 1616 editions viewed, the hexagon inscribed in the lower circle can be barely seen, in a fac-simile (Ulric Hoepli) edition it is clearer.

lower circle remained visible. A want of accuracy in subsequent editions of Palladio published in 18th-century England does not however alter the main harmonic guidelines based on regular intervals measured on the width and height (Figures 14, 15), which have endured.

CHAPTER 6

Palladianism

"Easiest comprehended and best retained in memory…"

In the case of flat pictures of solid shapes, effective problem-solving favoured the simplest solutions, for both aesthetic and economic reasons. Nevertheless, as one goes through all the parallel and intersecting lines, the question whether they complicate rather than simplify things may spring to mind. However, how this problem may look to us now is not the point. It was the 17th and 18th-century players who made and enjoyed visual imagery thinking that designs based on number and proportion were the easiest to achieve. They acted upon this conviction by formulating their own responses to the classical example.[377] Among these people were cultured aristocrats, travelling gentlemen, competitive merchants, architects, draughtsmen, landscape designers, painters, carpenters and builders.

Interpretations of Vitruvius entered England in the form of translations and adaptations of Renaissance treatises on architecture, of which Palladio's had been the most influential. Beauty of design, endurance of the edifice, *and* ease of execution were advocated in writing and illustrated in printed form; the didactical role of these treatises was clearly stated. Given the opening of the compass, the title-page of Robinson's short treatise *Proportional Architecture by Equal Parts…* illustrates the principle, rather than the practice, of measuring the diameter of a column's base i.e. the Vitruvian modular principle

[377] John Summerson *Georgian London* - Barrie & Jenkins, London 1988 p15 [377] Along these lines, recent critical approaches (David Jacque) no longer consider Palladianism and Baroque as two opposed entities

ruling the building of the entire edifice[378] (Fig. 16). Already in the 17th-century[379], John Leeke had stated in his introduction "To the Reader" of *The Regular Architect* that he published for his readers' edification *and* clarification: "[c]onsidering that those things are easiest comprehended and best retained in memory which are taught by the fewest Precepts."[380] Leeke directly presented his audience with the Orders of Architecture, as described by Vignola, who had in turn been inspired by his master Sebastiano Serlio.

The First Book of Architecture by Andrea Palladio translated out of Italian… by Godfrey Richards[381], in which the original design of Palladio's title-page has been changed to accommodate a seated figure holding an architectural plan, displays a highly painterly composition which belies the use of a grid. The hand that grips the unrolling architectural plan is however placed on the nodal point resulting from the intersection of the right hand side vertical and upper horizontal golden ratio lines.

Designs for title-pages of architectural treatises were part of a bi-dimensional visual database, along with pattern and sample books. Even if not all painters and engravers received adequate training enabling them to decipher harmonious intervals in images depicted in architectural treatises and use them to create new compositions, *all* craftsmen concerned with measurement and visual production who had been exposed to images of classical architecture would have found in these, with little effort, examples of visual compositions governed by vertical and horizontal lines. Columns, pillars, niches and porticoes, architraves, plinths and balusters provided them. "I have likewise Selected Several

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[378] See Robinson *Proportional Architecture by Equal Parts or The five Orders…* London 1733 BL . See later the discussion on Hoppus and Cole's edition of Palladio displays an engraving after Inigo Jones, showing an intern at the Duke of Grafton's, where the portraits of the Duke and Duchess flank a view hung over the fireplace, which contains many of the elements present in Labacco's frontispiece.

[379] "Before too long, the first classic revival reached England […] Taste in architecture reached London about 1615 […] Taste in other things - poetry, manners, the stage was already tolerably well started. There were people about the court who had not only been to Italy, but were unaffectedly familiar to the kind of culture to be found at the courts of Florence, Milan, and Venice" ibid.

[380] The English edition of Vignola's *Regola was The regular architect, or, The general rule of the five orders of architecture of M. Giacomo Barozzio da Vignola with a new addition of Michael Angelo … the original Italian, and explained* (1669), John Leeke, David Watkin

[381] Godfrey Richards *The First Book of Architecture by Andrea Palladio translated out of Italian…*, London 1668, BL. The laurel crowned allegorical figure on the title-page sits holding a pair of dividers, square at lower left and book at lower right. The lower horizontal golden ratio line underlines the top of the podium on which she sits.

Curious pieces of Architecture from Palladio, Sebastian Serlio, Sebastian Le Clerc, Inigo Jones, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. B. Langly &c" writes a carpenter from Essex in 1737[382]. It does not matter whether William Salmon Junior had copied and compiled the works of these authors to quench his thirst for knowledge, to boost his business or to assert his status, or for all of these reasons. What his and others' endeavours show[383] is that, in the first half of the 18th-century, Palladianism had become equated to a 'quality guarantee'. Salmon is clearly aware of the importance of proportion and seems to quote directly from the treatise of rhetorics *Ad Herennium* as much as from his declared sources:

"Palladio, Says, we must keep a deue proportion and Harmony between the Intercolumniation, or Spaces, and the Columns. Because if Small Columns be made with large Intercolumniations, it will very much Lessen their Gracefulness. And on the Contrary, if Large Columns have Small Intercolumniations, the too Little Vacuity, will make them look without the least Grace. And therefore (fore) the avoiding of either of the Extreams, Vitruvius and Palladio &c have given the following proportions to be duly observed in each Order."[384]

Precision

Reading introductions to 18th-century English editions of Palladio gives a good idea of the implications authenticity claims comported. English translators and commentators were all very keen on the notion of *precision*, employed as a tool to authenticate the quality of the teachings as well as to support the author's credibility. A parallel path, more easily available to their Italian fellow architects for ease of access to examples of Palladian architecture was "*rilevare le fabbriche Palladiane tali quali sono in esecuzione, notando per*

[382] William Salmon Junior Carpenter of Colchester Essex *The Vitruvian Principles of Architecture Practically Dem(on)strated In which is Included Vitruvius's Order of Columns applied to practice By a Great Variety of New and Useful Designs of Temples, Porticoes, Altarpieces, Triumphal Arches, Ob(e)lisques, Frontispieces, Doors, Windows, Chimneypieces (*added above and in smaller writing "neaches") &c interspersed with Several Curious Designs Selected from the Works of the most Celebrated Architects Viz.* - 1737, manuscript BL RP 1094

[383] "Under George II Palladianism conquered not only the high places of architecture - the great patrons, the government offices - but, through the medium of prints and books, the whole of the vernacular, finding it's way ultimately into the workshop of the humble carpenter and bricklayer" John Summerson op. cit. p21.

[384] ibid p80-81

istruzione del nostro Forestiere tutte le differenze, che si osservano fra le innalzate, e i disegni dell'Autore stampati nella sua Architettura."[385] Noting the differences between designed and built Palladian edifices becomes the main theme of Bertotti Scamozzi's efforts. In England, this professed preoccupation with precision was at times contradicted in practice by various factors leading to design and translation inaccuracies: poor conservation conditions; unavailability of source materials; financial considerations influencing choice of material; editorial choices or licences that English editors had taken to adapt the visual material to the demands of their audience, cultured commissioners and amateurs or a wider public of upper-working class practitioners.

Competition among various architects and publishers was fierce: several editions of Palladio's *I Quattro Libri…* claiming to be exact representations appeared in England within a short period of time.[386] The Hoppus & Cole edition of 1736[387] guaranteed "Plates Carefully Revis'd and Redelineated", insisting that they were all "Exactly Copied". While this was an overstatement[388], the differences from the original may reveal what was considered "Palladian" about Palladio's work in 18th-century England. Chapter I, dedicated to domestic architecture, is introduced by a small drawing that the authors ascribe to Inigo Jones. The drawing is appropriately dedicated to a home: "At his Grace's the Duke of Grafton's" (Fig. 17). A fireplace surmounted by a *veduta* with Roman ruins is flanked by the formal full-

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[385] Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi, op. cit. *Al Benigno Lettore*, p. 6; Bertotti Scamozzi's *Le Fabbriche ed i disegni di Andrea Palladio*, Vicenza 1776-1783 builds on the critical differences between designed and built architecture, see Editor's note p VIII

[386] "I[I]t is probable that Burlington had encouraged Colen Campbell, the architect who had first introduced him to Palladianism, to produce an edition of Palladio of which he could approve. But Campbell got no further than Book I, which was published first in 1728 (as Andrea Palladio's First Book of Architecture, and then with a revised title, the following year as Andrea Palladio's Five Orders of Architecture. Ironically considering Burlington's intentions, Campbell's Book I was printed, incorporated with Books II to IV of Leoni's Palladio, and published as a new edition by Edward Hoppus and Benjamin Cole" Robert Tavernor *Andrea Palladio The Four Books on Architecture, translated by Robert Tavernor and Richard Schofield* The MIT Press 1997 introduction p. xvii-xviii

[387] Edward Hoppus and Benjamin Cole op. cit. London, 1736. "*Containing 226 Folio Copper Plates Carefully Revis'd and Redelineated by Edwd. Hoppus Surveyor to ye Corporation of the London Assurance*" BL; The work is dedicated to Lord Burlington.

[388] Not referring here to changes made for political reasons, such as the replacement, on the frontispiece, of the figure of 'Regina Virtus' with Palladio's bust. The replacement is rigorously proportional. The horizontal line underscoring the bust (upper edge of the base) is situated at 1/4 on the height of the plate, while the decorative panel behind the bust has lost its damask decoration, has preserved it positioning on verticals 1/3 and 2/3 of the base.

length portraits of the hosts, composed with an awareness of Van Dyck's innovations, and his reliance on Italian models of the 16th-century. The Duke and Duchess stand in courtly allure in front of heavy draperies. The lifted draperies allow glimpses of landscape ordered into a classical garden.[389] Classical taste, in its Renaissance acceptation, permeates the subject matter of the illusions of paintings as well as the composition of the whole drawing.[390] The width and height of the drawing find themselves in an octave ratio. The verticals 1/3 B and 2/3 B dividing the base B (and top) in three equal parts are represented as construction lines: they are the edges of the protruding wall hosting the fireplace, while the structure of the fireplace itself appears flanked by the golden ratio vertical divisions measured on the base and top. (Figures 18a and 18b) As we have seen earlier,[391] the vertical thirds were used as construction lines also on the title-page of Palladio's *I Quattro Libri…* where they flank with precision the decorative damasked panel behind the figure of *Regina Virtus:* in the Hoppus and Cole edition, this figure has been replaced with a bust of Palladio, while the decorative panel behind is still placed according to the division in thirds on the base. Isaac Ware's 1738 edition of Palladio, closer to the design of the original 1570 edition than Hoppus' and Cole's, also respects this vertical divisions in thirds. The bust of Palladio in the Cole edition echoes Sebastiano Ricci's design opening Leoni's earlier edition of Palladio. In the latter, the allegorical figures in the fluidly painterly composition are nonetheless placed according to proportion: measuring the golden ratio on the width and height of the plate's borders,[392] the lips of Palladio's statuary figure appear in line with the upper horizontal golden ratio line, while, in the lower register, the eyes of the allegory of fame are placed on

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[389] "even though some elements of the Italian examples [Villa Aldobrandini at Frascati completed in the first years of the 17th-century, and the Boboli Gardens in Florence completed 1637] were developed far beyond their original scale, and others, such as the water jokes, were not adopted by the French, the essential connection should be noted: the Italian celebration of the beauties of geometry and proportion, conceived at the time as the foundation of beauty, underlies the design of the geometrically based gardens of the period 1650-1800 [in England as well as the rest of Europe" Michael Charlesworth *Types of Gardens* in *A Cultural History of Gardens* Michael Leslie, John Dixon Hunt eds. vol.4 *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Age of Enlightenment* Stephen Bending ed.Bloomsbury 2013, p.54

[390] In spite of the three-dimensional deformations of the sheet of paper on which I had performed the measurements the probability of coincidences is low.

[391] see before the paragraph on *Palladio*

[392] see earlier description of the grid at the beginning of this Chapter, in *Visual grids*

the lower golden ratio horizontal line.

The "advertisement" introducing Isaac Ware's 1738 edition is especially relevant of the ongoing competition[393] expressed as a quest for precision:

"In particular, two persons have published what they honour with the title of Palladio's works: The first, and in all respects the best of the two, was done in the year 1721. by Mr. Leoni; who has thought fit not only to vary from the scale of the originals, but also in many places to alter even the graceful proportions prescribed by this great master, by diminishing some of his measures, enlarging others, and putting in fanciful decorations of his own: and indeed his drawings are likewise very incorrect; which makes this performance, according to his own account in the preface, seem rather to be itself an original, than an improvement on Palladio. The other work (published in the year 1735) is done with so little understanding, so much negligence, that it cannot but give great offence to the judicious, and be of very bad consequence in misleading the unskilful, into whose hands it may happen to fall."[394]

The "other work" was Cole's edition.

Ware insisted that he "strictly kept to his [Palladio's] proportions and measures, by exactly tracing all the plates from his original"and also that he personally engraved them "so that the reader may depend upon having an exact copy of what our author published, without diminution or increase". Besides declaring that he avoided "to alter, much less to correct, any thing that came from the hands of that excellent artist" he equally stressed the accuracy of "strict and literal translation, that the sense of our author might be delivered from his own words".[395]

Ware's discourse is for his readers as much as for his subscribers. His task was also to explain the need for a new edition of Palladio's treatise two years after the *same* work had been published by authors he does not even nominate, because of the "great offence" they had caused. 'Exactness' was however a difficult thing to achieve, as suggested by the long errata integrated into Ware's edition. In Ware's edition, the frontispiece based on Palladio's original is used for the title-pages of each of the four books, adapting the text in the cartouches to different contents. The size differences measurable across the base and top of

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[393] See also R. Tavernor op. cit. introduction p xviii

[394] Isaac Ware, op. cit.

[395] ibid.

each title-page do not affect the consistency of the original design based on regular intervals 1:2, 1:3, 2:3, and also fourths and fifths regular divisions. Therefore the differences are due to the printing process.

The Georgian window

"Isaac Ware set forth the principle of the Palladian piano nobile more simply, 'The height of windows for this principal storey are to be proportioned to their breadths."[396] Windows reflected as much as they epitomised[397] the principles of Georgian design[398], underscoring a Palladian continuity. Dan Cruickshank writes that:

"as the 18th-century progressed, Neo-Classical architects whilst retaining Palladian proportions, applied their new vocabulary of decoration to windows as much as to interiors and doors. [...] ideal Palladian window proportioning whether treated with Baroque, Palladian or Neo-Classical decoration, remained standard throughout the Georgian period."[399]

Windows had a metonymic role, as units in function of which the rest of the building was measured.

The modular approach reflecting an architect's thinking was easily transferable to the craftsman's shop. In 1727, *The Builder's Chestbook* offers "Simple rules for builders":

"What are the principle things to be observed in Windows? [...] First their magnitude; secondly, their number, and thirdly, the bigness of the room that they are to enlighten; for it

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[396] Dan Cruickshank and Peter Wyld op.cit. pp. 160.

[397] "[t]o talk about windows is to talk about the proportioning of Georgian houses for it was the windows that gave Georgian façades, whether in brick, stucco or stone, their distinctive character and emphasised the all-important relationship between interior and exterior ibid pp.154

[398] "Most of the period's visual coherence then, stems from the fact that classically derived proportion and details were universally accepted by craftsmen and builders as a standard discipline and to the present eye (though not certainly to the Georgian eye) houses built between 1700 and 1830 have a pleasing homogeneity" ibid. preface p1

[399] ibid. p.154

is possible to make rooms as well too light as too dark. The height of windows of the first storey may be two diameters, and where necessary two diameters and 1/4, 1/3, or 1/2, the height of windows in the second and third storeys to be the same proportion as those of the chambers."[400]

As Dan Cruikshank has shown

"[t]he taking of window breadth as the proportioning module was standard practice in the 18th century, this module not only determined the proportions of windows but the entire façade, from the height of the parapet to the width of the façade over the party wall [...] Having determined the breadth of the proportioning module, the geometry used in the construction of varying types of windows was a much simpler operation."[401]

Finally "just as important as the proportioning and spacing of the window void is the proportioning and design of its contents and here a true revolution took place during the Georgian period"[402]. Cruikshank refers to the sash window, which literally provided a grid within a frame:[403] "for an average example, the formula was soon fixed that the width of the window should be divided by two vertical bars and the height by three horizontal bars [...] The basic division was arrived at by a variation of the golden section principle."[404]

It must be observed that, among the factors concurring to the 'sash window revolution' an important one was the increasing availability of larger panes of clear glass, leading also to other 'revolutions' in the modes of visual communication, such as the proliferation of window shops in 18th-century London[405], and the boom of pastel painting.[406]

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[400] Batty Langley *The Builder's Chestbook* 1727. pp.36See especially the paragraph *Of Windows*. Quoted in Denvir, op, cit. p. 38

[401] ibid. pp.160-161

[402] ibid. p. 161

[403] "The proportioning of one pane of glass was not a scaled down version of the overall window proportion, but more generally a scaled-down version of three-quarters of the window height by its breadth [...] To divide a window void into panes was a very straight forward operation once it had become standard to divide its width by two bars. Having made this vertical division, a rule would be placed from the bottom corner to a point three-quarters up the height of the window and the points worked off on the vertical bars to ascertain where the horizontals should cross them. By this method the window voids would be divided into twelve equal panes: three wide and four high" ibid. p162

[404] ibid. p 162

[405] Sara Tarlow op.cit. p. 175-178

[406] Thea Burns *The Invention of Pastel Painting*. Also RA conference by Rosie Freemantle, Tate Paper Conservator, in occasion of the Jean-Étienne Liotard exhibition at The Royal Academy of Arts, 2016.

Freed from stone mullions, lead fixing and yellow tinted glass, the perception of what could be seen through the Georgian window appeared at once framed and uncontrived. Uncontrived, as a good quality clear glass did not alter the chromatic key of subject matter. Framed, as the view was divided into verticals and horizontals according to regular divisions of the height and base. Psychological insight derived from this observation is unavailable, as there is no way to perform surveys on the subject of the influence that *constant* exposure to this design had on the perception of organised visual content during the Georgian era.

Nonetheless, historical circumstantial evidence can broaden the view. Windows were also affording a view into the circumstances of people, whose houses they illuminated and embellished:

"Views in this period, were not free. Not only were windows taxable from 1696 until 1851, so that a house liberally supplied with windows would have to pay more, but good quality glass that could be easily gazed through was too pricey for many people [...] Moreover, large and plentiful windows compromised the insulation of the house and made it more expensive to heat."[407]

Sara Tarlow builds an argument around the possibilities afforded by the sash window: "The sash window literally frames the person, who can carefully pose themselves, prepare costume and make-up and orchestrate their appearance. [...] Large sash windows with big panes meant that less of the window area was taken up by pleading, mullions and transomes, so more light entered the room. Through the windows comes illumination, the central metaphor of the enlightenment."[408] I would like to reverse this viewpoint, and move away from the self-centred individual willing to frame him or herself in a Georgian window. As light entered the room, so visual content also entered i. e. a *framed* picture of the outdoors: a city view or a landscape. As Horace Walpole had put it in 1792, the whole of Britain "exhibits

[407] p161 "just as important as the proportioning and spacing of the window void is the proportioning and design of its contents and here a true revolution took place during the Georgian period" C. and W. refer to the introduction of sash windows (after 1676 as opposed to the rather medieval way of keeping wind and rain out of the house by introducing "hinged casements divided by stone mullions and transoms into which glass was fixed with lead [...] sash windows were blending function with design, and they were almost immediately adopted". Dan Cruickshank and Peter Wyld, op. cit. p. 161

[408] Sara Tarlow op. cit.

the most beautiful landscapes in the world when they are framed and glazed, that is, when you look at them through the window."[409]

That the grid design of Georgian windows was based on proportion[410] and that this conditioned the appearance of cityscapes seen from the indoors, which was *the* place where paintings were exhibited and looked at, is a fact. A discussion on illusions of painted landscapes framed by windows, arches or loggias in *trompe l'oeil,* an important part of decorative programmes based on antique models revived and "improved"[411] at the same time when Renaissance architects and their enlightened sponsors reconnected with the classical tradition could be opened here. It is enough to observe that, in the case of a classical door or window, whether built or drawn on paper, or architectural frontispiece, whether real or painted, as well as in the case of a sash window, visual content, thanks to the painter-decorator[412] or the architect and carpenter, appeared organised according to proportion (sometimes also golden ratio.)[413] The next point of investigation is to find out if, in the conception of cityscapes, a grid would also be placed beneath content and not just in front of it. A particular work can provide the 'missing link'.

Vitruvius Britannicus

The work considered is a hybrid of architectural and landscape drawing, and this makes it relevant in a discussion on representations of Venice, where the two also merge. Campbell, just as contemporary painters of Venetian cityscapes such as Carlevarijs, was confronted with the same problem: fitting three-dimensional architectures into a bi-

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[409] Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann, edited by Wilmarth S. Lewis, 48 vols: vol. XXXV (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 282 quoted in J. Phibbs *Projective Geometry* in Garden History Journal of the Garden History Society, Summer 2006, note 2 p.17

[410] derived from the golden ratio, as we have seen earlier: Dan Cruickshank ibid. p. 162 see note 359

[411] Such as Veronese's decorative programme at Villa Barbaro at Maser, overseen by Daniele Barbaro

[412] the practice of the "giornate" in a large fresco painting specifically resorted to divisions provided by architectural framings so as to conceal the differences resulting from the "soldering" of the parts, when the fresco was perceived as a whole. See for instance René Berger *Découverte de la peinture* Guilde du Livre et Éditions des Fauconnières, Lausanne 1958.

[413] See before, in the discussion on *Palladio,* the example of Salviati's frontispiece drawn within two golden rectangles.

dimensional surface. Though this is an architectural prospect of classical derivation and therefore landscape-painting elements were probably introduced as embellishments, the intention of providing a landscape setting for the architecture should not be understated. It invites a discussion on mnemonic cityscapes and, as it will be shown, it helps in making a number of observations useful in the debate on topographical accuracy versus artistic licence discussed further in the context of Canaletto's practice.[414]

A guide, a source of comparison and inspiration in classical taste, *Vitruvius Britannicus* was also a portfolio for Campbell as a practising architect[415]. Starting with the title, it declared the author's allegiance to the Vitruvian - Palladian principles.

Campbell's prospect of Castle Howard[416] is found on pages 5-6 of Volume III (Fig. 19). The debate on its date of completion is still open: it can be located between 1715 and 1725, either before the appearance of the first volume in 1715[417] or in time for the publication of the third volume in 1725. This is a painterly architectural prospect, as it attempts to integrate architecture into landscape, effectively resorting to the use of both linear and tonal perspective. Its pictorial ambitions are further unveiled by a foreground filled with allegorical figures functioning as tonal *repoussoir,* while they give a demonstration of the

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[414] The owner's, architect's and builder's concern with finding an agreement between landscape setting and architecture was as much a practical as a theoretical concern. Its visual expressions were compiled in books like Kniff & Kip *Britannia Illustrata* London 1708. I thank Matthew Hardy for this suggestion.

[415] Even though recent research by Eileen Harris and Nicholas Savage suggest that Campbell got on board the project at a late stage: cf. Alan Powers *The Architectural Book* in Kester Rattenburry ed. *Thesis not Architecture: Media Constructions*, pp. 157-173, esp. p. 161; Burlington House was "refronted by Colin Campbell in 1719 [as] a prototype of English Palladianism". John Summerson op.cit.p.75 ; "Sir Josiah Child [...] had bought Wanstead, Essex, in 1673, which under his son Sir Richard Child (Viscount Castlemain from 1718) was transformed by Colin Campbell into *the* Palladian showpiece of the early eighteenth century" Robert Williams *Vanbrugh's India and his Mausolea for England* in *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque England 1690 - 1730* Christopher Ridgway & Robert Williams, eds., Sutton Publishing, in association with The National Trust, UK, 2000, p. 116; See Eileen Harris assisted by Nicholas Savage *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785*, Cambridge University Press 1990

[416] The genesis and legacy of Castle Howard in Sir John Vanbrugh's career have been recently revisited and refined, especially in terms of landscape design, by Giles Worsley and Caroline Dalton. See Giles Worsley *After ye Antique' Vanbrugh, Hawksmoore and Kent* in *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque England 1690 - 1730* Christopher Ridgway & Robert Williams, eds., Sutton Publishing, in association with The National Trust, UK, 2000; and Caroline Dalton op. cit. pp 88-103 and the conclusion on Reynold's eulogy for "an architect that composed like a painter".

[417] "[I]f Nick Savage and Eileen Harris are right, the bird's eye perspective of Castle Howard (fig. 24) published in the third volume of Vitruvius Britannicus (1725) was originally intended for the first volume, and must, therefore, have been drawn by 1715" Giles Worsley op cit. note 57 at p. 142.

highest ranked genre of painting: historical painting. It is, by all measures, a work intended to please, as if it illustrated Richardson's argument, also from 1715 and mentioned earlier, on how the "beauty and harmony which gives us so much pleasure at the sight of natural pictures, a prospect, a fine sky, a garden &c. and the copies of these, which renew the ideas of them, are consequently pleasant".

The narrative in this picture was supposed to reflect the interests[418], as well as perceptions and expectations involving architecture, landscape design, and not least landscape painting of the author and its commissioners alike. I shall argue that the organisation of its visual structure also did this. An illustrious list of subscribers enabled the publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus*: people who would have exerted a direct or diffuse influence on emerging social groups who modelled themselves on the elites.[419]
This brings us to the question rightfully asked by Caroline Dalton "why Carlisle and Vanbrugh would have agreed to such an inaccurate portrayal of Castle Howard being published in 1725"?[420] The inaccuracies refer especially to elements surrounding the main construction: gate walls, bastions, pavilions[421]. The shape of the Wilderness garden on the uppermost (southern) register of the plate is a further disputed point, as it seems to contradict Vanbrugh's design.[422]

Whether or not the garden at Castle Howard was shaped differently than is suggested

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[418] Giles Worsley compares the design of the parterre at Castle Howard to a design for Pliny's Villa at Tusculum, fancifully reconstructed by Robert Castell in his *Villas of the Ancients* of 1728, op. cit pp. 142-143

[419] "By 1721 Castle Howard was an essential part of the summer itinerary of all gentlemen of taste who were interested in architecture and drawing" Caroline Dalton, op. cit p.103

[420] Dalton raises "the question of why Carlisle and Vanbrugh would have agreed to such an inaccurate portrayal of Castle Howard being published in 1725", op cit. p. 100

[421] which Worsley suggests are based on a reconstructed design of Caracalla's Thermae Antonianae, op.cit. p143

[422] "Comparison of the 1727 plan estate plan with Campbell's bird-eye view [...] highlights several inconsistencies. The west wing of the house, the gate in the north courtyard wall and the temple at the south of the wilderness, all depicted by Campbell, are not on the estate map, and yet the Obelisk Parterre and the lake were nearing completion in 1724 but are not in Campbell's drawing. Further inspection shows Campbell's interior plan of (100) the wilderness to be wrong; indeed the only accuracy in the depiction of the landscape is in the gateways over the north approach road, and the avenues of trees on the south front. Campbell's classical summer houses on the south wall of the wilderness are clearly fictitious" Dalton pp 99-100

in Campbell's rigid geometrical design[423], I shall focus on the picture, specifically on these 'suspicious', in terms of topographical accuracy, elements. Highpoint perspective, lines receding towards a vanishing point on the central axis lend the edifices a majestic, immobile allure. Since Campbell was required to draw extant architecture, although recently completed, having had access to the design of the castle itself should have simplified the problem of drawing its prospect. It was easier to proceed from a model, accepting that Campbell had had access to Vanbrugh's designs, which is still a matter of critical debate.

The source itself, the architectural design of the castle, was intricate enough to complicate what was supposed to simplify. The criterion of recognisability of the site hence confined Campbell's flights of fancy. Social pressure associated with the expectations and reactions of the owner of the architecture and of its author, with whom Campbell had found himself in direct competition was not of nature to simplify the task.[424] Because the perspective is frontal, although seen from a highpoint, the design of the facade preserves much of the aspect of an elevation. The geometrical plan underlying the whole estate in Campbell's design betrays a rigorous approach typical of a Neo-Palladian advocate.

Regardless of whether Campbell's changes to Vanbrugh's design came from a lack of access to accurate sources or from liberties he took to "improve" upon it, what is of interest here is *how* did he make these changes. This may lead to possible explanations on why he did them. The point of departure is again, practice.

In line with Palladio's teachings[425] on architectural design understood in terms of harmonious proportions, Campbell would have ensured that, in part *and* in whole, the two-dimensional design of the plate *also* obeyed the rules necessary to design the prospect that it portrayed. The somewhat steep recess of the perspective can be explained by Campbell's

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[423] "[T]he Earl of Carlisle does not seem to have been particularly interested in Claude or Poussin, and unlike many of his contemporaries he owned none of their pictures. Similarities […] should probably be seen as parallel attempts at the same goal - an evocation of Antiquity" Worsley op. cit p142-43

[424] Dalton refers to the asperities between Vanbrugh and Campbell, op. cit.

[425] "That numerical equivalents of the terms of musical harmonies, could, when applied to special relationships in architectures make visual harmonies seemed to Palladio and his contemporaries to indicate a universal Design, and to validate their philosophy and their insistence on mathematics as a fundamental discipline. The triadic system was not only suited to the use of proportionalities, but was supported by utility and by tradition" Ackerman op. cit. p.161

need to accommodate within the picture a large amount of architectural data which could not overlap, as it would have in a ground-level view. However, this observation does not offer insight into the precise way in which architectonic elements were organised in the bi-dimensional composition in order to produce an illusory recession. They could have looked different, had their placement not been regulated also by the use of bi-dimensional geometrical grids, as well as by linear perspective. Possible grids discussed here are based on the rectangular border framing the picture. I have measured the sides from the inner borders, as, according to established conventions, the outer, thicker border seems to have been added to achieve a decorative purpose. The divisions are numbered from top to bottom.

The octave ratio is obvious, as the picture is built around a central vertical axis; it can also be seen that 1/2 of the height H marks the top of the domes on each of the two wings. Dividing the height of the plate in five equal parts, and tracing imaginary horizontals at the level of each division offers further indications on the placement of visual elements: the 1/5 H horizontal division establishes the closer (lower) edge of the uppermost bastions flanking the Wilderness garden; the 3/5 H line overlaps the further (upper) roof level of the four arched side entrances in the closer middle ground, the 4/5 H horizontal division manages to express visually Campbell's quest for 'just balance'. The line coincides with the horizontal part of the balance held by the seated and sworded figure to the lower left, an allegory of Justice. Mirroring it on the right, the seated figure of Prudence, hand-mirror and snake in hand.[426]

A play of divisions of the height in thirds and fourths can also be evinced. The 1/4 division indicates the placement of the railed *recinto* between the two pairs of bastions on each side of the Wilderness garden (Fig. 20). The upper tambour of the lunette on top of the central dome is at 1/3 H. At the same level one finds the upper edge of the geometrically

[426] Whether Campbell was acting on a brief or he decided himself the allegorical foreground, cultured viewers of the album would have perhaps recalled Cicero's definition of memory as a part of prudence: "Towards the end of the *De Inventione*, Cicero defines virtue as 'a habit of mind in harmony with reason and the order of nature' a stoic definition of virtue. He then states that virtue has four parts, namely Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance. [...] Prudence is the knowledge of what is good, what is bad and what neither good nor bad. Its parts are memory, intelligence, foresight (memoria, intelligentia, providentia). Memory is the faculty by which the mind recalls what has happened.Intelligence is the faculty by which it ascertains what is. Foresight is the faculty by which it is seen that something is going to occur before it occurs" Yates, op. cit p. 20

shaped green wall beyond which the Wilderness garden extends. The base of the distant (upper) portion of the green wall opening to the Doric temple in the background is at 1/4 H. The difference between the third and the fourth divisions measured on the height H also indicates the depth of the recess wall - that is, 'height' in planar terms - which connects, at a 90 degrees angle, the wall gate in the foreground (on the North side) to the side gates. This difference can be obtained by dividing the picture in two horizontally and measuring downwards from the halving line a segment equal to 1/3 H to find out how much the protruding gate wall advances to the foreground. The horizontal line traced at this level is the construction line marking the edge of the wall's ledge closest to the viewer (Fig.21). The line also provides tonal distinction, exactly separating the lit ledge - using as *reserv*e the light colour of the paper - and sombre, vertical wall, darkened through cross-hatching. As will be shown, the same procedure is present in Carlevarijs, where a harmonious horizontal division line defines an architectonic ledge, separating architectonic foreground from marine background.[427] The 3/4 division line distinguishes between the two parts composing the central gate, an arch surmounted by a lunette-like structure provided with an oculus window. In the middle ground, the 2/3 H indicates the base of the lower buildings on each side of the wings, and also the height of the half-pilasters reinforcing the arched doors of the side entrances.

All these measurements allow one to see that the differences in Campbell's design with regard to the original topography, especially in the areas where he perhaps felt he could take 'liberties' - and which have received the admonishment of historians of architecture - were not arbitrary. Nor should they be judged exclusively as what they stand for i.e. tridimensional additions or "improvements" to Vanbrugh's design. Instead, I argue that they need to be considered also as elements constituting a bi-dimensional composition, part of Campbell's practice as an *architectural draughtsman*. One is invited to ponder the possibility that he operated in the belief that they contributed to the harmony of the overall *picture*, not only or chiefly as an improvement upon the architectural structure. Clearly, he made these compositional decisions in line with rules of design he deemed Palladian, as they

[427] See Chapter 9, and Figure 40

derived from the same principle: planning according to *proportion*. These rules were applied both in planar and spacial ways. Seemingly contradictory accounts involving historical accuracy and architectural fidelity may be mitigated by the rhetorics of geometry. Like the unfolding of *loci* of memory, Campbell's changes are located at regular intervals, and they enable the eye to travel and pause while taking an imaginary stroll through engraved trees and alleys of paper.

Gentlemen's "seats"

Operating on a reduced scale, the use of harmonic grids can also be evinced from designs of English landscape-imagery which were intended as a means of making known or of advertising specific edifices. In such cases, the 'presence' of the work was more important than its aesthetic representation. Plates by mainstream practitioners like Campbell had sometimes found their way into these albums, however, most of the works in them had to comply, to a higher degree, with economic criteria, and favour serial reproducibility, leading to cutting-down decisions in terms of medium, scale of representation and composition. A simplistic, recipe-like[428] approach to harmonic grids, by which I mean that the image was made to fit the grid rather than the other way around, could be easily inflated to become a visual panacea, offering visual delivery from the struggles of picture-composing and ignore a simple yet essential fact: 'flawless' compositional solutions are of little or no use without reference to context and availability.[429]

Subsequent albums of views collated 18th to early 19th-century prints of English land and townscapes, and they are informative for the context in which such standardised

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[428] again in reference to Nelson Graburn op.cit. , while in this case, this is not enough to equate such visual reminders with contemporary industrially made trinkets: enough intellectual and manual operations differentiate between the first and the second

[429] since I have communicated the first partial results of the Ph D research (commenced in 2014) in the College Art Association Annual Conference, Washington DC, February 2016, presenting a paper which demonstrated the use of this "double" golden ratio grid by 18th-century Venetian painters in a session chaired by Professor Victoria Szabo, https://sites.duke.edu/.../playing-the-scales-the-human.../ , at the end of 2016 / beginning of 2017 two free kindle-books have appeared under the name Elliot McGucken, offering this very golden ratio grid as an all-explaining solution for successful visual compositions, from antiquity to Ansel Adams: http://mymodernmet.com/ansel-adams-golden-ratio/

compositional formats were to be found. A compilation[430] offers a glimpse into the field of the 'gentlemen's seats', which offered an occasion for more or less well-to-do subscribers to see their 'seats' published in albums. These depictions of country and town houses were part of a social game involving conspicuous consumption and class emulation among owners from the gentry and the upper-working class, and professional confrontation among architects, builders and engravers. The mnemonic *and* disseminating nature of these images meant that they had to be recognisable, portable and cheap. Small, serial works on paper offered just that. Whether they legitimised the commissioner's claims or failed in doing so, depended on multiple factors, individual and collective. Social skills or political context aside, what all these views succeeded in doing was *authenticate*[431] the relationship between individual and home as one of mutual dependence, rooted in property ownership[432] which instead granted status. Views could have different measurements and degrees of finish, according to the financial means of the client, and they could be bound into albums or sold individually, for instance J. Boydell priced *A View by the Thames between Richmond and Isleworth*[433] at one shilling. From a compositional point of view, the pervasiveness of the golden ratio among the views in this album is remarkable. This clarifies that the "frame" measurement had been decided before context was organised. Two series of views in the album offer two distinct sizes of rectangular plates, both perfect golden rectangles: the series xxx 1-1-a-1, a-2, and a-3, and the smaller vignette-size series xxx nos. 1-1-b and c, 2-a, 5-b, 8, 10 b & c, and 12.[434] A hand-written note on view number xxx 19-n reinforces the importance of "regular & commodious" design, in this order.[435]

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[430] British Library

[431] Arjun Appadurai *Modernity at large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* University of Minnesota Press 1996

[432] "To the autonomy of property owners in the market corresponded a self-presentation of human beings in the family. The latter's intimacy, apparently set free from the constraint of society, was the seal on the truth of a private autonomy exercised in competition. Thus it was a private autonomy denying its economic origins (i.e., an autonomy *outside* the domain of the only one practiced by the market participant who believed himself autonomous) that provided the bourgeois family with its consciousness of itself" Habermas p.46, op.cit.

[433] xxx-5-f , BL

[434] all designed and engraved by the tandem Chatelain and J. Roberts

[435] Referring to a seat at Twickenham, and dated 1710.

PART 3

Visual features

CHAPTER 7

Subject matter

The relationship between harmonious construction and the ability to recall to mind was one of *compatibility*. Elements enumerated above, such as shape, contrast, number, interval had been used to describe mental projections of "places" in the "art of memory" designed to improve intellectual performance and oratorial abilities. These features were used, virtually unchanged, *also* to visually express the parts of the art of painting[436], cityscapes included.

A number of factors relevant to the conception and execution of representations of modern Venice are here explored[437] as a means to reflect on pictorial process set in a precise historical context. The focus is on the mutual *adaptation* between visual content and social context[438], which means the discourse is informed by specific pictures rather than applied to them. Different painters' methods and their psyche may appear at times in a clearer light, without attempting to infer unchanging perceptual or intellectual patterns unaffected by time and context. Two-dimensional 'illusions' of three-dimensional architecture appear to represent the content of most modern European townscapes. My argument is 'plain' because, before becoming 'illusions', paintings are flat surfaces, abiding by planar rules and constraints of composition.

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[436] The ancient rhetors' emphasis on "striking" images echoes in the 'catchy' visual event with seminal importance in Gestalt theory. See Arnheim op.cit., also Johannes Itten *L'art de la couleur* Dessain et Tolra 1971 and Joseph Albers *Interaction of Color* Yale University Press 1971; The parts of painting are referred to in Chapter 2, paragraph *A Painters musts and must nots*

[437] Following Arnheim's compelling example, albeit to a different end.

[438] Gombrich op. cit. ,Baxandall 1985

Visual narrative

I shall take two examples in which visual narratives of Venice supersede topography, or simply put, in which subject matter takes over its representation. These examples are not divorced from their political, economic and religious context. As the support of these images is paper, it is worth digressing on the importance that a printed piece of paper had in early modern Venice.

Venice boasted a thriving printing industry which attracted intellectuals, book sellers and printers from around Europe. Fuelling humanistic interests ran parallel to pursuing earthly pleasures. Both were documented in printed form. Already by the early 16th-century, the Republic regulated the industry. Specific provisions from 1517 onwards reflected the vital need to control the book trade. In the early and mid 16th-century, an exasperated chorus of voices described attempts to control and contain efforts to avoid Venetian censorship and taxation. This was echoed in a 1526 deliberation from the Council of Ten[439]:

"*per la licentia, che facilmente og'un ha da stampar libri in questa nostra Città, se vede qualche volta uscir in stampa opera dishoneste & de mala natura. Alche è da mettere sufficiente ordine…" Renewed provisions were taken in 1542 against every person who printed, sold or introduced unlicensed books into the city: "molte [opere] dishonestissime, con tanto mal esempio & scandalo universale, quanto a tutti è notto.*"[440]

In little more than half a century, the wind was blowing from the opposite direction. In 1603, restrictions were no longer targeted at those trying to set up shop in Venice and bring *in* printing tools, therefore punishing attempts to do so illicitly; but those intending to take *out* of the city printing presses and materials. Subjects of the Republic or foreigners failing to comply, that is "*quei, che transgredissero in portar fuori di questa Città instrumenti ò materiali pertinenti alla stampa, oltre tutte le altre pene maggiori*" risked having their

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439 *Parte dell'Illustrissima Signoria di Venetia In materia delle Stampe* A. Pinelli Venice 1517 BL and *Parte Presa nell'Eccellentiss. Consiglio di Pregadi Adì 14. Giugno In materia della Stampatori, e Librari di questo Serenissimo Dominio, che hanno ottenuto, & ottenevano Motu proprij* A. Pinelli 1596 Venice BL

440 *Parte Presa nell'Eccellentiss. Consiglio di Pregadi Adì 14. Giugno In materia della Stampatori, e Librari di questo Serenissimo Dominio, che hanno ottenuto, & ottenevano Motu proprij* A. Pinelli 1596 Venice BL and *Parte Presa nell'Eccellentiss. Consiglio di Pregadi 1602 à 20. Febraro . Dell'autorità… In materia di Stampa* A. Pinelli 1602 Venice BL

goods confiscated: "*s'intendano come robba da contrabando.*"[441] Historians tend to agree that, by 1600, Venice's days as commercial hub were over.[442] Although its aims and decisions could have hardly proven more contrasting with those half a century earlier, the Venetian government was consistently and explicitly confirming the commercial and political importance it gave to it's printing industry.

A lion's tale

This tale is not about how many tin toys of St. Mark's lion or how many effigies of rampant felines holding the open Gospel gilt in *similoro* have sold at Venice over the last year, though this could be exciting mapping of uncharted territory.

A view of Venice[443] by Ludovico Pozzoserrato (Lodewijk Toeput) merges allegory and topography. Varying the sale of representation of juxtaposing figures serves a long-established practice of indicating hierarchy through size. In 1585, the date of publication of this work, Venice would have preserved, at least in part, its prestige as a maritime power. Awaiting favourable wind to embark upon distant destinations, travellers - whether pilgrims, merchants or soldiers - counted on a safe passage. The Venetian 'dominion' over the sea had to be reassuringly expressed, and a paradigmatic example was the ceremony of the wedding of the sea. A visual means to represent maritime power, easily decipherable by the knowledgeable elites, but surely not unfamiliar to sailors, artisans and literate citizens, was allegory: here, through the figure of Neptune.[444]

The steep one-point perspective and equidistant placement of two large columns

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[441] *Parte Presa nell'Eccellentiss. Consiglio di Pregadi 1603 Adì 11. Maggio* Con una Terminatione della Eccellentissimi Signori Reformatori dello Studio di Padoua, in materia dell'arte de'Stampatori, & Librari. A. Pinelli 1603 Venice BL
Terminatione Belli Eccellentissimi Signori Reformatori del Studio di Padova Adì 22. Luglio 1616 in materia di Operarij dell'Arte de' Stampatori A. Pinelli 1616 Venice BL
Parte Presa nell'Eccellentiss. Consiglio di Pregadi 1622 À 17. Settembre in materia di Stampe A. Pinelli 1622 Venice BL
Parte Presa nell'Eccellentiss. Consiglio di Pregadi 1622 Adì 2. Dicembre in materia di Stampe Gio. Pietro Pinelli 1622 Venice BL

[442] J Israel *Dutch Primacy in World Trade* 1585-1740 Oxford Clarendon Press 1989; also F. Braudel *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* Armand Colin 1949

[443] URBS VENETUM UT NULLI CEDIT SIC CLARIUS VILLUM.
British Library

[444] "[Venice] *a rich magnificent City seated in the jaws of Neptune"* Howell p 108 [106]

from the vertical axis of the picture reinforce the rigid ceremonial tent of the entrance from the sea into Venice i.e. the *Piazzetta*. An architectural structure overlaps the entrance and provides a setting for the allegorical figures and for the cartouche bearing the title and the author's name. On each side of the ducal coat of arms - winged lion and acorn hat - Neptune (Fig. 22) and his maritime match are shown leaning, one armed with the trident, the other identified by cattail, jug and crawfish.[445] The perceived juxtaposition of different sizes of representation of human figure is somewhat disconcerting. Rowing gondoliers shown nearby are kept busy by a cortege of richly dressed figures ashore, some of whom seem ready to embark. Even though the size of the figures of the gondoliers as well as the diagonal orientation of their boats should mitigate between large sea gods and small Venetian aristocrats by introducing a sense of recession, the resulting effect is of incoherence between perceived and actual relative distances. Ruling out draughtsmanship inconsistency, there remains a hypothesis, however elusive, that gondoliers, moving about Venice in the 'appropriate' way i.e. by water, would come first in a hierarchic scale of representation, right after the largest figures in the picture, the presumed rulers of the seas.

Less than 50 years later, a visual twist takes place. Neptune, and I mean the exact same drawing of the mythological figure, only in reverse, reemerges in a map printed in Amsterdam in 1624. As the specialised printer's shop name indicates, this is declaredly a maritime map. Maps held high prestige as tools of knowledge in 17th-century Holland.[446] Multiple skills were requested of their authors, who therefore often combined various professions: draughtsman, optician, cartographer, astronomer. With little concern for copyright issues - not an uncommon thing at the time - J. Janson recycles Pozzoserrato's drawings.[447] His companion, who personifies the richness provided by the lagoon is now shown sitting on the right, and a fish can be discerned in the stream of water pouring out of the jug, while the crawfish lays behind the jug rather than on the drapery she lifts with one hand. The doge's symbol placed between the two figures in Pozzoserrato's picture has given

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[445] Sea or marsh creature? Amphitrite, Salacia, Dea Marica, a Nereid?

[446] Svetlana Alpers *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* University of Chicago Press 1984

[447] BL

way in the map to a full-fledged allegorical figure of Venice, (Fig. 23) floating on the continuous cloud supporting the allegorical cortège above the city. Dressed in the Venetian fashion, with a damask bodice and a string of pearls[448], she is depicted sitting in regal pose with raised sceptre, shielding coat of arms and the lion of St. Mark beside her. The ambiguity elicited by the string of pearls as a symbol of honesty in 16th-century Venice is recorded in Cesare Vecellio's contemporary costume descriptions. Above the chorus of mythological figures gathered around the allegory of Venice,[449] a scrolling headline fanfares the economically abundant, military potent and noble Republic.

While in Pozzoserrato's interpretation the natural and the super-natural realms intermingle, though in a somewhat fraught manner - if considering the scale variations earlier discussed - in Janson's map allegory and topography drift apart, operating on two visually different levels. Under the protective umbrella of supernatural powers, the "*potentissima*" city looks immersed in maritime activity. Still, the arrangement of the ships is carefully choreographed to ceremonial effect.

The conspicuous presence of an explanatory text, pasted[450] beneath the panoramic map allows the eye to wander to and fro between written information and juxtaposed imagery, and this 'pseudo-mobility' is paralleled in the language used. The author of the text aims to turn the beholder from "*lecteur*" into a "*spectateur*" partaking in a show. The description, written in French, is seasoned with exhortations and turns of phrase more appropriate for a travel guide. Was the printer or compiler categorising Venice as a touristic attraction? Could this map have constituted a Venetian souvenir?

A tiny detail, which may appear insignificant on the scale of such a large map, is nonetheless revealing. This map was printed in Amsterdam, where comparison and

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[448] " le Donne di qualche condizione, mentre stanno in casa, usano vestire di colori diversi di seta, & di broccati fatti a varie fogge. Usano ancora ornarsi di perle [...] Ma fra queste [le cortigiane] & le donne d'honore, si vede come di costume, cosi anche diversità d'ornamenti: non potendo esse in vigor delle bene ordinate leggi della Città di Venetia portar ornamenti di perle, come le donne honeste; se bene alcune di loro sotto qualche pretesto le portano, & usano di più l'Abito presente [that is, contemporary], & se ne servono come le donne da bene, & di buona fama" Cesare Vecellio *Degli Abiti Antichi et Moderni di Diverse Parti del Mondo,* Venice 1598, p.144,

[449] see earlier discussion in Chapter 5 , paragraph *Palladio* on the medallion in the frontispiece of *I Quattro Libri*

[450] possibly at a later stage

competition between Holland, recently emerging as a maritime power, and the most serene Republic would have been vividly perceived. This particular detail advises caution in interpreting the superlatives flying in heavy block letters in the scroll above and in the body text below. St. Mark's lion on top of the column at the right of the Piazzetta has its tail tucked between the rear legs. There were no lions on the streets of Amsterdam, however dogs walked around free and were present in paintings and engravings. There is little room for interpretation here: either as figure of speech or as visual narrative, keeping one's tail between the legs was associated with cowardice. A printer's prank? Political propaganda? Should we conclude that 17th-century Dutch were able to read the signs, namely that Venice's claim as ruler of the seas had been reduced by then to merely throwing a regatta party?[451]

Tow decades later, new political 'spectators' were taking an interest on the 'lion's tail'.

"*But if one in Story observes the course of her [Venice's] actions, he shall find that she hath subsisted as much as by Policy as Armes, as much by reach of wit, and advantage of treaty, as by open strength, it having beene her practice ever and anon to sow a piece of Fox tayle to the skinne of s. Marks Lyon.*"[452]

The warning sign comes from J. Howell, who in his *Forraine Travell…* offered general advice to travellers, so biased to the point that today one finds it difficult at times not to read it as vile racism. His description of Venice reminds however of the multiple uses one could make of allegorical imagery to influence public perception. St Mark's lion was a religious symbol and a political coat of arms. Drawing attention to the lion's tail in this 17th-century Dutch map of Venice makes political pressure tangible. It is enough to contrast this 'mane-less' lion peeping with large eyes from the top of the column, waiting to be rescued like a cat stuck in a tall tree (Fig.24) with the majestic feline overlooking the skyline of the city in Giovanni

[451] J. Israel *op. cit.* p 5-8 quotes De Vries "By 1600 the commercial primacy of Venice in the Mediterranean was over" and Braudel *La Méditerranee* Li. 572-3 *Civilisation materielle* iii. 174; see also Maxine Berg *The Age of Manufactures*

[452] Howell 1642 *Forraine Travell…* London p.109 [107], BL

Merlo's[453] map (Fig. 25).

'Public' concern is not enough to disqualify a map as a souvenir, as souvenirs also had social roles. But taking sides, which Jansen's map does both through the choice of words and a graphically rehearsed *mise-en-page* i.e. *mise-en-scène*, undermines the leisurely aspect generally associated with touring. Finally, failing to perceive a political agenda should not be mistaken for its absence. Doubts expressed in the text with regard to the "authenticity" of citizenship of the inhabitants of Venice suggest that there was such an agenda.

One may take the lion`s tale as lambent wit, or sarcastic lambasting of competitors.[454] One could choose to see the allegorical figure of Venice as a picture of a matron or a *meretrice*. Appropriately to an art historical study, a form of reconciliation between the Dutch and the Venetians is to be found in a discourse on the arts. A century later, the academic 'influencer' Sir Joshua Reynolds draws a parallel between Dutch and Venetian painting. It is, alas, an opportunity to lecture jointly on their inferiority. Aesthetic criteria, once more, reflected a political agenda as they kept the pace with trade.[455] Failing to meet a standard of unbiased topography required by maps and views "*dal vero",* 'the lion's tail carried this map of Venice into an arena of political and trading conflict. Because of a small visual detail, the map became a physical remainder of a dispute rather than a reminder of a connection between a person and a place. If inspecting the map i.e. the *molo* and the city of Venice from a conventionally central observation point, a detail at sea-level just above the text could give a blow to benign interpretations.[456] The warship placed at the bottom has just fired a ceremonial salute, as the cloud of smoke hovering about its bow suggests. However, the ship aims ashore; both its direction and the oblique ascending run of smoke lead the eye right into to the *Piazzetta* and to the lion's column (Fig. 26). While, upon close inspection, the source of 'ceremonial smoke' is not a firing cannon, the visual "effect" upon an

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[453] Giovanni Merlo *Novo et Vero Disegno della Inclita Città di Venetia*, Venice 1656, BL

[454]visual propaganda - 'cloud Dutch coin' obscuring le Roi-soleil.

[455] J. Israel op. cit., Reynolds op. cit, Barrell 1986 pp 74-75 on the Dutch and Venetian perceived as "agents of decline", and the political discourse conveniently equating corruption and trade whenever 'trade' referred to foreign trade.

[456] Since travelling for leisure in times of war is not the subject of this research and neither is the subject of war memorabilia

unprepared viewer is at odds with the reassuring naval procedure of discharging the ammunition, usually occurring at sea, and traditionally meant to signal surrender and peace.

Seen from the opposite shore, that is, in an Italian description of the Dutch Provinces, a predictably reversed, equidistantly biased image of Venice also emerges. In his *Isole più famose del mondo*,[457] Tommaso Porcacchi of Castiglione presents the "*città magnifica*" in a celebratory tone, emphasising its treasures and lengthy history, while referring to a "*penisoletta posta nell'Isola Batavia*"[458] which "appears" in many ways to be similar to Venice. Thanks to successful trade, the citizens of Amsterdam have become rich over night: "*venendo le frotte delle navi del numero c'ho detto, comprano subito tutte le mercantie, talche in quattro, o cinque giorni trecento navi cariche (cosa quasi incredibile) havranno spedito tutte le lor merci.*"[459] How did souvenirs begin to develop from such images and written accounts?

"*Si vende dal'istesso…*"

The trade in visual representations of Venice throughout the 17th-century and in the early 18th-century gradually became enriched with new formulae, responding to a demand triggered by the importance given to civil and religious celebration, ceremonial and diplomatic exchange, paralleled by increasing economical unease and military pressure. An engraving of the Doge's chapel in St. Mark's Basilica provides a visual reflection of these instances.

Serving as title page for Visentini's collection of architectural engravings of the

[457] Tommaso Porcacchi di Castiglione *Isole più famose del mondo* Venice 1605, BL

[458] Thanks to Matthew Hardy for pointing out that the reference is to Jakarta.

[459] Porcacchi op. cit.

Basilica[460], the plate also circulated independently. A *cartella* hangs, in guise of unfolding map, from the apse's ceiling, reading: *Iconografia della Ducal Basilica*. A winged figure leads the eye to the writing. Is this figure a symbol of Venetian political power legitimised by religious authority? "*Sotto gli auspicj del Serenissimo Doge Alvise Mocenigo*" an eye-catching inscription, underscoring the flight of stairs, is made prominent by a wrath of laurel held by the allegorical figure as if hovering above it. It reads: "*Si vende dal'istesso in Campiel di ca' Zen da Biri*"[461] (Fig. 27). Satisfying the curiosity of the beholder, pilgrim or *curieux,* comes at a price. Whether a visual record *after* the visit had taken place or a means to entice a *future* visit to the doge's place, the plate bears no visual difference, size excepted, to an illustrated entry ticket: a tour of a series of "*prospetti"* or of the venue itself. The conspicuous place and size occupied by the two *cartelloni* unabashedly display an advertising agenda. A mildly devotional engraving fit for an album of religious souvenirs, the plate's captions and layout are those of a publicity poster fit to be displayed in a window shop. Downplaying the image's confessional tenet could be motivated by Visentini's desire to attract and maintain[462] the interest of his English clientele in Venice. As the frontispiece of Coronelli's highly successful *Guida de Forestieri…* shows, religious calendars and tourist guides were merging into an "*epitome diaria sagra-profana*" for the city of Venice. Written by a member of the Catholic clergy, while dedicated to foreigners, it was also meant "*ad uso anco d'ogni riverito Nazionale, per sapere tutto cio' si contiene di Nobile, e Diletevole.*"[463]

Whether we consider the devotional tenet of Visentini's plate, or we choose to regard the picture as a portable painted shop-sign or a snapshot of the duke's seat, when exhibited in Venice or transported as a '*ricordo*' the image provided other '*curieux*' back home or

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[460] Paola Modesti 2009 p118 "Nel 1722 Visentini, già specializzatosi nella rappresentazione prospettica e dell'architettura, ottenne il privilegio per la pubblicazione di stampe, su suo disegno, di piante e alzati della chiesa di San Marco e di altri «templij magnifici» della città .Il progetto restò incompiuto dopo l'uscita, nel 1726, delle accuratissime tavole dell'Iconografia della Ducal Basilica. L'artista non sembra però avere rinunciato all'idea fino al 1744, quando chiese una proroga dell'esclusiva di stampa, ed è probabile che abbia in seguito utilizzato il materiale predisposto per la pubblicazione"

[461] A. Visentini *Iconografia della Ducal Basilica,* frontispiece, Venice 1726, BL

[462] Max Weber The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism 1930 (re-ed Routledge 2001); also Ackerman op. cit, Klein op. cit.

[463] Coronelli *GUIDA DE' FORESTIERI O SIA Epitome…*1724 Venice 37th edition, BNM

wandering through Venice with two essential pieces of information. First, it bore the author`s qualifications and expertise. The credentials of the author, Antonio Visentini, are listed in this order: "*Veneto, Professore in Pittura, Architettura e Prospettiva*". Secondly, it gave the exact location where, presumably, future attractions and a wider range of services and images were available.

CHAPTER 8

"Action"

Movement

The question of movement informs the earlier mentioned need to adapt to peculiar ways of circulation at Venice. This resulted in the fact that safe-to-walk shores became reference images, along with the widest water route, the Grand Canal. The main problem encountered in any attempted reconciliation between Venice *received* and Venice *perceived* is the fact that pictorial representation involved static images, while the city itself was animated. Therefore the challenge of every urban representation was how to escape 'lifelessness'.

Painters deployed an 'arsenal' of pictorial tricks to suggest motion, and the term befits Venice. What must instead be acknowledged is that these images failed to communicate movement, *not* a lack of intent in attempting movement in still images. Often, when referring to pictures, one speaks of 'capturing' movement, perhaps for the very reason the attempt fails: motion is never 'captured' as such a word would involve immobilisation, with a subsequent 'release' of subject matter within the confined area imprisoned in the frame[464] (real or virtual) constituted by the picture. Nevertheless, procedures intent to animate images occurred intrinsically (in the picture) or extrinsically (outside the picture). Examples from the first case are: *contrapposti*; *chiaroscuro* effects, tonal and chromatic contrast (alternating, as Tiepolo is reputed to have said when asked to define painting, "*un charo, un scuro e una mezatinta*"); undulating marks or zig-zag brush strokes to 'encapsulate' movement;[465] strong, 'dynamic' composition grids built on diagonals or obliques slashing across the flat surface; rendering of fleeting atmospheric effects such as tempest or wind, made visible through appropriate subject matter: sails or clothes of people sailing or crossing larger open areas.

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[464] See David Punter *The Picturesque and the sublime: two worldscapes* in S. Copley and P. Garside, eds. *The Politics of the Picturesque*: *Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770* Cambridge University Press, 1994

[465] Gombrich op. cit.

The second, extrinsic type of 'movement-inducing' tricks involved relationships between pictures in pairs or series or relationships between their content and their display.[466] The endless literature *speaking* of movement in painting, often in celebratory terms, or the coining of new expressions or phrasal twists ("*sprezzatura"*, "*colpi di luce*") et c. should not be mistaken for its validation. The movement was *not* there. All pre-cinematographic attempts resulted inevitably in the 'frozen-moment' effect.[467] The rendered image of Venice was immobilised, similarly to the contemporary construct of Venice as an open air museum. Museums today try to 'animate' themselves, striving to come closer to 'real' life, and here the tendency to see Venice "*come monumento e non come movimento*"[468] puts a further perceptual problem. As perceived movement contradicted represented stillness, it appeared unnatural, implying artifice as well as 'staging'.

Furthermore, 'performed' movement requested an audience, hinting at another present-day construct, that as Venice as a 'theme park'. Then and now, success was measured quantitatively, not just qualitatively. While the 'risk' of overcrowding grew with every person coming in, 'new entries' were essential to the validation of whatever attracted people to Venice in the first place. As a result, both success and failure might have been magnified. In this, contemporary leisure-travel has not changed much. For the 18th-century traveller, informed of Venice not through video streams, but through static images of regattas and rowing gondoliers, *commedia dell'arte* representations or balls, all such fragments of suspended movement were heightening interest.[469] One might have been tempted to see for oneself how things 'really' looked like: in movement. Today, more so as time spans between author, artefact and beholder continue to expand, the visitor is expected

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[466] for an example of across practice 'extrinsic' movement, see discussion on Zucchi, Guardi, Canaletto and Wunder-Kammer

[467] The sole function attributed to souvenirs by Gordon, that of 'freezing the moment' would therefore make representational narrative paintings even more affine to souvenirs also at a formal level. Gordon op.cit.

[468] discussion with Giovanni Levi

[469] Implying a desire to get "cognitive closure". Cf Webster, D. M., & Kruglanski, A. W. *Individual differences in need for cognitive closure in Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67(6) pp. 1049-1062 1994; see also Tversky & Kahneman op. cit.

to pause, take in, be guided, as if the pervasive way of visual cognition in Venice and of Venice should be naturally passive, static or in any case, 'mediated' rather than immediate.

People

Venetian *veduta* painting had people in it, no doubt. In terms of human scale of representation, prospect painters used people chiefly as *macchiette*. Narration was essentially indicated through anecdote. Along the lines of anecdotal addition, the inclusion of people was often entrusted to a specialist other than *il vedutista*.

The Italian word conveys some of the semantic load: *macchiette,* literally "small stains", implying that they would be: 1) small enough not to compete with the overall cityscape; 2) added on top of a finished prospect view; 3) with the intent to animate or vary the picture through vivid, often colourful "stains"; 4) unconcerned with fine detail, having little or no psychological acumen or characterising powers.

As depictions of people were equally included to indicate scale[470], they also had the role to bridge the gap between perceived and represented city. Looking at scale variation in the representations of human figures in relationship to their architectural counterpart, the plane of the picture was sometimes organised at the expense of topographical accuracy. Added proof will be brought further to suggest that visual information pointing at human presence was made visible or alluded to in ways consistent with recurrent visual grids[471] and also that architectural features specifically indicating that buildings were inhabited by people (doors and windows) and other elements attempting to 'animate' the pictures (ephemeral constructions or sails) were placed in strategic points of bi-dimensional compositions. This was not a feature typical of Venetian visual production: it was equally encountered in works by artists working for Grand Tour travellers elsewhere in 18th-century Italy. Its origins can

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[470] To this day, architectural drawings add people to convey an idea of the actual size of the project. Clearly, pictorial practice has long been aware of the role of human presence as an indicator of scale. "forse Protagora, dicendo che l'uomo era modo e misura di tutte le cose, intendea che tutti li accidenti delle cose, comparati fra gli accidenti dell'uomo si conoscessero. Questo che io dico che appartiene a dare ad intendere, che quanto bene i piccioli corpi sieno dipinti nella pittura, questi parranno grandi e piccioli a comparazione di quale ivi sia dipinto l'uomo" Leon Battista Alberti *De Pictura* Proposition 18

[471] see discussion in Chapter 10 on 'movement' in Canaletto's work

be traced in the enunciations of human proportions and of canons of harmonious intervals.[472]

Prospect images were shaped not just by preceding culture but also by contemporary social pressure. This led to attempts of connecting landscape painting to the higher genre of historical-allegorical painting, whether lay or religious.[473] Introducing historical narrative without inflating the character's weight in the picture by physically keeping it 'small' was a compromise devised by painters producing works that were still 'grand' in concept, but became increasingly portable in scale. Religious[474] or allegorical views stemming from the practice of the Carracci brothers (reverberating to Salvator Rosa, Poussin and Claude, via Domenichino and to Dutch Italianate artists), either bucolic or heroic, had a classical setting, visually expressed by Italian scenery.

Viewpoint/Angle

One factor leading to *typified* imagery is the limited availability of vantage points, which at the same time inflates the iconicity of views done from those points. For obvious topographical limitations, and unlike Rome or Florence which, surrounded by hills, afforded depictions from commanding positions, Venice had a limited supply of *plein-air* panoramic spots, exception made for tower bell vistas or views from a ship's mast. One the one hand, *none* of these vantage points provided the luxury of zooming in and out of the chosen composition by walking. On the other hand, the proliferation of cartographic images in early modern Venice, a logical extension of the Republic's maritime interests, was such that every other 'complete' view of the island resembled a map more than it did a painting.

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[472] Keith Crithchlow op.cit.

[473]Claude reportedly said that he sold landscapes but offered the figures `for free`, (as if acquiescing to) the figures' role to safe passage toward the next level of pictorial respectability – a vital discourse in the context of 18th-century English civic humanism and the debate on the role of the liberal arts and the status of painters. Boydell *Liber Veritatis* 1777. See before *Vitruvius Britannicus*

[474] Previous clues to the provenance of such practices come from scenes which afford multiple genre assignment: scenes of Jerome in the wilderness for instance, such as those by Joachim Patinir, who inflated rocks studied from life in the studio into ascetic-contemplative mountain scenery, or those by Northern Italian masters like Bellini and Cima.

As views of Venice became more elaborate, documenting urban evolution, a progressive lowering of the viewpoint effaced, to a certain extent, the map-like outlook. Still, unless lexical disambiguation was coming to their rescue viewers aware of the conventions of cartographic representation[475], but ignoring the outline of Venice, would have found themselves at a loss visually distinguishing between Venice, Antarctica, and Atlantis.

The 1500 Jacopo de Barbaro intricate woodcut illustrates this metonymic predicament, by resorting to pictorial convention: the map of Venice is a quilt of disparate *campi* sewn together to give the impression of a whole. It is a collection of aerial views, using multiple perspective to integrate fragments of the city, each seen from the highest available stance (like a well-chosen bell tower, or perhaps the mast of a ship). Had this view been outlined from a single viewpoint, the buildings towards the horizon would have looked much flatter and smaller than they are represented. Observing the rules of linear perspective implied a loss of spaciousness in more distant objects. Daniele Barbaro writes in his *Pratica della Perspective*:

"*Il quarto principio era, che le cose vedute sotto piu anguli, piu certamente si vedono. Et questo si fa manifesto: perche se noi pigliaremo due grandezze eguali, che tra se siano egualmente distanti, delle equali una sia piu vicina all'occhio dell'altra, quella che serà piu vicina, si vederà sotto angulo maggiore, che quella che è piu lontana. Ma l'angulo maggiore si puo partire in piu anguli che l'angulo minore: Adunque la grandezza piu vicina si vederà sotto piu anguli, che la lontana.*"[476]

Though the pyramidal scheme according to which images were formed in the eye has undergone serious revisions since it's early modern theorisations, the perceptual facts remain unchanged. Just under the horizon, distant architectures are optically perceived in a way affine to photographs taken with a telescopic zoom lens (with the difference residing in the amount of detail visually communicated in photographs as opposed to the limited magnifying powers of the human eye). In both cases, loss of contrast and higher tonal key

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[475] Alpers op.cit.

[476] *La Pratica della Perspettiva di Monsignor Daniele Barbaro Eletto Patriarca d'Aquileia, Opera molto Profittevole a Pittori, Scultori, Et Architetti*, In Venetia, Apresso Camillo & Rutilio Borgominieri fratelli, al segno di S.Georgio, 1568, Parte Prima, p.10 ,British Library

contributes to efface architectural contours and create a city-line similar to a bleached and at the same time silhouetted cardboard background. Quite differently from how buildings seen from above look like in de Barbaro's map, the distant edifices, for instance the ones facing Murano, such as Sant'Alvise and Madonna dell'Orto (Figures 28 and 29) would not have been as visible or perhaps not visible at all, had the cityscape been observed almost (if not entirely) from a single viewpoint. Instead, the woodcut shows buildings seen from consistently high observation points well into the distance. Using linear perspective to follow the flow of the orthogonal lines describing the architectures of St Mark's Square, (Fig. 30) and then repeating the operation for other Venetian sites in the upper area of the map (where buildings should be 'furthest'), particularly where the operation is made easier by the presence of *campi* (as they allow to better grasp receding lines at ground level), it is easy to observe that these groups of lines run towards vanishing points situated at *different* levels, which indicates multiple points of observation. This "polaroid-collage" effect[477] dilates perspective precisely because it effects a raise in the general viewpoint, by means of addition.

While one view embracing the whole panorama from above is coherent with the zenith-viewpoint chiefly associated with early modern cartography (Fig. 30a), *several* raised viewpoints emerge as the eye moves to the top of the picture, producing what could be called a *polarised-perspective* effect[478]: every single bird's eye-viewpoint acts as a pole 'attracting' all the surrounding lines organised into architecture, whereas the lines most distant from their pole fall under the attraction of the next, nearest pole, and so on. All these visual tensions connect the poles, while poles competing for attention are scattered throughout the picture. The areas are juxtaposed, but still each polarised area is best enjoyed on its own, allowing for a re-created sense of natural perception: as the human eye cannot encompass too wide a visual field, it 'moves' across it and focuses on successive views.[479] When the eye 'moves' upwards i.e. to the top of the picture, it also 'moves' up towards the horizon. The

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[477] David Hockney *Secret Knowledge: Rediscovering the Lost Techniques of the Old Masters* Thames and Hudson 2001 (on the Ghent altarpiece)

[478] R. Arnheim *The Power of the Center: A Study of Composition in the Visual Arts* University of California Press 1988

[479] Georg Simmel *op.cit.*

buildings appear to recede thanks to controlled scale reduction and, as a result, an overall distancing effect is achieved; yet autonomous details render difficult the perception of the ensemble. Contrary to a 'standard' eye perception from a single observation point, more information can be included by multiplying viewpoints (a constraint turned opportunity), but at the cost of producing a cutout effect.

Jacopo de Barbari's map hints already at what will be one of the strongholds of Venetian prospect painting until Turner: the sea-entrance view to Venice, with the two columns flanking the *Piazzetta*, the *Procuratie* and *Campanile* on the left and the Doge's Palace with the Basilica on the right. It is clearly established as an axis of the entire map: the outlines of the various islands forming the panorama of the city are traced so as to maintain the view of St Marks parallel to the picture plane. This choice of angle is informed by natural perception, where someone contemplating a distant view from a vantage point would instinctively trace (mentally, if not physically) an underlying horizontal line defining sea-level, horizon-level or ground-level. Relief layers would subsequently add up.

The frontal view of St Mark's Square seen through the columns of the *Piazzetta* gradually leaves places to oblique views. These appear already in the 16th-century, for instance in the earlier mentioned "*Veue du Port de Saint Marc de Venise*" by Perrelle and Silvestre.[480] The interest in the oblique angle in the representation of architecture reflects the concern with the 'illusion of depth' and is connected to perspective precepts in contemporary painting treatises.[481]

Variations of this oblique angle views are encountered in compositions serving a celebratory purpose. Formally distinguished thanks to the changing of characters, these standardised cityscapes entitle the story to new protagonists while keeping the 'action' and

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[480] Perrelle, Gabriel, Silvestre, Israël, op.cit. See Figure 1. This view is pasted by Vicenzo Coronelli in 1709 as a view of the *Piazzetta*, with obvious disregard for the dramatic changes in the city's skyline which had occurred in the meantime: the building of the Salute is not included in Coronelli. The limited availability of view points, in this case from the Riva, possibly across from Ponte della Paglia, and the steep perspective of the Procuratie clashes with the running line of the fondamenta. In Silvestre's plate, the edge of Dorsoduro (future location of the Dogana) is indicated by a small tourette, while in Coronelli it is moved to the right so it appears partially hidden by the shaded enfilade of the Procuratie.

[481] Smith considers "Perpendicular -Deceitful Sights", as indicator not of height but of depth variation. See also "Oblique Deceitful sight" in Smith op.cit. p 61 Cap. XXIV *Farther Observations in Perspective.*

'set' unchanged. This is a hybrid form bringing together typified human presence and 'impersonal' urban landscape. 'Impersonal' is here used to say that the view is not composed for, nor significantly affected by the presence of a specific person or group of people. In such views of Venice, the venue played the lead, while people, be they local patricians or foreign diplomats, were extras. Pictures of social occurrences, religious festivals or politically significant events all bore 'ceremonial' weight. Exchanging gifts reinforced at various levels the cohesiveness which defined the Republic's protectionist political approach. In the case of diplomatic gifts, 'ceremonial series' of pictures afforded their makers the reassuring thought of being commissioned.

The narrative was kept unchanged to the point that, considering all paintings falling into the 'diplomatic' category as a group, they appear less as variations on the same theme, and more like multiple originals of the same narrative: the-foreign-ambassador-lands-in-Venice, or the-afternoon-walk-at-St.Mark's.[482] High vantage points offered the opportunity of sightseeing, and given their limited supply in St. Marks, they conditioned visual content.[483] A number of Carlevarijs' 'diplomatic paintings',[484] among which the Receptions at the Doge's Palace of the French Ambassador Abbé Pomponne - painted in 1706, (Fig. 31) the English Ambassador Charles Montagu - painted in 1707, (Fig. 32) or the admission of Archbishop Colloredo - painted in 1726 use a recurring high vantage point, to the right of the main sea-entrance in Venice. The strongly receding lines of the foreshortened *Palazzo Ducale* might indicate the use of a *camera obscura* equipped with a short focal distance lens, or just plain rigid one-point perspective draughtsmanship but, more importantly, indicate the painter's standpoint. The angle suggests a point just off the *Ponte della Paglia*, too offside to think that the view could have been taken from the bridge. The plausible suggestion is that it had been outlined from the deck of a large ship moored parallel to the present-day *Riva*, even if it was later reworked in the studio. By looking at reverse-angle

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[482] On the 'recycling' of antique statues as props in 18th-century Roman portrait practice for a tourist clientele see Craske op.cit.

[483] Richard Garmston esq. diary 1707 in October in Venice BL manuscript - p34 "I went to the top of the Column of S Mark from whence I had a fine prospect of the Adriatic Sea & the City of Venice..."

[484] Susan Tipton *Diplomatie und Zeremoniell in Botschafterbildern von Carlevarijs und Canaletto* RIHA Journal 1 October 2010

depictions (for instance in paired or matching pictures) the presence of a ship can be verified. Several paintings show that often on ceremonial occasions there was indeed at least one large ship to be found in that particular place.[485] It was the *Bucintoro*. A ceremonial ship (a new one had replaced an older version since 1728, and was used uninterruptedly in all its gilt splendour from 1729 to the fall of the Republic), this became a fixture of 18th-century Venetian festive imagery. Canaletto appears to have been commissioned three similar paintings of the new attraction in 1729. His preparatory drawings:[486] one at Darmstadt, and the drawing in The Royal Collection (Fig.65)[487] as well as subsequent paintings (at Moscow, Barnard Castle and also a late, but relevant picture at Philadelphia) place the *Bucintoro*[488] half-way between the *Palazzo Ducale* and the *Palazzo delle prigioni*. In the pair of pictures commissioned for the French Ambassador, the count of Gergy, it can be seen that: in the first picture, the painting of the count's Reception, Canaletto uses the same angle as Carlevarijs; in the second image, depicting a view 180 degrees distant from the first, he places the *Bucintoro* at a point on the *Riva* which plausibly indicates his point of observation for the first picture. Why should this matter?

For one thing, this glittering ceremonial ship[489] was used in festivities that reinforced the image of maritime power propagated by the Republic. Returning from the Lido on the day of *Festa della Sensa*, a day packed with public events, from religious and ritual to commercial,[490] the glamorous *Bucintoro*, covered in gold foil and red damask was harboured in front of the Doge's Palace. That such occasions would have been used to impress foreign

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[485] See ASV exhibition 2017 on the number and type of ships involved in pageants and ceremonial regattas on the Grand Canal

[486] for a discussion on the composition in the preparatory drawing RCIN 907451 in The Royal Collection see Chapter 10 *Canaletto*

[487] RCIN 907451, see discussion on this drawing in Chapter 10 *Canaletto*

[488] Preserving its privileged place even after it had physically ceased to exist, the ship is still used in Turner's turn-back-time vignette for "Venice…" at Tate Britain

[489] See Rosie Razzall and Lucy Whitaker Calso see Black p39 quotes William Freeman who writes in 1729 about the Bucintoro that it was the "richest can be made. Everything gilt above water adorned with exquisite covering and statues and covered with gold inside and out". The Bucintoro experience was described by Edward Southwell as "fine gaudy entertainment" - BL Add 36249, vol 143 and BL Add 47031, fol.191. (note 16 at p39)

[490] Stefano Marson *Allestire e mostrare dipinti in Italia e Francia tra XVI e XVIII secolo*

diplomats is clear. That, thanks to painters in the service of the Serenissima, a particular moment and view (as if aboard the *Bucintoro*) would be divulged, in line with a political agenda, and hopefully become impressed in the memories of representatives of other countries is an equally credible hypothesis. Whether suggested or presented by Venetian authorities, or commissioned by the diplomats themselves, such pictures were effective stately souvenirs. A high vantage point from the sea was common for ships sailing under foreign pavilion with diplomatic credentials to the Republic.[491] This receding one-point perspective of the Doge's Palace became, with Van Wittel, a recurring formula of Venetian cityscape painting in the 18th-century.

An engraving after Pompeo Battoni, a Venetian view coming from a painter with a well-established place on the Grand-tourist Roman map indicates a circulation of motifs, echoing the stay of Carlevarijs in Rome and the presence of Van Wittel in Venice. A politically charged image, it nonetheless offers a view from a slightly lower and more frontal standing point, as if aboard the *Bucintoro*. In fact the view might have been the result of a diplomatic commission.[492] Because it depicts people *in a place*, with criteria of space organisation similar to those of prospect paintings encapsulating depth into a flat surface, it should qualify as a *veduta*. Also a celebratory view, in this case site recognition no longer plays the lead, bot in terms of genre hierarchy and scale of human representation.[493] A small view by Carlevarijs now at Château de Fontainbleau[494] further exemplifies the pitfalls of highly typified visual content. First given to Van Wittel, afterwards attributed to Carlevarijs under the title 'The Reception of the count of Manchester, English Ambassador at the Doge's

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[491] The sight observed from this view-point, overseeing the entrance to Venice, had documented and recollected instances such as the alleged wrong-foot landing of the traitorous doge Falier, or the triumphant repatriation of the willingly forcibly abdicating Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus. See for instance Alvise Zorzi *Canal Grande* Rizzoli Scala 1991

[492] Probably commissioned during the sitter's appointment as ambassador of the *Serenissima* in Rome, the plate favours also allegorical, not just topographical-ceremonial representations. It is an apotheosis in Venetian setting of Procuratore Foscarini, emphasising his accomplishments and qualities as a diplomat: he is flanked by symbolical representations i.e. the helmeted Athena, the olive branch et c. - see *Atlas de Venise* V & A ; the future Doge nurtured literary interests - see *Letteratura Veneziana Libri Otto di Marco Foscarini Cavaliere e Procuratore*...Padua 1752

[493] This view also complies with visual grids: the doge's belt is placed on a harmonious horizontal line.

[494]catalogue Joconde INV 728 ; MR 101 dépôt ; Fontainebleau ; musée national du château

Palace in 1707' it is now considered to depict the exact same moment as Canaletto's painting: the Reception at the Doge's Palace of the French Ambassador comte de Gergy.[495]

Carevarijs' diplomatic pageants share a similar unfolding of the story and virtually identical compositional choices. In terms of subject matter, little effort is made to render unique each picture: new coats of arms, different groupings of characters look more like personalised gift-wrappings or customised colour choices in interior decoration. This may indicate a stereotyped offer, however it could also suggest that demand was aligned to a process of emulation, in which such an image would be part of a Venetian social 'rite of passage.'[496]

If accepting that the exposure given to these pictures was an effective tool to communicate present or past diplomatic appointments in Venice (a thing encouraged by both diplomatic parties involved) and subsequently to viewers at home, such images should be considered as visual 'certificates', no longer mere topographies. Much like letters of accreditation, the difference was that they formalised pose rather than standardising text. Taken away from Venice, they would be reminders of Venice, if only secondary to the political event they recorded. The formalised pose was bound to constrain future representations and testified to a serial process of production. In ensuring that nothing was missing from the successful formula, painters confirmed the legitimacy of every new diplomat`s claims. These pictures assigned to each diplomat a role as honourable as the one given to his preceding peers, while at the same time risked turning him into a boring stereotype of an often (tacitly and intentionally) ignored original. In fact, the complaints made by Canaletto's English contemporaries were mainly rooted in a perceived lack of characterisation[497].

However, while the cliché defining the status of a painter based on how close he

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[495] catalogue exhibition in Padua 1994/1995

[496] Arnold van Gennep *The Rites of Passage* Psychology Press reprint 1960

[497] See for instance George Vertue: Canaletto's English views would be rated as inferior to his Venice vedute precisely on grounds of 'realism', and found wanting in 'taste' because lacking in 'verisimilitude'. See *Canaletto Painting & Drawings* exhibition catalogue at The Queen's Gallery Buckingham Palace Royal Collection 1980-81. Vertue complained specifically about the quality of his painted *figures;* Also see catalogue entry for the exhibition on Pietro the 'other Bellotto' at Ca' Rezzonico Venice.

imitated ‘nature’ or ‘figures’ runs back to antiquity, the criteria establishing the semantic margins of these notions are vapid. “What nature and which reality?”[498] asks Baxandall discussing Cristoforo Landino’s account of Masaccio. Setting aside the dynamics of the art market, demographic and economic factors, the question whether, at the time of Canaletto’s debut, success was due to the fact that his paintings looked ‘real’ or ‘more real’ than those of Carlevarijs, or it was more the result of the fact that they looked different, hence new, cannot receive a definitive answer. Even when painting the same subject, with the same composition and identical art supplies, the differences between two painters exist and are to be found in process.

[498] M. Baxandall 1972, p.119

PART 4

A ratio between art and trade

Cityscapes depicted cities, but also places of encounter between art and trade,[499] expressed cultural affinities, political ambitions and economic interests. On the common ground of 18th-century Grand tourism, they could also be objects of memory. When painting for travellers on their Grand Tour, artists and craftspeople - in Venice as well as elsewhere - had to *adapt* and work quickly.[500] Venetian v*edutisti* dedicated more time to commissions for cultured clients than they did for works sold at the market. This time was used before, during and after the making of the picture: conception, execution, and even presentation - through framing and display. There was however an undisputed minimal amount of skill below which artistic integrity would not descend, especially when competition was fierce. Ideally, time-consuming phases of conception and composition had to be helped by procedures aimed at increasing the chances of multiplication, size variation and transfer of artworks, and in doing so, potentially if not effectively enabling makers and traders to reach wider audiences. How to find a ratio between speed of execution and the "excellency" expected in a picture? One possible answer was *series*.

[499] Appadurai 1996, Donatella Calabi, Paolo Morachiello *Rialto: le fabbriche e il ponte 1514-1591* Einaudi 1987; Paola Lanaro ed. *At the Centre of the Old World: Trade and Manufacturing in Venice and on the Venetian Mainland (1400-1800)*. Victoria University, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2006

[500] Mariette on Rosalba Carriera in Thea Burns op. cit

Series

Were indeed travellers to Venice and painters-makers of souvenirs looking for solutions to a demand for a 'total' Venice? Did the fact that Venice had boundaries made of water, make it easier for tourists to mentally circumscribe it as a whole? Attempts to represent the whole (de Barbari) and the instantly recognisable parts (Toeput) of Venice ran parallel throughout the modern age.[501] What had gradually developed since the 16th-century was their tentative reconciliation, effectively occurring in the form of series.

In an attempt to order vast visual material, I shall provisionally distinguish between two types of series of pictorial souvenirs: *within* and *across* artistic practice. The two categories can overlap: in series *across practice,* that is, across the practice of different artists, the same subject is treated, often in a stereotyped manner; in series *within practice*, one artist attempts to encompass 'the whole' (of Venice) in a succession of partial views not unlike the pieces of a puzzle. In the latter case, the criteria of organisation of these parts were influenced by political and religious factors. Visual guides with claims to exhaustiveness were tributary to a criterion of hierarchy perpetuated in the form of written guides: first came churches, then headquarters of *Scuole* i.e. religiously overseen lay-associations, then public buildings and lastly private patrician residencies.

Throughout the 18th-century, this order loosens up, reflecting social change, and new *thematic* series emerge, building upon a capital of visual interest in what was *typically* Venetian.[502] Between series and single cityscapes the contours begin the blur. One picture could function as metonym for the whole. Auxiliaries to memory, as well as cultural vehicles and catalysts, images of iconic Venetian sites or buildings contributed, as I said, towards the iconicity of the sites themselves. In a series, 'backwater' views relied on the popularity of mainstream sites. Diversifying the visual offer, the former contributed rhythm and variety to the package. However, makers and viewers entrusted iconic *vedute* with the role of standing

[501] Cesare Vecellio op.cit.

[502] Thematic series had existed before, only the theme was religious. For a "lay" example, see later Chapter 10 *Canaletto* the discussion on Visentini's *Isolario Veneto*

for the whole. Local means of water transportation helped providing the setting and subject-matter for iconic images, and new thematic series emerged,[503] as typified imagery increasingly involved local products[504] or experiences. Sometimes, product and experience could merge; Lady Arundel is reputed to have brought back a gondola as a souvenir from her trip to Venice.[505] By the 18th-century typical boats used in Venice[506] could easily call Venice to mind without the need to add iconic architecture into the picture; one beloved painting by Guardi focuses on a solitary boat in the middle of the lagoon. In 1946, Ghyka had observed "the probably subconscious but successful use of the Golden Section in [this] typical Guardi painting":[507] the golden ratio division on the height was used to establish the horizon line. This study is largely written to reply that the use of visual grids was conscious, and involved harmonious horizontal *and* vertical divisions of the plane of the picture, with practical and aesthetic advantages. Structural analysis performed on a relevant selection of painted and engraved *vedute*, caprices or other forms of landscape painting shows that these schemes proliferated at all levels of Venetian craftsmanship, in line with a tradition which united abstract reasoning and practical doing. Both aspects were historically associated with societies that 18th-century Englishmen and women on their Grand Tour regarded as models: ancient Rome and 15th and 16th-centuries Italy.[508]

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[503] see earlier Chapter 2 paragraph *See it to believe it*

[504] Beverly Gordon op. cit

[505] "Lady Arundel witnessed the wedding of the sea in 1622. She brought back a gondola as a souvenir" Peter Burke 1988 p.254 note 25 quoting Hervey *Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel*, Cambridge 1921

[506] Based on a successful production of prints with various types of venetian boats, often documenting celebratory events. See earlier Chapter 8, paragraph *Viewpoint / Angle*

[507] Ghyka op.cit referring to the view of the lagoon now at Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan

[508] See Barrell 1986 and Craske op. cit.

CHAPTER 9

Carlevarijs

"*Fabbriche…*"

In early 18th-century Venice, a series of views stood out in terms of the "effect" it produced upon contemporary practitioners and followers. At first glance, the views in the album *Le Fabbriche, E Vedute…*[509] by Luca Carlevarijs follow each other concerned with topographical accuracy and site-recognition. However, performing a structural analysis of this work will bring visual proof in favour of a different kind of consistency, apt to contain the possibly dispersive effects of variety, and achieve rhythm: the use of visual grids. What does indeed emerge is Carlevarijs' effort to maintain visual consistency in spite of subject matter variation. This cannot be coincidental.

Measurements on the 1703 edition of *Le Fabbriche*, printed by Gio. Battista Finazzi and acquired by King George III with the rest of the Smith collection, were in part repeated on plates conserved at the British Museum and at the Museo Correr in Venice.[510] Differences in size from top to bottom and from right to left occur numerous times in the plates. To verify the intentional use of regular intervals measured on the sides in the pictures' construction, I took measurements of each side of each plate separately and individually.[511]

A note on borders: the measurements consider the inner edges of the engraved plates. Because the ruling in of the outer borders suggests that these framing lines have been added as an ornament, they could not have served as references in the drawing of the geometrical composition. Their lack of intrinsic connection with the plates they frame is shown by the fact

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[509] Luca Carlevarijs *Le fabbriche, e Vedute di Venetia Disegnate, Poste in Prospettiva e Intagliate da Luca Carlevarijs, Venice 1703*. The British Library exemplary, part of the collection of King George III, counts 101 plates. The exemplary at the Museo Corner counts 103 plates. Individual sheets preserved at the British Museum were used for corroboration.

[510] Isabella Reale ed. *Luca Carlevarijs Le Fabbriche, e Vedute di Venezia* exhibition catalogue Marsilio 1995; T. Pignatti & F. Pedrocco, *Disegni antichi del Museo Correr*, Venice 1980

[511] A discussion on the individual plates can be followed in the Appendix. Informal photographs were kindly allowed, however it was not always possible to document photographically the actual measurements.

that at times they are discontinuous, doubled-up, or not meeting at the edges. Occasionally though, even the inner borders are not easy discernible. Possible reasons are: the hatching has been carried across them until the outer border, or the burin seems to have slipped on the plate while it scraped out the metal. Because of the processual construct which enhances self-awareness, as the etcher realises he or she is about to stop (or instinctively slows down), the pressure in the hand varies when approaching the end of the line. This usually occurs in the corners, leading to a lighter, outwards moving mark; following the direction of the line drawing a horizontal or a vertical side. The inner borders of the plates have been taken as reference also because it makes sense to discuss composition *as far* as it extends, therefore consider the picture's established drawn or engraved limits, and not it's mounting which can indeed vary. Outermost borders, visible only in an accidental way, result from the excess of ink pooling along the edges of the plate as it was pressed against the paper. They have an easily identifiable irregular shape and have been entirely ignored, since they only indicate the size of the metallic plates.

Reading the classics

The key detail allowing to establish the intentional use of proportion in the album lies at the lower right corner of the dedicatory page. (Fig.33) Two books are displayed, one of which is open, lying on top of a closed volume. Other paraphernalia at the base[512] of the edifice bearing the cartouche with text corroborate their meaning. On the lower left, a sheet of paper curves over the ledge. The marks on it suggest that it is an architectural drawing with lines receding according to one-point linear perspective, and perhaps even the outline of a *campanile*. This choice of imagery recalls the frontispiece of an architectural treatise.[513] An inkwell, quills and crayon-holders are scattered above the architectural sheet in contrived disarray. Measuring instruments complete the arrangement: a Galilean compass, a pair of dividers, a quadrant. These are tools of the trade; they also carry symbolic meanings.

At a first glance, the arrangement of the books would indicate that these are sources

[512] Richardson op. cit.

[513] See before Godfrey Richards op. cit.

currently in use. One can safely *read* books without 'reading' meaning into the images of those books. What books is then Carlevarijs reading? On the spine of the closed book, the capital letters VITRVIO(U) are distinguishable among hatching lines following the convex shape of the binding.[514] (Fig. 34) The headings of the pages in the open book instead read: "Euclid" and "Third Book." Once more, we have Euclid and Vitruvius. Contemporary iconographical readings attribute to an open book the meaning of "knowledge" i.e. love of knowledge and making it available:[515] in this case, the knowledge of Euclidean geometry and Vitruvian architecture. The series of engravings was published in 1703. To look for corroboration, two contemporary translations of Euclid's *Elements* were used: a Roman edition from 1680,[516] around the time that Carlevarijs set up practice in Venice and a few years before his presumed voyage to Rome took place; and a Venetian edition from 1742,[517] slightly more then decade after Carlevarijs' death. Judging by the number of reprints, both editions have been successful, although with diverse political agendas, since the author of the Roman edition goes to extreme lengths in flattering his foreign patron[518], while the Venetian one seems to reinforce an ecclesiastical monopoly on education in the *Serenissima* Republic. Carlevarijs 'opens' his edition of Euclid at the Third Book; the etching shows a problem of geometry with its illustration. According to the editor Sebastiano Mattei, who writes the introduction to Giordano's edition of Euclid, the Third Book "*manifesta le passioni delle*

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[514] There appear to be pentimenti in the writing, and smaller letters discernible in places beneath could indicate either that Carlevarijs wanted to enlarge the name of Vitruvius to ensure it would be visible, or that he changed a different name into Vitruvius. In both cases, his intention is to render evident the name "Vitruvius."

[515] As opposed to a closed book. See Cesare Ripa *Della nouissima Iconologia…* Padua, Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1625, p.584, where the sealed book held by the allegorical figure of *Sapienza* (Knowledge) stands for occultation and secrecy, and also pp.580-581 for the symbolism of the book.

[516] Vitale Giordano in *EVCLIDE RESTITUITO overo Gli Antichi Elementi Geometrici Ristautati e facilitati da Vitale Giordano da Bitonto Lettore delle Matematiche nella Reale Accademia stabilita dal Re' Cristianissimo in Roma Libri XV Nei quali principalmente si dimostra la compositione delle proporzioni secondo la definizione datane dal suo antico Autore. In Roma, Per Angelo Bernabò. MSCLXXX. Con Licenza de'Superiori*, BN Marciana

[517]Grandi Guido 'Elementi geometrici piani e solidi di Euclide posti brevemente in volgare dal reverendiss. padre abate D. Guido Grandi, In Venezia : per Gio.Battista Recurti, 1742'

[518] Vitale Giordano, op. cit.: the book is dedicated to Louis XIV and the author conjures up Euclid, apparently ready to resurrect from his tomb in Megara to please the French King "*ambizioso di viuere anch'egli con tanti Eroi Letterati sotto gli auspicij di Vostra Maestà"*

rette tirate nel circolo, e degli angoli, ed archi, che contengono."[519] Regardless of the nature of the geometrical demonstration, the two books and their content provide *visual proof* of Carlevarijs' theoretical and practical thinking. They *show* the type of *knowledge* that he considered necessary for a painter of cityscapes and at the same time illustrate what did his practice involve: the answer being, in both cases, geometry i.e. Euclid, and architecture i.e .Vitruvius. What Carlevarijs illustrates is a *metonym*.[520] By pledging that these books condense and govern his entire practice, just as the name of the two illustrious authors epitomise the noble arts they dedicated themselves to, Carlevarijs stands for, and by his practice as, prospect painter. A portrait done by Nazari shows Carlevarijs ostentatiously displaying a pair of dividers in his right hand, while the left hand distractedly rests on a globe. The engraving made by Faldoni after Nazari's portrait adds a written explanation of the claims and interests of the *vedutista* from Udine. According to it, he is a "Venetian painter and outstanding worshipper of mathematics."[521] (Fig. 35)

Compass, dividers and quadrant were also among an architect's tools; they constantly appear on the frontispieces of architectural treatises, from Serlio to Barbaro and Palladio, sometimes in the hands of authoritative sources, as shown on the title page of Jacomo Barozzi da Vignola's *Regola degli cinque Ordini d'Architettura*[522], (Fig. 36) or in Jacopo Bassano's portrait of the Venetian architect Antonio da Ponte.[523] In Raphael's fresco of the *School of Athens* a compass helps identify Euclid,[524] while Giorgione's painting *The Three*

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[519] Sebastiano Mattei al Lettore, id., in the definition "Che cosa sia Matematica e quali sieno le sue parti" we read that Mathematics is divided in "quattro generi di Dottrine, cioè Geometria, Aritmetica, Armonica, ed Astronomia" where "Armonica" is concerned with "discrete quantities i.e. sums comparatively with others, it considers and explains Harmony and the concept of sound" ibid. p.2

[520] A number of Propositions in Euclid's Third Book are mathematical metonyms: how to identify the centre of a given circle; given a segment of a circle, describe the complete circle of which it is a segment et c.

[521] G Faldoni's engraving reads: "mathematicae cultor egregius"

[522] Rome 1562, numerous Venetian editions follow from 1567, often bound together with Labacco's treatise

[523] Paris, Musée du Louvre. See Tracy E. Cooper op.cit. p.15: "In his [da Ponte's] portrait, he is shown with what at once identified his craft, but also linked it to the science of mathematics - a compass"

[524] Christiane L. Joust-Gaugier *Raphael as Intellectual: Paulus de Middlebourg, an Early Pythagorean Model* in *Lezioni di Metodo: Studi in onore di Lionello Puppi* a cura di Loredana Olivato e Giuseppe Barbieri Terra Ferma 2002 pp. 347-351 esp. p. 349

Philosophers shows both the old philosopher-astronomer and the young geometer holding or using dividers.[525] As earlier said, the use of dividers was essential not only in geometry and astronomy, but also in architectural draughtsmanship: it enabled to report the module *ad infinitum* and find subsequent measures of relevant architectural elements. I would like to point out that, in Venice, a maritime economy ruled by a nobility composed of merchants and sailors, compasses and dividers served another practical purpose. The globe on which Carlevarijs rests his hands in Nazari's portrait hints at it. In a maritime republic, instruments such as compasses, dividers, quadrants, squares and straight lines were also tools of navigation[526] i.e. grid-reference-and-map-based orientation. Geometrical and maritime quadrants were almost identically built.

In this dense net of intersecting scientific and commercial interests, Carlevarijs's dedicatory page shows that, thanks to Euclid and Vitruvius, a mathematical solution was found and transmitted to any draughtsman or woman, offering them a key (in this case a pair of dividers and a ruler) to the possibility of serial reproduction of any given subject. As we have seen, this modular principle had applications in rhetoric, as it dealt with sequential composition of content, which allowed to infer the whole from its parts and vice versa.

Dedication

Similarly to the frontispieces for architectural treatises earlier discussed,[527] the *Fabbriche* album displays in hidden plain sight the use of proportional intervals and visual grids. This starts on the dedication page: verticals and horizontals raised from regular divisions on the width W and height H indicate construction lines; in the descriptions that follow they were numbered from left to right and from top to bottom. The ratio between the width and the height of the plate is close to root 2.

The 1/2 vertical divides in two equal parts the concave pediment hosting the coat of

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[525] Testifying to its uses in astronomy and geometry. Götz Pochat *I Tre Filosofi di Giorgione alla luce della filosofia naturale del suo tempo* in *Lezioni di Metodo: Studi in onore di Lionello Puppi* a cura di Loredana Olivato e Giuseppe Barbieri Terra Ferma 2002 pp. 185-196

[526] Daud Sutton op. cit.

[527] see Chapter 5 paragraphs *Palladio* and *Serlio*

arms, while the 1/2 horizontal underlines the heading of the dedication in the cartouche below: *"Al Serenissimo Prencipe Luigi Mocenigo Doge di Venezia."* The distance between the 1/4 and 3/4 verticals indicates instead the breadth of this pedimented structure (Fig. 37). The position of the coat of arms is not accidental: the 1/4 horizontal line coincides with the halving in the heraldic design of Mocenigo family's coat of arms, separating the two tonally contrasting *campi*. Also, the 2/5 and 3/5 vertical divisions and the two golden ratio vertical divisions pick up construction lines on the upper part of the pediment (Fig. 38). It is plausible that the length of the golden ratio segment G1 measured on the height H has been reported on the width W: by measuring G1 on the top of the plate from each of the two upper corners, the small central segment uniting the two resulting points indicates quite accurately the top width of the concave pediment.

The 1/3 horizontal indicates the small uppermost ledge of the pedimented structure, fixing a lower limit for the coat of arms (Fig. 39). The 2/5 horizontal division (from top to bottom, equivalent to 0.6 H) delineates the protruding edge (visible in fig. 39) of the balustrade's ledge. The uppermost (hence more distant) edge of the ledge, separating textual foreground from pictorial background is indicated by the upper golden ratio line (Fig. 40). The line emphasises the panoramic backdrop of Venice. In this distant skyline, the 1/5 vertical division is in line with St. Theodore's column in the *Piazzetta*, while on the right, a tall ship is approximatively placed on the 4/5 vertical. In the lower register, two 'disordered' still-life arrangements with drawing and measuring tools and books are kept in check in a subtler way: the 1/5 and 4/5 vertical divisions mark the extent to which protruding instruments or volumes extend toward the centre of the picture. Their placement echoes the hierarchy expressed in the dedication: as Carlevarijs is obsequiously prostrated, kissing the trimming of the doge's cloak in the final and lowest line of the dedication, so the tools of his art lie at the feet of the ducal coat of arms.

Coincidentally, the lower golden ratio horizontal line hovers around a line of text in the dedication. It reads: "*il somo desiderio di rendere più facile alla notizia de Paesi Stranieri le Venete Magnificenze, quindi è che mi sono veduto in debito di porre in.*"[528] While here this

[528] ibid., title-page

may be unintentional, throughout the album, nonetheless, the same lower horizontal golden ratio line is either indicating a separation between sky and water, as in Plate 22, (Fig. 41) or is placed in accordance with architectural features: for instance in Plates 9, 23, 31, 69, 100, with a preference for underscoring the separation between two orders on the facade of a *palazzo* (usually indicating a balcony or plinth on the first *piano nobile*) in Plates 75, 76, 84, 85, 86, 87, 94; church, in Plate 1 (the balustrade separating domes from portals on St. Mark's facade, Fig. 42a and 42b); or public edifice, in Plate 46 (the two orders on the side of the *Zecca* facing the *molo*). Highlighting foreign travel and local attractions on the dedication page, an invisible emphasis appears in line with Serenissima's celebratory politics of "magnificence".

"*Venete magnificenze*"

When Carlevarijs mentions "Venetian wonders" made available to foreigners, he is aligning his work with a prevailing political discourse, where celebration was used to build and maintain allegiances across the Republic, to claim status and establish foreign alliances. The word "magnificence" in connection to Venice reverberates throughout the modern period, in visual and verbal form, both within the city and in its diplomatic outposts. Its use aims to render superlative not just the image of Venice as a whole, but also its parts, from depictions of people in liveries to gondolas and dinnerware. Descriptions of staged diplomatic events which Carlevarijs' was employed to document,[529] abound in hyperbolic qualifications: "very splendidely", "extremly", "very richly", "very superbly."[530] That the word

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[529] see discussion on Viewpoint / Angle

[530] "Monsieur l'ambassadeur se rendit à vingt et une heure ce qui revient a deux heures aprez midy de France, à l'isle du S.t Esprit [verso] dans un très magnifique appareil sur quattre Gondoles de sa maison [...] La quatrième estoit sans façon et comme celles des nobles venitiens, sa livrée estoit composée de vingt quatre personnes des plus magnifiques et des plus galantes, assortie de bouquets de plumes, dantelles, passements, bas de soie, bandiers à frange, et autres ornements singuliers aux françois qui donnent dans la veue aux estrangers et attirent les yeux de la multitude [...] Après celà Monsieur l'ambassadeur se retira chez luy au mesme ordre qu'il estoit venu, et Messieurs les Sénateurs l'ayant mené dans sa salle d'audiance, vinrent en passant par le portique un magnifique buffet paré d'une très grande quantité de vaiselles d'argent et de beaucoup de Vermeil doré [...]"*Relation de l'entrée de M.r le président de St. André, ambassadeur du Roy a Venise, du 4ee 5eFévrier 1669,* Paris, Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Correspondance Politique, Venise, Vol. 89 [= D'André 1669], fol. 29 ff. in Susan Tipton's "Diplomatie und Zeremoniell in Botschafterbildern von Carlevarijs und Canaletto" RIHA Journal 1 October 2010

"magnificence" had an intrinsic social tenet[531] is proven by its use in the definition of places of display and encounter, such as St. Mark's Square.[532] The translation of Lacombe's *Spectacle des Beaux Arts…* printed in Venice in 1758 defines "gallery" i.e. the place where artworks were exhibited as: "the place that people love to render the most magnificent [in the house]."[533] 'Rarity'[534] was another factor used to reinforce the 'magnificence' claim:

"il Libro serve ad uso, massimo, de curiosi Forastieri, i quali in gran coppia, e di ogni parte concorrono ad informarsi , & osservare le molti eccelenti rarita' , che vi sono in questa Inclita Dominante , così verrò da essi, nel ripatriare portato , e diffuse anco tra le Nazioni più lontane, e tra le Persone più colte , e del miglior gusto."[535]

Coronelli's guide emphasises "rarity" and "excellency" which travellers would find to their "satisfaction" at Venice, but also, seemingly contradictory, quantity: "excellent rarities" were "many". Among visitors from the "most distant Nations", Coronelli selects as his interlocutors the "most cultivated and of the "best taste" as the ones truly able to appreciate and especially to convey, once at home, their experience.

'Venetian magnificence' was not just displayed, it was also exported. The account of the reception of the Venetian ambassadors Querini and Morosini at the court of King George

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[531] In critical discourses of the last decades, the way in which the word "magnificence" was understood in modern Europe has been discussed as including 'showing off' or even callousness. Quoting an anonymous dialogue on the affairs of Genoa where one can read of "spendere cose superflue per dar pena e dolore di cuore a chi non può fare il medesimo" Peter Burke stresses the factor of distinction across and within social groups and asserts that: "magnificence was deliberately sadistic." Manuscript Mss Ital751 f.83 verso Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale quoted in Burke op. cit. pp. 134-135. However, "magnificence" is used by Carlevarijs to stimulate interest, and it cannot be inferred that he was doing other than trying to appeal to travellers, with or *without* conspicuous consumption agendas.

[532] Joseph Addison *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy In the Years 1701, 1702, 1703*, London 1705, p. 85 "Venice has several particulars which are not to be found in other cities, and is therefore very entertaining to a traveller. It looks at a distance like a great town half floated by a deluge. There are canals every where crossing it, so that one may go to most houses either by land or water. This is a very great convenience to the inhabitants for a gondola with two oars at Venice is as magnificent as a coach and six horses, with a large equipage, in any other country". This paragraph is quoted also in subsequent guides, see John Northall *Travels through Italy* London, 1766 where Addison appears in footnote at p.427. At p. 431 Northall goes on to say that, among "Public Buildings.—St. Mark's place or square is a magnificent ornament to the city, and is one of the finest squares in Europe".

[533] "è questo in Architettura un luogo più lungo, che largo a volte, e sfondi, e chiuso da crociate: è questo il luogo, che amasi di far più magnifico, e che arrichiscesi spezialmente co'parti delle Belle Arti, come Quadri, Statue di Bronzo, Marmo, e simili" Lacombe *Dizionario portatile delle Belle Arti…* Venezia Gio Battista Remondini, 1758, p.164

[534] See discussion on the "criterion of exclusivity" in *Introduction*

[535] *GUIDA DE' FORESTIERI O SIA Epitome…*1724 Coronelli, BNM, numerous editions and reprints of this work have succeeded each other since 1697 well into the 18th-century

III is relevant: "[…] *e fu questa la più illustre occasione in cui si spiegò in quella Capitale la Veneta magnificentia, ancorché della medesima grande e fondata fama regnasse colà per la memoria d'altri incontri di quella sorta.*"[536] The "unfolding", literally the "explaining", of the 'Venetian magnificence' on English soil had a stated mnemonic purpose, with the aspiration to become the standard by which future similar occasions were to be judged.

Playing his part in this staged celebration, Carlevarijs produces and documents a particular type of Venetian 'wonders': cityscapes for travellers on their Grand Tour. In his *Remarks…* published shortly after the voyage to Italian between 1701 and 1703, Joseph Addison hints, not just visually, but textually to this programmatic 'magnificentisation' of Venice and to Carlevarijs' etchings:

"[t]he particular Palaces, Churches, and Pictures of Venice, are enumerated in several little Books that may be bought on the Place, which have been faithfully Transcrib'd by several Voyage-Writers. When I was at Venice they were putting out very curious Stamps of the several Edifices that are most famous for their Beauty or Magnificence."[537]

Carlevarijs' album fulfilled the essential role it had been designed to play: to document and to please, and in so doing to assist memory and stimulate the will to travel. Yet it did something more: it supported Carlevarijs' claim to intellectual excellence over manual labour.[538] Referencing 'magnificence' Carlevarijs is aware of mainstream discourses animating intellectual exchange across Europe's cultural capitals, and by claiming to be an expert mathematician he ensures that his output would be regarded as that of a liberal artist.

The precedence given to history painting over landscape painting constituted a

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[536] *Distinta relazione del pubblico ingresso nella città di Londra fatto dalli eccellentissimi signori Tommaso Querini procurator di San Marco e Lorenzo Morosini K. e procurator di S. Marco ambasciatori estraordinarj della Sereniss. Republica di Venezia al re della Gran Bretagna Giorgio III. nel giorno 18. Aprile 1763. e seguenti. [S.l. : s.n., 1763]. IV p. ; 4° BNMVe, Misc. 182.26a* quoted in exhibition ASV 2017… *Rappresentanti diplomatici veneziani alla corte inglese p26*

[537] "The particular Palaces, Churches, and Pictures of Venice, are enumerated in several little Books that may be bought on the Place, which have been faithfully Transcrib'd by several Voyage-Writers. When I was at Venice they were putting out very curious Stamps of the several Edifices that are most famous for their Beauty or Magnificence". Joseph Addison *Remarks…* London 1705

[538] Given that the sweat of one's brow had to be doubled by intellectual effort, as Carlevarijs states in his dedication; see *A Painter's musts and must nots* at the ed of Chapter 2, for the quote.

problem. It reflected a Venetian preference going back to Boschini's dismissive opinion about 'Northern-based' genres such as still-life[539], and was reinforced by more recently restated genre hierarchies, theorised in Félibien's discourses.[540] "Landskip" painters had to find a way out of the list of "appendages."[541] Nonetheless, painters of views ranked higher than painters of still-life. To explain why, the role cityscapes played in enabling people to perform 'mental travel' and transform cityscapes into souvenirs must be considered:

"We are, without doubt, far more obliged to those Artists, who set before us such objects as our imagination cannot readily supply [than to still-life painters]; who place the actions of great men immediately in our view, and imitate even the various passions of the mind ; or who transport the scenes of distant countries into our own, and exhibit to us judicious combinations of the most beautiful objects of nature."[542]

"True" painting was expected to embrace many figures, large compositions and grand narratives.[543] Given the opportunity, Carlevarijs's cityscapes tried to provide all of these.[544]

As we have seen, for Carlevarijs the path to "intellectual" emancipation of the genre of landscape painting led to Euclid and Vitruvius, but also, as we shall see, to Renaissance interpretations of classical architecture by Serlio and Palladio. Visual and textual claims to mastery in mathematics and architecture associated with Carlevarijs' persona needed substantiation; his decision to include the names of architects who, through design and supervision, had shaped the image of modern Venice, provided just that. Though a practical art, in Renaissance Venice architecture was considered as important as rhetoric, music and astronomy. On the title-page of Barbaro's commentaries to Vitruvius, albeit allegorically, Architecture joins Music, Rhetoric and Arithmetics on the upper order of the frontispiece,

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[539] Marco Boschini *Carta del navegar pittoresco* Venice, 1660

[540] André Félibien et al. *Conférences de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, pendant l'année 1667*

[541] Gilpin *An Essay…* ; see before Chapter 2, paragraph *A Painter musts and must nots*

[542] Boydell, Introduction to Claude, *Liber Veritatis* 1777 edition

[543] Boschini op. cit.

[544] see Chapter 8 paragraph *Viewpoint / Angle*

supported by Geometry and Astronomy.[545]

The architects enumerated in Carlevarijs' plates not only had a historical connection with Venice: their names also held a strong appeal for Grand Tourists. Carlevarijs' plates re-enact not so much the physicality of the Venetian *palazzi* depicted in the album, as the process of their *conception*. Architecture in modern Europe was planned on paper and this is how Carlevarijs' images look.

While the enumeration of these names was in itself a patriotic connoisseurship test of Venetian history *and* of architectural practice, it was also a form of circular endorsement of Venice and of the 'Venetian-ness' of Carlevarijs' work. The fact that Carlevarijs was able to draw i.e. to design "*le prospettive*" of the palaces previously designed by Serlio, Sansovino and Palladio was proof that he understood the ways in which these architects *thought* and how they projected their thoughts on paper, using ruler and compass. However, creating a textual connection between a prospect painting or architectural drawing and the author of the architecture depicted in it was, I argue, not just revelatory of Carlevarijs' interests or, perhaps, ambitions, but a means to visually *authenticate* them. How so?

Carlevarijs includes the architect's name in capital letters in the central caption under each respective plate, while his own name is inscribed in smaller letters at lower right. One cannot know how much this decision in the layout was due to self-effacement, intended as a good strategy for a successful sale or calculated to suggest shared authorship. The visual facts are: more than half of the plates specify the architect's name; Italian language is read from left to right, which means that the reader's eye moving towards the right from the text "*Architettura di…*" will first read the architect's name and then effortlessly encounter the name "*Luca Carlevarijs del. et inc.*" (delineated and incised); Carlevarijs' name, written in Italics, hence inclined in the direction of reading, is the last thing one sees before turning the page of the bound album, naturally lifting up the lower right corner.

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545 545 Daniele Barbaro op. cit. 1556, 1567; see also Tafuri *Daniele Barbaro e la cultura scientifica veneziana dell '500* in *Cultura, scienza e tecniche nella Venezia del Cinquecento* Venice 1987 pp. 55-81; added emphasis comes from a recent critical discourse which considers Palladio and Barbaro responsible for introducing a *scientific* approach to architecture based on "established principles of knowledge" - see Tracy Elizabeth Cooper op.cit, p15-16; see also Margaret Muther D'Evelyn op.cit.

The most frequent name of an architect whose edifices Carlevarijs depicts is, unsurprisingly, Andrea Palladio. His name appears on nine plates (Plates 3, 6, 8, 9, 27, 36, 59, 71, 80), each time written correctly, the formula "*Architettura di Andrea Palladio*" (or "*Architettura d' Andrea Palladio"*) appears at times abbreviated to "*Architettura Palladio*", implying that the name was well known both to Venetians and those travelling to see its wonders. Baldassare Longhena's name also appears nine times.[546] However, it is written "Baldisare Longena" or with four other different orthographies : Baldissera, Baldasera or Baldisera, Longena, or longena (Plates 4, 16, 33, 66, 78, 79, 97-99). One cannot but wonder if Longhena's dramatic architectural alternations of masses of light and shade[547] were putting both Carlevarijs's linear approach to etching and spelling patience to the test. In the case of Sansovino (Plates 12, 34, 41, 51, 72, 74) the formula is "*Architettura Sansovino*", a household name for a maker of vedute in 18th-century Venice, since his work was quoted by Palladio himself, as was Michele Sanmichieli's (who's edifices appear in Plates 73, 75 and 92, spelled S.Michiele in the last two). Sebastiano Serlio is mentioned on Plates nos. 37, 76, 77.[548] Other architects' names are specified in the following Plates: Giuseppe Sardi (10, 15, 35, 40, 88, 89), "Vicenzo Scamozzio" (45, 65, 85) Andrea Cominelli (90), Allesandro Tremignon (14, 28, 64) Antonio Bregno (53), Giuseppe Beloni (60), Leonardo Bramante (13), Angelo Procaccio (86), Lodovico Lombardo (81), Antonio Gaspari (93), Bartolomeo Manopola (100), Francesco Smeraldi (2) and "Mastro Bono Proto di S. Marco" (44). A mention must be made of plate 70, *Palazzo Contarini a S. Samuele* (nicknamed "*delle Figure*"), where the architect's name is written "Samuele" (sic!), rather than the presumed name of the architect;[549] an error perhaps due to the fact that, in the final stages of production, captions were entrusted to studio assistants. *Pentimenti* in the outlines of architectures could also be seen as an indication of haste.

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[546] a tenth time in plate 103, added in subsequent editions

[547] Ackerman op. cit.

[548] Scuola di S. Rocco / Palazzo Grimani Sopra Canal Grande / Palazzo Balbi

[549] given alternatively to Abbondi, a follower of Codussi, with hypothetical interventions by Palladio himself - see Marcello Brusegan, *I Palazzi di Venezia*, Roma, Newton & Compton, 2007, pp. 69-71

Composition and order

While mark-making and shading test the self-acknowledged limits of Carlevarijs' burin handling, attempts to achieve subtle pictorial effects such as reflected light, overlapping layers of lit and dark clouds, or gesticulating figures appear curbed by his schematic-organising approach to drawing. His compositional choices are simple: the takes are often perfectly frontal, with the picture setting off porticoes and facades. This is a recurring trait; plates are entitled after churches or palazzi and the centrality of the subject matter is reinforced by the fact that Carlevarijs based his *vedute* on the facades of protagonist buildings. This choice had at least two immediate advantages: firstly, a frontal representation of an ornamented surface was easier, and therefore faster to complete, secondly, it enhanced the viewers' ability to recognise the site.

Frontal views occur from the beginning of the album: St. Marks Basilica in Plate 1, *S. Giorgio Maggiore* in Plate 6, *San Salvador* in Plate 10, *S. Giminiano* in Plate 12, *S. Zacaria* in Plate 13, *S. Giustina* in Plate 16, *S. Giuseppe* in Plate 18 et c. Even in views which heighten the use of linear perspective in order to provide a sense of tridimensionality, this is rather achieved by including a receding wall, usually shaded, in order to create the illusion that the building continues in-depth, than by changing the chiefly frontal viewpoint of the facade.[550] This can be clearly seen in Plates of the *Redentore* (3), of *S. Maria di Nazareth* (*Scalzi*), (11), of *S. Maria Zobenicho* (Giglio), (15), or of the church of *Madona de Miracoli* (17); In Plates 9 S. *Francesco Della Vigna*, 19 *Spirito Santo,* 20 *Gesuati* and 98 *Palazzo Morosini a S. Cantiano,* the left and right wings of the facade have the exact same measurements, indicating that the view is in fact frontal, and that therefore the presence of a steep shaded recess wall visible on one side is not logical, but functional : a trick to suggest depth.[551]

Was the intent of emphasising the album as an 'export item' textually advertised and topographically illustrated, or was it also visually codified by means of pictorial *abstraction*? It makes sense to think that Carlevarijs had used all means available to him, including the prominently displayed compass (indispensable to establish a golden mean), to organise visual

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[550] compare and contrast for instance, with Canaletto's large scale capriccio RCIN further discussed

[551] See also André Corboz, *Canaletto, una Venezia immaginaria* Milano Alfieri Electa 1985, especially the discussion on M. A. Rupprecht's *Veduta panoramica di Venezia,* pp. 110, 139, tav. 115

content in the most compelling way possible. In order to reinforce site-associated memory, condensing it in an object significant of Venice, image was essential. Memories of smells and sounds of Venice could not be taken-away exactly as they occurred, that is, sensorially stimulated; besides, subsequent visual representations of olfactory and auditive sensations were highly subjective, while architecture enabled recognition based on visual perception of shape. Concerned with the sense of sight, architecture was designed to last, and its physical appearance changed at a much lower rate. A series of views seemed more apt to express time, by allowing to reflect on duration. Turning pages was a *time-consuming* activity which implied the impossibility of embracing the whole and, at the same time, it was a physical, however subdued, substitute for movement through space.

It may be farfetched to look at an album containing just over 100 engravings as an invitation to encompass or 'signify' Venice in its entirety.[552] On the one hand, the fact of signing each plate, apart from establishing authorship - and hopefully inhibiting the practice of unauthorised reproductions - facilitated operations of selection, rearrangement and purchase of a single plate. On the other hand, numbering each page instantly signalled that these sheets were *parts* of a whole, meaning, firstly, that a metonymic process occurred, in which a single engraving would connect to the whole album, while they would both be reminders of Venice; secondly, that those who did not have the entire collection, *only* had a part - a marketing tool stimulating the instinct of possession and the collecting vein in all potential acquirers, and implying that parts were purposefully arranged into an ensemble *in order to* be bought and enjoyed as a whole.[553]

This order of 'building' the city picture-by-picture allowed for a 'virtual tour' of its topography. Compositional schemes reappear throughout the album and this provides a sense of familiarity: the scenery changes with each new page turned, yet the eye is frequently drawn towards known 'latitude and longitude' points.[554] Moreover, the sense of order is

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[552] A discussion with Professor Giovanni Levi helped refined this point

[553] psychological studies of collecting and the emphasis on completeness, not just uniqueness of a series

[554] A rule typical of "smooth" cinematographic editing requires that the cuts between consecutive shots be softened by maintaining the point of interest unchanged, while subject matter, angle or lens may vary.

intrinsic to each picture in part and to the album as a whole. Corboz noted that Canaletto was careful to order the views of his *Prospectus…* in a logical topographical succession, moving to and fro Rialto bridge:[555] a reference point occupying both the centre of the city and the centre of the album. I suggest that Canaletto resorted to the same narrative trick devised by Carlevarijs forty years beforehand. Carlevarijs had in fact ordered his plates in the *Le Fabbriche…* around the pivotal areas of St. Marks and the Rialto bridge. Among the 101 plates of the first edition, the 18 central views (with number 50 in the middle), and numbered from 42 to 59 are, respectively, depictions of (today, virtually unchanged) iconic sites: the Square - Plates 42 to 46; the inner *cortile* of the *Palazzo Ducale* - Plates 47 to 53; the Mint - 54; the Prisons - 55; the Rialto bridge and area - Plates 56 to 59.

Plates could circulate individually, in pairs, or in small thematic or site-centred series. In fact, across the album, two *consecutive* views respond to each other on several occasions. Perhaps the idea of having all the images bound into a *whole* had been catalysed by the verified success of some of its *parts*. Plates 42 *Veduta della Piazza di S. Marco Verso S. Giminiano* and 43 *Veduta della Piazza verso la Chiesa di S. Marco* are examples of a recipe which became highly successful throughout the 18th-century: pairs of pictures from opposite view-points; the painter's standing point remained unchanged,[556] with one view focusing on content placed at 180 degrees from the content of the other. Such pairs of views succeed each other topographically and logically. Views could share the optical axis but differ in the direction of looking: Plates 46 *Veduta della Piazza di S. Marco Verso l'Horologio* and 47 *Veduta Della Piazza di S. Marco Verso il Canale* are such a pair: if considering the viewer standing in the point A, looking toward the vanishing point V, then Plate 46 shows a view on the axis AV, while Plate 47 offers the reverse VA sight. When no site connection could be made, there would still be a way to produce a pair of views: by mirroring their compositions. In Plate 15 *Chiesa di S. Maria Zobenicho Architettura di Giuseppe Sardi* the vertical golden ratio line on the right establishes the central axis of the church; while in the next Plate, no. 16

[555] André Corboz, op.cit.

[556] see discussion in Chapter 11 *Contemporary competition* paragraph *Zucchi*

Chiesa di S. Giustina di Monache Agostiniane Architettura di Baldissera Longena, the golden ratio vertical line on the left side indicates the centre of the facade.

Macchiette

Starting the album with a view of St. Mark's, Plate 1 *Veduta della Chiesa Ducal di S. Marco*, Carlevarijs observes ecclesiastical and political hierarchy. A variety of people, gears and poses, spanning from Western European to 'Oriental' fashions mix into the image of a place of travel. Echoing the dedication, the cosmopolitan flair is reinforced by types of exchange other than commerce: beggars imply the affluence of rich people,[557] maps, held out or pointed to, illustrate the exchange of information. Beggars are depicted also in other views of St. Mark's area: in Plate 45 *Procuratie Nove in Piazza di S. Marco Architettura di Vicenzo Scamozzio,* in Plate 48 *Veduta del' Palazzo Ducale Sopra la Piazza*. Their presence in central areas reachable by foot[558] confirms the iconic status of these sites, attracting travellers and people hoping to benefit from their visit.

To Carlevarijs' credit, social interaction is not always depicted with a favourably bias, as it would be plausible in a document of the "*Venete magnificenze*". There are, surely many Venetian patricians followed by clerks, scenes of trade and entertainment. Notwithstanding these, it is possible that Carlevarijs had aimed at rendering a subtler, more credible image of the city, and counteract the mistrust of travellers confronted with too obvious a clash between *reception* and *perception*. Contemporary sources offer little insight into the modes of thinking about the city's travel-safety warnings, as descriptions vary substantially from case to case. One cannot infer that positive bias was consistently equated with truth nor that it was dismissed as tourism propaganda. Clearly, 18th-century Venetian narratives intended for Grand tourists were tailored with all the trimmings: "*[t]utto si attrova in Venezia in abbondanza , in perfecione , a buon prezzo a comodo degli Abitanti , che godono ogni*

[557] On the presence of beggars in modern Italian cities see G. Levi *Centro e periferia di uno Stato assoluto. Tre saggi su Piemonte e Liguria in età moderna* Rosenberg & Sellier 1985

[558] as well as in places where the religious tenet associated with alms was higher i.e. *campi* around the entrance to a church.

felicita' nel governo. nel vivere , nella mercatura , nella temperie dell'aria, e nella sicurezza delle loro sostanze" declares reassuringly one of the most heavily republished guides.[559] Still, according to contemporary accounts, thefts in modern Venice were not rare,[560] facilitated by the frequent public gatherings and the commercial hustle-and-bustle. Plate 44 *Prvcvratie Vecchie Architettura di Mastro Bono Proto di S. Marco* focuses on a street (or 'square') show. The frequency of such shows is suggested in Plate 48, which depicts two competing street performances occurring simultaneously. Costumed characters of the *commedia dell'arte* were diffused and rendered iconic across Europe by travelling actors. In Plate 44, a storyteller and musicians accompany the performance. For natives and foreigners alike, theatrical performances held in *campi* constituted an attraction and a distraction; engrossed audiences provided a theatre of operations where pick-pockets played their part. Another occupation relying on the presence of travellers was selling refreshments. Here, a street-seller offering food or drinks to spectators is either paying too much attention to the intrigue or simply waiting for the performance to end, unaware that a youngster's hand is in his basket. Was Carlevarijs mirroring the story onstage, extracting moralising lessons from base entertainment?[561] Paying attention to the human scale of *participation*,[562] not only of representation, Carlevarijs is rarely going beyond the anecdotal, in order to avoid losing sight of the overall picture,[563] where all the parts, *macchiette* included, had to fall into place. He is careful to include enough 'mainland' entertainments, ensuring that enough interest would remain for the walkable city, whenever the absence of regattas and processions on the Grand

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[559] Coronelli ...p 28-29

[560] see Peter Burke *Historical anthropology of early modern Italy* 1988

[561] Images of contrived or tamed exoticism intended for travellers dwelled on the figure of the thief (or later '*brigante*'), often introduced with a didactical intent, echoing iconic examples of pickpockets, perceived as both outlaws and outsiders, which had populated early modern Italian pictures. Linda Wolk-Smith quotes Martin Clayton Edinburgh 2003 on the meaning of the RCIN 12495 Leonardo drawing. Inscription on the back of the page - admonishment about being surrounded by enemies and the potentially more dangerous situation when one believes to be surrounded by friends. I am grateful to Martin Clayton for a discussion on this drawing, which he suggests illustrates Lomazzo's reference to Leonardo entertaining peasants with wine and asking them to sit for him. Earlier pickpocket scenes appear already in a tapestry from 1420. See *Bohèmes* exhibition at the Grand Palais Paris 2013, and the article in Apollo. Thank you to Martin Clayton for this discussion. See also Matthew Craske op. cit

[562] By which I mean both participation in the visual narrative and in the visual composition.

[563] see discussion on Diplomatic series in *Angle / Viewpoint* and also discussion in Canaletto - scale of representation - figures from the back

Canal kept travellers ashore. such examples are theatrical representations in St. Mark's Square appearing in Plates 44 and 48, music making in Plate 32 *Campo S. Maria Formosa*, bull-chasing in Plate 31 *Campo S. Maria Formosa* or open-air painting exhibitions with a religious agenda such as the one depicted in Plate 37 *Scuola di San Rocco*. In Plate 96 *Palazzo Pisani a S. Stefano,* in front of the *palazzo*, a scene of outdoors entertainment is in full sail: a traced pitch, squared and circled, shows that geometry also had enjoyable benefits in 18th-century Venice: it literally ruled between two teams playing ball.

Proportional divisions

Geometry ruled first and foremost architectural elements, and Carlevarijs organises them into the plane of the picture in accordance to visual grids of horizontal and parallel lines dividing its sides into harmonious intervals. They are consistently and, therefore, intentionally used. Plates 23 *Chiesa di SS. Gio. e Paulo di Padri Predicatori* [inscribed on the left *1. Scuola di S. Marco*], 39 *Veduta della Scuola di S. Marco* [inscribed on the left *1. Chiesa di Ss Gio. e Paulo 2. Statua equestre di Bartolomeo Coglioni*] and 48 *Veduta del' Palazzo Ducale Sopra la Piazza* suggest the use of golden ratio horizontals to indicate the height of pedestals supporting public statuary:[564] in Plate 23, the small base of the platform at the top of the pedestal supporting Verocchio's equestrian statue of the *condottiere* Bartolomeo Colleoni is situated on the lower horizontal golden ratio line, (Fig. 43) while the same platform of the same statue is indicated in Plate 39 by the upper horizontal golden ratio line (Fig. 44); the height of the capital supporting St. Marks lion in Plate 48 is also established by the upper horizontal golden ratio line (Fig. 45). The iconic status of St. Mark's column was undisputed, and Verocchio's statue of Colleoni also qualified as a "Venetian magnifcence", given Carlevarijs' specific mention of the statue in the caption of Plate 39.

Along with divisions of the sides in mean and extreme ratio, regular divisions also regulate the compositions of views in the album, similarly to title-pages of treatises of

[564] see further Chapter 10, discussion on Canaletto's drawing RCIN 907441

architecture whose authors Carlevarijs visually quotes, by depicting the edifices they projected. A few examples follow.[565]

A grid based on dividing the sides in quarters would constitute the closest equivalent to basic squaring, excepting the case when it becomes a tool to organise content - in which case, I argue, it is a visual compositional grid. Finding the centre of a segment required simple geometrical operations, and a further halving of the halves was easy to perform. Aside from the dedicatory page, divisions in four equal parts of the sides were used, for instance, in the composition of Plates 18, 81, 39, and 88: in the latter, the lower 1/4 horizontal establishes the horizon level (Fig. 46) i.e. the separation between the lagoon and the distant skyline of the Dolomites, visible on a clear, dry day. As it will be further shown, divisions in fourths used to compositional intent appear in Canaletto's practice.[566]

The division in thirds, also seen on the dedicatory page, is evident in the structure of Plate 89 *Palazzo Savorgnan in Canal Regio Architettura di Giuseppe Sardi*, where the 1/3 and 2/3 verticals indicate the orders on the palazzo's facade; this plate shows Carlevarijs' modular thinking: the breadth of the entrance from the *fondamenta* is suggested by measuring 1/3 H from each of the palazzo's corners, while the smaller edifice on the right side of the palazzo is also 1/3 H wide. (Figures 47, 48a to c and 49)

Divisions in five equal parts of the base provide regular vertical intervals in Plate 91 *Palazzo Mocenigo a S. Stae, Sopra il Rio* (Fig. 50): counting from left to right, 1/5 vertical line indicates the inner limit of the small building on the left, 3/5 suggests the vertical axis on the right hand side of the facade of Palazzo Mocenigo, 4/5 is the vertical line separating the facade from the lower *palazzo* on its right. Division in fifths also appear in Canaletto.[567] Regular divisions in six parts appear in Plate 81 *Palazzo Grimani A' S. Polo Architettura di Ludovico Lonbardo:* the water level is indicated by the lower 1/6 horizontal. Looking from left to right, the 1/6 vertical indicates the left edge of the two storeys edifice on the left side of the palazzo, and, in the lower register, the right edge of the wall separating the

[565] See *Appendix* for detailed descriptions of the plates

[566] See Chapter 10 *Canaletto*, and Figures 62 to 64

[567] See Chapter 10 *Canaletto*, discussion on Plate 9 of the album *Feste dogali*

hidden courtyard from the canal. The 2/6 vertical line is the left edge of the windows on both orders of the facade of *Palazzo Grimani;* 5/6 vertical is the central axis on the facade of the taller palazzo on the right side, here, the horizontal lower 1/4 coincides with the plinth: the same line is continued on the facade of *Palazzo Grimani*.

Divisions in sevenths are exemplified in Plate 80 *Palazzo Cucina Sopra il Canal Grande. Architettura d'Andrea Palladio*: the water level is placed at 1/7 of the height, while 3/7, 4/7 and 5/7 provide construction lines distinguishing between the orders on the palazzo's facade.

Divisions in ninths can be seen in the earlier mentioned Plate 23. Looking from top to bottom, the height of Colleoni's statue is 5/9 measured on the height, while the height of Scuola di San Marco on the left is 2/9. The height of the dome (the top of the lunette continued with the star) is 3/9 H i.e. 1/3 H.

Divisions in 11 equal interval on the sides are encountered in Plates 6, 26, 50 and 87. In Plate 87 *Palazzo Valier in Canal Regio*, aside from a plausible golden ratio grid, the central pediment surmounting the *piano nobile (*on which a stunning succession of fourteen arched windows is displayed) is flanked by the 4/11 and 7/11 vertical divisions. In Plate 6 *Chiesa di S. Giorgio Maggiore* (Fig. 51), dividing the height H of the plate into 11 equal parts and counting from top to bottom we have the following proportions: the 2/11 H indicates the ledge of the *loggiato* of windows in the campanile; 3/11 H suggests the base of the dome and height of the pediment on the facade;4/11 H coincides with the separation line between the architrave and the frieze on the frontispiece's portico; 5/11 H indicates the height of the convent on the left and also the base of the *cartiglio* above the main door ; the horizon line precisely placed on the 7/11 H division, which also indicates the height of the plinth running at the base of the pedestals on the Palladian facade (Fig. 52a); 10/11 indicates the base of the foot of the character standing on the right in the foreground (Fig. 52b). Horizontally, the inner vertical edges of the inner columns of the giant order on the facade appear flanked by verticals 5/11 and 6/11.

A digression on Plate 6 is worth making to discuss Carlevarijs' gifts as *vedutista*. Palladio's architecture of *San Giorgio* is referenced in his *Quattro Libri.* That this Venetian

building held an iconic appeal for English Grand tourists, as an example of Palladian architecture reaching also people from the upper working class already by the 17th-century,[568] is something Carlevarijs was obviously aware of. Looking from St. Mark's basin at the height of the *Giudecca* canal, this is a rare occasion in the whole album when the viewpoint taken from the water, at ship (or *zattera)* level, is clearly stated: whomever has been to Venice *knows* that, in order to have this image, the viewer has to be onboard a boat. This effect is largely due to the shadowed foreground provided by two characters seen from the back, detaching themselves against the lighter background, as they stand on the elevated wooden deck. The high viewpoint reflects social hierarchy: the upper-class outfit qualifies the two men to oversee two other silhouettes appropriately placed beneath them, busy uploading or unloading packages between the deck and the boat. An animated foreground immersed in the shade enhances the suggestion of sunlit stone and the architecture's highest tonal pitch is reserved from the light tint of the paper.

Characters turning their back on the viewer while 'facing' the view will become increasingly successful visual tropes throughout the 18th-century. Figures pointing to distant, real or ideal, classical landscapes, themselves travellers while inviting travel have been present in Italian painting since the 16th-century.[569] They will appear in works by Canaletto[570] and be subsequent employed by Romantic landscape painters.[571] The composition of this frontal view can be compared with a *capriccio* by Canaletto at the British Museum.[572] In terms of angulation, linear and tonal composition, Carlevarijs' engraving is designed to reinforce eye-travel from foreground to background. The "effect" pursued by stimulating this kind of directed gaze will be discussed further.[573] Here, the point of observation is slightly higher than that of the two standing figures. If, according to

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[568] W. Salmon the cited BL manuscript

[569] see Pittoni's series of Roman engravings BNM

[570] See detailed discussion on the Canaletto's Capriccio RCIN 7564 in The Royal Collection

[571] Caspar David Friederich *The Wanderer over The Sea of Fog*

[572] BM *A Capriccio with S. Giorgio and a Baroque steeple*

[573] see in Chapter 10 *Canaletto* the discussion on *Plate XIII Nauticum Certamen cum Prospectus ab Aedibus Balborum ad Pontem Rivoalti*

convention, the viewer's standpoint is equidistant from the picture's edges i.e. the gaze is perpendicular on the picture's central axis, then, as it pans to the edges, the two pairs of figures (upper and lower in terms of both social status and position in the picture) appear equidistant from the central axis, as they are situated in accordance with regular vertical divisions taken on the width W, about 2/5 W and 3/5 W. In each of the two pairs, the character closest to the centre of the plate is also closest to the corresponding golden ratio vertical line, left and right. The fact that Carlevarijs (instinctively?) characters, not only architectural elements, according to visual grids can be explained through constant use as well as through the fact that he ponders all visual elements when composing a picture.[574]

The rather unique case of two consecutive views which succeed each other not just chronologically but also in terms of *visual narrative* concludes the structural analysis of the album. The sequential attention in the treatment of Plates 93 *Palazzo Zenobio Sopra il Rio Del' Carmine Architettura di Antonio Gaspari* and 94 *Altra parte del' Palazzo Zenobio*. is probably imparted by the role played by the Zenobio family in Carlevarijs' life. Perhaps this is the only instance in the whole album when the suggestion of a family is so compelling. In Plate 93, the animated group on the *fondamena,* two gentlemen, two ladies and children are shown about to embark on a gondola. Plate 94 literally offers the reverse view of the palazzo *and* of the previous plate. Under the shaded *sottoportego,* the position of the main entrance from the *fondamenta* on the "*altra parte*" is visible, and one can catch a glimpse of the canal-facing sunlit view, framing two characters *en contre-jour* as they walking away as if to join the group on the previous page.

Plate 94 has a wonderful sense of depth achieved through various means: linear perspective, tonal and scale variation, attention to detail in the rendering of subject matter. Related to Campbell's design of Castle Howard[575] in its combination of frontal perspective typical of an architectural elevation and topographical *veduta,* it is also a rare garden-view in

[574] As demonstrated by his practice of making sketches of people, in black chalk - BM, or even small oil studies - V & A.

[575] See *Vitruvius Britannicus*

an almost 'tree-free' series.[576] Gardens were private in Venice[577] and access to them was reserved to illustrious guests, close friends and, understandably, as the picture itself illustrates, gardeners. Presumably Carlevarijs had done the view to please his stoutest supporter, Pietro Zenobio, and also draw interest to a "hidden attraction". He could have also been attuned to the raising interest in landscape design, a common trait of 18th-century European travellers to Italy. The visual grids organising the content of the plate testify to the careful process of conception of this composition. The lines uniting corresponding intervals on opposite sides, particularly divisions in three and five parts on the sides and golden ratio points (Figures 53 to 55) are here used to build the architecture itself, both horizontally and vertically, as if by mirroring imaginary receding threads that wove the intricate Venetian damask-like design of the garden-parterre arranged according to the 'French' taste.

The last[578] plate in the *Fabbriche…*is Plate 101 *Palazzo Vendramino alla Giudecca*. The fact that the itinerary of travellers leaving Venice usually included the Giudecca canal could explain this choice. The view is appropriately conveying a sense of imminent departure. On the canal reigns a regatta mood, with sails scattered in an accentuated scale recession on a right-left ascending line. This attempts to balance the effect of architectural lines which run in one-point perspective towards lower right. For increased "*effetto*" Carlevarijs merges atmosphere and architecture, overlapping the sun with the main vanishing point. The rays of the setting sun unfold in a fan-opening sway from the vanishing point of the architecture, as they filter diagonal lines in the guise of rays piercing horizontally hatched layers of clouds.

Carlevarijs' series of engravings, with their dry treatment of line, giving an illusion of precision even when they lack precision, are to their viewers in the same ratio as their drawn architectural elements are to their physical architectural counterparts: schematised openings suggesting depth, not only surface, but also rhythmic successions of lines and shapes

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[576] With the exception of Plate 8 showing the chiostro of San Giorgio, and of Plate 103 (added in the subsequent editions of the *Fabbriche…*), which documents the garden of "Casino Zanne."

[577] Martina Frank *Lodewijk Toeput e la tipicità del giardino veneto* in Le due Muse. *Scritti d'arte, collezionismo e letteratura in onore di Ranieri Varese,* Ancona, Il lavoro editoriale 2012, pp. 235-243

[578] in the bound album which was part of Consul Smith's collection

allowing to experience time while embracing space. The richness of visual data is sometimes at odds with the lack of graphical assuredness, though the latter could be due not only to Carlevarijs' limited experience as an engraver, but also to time constraints. The overall uneven 'finish' testifies that the album evolved, perhaps as the request for a particular view persisted and the need for variants or improvements emerged. Process-related aspects, such as hasty mark-making, and content-related aspects, for instance *pentimenti* and unfinished details show that putting the album together was not the outcome of lengthy planning, but rather ensued from the pressure of the art-market i.e. the need to outwit competitors.

However, and against superficial judgement made under the false assumption that it is faster, hence easier, to draw without having an underlying structure, at no time did the constraint of time lead to ruling out compositional grids. This suggests that such grids were thought to speed up, rather than slow down, simplify, rather than complicate process. Even if detail and finish are undecidedly suspended half-way between the ability to embrace the whole, and the impulse to turn the page, this turns out to be the greatest strength of a collection of engravings meant for recollection. It is an album, in every respect.

A direct connection between early modern Venetian visual culture and Carlevarijs' series of Venetian engravings is therefore clear. The analyses of the plates have shown that Serlio's and Palladio's interpretations of Vitruvius and the use of proportion in their architectural drawings provided a critical model and *also* direct visual inspiration for Carlevarijs, who visually expressed this auspicious lineage by shaping his *vedute* in line with compositional grids. Carlevarijs' humanistic approach to the classical past, Euclidean and Vitruvian, and its Palladian interpretations, makes the plates conform to pre-determined formulae rather than respond to direct observation, as if asserting that untrained eyes were unable to *see*. In his *Fabbriche…* Carlevarijs indeed paints Mathematics as he understands it.

CHAPTER 10

Canaletto

Painter of architecture

The cultural construct of Canaletto's topographical faithfulness in his Venetian views has long been challenged. When looking at 'reality' there is a risk to confuse 'culture' with 'nature'[579], especially if analysing an 'artificial' city like Venice. Corboz, suspicious about Gioseffi's hypothesis of "rettifiche per esigenze di composizione" wrote of "modifiche, non rettifiche"[580]. While Corboz's distinction aptly introduces the 'verosimility' or 'truthfulness' discourse, the following pages question however the intentions attributed by Corboz to Canaletto's "modifiche", by reconnecting them to compositional choices of a different kind, as well as with practical pictorial and marketing considerations.

This study is consistent, at least in its intention, with Corboz's interest in defining a "*codice canalettiano*"[581], that is, to extending the discussion from mere stylistic considerations to encompass psyche, education, clientele, economics. To be sure, the construct Canaletto = " an artist who paints what he sees in order to satisfy his clientele"[582] should be seen afresh. However, this was an opinion credited *also* to Canaletto's merit, not generically seen as a flaw, by going to the extremes to which Corboz pushed his interpretation of extent literary critique at the time that he was writing in order to support his argument. That his contemporaries identified limits[583], culturally conditioned, no doubt, in Canaletto's practice is no proof that they dismissed him as a mere mechanic purveyor of topographies, neither that the "market" was a levelling, if not crushing, intellectually non-stimulating force. His *piece de réception* sanctioning his status of academician in Venice

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[579] Corboz, op. cit.

[580] ibid.. quoting Gioseffi at p. 41

[581] ibid. p.28

[582] ibid. p.13

[583] G. Vertue op. cit. ; See also J. Reynolds *Discourse Thirteen* December 11 1786

was, by any token, a *capriccio prospettico*, a work of *ingegno*, and one which was carefully planned.[584]

Furthermore, it should be remembered that Canaletto, unlike Corboz, was a *painter* of architecture, *not* an architect, and that, as such, his chief concern was with fitting space into surface, and *not* with consistently making architectural sense of the urban structure of Venice. I shall argue that Canaletto, while painting prospects, was perfectly attuned also to the bi-dimensional compositional requirements inherent to *veduta* painting.

Recent contributions[585] add to the challenge of interpreting the extent and type of use made of optical devices such as the *camera obscura* in Canaletto's painted work. The use of multiple standing viewpoints of view in composing some of Canaletto's works has been demonstrated, and Canaletto's creative handling of the *camera obscura* extensively debated, suggesting that the painter "adds or effaces buildings from the scene, without obeying to constraints stemming from the use of the camera obscura, and freely 'dragging' them along through the representation prospect."[586]

A further hypothesis can explain this type of 'free' translation, besides concerns with perspective manipulated to enhance width and 'depth',[587] and the will to achieve a 'dynamic effect'.[588]. I suggest that compositional choices, made at the cost of losing some of the topographical accuracy, were *also* intended to allow the major number possible of constitutive visual elements to fall into place within a bi-dimensional compositional grid, not only to enhance the tridimensional 'illusion'. Like the additions that Campbell made in his prospect of Vanbrugh's design for Castle Howard,[589] the parts-composing-the-whole looked like three-dimensional illusions of buildings, but they were at the same time lines, shapes,

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[584] See Guardi's ink drawing of it, proof that the work was deemed masterful enough to be copied and also for a clearer view of the linear tour-de-force its conception and execution implied.

[585] Dario Maran catalogue entry for the Canaletto exhibition at Palazzo Grimani Venice, 2012

[586] Giordano, Andrea '*La città dipinta di Canaletto tra espansione dello spazio e visioni dinamiche*' in 'Città mediterranee in trasformazione. Identità e immagine del paesaggio italiano tra Sette e Novecento, VI Convegno Internazionale di Studi CIRICE, Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane 2014 (pp.613 – 623)

[587] Corboz, op. cit. and Maran op.cit.

[588] Giordano, op. cit

[589] See discussion in Chapter 6 *Palladianism* paragraph *Vitruvius Britannicus*

flat geometrical surfaces, alternations of fills and voids organised in the plane of the painting. Were, in Canaletto's case, visual elements arranged only with tridimensional illusionism in mind? The following examples question this assumption.

Vertical divisions

Understanding the fact that, for a painter, planning is *plane* was part of Canaletto's training, both as *qudraturista*[590] and as *vedutista*. The *Quaderno* preserved at the Gallerie dell'Accademia displays vertical parallel lines, numbered from 1 to 7, running on three sheets.[591] Pignatti acutely observed the role of these lines as a means to ensure the exactness of transfer of the drawing.

I now draw attention to the fact that the distant roof of the nave of San Nicolò dei Tolentini, with the dome and campanile of the church visible beyond the wall of the Corpus Domini convent, is flanked by lines nos. 1 and 2; a modular *interval* becomes an indicator of size of a *compositional* element. (Fig. 56) The succession of lines continues on the next page. Line 6 is the central axis of the triangular gable supporting the pitched roof of the building in front of the campanile of the Corpus Domini. Is the presence of these lines an example of squaring for transfer or a proof of *compositional* thinking? The halving of the gable obtained by pencilling in line 6 applies to the chalk *underdrawing* of the triangular shape of the roof, (Fig. 57) while the subsequent ink reinforcement shows the roof moved slightly to the left, an adjustment perhaps based on observation. Line 2 also meets a pencil line (second from the right), one of four radial segments suggesting sectorial divisions on the conic roof of the dome, meets the drum; again, the subsequent ink line is slightly off track. This shows that the need to balance the constraints of composition with those of topography was a constant

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590 Canaletto was documented in Rome in 1720 with his father Bernardo, where they both designed set sceneries for operatic performances by Scarlatti linked to the carnival. See Charles Beddington, with essays by Brian Allen and Francis Russell *Canaletto in England, A Venetian Artist Abroad, 1746-1755,* Yale Center for British Art, Dulwich Picture Gallery, Yale University Press

591 *Fogli* 33, 33v and 34. Terisio Pignatti *Il Quaderno di disegni del Canaletto alle Gallerie di Venezia* Daria Garnati 1958

concern in Canaletto's praxis. The nature of mark-making in the pencil underdrawing, where the circular moving of the chalk hovering above the paper in search of the correct placement of shape can be inferred by the nervous, doubled-up nature of the marks. All of the above suggests rather that Canaletto was adjusting shape to a grid, rather than applying a grid on a finished drawing. The question is: were these pencilled-in parallel lines added after Canaletto had redrawn in ink the outlines of the architecture, which would indicate that they were meant only for transfer? Or were they drawn in first, in the stage of pencil underdrawing, meaning that they had a compositional role? As a rule, throughout the *Quaderno*, Canaletto *first* drew in black (or red) chalk, and *after that* he redrew the lines in pen and ink. Recent research also shows that geometrical accuracy in Canaletto's preparatory underdrawings in black chalk was a much higher concern than previously thought.[592] What *can* be said, is that, on these sheets, architectural reference elements appear 'in line' with regular vertical divisions. Observing this drawing now, as Canaletto would have certainly done in his studio when using this drawing as *reference*, the visual fact is that, irrespective if whether these vertical parallel lines *were* or they subsequently *became* regular divisions[593] in a *composition*, they enabled practical pictorial reasonings in terms of relative proportions to be visually expressed and verbally transmitted in the workshop: '*the distance between Tolentini's nave and the pitched roof ridge of the building overlapping on the left the Corpus domini campanile should be five times the visible length of the nave*'.

Before Canaletto started gathering in his *Quaderno* visual material for the series of Venetian views of the Grand Canal, the use of parallel verticals traced in pencil with a double purpose of facilitating transfer *and* organising the composition is documented by his practice. Historically, squaring had had the role to facilitate reproduction. In the case of prospect painting, lining and ruling first served to establish a composition: Canaletto's early Roman drawings suggest that ruling had a compositional, not just a transferring role.

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[592] see Rosie Razzall *Canaletto's drawings* in Rosie Razzall and Lucy Whitaker with contributions by Niko Munz and Claire Chorley *Canaletto and the Art of Venice* exhibition catalogue Royal Collection Trust 2017, pp. 215-257

[593] The distance between the wall of the Corpus Domini convent and the *palazzo* in the right foreground is also equal to the interval between lines 1 and 2, which appears almost 2mm longer than the subsequent intervals, reasonably equidistant (less than 1 mm difference). *Quaderno*, *foglio* 32v

The drawing numbered 21[594] in the series of 22 Roman drawings now in the British Museum,[595] is a view across the Tiber, looking towards the Isola Tiberina and Santa Maria in Cosmedin. Pencilled-in vertical lines divide the surface in four equal stripes. This could be mere squaring, however, architectural elements are placed in line with the 1/4, 1/2 (2/4) and 3/4 verticals. Here too, as in the *Quaderno*, a traced vertical (1/4 from the left) is the central axis of a triangular architectonic shape (Fig. 58). It is secondary to the point what the shape represents: a pedimented frontispiece, on the lower left of the *campanile* of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, partially overlapped by the Temple of Vesta. The logical choice, Giuseppe Sardi's Baroque revamping of the church's Romanesque facade, completed just before Canaletto's visit to Rome, cannot be checked against the drawing, as it was demolished in 1899. Based on existing prints and photographs, Canaletto takes licence from the design of the edifice; he also takes out an order of *trifore* from the campanile's height (contemporary images[596] show three, not two rows of windows above the sundial).

What Canaletto remembered was enriched with the data contained in the original drawing, which functioned as a reference source *and* as an auxiliary to memory i.e. a souvenir. His personal recollection, both mental and visually recorded, merged with the architecture he lived with. Twenty years after his trip to Rome he *revisits* the composition in a drawing, now in The Royal Collection, which shows the same frontispiece now infused with distinct Venetian features, halfway through the Scuola di San Marco and the main portal of St. Mark's basilica (Fig. 59);[597] the first drawing, a source image of his distant visit is entrusted with the role to remember how many rows of windows can be seen in the campanile: here too, there are only two. In the third version (Fig. 60) also preserved in The

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[594] British Museum No. 1858-6-26-240 *A view of Rome from the Ponte Fabricius, with the Ponte Rotto and S Maria in Cosmedin […] Pen and brown ink, with light brown wash, over black chalk (three vertical ruled lines dividing the composition into four equal parts)*

[595] A 23rd drawing is now in Darmstadt, Hessiches Landesmuseum, A. E. 2186, taken from Canaletto's studio in Venice by his nephew Bernardo Bellotto in 1747; see Lucy Whitaker *Canaletto's Roman Views* in *Canaletto and the Art of Venice exhibition catalogue* Royal Collection Trust, 2017, p.196. See also Corboz, op. cit. pp 563-66

[596] G. B. Cipriani's print shows three rows of *trifore* above the sundial, and one beneath. Giovanni Battista Cipriani's *Itinerario figurato degli edificij piu rimarchevoli di Roma* 1835

[597] The drawing RCIN 907516 *Rome: A distant view of Santa Maria in Cosmedin and Ponte Rotto* is dated c. 1742, according to the online catalogue entry of The Royal Collection Trust

British Museum,[598] the initially flat frontispiece has become a round capricious tent or kiosk roof; there are still two rows of windows in the campanile. As this shape evolved, documenting Canaletto's evolution (and perhaps 'fancy') it preserved the slightly concave triangular outline; the 1/4 vertical line served as a *visual mnemonic aid*, reminding Canaletto that he was supposed to divide it in half by the vertical raised from the left quarter measured on the base. This *is* the point. A visual element could preserve its place in the composition.

On the right, in all three versions of the composition, the 3/4 vertical delineates the further (or in planar terms, left) edge of a shaded edifice, the nave of another church. While in the small drawing from the 1720's, at the end of the nave a flat wall with a pitched roof and tall windows on the sides faces the river (Fig. 61), in the later version the nave ends with a polygonal apse (Fig. 62). While, in the space, the two architectonic solutions couldn't be more different, they share, *in the plane of the picture,* the same inner (right) edge on the 3/4 vertical. In both cases, this shaded building has a precise compositional role as a tonal *contrapposto* and *repoussoir* for the sunlit riverbed on the opposite side, thus leading the viewer, across the Ponte Rotto, to Santa Maria in Cosmedin in the background on the left. In so doing, the eye encounters the middle of the picture: across versions (Figures 63 and 64), the 2/4 (or 1/2) vertical indicates the point where the last pier of Ponte Rotto falls into place in the picture before it abruptly collapses in the midst of River Tiber.

The Bacino di San Marco on Ascension Day (Fig. 65),[599] a Venetian drawing in The Royal Collection[600] illustrates the same procedure: vertical lines divide the drawing in four

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[598] No. 1910,0212.23 *A view of Rome from the Ponte Fabricio (also known as Ponte dei Quattro Capi), with the Ponte Rotto and S Maria in Cosmedin…* probably from 1740s-1750s, see The British Museum online catalogue entry

[599] RCIN 907451

[600] For the historical context reflected in subject-matter and angulation for this drawing see earlier discussion in Chapter 8 *Viewpoint / Angle*

equal parts. These lines cannot be said to rule the *construction* of the architecture,[601] so I argue that their role in the *placement* of the architecture in the plane of the picture should be verified. As the previous example from the *Quaderno* shows, it is plausible that Canaletto organised visual content in line with these verticals while avoiding to do so in an obvious manner. Rather than the shaft of St. Theodore's column itself, the 1/4 vertical squaring line (counting from left to right) indicates the column's limits on the left side i.e. the protruding platform topping the capital and the base (Fig. 66); rather than the corner of the Palazzo Ducale itself, the vertical squaring line 2/4 (or 1/2) indicates the next significant line i.e. the outer edge of the first ogival window facing the *molo* (Fig.67); in the absence of a digital key with external memory, these equidistant lines were the means to retrieve the relative positions of visual elements during transfer. At the same time, the only way to ensure that these regular intervals would be remembered was to *associate* them with visual *content* or they would make no sense on their own. Therefore, the role such lines had as *mnemonic aids* should be considered. In the case of this drawing, the regular divisions also allow to infer the original size of the drawing, which I suggest has been slightly cut at its left edge.[602]

Especially in the second part of his career, Canaletto's practice involved reworking extant compositional schemes, making the pictures easily reproducible and adaptable to various formats. To ensure variation among his numerous treatments of the same subject,

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[601] The difficulty in attributing a compositional role to these lines has been noted: "While these lines do not coincide with any salient features and can hardly have been used to lay out the composition, it does seem likely that the drawing was not made on the spot - bobbing around in a boat on the Bacino - but was constructed in the studio from brief sketches and from memory." See online catalogue entry for RCIN 907451, adapted from *Canaletto in Venice* Royal Collection Trust exhibition, London and Edinburgh 2005. However, the role of ruled lines in the underdrawing is now being reconsidered. While suggesting that this "square grid [marks] the plane of a facade that bears no relation to the shapes of the buildings along it" Rosie Razzall also observes that: "Such simple construction lines could easily have been marked out on the spot or from a boat as guidance grids, with details of the architecture figures and boats drawn directly onto the page in pen and ink". Razzall, 2017, p.222 referring to drawings RCIN 907451 and RCIN 907460; in the latter case, too, the vertical grid pencilled in the drawing RCIN 907460 *The Molo looking west* should be considered in relation to the placement of the architecture i.e. Sansovino's Library and *Zecca* in the plane of the picture. See figures 83 and 84 showing the infrared reflectance images of these drawings in *Canaletto and the Art of Venice* exhibition catalogue, RCT, 2017, pp. 223-224

[602] Based on measurements I was able to perform. The vertical quarter division on the left is narrower than the first three equidistant quarters, counted from the right, and the peculiar appearance of the hatching on the left side seems to confirm this: a typically circular *va-e-vieni* movement of the pen hovering above paper, visible in all other hatched appears here interrupted. I am grateful to Dr Kate Heard for confirming this intuition. The width of the drawing can be deduced from the breadth of the vertical regular intervals, by adding the corresponding difference between the 'module' i.e. interval at the left, a difference should be added to the width.

differentiation within the boundaries of the same compositional scheme was provided by atmosphere, if not by architecture, in order to turn similar works in multiple originals, and not mere copies off the same mould. The need for finding expeditious, but not obvious means to attain variety is supported by historical circumstances: by the late 1730s, various documents mention Canaletto's close involvement with the English clientele, accounts by contemporary commissioners and art collectors picture him submerged by work, completely booked up for the four upcoming years, with all the behavioural whims resulting from such success. Président des Brosses and Count Tessin, among other connoisseurs, deplore his exclusive involvement with Joseph (later Consul) Smith,[603] while British aristocrats equally complained about daily changes in his prices.[604]

In order to satisfy what appears to have been an overwhelming request, any artist had to take in aids or render the production process more efficient. In both cases, compositional grids came in handy. As earlier shown, a modular approach to painting, extrapolated from architectural draughtsmanship, had been successfully experimented with by painters of the previous generation with whom Canaletto found himself in direct competition.[605] In Canaletto's case, it could have easily been derived from his training as a decorator of theatrical scenery. Two facing pages in the *Quaderno* show a drawing of the facade of Palazzo Grimani a San Luca[606] with extensive annotations in red chalk made on site; in several places, Canaletto writes the words "ionico and "corintio" near the corresponding columns. He indicates with a "P" and a "C" the otherwise hardly noticeable difference, in terms of outline, between a pilaster and a column. He also notes relative proportions between parts, for instance on the palazzo's entablature ("*1/2 colona*") or in the

[603]Smith "was an important member of an important member of an intellectual circle of intellectuals and theorists writing about and discussing Palladio's work. He was a friend of Paduan scholar Giovanni Poleni, whose great Additamenta to the Exercitationes Vitruvianae was published after his death. Probably Joseph Smith and certainly Giovanni Poleni corresponded with Lord Burlington over the latter's edition of Palladio's Fabbriche antiche" Niko Munz & Lucy Whitaker *Canaletto and Neo-Palladianism* in *Canaletto and the Art of Venice* exhibition catalogue Royal Collection Trust 2017, p. 280 quoting F. Vivian "Joseph Smith, Giovanni Poleni and Antonio Visentini *Italian Studies* 18, I, pp. 54-66

[604] George Vertue op. cit.

[605] See earlier the discussion on 'diplomatic series' in Chapter 8 paragraph Angle /Viewpoint and Chapter 9 Carlevarijs

[606] *Quaderno, fogli* 54v-55, see Terisio Pignati op. cit. ; Corboz op. cit vol. 2, p. 678

intercolumniation on the lowest order (written in red chalk on either side of the window placed between the columns on the left wing: "*1/2 me…1/2 za*" and, below ,"*fine…stra*" i.e. "half a window wide", as the words themselves are cut in two to avoid writing over the window. (Fig.68) Suggesting that *vedutisti* 'cut in two' their visual thinking, and dissociate between sets of rules used to draw the architecture and completely different ones applied to construct the *picture* of the architecture seems unwise. Observing Vitruvian rules in the construction of architectural orders on receding facades was the architect's business *and* the concern of a *painter of architecture*.

With regard to the use of the golden ratio grid in Canaletto`s graphic work, it is worth noting that it acquires refinements unseen in both his predecessors and contemporaries. His brushwork creates subtle effects in the use of the grid, by fusing line with tone. In *The Doge giving thanks for his election in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio*[607], a drawing which served for one of plates engraved by Brustolon for his *Feste Dogali* series of 1766[608] (the drawing is dated during the three preceding years), Canaletto freely elongates the shadows cast by the protruding wooden-and-stucco embellishments on ceiling, until the subtle demarcation line between light and shade (produced by applying a wash with a round-tipped brush) coincides with the right hand side golden ratio vertical line, that is, the imaginary line uniting the golden ratio points on the two opposite longer sides. (Fig. 69)

As the contours constructing the decorative pattern on the ceiling had to recede in a *raccourçi* to produce an illusion of depth, there were little vertical and horizontal shapes to fit the grid. Close to the top of the drawing, the golden ratio vertical line at the right barely 'catches' the inflexion point of the curved volute of the decorated hemicycle on the ceiling. The position and length of cast shadows cannot be determined accurately by simply looking at a picture of those objects or people, without having a precise indication of the positioning (height, distance, angle) of the lighting source. This makes it safe for the artist to manipulate shadows, both in terms of shape and tone, to comply with composition requirements without running the risk of flagrant topographical inaccuracy.

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[607] BM

[608] BM website catalogue entry

A similar procedure in the depictions of cityscapes involves adjusting the shape, tone and colour of clouds, in order to balance 'terrestrial' visual elements which cannot be changed, without rendering the depiction of the site unrecognisable. These tricks were resorted to especially when the need to deceive the eye into believing that there is depth where there is only surface occurred, and a painter with experience in theatrical set decoration would have been well aware of them.[609]

In this drawing, things are made even easier by the fact that there is *no* specific reference to the time of day when the event took place, which means there are no particular constraints to be observed in terms of lighting. The large windows of the *Sala del Maggior Consiglio* face St. Mark`s basin and, given the orientation of the building, they are sunlit throughout the day *and* throughout the year, from late morning to sunset. The light so compellingly evoked in the drawing through a play of ink washes - the norm was two to three subsequent applications of a grey wash made of a diluted carbon-based pigment[610] - proves strong enough to bounce from the wall at the left and reflect back onto the wall at the right, which, as it is pierced by windows, should otherwise look immersed in the shade. As a result of this reflected light, the overall tonal key of the area to the right is heightened and this offers Canaletto the opportunity to deal masterfully with detail in the shade[611] and to remain faithful to his sun-bathed tonal approach which had made him popular with English tourists longing for the Mediterranean. The fact that the left hand side wall has become a secondary light source explains the cast shadows - on the otherwise unlit wall - behind the heads of Venetian patricians sitting against the windows in the upper row at the right. Lighting subtleties aside, cast shadows across the drawing appear delineated by golden ratio lines.

The compelling illusion of depth stemming from consummate use of linear and tonal perspective combines with pictorial artifice in the careful concealment of bi-dimensional compositional concerns. The picture appears *authentic* i.e. *'dal vero'* while the celebratory

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[609] see earlier note 590

[610] ibid.

[611] Hockney op. cit.

theatricality[612] of these visual narratives of Venice had become by the mid 18th-century, as we have seen, not just an added, but a constituent factor of their appeal.

Consulting graphic works from various stages of Canaletto's career, often multiplying successfully painted models, the correspondence between harmonious intervals measured on the sides and the planar organisation of visual elements is recurring. Compositional grids based on regular divisions on the sides of the drawings or etchings appear in plates part of the *Prospectus…* series engraved by Visentini[613] and the *Feste Dogali*[614] series engraved by Brustolon. There is even a tiny graphic mark establishing the position of the golden ratio line used in composing one of the plates.[615]

The drawing *The Doge carried around St Mark's Square before his Coronation,*[616] on which Plate 2[617] in the *Feste Dogali* series is based, displays divisions in thirds on the sides: the upper limits of the two rows of receding architecture on each side are placed just beneath the upper 1/3 horizontal, while the 2/3 vertical indicates the right edge of the campanile. The golden ratio vertical line on the left indicates the placement of the basilica, as it coincides with the outer edge of the left hand side pinnacled turret. The upper horizontal golden ratio line indicates the placement of the *Palazzo Ducale* - the line coincides with the upper edge of the *Palazzo*'s roof, the same line indicates the fascia separating the last two storeys of the *Torre dell'Orologio*.

Canaletto's drawing for and subsequent engraving of Plate 9 *The Solemn Procession or Corpus Christi Day of the Secular and Regular Clergy accompanied by the Serene*

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[612] As discussed in Chapters 8 and 9. One wonders whether the *authenticity* construct had just 'been there' and instinctively associated with incoming data, or if it had emerged from a need to distinguish 'real' from 'staged'. If perceived images had a 'staging' constituent trait, then the making of the images themselves was at once reflecting and influencing upon this trait. See Mc Cannell 1973

[613] consulted in its 1735 edition in The Royal Collection and in its 1751 enlarged edition *Urbis Venetiarum Prospectus Celebriores…* , British Library, Nos. 1948,1117.1.1-43

[614] From 1763-66; the exemplary consulted was bequeathed by Lady Banks to The British Museum in 1812, and is now held in The British Library

[615] plate XI

[616] BM, No. 1910,0212.18

[617] in the edition published by Furlanetto in 1766; the same design is numbered 5 in the edition published by G. Battaggia in the same year, for the latter see BM No.1866,1110.1162

Prince… part of the series Feste Dogali printed by Brustolon[618] responds [619] to a vertical division in fifths: the left 1/5 vertical indicates the area of major contrast between light and dark on the pilaster, the two flagpoles on the right are respectively placed on the 3/5 and 4/5 vertical divisions.

As earlier seen in Carlevarijs and as encountered in the practice of Canaletto's fellow painters from the same generation, active in Rome during his Roman sojourn,[620] the use of vertical divisions to produce rhythmic intervals on the surface is documented. In conclusion, there is no reason to suggest that this procedure had exclusively a squaring purpose, since lines dividing the surface in regular intervals indicate visual features which play a role in the composition of the picture.

The Piazzetta facing s. Giorgio Maggiore[621] offers a further example of the circulation of compositional solutions. Canaletto's manipulation of space in order to expand the view and create a steeper recess in this view has been noted.[622] However, if considering the bi-dimensional composition, the placement of S. Theodore's column, on the right side, responds to the golden ratio grid i.e. the nodal point where the upper horizontal and right hand side vertical golden ratio line meet (Fig. 73). This echoes Carlevarijs' habit of 'underlining' public statues by placing their pedestals in line with harmonious divisions on the height.[623]

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[618] BM, No.108, 215 368

[619] see Plate 91 in Chapter 9 *Carlevarijs*

[620] Measurements I have been able to perform on an album of drawings by Giovanni Battista Busiri, the same age as Canaletto and active in Rome during Canaletto's stay show a consistent use of regular divisions on the sides of his Roman *vedute,* many of which depict the same sites which interested Canaletto.

[621] RCIN 907441, The Royal Collection

[622] Rosie Razzall, op. cit. pp. 222-225

[623] see earlier discussion on the placement of statuary pedestals in Carlevarijs' compositions in Chapter 9

The Visentini/Smith Album in the Royal Collection

The Visentini – Smith album acquired by His late Majesty George III as part of Consul Smith's collection opens with the 1735 (first) edition of XIV plates composing the "Prospectus…". Being able to perform direct measurements was essential to verify the use of visual canons based on harmonic proportions. There are no visible signs of subsequent interventions and with every probability the album preserves its original aspect. Besides its physical characteristics: leather bound, gilt edges, polychrome marble paper protecting the inner sides of the covers – this also implies that the original compilers of the album, Visentini and Smith or, alternatively, Visentini alone, acting upon Smith`s indications, were responsible for content, order and layout of the visual material.

Visentini sets out from the start to indicate the source of the golden ratio compositional grid as stemming from the classical tradition. He then moves on to shaping his miniature `postcards` of Venice as festooned golden ratio rectangles, running the risk of sometimes leaving out parts of buildings for the sake of the canon. The album continues with a series of delightful engraved initials, a visual abc of Venice as much as a small collection of *ex-libris* vignettes.

After the *Prospectus* series of 14 plates[624], the *Isolario* and the engraved letters used for the Pasquali edition of Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia…,* engravings by Visentini from authors such as Reni and Piazzetta are followed by original works by Visentini himself. The first image to follow the *Prospectus* series… in the album is however an example of how three types of visuals, interesting for travellers on their Grand Tour and, therefore, relevant here, could merge: 16th-century visual examples of classical architecture; modern Venetian topographies for the use of tourists; and architectural drawings by 18th-century engravers.[625]

[624] which Canaletto and Visentini enriched in a later edition from 1742 reprinted in 1751, adding two new groups of 12 plates each

[625] For instance, A. Visentini *Admiranda Urbs Venetiæ. MS. 3 Vols.* BL 71.i.1., 71.i.2, 71.i.3 (1730) and a volume of Admiranda by Visentini's hand in The Royal Collection.

The plates in the *Prospectus…* sometimes differ in size on opposite sides.[626] Measurements were performed on the 1751 reprint at the British Library and the 1735 first edition in The Royal Collection.

I shall take Plate XIII *Nauticum Certamen cum Prospectus ab Aedibus Balborum ad Pontem Rivoalti* as an opportunity to discuss the problem of movement and stillness in Canaletto's work. Throughout his work, the tendency to place people in the strategic points of a harmonious compositional grid acquires aesthetic refinement as increased attention is paid to it's logical use. Circumstantial evidence allows to infer intention whenever *macchiette* placed in these points perform eye-catching physical movement.[627] An added consideration is that, as Corboz had observed, the depictions of sculptures embellishing architectures were not enough differentiated from pictorial representations of 'real' people. This was often the case in 18th-century painting, not just in Canaletto[628], and it reflected changing modes of perception and representation. A short digression on drawing and movement is here worth making.

Academic training upheld the lessons of Italian Renaissance, especially *contrapposto*. In modern Western European studio practice, teaching shape-in-movement privileged drawing. Deemed the appropriate medium, the efficiency of drawing rested largely on one assumption: that it was quicker, hence 'simpler' to draw forms in motion - though the result would be static - than to convey them in colour and shape i.e. through painting. This sense of immediacy weighed on how the act of drawing itself was perceived, and favoured its choice as the appropriate medium in capturing a fleeting event. Firstly, I would like to point out that, as the process of making a line goes, it is indeed generally quicker to draw than to paint, 'motion' included. Proof is the practice of preparatory drawings - understood as

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[626] Though plane sheets of paper, time, varying hygroscopic conditions and inner tensions contributed to tridimensional deformations. Here there are only slight corrugations, indicating that paper of high quality had been used. Possible factors: uneven pressure of the printing plate; different density in the mechanically mixed paper pulp with sedimentation of the heavier components when spread and pressed; varying inner tension in the paper fibre.

[627] Gombrich op. cit. and Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi *Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience* Harper Perennial 1990

[628] apart fro the "statue gesticolanti" to which Corboz refers, this applied for instance to Watteau - see Pierre Rosenthal, a practice perpetuated in French Academic training well into the 19th century. See Corboz see pp.50 and fol

outlining of shape through line tracing, or mark-making, and where the linear aspect is prevalent.[629] Secondly, because of the mark-making's quality of being chronological,[630] uniting the distance between two or more points, drawing approximates dynamics to a fixed form[631], therefore an idea of speed - in this case speed of execution - can be had from the finished drawing, seen as a *memory* of a movement: specifically, the movement of the drawing tool onto a support. Therefore, a confusion between represented movement and the movement performed to represent it concurred to the fact that drawing was being taught, assumed and understood as affine to 'movement'. That drawing was thought to have, through contour and line, a clarifying role[632] could have implied that this medium allowed movement to be easily perceived. With regard to *contrapposto*,[633] a parallel may be drawn between the previously discussed topic of symmetry, and its gradual substitution by the principle of spacial compensation - fill and void, front and back - returning thus to the original sense of the word, which implied operations of "balancing" volumes, shapes, tonal masses.[634] Drawings and engravings, free from concerns with colour,[635] allowed to focus on graphically rendered thought and try to fix the unfixable: motion.

Looking at how has Canaletto dealt with the question of 'frozen' movement, the first thing to consider is that sequential thought[636] preceded cinematography. Organising visual stills in accordance to a succession of ideas - of movement - and attempt to recompose

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[629] Pencils as brushes - also worth noting that in the 18th-century, the word "pencil" meant brush - see Reynolds - while the word crayon would be used to signify a wood container for a black chalk / later graphite core. Compare and contrast for instance Frans Hals' portraits with the 1630's portraits by Th. de Keyser, B. van der Helst or Rembrandt. In Hals, lines are applied with the brush or scraped into wet paint and there is no underdrawing.

[630] in a related discourse, Rudolf Arnheim uses the word "sequential"

[631] Gombrich op. cit.

[632] Richard Wilson on "drawing to avoid flutters of colour…"

[633] John Russell op. cit.

[634] Emil Kaufmann *Architettura dell'Illuminismo,* Einaudi, Torino, 1966, quoted in Corboz, op. cit p. 268

at least until watercolour gradually paralleled and subsequently supplanted tonal drawing - see examples from Richard Wilson and Gainsborough

[636] For a broader view on photography-cinematography and memory: Siegfried Kracauer *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality* Princeton University Press 1998 (1960); Susannah Radstone & Bill Schwarz op. cit.

something of that overall sense of movement through an association of parts was a concern already present in rock painting of hunting scenes. But how specifically could the eye be made to *travel* across the surface of a flat image in a cinema-like way? The 'animation' of stills, when retinal inertia supplants the absence of optically recorded movement by integrating the missing bits[637] can surely be called as an example post-dating the works discussed here. But seeing photograms of static moments to gain some sense of the movement occurring *between* those moments works best when there is continuity both in the action and actors[638].

In Canaletto's case, actions and actors are different. However, in this plate, nodal compositional points at the intersections of parallel lines obtained by uniting regular division points on the sides punctuate the places where the eye encounters static representations of movement - small *macchiette* which, as discussed before,[639] have also other roles in a cityscape. When focusing on detail, space is embraced *consecutively*, not simultaneously and this allows for a mental acknowledgement of time lapse. Each stop in a nodal point acts like a movie-still. A feminine *bauta* waves her handkerchief in a boat in the foreground, singled out against the expanse of ripples disturbing the surface of the Grand Canal (Fig. 70). Having caught the eye, it directs the gaze along the golden ratio grid until it encounters the light-picking edge of a reclining gondola. (Fig. 71) This attention-grabbing succession of still-figures-in-motion clings onto the golden ratio vertical at the right, and it stimulates a vertical eye-movement: from base to top or vice versa. In doing so, it operates the essential visual perceptual change when looking at prospect paintings: the eye simply *moves* and, as a result, visual information changes.

Moreover, the compositional scheme directs the viewer's gaze vertically rather than panoramically - or across the field. As the foreground-background axis unfolds *vertically* in the plane, it also asks the eye to conventionally, if not instinctively behave as it would in front of any 'real' landscape, where the information closest to the standing point is placed at

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[637] Kracauer op.cit.; Roland Barthes *La chambre claire. Note sur la photographie* Gallimard 1980

[638] as opposed to the Muybridge experiments

[639] see paragraph *People*

the lowest level in the visual field, while the furthest visible earth-level data is placed in the upper register. Therefore, whenever the eye travels upwards or downwards on the surface, it *also* performs in-depth recognition. When the eye pauses at the top boat level (the point 'further' away), it appreciates how the gondola seems to just illusorily incline (due to inertia of the just completed eye-movement), suggesting the effort made by the gondolier to push it forward, as the boat gains momentum.

Series of 20 engravings - Isolario Veneto

The series also appeared independently.[640] Serial is both its conception and execution: all views have the identical panoramic-screen format aligned to the golden rectangle, which favours distance vistas (Fig. 72) .As in this case the images are particularly small, Visentini feels compelled to offer a close up view to allow for recognisable details. This results in cutting off any *campanile* too close in the visual range. The outer border, understood as the straight framing which supports the intricate volutes (swirling around to produce a cluttered effect) is the only variable. The internal border of the frames has a composite shape - half quatrefoil with the lobes on the left and right sides. It is constructed on the golden rectangle, that is, the golden ratio division of the base is raised to determine the height of the rectangle. In view number *807862t*[641] both outer and inner golden ration grid lines (obtained by measuring the sides including or respectively leaving out the external decorative border) overlap perfectly. In number *g* the golden ratio vertical at the left is separating light from shade on the wall of the narthex of San Giorgio and, as the line moves up, it catches the upper point of the roof. The right hand side vertical golden ratio line divides in two equal parts the facade and runs through the middle statue at the top of the pediment. Nineteenth-century postcards develop from such formats. Visentini's offer was

[640] *Isolario Veneto ovvero Prospettive di 20 Isole…Disegnate… e Incise dal celebre Antonio Visentini, Pittor, ed Architetto, ora in un volume raccolte…*Venice, 1777, see also ASV; Together with the Engraved letters discussed next, they were used for consul Smith's edition of Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia…* printed by Pasquali press.

[641] The Royal Collection

diversified and `modular`: it proposed small souvenirs. While they are presented in a fixed sequence, nothing explicit prevents the idea that these pieces could be reassembled in various other ways according to taste and wallet, or even purchased individually. Seasoned collectors were thus encouraged to buy the whole pack of 'postcards', the miniature format lending a miniature, jewel-like quality to the works. However, the door was left open for less well-off buyers, as it is likely that such graphic production would have been dedicated to a clientele with little room (or budget) for large paintings. It is an important precedent to present-day customised products. Notwithstanding the small format, these works share the same compositional scheme: the golden ratio grid underlines the structure of each image.

As discussed earlier, views of the English countryside from about the same period were equally ruled by root five harmony, and often fitted into borders which corresponded to golden rectangles.[642]

Engraved letters

Ex libris with initial capital letters and Venetian scenery background contained in square framings – A for Arsenal, D for Dogana, R for Rialto, T for S. Teodoro et c. The construction of the letters themselves and the city views underneath fit a golden ratio grid. Clearly, regular divisions on the sides are also present, since letter design based n geometric patterns enjoyed a long history in Venice.[643] At the bottom of the page stands out the seemingly odd inclusion of an engraved C, differing from the series as to seem a casual addition to fill a gap. The rustic wreath and chequered background also appear disconnected from the vignettes of iconic Venetian sites which illustrate the other initials.

The letters are however related: this series of initials, as well as the previous series of views of the lagoon,[644] was used to illustrate Smith's edition of Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia*...printed for the Pasquali press.[645] In terms of composition, if checked against the

[642] See earlier *Gentlemen seats*

[643] Sigismondo Fanti op. cit., F. Petrucci-Nardelli op. cit.

[644] see above *Isolario Veneto*

[645] see Canaletto & the Art of Venice, RCT Exhibition catalogue, 2017

geometric grid, the letter C connects to the series. The placing of the crossed staffs and wreath and the height of the ledge indicates that it was also designed using the golden ratio. The 16th-century design is a reminder that Francesco Guicciardini`s "della Istoria d'Italia" had appeared in Venetian editions since the last decades of the 16th-century. That the study of geometry and harmonious proportions was a familiar topic to a Neo-platonic scholar like Guicciardini it can be no doubt: he was the godson and student of Marsilio Ficino.[646]

A capriccio by Canaletto in The Royal Collection

RCIN 907564 One of the largest elaborate capriccios ever drawn by Canaletto (Fig. 74). Aside from the perspective bravura that Canaletto's contemporaries and present-day historians have unanimously noticed, it is worth observing how, upon close inspection, the drawing reveals some of its stages. I do not refer to the sequence of application, chalks/inks/ washes, but to the actual process of assembling it's composing pieces. The work displays pencil marks which attest Canaletto's changes of mind. They are made to refine the composition, plausibly to better fit a grid. Points of interest in the picture have changed place from stage one - stylus underdrawing, graphite or black chalk to stage two - pen & ink finishing. Changes in size and position of the arm of the character leaning against the staircase in the middle ground, alterations in the shape of the urn to the right, and especially the evident pencil mark at the right lower-centre are all such examples (Figure 75).

When a golden ratio grid is applied to the picture, possible reasons for these changes emerge. The elements translated or adjusted seem to better fit the grid in their final (fixed with ink) position, than they do at the initial stage. The shape of the urn in the foreground at the left has been modified so that the horizontal golden ratio line now runs through its middle, while the character leaning over the monumental staircase`s balustrade has been made smaller and moved to the left, so that the contour of his arm coincides with the vertical golden ratio line. The horizontal golden ratio line runs less than a millimetre

[646] *Meditations on the Soul: Selected letters of Marsilio Ficino*, tr. by the Language Department of the School of Economic Science, London. Rochester, Vermont: Inner Traditions International, Note for instance, letter 31: "*A man is not rightly formed who does not delight in harmony"*

below the flexed forearm, and this places the character at a nodal point of the 'naughts-and-crosses' grid. Having a character or other eye-catching visual feature at the intersection between the vertical and horizontal lines of the grid (in this case at the upper left) is a recurring device in Canaletto. The above-mentioned vertical pencil-drawn line is a construction line for the widest pillar at the left of the balustrade (in the foreground at the right). However it also overlaps the golden ratio vertical line on the right (Fig. 76).

Harmoniously proportioned compositions, manifest in landscape design and architecture as well as in their pictorial representations also concerned Canaletto's main English contact. As we have seen, Consul Smith had personally overseen reprints of Palladio and Vitruvius.[647] Since this drawing has been given a late place in Canaletto`s career, predating by a few years his academic appointment as Professor of Perspective at Venice and showing "none of the weakness of composition and handling of the pen and brush found in some of the later work"[648], the undertaking of a large (in scale and ambition) prospect drawing could have well been such a 'portfolio' work, a good practical exercise and convincing proof smoothening the path towards a coveted position.

Geometrical rendition and virtuoso organisation of visual content characterise many of Canaletto's *capricci*. These were often more than visual flights of fantasy[649], as they involved careful planning, and sometimes even collaborative efforts, since the commissioner could 'co-produce' the picture, suggesting or requiring the presence of specific visual elements, recognisable or personally significant features or arrangements of features[650].

As mentioned above, people appearing in the picture were undefined (which was the rule for Canaletto's *macchiette*) and played various informative, demonstrative or evocative roles. Here, too, the human presence helps infer scale and signals linear recession of planes.

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[647] Tommaso Temanza op.cit.

[648] Jane Roberts, *Italian Master Drawings from The British Royal Collection*, Exhibition catalogue, Collins Harvill, 1987, p.138

[649] ibid.; in fact, in the catalogue of the US exhibition held in 1987-88, the drawing is called an `Architectural fantasy`. (No. 60, p.138)

[650] – See catalogue Algarotti and also A. M. Zanetti in reference to the elaborate Palladian painted capricci of Canaletto. See also A. A. Tait op. cit. on Robert Adam's parallel path passing through Venice in the mid 1750's, also his contacts with Piranesi and awareness of 'staged' classical Roman views.

However, Canaletto refines this role. In this capriccio, the figures are also a means to obtain tonal alternation, heightening the contrast between the shadowy foreground and the lit middle-ground.

Leaving aside the anecdotic charm such costumed characters may hold for present-day tourists, eliciting a timeless carnival-mood (as they might have equally appealed to 18th-century English audiences able to pick Venetian cues in the outfit), Canaletto's figures enable compositional devices and perceptual mechanisms which provide directions to the wandering eye in search for the 'familiar.'[651] They offer instructions to the viewer about how to behave in front of a picture. How so?

Without producing further literature about the mystery and elusiveness of characters seen from behind, which, in truth, populated many Venetian paintings of the 18th-century, I shall first observe that characters turning their back to the viewer occurred more frequently in works which were *not* collective portraits, neither historical paintings, nor allegorical variations on the genre of portraiture. Painters who did not primarily paint portraits, and whose practices focused instead on a decorative, often celebratory kind of art which relied on speed of execution and serial operations (essential in large-scale endeavours) would have found it easier to include more figures with their faces turning away from the viewer. This for a number of reasons.

Firstly, a character seen from behind would literally be a 'save-face' solution: it saved the painter time, as it dissipated concerns with psychological insight and the pressure of getting a 'likeness'[652].

Secondly, these 'silhouettes' would reinforce a kind of contemplative mindset, inviting the viewer to do as they did and simply look at what *they* saw. The motif of characters turning their back to the viewer[653], though interpretable as signalling interposed distance, can paradoxically encourage instant participation, that is, observation, recognition,

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[651] Gestalt theory on perception and recognition of human figure. Arnheim 1974

[652] The Tiepolo family enterprise and also Canaletto observed this convention. Whenever recognisable figures were necessary , they were typified in terms of features and accessories.This is also suggested by multiple uses of the most successful models and reference drawings in the workshop.

[653] see discussion Carlevarijs' Plate 6 in Chapter 9

enjoyment *of the view*.

Thirdly, hiding people's faces, or schematically suggesting them, was in fact a way of abstracting the human figure: while it provided human presence, it avoided human contact. The silhouettes were subsumed to the larger compositional scheme. In Canaletto's *capriccio*, the intricately masterful architectural recession is elegantly punctuated by the human presence, inviting the observer's eye to pause every time the plane of the picture varies, according to the zig-zag alternation of vanishing points. It is as if this procedure suggested new vantage points, prompted by the succession of scale-diminishing characters. Canaletto provides three types and sizes of such figures, each taking the viewer 'deeper' into the picture: the illusion of zooming-in is in fact achieved through a panoramic movement *across* the field, but one which requires performing a physical zigzag movement of accommodation:[654] from left foreground to right closer-middle ground to left further-middle ground. Eventually the viewers (both the ones standing in front of the picture and those depicted in it) gaze into a distant horizon filled with fancied, yet recognisable Venetian architectural outlines of the Punta della Dogana and the Salute.

Fourthly, in line with this reasoning, a distracting interposition-effect would have occurred had a painted figure who caught the viewer's eye, and 'established contact' been included, as it interfered with in-depth accommodation, however illusory.

Finally, and most importantly, a defined frontal figure would have been more likely to be perceived as a 'portrait' which is something prospect painters logically had to avoid at all costs, as it would have 'sent' landscape or cityscape into the background[655].

Not diminishing the pictorial tour de force in this *Capriccio*, nor the effectiveness of intent in driving viewers 'into' the picture, it can be said, in line with Canaletto`s status as a painter appealing to foreigners, even in the late stages of his career,[656] that such pictures should be equally regarded as means to entice travel; an invitation to embark upon leisurely

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[654] Arnheim 1974

[655] and re-classify the picture into a different genre: see before *Atlas de Venise* - Battoni.

[656] Revd Hindcliffe sees Canaletto working at St. Mark's. See John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701- 1800, compiled from the Brinsley Ford Archive*, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1997

escapades to Venice and its entertainments, just like earlier prospect views. The presence of a drum with a zig-zag thread next to the two characters on the staircase invites an association with *commedia dell'arte* performances.

In conclusion, the juxtaposition of fact and fiction in Canaletto`s recognisable views and in his invented architectural caprices can be thus reconciled through provenance, given their shared 'Venetian-ness'. In other words, it did not really matter that it wasn't quite Venice, as long as it *looked* like Venice. Admonishment and advice on the "the use of proper appendages" appear in many theoretical writings on painting in 18th-century England. "By appendages are meant animals, landskip, buildings, and in general whatever is introduced into the piece by way of ornament [they] should correspond with the subject and rank in a proper subordination to it."[657] Genre hierarchy overturned, the view would have ceased to be a 'view'. Even if the picture was commissioned or intended as a 'pitch' to a prospective commissioner, in which case recognisable details (gear, coats of arms) individuated the protagonist or buyer, the level of 'likeness' would have been symbolical, rather than physiognomical.[658] Regardless of scale, whenever painted characters were shown turning their back on the viewer, the latter and the former would look in the *same* direction, in a reinforced 'stage-set' perception. This rendered viewers more prone to 'travel' into the picture, (mis)taking scale reduction for space recession. Viewers performed a mental travelling operation, which was *typical* of any object-induced recollection, and a constituent trait of pictorial souvenirs. As this view is a *capriccio*, topographic constraints one would expect to find in a '*veduta dal vero*' are absent. The space is internally planned, rather than externally described. Forethought adds weight to every compositional choice.

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[657] William Gilpin *An Essay upon Prints Containing Remarks…*, London, 2nd edition 1768, p.5-6

[658] see for instance Panini's 'entrance of the Duc du Choiseuil in Rome' at Berlin or Carlevarijs' 'diplomatic' series earlier discussed

CHAPTER 11

Contemporary competition

Marieschi

Marieschi's graphic production equally demonstrates the use visual grids. His contribution to the serial development in Venetian view-painting is entitled *Magnificentiores Selectionesque Urbis Venetiarum Prospectus quos olim Michael Marieschi Venetus Pictor, et Architectus*. This last qualification was most likely included to reinforce Marieschi's status of liberal artist, just as Carlevarijs had done with his credentials as a mathematician. Some perspective choices in Marieschi's work may be explained by a rigid determination to remain within the grid's constraints.

In the engraving *Forum olitorium e regione prospectum, cum proximis publicis Magistratibus, et ponte Rivoalti...*[659], the main architectures in the picture are *Palazzo dei Camerlenghi*, the Rialto bridge and *Fabbriche*, and the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*. They fall into place in perspective and in the picture plane according to the golden mean. Uniting the golden ratio points on the left of the picture's base and top, the resulting vertical line marks the outer edge of the pillar supporting (at the right) the rounded opening under the pediment overarching Rialto bridge. The lower horizontal golden ratio line neatly distinguishes the loggia at the ground floor from the two upper storeys of the building on the right side (hosting trading in oil at the market). This line runs exactly underneath the lower plinth supporting the row of windows at the first floor. If prolonged to the left, the line touches the furthest edge of the single-arched structure of the bridge. It is tangential in the arch`s uppermost point (zenith), where the horizontal golden ratio line intersects the vertical golden ratio line mentioned above. To rule out any suspicion of coincidence, the position of a mobile 'appendage' (one which could be moved across the picture without concern for topography) is eloquent: a fashionably striped Venetian canopy is strategically placed at the

[659] V&A

level of the upper horizontal golden ratio line. Aside from providing local flair, this device balances the picture's composition and adds depth, as it stands out against a shadowy *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*. The right hand side vertical golden ratio line divides the *Palazzo dei Camerlenghi* in a similar way to Canaletto's treatment of the same subject[660] (and as such, equally indebted to Carlevarijs' original composition from 1703). The scheme can be evinced from a celebrated drawing[661] by Canaletto reporting the indication 'sole' on the water surface at lower right, to indicate sunlit reflection and in several paintings thereafter[662], and further testifying to the importance held by the golden ratio grid. Inspection of other engravings by Marieschi confirms the care in introducing accessorial visual information to fit the grid, whenever architecture itself would fail to provide it.

Zucchi

"*Soddisfare al genio , e alla curiosità dei Forestieri , che qui giunti bramano d'essere informati di ciò che v'ha di più raro , e cospicuo , perché poi ritornati alle loro Patrie possano ravvivar la memoria di cose cotanto illustri*"[663]

writes Giovanni Albrizzi in a heavily republished *Forestiere illuminato*. When it come to the graphical apparatus, he is not shy with compliments, and nods complacently at the ornamental value of the engravings: "*per rendere l'Opera più accetta , l'adornai di molte Carte di vago e dilicato disegno*."[664] The guide, targeting a public of *curieux* is therefore declaredly employed as an auxiliary to memory. The author strives to ensure that the '*forestiere*' will not only be "*illuminato"* but also "*soddisfatto"*: noble teachings were to be administered in a leisurely manner[665], as enlightenment and entertainment travelled hand in

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[660] Canaletto Visentini

[661] Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, cat. no WA1855.112 see Parker

[662] including the one formerly in the collection of Stefano Conti, considered an essential early commission in Canaletto's career, dated 1725 and now in a private collection and the version of 1735 in The Royal Collection. See Haskell, Corboz

[663] Giovanni Albrizzi *Forestiere*... Venice eds. from 1740 and 1764, BNM

[664] ibid.

[665] See Sir Richard Colt Hoare *A Classical Tour through Italy* London 2nd ed 1819 and Rev John Chetwode Eustace *A Classical Tour through Italy* 4th ed 1818, see also N. Moorby Tate catalogue

hand. Albrizzi uses Francesco Zucchi's *vedute*[666] and many of these illustrations are built with an awareness of the golden ratio grid.

A strict observation of the canon is doubled by the conventional choice of viewpoints and the result is somewhat mechanical. A 'recipe' approach identifiable in Zucchi`s graphical work is confirmed by the pedantic use of formulas of proven success. One such procedure was aimed at re-constructing a *Wunder* or *Kunstkammer* experience, fitting into the privacy of one's home the delights of an outdoors walk. Except through the dispositive itself, the effect was somewhat achievable by exhibiting on opposite walls two landscapes or cityscapes done from the same standpoint, while observing sceneries facing each other, that is, distant 180 degrees. When the viewer stood between the two paintings, by simply turning their head from one picture to the other, the experience of standing in the same location as the painter's could be in part recalled. Well-known examples are pairs of views by Canaletto, now part of the Wallace Collection and depicting St. Mark's area looking to and from the *molo*, and views by Guardi, also of St. Mark's basin, hanging at Waddesdon Manor.

Zucchi's small pair of 'opposite' views consists in *Veduta del Palazzo Ducale nella Piazzetta di S. Marco* and *Veduta della Libraria Pubblica nella Piazzetta di S. Marco*. The pair obeys to the above requirement: depictions of architectures facing each other in reality, potentially done from the same standpoint. However, being bound into a book, they cannot possibly hang on opposite walls. Sadly, neither are they at least placed on pages facing each other. Instead they are laid out on the same page, one on top of the other. The effect is that the views appear 'caught' in the same frame: the blank of the page, in the case of the 1740 edition dedicated to "*Federigo Cristiano, Elletorale di Sassonia*"[667] and the decorated border embellishing the 1764 edition dedicated to the "*Conte di Ulster*."[668] In the latter edition, the

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[666] Francesco Zucchi *Teatro Delle Fabbriche Piu' Cospicue in Prospettiva, Della Citta' di Venezia* Giambatista Albrizzi, [Venice 1740].

[667] Albrizzi 1742, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

[668] Albrizzi 1764, biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. On the circulation of visual information on occasion of Prince Eduard August's visit to Venice see *Raccolta di tutto quello fu stampato in questa città nell'occasione della venuta di Sua Altezza Odoardo Augusto Duca di Yorck, Contro-Ammiraglio, e Conte d'Ulster nell'Irlanda In Venezia, appresso Giambattista Occhi in Piazza S. Marco*, 1764. 26 fasc., ill., 8°, BNMVe, Misc. 2888.3-28

bordering is a publishing artifice to enlarge and embellish the printing format, while still using the original plates. This had practical and financial advantages. Direct measurement allows to infer that the images are composed according to the golden ratio grid, horizontally and vertically. However, the grid acts here more as a constraint and less as unifying principle. Two large columns, placed respectively at one end of each picture provide cast shadows, which extend throughout the foreground in an attempt to 'push' the eye to the mid-ground. In spite of this artifice, the frontal viewpoint, with the buildings partially cropped, conveys a sense of flatness, undoubtedly unintentional, given the number of visual tricks used to avoid it.

The limits of the illustrations are most obvious in the depictions of islands (Olivetani, Lazzaretto, Burano, Mazzorbo etc), excepting perhaps the two views dedicated to Torcello. Problematic foreshortening is encountered whenever previous architectonic prospects of Venetian edifices are not used as a reference. Unable to accelerate the time of execution by using existing models, the illustrator's hesitating approach is more obvious in 'total views': sea and landscapes.

Though overwhelmed by the task at hand in rendering Venetian topography, Zucchi conveys more successfully Venetian mythology, either past or contemporary. The golden ratio grid appears in his illustrations of the Venetian festivals and produces simpler, more controlled compositions. The popular distraction called 'Hercule's forces'[669] was performed in connection with religious festivals. Addison recalls that, upon his visit to Venice, this show had been described to him as characteristic of Venice.[670] Such 'site-specific' sensationalist experience explains Albrizzi's and Zucchi's decision to include it. A group of acrobats helped by poles, arranged themselves in a pyramidal shape. In the "*carta*" the golden ratio grid is used again: it allows to re-build the human pyramid within the picture. The anecdotal

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[669]On the 'forze di Ercole' see the item illustrated in Calabi Donatella ed. *Acqua e Cibo a Venezia. Storie della Laguna e della città,* exhibition catalogue, Marsilio 2015

"On Holy-Thursday, among the Several Shows that are yearly exhibited I saw one that is odd enough and particular to the Venetians. There is a Set of Artisans that by the help of several Poles, which they lay across each other's Shoulders build themselves up into a kind of Pyramid […] I have been the more particular on this one because it explains the following verses of Claudian, which show that the Venetians are not the Inventors of the Trick […] Men pil'd on Men, with active Leaps arise | And build the Breathing Fabric to the Skies | A sprightly Youth above the topmost Row | Points the tall Pyramid and crowns the Show" Addison, op. cit, pp. 105-106

addition of a ship in the background at the right makes up for the upright format which in this case does not allow a glimpse at sea or lagoon scenery. One of the horizontal golden ratio lines coincides with the upper wooden beam of the large sail.

CHAPTER 12

Cultural borrowing

Modern European "ideas" of painting could be used as vehicles for aesthetic meaning, occasions for ideological surveys[671] but also as mnemonic tools, whether or not used to moral or didactical ends. Though standards and criteria of 'order' were objects of much dispute in early 18th-century English intellectual circles, the importance that orderly design had reverberated across social hierarchy. Designing and depicting the landscape overlapped,[672] as selecting and improving nature was a main concern for both view-painting and landscape design. Pictorial conventions established by Italian or Italianate 17th-century practice - which privileged classical subject matter - exerted a lasting and considerable influence, reflected in the perception of 'foreign' urban views.

Innovative designs had the best chances of success if deemed of classical descent. At times, claiming classical roots for modern design choices was enough to support their 'authenticity' even in absence of evidence, that is, when there was no documentation proving their classical derivation.[673] Depictions of geometrically balanced gardens coexisted with seemingly 'irregular' models. Supporters of Palladianism were privileging geometrical formal gardens[674] and hence dismissed what they had perceived as 'common' (that is, 'wild'

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[671] "On the one hand, increasing interest in eighteenth-century cultural and social history since the late 1960s, combining with recent theoretical work devoted to reading aesthetics as ideology, has produced a number of substantial critiques of the ideological implications of the Picturesque movement [...]. On the other hand, particularly in the last couple of years, attempts have been made to rehabilitate the Picturesque as a coherent category in aesthetic debate" Copley and Garside, eds.op.cit., Introduction,p 3

[672] Alexander Pope to Reverend Spence: "all landscape gardening is landscape painting" quoted in Phibbs, op. cit. note 5 at p.17

[673] David Jacque *The Formal Garden*, in Chris Ridgeway & Robert Williams eds., *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque England*, 2000

[674] discussions of *wild* and *rough* in Gilpin (compare to R. P. Knight and U. Price) - for a broader exploration of the "unkempt" see the discussion on the destitute in Picturesque aesthetics Raimonda Modiano *The legacy of the Picturesque: landscape, property and the ruin* in Copley and Garside eds, op.cit. p.196-219

unkempt nature) in Brown's gardens.[675] Brown was blamed to had armies of gardeners turn from trimming shrubs and trees into cones and pyramids[676] towards literally re-shaping the land, at times literally excavating flat ground to create man-made hills and valleys.[677]

Though artificial, these landscape designs[678] were somehow perceived to be freed of affectation. Their 'casual' nature has been recently looked at again:

"some of the geometry found in Brown's landscapes seems unnecessary even within the context of a shared understanding of the rules of design. However, one might explain such geometry with the argument that Brown used geometry in every element of his design without asking himself why because that was the tradition in which he had been trained. Cook, John James, Batty Langley, Switzer - writers of garden textbooks that head-gardeners in Brown's time would have had on their shelves - all had substantial sections devoted to geometry."[679]

In other words, as J. Phibbs has recently argued, hidden or in plain sight, geometry was there.

Changes of attitude towards the *veduta* genre, as well as new forms of artistic emulation can be evinced from the academic discourse, but also from the works of art themselves. This invites a comparison between the structural analyses performed on Venetian cityscapes and English view-painting practices.

Emulation

Emulation[680] was not just expressed in the finished result of the 'seats', designed to aristocratic likeness. It imbued process. Learning by copying from the work of previous

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[675] W. Chambers *A dissertation on Oriental Gardening* London 1773 introduction

[676] Addison op.cit.

[677] conversation with Chris Sumner on Lancelot Brown, see Chris Sumner… Brown is reputed to have resorted to King George III's military troops to provide Richmond (today Kew Gardens) with the necessary 'picturesque' variations of level.

[678] Lancelot 'Capability' Brown's

[679] Phibbs p. 12 op. cit

[680] For a historical circumstantiation and a discussion on the relationship between emulation and "the past" see Lowenthal 1985, p. 80

artists had a long standing tradition.[681] It stimulated competition, in a conscientious, some cases even ego-driven way. Referencing the work of successful artists as means of differentiation surpassed the desire of honing one's craft. In a way, this produced a shift from skill to artistic 'self'. While this procedure bears formal resemblances to present-day artists' revisitations of the past[682], in the 18th-century, emulation leading to recognisable citation was considered a part of a science: the "science" of connoisseurship.[683]

A similar mechanism of *authentication* as in the case of the relationship between a gentleman and his 'seat' occurred in the case of emulation among painters. It presupposed legitimate access to, if not dominion of, a relevant source. For a gentleman, ownership of the estate was made manifest through the name printed on the picture of the house. For an artist, access to distant cultural sources or to cultural data and knowledge occurred through travel: of the artist to the source, or of the source to the artist, encouraged by numerous re-publications of seminal texts, like treatises and commentaries by classical authors and their Renaissance spiritual heirs.

Emulation and cultural borrowing were thus becoming part of a discourse, declaring its author's civic humanism[684] and demonstrating cultural and intellectual breadth. "Reynolds's ambition was not limited to the transformation of the culture of the British profession. It was equally essential that the art-buying public were receptive to his cosmopolitan agenda."[685] The study of other painters' work, as source of inspiration or form

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[681] from Cennini to Reynolds

[682] Though the motivating force behind this similar approach differ: while in the 18th-century it might have sprung from ideas of improvement, a spirit of competition, a belief in progress (technical, intellectual) and in the evolution of the arts from 'primitive' to 'fine' fully operational well into the Victorian era (see *Unpacking culture*) contemporary artists appear to find strength in questioning these ideas, regarded / challenged / discarded as cultural constructs.

[683] Richardson op. cit.

[684] Barrell 1988

[685] "Soon after the establishment of the Academy, Reynolds began to exhibit works which the more educated of his viewers would have recognised as being in the `manner` of a particular European master. Reynolds`s famous, or in some circles, notorious, practice of imitation` centred upon the witty use of visual quotations drawn from the stock of European art-history`s best-known compositions. This novel form of contrived eclecticism was in some respects the natural outcome of the growth of the international trade in printed reproductions – most notably engravings of `master works` in major European private collections`.Matthew Craske `Art in Europe 1700 – 1830. A history of the visual arts in an era of unprecedented urban economic growth` Oxford University Press 1997, pp. 135 -136

of competition, was something that British practitioners were encouraged to look at in the recently founded Royal Academy. Thoroughly aware of the long established 'atelier' learning process, Reynolds included in his 'Grand Manner' enough hints from Old Masters' works to make the reference noticeable, while leaving out enough to defend himself from plagiarism.

Recognition and recollection

In the decades following the publication of the *Discourses…* cultural borrowing took new turns. The much-discussed connection between Turner and Claude provides insight, and, given that Turner did not act inconsistently[686] with the rest of his practice in his depictions of Venice, much can be learnt from this connection. Turner's practice distanced itself from Reynolds`s allusive play of wit.[687]

Reynolds's 'quotes' presupposed *recognition,* by referring to a particular art-historical case and by testing its intellectual affordances on his audience. Turner relied on recognition, especially in his early years attempts at Venetian-inspired subject-matter,[688] however it sounded as if he was playing on a distant chord. I argue that Turner's quest to 'out-Claude' Claude was rooted in the *recollection* more than the *recognition* of subject-matter. Reasons for this can be found in both 'private' and 'public' areas.

In a literal sense, recollecting meant 'collecting again' which would suggest that Turner behave as a Grand Tourist:[689] he selected, informed by taste, clientele and competition, what, in the pictures he saw, could prompt *personal,* memorable, connections. Whether this selective choice of visual elements was based on somebody else's first-hand observations[690] or, once his travels had begun, his own, is secondary to the point.

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[686] In his formative years Turner, especially as newly accepted Royal Academician, followed the lines traced by Reynolds in terms of imitating the masters, he copied and produced works inspired by Titian, Veronese and Tintoretto. See Ian Warrell "Turner e la pittura veneziana" p.61-74 in Tate Britain exhibition catalogue

[687] Craske, op. cit. p.136

[688] see Warrell op.cit.

[689] and the itinerary of his first voyage to Italy is much on a Grand Tour 'track'

[690] The mnemonic charge of 'second -hand' drawings could explain why Turner resorted to them as references when illustrating not just places he had not seen, but also in the case of places that he had seen.

Turner's documented practice of working from life *and* from memory was in no way revolutionary. It was a response to what had long been encouraged in England as academically approved conduct, via Aglionby, Richardson and Reynolds. As we have seen, drawing as a mnemonic tool was envisioned by Aglionby in 1685 as the appropriate behaviour for Gentlemen travelling, in order to compensate for the shortcomings of memory.

Before he started to travel, Turner was picture-travelling, as Richardson had advised. The literature describing foreign destinations or involving travel had exerted its influence on Turner as much as his intense collaborations with publishers satisfying a demand for travel and travel-related topics, through diversified productions reaching a wealthy public or people lacking the means to travel. In the latter case, the names of such annual issues are revealingly mnemonic: *The Literary Souvenir*, *The Amulete*, *The Keepsake*.[691]

That Turner's sequence of practical steps in his 'finished' works relied on memory more than it did on observation, or it required a second-stage elaboration of 'observation' could be explained also by Turner's alleged discomfort in being observed sketching and the need to limit the time of exposure to an unpleasant experience. The resulting sketches done in these conditions would have contained limited data, meaning Turner had to entrust to memory visual information without ever putting it down on paper. By comparing the observational drawings done on his first trip to Venice in 1819 to those made in the subsequent trips of 1833 and 1840[692], his data-recording annotations appear increasingly stenographical.

Sometimes, contributing factors involved atmospheric and lighting conditions rather than social conjecture or psychological profiling: heightened observation and memory powers were necessary in limited visibility conditions, for instance in the re-elaboration of nocturnal views.[693]

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[691] See Ian Warrell, p .87

[692] see notebooks at Tate

[693] According to Warrell op.cit. p.139 Turner's process of elaboration of nocturnal " è evidente che Turner sviluppò molte di queste immagini atmosferiche a partire dalle impressioni immagazzinate nella sua memoria, in base a un metodo per molti versi analogo a quello che Whistler seguirà negli anni settanta per dipingere la serie di notturni sulle rive del Tamigi. Entrambi gli artisti si erano esercitati a tenere a mente gli elementi fondamentali delle vedute, cosi come i dettagli più caratteristici è le differenze tra i toni " Richard Dorment & Margaret MacDonald eds. *James McNeill Whistler* exhibition - Tate Gallery 1994 pp.120-122

All of these reasons would have founded Turner's quotes from Claude more in personal recollections than in observational recordings. Of course, other factors intervened. Turner's undeniable knack for self-promotion, and awareness of the art milieu seen at once as market, cultural industry and platform for theorisation made him a man of his time. But so had been Claude and Reynolds before him. In referencing Claude, Turner produced cultural critique just as Reynolds did; contemporary accounts report that he did so at a gain.[694] Nonetheless, Turner's visual citations are not content-narrative i.e. recounting history or myth, as much as they are process-related. Visual elements are not physically transferred or simply reorganised in space. Umbrella-pines, dark-foregrounds-against-backlit-skies, one-point perspective with architectural receding orthogonal lines running towards a low-horizon sun: all these elements can be *recognise*d there[695], in Turner's pictures. However, they were not slavishly copied, nor wittily quoted from Claude.

How then was Turner's Claudean re-collection expressed in terms of pictorial practice, given that words do not quite translate to pictures? I argue that Turner's visual recollection involved at once transmitting and concealing subject matter. Content was *filtered*, both literally and figuratively speaking.

Literally: the amount of yellow in Turner's *pendants* to Claude could find a parallel in Claude's paintings' state of conservation. A two-hundred years long exposure to candle-light and dim daylight, combined with the natural yellowing of the varnishes would certainly have had the effect of warming up cool tints. Seventeenth-century Italian painting techniques in use during Claude's lifetime suggest a scarce presence of yellowing oil-based colours in sky-tints.[696] *Still-de-grain* had been popular with Dutch practitioners, however landscape painters at Rome, following the novelties introduced to view-painting by the Carracci

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[694] John Ruskin *Modern Painters: Their superiority in the Art of Landscape Painting to all The Ancient Masters*... London 1843

[695] see also Ian Warrell on Turner and Claude-inspired compositional elements

[696] R Symonds writes about the techniques of Canini a fellow of Poussin, Cf. Helen Glanville *Varnish, Grounds, Viewing Distance, and Lighting: Some Notes on Seventeenth-Century Italian Painting Technique* pp. 12-19 see esp.pp.14-15 in *Historical Painting Techniques, Materials, and Studio Practice,* University of Leiden, the Netherlands, 26-29 June 1995, Arie Wallert, Erma Hermens, and Marja Peek eds. Art History Institute of the University of Leiden, Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science, Amsterdam, published by The J. Paul Getty Trust, 1995

brothers, kept oil glazes to a minimum, veiling with semitransparent hues, and rarely altering the chromatic key of the underpainting which had to receive sky tints.[697] Yellowing with oil-based dilutions of bodiless pigments was played down purposefully to allow the tempera underpainting to show through, and ensure that the azure of the skies remained "azzuro." Sixteenth-century Venetian landscape backdrops often consisted of tempera underpainting untouched by oil glazes, with only a final resinous varnish applied to unify the whole.[698]

However, in Turner's days, not only Claude's paintings had turned brown, but "[t]ourists would make use of a "Claude glass", whose oval, reflective surface was coloured to give and "Old Master" effect of dark varnish.[699] The skilled viewer could position himself to view the real landscape in the glass, making sure to obtain a view with trees at either side, a water feature or historical monument in the middle ground, and a receding vista leading the eye to the horizon."[700] This is not to say that, by apparently ignoring that Claude's paintings had originally had a brighter, cooler chromatic key, Turner was lacking technical insight, but rather that he purposefully took, challenged and interpreted these paintings *as he had found them*, not as Claude had painted them.

A pragmatic motivation was that, as he had found them, so did others. Turner and his clients saw Claude's paintings some hundred and fifty years after completion. As any practising artist making a living from his art, Turner had to be aware of his interlocutors' perceptions and taste.[701]

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[697] ibid. note on *plein-air* in the studio of a pupil of Poussin (not Domenichino) – the gentleman notes that the blues of the skies had not been covered…oil paint, to which the painter replied 'tanto meglio, non se vernicia l`azzuro'

[698] Marc Havel *La technique du tableau,* Dessain et Tolra

[699] See also Malcolm Andrews on "greens turned into "mellow browns" on a picturesque painter's palette. op. cit

[700] Tim Barringer and Oliver Fairclough *Pastures Green and Dark Satanic Mills* exhibition catalogue,, American Federation of Arts and Amgueddfa Cymru - National Museum Wales, 2014, pp. 23-24; Clearly, given the expectations of English tourists on picturesque tours in England, Claude's pictures, as paradigms of "Claudean painting" were expected to have, as Lowenthal writes, the "look of age".

[701] Connoisseurs conversed with painters and required technical advice from them. Thomas Jones' anecdote on the subject is delicious. He had lost a commission for being unwilling to play along his client's knowledgeable affectation with "bleached canvas and mineral colours" Walpole Society, vol. 32, 1951 quoted in Denvir op. cit.

Figuratively speaking, regardless of the means used to convey it, the 'patina of time' acted as a *filter*. Influential studies[702] of the last decades have concluded that biased assumptions based on observation tend to operate selectively, and that favourable bias weighs heavily in the evaluation of content and on the decisions taken as a result of that evaluation. Using this observation as the hypothesis in the attempt to solve the problem of storage and transmission of visual data means that viewers would have found it easier to consider 'patina' as blocking redundancy and let the 'essence' to shine through, rather than the other way around. As people tend to trust their own memories because they are theirs, not because they are accurate, so was the 'patina construct' thought to *condense* rather than confuse content. Adding subsequent layers would have taken away detail and reduced the amount of information.

While taking away detail could appear as effacement, the picture became 'simpler'. Optically obscuring meant figuratively *elucidating* the picture. In a process of *abstraction by subtraction*, blurring the contours brought the 'essential' into focus. The notion of 'patina' appears therefore as a mental construct made of time and spacial distance interspersed between sender and receiver of content, as much as the result of chemical and physical alteration. In the execution of a painting, the patina would have fulfilled over time the same role as Leonardo's elaborate glazes and Titian's *velature*. Adding layers added distance.[703]

Abstraction by subtraction

Images associated with dream and memory, so often described or represented with blurred outlines and hazy auras, as to entrench convention, possess a factual relevance which transcends slavish topography. I shall here discuss means of abstraction by subtraction,

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[702] A. Tversky & D. Kahneman op.cit. ;D. M. Webster & A. W. Kruglanski op. cit.

[703] André Félibien This same effect, wrote Felibien, can be created by distance with "the aid of the air interposed between the eye and the object, using different distances," or by the application of a varnish "which is why we cover paintings with a varnish that blunts that brightness and sharp edge [qui emousse cette pointe brillante et cette vivacite] which at times appears too strongly or unevenly in freshly painted works 1685. *Entretiens sur les vies et les ouvrages des plus excellents peintres anciens et modernes*, 2nd ed. Paris. Vo!' 2, Entretien VII:240 - 242 quoted in H. Glanville op. cit, pp. 12-13. Perhaps "emousser" should be here translated as "to soften" rather than "to blunt".

announced in Part 1, as examples can be brought here. As shown above, in this case the means of abstraction can be found in the author's visual thinking expressed in pictorial, rather than architectural or geometrical terms. Caprices,[704] quixotic views blending fact and fiction as much as past and present, often involved archaeological vestiges. Materially, ruins were buildings with *effaced*[705] architectonic contours. They afforded *filtered* representations, offering visual expressions of the passage of time.

In the 18th-century intellectual discourse, this lexicon of obfuscation and overlapping[706] did not however imply visual confusion.[707] This is clearer seen in terms of process: abstraction should be considered not merely in terms of *accuracy* i.e. sharpness, detail, associable with drawing-as-outline, but also in terms of *credibility*, of overall ensuring that the right parts are in the right places, in which case recognition relies more on drawing-as-masses: light, shade, texture.[708] I shall elaborate.

Firstly, these two practical approaches faithfully reflect how artists would behave in front of a landscape: by combining outlines and masses. In front of the motif[709], even though the actual process was not (necessarily) theorised at the beginning of each new painting, one could choose to take the street of topography, establishing shape by means of outlining, with tonal and chromatic information subsequently addressed, or one could swiftly attempt to capture the whole and often focus on light and atmosphere, and in this instance there was no time for detail; it had to be added later. Claude's best drawings involve a diffusion of line into shape. Their contours blend optically if not materially into the surrounding shapes, similar

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[704] See Part 1,

[705] "When all these regular forms are softened by distance [...] when farm houses and ordinary buildings lose all their vulgarity of shape [..] it is unconceivable what richness, and beauty, this mass of deformity, when melted together adds to a landscape" William Gilpin Lakes, I, pp.7-8 quoted in "Malcolm Andrews *The Search for the Picturesque,* p85 Scholar Press 1989

[706] E. Burke op.cit., W. Gilpin, U. Price

[707] While this may seem counter-current with the discourse of scientific exactness often associated with Enlightenment, it should be remembered how very disputed notions of "picturesque" or "sublime" were (are) with regard to meaning and agency - see M. Andrews op .cit. and Copley & Garside op. cit.

[708] in a schematic way, the works of Prout and Stanfield could be contrasted to Turner along the lines of this reasoning; see Warrell p .87 who also quotes Lindey Stainton and the "dissolution of shape..."

[709] Plein-air painting was not invented at Barbizon. Artists of all times have considered studying outdoors.

to 'real' perceptions[710] while their dream-like quality relies at once on a lyrical lighting mood and on subject matter, offering visual narratives of an idealised past, the idealisation of which was visually achieved through abstraction.

Secondly, at no point in the praxis of 18th-century landscape painters was this 'diffusion' understood also a dissolution of shape. Both takes at landscape - 'line' or 'light' - involved planning and composition, either specifically rehearsed, or instantly resorted to, thanks to continuous practice. In theoretical circles, reflected in artistic practice, an equation between 'truth' and verisimilitude meant that representing 'reality' - while it was the artist's reality[711] - was thought to be *attainable*. The physical 'reality' of oil painting being that pictures yellowed and darkened in time, it was the construct of time, supposed to have flown between fresh unvarnished coolness and later stage re-enactments or revisitations, which added to their credibility. The 18th-century term used in Venice was "*affumicato*" acknowledging that a haze of smoke was perceived as a filter taking away saturation and brightness out of actual or painted views, and also that the "effect" could be intentionally sought to lend pictures an "air of antique": "*Affumicato (Quadro .) È questo un Quadro assai vecchio , annerito dal tempo. Sono stati alcuna fiata affumicati Quadri d'Autori moderni, per accrescer loro pregio, dando a 'medesimi un'aria d'antico.*"[712]

[710] Leonardo's sfumato of receding planes was based on optical observation

[711] "painters paint what they know, not what they see" Gombrich op. cit.

[712] Lacombe op. cit. p. 10, Lowenthal op. cit.

CHAPTER 13

Painting the past

A Roman intermezzo

With regard to the distinction between 'outlined' views and views "softened by distance" of which William Gilpin wrote on his picturesque tours[713] I argue, that the notion of *distance,* while it applies more to *space* in Gilpin's practice, was more concerned with *time,* in Turner's case. In order to discuss this, I shall introduce an example which, though based in Rome, sets an important precedent for what may be called Turner's mnemonic take on Venetian subject matter in the decades that followed his first visit to the lagoon. Is indeed the painting *Rome, from the Vatican. Raffaelle, Accompanied by La Fornarina, Preparing his Pictures for the Decoration of the Loggia* as descriptively programmatic as its title seems to suggest? The large canvas was exhibited in 1820, when Turner was fresh back from his well-prepared Grand Tour.[714] Among "his [Raphael's] Pictures" displayed in the lower register of Turner's painting, one particular image is relevant to this discussion, while it could otherwise pass unobserved amidst iconic pictorial-prop quotations such as *Madonna della Sedia* and the *Fornarina* herself, half-way between elusive muse and animated work of art. This other image is so out of context that it betrays a central preoccupation to Turner's practice. In terms of genre, it is a landscape.

Looking again at the 'big' picture, whether history-painting or view-painting, there is the issue of chronology. Turner collates history and fiction. He anachronistically juxtaposes Raphael's loggia with modern Rome, as it appeared to him and to contemporary tourists: Bernini's colonnade, resulting from the mid 17th-century intervention in the piazza San

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[713] M. Andrews op. cit.

[714] see for instance Turner's 1819 sketches after John 'Warwick' Smith's 'Select Views in Italy' at Tate Britain and Nicola Moorby' Tate entry on Turner's preparations for the 1801-2 and 1819-1820 tours: sponsors, sources R. Colt Hoare op.cit. and John Chetwode Eustace op. cit, the latter's guide was annotated. The guide was dedicated to the 1st Earl Brownlow, see Abigail Brundin and Dunstan Roberts *Book-buying habits and the Grand Tour: the Italian books at Belton House in Lincolnshire* Oxford Journals 2015, The Library, 7th series, Vol. 16. No. 1

Pietro, is emphasised through lighting and composition. Turner time-travels to the past, but his choice of landscape stops in the 17th-century, not the 16th. While disregard for chronology might be a matter of personal taste or an indication of art market adaptability, Turner's interest in 17th-century Roman art is however made clear.

Focusing now on the small framed landscape, according to title and narrative, this should be part of Raphael's decorative programme. Surely, this is *not* how Raphael painted trees. The contrived eclecticism displayed in an homage declaredly meant for Raphael is complicated by Turner's pictorial life-time involvement with another 'immigrant' painter, whose life and career was signed, just as Raphael's, by the fact that Rome had been at once highpoint and final career destination. The painter is Claude.

Notwithstanding the fact that by "his Pictures" he means Raphael's, Turner references by and large a 17th-century Roman pastoral, exquisitely Claude-like in it's deceitful simplicity[715] of composition and finishing (Fig. 76). It is worth noting how this Claudean landscape provides a "hole" in the picture, in a way similar to *L'atelier du peintre* conceived three decades later by Courbet[716] (in which a piece of cloth hangs down from the corner of the canvas to help the intense blue sky underneath it recede, making sure that people understand that this is a "painting, not a 'window.")[717] Only that it does do in reverse. With Courbet, the blue sky in the picture accentuates the window effect, while in Turner's painting, the low-key tonal 'Claude landscape' is backlit within and around its painted frame. It is at once the characteristic backlit view and, if taking the painting as an 'object' a part of Turner's whole picture, placed against a lit background: the sunlit waterworks embellishing Bernini's architectural continuation of St Peter's.

This double-backlit effect echoes Claude's practice. Shade-against-backlit-background or sun-in-the-picture: each a trope associated with Claude. More importantly, a trope associated with *indoors* experience, an experience physically and figuratively framed

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[715] Arnheim op. cit.

[716] *L'Atelier du peintre. Allégorie Réelle déterminant une phase de sept années de ma vie artistique (et morale)* Musée d'Orsay

[717] René Berger op .cit.

by the existence of an opening onto the outdoors[718]. Now, when the light comes from the background but *not* from the foreground, like in Claude and contemporary Italianate painters[719], the landscape takes the lead over the figure, or at least the image is perceived holistically, with figures and background merging into a 'naturally looking' scene. In an ideal case, gazing at a picture in which the light source is placed in the background would compellingly evoke (or at least come closer to) the experience of looking outside a window.

Turner establishes the lighting key in a clear way in order to inform the viewer that the painting-in-the-painting is an object, not a landscape, and not just any object. I argue that it is Turner's *memory* of a Claude painting, his own *distant-in-time* Roman souvenir. Arguments come firstly from visual data relevant to the evolution of his pictorial practice; and secondly, connection to a sketchbook page, showing informal notations scribbled down by Turner, while he was looking at a pair of small Claude paintings.[720]

Firstly, and without a doubt, Turner did not discover Claude or *contre-jour* paintings '*en plein-air'*. Painters who came from Britain to Rome and its surroundings, such as Richard Wilson[721] and John Robert Cozens provided Turner both with models imbued with Italianate flair and a desire to travel. The same applies to the works of Samuel Scoot and William Marlow as a means of introducing Turner to Canaletto's Venetian views.[722] Works of these and other artists[723] were available to both Turner and Thomas Girtin. Among other opportunities, the house of his early patron Dr Thomas Monro, an aspiring draughtsman and

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[718] for a psychological reading see Joy Schaverien *The Picture within the Frame* ...1989 cf. also David Punter op.cit. pp. 228-229

[719] Berchem for instance

[720] Tate Britain

[721] "England has at yet had no landscape painters of eminence but Wilson, and his struggles had cleared the way for Turner. The rage for illustrated topographical works gave artists ample employment. The engraving and speculations of Boydell had opened and enlarged the print-buying public" Walter Thornbury *The Life of J. M. W. turner R.A. Founded on Letters and Papers Furnished by His Friends and Fellow Academicians*, London, Hurst and Blackett, 1862 p29

[722] Michael Liversidge, Jane Farrington, *Canaletto and England*, Birmingham 1993, p. 104-117 cited in Ian Warrell Turner and Venice" p. 51 and fol.

[723] Ian Warrell observes that David Wilkie who was in Venice in 1826, and noted that architectonically, Venice resembled the area around Covent Garden: St. Martin's Court, Maiden Lane, Cranbourne Alley, was the area of Turner's childhood. cf. Warrell, op. cit p.23

explorer of Gainsborough's and Wilson's landscaping offered such occasions.

A triple inquiry on the compositions of Dr Monro, Wilson and Cozens shows that Claude's works have been studied, not just in terms of atmosphere and anecdote, but also structure. Richard Wilson's practice was imbued with Claude's evocative descriptions of the Roman campagna. This can be seen in the atmospheric reworking of motifs and the compositional devices that he applied to his English subjects[724] and before that, in his own studies of Italian subjects. While often done from life, they 'Claude'-culturally-mediated[725], and the borrowings are at once formal and tonal. Reputedly, Wilson himself was aware that structure and features can be grasped more easily from drawings than from paintings.[726] A drawing by Richard Wilson[727] at the British Museum mirrors Turner's feigned and framed personal interpretation of Raphaelesque landscape, while it conforms to the golden ratio grid. A drawing by Cozens[728] also connects to Turner's Roman capriccio displayed in the tribute to Raphael at the Tate. Here, the arrangement of the shapes of the trees and the horizon line according to the golden ratio grid previously discussed is visible. The horizon is set on the lower golden ratio horizontal, while the upper golden ratio horizontal overlaps a point of inflexion in the main tree, where a horizontal branch stems from the trunk[729] (Fig. 77).

Secondly, looking at sketches after Claude[730] it is known that Turner had done them in Rome[731] one year before completing his "Raphael panting". Though pencilled in, they are

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[724] See earlier reference to Dutch Italianate landscape painters in Chapter 3 paragraph *Means of abstraction…* See also discussion in B. Aikema on the origins of *vedutismo*.

[725] To the point that subject matter and compositional scheme are similar to the functioning of 'Claude glasses': Wilson often employs a shaded tree in the foreground, like a maritime or an umbrella pine, a middle-ground providing the architecture and some sinuous device (path, course of water) pushing the eye towards a cooler bleached background.

[726] Wilson on flutters of colour…

[727] BM

[728] *Castel Gandolfo and Lake Albano*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

[729] Cozens' fascination with trees was such that his son's training led to the latter's publishing of a treatise on the "skeletons of trees": a scientifically ambitious output behind botanical drawing.

[730] Sketches of Two Paintings by Claude from the Barberini and Sciarra Collections, Rome 1819 D16848 Turner Bequest CXCIII 80

[731] Jerrold Ziff , cf. Tate Britain entries by Nicola Moorby and Matthew Imms

of the *drawing-as-masses* kind, giving an indication of shape and summary suggestions of light rather than outlining visual content. The upper sketch is after a painting by Claude which might have inspired also Cozen's drawing, as it depicts the same spot, a high vantage point near Castel Gandolfo and Lake Albano.[732] The fascination exerted by the venue should not be underestimated: it explains both Turner's and Cozens' interest. It attracted other artists such as Thomas Jones and Joseph Wright of Derby.[733] Piranesi needed an entire album to explore the area.[734] "Wherever you stand you see an Albano landscape"[735] wrote Horace Walpole of Stoke, Buckinghamshire in 1735.

The lower sketch[736] on Turner's sheet annotates what is usually regarded as the quintessential 'Claudean view': a harbour scene with a radiant sun in the lower register. Stylised annotations, both drawings are similar to the 'illusion' in oils included in the large Raphael-themed painting at the Tate. Compositional grids[737] seem unlikely, given the loose-annotation *fattura* of the sketches. However, the lax markings, suggesting the octagonal contours of Claude's pictures, should be taken as an indicator of carelessness in the *composition*, as this is in fact the *content* of Turner's sketches. Turner placed the sun in the same position as Claude had done in his octagonal view of the port of Santa Marinella (Fig. 78): close to a golden ratio line. In Claude's painting, the sun is indicated by a nodal point on a golden ratio grid. Turner made swift notations and not prospect drawings measured with ruler and compass; it was probably constant and lengthy use of ruler and compass that led him to (instinctively)[738] place the sun in a point in the composition echoing Claude's picture

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[732] *Pastoral Landscape with Castel Gandolfo*, 1639 (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)

[733] *Pastures Green and Dark Satanic Mills* exhibition catalogue, Tim Barringer and Oliver Fairclough, American Federation of Arts and Amgueddfa Cymru - National Museum Wales, 2014, p72. Three versions of Wright's panting of Lake Albano exist.

[734] The Royal Collection

[735] Phibbs op. cit: "Walpole had recourse to this definition throughout his life: at Stowe, Buckinghanmshire, in 1735"; *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann*, edited by Wilmarth S. Lewis, 48 vols: vol. XXXV (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 75

[736] *Landscape with the Port of Santa Marinella* 1639–1640 (Petit Palais, Paris)

[737] see Nicola Moorby - Tate catalogue on Powell and Turner's "division of pages in the Remarks (Italy) sketchbook which resembles that of his earlier copies of Claude's works in the Fonthill sketchbook, 1804

[738] discussion with Tate Paper Conservator Rosie Freemantle

(Fig. 79). Finally, Turner's tribute to Raphael at the Tate, presented the homage to Claude (the painting-in-the-painting) adorned by a gilded frame with cut angles, a possible hint at Claude's peculiar octagonal pair of views[739] (Fig. 80).

The use of compositional grids in the practice of 17th-century landscape artists operating in Rome was sometimes more complicated than the naughts-and-crosses kind of structure I had previously introduced,[740] however, a drawing long attributed to Claude, until it was rather recently given to Pierre Patel offers corroboration. Even if not by Claude - heavier chiaroscuro, cruder passages from dark to light and a rather hesitating treatment of the washes may question its attribution - it offers insight into landscape painting practices in 17th-century Rome. This because the small drawing[741] has the quality of displaying a compositional grid. Functioning as squaring[742], the grid was meant to facilitate transfer or size variation - given its small size, enlargement. At the same time, a diagonal-based grid was one of the simplest and most effective ways to achieve the illusion of depth in a two-dimensional composition. Here, the crossing of the diagonals establishes the centre of the rectangular sheet, and two added lines (parallel to the base and height, respectively) are drawn through the centre dividing the drawing in halves, both horizontally and vertically. Uniting the middle points on the sides a dynamic lozenge is formed. All of the above lines composing this simple grid are not traced on top of the finished drawing, but lay beneath it, as Bouleau[743] has observed, which confirms its compositional role (Fig. 81)

Though the composition abides by the visible compositional grid, with large masses of light and shade strategically placed in accordance with the traced lines, it also responds to a less obvious grid. Bouleau considered the visible grid to support his argument on harmonious proportions. By performing a simple measurement, I invite reflection upon

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739 Thanks to Matthew Hardy for suggesting that their shape could have been related to a certain interior, in which they had to fit.

740 The base of the rectangular figure subsequently cut into an octagon, is still being divided to find its golden ratio. And then divided in two. These two golden segment halves are then placed on the side from each corner and they indicate the two cutting points to obtain the octagon.

741 BM

742 'Diagonal squaring' indicated in the BM catalogue entry online

743 Charles Bouleau op.cit.

another possible grid, and this because the drawing is no longer intact. Bouleau`s structural analysis was based on ostensible truth.

Until late into the 19th-century, tracing a contour (often in ink) around the drawing remained an effective practice to provide a clearer grasp of the overall composition by confining it. Besides serving as an embellishment, this was also a way to speedily "frame" an artwork whose sketchiness might have otherwise deceived viewers into believing that the work was 'unfinished'. Bordering signalled that it was 'done'.[744] A freely traced outline is still visible at the bottom and left of this drawing, making the presence of such borders on all sides plausible. By comparing the right side with the left side, it can be seen that the diagonals do not intersect the base and top of the picture where they should i.e. at the corners (upper and lower right), but must be prolonged outside the sheet in order do so. (Fig. 82) Performing this operation, the difference between actual and logical width can be found. With this addition in mind, the golden ratio lines now overlap the ropes of the large ship to the right, as well as the horizontal beam crossing the mast (Fig 83). The middle pole (in the row of three at the left) and the line on the castle where light and dark meet undiluted side by side correspond also to golden ratio lines. But why do the ropes curve in an unnatural way? On a cord suspended between two uneven contact points indicated with H (high) and L (low) gravity-shaped curving requires that the lowest point X be closer to L (presuming that fibre density is even across the cord). This is not the case in the drawing. Given that representational art forms in modern Europe were based on observation (written down, memorised, retrieved) the oddity of this line can be explained either by the ink flow or a slipping of the drawing tool, or by observance of another criterion. The handling of the quill indicates a discontinuous flow of ink, however this might not be the only reason. The ink-mark 'impersonating' the rope revolves inwards. Perhaps it (instinctively) avoids crossing the golden ratio line: when the flattened curve is completely described, its exit point, indicated by a continuous thinning of the line (due to the natural release of pressure as a result of lifting-up the pen) is illogically, but accurately situated on the horizontal golden

[744] see further discussion and note on Guardi's illusionistic frame in inks, bordering a drawing in the Victoria & albert Museum, in Chapter 14 *Turner*, paragraph *'Canaletti painting'*

ratio vertical line.

Moreover, this is a fantasy view, as suggested by the presence of a particular type of *pentimenti*. The changes of mind are not of a type that I shall here call 'representational' or *placement* type (where the artist places hesitating marks in an attempt to contain and compose shape, for example when multiple signs testify an effort to outline) but of a 'conceptual' i.e. *thought-recording* type, (recording alterations of visual content as the composition evolves). This supports the hypothesis that 17th and 18th-centuries European view painting was concerned as much with *abstraction* of visual content, as with its imitation; the latter was supposed to look beyond "exactness" and towards the "nature of the thing imitated": "It is not, indeed, from the exactness of the imitation alone, but from the nature of the thing imitated also, that the pleasure, which the works of Painting afford us, is derived" postulates Boydell in his *Life of Claude Le Lorrain* opening the English edition of *Liber Veritatis*.[745]

Fantasy views were highly praised throughout the 18th-century, and were found especially delightful by English travellers, whatever contemporary critical lens one may use to explain the Grand Tourists' mobility to Italy. A variable mix of 'real' and imaginary features, free from the tyranny of topography, a *capriccio* was something the painter was at *liberty* to produce, moving his points of interest across the field by inventing new objects or by establishing new visual hierarchies, based on size, brightness, colour. As soon as the need to recognise a site-as-a-whole disappeared, it was replaced with the delights of the hunt for meaning, in this case, assembling pieces of architectural puzzles. The important elucidation here is that the liberties painters took did not make them loose sight of the fact that these points of interest should fall into place in a harmonious composition.

Having paralleled Claude's and Turner's past-oriented practice, in terms of classical subject matter and harmonious proportions[746], I shall conclude this work by exploring how, in terms of composition, 'past' work informed Turner's Venetian 'contemporary' paintings.

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[745] J. Boydell *Life of Claude Le Lorrain* in *Liber Veritatis* London 1777

[746] While a political motivation cannot be overruled: see David Laven "Venezia sotto gli austriaci" p.45 catalogue Turner and Venice, Ian Warrell ed.

CHAPTER 14

Turner's Venice

'Canaletti painting'

The practice of the most successful Venetian painter of views, especially works executed at the height of his creative powers, became a standard by which subsequent *esercitazioni* of English painters were measured.

"In 1833 Turner exhibited his first[747] picture of Venice; Venice – the dogana, the Campanile of San Marco, the ducal Palace, and Bridge of Sighs, with Canaletti painting. Turner, from this time, painted many pictures [of Venice] never appreciating in the right way the poetry of its Oriental gothic Palaces, and always seeming inclined to whiten the buildings, in accordance with his conventional notions of classical architecture learnt in the office of an architectural draughtsman."[748]

G W Thornbury, Turner's first biographer, goes to some length to explain his less than enthusiastic opinion about Venetian architectural content of Turner's work. He recounts an anecdote from Turner's childhood: allegedly, the future Professor of Perspective at the Royal Academy was being sent home repeatedly to his exasperate father, judged unfit to learn the first thing about prospect drawing.

Endeavouring to write a 'first' biography (as he carefully informs his readers from the very start), Thornbury makes certain that he includes Ruskin: he therefore refers to the latter's polite letter of response, declining interest in the matter. Taking a sensible approach, Thornbury is perhaps cautious of his own literary status, deflecting potential criticism at a

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[747] By which Turner's biographer intends the "first" oil picture, cf. also Ian Warrell "Turner and Venice" exhibition catalogue at Tate Britain & Museo Correr, Electa Mondadori, 2004, p.96. Warrell discusses Turner's second Venetian painting exhibited in the same year, a view of the Piazzetta, in the context of Richard Parkers Bonington's similar views at p. 26-27. He connects the oil painting "Venice….", in both chromatic and compositional terms with a watercolour from 1819 - the last in the Como and Venice album, Turner Bequest CLXXXI &, D15258, Tate Britain, cf. also p. 25 - see later also discussion on this specific watercolour.

[748] Thornbury, refers to Thomas Malton, who, he writes, Turner was said to have mentioned as his "real master" op. cit. p27

time when Ruskin`s expertise on Turner was unquestioned. Either way, what he says, besides criticising Turner`s Venetian views and airing his own enthusiasms about the "poetry of [Venice`s] Oriental gothic Palaces" is that Turner learnt "classical architecture" with "an architectural draughtsman".

This first picture of Venice only appears in 1833.[749] Turner had embarked upon his tour in 1819-1820 [750] when, after the end of the Napoleonic wars, leisure travel became again possible. Turner planned his tour in detail.[751] In the late 18th and early 19th-century' Britain, the 'real' tour to Italy[752] , if no longer 'grand' nor gentlemanly, became affordable[753] for new levels of society, whenever political conditions permitted. Travelling in search of culture increasingly meant travelling across mixed levels of society. At the same time, making cultural pursuits more easily accessible became part of a growing culture of travel.

Was Turner's decision to exhibit Venetian subject matter in that year motivated by commercial interests[754] as he was picking up signals of success from his competitors, particularly Clarkson Stanfield? The latter presented a larger, sharp-contoured, more topographical yet similarly angled Venetian view in the same show.

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[749] "La ragione precisa per cui Turner non sentì immediatamente il desiderio di servirsi del materiale veneziano [from the 1819-1820 trip to Italy] per realizzare opere da esporre al pubblico rimane un mistero" Ian Warrell, op. cit. p. 25

[750] For an accurate survey of Turner's precedent attempts at Venetian subject-matter, as well as his introduction to Canaletto's paintings and drawings, whether at Bedford House or in the collections of Dr. Thomas Monro or Sir Richard Colt Hoare, see Ian Warrell, op. cit p. 51-59. The importance the trip to Italy had in a painter's effort to secure status emerges also from the recent Francis Townes exhibition at the British Museum. The locally established painter risked financial security to travel. Upon returning from roughly a one year trip to Italy, spent mainly in Naples and its surroundings, Townes tried to use his newly gained Grand Tour credentials to legitimise his aspirations of becoming a Royal Academician. Turned down 11 times, embittered by refusal, as his correspondence states, Townes stubbornly clung to the Italian experience throughout his life to present himself as an international artist. Also see Howard Repton.

[751] Taking advice from James Hakewill, who had toured Italy in 1816-17 and planned to publish an illustrated guide: *A Picturesque Tour of Italy*. Hakewill provided Turner with directions for things to see and do at Venice. The editorial project was overseen by John Murray II, Byron's editor. Turner was the artist upon which writer and editor finally agreed to entrust with the making of watercolours. See p.24 and p 57-59, Warrell, op.cit.

[752] For instance see Thomas Martyn *An appendix to The gentleman's guide through Italy Containing catalogues of the paintings, statues, busts &c. By the author of the guide* 1787 and *A tour through Italy* 1791

[753] Cf. Thornbury, Turner`s father, a well-to-do barber, had reportedly solicited, in more than one instance, David Garrick`s mediation in promoting his son`s artistic career.

[754] Turner's involvement in commercial publishing operations prompted by the tourist market as well as illustrations of poetry albums whose subject-matter implied travel continued well into the 1830s.

The lengthy title of Turner's Venetian picture (Fig. 82) echoed the detailed textual description of his 'Raphael' painting. In the latter case, the anachronistic narrative in the title had been a projection of Turner's own experience as an exhibiting artist. Showing how Raphael prepared his paintings for an *exhibition* presented Turner with a chance to display his own versatility and excellence in various genres. In the former case, the caption lists a *display* of Venetian iconic sites and experiences: Bridge of Sighs, Ducal Palace, Custom-House, Venice, *and* "Canaletti painting." The anecdotal visual content makes the painting a cultural concoction of 'local' products and attractions. Swaths of rich damask[755] burden moored boats, a gondola moves towards the Dogana, where 'Canaletti' himself paints. The thrill of a ride to the past is hinted at, and, also in this case, the notion of 'past' is at once historical and emotional, that is, political and personal.

By the time he completed this picture, Turner's personal Italian tour had become a thing of the past: fourteen years had passed between visit to the site and completion of the work. Turner had his own memories of Venice. Some of them materialised in the form of sketches which might well have served him in composing the painting. From a strictly historical standpoint, in early 19th-century Britain, and in light of political and military events leading to the fall of the Serenissima Republic, the syntagm 'Venetian past' would probably have evoked connotations even stronger than today. To complicate things, the length of textual information in the title of the painting *Venice…* a habitual practice of Turner's, produces a deliberate and wishful confusion as to the painting's authorship.

Is this a 'Canaletti painting' i.e. a painting by Canaletto? Is it a painting of 'Canaletti painting' that we are looking at? Or else, is it an *imitation* of a painting by 'Canaletti'? Presuming that the *macchietta* of a painter shown standing in front of an easel documented[756] fact rather than fiction, had Canaletto decided to paint outdoors, he would not have chosen to work in oil on a canvas in a cumbersome gilded frame,[757] unless he

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[755] ""quest'ultimo particolare si concilia perfettamente con una veduta della Dogana del Mare, dove le merci importate venivano controllate e registrate" Ian Warrell op.cit., p. 114

[756] note the shape of the easel

[757] On the "improbably painting [Canaletto]", "painting a picture on an easel in a heavy gold frame" see *Canaletto Painting & Drawings* exhibition catalogue at The Queen's Gallery Buckingham Palace Royal Collection 1980-81, p. 24

decided to do so for a serious reason, and, in any case, *not* a practice-related one.

When working outdoors, one wants to travel light. Turpentine and linseed oil, used to dilute the paint, are prone to stain, dislodge, eat through the gilding, especially in the case of small or medium formats, when controlling the flow of paint in areas closer to the edges renders the task of protecting the frame difficult. Had it already been dry, the surface of the picture would have been ready to receive retouches and controlled glazing. This means 'Canaletti' i.e. the character depicted by Turner put up a show rather than paint a picture (Fig. 83). What kind of show had Turner in mind? And how did the frame contribute to that?

English upper-working class, potential clients in the final stages of Canaletto's career, especially those interested in small-scale multiple originals or engravings), appreciated gilt frame around a painting for the same reasons for which they disliked white borders in a drawing. The first signalled care for detail and implied richness. Luxury[758] would be reflected both in the amount of time employed in the picture's production *and* in its presentation. White borders on the other hand denoted hastiness, which was *different* from the '*sprezzatura'* intended by often summarily executed ink borders imitating marble or *radica* wood:[759]

"[W]hat an absurdity it is in the framing, even prints, to suffer a margin of white paper to appear beyond the ground, destroying half the relievo the lights are intended to produce? Frames ought to contrast with paintings for which reasons frames of wood inlaid, or otherwise variegated with colours are less suitable than gilt ones, which, exhibiting an appearance of metal accord the best contrasts with colour."[760]

That this is not the first gilt frame that found its way in a Venetian view by Turner. As early as 1820-21, *Venice from Fusina* was one of a pair of watercolours done on commission for

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[758] John Sekora *Luxury: the concept in Western thought, Eden to Smollett* Johns Hopkins University Press 1977

[759] *Architectural Capriccio, with a flight of stairs leading up to a Palladian building,* a drawing by Francesco Guardi at the Victoria & Albert Museum, is now preserved in a double mount; the first one hides its original painted 'mount', a border both ruled in and painted with a potentially distracting effect, where ink washes aim to suggest shimmering light on *radica* wood or a shiny surface - lacquered, metallic, polished; Museum No. DYCE.261

[760] William Shenstone, *Works in Verse and Prose*, 1764, quoted in Bruce Denvir, op.cit. p 74

Walter Fawkes soon after Turner's return from his first Venetian tour[761]. A light-suffused Venetian skyline is complemented by a darker foreground, again displaying Venetian offerings: among blocks of marble and stone, perhaps epigraphic mementoes loaded or unloaded on a *pontile,* swaths of damask and gondolas, a conspicuously gilt frame stands out. It is similar to the one embellishing the one painted by "Canaletti" in Turner's view of 1833.[762] By that year, Turner had had enough personal experience of the so-called "varnishing days".

During these days painters exhibiting at the Royal Academy applied the final varnish[763] on their pictures. In other words, the varnishing occurred on site. However, different lighting conditions from the ones in the studio prompted painters to address shortcomings - whether real or imaginary - resulting from unfavourable exposure and hanging[764], and strive to make their pictures stand out by applying "live" final touches. Obviously this occurred in front of colleagues. Added weight placed on such practice came from an increasing turnout of socialites, critics and potential commissioners, gathering in the final days before the show opened, to enjoy private views.

Turner is documented as having taken this opportunity to extreme lengths, sending in 'unfinished' pictures that he subsequently reworked with speed and technical bravura, creating dramatic alterations in atmosphere and light, or adding anecdotal detail[765].

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[761] Warrell, op. cit. pp.108-109. The watercolour, W 721 is in a private collection, its pendant W718, "Rialto, Venice" is in Indianapolis Museum of Art, Pantzer bequest.

[762] For Warrell, the frame is empty. However, having not seen the original watercolour, its reproduction does not clarify whether this is an unintentional confusion created by Turner's use of a controlled palette, so that the same areas of colours around the frame echoed within it create a see-through effect, but it is possible that there is an actual painting depicted within the frame, since there is no clear direct continuation of any of the lines and shapes surrounding the frame inside of it - the blue area at the left may be sky as well as the blue-green lagoon behind the frame, as well the red on the right can be a swath of velvet within a painting or a colourful costume accessory setting off the woman's blouse outside of the frame.

[763] From a practical point of view, varnish was saved for last because of conservation reasons.

[764] "A Rural scene from nature, which discovers Mr Gainsborough's superior taste and execution in the landscape way, it is confessedly a masterpiece of its kind, but viewed to every possible disadvantage from the situation in which the directors have thought proper to place it" Sir Henry Bate-Dudley, *Morning Post* 25 April, 1777 in Denvir, op.cit.p 196

[765] red barrel anecdote of contest between Turner and Constable - in the painting now in the Indiana Museum of Art - documented in Clarkson Stanfied, also used in the recent biographical film Mr Turner

Now, to the point, during these "varnishing days" painters *did* indeed work on framed pictures. A visual testimony of such a "varnishing day" from 1846[766] shows an elderly Turner standing in front of a *framed* painting. He is depicted holding a palette and enough brushes between his left and right hand to dispel completely any shadow of doubt as to the fact that he is not merely varnishing, but working on his picture. The painting is conveniently hung at eye-level. Pieces of cloth scattered around suggest frequent brush-cleaning and were also there promptly to prevent accidental dripping of any liquid materials, such as varnish, painting medium, turpentine. The overall impression is that, temporarily, the studio has taken over the exhibition space. The presence in the picture of onlooking colleagues reinforces the demonstrative tenet of these 'varnishing days', and their implicit learning value. It indicates that such events, which were simultaneously educational and entertaining, were a place to quench curiosity by delivering mastery, and that know-how was in fact being memorised through process: by observing a sequence of practical steps.

Without resorting to risky operations (such as dramatic alterations of the composition), the decision to save perceivable, even visually striking[767] changes to the picture enabled artists to provide enough novelty and technical interest to meet the requirements of "a natural object of curiosity". I argue that this occurred because, at the core, varnishing was "mechanical", while painting was "liberal".

This is why pictorial procedures had to be deployed during the 'varnishing' days, and whet the appetite of connoisseurs attending them, who expected to find a continuity between contemporary and Old Masters' practices as much as they anticipated "striking" novelty. Painters had the occasion to demonstrate practical, not just theoretical, knowledge of these masters, attracting the interest of the knowledgeable public, keen "to learn by what means they [masterful painters of the past] arrived at the degree of eminence which they have attained."[768]

To recapitulate, while they were painting, artists had the occasion to put up a show.

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[766] William Parrott "*Turner on Varnishing Day*" 1846, Museums Sheffield

[767] see Quintilian in Yates, op. cit.

[768] Boydell introduction to Claude *Liber Veritatis* 1777

The probability (undocumented) that Canaletto himself had resorted to the gilded frame trick, if it concerned Turner at all in his imaginary journey into the past, recedes in light of what is written above.[769] Should one choose to credit this hypothesis, its plausibility would depend upon marketing considerations. For Canaletto, it had doubtful artistic advantages and certain technical disadvantages; for Turner, it demonstrated that, while having made a trip to Venice, he also made a trip to the past and documented Canaletto's personal, if real, plein-air varnishing-day on the Punta della Dogana. As far as Turner was concerned, artists might well present themselves to the public working on framed pictures. The frame around the "Canaletti painting" embellished Turner's narrative of fiction, and made a claim of *authenticity*. As *i*t was certainly *possible,* 'Canaletti' might had stood by his framed picture in Venice on Punta della Dogana and Byron had "stood in Venice on the Bridge of Sighs",[770] so Turner stood in front of his framed 'presentation piece' in the Royal Academy exhibition. Turner joined his own pictorial experience with Canaletto's, by claiming insight into the latter's.

By the third decade of the 19th-century, Canaletto's best Venetian views were in dwindling supply in England. Through his treatment of paint matter, lower light-key and subdued tonal contrast combined with higher colour saturation, Turner came closer to Canaletto's practice, and distanced himself from his direct competitor in the field (at least in terms of Venetian subject matter), Clarkson Stanfield. Unlike Turner, the latter had previously drawn attention to his Venice-inspired output. Rather than merely trying to secure a pictorial victory on the territory of Venetian subject-matter (over Stansfield which he reportedly did) Turner seemed to trace an artistic lineage, one appealing to potential clients on the market for a Canaletto, not for a Stansfield[771].

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[769] see also discussion on Canaletto and Rev Hinchliffe, Ingamells op.cit. The "man" was making a "sketch" not a framed oil-painting.

[770] "I STOOD in Venice, on the Bridge of Sighs; | A palace and a prison on each hand: | I saw from out the wave her structures rise | As from the stroke of the enchanter's wand" Byron *Venice* from *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* 1-4, but especially 91-98: "I can repeople with the past [my underlining],—and of | The present there is still for eye and thought, | And meditation chastened down, enough; | And more, it may be, than I hoped or sought; | And of the happiest moments which were wrought | Within the web of my existence, some | From thee, fair Venice! have their colors caught; |There are some feelings time cannot benumb"

[771] "Con la sua consueta audacia, turner cercò deliberatamente il confronto non solo con Stanfield, ma più esplicitamente con lo stesso Canaletto" Ian Warrell, op. cit. p.114

Turner's coup-de-grace can be fully enjoyed now just, as it would have been in 1833, only if standing in front of the original painting. This is for a reason: the framing of his work is suspiciously similar to the gilded frame he painted around Canaletto's painting (Fig. 84). More than just echoing it and almost as if completing Canaletto`s presumed *plein-air* picture, the painting presents Turner as the living alternative to Canaletto. Indeed, at the Royal Academy exhibition of 1833, the only 'Canaletti painting' in a gilded frame available as a reminder of a distant Venice was Turner('s).

A distant memory

Beyond marketing strategies, it is a fact that since their arrival or completion in England, Canaletto's paintings were displayed in gilt frames, from which they became inseparable.[772] This is how their owners and viewers, Turner included, enjoyed them, and how Turner studied and *remembered* them. Turner's Canalettian affinity goes beyond gondolas and gold leaf. In spite of Thornbury's irritation at Turner's "conventional notions of classical architecture learnt in the office of an architectural draughtsman" this practice seems to have paid off. Turner's painting,[773] as verified also in its subsequent engravings, for instance by Thomas Abiel Prior[774] (1850), is a golden rectangle,[775] as Visentini's views of the *Isolario Veneto*. The width divides the length in mean and extreme ratio. In the engraving, there are less than 0.25 cm difference between the width of the plate and the length of the larger 'golden ratio' segment on the picture's base. Turner's use of this compositional choice, as well as the inclusion of 'Canaletti' himself in the painting could be seen as signalling that he had deciphered a pictorial practice used by Venetian *vedutisti* from a century earlier, but could also indicate parallel paths leading to similar solutions.[776] The result was that Turner's

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[772] displays at Woburn Abbey

[773] exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1833, now at Tate Britain

[774] British Museum

[775] Daud Sutton op. cit.

[776] Thanks to Martina Frank for pointing out, among Turner's notes, the drawings made after Giulio Troili's *Paradossi per pratticare la prospettiua senza saperla, fiori…* 1683; On Turner's appointment as Professor of Perspective at The Royal Academy see Matthew Imms, online catalogue entries on architectural drawings at Tate Britain

harmonious composition was Canalettian in a subtler way, which might have appealed to educated travellers knowledgeable in Palladian architecture and Euclidian geometry, while it validated the training[777] required to enjoy a memorable image of Venice and, before that, to make an image of Venice memorable.

In different moments across Turner's career, several watercolours of Venice, such as *Il campanile di San Marco and the doge's Palace* watercolour from 1819[778], *San Giorgio Maggiore, Early morning* from 1819[779] (Fig. 85), *La Piazzetta e Palazzo Ducale dal Bacino from* 1840[780] and *Venice, Moonrise* from 1840[781] (Fig. 86) emerge with a recurring arrangement of visual features, which correspond to golden ratio divisions on the base and top. While Turner's interest in prospect painting, and, as we have seen, training with an architectural draughtsman, are historical facts, his ability to respond to Venetian topography by using compositional schemes similar to the practices of 18th-century *vedutisti* or 17th-century Roman view painters is worth considering.

The vignette-like skyline proposed by Carlevarijs, the contrived synthesis of architecture and atmosphere present in Canaletto, the predominantly atmospheric approach taken by Turner, which literally meant more space in the painting was allowed for sky and water couldn't be more different. However, the existence of visually harmonious schemes indicates a somewhat below-the-surface resistance of craft, with architectural features still arranged according to balanced intervals. The animated debate on the distinction between the liberal and the mechanical arts in the 18th-century intellectual discourse reflects the dual nature of these operations, involving both manual and intellectual skill.

The long century which started with Carlevarijs and ended with Turner brought

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[777] "A building affords no pleasure to the generality of men, but what results from the grandeur of the object, or the value of its materials : nor doth a picture affects them but by its resemblance to life. A thousand other beauties, of a higher kind, are lost upon them; for in Architecture, in Painting, and indeed in most other arts, men must learn before they can admire: their pleasure keeps pace with their judgement; and it is only by knowing much, that they can be highly delighted" Sir William Chambers, *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*, 1772, Preface, p. i.

[778] Turner Bequest CLXXXI 7, D15258, Tate Britain

[779] Como and Venice album, Turner Bequest CLXXXI 4, D15254, Tate Britain

[780] Turner Bequest CCCXVII 1, D32180, Tate Britain

[781] D32126 Turner Bequest CCCXV 10, Tate Britain

dramatic changes in the political situation which led to the fall of the Venetian Republic, with an inevitable influence on the subject-matter of Venetian cityscapes. From celebratory images of a timelessly powerful, at least on canvas, magnificent maritime Republic, images which served also a public role, a shift towards private, even nostalgic depictions of Venice occurs. Travelling to Venice was no longer connected to a political agenda in the present tense, but to past-time travel. The views were private in the sense that they reflected to a higher degree a concern with the personal recollections and experiences that the visit to Venice offered to *individuals,* such as the gondola ride, or what we may refer today to as 'shopping': swaths of damask, Venetian glass, Venetian paintings. While subject-matter changed, not only the topography of Venice appeared resilient to change, but also pictorial formulae used to represent it persisted. Among other local 'products', Venetian cityscapes acquired as souvenirs by English travellers of the 18th-century constituted a visual place of encounter between pursuer and offerer, in a game of recognition which stimulated recollection. This was because, as I have argued, they afforded recognition and encouraged association by levelling differences in social status on the mutual ground of shared intellectual interests, such as the understanding of Euclidean geometry and Vitruvian architecture.

In addition, echoing a painter's concern with surface , this study has not attempted to put things into perspective as much as it has tried to resurface an underlying quest for bi-dimensional structure, whether for orientation, memorisation or enjoyment purposes. The purpose of this research is not to show that painters knew geometry. Of course they did. It is to allow harmonic and geometric proportions they used in their paintings to be considered from a mnemonic, and not just from an aesthetic perspective. It also seeks to show that the use of these proportions can be seen not only as a *system*, but also as a *process*. These practices stand as a manifestation of the extant culture of landscape painting, of which the painters were aware practitioners. They also demonstrate the process, that is, the ways in which painters consciously made use of the prevailing culture, and borrowed from it creatively, learning themselves as they passed it on to others.

The hypothesis of the intentional use of geometrical grids in composing 18th-century

Venetian cityscapes as a means of *abstraction*, improvement of the viewer's memory and of the author's status is also supported by its use as a means of *adaptation* to the viewers' expectations: topographic, aesthetic, economic. As it has been attempted to demonstrate through the research, the use of such grids wad historical sources. This gave it a classical appearance. It also had clear economic advantages, as it paralleled, albeit on a smaller scale, both the architect's and master builder's tasks on a construction site. Once the projection or conception phase was completed, the execution phase could be partially devolved to assistants who, thanks to this modular approach, were able to deal with it efficiently. The advantages offered by the procedure of squaring were equally applicable in such a case: the cityscapes became easier to execute, translate, vary in scale, reproduce, multiply. Differently from squaring, these simplified regular patterns were thought to please the eye and improve the memory.

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Abbreviations

ASV Archivio di Stato di Venezia
GA Gallerie dell'Accademia
MC Museo Correr
BL British Library
BM British Museum
BNM Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
RC Royal Collection
NG National Gallery of Art, London
V & A Victoria and Albert Museum

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IL FAMOSO
PONTE DI RIALTO
IN VENETIA

Fig 1.


LA MERAVIGLIOSA PIAZZA DE SAN MARCO

Fig 2.

Fig. 3

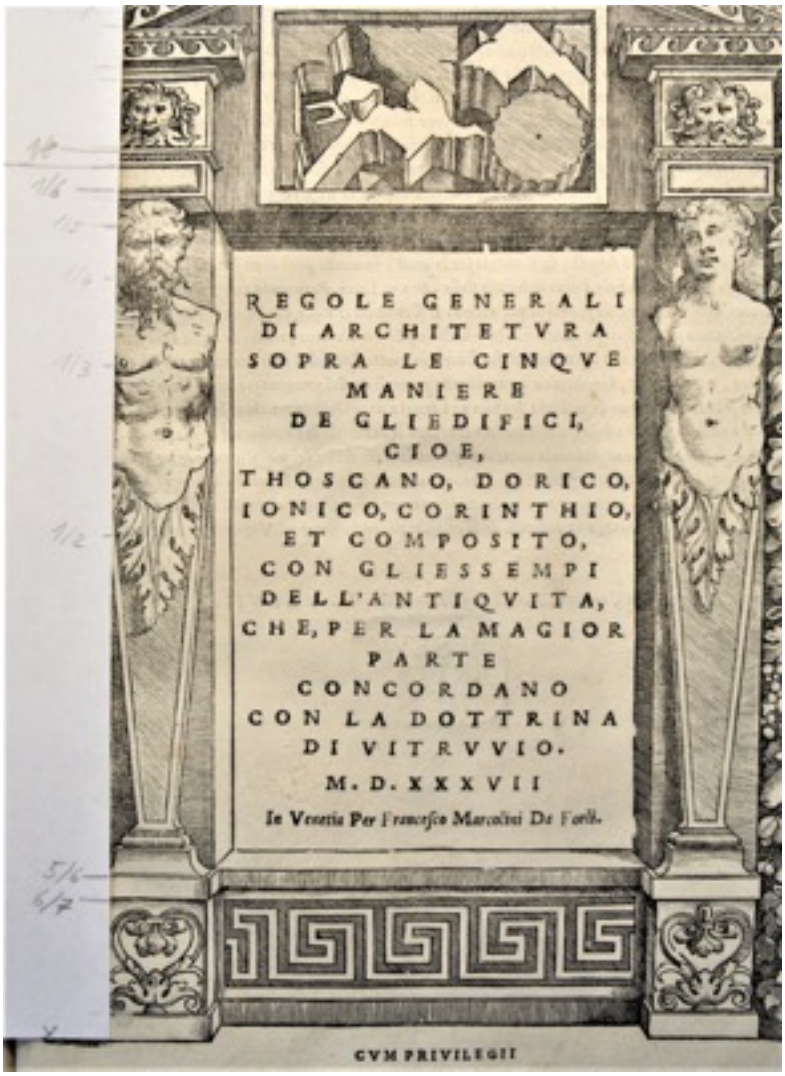
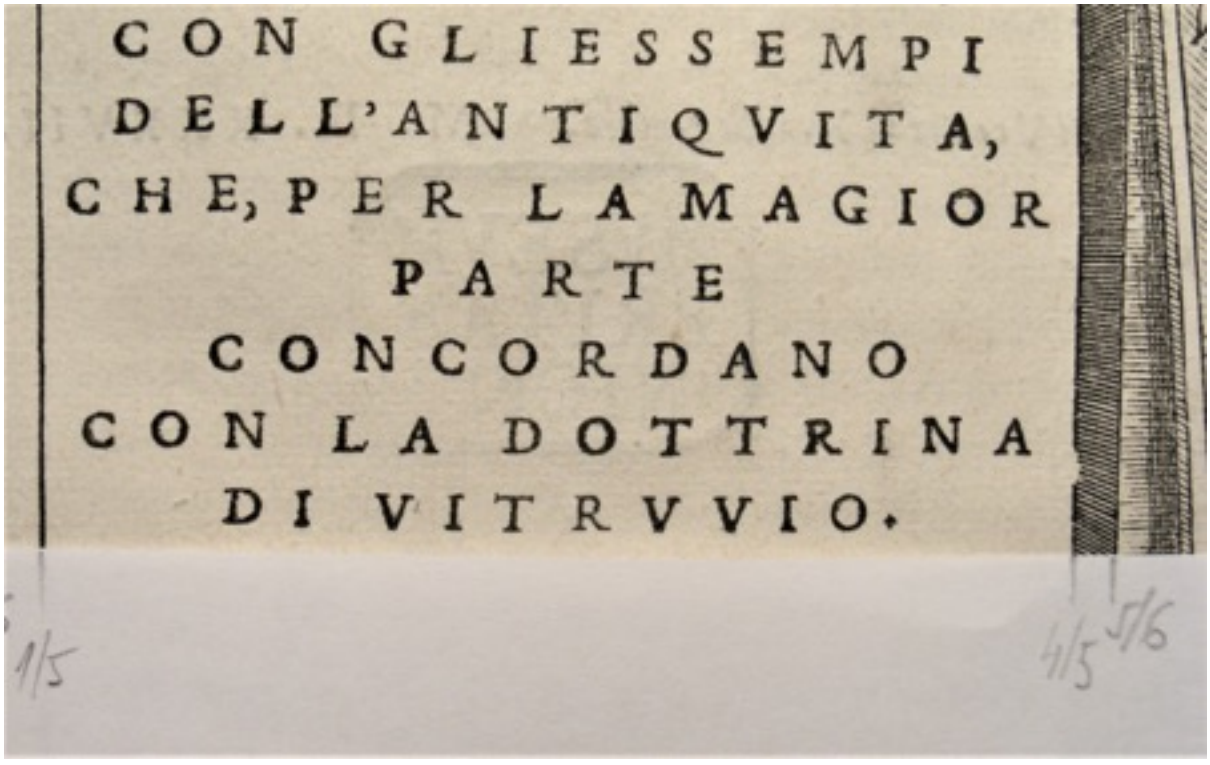

REGOLE GENERALI
DI ARCHITETVRA
SOPRA LE CINQVE
MANIERE
DE GLIEDIFICI,
CIOE,
THOSCANO, DORICO,
IONICO, CORINTHIO,
ET COMPOSITO,
CON GLIESSEMPI
DELL'ANTIQVITA,
CHE, PER LA MAGIOR
PARTE
CONCORDANO
CON LA DOTTRINA
DI VITRVVIO.
M. D. XXXVII
In Venetia Per Francesco Marcolini Da Forli.
CVM PRIVILEGII

Fig. 4


REGOLE GENERALI

Fig. 5


CON GLI ESSEMPI
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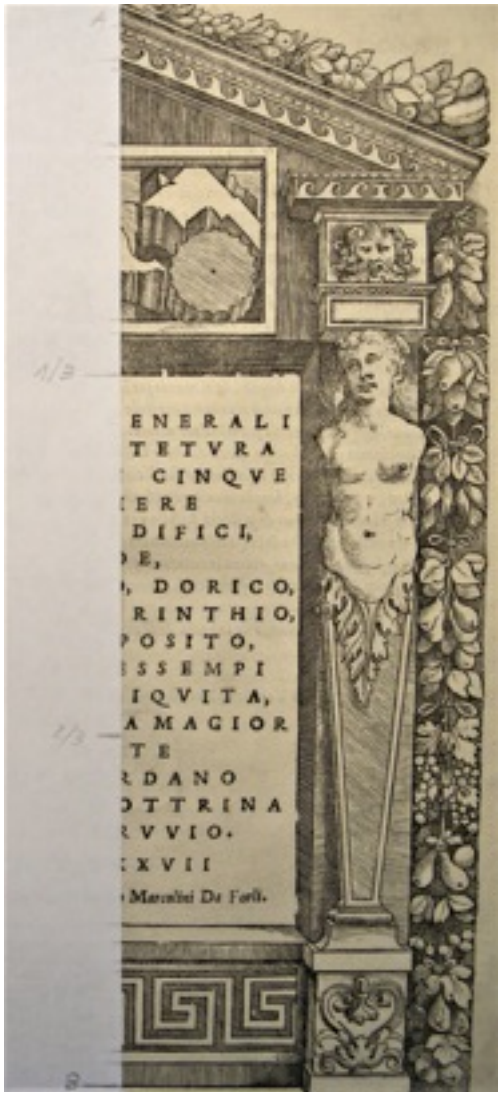
CHE, PER LA MAGIOR
PARTE
CONCORDANO
CON LA DOTTRINA
DI VITRVVIO.

Fig. 6


ENERALI
TETVRA
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ERE
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OSITO,
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A MAGIOR
TE
DANO
OTTRINA
RVVIO.
XVII
Marcilini De Forli.

Fig. 7

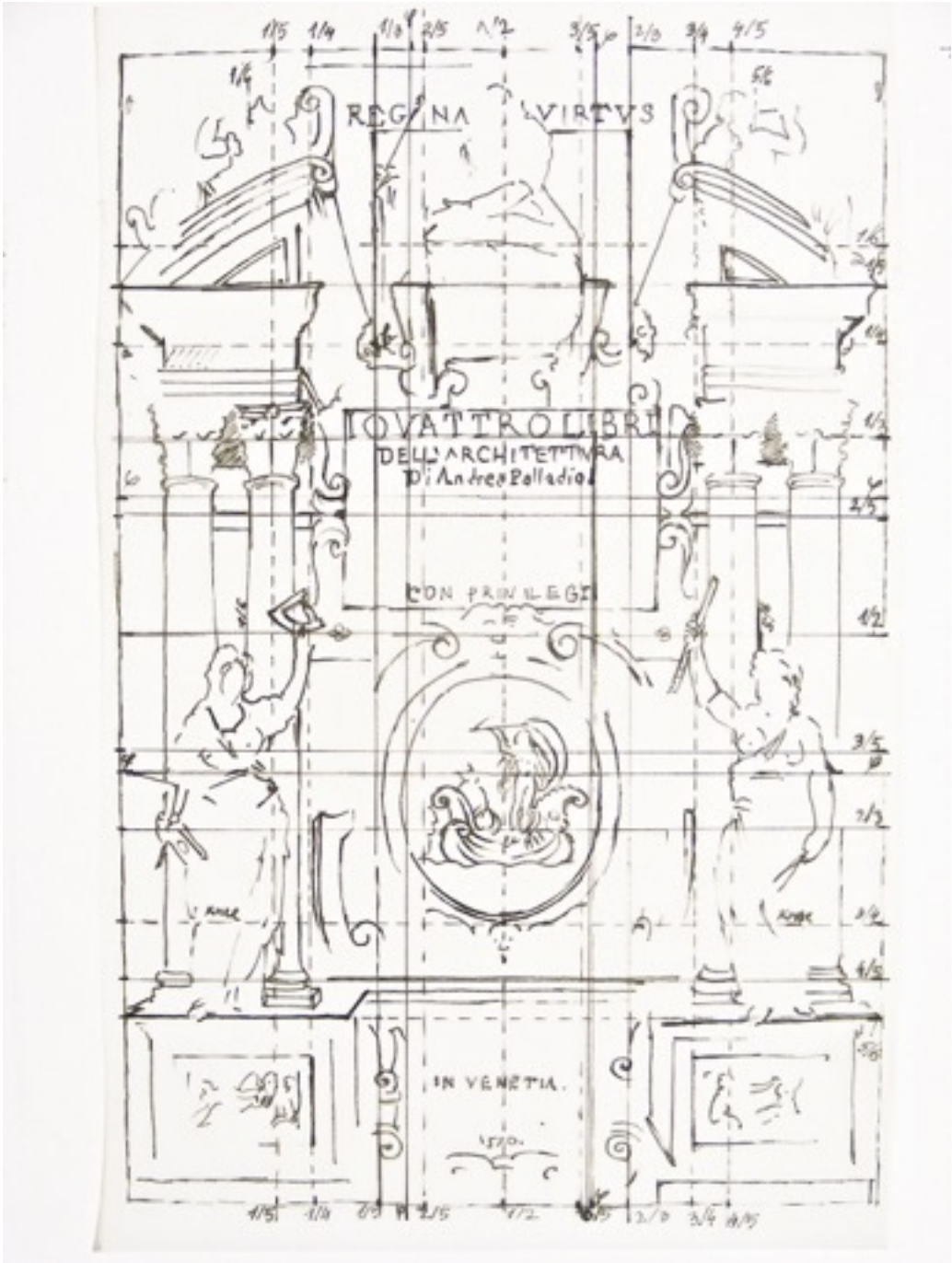
Clockwise,

Figure 9 Serlio
Libro Primo…

Fig 10 Labacco -
Salviati - de Rossi
Le Regole…

Fig. 11 Palladio
I Quattro Libri

Fig. 8


REGINA VIRTVS
I QVATTRO LIBRI
DELL'ARCHITETTVRA
Di Andrea Palladio
CON PRIVILEGI
IN VENETIA.
1570.

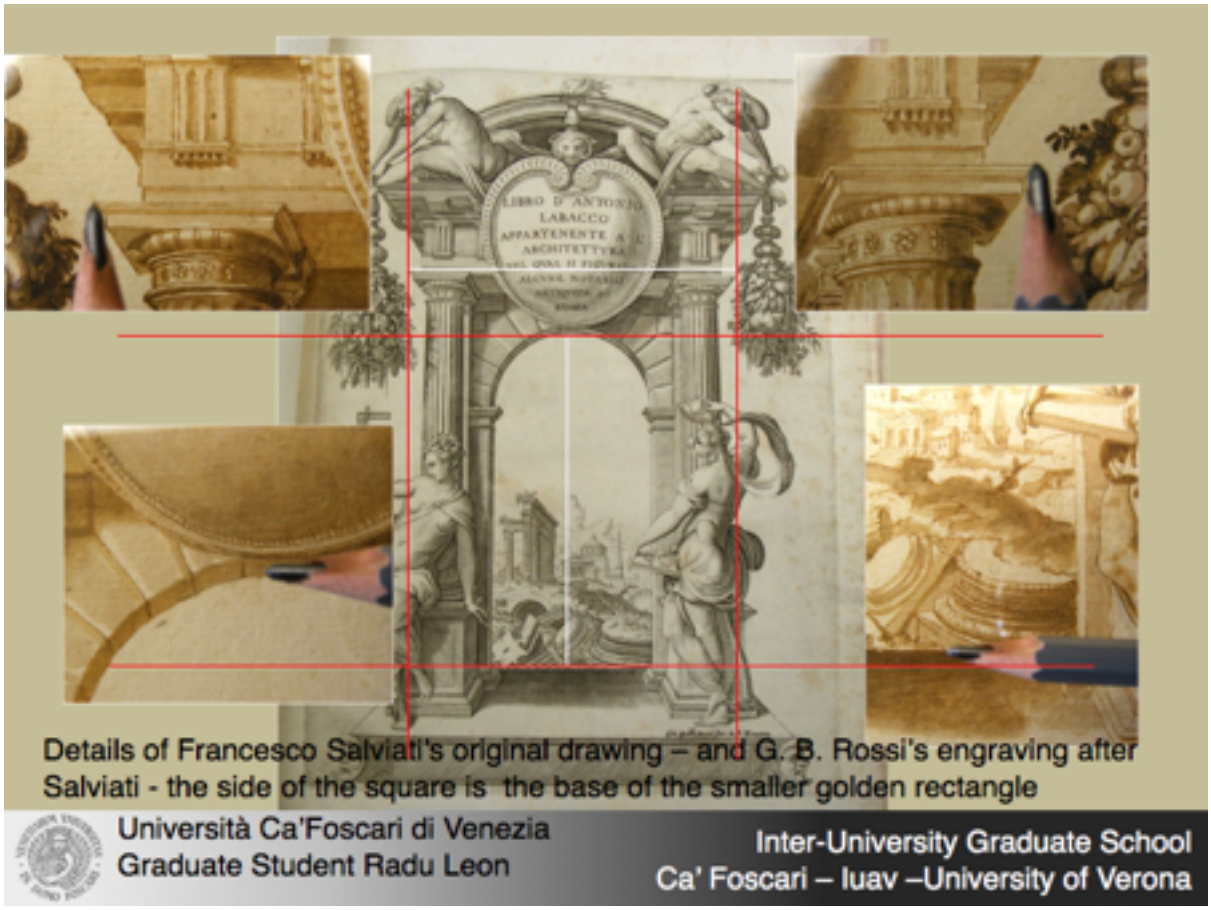

Details of Francesco Salviati's original drawing – and G. B. Rossi's engraving after Salviati - the side of the square is the base of the smaller golden rectangle
Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia
Graduate Student Radu Leon
Inter-University Graduate School
Ca' Foscari – Iuav –University of Verona

Fig. 12

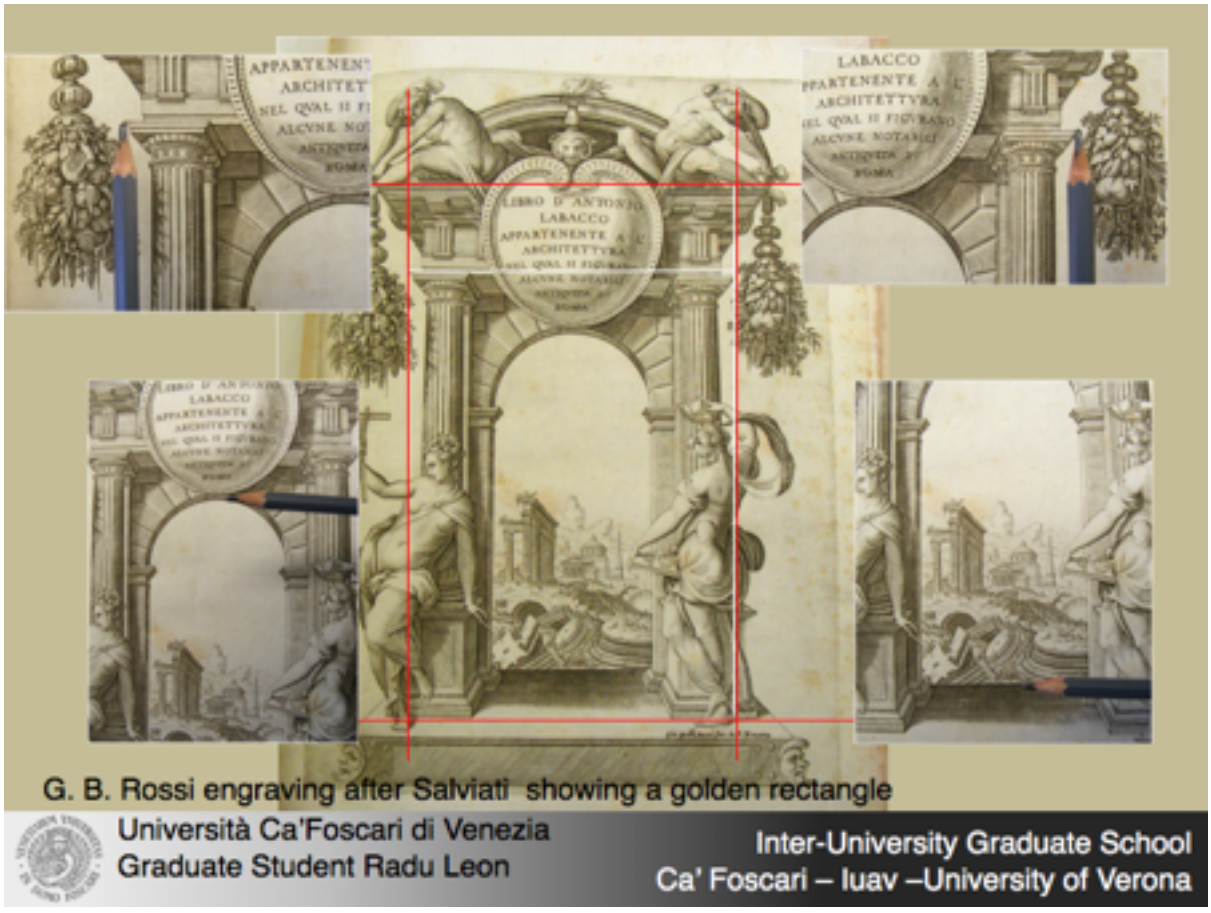
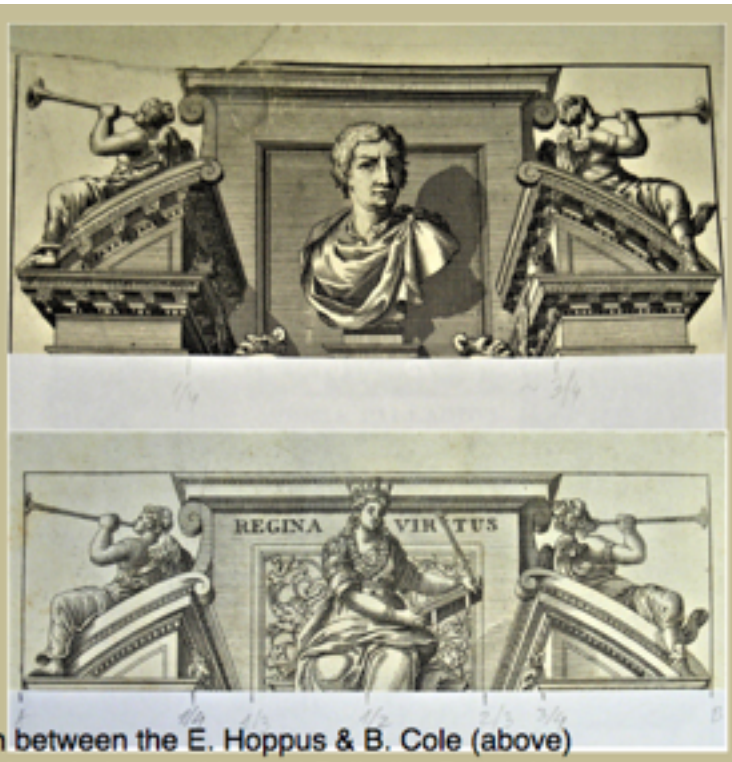

G. B. Rossi engraving after Salviati showing a golden rectangle
Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia
Graduate Student Radu Leon
Inter-University Graduate School
Ca' Foscari – Iuav –University of Verona

Fig. 13



Comparison between the E. Hoppus & B. Cole (above)
and Isaac Ware (below) editions of Palladio, British Library

Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia
Graduate Student Radu Leon

Inter-University Graduate School
Ca' Foscari – Iuav –University of Verona

Fig. 14

Comparison between Hoppus &Cole (left) and Ware (right) editions of Palladio

Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia
Graduate Student Radu Leon

Inter-University Graduate School
Ca' Foscari – Iuav –University of Verona

Fig. 15

Fig.16

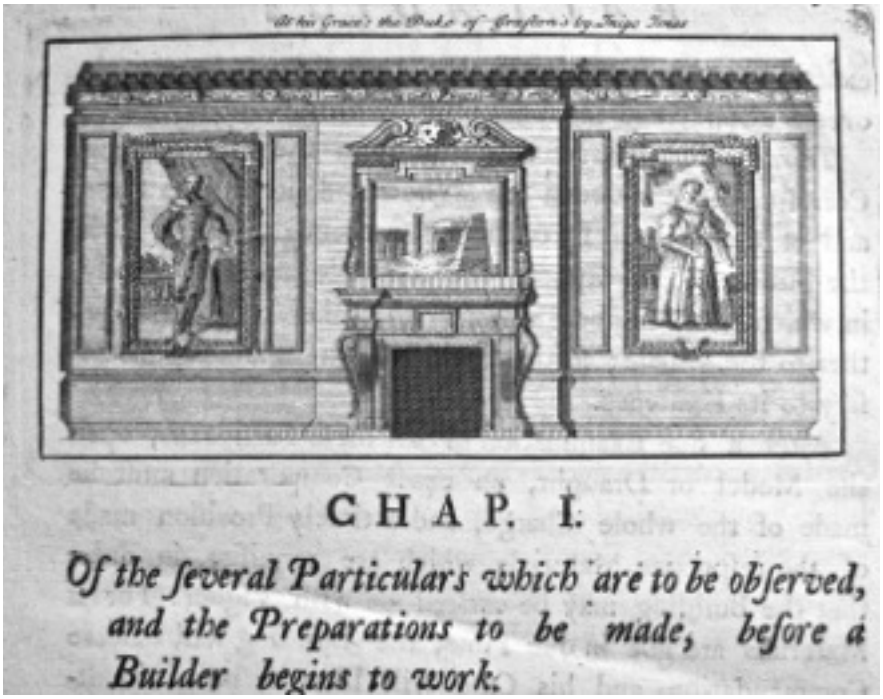


Fig. 17

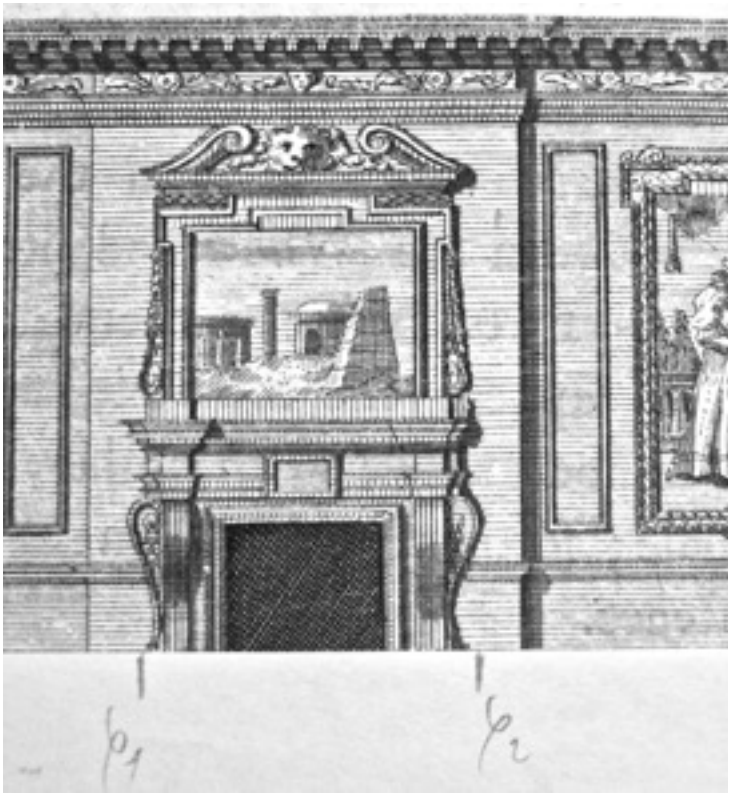


Fig. 18a

Fig. 18b

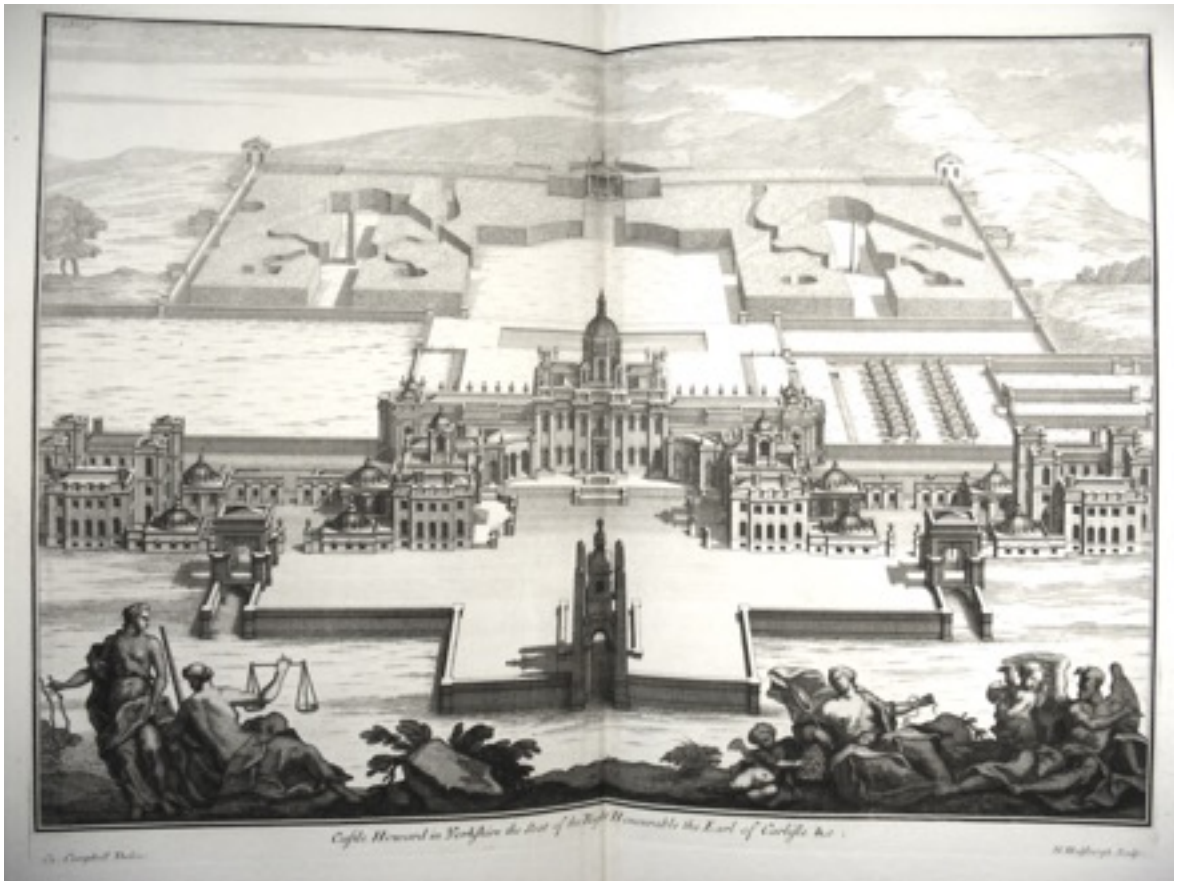


Fig. 19 (the following two Figures refer to intervals measured on the height H of this plate)

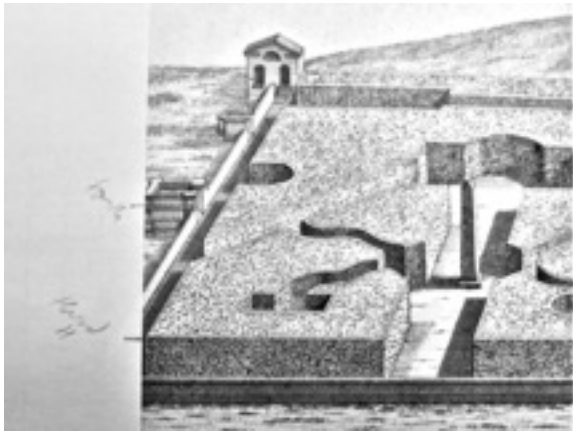


Fig.20 difference between 1/3 H and 1/4 H

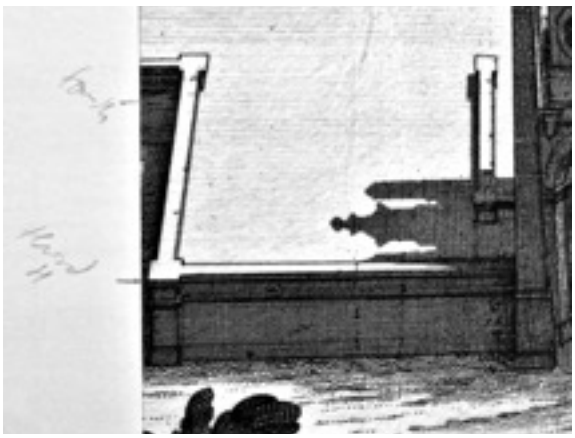


Fig.21 the same interval (1/3 H measured from the middle of the plate downwards)

Fig.22

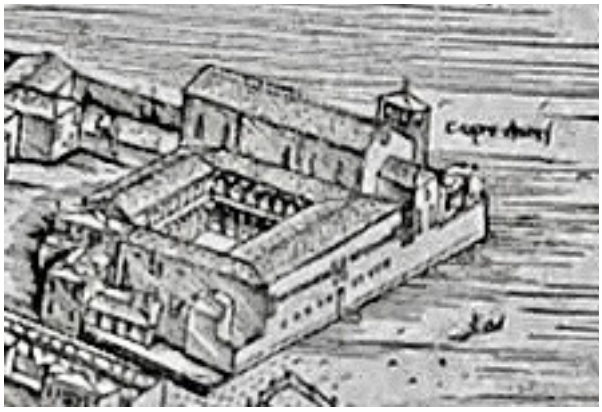
Fig.23

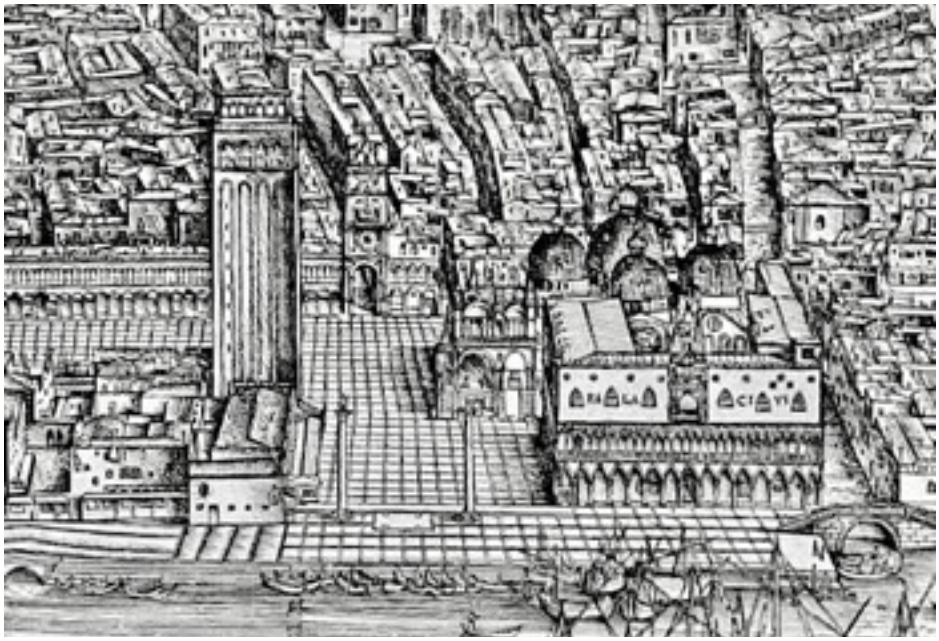
Fig. 24

Fig. 25

Fig. 26

Fig. 27





Clockwise,

Figure 28

Figure 29

Figure 30

Fig. 30a

Fig. 31

Fig. 32

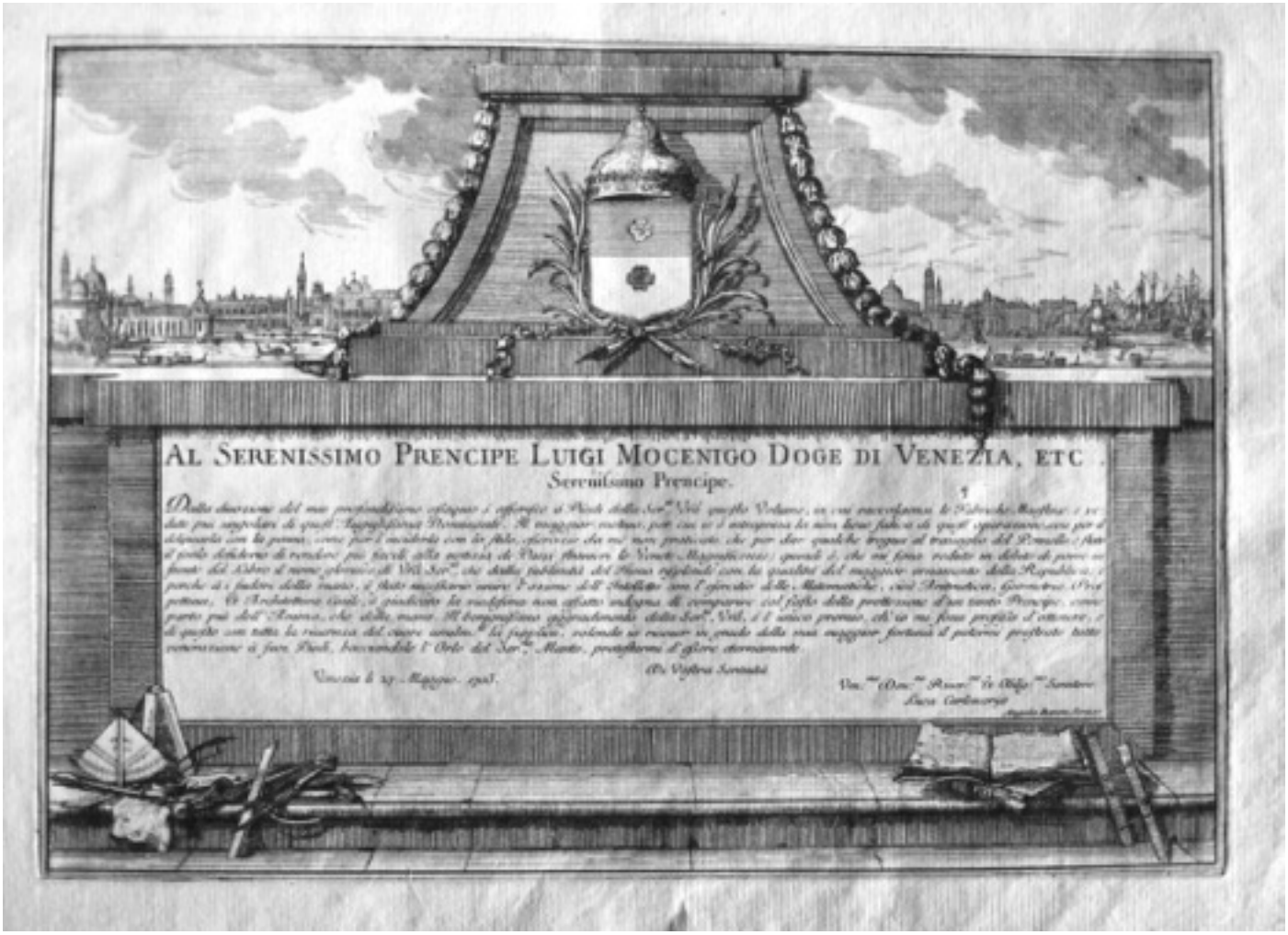

AL SERENISSIMO PRENCIPE LUIGI MOCENIGO DOGE DI VENEZIA, ETC.
Serenissimo Prencipe.

Fig. 33


Angela Baroni
LIBRO

Fig. 34

Fig. 35

Fig. 36

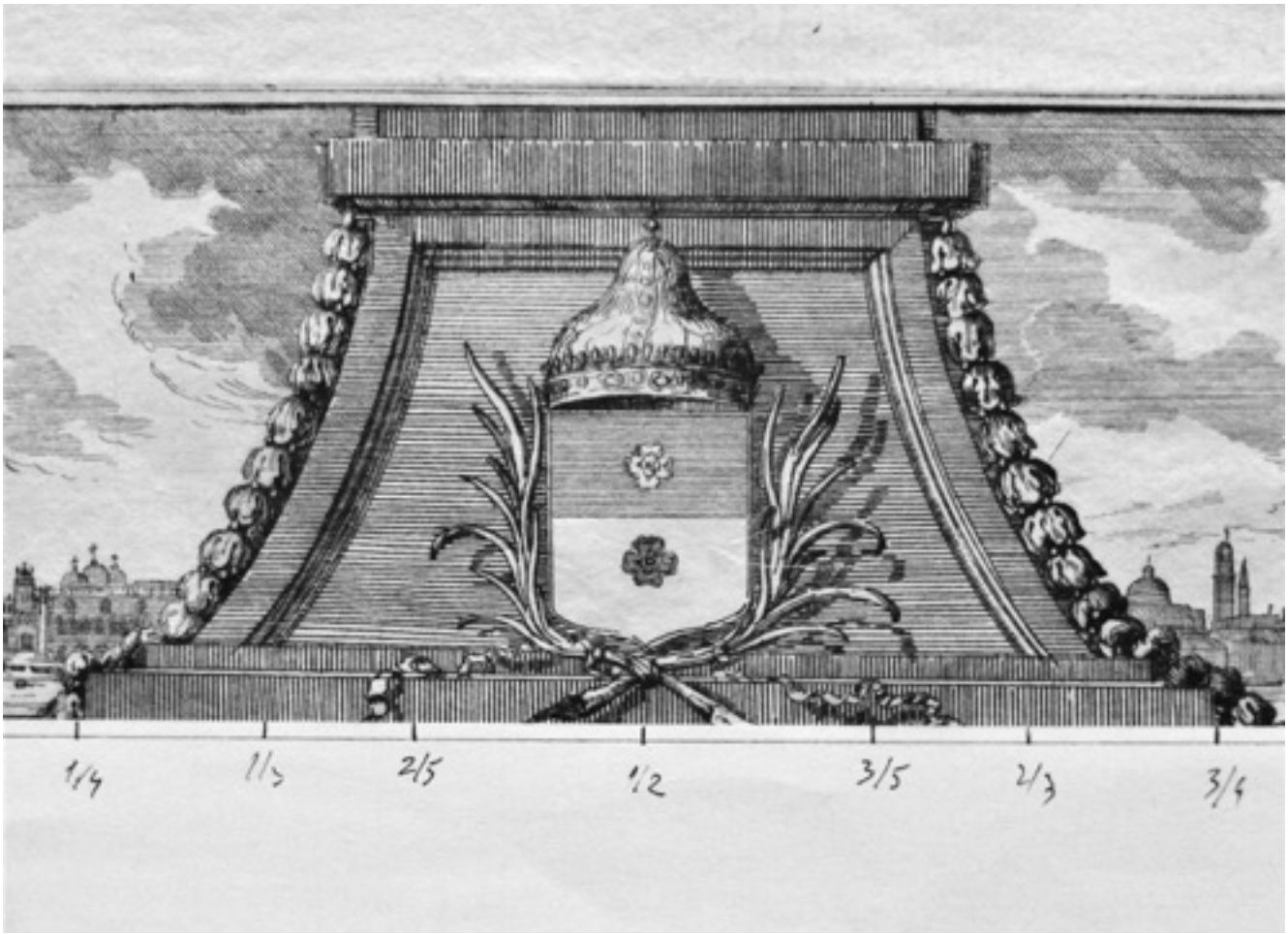


Fig. 37

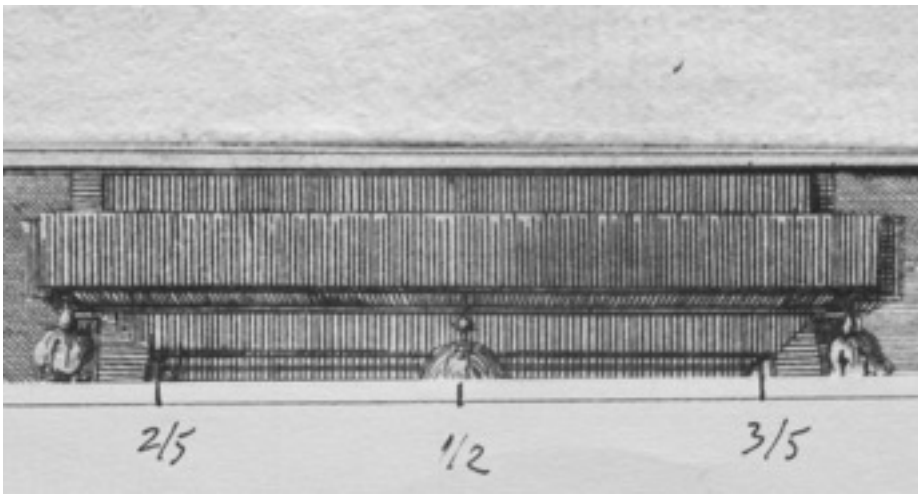


Fig. 38

Fig. 39

Fig. 40

Fig. 41

Fig. 42a

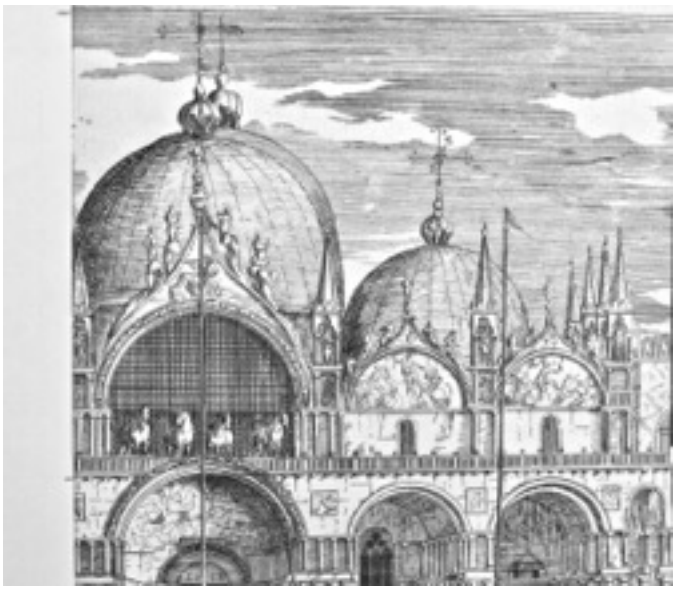


Fig. 42b

Fig. 43

Fig. 44

Fig. 45


SVRIAN IN CANAL RE
rchitettura di Gioseppe Sardi

Fig. 46


PALAZZO SAVORGNAN
IN CANAL REGIO
Architettura di Giuseppe Sardi

Fig. 47

Fig. 48a

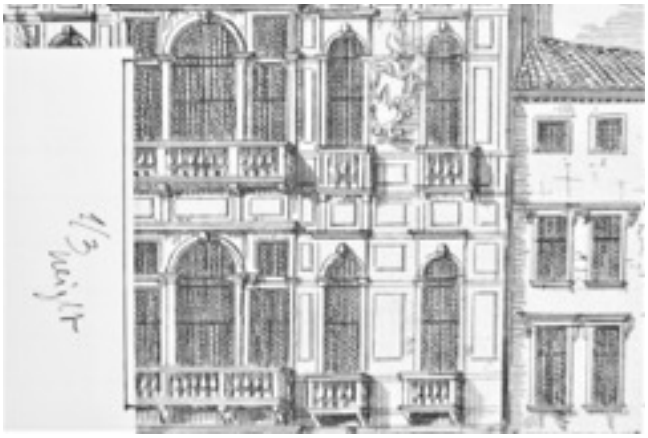


Fig. 48b

Fig. 48c

Fig. 49

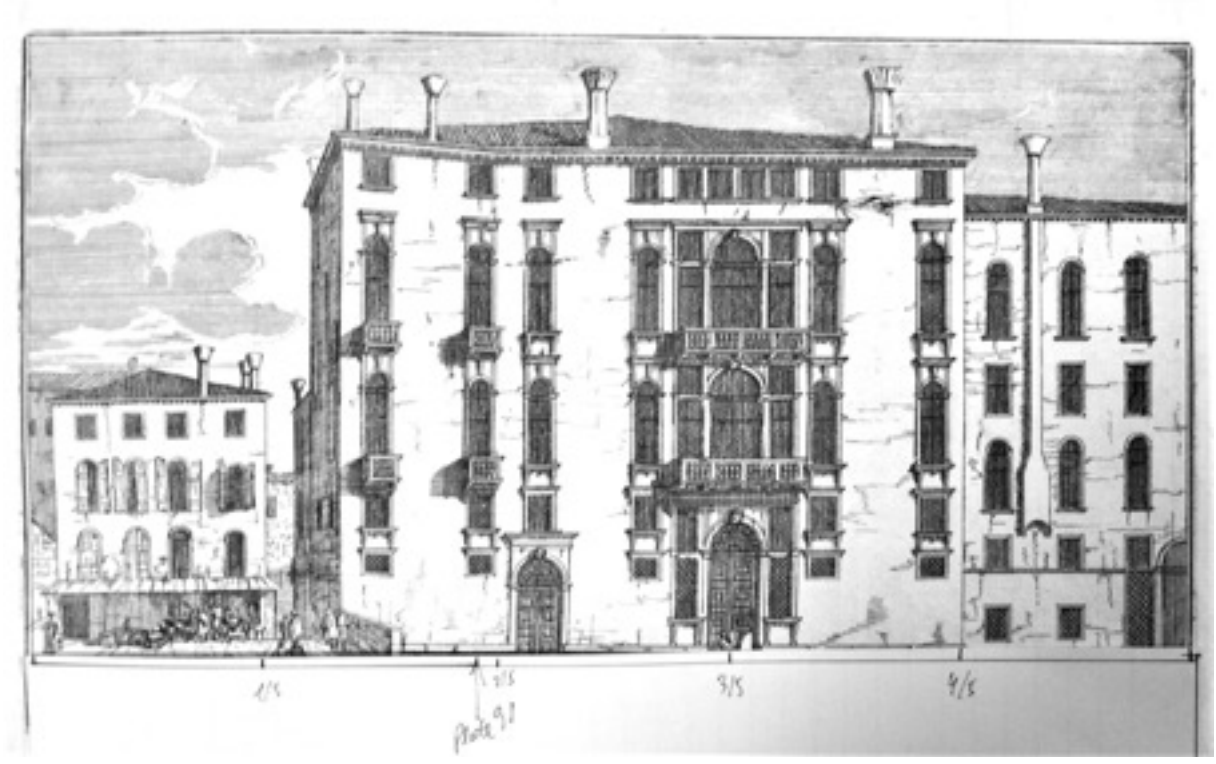


Fig. 50

Fig. 51

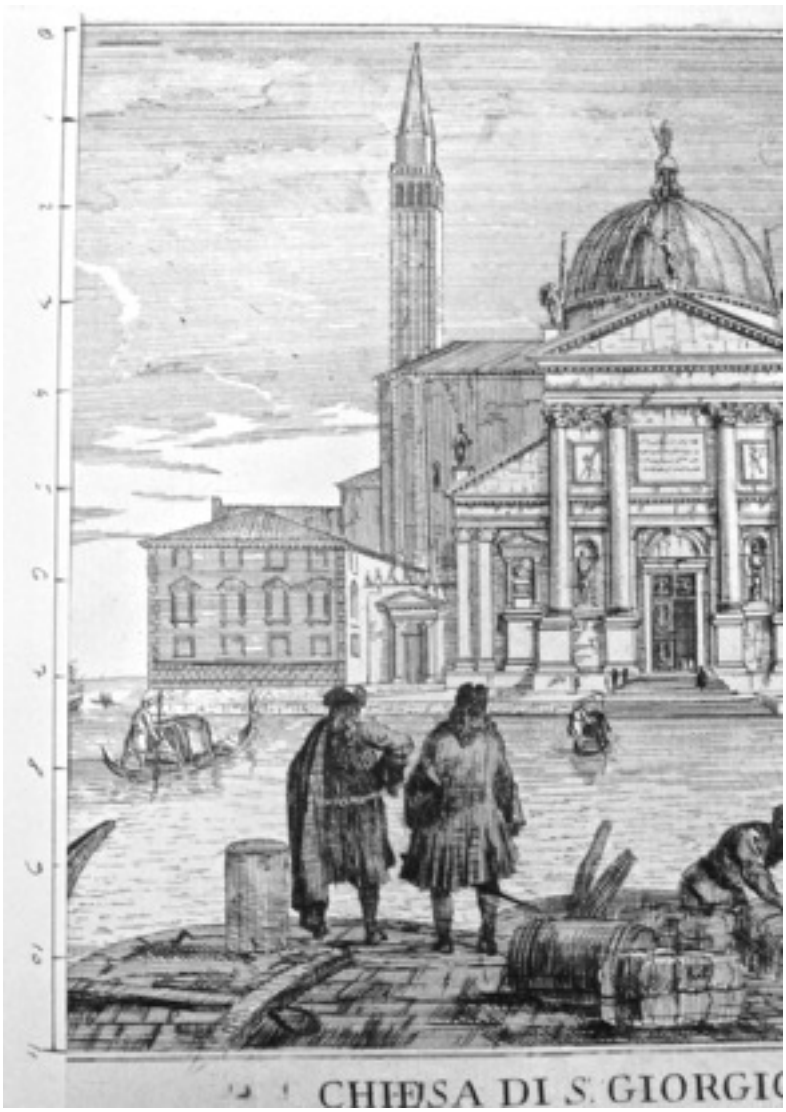


Fig. 52a

Fig. 52b

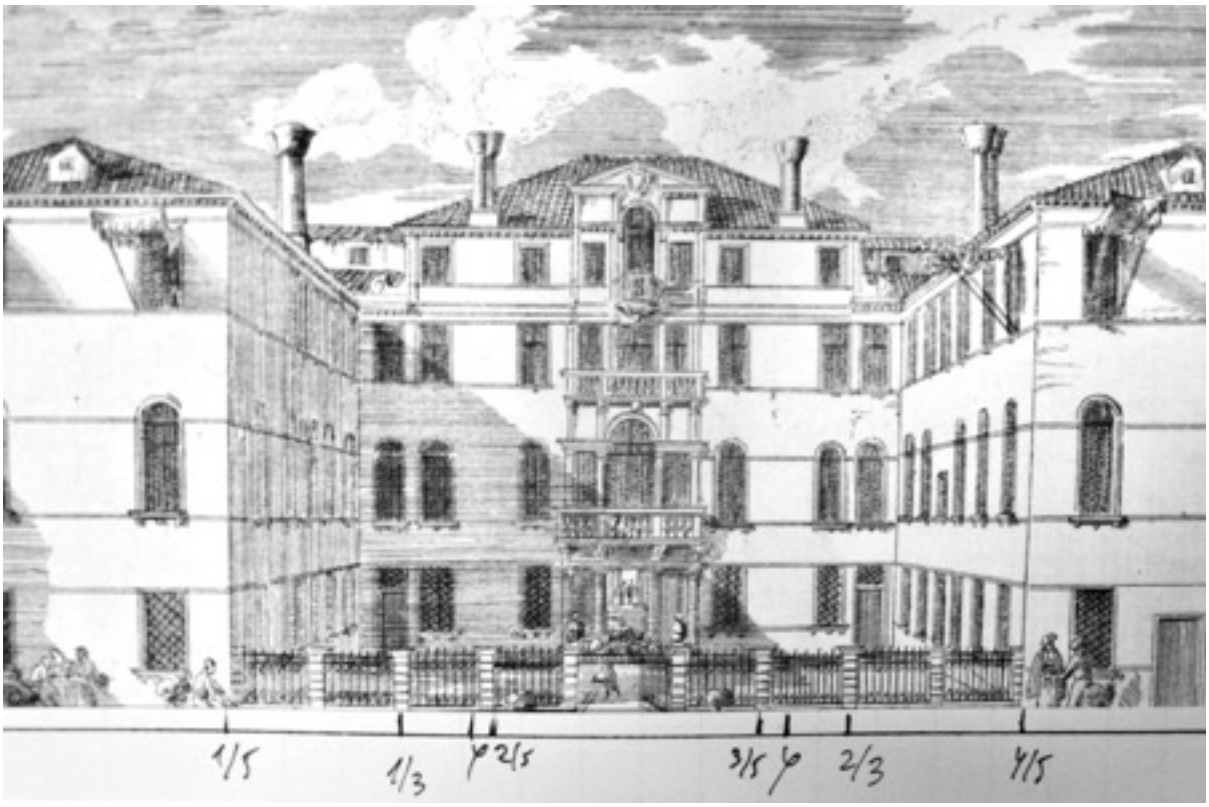


Fig.53

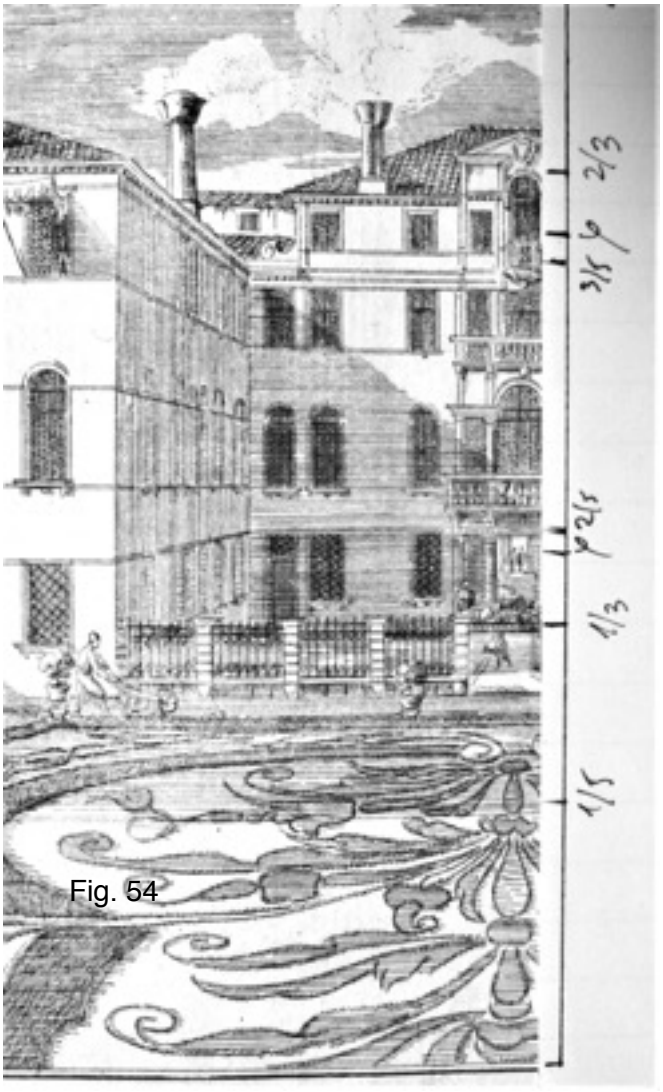


Fig. 54

Fig. 54

Fig. 55

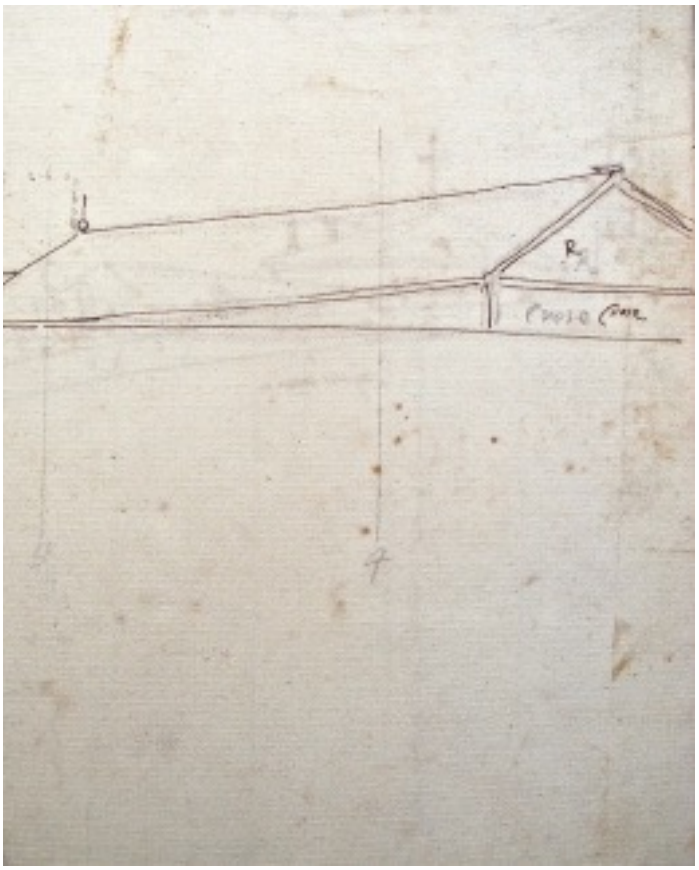


Fig. 56

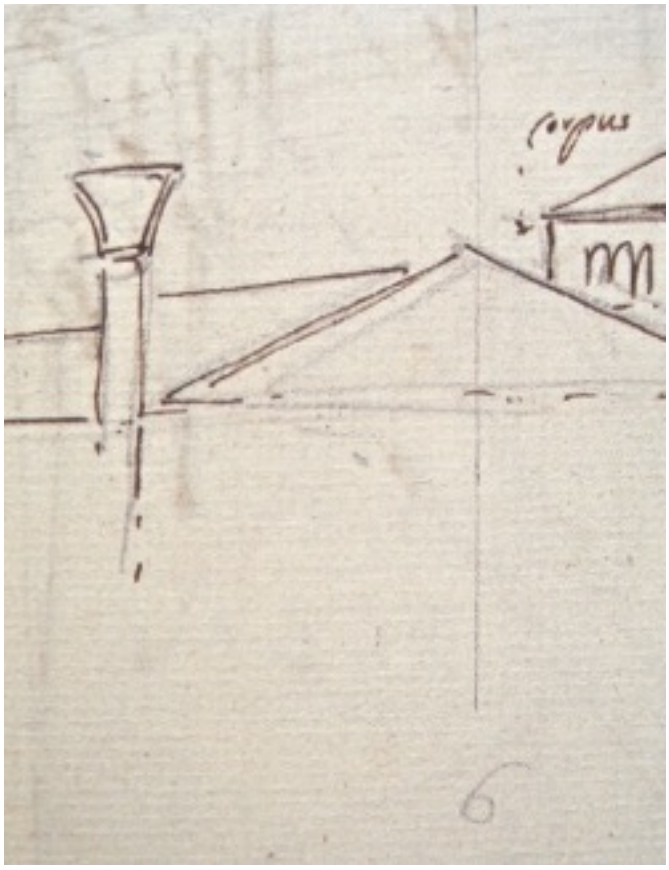


Fig. 57

Fig. 58

Fig. 59

Fig. 60

Fig. 61

Fig. 62

Fig. 63

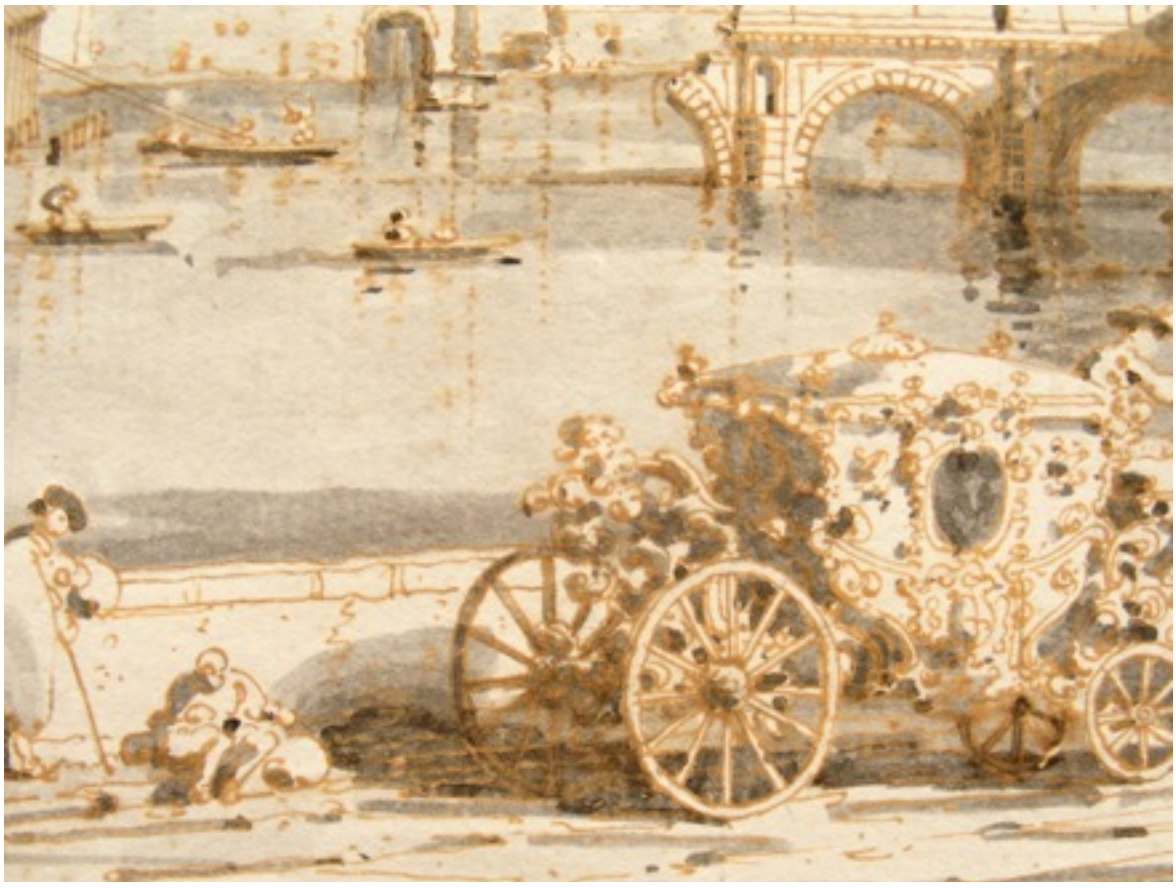


Fig. 64

Fig. 65

Fig. 66

Fig. 67

Fig. 68

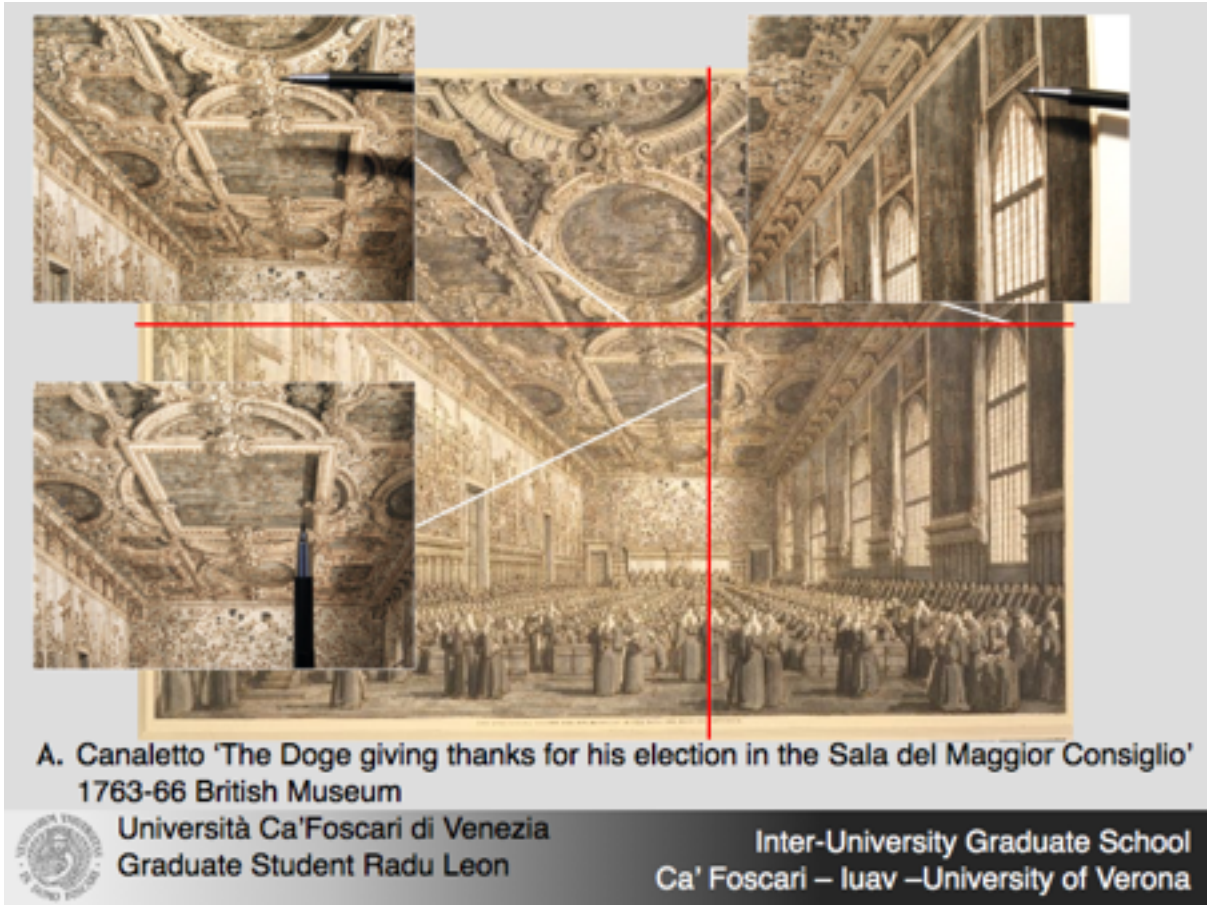

A. Canaletto 'The Doge giving thanks for his election in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio'
1763-66 British Museum
Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia
Graduate Student Radu Leon
Inter-University Graduate School
Ca' Foscari – Iuav –University of Verona

Fig. 69

Fig. 70

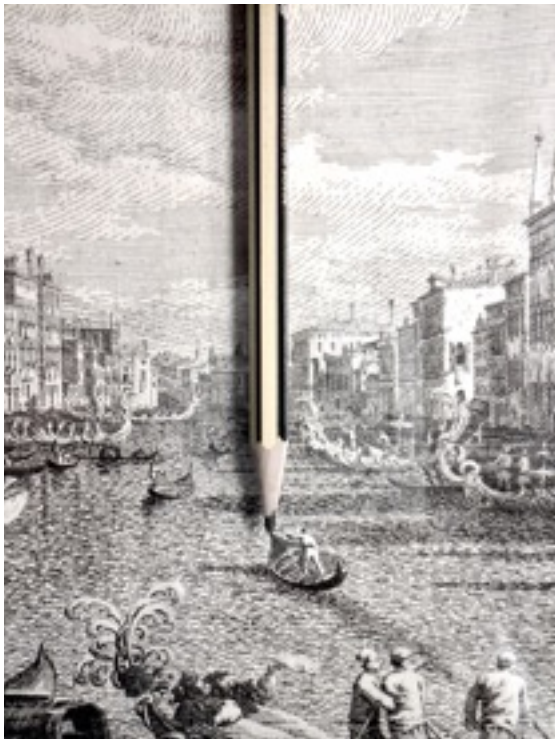


Fig. 71

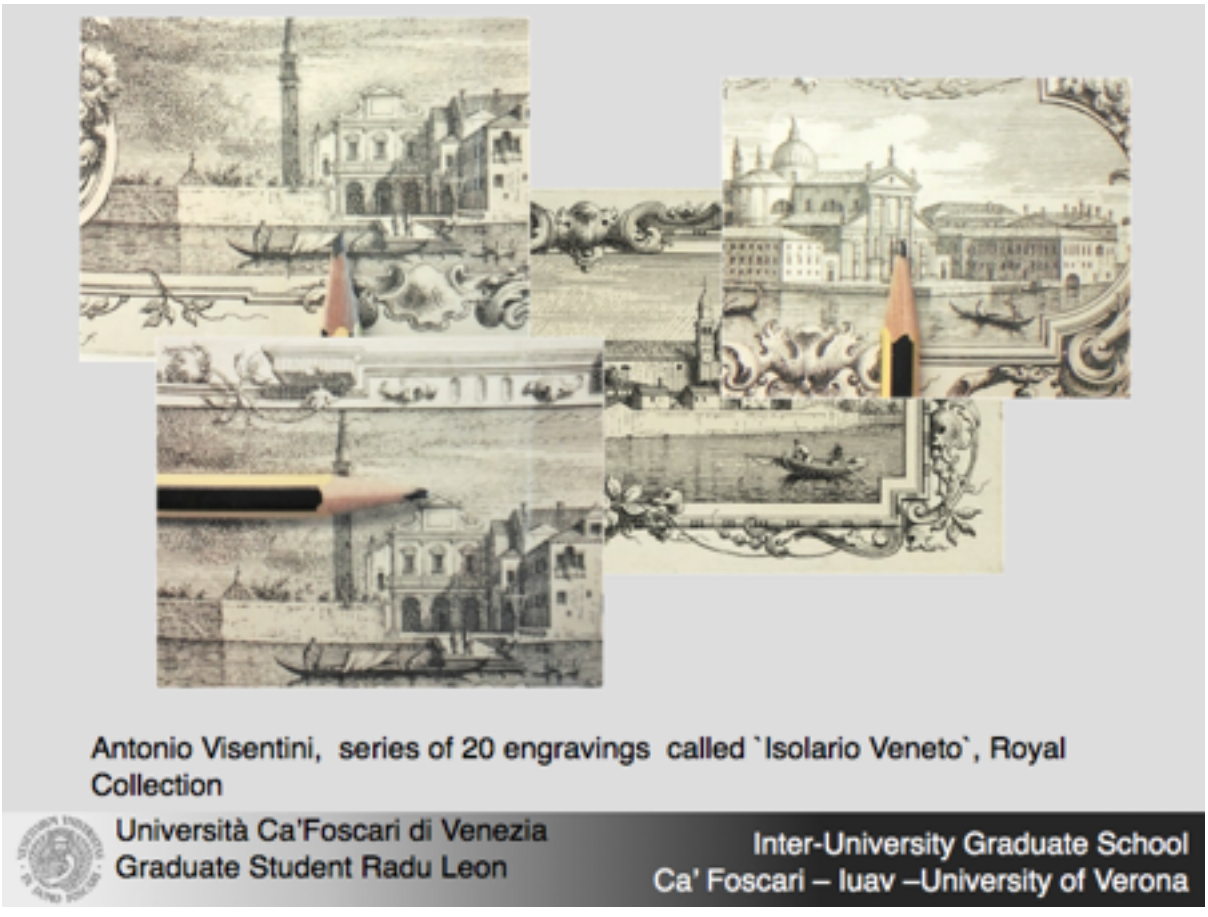


Fig. 72

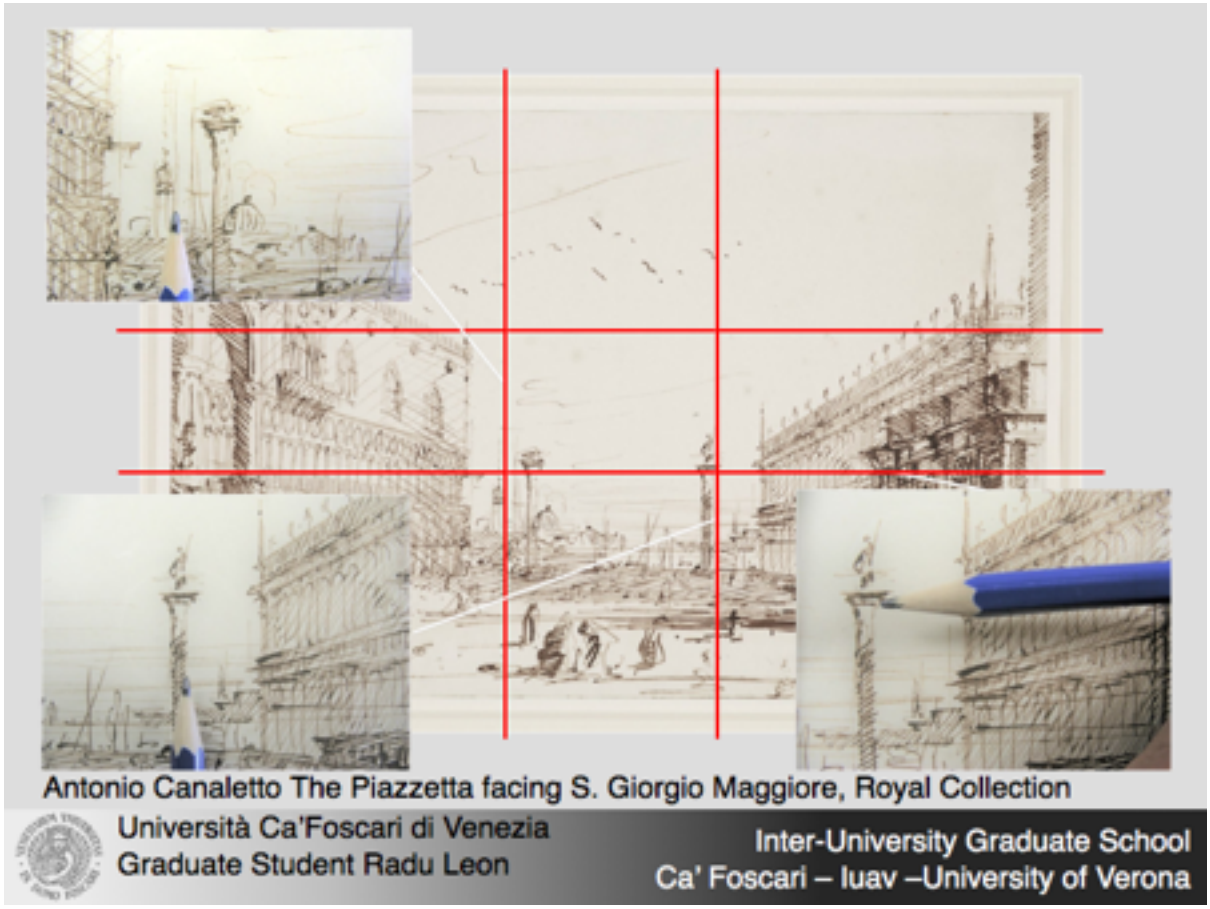

Antonio Canaletto The Piazzetta facing S. Giorgio Maggiore, Royal Collection
Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia
Graduate Student Radu Leon
Inter-University Graduate School
Ca' Foscari – Iuav –University of Verona

Fig. 73

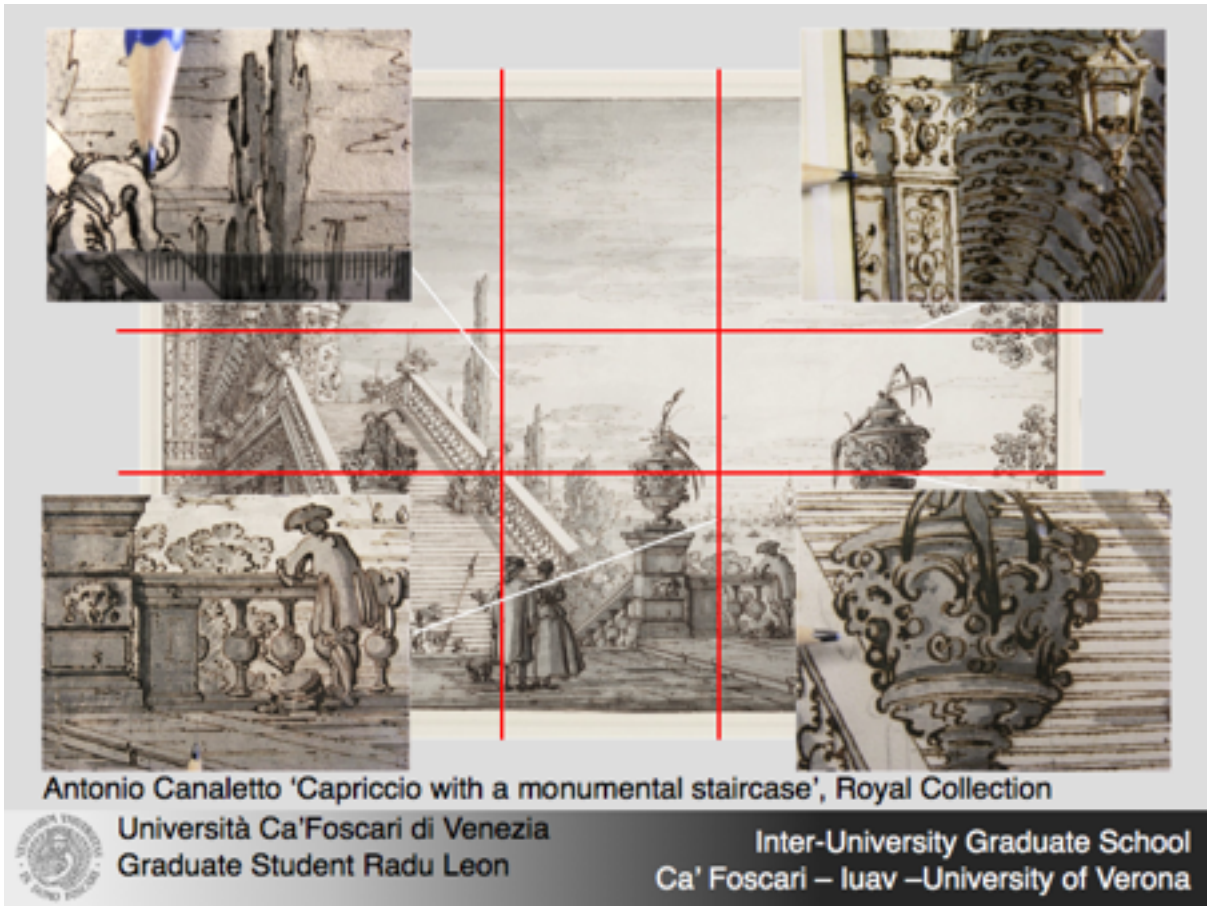

Antonio Canaletto 'Capriccio with a monumental staircase', Royal Collection
Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia
Graduate Student Radu Leon
Inter-University Graduate School
Ca' Foscari – Iuav –University of Verona

Fig. 74


Antonio Canaletto 'Capriccio with a monumental staircase', Royal Collection
Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia
Graduate Student Radu Leon
Inter-University Graduate School
Ca' Foscari – Iuav –University of Verona

Fig. 75

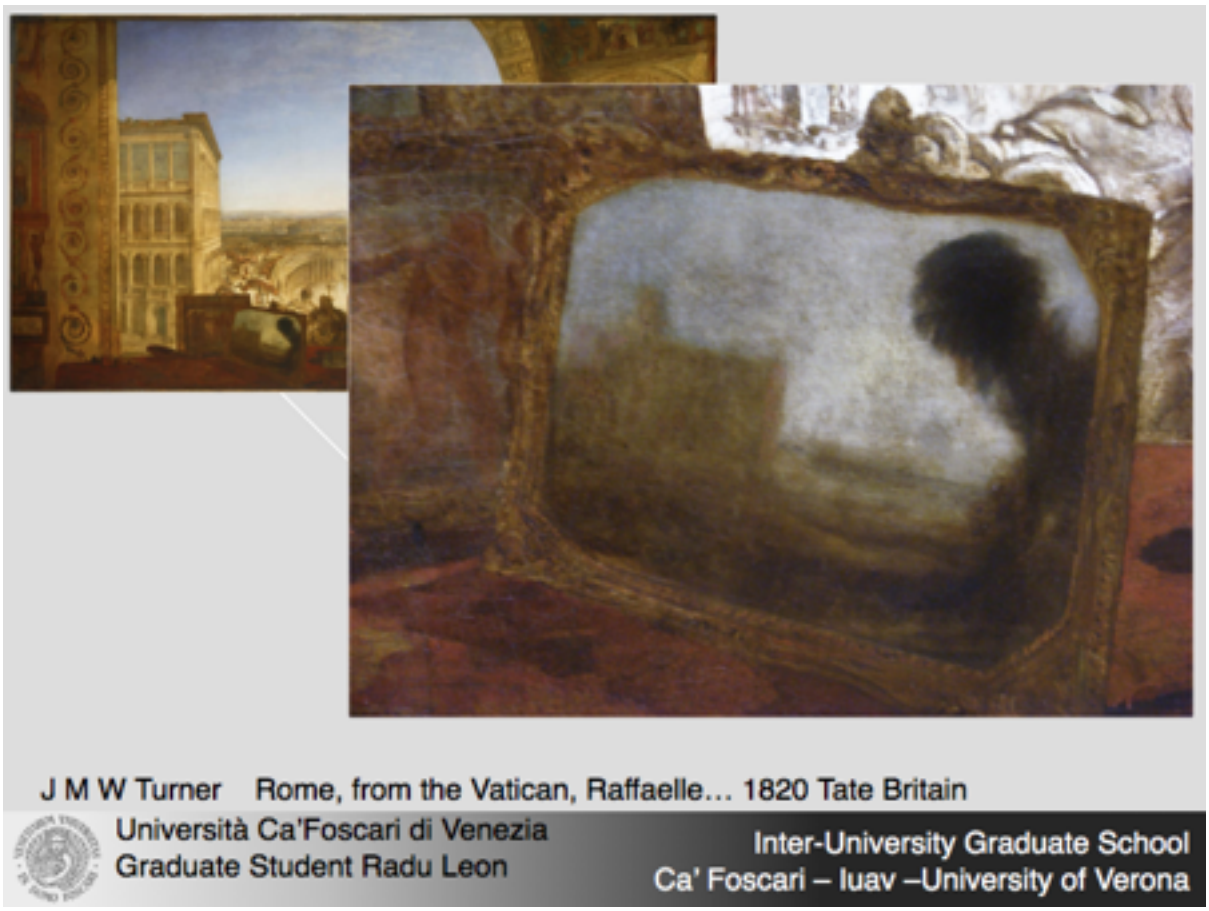

J M W Turner Rome, from the Vatican, Raffaelle… 1820 Tate Britain
Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia
Graduate Student Radu Leon
Inter-University Graduate School
Ca' Foscari – Iuav –University of Verona

Fig. 76

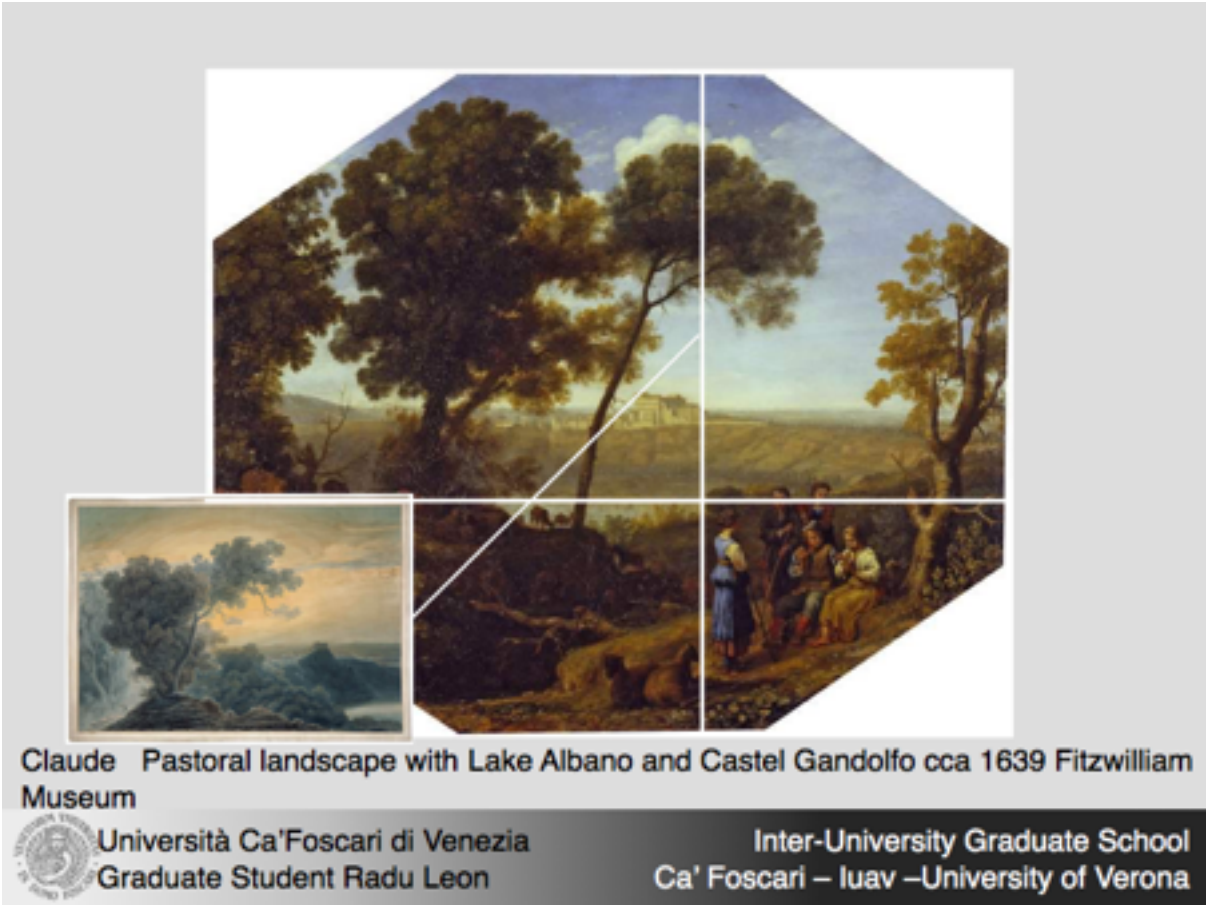

Claude Pastoral landscape with Lake Albano and Castel Gandolfo cca 1639 Fitzwilliam Museum
Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia
Graduate Student Radu Leon
Inter-University Graduate School
Ca' Foscari – Iuav –University of Verona

Fig. 77

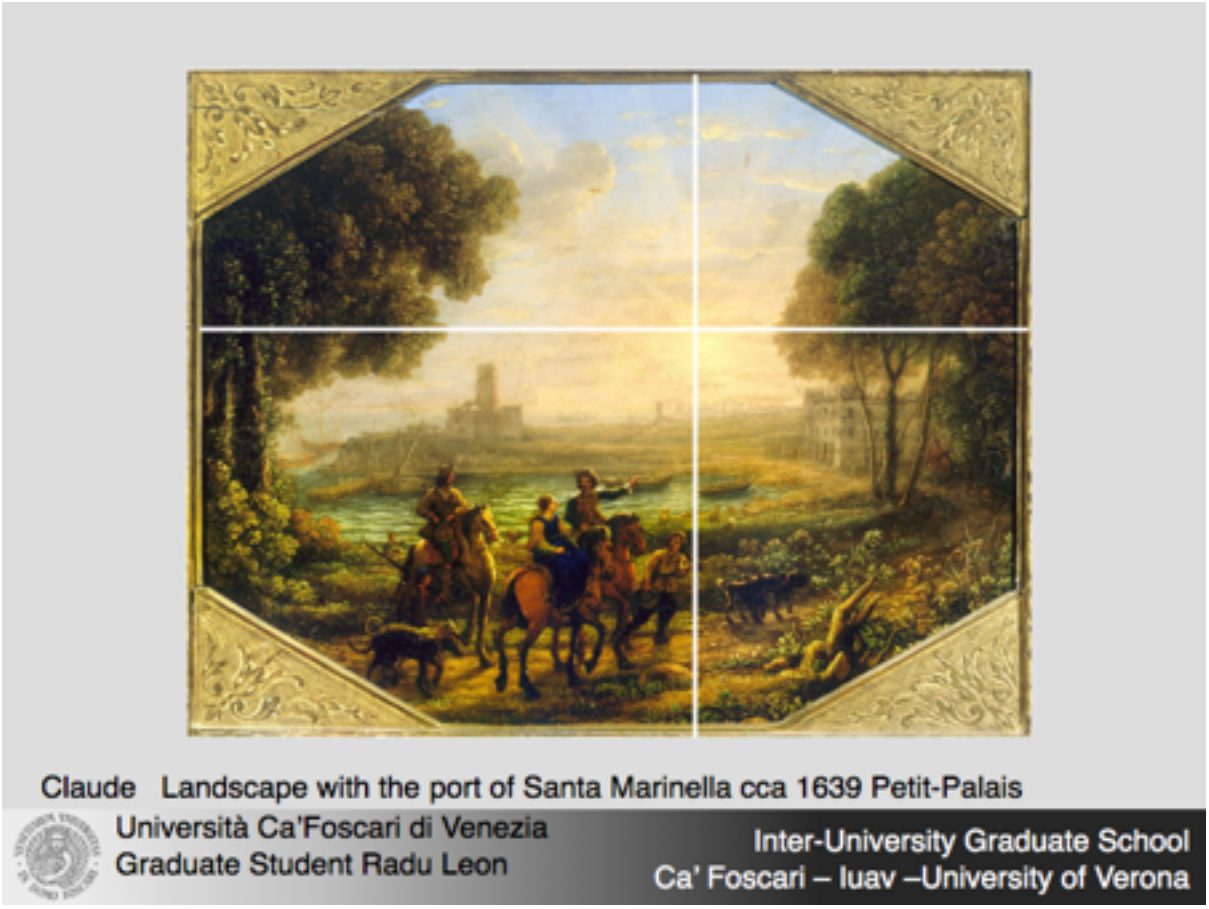

Claude Landscape with the port of Santa Marinella cca 1639 Petit-Palais
Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia
Graduate Student Radu Leon
Inter-University Graduate School
Ca' Foscari – Iuav –University of Verona

Fig. 78


Claude Landscape with the port of Santa Marinella; J M W Turner sketch (left)
Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia
Graduate Student Radu Leon
Inter-University Graduate School
Ca' Foscari – Iuav –University of Verona

Fig. 79

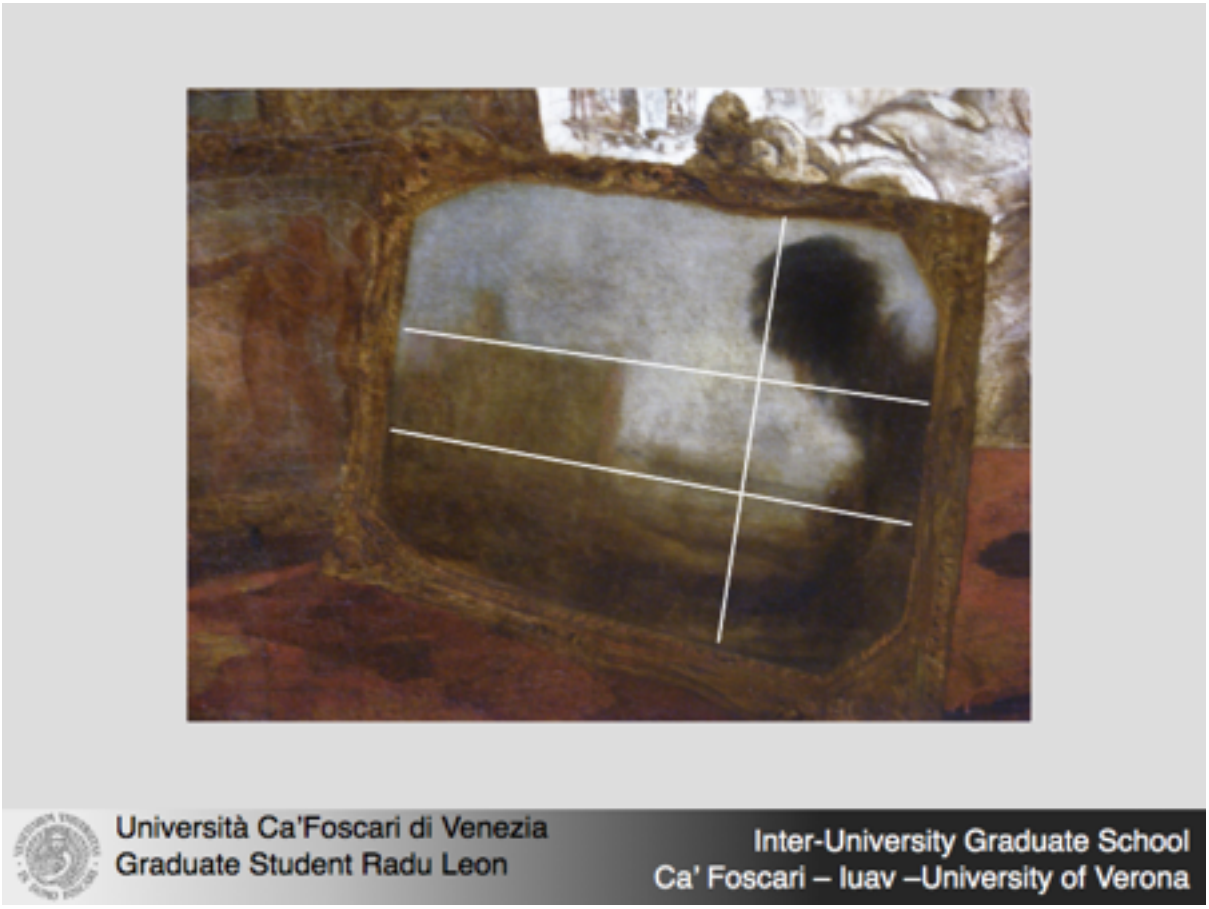

Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia
Graduate Student Radu Leon
Inter-University Graduate School
Ca' Foscari – Iuav –University of Verona

Fig. 80

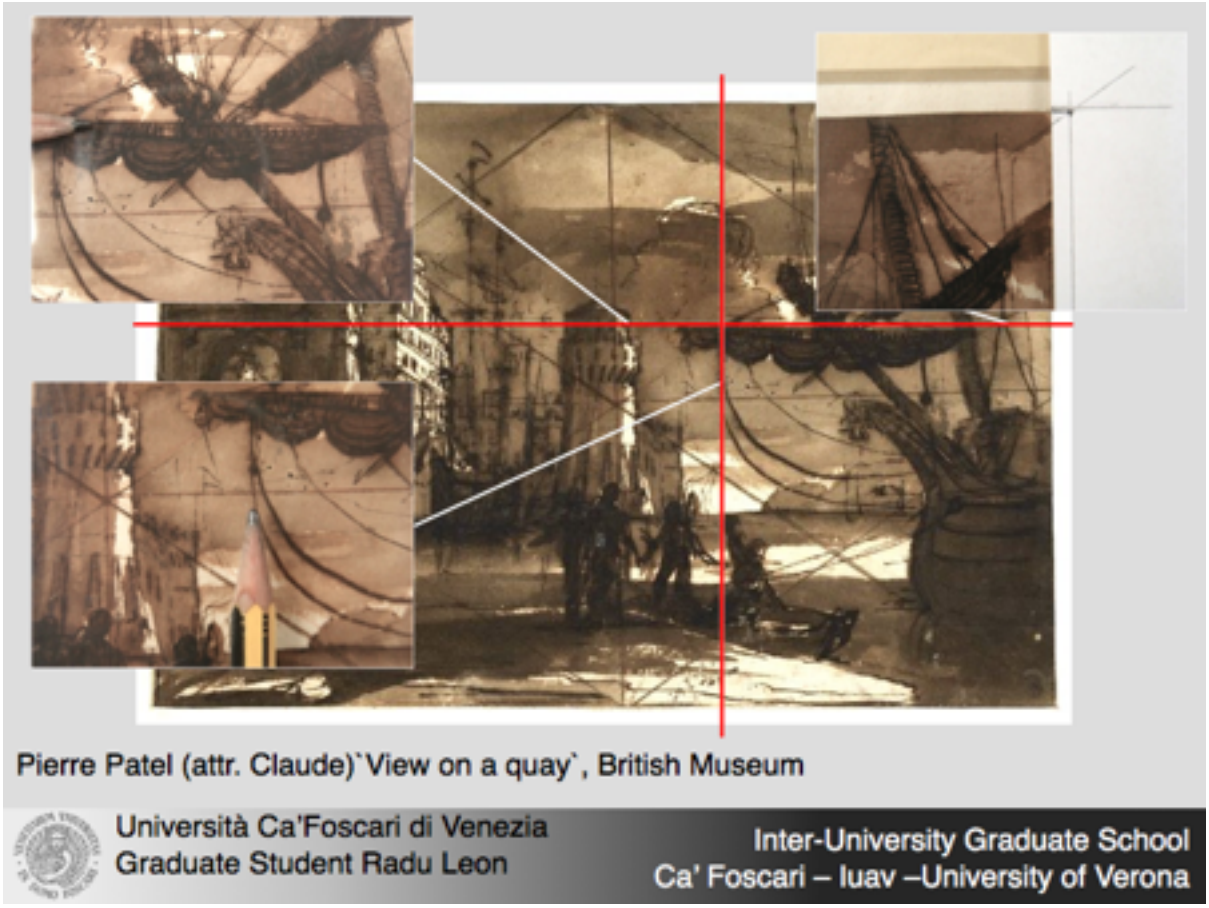

Pierre Patel (attr. Claude)`View on a quay`, British Museum
Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia
Graduate Student Radu Leon
Inter-University Graduate School
Ca' Foscari – Iuav –University of Verona

Fig. 81

Fig. 82


J M W Turner View of Venice, showing the bridge of sighs and ducal palace…
1833 Tate Britain
Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia
Graduate Student Radu Leon
Inter-University Graduate School
Ca' Foscari – Iuav –University of Verona

Fig. 83

Fig. 84

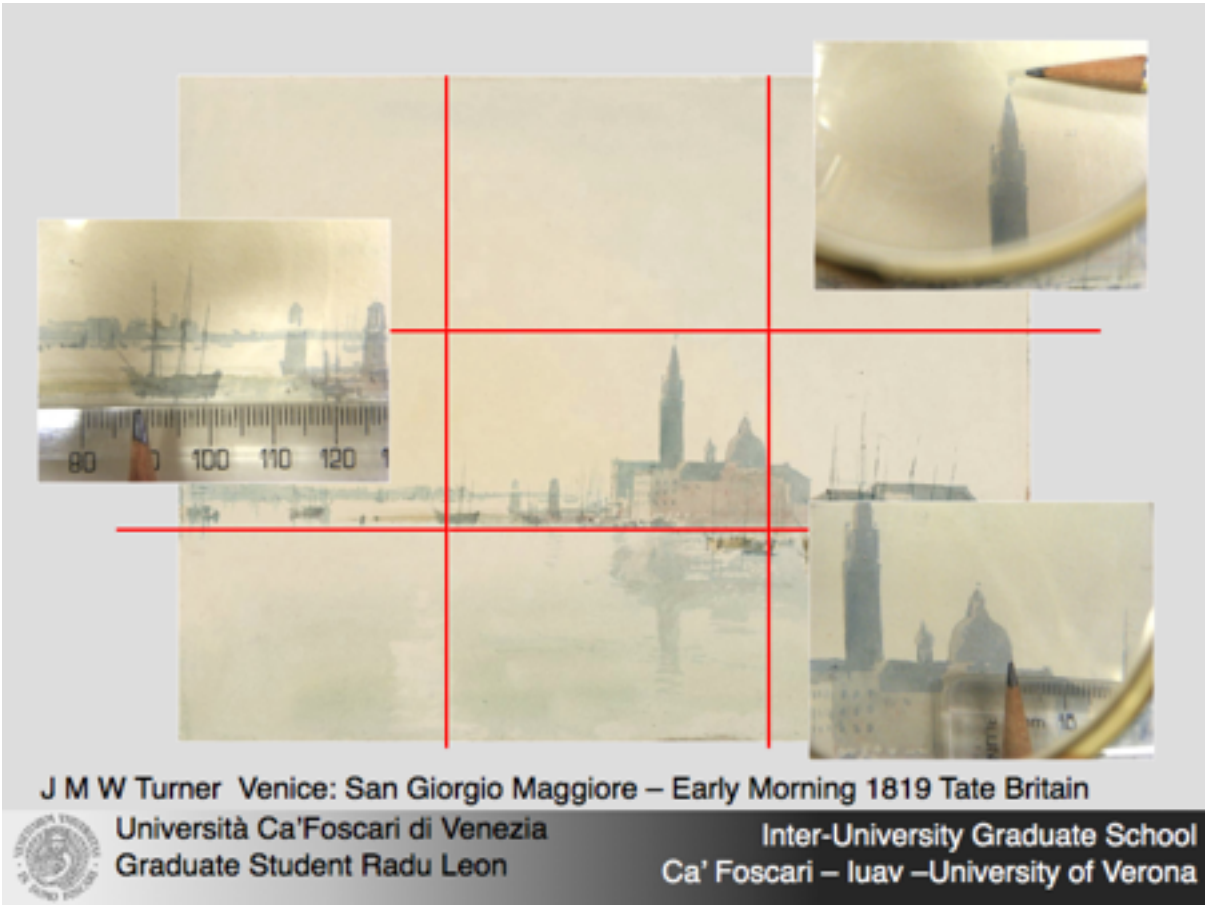

J M W Turner Venice: San Giorgio Maggiore – Early Morning 1819 Tate Britain
Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia
Graduate Student Radu Leon
Inter-University Graduate School
Ca' Foscari – Iuav –University of Verona

Fig. 85

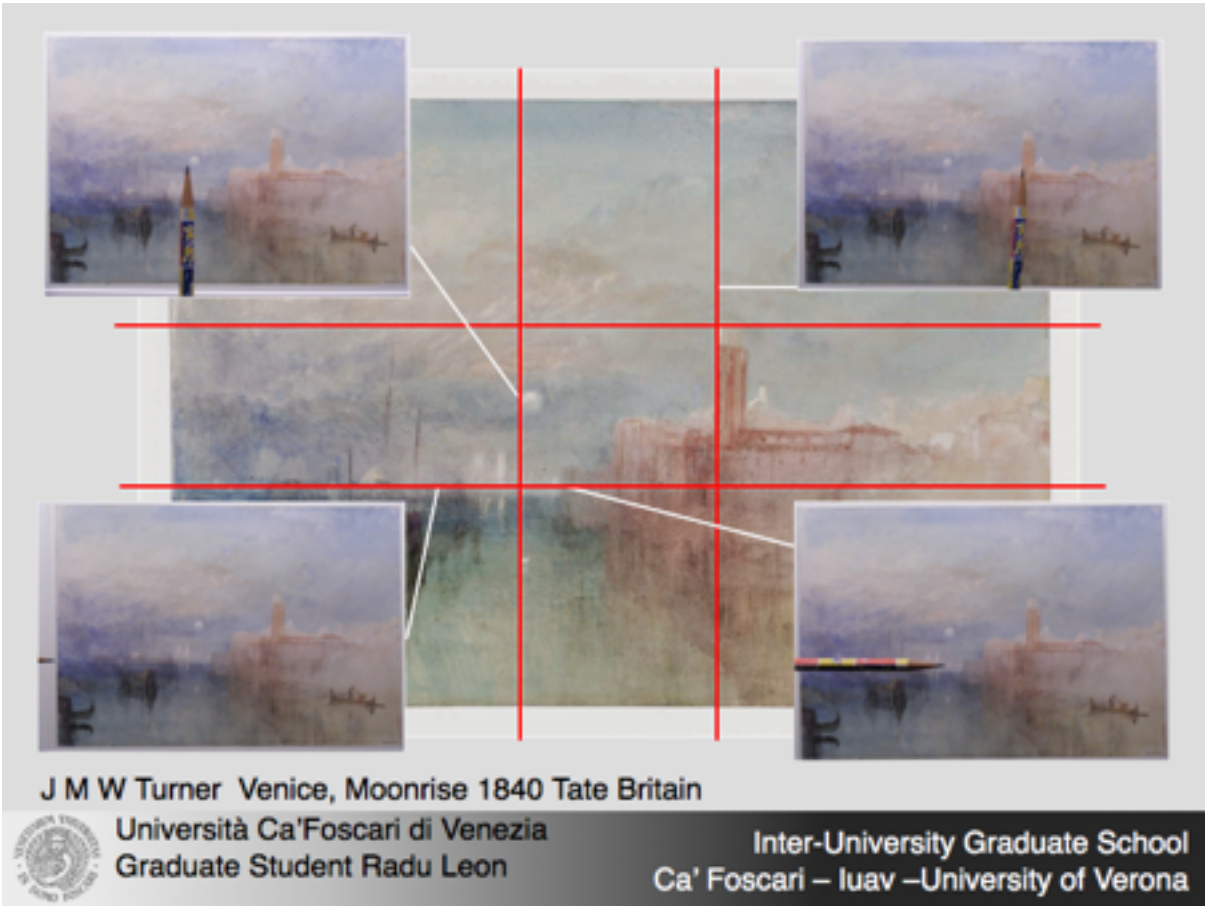

J M W Turner Venice, Moonrise 1840 Tate Britain
Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia
Graduate Student Radu Leon
Inter-University Graduate School
Ca' Foscari – Iuav –University of Verona

Fig. 86