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FASHION AND IDENTITY IN GEORGIAN BRITAIN: THE GRAND TOUR

PORTRAITS OF POMPEO BATONI

by

Matthew M. L. Rogan

A Thesis Submitted in

Partial Fulfillment of the

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ABSTRACT
FASHION AND IDENTITY IN GEORGIAN BRITAIN: THE GRAND TOUR
PORTRAITS OF POMPEO BATONI

by

Matthew M. L. Rogan

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2015
Under the Supervision of Professor Tanya Tiffany

Portrait artist to popes, royalty, and nobility, Pompeo Batoni was hailed as the premier

portrait painter in Rome during his career in the mid to late eighteenth century. Batoni's

reputation as the *de rigueur* portraitist amongst wealthy British Grand Tourists was

solidified by the late 1750s, and he dominated this market until his death in 1787. This

thesis will examine the different types of fashion displayed in Batoni's Grand Tour

portraits, and argue that many of the Georgian men depicted paid great attention to their

dress and how it augmented their self-fashioned identities. The portrayal of British

patrons in French-inspired continental dress, a style of clothing that was often ridiculed

and seen as ostentatious at home, was integral to the images that Georgian aristocrats

constructed of themselves as cosmopolitan elites worthy of being members of the ruling

class. By exploring both the clothing itself and the cultural contexts in which such dress

was appropriate, I will demonstrate that Batoni's Grand Tour portraits went beyond

naturalistic representation and were in fact carefully executed portrayals of how Georgian

elites wished to view themselves, and how they wished to be viewed by their peers and

social subordinates. Consideration of these aspects of Batoni's Grand Tour portraits will

provide new insight into the role of clothing in the literal self-fashioning of elite Georgian

men, an avenue under-explored in the context of art history.

To my husband.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

> You may be sure so eminent a man as Pompeo has been asked for his portrait for the Duke's gallery, but so great is his pride that he will not send it without being paid his own price for it, and once, when he had painted a Cardinal's picture, the Cardinal offered him a diamond cross to wear at the bosom of his coat, but he refused it and said he had a drawerful at home.[1]
> - James Northcote, Rome, 1778

This statement by Grand Tourist James Northcote clearly demonstrates the wealth and prestige Pompeo Batoni was considered to have amassed in during his lifetime. Portrait artist to popes, royalty, and nobility, Batoni was hailed as the premier painter in Rome throughout his career, which began in the 1730s and lasted until his death in 1787. Though his first love was history painting, portraiture dominated Batoni's oeuvre, and is today the main foundation for his renown. Although many of continental Europe's ruling and landowning class sat to Batoni, the majority of his patrons were British gentlemen venturing on their Grand Tours who sought mementos from their trips in the form of portraits set amongst classical art and architecture. As this thesis will demonstrate, these portraits were not only visual records of the tourists' continental travels, but also representations of ideal self-fashioning in elite Georgian society.

The backdrop for Batoni's success as a portrait artist was the Grand Tour, which was a fundamental rite of passage for wealthy European, especially British, men.[2] Education in ancient history and classical languages and literature had long been

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[1] John Steegman, "Some English Portraits by Pompeo Batoni," *The Burlington Magazine* 88, no. 516 (1946): 55. Quoted by Whitley: *Artists and their Friends in England*. Note: this thesis retains the spelling, punctuation, and grammar found in quotations of primary sources.
[2] Jason M. Kelly, *The Society of the Dilettanti: Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 13.

customary amongst the European aristocracy, though the nature of their engagement with

antiquity changed with the coming of the Age of Enlightenment. Beginning in the late

17th century, young British aristocrats in their late teens or early twenties began traveling

to France and Italy, and this trend gained heightened significance during the Georgian era

(1714-1830).[3] These trips were the culminations of formal education and allowed young

men to experience continental cultures and see the legacies of antiquity and the

Renaissance first hand. Grand Tours were also seen as a rite of passage before men

married and settled into aristocratic country life.[4] As such, they were considered a

required step in the shaping of young British elites, emphasized by Edward Gibbon in his

memoirs: "according to the law of custom, and perhaps of reason, foreign travel

completes the education of an English gentleman."[5] Grand Tours were long and costly

making them the purview of the privileged class. Many tourists were accompanied by

teachers or guardians and, particularly in Rome, were guided by *ciceroni* who served as

both tour guides and intermediaries for the purchase of art and antiquities.[6] Author

Charles Thompson, writing about Italy in 1744, summarized the opinions of many Grand

Tourists, describing himself as "being impatiently desirous of viewing a country so

famous in history, which once gave laws to the world; which is at present the greatest

school of music and painting, contains the noblest productions of statuary and

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[3] Martin Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750-1810* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 48.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Thomas Jenkins was the richest and most influential of the *ciceroni*, also serving as banker to many British travelers. Jenkins may have played a significant role in finding patrons for Batoni. Throughout their careers the two were on cordial terms, and many of the men who banked with Jenkins had their portraits painted by Batoni. See Edgar Peters Bowron, Introduction to *Pompeo Batoni and his British Patrons*, ed. Edgar Peters Bowron (London: Greater London Council, 1982), 10.

architecture, and abounds with cabinets of rarities, and collections of all kinds of antiquities."[7]

Rome was the principle destination of the Grand Tour[8], which guaranteed Batoni a steady flow of wealthy aristocrats seeking portraits to commemorate their travels. A cursory glance at his list of patrons shows a veritable who's who of British society in the mid to late eighteenth century, and nearly half of his sitters held titles of peerage when they sat to Batoni, or would be granted such later in life.[9] Patrons emphasized the importance of Batoni's ability to reproduce their likenesses with accuracy, a fact which is reflected in many of their letters.[10] Notable Grand Tourist and writer Father John Thorpe remarked that Batoni "values himself for making a striking likeness of everyone he paints," and continued, stating that accurate likenesses were the primary demand of Batoni's patrons.[11] Other accounts mention the fame Batoni achieved because of his portrait skills. Poet and salon devotee Anna Riggs Miller wrote in 1762 that Batoni was "esteemed the best portrait painter in the world,"[12] a sentiment echoed by J. J. Winckelmann, who considered Batoni "*eins der ersten in der Welt*."[13] English painter Benjamin West wrote that "the Italian artists talked of nothing, looked at nothing but the

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[7] Jean Sorabella, "The Grand Tour," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, accessed 9/15/14, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/grtr/hd_grtr.htm.
[8] Edgar Peters Bowron and Peter Björn Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: Prince of Painters in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 38.
[9] Ibid., 42.
[10] Bowron and Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: Prince of Painters in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, 37.
[11] Thorpe Letters, 25 May 1774, quoted in Bowron and Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: Prince of Painters*, 37.
[12] Anthony Clark, "Batoni's Professional Career and Style," in *Studies in Roman Eighteenth-Century Painting*, ed. Edgar Peters Bowron, 103-118 (Washington D.C.: Decatur House Press, 1981), 103.
[13] Ibid.

works of Pompeo Batoni."[14] By the time of his death, 154 British patrons had their

likenesses painted by Batoni, representing 79 percent of his portrait production.[15]

Despite Batoni's widespread fame in his own lifetime, his reputation as an artist

nearly disappeared during the 19th century. Modern interest in Batoni only began after

World War II, with the publication of important studies by John Steegman, Anthony

Clark, and Edgar Peters Bowron. The majority of scholarship on Batoni has focused on

his biography and on the identities of his wealthy and powerful patrons. Surprisingly

little has been said about the patrons' motivations in commissioning these portraits or

about the issues of identity construction present within them. These issues are important,

however, since the notions of image, class, and self-identity were of paramount concern

to the Georgian elites who commissioned portraits to hang in their British estates.[16]

This thesis will examine the different types of fashion displayed in Batoni's

Grand Tour portraits and, for the first time, will explore the cultural reasons why such

fashion was chosen by the elite Georgian patrons. The most distinct visible signifier of

class in many of these portraits is the wearing of continental-style clothing inspired by

French tastes, a fact paid little attention in current scholarship. Men's concern for fashion

has long been overlooked, and according to fashion historian Anne Hollander,

"masculine sartorial vanity has been a kind of secret, an influence largely

unacknowledged in literature (except in the exceptional cases of famous dandies or in

certain realistic novels) by comparison with the avowed importance of its feminine

counterpart."[17] I argue many Georgian men paid great attention to fashion, and that the

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni and his British Patrons*, 7.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1993), 361.

portrayal of British patrons in continental dress, a style of clothing that was often ridiculed and seen as ostentatious at home, was integral to the images that Georgian aristocrats constructed of themselves as cultured, sophisticated elites worthy of being members of the ruling class. By exploring both the clothing itself and the cultural contexts in which such dress was appropriate, I will demonstrate that Batoni's Grand Tour portraits went beyond naturalistic representation and were in fact carefully executed portrayals of how Georgian elites wished to view themselves, and how they wished to be viewed by their peers and social subordinates. Consideration of these aspects of Batoni's Grand Tour portraits will provide new insight into the role of clothing in the literal self-fashioning of elite Georgian men, an avenue underexplored in the context of art history.

Chapter Divisions

Chapter 2 will introduce the characteristics of eighteenth-century men's fashion, which is central to understanding how fashion was used in Batoni's portraits.[18] An introduction to the distinct trends in men's fashion found on the continent and in Britain, and the social constructs associated with these trends, will contextualize how fashion was understood and employed by the Grand Tourists. Batoni painted numerous continental tourists in addition to those from Great Britain, and the full spectrum of elite men's fashion from this period will be explored almost entirely within the context of his oeuvre.

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[18] One specific type of dress featured in Batoni's portraits which will not be discussed in this thesis is fancy dress, also known as Van Dyck costume. Such outfits, mimicking seventeenth-century aristocratic dress, were an English fad during the eighteenth century and were worn at masquerades. This type of costume play, in which deliberately anachronistic clothing was worn for a special occasion, is outside the scope of this thesis. For more on this topic, see Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe 1715-1789* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1984), 184-86, and Aileen Ribeiro, "Pompeo Batoni e l'arte della moda," in *Pompeo Batoni 1708-1787: L'Europa della Corti e il Grand Tour*, eds. Liliana Barroero and Fernando Mazzocca, 154-65 (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2008), 160-61.

Chapter 3 turns to Batoni's British Grand Tour portraits and the types of continental fashion displayed within them. Particular attention will be given to three types of continental fashions seen in these works: the *habit à la française* (literally the "dress of the French"), the frock-suit, and the fur-lined coat. Hairstyles and accessories will also be explored as evidence for the adoption of non-typical British styles. The British reactions against continental styles will be discussed, since the prevailing negative opinions of such fashion in Britain contrasts with the fact that Batoni's patrons commissioned their portraits to hang in their British homes and were intended to be viewed by a British audience. Finally, this chapter will address why, in the wake of such criticism of "foreign" influences, including fashion, Batoni's British aristocratic patrons chose to have themselves depicted in controversial costume, and what role self-fashioning played in those choices.

Chapter 4 will offer concluding remarks on the main arguments of this thesis, and also present unexplored avenues which may stimulate further study.

Chapter 2: Continental and British Men's Fashion in the Eighteenth Century

> Dressing is one of the many things that increase the difference between the reasonable animal and the unreasonable, and anything, be it ever so small that increases that difference, is never much amiss. Extremes to be sure are extremes; and the variety of dressing may be carried so far as to be ridiculous; yet sinful it can scarcely ever be; therefore if I were a preacher, I would never bear hard upon this point, because I have observed that people well-dressed have in general a kind of respect for themselves, and whoever respects himself, does a very good thing. As for my part, I love dressing well, that if I could afford it, I would be half a beau all the year round.[1]
> - Joseph Baretti, 1760

Sir Gregory Turner arrived in Rome in late January, 1769.[2] Turner had already passed through Geneva and several Italian cities before reaching Rome,[3] and subsequently travelled even farther afield to Venice, and, uncommon for the tour, Vienna.[4] While in Rome he doubtlessly engaged in the typical activities of a Grand Tourist: attending festivals, visiting the public museums, and admiring the classical ruins in addition to consuming vast amounts of alcohol with his fellow British tourists.[5] A special beguilement would have been the funeral of Pope Clement XIII, which Turner saw in February.[6] Though he was only in Rome for little over a month, Turner found time to sit to Batoni, and the resulting portrait is a masterful work and one that is emblematic of the portraits commissioned by Batoni's British clients (Fig. 1). Turner was known to

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[1] Joseph Baretti, *A Journey from London to Genoa, through England, Portugal, Spain, and France, Vol. I* (London: T. Davies, 1770), 14-15.

[2] John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travelers in Italy, 1701-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 957.

[3] Ibid. Turner's exact itinerary is unclear, but he was in Geneva in August, 1768, and henceforth travelled to Turin, Milan, Bologna, Florence, and Naples before reaching Rome.

[4] Ibid.

[5] For all the noble motivations for the Grand Tour, British tourists were noted for their copious consumption of alcohol. See Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 120-23.

[6] Ibid.

his contemporaries both for his fashionable dress,[7] and ironically, for his miserliness,[8] though the former quality is far more apparent in his portrait than the latter. Turner is shown in three quarter view, common to Batoni's works, and his pose, based upon the Apollo Belvedere,[9] is confident and relaxed with an air of arrogance. He stands in a classical-inspired interior, and his Roman locale is emphasized by the map of the city in his left hand, and the Colosseum in the distance. Keeping guard over the scene is the Minerva Giustiniani[10] from the Vatican museum,[11] a sculpture seen numerous times throughout Batoni's oeuvre.[12]

Impressive as Turner's portrait is, nothing stands out more than the figure's costume. As Hollander said, "clothes create at least half the look of any person at any moment,"[13] and this sentiment is clearly exemplified in Turner's portrait. Turner is illuminated while the room and landscape are obfuscated by shadow and atmospheric perspective, and his bold red suit contrasts with the earthen tones of the rest of the work. This use of light and the strong triangular composition bring Turner forward toward the viewer, further emphasizing his importance. Everything in this work appears subordinate

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[7] Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni and his British Patrons*, 58.

[8] Alan Valentine, *The British Establishment 1760-1784: An Eighteenth-Century Biographical Dictionary, Vol. II* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 879.

[9] Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni and his British Patrons*, 58.

[10] Classical sculpture features heavily in Batoni's oeuvre, and he had a great deal of experience drawing sculpture as a young man. A collection of such drawing by Batoni, now owned by Eton College, demonstrate his familiarity with classical art. See Hugh Macandrew, "A Group of Batoni Drawings at Eton College, and Some Eighteenth-Century Italian Copyists of Classical Sculpture," *Master Drawings* 16, no. 2 (1978): 131-150+191-215.

[11] Anthony Clark, edited by Edgar Peters Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue with an Introductory Text* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1985), 259.

[12] Bowron has written extensively on the inclusion of classical antiquities in Batoni's portraits. See Bowron and Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: Prince of Painters*, 78-87, and Edgar Peters Borwon, "From Homer to Faustina the Younger: Representations of Antiquity in Batoni's British Grand Tour Portraits," in *Roma Britannica: Art Patronage and Cultural Exchange in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, ed. David R. Marshall, Susan Russell, and Karin Wolfe (London: The British School at Rome, 2011): 183-91.

[13] Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 314.

to Turner, and what dominates the man himself is his dress. His three-piece suit is of the standard eighteenth-century design with coat, waistcoat, and breeches, in this case all of matching scarlet fabric. As fashion historian Aileen Ribeiro describes, the suit is made of fine Italian silk,[14] and is fashionably embroidered with gold. Delicate lace subtlety pours out of his cuffs and his collar, adding yet another level of elegance. Even to the untrained eye, this costume is infused with refinement, grace, and luxury.

The history of dress in this period, and the social and economic parameters which defined it, are integral to understanding the nuances of Turner's costume, its social and cultural importance, and what it says about both this portrait and Batoni's Grand Tour portraits in general. When discussing the fashion of the eighteenth-century elites such as Turner, styles can easily be broken down into two distinct categories, continental and British. Understanding the differences between these two styles is necessary to understand how fashion was used by Batoni's patrons to visually assert their class, education, and cosmopolitanism.

French Fashion in Continental Europe

The term "continental," in terms of fashion, while encompassing the entire European continent, is in reality a byword for "French," since by the mid-eighteenth century French tastes had completely conquered mainland Europe. When writer Sylvain Maréchal said in 1788 that "*Paris, par les modes, est la maîtresse du monde; et jamais le goût n'y a été plus consulté, et suivi plus constamment,*"[15] his sentiment had been true for

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[14] Aileen Ribeiro, "Batoni's use of Costume," in *Pompeo Batoni and his British Patrons*, ed. Edgar Peters Bowron, 21 (London: Greater London Council, 1982), 21.

[15] Sylvain Maréchal, *Costume civils actuels de tous les peoples connus, dessinés d'après nature, gravéset coloriés: Accompagnés d'une Notice historique sur les Mœurs, Usages, Coutumes, Religions, Fêtes,*

nearly one hundred years. This primacy of French fashion on the continent began in the 17th century during the reign of Louis XIV, whose firm rule, passion for the arts, and economic policies turned France into a bastion of *haute couture*.[16] France had well-established textile industries,[17] and from the late 17th century, the French silk industry was the most important in Europe producing everything from expensive and complicated brocades to light taffetas.[18] In particular, Paris was the center of French fashion, and it was there that new modes were established and the best fabrics and accessories were sold.[19] Parisian purveyors of fashion also began the novel trend of regularly updating styles of dress,[20] and the entire construct of good taste and etiquette was established in France during this period and adopted by the rest of Europe.[21] Furthermore, French became the international language of Europe, replacing Latin except in scholarship and law, and was the language of courts and diplomacy.[22]

The European dissemination of French fashion and culture began in Spain under the reign of the French-born Bourbon king Philip V.[23] Philip had little interest in fashion, but his court was quick to embrace the styles of the king's birthplace.[24] Portugal was

Supplices, Funérailles, Sciences et Arts, Commerce, etc. de chaque Peuple (Paris: Chez Deterville, 1788), 11.

[16] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 13.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Aileen Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France, 1750-1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 42. For more on the silk industry, including prices, see Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 48.

[19] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 43.

[20] Aileen Ribeiro, *A Visual History of Costume: The Eighteenth Century* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1983), 13.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Stephen Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 112-13. One of the purposes of the Grand Tour was to give tourists an opportunity to learn and practice foreign languages. Italian was valued as the language of the arts, but French was regarded as essential, and English writers at the time trumpeted the value of knowing how to speak French. See Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe*, 113.

[23] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 13.

[24] Ibid.

closely allied with Spain, Portugal's elite followed the direction of the court in Madrid and likewise embraced the fashion trends of the French.[25] The desire for French fashion travelled eastward with equal vigor. In the small German states of the Holy Roman Empire it was fashionable to maintain courts based on the French model complete with French dress.[26] Describing the Prussian court of his grandfather earlier in the century, Frederik the Great wrote that "a young gentleman was taken for a fool if he had not been some time at the court of Versailles,"[27] and Frederick himself fully adopted French tastes when he became King of Prussia. The marriage of Maria Theresa, Archduchess of Austria, to Francis of Lorraine in 1736 similarly brought French influences to the Habsburg court in Vienna.[28] As Ribeiro has argued, "no court with any pretensions to status or culture could afford to ignore the styles emanating from Paris."[29]

Even remote nations on the outskirts of Europe could not stem the tide of French fashion. In Russia, the reforms of Peter the Great early in the century radically altered elite Russian fashion. In particular, Peter forced his nobles to adopt Western styles,[30] and went on to create his own Versailles-inspired palace outside of St. Petersburg. Sweden was also remote, yet was allied with France and inevitably imported French styles.[31] Somewhat late to adopt French fashion, the reign of Gustavus III in the last quarter of the eighteenth century saw the peak of French influence in Sweden.[32]

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[25] Ibid., 14.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Frederick I, King of Prussia, *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg From the Earliest Accounts to the Death of Frederick I, King of Prussia* (London), 241, quoted in Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 14.
[28] Ibid., 14.
[29] Ibid., 15.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.

The Italian states, the ultimate goal of the Grand Tour, followed the rest of Europe with the adoption of French tastes and styles. With their various foreign rulers, these states saw a variety of fashion influences in the early years of the eighteenth century.[33] Most of the rulers of Italian peninsula came from Spanish or Austrian royalty, and these rulers originally brought with them the fashions of their homelands, but by mid-century all such influences were French. Many Italian states, like the rest of Europe, toyed with sumptuary legislation designed to limit luxury, including fashion.[34] These measures were ineffective, however, and the second half of the century saw widespread adoption of French fashions in Italy.[35] Thus, when Batoni's patrons began arriving in Rome in the 1750s, they found a fashion market dominated by French styles.

The *habit à la française*

Haute couture in elite French and continental society was not limited to formal occasions, and men of status took great care to present themselves in an elegant and refined way. Rev. John Andrews noted in 1770 that French elites were "prodigiously fond of exterior marks of grandeur," [36] and stated that "swords and full dresses, the wearing of which, unless on particular occasions, in so uncustomary in England, were, 'till very lately, almost always worn in France; and nothing is still more common than to see numbers of people sauntering in the street of Paris, as completely and magnificently appareled as if they were going to court."[37] Eighteenth-century continental fashion

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[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] John Andrews, *An Account of the Character and Manners of the French; with Occasional Observations on the English, Vol. I* (London: E. and C. Dilly, 1770), 63.
[37] Ibid., 64.

evolved over time, but one costume in particular both defined luxury and status and was also the most consistent in design: the *habit à la française*. This three-piece suit, comprised of coat, waistcoat, and breeches, was the most elegant suit for men and was required at court or any other formal occasion. Augmenting the suit were standard accessories: the bag wig, characterized by the pony tail wrapped in a black silk bag;[38] the three-cornered or cocked hat;[39] and the smallsword.[40] Changes to the cut and silhouette of the suit changed throughout the century, but the basics design remained consistent until the French Revolution.[41] The three main pieces of the *habit* were always made of expensive, matching fabrics, though by the 1760s suits of varied colors and fabrics were permissible.[42] The suit ranged in colors and decoration, but cloths of gold and silver, with embroidery in precious and semi-precious stones on the coat and waistcoat marked the most splendid and expensive examples.[43]

Eighteenth-century sources on fashion display the various types of French *habits*, and many of these styles are visible in Batoni's portraits of continental patrons. The *Gallerie des Modes et Costumes Français* was one of the earliest collections of fashion plates, published in Paris between 1778-87, and is an informative period source on both men's and women's fashion. One plate from the *Gallerie* titled *Monarque Juste et*

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[38] C. Willett Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 94.

[39] These types of hats are often referred to as 'tri-corn' or 'three-corner' hats, thought these terms were not in use in the eighteenth century. These hats were contemporarily called 'cocked hats' in Britain (referring to the turned up, or 'cocked' sides). These types of hats will be referred to as 'cocked hats' for the remainder of this paper. See Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 31.

[40] Also called a 'court sword,' this small thrusting sword was very much a real weapon in the eighteenth century and was a descendent of the larger rapier. Such swords were status symbols, a means a protection, and the weapon of choice for duels. See Cunnington and Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume*, 100.

[41] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 43.

[42] Aileen Ribeiro, *The Gallery of Fashion* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2000), 124.

[43] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 127.

Bienefaisant shows the typical *habit* of the 1760s and 1770s (Fig. 2). This crimson velvet

suit with gold waistcoat and matching gold embroidery, fur trimmed cocked hat, bag wig,

and smallsword represent the height of French fashion during this period. The suit is

augmented with medals and a sash befitting a man of elite status, and the red-heeled

shoes indicate the courtly nature of this dress.[44] Batoni's 1766 portrait of Count Kiril

Grigorjewitsch Razumovsky displays a nearly identical costume (Fig. 3). Razumovsky

was of Ukrainian nobility in the employ of the Russian court, and his Grand Tour brought

him to Rome in 1765.[45] Though the background of his portrait is filled with the most

prized ancient statues – the Apollo Belvedere and the Laocoön Group – the Count's

costume draws the most attention. His three-piece suit is of matching scarlet silk

(differing in this regard from the suit in the fashion plate), and the coat and waistcoat are

generously embroidered with arabesque gold trim. As in the fashion plate,

Razumovsky's costume is adorned with medals, including the sash and badge of the

Russian Order of St. Alexander Nevsky and, on his breast, the Polish Order of the White

Eagle.[46] The required bag wig and smallsword are worn, and the fur-trimmed cocked hat

rests nearby, which all closely match the fashion plate and complete the elegant

ensemble.[47] Painted ten years later, Batoni's portrait of Don José Moñino y Redondo,

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[44] Ibid., 127

[45] Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 303.

[46] Ibid.

[47] The basic shape of the cocked hat remained the same for much of the eighteenth century. The finest examples were made of beaver skin (which is likely the case with Razumovsky's hat) and trimmed with fur or braid. The sides were fastened with a buttons and loops, visible here, which were often made of gold or precious stones. Such hat were rarely worn and were carried under the arm as a fashion accessory. See Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 31.

Count of Floridablanca, shows a remarkably similar costume, demonstrating the dilatory changes in formal dress during the eighteenth century (Fig. 4).[48]

The *habit* described above can be viewed as the standard type through the 1760s and 1770s, though there was a large degree of variation possible. The colors of both the embroidery and the suits themselves varied greatly, and the choices of fabric colors depended on the season, with darker tones favored in winter and brighter colors favored in warmer months.[49] Batoni's 1768 portrait of Prince Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand, the future Duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg, features a typical *habit* with gold floral trim on a matching dark green suit, not dissimilar to the suits discussed above (Fig. 5).[50] While gold was the common color for trim, it was not required. Batoni's 1768 portrait of Gaetano II Sforza Cesarini, Duke of Segni, displays a dark green *habit*, this time of moire silk (Fig. 6). The trim on this suit is highly detailed and features a blue-grey base overlaid with silver embroidery. The variations in fabric colors are further emphasized in two plates from the *Gallerie des Modes et Costumes Français*; the first showing a bright red, nearly orange suit lined with wide gold trim, and the second a summer linen suit with pink patterning (Figs. 7-8). Another example, from the *Cabinet des Modes, ou les Modes Nouvelles*, displays "*un home en grande parure*" with a plum satin suit featuring generous floral embroidery (Fig. 9).

The luxury of the *habit* could be further enhanced with the addition of other materials. Fur was a common cold weather accessory, and a plate from 1779 shows a

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[48] A remarkable version of a similar suit survives today, made of blue moire silk and trimmed with silver embroidery. See Sharon Sadako and Kaye Durland Spilker, *Fashioning Fashion: European Dress in Detail, 1700-1915* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2010), 196.

[49] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 141.

[50] There are two versions of this painting, and Clark believes that this one is an autograph replica of the version in the Herrenhausen-Museum, Hanover. That version feature a red suit, while this one features a suit of dark green. See Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 309.

man in winter wear, with a blue overcoat lined with marten fur and adorned with gold

silk embroidery, with a gold waistcoat trimmed with embroidery and brown velvet

breeches (Fig. 10). The fur-lined coat is opulent and typical of the continental style with

the fur lining the inside, where its softness acted as a "luxurious foil" to the silk suit.[51]

Furthermore, jewels and sequence could be added to clothing for those with the means.

Sequins and metallic thread could add another level of luxury to the *habit*. A plate from

1779 shows a man in a pale blue suit trimmed with multi-colored sequins (Fig. 11).[52]

These sequins, especially when augmented with metallic thread, would have presented a

dazzling display.

Fashion in Great Britain

Fashion and society in Britain were very different compared to those on the

continent. There was a feeling of pride amongst the British based in the freedom found

in their political and legal institutions, which were liberated from the despotism of

continental monarchs.[53] Like no other monarch in Europe, the British crown was part of a

mixed constitution governed by statutes which granted the British people a remarkable

amount of liberty.[54] With their less court-centered society and greater degree of social

mobility, the British embraced tastes in fashion different than their continental

counterparts. As historian Stephen Conway explains, the French and their continental

imitators used clothing to distinguish themselves from their social inferiors, while many

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[51] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 43.
[52] A similar examples of this suit, featuring more extensive embroidery, survives today and gives a clear picture of the elegance of such suits. See Sadako and Spilker, *Fashioning Fashion*, 197.
[53] Ribeiro, *A Visual History of Costume*, 13.
[54] Ibid.

British nobles adopted unadorned attire for all but the most formal occasions.[55] British styles were more egalitarian, with simpler designs and more practical fabrics dominating men's fashion.[56] Clothing often took on a more informal air,[57] and, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century, was more sporting and outdoor-focused.[58] There were even trends where more wealthy men imitated the prevailing styles of the working-class.[59] From the king down to the man on the street, the plainness of male dress was a recognized feature of eighteenth-century Britain.[60] John Macky remarked in 1722 that "the dress of the English is like the French, but not so gaudy; they generally go plain, but in the best Cloths and Stuffs, and wear the best Linen of any Nation in the World; nor but they wear Embroideries and lace on their Cloaths on solemn Days, but they do not make in their daily wear as the French do."[61]

The British prided themselves on their more casual fashion, which was viewed by some as a product of their liberty. While traveling in France in 1752, author Arthur Murphy lamented the constraining formality of French fashions:

> We sent for a tailor, and Jack Commons, who jabbers a little French, directed him to make us two suits, which were brought us home the next morning at ten o'clock, and made complete *Frenchmen* of us. But for my part, I was so damned uneasy in a full-dressed coat, with hellish long skirts, which I had never been used to, that I thought myself as much deprived of my liberty, as if I had been in the *Bastille*. I frequently sighed for my little loose frock, which I look upon as an emblem of our happy constitution; for it lays a man under no uneasy restraint, but leaves it in his power to do as he pleases.[62]

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[55] Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe*, 126.
[56] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 35.
[57] Ribeiro, *A Visual History of Costume*, 13.
[58] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 17.
[59] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 35.
[60] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 25.
[61] John Macky, *A Journey Through England in Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here, to His Friend Abroad, Vol. II* (London: J. Pemberton, 1722), 238.
[62] Arthur Murphy, *The Works of Arthur Murphy, Esq., Vol. V* (London: T. Cadell, 1786), 111-12.

To Murphy, British dress was synonymous with British freedom. Though their wealth was on display in their costume, Frenchmen in the service of a despot were not only politically constrained, but physically constrained by their dress.

Several of Batoni's British patrons sat for their portraits in conventional, understated British attire. These styles are strikingly plain compared to the *habit à la française*. Henry Straffan's portrait from 1755 shows a fashionable, yet decidedly casual suit (Fig. 12). The blue velvet frock was the standard coat for British men,[63] and based on its loose, casual fit it is clear why Murphy longed to shed the restrictive *habit*. Gold trim lines Straffan's waistcoat, demonstrating that even the British were not without a sense of panache, but compared with the copious embroidery seen on the *habits*, this suit clearly takes on a less-formal demeanor. The ensemble lacks the smallsword and cocked hat, and though his hair is styled similar to contemporary wigs, the lack of the wig itself greatly reduced the formality of the costume.

Sir Humphry Morice sat to Batoni in 1762, and like Straffan, he eschewed continental styles (Fig. 13). His blue-grey suit of silk is tasteful, but casual. Gone are the trims and embroideries of the formal French costumes, replaced by fashionable, yet restrained style. Again, the sword and cocked hat required for the *habit* are missing, and Morice's natural hair adds to the casual air of his ensemble. The dogs, musket, and game clearly mark this as a hunting scene, and though it may seem malapropos to hunt in such a suit, it was common for British men to commission portraits of themselves set outdoors rather than inside.[64] This trend contrasted sharply with the French propensity to depict

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[63] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 25.
[64] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 35.

themselves indoors where the luxury of both the sitter and the interior could be displayed.[65]

David Garrick, still considered one of the most versatile actors in the history of the British stage, sat to Batoni in 1764 (Fig. 14).[66] Garrick wears the three-piece suit in style in both Britain and the continent, but the simplicity of the costume is apparent.[67] The caramel color was fashionable at the time,[68] but compared to the French models, Garrick's velvet suit is completely unadorned and simple even compared to Sir Morice's costume, and is in keeping with the relative informal dress of British men.

Elite men's fashion in the eighteenth century was a story of two distinct trends: continental and British. The French and their *habit* represented the height of formality, elegance, and luxury, while fashion in Britain in general was more simple and egalitarian. In their respective countries, these types of fashions were readily accepted and even expected. In France, wealth and luxury went hand in hand, and extravagant displays of fashion by French elites were accepted markers of their societal status. The British aristocracy, as a rule, preferred modesty over ostentation, and as a matter of national pride were expected to eschew luxury. As I will demonstrated in the next chapter, it is evident in Batoni's portraits of British aristocrats, however, that this notion of British austerity was not always strictly adhered to.

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[65] Ibid.

[66] Garrick's Grand Tour (1763-65) was actually the result of his acting career. He feared that his popularity was in danger of diminishing and would improve with a brief absence from the stage. See Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 292.

[67] This suit still exists and is in the collection of the Museum of London. See Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

Chapter 3: Fashion and Identity in Batoni's Grand Tour Portraits

> These are our Men of Fashion; – True,
> Europe they saw – it saw them too.
> To foreign climes, unpolish'd sent,
> They come – as wisely as they went.
> What learnt they for their vast expense?
> Oh! They can ride, and dance and fence –
> And nothing else save such devices?
> Yes – they import their dress and vices.
> -   Anonymous, *Fashion, A Poem*, 1775[1]

The 1750s was a period of transition for Pompeo Batoni. Like all ambitious painters in the eighteenth century, he sought to ground his career in historical subjects, and these types of works dominated his artistic output in the 1730s and 40s.[2] His shift to portraiture began in the early 1750s with important commissions by Joseph Leeson, 1st Earl of Milltown, and Sir Matthew Featherstonhaugh.[3] Batoni benefited greatly from his association with Cardinal Alessandro Albani, who was one of the most celebrated art collectors in Rome.[4] Through Albani's machinations, Batoni received numerous portrait commissions from both British and continental Grand Tourists.[5] The genre of Grand Tour portraiture had been established in Rome early in the eighteenth century, but Batoni both matched and surpassed his predecessors.[6] Because of the "freshness of his coloring, the precision of his draughtsmanship, and the polish of his handling,"[7] he became the unrivaled portrait artist in Rome.[8]

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[1] Quoted in Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 48.
[2] Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 25-29.
[3] Ibid., 29.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., 30.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.

Batoni had greatly expanded his portrait business by the time George Lucy arrived in Rome in 1758 (Fig. 15). When Lucy departed Britain in 1756, the Warwickshire landowner was 42 years old,[9] twenty years older than the average British tourist.[10] While his motivations for the tour were based more on his health than his education, he nevertheless explored the sites of Italy stopping in Rome, Naples, and even the ruins of Herculaneum.[11] Rome offered him special diversions, and while there he made a point to see the Pantheon and St. Peters Cathedral.[12] Impressive as these sights must have been, Lucy was apparently less impressed with his own appearance; indeed he wrote to his friend Phillipa Hayes, with whom he had frequent correspondence,[13] asking for some fine clothes to be sent to him.[14] These clothes are lost to history, but while in Rome Lucy sat to Batoni in clothes which were most certainly "fine." To sit to Batoni was not Lucy's idea, but Hayes', and Lucy reported to her in a letter saying that: "Agreeable to your orders, I have shown my face and person to the celebrated Pompeo Batoni, to take the likeness thereof; I have sat twice, and am to attend him again in a day or two."[15] Each time Lucy met with Batoni, he likely came equipped with his charm and noted in a letter that "these painters are great men and must be flattered… for 'tis the custom here, not to think themselves obliged to you for employing them, but that they oblige you by being employed."[16] Posterity must thank Hayes for her suggestion that

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[9] Bowron and Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: Prince of Painters*, 46.

[10] Myrone, *Bodybuilding*, 48.

[11] Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travelers in Italy*, 615.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Bowron and Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: Prince of Paintiners*, 46.

[14] Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travelers in Italy*, 615.

[15] Mary Elizabeth Lucy, *Biography of the Lucy Family, of Charlecote Park, in the County of Warwick* (London: 1862), 103, quoted in Bowron and Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: Prince of Painters*, 46.

[16] Andrew Wilton, *The Swagger Portrait: Grand Manner Portraiture in Britain from Van Dyck to Augustus John 1630-1930* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1992), 118.

Lucy commission a portrait from Batoni, since this work is a *tour de force* of eighteenth-century elegance. Lucy wears the typical *habit à la française* with collar-less coat, waistcoat and breeches. His blue velvet coat is heavily embroidered with gold floral trim, and his silver silk waistcoat is copiously embroidered and mimics the cuffs of his coat. The ensemble is completed with the requisite smallsword, bag wig, and cocked hat. Lucy stands in a fictional classical setting which is simultaneously interior and exterior. Though no Roman ruins are present, the Roman-style marble pitcher and incorporation of columns hint at the Roman locale.

As an example of the most formal of suits worn by men, Lucy's garment would have been at home in the courts of Versailles or Vienna, and Batoni's portrait presents a drastically different image than that seen in Lucy's portrait by Thomas Gainsborough painted in Britain just two years later (Fig. 16). In this half-length work Lucy is placed before a neutral background, far from the columns and Italian landscape of Batoni's work. Gone is the swagger seen in his Grand Tour portrait, replaced by a more upright posture with his left hand conservatively tucked into his waistcoat. Gone as well is the *habit à la française*. Lucy's collar-less blue velvet coat mimics the *habit* in basic design, but lacks the continental ornamentation. The buttons are plain and the silver piping adds restrained elegance which stands in contrast to his flamboyant Grand Tour ensemble. Lucy, however, does retain the bag wig, adding an element of formality, and carries his hat under his left arm. Upon completion Batoni's portrait was sent straight from Rome to

the Lucy estate at Charlecote Park, where it remains today,[17] and Gainsborough's work

was likewise hung at Charlecote, where it too still hangs.[18]

These two contemporary portraits of the same man, hung in the same home, speak

volumes on the differences between dress in Britain and the continent, and beg the

question of how these two very different works would have been received by both the

patron and others. What Batoni's patrons wore in their portraits, or at least how they

were depicted,[19] says much about how these men fashioned their identities. At home in

Britain, this identity reflected their expected renouncement of luxury. Abroad, however,

elite men customarily flaunted their wealth and status, and failing to do so could be

socially disadvantageous.

This chapter will explore three types of continental-inspired dress seen in Batoni's

Grand Tour portraits: the *habit à la française*, the hybrid frock-suit, and fur lined coats.

These types of garments were simultaneously appreciated as signs of refinement and

reviled as symbols of the pervasiveness of "French" *haute couture*, and the decision to

wear them in portraiture sent a clear message to the audience. In the case of Batoni's

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[17] "George Lucy (1714 – 1786)," *The National Trust Collections*, accessed 1/15/15, http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/533888.

[18] "George Lucy (1714 – 1786)," *The National Trust Collections*, accessed 1/15/15, http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/533837.

[19] There has been some debate on the veracity of the clothing seen in Batoni's portraits. Steegman (p. 56) took for granted Batoni's accuracy in terms of costume. Ribeiro, however, believes that Batoni may have altered elements to suit the needs of the patron. She rightly acknowledges that artists often do not slavishly copy what is in front of them, and also acknowledges the fact that Batoni reused props often (the Minerva Guistiniani, for example). Furthermore, many of Batoni's portraits of British Grand Tourists were completed after the sitter left Rome, but this fact alone does not prove nor disprove artistic agency of behalf of Batoni in terms of his representations of dress. However, Ribeiro does not believe, nor does this author, that Batoni stretched the truth of his portraits, and she states that in Batoni's works, apparel was accurate in the details but creative in concept (p. 164). Unlike the reuse of props and backgrounds, Batoni's depictions of costume varies widely and in many cases the veracity of the dress can be verified, whether in the form of military uniforms or in cases of surviving examples (David Garrick's caramel velvet suit seen in Batoni's portrait from 1764 survives today in the Museum of London (http://archive.museumoflondon.org.uk/RWWC/objects/record.htm?type=object&id=85698). See Steegman, "Some English Portraits by Pompeo Batoni," 56, and Ribeiro, "Pompeo Batoni e l'arte della moda," 164.

patrons, not only did many adopt these fashions abroad, but they chose to have these fashions captured in portraits designed to be hung in their British homes. In doing so, they were both asserting their wealth, education, and status through their clothing, but were also embracing so-called foreign styles which, to the British, were problematic at best.

Dressing for the Grand Tour

In Britain and on the continent clothes in the eighteenth century were visible emblems of social standing.[20] Whether you were a continental visitor to Britain, or vice versa, your choice in clothing spoke to your wealth, status, and origins. Italian born British literary critic Joseph Baretti learned this first hand while visiting Portugal in 1760:

> Before the entertainment began I attempted some converse with them [Portuguese gentlemen]; but even the humble *Religiozo* seem'd to look upon me with disdain and contempt. They all answer'd my first words with so churlish an air, that I gave over presently, and like them kept silent the whole time. How I came to disgust them thus at once, I cannot guess: but by their frequent and affected glances upon my coat, which I held up at last to the Friar, not without some resentment, that he might inspect it nearer, I suspected that they conceived a very low opinion of me for not being dress'd in silk like other gentlemen. Yet it was not my fault, having not yet had time to do what I must do in this hot weather.[21]

Goethe likewise complained about his visit to Rome, where the natives curiously studied his clothing which differed greatly from the silk suits worn in Italy.[22] In order to fit in abroad, British men were advised to dress appropriately wherever they travelled.[23] An anonymous British naval officer writing in 1768 warned travelers of the

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[20] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 115.
[21] Joseph Baretti, *A Journey from London to Genoa*, 124-25.
[22] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 116.
[23] Ibid., 115.

extravagances of French fashion, stating that a Frenchman was rarely seen "without his

lac'd coat, silk stockings, powdered hair, and lac'd ruffles."[24] To avoid uncomfortable

situations like the one faced by Baretti, he advised British travelers on what to wear:

"Should he be an officer, I would have him by all means carry with him his uniform or

regimentals; that being the most respectable dress he can possibly appear in, and which,

in a great measure, excludes him from many impositions."[25] Several of Batoni's patrons

were military officers and followed this advice,[26] such as Edward Augustus, Duke of

York (brother of King George III), who in 1763 sat to Batoni in his naval uniform (Fig.

17). Several of these works fit neatly into Batoni's oeuvre, such as the portrait of James

Stewart from 1768 (Fig. 18). In this work, Stewart rests his right hand at the base of the

Minerva Guistiniani and poses in a manner which draws attention to his ornate uniform.

His military career is emphasized by the inclusion of Minerva, goddess of courage and

strategic warfare. The most notable example of this portrait type is that of William

Gordon, completed in 1766, which is likely the only painting to show the Colosseum and

the highland kilt simultaneously (Fig. 19).[27] These works are unproblematic in terms of

self-fashioning and reception amongst British contemporaries. British portraiture of the

eighteenth century was no stranger to the incorporation of uniforms, which, by the last

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[24] *The Gentleman's Guide in his Tour through France* (London: G. Kearsly, 1770), 210
[25] Ibid., 4-5.
[26] Wearing uniforms in foreign countries was not problematic during this period, and neither political nor military conflicts had a large effect on the Grand Tour. During times of war travel was limited to a certain degree, but still took place. For the most part, travel itineraries had to be altered to avoid going through Paris or some other potentially hostile place, depending on which war was taking place at the time. Even during the Seven Years War (1756-63) the tour was happening, and many of Batoni's patrons had their portraits painted at this time. See Black, *The British and the Grand Tour*, 88-93.
[27] For an in depth look at the cultural and political significance of this portrait, see Christopher M. S. Johns, "Portraiture and the Making of Cultural Identity: Pompeo Batoni's The Honourable Colonel William Gordon (1765-66) in Italy and North Britain," *Art History* 27, no. 3 (June 2004): 382-411.

two decades of the century became court dress in their own right, both in Britain and in parts of the continent.[28]

Those who were neither eligible nor inclined to wear uniforms while on their Grand Tour could simply wear the same types of clothing they wore at home. In doing so, however, they risked the scorn of the locals, as Baretti learned firsthand. Like uniforms, typical British-style clothing is unproblematic in terms of the self-fashioning found in Batoni's portraits, since this is the typical style of dress expected in domestically produced British portraits. Two portraits, however, are worth noting in brief as juxtapositional references. Batoni's portrait of Sir Humphry Morice from 1762, discussed in Chapter 1, is one such work which, and despite the distant Italian cityscape in the background this painting conforms to British portraiture norms both in terms of costume and rustic outdoor setting (Fig. 13). Another example, the portrait of Alexander, 4th Duke of Gordon from 1764, is thematically quite similar (Fig. 20). The Duke is depicted in a wooded landscape on the hunt, resting his right arm on his horse and gripping his musket with his left hand. Absent are any references to Rome, where this painting was created, and the iconography could thus easily lead this work to be mistaken for a domestically painted British portrait.[29] The Duke is dressed in a typical British loose-fitting hunting frock and he wears his natural hair (though fashioned in the style of a wig). Portraits in the British style are rare in Batoni's oeuvre, and they signal, at least in the case of the Duke of Gordon, the sitter's general disinterest in the Grand Tour.

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[28] Philip Mansel, "Monarchy, Uniform and the Rise of the Frac 1760-1830," *Past & Present* 96 (Aug., 1982): 112.

[29] The single classical element in this work is the pose, common to Batoni's works, which is based off of the Apollo Belvedere. See Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 297. Based on the Duke's disinterest in the classical world, it is the opinion of this author that Batoni used this convention of his of volition.

Gordon's lack of enthusiasm was noted in March 1763 when he was treated to a tour of

Roman ruins by none other than Winckelmann, and subsequently sat bored in the carriage

as the famous connoisseur sermonized about the glories of classical antiquity.[30]

The British and the *habit à la française*

When in Rome, many of Batoni's British patrons did in fact do as the Romans

did, and adopted the *habit à la française* required for men of status on the continent.

George Lucy certainly did in 1758, and many tourists followed suit in the 1750s-70s.[31]

Naturally, all tourists brought clothing with them, especially in the case of uniforms, but

the continent offered unique opportunities for purchasing ostentatious dress. Luxury

items were subjects to taxes in Britain, which was not the case in Italy, and fine clothing

in general was less expensive abroad than at home.[32] Second only to France, the silk

industry on the Italian peninsula was thriving, and in particular Genoese velvet and

damask were famous throughout Europe.[33] Silk was especially expensive in Britain, since

it had to be imported from the continent,[34] and large amounts were needed both to make a

suit and facilitate repairs, since it was often difficult to reacquire the exact same color.[35]

In Britain, fine clothing could cost a great deal. In 1766 the Marquis of Kildare spent £60

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[30] Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 297.

[31] Beginning in the 1770s the sober simplicity of British styles began to permeate the continent, and thus many of Batoni's British patrons from the mid-1770s onward are depicted in dress which would have been appropriate either at home or abroad. For changes in the men's fashion during this period see Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 140-42.

[32] Aileen Ribeiro, "Pompeo Batoni e l'arte della moda," 156.

[33] Peter Thornton, *Baroque and Rococo Silks* (New York: Taplinger Publishing, 1965), 49-50.

[34] There was domestic silk production, notably at Spitalfields, but continental, and especially French, silk was still preferred for those who could afford it. See Thornton, *Baroque and Rococo Silks*, 53-63 for more on the British silk industry.

[35] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 48.

on a velvet coat, while in 1791 the Duke of Bedford purchased a fine suit costing £500,[36] the latter sum equivalent to the value of a prosperous merchant's house.[37]

For those with the means, a visit to a tailor in Rome was just as important as a stop at the Pantheon or Colosseum. While France had the most developed silk industry, Italy produced a range of fine silks that many British tourists had tailored into suits.[38] In the summer, Italian men of status wore thin silks, replaced by velvet in the wintertime,[39] with both materials produced locally.[40] A wide range of colors were worn and, for those who could afford it, the full embroidery of the *habit à la française* was employed.[41]

Several examples from Batoni's oeuvre depict British patrons expressing both their interest in continental fashion and their desire to fashion their identity in terms of their social and economic status. James Bruce sat to Batoni in 1762 wearing an elaborate *habit* of somewhat unique design (Fig. 21). His coat and waistcoat are of matching light blue silk, and instead of the common embroidered trim, this suit features elaborate silver frogs. Though the smallsword is not visible in the half-length format, it would fit this ensemble since Bruce wears the bag wig with single side-curls and carries his cocked hat under his left arm. The black silk solitaire extending from the wig bag is untied, a style seen often in Batoni's portraits and one of several such ways it could be worn.[42] The neutral background never appears in Batoni's full-length portraits, and its use in several bust-length portraits points to the fact that such works were often based upon full-length

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[36] Mansel, "Monarchy, Uniform and the Rise of the Frac 1760-1830," 106.
[37] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 48.
[38] Aileen Ribeiro, "Batoni's use of Costume," 21.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ribeiro, "Pompeo Batoni e l'arte della moda," 156.
[41] Ibid.
[42] The solitaires, predecessor of the modern bow tie, was most commonly tied in a front bow, but could also be tucked into the shirt, pinned by a brooch, or simply draped over the breast. See Cunnington and Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume*, 75-76.

portraits with detailed backgrounds (though no such portrait of Bruce is known to exist).[43]

Charles John Crowle posed for Batoni in a more traditional *habit* of blue silk with silver trim (Fig. 22). In his portrait, he stands in a rich interior with marble floors and featuring an elegant Rococo table seen in several of Batoni's portraits.[44] Crowle is placed off-center, allowing for a clear view of the reduced-scale Farnese Hercules and Vatican Ariadne, whose incorporation must have added to the cost of the portrait.[45] As seen in Bruce's portrait, Crowle wears a tucked solitaire. One element that stands out is Crowle's lack of wig. He wears his own hair styled like a wig, complete with attached solitaire, which is not in keeping with the formality of the *habit*. On display here is the trend of young men in the 1760s to forego wigs except for the most formal occasions, a trend which angered British wig makers (see below). Thus Crowle's costume is elegant yet augmented with an air of informality.

Peter Beckford's portrait from 1766 is full-length and features the combination of landscape and classical art so common in Batoni's works (Fig. 23). He rests on a statue of Roma sitting upon a base featuring a relief identified as Weeping Dacia.[46] His matching pink silk suit is heavily embroidered with silver trim. Beckford was in Rome in the

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[43] Some good examples of this are Batoni's full-length *Portrait of a Gentleman*, ca. 1760 (Metropolitan Museum of Art) and its half-length companion (lacking the elegant interior seen in the MET version) in the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design. Humphry Morice commissioned a similar pair, the full-length version discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, and a half-length version in the Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, Connecticut. This is not always the case, however, and no full-length portrait of Bruce is known to exist.

[44] This table is featured in at least two other works by Batoni including *Portrait of a Gentleman*, ca. 1760 (Metropolitan Museum of Art), *John Ker, 3rd Duke of Roxburghe*, 1761-62 (Floors Castle, Kelso),

[45] Borwon, "From Homer to Faustina the Younger," 188.

[46] Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 302. The statue and base were in the collection of the Palazzo dei Conservatori and the Weeping Dacia was used by Batoni as a prop in three other full-length portraits.

summer of 1766,[47] his brightly colored silk suit (likely purchased in Italy) reflects the fashion of the warmer months. Under his left arm is his fur-trimmed cocked hat, the most luxurious version of this accessory, and he grips the hilt of his smallsword with his left hand. The bag wig is worn, here *sans* solitaire.

Batoni's double portrait of Sir Sampson Gideon and an unidentified companion from 1767 (an uncommon type of portrait for Batoni) likewise depicts both men in fine dress (Fig. 24).[48] Both Gideon (seated) and his companion wear silk suits with generous embroidery, though Gideon's is of matching light blue silk while his companion's waist coat of silver contrasts with this red coat and breeches. Gideon's suit is nearly identical to that worn by Peter Beckford, aside from the color and the fact that Gideon wears a tucked solitaire. Missing are Gideon's hat and smallsword, carried by his companion, but their omission does not detract from the inherent formality of his suit. Both men wear the light, brightly colored silks associated with the summer. This allusion to warm weather may have been an elegant fiction, however, since when exactly Gideon was in Rome is a matter of debate.[49]

An interesting contrast with Gideon's portrait by Batoni is his graduation portrait by Joshua Reynolds from 1764 (Fig. 25). Gideon was an Oxfordian, graduating in 1763,[50] and in Reynolds' work he wears the gown of a Gentleman Commoner with his

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[47] Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travelers in Italy*, 79.

[48] The identity of Gideon's companion is much debated. He is traditionally known as Signor Basti based on a non-contemporary inscription located on the painting, and Basti is a figure otherwise unknown. Ribeiro noted that the companion's clothing is inconsistent with his supposed status as a tutor, and is more likely to be an aristocrat. Clark suggests a possible identification of Francesco Barazzi, who was a wealthy merchant and friend of Batoni from whom Grand Tourists often rented accommodations. See Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 306-07.

[49] The painting is dated 1767, but Gideon had already left Italy for Britain, where he was married in December 1766. He was in Florence in October 1766, and likely in Rome directly after. See Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 307.

[50] Ingamels, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travelers in Italy*, 399.

mortarboard placed at his side.[51] The setting of this portrait would not be out of place in

Batoni's oeuvre, with references to classical architecture, Baroque drapery, and books

and other accessories alluding to the sitter's education. Gideon's dress, however, differs

greatly from that seen in his Grand Tour portrait. Instead of an elaborate *habit*, he wears

a velvet suit of comparatively simple design. This matching suit has no ornamentation or

trim, and closely matches that worn by David Garrick in his 1764 portrait (Fig. 14). In

Reynolds' portrait, Gideon wears neither a formal wig, nor a smallsword, and though the

material may be fine, the overall display of this suit is indicative of British restraint and

subtle elegance.

Ten years after Gideon's portrait, the affinity for the *habit* was still present.

George Herbert's portrait from 1777 shows the sitter in three quarter length wearing a

matching green silk *habit* with gold embroidered trim (Fig. 26). Again the bag wig is

worn, this version featuring double side curls and worn *sans* solitaire. In general design,

the *habit* changed little in this ten year span, with the most notable difference being the

slimmed-down cuffs reflecting the overall slimming of the suit throughout the century.[52]

This ensemble lacks the smallsword which was increasingly being omitted until being

abandoned all together, except for ceremonial occasions, by the 1780s.[53]

The design and materials of the *habit* spoke to the leisurely opulence in which

those who wore it lived. Elaborate silks and velvets, not to mention restrictive bag wigs

and solitaires, were impractical for any sort of outdoor activity beyond a stroll or carriage

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[51] David Mannings, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: A Complete Catalogue of His Paintings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 218.
[52] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 18.
[53] Cunnington and Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume*, 100.

ride,[54] and by physically restraining themselves in luxury, these men were displaying the

fact that physical exertion and labor were socially beneath them. The *habit* was

unmistakable in its assertion of the wealth and social superiority of those who wore it,[55]

and it was the most blatant signifier of status both in its wearing and its depiction in

portraiture.

The Frock-Suit in Continental Fashion

The formal constraints of the *habit à la française* left much to be desired in terms

of comfort, and many of Batoni's patrons eschewed this dress is favor of something both

practical and elegant. The most stereotypical British article of clothing during the

eighteenth century was the frock, a type of rugged, heavy overcoat. Frocks began as

working-class garments, often made of wool, with turned-downed collars and sparse

decoration.[56] Batoni's portrait of Lionel Damer from 1772 depicts the sitter in a

fashionable British frock (Fig. 27). Compared to the *habit*, this coat has plain buttons, no

embroidery of any kind, and the overall appearance is remarkably more casual. Such

coats were popular for outdoor activities,[57] but whilst on their Grand Tours, as Baretti

found out, such clothing was unacceptable for men of taste. In order to strike a balance

between luxury and comfort, many British tourists had custom suits tailored in Italy that

blended both British and continental styles,[58] known as the frock-suit.[59] The basic three-

piece design remained unchanged, and the same light silks used in *habits* were often

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[54] Ibid., 106.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 25.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ribeiro, "Pompeo Batoni e l'arte della moda," 156.
[59] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 46.

employed both for their luxury and comfort in the warm Italian sun. Cocked hats, silk solitaires, and smallswords also remained, adding sophistication and elegance. The frock-suit's main difference was in the coat, which was based upon the British frock characterized by its collar and looser fit. This blend of luxury and practicality, and of British and continental styles, is commonly shown in Batoni's British Grand Tour portraits, and though these suits were not as luxurious or blatantly continental as the *habit*, they still strongly displayed their continental influence through material and trim.[60]

Another feature common to the frock-suit was the wearing of natural hair styled in the fashion of a wig.[61] This trend, seen above in the portrait of Charles John Crowle, was popular in the 1760s amongst fashionable young men, causing British wig makers great consternation. In 1765 they became so threatened by natural hair that *The Gentleman's Magazine* reported on a petition they sent to the King describing their plight (with a little anti-French rhetoric thrown in for good measure):

> A petition of the master peruke-makers was presented to his majesty, setting forth the difficulties of themselves and an incredible number of others dependent upon them from the almost universal decline of the trade, occasioned by the present mode of men in all stations wearing their own hair; and by the French hair-dressers continually pouring in upon this nation. By whole artificers and the facility with which the British people are inclined to prefer French skill and taste in every article of dress, they are deprived of a great part of that pittance which the fashion itself would still leave in the power of the petitioners to obtain.[62]

All of Batoni's patrons wearing the frock-suit discussed here wear their natural hair, styled to varying degrees in the manner of wigs. Though the bag-wig of the *habit* was

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[60] In a reversal of influences the frock-suit actually became popular on the continent beginning in the 1770s. Called *frac* or *fraque* in France, these suits closely mimicked their Grand Tour antecedents in both material and trim. See Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 49.

[61] Ribeiro, "Pompeo Batoni e l'arte della moda," 156.

[62] "Historical Chronical, Feb. 1765, Monday 11," *The Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1765, 95.

required for formal dress, it takes little imagination to understand why many Grand

Tourists desired to forego the wig, especially if they found themselves in Rome during

the summer.

Batoni's portrait of Sir Gregory Turner, discussed in Chapter 1, displays one of

the most elegant frock-suits in Batoni's oeuvre (Fig. 1). The design is typical, with

matching silk coat, waistcoat, and breeches, yet, compared to other examples, Turner's

suit features elaborate (for the frock-suit) arabesque gold trim. This trim mimics that of

the *habit*, but the collar and fit of the coat belie its frock origins. Turner wears his natural

hair styled in side-curls and also wears a smallsword. Swords began to fall out of fashion

in Britain (in all but formal dress) in the first decade of the century, replaced by canes.[63]

On the continent, and particularly in France, wearing of swords was seen as a

gentleman's right, and their use continued throughout the century.[64] By wearing the

sword with the frock-suit, Turner and his fellow tourists added both a continental and

formal element to their attire.

John Wodehouse' portrait from 1764 shows the more common frock-suit worn by

Grand Tourists (Fig. 28). The suit is of matching blue silk and features gold trim and

buttons, and this design is seen in several portraits by Batoni from the 1760s. Like

Turner he wears a smallsword and natural hair, with the addition of a tucked solitaire. He

leans his left arm at the base a marble Roman urn featuring Bacchic relief,[65] and he poses

with an aristocratic, yet casual swagger seen throughout Batoni's portraits.

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[63] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 32. Canes often featured a loop so they could be hung
from the wrist or a coat bottom, and were decorated with caps of gold, silver, or exotic stones and crystals.
[64] Ibid., 120.
[65] Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 293.

Another portrait from 1764 depicts John Monck wearing the exact same suit in coral; the only difference being treatment of the trim around the waistcoat pockets (Fig. 29). Both the frequency and the similarities between the frock-suits in Batoni's portraits indicates how popular this type was amongst his British patrons. Here Monck wears his hair and solitaire in the same manner as Wodehouse, but does not include a smallsword. The pose is nearly identical, with Monck facing the viewer, however, while Wodehouse almost arrogantly turns his head to the side. In addition, Wodehouse's urn is replaced here by a bust of Minerva, but placed in the same location compositionally, and the landscape has been replaced here by a neutral background.

Batoni's portrait of Thomas Dundas, from the same year, depicts the same type of suit in red wool or camlet (Fig. 30).[66] Though the frock-suit is often associated with fine Italian silk, Dundas was in Rome in February-March 1764,[67] making heavier fabric more practical. Like Wodehouse he wears a smallsword and solitaire, his own hair with side-curls, and he strikes an almost balletic pose. His cocked beaver hat is clearly visible and features gold trim which mimics the suit. Though he wears a sword, he also carries a cane and thus combines British and continental trends. The cane is indicative of the type carried during this period and this version features an amber cap.[68] In a slight variation of the frock-suit, Dundas's coat features cuffs *à la marinière*, which became fashionable in civilian dress in the latter half of the eighteenth century.[69] Beyond fashion, this portrait is unique in that it is the only other work in Batoni's oeuvre, after Razumovsky's portrait

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[66] Ribeiro, "Pompeo Batoni e l'arte della moda," 156.
[67] Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travelers in Italy*, 320.
[68] Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 297.
[69] Ibid.

discussed in Chapter 1 (Fig. 3), which features the ancient sculptures most celebrated at

the time: the Apollo Belvedere and the Laocoön Group.[70]

Like the *habit*, the frock-suit could be tailored and decorated in any number of

ways, and Edward Howard's suit, seen in his portrait from 1766, shows one such

variation (Fig. 31). In many ways the suit closely matches that of Wodehouse and

Dundas (*sans* the cuffs *à la marinière*). He wears a smallsword, natural hair with

solitaire, and carries a cocked hat identical to that seen in Dundas' portrait. The main

difference in Howard's suit is the lack of collar, which was emblematic of the frock.

Here, the collar-less coat approaches that of the *habit*, yet the restrained trim closely

mimics that found on frock-suits. The Roman urn features a Bacchic scene similar to that

seen next to Wodehouse, but this particular artifact is a pastiche.[71] The Temple of Vesta

is shown in the background; a ruin common used in Batoni's works.[72]

One further example of the frock-suit is depicted in Thomas Peter Giffard's

portrait from 1768 (Fig. 32). Extremely similar in design to Wodehouse's suit, this

version features slightly more elaborate trim. The standard accessories already discussed

are present, but it is worth noting that Giffard's hat is edged with fur and would have

been appropriate to wear with the *habit*. The now familiar bust of Minerva keeps watch

over the scene, and the Temple of Sybil at Tivoli,[73] used in at least four of Batoni's

portraits, can be seen in the background.

The frock-suit was unique in that it served as a bridge between British and

continental fashion. Not quite formal, yet not quite casual, this type of suit was, if

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[70] Ibid., 296.
[71] Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 302.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid., 312.

anything, a more practical garment to wear while seeing the sights in Rome. The Grand Tourists who sat to Batoni in this costume clearly desired a degree of continental luxury along with their comfort. In terms of display and reception, so much of design of the frock-suits mimic the *habits* that, to the untrained eye, both likely had the same impression. Gold trim, silk solitaires, smallswords, and expensive cocked hats were all synonymous with luxury, and the relative casualness of the frock-suit still clearly displayed wealth, status, and class.

Fur-Lined Coats

The delicate fashions found in the *habits* and frock-suits were suitable for warmer months, but even Rome could be cold in the winter. In Britain, cold weather was kept at bay with the thick wool and overlapping lapels of the frock, but in on the continent fur was often employed to keep the wearer warm. In Western continental Europe fur was rarely worn facing outwards, and instead lined the inside of coats.[74] These coats often featured rich velvet on the outside, and this combination of fine materials stood in stark contrast to the frock with its turned down collar, plain buttons, and dearth of ornamentation.[75] The fur coats seen in Batoni's portraits would have been instantly recognizable as continental fashion and such garments were almost certainly purchased in Italy.[76]

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[74] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 43.
[75] Ribeiro, "Batoni's use of Costume," 21.
[76] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 45.

Fur-lined coats were fashionable throughout Batoni's career and are depicted in his portraits from the 1750s through the 1770s.[77] Batoni's portrait of Joseph Leeson from 1751 shows an early example of this type of garment (Fig. 33). Leeson is depicted in relative undress, with an open shirt and disarranged hair. Ralph Howard's portrait from 1752, now in the Speed Art Museum in Louisville, KY, is similar in overall presentation. Howard too is depicted in undress and wears a red velvet coat lined with dark fur.

Richard Milles' portrait from 1758 shows a common variation seen in Batoni's works (Fig. 34).[78] Instead of putting his arms through the coat sleeves, Milles drapes the coat over his shoulders like a cape. Unlike the previous sitters, Milles is dressed in a silver silk waistcoat with contrasting red breeches, the simplicity of which is offset by the luxuriousness of the coat. He wears his natural hair with a solitaire just barely visible. His pose emphasizes his coat and reveals the fir-lined interior, and the imperialness of this posture is further accentuated by the bust of young Marcus Aurelius from the Capitoline, which here makes its only appearance in Batoni's oeuvre.[79]

Edward Dering's portrait from the same year shows a nearly identical costume (Fig. 35). He wears a silver waistcoat and red breeches, just like Milles, but his squirrel-lined red velvet coat,[80] while identical, is worn through the sleeves. Natural hair tied with a solitaire is also retained, but instead of emphasizing the fur lining Batoni has piled the

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[77] The earliest portrait containing a fur-lined coat dates from 1750 in the group portrait of Thomas and Mrs. Barrett-Lennard (The Barrett-Lennard Collection). Barrett-Lennard was only the second British tourist painted by Batoni. See Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 246.

[78] Clark's catalogue raisonné identifies this work simply as a portrait of a gentleman. In 1998 Francis Russell identified the sitter as Richard Milles, who commissioned two three-quarter portraits by Batoni (the one featured here and one depicting him in Van Dyck costume (location unknown), in addition to a miniature (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge). See Francis Russell, "A Batoni Patron Identified," *The Burlington Magazine* 140, no. 1147 (Oct., 1998): 682-83.

[79] Bowron, "From Homer to Faustina the Younger," 187.

[80] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 92.

excess coat into Dering's lap, thus brining attention to the rich fabric. Dering arrived in

Rome in on 16 December, 1758, and though his departure date is unclear,[81] his coat is

fitting for the Roman winter. On the table is a bust of the Apollo Belvedere, that most

beloved of ancient sculptures, and in his right hand is a cameo featuring Bacchus and

Ariadne.[82] Dering was elected to the Society of the Dilettanti in 1761 and had his own

collection of ancient gems (including the one pictured),[83] and the inclusion of classical

antiquities emphasized his interest, whether genuine or affected, in connoisseurship.

     A triple portrait (rare for Batoni's oeuvre) from 1768-72 depicts Sir Watkin

Williams-Wynn, Thomas Apperley, and Captain Edward Hamilton (Fig. 36).[84] These

three men were travelling companions on their Grand Tour, and this single portrait

encapsulates several different types of dress common to in Batoni's works. On the right

Captain Hamilton wears his officer's uniform of the 15th Light Dragoons, complete with

sabre rather than smallsword,[85] while in the center is Apperley, whose simple grey British

frock with dark yellow waistcoat contrasts with Hamilton's more ornate and stately

dress.[86] Williams-Wynn, described by art historian Brinsley Ford as a "modern

Maecenas,"[87] stands on the left wearing a pink silk waistcoat with gold trim closely

matching that found in the frock-suits discussed above. Draped over his shoulders is a

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[81] Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travelers in Italy*, 293.

[82] Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 275.

[83] Ibid.

[84] This work is dated 1768, but was seen in Batoni's studio, unfinished, as late as April 1772. See Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 322-23.

[85] Ibid., 322.

[86] Ibid., 323. Apperley was actually paid a salary by Williams-Wynn and likely served as both tutor and companion while on the tour.

[87] Ibid., 322. Williams-Wynn was a well-known art collector and while in Rome commissioned a full length work Bacchus and Ariadne from Batoni (private collection, see Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 325).

particularly fine green velvet coat lined with lynx,[88] fastened around his neck in the same manner seen in Milles' portrait. The trio is posed in a classical interior, but classical antiquities, so common to these portraits, do not appear. Instead, Williams-Wynn's art patronage is on display, emphasized by the allegorical figure of painting in the background and the sketch of Raphael's *Justice* from the Stanza della Segnatura on the table.[89]

This representation of Williams-Wynn differs greatly from his portrait by Joshua Reynolds from 1769 (Fig. 37). In this domestic British portrait, Williams-Wynn stands with his mother, Francis,[90] in a typical British-style portrait. The pair is outdoors, standing before an expansive landscape (likely Williams-Wynn's estate, Wynnstay Park),[91] and gone are any illusions to Williams-Wynn's art patronage or his Grand Tour. More country gentleman than "modern Maecenas," he wears a double-breasted waistcoat with modest trim, and his burgundy frock lacks any trim or embroidery. In his left hand he holds his cocked hat, but it is of simple design and, like his coat, has no ornamentation. Neither the smallsword nor the cane are carried, and he wears his natural hair. The dress in this work, like that seen Reynolds' portrait of Sampson Gideon discussed above, is indicative of the elegant, yet simple clothing the British ruling class was expected to wear.

Fur-lined coats appear in Batoni's oeuvre through the 1770s, and one of the last examples depicted is in John Scott's portrait from 1774 (Fig. 38).[92] This coat differs from

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[88] Ibid., 323.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Mannigs, *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 485.
[91] Ibid., 486.
[92] The identity of the sitter as John Scott is traditional, but not established. See Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 333.

those discussed above since it is not an overcoat, but a tailored suit-coat similar to that

seen in the *Gallerie des Modes et Costumes Français* (Fig. 10). Both the coat and

breeches are of blue-green silk, which is mimicked in the trim of the silver waistcoat.

Scott carries a cane in his right hand and a cocked hat of simple design in his left, and

unlike many of Batoni's patrons wearing fur, he wears a wig. The coat is elegantly lined

with sable and features silver twists *à la hussar*,[93] a popular fashion style based on

Hungarian military uniforms.[94]

The fur coats seen in Batoni's Grand Tour portraits are luxurious and far more

ostentatious than their British equivalent, the wool frock, and the wearing of such coats

sent a clear message of wealth, class, as well as cosmopolitan travel. The *habit à la

française*, the frock-suit, and fur-lined coats were easily identified as luxurious and

continental, and those who wore it in person and in portraiture would have stood out

based on the social and economic implications of such dress.

British Views on Continental Clothing

Following the Glorious Revolution in 1688, British aristocratic culture shifted

from one of excessive luxurious display to one of restraint and simplicity.[95] This

denunciation of luxury was seen as a reflection of the limited role of the crown

established by the revolution, and the newfound restraint also defined politics, according

to historian David Kuchta, as a "masculine sphere controlled by virtuous aristocrats

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[93] Ribeiro, *Visual History of Costume*, 98.
[94] Ibid., 73.
[95] David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 124.

rather than by royal fiat."[96] The ability of the aristocracy to stand above luxury and be

governed by their "independent judgment and rational sensibilities" was central to their

political legitimacy as leaders of a crowned republic.[97] Fashion and luxury were deemed

incompatible with independence and rationality, and, with the decline of British court

culture, were also incompatible with politics.[98] Flaunting wealth through clothing was

expected in elite French society, but the British viewed the cultural superiority of elites as

something to be revealed with discretion.[99] Anything considered too luxurious or

"vulgar" was seen as morally problematic,[100] and ornate, restrictive continental fashion

was no exception. Many in Britain loudly proclaimed their dislike for anything

considered "French" luxury, including fashion. In 1745, the outrage over French

influence culminated in the formation of the Anti-Gallican Association, which sought to

protect Britain from the "insidious arts of the French Nation."[101]

These outcries were tempered, however, by the very real interest many elites had

in continental styles. Indeed the entire construct of self-fashioning amongst Georgian

elites was a circuitous contrast of simultaneous lust for, and loathing of the French and

their dominance over *haute couture*. There was a grudging admiration over the French

supremacy in not only fashion, but of elegance and gracious living in general.[102] As the

French writer Louis-Antoine Caraccioli said in 1772, the British loved France, but hated

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[96] Ibid., 95.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Moira Goff, John Goldfinch, Karen Limper-Herz, and Helen Peden, *Georgians Revealed: Life, Style, and the Making of Modern Britain* (London: The British Library, 2013), 20.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 38.
[102] Ribeiro, *A Visual History of Costume*, 13.

the French.[103] Fashionable people in Britain either went to France for their clothing or, at

the very least, imported French fabrics.[104] There was, however, a deep resentment

amongst the British for their dependence on both the culture and skills of a historic

enemy,[105] as well as a resentment that French culture was simultaneously both appealing

and morally repulsive. This resentment and general dislike for France is clearly depicted

in a comedic illustration from 1779, in which two caricatures of British and French men

stare at each other with loathing (Fig. 39). In a letter from Paris in 1763, British novelist

Tobias Smollett remarked that:

> The French with all their absurdities, preserve a certain ascendency over us,
> which is very disgraceful to our nation; and this appears in nothing more than in
> the article of dress. We are contented to be thought their apes in fashion; but, in
> fact, we are slave to their tailors, manuta-makers, barbers, and other tradesmen.
> One would be apt to imagine that our own tradesmen had joined them in a
> combination against us. When the natives of France come to London, they appear
> in all public places, with cloths made according to the fashion of their own
> country, and this fashion is generally admired by the English. Why, therefore,
> don't we follow it implicitly? No, we pique ourselves upon a most ridiculous
> deviation from the very modes we admire, and please ourselves with thinking this
> deviation is a mark of our spirit and liberty.[106]

Even in Britain, new styles generally emanated from Paris, and Horace Walpole

cautioned Henry Seymour Conway in 1759 on being thought a Frenchman and

inadvertently starting new fashion trends in:

> You are so thoughtless in your dress that I cannot help giving you a little warning
> against your return. Remember, everybody that comes from abroad is sensed to
> come from France, and whatever they wear at their first appearance immediately

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[103] Louis-Antoine Caraccioli, *Voyager de la raison en Europe; Par l'Auteur des Lettres récréatives et morales* (Paris: Chez Saillant & Nyon 1772), 85-86.
[104] Ribeiro, *A Visual History of Costume*, 13.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Tobias Smollett, *The Miscellaneous Works of Tobias Smollett, M.D., with a Life of the Author, Vol. X* (London: Otridge and Rackham, et al., 1824), 60.

grows in fashion. Now it, as is very likely, you should through inadvertence change hats with the mast of a Dutch smack, Offley will be upon the watch, will conclude you took your pattern from Monsieur de Bareil, and a week's time we shall all be equipped like Dutch Skippers.[107]

Wearing French fashion while abroad was one thing, but publically wearing such dress in Britain could be a dangerous endeavor. Clothing considered "French" could incite insults and even violence on the streets of London.[108] Throughout the eighteenth century anyone wearing French styles could expect to be greeted as "French dog."[109] In 1760 Baretti remarked than when he first arrived in London "a stranger could scarcely walk about with his hair in a bag without being affronted. Every porter and every street-walker would give pull to his bag, merely to rejoice themselves and passengers," but he also noted that these molestations had become less common.[110] Even still, in the 1780s it was still likely that men wearing the *habit*, whether they were English or foreign, could expect literal mud to be thrown their way if they displayed such fashion on the street.[111]

Declarations against the influence of French taste on the British are numerous from the mid to late century, and these warnings increased dramatically in times of national crisis.[112] In 1756, during the Seven Year's War, an anonymous pamphlet warned of the inundation of French luxuries into Britain, and claimed that these vices had "done

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[107] Horace Walpole, edited by W. S. Lewis, Lars E. Troide, Edwine M. Martz, and Robert A. Smith, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, Vol. XXXVIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 2.
[108] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 116.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Baretti, *A Journey from London to Genoa*, 63.
[111] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 116.
[112] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997), 82

us more Hurt than *French* arms or *French* Politicks."[113] The *Dublin Mercury* reported in

1769 that "by a Gallic education the minds of our youth are so Frenchified, that there is

scarce an English sentiment left in the heart."[114] In 1771 social commentator John

Andrews was particularly fearful of continental influences:

> Let us leave to the Italians; Let us leave to the French, the Talents of Seduction. Let us still glory in Artlessness and Simplicity, while they plum themselves on the Dexterity in assailing and corrupting Innocence, and in all the various Intricacies of iniquitous Intercourse. Let them, unenvied by Englishmen, pursue that shameless course of Living they seem, by the Practice, to consider as their chiefest Happiness… Let the Men, in those Countries, in conquest of those infamous Proceedings, lose themselves in a Round of Thoughtlessness, and become callous to those Feelings of the Heart and Mind that they relate to any Subject wherein Pleasure has not the principal Preponderance. Let their Attention be taken up with a Fondness for, and an Admiration of, those Refinements, which, while they prove a Source of fruitless, inglorious Entertainment, never fail to create a Forgetfulness of the more important Functions that ought to employ an Individual who wished and pretends to be ranked above the Vulgar.[115]

The definitions of "French" influences were often nebulous, but the most feared

of all were those that targeted masculinity. If effeminacy was the disease, continental

luxuries were the most obvious symptoms. Foppery, vanity, and the placing of private

interests over public duty, all qualities associated with women, were considered

hallmarks of effeminacy.[116] Even fabrics possessed gender connotations. With the

decline of court culture in Britain came an end to the association of fine fabrics with high

status.[117] Silk, long associated with the aristocracy, was now viewed by many as vulgar

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[113] *An Address to the Great. Recommending Better Ways and Means of Raising the Necessary Supplies than Lotteries or Taxes with a Word or Two Concerning an Invasion* (London, 1756), 5, quoted in Stephen Conway*, Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, 127.

[114] *Dublin Mercury*, 25-7 May 1769, quoted in Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe*, 126.

[115] John Andrews, *Reflections on the Too Prevailing Spirit of Dissipation and Gallantry; Shewing its Dreadful Consequences to Public Freedom* (London: E. and C. Dilly, J. Walter, and J. Robinson, 1771).

[116] Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 81.

[117] Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit*, 123.

and effeminate, while wool was seen as a symbol of masculine gentility.[118] The influence

of continental fashion was at the root of attacks on masculinity, and such influence was

thought to weaken the moral fiber of the British, and was considered an invasion of

foreign ideas.[119] It was believed that foreigners were motivated to spread their effeminate

ways in Britain in order to drain the free and dutiful citizenry of their patriotism, and

thus, of their liberty.[120] With the very heart of the British political system at stake, critics

were quick to denounce any perceived rise in effeminacy, as a 1772 letter to the editor of

the *Oxford Magazine* demonstrates:

> The effeminacy of our manners, so often complained of by our moralists of late
> years, seems now to have risen to the utmost height of extravagance. The state
> of corruption and degeneracy, which Dr. Brown, in his Estimate of Manners of
> the Time, foresaw was to happen, has actually arrived. The liberal and manly
> genius, which distinguished our ancestors, appears entirely to have fled from the
> country.[121]

The Grand Tour garnered its own share of the blame for facilitating effeminacy

and the importation of continental luxury. The young British elites who traveled to

France and Italy on their tours were thought to be unduly influenced by the continental

cultures they encountered.[122] An author in 1771 cited continental travel as being

responsible not only for importing luxury, but for damaging the British economy as well:

> Frenchmen, wherever they travel, endeavor to obtrude their own fashions on other
> countries: which, while it indulges their vanity, advances their interest. We, on
> the contrary, travel to imbibe the follies, and bring through which we pass, to
> the disgrace of our national understanding and taste in the eyes of all Europe; nay,

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[118] Ibid.
[119] Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 82.
[120] Ibid., 84.
[121] "To the Editor," *Oxford Magazine* 9 (1772), 125, quoted in Myrone, *Bodybuilding*, 112.
[122] Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe*, 127.

to our infinite injury as a people, whose great interest in trade; which a character for national taste would serve essentially to promote. What a pity, it is, that we do not prohibit the exportation of fools? It is a least a branch of commerce that would bear heavily taxing.[123]

British critics of fashion and continental luxury may appear reactionary, but the antics of one particular group readily fueled the fires of social criticism. Combining both effeminizing fashion and indulgent continental travels, the self-described Macaronis of the 1760s and 70s embodied everything that the British feared about foreign influence. Macaronis were heavily associated with effeminacy and luxury, and their extreme continental-inspired fashion was widely derided by social critics and endlessly parodied in caricatures (Figs. 40-42). The group was comprised primarily of aristocratic young men who had recently returned from their Grand Tours, and the name of the group itself came from pasta dish they first tasted in Italy.[124] Macaronis were the subject of a feature in the *Town and Country Magazine* in 1772, which described their origins and characteristics:

> Our young travelers, who very generally catch the follies of the country they visit, judged that the title of Macaroni was very applicable to a clever fellow; and accordingly, to distinguish themselves as such, they instituted a club under this denomination the members of which were supposed to be the standards of *taste* in polite learning, the fine arts, and the genteel sciences; and fashion, amongst the other constituent parts of taste, became an object of their attention. But they soon proved, they had very little claim to any distinction, except in their external appearance: in their dress, indeed, they were high-finished *Petits-Maitres*; in everything else they were *Coxcombs*. The infection of St. James's was soon caught in the city, and we now have Macaronies of every denomination, from the colonel of the Train'd Bands down to the errand-boy. They indeed make a most ridiculous figure… Such a figure, essenced and perfumed, with a bunch of lace sticking out under *its* chin, puzzles the common passenger to determine

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[123] *Considerations on the Policy, Commerce and Circumstances of the Kingdom* (London: J. Almon, 1771), 217-18.
[124] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 142.

the thing's sex; and many a time an honest labouring porter has said, *by your leave, madam*, without intending to give offence.[125]

Following the trend of fellow social critics, the anonymous author of this article could not refrain from invoking both British liberty and national security in terms of the influence of foreign luxury:

> In this free country everyone as a right to make himself as ridiculous as he pleases, either in politics or dress; but when a writer tilts against common sense in the papers, or a Macaroni renders his sex dubious by the extravagance of his appearance, the shafts of sarcasm cannot be too forcibly pointed at them. In this opinion we have hung up the subjoined Macaroni – what the world calls the polite Macaroni – to the ridicule of our numerous town and country readers, who cannot help smiling, whilst they lament that this nation, in the most perilous times, is to be defended by such *things as these*.[126]

None of Batoni's British patrons approached the excesses supposedly embraced by the Macaroni, at least in their portraiture, but it is clear that any degree of "French" fashion worn in Britain would elicit criticism. The voices of social critics were loud in eighteenth-century Britain, and what Kuchta calls the "ritualized denunciation of enervating luxury" was a constant refrain throughout the Georgian Era.[127] Despite the criticism, many of Batoni's British patrons commissioned portraits which displayed such luxury, and the key to understanding their motivations lies in portrait theory and the concept of self-fashioning.

Men's Interest in Fashion

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[125] "Character of a Macaroni," *Town and Country Magazine*, May 1772, 242-3.
[126] Ibid., 243.
[127] Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit*, 95.

As loud as the cries against foreign luxury were in Britain during the eighteenth century, it is undeniable that many British aristocrats succumbed to the siren call of continental fashion. Indeed, the numerous critiques of luxury point to the pervasiveness of the perceived problem. There were, in fact, many in Britain who had resigned themselves to France's dominion over *haute couture*, and the asseverations of social critics did not stop the Georgian elite from privately embracing continental culture.[128] A letter published in *Universal Spectator, and Weekly Journal* in 1745 stated that "the Cut of our Coat, must be *A-la-mode de Paris*, or we cannot be looked upon as Gentlemen."[129] In 1765 a letter published in the *Public Ledger* acknowledged that "France is generally allowed to have the superiority over all other European Nations in regard to their taste in Dress."[130]

With this acceptance of French primacy in fashion came a genuine interest on behalf of elite men in fashion itself. While studies on individual interest in fashion often focus more on women than men, there are thousands of male portraits which show great attention to clothing.[131] Furthermore, many letters and diaries of Georgian elite men belie their perceived lack of interest in fashion, and demonstrate that for some, dress was a constant concern. The letters of Philip Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, to his son and namesake are one such example. In his very first letter to the young Philip on October 9, 1746, Lord Chesterfield advised his son on dressing appropriately:

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[128] Patricia Crown, "British Rococo as Social and Political Style," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 23, no. 3 (Spring, 1990), 278-79.

[129] "Philander," *Universal Spectator, and Weekly Journal*, Nov. 17, 1745, quoted in Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe*, 120.

[130] "Richard Lovedress," *Public Ledger*, Sept. 6, 1765, quoted in Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe*, 120.

[131] Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 361.

> Dress is of the same nature; you must dress; therefore attend to it; not in order to rival or to excel a fop in it, but in order to avoid singularity, and consequently ridicule. Take great care always to be dressed like the reasonable people of your own age, in the place where you are; whose dress is never spoken of one way or another, as either too negligent or too much studied.[132]

Lord Chesterfield wrote to his son the following year, urging him yet again to mind his appearance:

> As you must attend to your manners, so you must not neglect your person; but take care to be very clean, well dressed, and genteel; to have no disagreeable attitudes nor awkward tricks; which many people use themselves to, and then cannot leave them off… Do you dress well, and not too well? Do you consider your air and manner of presenting yourself enough, and not too much? Neither negligent nor stiff? All of these things deserve a degree of care, a second-rate attention; they give an additional lustre to real merit.[133]

While Lord Chesterfield's tempered advice spoke to a balanced approach to fashion, others took their interest in dress much further. The Oxfordian landowner Rev. James Woodforde's late eighteenth-century dairy chronicles his multitude of purchases in minute detail,[134] many of which concerned both his own dress and that of his family and household.[135] Exhaustive entries record materials and prices, including yards of cambric and lace (for his niece), as well as coat and waistcoat buttons from Italy, and bespoke suits for himself and his servants.[136] His interest in luxurious consumption is further exemplified in his numerous descriptions of various purchases including wallpaper,

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[132] Lord Chesterfield to Philip Stanhope, October 9, 1746, in *Letters to his Son: The Earl of Chesterfield on the Fine Art of Becoming a Man of the World and a Gentleman* (Adelaide: University of Adelaide Library, 2014), http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/c/chesterfield/letters/index.html.

[133] Lord Chesterfield to Philip Stanhope, July 30, 1747, in *Letters to his Son*, http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/c/chesterfield/letters/index.html.

[134] Margot Finn, "Men's Things: Masculine Possession in the Consumer Revolution," *Social History* 25, no. 2 (May, 2000), 137.

[135] Ibid., 139.

[136] Ibid.

china, silverware, and furniture.[137] While his diary often records the deals he got on his purchases, prices were of less concern than gentility.[138] According to historian Margot Finn, after attending a party with finely dressed guests in 1784, Woodforde "noted approvingly that Mr. Micklethwait 'had in his Shoes a Pair of Silver Buckles with cost between 7 and 8 Pounds,' while 'Miles Branthwait had a pair that cost 5 guineas.'"[139]

In his essay "The Hypochondriak, No. VIII," James Boswell championed the cause of luxury, and thought that dressing well brought out the best qualities in men:

> But I cannot be of opinion that the luxury of magnificence and elegance in building, in planting, in dress and equipage, and in all the fine arts, ought to be at all discouraged: for I think that all these kinds of luxury promote diligence and activity, and lively enjoyment, without being at all hurtful. Thinking as I do upon this subject, I cannot perceive the wisdom of those sumptuary laws as to dress, which prevailed in ancient states, and which are to be found in some modern republicks… Surely a society of human beings, who present to each other only a dusky uniformity, is not so happy as a society where invention is exerted, and taste displayed, in all the varieties of forms and colours which are to be seen in splendid courts and brilliant assemblies… I know not how to account for it; but I have no doubt that dress has a great deal of influence upon the mind. Every one has felt himself more disposed to decorum and propriety and courtesy, and other good qualities, when genteelly dressed, than when in slovenly apparel.[140]

This interest in clothing speaks to the deeper issue of what role dress played in society. According to Hollander, "people dress and observe other dressed people with a set picture in mind – pictures in a particular style. The style is what combines the clothes and the body into the accepted contemporary look not of chic, not of ideal perfection, but of natural beauty."[141] Batoni's patrons donning continental styles certainly conformed to

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[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid., 141.
[139] Ibid.
[140] James Boswell, "The Hypochondriak, No. VIII," *The London Magazine, or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, May 1778, 199.
[141] Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 311.

a particular style, one which spoke directly to the continent and the Grand Tour. Likewise, they often displayed a contemporary idea of natural beauty in their portraits with their Apollonian poses, which both mimicked the beauty of the Apollo Belvedere, and expressed gentlemanly virtue.[142] Hollander continues, stating that "the visual elements in a style of dress, like those in an artistic school, naturally have iconographic or symbolic meanings as well as formal properties."[143] This is also true of the dress seen in Batoni's works, with the *habit*, the frock-suit, and fur-lined coats acting as visual signifiers of wealth and status, as well as the continent and the Grand Tour.

Continental Dress and the Concept of Self-Fashioning

Superficially, a portrait recreates the likeness of an individual or group, with the obvious function of commemorating the subject in a particular time and place. According to portrait theorist Richard Brilliant, however, the motivations for creating portraiture go far beyond simply creating a likeness of the sitter. To Brilliant, portraiture "challenges the transiency or irrelevancy of human existence," and it is the job of the portrait artist to cater to the sitter's desire to perpetually endure, if only on canvas.[144] As Brilliant explains, the sitter, and by extension the portrait artist, must consider three questions in regards to representation in portraiture: What do I look like? – referring to how the sitter is superficially known; What am I like? – referring to individual qualities present beneath the superficial surface, such as internal and external aspects of character; Who am I? – referring to not only socially constructed titles, ranks, etc., but also to more

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[142] Ibid., 65.
[143] Ibid., 312.
[144] Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 14.

nebulous essential characteristics of how the self is defined.[145] These questions, and their subsequent answers, are linked to the idea of self-fashioning, which is a term that encapsulates several disparate, yet related concepts all pertaining to how the self is internally shaped and externally presented. Historian and theorist Stephen Greenblatt describes self-fashioning as "a distinctive personality, a characteristic address to the world, a consistent mode of perceiving and behaving."[146] He continues, stating that self-fashioning "describes the practice of parents and teachers; it is linked to the manners or demeanor, particularly that of the elite; it may suggest hypocrisy or deception, an adherence to mere outward ceremony; it suggests representation of one's nature or intention in speech or actions."[147]

The concept of self-fashioning, if not by name, would have been well understood by the Georgian elite. The education of young elite men was centered on fashioning the self into someone cultured, refined, and enlightened who would be capable, in theory, of being a gentlemanly ruler. The Grand Tour was central to fashioning of this collective self-identity, and, as we have seen, during the Georgian Era it was considered an essential rite of passage.[148] The length and high cost of Grand Tours spoke to their perceived importance.[149] Rome, the ultimate goal of the tour, was the most important place in which Georgian self-fashioning could be honed. As art historian Martin Myrone describes, the British tourist in Rome would "encounter the material fragments of the classical heritage to which he was supposedly heir, where he could discover the rapture of identification

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[145] Ibid., 15.
[146] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 2.
[147] Ibid., 3.
[148] Kelly, *The Society of the Dilettanti*, 9.
[149] Records regarding the total costs of Grand Tours is fragmentary, but the letters and diaries of tourists describe various expenses incurred. See Black, *The British and the Grand Tour*, 134-61.

with his noble predecessors."[150] Indeed, whilst getting in touch with their "noble

predecessors," the Grand Tourists were expected to transform from boys into men. Thus,

the tour, according to Myrone, was seen as an institution for the "social reproduction of

the governing elite."[151]

Conforming to the ideal identity construct of the Georgian elite meant adopting

both explicit and implicit qualities. One explicit facet of this self-identity was that of

connoisseur and dilettante. Tourists in Rome, even listless ones like Lord Gordon, were

expected to familiarize themselves with art and antiquities, and amass their own

impressive collections. We have already seen that amongst Batoni's patrons were some

of the greatest British art collectors of Georgian Britain.[152] Sir Williams-Wynn, discussed

above, commissioned works from preeminent British and continental painters and

sculptors, and fellow Batoni patrons William Legge, Earl of Dartmouth, and Frederick

Hervey, Earl-Bishop of Bristol, followed suit.[153] James Caulfield, Lord Charlemont, who

sat to Batoni in the early 1750s, helped fund British artists in Rome.[154] In Britain,

Charles, 3rd Duke of Richmond, who sat to Batoni 1755, opened an art school at

Richmond House, Whitehall, and commissioned works by the leading British portrait

artists.[155]

Interest in art was taken a step further with the invention of the Society of

Dilettanti, which was formed by British elites returning home from their Grand Tours.

The introduction to *Ionian Antiquities*, published by the society in 1769, outlines the

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[150] Myrone, *Bodybuilding*, 48.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni and his British Patrons*, 8.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid.

organization's origins and goals: "In the Year 1734, some Gentlemen who had travelled

in Italy, desirous of encouraging, *at home*, a Taste for those Objects which had

contributed so much to their Entertainment *abroad*, formed themselves into a Society,

under the Name of *DILETTANTI*, and agreed upon such Regulations as they thought

necessary to keep up the Spirit of their Scheme."[156] The name Dilettanti implied

continental travels and a first-hand knowledge of both Italian and classical art and

culture.[157] Furthermore, association with the society implied that the members belonged

to an elite group, whose continental travels, according to historian Jason Kelly, "ensured

their cosmopolitan credentials."[158] While some critics saw the Dilettanti as foppish

pedants, the lofty goal of the society was based on individual improvement through the

study of the arts, and in doing so improving civilization at large.[159] Even the society's

motto, *esto praeclara, esto perpetua*, spoke to their grandiose aims. Many of Batoni's

patrons discussed in this thesis became members in the society, including Joseph Leeson

(1754), Edward Dering (1761), Thomas Dundas (1764), Sir Sampson Gideon (1767), and

Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn (1775).[160]

Self-fashioning was implicitly expressed through the concept of *virtù*, which was

at the heart of the Society of Dilettanti, and central to Georgian elite culture in general.

Kelly states that "the all-encompassing Ciceronian *vir virtutis* implied honor, morality,

and knowledge. True *virtù* was an essential moral state, timeless and ideal – an inner

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[156] R. Chandler, N. Revett, and W. Pars, *Ionian Antiquities, Published with Permission of the Society of Dilettanti* (London: T. Spilsbury and W. Haskell), i.
[157] Kelly, *The Society of the Dilettanti*, 11.
[158] Ibid., 12
[159] Ibid., 22.
[160] All dates are taken from Lionel Cust's comprehensive list of Society of Dilettanti members. See Lionel Cust, edited by Sydney Colvin, *History of the Society of Dilettanti* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1898), 239-314.

sense linking dignity and character, which found its finest embodiment in the British nobility."[161] While viewed by many as an inherent quality of the nobility, in theory *virtù* needed to be refined through "aesthetic, social, and moral education."[162] In keeping with the idea of the independent and rational British aristocracy, the goal of refining one's *virtù* was not only to perfect the individual, but to also improve the community.[163] None were better suited to develop *virtù* than the Georgian elite, as they themselves believed, since they possessed both the "leisure and disinterest in commercial affairs" that allowed them to focus their attention on the arts, literature, philosophy, and most importantly, government.[164] According to Kelly, there was no better way for Georgian elites to develop their *virtù* than to "travel in the footsteps of Cicero."[165] The Grand Tour was thus the essential "noble path to an aesthetic, a moral, and a political education."[166] The aesthetic and moral character-building that took place on the Grand Tour prepared these men for their natural roles, and compiling libraries and art collections (both contemporary and antique) were expected as part of this education.[167]

Despite the post-Glorious Revolution decline in court culture and the affected renunciation of luxury by the British aristocracy, Georgian elites regularly asserted their power, position, and their *educazione della virtù* through the display of wealth in their homes and on their person.[168] Thus, the display luxury, including fashion, was consistent with the roles Georgian elites played in their cultural milieu: that of virtuous noble,

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[161] Kelly, *The Society of the Dilettanti*, 13.
[162] Ibid., 14.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Goff, *Georgians Revealed*, 20.
[168] Ibid.

cosmopolitan traveler, and educated inheritor of the classical world. In assuming these roles, the roles themselves became an integral part of their identity.[169] By displaying continental wealth, they were depicting themselves simultaneously as both British and European.[170] According to Stephen Conway, "by stocking their country houses with paintings and furniture acquired from the Continent, or that reproduced continental models, and including in their libraries French and other foreign books, [the Georgian elite] were making a statement about who they were and why they were entitled to exercise power."[171]

How, then, did Batoni's portraits, and the costumes therein, represent the fashioning of the self? According to Brilliant, portrait artists have historically sought to capture the sitter's "central core of personhood" in their works, and this difficult to depict "invisible core of self" became metaphorically symbolized through the use of artistic iconography.[172] At the core of the Georgian elite identity was privilege and power based on their classical education, affinity for the arts, their *virtù*, and, at its nucleus, their cosmopolitan travels. Batoni's Grand Tour portraits reflected the self-fashioned roles of their sitters in two ways: through the physical portraits themselves and the symbolic content within the portraits. First, the physical portraits were imported from the continent and painted by a sought-after continental artist at a premium, [173] and would have fit neatly

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[169] Brilliant, *Portraiture*, 109.
[170] Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe*, 129.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Brilliant, *Portraiture*, 67.
[173] Batoni's portraits were expensive, but actually cheaper than contemporary British portraits by the likes of Joshua Reynolds and Allan Ramsay. In the 1750s and 1760s, Bowron states that Batoni charged 60 scudi (approximately 15 guineas) for a half-length portrait, which was about three-fifths the price charged by Reynolds or Ramsay. In 1769 Batoni charged 50 guineas for a half-length portrait, and in 1774 he was charging up to 250 guineas for a full-length work. See Bowron and Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: Prince of Painters*, 176.

into aristocratic continental art collections. More specifically, however, the symbolism contained within the portraits spoke to their intended messages. Sir Gregory Turner's portrait from 1769, characteristic of Batoni's Grand Tour portraits, clearly displays the manifestation of elite Georgian self-identity in portraiture (Fig. 1). First, and most obvious, is the setting, with the distant Colosseum indicating Rome, and, by extension, his Grand Tour. Turner's identity as an educated elite is shown through the books and writing utensils, while the bust of Minerva speaks to his role as connoisseur. Thus, in the portrait, Turner is not only present in Rome, but possesses the education to understand the noble history and refined aesthetics of his locale. The most important element in this portrait is Turner himself, who encompasses what it meant to be a British aristocrat. Casually surrounded by the gravitas of antiquity, he stands as Apollo, as *virtù* itself. Solidifying his cosmopolitanism is his dress, which is central to role in which he performs. The dress is as much a symbol of the continent as the classical ruins, and having himself depicted in this stylish frock-suit, with its gold embroidery and continental finery, proved to the viewer that he was not simply a visitor traveling in Cicero's footsteps, but was, at least in part, integrated with the continent: with its history, its culture, and its virtue.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

Pompeo Batoni painted his last British Grand Tourist in 1784, three years before

his death (Fig. 43). This final sitter, Thomas Giffard, was the son of Thomas Peter

Giffard, who sat to Batoni sixteen years earlier (Fig. 32).[1] Fashion had changed in those

intervening years, but the overall presentation of the younger Giffard's costume is still

very much in keeping with the eighteenth-century three-piece suit. Compared to his

father's frock-suit, the cut of Thomas Giffard's coat is tighter and lacks any trim or

ornamentation. These developments are consistent with trends that began in the 1770s

towards more informal dress based on the British styles, with focus placed on colors over

trim,[2] and more emphasis placed on form-fitting tailoring.[3] Costumes aside, there is much

shared between these portraits of father and son. References to classical antiquity are

present in both, with the father's bust of Minerva replaced in the young Giffard's portrait

with a pastiche resembling the Medici Vase.[4] Also present is the swagger and arrogance

of men assured of their role in society, here visually passed down from father to son. It is

only fitting that Batoni's last British patron had a familial connection to Batoni's oeuvre,

since so much of the British oligarchical system was based on inherited status. As a

young man, when Thomas Giffard viewed his father's portrait in the Giffard family estate

of Chillington Hall, he was likely already conditioned to read the symbols within the

work: the references to the ancient past, his father's *virtù*, and, of course, the hybrid

British/continental dress his father wore marking him as a both a Georgian aristocrat and

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[1] Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 361.
[2] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 143.
[3] Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A Complete Catalogue*, 361.
[4] Ibid.

a cosmopolitan world traveler. To Thomas, his father's frock-suit may have appeared

anachronistic, since such displays were mostly unfashionable by the time of his own

Grand Tour. Even though continental dress had become less of a social signifier by the

1780s, Thomas Giffard's portrait still embodies the manifestation of elite Georgian self-

fashioning. While Thomas may have followed a similar tour itinerary as his father, the

tour expanded in the late eighteenth century as tourists ventured as far as Greece. As the

Grand Tour evolved, the self-fashioning central to the tour itself evolved as well. When

considering the role of dress in both the Grand Tour and in self-fashioning, there is fertile

ground for new inquiries into how the tour changed with the turn of the nineteenth

century, and how changes in clothing reinforced the collective identities of elite

Georgians.

In conclusion, continental dress was an important visual symbol in Pompeo

Batoni's Grand Tour portraits of the Georgian elite in the 1750s through the 1770s. By

considering the types of fashion depicted in these portraits, and the cultural and societal

reasons for choosing such styles, the ideas of self-fashioning present within these works

can be better understood and reveal much about how Georgian elite men saw themselves

and how they wished to be seen.

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