

Pleasures of the Road

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A journey," the seventeenth-century Turkish traveler Evliya Çelebi observed, "is a fragment of hell."¹ Like so many early modern travelers, Çelebi found travel a necessary evil, a costly and uncomfortable tax on his desire to see the world. Not so Giacomo Casanova, whose forty thousand miles logged during six decades on the road surely make him eighteenth-century Europe's consummate voyager.² Though he experienced his share of travelers' mishaps—lost luggage, lost purse, lost passport, bad company, bad food, bad beds—Casanova not only tolerated but welcomed the constant arrivals and departures, his zigzag path from Rialto to Riga by way of Calais and Corfu seeming to epitomize the faith in travel as transformation that marked the age of the Grand Tour. Yet Casanova was no Grand Tourist, if measured by those young, rich, and often aristocratic northerners who undertook a defined and delimited *Bildungsreise* as a preface to a settled adulthood. Though young Casanova may have envied English *milordi*, beginning his own *giro d'Italia* (tour of Italy) in grand style as the twenty-three-year-old ward of Senator Matteo Bragadin, he quickly veered off into impromptu wanderings propelled less by a desire for self-improvement than by boredom, poverty, or prosecution. Casanova is better seen as one of the myriad "un-grand tourists"—craftsmen, artists, writers, servants, debtors, adventurers—whose diverse and sometimes chaotic movements broaden our understanding of eighteenth-century travel.³

Casanova came to wanderlust by birth, tracing his descent, via Saragossa, Rome, Como, Parma, Paris, and London, from a sailor on Colum-



Fig. 45

Trunk, labeled by John Selby (English), mid-18th century. Leather on wood studded with brass, 54.6 × 109.9 × 58.4 cm (21 ½ × 43 ¼ × 23 in.)

bus's first voyage to America. Just as important, the Venice into which he was born in 1725 was an international entrepôt whose fortunes had long depended on its links to a wider world.

Antonio Canaletto captured those horizons in a spectacular view of the main harbor of Venice, looking from the Giudecca Canal near the Customs House (see fig. 2). Probably commissioned by the fourth Earl of Carlisle during his second trip to Italy, the canvas was both a Grand Tourist's souvenir and a reminder of the Serene Republic's role as a political, cultural, and mercantile model for rising powers. Maritime activity dominates the scene, as cargo boats ride at anchor and gondolas and other small craft glide every which way. Sails and flags of several nations flap above the ships, suggesting the flurry of international exchange beyond the canal. All of this is framed by the distinctive Venetian skyline, with Saint Mark's Campanile at left and the island church of San Giorgio Maggiore at right, and a dozen church towers in between. Casanova knew the site well, as it was from the Piazzetta, a square touching the water at the left of the composition, that he embarked at eighteen for Calabria, "with a joyful heart, regretting nothing" (H 1:201). What is more, it was from the dreaded Leads, a supposedly impregnable prison under the roof of the adjoining Doge's Palace, that Casanova would escape thirteen years later by dead of night, to resume his Continental wanderings.

Although Casanova's *History of My Life* is neither a contemporary journal nor a traditional travel memoir, its author's constant movements and prodigious memory occasioned abundant attention to the material logistics of European travel.⁴ The first step was to pack, and while Casanova's luggage does not survive, it probably resembled a contemporary traveling trunk bearing the label of "John Selby, Trunk-Maker to His Majesty King George ye IId," in London's Cannon Street (fig. 45). The trunk is ruggedly constructed of pine boards and iron handles, and its leather covering (tooled to imitate shagreen), with pierced brass straps and nail-heads tracing tulips and fleurs-de-lis, would have provided a welcome ornament for temporary quarters.⁵ Casanova had many such chests, from the "little trunk" he took to Padua at age seven, with its silver table service from his grandmother, to the trunk from which he lived at the seminary of San Cipriano di Murano and during detainment in the fortress of Sant'Andrea. In Chioggia, at the southeast edge of the Venetian lagoon, his trunk was placed under the bed—to his amusement, there

was no other space—whereas months later, it offered the only seating in Pesaro’s sparsely furnished guardhouse. Trunks also served as mobile banks, and on more than one occasion Casanova was obliged to sell or pawn its contents to finance his onward travels. By the same token, the trunk’s changing contents—silver razors from Salerno, dueling pistols, jewels, prohibited books—tracked its owner’s movements and fortunes. All were of course subject to customs officials—“the scum of the earth” for Casanova, whose rudeness to one inspector at the gates of Amiens occasioned a two-hour delay while “the brutes emptied my bags and even unfolded my shirts,” as well as a twelve-hundred-franc fine upon discovery of undeclared snuff. Too late had Casanova learned that it was better to tip early and often than to stand on principle.⁶

Once packed, how did Casanova get around? The cheapest option was to walk, a choice he tested on his first trip south; but reaching Foligno “completely done in,” he confessed that “a five-hour walk is enough to wear out a young man who, though strong and healthy, is not accustomed to walking” (H 1:217-18, 223). Considerably more restful was travel by water, beginning with the comfortable *burchiello*—a “small floating house” containing a “saloon with a cabin at either end...roofed by a deck



Fig. 46

Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo (Italian, 1727–1804), *The Burchiello*, about 1765. Oil on canvas, 38 × 78.3 cm (15 × 30⁷/₈ in.)

Fig. 47

George Keate (English, 1729–1850), *The Manner of Passing Mount Cenis*, August 1755, 1755. Gray wash with pen and black ink on paper, 24.4 × 31.6 cm (9⁵/₈ × 12¹/₂ in.)

and with glazed windows with shutters along the sides” (H 1:150)—that ferried him as a student to Padua in 1734 (fig. 46). Subsequent craft included the sturdy *peota*, a rowed boat, between Venice and Chioggia; the lateen-rigged tartane that took him to Ancona (where, per quarantine, he spent twenty-eight days in the *lazzaretto*, or isolation hospital); the armed warships in which he sailed from Venice to Corfu and on to Constantinople; and the old-fashioned galleass, propelled by five hundred galley slaves, in which he returned in 1745.⁷ As Casanova’s world expanded, so did his modes of transportation. Like other travelers between Piedmont and Savoy, he ascended Mount Cenis in a sedan chair and descended in a sledge (fig. 47). Returning via the Saint Bernard Pass, “I crossed in three days on the seven mules required for ourselves, my trunk, and the carriage,” so lovesick from his latest infatuation that he barely registered “the cold which froze all nature in that terrible part of the Alps.”⁸

For the most part, Casanova traveled by road in one of Europe’s expanding fleet of wheeled vehicles that offered not just transport but varying degrees of privacy and status. Casanova details dozens in his memoir, from nimble phaetons and vis-à-vis carriages to stately, comfortable Berlin covered coaches to lumbering oxcarts and even, upon his return to Paris in 1757, the slow-moving hackney coach commonly “called a ‘chamber pot’” (H 5:17, 272n47). When his purse was full, as in



Cesena in 1749, Casanova purchased his own carriage—English, with two fixed seats and a folding one, doubtless imported by a British tourist—to impress a potential conquest.⁹ A private coach facilitated not just seduction but night travel, and, when returning from Naples in 1761, Casanova specified that he slept better in his “excellent four-horse carriage” than “in the poor beds one finds in these inns” (H 7:236, 240). The height of luxury, however, was the six-horse *Schlafwagen*, or sleeping carriage, in which, thanks to a prepaid post passport from the governor of Livonia, he made the sixty-hour trip from Riga to Saint Petersburg in December 1764 virtually without descending.¹⁰

When circumstances or budget necessitated, Casanova traveled by post or mail coach or contracted with a *voiturin* or *vetturino* (commercial coachman) for carriage, horses, and accommodations at a fixed rate. Though economical, this meant putting up with seatmates. The nadir may have been Casanova’s youthful return from Cosenza to Naples “with five traveling companions who struck me from the first as being pirates or professional thieves, so I was careful never to let them see that I had a well-filled purse. I always slept with my breeches on, not only for the safety of my money but as a precaution I thought necessary in a country where unnatural desires are common” (H 1:240). Far more pleasant was his onward leg to Rome, when he used the forced intimacy of a four-seater to kindle an affair with the wife of a jovial Neapolitan lawyer.¹¹ But all vehicles were not equal, as Casanova discovered to his dismay on the five-day express coach from Lyon to Paris. “We were eight in the conveyance,” he explained, “which is called a ‘diligence’; we were all seated, but all uncomfortably, for it was oval; no one had a corner seat since it had no corners. I thought this poorly considered; but I said nothing, for as an Italian it was my part to consider everything in France admirable.” The real problem was the coach’s incessant swaying, which “made me want to vomit.... The very force of its speed over the fine road made it rock; hence it was called a ‘gondola’; but the true





Venetian gondola propelled by two oarsmen goes smoothly and does not cause a nausea which turns one inside out."¹²

Motion sickness was but one of the inconveniences that eighteenth-century travelers endured, and that Casanova fell victim to. The roads he traveled on varied from the exemplary highways of England and France (which Casanova praised as "the immortal work of Louis XV") to the often primitive infrastructure of southern Italy and Spain (H 3:120-21). On his way to Madrid in 1767, Casanova found the first twenty leagues out of Pamplona magnificently paved, the legacy of a French governor of Navarre. Thereafter the road vanished, leaving "uneven stony climbs and descents, where one nowhere saw the least sign to indicate that carriages passed there. Such was the whole of old Castile" (H 10:303-4). Even good roads held dangers, as when Casanova's carriage overturned at midnight on an otherwise smooth stretch near Benevento. Convinced his vanished postilions were in league with highwaymen, he armed himself with two pairs of pistols, a carbine, and a sword, ready to make a stand; in the end the peasants proved friendly, thanks to ready coin, and he made it safely into town at daybreak (H 7:236-38). The ever dyspeptic English traveler Tobias Smollett related a similar tale in 1765 of the loss of a wheel and broken axle-tree in desolate country between Montefiascone and Viterbo, luckily repaired by a handy postilion. "I mention this circumstance," Smollett explained, "by way of warning to other travelers, that they may provide themselves with a hammer and nails, a spare iron-pin or two, a large knife, and bladder of grease, to be used occasionally in case of such misfortune."¹³

The extremes of danger during travel were captured in four large canvases painted by Giacomo's younger brother Francesco about 1770 for the composer Jean-Benjamin de La Borde, *premier valet de chambre* to Louis XV, and sold in 1773 to the royal collection for twenty-four thousand francs.¹⁴ Francesco, a landscape and battle painter trained under Antonio Guardi and Francesco Simonini, had come to Paris at his brother's urging in 1751, returning after further study in Dresden to fill the void left by the death in 1752 of the famed battle painter Charles Parrocel.¹⁵ Perhaps stimulated by his own journeys, Francesco applied a sense of epic conflict to scenes of roadside catastrophe, whose heightened drama and proto-Romantic emphasis on man's helplessness against the elements reflect the rising allure of the sublime, an aesthetic often linked

Fig. 48

Francesco Casanova
(Italian, 1727-1803),
Collapse of the Bridge,
about 1770. Oil on canvas,
226 × 282 cm (89 3/8 ×
111 3/8 in.)

Fig. 49

Francesco Casanova
(Italian, 1727-1803),
Travelers in a Storm,
about 1770. Oil on canvas,
229.5 × 286 cm (90 3/8 ×
112 3/8 in.)

to the Grand Tour. As Horace Walpole put it while crossing the Alps in 1739, invoking an earlier painter of landscapes: "Precipices, mountains, torrents, wolves, rumblings, Salvator Rosa.... Where I shall finish my neighbor Heaven probably knows."¹⁶ The fates of Francesco's voyagers are all too clear. In one canvas, the rupture of a log bridge plunges a carriage and its occupants into a rocky crevasse, to the horror of onlookers; in another, a bolt of lightning strikes a cart's passengers while others run for shelter (figs. 48, 49). A third depicts a moonlit ambush by bandits, and the fourth a hurricane in which a broken tree crushes a rider crossing a raging torrent. All were calculated to strike a delicious terror into past or future travelers, and in fact, after their purchase by the crown, the paintings were hung, with evident black humor, in the apartments of the minister of foreign affairs at Versailles. Giacomo had his own brush with Mother Nature near Pordenone, when a thunderous squall threw the fellow occupant of his two-wheeled chaise—a new bride he'd been pursuing—into his lap, a situation he immediately turned to advantage (H 1:152-53). Given Casanova's prowess as a raconteur, did Francesco's visions of mortality on the road include his brother's "little death" in Friuli?

Whatever challenges the journey posed, new ones began upon arrival. Eighteenth-century inns, especially in rural areas, often obliged patrons to share not just rooms but also beds. This could be an advantage, as in Senigallia, where the need to bunk double finally unmasked the castrato "Bellino" as Theresa; or an obstacle, as in Marino, where the "accursed blabbing" of the creaky beds thwarted Casanova's designs on the lawyer's wife (H 2:22-25, 1:255). Even single rooms were not always secure. In Cesena, Casanova learned that the Holy Inquisition prohibited bolts on doors throughout the Papal State to facilitate the supervision of travelers' morals. "Twenty years later in Spain," he added, "I found that all rooms in inns had a bolt on the outside, so that foreigners who slept in them could be to all intents and purposes imprisoned."¹⁷ Meals, too, were typically communal, and "when the vetturino has contracted to feed his passengers, it is customary for him to eat with them" (H 1:249). Given these limitations, travelers staying longer often leased furnished apartments, as Casanova did in Parma, Paris, Vienna, Moscow, and Warsaw. Customization was sometimes necessary. In Saint Petersburg, where the heating was admirable, he was obliged to purchase a chest of drawers



and writing table, whereas in Madrid, chilled by the lack of a fireplace and sickened by the brazier, Casanova hired a clever tinsmith to construct a stove “following my instructions... with a long pipe which went out one of my windows to join another very long one which ascended to the gutter on the roof.”¹⁸ Sometimes the stars aligned, and in Switzerland Casanova was enchanted by the fully staffed and furnished country house he rented for several months near Solothurn, with its “garden, a fine orchard, waterworks and fountains,” and an imposing reception hall in which he hosted a ball.¹⁹ Even more comfortable was the splendid house he secured within two hours of arrival in London in 1763, complete with silver, linen, furniture, and every convenience. Located in Pall Mall and costing just twenty guineas a week, “everything was scrupulously clean—porcelain, mirrors, bellpulls; it was perfection” (H 9:166).

For Casanova, as for other travelers, sociability was central to enjoyment on the road. But unlike the British tourists notorious for cliquishness—the French writer Charles de Brosses complained in 1740 that many would leave Rome “having seen only fellow Englishmen and without knowing where to find the Coliseum”²⁰—Casanova aimed to penetrate local society. Although he sometimes made faux pas (“my inexperience of Parisian customs led me into many such awkward blunders”), he more than compensated with his brilliant conversation, facility with languages, knowledge of cards, and, above all, innate sense of social nuance and keen powers of observation (H 3:138). Adaptability was key. In Rome, “the one city in which a man who set out from nothing had often risen very high,” the budding cleric understood that an outsider must be “a chameleon sensitive to all the colors which the light casts on his surroundings. He must be flexible, insinuating, a great dissimulator, impenetrable...” (H 1:257). Some shape-shifting was requisite for happy travel, but Casanova—“comte de Farussi,” “chevalier de Seingalt,” Antonio Pratolini—made self-reinvention an art. In Lyon, he embraced Freemasonry, counseling, “Every young man who travels, who wishes to know society, who does not wish to be inferior to another and excluded from the company of his equals in the age in which we live, should be initiated... if only to acquire a superficial knowledge of what it is.” Naturally one must be cautious, “for though evil company cannot act in the lodge, it may be present in it, and the candidate must beware of dangerous connections.”²¹

Clothing enhanced Casanova's serial personae, each new role requiring a new costume.²² After his abortive trip to Martorano, he was delighted to receive from a relation in Naples "a traveling suit and a blue redingote with gold buttonholes, all of the finest cloth. I could not be better outfitted" (H 1:247). Yet once in Rome, he was advised to dress "as a modest abate and not in that elegant coat, which is not of a cut to placate Fortune" (H 1:259). Having left Rome in disgrace, Casanova turned that "handsome redingote inside out so as not to be recognized as an abate"; still later, "Reflecting that there was now little likelihood of my achieving fortune in my ecclesiastical career, I decided to dress as a soldier in a uniform of my own invention" (H 2:41, 45). New plumage was essential in Paris, that shrine to novelty and fashion where generations of travelers acquired new wardrobes. As early as 1670, Richard Lassels, codifier of the phrase "Grand Tour," had recommended France as the place a young man should learn to speak, walk, dance, fence, salute, enter a room, and, of course, to dress, yet warned against following the French "in all their Phantastical and fanfaron clothings."²³ Indeed, anxiety about too much assimilation pervaded travel literature, sparking satires on the dangers of aping foreign ways (fig. 50). Casanova evidently disagreed, searching first and foremost to fit in.

The ultimate test of Casanova's malleability came during what he recounts as a four-month voyage to Constantinople after purchasing a naval commission in 1744.²⁴ Though the idea came to him on a whim in Rome, it reflected Venice's role as a gateway to the Ottoman Empire. Before departing, Casanova patronized the Sultana coffeehouse, and his shipmates included three noblemen from Venice and Padua who accompanied the ambassador and *bailo* (bailiff) "to satisfy their curiosity." The allure of the Sublime Porte is exemplified in the career of the Swiss artist Jean-Étienne Liotard, the self-styled "Turkish painter" who became infatuated with Ottoman culture during a five-year sojourn in Constantinople and Moldavia from 1738 to 1743, and who retained his full beard and Levantine dress upon returning to Europe. Paintings like his *Frankish Woman and Her Servant* suggest the "exotic" subjects Europeans found so intriguing (fig. 51).²⁵ Set in a *hammam*, or Turkish bath (identified by the marble basin, or *kurma*), Liotard's sitters model a gamut of Turkish dress and customs, from the lady's embroidered caftan, voluminous pantaloons, and pearl-draped turban to her henna-dyed

Fig. 50

Unknown artist, *What Is This My Son Tom?*, London, 1774. Mezzotint, 35 × 25 cm (13 3/4 × 9 7/8 in.)

Fig. 51

Jean-Étienne Liotard (Swiss, 1702–1789), *A Frankish Woman and Her Servant*, about 1750. Oil on canvas, 72.4 × 57.2 cm (28 1/2 × 22 1/2 in.)



fingers, stiltlike platform shoes (for protection against the damp), and *chibouk*, or long smoking pipe. Such images fueled European *turquerie*, a self-conscious and often playful fantasy on the Orient widespread in elite circles.

As foreigners and infidels, neither Liotard nor Casanova had access to the inner circles of Turkish society, much less to Turkish women, a restriction the painter circumvented by taking models from the city's European community.²⁶ Casanova nonetheless befriended prominent Italian-speaking locals, including the French-born Ahmed Pasha (Count Claude Alexandre de Bonneval), an officer and convert to Islam who dressed like a Turk in public but privately dined and dressed like a Frenchman; the rich and fatherly merchant Yusuf Ali, who offered him his daughter's hand and a substantial fortune if he were willing to adopt



Islam; and the former minister of foreign affairs Ismail Effendi, who offered Casanova the one kind of love in which he professed no interest.²⁷ Strongly tempted by Yusuf's proposal, he firmly rejected Ismail's. Yet after an artful moonlit night's seduction involving a glimpse of bathing beauties, Giacomo yielded to local custom and to Ismail—"It would have been impolite in me to refuse"—with good humor and without regret (H 2:95-96). Still, ultimately Casanova followed his maxim of "sequere Deum" (follow your God) and did not turn Turk, perhaps recalling the *bailo's* warning that in Constantinople "boredom is more a threat to foreigners than the plague."²⁸ Instead, like all tourists, he shopped for souvenirs—"rolls of Damascus cloth glazed with gold or silver, purses, portfolios, belts, scarves, handkerchiefs, and pipes"—that he promptly sold once back in Corfu, retaining only Ismail's gift of rare Scopolo wine (H 2:99-101). In the end, Constantinople was no more than a way station on a journey that, without further exception, unfolded in Christian Europe.

If Constantinople proved to be a bridge too far, what kept Casanova on the road? What compensated for travel's inevitable discomforts, and what, ultimately, did travel provide? Had Casanova been an idealist, he might have embraced traditional *encomia* to travel as a semi-spiritual quest for self-improvement and moral uplift. Proper travel, as the Marburg professor Hermann Kirchner had cautioned earlier generations, was not merely "a certayne gadding about, a vaine beholding of sundry places, a transmigration from one country to another," but a search to enlarge one's understanding, further one's studies, and lose one's prejudices.²⁹ The true traveler, Kirchner asserted, "moveth more in minde then body." Can this be said of Casanova? The evidence suggests not—rather, that Casanova traveled because his nature compelled it, and not for any greater good. Indeed, his ceaseless motion seems to have concealed a spiritual stasis; unlike Johann Wolfgang von Goethe or Vittorio Alfieri, Casanova traveled not to find himself but to find new fields in which to cultivate the familiar pleasures of conversation, gambling, the table, and the bedroom.³⁰ For all his peregrinations, Casanova rarely engaged in sightseeing or expounded on what he encountered (except for women) along the way. Nor, having lived most of his life outside Venice, did he feel anything but Venetian, feuding with the cook at Duchcov over polenta or macaroni, "as to which he was very exacting."³¹

Cosmopolitan as he seems, recounting (in French) his success in salons across Europe, Casanova always missed his fatherland—even if, whenever he returned to it, misdeeds or restlessness forced him out again.

For Casanova, travel was its own reward, a journey in search of pleasure that bred pleasures of its own. As age crept up on him in Genoa, he reflected on how the “very free conversation and companionship of travel” had a way of sparking affairs, recalling “the pleasant idleness which, to replace doing nothing, forces the body and the soul to do everything. One grows tired of talking, of insisting, of reasoning, and even of laughing; one lets oneself go, and one acts because one does not want to know what one is doing. One thinks about it afterward, and one is very glad that it all happened” (H 9:21). Far from nearing some desired destination, Casanova spiraled farther and farther away from it, confessing at journey’s end that he had “never aimed at a set goal,” and that “the only system I followed, if system it may be called, was to let myself go wherever the wind which was blowing drove me” (H 1:26). To an extent rarely equaled, travel was Casanova’s metaphor for life. As a budding ecclesiastic he was “on the road to the highest dignities of the Church,” “on the road to the Papacy,” and “on the high road to fortune”; in Venice, his soldier’s garb convinced friends he was “on the road to political office,” until a detour to Naples put him “on a different road,” before Cardinal de Bernis, in Paris, again “put me on the road to fortune.”³² For Casanova, seeker of pleasure, to stay put was to stagnate. “I loathed the idea of settling down anywhere,” he confessed in 1761, admitting that prudence was “absolutely foreign to my nature” (H 7:239).

Perhaps what Casanova relished most was the perspective of the outsider, the insight that “there is not a place on earth where the observer does not note aberrations if he is a foreigner, for if he is a native of the country he cannot discern them” (H 3:144). Or perhaps what drove him ever onward was a passion for liberty, an escape from the constraints of inquisitors, family, or possessions.³³ And perhaps, despite abandoning the priesthood, he was not so unlike the Jesuits of two hundred years earlier, who “consider that they are in their most peaceful and pleasant house when they are constantly on the move, when they travel throughout the earth, when they have no place to call their own.”³⁴ If so, Casanova too inhabited the “house of journey,” his religion the freedom to be oneself that only the open road can give.

44

Francis Hayman (English, about 1708–1776)
David Garrick and Mrs. Pritchard in Benjamin Hoadly's "The Suspicious Husband," 1747

Oil on canvas laid to board
 71.4 × 91.8 cm (28 1/8 × 36 1/8 in.)
 Yale Center for British Art
 Paul Mellon Collection, B1976.7.35
 FW, SF

PLEASURES OF THE ROAD

45

Trunk, mid-18th century
 Labeled by John Selby (English, active in London about 1730–60)
 Leather on wood studded with brass
 54.6 × 109.9 × 58.4 cm (21 1/2 × 43 1/4 × 23 in.)
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 Gift of Mary Adelaide Sargent Poor in memory of Adelaide Joanna Sargent, 47.1360

FW, SF, B

46

Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo (Italian, 1727–1804)
The Burchiello, about 1765
 Oil on canvas
 38 × 78.3 cm (15 × 30 7/8 in.)
 Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, GG6424
 Photograph: KHM-Museumsverband

47

George Keate (English, 1729–1850)
The Manner of Passing Mount Cenis, August 1755, 1755
 Gray wash with pen and black ink on paper
 24.4 × 31.6 cm (9 5/8 × 12 1/2 in.)
 British Museum, London, 209.304

48

Francesco Casanova (Italian, 1727–1803)
Collapse of the Bridge, about 1770

Oil on canvas

226 × 282 cm (89 3/8 × 111 3/8 in.)
 Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes
 Image © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY

Photograph: Patrick Merret

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49

Francesco Casanova (Italian, 1727–1803)
Travelers in a Storm, about 1770

Oil on canvas
 229.5 × 286 cm (90 3/8 × 112 5/8 in.)
 Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes
 Image © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY

Photograph: Patrick Merret

FW, SF, B

50

Unknown artist
What Is This My Son Tom?, 1774
 Published by R. Sayer and J. Bennett, no. 53
 Fleet Street, London
 Mezzotint
 35 × 25 cm (13 3/4 × 9 7/8 in.)
 Library of Congress, 7081.1.1436

51

Jean-Étienne Liotard (Swiss, 1702–1789)
A Frankish Woman and Her Servant, about 1750
 Oil on canvas
 72.4 × 57.2 cm (28 1/2 × 22 1/2 in.)
 The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri
 Purchase: William Rockhill Nelson Trust, 56.3

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PARIS

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Jean-Marc Nattier (French, 1685–1766)
Zanetta Balletti, called Mademoiselle Silvia, 1750–58

24. On *Thalia*, see Xavier Salmon, *Jean-Marc Nattier*, 115–19, no. 23.
25. See Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnavalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1986).
26. On this painting, see Brian Allen, *Francis Hayman*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1987), 115, no. 39, ill. on p. 121.
27. *Mist's Weekly Journal*, February 15, 1718, and *A Seasonable Apology for Mr. H* (1724), quoted in Philip H. Highfill et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, 16 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973–93), 7:235, 237.
28. Jerry White, *A Great and Monstrous Thing: London in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013), 297–98; H 5:134–39.

PLEASURES OF THE ROAD

This essay is dedicated to my mother, with whom I've shared so many pleasant journeys.

1. Evliya Efendi [Çelebi], *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Joseph, Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, 2 vols. (London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1834–50), 2:2.
2. See Marie-Laure Prévost and Chantal Thomas, eds., *Casanova: La passion de la liberté* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2011), 44.
3. See, for instance, John Brewer, "Whose Grand Tour?" in *The English Prize: The Capture of the "Westmorland," an Episode of the Grand Tour* (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 2012), 45–61.
4. On the constitutive role of travel to the *History's* structure and development, see Giuseppe Marci, *Il viaggio di Casanova* (Cagliari: C.U.E.C., 1998), esp. chap. 8.
5. A virtually identical trunk by Selby includes the owner's initials and the date 1740; see Harold D. Eberlein, "Furniture with Decorative Coverings of Leather or Fabrics," *Good Furniture: The Magazine of Decoration* (November 1917): 325–31, figs. 1, 2, 2a.
6. "A twenty-four-sou piece graciously proffered made them human" (H 5:91); the fine was ultimately dismissed after a full day lost.
7. H 1:200, 202; 2:53, 60, 66, 100, 178.
8. H 3:75, 77; see also 309n2. At 6,800 feet, Mont Cenis was the preferred pass between Piedmont and Savoy before the construction of carriage roads in the late eighteenth century.
9. H 3:22. Such luxury was restricted to the wealthiest travelers, including the British, who often purchased carriages upon arrival in Calais.
10. H 10:98–99, 346n28.
11. Casanova's account of this six-day journey (H 1:248–57) chronicles the stages of seduction, culminating in the failed attempt at Sermoneta. The affair was finally consummated—hastily, and in a carriage—during a subsequent outing to Testaccio (H 1:270).
12. H 3:118. On the use and construction of diligences, see André-Jacob Roubo, *L'art du menuisier* ([Paris], 1769–75), pt. 3, sec. 1, titled "L'art du menuisier-carrossier," 548–53, 569–73 (noting that the Paris-Lyon diligence was both the speediest in the kingdom and the only one with springs, and describing a twelve-seater *gondole*), and plates 196–98, 205–7.
13. Tobias Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy* (London: Folio Society, 1979), 197–98 (letter 29, Nice, February 20, 1765).
14. Olivier Lefeuvre, "Les 'Quatre accidents' de musée de Rennes: Louthembourg ou Casanova?" *Revue de l'art* 136, no. 2 (2002): 63–66; see also Mylène Allano, *La collection des peintures italiennes du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes* (Paris: Somogy, 2004), 34–39.
15. H 1:153. On Francesco, see Fabrizio Magani, "Giacomo e i suoi fratelli Francesco e Giovanni Alvise Casanova, una famiglia d'artisti," in *Giacomo Casanova tra Venezia e l'Europa*, ed. Gilberto Pizzamiglio (Florence:

- Olschki, 2001), 201–19, and Roland Kanz, *Die Brüder Casanova: Künstler und Abenteurer* (Berlin: Deutsche Kunstverlag, 2013). Francesco ended his career under the protection of the prince of Kaunitz in Vienna, where he executed notable commissions from Catherine the Great.
16. Horace Walpole to Richard West, September 28, 1739, in *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Peter Cunningham (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1906), 1:26 (letter 17, “From a Hamlet among the Mountains of Savoy,” n.s.). Francesco had already been favorably compared to Rosa by Denis Diderot in the *Salon of 1761*, and his interest in bandits and brigands may derive from Rosa’s example.
17. H 3:19; for Spain, compare 10:306, where it is explained to Casanova that “the Holy Inquisition must always be able to send to see what foreigners might be doing at night in their rooms.”
18. See H 10:101, 311, where Casanova, then lodging at a “coffeehouse” recommended to him in Bordeaux (the Hôtel garni du Café français, 10:389n36), notes that “the workman, proud of having succeeded, made me pay a great deal for his trial piece.”
19. H 6:123ff. On the house’s possible identification as the château of Riemberg, demolished in 1798, see 6:303n2, and Pierre Grelet, *Les aventures de Casanova en Suisse* (Lausanne: Éditions Spes, 1919), 40.
20. Charles de Brosses to MM de Tournay et de Neuilly, in Romain Colomb, ed., *Le président de Brosses en Italie: Lettres familières écrites d’Italie en 1739 et 1740*, 3rd ed. (Paris: P. Didier, 1869), 2:90, letter 40.
21. H 3:116. Casanova was initiated as a Freemason in Lyon and achieved the rank of master in Paris.
22. Compare the prince de Ligne, who knew Casanova in Duchcov: “He played the seigneur in a coat of gray lutestring flowered in silver, a very large collar of Spanish point, a plumed hat, a yellow waistcoat, and breeches of crimson silk.” *The Prince de Ligne: His Memoirs, Letters, and Miscellaneous Papers*, trans. Katharine Prescott Wormeley, 2 vols. (Boston, 1899), 2:160.
23. Richard Lassels, preface to *The Voyage of Italy* (Paris, 1670), sec. 5, “What Is to Be Learned in France and What Not,” unpaginated.
24. H 2:68–100. On discrepancies regarding dates and circumstances, see Marie-Françoise Luna, “Le voyage au Levant,” in Prévost and Thomas, *Casanova: La passion de la liberté*, 38–42; Casanova evidently conflated two trips, in 1741–42 (when he would have met Ismail at age sixteen) and 1744–45 or 1746.
25. One of five autograph versions of the painting is shown here. See Marcel Roethlisberger and Renée Loche, *Liotard: Catalogue, sources et correspondance*, 2 vols. (Doornspijk: Davaco, 2008), 1:275–76, nos. 67–69; vol. 2, plates 86–88; Kristel Smentek, “Looking East: Jean-Étienne Liotard, the Turkish Painter,” *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2010): 84–112; Aileen Ribeiro, “The Beauty of the Particular: Dress in Liotard’s Images of Women,” in *Jean-Étienne Liotard, 1702–1789* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2015), 35–41.
26. Ribeiro, “Beauty of the Particular,” 38.
27. On Bonneval, to whom Casanova also refers as the Pasha of Karamania, see Julia Landweber, “Fashioning Nationality and Identity in the Eighteenth Century: The Comte de Bonneval in the Ottoman Empire,” *The International History Review* 30, no. 1 (March 2008): 1–31.
28. H 2:74, 87. Though Casanova attributes the motto to the Stoics, he may also have been reluctant, as he expressed to Yusuf, “to renounce the religion of my dear father” (H 2:80).
29. “In Praise of Travel in Germany, another oration made by the foresaid Hermannus Kirchnerus... pronounced in the noble University of Marburg,” in Thomas Coryat, *Coryat’s Crudities, hastily gobbled up in five moneth’s travells in France, Savoy, Italy* [1611] (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1905), 2:71–86, quoted at 73–74. Coryat had presumably encountered Kirchner at Marburg, where he was professor of history, poetry, oratory, and rhetoric.

30. See Gino Benzoni, "In viaggio per l'Europa," in Pizzamiglio, *Giacomo Casanova tra Venezia e l'Europa*, 35–65, esp. 60.

31. *Prince de Ligne*, 2:169.

32. H 1:31–32, 157–58, 162, 318; 2:53; 3:3; 5:17.

33. See Chantal Thomas, "La passion de la liberté," in Prévost and Thomas, *Casanova: La passion de la liberté*, 10–15, and idem, *Casanova: Un voyage libertin* (Paris: Denoël, 1985).

34. Jerome Nadal, about 1565, translated by John W. O'Malley, S.J., in "To Travel to Any Part of the World: Jerónimo Nadal and the Jesuit Vocation," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 16, no. 2 (March 1984): 8. I thank James Clifton for drawing my attention to this passage.

PARIS

1. Daniel Roche cites the city's population as 700,000 by 1780, in *France in the Enlightenment*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 643.

2. See Alvin L. Clark, with Esther Bell and Françoise Joulie, *Genius and Grace: François Boucher and the Generation of 1700*, exh. cat. (Boston: The Horvitz Collection, 2014).

3. See Xavier Salmon, ed., *Jean-Marc Nattier, 1685–1766*, exh. cat. (Versailles: Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, 1999), 271–74, no. 78; on Casanova's

description of Silvia, see H 3:124–25.

4. Luigi Riccoboni was married to Helena Balletti (Flaminia), the sister of Giuseppe Balletti (Mario), who was Silvia's husband.

5. On Luigi Riccoboni and the Théâtre-Italien, see Ola Forsans, *Le Théâtre de Lelio: Étude du répertoire du Nouveau Théâtre italien de 1716 à 1729*, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, vol. 8 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2006).

6. See Jeffrey S. Ravel, *The Contested Parterre: Public Theater and French Political Culture, 1680–1791* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999).

7. Mary Taverner Holmes, *Nicolas Lancret, 1690–1743*, exh. cat. (New York: The Frick Collection, 1999), 67, no. 5, plate 9.

8. Henry Carrington Lancaster, *French Tragedy in the Time of Louis XV and Voltaire, 1715–1774* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1950); John Lough, *Paris Theatre Audiences in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965); Henry Lagrave, *Le théâtre et le public à Paris de 1715 à 1750* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksiek, 1972).

9. Lough, *Paris Theatre Audiences*, 56.

10. On the Salon, see Thomas E. Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

11. See Perrin Stein in *Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, 1724–1780*, ed. Colin B. Bailey, exh. cat. (New York: Frick Collection, 2007), no. 69.

12. *Explication des peintures, sculptures, et autres ouvrages de messieurs de l'Académie Royale* (Paris: Jacques-François Collombat, 1750).

13. Francesco would later become the teacher of Philippe-Jacques de Louterbourg (1740–1812); on Francesco Casanova, see H. Leporini, "Francesco Casanova," *Pantheon* 22 (1964): 173–83; Brigitte Kuhn, "Der Landschafts- und Schlachtenmaler Francesco Casanova (1727–1803)," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 37 (1984): 89–118, 223–36.

14. For select readings from the extensive literature on Pompadour, see Émile Campardon, *Madame de Pompadour et la cour de Louis XV au milieu du dix-huitième siècle* (Paris: Plon, 1867); Xavier Salmon, *Madame de Pompadour et les arts*, exh. cat. (Versailles: Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, 2002); Elise Goodman, *The Portraits of Madame de Pompadour: Celebrating the Femme Savante* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); for a bibliography of the literature post-2000, see Alden R. Gordon, "Searching for the Elusive Madame de Pompadour," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, no. 1 (Fall 2003): 91–92.



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