



The sculpture collection of the second Marquis of Rockingham at Wentworth Woodhouse

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THE SCULPTURE COLLECTION OF
THE SECOND MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM
AT WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE

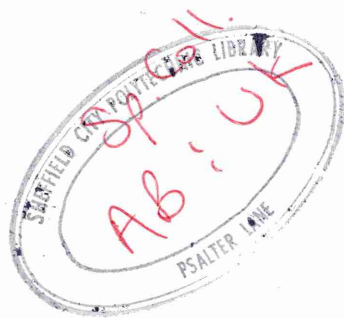
by

EDWARD R MAYOR Dip AD

A thesis submitted to the Council for National
Academic Awards in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of
Philosophy

Sponsoring Establishment: Department of
Historical and Critical Studies, Sheffield City
Polytechnic

June 1987



Abstract

Apart from his patronage of George Stubbs, the second Marquis of Rockingham has been recognised almost exclusively for his patronage of Joseph Nollekens in the 1770's. This thesis attempts to correct such a narrow view and demonstrates that the Marquis was engaged in widespread patronage of sculptors in Italy and in England long before he met Nollekens, and that he established a sculptural environment at Wentworth Woodhouse and at Grosvenor Square which echoed his knowledge of ancient history and his love of the sculpture of Giambologna.

The documentation of his entire collection of sculpture as it stood at the time of the Marquis's death in 1782 is here set out for the first time. The present writer's rediscovery of major items long missing from the collection has facilitated a reconstruction of the original ensemble in Wentworth's Marble Saloon, and adds to the published accounts of Cavaceppi's work for English patrons.

The thesis examines the relationship between Augustan taste and ancient sculpture, and how it affected Rockingham as he experienced sculptural activities in London, Florence and Rome. It examines the extent to which he was fired to outdo his rival, Thomas Strafford, in the number and quality of works commissioned. The degree to which Rockingham responded to and patronised the arts generally is assessed alongside a consideration of biased criticism of him as a man who loved nothing but horses.

The chronological development of the collection is charted, and its reflection of the eighteenth century mania for sculptures of Antinous is discussed. Later additions to the collection after 1782 are also documented.

The published views of nineteenth century and modern commentators are set out in order to reveal the piecemeal and unbalanced nature of their assessments and offer various reasons for such a critically incomplete picture. Finally, an assessment of the quality and significance of Rockingham's sculpture collection, both in its day and now, is offered together with a catalogue of works and appendices documenting the original sources.

CONTENTS

Page

Abstract

Acknowledgements

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER ONE Rockingham Whigs - Politics, Personalities 7

CHAPTER TWO The Cultural Background - Augustan Taste and Ancient Sculpture 21

CHAPTER THREE The Connoisseur-Marquis 30

CHAPTER FOUR London, Florence and Rome in the Mid-Eighteenth Century 43

CHAPTER FIVE Local Influences on the Acquisition of Sculpture at Wentworth Woodhouse 56

CHAPTER SIX The Grand Tour 62

CHAPTER SEVEN The Chronological Development of the Sculpture Collection 79

CHAPTER EIGHT Antinous, Hadrian and Sabina 96

CHAPTER NINE The Mausoleum, and Subsequent Sculptural Acquisitions at Wentworth Woodhouse 104

CHAPTER TEN Visitors and Verdicts - A Critical History of the Wentworth Woodhouse Sculpture Collection 1750-1900 115

CHAPTER ELEVEN Critical and Historiographical Comparisons - The Collection in its Day, and its Place in the History of Collecting 132

CATALOGUE OF SCULPTURES

APPENDICES

- A Personal Documents written by Lord Malton during his Grand Tour

- B(i) Accounts relating to the purchase of sculpture and related items

- B(ii) Personal Account Record of the Second Marquis of Rockingham 1760-64

- C(i) Books on art and related items in the library at 4 Grosvenor Square, 1782

- C(ii) Books on art and related items in the library at Wentworth Woodhouse, 1782

- D(i) The Inventory of 1782 (extracts)

- D(ii) An Inventory of 1833 (extracts)

- D(iii) Extracts from Mr Cawen's Catalogue, 1857

- E The Sculpture section of 1949 Sale Catalogue

- F List of Plaster Casts made for the Marble Hall at Kedleston

- G The Mausoleum. Payments and a description

BIBLIOGRAPHY

LIST OF PLATES

- 1 a Bartolomeo Cavaceppi ANTINOUS, marble 1750, cat A1.1
- 1 b detail of HEAD OF ANTINOUS, marble
- 2 a Filippo Della Valle, FLORA or SABINA, marble 1750, cat A1.2
- 2 b detail of LEFT HAND of FLORA or SABINA, marble
- 3 a Filippo Della Valle, GERMANICUS, marble 1750, cat A1.3
- 3 b detail of HEAD OF GERMANICUS, marble
- 4 Giovanni Battista Maini, VENUS CALLIPYGA, marble 1750, cat A1.4
- 5 Peter Anton von Verschaffelt, HOMER, marble c.1762, cat A1.5
- 6 a Simon Vierpyl, APOLLO MEDICI, marble 1751, cat A1.6
- 6 b View of 6(a) showing QUIVER and TREESTUMP
- 7 a Simon Vierpyl, CLAPPING FAUN, marble 1751, cat A1.7
- 7 b detail of RIGHT FOOT and SCABELLUM of 7(a), marble
- 8 a Joseph Wilton, FAUN WITH KID, marble 1751, cat A1.8
- 8 b detail of HEADS of 8(a), marble
- 9 a Joseph Wilton, VENUS DE' MEDICI, marble 1751, cat A1.9
- 9 b detail of FEET and WAVES of 9(a), marble
- 10 Joseph Wilton, HEAD OF A WARRIOR (?), marble 1758, cat A1.11
- 11 Vincenzo Foggini, SAMSON SLAYING THE PHILISTINES, marble 1749, cat A2.1
- 12 a Joseph Nollekens, VENUS, marble 1773, cat A2.2
- 12 b Joseph Nollekens, VENUS, from left side
- 13 Joseph Nollekens, MINERVA, marble 1775, cat A2.3
- 14 Joseph Nollekens, JUNO, marble 1776, cat A2.4
- 15 Joseph Nollekens, DIANA, marble 1778, cat A2.5

Section B.1

- 16 a ANTINOUS (bust of), marble, 2nd century AD, cat B1.1
- 16 b detail, right side of head of 16(a)

- 17 CERES or ARIADNE, marble, Roman, Alexandrine, cat B1.2
- 18 SEATED DIONYSOS, marble, Roman, 2nd century AD, cat B1.3
- 19 BUST OF JULIA MAMAEA (?), marble, Roman, 3rd century AD, cat B1.4
- 20 BUST OF A ROMAN MATRON (FAUSTINA MINOR ?), marble, Roman, 3rd century AD, cat B1.5
- 21 a PARIS, marble, head, lower arms and feet, Roman, with 18th century body, cat B1.6
- 21 b View of PARIS from right of figure (see plate 21(a))
- 22 DRUNKEN SILENUS, marble, early Greco-Roman, cat B1.7
- 23 a WOMAN WEARING A CHLAMYD & CHITON, (Isis?), marble, Archaic Greek, before 490 BC, cat B1.9
- 23 b left side view of 23(a)
- 24 HEAD OF A YOUNG FAUN, marble, head antique; nose and base restored, cat B1.10

Section B2

- 25 THE DYING ALEXANDER, marble, 18th century, cat B2.1
- 26 a YOUNG CENTAUR WITH CUPID, marble, 18th century, cat B2.2
- 26 b rear view of 26(a)
- 27 a OLD CENTAUR WITH CUPID, marble, 18th century, cat B2.2
- 27 b rear view of 27(a)
- 28 JULIUS CAESAR, marble, 18th century, cat B2.3
- 29 DIONYSUS, marble, 18th century, cat B2.4
- 30 MELEAGER, marble, 18th century, cat B2.6
- 31 PRIESTESS of ISIS, marble, 18th century, cat B2.8
- 32 MERCURY or HERMES, marble, 18th century, cat B2.7
- 33 SENECA, bust of, marble, 18th century, cat B2.9
- 34 Entrance lobby of West Wing at Wentworth Woodhouse as it was in June 1986, showing the plaster cast of the Antinous Sacrificante by Joseph Wilton mounted in the wall. Below is Wyatt's 'Huntress'. Nollekens' 'Minerva' also flanks the doorway. See cat no B3.1.
- 35 THE CLAPPING FAUN, plaster, mid 18th century, cat B3.3
- 36 THE DYING GLADIATOR OR GAUL, plaster, mid 18th century, cat B3.4

- 37 THE 'IDOLINO', plaster, mid 18th century, cat B3.5
- 38 THE MEDICI MERCURY, plaster, mid 18th century, cat B3.6
- 39 THE VENUS DE' MEDICI, plaster, mid 18th century, cat B3.7
- 40 a b c Plaster casts of the so-called Adam Room in the South Tower at
Wentworth Woodhouse, as it was in June 1985, cat B3.8
- 41 HEAD OF A FAUN, red broccia marble, date unknown, cat C1.2

Section C - Marbles collected by the Earls Fitzwilliam after 1782

- 42 John Hickey, MRS SIDDONS AS CASSANDRA, marble, 1786, cat C1.4
- 43 John Hickey (?), THE FARNESE FLORA, marble, c1786, cat C1.5
- 44 John Hickey (?), FAUN WITH PIPE, marble, c1786, cat C1.6
- 45 John Hickey (?), APOLLO BELVEDERE, marble, c1786, cat C1.7
- 46 John Hickey (?), head of APOLLO BELVEDERE, marble, c1786, cat C1.8
- 47 John Gibson, THE HOURS LEADING FORTH THE HORSES OF THE SUN,
marble bas-relief, 1826
- 48 John Gibson, PHAETON DRIVING THE CHARIOT OF THE SUN, marble
bas-relief, 1826
- 49 Ludwig M von Schwanthaler, THE DANUBE or ONDINE, marble, 1847
- 50 John Bell, THE EAGLESLAYER, marble, c1841
- 51 R J Wyatt, HUNTRESS WITH A LEVERET AND GREYHOUND, marble, 1849
- 52 Lawrence Macdonald, BACCHANTE WEAVING HER HAIR, marble, 1874
- 53 Alexander Macdonald, HEBE, marble, 1874
- 54 South Wall of the Marble Saloon
- 55 North Wall of the Marble Saloon
- 56 Interior of the former Museum
- 57 The Museum in 1924

- Key to pls. 56 and 57 -

- Diagram of positions of busts in the Mausoleum -

- 58 Joseph Nollekens, JOHN LEE, marble, 1791
- 59 Joseph Nollekens, FREDERICK MONTAGU, marble, 1791
- 60 Joseph Nollekens, CHARLES JAMES FOX, marble, 1791

- 61 Joseph Nollekens, EDMUND BURKE, marble, 1791
- 62 Guiseppe Ceracchi, AUGUSTUS KEPPEL, marble, 1779
- 63 The Entrance Hall in the West Front in 1924

Acknowledgements

Warmest thanks for invaluable advice at several stages during the writing of this thesis must go to Dr J T Brighton, Dr T P Cowdell, Dr T Friedman, Hugh Honour and John Kenworthy-Browne.

John Kirby and his staff at the Faculty Library in the Faculty of Cultural Studies at Sheffield City Polytechnic have at all times rendered prompt and enthusiastic assistance.

Ruth Harman and staff in the Local Archives Division of Sheffield Central Library have proved indefatigable in their search for any material bearing upon the Wentworth Woodhouse sculptures and have provided a very friendly background for research.

Staff at the National Art Library, the Guildhall Library and the Library of the Museum of London have been most helpful, as have the librarians at York Minster Library, Peterborough Library and the library at Wentworth Woodhouse. Special thanks should also go to staff at Avon County Library, and Sheffield University Library. The staff at the Northamptonshire Record Office were very helpful and painstaking.

I was most encouraged by the kind and all too brief assistance of the late Earl Fitzwilliam, but a lengthy correspondence and meeting with the Lady Juliet de Chair compensated to the extent that the Wentworth Estates Manager Mr A R Pelly and his very kind assistants revealed much that had been kept hidden from public view. At Wentworth Woodhouse I was greatly assisted by Miss Joyce Collie, Mr Ron Walker and Mr Roy Grain. The Lady Elizabeth Hastings contributed helpful correspondence.

Finally, I am indebted to Sheffield City Polytechnic's audio-visual support services team, and to Philip Taylor for several exhaustive photographic campaigns.

INTRODUCTION

The recent revival of interest in Neo-Classicism¹ has prepared the ground for a fresh assessment of the qualities of eighteenth century marble copies of celebrated antique sculptures. In 1750, the second Marquis of Rockingham (1730-1782) commissioned five of the foremost practitioners in this field to produce copies which clearly attempted to 'improve' on the proportions, gestures and details of eight ancient Roman sculptures which were then felt, despite their celebrity, to have been incorrectly restored.²

The sculptures eventually adorned eight niches in the Marble Saloon at Wentworth Woodhouse, Rockingham's ancestral home near Rotherham, which his father had begun to rebuild in 1728. Burlington's disciple Henry Flitcroft had been called in to advise on the plans for the vast East Wing whose extent was 606ft. The plan of c-1740,³ as opposed to the plan of 1725, showed eight niches for sculpture in the huge Saloon. Lord Strafford, the first Marquis's hated neighbour and dynastic rival, had purchased four copies of celebrated antique statues from the studio

-
- 1 The revival was publicly inaugurated by the Council of Europe's massive Age of Neo-Classicism exhibition at the Royal Academy and other places in 1972, though this had itself been preceded by the spectacular France in the Eighteenth Century in the same series of exhibitions, in which neo-classical elements (eg. J. L. David's Marat Assassine), never before seen in England, made their debut. More recently, in 1983, the collection of Roman sculptures made by Charles Townley during the final years of the eighteenth century was magnificently re-housed in the Wollfson Galleries in the basement of the British Museum.
 - 2 Not only that; initially only a fragment of a torso was made into a full figure, as in the case of the Ildefonso Faun or Faun with a Kid (cat. no. A1. 8.).
 - 3 Marcus Binney reproduces the Plan of c.1740 as fig. 7 of his article 'Wentworth Woodhouse Revisited' Country Life March 24th 1983 p710. A large window on the west side of the Marble Saloon, centrally placed, must have provided the original site for the Ceres or Ariadne mentioned as being 'also in a niche' in the Saloon, in the Inventory of 1782. See Appendix D 1.

of G. B. Foggini in Florence.⁴ The Rockinghams knew of these and wished to double the number and indeed to obtain copies of a better quality in unspotted marble. Such rivalry, and its results, will be discussed in Chapter five. The eight marble copies eventually obtained by the second Marquis of Rockingham became the nucleus of a collection which was never ideally displayed during Rockingham's relatively short lifetime.

Professor Ian Christie has rightly remarked that Rockingham deserved remembrance for more than just his political career, citing the Marquis's industrial and agricultural achievements at Wentworth.⁵ He said nothing about Rockingham as a patron of the Arts, yet in the field of sculpture alone, the Marquis managed despite the demands of politics and the lure of the turf to collect seventeen antique marbles⁶ and many casts and original works by sculptors whose careers he helped to launch. James Stuart, Joseph Wilton, John Fisher, the Elder and Joseph Nollekens were the most notable English sculptors among an international milieu from whom Rockingham commissioned work. The resulting collection has never been alluded to, let alone discussed in its entirety.

From the 1750s to the 1880s, brief notices of the sculptures appeared in several accounts of the Fine Arts at Wentworth. They are examined chronologically in Chapter ten. Since then, only Hugh Honour has recently discovered the merits of some of the Marble Saloon sculptures, dealing only with those by Cavaceppi and Filippo Della Valle.⁷

4 Discussed in Hugh Honour's 'English patrons and Italian sculptors in the first half of the 18th century' The Connoisseur Vol CXLI, May 1958, p. 223. The sculptures for Wentworth Castle represented Antinous, Apollo, Ceres and a Priestess. The marble from which they were carved was rather heavily spotted.

5 Christie, Ian R. Stress and Stability in late eighteenth century Britain. Reflections on the British Avoidance of Revolution. (The Ford Lectures, 1984) Oxford, 1984. pp. 68-69.

6 Of these, only ten are catalogued. The rest were sold in the sale of 1949 and are listed in appendix E. The auctioneers lost all records of the sale in a fire at their Retford offices in 1976.

7 See Honour, H. The Connoisseur, op. cit. Also by the same writer, 'Filippo Della Valle', The Connoisseur, November 1959. pp 172-179.

3

Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny have referred to Vierpyl's copy of the Dancing Faun, Della Valle's Flora and Maini's Callipygian Venus.⁸ They omit the remaining five by Wilton, Cavaceppi and Vierpyl. The differences between the incorrectly restored originals and the copies at Wentworth are discussed in Chapter eleven and in the Catalogue.

The collection appears to have at least two major themes: antique goddesses (with no fewer than four being commissioned from Nollekens⁹) and sculpture relating to the eighteenth century mania for Hadrian's favourite, Antinous - himself the last God of the Classical world. Excavations in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, where in Rockingham's day so many Antinous fragments were found, helped to fuel the latter. Joseph Wilton, who had obtained many models of ancient sculptures in Rome, sold a cast of the Antinous Sacrificant to Rockingham¹⁰, whose other Antinous acquisitions, including the important bust from Dr. Richard Mead's collection, are discussed in Chapter eight. The way in which Whig landowners emulated virtuous Roman rulers will be discussed, in their political and sculptural aspects, in Chapters one and two.

The writings of Dallaway, Passavant, Waagen and Michaelis stress the fact that collections of sculpture in England were, in the nineteenth century, deemed more or less worthy in proportion to the number of actual antique sculptures they contained.¹¹ The fashionable distaste

8 In the catalogue section of their Taste and the Antique. New Haven and London, 1982, pp. 206, 216, 317 n.16, and a mention of Lord Malton's acquisitions, though not individually named, on p. 85.

9 See Catalogue A 2, nos. 2-5.

10 See Vouchers for Works of Art, Rockingham. Appendix B i no. 2.

11 Dallaway, the Rev. James. Of Statuary and Sculpture Amongst the Antieats, London 1816, p.314.
Passavant, J. D. Tour of a German Artist in England. 1836. Reprinted by E. P. Publishing, 1978, Vols 1 & 2 in a uniform edition. See Colin Bailey's introduction, pp V-XX, also Vol 2, p. 91.
Waagen, G. F. Treasures of Art in Great Britain. London 1854, 3 vols. Vol 3, letter XXLX.
Michaelis, Adolf. Ancient Marbles in Great Britain. Cambridge 1882.

for later Roman sculpture in the wake of the English discovery of the Elgin marbles and other Greek fragments, had its effect not only in London with the demotion of the Townley Marbles, but also at Wentworth where the colossal Ceres was either totally ignored or severely criticised.¹² Rockingham had only managed to collect one antique deemed worthy of mention by Michaelis - the Mead bust of Antinous. Yet he bought antique busts and figures from Lyde Browne which, while 'rejects' of Browne's were still of quality. And he had a superb archaic Greek Isis, now in York Art Gallery¹³. The cultural ambience in which such acquisitions were made, in London, Florence and Rome, are discussed in Chapter four. They were the three centres where Rockingham did most of his sculptural business.

It would be a mistake to propose that Rockingham looked upon sculpture collecting as a major passion. Politics and estate management did not allow him the time. Yet by his death he had managed to assemble a formidable company of marbles, casts, antiques and bronzes, at his house in Grosvenor Square and at Wentworth. The development of that collection is examined in Chapter seven, while Appendices B and D set out the contemporary and hitherto unpublished documentation of its acquisition and display in both houses.

Rockingham was an enthusiast for the Antique and a perceptive connoisseur. In Chapter three the evidence for this is set against a number of contemporary criticisms and evaluations, together with remarks made by his family and associates during each phase of his collecting activities.

The institutional uses to which Wentworth Woodhouse has been put since 1950 have severely restricted public familiarity with the sculptures, which ironically remain there in greater number than the paintings. Sales in 1949¹⁴ denuded rooms and staircases once filled with important Van Dycks, fine Italian baroque canvases and many Dutch paintings. The

12 See Catalogue B i no. 2.

13 See Catalogue B i no. 9.

14 These were conducted by Henry Spencer & Sons, Retford.

only marbles to remain are those which furnish spaces without interfering with their institutional uses. More recently a number of busts from the period of the Fitzwilliam occupancy have gone to Bourne Park in Kent, where the Lady Juliet de Chair, daughter of the tenth Earl, has also housed many of the paintings. Also at Bourne are a number of bronzes but not all of these were collected by the second Marquis. Those that were are listed in the Catalogue. The four Nollekens goddesses in highly polished white marble have been moved so often and displayed so badly that their translation to a worthy setting is long overdue. The movements experienced by so many of Rockingham's sculptures are detailed in Chapter seven and in the Catalogue.

In the context of neo-classical studies, by far the saddest thing to occur at Wentworth was the removal from the Marble Saloon of Cavaceppi's Antinous and Della Valle's Germanicus whose fate is recounted in the catalogue¹⁵. After spending thirty years in obscurity in the Wentworth Camellia House, unrecognised by even the Fitzwilliam family, they were rediscovered in June 1985 by the present writer, although Antinous had been vandalised only a fortnight before the discovery. Vandalism was also feared at the Mausoleum, where mining subsidence had caused Nolleken's statue of Rockingham to be encased in a cage and the whole building to be shored up. The Mausoleum with its eight busts of Rockingham's political friends (now removed for safety) is discussed in Chapter nine. As a forerunner of several similar temples such as the Temple of Liberty at Woburn, the Mausoleum is important and has already been discussed by Nicholas Penny¹⁶. It will be examined in greater detail in Chapter nine and in Appendix G.

There have been several nineteenth century dilutions of the neo-classical flavour of Rockingham's original collection. Two 'fisher-boys', a water nymph called variously Undine or The Danube and a rather fussy Bacchante entered the collection¹⁷ and, even worse,

15 See Catalogue A1.1. & A1.3.

16 Penny, N. Church Monuments in Romantic England. London 1977, p. 62. See also Chapter 9, part one.

17 These are discussed in Chapter 9, part two.

Earl Fitzwilliam in 1848 wanted two bas-reliefs of medieval knights to be placed in the Marble Saloon. Wisely, the sculptor John Gibson prevailed on the Earl to accept more classical subjects¹⁸. The sequence of events is recorded in Chapter nine.

The Wentworth ensemble of sculpture appears to be the only one of its size and type to have been ignored for so long. Many large sculpture collections have been dispersed or re-housed - the Earl of Yarborough's important pieces from Brocklesby Park are now displayed in the Usher Art Gallery in Lincoln¹⁹ and the marbles formerly at Ince-Blundell Hall in Cheshire are now in the Liverpool Library. At least the main core of the Wentworth collection is still largely intact on the staircase and in the Marble Saloon. May it remain so in order that future generations might see and study the sculptural obsessions and standard of quality current in the mid-eighteenth century, in settings for which several of the sculptures were created.

18 Gibson personally supervised the installation of his two reliefs, The Hours Leading forth the Horses of the Sun, and Phaeton driving the Chariot of the Sun over the fireplaces in the Marble Saloon. See Chapter 9, part 2.

19 Nollekens's Venus Chiding Cupid and Mercury and Gibson's Hunter and his Dog and Venus and Cupid are the principal pieces and are well displayed on the first floor landing.

Rockingham Whigs - Politics, Personalities and Patronage

The first Marquis of Rockingham left a long letter of advice to his son shortly before his death in 1750, in which he set forth basic Whig beliefs about large estates. Indeed there were few larger estates than Wentworth Woodhouse, where £82,500 had been laid out on buildings and grounds. The Marquis had spent this money because, as he said in the letter,

"If you lay out your money in improving your seat, lands, gardens etc., you beautifye the country and do the work ordered by God himself."¹

Doing God's work had cost him a good four thousand more than the £78,250 spent at Castle Howard.² When George III came to the throne in 1760, such extravagance was regarded with suspicion. As Ross Hoffman remarked,

"There seemed to be at the court of King George III a spirit of vague hostility toward that sort of great territorial influence he (Rockingham) enjoyed in Yorkshire."³

However, Rockingham had to be seen to tender devotion and loyalty to the King, something he managed with consummate skill, while building at the same time the largest country house of its type in England. In the process, he appeared to contradict the spirit of the Emperor Augustus, who according to Suetonius disliked all large pretentious country houses and even demolished one built on too grand a scale by

1 Quoted by Marcus Binney in his article 'Wentworth Woodhouse Revisited' Country Life March 17th 1983, Vol. CLXXIII no. 4465, p. 624. The letter of advice appears at the end of WWM M2. Correspondence Book.

2 Ibid.

3 Hoffman, Ross J. The Marquis. A Study of Lord Rockingham 1730-1782 New York 1973, p. 31.

his grand-daughter Julia⁴. In this respect at least, Rockingham and other whig magnates were decidedly not Augustans. Even so, long before finishing the Mansion, the second Marquis opened a coal mine at Wentworth in 1752, devised new agricultural implements and a revolutionary system of open drainage on the land, and built brick and tile kilns.⁵

He clearly wished to foster excellence in a local school of architecture and the related arts and persuaded the fine sculptor John Fisher (1736-1804) to settle in York where he became immediately successful. Fisher carved at least three chimney pieces for Wentworth Woodhouse.⁶ In 1768 Rockingham commissioned the York architect John Carr (1723-1807) to design a stable block at Wentworth for eighty four horses,⁷ and a tall column which was built on the hill to the south east of the Mansion and adapted by the Marquis to record the acquittal of his friend Keppel on a charge of cowardice

4 Suetonius, ed. Robert Graves. The Twelve Caesars London 1984. Ch. II, V. 72.

5 Hoffman, Ross J. op. cit., p. 13.

6 John Fisher the Elder carved chimney-pieces for a bedroom and dressing-room which cost £164 and £88 respectively, while in 1783 he made one in white marble for the 'Museum' (Fitzwilliam of Milton archives, quoted by Gunnis, R., Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851, London 1951, p.145). Gunnis also mentions that it was because of Fisher's figures of Jupiter and Our Saviour with the Cross being exhibited at the Free Society of Artists in 1761 that he came to Rockingham's attention.

7 The Palladian style is used for the enormous stable block, which is so impressive that it is often mistaken for the Mansion. From the west, the visitor encounters the Stable Block before the Mansion comes into view.

in a naval engagement in 1778.⁸ In 1775 the York glass painter William Peckitt (1731-1795) was commissioned to paint three of the Marquis's racehorses, a small figure and a sepulchre monument.⁹ Rockingham's popularity in York was assured.

Charles Watson-Wentworth, second Marquis of Rockingham, was the fifth and only surviving son of the first (and at that time only) Marquis in England, Thomas Watson Wentworth II. He was born at Wentworth on May 13th 1730 at a time when his father had just been raised to the peerage as Baron Malton in 1728. Malton in Yorkshire, largely owned by the Watson-Wentworths, returned two men to parliament¹⁰. Thomas Watson had sat as a Member for Malton and, as a

8 The column is 115' high. Carr's column superseded the original plan of 1773 which was to build a 45' high pedestal on a tower. The inscription states that the column 'commemorates the Naval glory of 'England' and the Marquis's friendship with Admiral Keppel who was court-martialled over his actions during his sea battle with the French outside Brest in 1778. See Davis T., Wentworth Woodhouse Visitor's Guide, Sheffield 1979, p. 9.

9 I am indebted to Dr. J. T. Brighton for this information which appears in his D. Phil. thesis The York School of enamel glass painters York University Library, 1978. Peckitt's Commission Book in York City Art Gallery (Box D3) reads:

Sept. 1755 For the Most Honourable the
Marquis of Rockingham
Three Horses a small figure and a } £15.15.0.
Sepulchre Monument

Dr. Brighton informs me that in July 1787 Peckitt painted a portrait on glass of the Marquis of Rockingham for John Milnes of Wakefield. It was bought by Leonard Pickard, a York collector, a year after Peckitt's death in 1795, having been returned to Peckitt by Milnes.

10 Hoffman, Ross J. op. cit. p. 10. Malton was a pocket borough of the Watson-Wentworths.

result of his property, was able to nominate both representatives. The territorial influence of the Watsons was indeed vast. They had landed estates in Yorkshire, Northamptonshire and Ireland (in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford) which together brought rent-rolls of about £20,000 a year. They held the nominations to twenty three livings and five chaplaincies in the church, and a further political interest in the single-member borough of Higham-Ferrers in Northamptonshire.¹¹ In 1750 the first Marquis bought Lord Gallway's estate in Hoyland for £7,500, and expended in building, levelling, for Marble Groupes, Statues, Tables & Pictures Jesse Figures Books & C from Italy and Materialls & carriage at home about 3000'...¹² In 1750 also, he bought another house at Malton for £120. Regardless of travel and subsistence then, his son's Grand Tour, during which was obtained the backbone of the sculpture collection, cost the first Marquis £3,000. Set against annual rent-rolls of £20,000, this was a comparative flea-bite.

The second Marquis was at heart, like his father, a man who preferred 'the satisfactions of aristocratic independence in the country rather than court politics', and this 'combined with his personal friendships to make Rockingham a great Country Whig'.¹³ Indeed, he adored Wentworth Woodhouse, where his great but unfortunate ancestor Sir Thomas Wentworth, later Charles Earl of Strafford, had made his home¹⁴. In the August of 1767, the Marquis wrote to Lord Dartmouth,

11 *ibid.*

12 From the First Marquis's Account of his buildings contained in WWM A 1273.

13 Collyer, Cedric. "The Rockingham Connections and Country Opinion in the Early Years of George III", Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 3, pt. 4, (1955), p. 252.

14 Hoffman, op. cit., p. 1.

"Since I came here I found so much real private business & so much amusement in riding about inspecting farming & other occupations, that I own I took up such an indolence of mind that I dreaded the idea of setting down to write on political matter. Indeed for the last ten days I have had company constantly with me I am to set out for York Races Tomorrow..."¹⁵

It was his fate, however, to be 'pitched upon' (Lord Dartmouth's felicitous phrase)¹⁶ to form two short-lived administrations, for which his friends deemed him amply qualified. In Lord Shelburne's opinion, Rockingham had become by 1782 the only man who could form an administration after the fall of Lord North because only he had a large and loyal body of friends.¹⁷ His standing in the country was so great even after the fall of his first administration in June 1766 that Volters Cornewall, a Tory, wrote to him:

'We Country Squires, My Lord, often and boldly say that modern Ministers are jockeys but you are called a good high-bred racer'.¹⁸

Rockingham inspired a close friendship from a Tory member of parliament from Worcestershire, William Dowdeswell, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer in the first Rockingham Administration. 'Of all his political friends, Rockingham was probably best understood by William Dowdeswell, and between these men there was an intimacy and shared outlook which only the death of the latter would

15 Hoffman, op. cit., p. 176.

16 Hoffman, op. cit., quotes a letter from Lord Dartmouth in which he said the Marquis "was pitched upon to be first Lord of the Treasury, which he strenuously resisted, for some time, But being told that the scheme must (otherwise) be abandoned, he willingly consented to take that part ..." (Dartmouth MS, William Salt Library, Stafford: D 1448, V. 221. B.

17 Hoffman, op. cit., p 337.

18 Hoffman, op. cit., p 154.

12

terminate', according to Hoffman¹⁹. Thus Rockingham lived out the principles of the Roman Augustus who, in the words of Suetonius again,²⁰ 'achieved this success, having taken great trouble to prevent his political system from causing any individual distress'. Like Augustus, Rockingham could inspire respect and love in his friends, political allies, the King and William Pitt and even, at the end, in Horace Walpole, who wrote that Rockingham 'deserved all praise and all support'.²¹

The Marquis was able to copy Augustus even more literally when he fitted out his marble saloon at Wentworth Woodhouse. Augustus had said 'I found Rome built of bricks; I leave her clothed in marble'.²² There was one major difference. Rockingham's marble was not in his architecture, for the so-called marble saloon is only scagliola, but in the superb and almost spotless white marble copies of famous antique statues, for which he was solely responsible as patron when he visited Florence and Rome on his Grand Tour from 1748-50. Much will be said of these in due course, but the fact that he and others were building their own palaces in their own local kingdoms and stocking them with images of the world's most admired statues is of great interest. The magnificence of Kedleston in Derbyshire is precisely the reverse of Wentworth; there, the statues are in plaster (and much duplicated) while the hall is in real marble. Augustan Lords like Rockingham thought and spoke as though they communed with the gods themselves. "I have not my Minerva at my side" complained Rockingham to one friend, referring to his absent wife Mary.²³

19 Hoffman, op. cit., p. 145.

20 Suetonius, ed. Graves. op. cit., Ch. 2, V. 28.

21 Hoffman, op. cit., p. 379.

22 Suetonius, ed. Graves. op. cit., Ch. 2, V. 28.

23 Hoffman, op. cit., p. 152. Letter to Sir George Savile, March 31st, 1767.

There was indeed a direct relationship between the Whig attitude to life, property and the crown and the patrician ideals of the Roman Republic, whose foundation was recounted in the following words by Livy:

"Now we trace the history in peace and war of a free nation, governed by annually elected officers of state, and subject not to the caprice of individual men, but to the overriding authority of law ... Brutus, the founder, made the people swear never to allow any man to be king in Rome. He promoted national unity and lessened the friction between the patricians and the plebs."²⁴

The last king of Rome was Tarquinius Superbus (534-569 BC) who was ousted by Lucius Junius Brutus, the legendary consul and nobleman whose spirit walked abroad even in the eighteenth century. On December 19th, 1769, The Morning Advertiser carried a letter to George III from the anonymous and notorious 'Junius', who 'drew his sovereign's attention to the consequences of nine years of personal government. He showed how the affections of England, of Ireland, and of the Colonies had been so successfully alienated that the King was obliged to depend upon the Scotch....'²⁵

In Rockingham's heyday, the Society of Dilettanti was becoming ever more serious in its attempts to discover more about this ancient civilisation which every cultivated, titled or monied Englishman admired. Rockingham, qualified with all three attributes, was elected a member in February 1754, some two years after he had been elected to the Royal Society. He was, according to Cust,²⁶ the fourth member of his family to join the Dilettanti, following in his father's footsteps. His vast fortune enabled him to assist a number of expensive foreign projects, particularly those involving his friend James 'Athenian' Stuart.

24 Cunliffe, Barry. Rome and her Empire. London 1978. p. 52.

25 Winstanley, D. A. Lord Chatham and the Whig Opposition. London 1966, p. 415.

26 Cust, Lionel. History of the Society of Dilettanti. London 1911, p. 79.

The young Stuart, not then 'Athenian', but perhaps hopeful of further commissions from Rockingham when the latter met him in Italy in 1750, dedicated the fruits of eight years' Latin scholarship at the College of the Propaganda to him, and found that it also gave him a personal introduction to the Pope.²⁷ This work, a treatise in Latin on the obelisk found in the Campus Martius, was titled

'De Obelesco Caesaris Augusti,
 Campo Martio Nuperime Effoso,
 Epistola Jacobi Stuart Angli,
 ad Carolum Wentworth, Comitem de Malton, Roma 1750'.

Rockingham also helped to promote Stuart's Antiquities of Athens and can thus claim to have helped Stuart to his famous nickname 'Athenian'. Cust explains:

'It was not however until 1762 that the authors were able to issue the first volume of the Antiquities of Athens, measured and delineated by James Stuart, FRS and FSA, and Nicholas Revett, painters and architects, with a dedication to the King. Many names of the Dilettanti appear in the list of subscribers; the Duke of Bedford took two sets, Sir Francis Dashwood five, Mr. James Dawkins (who died in 1759) had subscribed for twenty, the Marquess of Rockingham for six, in addition to those taken by other members of his family, and Mr. Wood for eight'.....'The success of this publication, and the accession to the Society, not only of Stuart and Revett, but also of Dawkins, Wood, Charlemont and Rockingham, led the Society to concentrate their thoughts on a new scheme for the continuation of these researches in Greece and Asia Minor....²⁸

27 Cust, L. op. cit., p. 75.

28 Cust, L. op. cit., p. 80.

In Rome Rockingham encountered a young man who was to become a lifelong friend - James Caulfield, 1st Earl of Charlemont (1728-99) who, as is noticed above, became a fellow member of the Dilettanti Society. The young sculptor Simon Vierpyl made Charlemont a set of casts of statues in the Capitoline Museum, while Rockingham commissioned marble copies from him of the Clapping Faun and the Apollino in the Uffizi at Florence. For Charlemont's tutor and travelling companion, the Rev. Edward Murphy, he made in terracotta twenty two statues and 78 busts of Roman Emperors²⁹. In 1756 Vierpyl was again employed by Charlemont on the decoration for Casino Marino which William Chambers had built on strictly classical lines for the Irish peer as a home just outside Dublin in the 1760s. It cost Charlemont some £60,000.³⁰ Again in 1756, Edmund Burke had written his highly influential essay 'On Taste: A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful.' While this was busy going into seventeen editions during his own lifetime (Burke was born in 1727 and died in 1797), he was, in company with David Garrick, becoming a friend of many artists in their new 'quarter' in Soho and Covent Garden, and was patronising some of them.³¹ Burke did not become Rockingham's Private Secretary until 1765, as a result of his emergence as a close friend of Charles Townshend³² whom the Marquis was courting politically in that year. Rockingham was wise to have Burke constantly by his side (as he is literally placed in the unfinished portrait by Reynolds now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) for Burke was an excellent orator and apologist for the Rockingham battles against the Stamp Act and the Irish Absentee Landlords' Rent Bill, both of which issues went Rockingham's way. The Stamp Act was

29 Gunnis, R. op. cit., pp 409-410.

30 Denvir, Bernard. The Eighteenth Century. Art, Design and Society 1689-1789. London 1983, pp. 46-49.

31 Williams, Basil. The Whig Supremacy. Oxford 1962. pp. 406-407.

32 Hoffman, R. op. cit., p. 85.

repealed despite interference from George III,³³ and American Colonies became, as a result, very grateful to Rockingham. The Bill which was to have been brought forward in the Irish parliament to put a discriminatory tax upon the rent rolls of absentee landlords was a longstanding Irish patriot project. Rockingham received support from Lord Bessborough and Burke for turning the government against such a plan.³⁴

William Ponsonby, second Earl of Bessborough, was the son of Brabazon Ponsonby who had been advanced to the Irish earldom of Bessborough in 1739. Born in 1704, William went on his Grand Tour in 1736 and met the painter Jean-Etienne Liotard in Rome.³⁵ They travelled to Constantinople together and Liotard worked for Bessborough in England from 1753. Several of Bessborough's antique marbles were deemed worthy of notice by Dallaway³⁶ and Bessborough certainly put Rockingham in touch with Thomas Jenkins in Rome.³⁷ It was Bessborough who originally alerted Rockingham to the Irish tax plan,³⁸ in July of 1773. Twenty six years older than Rockingham, Bessborough outlived him by eleven years, dying in 1793. They seem to have had similar artistic tastes and

33 Hoffman, R. op. cit., p. 112. The King favoured, somewhat suddenly, modification to, rather than repeal of, the Stamp Act.

34 Hoffman, R. op. cit., p. 285-9.

35 Aslet, Clive, and Lord Bessborough. Enchanted Forest - the story of Stansted in Sussex. London. 1984. p. 10.

36 Dallaway, the Rev. James. Of Statuary Amongst the Antients London 1814, p. 349.

37 Letter from Bessborough to Rockingham, August 22nd 1770, WWM R1. 1310.

38 Hoffman, R. op. cit., p. 285.

tem peraments, if Walpole's 'childish' label³⁹ really did apply at times to Rockingham, and if the Hon. Mrs. Hervey's remarks in 1777 on Bessborough were correct. She said 'Lord Bessborough is here, who can never grow better or worse, or other than he is it is incredible what nonsense he talks.'⁴⁰ Bessborough, like Rockingham, was a member of the Dilettanti, much addicted to objects of 'Virtu' according to the Morning Herald of Aug. 6th, 1782. From 1744 to 1755, he rebuilt the home at Bessborough in Ireland to Francis Bindon's Palladian designs.⁴¹

For over two hundred years, Rockingham's sculpture collection has been neglected even more than the man himself, perhaps because it appeared, like him, to have no distinctive stamp. Had there been one really stunning antique marble specimen, or rather, one that might have been regarded as such by 19th century experts, more might have been heard about it. Had Rockingham himself been a great orator like Charles James Fox his political friend and ally, much more would have been written about him. But the Whigs of the Victorian age adored the memory of Fox, a dynamic character who saw kings as a greater threat to

39 Walpole, commenting on Edmund Burke's Observations on the State of the Nation had this to say:

'The book solidly confuted Grenville, exposed him, and exploded his pretensions to skill in finance if the work had did honour to the author and to his party's principles, yet it showed that party too was composed of impracticable men; and what was worse for their cause, it declared inviolable attachment to the Marquis of Rockingham, a weak, childish and ignorant man, by no means fit for the head of Administration.'

(Memoirs & Portraits, 1772. ed. Hodgart, M., London 1963, p. 209.

40 Aslet, C. op. cit., p. 103.

41 Aslet, C. op. cit., p. 102.

liberty than the Jacobin revolutionaries of France. Charles James Fox (1749-1806) wanted to reduce the monarchy to complete subjection to the House of Commons and carried on a bitter personal contest against the King, alienating in the process almost all of those Whigs who had been friends of Rockingham.⁴² Francis Russell, the fifth Duke of Bedford, caused a 'Temple of Liberty' to be erected at Woburn in which Nollekens's bust of Fox was surrounded by busts of his most intimate friends against the walls. That was in 1802,⁴³ and there can be no doubt that the architect, Henry Holland, must have had the Wentworth Mausoleum in mind. There, busts of eight of Rockingham's political allies and friends surround a commanding statue of the second Marquis, also by Nollekens, which will be discussed in a later chapter. Two points must be made with regard to Fox, for even with his dazzling oratorical skill,⁴⁴ he was in many ways far less mature and serious-minded than Rockingham. On the Grand Tour, Rockingham did not once refer to the kind of thing which was obviously of the first importance to Fox, who on his Tour in 1768, thought Nice 'the dullest town in the world and what is a terrible thing, there are no whores.'⁴⁵ One of his letters from Nice to Sir Uvedale Price says:

"There is also at that same Nice, a silver-smith's wife, who is almost as fair as Mrs. Holmes, but not near so chaste, and she attracts me thither as regularly in the evening, as the other does in the morning when you

42 Hoffman, op. cit., preface, X, Xi.

43 Irwin, D. John Flaxman, 1755-1826. London. 1979, p. 172.

44 Burke acknowledged Fox's skill fulsomely and his opinion is quoted in the section on 'Demosthenean Oratory in 'London Augusta' in Chapter two.

45 Reid, Loren. Charles James Fox - A Man for the People London, 1969, p. 14.

consider those journeys to Nice, the proper time for eating, drinking, praying, etc., you will not be surprised I read but little."⁴⁶

Without calling itself a temple of liberty, the so-called Mausoleum at Wentworth was far more truly a temple of liberty than the one at Woburn. Had Fox's fulminations against the monarchy reached their ultimate conclusion, it must be wondered what would have come of the stability which England enjoyed in the 19th century. Rockingham wished only to limit undue interference by the Crown over other parts of the legislature and considering his uncertain health and reluctance to become a Prime Minister at all, he certainly did engage in a battle of wits with George III, continually rallying the country Whigs, badgering them to attend parliament for vital votes and in the end even delivering a number of speeches in parliament which earned him the praise of the King and Horace Walpole.⁴⁷ On the pedestal beneath Nollekens's statue of Rockingham in the Wentworth Mausoleum are the words:

'A man worthy to be held in remembrance: because he did not live for himself. His abilities, industry & influence were employed, without interruption, to the last hour of his life to give stability to the liberties of his country; security to its landed property; increase in its commerce; independence to its publick councils, and concord to its Empire. These were his ends.'

Rockingham certainly did not 'live for himself'. Had he been allowed to do so, his sculpture collection may have acquired a more distinctive stamp, as did those of Charles Townley and The Egremonts at Petworth. He was however purchasing major items of sculpture until the day of his death, but being the virtual leader of the Whigs for the whole of his adult life, he hardly had time to devote to collections and no doubt found essential relaxation

46 *ibid.*

47 Hoffman, op. cit., p. 211.

in his many visits to the turf. It cannot be wondered at that Arthur Young, visiting Wentworth for the first time in 1768, found the Marble Saloon not yet finished and statues obtained in 1750 not yet in their niches. In that year,

'A house full of guests, York Races, and an expected visit by the King of Denmark at Wentworth, kept Rockingham "in one uninterrupted series of occupation and hurry" until late September.'⁴⁸

Perhaps the most balanced single paragraph on Rockingham was penned by D. A. Winstanley in 1966 when he said,

"A happier fate befell the young Marquis of Rockingham who ultimately became the leader of the party which Newcastle had created. Like Grafton, Rockingham shared many of the tastes of the young aristocrat of his period, and was wont to be at Newmarket when he ought to have been at the House of Lords; but, though sometimes inattentive to business, he never wavered in his adherence to the Whig cause and was content to spend the greater part of his life in leading a forlorn hope shy, and of a retiring disposition, rarely taking part in debate, and always reluctant to stand in the fore of the battle, Rockingham could win respect, but was unable to inspire either fear or admiration."⁴⁹

Despite his consuming political career, it is a fact that in the course of thirty two years, from 1750 to 1782, Rockingham managed to obtain over one hundred and fifty items of sculpture, of which some fifty maybe considered to be either of importance to the study of sculpture as it now stands, or are at least of some interest in that they shed light on the preoccupations of the Augustan mentality. Those fifty pieces are documented in the catalogue.

48 Hoffman, op. cit., p. 203.

49 Winstanley D.A. op. cit., p. 20.

The Cultural Background - Augustan Taste and Ancient Sculpture

In building Wentworth, the first Marquis of Rockingham had subscribed to the well-known views of the third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713) who had equated the Palladian style of architecture with what he had called the 'English Spirit of Liberty.' This he characterised as a rebirth of the virtues of ancient Republican Rome. Shaftesbury and fellow whigs saw in Palladianism rules which they assumed had derived from the 'free spirit of enquiry' which had existed in republican Rome, and they expected every educated man to be trained in ancient Rome's history and language.¹ At the time the first Marquis had purchased the house in Grosvenor Square, he had also enrolled his son, then known as Viscount Higham, in Westminster School, where Latin and classical history were taught alongside rumbustious games and where Greek was tackled in the fourth form. That was in 1741; in 1748 Edward Gibbon was enrolled there and he left his judgement on his school days in his Memoirs:

'But these public schools may assume the merit of teaching all that they pretend to teach, the Latin and Greek languages; they deposit in the hands of a disciple the keys of two valuable chests; nor can he complain if they are afterwards lost or neglected by his own fault ... My name, it is most true, could never be enrolled among the sprightly race, the idle progeny of Eton or Westminster, who delight to cleave the water with pliant arm, to urge the flying ball, and to chase the speed of the rolling circle.'²

1 Quoted by Judith Hook, The Baroque Age in England, London, 1976, p. 47.

2 Gibbon, E. Memoirs of My Life (The Penguin English Library) Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1984, p. 69.

However, the Palladians did not insist on prowess in the classics and in physical pursuits being the progenitors of an ideal member of their race; for them, what mattered was good taste balanced by good conduct. Indeed, the Palladian taste was considered morally sound, as Lord Shaftesbury put it:

'thus are the Arts and Virtues mutually friends; and thus the science of virtuosi and that of virtue itself become, in a manner, one and the same.'³

The classical gods and heroes exhorted whoever beheld their images to just this kind of Augustan virtue. 'Know well each ancient's proper character' advised Pope,⁴ and the second Marquis of Rockingham was able to study the characters of a sizeable pantheon, even before he commissioned extra goddesses from Nollekens. Gazing at copies of great sculptures which the ancients themselves had once revered, might increase the feeling of kinship between the ancient and modern Augustans which Shaftesbury and Jonathan Richardson the elder wished to promote. In 1715 Richardson declared:

'no nation under Heaven so nearly resembles the ancient Greeks and Romans than we. There is a haughty courage, an elevation of thought, a greatness of taste, a love of liberty, a simplicity, and honesty among us, and which belongs to us as Englishmen, and it is in these that resemblance consists.'⁵

No peer in England was superior to the second Marquis of Rockingham in these qualities, as is noted elsewhere⁶ from the

3 This is taken from Shaftesbury's Characteristicks, London 1711, part iii, section 3, 'Advice to an Author'.

4 Quoted by A. R. Humphreys, The Augustan World. University Paperbacks, 1954, p. 251, and extracted from Alexander Pope's Essay on Criticism.

5 Hook, Judith, op. cit., p. 47.

6 See the statements of Edmund Burke and Horace Walpole on the Second Marquis's character, discussed in the chapter on 'The Connoisseur Marquis'.

unsolicited comments of so many contemporaries. He became the major patron of Stubbs, a major patron of Nollekens, and a Maecenas to 'Athenian' Stuart and the young Joseph Wilton who was the first English sculptor to work in Rome. His patronage of publications on the antique almost rivalled some of the earlier exertions of Lord Burlington. The third Earl of Burlington (1695-1753) had spent some time in Vicenza studying Palladio's villas during his second visit to Italy in 1719. On his return to England he dismissed James Gibbs as the architect of his Picadilly House and replaced him with the most sober votary of Palladianism, Colen Campbell.⁷ From then on, every aspiring Whig builder looked to Burlington and the first Marquis of Rockingham was no exception, for his plans of the east front of Wentworth were re-drawn by Henry Flitcroft, following their submission to Burlington.⁸ When Robert Castell designed a series of plates called 'The Villas of the Ancients', it was Burlington who in 1728 bore the whole charge of preparing and publishing them in engraved form, and then gave the entire profits to Castell. The publication appeared in the second Marquis's library.⁹ In 1730, Burlington printed 'Fabriche Antiche diseguate da Andrea Palladio, e date in luce da R. Conte di Burlington', of which a small number of copies were taken for friends and for promising artists.¹⁰ Similarly, the second Marquis helped to finance James 'Athenian' Stuart and Nicholas Revett, or as Michaelis picturesquely puts it:

'But for the liberality of James Dawkins, who was supported by Lord Malton (afterwards Marquis of Rockingham) and Lord Charlemont, Stuart and Revett could never have had the

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- 7 Charlton J. Chiswick House and Gardens, HMSO, 1958. p. 4.
- 8 Binney, M. Wentworth Woodhouse Revisited, 1, Country Life, March 17th, 1985, vol. CLXXiii no. 46, pp. 624-627.
- 9 See Appendix C(ii).
- 10 According to Edmund Lodge in Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain, Vol. XI, London 1832.

leisure to complete their Athenian labours.'¹¹

However, after Stuart's 'De Obelisco Caesario Augusti' (Rome 1751) was dedicated to the second Marquis, the author wrote from Smyrna on May 30th, 1753, that it was a 'triffling performance and indeed originally too full of imperfections'¹²

It is surely significant that Rockingham was helping these famous antiquarians when he was in his early twenties. His deep interest in the antique cannot be doubted, and he became a member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1755, twenty one years after its foundation. Stuart and Revett had become members in 1751.¹³ Another form of Augustan balance is glimpsed in the Society, that is, if Horace Walpole is to be believed, when in April 1743, writing to Sir Horace Mann, he talks about 'the Dilettanti', a club, for which the nominal qualification is having been to Italy, and the real one, being drunk; the two chiefs are Lord Middlesex and Sir Francis Dashwood, who were seldom sober the whole time they were in Italy.'¹⁴

Although individual members varied from collection to collection, the sculptural family of ancient gods and heroes which the Augustans revered seemed to have at least four constant members in the Venus de Medici, the Apollo Medici, the Clapping Faun and the Antinous. Their English debut seems to have taken place in the 1630's. Charles I commissioned Hubert 'Praxiteles' Le Sueur to cast several bronzes which are today at Hampton Court. They include the earliest known copy of the Medici Venus, the Antinous, Commodus as Hercules, Cleopatra, the Spinario, and the Diane Chasseresse. All were sold in 1650 or 1651 after Charles was beheaded in 1649 but surprisingly Oliver Cromwell withdrew some of them 'on account of their antiquity and rarity' and he even

11 Michaelis, Adolf. Ancient Marbles in Great Britain. Cambridge 1882. Chapter II.

12 WWM RI. Letters from 1752-1754. Unnumbered Mss.

13 Michaelis, op. cit., Stuart and Revett are discussed in the chapter on 'The Golden Age of Classic Dilettantism'.

14 Michaelis, op. cit., discussed in the chapter on 'The Golden Age of Classic Dilettantism'.

bought back the copy of the Antinous. These were kept at Whitehall, where some, in the Privy Gardens, were defaced in an attack by a Quaker with a hammer. This fanatic was apprehended only after he had smashed down a door leading to the Volary Garden, where he intended to assault the Antinous.¹⁵

The next family occurred at Blenheim Palace. The Duke of Marlborough commissioned Massimiliano Soldani to cast four celebrated sculptures which were eventually seen together in the Tribuna of the Uffizi. The Medici Venus was joined for the first time by the Clapping Faun. Soldani had described the Faun to Prince Lichtenstein as 'the most beautiful statue that can be found' and he pointed out that it would make an excellent companion for the Venus.¹⁶ The famous pair were joined also by the 'Knife Sharpener' and the Wrestlers, and all were completed in bronze by 1711 which is the date on their bases. They had cost the Duke almost a thousand pounds.¹⁷

Michaelis¹⁸ is of the opinion that it was Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester, who was responsible for introducing high quality antiques into England. The elder Brettingham built Holkham Hall for the Earl and the younger (Matthew) who had already purchased busts for Sir Robert Walpole at Houghton, obtained eleven statues, eight busts, a relief and some mosaic slabs. Here, niches were provided for the statues, which also occupied the staircase hall. Again, Rockingham had on his library shelf 'The

15 Haskell, F, & Penny, N. Taste and the Antique Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1981, p.31.

16 Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 60.

17 Detroit Institute of Art catalogue for The Twilight of the Medici Exh., 1974, cat. nos. 79 & 80.

18 Michaelis, op. cit., ch. 2.

Plans & C. of Houghton, the Seat of Sir Robert Walpole. London
1735'.¹⁹

Demosthenean Oratory in 'London-Augusta'

The shades of Ancient Rome were by no means confined to English country seats. They crept over London too. Indeed Dr. Johnson's London of 1738, modelled on Juvenal's diatribes against Rome, may perhaps have gathered inspiration from John Gay's Trivia of 1716, which contained the invocation:

'Happy Augusta! Law-defended town!
Here no dark lanthorns shade the villain's frown;
No Spanish jealousies thy lanes infest,
Nor Roman vengeance stabs th'unwary breast;
Here tyranny ne'er lifts her purple head,
But liberty and justice guard the land'²⁰

When young Lord Malton was in Rome in 1750, London-Augusta had 750,000 citizens against Norwich and Bristol, each with 30,000.²¹ It was laid out in grids and squares and even had its own Trajan's column in Wren's Great Fire Monument of 1677.

It is to be expected that Parliament itself would succumb to the mania for the antique. At school the Augustans had studied Cicero and Demosthenes, the great orators. Sadly, Lord Rockingham was not a great orator, but his friends Fox and Burke certainly were. Of Charles James Fox, Edmund Lodge notes:

'The late Sir James Mackintosh describes his eloquence in these striking terms:-".....He was the most Demosthenean speaker since Demosthenes". "I knew him," says Mr. Burke, "when he was nineteen; since which time he has risen by

19 See Appendix C(ii).

20 Humphreys, A. R. op. cit., p. 6.

21 Humphreys, A. R. op. cit., p. 7.

slow degrees, to be the most brilliant and accomplished debator the world ever saw".²²

William Murray, first Earl of Mansfield (1705-1793) undertook to be young Rockingham's mentor when he was being seen as a political leader of the future. Deeming his protégé insufficiently educated, Murray laid out a course of study in which Rockingham was to learn Demosthenes for oratory and be instructed in the history of the Assyrian, Persian, Greek and Roman Empires - for four months. Much to Murray's annoyance, the young Marquis did not apply himself, preferring to attend to his estates.²³ But it has been amply demonstrated, and will be further proved in the chapter on the Grand Tour, that this Marquis had little need of a deeper classical education than that which he had given himself in Italy. It was indeed more fitting than Horace Walpole might have realised for the Marquis to be described on his death in the following Augustan terms, jaundiced though they are:

'A meeting of the late Marquis's friends was held yesterday at Lord Fitzwilliam's - the nephew or Octavius of the late Caesar, but no more likely to be an Augustus, than the Marquis was a Julius.'²⁴

Surrounded, at Grosvenor Square and Wentworth, by the images of Julius Caesar, Hadrian, Alexander, Germanicus and Antinous, not to mention a great company of gods, goddesses and fauns, Lord Rockingham would in his own homes have been able to echo the sentiments of Tobias Smollett, when in 1765 the novelist visited the Uffizi in Florence and remarked that:

'Here, by viewing the statues and busts ranged on each side, I should become acquainted with the faces of all the remark-

22 Lodge, Edmund, op. cit., entry on Charles James Fox.

23 According to Hoffman, Ross J., The Marquis - A Study of Lord Rockingham, New York 1973, p. 12.

24 Horace Walpole Correspondence (ed. Cunningham.) Vol III letter 2170 (letter of July 7th, 1782, from Walpole to Mann).

able personages, male and female, of antiquity, and even be able to trace their different characters from the expression of their features there is an elegant bust of Antinous, the favourite of Adrian, and a beautiful head of Alexander the Great, turned on one side, with an expression of languishment and anxiety in his countenance. The virtuosi are not agreed about the circumstance in which he is represented; whether fainting with the loss of blood which he suffered in his adventure at Oxydraca, or languishing with the fever contracted by bathing in the Cydrus, or finally complaining to his father Jove, that there were no other worlds for him to conquer.²⁵

The new Augustan Age in Britain was recognised by at least two foreign notabilities, the Empress Catherine of all the Russia s and Benjamin Franklin the ardent republican. Catherine the Great ordered a dozen marble busts of Charles James Fox from Nollekens and placed one of them between Cicero and Demosthenes,²⁶ while Franklin, at the entertainment given at the St. Alban's Tavern to celebrate the first Royal Academy exhibition on April 26th, 1769, made this memorable literary effusion:

'Behold a brighter train of years,
A new Augustan Age appears,
The time, nor distant far, shall come,
When England's tasteful youth no more
Shall wander to Italia's classic shore;
No more to foreign climes shall roam,
In search of models better found at home.'²⁷

25 From letter no. 28 of Tobias Smollett's Travels Through France and Italy, London, 1766. Other ideas about the 'Dying ' Alexander are discussed in the Catalogue of Sculpture at Wentworth Woodhouse.

26 Quoted by J. T. Smith in a footnote to the list of Nollekens's sitters in Nollekens and his Times, Oxford 1828.

27 The complete effusion is quoted by Bernard Denvir in his The Eighteenth Century - Art, Design and Society, 1689-1789, London, 1983, pp. 190-191.

However, despite such talk of Ancient Rome, the ultimate goal of the serious Augustan collector of sculpture was to own a piece of genuine classical Greek marble. Rockingham was fortunate in being able to obtain a lovely Archaic Greek figure of Isis from Lyde Browne,²⁸ while Browne himself, a director of the Bank of England and the owner of over two hundred antique marbles, had a Torso of Herakles by a master of the circle of Phidias, an Eros after Praxiteles, and a Head of a Hero of the Pergamene school.²⁹ The second Earl of Egremont had even managed to obtain a head thought to be an Aphrodite by Praxiteles himself.³⁰ In 1779, Gavin Hamilton wrote to Charles Townley:

'Never forget that the most valuable acquisition a man of refined taste can make is a piece of fine Greek sculpture.'³¹

In their Grand Apartments and Sculpture Galleries however, the English collectors required complete figures as superior furnishings for niches, after the manner of such places as the Canopus at Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, or the Pantheon in Rome. In this at least, they remained essentially Augustan. A fragmentary marble, as Picon has pointed out,³² simply would not do for the sort of sculpture gallery designed by Kent, Brettingham or Adam, which were designed as reincarnations of actual ancient Roman interiors.

28 See Catalogue B1, 9.

29 Gorbunova, Xenia. 'Classical Sculpture from the Lyde Browne Collection', Apollo Vol. C no. 154, Dec. 1974, pp. 460-461.

30 Vermeule, Cornelius. 'The Ancient Marbles at Petworth', Apollo, Vol. CV no. 183, May 1977, p. 340, pl. 1.

31 Quoted by Picon, Carlos A, Cavaceppi, catalogue to the Clarendon Gallery Exhibition 1983, p. 15. (Introduction).

32 Picon, Carlos A., op. cit, p. 16 (Introduction).

The Connoisseur Marquis

To a great extent, the depth of a man's enthusiasms may be gauged from the contents of his library, and if the magnificent libraries of Grosvenor Square House and Wentworth Woodhouse are anything to go by, it is certainly not true that Rockingham 'loved nothing but horses'.¹ Nor could he possibly have been 'totally void of all information' or indeed 'an ignorant man', as Horace Walpole on several occasions described him,² clearly intending posterity to build a biased character study out of what became highly influential memoirs and letters.

In this chapter, several of the Marquis's own observations and those of his contemporaries concerning matters of taste and judgement, will be examined in order to reveal that when Rockingham was not at the races, he sought recreation in many learned publications on art and architecture. He also continually bought up the contents of other libraries, including that of his close friend William Dowdeswell, later leader of the 'Rockingham Whigs' in the House of Commons.³ He collected, with great enthusiasm, medals, pastes and gems, and he managed to obtain several rare and magnificent folio publications on Roman antiquities. Appendix A records many artefacts and gems he admired in Italy. And they are not just lists set out without the exercise of a critical faculty - many of his observations while in Italy reveal the depth of his scholarship, none more so than a folded note⁴ beginning:

'The Apotheosis of Augustus most finely cut in an Onyx'

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- 1 Lewis, W. S. (ed.) Horace Walpole's Correspondence 48 vols, Oxford/Yale 1960, vol. 35, pp. 267-8.
 - 2 From Horace Walpole's Memoirs of the Reign of George III, London, vol. II, p. 140.
 - 3 Appendix B i no. 46.
 - 4 See Documents relating to the Grand Tour. Appendix A (R 170.16)

and ending:

'there is also a Sarcophagus with a Representation of a Battel of the Amazons against their Enemies. Neither in this nor in that at Rome have the Amazons a Breast cut off as some authors say they had.'

Learned controversies were not lost on him. Whilst most Grand Tourists were happy to see in one marble sculpture in the Uffizi the slave who overheard the Catiline Conspiracy, Rockingham, brought up on Leonardo Agostini's Dialogue on Gems (1686) had known that from numismatic evidence therein, the so-called 'Arrotino' or 'Rotatori' was doing something else. He notes:

'The Rotatori who by some is imagined to be the slave that overheard Catilina's Conspiracy is by Others now believed to be a peasant going to flea Marayas by Apollo his orders.'⁵

There are too, a dozen instances in his writings of his knowledge of the paintings of Guercino and the sculptures of Giambologna which are discovered in the chapter on the Grand Tour. It is therefore impossible to agree with a modern biographer, Ross J. Hoffmann, when he opines that Lord Malton was

'more interested in people than in pictures or books',⁶

for even though this remark is made about his stay in Florence, every English nobleman with a spark of youth was expected to accompany the young Florentine ladies almost constantly, and it would be surprising if Malton had been able to catch his breath to study art in Florence to any depth. Horace Mann explains it all, mentioning the future Marquis in his letter to Horace Walpole:

5 *ibid*, R. 170.

6 Hoffman, Ross J. The Marquis. A Study of Lord Rockingham, 1730-1782, New York 1973, p. 7.

"Then, for the common transactions of the town, they are all confined to the knowledge of what cicisbeos have been displaced, and what new establishments have been made. The great news of this kind is that Madame Acciajuoli, who immediately after her joined cicisbeos Mr. Pelham Milbanke, took to Jacky Langlois, whom the town thought an unworthy successor, has now turned him off for a young Marquis Pucci, who succeeded Lord Rockingham with the Siristori, whom that Pucci has abandoned abruptly without a just cause ..."⁷

Rockingham's notebook⁸ reveals the names of all titled persons with whom he 'dined' or 'supped' in Italy, some of whom are discussed in the chapter on the Grand Tour, but it is thought that he might have had an affair with Princess Francavilla in Naples,⁹ and indeed in the spring of 1768, Lord Carlyle wrote from Naples:

'The Princess Francavilla is extremely civil to us, but I lay it a little to the account of Lord Fitzwilliam, whom she found to be very like his uncle, Lord Rockingham'¹⁰

Certainly Rockingham seems to have been a very active, dashing and courageous young man, who later became a somewhat insufferable hypochondriac. He died at the rather early age - even for those days - of fifty two, which indicates that an over-sensitive nature was perhaps unable to withstand the demands of a top political position. At first though, all was set fair, as Lord Winchelsea remarked in a letter to his father about his progress at Westminster School:

7 Quoted by Denys Sutton in his article 'The Final Flowering of the Medici' in Apollo Vol.C. Sept. 1974, p. 187.

8 This is the tiny marbled notebook in WWM R 170.

9 Hoffman, op. cit., p. 29, n. 16, gives all the background information.

10 Hoffman, op. cit., p. 29, n. 16.

'I told him I think he never will be safe if he continues the practise of overheating himself and then drinking cold water ... the young man is of a pretty healthy strong constitution.'¹¹

When in 1745 the first Marquis organised volunteers to help fight against the Young Pretender, he made his son a colonel, and Lord Higham manoeuvred with his regiment while the Wentworth household were in flight to Doncaster. When the rebels retreated, he was directed to dissolve his volunteers, but he rode instead, through robber-infested country and with only one servant, to the Duke of Cumberland's army at Carlisle. The Duke admired the young Lord's courage and notified his father 'his zeal on this occasion shows the same principles fix't that you yourself have given such strong proofs of'.¹²

However by the age of 31 he was becoming a noted hypochondriac. Early in 1761 Sir George Savile told him:

'I cannot help mentioning a little seriously what we have so often laughed about, your having recourse so continuously to medicine with hardly any reason ... I am not speaking my own thoughts ... but those of 9 in 10 of your Lordship's friends ...'¹³

In March of that year, the Marquis was being treated for gallstones at Bath, where he stayed until July.¹⁴ An entry in his personal Account Record (Appendix B ii) shows that he continued to purchase works of art and obtained at that time two fine marble Centaurs for which he paid £63.0.0d.¹⁵ Huge sums were then being

11 Hoffman, op. cit., p. 3.

12 Hoffman, op. cit., p. 3.

13 Hoffman, op. cit., p. 28.

14 Hoffman, op. cit., p. 28.

15 See Appendix Bii.

offered for the original Furietti Centaurs, but in vain,¹⁶ so the Marquis was lucky to have such exquisite interpretations.

J. T. Smith's Nollekens and his Times affords two glimpses of Lord Rockingham which testify to his personal involvement with the contemporary art world. He does not seem to have had a 'Matthew Brettingham figure' working on his behalf, and he certainly attended sales and auctions personally. Panton Betew, an art dealer in Old Compton Street, Soho, had for sale a model of a boy by Fiamingo, for which Nollekens offered ten shillings. Betew was asking fifteen and refused to be beaten down. 'Why,' said Betew, 'you are obliged to give more at auction when Lord Rockingham or Mr. Burke is standing by you. No, I will not 'bate' a farthing'.¹⁷ No doubt Rockingham enjoyed the thrills of bidding at auction as much as he so obviously enjoyed gambling on the turf. He came to know Nollekens at about the time of the artist's marriage in 1771. Until then Nollekens had been in Italy. The Marquis, who was of course to purchase several marble goddesses from Nollekens, was recollected by Mrs. Nollekens when it had been put to her that their servant Mary had posed for the latest statue of Venus:

'Mrs. Nollekens was at this time recollecting, with tears in her eyes, that she had herself been flattered with that appellation from no less a person than the Marquis of Rockingham, who observed to Mr. Nollekens, soon after his marriage, "Ah, Nollekens, we now see where you get your Venuses."¹⁸

Persons hoping for preferment from the Marquis were just as skilled as he so obviously was in the art of flattery. James, the son of Isaac Ware the architect,¹⁹ wrote to Rockingham on July 2nd, 1763:

16 Haskell, F. & Penny, N. Taste and the Antique Yale, New York & London, 1982, p. 178.

17 Smith, J. T. Nollekens and his Times. O.U.P. 1929, p. 122.

18 Smith, J. T. op. cit., p. 215.

19 Lee Barker, F. & Jackson, P., London - 2000 Years of a City and its People Macmillan, London, 1984, p. 192.

'Therefore; knowing Yr Lordship to be so great a Judge,
and Encourager of Arts and Sciences, has emboldened me
thus to recommend to, and acquaint Yr Lordship, of a
Group of Sculpture ...' ²⁰

Clearly, by the age of thirty-three, Rockingham was highly re-
garded, and perhaps even expected to patronise any fine sculptor
automatically, as the same letter makes clear with regard to a
sculptor called Nicholas Read:

' ... The Artist doubts not but it will meet with Yr.
Honrs. patronage.' ²¹

However, there is no record of Read's marble group of Actaeon
mauled by his Hounds, either at Wentworth or Grosvenor Square,
and it is almost certain that the 1782 inventories would have
noted this large group which Ware felt suitable to stand oppos-
ite Foggini's Samaon and the Philistines at Wentworth. Ware
closed his letter in the hope that the Marquis might find a
place for him - as well as the sculpture. Apparently he had
already worked at Wentworth under one Richardson, a carver from
Doncaster, in 1760. Now he had a wife and two children to sup-
port. That Rockingham could not avoid attracting such people
is evidenced in Horace Walpole's scathing memoir of him in 1772
when he said 'his single talent lay in attracting dependents'.
Walpole allowed that the Marquis's personal character was
'blameless' but said that he was a 'weak, childish and ignorant
man' who was 'totally void of all information'.²² Such comments

20 WWM RI. Correspondence Book. no. 374.

21 Ware calls him Nathaniel Read. See Gunnis R. Dictionary of
British Sculptors 1660-1851, pp. 315-316. Read was apprent-
iced to Roubiliac and took over his studio at 66, St. Martin's
Lane.

22 Walpole, Horace. Memoirs of the Reign of George III London
Vol. 2. p. 140.

are tempered by the remarks of Edmund Burke on the occasion of a celebrated speech on American taxation delivered in parliament on April 19th, 1774. In the person of Lord Rockingham, said Burke, he detected sound principles and an 'enlargement of mind'.²³

Arthur Young, the foremost farming authority of his generation, visited Wentworth Woodhouse in 1768, principally to record innovations which Rockingham had introduced into the use of land.²⁴ However, Young devotes much space to a description of the contents of the house, and after he had examined minutely four of the eventual eight volumes of The Antiquities of Herculaneum in the library, he says:

'Besides this very magnificent work, there are in this library a vast number of books of prints, architecture and medals; of the last, his Lordship has one of the largest collections in England, and the largest I have any where seen,'²⁵

No wonder Young found the Antichita di Ercolano stunning; for Haskell and Penny report that the Royal Herculaneum Academy supervised between 1757 and 1796 the production of nine lavish illustrated folios of the Antichita, of which two (nos. V and VI in 1767 and 1771) were devoted to bronzes. The projected volume on

23 Burke wrote to a friend called O'Hara on July 11th 1765, "I have got employment of a kind humble enough; but which may be worked into some sort of consideration, or at least advantage: private secretary to Lord Rockingham; who has the reputation of a man of honour and integrity; and with whom, they say, it is not difficult to live." (Quoted by Hoffman, op. cit., p. 86.)

24 Young Arthur. A Six Month's Tour through the North of England London, 1769, Vol. 1, p. 307.

25 Young, op. cit., p. 74.

marble sculpture never appeared.²⁶ Rockingham's eight volumes appear very special: at first, the official Antichita was for presentation only, but in 1773, after the failure to suppress the first (and, as it turned out, only) volume of Martyn and Lettice's translated edition, the first five volumes were made available for sale. From 1789, Piroli issued cheaper volumes of copies of the original plates.²⁷ Young says he only had time to study four of the volumes, which must have been original presentation volumes at the time of his visit to Wentworth in 1768. He itemised scores of plates separately. Even more astonishing on this sort of time scale is the fact that the Vouchers for Works of Art, no. 62, clearly states that as early as 1770, Rockingham purchased a further six volumes of the Antichita from one Peter Molini.²⁸

Rockingham possessed many other fine books. Perhaps an enthusiasm for those antique sculptures which he came to own in the form of copies was inspired by P. A. Maffei's Raccolte di Statue

26 Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 74.

27 Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 76

28 On March 19th, 1766, a letter from Rockingham to the Spanish Ambassador, written at Grosvenor Square, thanks 'His Catholic Majesty' (presumably the King of Spain) for 'the gift of a book on paintings of Herculaneum and drawings', (WWM R I no. 585). This may have been the original volume or volumes of the presentation set, which the 1782 Inventory for the Grosvenor Square library lists as having been published at Naples in 1767. Presumably several must have been available before 1767, when the first volume on bronzes (vol. V) appeared. Rockingham certainly owned all eight volumes eventually, as the Inventory makes clear. Then there are the further six volumes listed in Voucher no. 62 (Appendix B i). The Inventory for Wentworth lists five. Perhaps these were the five made available for sale in 1773. Someone seems to have miscounted, but one thing is certain - Rockingham could boast material on Herculaneum at both his libraries. (see also note 27 above).

published in Rome by Domenico de Rossi in 1701. This was a large, handsome, lavishly illustrated volume devoted principally to the ancient statues of Rome in the Belvedere Statue Court and the Capitoline Collections. Several of Rockingham's marble and plaster copies were of famous sculptures in those places.²⁹

Francesco Gori's books on Florentine, Neapolitan and Etruscan antiquities³⁰ were in his library, as were Sandrart's Admiranda Statuariae of 1684, Creed's Etchings from Lord Pembroke's Statues at Wilton, and a book on the King of Poland's antique marbles in the Dresden Gallery.³¹

Young mentioned that Rockingham had one of the greatest collections of medals in England. The libraries contained, apart from Agostini's Dialogues on Medals (Rome, 1650), Evelyn's book on Medals (1697), Winckelmann's Description of Baron Stosch's celebrated collection of gems (Florence 1760) and nine folio volumes on Roman coins published in Verona, London, Paris and Amsterdam.³² It was Winckelmann's edition of Stosch's gems which had secured his fame in learned circles. The unpleasant, but learned Baron de Stosch, who signed his reports 'John Walton', was employed unofficially to report on the activities of the Pretender and the Papal Curia from 1722-31.³³ Collecting gesso impressions of gems, or glass-paste replicas of them, had become a popular hobby among Dilettanti during the eighteenth century, and Rockingham, who had obtained two cameos of Antinous and one of Germanicus from James Tassie, not to mention an entire table

29 For example, the Capitoline Antinous, the Dying Gaul and the Cupid and Psyche.

30 Rockingham kept the three-volume Museum Etruscum Gorii (Rome 1737) in his Grosvenor Square library. Appendix C i.

31 This was the French edition of 1733 in the Grosvenor Square library.

32 All at Grosvenor Square, Appendix C.I.

33 Williams, Basil. The Whig Supremacy Oxford, 1962, p. 184.

32b. The Scottish architect James Byres (1733-1817) was Rockingham's agent in Rome for Imperial Roman coins and medals. The extant correspondence between them, linking the Marquis with Charles Townley with whom he was clearly on terms, are set out in full in R.J. Hopper's The Second Marquis of Rockingham, Coin Collector. The Antiquaries Journal, Vol LXII, part II, 1982, PP316-346.

topped with pastes of scores of ancient Greek and Roman philosophers, historians, heroes and Caesars,³⁴ was fanatical about them. Repeatedly, as his accounts show, he patronised Tassic and the more expensive Marchant.³⁵ In Italy he had revealed to his father that his bills were running high because he had been unable to resist the temptation of purchasing medallions or antique stones.³⁶ He remarked that the Barberiga family had fine cameos which they wanted to sell, while 'Smith our Consul' had a very fine collection from which Rockingham singled out some rare gold medals and cameos. Again he reveals a depth of connoisseurship:

'Smith has a Head of a Sibyll or Bachanal (sic.) : which I think resembles much the drunken priestess of Bacchus in the Capitol at Rome ... his intaglio of Hercules Head is well cut and antique ...'³⁷

In both the Dining Room and Whistlejacket Room at Wentworth, portrait-profile medallions in wreaths form the plaster-relief decorative schemes. Young notes that in the Whistlejacket Room (before Stubbs's equestrian portrait was placed there), 'are six historical relievos'. He does not recognise them but they were from the marble relief panels on the Arch of Constantine, and depicted scenes from the association of Hadrian and Antinous, or so the connoisseurs of the day thought. Young continues:

In the center on each side a large frame-work for a picture,
by which are panels, inclosing in wreaths four medallions;
Theocritus,
Hector,
Agamemnon,
Hyacinthus.

34 This now stands in the Drawing Room at Bourne Park, Essex.

35 See Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 98.

36 WWM. M2. Rome, April 26th, 1750.

37 Appendix A, WWM R 170/17.

On one side the Chimney-piece, in the same stile,
 Hamilcar,
 And on the other,
 Troilus.³⁸

The same Homeric personages reappear in the Dining Room. Thus was Rockingham surrounded by the heroes of ancient legend, for whom no doubt he had imbibed an enthusiasm during his days at Westminster School. Roman coins were then, and are now, another schoolboy enthusiasm, and in Italy the twenty year old Rockingham spent a long time studying them, as a painstaking list in his own handwriting testifies.³⁹ The sheet is headed 'Numismata Mea Prastantiora Prima Magnitudinis. Roma Martis 1107 1750'. A coin showing Antinous is mentioned in this long list of coins from the times of the twelve caesars and of Hadrian, bearing out yet again that Rockingham was interested in the Hadrian-Antinous story which became a theme for his sculpture collection.⁴⁰

Michaelis, discussing the quality of the collection of antique sculptures at Wentworth, gives specific mention of only two items - the bust of Antinous from the Mead Collection⁴¹ and the 'splendid cabinet of Roman coins'. Patini's 'Imperial Roman Coins' (Amsterdam 1697), the three-volume 'Musellii Numismata Antiquae' (Verona 1757) and Argetati's 'Imperial Roman Coins' of 1730 were but three of the many publications on the shelves at Grosvenor Square, while as late as 1770 Rockingham paid Thomas Snelling seven guineas for 'Gesner's Numismata'.⁴²

There is ample evidence to show that Rockingham could outbid anyone if he really wanted a work of art. He was very fond of Guercino's paintings and wrote a letter to his father from Siena⁴³ about the

38 Young, Arthur. op. cit., p. 284.

39 Appendix A, WWM R 170/2.

40 This is explored further in the chapter on Antinous, Hadrian and Sabina.

41 Michaelis, A. Ancient Marbles in Great Britain Cambridge, 1881, entry on Wentworth Woodhouse.

42 Appendix Bi 6.

43 See WWM R 170/27.

two Guercino's he had admired there, one depicting Hagar, Ishmael and the Angel and the other the Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew. He does not make it clear which of the two was then to be sold but Horace Mann clarified the issue in 1751. Rockingham eventually purchased the Hagar picture through Mann. He enthused to his father 'it is a most beautiful Peice & now to be sold, 300 Crowns I offerd, it belonged formerly to the Savini's in whose family there is a Tradition that it cost at first 100 Pistoles'. Mann wrote from Florence two years later on July 2nd 1751, 'I have lately bought a very fine picture for Lord Rockingham, a Guercino that he had seen at Siena, and which he and many others had offered money for'.⁴⁴ Hagar, Ishmael and the Angel, painted in 1652-3, was placed in the White Dressing Room at Wentworth Woodhouse. Sold in 1949, it came into the collection of Denis Mahon in London.⁴⁵ Whether Rockingham was eventually forced to increase his offer of 300 Crowns is not known, but he obtained a painting of high quality, and as a glance at the rest of his letter shows, he was well able to discuss the finer points of comparison between Guercino and Guido Reni. 'Void of information' and 'ignorant' are terms which could never be applied to the second Marquis of Rockingham even in his youth. Horace Walpole conveniently mistook shyness and reticence for empty-headedness, but Rockingham was never retiring in his well-founded opinions on quality in the arts. "The only Statue in Bologna that is very good is a Neptune in the Great Place done by John di Bologna but hardly one of his best Works", he declared on his Grand Tour.⁴⁶ Had he been ignorant of Giambologna's sculptural oeuvre before he travelled, he would not have employed the qualification "hardly one of his best Works". Indeed, the only bronzes certainly obtained by Rockingham on his Tour, for which there

- 44 C. S. Lewis, ed. Correspondence of Horace Walpole Vol. 20, pp. 262-264. A letter from Sir Horace Mann.
- 45 Briganti, D. G., The Connoisseur 1953 Vol. CXXXii, pp. 10-11.
- 46 The Neptune Fountain in Bologna was made in 1563. The over-muscular figure awkwardly straddles a dolphin.

exists his personal word, were by his favourite Giambologna. In his letter to his father of September 1st 1749 he said he had 'an horse and another figure in brass by the famous John de Bologna'.⁴⁷

Rockingham owned some thirty six bronzes in an age which had seen the revival of the bronze statuette as a form of Grand Tour souvenir of all the most famous antique bronzes and marble statues in Italy.⁴⁸ Lists of items available from the workshops of Righetti and Zoffoli included works by Giambologna.⁴⁹ But Rockingham may only have had a 'Venus de Medici' as a bronze statuette,⁵⁰ and since he had her and other celebrated antiques in marble it would automatically have been the Giambologna groups which commended themselves in the bronze versions. At some stage he obtained a 'Rape of the Sabine Woman' and possibly a 'Hercules, Antaeus and Abel'⁵¹ both after Giambologna. Certainly, no area of collecting considered suitable for an eighteenth century aristocrat was neglected by the second Marquis of Rockingham.

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- 47 Lord Malton seemed pleased to obtain such pieces 'into the bargain'. See Appendix A, WWM. M.2. Sept 1st, 1749.
- 48 Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84) had presented the bronze Wolf, Camillus and Spinario to the Palace of the Conservators in Rome. They became famous as emblems of Ancient Rome, and were reproduced in the same material. See Haskell & Penny, op. cit., pp. 8 & 9.
- 49 Francesco Righetti and Giacomo Zoffoli offered bronze casts in the 1780's and '90's. Righetti was Luigi Valadier's pupil, rival and successor. It does not seem that Rockingham had any dealings with such men. See Haskell & Penny, op. cit., pp. 93-96.
- 50 The 1782 Inventory for Grosvenor Square suggests that a bronze statuette of the Venus de Medici might have been in the library. (Appendix D i).
- 51 The Rape of the Sabines is described in the 1782 Inventory as being in the Low Room at Wentworth. Perhaps the Hercules was mistaken for a Samson at the time. See Appendix D i. and Catalogue C2 no. 3.

Chapter 4

London, Florence and Rome in the mid-eighteenth century

It is now necessary to examine the artistic activities in the three major European centres with which the second Marquis of Rockingham was familiar in the last thirty two years of his life, in order to establish the major factors in the formation of his sculptural tastes. London, where he had the greatest number of contacts with sculptors and collectors, will be examined first.

The first Marquis was a subscriber to John Rocque's superb map of London in 1746,¹ published on sixteen imperial sheets and delineating such estates as the Palladian Wanstead of Lord Tilney and of course Chiswick and Burlington House. Lord Burlington purchased no fewer than five sets of Rocque Maps, which also showed several newly developed squares. The new Grosvenor estate was dominated by Grosvenor Square which was then the largest residential square in London. The Marquis had taken a house there, number four, in 1741. The square, completed in 1737, was an architectural mess on three sides but not on the east, where a builder called John Simmons eventually produced a handsome symmetrical frontage after Colen Campbell had withdrawn from the project.² The ideal for such a square can still be seen at Bedford Square which has central, pedimented buildings on each side. In Grosvenor Square the principal pedimented building on the north side was off-centre and everything else developed piecemeal with the exception of the east side. There, the central house once had a portico and fittingly was the one occupied by the Rockinghams.

1 The full title of the map was An exact Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, with the Country near ten miles round; Begun in 1741, finished in 1745, and published in 1746, according to Act of Parliament, by John Rocque, Land Surveyor. The price was two guineas!

2 Colen Campbell died in 1729. See also note 3.

But for the rest, it is no wonder that Lord Chesterfield, wishing to instal his wife Petronella in splendour, built a house in South Audley Street, visually unrelated to Grosvenor Square yet one of its main arteries. His architect was Isaac Ware, whose son worked for the second Marquis of Rockingham.³ Beyond the Grosvenor Estate to the north were open fields.

From an early print of the 1730's it is clear that lovely formal gardens were laid out at the back of the Grosvenor Square houses.⁴ Number four, imposing in its central position even today, is built of pale honey-coloured London Brick and dressed, pale grey stone. The first floor rooms have alternating curved and straight-sided pediments over each window, with a showy Corinthian order. Over a couple-columned Doric entrance is a balustraded balcony. A balustrade now crowns the once pedimented house. Inside, the second Marquis placed a number of fine sculptures having regard to their medium and theme⁵, and in those rooms moved the great Whig politicians of the reign of George III.

Politically, mid-eighteenth century London had its opposing camps arranged in large squares not unlike the plan of a battlefield. North-east of Grosvenor Square was Hanover Square where in 1713, a number of whig generals had decided to live, while in 1720 some Tory peers launched Cavendish Square,^{where} the Society of Dilettanti, which the second Marquis joined in 1754, held its meetings.⁶

There were one or two places in London where the Marquis could well have studied ancient sculpture and casts of the most celebrated antiques. As a young man he may already have been familiar with the collection of a fellow Whig, Dr. Richard Mead (1673-1754),

3 The house is discussed and illustrated, along with Grosvenor Square, in 'London - 2000 years of a City and its People' by Felix Barker and Peter Jackson, Macmillan, 1974, pp. 218-219, pls. 6, 7 & 8.

4 Barker & Jackson, op. cit., pl. 6, p. 219.

5 See Appendix D(i) for the contents of no. 4 Grosvenor Square.

6 See Lionel Cust's 'the History of the Society of Dilettanti', London, 1911.

Vice-President of the Royal Society and Physician-in-ordinary to George II, because Mead opened his doors to the public. On show were paintings by Watteau, Claude, Poussin, Rembrandt, Panini and Canaletto, Guercino, Palma Vecchio, Carlo Maratti, Annibale Carracci and Salvator Rosa, not to mention a small number of antique sculptures, which Dallaway⁷ noted as follows:

'Dr. Mead's collection was very small. He had an Hygeia about two feet high, in marble, which is beautiful, and now at Ditchley in Oxfordshire. His Flora is at Stourhead. The most valuable bust is of Antinous, now at Wentworth Woodhouse, Yorkshire.'

As will be seen,⁸ Rockingham was able at last to obtain the Antinous bust in the sale of Mead's collections in 1755. He may have known about it many years earlier.

In 1758, the Duke of Richmond opened his statue gallery in Whitehall to students. It was filled with casts of the 'most celebrated ancient and modern statues'.⁹ At that time, Lyde Browne, a governor of the Bank of England, had been collecting some magnificent pieces of antique sculpture for his country house at Wimbledon. Rockingham, who bought a house in Wimbledon and indeed died there in 1782,¹⁰ purchased several items from him¹¹. So fine was Browne's collection that Catherine the Great issued instructions for its acquisition in 1787 but did not obtain it all, for Charles Towneley purchased several items and so did the third Earl of Egremont. There were altogether some 230 items of antique

7 The Rev. J. Dallaway's Of Statuary and Sculpture amongst the Antients, London, 1816, pp. 313-315.

8 See Catalogue. Section B(i) Antique Marbles, for a discussion of the bust.

9 Denvir, Bernard. The Eighteenth Century, Art, Design and Society, 1689-1789 Longman, 1983. p. 14.

10 Edmund Lodge's Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain, London, 1834, has a strangely vitriolic chapter on Rockingham (Vol. X) which ends, "he died, after a very short illness, at his home in Wimbledon, in Surrey".

11 See Appendix B i, nos. 27 and 57.

sculpture in Lyde Browne's collection, mainly from the excavations of Gavin Hamilton at Hadrian's Villa.¹²

William Ponsonby, second Earl of Bessborough and one of Rockingham's closest allies, had dealings with the Marquis over some sculpture¹³ and was himself a friend and patron of the Swiss pastel artist Liotard. He employed Chambers to build a villa at Roehampton, outside London, in 1760, where he housed a good collection of antique marbles. Rockingham would undoubtedly have known them. Dallaway was enthusiastic: according to him¹⁴ 'the late Earl of Bessborough had collected several valuable marbles, at his villa near Roehampton. These were dispersed by auction in 1801.' Two of the best pieces were 'Pan instructing Olinthus' a life-sized Greek sculpture resembling one in the Uffizi at Florence, and a fragment of a statue of Venus, broken off above the knees and below the bosom.

The British Museum was opened to the public in 1759 and was housed at first in Portman Square in a mansion designed by Rockingham's friend James 'Athenian' Stuart. It had a very handsome Ionic entrance hall.¹⁵ Sir Hans Sloane's collections formed the nucleus of the museum along with the Harleian and Cottonian collection of manuscripts, and in 1772 it acquired Sir William Hamilton's collection of classical vases and antiquities.¹⁶ Meanwhile, in Lower Grosvenor Street and again within easy walking distance of the Rockingham household, Robert Adam displayed for sale the

12 Gorbunova, Xenia. 'Classical Sculpture from the Lyde Browne Collection', Apollo, Dec. 1974, pp. 460-467. Also mentioned in Dallaway (op. cit.,) where he says the collection cost Catherine the Great £23,000.

13 Bessborough's daughter, Charlotte, married William, second Earl Fitzwilliam. A letter from Bessborough to Rockingham (WWM RI, 1310, Aug. 22nd, 1770), discusses sculpture.

14 Dallaway (op. cit.,) p. 349.

15 Summerson, John. Georgian London. London, 1945, p. 23.

16 Denvir, op cit., p. 14.

statues and casts which he had brought back from Italy. Rockingham made several purchases from 'Adam's Gallery',¹⁷ as indeed he did from the man he patronised in Rome in 1750, Joseph Wilton. Wilton was one of the original members of the Royal Academy, mentioned in the Instrument of Foundation in 1768. He allowed the public into his London studio and J. T. Smith recalls going there with Joseph Nollekens to see an exquisite model of King George III's State coach as well as Wilton's sculptures.¹⁸ The studio occupied the site of five former houses in Queen Anne Street East and Wilton himself resided in the adjacent corner of the street. Nollekens, who became friendly with Rockingham between 1773 and 1778, was born in Dean Street, Soho on August 11th, 1737. He was placed with Peter Scheemakers in Vine Street. In 1760 he went to Rome for a decade and when in 1770 he returned to London he purchased no. 9, Mortimer Street, by Cavendish Square, becoming a member of the Royal Academy in 1772. James Stuart, who lived on the south side of Leicester Fields, frequented a public house on the north side called 'The Feathers' to which he was always inviting Nollekens. J. T. Smith recalls:

'Stuart lived on the south side of Leicester-fields; he had built a large room at the back of his house, in which were several of his drawings, particularly those he had made for a continuation of his work; they were in body-colours, and in style resembled those of Mario Ricci. His parlour, where we remained until a shower of rain was over, was decorated with some of Hogarth's most popular prints ...'¹⁹

St. Martin's Lane was something of a centre for the arts during the eighteenth century as indeed it is today. The great French sculptor Louis Francois Roubiliac (1705-62) had his studio at

17 See Appendix B i, no. 50.

18 J. T. Smith, Nollekens and his Times Oxford, 1828, Vol. 1, p.18.

19 Op. cit., p. 27.

no. 66, which was taken over at his death by his prize-winning pupil Nicholas Read (d. 1787) with whom Rockingham was invited to deal (although the outcome is not known.)²⁰ Jonathan Richardson the Elder (1665-1745) collaborated with Sir Godfrey Kneller over the foundation of the St. Martin's Lane Academy where Hogarth first studied painting, while Jonathan Richardson the younger (d. 1771) was a collector of fine drawings which he displayed in his home in Queen's Square.²¹

Finally, although there is no reference to John Cheere in any of the vouchers for Rockingham's works of art, it must be mentioned that this sculptor was the leading producer of lead garden sculpture and plaster casts in England, and he operated from a much visited yard at the corner of Hyde Park, only a few minutes away from Rockingham's house.²² However, judging from the vouchers, it appears that Rockingham was able to obtain all the casts he needed from a manufactory of Artificial Stone at Goulston's Square, Whitechapel, which sent him exhaustive lists of items on offer.²³

Eighteenth century London was a hive of sculptural activity, catering for the growing need to fit out town houses and country seats with casts, copies and antiques. Florence on the other hand was by the second half of the century bereft of all its finest sculptors, for G. B. Foggini and Massimiliano Soldani were dead and even Filippo Della Valle (whom Rockingham patronised), though born and trained in Florence and a nephew of Foggini,

20 See the chapter on the 'Connoisseur Marquis'. James, the son of Isaac Ware, the architect, recommends Read to the Marquis and hopes he will purchase his group called Actaeon mauled by his Hounds. (letter of July 2nd, 1763. WWM RI., no. 374).

21 J. T. Smith, op. cit., p. 12, note 1.

22 Haskell F & Penny N. Taste and the Antique Yale, New York & London, 1981, p. 80.

23 See Appendix Bi no. 36.

moved to Rome permanently in 1725 on the death of his uncle. Well might Gabburri, the leading Florentine connoisseur of the day who patronised Della Valle, moan that after 1740 there came 'calamitous times for the fine arts'.²⁴ A great flood - not the first nor of course the last - overcame Florence in 1740 and there were bad harvests. The last of the Medici - Anna Maria Luisa - had died, and early in the decade which eventually saw young Rockingham in Florence, Tuscany was occupied by Austria. Francis Stephen of Lorraine was chosen as Grand Duke of Tuscany, Anna Maria having died childless from her marriage to the Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm.²⁵ Charles de Brosses, future President of the Burgundian Parliament, had this to say about Florence in the autumn of 1739:

"... I know of no other place where one finds such great cultural resources, thanks to the quantity of antique monuments and of the libraries and manuscripts which the Medici and some private people have assembled."²⁶

So, if the fire had gone out of original sculpture-making in Florence, at least the antiquities could be exploited, and there were other perhaps more attractive reasons for staying there, for the social calendar was very full. In 1744, Giuseppe Zocchi issued two sets of views of the city and of the villas in Tuscany which captured chariot races, water traffic, festivals and processions and the pleasures of the Tuscan hills.²⁷ These were well known to the English traveller. And there was of course the opera and the Teatro della Pergola (which survives today). Rockingham writes about his intention to visit the opera at Florence, indeed he returned from Siena specially for it,

24 From the Detroit Institute of Arts Twilight of the Medici exhib. catalogue, 1974, p. 24.

25 During the 1740's, the Prince and Princesse de Craon ruled as regents on behalf of Francis Stephen in Florence. See Apollo, Vol C, Sept. 1974, editorial article by Denys Sutton on 'the Final Flowering of the Medici'.

26 Detroit Institute of Arts, op. cit., p. 21.

27 Apollo Vol C., Sept. 1974, op. cit., p. 186.

and he also visited the opera at nearby Lucca.²⁸ Horace Mann reports on Rockingham's involvement with Florentine female society in the role of an escort or 'cicisbeo'.²⁹ Mann had been in Florence since 1737 assisting Fane, the British Minister whom he succeeded in 1740. He was constantly entertaining English visitors but then so were the Florentines, who, unlike the Venetians, adored the English. Still, by 1780, after forty three years there, Mann could only report to Horace Walpole that: 'Here is neither painter, engraver or sculptor above the most common sort.'³⁰ So Rockingham was lucky to encounter Vincenzo Foggini, one of Giovanni Battista's sons, still working at the huge studio in Borgo Pinti which had once been Giambologna's foundry.³¹ He no doubt obtained the plaster casts of the Venus de Medici, the Clapping Faun, the Mercury and the Idolino from Foggini, but his prize was that virtuoso marble group, 'Samson Slaying the Philistines', which luckily is signed and dated on its base, which Vincenzo had carved using some ideas from older models by Michelangelo and Giambologna. Sadly, none of Rockingham's Grand Tour letters say anything about Foggini or record any specific visit to any studios, although as will emerge in the chapter on the Grand Tour, there is every reason to suspect that his silence was born of a desire to surprise his father.

In the Uffizi, Rockingham would have seen the originals of most of the copies he commissioned from the Foggini studio or from half a dozen sculptors in Rome. The Mercury, the Venus, the Clapping Faun and the Idolino were all in the Tribuna when in 1749 Rockingham recorded that he had studied the Venus and the Faun. It is interesting that the same four figures adorn the Tuscan Hall at Wentworth - plaster casts from Florence which enabled the rich tourist to create a Tribuna of his own. The Medici Apollo did not arrive until 1770; while it was

28 See the Chapter on the Grand Tour. Lord Malton visited Lucca on Sept. 16th 1749.

29 Apollo, Vol C. Sept. 1974, p. 187. Quoted by Denys Sutton in the article described above (note 25).

30 Apollo, Vol. C. Sept. 1974, p. 189.

31 Detroit Institute of Arts, Twilight of the Medici op. cit., p. 48.

still in Rome, Rockingham commissioned a marble copy from Simon Vierpyl. He discussed two other sculptures in the Tribuna, the 'Arrotino' or 'Knife-Grinder' and the 'Wrestlers',³² And he must have seen one of the most admired antiquities of all, the 'Dying Alexander', as it was then known. Eventually he obtained a fine marble copy for the projected staircase at Wentworth.³³

The Medici had managed to procure from Rome (and, in the case of the Idolino, Urbino,) a superb group of admired antiques which in the Tribuna of the Uffizi created what Haskell and Penny describe as a special 'Florentine subdivision of the most widely admired masterpieces'.³⁴ The Clapping Faun in particular was launched as a celebrity from the Tribuna, when it was joined by the Venus de Medici in the late 1680's. They became a kind of 'sculptural married couple' and Rockingham must have approved of the match because he obtained two pairs - one in plaster for the Tuscan Hall and one in marble (by different sculptors) - for the Marble Saloon.

From Florence, Rockingham went to Lucca, which he seems to have enjoyed,³⁵ and he then journeyed to Rome in the winter of 1749. There were many English people there, and he found to his delight that the whigs outnumbered the Jacobites four to one and that there were "no Persons of Rank about the Pretender", indeed, the 'vile spirit of Jacobitism' was in great decline.³⁶ James Stuart, son of James II, was at the time in exile in his Roman palace. The Papal Court recognised him as King, so naturally Britain had no representatives there. Horace Mann and later Willaim Hamilton, at Florence and Naples respectively, were the closest British diplomats to the shadow court which surrounded the sad figure of the Pretender, whose long exile ended in

32 See Appendix A (WWM 170), a description of Florence by Lord Malton.

33 See Appendix Bi no. 35.

34 Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 60.

35 See note 28 for date of this visit.

36 Quoted from WWM M2 Correspondence Book, Sheffield City Library Archives.

in his death on the first of January, 1766.³⁷

It is highly probable that Rockingham purchased a three-volume guide-book to Rome of anonymous authorship, entitled 'Roma Antica, e Moderna'. Two sets of these were on his library shelves in 1782.³⁸ They were published in 1750, and would therefore have been the very latest guide-books.

Rockingham later obtained Giuseppe Vasi's 'Itinerario Istruttivo ... di Roma', published in 1763. A number of guidebooks were standard reading for the Grand Tour, among them the 'Remarks on Several Parts of Italy' by Joseph Addison (1705) and the highly fashionable 'Grand Tour' by Thomas Nugent (1749) which Rockingham, already abroad by then, may have missed. However, the principal object of his sojourn in Rome, since he had failed to obtain marble copies of the best antique statues while in Florence, was to obtain them in Roman studios. He could not purchase any actual antiques, which became impossible to buy because of the withdrawal of export licences. Thomas Coke of Holkham, in Rome in 1716-17, had been lucky to acquire a couple of important antiques, the 'Lucius Antoninus' and a Diana. The King of Poland had purchased the Chigi Collection in the 1720's, and the King of Spain obtained the Odescalchi Collection. Eventually however, casts of such missing sculptures could be seen displayed in the French Academy at the Palazzo Mancini in the Corso, and connoisseurs like Rockingham had to go there in order to examine the full range of great antique statues and sometimes to have copies made.³⁹ In order to prevent further fine pieces from the Albani Collection going abroad, Pope Clement XII bought them all in 1733 and made them the nucleus of the Capitoline Museum, where Rockingham must have seen the Antinous, excavated from Hadrian's Villa. It was apparently the principal attraction⁴⁰ in the collection. He must have admired it, because he prevailed upon Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Rome's greatest restorer of antique statues, to carve him a copy in

37 Fothergill, Brian. Sir William Hamilton, Envoy Extraordinary.

38 See Appendix C ii.

39 Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 63.

40 Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 64.

marble.⁴¹ The Flora or Sabina, said by Ficorini to have been excavated from Hadrian's Villa in 1744,⁴² was also on view in the museum, and Filippo Della Valle carved one of the earliest, if not the earliest, copies in marble for Rockingham. The celebrated 'Dying Gladiator' or 'Dying Gaul', which dominates Campiglia's engraving of students drawing from casts in the Capitoline collection,⁴³ was not obtained in any form during Rockingham's Roman sojourn, no doubt because it was a recumbent figure and therefore the wrong shape for a niche in the Marble Saloon at Wentworth.

Perhaps on the advice of the Foggini studios in Florence, Rockingham was recommended to visit Filippo Della Valle who had been G. B. Foggini's nephew. As well as the Flora, he ordered a Germanicus from Della Valle, no doubt produced from the plaster cast in the Palazzo Mancini. Rockingham had to go to Giovanni Battista Maini (1690-1752) for a marble copy of the Callipygian Venus, which was then in the Sala dei Filosofi in the Palazzo Farnese.⁴⁴ Maini, from Lombardy, had initially trained in Milan under Rusnati. Not until 1771 did Rockingham fancy the idea of a Capitoline 'Gladiator' for Wentworth, and by then it had to come from a London maker of artificial stone sculpture.⁴⁵ The Capitoline Museum certainly seemed the centre of the connoisseur's universe when Rockingham was in Rome. Five years later the Abbe Barthelemy wrote to the Comte de Caylus that he had experienced a shock on visiting it.

' This is no longer just a collection; it is the dwelling place of the gods of ancient Rome; the school of the Philosophers; a senate composed of the Kings of the East. What can I tell you of it? A whole population of statues inhabits the Capitol; it is the great book of antiquarians.'⁴⁶

The remaining four marbles required for Wentworth came from the hands

41 See Catalogue A I.

42 Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 64.

43 Haskell & Penny, op. cit., illustrated on p. 84.

44 Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 316.

45 See Appendix B i, no. 93.

46 Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 64.

of Joseph Wilton and Simon Vierpyl. Lord Charlemont was in Rome at the time and he became a great patron of Vierpyl and a lifelong friend of Rockingham.

Simon Vierpyl arrived in Rome at the same time as Wilton, and it seems that Charlemont took to him just as Rockingham took to Wilton.

However, Rockingham divided his favours and obtained a 'Clapping Faun' and an 'Apollo Medici' from Vierpyl and a 'Venus Medici' and 'Faun with a Kid' from Wilton. Perhaps he visited the artists in their communal home in the Palazzo Zuccari, a former residence of the Queen of Poland, on the right side of the Piazza Trinita de'Monti. Sir Joshua Reynolds, Joseph Wilton and many other English artists lived there in apartments specially designed for the new owner, Alessandro Nazari.⁴⁷ John Parker, an English artist and agent for Lord Charlemont in the 1750's, wrote from Rome in the July of 1755:

'Mr. Murphy ... sent me also a list of things wanting, viz. all bronzetti, Gladiator, two Centaurs, Silenus, Antinous, basse-relief Venus by Guglielmo della Porta. These I did not send, some not being in order, as the Venus that Vierpyl was to bed in a frame (if your lordship remembers), and is not yet done, no more than the basse-relief Antinous (to bed also) nor the busts of Caesar, Brutus and Pompey in bronze, that he was to do, the busts too in red marble; I have often recommended them to him, nor can I give them to others, he having your lordship's order to do them; if yet not done, it is no fault of mine ..."⁴⁸

Obviously, Vierpyl was not too keen on the more 'mechanical' parts of his art. The extract is of interest because it mentions many of the subjects Lord Rockingham ordered over the years. Joseph Wilton was able to supply him with the Antinous relief (the Albani relief) in London in 1773.⁴⁹

47 Denvir, op. cit., p. 105, note 5.

48 Denvir, op. cit., pp. 99, 100.

49 See Appendix B i no, 2.

Perhaps the greatest virtuoso performance in the Marble Saloon at Wentworth is Wilton's 'Faun with a Kid'. The original survived in Rome chiefly as plaster casts,⁵⁰ so Wilton may have used one from which to carve his superb marble copy. Matthew Brettingham was in Rome from 1747 to 1754 trying to obtain more treasures from the excavations and according to his Account Book⁵¹ he ordered a marble replica of the Faun from Cavaceppi in 1752, only to cancel it later. The entry reads;

Oct. 1752: ~~Contracted with Cavaceppi for ye~~
~~Coppy of ye Faun with ye Goat on his~~
~~Shoulders for ye Price of~~
~~Which I advanced him ...'~~

(the scored lines are Brettingham's)

Lord Rockingham's Faun is therefore of some importance in being probably the first to appear in England.

50 Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 212. Apparently 'the bronze statuette of the Faun with Kid sold by Righetti refers to the original as being in the Capitoline collection. It therefore seems likely that a cast was kept there'.

51 The Account Book is examined in detail by John Kenworthy - Browne in an article for the Walpole Society, 1983.

Local Influences on the Acquisition of Sculpture at Wentworth Woodhouse

From the start, the Palladian east range of Wentworth Woodhouse was intended to outshine every other house in the region. More particularly, on account of an intense rivalry between the third Earl of Strafford and Thomas Watson, Lord Malton (later first Marquis of Rockingham) Wentworth was built to outdo the new and heavily Italianate wing at Strafford's neighbouring house in Stainborough.

Thomas Wentworth, Lord Raby and third Earl of Strafford, felt he had been wrongly denied the Wentworth Woodhouse estates. His grievance went back to the time when the famous first Earl of Strafford (Charles I's minister, who died on the scaffold in 1641) was master of Wentworth. In 1641, Strafford's son was only fourteen. He became the second Earl but he left no issue and died in 1695. Of his two sisters, only Anne, who married Edward Watson, Lord Rockingham, had children, and their eldest son inherited Rockingham Castle. Their second surviving son, however, was left the Wentworth estates by his childless uncle, and took the name of Wentworth after his own. The first Marquis of Rockingham was this man's son, and of course he inherited Wentworth Woodhouse. The second Earl, as has been seen, died childless in 1695, and his earldom became extinct, but one of his titles, Lord Raby, passed to a cousin, Thomas Wentworth (1672-1739). He was created Earl of Strafford in 1711, having been the ambassador at Berlin. Lord Chesterfield, in his letters to his son, mentions that Strafford *"made his own fortune, by being well with Madame de Wartemberg, the first King of Prussia's mistress."*¹

So the monied third Earl of Strafford, who had become head of the ancient Yorkshire family of Wentworth but who lacked its ancestral home,

¹ Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son, Folio Society, London 1973, p. 170

began looking about him for a suitable revenge, and found it in the shape of a house and estate at Silkstone, Yorkshire, which he purchased in 1708 from a member of the Cutler family. This place was called Stainborough and the estate bordered on that of his hated neighbour Thomas Watson. Unable to contain himself any longer, he re-christened his new home Wentworth Castle, and built a magnificent new wing onto the Cutler House, assisted by the Berlin architect Jean de Bodt. In his Vitruvius Britannicus of 1717, Colen Campbell included an elevation of the new Stainborough front and said,

*The whole architecture is after the Venetian Manner, performed in stone, and all is agreeable to the Politeness Quality and Distinction of the Patron, Anno 1715.*²

Strafford started to call his home Wentworth Castle in 1728. Perhaps he had heard of Thomas Watson's intention to create a huge Palladian wing at Wentworth Woodhouse, the glory of which had been foretold in a letter from Sir Thomas Robinson to Lord Carlisle, dated June 6th, 1734:

*when you come to the court front, amends will be sufficiently made to all lovers of architecture, and when finished t'will be a stupendous fabric, infinitely superior to anything we now have in England. ... The upright of the house will be in the same style as Lord Tilney's*³, *only this portico will have 8 columns in front.*⁴

² Quoted in the article on Wentworth Woodhouse for Country Life, Oct. 25th, 1924, by C. Avrey-Tipping.

³ Robinson refers here to Wanstead in Essex.

⁴ Letter attached to WWM. A. 1273.

Sir Thomas was an apostle of Lord Burlington and Lord Carlisle was the owner of Vanbrugh's Castle Howard. A Palladian addressing the owner of a house then considered to be in an outmoded style must have fuelled jealous passions in some quarters. Shaftesbury had already condemned Blenheim in 1712 as a "*counterfeit piece of magnificence*", another blow for Vanbrugh.⁵ Robinson's letter refers to the sole rival to Wentworth at that time, Wanstead House in Essex, designed by Burlington's mentor Colen Campbell. 'Lord Tilney' would be the father of John, Earl Tylney, who succeeded him in 1750 and spent much time in Italy. Wanstead's two fronts were very grand and both pedimented, although only the lake front was adorned with columns.⁶ Today, Wentworth Woodhouse has no competitor, for Wanstead was demolished in 1824.

A plan of Wentworth Woodhouse from about 1725⁷ shows clearly that the east range was intended from the beginning. It dominates the plan and indicates the marble saloon in embryo, while a perspective view by John Cole, engraved after a drawing possibly by John Settingington⁸ showing the completed west front and therefore datable to 1728, has vast empty meadows to the east awaiting the Palladian range. Marcus Binney⁹ has pointed out that "*it is as if the 1st Marquess had been forced into a stylistic about-turn under pressure from Lord Burlington, Sir Thomas Robinson and other Palladian apostles and converts among Yorkshire landowners, and decided to banish from sight his Baroque front (too recent to demolish or remodel), turning the approach through 180 degrees.*"

⁵ Hook, J., The Baroque Age in England, 1976, p. 180.

⁶ See J. Harris, The Artist and the Country House, pl. 363, p. 323. This is a view attributed to Charles Catton the Elder in the 1760s, of Wanstead from the orange tree garden, with a companion view on the other side of the great vista.

⁷ Illustrated in Country Life, March 17th 1983, Vol. CLXXIII, no. 4465, p. 625, Wentworth Woodhouse Revisited, by Marcus Binney. The plan is from the R.I.B.A. collection.

⁸ According to Marcus Binney, Country Life, op. cit., p. 624.

⁹ Ibid., p. 624.

The 1725 plan does not show niches in what became the Marble Saloon, so it seems likely that Flitcroft introduced them when 'the whole' had been submitted to Burlington. Flitcroft worked with the resident architect at Wentworth, Ralph Tunnicliffe, at Burlington's suggestion.¹⁰ The Flitcroft plan which Lord Malton took with him to Italy did show niches for statues because this is referred to in the Marquis's letter to his son at Rome.¹¹ In the early years of the eighteenth century, whenever actual statues could not be obtained, trompe l'oeil paintings were made in grisaille. Such monochrome, niched statues appeared at Chiswick where Burlington's friend Sir Godfrey Kneller painted them and inscribed them "*AMICITIAE GRATIA*". The persons depicted are Hercules, Apollo and the Venus de Medici. This was in the Summer Parlour, but on the main floor, the apses of the central Gallery had niches containing actual statues in plaster of Mercury, Venus, Apollo and a Muse.¹² At Wentworth, such plasters would be relegated to the ground floor, the visitor rising to first floor level to behold marble versions of their plaster counterparts - situated in two cases in the same relative positions. It is as though the plaster 'Faun' and 'Venus' had risen magically through the ceiling of the Tuscan Hall to become 'real marble' in the Marble Saloon. The Flitcroft plan had provision for eight marble statues, and here, the 1st Marquis sought not to outdo Chiswick, but Stainborough. There, his neighbour Lord Strafford had been strenuous in his efforts to put the hated Thomas Watson in his place. Colin Campbell had also remarked in 1717 that Strafford "*is preparing a Curious Collection of Paintings, Sculpture and other excellent Decorations*".¹³

¹⁰ Binney, M., *op. cit.*, p. 627. Binney quotes a letter from the first Marquis to Lord Lovell of Oct. 11th 1736, saying, "*Mr. Flitcroft is there and has adjusted my whole scheme both for the elevations, and also the dispositions of the rooms.*"

¹¹ See the chapter on the Grand Tour, in which this letter is quoted as WWM M2 July 5th 1749.

¹² Cullen, G., *Chiswick House and Gardens*, HMSO, 1958, p. 22.

¹³ Avrey-Tipping, C., *Country Life*, 1924, *op. cit.*

Lord Strafford added:

*I have great credit by my pictures and find I have not thrown my money away. These are all designed for Yorkshire, and I hope to have a better collection than Mr. Watson.*¹⁴

Strafford never lived to see his hated rival's collection, for he died in 1739. He had obtained thirty paintings in Italy to vie with those of Watson¹⁵, but it is the means whereby he procured his four marble statues which are of importance here. The story begins in Florence, where Massimiliano Soldani Benzi, the great Bronze sculptor, was engaged in 1714 to cast four figures for the Stainborough collection. Strafford was following in the footsteps of the Duke of Marlborough who had obtained four casts from Soldani in 1711.¹⁶ He told the British Consul at Leghorn,

*I have built a pritty large house in which I have a large Gallery which will have a Pavilion at each end, & which Pavillion I woud have seperated by two colones & two pedestals for Statues.*¹⁷

Crowe was to be instrumental in shipping the sculptures and marble columns, and he replied from Leghorn on September 3rd 1714,

Your Lordship does not mention in whose possession the brazen statues are at Florence, but I suppose its Sigre. Massimiliano Soldani Benzi that casts them.

Strafford confirmed this. Then, according to Hugh Honour, an unexplained alteration of plans took place. Soldani wrote to Consul

¹⁴ Avrey-Tipping, C., Country Life, 1924, op. cit.

¹⁵ Avrey-Tipping, C., Country Life, 1924, op. cit.

¹⁶ Full details are given in the chapter on Augustan Taste and Ancient Sculpture

¹⁷ Honour, H., English Patrons and Italian Sculptors in the first half of the 18th century, The Connoisseur, Vol. CXLI, May 1958, p. 223.

Crowe on Nov. 10th that he had heard the statues had been ordered from G. B. Foggini (the other major Florentine sculptor) in marble. Soldani was angry and felt that Strafford might imagine that he was unwilling to serve him. No doubt in a last effort to regain the commission he remarked finally that he had heard the statues had not yet been begun.¹⁸

Eventually, four marble statues arrived at Wentworth Castle from Foggini's workshop. Down the long Gallery, 'Ceres' and 'Antinous' faced 'Apollo Medici' and 'Isis'. From old photographs it can be seen that their effect was dramatic. Horace Walpole noted in 1756 that this Gallery was on the plan of the Colonna Palace in Rome.¹⁹ It would be surprising if the sculptures, which in the 1st Marquis's opinion made "*but an indifferent show*" had not had a profound effect on activities at Wentworth Woodhouse. In fact the Marquis, in advising his son on the marbles, wrote, "*Those of Lord Strafford are larger but being of very coarse and spotted marble, as they stand open so as you see every part, make but an indifferent show.*"²⁰

Thus the initial motivation for obtaining eight very fine (and unspotted) marble copies of celebrated antique statues undoubtedly came from Lord Strafford's activities at Wentworth Castle. It says much of Lord Malton that they were not all ordered from the same sculptor but from three Italians (Maini, Della Valle and Cavaceppi) and two Englishmen new to Rome (Wilton and Vierpyl).²¹ Indeed, Wilton and Vierpyl had the lion's share, producing four of the eight marbles.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Avrey-Tipping, C., Country Life, 1924, op. cit.

²⁰ WWM M2, Wentworth, Sept 18th, 1749.

²¹ Joseph Wilton (1722-1803) and Simon Vierpyl (1725-1810) were the first English sculptors in Rome, where they made a living copying antique sculptures for the English grand tourists. Wilton won the Pope's Jubilee Gold Medal in 1750.

Chapter 6

The Grand Tour

When the eighteen-year-old Lord Malton set out on his Grand Tour of Europe he was by no means unaccustomed to Continental travel, having already spent two years in Geneva with his tutor George Quarme, a cultivated young Yorkshireman and former officer in the West Riding Volunteers.¹ In the late April of 1746 they had travelled via the Hague to Germany and had reached Geneva by the end of May. Considering that England was at war with France at the time, this was a risky venture for the only surviving son of the sole British Marquis to undertake, and it proves that the family were confident in the characters of both son and tutor. At first this confidence was well founded. A letter dated October 13th 1746 from Malton's sister Mary says:

I heard from other hands that you apply yourself to French and every thing else a Man of Quality ought to know.²

There are no extant letters from Malton during his stay in Geneva.

His mother sounded a cautionary note in November:

I should be very sorry to see you finish with only small smatterings of different languages which can only serve to make a Coxcomb of you and tempt you frequently to expose yourself when a totall Ignorance might have secured you. Of those sorts of Animals the present Age is

¹ Hoffman, R. J., The Marquis - A Study of Lord Rockingham 1730-1782, New York, 1973, pp. 4 & 5. Nothing further can be gleaned about Quarme other than his inability to manage the young Lord Malton in Geneva. See WWM M2, f. 453.

² Hoffman, op. cit., p. 5, quoted from unnumbered manuscripts in WWM M2, & R 169.

*Sufficiently furnished with and I hope in a few years you will have as great a contempt for them as they justly deserve.*³

Apparently Lord Malton had decided he knew enough French and had 'given room' to learning Italian. It was to prove useful, as his letters and jottings from Italy show. Eventually however, Quarme confided to the Marquis that Lord Malton spent more time with English friends of his own age than at his studies.⁴ One English relative wrote to Malton that "*keeping a table*" was "*a very wild scheme*" which his parents would not approve.⁵ The Marquis stepped in, iron hand in velvet glove:

*The Geneva letters are not agreeable as to the Oeconomy carried on there, and I think his coming home for a small time may be agreeable.*⁶

Thus, early in 1748, young Malton returned to England where his father, who had been so strenuously engaged in the building of Wentworth Woodhouse and may already have been feeling anxious to complete such operations, decided that his country seat should be furnished in the Italian manner. He accordingly caused a set of Flitcroft's plans to accompany his son on a Grand Tour which would also have educational aims, though at that time he did not ask his son to obtain any sculpture. It is clear that Italy was synonymous with education in the mind of the Marquis, for he wrote to the Duke of Cumberland:

I have it much at heart, that He should be educated, in such a manner, as to be qualified one day to do his Majesty good service. Much depends upon the hands into which he is now put, and I am fortunate that I have now

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ WWM M2, f. 453.

*prevailed upon Major Forrester, whom I think in every way greatly qualified for such a trust, to travell with him, provided he may have his Majestye's leave, and that his being absent upon this Ocasion shall be no Objection to the protensions which his Rank and Service might otherwise give him, I have wrote to the Duke of Newcastle ...*⁷

Indeed, on the same day, August 10th 1748, the Duke of Newcastle was addressed in similar vein⁸, presumably to ensure the release of Major Forrester from military duties. Clearly George Quarme was no longer felt to be an effective travelling companion and it has already been demonstrated that he had been unable to control the young Lord Malton in Geneva. Forrester's release was obtained and it appears that he and Lord Malton made preparations in London staying perhaps with the Marquis's sister, Lady Isabella Finch, who wrote to her brother from her Berkeley Square home on September 13th:

*Lord Malton set out this morning early, and without any flattery to you, or partially to him is a most charming youth, in every Body's opinion, as well as mine, and you have sent him abroad in so handsome a manner, that one may truly say, He has every Advantage that's possible, And consequently one may expect at his Return to see him a very accomplished valuable young man.*⁹

We are never told how many servants accompanied Lord Malton but a letter to his father on his arrival in Lyons contains a suggestion that the retinue was large:

⁷ WWM, M2, August 10th, 1748.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., "Oct. 13th 1748" - this letter must be wrongly dated, for Malton writes from Lyons on "Sept. 18th". Surely, Lady Finch's letter should be the September one, and Lord Malton's, October.

*... I hope Your Lordship will not be surprised at our expenses running so high, in so short a time, but consider that Travelling so far, so many, must needs cost a great deal, & that am sure when we arrive at Florence ... your Lordship shall never have any Occasion to think me Extravagant ...*¹⁰

Lord Malton was being rather naive in expecting no further extravagances, for he found himself obliged to lay out a good deal of extra cash in Italy. Whether the Marquis intended his son to stay in the large number of Italian cities listed in the letters is not known, but at least the stay in Turin was cut short:

*... our stay here, will not be so long as we intended. The King of Sardinia's marriage (tho we were assured (at Paris) was to be immediately), is not even talked of here.*¹¹

In the same letter Lord Malton announces his intention to travel to Florence via Milan, Parma, Placentia^(sic) and Bologna, which would make it necessary for him "to take up another Hundred pounds this 2nd of Dec'r ..." They certainly visited Bologna. There, Lord Malton revealed his taste for sculpture, which was accompanied by a degree of critical awareness. He notes:

*The only Statue in Bologna that is very good is a Neptune in the Great Place done by John di Bologna but hardly one of his best Works.*¹²

European connoisseurs of the eighteenth century would only admit two 'modern' sculptors to their Pantheon, in which the Ancients ruled supreme.¹³ One was Michelangelo, the other Giambologna. Both in their

¹⁰ WWM, M2, "Sept. 18th, 1748". See note 9.

¹¹ WWM, M2, Turin, Dec. 4th, 1748.

¹² WWM, R, 170/14.

¹³ Haskell, F. & Penny, N., Taste and the Antique, Yale 1981, p. 60.

time were sculptors to the Medici; both were concerned with the 'figura serpentinata', and Lord Malton was to crown his Grand Tour with the purchase of a group by Vincenzo Foggini which united the visual concerns of Giambologna, Michelangelo and the Antique.

In Bologna, Lord Malton obtained a very small pamphlet entitled "Information for Tourists curious to see the most notable things in Bologna"¹⁴, published in 1735. This contains a section on the government of Bologna which is followed by a guide to buildings and works of art. Lord Malton was to reveal a deep interest in governmental systems throughout his Tour, yet his interest in the arts of antiquity is equally evident. The future First Lord of the Treasury aptly took a deep interest in Roman coins and medals, and recorded collections he had seen more painstakingly than he recorded paintings or sculpture. But by Christmas 1748 he was in Florence and had first of all to make an impression with Florentine society. So spectacular was his success that Major Forrester was able to address the Marquis in the following manner:

*It gives me the most sensible pleasure ... to mention how much every Body of distinguished Rank or Taste are pleased with him ... the Plan of Wentworth House shone (sic.) them (he) needed not have travelled to see fine Palaces ...*¹⁵

Lord Stormont, who visited Florence in the winter of 1751 taking with him some letters of introduction written by Lord Malton, testifies to the accuracy of what may appear, from Forrester, to be a biased view. Replying to Malton, who had by 1751 become second Marquis of Rockingham, Stormont says that if the Marquis had not "some regard" for Florence he would seem "a little ungrateful" for everybody there made frequent inquiries after him and called him a "Garbatissimo" or most courteous man.¹⁶ It is not known why Lord Malton may have had

¹⁴ WWM, R, 171/14.

¹⁵ WWM, M2, Florence, Jan. 3rd, 1749.

¹⁶ WWM, R, 1, 8, Florence, Nov. 5th, 1751.

little regard for Florence. Perhaps Stormont uses the term as a figure of speech in order to reassure his mentor how highly regarded he still was there. Malton's acquaintances in Florence included the Contessas Guicciardini, Acciaulo, and Galli¹⁷, and the inevitable Horace Mann. A very warm friendship also developed with a lady whom Stormont calls "*Madame Simonetta*", adding that she still entertained the greatest regard for Lord Malton.

From Florence, Lord Malton and Forrester went to Siena¹⁸ where they appear to have stayed three and a half months. There, a noticeable change came over Lord Malton, inaugurating a more studious phase. He notices the principal churches, but more significantly he comments on sculpture, and his remarks about painting reveal a familiarity with Italian collections. In the Duomo he sees an 'excellent' picture by Trevisani and in the church of St. Giorgio notes with enthusiasm a tomb by Francesco Vanni in 'tinged' marble. He betrays a partiality for Guercino, shared by so many contemporaries, and offers to buy a Guercino painting which had once belonged to the Savini family.¹⁹

Meanwhile Major Forrester reported from Siena on "*His Lordship's Inclination to give more time to books*", adding that he rode every morning to the Academy.²⁰ No doubt convinced by this that his son was now capable of obtaining fine items for Wentworth Woodhouse, the Marquis replied to his son on July 5th:

*If you when to Rome chuse to lay out £4 or £500 in Marble Tables, Statues, as you shall judge agreeable to you I will answer your Bills to that summ ... there are eight Niches in the Hall, the Statues should be about six foot high ...*²¹

¹⁷ WWM, R, 171/24.

¹⁸ WWM, R, 170/27.

¹⁹ WWM, R, 170/27. The full text of this note is given in Appendix A, Personal Documents written by Lord Malton during his Grand Tour.

²⁰ WWM, M2. Siena, June 23rd, 1749.

²¹ WWM, M2. Wentworth Woodhouse, July 5th, 1749.

Emphasis is placed here on Lord Malton's own judgement, and perhaps as a result, the correspondence between father and son takes fire. The Marquis sends 'affectionate' greetings and his letters are more frequent. Writing from Siena on August 19th, 1749, Malton tells his father that he would

bespeak some Tables, some of the Green, and some of the yellow antique marble

when he reached Rome.²² He had by then discovered that it would be impossible to have antique statues, so he decided on trying to obtain copies of the best antique statues done in marble. At the back of his mind were Lord Strafford's four copies attributed to G. B. Foggini, who was the leading Florentine sculptor when they were ordered in 1714. Malton noted that

*My Lord Strafford had 4 which cost him £500. But as those Your Lordship wants are a great deal less, tho pure in proportion will be much smaller, when I am fully informed about the matter I shall let your Lordship know.*²³

At that time, only five famous antique marble statues were available in cast form from Florence, a circumstance noted by Sir Horace Munn when he wrote in 1756 that there were only five plaster copies (of the same size) and that these were the Venus, Faun, Mercury, Idolino and Michelangelo's Bacchus. He added that they were suitable as decoration for a country house.²⁴ Lord Malton obtained the first four, probably from the Foggini studios, and perhaps while there, he purchased Vincenzo Foggini's Samson Slaying the Philistines, although he never mentions this to his father. He also obtained some Giambologna bronzes, which is not surprising, since the Fogginis took over Giambologna's old Foundry on Borgo Pinti.²⁵

²² Quoted by Hugh Honour in "English Patrons and Italian Sculptors of the first half of the 18th century", The Connoisseur, Vol. CXLI, May 1958, p. 223.

²³ WWM, M2. Siena, Aug. 19th, 1749.

²⁴ Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 267.

²⁵ Detroit Institute of Art (catalogue), The Twilight of the Medici, 1974, p. 48.

Malton refers to "*the famous John de Bologna*".²⁶ Certainly the sculptor was to emerge as his clear favourite.

In the same letter of September 1st, Lord Malton writes of his intention to hear some Opera, not only in Florence but in Lucca.²⁷ But in the midst of all this activity, there had been a disappointment for poor Forrester, who had clearly expected to become First Lieutenant-Colonel in his regiment, but because he was in Italy, had been passed over in favour of a younger man. Malton wrote on Forrester's behalf with some feeling²⁸, but the Marquis responded gloomily that he had not 'power enough' to obtain the result which Forrester so desired.²⁹

Back in Florence, Lord Malton noted his favourite works of art in a piece which encapsulates the flavour of the city. He was among the first Englishmen to describe the contents of the Tribuna of the Uffizi, some twenty one years before Zoffany painted it for Queen Charlotte. It had become, by the 1770s, the most celebrated room in the world.³⁰ Outside, in the Piazza della Signoria, Malton becomes confused about the sculpture and ascribes Cellini's Perseus to his own favourite Giambologna! However, many of his remarks reveal a critical acumen and he gives two versions of the activity in which the bronze knife-grinder is supposed to be engaged. He is not tempted to flights of fancy over the Venus de Medici and remarks that the Clapping Faun is just as fine.³¹ At the time the Venus was the most celebrated statue in Florence if not the world. It was thought that Pope Innocent XI had permitted her removal

²⁶ WWM, M2. Florence, 1st Sept, 1749. The full text of this is given in Appendix A.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ WWM, M2. Siena, June 1st, 1749.

²⁹ WWM, M2. Wentworth Woodhouse, July 5th, 1749.

³⁰ Haskell & Penny, op. cit., pp. 53-61.

³¹ WWM, R, 170. The full text is given in Appendix A.

to Florence because she excited lewd behaviour.³² In 1722 the younger Richardson could not take his eyes off her for ten hours³³, and Joseph Spence paid her 'perhaps a hundred visits' in the 1740s.³⁴ It is clear Lord Malton had no such intention and the Venus did not keep him from visiting Lucca on September 16th. A scribbled, dated note³⁵ does not mention the opera, but describes yet another sculpture by Giambologna, and a cache of Guercinos, belonging to Signor Romano Garzzoni. A mythological painting by Pompeo Battoni is described as 'tawdry' in its colouring. But Giambologna's Christ in the Duomo is described as 'fine' and a Sansovino St. Sebastian is noted outside of the Chapel of Santo Volto.³⁶

Two days later we find the Marquis anxious that no mistakes should be made about the size or quality of the sculptures for the Marble Saloon.³⁷ His son observed these instructions to the letter when he arrived in Rome, but was preoccupied from the beginning of September 1749 with the shipping of the Samson group from Leghorn (now Livorno) and wrote a self-congratulatory note from Florence:

*I flatter myself your Lordship. will be very agreeably surprised with the purchases I shall make, as I am in great hopes to be able to make very good Bargains, for money is now very much wanted ... I shall send immediately any purchases to Leghorn.*³⁸

³² Haskell & Penny, op. cit., pp. 325, 328.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Spence, Joseph, Polymetis, London 1747.

³⁵ WWM, R, 170/11. Full text given in Appendix A.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ WWM, M2. Wentworth Woodhouse, Sept 18th, 1749.

³⁸ WWM, M2. Florence, Sept 1st, 1749.

The next letter indicates that the Foggini group is on its way.³⁹ Lord Malton must have accompanied it to Leghorn, because a note⁴⁰ in his own hand tells us he has seen more sculpture by a pupil of Giambologna 'on the Port':

*There are the fine statues by Tacca Scholar of John di Bologna which represent 4 Slaves tied to a Base on which stands Cosimo III. The expression of Anger and Sorrow in their faces is admirable ...*⁴¹

Malton must have journeyed via nearby Pisa, possibly without stopping, for he notes only the 'Doma', and 'Gates of Brass' by Tacca. He calls the Leaning Tower the 'Stooping Towr'.⁴²

All the sculptures arrived safely in England by late June, 1750. The Marquis informed his son that the acquisitions were reckoned to be well chosen and of fine quality.⁴³ Of the Foggini, the Marquis remarked only that it had arrived safely.⁴⁴

While he was in Rome, Lord Malton commissioned a marble copy from Joseph Wilton of the Faun with a Kid, while from Simon Vierpyl he obtained an Apollino and a Clapping Faun. From the most celebrated restorer of antique sculpture, Bartolomes Cavaceppi, he ordered an Antinous. From

³⁹ WWM, M2. Rome, March 14th, 1750.

⁴⁰ WWM, R. 170/18.

⁴¹ Ibid. Malton must refer to Pietro Tacca (1577-1640) who took over Giambologna's studio in 1608.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ WWM, M2. Wentworth, June 23rd, 1750. The text runs:

My Dear Son, the Marble Group is arrived safe, Col. Schulz & his Son who I think you saw abroad ... stayed here 2 or 3 days ... Your Books, Medals, Statues & Little Pictures &C. are fine and well chose as Mr. Murray who is now here & very understanding in Vertue informs me but I esteem them more as the Sign you have cultivated your Mind. ...

⁴⁴ Ibid.

Filippo della Valle he obtained a Capitoline Flora and a Germanicus, and from G B Maini he bought a Venus Callipyga. Strangely, none of these artists are mentioned in the correspondence, but whatever celebrity they enjoyed in Italy it is clear from one of Malton's letters that they were not well off:

*If one did not advance money the Greatest Sculptor here would starve before it was finished,*⁴⁵

he remarked in a letter dated April 15th, 1750.

It seems that Joseph Wilton became a celebrated figure as a direct result of Lord Malton's commissions. Born in 1722, he spent twelve years on the continent before setting up as a sculptor in London at the age of thirty three. Horace Mann mentioned to Horace Walpole on September 7th, 1753, that Wilton was staying in his house. He adds, on November 9th,

*A Statue he did at Rome*⁴⁶, *and a copy of the Venus which he made here for Lord Rockingham, gained him great applause.*⁴⁷

This statement proves that Wilton was able to work near to the antique original of the Venus in Florence. Whether Lord Malton purchased it from Wilton in Florence or in Rome is not clear. Simon Vierpyl had only just come to Rome when Lord Malton met him. Born in 1725 he trained under

⁴⁵ WWM, M2. Rome, April 15th, 1750. The text runs:

I had already acquainted Your Lordship of my having taken up the 5th of April £100 to advance to the Men concerned in making the statues, since that, on the 15th, I have been obliged to take up 200 more, to advance the others money which is scarce here ... Every Body here among the Connoisseurs entirely approve of the way I have taken, many of them that have some kind of command over these fellows have engaged to use their Endeavours to keep up the Emulation among them.

⁴⁶ This must be the marble copy of the Faun with Kid.

⁴⁷ Horace Walpole, Correspondence, ed. S Lewis, Vol. 20, p. 397, letter from Mann to Walpole written from Florence, Nov. 9th, 1753.

Peter Scheemakers and refers to having spent four years, winter and summer, "*in the chilling Capitoline Museum*".⁴⁸ According to Richard Hayward's list of the British Visitors to Rome (1753-1775)⁴⁹, Vierpyl left Rome in 1756. He had worked for Lord Charlemont, producing among other items a series of busts of Roman Emperors.⁵⁰ It seems that Lord Malton was his first notable English patron, however, for as late as 1755 Vierpyl is recorded as having trouble finishing all the commissions from Charlemont.⁵¹

Lord Malton visited the houses of Cardinals Albani and Colonna and dined with the Princess Borghese. In a tiny marbled notebook⁵² he adopts a picturesque code:

· · been in their house
· ·

·
· · dined
· ·

· ·
· · supped
·

· handsomest (a label poor Princess Borghese
· did not merit!)

However, some of the 'handsomest' and most celebrated sculptures in Rome were to make an unforgettable impression. At Cardinal Albani's villa -

⁴⁸ Gunnis, R, Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660-1851, 1951, pp. 409-410.

⁴⁹ Walpole Society, 1983. Article on the List by Lindsay Stainton.

⁵⁰ Vierpyl made the seventy eight busts and twenty two statues of Roman Emperors for Charlemont's tutor and travelling companion, the Rev. Edward Murphy.

⁵¹ Denvir, Bernard, The Eighteenth Century. Art, Design and Society 1689-1789, 1983, pp. 99-100, "Problems of a collector".

⁵² WWM, R, 170/19.

museum, designed for him by Carlo Marchionni on the Via Salaria, Malton would have seen the celebrated Antinous bas-relief excavated in the 1730s from Hadrian's Villa.⁵³ Years later he ordered, from Wilton, a plaster cast of this Antinous for Wentworth Woodhouse.⁵⁴ A few of the artworks he admired in Rome are listed on a scrap of paper⁵⁵ which notes another Antinous sculpture at 'Frescati'. This was the colossal head of Antinous which was then in the Villa Mondragone at Frascati and is now in the Louvre.

Winckelmann considered this bust and the Albani relief to be the highest peak attained by art under Hadrian.⁵⁶ Lord Malton never forgot them, and Antinous was to haunt Wentworth in several forms as a result of the second Marquis's later acquisitions. Meanwhile, on the reverse of the same scrap of paper, he lists, inevitably, "*some delightful pictures by Guercino*" and an "*Aurora of Guido*". The Last Judgement in the Sistine Chapel is referred to as "*Last Day ... in the Pope's Chappell*".

Every serious Grand Tourist visited Naples and climbed Vesuvius. Lord Malton was no exception. He dispensed with Naples in fourteen words on another scrap of paper⁵⁷ but again his interest in sculpture is evident:

Naples

Circuit Inhabitants 700,000 Opera House built in 3 months

Noctici Cornelius Balbus Equestrian Statue.

Now this was the famous statue of the 'Younger Balbus' excavated not long before in 1746 at Herculaneum. It had been placed under military guard by 1748 and enclosed within elaborate iron barriers in the courtyard

⁵³ Haskell & Penny, op. cit., pp. 64, 65.

⁵⁴ See Vouchers for Works of Art, Appendix B(i), no. 2.

⁵⁵ WWM, R, 170/6.

⁵⁶ Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 146.

⁵⁷ WWM, R, 170/15.

at the entrance to the royal palace at Portici.⁵⁸ Obviously that is how Lord Malton saw it, and it was said at the time that those who had seen it were in no doubt that it was the finest equestrian statue in the world, superior in quality even to the Marcus Aurelius in Rome.⁵⁹ Lord Malton obviously did not see the companion 'Elder Balbus' which was placed next to the son in 1751.

Vesuvius was not exactly erupting when Lord Malton visited it. His account⁶⁰ is not without charm and includes four diagrammatic sketches of the inside of the crater including a diagram of the coastline. He tells us that from the "*3 Greatest Holes ... at the Bottom*" issues smoke

with Great Violence throwing up large Stones & Earth the Colour is white & some times reddish while I've stood I could not discover any flame tho' once when I was not attentive a Large Flame of a livid Colour raged out very High.

Safely back in Rome in the April of 1750 Lord Malton announced his intention of leaving "*to pass the Ascension at Venice in the Month of June*".⁶¹ He was running short of cash having purchased a marvellous wedding present for his bride-to-be, Mary Bright. On April 26th he explained to his father:

I must own what makes my Bills run so High is my not having been able, to resist the Temptations which often come in my way here, of purchasing Medallions, or, Antique Stones, but as I now leave here, that will cease. ...

⁵⁸ Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 158.

⁵⁹ Gori, Francesco, Admiranda in Symbolae Litterariae Opuscula Varia 1, Florence, 1748.

⁶⁰ WWM, R, 170/19.

⁶¹ WWM, M2. Rome, April 15th, 1750.

*One Expence I must acquaint Your Lordship with, which I hope will not be deemed Extravagance which is of a Harpsichord it is of a new invention & as yet there are but two of them one the Queen of Spain has, & the other the Cardinal Stewart. ... I hear Miss Bright is no Small Proficient in Musick.*⁶²

The Marquis, replying somewhat comically from Wentworth on August 25th, says:

*The Harpsichord & Some Statues are in the Thames but not yet landed; I shall order the Harpsichord to stay at London till your arrival, as no one here can put it into tune, & am ignorant where you design to place it. The Statues I order down, supposing they are of those, intended for the Great Hall here.*⁶³

Lord Malton left Rome at the end of April 1750. Back home, his engagement (presumably without benefit of harpsichord) was announced.⁶⁴ A curious, long letter from a doctor in Padua⁶⁵ reveals that he was suffering from a venereal disease during his progress to Venice, and throws some interesting light on his character:

Having the good fortune ... to give ... my assistance to my Lord Malton, of about 20 years, of full-blooded and fiery temperament, vigorous ... I asked Mylord if at any other time he had deposits in his urine and he told me that being very young and not yet knowing the pleasure of sex, that for some time after a fever the same difference was in the urine.

⁶² WWM, M2. Rome, April 26th, 1750.

⁶³ WWM, M2. Wentworth Woodhouse, August 25th, 1750.

⁶⁴ Hoffman, op. cit., p. 8.

⁶⁵ WWM, R, 170/20.

It is impossible to discover more from the extant correspondence. From Verona on July 14th Lord Malton informs his father that

*after many considerations we are at last of Opinion that instead of Going thro the South of France I had better go by Vienna so that I shall then see in my way to Hanover the Courts of Vienna, Dresden & Berlin and other Great Towns in Germany.*⁶⁶

The Marquis had wished him to visit King George II at Hanover, and found his son most apt in this, for even in Rome he had decided

*Nothing I think can be more proper than my going to Hanover as I hear His Majesty takes it very kindly of His Subjects, who pay him their Duty there.*⁶⁷

But a stay in Venice was essential. As he said in Verona,

It will be necessary for me to go by Venice, as I shall want money for my journey Letters of Credit in Vienna, Berlin, Dresden & Hanover from our Consul Mr. Smith at Venice.

There are no letters from Lord Malton in Venice but one sheet of notes (Appendix A , R 170, 17) dutifully records visual impressions and statistics. The mention of an alabaster bust of Hadrian in Sansovino's Library "*which pleased me most*" is significant for he was later to acquire his own bust of Hadrian for Wentworth Woodhouse.⁶⁸ After Venice his letters contain no more about art and are completely taken up with recounting to his father all the nobles, Princes and indeed Kings he meets, whether in Vienna where he was received at the Court of

⁶⁶ WWM, M2. Verona, July 14th, 1750.

⁶⁷ WWM, M2. Rome, April 15th, 1750.

⁶⁸ See Appendix B(i), Vouchers for Works of Art, no. 82.

Maria Theresa and the Emperor Francis, or Potsdam where he was snubbed by Frederick the Great!⁶⁹ From Potsdam he went to Brunswick, then to Herrenhausen where George II told his uncle, Henry Finch, that he had never seen a finer or more promising youth.⁷⁰ Clearly the detour had been worthwhile. He reached Paris via Hamburg in December 1750 and was informed of his father's death. On November 26th, the dying Marquis had asked Mr Murray to request the Duke of Newcastle to ask the King to *"take Major Forrester under His personal protection, and command a patent to create Ld Malton Earl and Baron of Malton of Wicklow in the Kingdom of Ireland"*.⁷¹ He had also prepared a letter of Advice to his son⁷² who, on May 13th 1751, came of age.

The Marquis's hopes for his son were fully realised through the experience of the Grand Tour. Lord Malton had acquired a taste and an enthusiasm for the Antique, for Giambologna and for Guercino. He had deepened his enthusiasm for ancient coins, medals and cameos, evidenced in Appendix A, and had commissioned twice as many marbles for Wentworth as his neighbour Lord Strafford had for Stainborough. He seems to have become interested in the story of Hadrian and Antinous and would amplify this at Wentworth. And he would go on to purchase many marvellous books on Italian antiquities as a direct result of his experiences in that *"Magick Land"*.

⁶⁹ Hoffman, op. cit., p. 9.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ WWM, M2. Rockingham to Murray, Nov. 26th, 1750.

⁷² An entry in M2 says this letter was *"compiled the latter end of the year 1750"*.

The Chronological Development of the Sculpture Collection

In the years between 1751 and 1755, the second Marquis of Rockingham was establishing himself as a national figure. He had been named Lord lieutenant of the West Riding and Lord lieutenant of the City of York, and in that same year, 1751, he joined White's, the Jockey Club, and the Royal Society. In 1752 he spoke in the House of Lords for the first time, in support of a bill disposing of Scottish lands confiscated from the rebels of the '45, opened a coalmine at Wentworth, and married Mary Bright, described by Hoffman¹ as a *"witty, spirited and religious woman who believed that she loved her husband more than he loved her."* She may have been right: the marriage was certainly childless. Then in 1753 Rockingham engaged in election politics in York. The outcome was successful and led in 1755 to George II conferring on him the ancient and honorary office of vice-admiral of the north, while in York, a 'Rockingham Club' was formed of those whigs who were grateful to him for his patronage and sagacity in withdrawing an unpopular contender for one of the two parliamentary seats and giving them his old friend, the popular Sir John Armytage. The local whig club contributed fifty pounds towards building the Marquis a stand at York races, something which pleased his mother.² So it is no wonder that there was no purchasing of sculpture at this period, which saw only the commissioning of James Stuart to paint portraits of William III and George II for Rockingham's club rooms. In 1755 however, Rockingham was obviously determined to attend the sale of the remainder of the collection of Dr Richard Mead in London. His vastly superior purchasing power is evidenced by the fact that he was

¹ Hoffman, Ross J, The Marquis. A Study of Lord Rockingham, 1730-1782, New York, 1973, p. 13.

² Rockingham's mother wrote: *"So extraordinary a compliment from ye City of York to ye House of Wentworth was one of ye last things, yt shd have imagined wd have happen'd in my days."* Quoted in Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

able to procure Mead's 2nd century AD bust of Antinous, the last of the ancient gods, whose sculpted likenesses were avidly sought from such notable collectors of antique sculpture as Lyde Browne and Lord Egremont, both of whom were at the sale.³ ^{& 3b} The bust was installed at 4 Grosvenor Square - a real prize and, in the brief opinions of Michaelis⁴ and Dallaway⁵, his only one.

Meanwhile at Wentworth, Vincenzo Foggini's Samson slaying the Philistines, purchased in Florence in 1749, had been placed in its permanent position in the Tuscan Hall, although the eight marble copies of antique statues, purchased in Rome in 1750, were waiting to be installed and had to wait a very long time, as will shortly be seen.

When Horace Walpole visited Wentworth Woodhouse in the summer of 1756 he was so taken aback by the mess caused by the building works that he wrote from the friendlier walls of Wentworth Castle.

*The great apartment, which is magnificent, is untouched:
the chimney pieces lie in boxes unopened.*⁶

Walpole was a good friend of the Straffords: Rockingham was not. Moreover, Walpole could hardly be described as a friend of Rockingham, though it is hard to question his next remark that, "*this lord loves nothing but horses, and the enclosures for them take place of everything*", especially when only a year earlier in 1755, James Stuart had indicated the slow progress of decoration in the Marble Saloon when he wrote,

³ Mentioned by Michaelis in his Ancient Marbles in Great Britain, 1882, in the chapter on the Golden Age of Classic Dilettantism.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Dallaway, the Rev. James, Of Statuary & Sculpture amongst the Ancients, 1816, pp. 314-315.

⁶ Walpole Correspondence (ed. Peter Cunningham), 1906, letter to Richard Bentley in August 1756, pp. 28-29, vol. III.

3b. According to

Museum meadianum, 1755, A "bust of Antinous, larger than life, white marble" was purchased by the Marquess of Rockingham for £241 10s. The Marquess of Rockingham also purchased 9 lots containing antique coins.

*... if I had a print of the inside of the grand saloon
I should endeavour to ornament it in the purest taste I
can imagine.⁷*

Clearly things at Wentworth were taking a long time, but the house was, after all, one of the largest in England. Indeed the Marble Saloon is far bigger than any comparable hall of an English country house. It does come as a shock, however, to read Arthur Young's detailed account of Wentworth made in 1768, in which he says,

*Between the pillars are eight niches in the wall for
statues, which are ready to be placed when the pillars,
walls and niches are finished for receiving them.⁸*

According to Young, the statues were waiting for "*the beautiful composition called Scaleogni*". This, in the case of the niches, was to have been cerulean blue. Apparently, it "*relieved in a surprising manner the glittering white marble of the statues*", according to the Rev. Richard Warner who visited Wentworth on his 'Northern Tour' of 1801. Therefore at some time between 1768 and 1782, when the Inventories assure us the statues are in place at last, there must eventually have come the great day which saw the ensemble of eight of the finest quality marble copies of celebrated antiques duly installed. The Inventory lists them in their present day order, counter-clockwise:

*An Apollo Medici done at Rome by Vierpy in 1751
A Venus de Medici by Wilton
A Flora in Drapery done by Phil. Valle £.
An Antinous by Bartolomeus Cavaceppi sculp. Rom.
A Germanicus by F. Vale F.
A Venus Callipiga by Maine F.
A Faun
Another Do.⁹*

⁷ James Stuart to Rockingham, Sept. 28th, 1755 (WWM, R1, 1755-1758).

⁸ Young, Arthur, Six Months' Tour through the North of England, 1769, vol. 1, pp. 278-305.

⁹ Appendix D(i).

If the extant vouchers for works of art are comprehensive, Rockingham does not seem to have made any purchases following his major coup of the Mead Antinous until April 1761, when he was in Bath "*from March to August*", treating "*an attack of Gallstones*".¹⁰ It has not proved possible, because of the lack of trades directories in Bath before 1783, to trace anyone by the name of Prestage, but it seemed at first that Rockingham had paid one 'Prestage' for the two marble centaurs which were his next sculptural purchase. However it has been suggested¹¹ that 'prestige' may have been a term in common use at the time meaning 'payment in advance', and if that is so, Rockingham paid sixty three pounds for his centaurs, which were eventually placed in the Low Room in the South Tower at Wentworth.¹²

The centaurs, now in the entrance hall of York Art Gallery, are reconstructions of what was thought to be the original appearance of the famous Furietti Centaurs (cat. no. B 2.2). Their celebrity, and that of the Borghese Centaur with Cupid, is discussed in the catalogue. Rockingham must have been very pleased to obtain such fine and presumably archaeologically correct versions of centaurs which collectors throughout Europe had vied to acquire when Furietti died. They all failed, for Pope Clement XIII bought them in 1765 for 13,000 scudi. Rockingham's centaurs must in their day have been much admired,

¹⁰ Hoffman, op. cit., p. 35.

¹¹ V. J. Kite, area librarian in the County of Avon, kindly furnished the information that no trades directories were printed in Bath before 1783, and also said that 'prest', now obsolete, was listed in various editions of Samuel Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language. It meant 'paid in advance', so 'prestige' could be 'payment in advance'. See Note (A) below.

Gunnis (Dictionary of British Sculptors, p. 310) may well have invented Prestage the sculptor. He was unable to furnish him with dates or a Christian name, proposing only that he was employed by the Duke of Chandos in 1754 because £82.00 was received for work done (Stowe Archives). He mentioned the Rockingham Centaurs and the £63 paid for them. It is the opinion of Richard Green at York Art Gallery that the centaurs are Italian. They certainly bear no signature.

¹² Appendix D(i).

Note (A) Professor Haskell and Dr. Penny are certain that Prestage was an auctioneer of the period.

for they were finely detailed, reduced marbles, whereas the Marquis's close friend Lord Charlemont had only managed to obtain two 'bronzetti' of them in 1755.¹³ They also pre-dated Cavaceppi's marble copies, offered for sale in 1768.

Rockingham continued to acquire some antique marbles and many copies after the antique, between 1762 and 1773 when he began his patronage of Joseph Nollekens. Mid-March of 1762 was a busy period during which Joseph Wilton dealt on Rockingham's behalf with Lyde Browne over two small marble statues of Apollo and Isis.¹⁴ Coming from Browne, these must have been antique, and while there is no mention of the Apollo in the 1782 Inventory, it is stated that there was, in the Low Room by the South Tower, a "*full length figure of a Lady in Drapery 2'9" high with a flower in her hand upon a flat pedestal.*" The flower is a lotus, and indeed Warner referred to the figure as an Isis in 1802.¹⁵ Rockingham also obtained, from a dealer called Shackleton, busts of Homer and Mithridates by Peter Anton von Verschaffelt (1710-1793) who was born in Ghent and was in Rome from 1737 to 1751. Verschaffelt was given a letter of introduction to Lord Dodington in London, by none other than Cardinal Albani, and while there he made a colossal Triton and a Bacchus, but he did most of his work in Mannheim.¹⁶ Rockingham could well have encountered him in Rome in 1750. Both busts were put in the Low Room in the South Tower at Wentworth on white pedestals¹⁷ and, along with

¹³ Information on the Furietti Centaurs is set out in greater detail by Haskell & Penny in Taste and the Antique, Yale, 1982, pp. 178, 179.

¹⁴ Appendix B(i) no. 57, and B(ii), unnumbered.

¹⁵ See Appendix D(i) and Catalogue B(1) no. 9. Warner's visit is discussed in Chapter 10, "Visitors and Verdicts".

¹⁶ For Verschaffelt see Thieme-Becker, Künstler-Lexicon, Leipzig, 1926, XXXIV, pp. 299-300.

¹⁷ See Appendix D(i).

two unidentified marble busts of a man and a woman, kept the two marble centaurs company until the removal of Homer to a column in the 'museum' next to the Marble Saloon.¹⁸ Shortly afterwards in the April of 1762, Rockingham purchased a faun from Peter Scheemakers¹⁹, presumably for the gardens since no mention of it occurs in the 1782 inventories, and the entry in Rockingham's own account book reads:

*To Scheemaker Statuary for the G.
y Faun. £31 .. 10 =.*

Scheemakers made many full-sized copies of antique sculptures as garden ornaments for great English estates. This faun may have been the Faun with Pipes then in the Villa Borghese but now in the Louvre, or any one of several famous fauns, two of which were in Rockingham's Collection²⁰ as marble or plaster copies.

In December 1764 James Stuart supplied Rockingham with an antique marble of Silenus riding on a goat, for fifty pounds. This Christmas present had to be packed in Rome and shipped from Leghorn to London which cost a further twenty five pounds.²¹ It was displayed in the Gallery at Wentworth, in the older, west wing. Silenus held a bunch of fruiting vines and the statue was 20½" high. It was sold in the sale of 1949 as lot 433,²² catalogued by Henry Spencer & Sons as "*An important Marble Statuette*" (cat. no. B.1.8).

¹⁸ This must have happened after 1782 when the Museum or Statuary Room was created by Earl Fitzwilliam.

¹⁹ See Appendix B(ii).

²⁰ Rockingham owned copies of the Faun with a kid, and the Clapping Faun.

²¹ Appendix B(i), no. 97.

²² See Appendix E, no. 433.

For his library at Grosvenor Square²³, Rockingham obtained two antique heads, dealing directly with Lyde Browne on July 10th 1767. Again, knowing that Browne collected so many good antiques, it is possible that they are the two Roman matrons which found their way to Wentworth to adorn the Main Staircase, one of them being of the 'Julia Mamaea' type, the other probably a younger Faustina. This Faustina was the daughter of Hadrian's adopted successor, the emperor Antoninus Pius, and his wife Faustina the Elder. A bust of her at Broadlands, restored by Cavaceppi²⁴ has the same face at a younger age. The Julia Mamaea is exactly like a Cavaceppi forgery at Holkham, which was considered a replica, with an ancient head, of the bust in the Vatican. She was the mother of the emperor Severus Alexander, well identified from the evidence of coinage. There can be no doubt that Rockingham knew her as a Julia Mamaea because he was an expert on Roman coins²⁵, and if the other bust does indeed represent the younger Faustina, he might also have been thinking about the link with Hadrian, his wife Sabina, and his favourite Antinous, for he eventually owned likenesses of all three. Much restored, the draperies on both busts are beautifully carved.

Five months later, in December 1767, Rockingham purchased a "*grand antique group*" of a satyr and satyress "*in amorous conjunction*" from Christopher Maighan in London.²⁶ This must have been a very risqué piece because it was placed in the Closet of Grosvenor Square!²⁷

²³ Appendix B(i) no. 27.

²⁴ Picon, Carlos A., Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Exhibition Catalogue for the Clarendon Gallery, London, 1983, p. 66, no. 16 (illustrated).

²⁵ See Documents relating to Grand Tour. Julia Mamaea or Mammea is discussed by Picon, op. cit., pp. 61, 62, 63; no. 14 (illus. twice).

²⁶ Appendix B(i), no. 33.

²⁷ Appendix D(i).

There is no record of it from then on. On November 30th of that year, Rockingham gave an order to John Flaxman the elder, concerning the *"making of a mould from a marble bust and casting 3"*.²⁸

David Irwin²⁹ states that Flaxman's father made plaster casts and models, often of antique subjects. He had a large shop in the Strand and his customers included Roubiliac, Scheemakers, Josiah Wedgwood and Matthew Boulton. What the original bust was, or where the six copies were placed, is not known and the inventories are silent on this point.

In the following year, Rockingham purchased a medallion of the younger Faustina's father, Antoninus Pius, from one George Davy. From entry no. 1 in the 'Vouchers for Works of Art', it seems that Mr. Davy had a terra-cotta manufactory, because he speaks to the Marquis of *"pannell's"* which an assistant had *"burnt before they were dry"* and which *"flew to peices in the fire"*. Antoninus Pius may well have been a terra-cotta, and it came with a Hercules, Alexander, Cato dead, and the 'Grecian Venus'.³⁰ It has not proved possible to trace these pieces, which could have been part of an exterior wall or parapet scheme since they were all wreathed medallions.

At Wentworth, Rockingham set aside three rooms which were specifically for the display or storage of sculpture, at some distance from the central public reception rooms. The first, containing no fewer than seventy four items, was a 'Low Room adjoining to the South Tower'. Eleven white marble sculptures were joined by a host of artificial

²⁸ Appendix B(i) no. 100.

²⁹ Irwin, David, John Flaxman 1755-1826, Studio Vista/Christie's, 1979, p. 5.

³⁰ The Venus de 'Medici was also known as the Grecian Venus. Also, the Venus Callipyga was known as the Greek Shepherdess. See Haskell & Penny, op. cit.; cat. entries 88 (p. 325) and 83 (p. 316).

stone and plaster sculptures (some of which were reliefs) and a few bronzes. Some of these will be discussed in due course. The room does not survive today in its original form, nor does the next 'Low Room' in the tower itself, which again in 1782, contained the two marble centaurs, Verschaffelt's bust of Homer and Mithridates and busts of an unknown man and woman. Such an arrangement sounds as though they were certainly on display there rather than being stored. It may appear odd to have three rooms full of sculpture in the furthest flung section of the house in an office and dormitory wing, were it not for the presence of the third room, called the 'Upper Room in the South Tower'. This room is today an intact survival of its original appearance and answers exactly to the description in the 1782 inventory: oval, patera and fan-shaped reliefs in plaster set into the wall; niches, and a marble tablature over the chimney-piece. Its description in the Inventory corrects an impression which has been current since 1924 when H. Avray-Tipping wrote:

*It will have been the shortness of bedroom accommodation that led to Lord Fitzwilliam employing Carr to add a storey to the wings and then, or later, classic bas-reliefs will have been let into the walls of the top room in the South Tower the ceiling of which is of the Flitcroft date.*³¹

Correct about the Flitcroft date, he misdated the installation of the reliefs. The Inventory proves that Rockingham himself had the room decorated with relief sculpture. It held five marble figures³² each 2'8" high on flat pedestals, and transparent white marble vases occupied two niches. Today there are three of the five marble figures

³¹ Tipping, H. Avrey. Articles on Wentworth Woodhouse, Sept & Oct issues, Country Life, 1924.

³² See Appendix D(i).

remaining - all in white marble - in just three niches. The statuette of Meleager the huntsman, partly draped, between a hound and a boar's head but looking ridiculously effete at the side of the antique original in the Museo Pio-Clementino in Rome, has far too small a head. No record survives of this or the other eighteenth century statuette of an Egyptian priestess, draped and holding a jug in her left hand. Nor is there any documentation of what Christie's feel to be a Roman statuette of a seated Dionysos wearing an airy wreath, of the 2nd century AD. The marble relief overmantel, again an eighteenth century carving in the Antique style, is thought to depict a woman brought to judgement.³³ However, since there appear to be several distressed women before a seated person with attendants, it might be a Family of Darius before Alexander. There is no record of its purchase.

Rockingham's Patronage of Joseph Nollekens.

Joseph Nollekens (1737-1823) was apprenticed to Peter Scheemakers (1691-1770) in 1750, the very year Rockingham was in Rome. Scheemakers had his studio in Vine Street, Picadilly, and according to J. T. Smith³⁴ never had a cross word with young Nollekens during the ten years of his apprenticeship. In 1760 Nollekens left for Rome, going via Paris, and, his purse being reduced to twenty-one guineas on his arrival in Rome, he made a stone bas-relief and dispatched it to England, where that same year he received a prize of ten guineas for it. In 1762, for a relief of Timocles before Alexander he received from the Society of Polite Arts a premium of fifty guineas. Garrick met him in Rome and sat to him for his bust, which brought in another twelve guineas. Laurence Sterne also sat to him in Rome. From 1761 to 1770, when he left Rome, Nollekens put several of his sculptures into the hands of James Stuart who was then a long standing friend of Lord Rockingham.

³³ See Appendix D(i), 'p. 50, 'In the Upper Room in the South Tower'."

³⁴ Smith, J. T., Nollekens and his Times, O.U.P., 1929, pp. 5-6.

Having worked on the ornamentation in the Marble Saloon (pls. 54 & 55 during the 1750s, Stuart sold some sculpture to Rockingham from Rome in 1764,³⁵ but there is no evidence that he tried to interest the Marquis in Nollekens's work during this period, no doubt because Rockingham was keen to acquire antiques rather than contemporary works. However, Nollekens developed a thriving business restoring antique statues and collected terra cotta by Giambologna, Michelangelo and Fiamingo, which he jealously kept to himself, otherwise Rockingham would certainly have wished to purchase the Giambologna pieces on the evidence of the many enthusiastic entries on that artist in his Italian notes.³⁶ He did acquire an Italian bronze group of Giambologna's Rape of the Sabine, which at an unknown date entered the 'Low Room' at Wentworth. The marble original was discussed in his brief account of the principal works of art in Florence.³⁷ Otherwise, he was presented with, or purchased, bronzes by Sansovino and Tacca.³⁸

William Ponsonby, second Earl of Bessborough (1704-1793), a great friend and political ally of Rockingham, was "*much attached to Mr. Nollekens in Rome*", according to Smith.³⁹ The attachment continued for the rest of Bessborough's life. Bessborough, said Smith, "*was so well known to Nollekens's dog, that whenever the animal saw his Lordship's leg within the gate, he ceased barking, and immediately welcomed the visitor; who always brought a French-roll in his blue great-coat-pocket purposely for him ...*".⁴⁰

³⁵ Appendix B(i), no. 97.

³⁶ See Documents relating to the Grand Tour.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ See Appendix B(i) for the listing of the bronze after Giambologna, and Appendix B(i) no. 81, and Catalogue C2, bronzes.

³⁹ Smith, J. T., op. cit., p. 10.

⁴⁰ Smith, J. T., op. cit., p. 74.

Nollekens eventually carved Bessborough's monuments, as indeed he did Lord Rockingham's.⁴¹ It must have been either this attachment to James Stuart or to Bessborough which led eventually to Nollekens being introduced to Rockingham. They certainly knew one another by the time Nollekens got married because Smith records a conversation Rockingham had with Nollekens 'shortly after' the marriage in which, referring to Mrs. Nollekens, the Marquis said, "*Oh, Nollekens, we now see where you get your Venuses.*"⁴² Mrs. Nollekens seemed flattered by his friendship - "*no less a character than the Marquis of Rockingham*"⁴³ she called him in a moment of recollection. By then (the early 1770s), he had already been First Lord of the Treasury in 1766. The Marquis and Lord Yarborough (1749-1823) between them acquired the bulk of Nollekens's marble statues, which included two Venuses, one taking off her sandal (for Rockingham) of 1773; the other chiding Cupid (for Lord Yarborough) in 1778.

Nollekens first appears in the Vouchers (Appendix B(i)) on June 31st 1773 (no. 16). This is an acknowledgement of the receipt of two hundred guineas for 'Venus removing her Sandal', in Nollekens's own handwriting. The statue (pl. 15) was exhibited in the Royal Academy in that year, cat. no. 211.⁴⁴ Judging from the date of the receipt it is highly likely that Rockingham bought it from the exhibition. It was taken to no. 4, Grosvenor Square, and put in the 'Ground Floor Room, North East Backwards'.⁴⁵ Nollekens had in the previous year become a Royal Academician. King George III signed his diploma and "*immediately honoured him still more by sitting for his bust*".⁴⁶

⁴¹ See Chapter on the Mausoleum.

⁴² Smith, J. T., op. cit., p. 215.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Smith, J. T., op. cit., p. 318.

⁴⁵ See Appendix D(i).

⁴⁶ Smith, J. T., op. cit., p. 12.

Rockingham was stricken with a protracted illness in 1772 and instead of returning to Wentworth he spent the summer on the estate he had purchased at Wimbledon, writing to no-one from June to October. By early January 1773 he was "*prodigiously better*"⁴⁷ but, significantly, in the mid-summer, the time he bought Nollekens's 'Venus', he confessed himself "*less and less fond of publick life and business*"⁴⁸. Nollekens was in high favour with a monarch who had never really liked Rockingham. A purchase from Nollekens at his first major public exposure would therefore have been a very timely gesture. From that moment, Rockingham (who was after all in a better financial position than most) commissioned Nollekens to produce three more marble goddesses. Voucher no. 90 is a note from Nollekens on Feb. 16th 1774 to say that the first of these, 'Menerva', (sic.) was "*still doing*". (pl. 14).

By the end of February 1774 James Wright had presented Rockingham with some small bronzes and marbles he had "*selected out of the Grimani Collection in Venice*"⁴⁹, which he hoped would be placed in Rockingham's 'museum'. It is likely that this museum was in fact the 'Ground Floor Room North East Backwards' at Grosvenor Square⁵⁰ because the two bronze centaurs by Sansovino which Wright sent in his shipment from Italy are listed in that room, as are three of the four Nollekens goddesses and the antique Paris.

Not until February of the following year, 1775, did Rockingham get his Minerva, which, perhaps because it was delivered before the time of the summer exhibition at the Academy, was not listed in the exhibits and not noticed by Smith.⁵¹ The statue, complete with a Medusa headed

⁴⁷ Hoffman, R. J., op. cit., p. 282.

⁴⁸ Hoffman, R. J., op. cit., p. 284

⁴⁹ See Appendix B(i), no. 81.

⁵⁰ See Appendix D(i).

⁵¹ Smith, J. T., (op. cit.), fails to list or mention the Minerva - an astonishing omission.

shield and ram's heads on the helmet, cost Rockingham two hundred and sixty two pounds and ten shillings. Nollekens's prices had obviously shot up as a result of royal patronage.⁵²

In January 1776 it becomes clear that Nollekens is making a statue of Juno for the Marquis, who paid him one hundred pounds on account. While this was 'doing', Rockingham gave a further commission for a Diana, towards which he paid another hundred pounds in June of the same year. Following further payments on account, Rockingham eventually received Juno and Diana in the July of 1779, 'Diana' costing him three hundred and fifteen pounds and Juno probably the same, although the accounts are not clear about her price.⁵³ Minerva and Juno were put, with Venus, in the Grosvenor Square 'museum' room⁵⁴ but it is not clear what happened initially to Diana. A very spirited lady in the act of firing a bow, she may have been packed for safety, awaiting transport to Wentworth. There is, surprisingly, no mention of her in the 1782 inventories. However, all four goddesses were re-united in the Wentworth 'museum' during Earl Fitzwilliam's highly active tenure of the estate following Rockingham's death (pls. 12, 13, 14, 15).

Further copies after the Antique.

Rockingham acquired several other copies after the Antique in the form of marble, terra cotta or artificial stone busts or figures. George Davy⁵⁵ had supplied a Dying Gladiator in artificial stone on March 21st, 1771, for thirty guineas. It came to Wentworth, to the 'Low Room', as a much needed addition to the copies, for it was one of the most admired

⁵² See Appendix B(i) no. 119.

⁵³ Appendix B(1), 34, 37, 122, 126.

⁵⁴ See Appendix D(i).

⁵⁵ Appendix B(i) no. 93.

sculptures in the Capitoline Museum where Rockingham would have seen it in 1750. Other life-sized copies had been made by Scheemakers (1743) for the gardens at Rousham⁵⁶, by Vierpyl for Wilton in the 1760s, and for Syon in 1773. Luigi Valadier's magnificent dark green bronze dominates the front hall even today. Davy's Gladiator joined three other celebrated antiques in the Low Room - a terra-cotta model of the Farnese Bull⁵⁷, Joseph Wilton's marble bust of the head of Laocoon⁵⁸ (dated 1758) and a full-sized marble copy of the Crouching Venus⁵⁹ which was then in the Villa Medici. No records of the Bull or the Crouching Venus remain, but a marble copy of the head of Laocoon is listed in a bill from 'Christie & Ansell' of January 1782.

There remained but two essential items to acquire if Rockingham was to demonstrate his erudition over the celebrated relationships in the story of Antinous, Hadrian and Sabina. He must have been delighted to find that Joseph Wilton could produce a large oval cast in plaster of the Albani relief of Antinous, albeit without hand-held accoutrements over which there was some scholarly debate (see catalogue no. B.3.1). On June 16th, 1773, he paid the small sum of three pounds for the plaster cast. Then in June 1777, he paid one Charles Harris twenty one pounds for a bust of Hadrian.⁶⁰ Judging from the photograph of the entrance hall in the West Front at Wentworth, made in 1924 for 'Country Life', the Hadrian bust, obviously in white marble, accompanied the Antinous relief by the central doorway.⁶¹ The Hadrian, now missing, appears to be a copy of the famous bust in

⁵⁶ Haskell & Penny, op. cit., pp. 224-225, cat. no. 44.

⁵⁷ See Appendix D(i).

⁵⁸ Ibid., also Appendix E.

⁵⁹ Ibid., also Appendix E.

⁶⁰ Appendix B(i), no. 82. See Plate 63.

⁶¹ Binney, M., Wentworth Woodhouse Revisited - II, Country Life, March 24th, 1983, pls. 1 & 5.

the Museo Nazionale at Naples, in which Hadrian, during the years 127-8 AD, appears "*serene and fulfilled, the father of his country*".⁶² Meanwhile, the Antinous, who at that time in history was also doubtless serene and fulfilled as a result of Hadrian's attentions, gazes triumphantly down, in the Wentworth entrance hall, over his Imperial lover. The question over whether Antinous was in this relief making a sacrifice (the account is for a 'sacrificante')⁶³, or driving a chariot in some sort of Roman Triumph, was a matter for debate.

Six months before he died, Rockingham obtained marble busts of Julius Caesar and the Dying Alexander from Christie and Ansell, each of which cost him twenty five pounds.⁶⁴ They eventually flanked the antique Ceres on the main Wentworth staircase, joining the Mead Antinous and a marble bust of Mercury - Hermes of eighteenth century date but unknown origin. The Antinous and the Mercury had always been together in the large Front Room at Grosvenor Square - clearly Rockingham knew about Antinous being celebrated as a Hermes in his cult centres.⁶⁵ On the evidence of the 1782 inventory the Main Staircase was not completed (if indeed it was begun) by July of that year, when Rockingham died at Wimbledon. He certainly never saw the ensemble of sculptures on the staircase, because the busts were all elsewhere in 1782, but he probably inspired what appears to be a programme for the staircase sculptures, in that each one, from the two later casts of the Gladiator to Antinous on the landing, suffered an heroic death. Ceres and Hermes were central to ancient Greek mysteries of resurrection, which the Romans celebrated at Eleusis.⁶⁶

⁶² Lambert, Royston, Beloved and God, London, 1984, pl. 29.

⁶³ See Appendix B(1), no. 2.

⁶⁴ See Appendix B(1), no. 35.

⁶⁵ See Chapter on Antinous, Hadrian and Sabina.

⁶⁶ Lambert, op. cit., has a whole chapter on Eleusis, ch. 8, p. 100.

One thing is certain. The Marquis intended all of his Grosvenor Square sculptures to go to Wentworth, as the poignant postscript to the Inventory of 1782 makes clear: .

As to the Statues

They are not mentioned in the Enumeration of things left as Heirlooms by the Will of the late Marquis, but it is apprehended that Statues set up at Wentworth go with the House, and that those in Grosvenor Square House were bought with an intent to be sent to Wentworth. - The intention of the late Marquis certainly was, that the Statues should not be sold, but go with his Mansion House called Wentworth, therefore tis apprehended that Lord ... Fitzwilliam should have them to be enjoyed as Heirlooms with the Furniture there.

Antinous, Hadrian and Sabina

There is a distant probability that Rockingham shared what for so many connoisseurs of his period amounted to a mania for representations of Antinous, the Bithynian youth who became the favourite of the Emperor Hadrian. After Antinous drowned in the Nile in AD 130, Hadrian deified him and he became so popular as the last of all the classical divinities, that devotees hid his images when Christianity triumphed, and today, as a result of careful interment, many famous sculptures from the time of Hadrian have been reclaimed from the soil.¹

Rockingham may have wished to demonstrate or to hint at the liaison between Hadrian and Antinous and its effect on the Empress Sabina, for the original position of Cavaceppi's Antinous in the Marble Saloon, in a niche next to the statue of 'Flora' which was thought in Rockingham's day to be Sabina, is probably more than a coincidence. In 1773 the Marquis ordered a plaster relief of Antinous from Joseph Wilton, having no doubt admired the original during his visit to Cardinal Albani's house in Rome. The presence of the Albani relief of Antinous gazing down upon a statue of Hadrian in the entrance landing of the West front, not to mention the roundels then thought to depict Antinous and Hadrian in the Whistlejacket Room, enables coincidence to be replaced by certainty. It will be necessary to establish more facts about these appearances of Antinous at Wentworth, first of all examining the various reasons for the 'Antinous mania' of the eighteenth century.

According to F. de la Maza² some two thousand sculptures of Antinous were produced in the eight years before the Emperor Hadrian's death in

¹ Lambert, Royston, Beloved and God. The Story of Hadrian and Antinous, London 1984, pp. 6-7.

² Maza, F. de la, Antinoo: el ultimo dios del mundo clasico, Mexico, 1966

AD 138. More than forty eastern Hellenic cities venerated him; more than a dozen had specific Antinous cults. From the early 16th century numerous busts and cameos of Antinous began to appear as prized items in the collections of princes and artists. Raphael used the head of the Antinous Farnese from the Domus Flavia³ for his Jonah in the Chigi Chapel of Sta. Maria del Popolo in Rome. The figure was carved by Lorenzetto between 1522-7. Bernini declared that he went to the Antinous "*as to the oracle*" for the proportions of limbs⁴ and indeed the fifth century Doryphoros of Polycleitos had been the inspiration for the Antinous Farnese and for other Antinous figures.⁵ Then in 1680, a newly discovered bust of Antinous, now in the Uffizi, was greeted at the Roman Gate of Florence by a procession headed by Cardinal Leopold de Medici. It was pronounced a "*miracle of art*".⁶

A profusion of Antinous sculptures came from the Villa Adriana during the eighteenth century. The courses and nobility of Europe vied to acquire them. Indeed, the Pope, eminent cardinals, Frederick the Great⁷ and English peers all intrigued, bribed and smuggled to get any image of Antinous, so that other collectors had to content themselves with copies. Johann Joachim Winckelmann was responsible for popularising the image of Antinous through emotive comments about his character as displayed in the sculptures of Italian origin. Thus in the 1750s and '60s one might refer, as did Winckelmann, to their "*brooding and melancholy*" atmosphere.⁸ Many busts and figures do indeed appear to contemplate death, with the heads cast down. In 1767 Winckelmann

³ Cornelius Vermeule states that the figure came from the Domus Flavia in his 'Antinous, favourite of the Emperor Hadrian', Nelson Gall and Atkins, *Mus. Bull.* 111, 1960, 1-7.

⁴ Holt, Elizabeth, A Documentary History of Art, Vol. II, section on Chantelou.

⁵ Lambert, op. cit., figs. 54 & 55.

⁶ Ibid., Ch. 1, p. 8.

⁷ A very detailed entry on Frederick the Great is found in A. L. Rowse's Homosexuals in History, London 1977, pp. 92-95.

⁸ Quoted in F. Laban, Der Gemütsausdruck des Antinous, Berlin, 1891

declared the Antinous Mondragone to be "*one of the most beautiful things in the world*" and felt that it and the Albani relief were "*the glory and crown of art in this age as well as in all others*".⁹ Rockingham saw both works in Italy.¹⁰

These glowing opinions tarnished under Gibbon's condemnation of the Antinous-Hadrian affair. In the 1771 edition of his '*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*', he declared that Hadrian's response to Antinous "*still dishonours his memory*". From the library inventory of 1782 at Grosvenor Square it is clear that Rockingham possessed a 1777 edition of '*Gibbons Roman History, 3 vols*'¹¹. But the Marquis would never have known about a certain Monsieur Dupaty, who, promenading the Uffizi in 1785, cast his eyes down apprehensively as he approached the bust of Antinous.¹²

Beginning with the statue described in the inventories as a "*Flora in Drapery done by Phil. Valle*"¹³, it is important to note that this figure, which was known as the 'Capitoline Flora' was thought by Lucatelli to be Sabina, the wife of Hadrian. Giovanni Pietro Lucatelli published a list of statues in the Capitoline Museum in Rome in 1750¹⁴, the very year Lord Malton was there. Thus there is every reason to suppose that when he ordered the copy from Filippo della Valle, he had read Lucatelli's opinion, based no doubt on the fact that 'Sabina' was found in 1744 at Hadrian's Villa.¹⁵ There is moreover hardly any

⁹ Winckelmann, J. J., *Anmerkungen*, 1767, 2, 123; *Hist. Ane. Art*, trans. Lodge, Chapter 2, p. 335.

¹⁰ See Chapter 6 on 'The Grand Tour'.

¹¹ See Appendix C(i).

¹² Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹³ See Appendix D(i).

¹⁴ Haskell, F. & Penny, N., *Taste and the Antique*, pp. 216, 217. Lucatelli's work was in the library at 4 Grosvenor Square (see Appendix C(i)).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 215

difference between the face on the so-called Flora and that on the head of Sabina in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme in Rome. Next to the 'Flora' entry in the 1782 inventory comes "*An Antinous by Bartolomeus (sic.) Cavaceppi Sculp Rom*". The rest of the list corresponds with the present positions of the sculptures viewed in an anti-clockwise direction in the Saloon. So Antinous stood next to Flora-Sabina - a pairing of the adored young favourite and the moody, difficult wife of Emperor Hadrian.

It has been demonstrated¹⁶ that the Grand Staircase was not actually built when the Marquis died in July 1782. Even so, the note concluding the 1782 Inventories, to the effect that the Grosvenor Square sculptures were intended for Wentworth, seems to point to Rockingham's desire for his prize antique bust of Antinous from the Mead collection to be placed in the company of other busts and statues in niches in the staircase. Of these others, only Ceres was already at Wentworth, waiting in the Marble Saloon. Julius Caesar, the Dying Alexander and a Hermes or Mercury bust, none of which were antique, were waiting to come into the Wentworth scheme. Now, the Capitoline Antinous, which had been placed in the Museo Capitolino by 1733, showed Antinous in the guise of Mercury, or at least Visconti thought so in the 1820s.¹⁷ Then in 1911, Weber¹⁸ stressed that Hadrian sought to promote Antinous as Hermes, Mercury's counterpart. The Grosvenor Square inventory of 1782 (Appendix D(i)) reveals that the Marquis had the Mead bust of Antinous and the bust of Mercury in his large front room, but then he would have seen the Capitoline 'Antinous as Mercury' in 1750. The beautifully concealed wings beneath Mercury's cap in the Wentworth staircase bust are his identification and are also the physical attributes of Hermes. So whether the Marquis was aware of this 'doubling'

¹⁶ See Chapter 7, and Chapter 9, n. 20.

¹⁷ Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 144.

¹⁸ Weber, W., Drei Untersuchungen zur Ägyptisch Griechischen Religion, Heidelberg, 1911, pp. 25-7.

or not, the placing of the Antinous bust opposite the Mercury at the top of the staircase seems to indicate yet another pairing. Lower down, again in balancing niches, are two ancients who, like Antinous, met untimely deaths. The head which was then thought to be a dying Alexander balances the bust of Julius Caesar. Yet the most remarkable presence on the staircase is that of Ceres, presiding at the centre of death and surely symbolising resurrection, if indeed the staircase had such an identifiable programme. Her mysteries offered eternal life, and both Antinous and Hadrian were initiated into those mysteries at Eleusis in AD 128.¹⁹

Although originally one of the two 'Dying Gladiators' occupied a long room full of sculpture, to the north of the East front²⁰, its move to the stairwell beneath these 'dying' busts and their reviving Goddess and Messenger - God, to be balanced by an exact copy, underlines what is surely the sculptural programme for this staircase. Again the gladiators or 'Gauls' died untimely deaths in the heroic mould. The Grand Staircase at Wentworth Woodhouse seems to be nothing short of a temple of Eleusinian mysteries: a staircase of death and resurrection.

Speaking of the 'Whistlejacket Room' in 1768, Arthur Young says, *"Over the doors are six historical relieves; in the center on each side, a large framework for a picture, by which are pannels, inclosing in wreaths four medallions."*²¹ According to Avrey Tipping²² these medallions represent Homeric heroes and other classic personages, but it is the 'six historical relieves' which are of interest. They represent scenes from the Hadrianic roundels on the Arch of Constantine in which Hadrian and Antinous are thought to appear together at least

¹⁹ Lambert, op. cit., Ch. 8.

²⁰ See 1782 Inventory, Wentworth Woodhouse, Appendix D(i).

²¹ Young, Arthur, A six month Tour through the Northern Counties, 1768.

²² Tipping, A., Country Life, Oct. 11th 1924, pp. 560-561.

twice. Wentworth has only six of the eight panels, which are identifiable, despite enormous differences in detail from the battered originals, as:

- 1 The departure of the Imperial hunting party from Rome
- 2 The consecration of the bear's skin to the Italian God Sylvanus
- 3 The offering of the wild boar to Artemis or Diana
- 4 Hadrian and Antinous standing on a lion's corpse
- 5 The Lion's pelt is offered to Herakles
- 6 A final sacrifice to Apollo

Both the bear and boar hunt roundels are missing. So is the enormous lion from the roundel in which, according to Heinz Kahler²³, Hadrian and Antinous stand victorious on the corpse, while others close to Hadrian look on. Antinous had in fact saved Hadrian's life during this lion hunt in Libya. Perhaps, when recording the details of this roundel, the plaster worker did not care to tackle lions, boars or bears. He also missed one horse from the lion roundel, leaving only Antinous's horse, the front leg of which appears dislocated. How unsatisfactory for such a famous man of the turf as Lord Rockingham, who intended the entire room as a frame for Stubbs's portrait of his famous racehorse, Whistlejacket. This palomino stallion doing a levade was supposed to have George III on his back but when the Marquis saw it without its rider he refused to allow it to be touched. Otherwise it would seem that the Imperial hunt theme in the plasterwork which involved Antinous and Hadrian was designed to parallel the contemporary glory of an equestrian George III. The Stubbs portrait was completed in 1762, well before the room had been prepared for it by 1768.²⁴

²³ Lambert, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

²⁴ Davis, Tony, Wentworth Woodhouse Visitors Guide, Sheffield 1979, p. 19

Rockingham clearly wanted to draw attention to Antinous in the Entrance Hall of his West Front. There, the plaster copy of the celebrated 'Antinous Sacrificante' relief which Lord Malton would have been able to admire at Cardinal Albani's villa was set into the wall to the left of the central doorway, at a height of some nine feet. A marble plaque of the second Marquis was introduced, again in oval form, in the same relative position by the door to the north, presumably by his heir, Lord Fitzwilliam. Beneath this plaque, in a photograph of 1924²⁵, appears the bust of Hadrian which the Marquis had purchased from Charles Harris. This occupies a column-plinth. The Hadrian bust has since been removed but the Antinous cast remains, one of Joseph Wilton's many plaster models which he made in London. On June 16th 1773 Wilton sold it to Rockingham for three pounds. It lacks the flowers which, along with the left hand, were known to be a restoration.²⁶ Thus did Rockingham display 'the glory and crown' of sculpture in his West Entrance Hall, allude to the romantic story itself in the Marble Saloon and possibly on the staircase, and present Antinous and Hadrian together in the decoration of his sumptuous 'Whistlejacket' Room.

It is possible to list several other 'Antinous' purchases from the accounts, and these, together with the dates of items discussed in the text, are:

- 1751 Statue of Antinous by Cavaceppi, marble
 - 1755 Bust of Antinous, antique, from the Mead coll. marble
 - 1733 Antinous Sacrificante, from Joseph Wilton, plaster
 - " Cameo of Antinous from James Tassie
 - " Large Antinous in paste from Tassie
 - 1777 Bust of Hadrian from Charles Harris, marble
- and two busts in artificial stone of Antinous, undated.

(see Vouchers for Works of Art, Rockingham, Appendix B(i))

²⁵ Binney, Marcus, Country Life, Mar. 24th 1983, p. 708.

²⁶ Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 146. Apparently Winckelmann felt that this hand had been restored wrongly and should have held a pair of reins, the fragment being part of an apotheosis in which Antinous was conducted by chariot to the heavens.

Of these acquisitions, only the antique bust found favour with Adolf Michaelis, as will be noticed when the opinions of visitors are discussed. This bust with its restored nose was obtained from the public auction in 1755 of the remainder of Dr. Richard Mead's celebrated collections.²⁷ The Marquis was present, as were Horace Walpole, Hollis and Brand, Lord Egremont, Lord Leicester, Lord Carlisle and Lyde Browne. They all made purchases. The Antinous bust is of the 'Sala Rotonda' type found in the Villa Adriana in 1790 and now in the Sala Rotonda of the Vatican. It was thought to be the only portrait surviving from life²⁸, something Michaelis does not mention. The Wentworth bust has a similar chubbiness around the shoulders and breasts, and the nose has been insensitively restored. "*A somewhat fat gourmet who needs exercise*"; was how F. de la Maza described the Sala Rotonda bust²⁹. But the only thing of importance to Rockingham would be the closeness of his acquisition to the one bust of Antinous thought to have been modelled from life. There can be no doubt that the last god of the classical world had found a devotee in the second Marquis of Rockingham.

²⁷ Michaelis, Adolf, Ancient Marbles in Great Britain, 1882, quoted in Ch. 2. See also Appendix B(i).

²⁸ Lambert, op. cit., p. 54.

²⁹ F. de la Maza, op. cit.

The Mausoleum, and subsequent sculptural acquisitions at Wentworth Woodhouse

When the second Marquis of Rockingham died in 1782, his nephew William Wentworth Fitzwilliam inherited the Wentworth estates as the fourth Earl Fitzwilliam. The Earl's mother (Rockingham's eldest sister) had married the third Earl. During his fifty one years at Wentworth, the fourth Earl created the central grand staircase from the Tuscan Hall to the Marble Saloon and re-housed many of his uncle's sculptures both on the staircase and in a new museum created from the north-eastern ante-room to the Saloon, but his chief monument was the so-called Mausoleum in a wood to the east of the Palladian facade of the Mansion. The mausoleum is of interest here in that it commemorated the political achievement of the second Marquis.

A temple on the estate at Stowe in Buckinghamshire may have been the model for Earl Fitzwilliam's monument to his uncle. In 1739 James Gibbs produced a Temple of Friendship at Stowe, which joined two other temples by William Kent celebrating British Worthies and Ancient Virtue, built in 1733 and 1735. Inside the Temple of Friendship were seven busts by Peter Scheemakers, and several busts, by other sculptors, of the friends of Sir Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham.¹ Cobham's nephew, George Grenville, later Earl Temple, succeeded him in 1749 and became First Lord of the Treasury in succession to Lord Bute at the outset of the reign of George III. Grenville's administration imposed the Stamp Act on the American Colonies in 1765 and in 1766 Rockingham's

¹ The friends were Frederick, Prince of Wales, the Earls of Westmoreland and Chesterfield, Lords Cobham, Gower and Bathurst, Richard (later Earl) Grenville, William Pitt (later Earl of Chatham) and George Littleton Esq. Thomas Adye (fl. 1730-53) sculpted the Earl of Westmoreland, which bust, along with Scheemakers' Cobham, is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. See Whinney, M., English Sculpture 1720-1830, V&A publications, London, 1971, pp. 60 & 72.

first administration repealed it.² Perhaps because the rival and mistrusted Grenvillites already had a temple dedicated to their circle at Stowe, Earl Fitzwilliam may have wished to build the Rockinghamite reply. He had indeed received a memorable letter from Charles James Fox on July 1st 1782, which described the friends eventually represented in the mausoleum as

*That set of men from whose union alone the country
can be saved.*³

The Wentworth mausoleum was conceived in 1783, the date on John Carr's first designs which reveal an obelisk crowning the building.⁴ Eventually, four obelisks, originally in the formal gardens to the west of the Mansion, were brought in to surround the mausoleum in 1792. They were an appropriate memorial, in that James Stuart had dedicated his work on the Obelisk in the Campus Martius in Rome to Lord Malton in 1751, the circumstances of which have been discussed in Chapter One. Penny points out that the building is not a mausoleum in that the body of the Marquis does not occupy the sarcophagus on the second register but is buried in York Minster next

² On September 11th, 1767, Rockingham wrote a letter to Dowdeswell in which the Rockinghamite attitude to Bute and Grenville is made clear. He said:

*Our first principle was, that Lord Bute's power was dangerous
& therefore to be resisted.*

*Our second arose from G. Grenville's conduct as a Minister,
whose measures and opinions we opposed & afterwards corrected
& therefore consistency requires that we should never aid to
throw government into his hands, much less act the part of
assistants in an administration so formed.*

(WWM R.1, letter 556)

³ Fitzwilliam Correspondence F.63, Northamptonshire Record Office, Delapre Abbey, Northampton.

⁴ Penny, Nicholas, Church Monuments in Romantic England, Yale University Press, 1977, p. 62. See also Carr's letter to Benjamin Hall, Sept. 25th, 1792, Stewards Papers 6 (iv) where the obelisks are mentioned. (Fitzwilliam Correspondence, Northamptonshire Record Office, Delapre Abbey, Northampton.)

to his father.⁵ The inscriptions on the base of Nollekens' statue of Rockingham in garter robes do however give the impression that the body rests in the mausoleum. The verses run:

*Angels, whose guardian care is England, spread
Your shadowing wings oer patriot Wentworth dead:
With sacred awe his hallowed ashes keep.
Where commerce, science, honour, friendship, weep
The pious hero ...*

Friendship in the Wentworth mausoleum is represented by the busts of Edmund Burke, Sir George Savile, Admiral Keppel, Charles James Fox, Lord John Cavendish, Frederick Montagu, William Bentinck the third Duke of Portland, and John Lee. Lee, Solicitor-General in the second Rockingham administration, helped Keppel to repudiate a charge of misconduct and neglect of duty in a naval engagement with the French at Ushant in 1778, brought by Sir Hugh Palliser.⁶ Augustus Keppel was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty in 1782 on the fall of Lord North's administration and the beginning of Rockingham's. Keppel and the Marquis had been old boys of Westminster School.⁷ Inside the mausoleum, those who opposed the American Wars and the undue influence of the Crown stood around their leader in the form of paired

⁵ The tomb is near the south-east corner of the north choir aisle in York Minster.

⁶ Augustus Keppel was notified by the Admiralty on December 11th 1778 that he must answer capital charges arising from the battle of Ushant. He was a very popular public figure and since the whole affair seemed like a plot hatched by the Court and the Admiralty, his acquittal was followed by a national celebration. Violent hostility was shown towards all those fancied to be Keppel's enemies. (Hoffman, Ross J., The Marquis, A Study of Lord Rockingham, 1730-1782, Fordham University Press, New York, 1973, p. 351.)

⁷ The Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 1975 edn., Vol. 1, p. 1125.

marble busts occupying four niches. The bust of Keppel is signed by the Roman sculptor Giuseppe Ceracchi⁸, while John Bacon R.A. signed the busts of Portland and Cavendish.⁹ Nollekens made the busts of Savile, Fox, Montagu and Lee.¹⁰ On April 28th 1788, John Carr wrote a letter to Benjamin Hall, the Steward at Wentworth, asking for the height of the chamber so that Nollekens could relate the size of his statue of Rockingham to its surroundings.¹¹ Entering the mausoleum recently was a daunting experience. The Marquis's friends had been removed for safety to a strongroom in the Stable Block, vandalism and mining subsidence had left their mark, and in a protective cage, Rockingham's white marble form, (his right index finger pointing to higher things, his garter robes falling grandly around him), seemed ghastly and pathetic. How different was Warner's impression when he lingered there in 1802!

⁸ Giuseppe Ceracchi, born in Rome in 1751, was guillotined in Paris in 1801. Having worked in Rome, London, Holland, Vienna and America, he settled in Paris where he became involved in a plot to assassinate Napoleon I. His terra-cotta bust of Washington is in the Nantes Museum. He went to London towards 1773 and having worked for Carlini he exhibited at the Royal Academy, showing a Castor and Pollux in 1777 (Gunnis, R., Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851, London, 1951, pp. 89-90.)

⁹ John Bacon, R. A. (1740-1799) was born in Southwark. His principal work is the monument to the Earl of Chatham in Westminster Abbey (1779), and he was much liked by George III. Cowper wrote in "The Task" that

*Bacon there
Gives more than female beauty to a stone
And Chatham's eloquence to marble lips.*

In 1772 Bacon produced a figure of Mars for Lord Yarborough, the first version of which was admired by Benjamin West. He was no stranger to Mausoleum busts - in 1780 he produced one of Sir Francis Dashwood for the Mausoleum at West Wycombe, Bucks. (Gunnis, op. cit., pp. 24-28)

¹⁰ Those of Savile & Fox were Nollekens' 'stock' pieces. There is a very fine repetition of the Savile bust in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

¹¹ Penny, op. cit., p. 212, n. 49. This was a letter from Carr in London to Benjamin Hall dated 28 April 1788, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, Steward's Papers, 6 (iii).

*From this sumptuous edifice a good idea may be formed of Wentworth demesne. A boundless prospect of the richest part of England lies open to the eye.*¹²

Warner's meticulous description is given more fully in Appendix G, as are details of the expenses incurred during building. At exactly the same time as the completion of the mausoleum in 1792, another mausoleum was finished at Brocklesby Park in Lincolnshire - that of Sophie Aufrère who died in 1787 and whose marble figure was also sculpted by Nollekens in 1791. Like his commanding figure of Rockingham, Sophie too is in the centre of this building, which James Wyatt based on the temples of Vesta at Tivoli and Rome. Around her, just as eight friends surround Rockingham, are three recessed family monuments to William and Charles Pelham and Francis Anderson.¹³ The Wentworth mausoleum was square in plan with a circular chamber, whereas Wyatt's mausoleum was circular both outside and in. The idea of a central placing for Sophie Aufrère's monument within the chamber may have derived from the placing of the same sculptor's figure of Rockingham at Wentworth.

Busts inside the Temple of Liberty, Agriculture and Commerce at Woburn seem to have followed the Wentworth example, for there in the Greek Revival building by Henry Holland is a bust of Charles James Fox by Nollekens, again surrounded by his most intimate whig friends. This temple was built in 1802-3 for Francis Russell, fifth Duke of Bedford, and was based on an Ionic temple reproduced in Stuart and Revett's Antiquities of Athens.¹⁴ Allegorical figures of Liberty,

¹² Warner, the Rev. Richard, A Tour thro the Northern Counties of England, and the Borders of Scotland, Bath, 1802, Vol. 1, p. 221.

¹³ Pevsner feels that the Mausoleum at Brocklesby is Wyatt's masterpiece. He describes it in detail on pp. 201-202, Lincolnshire - (Buildings of England series) Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1964.

¹⁴ This is undoubtedly the Temple of Ilisos which appears as plate 59 in Stuart and Revett's The Antiques of Athens (1762-1794).

Peace and Plenty on the pediment by John Flaxman refer to the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the Peace of Amiens.¹⁵

Apart from building the influential mausoleum, Earl Fitzwilliam created a Museum in the northern anteroom to the Marble Saloon¹⁶ and installed many of his uncle's marbles along with Nollekens' four goddesses. He ordered statuettes from the Irish sculptor John Hickey, including one of Mrs. Siddons as Cassandra.¹⁷ These pieces were placed on the top of yellow marble columns around the museum. The Earl also placed Rockingham's archaic Greek figure of a Woman with a Chlamys and Chiton (or 'Isis') upon an inlaid marble table in the corresponding anteroom to the south, thus giving special prominence to such a rare early piece.¹⁸ It seems certain that he also moved Foggini's Samson group from the Tuscan Hall to one of the rooms to the south on the ground floor, where Warner says he saw it. He is not specific about which room, but is certain he passed through the 'noble arcade' before he came to the Samson.¹⁹

Finally, the Earl was responsible for placing the busts of the Dying Alexander, Julius Caesar, Antinous, Mercury and the two Roman Matrons in niches on the Grand Staircase which was plastered in 1803.²⁰ He

¹⁵ Illustrated and described in David Irwin's John Flaxman 1755-1826 Christie's London, 1979, p. 172.

¹⁶ A letter from Benjamin Hall at Wentworth, dated Jan. 23rd, 1783, refers to workmen hanging doors in the Museum. Clearly the fourth Earl Fitzwilliam began early in his long tenure of the estate to create a museum out of the north ante-room to the Marble Saloon. (Fitzwilliam correspondence, 1782-3, Northamptonshire Record Office, Delapre Abbey, Northampton)

¹⁷ Christie's London, Important English Marble Statuary, European Sculpture and Works of Art, Tuesday 15 July 1986, pp. 76, 77, Cat. no. 92.

¹⁸ See Warner, Rev. R., op. cit., p. 202.

¹⁹ Warner, Rev. R., op. cit., p. 200.

²⁰ 1803 is the date recorded in the Steward's Household Accounts (WWM) when Ely Crabtree of York carried out the fine honeysuckle-pattern plasterwork.

must also have placed the twin casts of the Dying Gaul in the stairwell, and, in placing the colossal Ceres in the central niche on the staircase, he created a theatre of death and resurrection. Whether he was aware of the Eleusinian mysteries of Ceres is another matter, but the presence of so many persons who died heroic deaths clustering around the goddess argues strongly for this theme.²¹

Additions to the Collection in the nineteenth century

The fourth Earl died in 1833. It was his son, Charles William Fitzwilliam, who went to Rome with his family in the 1840s and there commissioned from John Gibson (1786-1866) two matching marble bas-reliefs for the Marble Saloon early in 1846.²² In his autobiographical account²³, Gibson does not give the date of the Earl's visit but says that the Earl had in mind a medieval subject showing armed knights, which would have been entirely out of keeping with the Palladian Marble Saloon.²⁴ It was to Gibson's credit that he dissuaded the Earl, informing him that Gothic armour was "*at once unfavourable to sculpture*".²⁵ Gibson tells how he prevailed:

I tried to impress upon his mind that the beauty of the human form with expression was the charm of sculpture ...

²¹ See Chapter 8 in which the Eleusinian mysteries are discussed. The presence of the eighteenth century bust of Hermes/Mercury on the staircase underlines the theme. See also Lambert, Royston, Beloved and God - The Story of Hadrian and Antinous, London, 1984, pp. 102-106.

²² The date is known from a note dated 1846 from Gibson to Earl Fitzwilliam marked 'poste restante Rome', in which the sculptor gives his price for 'The Hours Leading Forth the Horses of the Sun' as £750. (R.E.D. 29.1.1846, DT, Fitzwilliam Correspondence, Northamptonshire Record Office, Delapre Abbey, Northampton)

²³ Matthews, T., The Biography of John Gibson, R.A., Sculptor, Rome, London, 1911, p. 139.

²⁴ Matthews, T., op. cit., p. 140.

²⁵ Ibid.

*among my numerous drawings for bassi-relievi I had one representing the Hours and the Horses of the Sun. I had that composition on hand for two or three years, and every now and then improving it.*²⁶

Gibson furnished the Earl with a drawing, saying he would not wish it to be seen by any of the artists in England because it was his intention to publish his compositions.²⁷ The Hours Leading Forth the Horses of the Sun, which had been Gibson's first study in the anatomy of the horse²⁸, was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1849.²⁹ Its companion-piece for Wentworth, Phaeton driving the Chariot of the Sun, is far less tightly designed whereas the 'Hours' panel retains something of the vigour of the procession of horsemen on the Parthenon frieze.³⁰ The sculptor journeyed to Wentworth to supervise the placing of his bas-reliefs above the fireplaces in the Saloon but again he does not say when this occurred, dwelling at length only on some trying incidents connected with his railway journey.³¹ That a sculptor so enthusiastic about the Antique should omit any discussion of Wentworth's impressive array of marble copies is rather astonishing.³² Perhaps, like Dr Waagen, he was put out by the circumstances of his visit.³³

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ This is mentioned in the note cited in note 23 above.

²⁸ Gunnis, op. cit., p. 173.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ In the Parthenon frieze the horsemen lean back while the horses surge forward. Gibson had obviously studied the rhythms formed by the angles thus created.

³¹ Matthews, T., op. cit., pp. 141-142. Apparently one of the railmen Gibson encountered on his journey from Wentworth Woodhouse had a father who not only produced sculpture in Rome but who had also known John Flaxman.

³² Ibid. Gibson merely reported that since his evening clothes had been in the luggage which had inadvertantly been left on the train, he had not changed for dinner. The temporary loss of his luggage had exasperated him.

³³ Waagen was unwilling to devote any attention to the Mausoleum on account of the summary way in which the Wentworth Housekeeper had allowed him to see only a part of the Wentworth collections.

Another major purchase by the fifth Earl was the marble figure of the water nymph Undine by the Munich-born sculptor Ludwig Michael von Schwanthaler (1802-1848) who had become a professor at the Munich Academy in 1834 after training in Rome.³⁴ In 1847 the sixth Duke of Devonshire had paid £500 for Schwanthaler's Girl with a Woodman³⁵ and in the same year the sculptor informed Earl Fitzwilliam that his nymph 'holding a lyre' was ready and would cost him £3,800 florins.³⁶ Undine had been the subject of a painting by J. M. W. Turner, exhibited a year earlier in 1846.³⁷ It seems that Schwanthaler's figure was displayed from the start in the stairwell of the Tuscan Hall - an incongruous companion for the two casts of the Dying Gaul.

As a balance to the Foggini Samson group in the Tuscan Hall, the fifth Earl obtained John Bell's Eagleslayer of 1851. Bell, born in 1812 at Hopton in Suffolk, lived in London at Douro Place for more than forty years.³⁸ Having exhibited The Archer, another version of the Eagleslayer at the Royal Academy in 1837, he had put the new version forward as his reception-piece.³⁹ The positioning of the heroic

³⁴ Benezit, Dictionnaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs, France 1966, Vol. 7, p. 668.

³⁵ Kenworthy Browne, John, 'A Ducal Patron of Sculptors', Apollo, Oct. 1972, Vol. XCVI, no. 128, p. 331.

³⁶ Fitzwilliam Correspondence 6.12.1847, F.B. A letter from Munich, written in French by 'L de Schwanthaler' on Dec. 6th, 1847, says that Earl Fitzwilliam has done him the honour of ordering his "*Nymphe tenant une lyre, exécutée en marbre de Carrare. Cette statue étant achevée ...*" The cost is stated as 3,800 florins. Kenworthy Browne, in the Christie's catalogue (op. cit.) p. 81, calls this figure The Danube.

³⁷ Discussed by Butlin, M. & Joll, E., The Paintings of J. M. W. Turner, Yale U.P., London 1977, Text volume p. 243.

³⁸ See Gunnis, op. cit., pp. 48-49, and the Magazine of Art, London 1894, p. 16. Kenworthy Browne (Christie's catalogue, op. cit.) discusses the Eagleslayer on p. 83, cat. no. 95.

³⁹ Kenworthy Browne, Christie's ibid.; Gunnis, R. (op. cit.), also records on pp. 48-49 that Bell produced a figure of Lalage for Lord Fitzwilliam in 1856. There has been no trace of this figure for many years.

Eagleslayer in the low Tuscan Hall is hardly ideal; the archer strains upward so that his bow would have gone through the ceiling had it been attempted in marble. The dead sheep at his feet is not successfully differentiated from the base.

The fifth Earl must also have purchased Richard James Wyatt's white marble statue of a Huntress (or 'Diana'), on the staircase landing of the west wing. Dr. Waagen, on his 1848 visit, never saw that part of the house but noted Wyatt's Fisher Boy which he recognised with some pleasure in the Museum, saying that it had been one of the "*ornaments of the Exhibition*".⁴⁰ Waagen referred to him as 'the late Richard Wyatt'. He had died, prematurely for a sculptor, at the age of fifty-five in 1850. The Huntress, with her hound and holding a leveret, was carved, as it states on the base, in Rome in 1850. It was therefore one of Wyatt's last pieces. Wyatt had been one of Gibson's coterie visited by the sixth Duke of Devonshire in 1822.⁴¹ In the animals which he so frequently included as accompaniments to his main figures, he revealed a breathtaking delicacy of handling, pushing the marble to its utmost point of fragility and tenderness. The hound and leveret of the Huntress are no exception.

The fifth Earl's second son, William Thomas Spencer, Viscount Milton, became sixth Earl in 1857 and was responsible for the worst moment in the history of the sculpture collection when, in about 1874,⁴² he caused Cavaceppi's Antinous and Della Valle's Germanicus to be removed from the Saloon in favour of two female subjects by the sculptors Lawrence and Alexander Macdonald, father and son. Lawrence

⁴⁰ Waagen, Dr. G., Treasures of Art in Great Britain (3 Vols, London, 1854), Vol. III, p. 341.

⁴¹ Kenworthy-Browne, John, "A Ducal Patron of Sculptors", Apollo, Oct. 1972, Vol. XCVI, no. 128, p. 326.

⁴² 1874 is the date carved on both of the Macdonald figures. It seems reasonable to assume that the Antinous and Germanicus were removed in that year or shortly afterwards.

Macdonald (1799-1878) had already made a bust of Frances, Harriet Viscountess Milton, the wife of the fourth Earl, in 1848.⁴³ He had co-founded, with John Gibson, the British Academy of Arts in Rome.⁴⁴ In 1849 he had made a Bacchante Weaving her Hair for Lord Ward⁴⁵ and in 1874 he produced a repetition which the sixth Earl purchased along with Alexander Macdonald's Hebe of the same date. Both, as the inscriptions show, were made in Rome. Hebe, giving a drink to Jupiter in the form of an eagle, was placed in the niche formerly occupied by the Antinous, while the Bacchante was placed in that formerly occupied by the Germanicus. Perhaps the Earl wished to reverse the ratio of males to females, since no fewer than five of the original figures had been male. Now, only three are male.⁴⁶ The Earl purchased a further piece by Alexander Macdonald, which was also made in Rome in 1877. This was a statue of a Young Fisherman almost naked and carrying a net, which was sold in the 1949 sale as lot 460.⁴⁷ Interestingly neither Macdonald's nor Wyatt's fisher-boys were placed anywhere near Schwanthaler's Undine the water nymph. After the 1870s, there is no further evidence of major sculptural purchases, but the sad dispersals had already begun with the removal of the Antinous and the Germanicus. A sculpture collection which was never ideally housed or seen in its entirety was subsequently to be neglected and for the most part sold in the sales of 1949 and July 1986.

⁴³ Listed in Appendix E, Spencer's 1949 Sale List, as lot 443, *"A Marble Bust of Frances Harriet Viscountess Milton by L. Macdonald, 1848, 24 ins. high."*

⁴⁴ Gunnis, R., *op. cit.*, p. 249. This bust is now in the collection of the Lady Juliet de Chair at Bourne Park in Kent.

⁴⁵ Gunnis, R., *op. cit.*, p. 248.

⁴⁶ These are the Faun with a Kid, the Clapping Faun and the Medici Apollo.

⁴⁷ See Appendix E, lot 460.

Visitors and Verdicts - a critical history of the Wentworth Woodhouse
Sculpture Collection, 1750-1900

The indefatigable Daniel Defoe (?1661-1731) makes no mention of Wentworth Woodhouse in his first 1722 edition of his Tour through Great Britain. However, in the 1738 edition we are informed that the first Earl of Strafford's seat is "*still in the possession of Sir Thomas Wentworth, Lord Malton, his Great Grandson, who has made such improvements to it and is still making more, that it is inferior to few in Great Britain.*" In those days there was very little sculpture at Wentworth save for the bronze bust of Charles I, which that monarch had presented to the first Earl. It was taken (presumably after 1741 when the first Marquis purchased no. 4 Grosvenor Square) to his London home where it occupied a pedestal in the "*Ground Floor Room, North-West backwards*".¹ Some strange mannerist statues of Roman soldiers in stone litter the entrance to the garden grotto even today: presumably these came to the house in the earliest days, perhaps in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

The next visitor to Wentworth whose letters survive was Bishop Richard Pococke, a cleric from a comfortable Irish preferment. He was at Wentworth in 1750 and mentioned the Marble Saloon with its flanking 'grand apartments' of several rooms, "*none of which are furnished*".²

Certainly there was no sculpture to help furnish them. It started to arrive on June 23rd 1750³ and although Foggini's 'Marble Group' was in the first shipment, the first Marquis makes no critically appreciative comment on it but leaves this to Mr. Murray, later the first Earl of

¹ See Appendix D(i). This bust is now at Bourne Park in Kent.

² Mentioned by H. Avray-Tipping in the articles on Wentworth Woodhouse in *Country Life*, Sept-Oct 1924; esp. Sept 27th, p. 478.

³ See the letter of that date in WWM M2. Correspondence Book.

Mansfield and Rockingham's political tutor: *"Your Books, Medals, Statues & little Pictures etc. are fine & well chose as Mr. Murray who is now here & very understanding in Vertue informs me ..."*⁴

Murray comes across as a martinet who seems only occasionally pleased with his protégé - he was 'mortified' when Rockingham refused to study oratory and history⁵ - but at least he provides us with the very first qualitative judgement on the Foggini and perhaps the plaster casts from Florence, since the marbles for the Saloon were still being made in Rome at the time.

It is probable that all the sculpture from Italy was kept in packing cases for many years after its arrival. Horace Walpole told Richard Bentley that when he had visited Wentworth in 1756 the 'great apartment' was untouched: *"the chimney-pieces lie in boxes unopened."*⁶

There followed a seven year period when no correspondence referring to Wentworth appears to have survived. Then in 1763 James Ware, the son of the architect Isaac Ware, wrote on July 2nd to Rockingham, telling him that he had, when working at Wentworth in 1760, *"often observed a Group of Figures, (of Wrestlers, in Statuary Marble) in your Honrs. Lower Hall, which I heard your Honr. had from abroad, and which are exceeding fine."*⁷ From this it is obvious that the Foggini group of Samson and the Philistines was displayed in the position it now occupies at Wentworth. Ware went on to mention that he had seen a marble group of Actaeon being torn by his hounds, by Nicholas Read, *"suitable to stand in competition, and in line with"* the Foggini. Eighteenth century Palladian symmetry would demand that this piece would be placed on the left hand side of the Tuscan Hall opposite the Foggini. So far as is known, Rockingham did not purchase Read's group, but at least the Foggini was being admired and discussed in the 1760's. Ware was partially

⁴ Hoffman, Ross J. The Marquis. A Study of Lord Rockingham, 1730-1782 New York, 1973, p. 12.

⁵ op. cit., pp. 11, 12.

⁶ Cunningham, P. ed., Walpole Correspondence Vol. III, 1909; Walpole to Bentley, Aug 1756, pp. 28-29.

⁷ Ware to Rockingham, WWM R1, 374 (May 1763-Dec 1764), July 2nd.

correct about the 'Wrestlers', for Foggini's group is based partly on the famous antique Wrestlers in the Uffizi.⁸

Four years later, in 1767, Arthur Young, the farming authority and precursor of those great nineteenth century recorders, Passavant, Waagen and Michaelis, mentions one or two details about every public room at Wentworth.⁹ However, he does not name, or pass comment on, the Marble Saloon sculptures, but dwells on the Foggini alone:

In the arcade is a fine group of statuary, containing three figures as large as life, in which one of gigantic stature is getting the better of the two others; the sculptor is Foggini; the upper parts of the two lower figures are finely executed; the turn of the backs, and the expression of the countenances, good; the forced struggling attitude of the hinder one very great, especially that of pushing his hand against the body of his antagonist.¹⁰

Emphasis is placed on the 'expression' and 'attitude' of the protagonists. The eighteenth century has often been described as the age of 'Sensibility', and human emotions were discussed more openly to the point of dissection, as is Laclos's 'Les Liaisons Dangereuses'. Not only love letters were analysed in this way however; sculpture and painting too were judged on their degree of feeling and expression and Winckelmann's writings on the Laocoon group¹¹ are but an extreme extension of the sort of comments made by Arthur Young.

Meanwhile Young fails to mention the colossal antique Ceres, which he most certainly would have described had it then been at Wentworth. Young lends weight to the probability of it being the 'piece' mentioned

⁸ The figures of the two crushed Philistines borrow from the attitudes of the Uffizi Wrestlers.

⁹ Young, Arthur. A Six Month's Tour through the North of England 1769 Vol. 1, p. 280 onwards.

¹⁰ op. cit., p. 280.

¹¹ Winckelmann, J. J. A History of Ancient Art (ed. Fea, C.), Rome, 1783-4, II, p. 243.

in Bessborough's letter to Rockingham of August 22nd 1770.¹² In 1767 however, neither the Ceres nor the Main Staircase had been thought of. Sadly, there is not one recorded notice of the marble saloon sculptures during the Marquis's lifetime apart from a mention by Young indicating they were 'ready to be placed' when their niches were finished.

The next recorded visitor to speak of the fine arts at Wentworth does such a thorough job and raises such important questions about the dating of the Main Staircase and the disposition of certain sculptures that his remarks must be examined in detail. He was the Rev. Richard Warner, who undertook a Tour through the Northern Counties of England and the Borders of Scotland which were published in Bath as a two-volume travel guide in 1802. Warner furnishes proof that the Foggini group was temporarily displayed in one of the rooms to the left of the Tuscan Hall at this time. Warner, like Young, stresses the expression in the group:

Our Ciceroni led us into the house through the rustic story formed by a noble arcade, and a suite of rooms, in one of which is a very fine piece of modern statuary, consisting of three figures, by Foggini, Samson slaying two Philistines. It is of white marble, and approaches to life not only in size but in strength of expression: the accuracy of the anatomy, the grandness of the heads, and the force of the limbs, are not to be excelled. ¹³

Warner was privileged to have been able to explore every room of importance on the two main levels at Wentworth. In the chapel he notices a painting which formerly hung in the Marquis's house at Grosvenor Square, of Samson slaying the Philistines by Luca Giordano (1634-1705). Warner, no doubt temporarily distracted in his writing, calls this 'Samuel slaying the Philistines'. At any rate, this 'large and magnificent piece' was then physically close to its marble counterpart, the Foggini group.

¹² WWM R1. Correspondence, no. 1310.

¹³ Warner, the Rev. Richard. A Tour through the Northern Counties of England and the Borders of Scotland, Bath 1802, pp. 200-201.

Judging from the sequence of his list of the marbles, Warner entered the Marble Saloon by the door at the head of the stairs to the right of the corridor at the rear of the north range. For the first time the statues are given their due:

A Flora, by Philip Valle, Antinous, a naked figure, most beautiful, particularly the hair, by Cavacippi, Germanicus a naked figure represented as declaiming, by Philip Valle; great expression in the face and hands. Venus Callipege, by Maina, delicate and graceful, looking over her shoulder and holding the fine drapery of her garment above her right arm - a Dancing Fawn, with the crotalos in his hand - a ditto, with a fistula in his hand, and a goat over his shoulder - A Venus de Medici - An Apollo Vaticanus; - the four last admirable copies from the antique. At the upper end of the hall stands a Colossal statue of Ariadne, antique, with a thyrsus in her right hand; her left hand elevated; the drapery fine, but hair and face stiff. On one side are two good busts, copies, a dying Alexander, and a Julius Caesar. ¹⁴

The Ceres, then thought to be an Ariadne (as indeed it was called in 1782¹⁵), stood in 1802 at the 'upper end of the hall', and not on any staircase, so far as Warner is concerned. It is known from the Steward's Papers in the Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments that the plasterwork for the Main Staircase was done in 1803 by Ely Crabtree of York. But with Warner's remarks echoing those of the 1782 Inventory to the effect that 'Ariadne' was still in the Marble Saloon, it is possible that a temporary wooden floor was extended from the Saloon floor level to the staircase niches while work

¹⁴ Haskell, F. & Penny, N. Taste and the Antique. Yale 1981, p. 116.

¹⁵ op. cit., p. 117.

proceeded on the staircase itself beneath. The presence of the Alexander and Julius Caesar on one side of the Ceres is problematic but indicates that they were not always in the positions they now occupy, that is, flanking her on either side,

Warner provides sound evidence that the large number of sculptures in the 'Low Room' adjoining to the South Tower¹⁶ had been moved into various new locations by 1802. One of these pieces, a rare Archaic Greek statuette of a woman in a chlamys and chiton, listed in the 1782 Inventory, obviously found a new home in the ante-room to the left of the grand entrance, which emphasised her importance. Warner went on to describe her as:

An antique Egyptian Isis, with the Lotus in her hand, two feet and a half high; the swelling of the muscles and contour of the body finely shewn through the drapery. It stands on a valuable table of inlaid marble.

Warner's description of the museum, which the second Earl Fitzwilliam created after the Marquis's death, throws up several fascinating points. Firstly, the identity of certain pieces seems to have been dealt with rather fancifully, perhaps as a result of some over-optimistic remarks by the 'Ciceroni' or guide Warner had with him. Secondly, several pieces from the 'Low Room' found their way into the museum, and thirdly, the 'Antinous' mentioned could well have been the antique Mead Antinous bust. If it was (and it is impossible to be sure from the description), the chances that Rockingham himself proposed an eventual staircase displaying several examples of 'heroic deaths'¹⁷ proves untenable. Warner, it will be remembered, did not mention any Antinous bust near the Ceres or 'Ariadne'. This is how Warner painstakingly catalogued the museum:

¹⁶ See Appendix D1.

¹⁷ The presence of the Dying Alexander and the Julius Caesar alongside the Ceres and the Mercury tend to indicate a theme of heroic death and resurrection through the cult of Ceres-Demeter at Eleusis, which was at its height at the time when Hadrian visited Eleusis in 128 AD. See Lambert, R. Beloved and God, London 1984, pp. 102-109.

The museum, as it is appropriately called, is a repository of several valuable antiques, and exquisite copies of them. Ranged down the sides of the room, are ten columns of light yellow; the pedestals and capitals white marble, each supporting a bust of the same material.

Four fine statues by Nollekens, Diana, Juno, Minerva and Venus - a Silenus sitting on a goat, with a bunch of grapes in his right hand; an antique - Bust of Bacchus, crowned with grapes; antique, but when the arts were low - The emperor Adrian's Wife, a well-preserved antique bust - Egyptian female bust; antique - a Bacchus, ditto. Bust of Nero, ditto - Paris, ditto, not so large as life; the fatal apple in his left hand, which induced the distinctive hatred of Juno and Minerva, and the pernicious friendship of Venus; in a shepherd's dress, and pastoral crook in his right hand - A sitting Jupiter, ditto; grand and majestic, though small - An unknown female bust, antique - Cybelle, with a turretted head; ditto - the Rape of Ganymede, by an eagle; the limbs of the former graceful and delicate - Bust of Bacchus, antique. Cupid and Psyche kissing; ditto - Two fine Centaurs, ditto - Head of Laocoon, a grand bust by Wilton - Antinous, naked; antique, hair not so bushy as usually sculptured. ¹⁸

The Nollekens Goddesses from Grosvenor Square were obviously placed in appropriate company with the little Paris, who was only partially antique.¹⁹ Which bust of Bacchus was the one by Verschaffelt is not clear, nor would Warner have known on account of the absence of signatures. If 'the emperor Adrian's Wife' (Sabina) was a name invented for the companion bust to the

¹⁸ Warner, op. cit., pp. 219-220.

¹⁹ The head, adorned with a 'phrygian cap', is original, but the rest is largely an eighteenth century restoration. See Catalogue B1, no. 6.

Julia Mamaea prior to their exhibition on the landing of the Main Staircase, weight is lent to the proposition that the second Marquis was fascinated by the Hadrian-Sabina - Antinous triangle²⁰, but Christie's do not name her.²¹ 'Hair not so bushy as usually sculpted' might well describe the Mead Antinous whose finer details have all weathered away. The Centaurs, thought by Warner to be antique (as were all the busts save Wilton's head of Laocoon), had come up with other pieces from the 'Low Room in the South Tower'.²² Where Nero, Cybele and the Egyptian Female Bust originated is not recorded, but the other 'unknown female bust, antique' could be the Julia Mamaea.

As will be demonstrated shortly, items came and went from the museum between 1782 and 1949, but that other major sculptural ensemble, the Mausoleum, had been established with its permanently placed contents since the 1790's and only the Rev. Warner has left a description of it.

Clearly, as the first among the nineteenth century commentators and as a writer who was close enough to the second Marquis's own day to be able to provide a pivotal description of the movements of the collection, his accounts are of value; indeed, when they are compared to the scanty notices of Passavant, Waagen and Michailis, their value equals that of the description by Arthur Young.

After leaving Wentworth, Warner visited Newby Hall near Ripon and saw the magnificent Roman marbles collected in Italy by William Weddell in 1765. *"The museum or gallery of statues; a series of the most precious antique marbles which taste could select and money procure"*, was his verdict there, and no doubt the comparatively meagre offerings of antique marbles at Wentworth paled into insignificance. However, Warner appreciated the Antinous and the Germanicus at Wentworth; he would have been appalled to find them banished to the Camellia House, whither they went in the 1950 s²³

²⁰ More fully discussed in Chapter 8.

²¹ 'Companion bust of a Roman Lady' is the sole suggestion from the Christie's Inventory of 1980.

²² See Appendix D1.

²³ See Catalogue A1, nos. 1, 3.

for they both contributed to Rockingham's pointing-up of themes from the decline and fall of the Roman Empire when they appeared alongside related pieces in the Marble Saloon.

The German painter and art historian Johann David Passavant (1787-1861) visited Wentworth sometime in 1831 during his tour of England. He had been accepted into the studio of the aging David in Paris and went on to become a pupil of Baron Gros. Then in 1817 he went to Rome in a state of feverish excitement to join Overbeck, Cornelius and their 'Nazarene' brotherhood of painters at the monastery of S. Isidoro. An early Nazarene, Franz Pfors, had been a warm friend of Passavant in their youthful days, but had died of consumption before Passavant came to Rome. He there developed his consuming passion for Raphael, on whom he was to write the first art-historical monograph using exhaustive documentation and original sources.²⁴ It was indeed in search of Raphael that he came to England, lamenting the lack of real guides to the art treasures of this country and remedying it by producing in 1831 his Tour of a German Artist in England.

Naturally, Passavant had, as a student in Paris, drawn from antique casts²⁵ and he noticed these on his tour even though his main interest was painting. "*Casts from the best antique statues occupy the accompanying niches*", he wrote of the duplicated plaster casts in the Marble Hall at Kedleston in Derbyshire.²⁶ He went into some detail about the antique statues at Marbury Hall in Cheshire, but admired William Weddell's Newby Hall collection in Yorkshire as "*one of the finest collections of antique marbles in the kingdom*", without listing individual items. It cannot therefore be wondered at that he dispensed with Wentworth Woodhouse as follows:

²⁴ Passavant, J. D. Tour of a German Artist in England, 1836. Reprint by E. P. Publishing, 1978, Vols. 1 & 2 in a uniform edition. See Colin Bailey's introduction, pp. V-XX.

²⁵ op. cit., p. IX.

²⁶ op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 24-6, also p. 67.

Wentworth House near Rotherham: Many specimens of antique & modern sculpture are dispersed in the splendid suite of apartments; also an excellent collection of pictures, especially of the Dutch School. ²⁷

However, the superb Greek and Roman marbles at Petworth in Sussex are given even shorter shrift:

Petworth House, seat of the Earl of Egremont; a fine collection of pictures and statues. ²⁸

Ultimately Passavant proves to be unfair to many collections of this type, and certainly to Wentworth, whose statues in the Marble Saloon are altogether more worthy of individual attention than Kedleston's casts. Perhaps the magnificence of Adam's architecture and interiors at Kedleston, no doubt imparted to Passavant before he set foot in the provinces, was responsible for the imbalance.²⁹ Passavant's Tour was eventually published in England in 1836, translated from the German by Elizabeth, Lady Eastlake.

Local artists gave Wentworth its due, especially in June 1833 when 'A brief description of the sculpture, incomplete' appeared in an article called 'The Fine Arts at Wentworth Woodhouse' in The Village Magazine or Wath Repository Vol. III no. 30. A Mr. Edward Law of Sheffield, described in the article as a 'rising sculptor of considerable merit'³⁰, appeared to be the writer. 'Incomplete' was indeed the word for his brief descriptions, but they do say more about the actual antique specimens than any former account, albeit missing the bust of Antinous and the two Roman matrons. The antique marble of Ceres (of the first or second century AD) received most attention and was called 'Ariadne found in the Ruins of

²⁷ op. cit., vol. II, p. 91.

²⁸ op. cit., vol. II, p. 82.

²⁹ op. cit., vol. I, p. XII. Passavant speaks of information being imparted by 'friendly communications'.

³⁰ Edward Law (1798-1838) was attached to the Sheffield firm of Hoole & Robson. His bust of Earl Fitzwilliam, 1834, is in the Cutler's Hall, Sheffield.

Herculaneum'. It was not a new thing to call any rampaging female figure from antiquity an Ariadne, because she had, according to Ovid, been abandoned by Theseus on the Island of Naxos, while Ceres is thought to be shown in the Wentworth version, searching for her daughter Demeter.³¹ The so-called Cleopatra in the Vatican Museum was also called the Vatican Ariadne, or Dido, yet another abstracted and grieving lady.³² Law felt the drapery of the Wentworth figure to be

anything but agreeable, being, from the waist of the figure, folded in long straight lines, mostly at equal distances, and the rounding of the folds much alike; the garment looking rope-like, and fluted alternately, having little either of nature or grace to recommend it.

This unenthusiastic notice is more understandable if the fate of the British Museum's Townley marbles is taken into account. The reputation of Roman sculpture and Roman copies of Greek originals had declined in Britain following the acquisition by the British Museum of original Greek works. The Townley marbles were mostly Roman and were therefore considered to have been eclipsed by the Frieze from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, the Elgin Marbles, and the sculptures from Xanthos, all of which arrived respectively in 1815, '16 and '42.³³ To find Law criticising a piece of later Roman sculpture is not, in such a context, surprising. However, the specially built Townley Galleries at the British Museum were not demolished until 1846,³⁴ thirteen years after Law's account. He continues:

In the saloon containing 20 ionic pillars we see a Germanicus declaiming by F. Vale;

³¹ This was suggested by the Lady Juliet de Chair, and seems to match the gestures made by Ceres. See Cat. B.1, no. 2.

³² Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 184.

³³ Cooke, B. F. The Townley Marbles, B.M.P., 1985, p. 61.

³⁴ op. cit., p. 61.

A figure by P. Maini called Venus Callipiga,

The Dancing Faun, a copy of.

A Faun with a goat upon his shoulders.

A copy of the Vatican Apollo, by Sunon³⁵, executed at Rome in 1751.

A copy of the Venus de Medici by Wilton.

A Flora by Philip Vale.

An Antinous by Bartolomeo Cavaceppi of Rome.

This list is useful because it proves that the ill-fated Germanicus and Antinous were still in the Saloon in the 1830's, and were indeed in the very positions that have been proposed for them, for Law obviously entered by the central door off the Main Staircase landing and walked round anti-clockwise. The other sculptures are, and always have been, in the order he described.

Law is of most use when he enters the 'Museum' ornamented 'by 10 yellow marble pillars'. Here he lists:

The Antique Paris from the ruins of Herculaneum holding an apple & a shepherd's crook (although there are no grounds for supposing that it, or the Ceres, ever came from Herculaneum)

Then he notices and dates the four marble goddesses by Nollekens and indicates several arrivals (and, compared with Warner's list, departures) since 1802.

<i>4 copies from the antique by Nollekens.</i>	<i>The Slipper Venus</i>	1773
	<i>Minerva</i>	1775
	<i>Juno</i>	1776
	<i>Diana</i>	1778

³⁵ There does not appear to have been a sculpture called 'Sunon'.

An admirable copy of the head of Laocoon, by Wilton, 1758.

A Cupid and Psyche.

Ganymede.

2 groups of Centaurs.

5 antique heads.

Surmounting the pillars, busts of HOMER, BACCHUS, a figure of THE APOLLO BELVEDERE, a boy playing a lute etc.

2 richly sculpted vases, 1 rep. a Grecian Marriage, the other a Bacchanalian Scene.

A bust of Lord Dundas by Chantrey.³⁶

Ten Scriptural subjects in strong relief.

This ensemble was still intact in 1924³⁷ and had in the meantime been joined still further by R. J. Wyatt's signed marble statuette of Diana with her hound holding a hare³⁸, a small statuette of the Medici Apollo on a plinth³⁹, several more busts and two small mantelpiece copies of Twilight and Day, Michelangelo's male personifications from his Medici tombs in San Lorenzo, Florence. Law may not have realised or known that the 'ten scriptural subjects' were the Old Testament panels from the second Ghiberti doors of the Florence Baptistery. Perhaps these and the Michelangelo models came from D. Brucciani's cast workshops in London, for it is known that he kept many casts of Renaissance ornament⁴⁰, and had been in business for nine years in London when Law wrote his account.

Writing his Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey in 1851, John Holland⁴¹ mentioned what seemed, to him, to be the scarcity of figure sculpture in the Yorkshire region:

³⁶ The bust of Lord Dundas was at Wentworth Woodhouse because Charles William Wentworth Fitzwilliam, born in 1786, married the hon. Mary Dundas, 4th daughter of Thomas, 1st Lord Dundas.

³⁷ Tipping, H. Avray. Country Life, Oct. 4th 1924, p. 515, pl. 7.

³⁸ Carved in Rome according to the inscription on the base.

³⁹ See Appendix E. This is probably Lot 438, in terra cotta, 23" high.

⁴⁰ Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 117. See also Seidler, L. The British Museum Facsimile Service, Country Life, Nov. 8th 1984, vol. 174, no. 4451, p. 1404.

⁴¹ Holland, J. Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey, 1851, reviewed in the Evening Mail, 10th Nov. 1851.

Perhaps it should be added, as somewhat remarkable, that, with the exception of the figures of the Marquis of Rockingham at Wentworth, and the Earl of Strafford at Stainboro' there did not, at the period of Chantrey's apprenticeship - nor am I aware that there does at this day - exist a single standing life-size statue, of modern man or woman, in marble or gritstone, within doors or without, either in Sheffield or within the circuit of more than 100 miles around the town.

Holland must be referring to the marble saloon sculptures because the Nollekens statue of Rockingham was not, in 1851, of a then 'modern' man. It is difficult to determine what Holland meant by the word 'modern' but he seems remarkably generous in his time limits. He groups the Stainborough and Wentworth marbles together and one wonders whether he realised the fact that Strafford's four marbles actually goaded the Rockinghams into obtaining their eight.⁴²

The next recorded account of the Wentworth collections was written in 1854, by Dr. Gustav Waagen, Director of the Berlin Gallery and something of an art adviser in England especially in connection with the Manchester 1857 Art Treasures Exhibition. Dr. Waagen freely acknowledged that he had been 'chiefly indebted to Passavant's Tour of a German artist in England', already discussed, and proceeded to write four volumes entitled Treasures of Art in Great Britain. Waagen's visit to Wentworth was not a happy one and he makes no bones about this in his introductory remarks:

On the following day I drove from the station, Masbro, to Wentworth House, the truly princely seat of Earl Fitzwilliam. This palatial building, which is in the French taste, and with a portico of six pillars, is of great extent. The entrance-hall, adorned with columns in imitation of giallo antico, is very large

⁴² Discussed in the chapter on 'Local Influences'.

and lofty, and has an imposing effect. It contains various copies in marble from well-known antique sculptures; among them the Venus de' Medici. I had reckoned on a leisurely inspection of all objects of art, as Lord Lansdowne, at my request, had kindly promised to recommend my wishes to Lord Fitzwilliam. I was therefore unpleasantly surprised on hearing that his Lordship was absent at his Irish estates, and had left no orders with the housekeeper respecting me. I was therefore obliged to content myself with a very superficial view, while a sight of the garden, of which I had heard much, was not to be thought of. My account of the pictures therefore, of which the Vandycks are by far the most important, and of the sculptures, which I give in the order they occupy, is less circumstantial than I could have wished.⁴³

Poor Waagen! He seems to have given up even attempting to describe the sculptures which the second Marquis collected, and just before leaving he notices only that

*One room contains a number of works by modern sculptors, among which I recognised with great pleasure the fine statue of the Fisher Boy, by the late Richard Wyatt, which had formed one of the ornaments of the Exhibition.*⁴⁴

Clearly Waagen had here entered the 'Museum'. The sculpture he refers to must have been exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1851, and if the ensemble pictured in the 1924 Country Life photograph of the Museum is anything to go by, Wyatt's Diana may have then been in the same room. In

⁴³ Waagen, G. F. Treasures of Art in Great Britain 1854, 3 vols. Vol. 3, Letter XXIX, p. 337. Waagen could not count, for there are eight pillars in the portico, not six.

⁴⁴ op. cit., vol. 3, p. 341.

the photograph it occupies the central plinth. He failed to notice that Nollekens had signed the four goddesses which, thanks to the Wath Repository report, were known to have been in the Museum, perhaps ranged along the back wall as they appear in the photograph. There is an air of haste breathing through Waagen's notices, as though the housekeeper was jingling the keys impatiently while he was allowed only the briefest of looks. However he was the first person to note one of the later additions to the sculpture collection and to confirm the high standing of Wyatt's carving which is always of the utmost delicacy and tenderness especially when he is carving animals. The hare on the Diana group is exquisite. How strange that even in his probably enforced haste, Waagen did not appear to notice two large marbles in the Tuscan Hall which had arrived in the late 1840's and early '50's - Ludwig Michael Von Schwanthaler's Undine ⁴⁵ and John Bell's Eagleslayer. The Foggini Group is also missing from his account and, since he does not appear to have traversed the ground floor on his visit, dealing only with the state rooms, it must be supposed that Waagen did not actually go into the Tuscan Hall but was admitted to the House by the front doors of the Saloon. His introductory remarks lend weight to this conclusion. The Wentworth retainers seem to have been remarkably ignorant of sculptural matters, sending Waagen away in a most unsettled state:

*About a mile from the house is the mausoleum of Lord Rockingham, the minister, with his statue. As however I could obtain no information as to the artist who executed it, and therefore could form no conjecture as to its value, I was unwilling to devote any time to visiting it.*⁴⁶

The last commentator of distinction to tackle the Wentworth sculpture collection was Adolf Michaelis, Professor of Classical Archaeology in the

⁴⁵ Schwanthaler (1802-1848) was an aristocrat-sculptor from Munich. The Sixth Duke of Devonshire purchased his Girl with a Woodman ('Schwanengesang') of 1848, for £500. Undine or 'Ondine', was made in 1847.

⁴⁶ Waagen, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 341.

University of Strassburg. He relied too heavily on the astonishingly dismissive note by the Rev. James Dallaway, who in his Of Statuary and Sculpture amongst the Ancients of 1816, merely remarked that the Mead bust of Antinous had gone to Wentworth Woodhouse ⁴⁷, Michaelis was incorrect therefore in implying that Dallaway had made a list of the Wentworth antiquities, for he had done no such thing. Even the page reference for Dallaway in Michaelis's Ancient Marbles in Great Britain of 1882, is incorrect. He wrote

The Marquis of Rockingham, the minister, who as Lord Malton was the patron of Stuart, possessed here, according to Dallaway, several statues and busts, of which I only consider worthy of mention the bust of Antinous from the Mead Collection. (Mus. Mead, p. 223, Walpole's letter to R. Bentley, March 27th, 1755. Dallaway, Of Statuary, p. 341). A splendid cabinet of Roman Coins is also mentioned (Volkmann, Reisen IV, p. 30). The castle (sic) now belongs to the Earl Fitzwilliam; Waagen found nothing worth mentioning except copies from celebrated antiques in the spaces between the columns of the large hall.

It would seem that Michaelis never actually took the trouble to visit Wentworth, but he certainly visited Newby Hall and made copious catalogue entries of each antique piece. As for Waagen, he found 'nothing worth mentioning' simply because he had not been allowed to see several major items. Thus the one publication which might have been expected to discuss the dating and styles of the Ceres, the Antinous bust and the smaller marble antiques in the museum, does not do so. Michaelis's Ancient Marbles in Great Britain cannot claim to be comprehensive. Indeed it was not until Henry Spencer in 1949, and Christie's in 1980, prepared their catalogues that the imbalance began to be redressed.

⁴⁷ Dallaway, the Rev. James. Of Statuary and Sculpture Amongst the Ancients, 1816, p. 314 (NOT p. 341, as Michaelis has it).

Critical and Historiographical Comparisons - The Collection in its day, and its place in the history of collecting

Recorded comments on Rockingham's sculpture collection from the 1750s to the 1880s treat only of one, or of several, of the pieces. Again, in this century, the brief published notices examine larger sections in more scholarly depth, but there has been no historiographical or critical assessment of the entire collection. A comparison will therefore be made with similar sculpture collections formed in Rockingham's lifetime, both in the Yorkshire region and beyond, in order to arrive at a critical assessment of the quality and importance of his purchases. Finally the modern literature on parts of the collection will be described and analysed in order to conclude with an evaluation of the second Marquis's achievement and the historical value of the collection. Because nearly all eighteenth century collections comprised copies, casts, and actual antique marbles, the comparisons will be discussed in that order of reference.

Copies after the Antique, in marble

The eight marble copies after the Antique which Rockingham commissioned in Rome in 1750 demonstrate the full extent to which fancifully or badly restored antiques were modified by eighteenth century sculptors in Italy. Instead of disproportionate marriages of heads with torsos, or woodenly carved arms spoiling an otherwise lithe figure, the marble copyist offered a pure, seamless and flowing form. Furthermore, against the original cerulean blue of the niches, the copies in Wentworth's Marble Saloon must have gleamed pure white - living embodiments of the 'ideal' marble figure extolled in the writings of

Winckelmann.¹ Maini's figure of the Venus Callipyga displays improvements which indicate clearly the eighteenth century preference for purity of outline. It must have been one of the first to have been revised after Richardson had criticised it in 1722², and perhaps the first to tidy the hair. This would have pleased Winckelmann, who considered the restorations of the head 'good for nothing'.³ Della Valle's Germanicus is not at all the sinewy figure in the Louvre but a plump-thighed, soft-bodied and altogether more handsome specimen, whose drapery curves upwards to the left profile of the figure. The catalogue lists several other differences between the other copies and their antique counterparts, but in general, clarity and grace of outline characterise the Saloon sculptures.

Had such a fine ensemble been on display from 1751, it might have procured for the collection the fame which has consistently been denied it. Several of the marble copies seem to have been the first of their kind to arrive in England, certainly in the case of the Flora and the Faun with Kid. But the Saloon took so long to decorate that the copies were still awaiting display in 1768.⁴ Meanwhile Lord Strafford's four copies, which Honour convincingly attributes to G. B. Foggini, were on display at Wentworth Castle long before

¹ In his History of Ancient Art of 1764, Winckelmann said:

As white is the colour which reflects the greatest number of rays of light, and consequently is the most easily perceived, a beautiful body will, accordingly, be the more beautiful the whiter it is, just as we see that all figures in gypsum, when freshly formed, strike us as larger than the statues from which they are made.

(Irwin, D., Winckelmann, Writings on Art, London 1972, p. 118)

² Haskell, F. & Penny, N., Taste and the Antique, London 1981, pp. 316-318, n. 22.

³ Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 318, n. 22.

⁴ Arthur Young is quite clear on this. His reaction is discussed in the previous chapter.

1750.⁵ Syon too could boast six marble copies which must have been on display in the dining room by 1765. They included two figures by Della Valle, which according to James Adam⁶ were waiting to be shipped from Rome in 1763 to the Northumberland collection. These were probably commissioned by Lord Northumberland in the knowledge that Della Valle had already worked for the second Marquis of Rockingham, because one of the figures is, like the one at Wentworth, a Capitoline Flora. Northumberland was a friend of Rockingham and when he visited Wentworth in the early September of 1770⁷, he would have seen his friend's Flora on display in her niche. However, Rockingham cannot claim the distinction of being Della Valle's first English patron, for in 1740 Horace Walpole had commissioned the monument to his mother which was placed in Westminster Abbey.⁸ The Marquis was however responsible for the first marble copy of Flora to appear in England, only six years after the discovery of the original in 1744.⁹ Holkham, Croome Court, and the Whitehall Gallery could only boast plaster casts which were supplied somewhat later than 1750. The Faun with Kid also seems to have been a notable 'first' at least in the full-sized versions. At Chatsworth there is an exquisite marble copy about three feet high, signed by Isidoro Franchi who was a pupil of G. B. Foggini.¹⁰ Joseph Wilton's marble copy for Rockingham, exact and similarly spirited, was probably the piece purchased in Rome which established Wilton's fame.¹¹

⁵ Honour, H., English Patrons and Italian Sculptors in the first half of the eighteenth Century, The Connoisseur, Vol. CXLI, May 1958, p. 223.

⁶ Honour, H., Filippo Della Valle, The Connoisseur, Vol. CXLIV, August 1958, p. 178, n. 28.

⁷ Hoffman, R. J., The Marquis - A Study of Lord Rockingham, 1730-1782, New York, 1973, p. 255.

⁸ Honour, H., Filippo Della Valle, op. cit., p. 177, n. 27.

⁹ Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 215.

¹⁰ Haskell & Penny, op. cit., p. 212.

¹¹ See Catalogue A8 for full text of remarks by Horace Mann to Horace Walpole on Nov. 9th 1753.

As for the banished Saloon sculptures, Della Valle's Germanicus must have been a notable coup for the Marquis, for while there were many casts in existence, the original had gone to France in the 1680s, and Haskell and Penny mention neither the Wentworth marble nor any other marble copies in existence in England.¹² Only in the 1760s was Della Valle providing marble copies to the Adam brothers, but not of the Germanicus.¹³ For Rockingham to have purchased Cavaceppi's Antinous in 1750 must mean that along with the second Earl of Egremont he was one of the first Englishmen to commission work from the celebrated sculptor who was responsible for the restoration of so many antique marbles intended for the English market.

Plaster Casts from the Antique

Rockingham purchased four of the five casts on offer in Florence in 1749. The fifth, of Michelangelo's Bacchus, may not have interested him, but then there were only four niches to fill in the Tuscan Hall. He added to the family of antique notables two individuals not represented in the Saloon above - the Medici Mercury and the Idolino. In the Marquis's day these figures were in the Uffizi along with the Medici Venus and the Clapping Faun. Today the bronze Idolino is in the Museo Archaeologico in Florence. However, the presence of this quartet of casts in the Tuscan Hall at Wentworth indicates that Rockingham wished to remind himself of the Tribuna of the Uffizi, and then perhaps to delight his visitors should they have ascended into the Saloon to be greeted by marble copies of the Venus and the Faun. Either way, the casts underline the Tuscan atmosphere. Between the Tuscan columns, visitors would glimpse four of the finest sculptures then in Tuscany.

¹² Haskell & Penny, op. cit., pp. 219-220.

¹³ Honour, H., Filippo Della Valle, op. cit., p. 173.

William Collins made twelve plaster casts for the Marble Hall at Kedleston which were installed by 1765.¹⁴ Several were duplicated so that the niches could be filled, but there were interesting differences between the Kedleston and Wentworth pantheons.

Kedleston had an Apollo Belvedere, a Pighini Meleager, a Urania and a Ganymede. In common were the Idoline, the Medici Venus, and the Clapping Faun.

The copies and casts at Wentworth lent a particularly Florentine flavour to Wentworth Woodhouse, which might have climaxed in Foggini's Samson group being placed in the centre of the Marble Saloon. Kenworthy-Browne has suggested that the Foggini might have been intended as the centrepiece on a much raised plinth¹⁵, recalling the salone of the Farnese Palace in Rome where the centrepiece was Alexander Farnese crowned by Victory. There is no doubt that Samson never ascended to the Saloon, whose floor would in any case have needed strengthening. Nor did the Ceres become an eventual centrepiece, for she is recorded as being 'also in a niche' in the 1782 Inventory - a niche which could not have been placed anywhere save the centre of the west wall. When this became the doorway to the Grand Staircase, the Ceres was moved to the central staircase niche.

Antique Marbles

Rockingham seems to have purchased seventeen antique marbles which for the most part were small in scale and did not give a distinctive stamp to the Wentworth collection. This was at least partly due to several being at Grosvenor Square until 1782. Rockingham was a noted hypochondriac who died young; perhaps he intended to continue purchasing

¹⁴ Beard, G., Robert Adam's Country Houses, Edinburgh 1981, p. 4. William Collins specialised in the provision of classical reliefs and sculptures from his extensive catalogue. He provided plaster panels for both sides of the apse of the Dining Room at Kedleston in 1760.

¹⁵ Kenworthy-Browne, J., Important English Marble Statuary, European Sculpture, and Works of Art, Christie's, London, July 15th, 1986, p. 56.

antiques with the help of his friend Lord Bessborough, who in the 1770s was in touch with Thomas Jenkins on the Marquis's behalf.¹⁶ Rockingham's letters show that he wanted to spend more time at Wentworth than he was ever able to do. Politics kept him in London much of the time. Meanwhile, several Yorkshire collectors, some of whom were whig friends of the Marquis, others political enemies, were building collections of antiques which were famous in their day. The fourth Earl of Carlisle (1694-1758) established at Castle Howard by far the largest ensemble. Michaelis was prevented from visiting Castle Howard, but listed sixty seven items there, which constituted the oldest collection in Britain after those at Wilton House and Oxford.¹⁷

The most fruitful comparison regarding the sizes and numbers of antiques may be made with William Weddell's ensemble at Newby Hall. Rockingham helped him to a parliamentary seat in Hull and then, after Weddell had fallen out with the voters, to the second seat at Malton itself.¹⁸ Weddell had gone to Rome in 1765, purchasing from Jenkins such pieces as the Jenkins Venus with its restorations attributed to Cavaceppi. He amassed forty nine antiques, six of which Michaelis thought modern.¹⁹ Robert Adam completed the Newby sculpture gallery in 1772 after most purchases had been made in Rome by 1766. Rockingham's sole antique purchases up to that time seem to have been the Mead Antinous, and the Silenus riding on a goat from James Stuart.²⁰

¹⁶ Rockingham Correspondence, WWM R1, 1310. Full text is given in Catalogue entry B.1, 2.

¹⁷ Michaelis, A., Ancient Marbles in Great Britain, Cambridge, 1882, pp. 325-332. Henry Howard, 4th Earl of Carlisle (1694-1758) is described as "*a zealous and tasteful dilettante, who lived much in Rome*".

¹⁸ Hoffman, R. J., op. cit., pp. 192, 308. The Hull seat was being contested in the elections of March-April 1768 and the second Malton seat was at issue in October 1774.

¹⁹ Michaelis, A., op. cit., pp. 522-535. The other forty three pieces were, according to Michaelis, either partially or heavily restored, with the exception of small busts.

²⁰ See Catalogue nos. B1, 1 & 8.

Elsewhere in Yorkshire, Charles Duncombe (who must have been an acquaintance of Rockingham's through the Dilettanti Society which Duncombe joined in 1747), had by 1782 collected various statues for Duncombe Park, among them ten figures of classical deities and the Diskophoros and Molossian Dog restored by Cavaceppi.²¹ At Boynton near Bridlington, Sir George Strickland had obtained six statues from Rome, including one of Juno, through the agency of Thomas Jenkins, between 1780 and 1782.²²

Thomas Worsley, a North Riding tory who in December 1760 replaced Rockingham's uncle Henry Finch as Surveyor-General of the Board of Works in the Bute administration²³, dabbled in antiques at Hovingham Hall, but Michaelis was only able to list three items. Had he actually visited Wentworth, he would surely have listed the Ceres, the archaic-Greek Woman wearing a Chlamys and Chiton and the two busts of Roman ladies, but he took Dallaway's word that the Mead Antinous was the only thing worth noting. Not many collections could summon up an archaic Greek specimen as delicate or complete as Rockingham's, which is now in York Art Gallery.²⁴

Rockingham's secretary, Edmund Burke (1727-97), had a good collection of ancient marbles which were auctioned in 1812. Three went to the British Museum - a bust of Tiberius, a bust of Claudia Olympias and

²¹ Picon, C., Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Exhibition catalogue for a loan exhibition at the Clarendon Gallery Ltd, 8 Vigo Street, London, Nov. to Dec., 1983. Cat. nos. 3 & 22.

²² Michaelis, A., op. cit., p. 216. Strickland had obtained a Juno, a Terpsichore, a Diana, a Venus and Cupid, a head of M. Junius Brutus and a Vase from the Villa Mattei.

²³ Hoffman, R. J., op. cit., pp. 33, 34. This was regarded as an ill omen in that Lord Bute enjoyed favour with George III over all other politicians. Henry Finch, then an old man, owed his parliamentary seat to the second Marquis of Rockingham who was understandably put out by Worsley's appointment. However, that appointment was not part of Rockingham's patronage.

²⁴ See Catalogue B.1, 9. She probably came from Lyde Browne's collection (see also Appendix B(i) no. 57). The 1949 Sale Catalogue described her as rare.

a statue of Cupid "*sent from Rome by Mr. Barry, the painter*".²⁵ Burke sat to Nollekens for his bust, one version of which was installed in the Wentworth Mausoleum, and he also helped the Irish sculptor John Hickey (1751-1795) who produced the marble statuette of 'Cassandra' for Earl Fitzwilliam in 1786.²⁶ There does not appear to be any correspondence on sculpture between Burke and Rockingham, whereas the note to Catalogue B1 no. 2 gives the text of a letter from Rockingham's friend the second Earl of Bessborough (1704-1793) which does mention antique marbles available from Jenkins in Rome in 1770. Much earlier, from 1736 to 1739, Bessborough was on the Grand Tour, and had laid the foundations of his own celebrated collection of gems and antique sculptures in Italy. The gentler side of antiquity was well represented in his torso of Aphrodite which Dallaway considered his most valuable piece, along with two figures of Eros, a Pan and Olympos, an Hermaphroditus, an Apollo and a fragment of a Nereid sitting sideways on a hippocampus.²⁷ However, the Marquis, no doubt under Bessborough's fatherly influence, acquired several antiques including a Ganymede, a Cupid and Psyche, Eros on the back of Hippocampus and not least a Satyr and Satyress in Amorous Conjunction - 'a grand Antique group'!²⁸

The Marquis may have been envious of his Chathamite rival the second Earl of Shelburne, who possessed a collection of antique marbles at Lansdowne House in Berkeley Square. The Earl preferred power to

²⁵ Michaelis, A., op. cit., p. 163, n. 440.

²⁶ See Catalogue C1, introductory note to nos. 4-8.

²⁷ Michaelis, A., op. cit., pp. 60, 61, 126. Lord Egremont purchased the Pan and Olympos in the sale of 1801 and it is still at Petworth. An Apollo, the Hermaphrodites, and the torso of Aphrodite and the Fragment of a Nereid went to Ince Blundell Hall. The Hygieia, Eros as God of Sleep, Eros with attributes of Herakles and Julius Caesar sitting in a consular chair went to Lowther. Bessborough's two hundred gems were of course sold to the Duke of Marlborough, again in 1801.

²⁸ Missing without trace, this piece did not appear in the 1949 sale. The only records are the 1782 Inventory entry for Grosvenor Square, and the Voucher no. 33 in which one Christopher Maighan describes the piece as a "*Satyr and Satyress in Amorous Conjunction, - a grand antique group*".

friendship and enjoyed the favour of George III, something Rockingham had never experienced. No favourite with the Rockinghamites, he became First Lord of the Treasury in succession to Rockingham in 1782.²⁹ His magnificent collection included the Lysippian Athlete, the Herakles, the Polykleitan Hermes, and the Statue of a Youth represented as Apollo, all of which went to America in 1930.³⁰ His Discobolos is now at Bowood. Bessborough's marbles were dispersed in two sales in 1801 and 1850, largely to other English collections.³¹ Not until 1949 did Rockingham's collection begin to fragment, with the sale of several of the smaller antique items.

Modern critical attention to the Marquis's sculpture has focussed on three areas - the Nollekens Goddesses, the Foggini Samson group, and the marble copies after the antique. These have been discussed as though the rest of the collection did not exist, but there have always been problems of access, exacerbated after the second World War when Wentworth did not become a home open to the public. Since the late forties, the east wing has been first the Lady Mabel College, then from 1977 to July 1986, part of Sheffield City Polytechnic. Inadvertently, the myth was perpetuated, by Tipping, Pevsner and Honour, that the eight Saloon marbles were the original complete set, whereas two of them had been replaced perhaps as early as 1874 by the Bacchante and Hebe of the Macdonalds. Without attempting a solution to the mystery of the disappearance of Antinous and Germanicus in the mid fifties, Davis remarks in his Visitor's Guide of 1979 that

²⁹ Hoffman, R. J., op. cit., pp. 376-383.

³⁰ Vermeule, C. C., Greek and Roman Sculpture in America, California 1981, cat. nos. 23, 54, 58, 273. The Lansdowne House Drawing Room has been re-created at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and the Dining Room at the Metropolitan Museum in New York, Lansdowne House was completed in 1762. The Herakles was not discovered until 1790 however, while the Discobolos now at Bowood was not acquired until 1776 (for the Discobolos see Picon, C. A., op. cit., pp. 22-25).

³¹ See note 27 above.

*"some of the statues ... were made ... in Rome in 1749-50".*³²

Admittedly, Tipping's articles in 1924³³ were a pioneering survey of the exterior and interiors of the mansion. His photographs, especially that of the Statuary Room, are of the greatest value in showing the positions of so many sculptures which have long since vanished.

Honour visited Wentworth several times while working in Leeds in 1953-4. He was interested in the Foggini Group, but his attention was caught by Cavaceppi's Antinous and Della Valle's Germanicus. By the time he had obtained photographs of these pieces they had been transferred to the dilapidated Camellia House at some distance from the Mansion. Meanwhile, Seymour Howard had completed his thesis on Cavaceppi, which omitted the Antinous.³⁴ Honour discussed the marble copies, with photographs of Germanicus and Antinous taken in the Camellia House, in his 1958 Connoisseur article. However, he gave the impression that these pieces were still in the Marble Saloon. For thirty years, nobody at Wentworth, including the family or indeed Honour himself, knew where the figures were. Six years of enquiry by the present writer finally bore fruit when in 1985 they were revealed by an estate worker.³⁵

³² Davis, T., Wentworth Woodhouse Visitors Guide, Sheffield City Polytechnic, 1979, p. 18. Davis relies heavily on Pevsner and on Colonel J. W. B. London's Wentworth Woodhouse pamphlet of 1924.

³³ The Country Life articles on Wentworth Castle and Wentworth Woodhouse, by C-Avray Tipping, are bound into a single volume in the Sheffield Reference Library, 942-745F.

³⁴ Howard, S., Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Eighteenth Century Restorer (PhD Thesis, University of Chicago, 1958, published photographically, with additions, New York & London 1982.)

³⁵ The Wentworth Estate Office knew that two sculptures were housed facing one another across the Camellia House but no-one had grasped their significance until the Lady Juliet de Chair made enquiries on the present writer's behalf. There had been recent vandalism at the Camellia House and the genitalia of the Antinous had been broken, hence the extreme caution adopted over any inquiry. Mr. Broadhead of the Wentworth Estate Office kindly facilitated an inspection.

As a result of his Wentworth experiences, Honour advanced the study of neo-classical sculpture in England, although he made statements which can now be modified. First, the copies executed by the sculptors working in Italy are hardly direct copies, as he asserted³⁶, but display several major alterations, itemised in this chapter and in the catalogue. Secondly, the Antinous can no longer be regarded as 'one of the few surviving works wholly and admittedly' from Cavaceppi's hand. Seymour Howard had uncovered many more and there is also the lovely Ceres at Syon. Honour said recently, "*the statue was not, of course, by any means as rare an example of Cavaceppi's work as I had supposed in those far-off innocent days*".³⁷ However, the credit for its publication must go to him, the more so because the 1983 Clarendon Gallery's Cavaceppi exhibition neither photographed nor mentioned Antinous in the catalogue. At that time it was still undiscovered and the organisers hinted darkly at 'difficulties of location'. Honour also established the importance of Foggini's Samson group, maintaining that it was unique in being neither an imitation of the antique nor an original baroque creation, but "*a pasticcio of the only two modern Italian sculptors whose genius was acknowledged by the mid eighteenth-century virtuoso: Giovanni Bologna and Michelangelo*".³⁸ The carving, as he said, is crisp and lively, but faces and hands are flatly carved and do not bear closer scrutiny. In his subsequent article on Filippo Della Valle, Honour reckoned the artist to be an expert copyist of the antique, catering to his patron's desire for the neo-classical, since his other work "*seldom showed any anti-rococo leanings*".³⁹ Citing the Flora as just such an expert copy, he omitted to comment on her downturned and elegant right hand - a rococo concession indeed.

³⁶ Honour, H., "English Patrons and Italian Sculptors", op. cit., p. 224. "*The four single figures executed by Italian sculptors are all direct copies from the antique.*"

³⁷ Letter from Hugh Honour to the present writer, 1st March 1985.

³⁸ Honour, H., "English Patrons and Italian Sculptors", op. cit., pp. 224-225.

³⁹ Honour, H., Filippo Della Valle, op. cit., p. 173.

In 1964, Whinney discussed the Nollekens goddesses for the Pelican History of Art series.⁴⁰ Rightly, she observed that none could be considered serious neo-classical works and that all had a certain archness which suggested that Nollekens knew how to tickle the palates of his clients. Sadly, she focussed only on the Venus, noting its resemblance to Florentine Mannerist sculpture and recalling Nollekens' passion for Giambologna. What she failed to notice was that an almost exact prototype existed for Venus in the pose and proportions of Giambologna's Architecture in the Bargello.⁴¹ The Minerva, especially from the right side where her drapery falls away grandly, has the very flow which some eighteenth-century connoisseurs felt was lacking in the antique Giustiniani Minerva - "*'Tis not very fine, and has no sweep*", said the Richardsons.⁴² There is ample 'sweep' in the Nollekens. The Juno is easily the most arch of the four, and failed to raise a response from Kenworthy-Browne, writing in the recent Christie's catalogue.⁴³ She looks more like a fairy queen than a goddess, needing only to flap her ready-clutched drapery to fly away. The Diana seems to be a spirited adaptation of the Diane Chasseresse in the Louvre, but Kenworthy-Browne suggests that in Nollekens' sketchbook, the four drawings of a bronze Cupid in the act of shooting an arrow to the rear, are precisely in the same pose as the Diana, and appear after a drawing for her.⁴⁴ He quotes Whinney fully, without comment, and hails Nollekens as the principal purveyor of mythologies in England, selling seven in all, of which four were

⁴⁰ Whinney, M., Sculpture in Britain 1530-1830, Pelican History of Art, 1964, p. 159, and plate 118 B.

⁴¹ Saxl F. & Whittkower, R., British Art and the Mediterranean, Oxford, 1948, illus. a, p. 57.

⁴² Haskell, F., & Penny, N., op. cit., pp. 270-271. Quoting Richardson, Jonathan (Senior and Junior), An Account of some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, etc., with Remarks, London, 1722, p. 155.

⁴³ Kenworthy-Browne, J., op. cit., p. 71, cat. no. 87.

⁴⁴ Kenworthy-Browne, J., op. cit., p. 67, cat. no. 85.

ordered by Rockingham, two sold to Lord Yarborough⁴⁵ and one to Thomas Anson of Shugborough. Rockingham was therefore the most munificent patron of Nollekens on the artist's return from Italy, and indeed the first English patron to purchase so many original creations from an English sculptor.⁴⁶

Vincenzo Foggini's Samson group has become by far the most discussed and travelled of Rockingham's sculptures. It was returned to Florence by air in 1974 for the Twilight of the Medici exhibition, having initially been flown to Detroit where the exhibition was first shown. In the catalogue, Lankheit and Montagu discussed its origins, and when it appeared in Washington in the Treasure Houses of Britain exhibition of 1985-6, Avery suggested that it had been carved from a partially carved block left in Giambologna's studio in Florence, which G. B. Foggini took over.⁴⁷ In 1696, G. B. Foggini was ordered to carve a statue of Cardinal Leopoldo for the Uffizi Gallery but the indentations already made would have rendered it difficult to carve a seated prelate. Avery concluded that because of the lack of documentation on the Samson it must have been carved from the original block which had been intended for a Samson group from the start. Giambologna's group of Samson and a Philistine, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, was probably seen by Rockingham at Buckingham House, its home in his day. He must have welcomed the opportunity to purchase a similar conception from the heirs of Giambologna's studio and from a block which Giambologna himself may have begun.

⁴⁵ The Yarborough figures were the celebrated Venus chiding Cupid (1778) and the Seated Mercury (1783), now in the Usher Art Gallery, Lincoln. The Bacchus which Nollekens sold to Thomas Anson in 1771 is now lost (according to Kenworthy-Browne, op. cit., p. 57).

⁴⁶ Kenworthy-Browne (op. cit., p. 57) remarks that before 1800 very few patrons had bought mythological or historical statues from sculptors in England. John Bacon sold a Mars to Lord Yarborough and Thomas Banks sold his Thetis group to Thomas Johnes of Haford.

⁴⁷ The Treasure Houses of Britain Catalogue, National Gallery of Arts, Washington D.C., 1985-6, no. 214.

The second Marquis of Rockingham's sculpture collection could boast, in the Yorkshire region at least, the largest number of copies of famous antique statues, equalled only by the casts at Holkham, the casts and marbles at Syon, and the contents of the Duke of Richmond's Whitehall gallery. As such it was the veritable Pantheon of the North-East of England. Kedleston's casts outnumbered Wentworth's, but could not equal the number of gods and goddesses represented. Meanwhile the collection of antiques at Ince Blundell Hall reigned supreme in the North West. Shortly before his death, Rockingham was collecting sculpture with a view to creating more spectacular displays at Wentworth, or so the note following the 1782 inventory suggests. In the event, his nephew created a worthy setting for some of them in the Grand Staircase, which seems to suggest heroic death and resurrection as its theme.⁴⁸ Rockingham's seventeen antiques were always mixed with copies, casts or modern works in his lifetime and well beyond, and were often badly restored. Certainly the nose on the bust of Antinous is an insult to the last and most handsome god of the classical world. The Ceres is an incredible jigsaw of married marbles. Yet the antiques deserved better of Michaelis, even though, compared with the Newby or Ince sculptures, they were of poorer quality.

Today, the collection can be seen to represent comprehensively the eighteenth century mania for casts and copies after the antique, and proves Rockingham to have been as great a patron of sculpture as he was of George Stubbs. He was the first to help Wilton in Italy, one of the first to encourage 'Athenian' Stuart, and the first to lavish major commissions for 'small life' figures on Nollekens. Finally, his collection demonstrates the partiality towards Giambologna shared by so many artists and patrons in those days, but nowhere better demonstrated than at Wentworth or indeed by the Marquis himself. His Grand Tour jottings continually remark upon Giambologna's public

⁴⁸ See the chapter on "Antinous, Hadrian and Sabina".

sculptures and he purchased, as he told his father in an early letter, a 'brass horse' by the sculptor.⁴⁹ His opinion of Giambologna was nowhere higher than when he remarked about the sculptor's Hercules and the Centaur in Florence that though 'Modern' it was "*much preferable to that which is in the Gallery tho Antique*". Perhaps too, he discovered that the Hercules design was intended to make a pair with the artist's Samson and a Philistine⁵⁰, of which he was shortly to purchase the now celebrated version by Vincenzo Foggini. Nollekens' Venus too is nothing less than a delicate reinterpretation of Giambologna's Architecture.

The Foggini group became the climax of the otherwise rather melancholy sale of yet more of Rockingham's sculpture collection at Christie's on July 15th, 1986. Samson slaying the Philistines realised £320,000. The parsimonious Nollekens would have been thrilled by the prices paid for his goddesses - a total of £400,000.⁵¹

The most famous epithet to come down to us about the second Marquis of Rockingham was Horace Walpole's, "*This lord loves nothing but horses*."⁵² How wrong he was.

⁴⁹ WWM M2 ff 515 (unnumbered MSS).

⁵⁰ See Catalogue Section A2, no. 1, for the full background. In an inventory of 25th Nov. 1687, G. B. Foggini lists that in the Giambologna Studio he took over from the Taccas, the first two items were "*No. 2 Bozze di Marino di Statue grande quanto il naturale, rappresentati una un Ercole e l'altra un Sanssone*", i.e. (2 roughed-out blocks of marble of life-sized statues, one a Hercules and the other a Samson). See also the catalogue note to no. 214 by Charles Avery in the Treasure Houses of Britain, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Yale 1985, pp. 291-292. Giambologna's Hercules and the Centaur must have been in the Loggia dei Lanzo in Florence when Rockingham saw it in 1749.

⁵¹ The prices paid for the Nollekens pieces were:

<u>Venus taking off her sandal</u>	£110,000
<u>Diana</u>	£85,000
<u>Minerva</u>	£100,000
<u>Juno</u>	£105,000

⁵² Lewis, W. S. (ed), Horace Walpole's Correspondence, 48 vols, Oxford/Yale 1960, Vol. 35, pp. 267-8. Walpole's letter to Bentley is discussed further in the chapter on "The Connoisseur Marquis" and the chapter on "Visitors and Verdicts".

CATALOGUE of the Principal Marble Sculptures
and Plaster Casts collected by the second
Marquis of Rockingham between 1749 and 1782,
followed by a list of the principal bronzes.

- Section A1 Marble Sculptures after the Antique of Known Authorship
- Section A2 Marble Sculptures of Original Design and of Known Authorship
- Section B1 Antique Marbles
- Section B2 Marbles after the Antique, of Unknown Authorship
- Section B3 Plaster Casts after the Antique
- Section C1 Miscellaneous Pieces
- Section C2 The Principal Bronzes

NOTE: The Fine Art Department of Henry Spencer and Sons of Retford conducted a SALE OF A LARGE PORTION OF THE CONTENTS OF WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE, YORKSHIRE, from JUNE 28th to JULY 9th, 1949. In 1976, a fire swept through three floors of the Retford offices, destroying the records of that sale, though Spencers would have been unable, in any case, to divulge the names of individual purchasers. It became clear that a number of lots offered for sale in the Statuary Section remained unsold.

Abbreviations in the Catalogue entries:

Honour (1) and (2) refer to

(1) Honour, H. English Patrons and Italian Sculptors in the first half of the eighteenth century, The Connoisseur, May 1958

(2) Honour, H. Filippo Della Valle, The Connoisseur, November, 1959

'Haskell & Penny' refers to F. Haskell & N. Penny, Taste and the Antique, Yale 1981

'Christie's 1986 Catalogue' refers to the sale catalogue of Important English Marble Statuary, European Sculpture and Works of Art, Tuesday, July 15th, 1986.

Cavaceppi Bartolomeo 1716-1799

1. Antinous 1750 pl. 1 see below for location.
height 180 cm
inscribed on base BARTOLOMEUS CAVACEPPI SCULP ROM

Although this sculpture is the same size as the Capitoline Antinous found at Hadrian's Villa, with the same complex, tightly curled hair, the feeling of the pose is closer to the Naples Antinous in the Museo Nazionale. In the Capitoline version, the left hand is posed (in an obvious restoration), on the same level as the genitals, whereas it adjoins the waist in the Naples version and in the Cavaceppi. The swing from the left shoulder to the right hip, very suave in the Naples version, becomes tense in the Capitoline figure and in the Cavaceppi, but the modelling of the massive chest is closer to the Naples figure. Thus, Cavaceppi's Antinous is a fusion of two celebrated antiques, which if they did represent Antinous as Mercury or Hermes, once held caduceus rods. Cavaceppi repeats the stump of this rod in the right hand.

Richard Warner, in 'A tour through the Northern Counties', of 1802, refers to the Cavaceppi as 'Antinous, a naked figure, most beautiful, particularly the hair, by Cavacippi, ...'... Having stood in its niche next to the 'Flora-Sabina' figure by Filippo della Valle, this fairly rare example of a piece carved entirely by Cavaceppi was banished, along with della Valle's 'Germanicus', to the Camellia House at Wentworth. (See the entry No. 3 on 'Germanicus'). Tragically, the now weathered figure suffered castration in late May, 1985, only a fortnight before the present writer re-discovered it after four years of intensive enquiry.

There is not a single reference to the purchase of this piece by the second Marquis of Rockingham, who, as Lord Malton, must have encountered Cavaceppi in the artist's thirty-fourth year, by which time he had become the unofficial chief restorer of antique sculpture to the Papacy, deeply involved with the Capitoline Collections and therefore familiar with the Capitoline Antinous.

Hugh Honour (1), was in no doubt about the importance of Cavaceppi's Antinous in 1958. He said 'As one of the few surviving works wholly and admittedly from the hand of this famous restorer, the Antinous at Wentworth Woodhouse may be of interest to the Classical archaeologist as well as the student of eighteenth century sculpture. However, before Honour's article was published, Seymour Howard's thesis on Cavaceppi (see note 1) appeared. Honour informed the present writer that he had not read it at the time but did have subsequent correspondence with Howard about it.

Cavaceppi (cont.)

Honour continued 'The statue was not, of course, by any means as rare an example of Cavaceppi's work as I had supposed in those far off innocent days !' Nevertheless, Howard did not mention the existence of the Antinous and a recent exhibition in the winter of 1983 at the Clarendon Gallery Ltd in Vigo Street, London, devoted to Cavaceppi's restorations in English private collections (see note 2), found the compilers of the catalogue unable to trace the Antinous. Honour says he saw the sculpture in the house at Wentworth Woodhouse in 1953-4 and suggests that it was then moved into 'a pavilion or outhouse in the park' judging from some photographs subsequently sent to him showing dilapidated walls. He was, of course, correct.

1. Howard S. Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Eighteenth Century Restorer. (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago 1958). Published photographically with additions, New York and London 1982.
2. Bartolomeo Cavaceppi - eighteenth century restorations of ancient marble sculptures from English Private Collections. Catalogue and introduction by Carlos A. Picon. 23rd November to 22nd December 1983.
(A loan exhibition at the Clarendon Gallery, 8 Vigo Street, London W1).

2. Flora 1750 pl. 2 Marble Saloon, Wentworth
height incl. base: 180 cm
Also known as: The Capitoline Flora, Sabina and Polyhymnia.
Inscribed on base PHIL.VALLE.F.

The antique original is in the Museo Capitolino in Rome.
Catalogued in Christie's 1980 Inventory of Wentworth Woodhouse
as: 'Important Roman white marble statue of Flora, inscribed
'Phil.Valle.F', by Filippo della Valle - 18th century'.

There is no reference to the purchase of this piece anywhere in
W.W.M. Honour (1) notes that the Della Valle Flora is carved,
with 'very slight variations which give it an eighteenth-century
air' but does not elaborate. Perhaps Della Valle felt the
right hand to be too awkwardly put on the original, because he
drops the palm towards the spectator. He also re-arranges the
drapery near the feet. For a discussion of the significance of
this piece as a 'Sabina' see the chapter on Antinous, Hadrian
and Sabina.

Della Valle's version is recorded by Haskell & Penny (p. 216) as
the first of several marble copies to be found in England. They
note that 'A little later Brettingham supplied a cast for Holkham
Hall'. Honour (2) simply mentions that the work reveals Della
Valle as an expert copyist.

3. Germanicus 1750 pl. 3 see below for location
height incl. base: 180 cm.
Inscribed on base GERMANICUS/F. VALE F.
Also known as: Augustus, Brutus, M. Marius Gratidianus,
Man playing Morra, Mercury, Roman Orator.

The antique original is in the Louvre in Paris.
Della Valle's copy was replaced by Macdonald's 'Bacchante' at an
unknown date between 1874 and the present, 1874 being the
inscribed date on the Macdonald. Along with the 'Antinous' by
Cavaceppi it was eventually placed in the distant Camellia House
at Wentworth Woodhouse, where it has been for at least thirty
years. (See entry on Cavaceppi's Antinous).

Della Valle was probably familiar with the plaster cast of the
exported 'Germanicus' in the French Academy at Rome (p. 219,
Haskell & Penny). There are differences. The muscular rhythms
through the trunk seem more suave and languid in the Della Valle,
whereas a virile foursquare stance is given to the original. The
tortoise, acting as a connection between the tip of the drapery
and the base, is much smaller on the original and far more highly
modelled than Della Valle's dumpy creature. Its presence convinced
Visconti (p. 220 Haskell & Penny) that the figure was a Mercury
because the tortoise was a symbol of that god. Visconti

mentioned a few Roman generals who could have represented in the guise of Mercury. However, Mercury was the God of Commerce, and the Comte de Clarac, Visconti's successor at the Musée Centrale des Arts, felt that the figure could well represent M. Marius Gratidianus, the initiator of monetary reforms, in the guise of Mercury, the God of Commerce. Rockingham, who was familiar with the attributes of the ancient gods and also with ancient Roman history, may well have known about this, as indeed he may have heard the theory about the figure being a nude Augustus, which is how it was listed in 17th century inventories. Had Rockingham known of the Mercury connection, he may well have felt this sculpture to have been specially fitting for him to own - especially in his later life, for in 1766 he headed ^{tried to} the ministry which carried the repeal of the Stamp Act and ^{tried to} redress the commercial grievances of the American Colonies. (See Chapter 1).

Germanicus was the nephew of the Emperor Tiberius, most active between AD 14-19. He was worshipped as a God in Egypt and was famous for his heroic virtue, dashing good looks and successful campaigns. (1)

Mentioned by Honour (1) and (2); the original fully discussed but the present copy, (temporarily lost before its rediscovery by the present writer), not recorded by Haskell & Penny, pp. 219-220.

1. Cunliffe, B. Rome and Her Empire, 1978 pp. 175, 185, 233-234, 249.

4. Venus Callipyga 1750 pl. 4 Marble Saloon, Wentworth
height incl. base: 165 cm.
Inscribed on base CALLIPIGA MAINI. F.
Also known as 'La Bergère Grecque, Vénus aux belles fesses,
Venus drying herself, Venus leaving the bath, Shifting Venus,
La Belle Victoricuse'.

The antique original is in the Museo Nazionale at Naples.
Catalogued in Christie's 1980 Inventory of Wentworth Woodhouse
as: 'White marble statue of Venus Callipygos, after the Antique,
by Maini, F. the nymph standing holding drapery - 68" high,
18th century'.

The sculptor seems to be 'improving' on the original which in
the eighteenth century was thought to be badly restored. The
turn of the left hand and the clutching of the drapery certainly
improve on the awkwardness in the original. Maini gives an
armlet to the left arm as well as reproducing the one on the
right arm, and re-styles the hair, taking the top-knot away.
Ringlets which trail down the neck in the original are caught
up very tidily, leaving the neck clear.

The Venus is one of Maini's last works. Shortly afterwards he
was commissioned by Rockingham's friend Lord Charlemont to make
a series of ancient Roman busts but died before he had begun
them. The commission went to Simon Vierpyl.

Mentioned by Honour (1)

Noticed by Haskell & Penny, p. 318, n. 16.

5. Homer 18th century pl. 5 Statuary Room, Wentworth
height 68 cm.

On March 15, 1762, one John Schackleton charged the Marquis fifty guineas for two busts of Homer and Mithridates 'copied from the antique by Verchaffent'. (See Appendix B i, no. 58). They were placed in the 'Low Room in the South Tower' at Wentworth (see Appendix B i.) The bust of Homer became Lot 426 in the Wentworth Sales conducted by Henry Spencer & Sons in 1949; it remained at Wentworth unsold. The companion bust of Mithridates cannot now be found and may have been the 'marble bust of a bearded ancient' (Lot 464), unless, on the evidence of similar treatment in the carving and an identical socle, it is the bust now catalogued as a Dionysus by Christies in 1980 (See Cat. B ii no. 5). The Homer is very similar to the herm bust found near Naples in 1780 which Townley purchased from Hamilton for £80. (British Museum Cat. Sculpt. 1825). Sold as Lot 80 in Christie's 1986 Sale.

6. Apollo Medici 1751 pl.6 Marble Saloon, Wentworth
height incl. base: 148 cm.
Inscribed on base: VIERPY. ROME 1751
Also known as the Apollino or Little Apollo.
The antique original is in the Tribuna of the Uffizi in
Florence. Catalogued in Christie's 1980 Inventory of
Wentworth Woodhouse as: 'White Marble statue of the Apollo
Medici, after the Antique, 5' high, 18th century'.

Vierpyl's marble is rather spotted, particularly in the lower legs, giving the unfortunate appearance of varicose veins. The weight of his figure is thrust much more firmly down the right leg and there is a greater swing to the body, which appears more fleshy than the antique original. If the Apollino was supposed to represent the adolescence of the God, or the sun at dawn, the placing of the Wentworth copy could not have been more felicitous, for it gazes directly out of the windows of the Marble Saloon. And, as many eighteenth century connoisseurs suggested, it here accompanies the Venus de'Medici and the Venus Callipyga.

The antique original is discussed by Haskell & Penny, pp. 146-148.

7. Clapping Faun 1751 pl. 7 Marble Saloon, Wentworth
height incl. base: 143 cm.
Inscribed on base: VIERPY. ROME 1751
Also known as: Medici Faun, Faun with Clappers, Dancing Faun, Faun with Crotale. The antique original is in the Tribuna of the Uffizi. Catalogued in Christie's 1980 Wentworth Woodhouse Inventory as: 'White marble statuette of the Clapping Faun, after the Antique, beside a tree stymp - 51" high'.

Vierpyl must have worked from a plaster cast in Rome, because the antique original had been in Florence since at least 1665. The arms were restorations and it is thought that the 'crotala' or cymbals were fanciful. The 'scabellum' or 'croupezion' under the right foot is another antique musical instrument. Vierpyl has been faithful to the original, especially in the hair which actually looks antique, and has altered only the height of the support and its surface details. As recommended by eighteenth century connoisseurs, the Faun faces the Venus de'Medici in the Marble Saloon.

The Vierpyl Wentworth version is noticed by Haskell & Penny, p. 206.

8. Faun with Kid 1751 pl. 8 Marble Saloon, Wentworth height, incl. base: 143 cm.
Also known as: Chasseur de la Reine de Suède, Cyparisse, Petit Faune de l'Espagne, Queen of Sweden's Faun, Ildefonso Faun. The antique original is now in the Prado, Madrid. Catalogued in Christie's 1980 Inventory of Wentworth Woodhouse as: 'White marble statue of a youthful Pan (?) after the Antique, the youth nude beside a tree stump, carrying a kid on his shoulder, 59" high'.

This may well be the sculpture mentioned in a letter from Horace Mann to Horace Walpole on 9th November 1753 (1) in which Mann says 'A Statue he (Wilton) did at Rome, and a copy of the Venus which he made here for Lord Rockingham, gained him great applause'. Wilton must have worked from a cast of the Faun (1), for Ercole Ferata's much restored original (2), purchased after its excavation near the Chiesa Nuova in the 1670s by the Queen of Sweden, was after her death sold eventually to Philip V of Spain in 1724. It was kept in the country palace of San Ildefonso until 1839 when it was taken to the Prado. Copied for Versailles (1685-6) and Marly, it was included in de Rossi's anthology of the most admired statues in 1704. Only by 1781 had the Royal Academy acquired a cast of the Faun, which appeared at Chatsworth in reversed form in lead, so the more or less exact copy by Wilton, superbly 'sprung' in its stride like the original, is important. The Chatsworth lead version has none of the springing vitality or tightness of form in the original or in Wilton's marble. Having trained with Delvaux and Pigalle in France, Wilton may well have seen the cast which immediately replaced a much-prized one in the French Academy, a plaster accidentally destroyed in 1732.

The antique original is discussed by Haskell & Penny, pp. 211, 212.

- (1) The bronze statuette of the Faun sold by Righetti in the late eighteenth century refers to the original as being in the Capitoline collection. This must have been a cast since the original had gone in 1724. (Haskell & Penny, p. 212)
- (2) Only the headless torso was found in the excavations.

9. Venus de'Medici 1751 pl. 9 & 9b Marble Saloon, Wentworth
height incl. base: 160 cm.
Also known as: Grecian Venus*, Marine Venus, Venus Pontia.
The antique original is in the Tribuna of the Uffizi in Florence.
Catalogued in Christie's 1980 Inventory of Wentworth Woodhouse
as: 'A white marble statue of the Medici Venus, after the
Antique, standing nude with dolphin at the base - 63" high,
18th century'.

The twenty-eight-year-old Wilton has carved delicate, rippling waves on the base and has removed the added putto (an addition from an early restoration on the original ?) from the dolphin support. He has also carved a tiny sea-shell being washed ashore between the feet. (See pl. 9b). The rhythms in the pose are all accentuated, the right thigh curving inwards more naturally and the left hip correspondingly more rounded. Wilton also gets rid of the stiffness in the restored arms, a move which no doubt pleased Rockingham and certainly would have pleased the Duke of Shrewsbury who in 1700 felt that they 'were not so vigorous a shape as the rest of her body' (1). The left hand, instead of totally obscuring her sex as it does in the original, seems to be about to cover her nudity - a charming innovation and one which looks more beautiful than the awkwardly restored original. The hair is much softer and more rhythmical. There is a strong feeling that Wilton has carved an ideal closer to the desires of eighteenth century critics, and has made an allusion to the manner of the goddess's birth by carving waves on the base.

*Several small 'Grecian Venuses' are catalogued in the 1782 Inventory (Appendix Di) testifying to the immense popularity of the Venus de'Medici in the eighteenth century. For further proof see Haskell & Penny.

1. Haskell & Penny, p. 326

10. Head of the Laocoon. 1758 sold in 1949
size unrecorded Formerly in the Low Room, Wentworth
Inscribed I WILTON fecit 1758
Described in the 1782 Inventory as '1 (white marble) bust of
laocoon in a Deal Case'. (Appendix Di). The bust became Lot 470
in the 1949 Wentworth sales conducted by Henry Spencer & Sons,
and was catalogued as 'A Bust of a Bearded Immortal, by Wilton,
1758'.

Wilton (cont.)

11. Head of a Warrior (?) 1758 pl. 10 Statuary Room, Wentworth
height: 59 cm.
Inscribed I WILTON FECIT 1958 beneath strap.

This bust, bearing the same date as Wilton's copy of the Head of Laocoon (Cat. A1, 10) is described as a bust of a Warrior by Christie's 1980 Inventory. John Kenworthy-Browne (1) writes that it is a free copy after a marble bust now in the Museo Nazionale, Naples. Several other examples exist, variously identified as the astronomer Aratus; the orator Demosthenes; or the Greek general Lysimachus. The strap running over one shoulder (presumably a support for a scabbard or quiver), lends support to the bust being a Lysimachus. It has proved impossible to identify from any of the inventories or vouchers for Works of Art.

- (1) Illustrated as Lot 88 in Christie's 1986 Catalogue alongside a description by Kenworthy-Browne.

Section A2

Marble Sculptures of Original Design
and of Known Authorship.

The sculptures in this section all
use motifs derived from the antique.

1. Samson Slaying the Philistines 1749 pl. 11 Tuscan Hall,
height: 233 cm. Wentworth
Inscribed on base: VIN.V5 FOGGINI/SCULPSIT FLO/RENTIAE/1749

There is no specific reference in the Rockingham Correspondence (WWM.MZ.) to the purchase of this group. It appears to be the 'marble groupe' that had arrived safely in England according to the first Marquis in his letter of Jan. 23rd, 1750. The group is derived from a Michelangelo project of the 1520s for a pair to his statue of David which was to have been a Samson group and which is now known from bronze aftercasts of his wax model, and from Giambologna, whose over life-size variation on Michelangelo's model was carved in marble in 1560, exported to Spain and then in 1623 to England. The young Lord Malton could have known the Giambologna group, which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, from it then being in Buckingham House, London, between 1714 and 1762. The upturned head of the Philistine in the Giambologna is echoed by the elder Philistine in the Foggini, while the back of the beardless Philistine is derived (like the pose of the elder) from the antique Wrestlers in the Tribuna of the Uffizi. The gesture of the young Philistine grasping Samson's leg is derived from the Michelangelo model, while the pose of Samson is taken from the Laocoon group.

The beginnings of Foggini's Samson may date from 150 years before 1749. When Pietro Tacca took over Giambologna's studio after his death in 1608 it was stated in an inventory of work in progress that 'the roughing-out of the Samson has been begun'. A similar marble item was then listed in the studio in 1635. It was still standing unfinished in the courtyard of the Grand Ducal studio when G.B. Foggini took over the studio from Tacca's son Ferdinando. An inventory of Nov. 25th 1687 lists a roughed-out block of a life-sized statue of Samson. It had always been assumed that this block was used to produce a commissioned statue of Cardinal Leopoldo de Medici, ordered from G.B. Foggini, but this would only have been feasible if the roughing-out had scarcely begun. It is likely therefore that G.B. Foggini handed it over to his son to complete as a Samson group, and got a fresh block of marble for Cardinal Leopoldo.

Vincenzo's father produced a small model of a Samson, with more figures at the base, for reproduction by the Doccia Porcelain Factory. This is known from an old photograph of a white porcelain version (W.C. Gladstone sale, Christie's, 23rd June 1875, Lot 272). The anatomy of Samson is thickly set, as is that by Vincenzo. Perhaps the son here enlarged the small prototype by his father, reducing the number of Philistines. However, Vincenzo's anatomical passages are more generalised than Giovanni Battista's - the carving of the hair is crisper and more angular - suggesting that Vincenzo may have been a copyist of the antique.

Foggini (cont.)

Exhibited:

The Twilight of the Medici, Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit (Mich.) 1974, no. 80 (Catalogue entry by Klaus Lankheit and Jennifer Montagu).

Gli Ultimi Medici, il tardo barocco a Firenze 1670-1743, Pitti Palace, Florence, 1974, no. 43.

The Treasure Houses of Britain, National Gallery of Arts, Washington D.C., 1985/6, no. 214, (Catalogue entry by Charles Avery).

Sold as Lot 96 in Christie's 1986 Sale

Literature:

Hugh Honour (1)

Klaus Lankheit, Florentinische Barockplastik: die Kunst am Hofe der Letzten Medici, Munich, 1962, pp. 72-3, 269, doc. 258.

Katherine J. Watson, Pietro Tacca, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania 1973, pp. 277-78, 280-81, 321.

Klaus Lankheit, Die Porzellanmanufaktur Doccia, Munich, 1982, p. 119, no. 4.

Malcolm Baker, 'A piece of wondrous art': Giambologna's Samson and a Philistine and its later copies', in Antologia di Belle Artè, N.S., 23-4, 1984, pp. 62-71.

John Kenworthy-Browne, Important English Marble Statuary, European Sculpture and Works of Art, Christie's, Tuesday July 15th, 1986, catalogue entry 96.

2. Venus 1773 pl. 15 formerly Old Billiard Room Lobby,
height: 130 cm. Wentworth
Inscribed NOLLEKENS, FT. 1773 Exhibited Royal Academy, 1773,
no. 211.
Described by Christie's 1980 Inventory as a 'White marble
statuette of Venus, preparing for the bath, seated on a tree
stump ... on painted pedestal. Venus was originally in the
'Ground Floor Room, North East Backwards' at 4 Grosvenor Square,
with Nollekens's Juno and Minerva (See Appendix Di). She was
taken to Wentworth and placed with her sister goddesses in the
Museum or Statuary Room shortly after 1782.
Lot 84, Christie's 1986 Sale.

Margaret Whinney (1) suggested in 1964 that 'Venus' was the
'Venus de Medici' re-posed. She went on to say that the 'over-
all air of elegance and the tapering legs have some resemblance
to Florentine Mannerist sculpture, and it may be recalled that
Nollekens owned terracottas which he claimed were works by
Giovanni da Bologna'. In fact, the Giambologna 'Allegory of
Architecture' in the Bargello, Florence, seems to be the source
of the pose, for in that figure, the left hand touches the right
heel and she looks to her left, as does Nollekens's 'Venus',
who takes her right sandal off with her left hand. The only
real difference is that Giambologna's figure has her right leg
beneath her left, whereas Nollekens has the right leg going over
the left (2).

1. Whinney, M. 'Sculpture in Britain 1530-1830'. Pelican
History of Art, 1964, p. 159, and a plate of the Venus',
pl. 118 B.
 2. Giambologna's 'Allegory of Architecture' is illustrated in
F. Saxl and R. Wittkower's British Art & the Mediterranean,
Oxford, 1948, plate a, p. 57.
3. Minerva 1775 pl. 14 formerly West Entrance Hall, Wentworth
height: 142.5 cm.
Inscribed NOLLEKENS 1775. Exhibited Royal Academy 1774 (sic.)
no. 191.
Described in Christie's 1980 Inventory as a 'White Marble statuette
of Minerva, by Joseph Nollekens, helmeted and robed, signed
Nollekens 1775 ... on Scagliola square pedestal.

Minerva was originally in the 'Ground Floor Room North East
Backwards' at 4 Grosvenor Square, with Nollekens's Venus and Juno.
(See Appendix Di). She was taken to Wentworth and placed with
her sister goddesses in the Museum or Statuary Room shortly after
1782. Lot 86, Christie's 1986 Sale.

Nollekens (cont.)

The statue is loosely based on the Minerva Giustiniani in the Vatican Museum, which has a helmet decorated with rams' heads (1). Nollekens repeats this motif but raised the right arm as if to hurl the spear, which is held upright in the Giustiniani version. Champion of the state and patroness of artisans as well as a Goddess of war, Minerva was obviously much on Rockingham's mind long before he acquired the statue, for on March 31st 1767 he wrote to his wife:

'In my letter wrote tonight to Sir George Savile, I have told him that he must come, for that now that I have not MY MINERVA at my elbow I must beg my mentor to come'.
(Hoffman p. 152).

1. Haskell & Penny, pp 270-271, pl. 140.
4. Juno 1776 pl. 13 formerly West Entrance Stairwell,
height: 137.5 cm. Wentworth
Inscribed NOLLEKENS FT. 1776
Exhibited Royal Academy, 1776, no. 199.
Described in Christie's 1980 Inventory as a 'white marble statuette of a goddess, by Joseph Nollekens, standing and robed'.
Lot 87, Christie's 1986 Sale.
Originally in the 'Ground Floor Room North East Backwards' at 4 Grosvenor Square, with Nollekens's Venus and Minerva (see Appendix Di), Juno was taken to Wentworth and placed with her sister goddesses and Diana in the Museum or Statuary Room, shortly after 1782.

It is difficult to see which of Juno's aspects is being stressed in Nollekens's over-glamorous, busty matron, clutching her robes around her. Perhaps she is Juno Sospita (the protector of women in labour and also the liberator) and Juno Regina all in one. The crown is pointed, whereas that on the Juno Sospita found at Lanuvium is plain (1). The Cesi Juno in the Capitoline Museum has, like the Nollekens, her right, sandalled foot exposed and forward (2).

1. Field, D.M. Greek and Roman Mythology, London 1977 p. 158.
2. Haskell & Penny, pp. 242, 243; pl. 124.
5. Diana 1778 pl. 12 formerly West Entrance Stairwell,
height: 125 cm. Wentworth
Inscribed NOLLEKENS, Ft. 1778
Exhibited Royal Academy, 1778, no. 217
Described in Christie's 1980 Inventory as a 'white marble statuette of Diana, by Joseph Nollekens, in the act of firing a bow'.
Lot 85, Christie's 1986 Sale. See note (1).

There is no mention of the Diana at 4 Grosvenor Square (2). Shortly after 1782 she joined Nollekens's sister goddesses in the Museum or Statuary Room.

Margaret Whinney (see entry on Venus, no. 2) felt that Goddesses 'pleased Nollekens most' and that the best remaining examples are indeed the four figures discussed here, together with the Yarborough Venus chiding Cupid now in the Usher Gallery, Lincoln. Whinney notes that the Diana 'runs rapidly forward, turning her head to discharge an arrow as she goes'. Kenworthy-Browne (1) mentions that four drawings of a similarly posed Cupid, now ascribed variously to Fanelli or Prieur, appear in Nollekens's sketchbook immediately following a drawing for the Diana. (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: 148.1.N., (Douce Bequest). pp. 74 and 75).

- (1) Entry to Lot 85, Christie's Sale Catalogue, 1986
- (2) The presence of the antique marble statue of Paris in the same room as the Nollekens Venus, Juno and Minerva may have indicated that Rockingham wished originally to create a 'Judgment of Paris' group at Grosvenor Square, since Diana was not one of that trio (See Appendix Di).

Section B1

Antique Marbles

Only nine of the seventeen listed antique marbles in the Wentworth and Grosvenor Square collections are now available or satisfactorily recorded in the 1949 Wentworth Sales Catalogue conducted by Henry Spencer & Sons. The remainder are listed in either Appendix B or Appendix D.

1. Antinous (bust of) 2nd century AD Main Staircase, Wentworth
height excl. socle: 69 cm. with socle: 90 cm. pl. 16

Christie's 1980 Inventory describes this as a 'White Greek marble bust of Antinous - heroic size - 1st century AD'. This is impossible, for Antinous died aged about eighteen, in 130 AD (1).

Dallaway (2), quoted with approval by Michaelis (3), regarded this as the most valuable bust from the collection of Dr. Richard Mead (1673-1754). Rockingham acquired it from the Mead Sale in 1755.

According to Lambert, p. 232 (4), the 'Sala Rotonda' bust of Antinous, found in the Villa Adriana in 1790, was much debated as to its being *ad vivum* or posthumous. The Wentworth bust, clearly discovered much earlier than the 'Sala Rotonda' one, is very like it and shows the huge, rather flabby chest and the corkscrew ringlets of its more famous counterpart which is also in much better condition (see Lambert, pl. 6). The Wentworth bust has been restored on the chin, lips and nose, which is too beak-like for Antinous whose legendary beauty is better served in the Sala Rotonda bust. In note 20 on p. 249, Lambert says of the Sala Rotonda bust that 'there are no further versions, as one might expect if this was an original '*ad vivum*' work'. He feels that on stylistic and iconographical grounds it is both posthumous and intended to be heroic, citing the possibility that the hair is like that of an Apollo. Yet here in the Wentworth bust, which is not mentioned at all by Lambert, is clearly a portrait of Antinous which could well be a further version of the Sala Rotonda bust. It is unfortunately badly weathered.

1. Lambert, Royston. *Beloved and God. The Story of Hadrian and Antinous*. London 1984. Ch. 1, pl. 1.
2. Dallaway, the Rev. James. *Of Statuary and Sculpture*. London 1816, p. 315.
3. Michaelis, Adolf. *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*. Cambridge 1882, see chapter on 'The Golden Age of Classic Dilettantism'.

See also the chapter on Antinous, Hadrian and Sabina.

2. Ceres Roman, Alexandrine Main Staircase, Wentworth
height: 210 cm, excl. pedestal. pl. 17
Also known as an Ariadne.
Christie's 1980 Inventory describes the Ceres as a 'Very fine
marble heroic statue of Ceres, wearing drapery - Alexandrine
period'. The figure is much restored.

On his visit in 1768, the meticulous Arthur Young does not mention this large statue, probably because it was not then at Wentworth. No documentation about its acquisition occurs in the vouchers (Appendix Bi), but a letter of August 22nd, 1770 from Bessborough to Rockingham, urges the Marquis to act over some marbles which Thomas Jenkins was offering from Rome. An air of secrecy pervades the letter (1). If indeed the Ceres came from Herculaneum, its itemisation on a separate sheet, which was lost long ago, is justified. From 1738 a guard was kept over the sites at Herculaneum and no sales were permitted but smuggling did go on. Suddenly in the letter, Bessborough switches from speaking about the marbles Jenkins mentions to 'though you see, if you were to keep IT (my italics) you are to pay 20 more than he at first asked for it ...' There is nothing more to go on except a sentence referring to the possibility of this mysterious sculpture having to go 'back to Rome'. Clearly an oral tradition grew about the Ceres being from Herculaneum, for Edward Law in June 1833 (2) not only lists her (something Dallaway, Passavant, Waagen and Michaelis (3) all fail to do) but takes her to task over her draperies, firmly stating her origins:

'Ariadne found in the Ruins of Herculaneum. The drapery of which is anything but agreeable, being, from the waist of the figure, folded in long straight lines, mostly at equal distances, and the rounding of the folds much alike; the garment looking rope-like, and fluted, alternately, having little either of nature or grace to recommend it'.

The 1782 Inventory lists the Ceres as 'An Antique Ariadne with a Horse-leek in the Right Hand and the Arm extended upon a square pedestal also in a niche. Height 7'0'.

The statue does seem to be a Ceres. The Homeric Hymn to Demeter (with whom Ceres was identified in the Roman Pantheon), refers to the Goddess ranging the world for nine days in search of her daughter Kore (Persephone) who had been snatched away by the God, Hades. Over her shoulder she threw a sombre veil, and she held torches in both hands. The attitude of the left arm and hand suggests that a veil has indeed been thrown over her shoulder. The horse-leek in her right hand is presumably a reference to her function as Goddess of crops. She does seem to be in a state of animated distraction, which is probably why she was also called

an Ariadne, another ancient who wandered distractedly on the shores of Naxos abandoned by Theseus and, temporarily, by Bacchus.

NOTES.

1. The relevant section of Lord Bessborough's letter runs:

'Your lordship will be pleased to inform me, what you would have done, and if you would have any of the marbles he mentions, sent to you. Your Lordship will observe that what Mr. Jenkins proposes, about the M:- awaiting differs from what you proposed. But upon the whole, I don't know whether it may not be a better bargain for your Lordship, though you see, if you keep it, you are to pay 20 more than he at first asked for it, but then if you don't keep it, your Lordship is only to pay the expense of the Carriage &c for, if it goes back to Rome, there cannot be any Duty upon it. You will be pleased to inform me exactly what you would have done, and I will write to Mr. Jenkins as soon as possible, with your commands'. (WWM R1.1310)

2. In the Village Magazine or Wath Repository Vol. III June 1833, no. 30.
3. These distinguished savants obviously did not consider the statue to be of the best periods of Roman work, otherwise they would never have ignored such an heroic piece.

3. Seated Dionysos Roman 2nd cent. AD Top Room, South Tower,
height 62 cm. pl. 18 Wentworth
Described in Christie's 1980 Inventory as a 'Roman white
marble statuette of a seated Dionysos with ivy wreath, 2nd
century AD'.

This statue must have been one of the five listed as being
in the room in 1782. (See Appendix Di). The size given then,
'2'8" high upon flat pedestals', must have been a rough one
derived from the height of the Meleager in the same room.

4. Bust of 'Julia Mamaea' (1) Roman 3rd cent. AD. Main Staircase,
height: 71 cms. (excl. base) pl. 19 Wentworth
(a) Christie's 1980 Inventory describes this bust as a Roman
matron 'Julia Mammea' 3rd century AD. It resembles in all
essential details the bust of Julia Mammea in the Capitoline
Museum in Rome. A possible Cavaceppi forgery is discussed
and illustrated in Carlos Picon's Catalogue to the Cavaceppi
exhibition of 1983 at the Clarendon Gallery in London (cat.
no. 14).
Julia Mammea was the mother of the Emperor Severus Alexander
(Emperor from 222-235 AD).
(b) This bust, and no. 5, may have been the two antique busts
from the Lyde Browne collection. There are no records of
any other antique marble busts, apart from the Antinous, in
any of the Inventories or vouchers. (See Appendix Bi no. 217).

1. There appear to be two spellings, Mamaea and Mammea, in
current use.
See Strong, Eugénie, Art in Ancient Rome, London 1929 p. 160
for a photograph of the Capitoline version (fig. 503).

5. Roman Matron (Faustina the younger ?) Roman 3rd Main Staircase,
cent. AD Wentworth
height: 73 cm. (excl. base) pl. 20

See cat. no. 46 for possible provenance.

A Roman portrait of Faustina the younger in the Capitoline Museum
was restored by Cavaceppi, who copied it several times for English
collectors. The Wentworth bust seems to have the head of Faustina
the younger in middle age and may be compared with the Cavaceppi
version illustrated on p. 67 (cat. no. 16) of Carlos Picon's
catalogue to the Cavaceppi exhibition at the Clarendon Gallery,
London in 1983.

Faustina the younger was the daughter of Hardian's adopted
successor, the emperor Antoninus Pius, of whom Rockingham had a
terra cotta bust (Appendix Bi, no. 77).

From Warner's description of the museum in 1802, this bust may have
been known as a 'Sabina' (the wife of Hadrian). [See the chapter on

Visitors and Verdicts]. The facial features are not dissimilar to those on the bust of Sabina in the Vatican.

6. 'Paris' Roman with 18th cent. body. Statuary Room, Wentworth
height: 127.5 cm. pl. 21

Described in Christie's 1980 Inventory as a 'White marble statuette of Paris, partly antique, standing beside a tree stump, 52" high, on painted pedestal imitating marble, the head and base Roman, the body 18th century'.

One of several lots which were not sold in the 1949 Wentworth sales, conducted by Henry Spencer & Sons. Lot 454, it was catalogued as 'A fine Marble Statue, "Paris with apple in hand"'.

The Paris was in the 'Ground Floor Room' at no. 4 Grosvenor Square with the Nollekens goddesses and sixteen bronzes. On coming to Wentworth it was put in the 'Museum' or Statuary Room, next to the Marble Saloon, where it remains to this day. There is no record of its purchase in the vouchers. See Appendix Di. *See also Additional note at end of this section.*

Edward Law, writing in the Wath Repository Vol. III, June 1833, described this piece as 'The Antique Paris from the ruins of Herculaneum, holding an apple and a shepherd's crook'.

7. The 'Drunken Silenus' Early Greco-Roman York Art Gallery
height 32.5 cm., length 57.0 cm. pl. 22

Sold in the 1949 Wentworth sales conducted by Henry Spencer & Sons, this was Lot 431, catalogued as 'A rare and important early Greco-Roman Statuette "Drunken Figure of Naked Silenos", in a recumbent attitude, leaning against a wine-skin'. Left leg and portion of wine-skin restored. 13" high, 23" long.

There is no record of its purchase in the vouchers, but it was certainly in the Low Room next to the South Tower at Wentworth, where it was itemised as 'A full length figure of a Silenus lying upon a Couch fl-11I by 10I'. (the latter measurement excl. base). See Appendix Di. *See also Additional Note at end of this section.*

8. Nude Silenus astride a Goat Roman Formerly in the Gallery,
height: 51 cm., length 40 cms. Wentworth.

Sold in the 1949 Wentworth Sales conducted by Henry Spencer & Sons, this was Lot 433, catalogued as 'An important Marble Statuette "Nude Silenos astride a Goat", and holding aloft a bunch of fruiting vines (much restored) 20½ ins. high, 16 ins. long'.

James 'Athenian' Stuart obtained this piece, which may well have been restored by Nollekens (1), in Rome. The account is dated Dec. 28th 1764, and Stuart describes the sculpture as 'an antique Marble representing Silenus riding on a goat'. It cost the Marquis fifty pounds. (See Appendix Bi).

Nude Silenus astride a Goat (cont.)

Rockingham placed the Silenus in the Gallery at Wentworth, an immensely long room where, according to the 1782 Inventory, it was accompanied by only one other sculpture - a plaster bust of Clytie (see cat. no. B3.2.).

9. Woman wearing a Chlamys and Chiton (Isis') York Art Gallery
Archaic Greek statuette, before 490 BC pl. 23
height 82 cm.

Lot 432 in the 1949 Wentworth Sales conducted by Henry Spencer and Sons, the figure is catalogued as 'A rare Archaic Greek Statuette of a Woman wearing Chlamys (1) and Chiton. The head and both arms from the elbows downwards restored'. She holds a flower.

This may well be the figure referred to as an Isis which Joseph Wilton obtained from Lyde Browne in March 1762. (See Appendix Bii, and Bi no. 57). Warner, in his 'Tour' of 1802, referred to her as an 'Isis, with the lotus in her hand'. (See chapter 9, 'Visitors & Verdicts'). See also Henry Blundell's 'Hope' or 'Isis' statue and the discussion of the lotus as an emblem of generation in 'The Arrogant Connoisseur: Richard Payne Knight 1751-1824.'² It was placed in the Low Room at Wentworth (see 1782 Inventory, Appendix Di) where it was described as "A full length figure of a lady in Drapery 2'9" high with a Flower in her hand upon a flat pedestal". See also *Additional Note overleaf*.

1. A CHLAMYS (Gk.) is a rectangular Greek woollen garment worn as a kind of short cloak.
2. Edited by Michael Clarke and Nicholas Penny. p.140 cat. no. 54. Blundell felt the lotus was simply a 'symbol of delight'.
10. Head of a Young Faun Head antique; nose & Statuary Room,
height: 54 cms. base restored Wentworth
White marble pl. 24

Catalogued by Christie's in 1980 as a 'Young Faun', this small head displays a hairstyle similar to the famous 'Faun with a Kid' and the restorer has carved a cloven hoof as a toggle where the animal-skin cloak is tied at the right shoulder.

There is no mention of this Faun in the 1782 Inventories, nor can it be traced in the Vouchers, Appendix B(i). It may therefore have been purchased by Lord Fitzwilliam along with the small statuettes cat. C1,3,4,5,6 & 7.

- B.I.6. The Paris seems to have come from the collection of Lyde Browne. In Browne's Catalogus Veteris no.55 is the entry :

" Juvenis ex marmore purissimo statua, chlamyde a tergo decidente. Hanc cum quatuor praecedentibus fuisse penes Cardinalem Polignac, dum Romae legationem agebat, fama est."

This information, together with a drawing by Thomas Jenkins which clearly represents the Paris is reproduced as Plate LXVI b. , drawing no. XVIII, together with the above description, on p.229 of the Antiquaries Journal no. 45, 1965 , article on Thomas Jenkins in Rome by R.Price. (pp200-29)

Furthermore, in A.H.Smith's article for the Journal of Hellenic Studies 21, 1901, entitled 'Gavin Hamilton's Letters to Charles Townley' there appears a letter (p307) from Hamilton in which the painter-archaeologist sends his sculptor to search for marble with which to restore statues. The sculptor was

"conducted to Pantanello...below the villa."Pantanello was a swamp near Hadrian's Villa which Hamilton was able to drain. Signor Lolli , the owner, had sold precious marble fragments from this area to Cardinal Polignac (1661-1742) who had represented France at the Vatican from 1725 - 32. Polignac is mentioned as the previous owner of the Paris in Browne's catalogue. Paris may therefore have come from the Pantanello in fragmentary form.

Finally, the enigmatic 'IB 48' inscribed on the base may be the initials of Isaac Bell, who sculpted busts of the Fitzwilliam family. He may have made several of the restorations to the figure and base.

- B.I.7. The Recumbent Silenus according to Vermeule and von Bothmer is of Greek Island marble, with extensive drillwork indicating a Roman copy of c.AD 150-250 of a Hellenistic work, while the pose is a mirror-reversal of certain river-god types. (Vermeule, C.C. and D von Bothmer, Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain, Part III, 2., American Journal of Archaeology, 63, (1959) pp329-48, p329, and plate 8I fig20.)

- B.I.(9. The Archaic Greek Isis or Woman with a Chlamys and Chiton is, according to Vermeule and von Bothmer, (see above-named article in B.I.7),

"An archaistic statuette of the Kore or Spes type, in Greek Island marble. The head, the r. arm with flower, the l.arm and hand holding the edge of the drapery, and the outside of the plinth have been restored by Nollekens." Nollekens does indeed sign the base at the rear. Illustrated in the above-named article as plate 8I fig 27.