



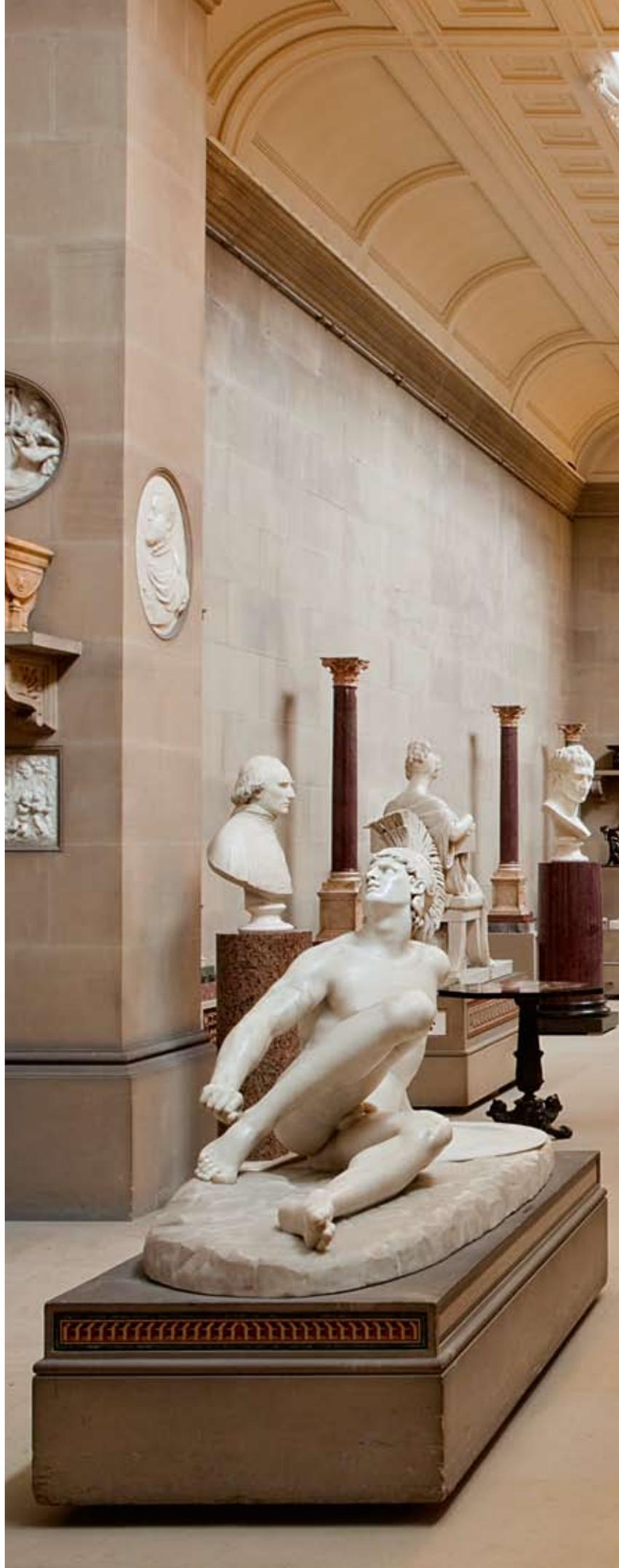
Filming of *Pride & Prejudice* at Chatsworth in 2004 revealed the original ‘glow of beauty’ of the 6th Duke of Devonshire’s sculpture gallery. This has helped prompt the return of the gallery to its appearance in the mid-19th century, as **Charles Noble** and **Alison Yarrington** explain.

In March this year, visitors to Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, were able for the first time in 85 years to experience the sculpture gallery almost exactly as the 6th Duke of Devonshire, its instigator and arranger, had left it on his death in 1858. This redisplay was preceded by a two-year research programme at Chatsworth, followed by nine weeks of moving sculpture and associated stone and mineral objects back into their historic positions in the sculpture gallery. Many visitors have since commented favourably on the beauty and clarity of the rearrangement (Fig. 2).

The sculpture gallery forms part of the grand northern extension to the house created by the 6th Duke, which includes two purpose-built rooms for his sculpture collection and rare plants respectively. The new wing, designed by Sir Jeffrey Wyattville, was a major project, under way by 1818 and largely complete by the start of Queen Victoria’s reign. As the Duke wrote in 1844:

My gallery was intended for modern sculpture, and I have almost entirely abstained from mixing it with any fragments of antiquity: it was in vain to hope for time or opportunities of collecting really fine ancient marbles.¹

The photographs illustrating this article are by David Vintiner unless otherwise stated. Works of art in the Devonshire Collection are reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees. ¹ *The Sculpture Gallery, Chatsworth*, attributed to Richard Keene (1825-94), late 19th century. Platinotype, 16 x 20.8 cm. The Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth ² The gallery after its recent re-presentation, which has recreated its appearance at the death of its creator, the 6th Duke of Devonshire (1790-1858)





'LIKE A POET'S DREAMS'

THE REDISPLAY OF THE 6TH
DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE'S
SCULPTURE GALLERY AT
CHATSWORTH



The Duke's collection of early-19th-century European sculpture remains one of the most complete in Britain to have survived in its original setting.²

The gallery needs to be seen in the context of Wyattville's designs for other country houses, notably the sculpture gallery at Woburn Abbey (1818) and the mortuary chapel of the church of St Peter and St Paul that adjoins Belton House.³ Here, Canova's statue *Religion* was part of a memorial to Sophia, the 1st Earl Brownlow's wife. Wyattville had also designed an orangery for Belton, completed c. 1819, although it stood apart from the main body of the house.⁴ At the time that the Chatsworth gallery was being furnished, an outstanding collection of modern British – rather than European – sculpture was being arranged to maximum advantage at Petworth by the 3rd Earl of Egremont. He consulted the sculptors Francis Chantrey and Richard Westmacott, advisors to the 6th Duke at Chatsworth, on its lighting and display.⁵

As John Martin Robinson has observed, the 6th Duke's additions to Chatsworth were informed by 'international culture'.⁶ Research for the 2009 redisplay has shown that the Duke's extensive travels in Europe had a direct impact upon his plans for Chatsworth and in particular its new north wing.⁷ For example, the most recent art gallery to be built in Rome, the Braccio Nuovo in the Vatican (Fig. 3), was a notable source for the sculpture gallery's design and arrangement. At the time when his plans for the gallery were being shaped, the 6th Duke wrote, 'I admire [the Braccio Nuovo] extremely, and shall imitate much in a small scale at Chatsworth.'⁸ However, his initial plans to line the room with marble and floor it with Swedish porphyry, creating a luminous quality like that of the marble-lined Braccio Nuovo, were put to one side on the grounds of expense.⁹ Instead, local stone, 'free from the disadvantage of reflected light', was used,

3 The Braccio Nuovo in the Vatican, photographed in the late 19th century. The design and arrangement of this gallery, opened in 1822, influenced the design of the 6th Duke's sculpture gallery. Photo: Alinari

4 *The Old Library, Chatsworth* by William Henry Hunt (1790-1864), c. 1827. Watercolour, 23.5 x 24.5 cm. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire for their enthusiasm and support for the re-presentation of the sculpture gallery and for permission to make use of and quote from the archives at Chatsworth. Additional thanks to colleagues at Chatsworth for their support and help during research for this article, much of which has emerged during our work towards this project, in particular Matthew Hirst, Head of Arts and Historic Collections; Hannah Obee, Curator, Decorative Arts; Andrew Peppitt and Stuart Band, Archivists. 1 [The 6th Duke of Devonshire], *Handbook of Chatsworth and Hardwick*, London, 1845, pp. 87-88.

2 John Kenworthy-Browne, 'A Ducal Patron of Sculptors', *APOLLO*, vol. xcvi, no. 128, 1972, pp. 322-31. This is the seminal account of the collection and a detailed history of the 6th Duke's commissions from sculptors in Rome.

3 The designs for the mortuary chapel were exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1816. See Derek Linstrum, *Sir Jeffrey Wyattville Architect to the King*, Oxford, 1972, pp. 155-158 and 229-30, who

its matt qualities providing a less-competing setting for the sculptures.¹⁰ Samples are visible in William H. Hunt's watercolour of the Old Library, placed around Canova's *Madame Mère* (Fig. 4).¹¹ However, 'Elfdalen' porphyry from Sweden does appear in small quantities in the gallery, notably in a mosaic panel, a gift from the firm's directors, which the 6th Duke set into the pedestal of Kessel's *Discus Thrower*.¹²

The majority of the 6th Duke's recent sculptural acquisitions had been moved into the gallery by the end of 1834, after the position of each had been decided using 'skeleton' wooden models made by the Chatsworth carpenters.¹³ This was the end of a long process of careful planning by the Duke, who had purchased and commissioned sculpture in Rome around 1819-23 with this setting in mind.¹⁴ One recently discovered instance of his early thoughts on the subject is his list of sculptures categorised firstly by gender and then according to whether they were 'Standing, Sitting or Lying'.¹⁵

Many sculptures arrived before the gallery was ready to receive them. Watercolours painted by William H. Hunt around 1822-28 depict their initial locations in the house.¹⁶ John Gibson's colossal *Mars and Cupid* was placed in the Painted Hall and Thorvaldsen's *Venus* awaited its new home in the Morning Room, lit by a lamp made from a piece of marble discarded from Canova's *Endymion*, a gift from the Duke's stepmother, and accompanied by Duchess Georgiana's mineral cabinets and precious half columns and vases.¹⁷ However, the copies after the lions carved by Canova for the tomb of Clement XIII in Rome, too large to be accommodated elsewhere in the house, were moved into the gallery on arrival.¹⁸

The arrangement impressed visitors, such as the Countess of Mulgrave, who wrote to the Duke:

I must say I never saw anything I admired so much as the Statue Gallery. You must remember when I went away the Dining Room had not





been finished nor the Gallery. Certainly looking thro' the Statue Gallery into the Conservatory is more like a dream of beauty than anything in reality I ever saw. I am not exaggerating you know I never particularly cared about Chatsworth before but really now there is a glow of (greatness) and beauty about it that is like a Poets or Painters Dreams.¹⁹

The first major alterations to the gallery were made by the 9th Duke (1868-1938) and his wife, Duchess Evelyn (1870-1960). In January 1924 the Duchess wrote to her daughters-in-law about the changes she had made to the display of the collection, notably the difficult introduction of the contents of Devonshire House, London, following its sale in 1919:

I [...] moved as much of the modern sculpture as possible out of the gallery [...] we might get Madame Mere and the Princess Pauline put at right angles to the first projection in the walls and the "Filatrice" opposite the Ganymede so as to leave the tapestry in possession of the main parts of the gallery.

The niches in the orangery were empty. I hope no one will think it was wicked to move so many statues into them. The copies of Canova's lions were quite out of scale in the gallery – besides they made it impossible to hang the tapestries – I am however rather distressed at the way they are staining and want to try rubbing them over with paraffin wax. The granite tazza is outside now. [note: We are just having the marble and porcelain tiles taken up to use].²⁰

5 The sculpture gallery, looking north. The two marble lions, after Canova, now on plinths of the correct height, frame *Schwanengesang* ('Swansong') by Ludwig Michael von Schwanthaler (1802-48), 1846-48

mentions the considerable adjustments made to the designs for the sculpture gallery at Chatsworth and suggests that the Duke was perhaps emulating the gallery that Wyatt had designed for the Duke of Bedford at Woburn in 1818.

4 Linstrom, op. cit.

5 Trevor Proudfoot and Christopher Rowell, 'The Display and Conservation of Sculpture at Petworth', in Philip Lindley, ed., *Sculpture Conservation: Preservation or Interference?*, Aldershot, 1997, pp. 179-94. See also Christopher Rowell, 'The North Gallery at Petworth. A Historical Re-appraisal', *APOLLO*, vol. CXXXVIII, no. 337 (July 1993), pp. 29-36.

6 J.M. Robinson, *The Wjatts, An Architectural Dynasty*, Oxford, 1979, p. 132.

7 See Alison Yarrington, "'Under Italian skies', the 6th Duke of Devonshire, Canova and the Formation of the Sculpture Gallery at Chatsworth House", *Journal of Anglo-Italian Studies*, vol. x (2009), pp. 41-62, at pp. 51-54.

8 Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth (DMC), 6th Duke's diary, Sunday 12 January 1823. Parallels include the brackets, coffering and top lighting.

9 DMC, 6th Duke's sculpture account book, fol. 11, letter to the 6th Duke from Mr Arfwedson (?), Stockholm, 3 January 1823, giving an estimate of

Her letter refers to the then urgent need to find room in a house with little hanging space for one of the collection's great treasures, the four large 15th-century Devonshire Hunting Tapestries, which had recently been restored (Fig. 6).²¹ To accommodate them she made major changes to both the sculpture gallery and the adjoining orangery. Not only did she introduce wall hangings where none had been intended, she also dispersed some of the sculptures, together with other furnishings, across the estate. Her love of tapestries in effect replaced the 6th Duke's passion for marble that had orchestrated the internal arrangement of this space, purpose-built for sculpture.

The second half of the century saw the gradual return of some of the sculpture banished from the gallery by Duchess Evelyn. This shift back to the gallery's original purpose after World War II (when both the sculpture gallery and orangery were used as collection stores), began in the 1960s as part of the rearrangement of the house by the 11th Duke (1920-2004) and his wife, Duchess Deborah.²² A scholarly reappraisal of neoclassical sculpture, notably a ground-breaking exhibition, 'The Age of Neo-Classicism' at the Royal Academy, London (1972), which included sculpture from the gallery, had an impact.²³ In the same year John Kenworthy-Browne published in *APOLLO* his ground-breaking article on the gallery, which provided the first in-depth analysis of the formative phase of the 6th Duke's collecting of contemporary European sculpture.²⁴

Duchess Deborah filled the gap left by the departure of the Hunting Tapestries (which had been acquired by the nation in part settlement of death



6 The gallery, looking south, photographed between 1913 and 1939, when it was used to display the Devonshire Hunting Tapestries. The sculpture was thinned out and seat furniture introduced. Photo: The Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth

7 The gallery in 2002, looking north. The red and green velveteen wall hangings and the tapestries were introduced in the early 1960s. In the 1990s a display of bronze busts by Angela Conner was installed on the centre table. At the far end is a Rolls Royce jet engine intake, introduced in 1998. Photo: Simon Upton

duties) with a set of late-17th-century Brussels tapestries of mythological subjects by Cobus and Coenot. In the early 1960s she introduced in addition red and green velveteen hangings to relieve the ‘everlasting’ stone colour. Old Master and 19th-century paintings were hung in the northern bays. In 1990 eight pieces of sculpture, including the copies of Canova’s lions, were returned to the gallery.²⁵ Among them were Richard Westmacott the Younger’s *The Cymbal Player*, which had been in storage. However, other pieces banished to the orangery by Duchess Evelyn were still absent and the great Berlin granite *tazza* that once formed the gallery’s grand centrepiece remained nearby in the garden.²⁶ Many of the original pedestals of the sculptures had similarly been exiled, together with tables and smaller items. Introductions to the gallery in this period included a large Rolls Royce RB-211-524G jet engine intake, presented to the 11th Duke by the company’s directors in 1998, and Raffaele Monti’s *Veiled Vestal* (1846–47), an acquisition by the 6th Duke, but not for Chatsworth.²⁷

A significant moment for the return of the gallery to its early arrangement came with the filming of *Pride and Prejudice* at Chatsworth in 2004. To facilitate the director’s vision for the scene in which Elizabeth Bennet experiences her change of heart towards Darcy, the tapestries, coloured wall hangings and paintings were temporarily removed. The soft uniform colour of the gritstone walls enhanced the sculpture and, when the lantern curtains were drawn back, recreating that same ‘glow of [...] beauty’ that had so impressed the Countess of Mulgrave, the advantage of greater light being allowed into the room became clear. As a result, it was decided not to return the

8 The sculpture gallery, looking south, from an album, *Photographs of Chatsworth* by B. W. Bentley, c. 1876. Albumen print, 18.6 x 25.6 cm. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth

£1,500 for 1,362 square feet of polished porphyry and a delivery date in Stockholm of autumn 1825.

10 *Handbook*, op. cit., p. 87. Gritstone, a sandstone from the Duke's nearby quarries, was used in the structure of the building and the fitting out of the sculpture gallery and orangery, including the floors.

11 The Old Library is now the Leather Room. See below, note 16, for Hunt's watercolour (Witt 342).

12 *Handbook*, op. cit., p. 90.

13 DMC, 6th Duke's building accounts, vol. 4, fol. 364, 17 August 1833, records 'making 'skelton' figures of statues and vases for the Sculpture Gallery'. These accounts provide a chronology of the sculptures' arrival, fixing in place and subsequent moves up to 1846.

14 See above, n. 2.

15 DMC, 6th Duke's notebook, 1820, fol. 122, 1825, fol. 13. The notebook has additions, not in chronological order, for 1820-33. It does not include Thomas Campbell's *Paolina Borghese*, commissioned in 1826, suggesting that it was written earlier.

16 For a listing of Hunt's work for the duke, see Sir John Witt, *William Henry Hunt (1790-1864) Life and Work with a Catalogue*, London, 1982.

17 Now the Lower Library.

18 DMC, 6th Duke's building accounts, vol. 2, fol. 436, 31 December 1825, records 'unloading lions & removing to sculpture gallery'. Their pedestals were made in February 1833: *ibid.*, vol. 4, fols. 326 and 329.

19 DMC, 6th Duke's correspondence: 3889.1 Maria Phipps, Countess of Mulgrave (1798-1882) to the Duke of Devonshire, written from Chatsworth, n.d. but historically dated with caution to April 1838.

20 DMC., letter from Evelyn Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire to her daughters-in-law, January 1924, fol. 19r.

21 George Wingfield Digby and Wendy Hefford, *The Devonshire Hunting Tapestries*, London, 1971, p. 58.

22 For the changes made to the gallery by the 11th Duke of Devonshire and his wife, Deborah, see The Duchess of Devonshire, *Chatsworth The House*, London, 2002, p. 131 & *illus.* p. 127.

23 'The Age of Neo-Classicism', *exh. cat.*, The Royal Academy and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1972.

24 Kenworthy-Browne, op. cit. We are grateful for his helpful comments on the findings of the 2009 project.

25 The lions had previously been placed on either side of the external orangery entrance.

26 The Berlin *azzurro* of Mecklenberg granite had been moved to its central position in the gallery in January 1834: DMC, 6th Duke's building accounts,



tapestries and paintings in order to experience the effect of their absence over a longer period of time.

In May 2004 the present Duke succeeded his father. Among the plans that he and his wife had for Chatsworth was the return of some of the house's interiors to their original appearance.²⁸ Both have a strong interest in sculpture, evident in the way that they have displayed contemporary works at Chatsworth, notably the Sotheby's 'Beyond Limits' exhibitions of sculpture. In 2007 they decided to return the gallery to its appearance at the end of the 6th Duke's life.

The project's strategy to replicate, as far as possible, the 6th Duke's display of his collection of not only his modern sculpture, but also his columns, pedestals, tables, vases and other associated objects, necessitated a close study of his diaries, correspondence and, especially, the privately-published *Handbook of Chatsworth and Hardwick*, which he wrote in 1844.²⁹ At first it seemed most appropriate to return the interior to its appearance immediately prior to the writing of the *Handbook*, a *summa* of all his achievements at Chatsworth and Hardwick. As far as the gallery is concerned, the book reveals the importance for him of not only the possession of elite works of sculpture but also, in the other objects on display, the working of rare marbles and minerals, in particular by local craftsmen based at the Ashford marble works (the Duke's patronage of the works was lauded at the Great Exhibition in 1851). However, it soon became clear that 1844 was too early a cut-off date, as it would have precluded acquisitions made by the Duke in the 1840s and 50s and his repositioning in the gallery of bas reliefs from the orangery.³⁰

In order to compile as complete a list as possible of the contents of the gallery at various points in its history several sources were used. An early plan by Richard Westmacott for the positioning of the sculptures in the gallery, drawn c. 1830-34, and his inventory catalogue of sculpture and related objects, published in 1838, helped to inform the identification of the objects and their early arrangement in the gallery.³¹ The evolution of the display is also recorded in guide books to the Peak District, and in particular that by the mineralogist William Adam (1794-1873), *The Gem of the Peak*, first published in 1838. It went through numerous editions, the last to appear in the Duke's lifetime being that of 1857.³²

Adam's text takes the visitor around the gallery, starting at the door from the Great Dining Room, at its south end. Working from the left, he moves clockwise round the room, describing objects in turn. But this is not an infallible guide for the project's purposes, as the arrangement often involved objects in more than a single viewing line. In the 1857 edition Adam also provides the caveat that, 'we cannot presume to give them in order, as they are sometimes changed'.³³ This accords with the Duke's intimation in the *Handbook*, referring to the sculptures in the northern bay on the west side of the gallery, 'I will not enumerate all the objects here; they are too crowded, and may soon be removed'.³⁴

Adam is nevertheless an important witness. A dealer in minerals, he was reputedly responsible, under the patronage of the 6th Duke, for introducing the *pietre dura* technique to Mawe's Marble Works in Matlock in 1834.³⁵ He therefore notes with precision the use of rare and precious marbles in pedestals and

other objects in the gallery. This is in contrast to other guidebooks, notably those by Ebenezer Rhodes and the Revd George Hall, which make scant reference to this important aspect of the 6th Duke's collection.³⁶

Visual evidence was also crucial in positioning the sculptures, with much reference being made to Chatsworth's collection of historic photographs, which includes views of the gallery and of groups and individual sculptures. An album, *Photographs of Chatsworth by B.W. Bentley*, a Buxton photographer, dateable to around 1876 (Fig. 8), and later platinotype photographs by Richard Keene of Derby (Fig. 1) were of particular use. Indeed, when a plan of the gallery's arrangement was drawn up according to the descriptions in the early editions of *Gem of the Peak*, it corresponded closely to this photographic evidence. In addition, the 6th Duke's extra-illustrated folio copy of his *Handbook*, which contains a variety of



illustrations, from Hunt's watercolours to those by Lady Louisa Egerton, daughter of the 7th Duke, was also helpful in completing the redisplay.

From these and other sources it was clear that the arrangement of the 6th Duke's collection was of great importance to him and that his enthusiasm for contemporary sculpture continued well beyond the initial installation of the sculpture in the gallery around 1834. Therefore the redisplay needed to demonstrate fully the range and emphasis of the Duke's collecting career. It was necessary not only to identify the positions within the gallery of individual sculptures and objects but also, as far as possible, to place them upon the Duke's chosen pedestals and columns. Despite removals and redistributions, most of the gallery's contents were still at Chatsworth, but scattered, and it was only when the house closed to visitors on 23 December 2008 that work could begin.

A team from Cliveden Conservation, working with Chatsworth staff in the period of nine weeks before the house reopened, undertook the carefully choreographed moves that resulted in the present display. Highlights included lifting the heavy lions on to new bases of the correct form and height as well as moving the Berlin granite *tazza* from the garden back to its original central position.³⁷ This involved taking it apart in order to pass through the intervening doorways. The statues in the orangery, including the damaged Thorvaldsen *Venus*, were rescued from their high niches to which they had been banished by Duchess Evelyn and returned to their former places in the main body of the gallery (Fig. 9). Other repatriations were more complicated to achieve. For example, Canova's much-prized bust *Laura*, which the 6th Duke and his stepmother, the Duchess Elizabeth, resident in Rome from 1814 to 1824, persuaded the sculptor to relinquish, was in the private apartments.³⁸ Once moved to the gallery, it was reunited with its original small 'rose-red alabaster support' and placed upon the 'small column of Verde antico' on which it had originally been displayed (the latter was retrieved from the stables restaurant).³⁹

This reassemblage of materials surmounted by Canova's ideal head exemplifies the Duke's love of rich colour effects, which he defends in the *Handbook*: 'Some persons think that the columns, vases, &c., should be removed as diminishing the effect of the statues. It may be so, but I am too fond of them to make the change'.⁴⁰ Evidence of this is a reduced copy of the Column of Phocas in the Roman Forum, crafted in *giallo antico*, purchased in Rome by the 6th Duke in December 1846 (Fig. 10).⁴¹ (The excavation of the original's steps had been financed by the 6th Duke's stepmother, Duchess Elizabeth.) Found in pieces under the theatre stairs it has been re-assembled, lightly cleaned, and placed, as he intended, alongside *Laura* on its contrasting two-tier support.

9 Venus by Berthel Thorvaldsen (1768-1844), ordered in 1819, and, on the right, Laura by Antonio Canova (1757-1822), 1818. Both have been returned to their historic columns

10 Giallo antico marble copy of the Column of Phocas in the Forum, Rome

vol. 4, fol. 397, 18 January 1834.

Photographs show it still *in situ* in the early 20th century.

²⁷ The Duchess of Devonshire, op. cit., p.131.

²⁸ The programme of research-led changes at Chatsworth instigated by the Duke and Duchess is outlined in Michael Hall, 'Changes at Chatsworth: Interview with the Duke & Duchess of Devonshire', *APOLLO*, vol. CLXVII no. 555 (June 2008), pp. 22-26; in the same issue see also, Hannah Obee, 'The Golden Age Returns', pp. 60-66.

²⁹ *Handbook*, op. cit., pp. 87-110.

³⁰ DMC, 6th Duke's building accounts, vol. 5, fols. 322-23, 25 January 1840; vol.6, fol. 19, 26 October 1844.

³¹ DMC, Wyattville correspondence B7: c. 1830-34. 'Proposed arrangement of Statues &c. in the Sculpture Gallery'. [Richard Westmacott], *Catalogue [of] Marbles, Bronzes, and Fragments, at Chatsworth*, London, 1838.

³² William Adam, *Gem of the Peak; or Matlock Bath and its Vicinity. A Tour from Derby to Matlock; Excursions to Chatsworth, Haddon, [...]. Historical and Geological; Brief History of the Fluor Spar, from the Earliest Period down to the Present Time [...]*, London and Derby, 1838; revised editions, 1840, 1843, 1845, 1851, 1857.





By 1844 the 6th Duke had placed two sets of columns against the central bays to the east and west, a rich and colourful feature that was enhanced by the incorporation of nine Ashford mosaic panels into the front faces of their gritstone bases. (These panels were discovered in another part of the theatre stairs.) However, as the original stone bases had disappeared there was the problem of replicating them. Eventually, as the gritstone originally used could not be obtained in time, it was decided to use a local company to make strong wooden copies into which the panels were then set. These bases were painted and gritted in-house to resemble the originals. It is hoped to replace their cladding with gritstone at a later date.

An additional problem was that only four of the five columns lining the west wall – which were acquired by the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier from Constantinople and purchased by the Duke in Paris sometime before 1838 – could be found.⁴² They had been placed behind the statues of members of Napoleon's family and, frustratingly, it was the central *giallo antico* column immediately behind one of the jewels of the collection, Canova's bust of Napoleon, that was missing (the space is visible on the right of Figure 11). Nevertheless a fifth, centrally-placed, base with inset mosaic panel was put in place in the hope that either, a new column could be commissioned or, the original might be found.

Various heavy columns and half columns had to be brought in from other parts of the house, where they had been stored or used for other purposes. Two

11 The sculpture gallery, looking south. The giant polished Berlin granite vase in the centre has been replaced here after having been moved to the garden in the 1920s

33 Ibid. (1857 edn.), p. 115.

34 *Handbook*, op. cit., p. 96.

35 For an account of this inlay work and Adam's part in it, see John Michael Tomlinson and Trevor D. Ford, *Derbyshire Black Marble*, Matlock Bath, 1996. On Adam, see Michael P. Cooper, *Robbing the Sparry Garniture A 22-Year History of British Mineral Dealers*, Tuscon, AZ, 2006, pp. 69-71.

36 Ebenezer Rhodes, *The Derbyshire Tourist's Guide and Travelling Companion*, London and Sheffield [1837]; Revd. George Hall, *The History of Chesterfield, ...*, London and Chesterfield, 1839.

37 The 6th Duke wrote to the sculptor John Gibson on 7 November 1832 asking him to measure the height of the lions from the floor and their distance apart in Canova's monument for Clement XIII in St Peter's, Rome (Royal Academy of Arts Archive, London, G1/1/95). Gibson's reply, with a measured elevation drawing, is at Chatsworth (DMC, Wyatville correspondence, B3, Rome, 17 December 1832).

38 *Handbook*, op. cit., p. 102.

39 Ibid., p. 96.

40 Ibid., p. 88.

41 DMC, 6th Duke's diary, Rome, 9 December 1846.

42 *Handbook*, op. cit., p.92.

magnificent giltwood tables from the Painted Hall and the great Dining Room respectively were moved back to where the Duke had placed them, the top lighting bringing out the butterfly-wing quality of the Labrador feldspar (which he had found in St Petersburg) of the one, and the Corsican *plasma verde* panels surrounded by a border of Derbyshire *pietre dure* on the other.

Just as this article was being completed, the missing Choiseul-Gouffier column was discovered and, although damaged, will in due course take its rightful place behind Napoleon. This group of the emperor with his mother, Madame Mère, and sister, Paolina Borghese, exemplifies some of the exciting nuances of display revealed by the project. Unexpected narratives and effects of colour and light became visible once sculptures, now on their correct bases and in their correct positions, were juxtaposed with objects that had particular meaning for the 6th Duke – ideas that will be explored in an article in APOLLO next year. The Countess of Mulgrave's response to the gallery – 'but really now there is a glow of (greatness) and beauty about it that is like a Poets or Painters Dreams' – can once more be shared by today's visitors.

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