

# ‘Under Italian skies,’ the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire, Canova and the formation of the Sculpture Gallery at Chatsworth House

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The passion for marble shown by William Spencer Cavendish, the 6th Duke of Devonshire (1790-1858) and its manifestation in his sculpture gallery at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire is a spectacular example of Anglo-Italian cultural exchange.<sup>1</sup> During the Duke’s lifetime his collection was widely recognised for its outstanding quality and by the spring of 1834, when the gallery was finished and refurbished, Chatsworth housed arguably the most important collection of contemporary sculpture in the country. The pursuit of pleasure, one that was intimately tied to his love of Italy, motivated the Duke’s creation of this elite space. This is evident in diary entries composed whilst he was both conceiving and realising his grand plan for ‘improvements’ at Chatsworth during the 1820s and ‘30s and, at the same time, amassing major poetic sculptures sourced from Roman studios. In the summer of 1823 having arrived at Chatsworth from London he wrote of the initial work on the north wing then taking place, ‘great progress made here, how I love this place.’<sup>2</sup> An indicator of the enjoyment gained from this activity is also found in his itemising of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ events that concluded each year’s journal, as well as throughout the entries written whilst he was in residence there. ‘My happiness at Chatsworth,’ he observed a decade later, when his new sculpture gallery was nearly completed and the work of setting his

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1 I would like to thank the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire for their enthusiasm and support for the representation of the sculpture gallery. Additional thanks go 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, Charles Noble, Curator, Fine Arts & Loans, Hannah Obee, Curator, Decorative Arts, Andrew Peppitt and Stuart Band, Archivists.

John Kenworthy-Browne, ‘A Ducal Patron of Sculptors,’ *Apollo*, ns 96:128 (1972) 322-31, is the standard account of the Chatsworth sculpture collection and the detailed history of the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke’s commissions from sculptors in Rome.

2 Devonshire Mss, Chatsworth, The Diary of the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire, Thursday 31 July 1823.

sculptural treasures in its interior was beginning, 'is quite different from anywhere else'<sup>3</sup> Time spent in Derbyshire during the summer and autumn months often evoked Italy for him: 'Meeting in hot Italian weather'<sup>4</sup> and 'Italian sky here'<sup>5</sup> he noted during the summer of 1832 and, the following year during a period of particularly brilliant autumn weather, 'The finest Italian day true Chatsworth summer.'<sup>6</sup>

But Italy was more materially present at Chatsworth than any shifting light or meteorological phenomena, most obviously it was visible in the design and arrangement of the sculpture gallery and the references within it to modern and ancient Rome. It was during a visit to the city during the winter months of 1822-23, mourning the recent death of Antonio Canova (1757-1822) and bringing his ideas for his sculpture gallery to fruition with a sensational expenditure on contemporary art, that the Duke decided to adapt features from the Vatican's *Braccio Nuovo* in the fabric of the gallery interior. This newest Roman gallery designed by Rafael Stern, finished by Pasquale Belli and inaugurated in 1822, was much admired by British visitors and residents there. One of the latter, the Duke's stepmother, Elizabeth, Duchess of Devonshire (1758-1824) described it to him as 'beautiful as anything can be – the architecture is perfect, & the effect of it quite extraordinary.'<sup>7</sup> The gallery's primary purpose was to house the ancient statues recently retrieved from Paris, and as such represented Rome's resurgence from Napoleonic rule. An extension of the *Museo Chiaramonti* where Canova had earlier played a key role, this new gallery was conceived and directed by the Cardinal Ercole Consalvi (1757-1824), Pope Pius VII's closest advisor and first minister, a consummate diplomat who was a friend of the Duke, his stepmother and Canova. As Katherine Eustace has discussed in her detailed examination of Canova's emissary to Paris and London during 1815, the sculptor acting as a representative of the Holy See was under the direction of the Cardinal at this crucial time.<sup>8</sup> The Duke's part

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3 *Ibid.*, Monday 12 August 1833.

4 *Ibid.*, Tuesday 14 August 1832.

5 *Ibid.*, Friday 21 September 1832.

6 *Ibid.*, Tuesday 1 October 1833.

7 Devonshire Mss, 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Series, 641, Duchess of Devonshire to the Duke of Devonshire, Rome, 3 June 1822; cited by John Martin Robinson, *Cardinal Consalvi 1757-1824*, (The Bodley Head, London, 1987), 154, 200, n. 10.

8 Katherine Eustace, "Questa Scabrosa Missione' Canova in Paris and London in 1815," *Canova Ideal Heads, Ashmolean Museum Oxford*, (1997), 9-38.

in the artistic, social and political network of post-Napoleonic Rome has a material presence in the Chatsworth sculpture gallery. Bertel Thorvaldsen's bust of Consalvi, a gift from his stepmother, was given an important place in the gallery, at the head of an axis that was centred on Canova's colossal bust of Napoleon and portrait statues of the defeated Emperor's sister and mother, at the far end of which, as part of a memorial to Canova, was the sculptor's bust set high in a niche on the north wall.<sup>9</sup>

The Duke's enthusiasm for the *Braccio Nuovo* is a matter of record: on the 18 December 1822 he drove to the Vatican with his stepmother, 'for the sake of seeing the Braccio nuovo of which the ceiling will suit admirably for the gallery at Chatsworth.'<sup>10</sup> Three weeks later he also visited the *Museo Pio Clementino*, 'feeling greater pleasure there than ever.'<sup>11</sup> This followed another visit to the *Braccio Nuovo*: 'I admire it extremely, and shall imitate much in a small scale at Chatsworth.'<sup>12</sup> During a later audience with the Pope, he records praising the new gallery during their discussion of 'the arts,' after which he visits Consalvi.<sup>13</sup> Clearly, it was not simply the architectural detailing of the ceiling but the mode of sculptural display that attracted him, as well as the spectacular employment of marble. In 1858, the year of the Duke's death, Mrs Hawthorne was to describe the *Braccio Nuovo* in her Roman journal, 'a gallery with mosaic floor, and marble columns and arched niches, in which full-length statues stand – and half-columns of red, oriental granite, surmounted with busts: if it were not for what they contain, the halls of the Vatican would be visited for their own intrinsic splendour and state. But who minds the setting of diamonds?'<sup>14</sup>

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9 For an account of Consalvi's life and his programme of public works in Rome after Napoleon's defeat, see Robinson, especially 147-172. Thorvaldsen's marble bust placed in the Pantheon Rome 1824, was executed from the plaster model (Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen A271) also executed Rome, 1824, of which the Chatsworth bust is a version. Thorvaldsen owned a copy (Thorvaldsen Museum B 98) of Thomas Lawrence's portrait of the Cardinal (1819) at Windsor Castle.

10 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Diary, Wednesday 18 December 1822.

11 *Ibid.*, Sunday 13 January 1823 (misdated as 12<sup>th</sup> in entry). For a discussion of this Museo as 'a site for social and cultural processing' in the later eighteenth century, see Paolo Liverani, 'The Museo Pio-Clementino at the time of the Grand Tour,' *Journal of the History of Collections*, 12 no. 2 (2000), 151-159.

12 *Ibid.*, Saturday 12 January 1823.

13 *Ibid.*, Wednesday 22 January 1823. The Duke then visited Consalvi.

14 Mrs. Hawthorne, *Notes in England and Italy* (New York: G.P. Putnam & Son, London: Samson Low & Co., 1871), 271. Journal entry, 15 March 1858. /cont...

It is quite clear that in his ‘braccio nuovo’ the Duke did ‘mind the setting of diamonds’ and his interest in marble was not just a matter of romantic sensibility and aesthetic taste focused upon high art objects. He was also concerned with geology, mineralogy and the promotion of Derbyshire marble and spars found on his estates, notably the ‘nero inglese’ (black Ashford marble) and ‘rosso moderno’ (the ‘Duke’s red’ sourced from his quarries near Newhaven) pieces of which he sent to Rome to be carved by Italian workmen, and his importation of Italian and other stones.<sup>15</sup> He supported the development of *pietre dure* among local craftsmen, an enthusiasm for science and art that was to be embedded at every level of the gallery.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps the clearest articulation of the Duke’s interests is found in his *Handbook of Chatsworth and Hardwick* written in 1844:

‘My Gallery was intended for modern sculpture, and I have almost entirely abstained from mixing with it any fragments of antiquity: it was in vain to hope for time or opportunities of collecting really fine ancient marbles. In addition to the statues, my wish was to obtain specimens of all the rare coloured marbles as pedestals for them. 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.’<sup>17</sup>

The Duke’s avowed ‘love of marble’<sup>18</sup> was an enduring addiction not dissimilar to the ‘porcelain sickness’ of Augustus the Strong. But it

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*/cont.* <http://www.eldritchpress.org/nh/mrshnei.html>

- 15 For a discussion of the history of marble working in Derbyshire and the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke’s interest in and promotion of the same see, Trevor Brighton, ‘Marble Works on the Wye at Ashford and Bakewell,’ *Bakewell and District Historical Society Journal*, (1997), vol. 24, 45-70. An appendix (67-71) provides an analysis of the ‘marble, spars etc’ used in the building of the Duke’s new North Wing extracted from the Chatsworth Mss, Building Accounts of the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke 1831-1846. I am most grateful to Stuart Band for bringing this and other material relating to the Ashford Marble Mills to my attention and his always helpful advice.
- 16 Peter Milnes was one of the noted marble workers promoted by the Duke whose work was seen in the Gallery. His Ashford Marble Mill workshops were situated near to the Duke’s more modest Derbyshire ‘retreat’ The Rookery. See, *The Derby Mercury*, 5 September, 1838.
- 17 *Handbook of Chatsworth and Hardwick* (London, privately printed by Frederick Shoberl, Junior, Printer to HRH Prince Albert, 1845), 87-88.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 80.

is clear that he understood his own motivations as a collector to be distinct from the thoughtless and fashionable ‘marblemania’ rife among the *bon ton* in Italy during the immediate post-Waterloo years.<sup>19</sup> Twenty years later when summarising his motives in creating a sculpture gallery he wrote, ‘While beginning my alterations, I made several journeys to Italy, and at Rome the love of marble possesses most people like a new sense. [...] This taste awakened, I did not scruple.’<sup>20</sup> As this statement implies this ‘love of marble’ was both a sensual and sentimental engagement, one that is clear in his development of the Chatsworth gallery and adjoining Orangery.

The purpose-built sculpture gallery was one of a suite of rooms devoted to intellectual and sensory pleasures that were built to both house the Duke’s collections and to facilitate entertainment and amusement at Chatsworth, forming its new north wing. The pulse of the sculpture gallery was triggered by the artistry of Canova, ‘A place that was to receive three of Canova’s grand works excited grand ideas.’<sup>21</sup> The plans for a new dining room and gallery had first been drawn in 1820 and stone from Beeley Moor (part of the extensive Chatsworth estate) arrived on site in June 1821 when building commenced. As John Kenworthy-Browne has shown in his discussion of the Duke as a patron of sculpture, it was Canova’s death in the autumn of 1822 that prompted a crucial visit to Rome, the primary goal of which was to secure the release of *Endymion* from Canova’s studio. This most prized possession was commissioned during his 1819 journey to Rome, and was in a state of near completion when Canova died.

That Canova may not have entirely completed work on *Endymion* was a question that the Duke refused to address, although correspondence with Gaspare Gabrielli (1770-1828) his Roman agent, must have given him pause. Gabrielli had been writing to the Duke on a regular basis keeping him informed of progress on this commission ‘without subject,’ and alerting him to the progress on others. On 9 May 1822 Gabrielli had written of visiting Canova and ‘finding him actually

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19 I have argued this and discussed the Duke’s interest in geology and mineralogy in a paper presented at The Place of Sculpture Conference organised by the History of Art department and the Ashmolean Museum Oxford University, 27 March 2009.

20 *Handbook*, 80.

21 *Ibid.*, 87. Sculpture by Canova owned by the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke: *Madame Mère* (1804-07), bust of *Laura* (1817-18), *Endymion* (1819-22), *Hebe* (1808-14), colossal head of *Napoleon* (1803-22), bust of *Madame Mère* (1804-07).

employed on finishing the beautiful Endymion.’ A letter from Gabrielli written shortly after Canova’s death, contradicting Cicognara’s statement about the statue being finished, stated that the sculptor, ‘did not think the statue quite finished but it might be fully so upon any other artists hands, the Head however of that charming statue was finished, to Canova’s full satisfaction and so he might, for I assure your Grace that it is the masterpiece of all Canova’s Works.’<sup>22</sup>

The Duke was emphatic:

‘If evidence were wanting of its having been finished by Canova, I have plenty of letters in my possession that establish that point; but none can be required when you contemplate the admirable perfection of the work. The quality of the marble is so fine, so hard, so crystalline, that Canova would not change it on account of the stain in the arm; that on the cheek he liked, and thought it represented the sunburnt hunter’s hue. He had often enquired of me what subject I preferred, and which of his works, and I told him always the sleeping Genius of the Archduchess Christine’s tomb at Vienna, and also the Genius on Rezzonico’s monument. He accordingly promised me something that I should like still better.’<sup>23</sup>

Canova died on 13 October in Venice and by this date framing and fixing the roof of the rooms in the north wing had begun.<sup>24</sup> On the 24 October the Duke records, ‘I loitered about my improvements all day & caught cold.’ It was just at this moment of the gallery’s transformation from the Duke’s imagination to a material reality that in early November he received a letter from Count Leopoldo Cicognara, President of the *Accademia di Venezia* bearing news of Canova’s death and of *Endymion*’s completion.<sup>25</sup>

22 Devonshire Mss, Chatsworth, 6<sup>th</sup> Duke’s Sculpture Account Book, 81.

23 *Handbook*, 104-105.

24 Derek Linstrum, *Sir Jeffrey Wyattville, architect to the King* (Oxford. Clarendon Press, 1972), 155-158 mentions considerable adjustments made to designs for sculpture gallery and suggests that the Duke was perhaps ‘encited to emulate the Gallery Wyatt had made for the Duke of Bedford in 1818’ (157). Another possible influence in the design for the Orangery may have been that at Belton house (the first designs were made by Wyattville in 1811, another dated 1819). The mortuary chapel designed by Wyattville for Lord Brownlow in the Church of St Peter and St Paul, (designs were shown at the RA in 1816), was the setting for Canova’s Monument to Sophia Brownlow, the 1st Earl’s wife, who died in 21 February 1814.

25 6<sup>th</sup> Duke’s Diary, Saturday 9 November 1822.

The sculpture gallery from this point became a site of both possession and loss for the Duke, redolent with those same emotions he described in his journal on arriving in Rome: ‘I went with Gabrielli to poor Canovas. I saw Endymion. Deep and sincere grief mixed with the supreme happiness of possessing such a treasure.’<sup>26</sup> Significantly, it was after the Duke’s return from Rome in March 1823 that he came to finalise plans for the sculpture gallery with his architect Jeffrey Wyattville,<sup>27</sup> although there were still revisions to be made as new enthusiasms were sated and accommodated. In 1826, after Canova’s Roman studio was sold and the plasters and marbles sent to Possagno, the Duke was famously ‘bit by gardening,’ a rabidity induced by his employment of Joseph Paxton (1801-65) that same year. He therefore asked Wyattville to redraw the sculpture gallery plans to introduce an Orangery, bringing nature and art together under one roof:

‘Here happens one of the few deviations, in Sir Jeffrey Wyattville’s progress, from his first intentions, that occurred during the progress of the works. The suite of rooms was to have ended with the Statue Gallery. The place of honour for the finest work I might obtain was to have been in the centre, where the door now opens into this place.’<sup>28</sup>

It was on this line, ‘the place of honour’ that he configured his memorial to Canova.

In December and January of 1822-23 during what can only be described as an orgy of sculpture buying, the Duke ordered, those works that were to form this personal testimony to the sculptor in the gallery.<sup>29</sup> Two days after his arrival in Rome he commissioned a ‘Great bust of Canova’ which was, in fact, never executed. In January, still immersed in Canovian matters, he ordered from Francesco Benaglia and Rinaldo Rinaldi (1793-1873) copies of the lions from Canova’s monument to Pope Clement XIII Rezzonico in St Peter’s, that would arrive in Chatsworth in December 1825.<sup>30</sup> A few days later the Duke visited Rinaldi in person

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26 6<sup>th</sup> Duke’s Diary, Wednesday 18 December 1822.

27 *Ibid.*, Sunday 18 March 1823. ‘Wyatt has been here all the time, everything is nearly settled’.

28 *Handbook*, 106.

29 See Kenworthy-Browne, fn. 1 above.

30 6<sup>th</sup> Duke’s Diary, Wednesday 15 January 1823: ‘Campbell goes on well with my bust. I took Gabrielli out I have ordered the great lions of Canova. Benaglia is to do one & Rinaldi the other. We went to Canovas and Signor Domenico gave me a *cont...*

to pay him a first instalment and then went with Gabrielli to St Peter's to look at the lions on the papal tomb, noting that casts needed to allow work to commence had still to be taken.<sup>31</sup>

During these melancholy winter days he was often in the company of other ardent Canovites, Lady Abercorn, his stepmother, the Kinnairds and Mary and Agnes Berry. At Mary Berry's he was introduced to another important collector of Canova's sculpture, 'Monsieur de Sommariva' and the son of the British sculptor who was to play an important part in the arrangement of the sculptures at Chatsworth, 'the young Westmacote.'<sup>32</sup> Days were spent at Canova's studio, looking at *Endymion*, and acquiring other Canova items. The 'highly finished' portrait bust of *Madame Mère* was purchased although he possessed the statue on the grounds that, 'it is the only remaining work of Canova's left complete. I think it is better than the head of the statue.'<sup>33</sup> The Duke was an inveterate souvenir hunter, and tried unceasingly during this winter Roman sojourn to obtain mementos of Canova. On 21 December he records in his Diary going with Lady Abercorn 'at three o'clock to Canova's residence to see the Abate and poor Canova's pictures and apartment. I wanted to buy the great ancient hand which is in the (...) over his home but I fear it is public property. We saw several paintings by him, and I am to have the choice of his favourite bits of marble.' Two days later on Monday 23 December he reports 'I went again to the Abate Canova's and bought poor Canova's favourite bits of ancient marbles 15 of which he had mounted and [...]. I got a drawing of *Endymion* better than that from which the engraving is taken.' Then on the 28 December he visits Canova's studio to give the workmen a present of ten louis.

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*/cont.* book of poems on his works. He gave [permission] also for a cast to be taken of the lions they are in St Peter's at the tomb of Rezzonico. I went to the Vatican, the Duchess joined me there and we walked – I dined with the Berrys and went to Mme Esterhazys after where we saw Sommariva's gems. He has the singular fancy of having miniatures and gems made from all the statues and fixtures in his possession.'

Chatsworth Mss, 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Sculpture Accounts, 85: Letter from Gabrielli to the Duke, Rome 19 July 1823 includes a p.s. informing the Duke that the lion by Benaglia 'is going on most beautifully and the marble quite perfect.' The lion by Rinaldi was shipped in February 1825 (Sculpture Account Book, 91: letter from Gabrielli to the Duke, Rome, 22 February 1825).

31 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Diary, Tuesday 21 January 1823.

32 *Ibid.*, Sunday 5 January 1823.

33 *Ibid.*, Monday 7 January 1823.

The requiem Mass for Canova held at SS Apostoli, may have prompted the composition of Canova's memorial at Chatsworth. In his diary the Duke recorded 'the church was splendidly adorned the Vienna monument<sup>34</sup> in plaster was opposite the Pièta,<sup>35</sup> the Statue of Religion<sup>36</sup> in the centre and the two lions by the great door. It was tedious and hot with the floor damp, but it was worth seeing – not at all affecting.'<sup>37</sup> But the obsequies of the requiem Mass were such that he returned to look at them again two days later having just heard from Lady Abercorn that she would bequeath him Canova's bust of Napoleon (1803-22). Interestingly the Duke, prompted by Lady Abercorn and his stepmother, gave only £50 to the subscription for Canova's monument, disapproving of the choice of Venice rather than Rome as its site.<sup>38</sup> Returning to England the Duke continued to concern himself with memorialising his 'hero' in the public domain. In September he canvassed for the King's support of the Canova monument in Rome: 'The king well & very kind, I got my job done which was for him to subscribe to Canova's monument at Rome. He has promised but I don't yet know how much. however his name is the thing.'<sup>39</sup> The Duke's powers of persuasion must have been very effective as the King soon agreed to 'carte blanche about the sum.'<sup>40</sup>

In 1833, at the point when the sculptures were being introduced to the gallery copies of Canova's lions were placed on marble plinths to either side of the connecting door from the sculpture gallery to the Orangery, and under niches that housed companion busts of the Duke, by the Rome-based Scot Thomas Campbell (1790-1858), and of Canova, by Rinaldi. He later reflected upon the mixed emotions induced by Canova's death and the cessation of his earthly association with the sculptor in the *Handbook*, 'it was with mingled feelings of grief and exultation, of boundless admiration and recent bereavement, that I first saw my group

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34 *Monument to Maria Christina of Austria*, 1798-1805, Vienna, Augustinerkirche. The plaster model is in the Gipsoteca, Possagno.

35 Possibly the plaster *Compianto di Cristo* completed in November 1821, Gipsoteca, Possagno.

36 Presumably the plaster model (1814-15) of *La Religione Cattolica*, Accademia di San Luca, Rome.

37 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Diary, Friday 31 January 1823.

38 *Ibid.*, Tuesday 31 December 1822. The Duke records writing to Count Cicognara sending the £50: 'I would not give more, because I disapprove of it not being at Rome.'

39 *Ibid.*, Friday 12 September 1823 (King's Lodge).

40 *Ibid.*, Sunday 14 September 1823.

[Endymion] in the well-known studio, where I had passed so many happy hours with the most talented, the most simple, and most noble-minded of mankind.<sup>41</sup>

Whilst Canova may be seen as the main focus for the evolution of the Chatsworth sculpture gallery, here and in the other rooms of the north wing a heady mix of different kinds of sensation were evoked by a mixture of art, drama, light, taste, music and scent, all variously brought into play. The display of sculpture, as the creation of his homage to Canova shows, was carefully orchestrated, not least through the careful selection of pedestals, columns, vases, tazze, tables and objects crafted from rare coloured marbles, as well as other items that were, in effect, ‘souvenirs.’ The fall of directional natural light in this top lit space was also important as the sun moved from east to west throughout the day. At night the room was illuminated by two magnificent candelabra bought by the Duke from the Wanstead sale in 1822, by hand-held and static candlelight and by moonlight.<sup>42</sup> The sculptures would have been viewed by torchlight and taper as was the fashion of which instances are recorded as taking place in other European princely collections as far apart as Stockholm and Rome. This ‘tenebrism’ was at the heart of the romantic reception of contemporary sculpture in the early nineteenth century, a means of the inert marble bodies coming to life as the light flickered across the surfaces, at the same time allowing close connoisseurial examination. In 1819 for example, the year of the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke’s first visit to Italy, there are two notable accounts of Canova’s *Paolina Borghese as Venus Victorious* (1804-08) being viewed by candlelight in the *Palazzo Borghese*, Rome by his artistic friends: Thomas Moore recounts the sculptors Francis Chantrey and Canova viewing the work together with keen professional interest,<sup>43</sup> and Sir Thomas Lawrence records his own examination of this

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41 *Handbook*, 105.

42 Devonshire Mss, Chatsworth, 6<sup>th</sup> Duke’s Sculpture Accounts, 165. The items were bought by the Duke’s agent/steward George S Ridgway in June 1822. The pair of ‘Magnificent carved Gilt’ chandeliers were the most costly items purchased at £283. 10s and £309. 15s. The antique statues of Apollo, Domitian and a seated Agrippina with her daughter were purchased for £42, £84, and £105 respectively.

43 I have discussed this viewing of the *Paolina Borghese* in ‘Anglo-Italian Attitudes: Chantrey and Canova,’ in C.M. Sicca and A. Yarrington, *The Lustrous Trade: Material Culture and the History of Sculpture in England and Italy c. 1700-c. 1860* (London. Leicester University Press, 2000), 132-155.

exquisite sculpted body in the company of Prince Metternich.<sup>44</sup> The fleshly original Paolina Bonaparte Borghese (1780-1825) was Napoleon's loyal sister and a friend of the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke in Rome, such that he commissioned a portrait of her from Campbell as a pendant to Canova's *Madame Mère*. The Duke himself records viewing *Madame Mère* 'by lamplight' when it first arrived at Chatsworth.<sup>45</sup> The Duke delighted in special lighting and theatrical effects as is evident from his description of an evening's entertainment held at Chatsworth in October 1832: 'The waterworks were illuminated & nothing ever were so beautiful & between the acts they were [changed/charged] with different coloured Bengal lights and it was quite different from anything I ever saw [at] Peterhoff.'<sup>46</sup> For evening entertainments he would place 'powerful lamps' in the full-scale copy of the Medici vase by Lorenzo Bartolini (1777-1850) that stood at the centre of the Orangery, emitting a 'magical light' and illuminating the relief. There is also an undated account of a ball held at Devonshire House that also describes the use of fireworks to simulate the effect of Mount Etna erupting much to the amazement of guests.

But perhaps the most tantalising account of lighting a statue for entertainment is that relating to *Endymion* after its arrival with Canova's colossal bust of Napoleon at Devonshire House, London. The Duke wrote of 'Unpacking Endymion - & Ly Abercorns bust - che gioia. Endymion is safe and placed in my dining room, his spear was broken but that does not signify.'<sup>47</sup> Four days later on the evening of Friday 18 July the Duke recorded 'My ball tonight was brilliant, & a light was contrived [for] Endymion which shewed him in perfection.'<sup>48</sup> And in the following days polite society flocked to see the new acquisition.

Although the Chatsworth gallery contained many specific Roman references and associations, there were other, earlier, influences at work in the Duke's concept for the gallery that had begun to fertilise during his travels across a post-war Germany, Scandinavia and Russia during 1817, particularly in the company of his friend Nicolas, Crown prince of Russia. These young aristocrats were passing through a Europe that bore

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44 D.E. Williams, *The Life and Correspondence of Sir Thomas Lawrence*, 2, (1831), 155-62: Sir Thomas Lawrence to Lysons, 27 June 1819.

45 When the statue arrived at Chatsworth it was placed in the Billiard room, where the Duke records 'we used to come down and look at her by lamplight,' *Handbook*, 34.

46 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Diary, Saturday 20 October 1832.

47 *Ibid.*, Monday 14 July 1823 (Devonshire House).

48 Friday 18 July 1823 (Devonshire House).

the scars of war, seeing the ruins, hearing tales of pillage and change, all testimony to the transient nature of temporal power. The Duke recorded some of his responses to these sights in his *Thought Book* where it is revealed that as reading matter he had taken a *Life of King Charles XII* of Sweden, visiting key sites of the King's battles against Russia in the Great Northern War. (Napoleon with rather different intentions had also carried Voltaire's *History of Charles XII* with him during the French campaign in Russia). In Stockholm, he even acquired a piece of the hat from the clothes that Charles was wearing when he died, and it remains pressed between the pages. It was after these formative experiences that he first seems to have registered the importance and beauty of Canova's works, encountering them in magnificent princely settings and those he records seem to presage the Chatsworth setting. The observations that he makes in this text, particularly those written in at the time (rather than those reminiscences about this visit that were added later) are tinged with melancholy, highlighting encounters with beauty under threat. For example, his account of a visit to Arkhangelskoye, Prince Yusupov's Palace:

I dined there in the Prince's Orangerie for his house was undergoing repair and thorough purification from the French, who pillaged it. [...]. Two beautiful statues by Canova had a narrow escape. The slaves who were removing them saw a party of the enemy coming, and had time and luck sufficient to bury and save them. The remaining statues in the garden lost their noses in the cause. The house is modern and in good taste, there were pictures by Sir Joshua Reynolds and West. Prince Yousouppoff brought the popular artist Gonzagues to Russia, whose painting of stage scenery corridors &c is very good, and a theatre is now building here from his designs. This garden is very pretty and in the gout du pays contains everything. – cottages, games, and a glass manufactory, a column to record the Emperor's having been there last year, and all kinds of flowers and parterres.<sup>49</sup>

There is also a brief visit to Venice where in Byronic fashion a sense of enchantment and decay are indelibly mixed, he then travels to Munich visiting 'Beauharnais,' as he describes the once Viceroy of Italy, noting that he possesses 'the three graces by Canova, and the Magdalen.' He

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49 Devonshire Mss, Chatsworth, the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's *Thought Book*, 21.

also visited Cassel and it is here that there are two watercolours pasted into the *Thought Book* showing Willhelmshöhe, a setting and building that so echoes the Duke's future alterations to Chatsworth.

But this idyllic setting had also been defiled, this time by the Russians who took Cassel in September 1813' [...].

‘There is a building containing a marble bath of wonderful beauty within built by the Landgrave Charles – it is surrounded by statues, one of singular beauty had a curious escape, it alone had been sent to Willhelmshöhe by the order of Jerome, and during the bombardment a ball came through the door and shattered the wall in the exact spot where the statue had stood and where it now stands again. The bath, reliefs, and statues all of marble are by the same artist, his name was [blank space].<sup>50</sup>

What is also of interest is what is *not* included in the *Thought Book*. In Stockholm, he makes no mention of the ancient statue of Endymion acquired by King Gustavus III, then one of the most important antiquities displayed in the public *Stenmuseum* – Museum of Stones.<sup>51</sup> This is not to say that he did not visit there, but rather that they did not seem to trigger a response that was set down on paper. Interestingly, he was not attracted to contemporary Swedish sculpture although he much admired Swedish porphyry and at one time considered using it to line the gallery. In Rome during December 1822 he visited ‘a Swedish sculptor whom I remembered at Stockholm who has some fine things but his drawing is bad.’<sup>52</sup> It is interesting to note that by 1817 ‘a small room was created at one end of the Stone Museum’ to display ‘smaller sketches and studies’ by Johan Tobias Sergel (1740-1814) purchased by the state after his death, and his *Cupid and Psyche* ‘was placed in the Gallery of the Muses,’ a tribute to the sculptor who had died in 1815.<sup>53</sup>

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50 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's *Thought Book*, 55.

51 For an account of the evolution and arrangement of this museum see, Anne-Marie Leander Touati and Magnus Olausson, *Ancient Sculptures in the Royal Museum: The Eighteenth-century Collection in Stockholm*, Swedish National Arts Museums and Svenska Institutet in Rome, Stockholm (1998), 1.

52 The 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Diary, Tuesday 24 December 1822.

53 *National Museum Stockholm Illustrated Catalogue – Swedish and European Sculpture*, Stockholm: National Museum, (1999), 15. See also Leander Touati and Magnus Olausson, 73, fig. 21, ‘Plan of the Museum c. 1817.’

The Chatsworth sculpture gallery's arrangement and the narratives it evoked were woven around the Duke's memories and experiences. The inclusion of Thorvaldsen's bust of Consalvi in the Chatsworth Gallery, and the company that it kept during the Duke's lifetime, marks a network of friendship, diplomacy to which he belonged in Rome. At the same time, melancholy and emotional sensibilities are invoked relating to both personal and temporal loss. The bust of the Cardinal was placed facing a reduced replica in giallo antico of the ancient column of Phocas, commemorating the Duchess's excavations in the Forum, a project that had been arranged by her through the Cardinal no doubt aided by Canova who became President of the General Consultative Committee for the Fine Arts the year that work began.<sup>54</sup> The giallo antico column was placed next to the sculptor's bust of Laura, that the Duke believed to be carved in its entirety by Canova, its acquisition the result of the combined 'entreaties' by himself and the Duchess Elizabeth.<sup>55</sup> These personal associations were furthered through its placement on a column of pale verde antico from the excavation and a birthday gift for her stepson in 1819. This was then surmounted by a smaller marble column from the Parthenon. The Cardinal's bust was tellingly, adjacent to the grouping of portrait statues and busts of the Bonaparte family arranged in the central bay of the west wall: Canova's colossal bust of the hero flanked on either side by seated figures of his mother and sister: the sculptor's seated statue of *Laetitia Bonaparte 'Madame Mère,'* 'unhappy mother of the greatest son' as the Homeric inscription chosen by Lord Holland<sup>56</sup> reads, and *Campbell's Paolina Borghese*. The sense of the transience of earthly power was emphasised by the Duke's placing of the only major sculpture from classical antiquity in the gallery directly across from Napoleon. The colossal head of Alexander the Great, the hero so admired by Napoleon and at the same time the namesake of the Russian hero who had caused the French Emperor's military nemesis and ultimate exile to Elba has to his right Rudolf Schadow's *Filatrice* (1819) on her pedestal of 'a fragment

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54 Frank Salmon, "'Storming the Campo Vaccino': British Architects and the Antique Buildings of Rome after Waterloo" *Architectural History*, 38 (1995), 146-175, n.31. 'The inscription on the column had been uncovered in 1813 and the Devonshire clearance began on 19 December 1816.'

55 *Handbook*, 102.

56 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Diary, Tuesday 20 May 1834 (Derby) refers to inscription on the pedestal.

of a column from the Forum at Rome [...] retaining its ancient polish'<sup>57</sup> being placed opposite to *Madame Mère*. 'It should' according to the Duke, 'remind all good Romans of Trajan's Forum, from whence it came.'<sup>58</sup>

Canova's modelling tools, 'an interesting relic' as the Duke described them, came into the Duke's possession through Lady Abercorn. During the Roman winter sojourn of 1822-23 she was often his companion, visiting Canova 'sites' with him and weeping copiously, so much so that the Duke called her 'aqua infelice.' These souvenirs, the means of Canova's artistry, are now set into the wall of the gallery beneath a bust of *Isis Serapis* carved by Roman workmen from Derbyshire Ashford marble. In the early arrangement of the gallery the tools were placed in one of the two tazze purchased from Bartolini that were set to either side of *Napoleon*, possibly a reference to their origins as designs by Bartolini for Napoleon's residence in exile on Elba. One of the Chatsworth tazze was placed upon a column of giallo antico that bore the scars of the fire that destroyed S Paulo fuori le Mura in 1823 and which the Duke had managed to obtain from the ruins. Uniquely in the versions of this statue, a profile of one of the tazze is carved in relief at the centre of the tambourine held by Bartolini's recumbent *Bacchante*. Other intimations of death, mourning and the transience of human life were also present. Medals made for Napoleon from the famous Elba iron that were given to the Duke by Paolina, were set into the rear panel of the statue's pedestal. The bracelet Paolina wore when mourning her brother's death was another gift, this time used to disguise a fracture in the wrist of Thorvaldsen's *Venus*, a commission placed by the Duke in his 1819 visit to Italy.<sup>59</sup> This heavenly being bearing the bracelet was placed across from her earthly counterpart who meditates upon the portrait medallion of her brother. Napoleon's death in 1821 and Canova's the next year, were followed by those of Cardinal Consalvi and the Duchess Elizabeth in 1824, and Paolina in 1825, making this a telling *mise en scène*.

These Napoleonic associations were also carried on the air at Chatsworth that was seasonally perfumed by the four orange trees

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57 W. Adam, *The Gem of the Peak; or Matlock Bath and its vicinity* (London: Longman & Co, 1845), 139.

58 *Handbook*, 100.

59 Allan Cunningham repaired the breaks in the statue reporting to the Duke that this was complete in a letter of 4 January 1822, see 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Sculpture Account Book, 45.

from the Empress Josephine's collection at Malmaison planted in the Orangery. The scent of these and other rare specimens scented the whole of Chatsworth with their blossoms. And it is in this context that we should remember the experience of viewing sculptures in this location was a sensory experience, of touch, sight, smell and sometimes music.

At the outset, when the Duke's enthusiasm for contemporary sculpture, made clear by his numerous commissions to Rome-based sculptors, was also seen to offer opportunities for British artists and sculptors, vide the enthusiastic involvement of both Francis Chantrey (1781-1841) and Richard Westmacott (1775-1856) in the decoration and arrangement of the gallery.<sup>60</sup> This is made clear in a letter written to the Duke from Rome in September 1826 by the painter Charles Eastlake RA, (1793-1865) a friend of John Gibson (1790-1866) one of the Duke's favoured young British sculptors working in Rome who had recently completed a colossal *Mars and Cupid* (1821-25) on commission for the gallery. Eastlake's letter tells of the near completion of his painting for the Duke, *Isadas the Young Spartan* (1826, Chatsworth House), and requests that it might be exhibited at the RA.<sup>61</sup> In this context he ventures an opinion on the quality of the Duke's newly forming collection of sculpture:

'If the room for the exhibition of sculpture at Somerset House were better lighted & larger I would venture [to] recommend the exhibition of some of the masterly works in marble which have been done for your Grace in Rome – The influence of these things on the public taste and on the efforts of rising artists is incalculable'<sup>62</sup>

This was, of course, not a disinterested request. Although works destined for Chatsworth would be available to the influential social circles in which the Duke participated, and to other interested 'casual' visitors typified by Elizabeth Bennett and her aunt and uncle in *Pride and Prejudice*, it would never be as important as the open, public, marketplace of the RA exhibition or the Duke's private London residence, Devonshire

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60 Many artists visited Chatsworth to view the sculptures in the new gallery. On Tuesday 10 October 1833 the Duke records in his diary showing 'young Westmacott' the gallery and the dining room prior to the marbles being moved in.

61 For a description of the subject, see Charles Lock Eastlake, *Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts* (London. John Murray, 1870), 107-111. The picture was exhibited at the RA in 1827.

62 6th Duke's Sculpture Account Book, 51.

House; vide Gibson's earlier entreaty that his *Mars and Cupid*, like *Endymion*, should be viewed in London before removal to Chatsworth.<sup>63</sup>

Although the Duke made many visits to studios during his frequent travels in Italy, and felt that he had a personal relationship with 'his sculptors,'<sup>64</sup> between 1819 and 1828 he relied heavily upon an agent to micro manage his commissions in Rome and to ensure their safe shipment to England once completed. As already indicated, the artist and dealer in marble, Gabrielli played a pivotal role in the successful realisation of the Chatsworth project and his career is one that epitomises how such cultural transactions between Italy and Britain were dependent upon intermediaries. It is not known how the Duke came to employ his agent but they may have met when the artist was employed by Valentine, 2<sup>nd</sup> Lord Cloncurry at Lyons House, County Kildare, a house where the improvements he instigated using the architect Richard Morrison, the sculptor Luigi Antonio Aquisti and from 1805 Gabrielli, were completed by 1820.<sup>65</sup> Lord Cloncurry was another 'bit by marble mania,' evidenced not least by his acquisition of ancient sculpture and other antiquities, among which were three 'columns of red Egyptian granite from the Golden House of Nero, which had latterly ornamented the *Palazzo Farnese* in Rome' and a fourth that had 'originated from the Baths of Titus.'<sup>66</sup> These were, as Massingberd and Sykes have described, used in the central portico of the entrance façade. The 10<sup>th</sup> Earl of Meath was another Irish collector who used Gabrielli as an agent to acquire Italian sculpture, chimney pieces and marbles for Kilruddery, County Wicklow.<sup>67</sup>

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63 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Sculpture Account Book, 121: Letter from John Gibson to the Duke, Rome, 16 May 1825 eager that his most important commission to date should be seen in London before being removed to Chatsworth: 'I venture to express my great desire that it might be seen in town before it goes to Chatsworth as it is one of the largest works in marble that has been sent to England for many years I should prefer its being seen before my smaller works.'

64 See for example the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Diary, Monday 23 December 1822 when he writes 'The Dss went with me to all my sculptors and were pleased with their works.' And Tuesday 24 December 1822, 'I went to my sculptors to pay them.'

65 Aquisti made decorative panels depicting the story of Icarus for the Orangery at Lyons.

66 Hugh Montgomery Massingberd and Christopher Simon Sykes, *Great Houses of Ireland* (London. Laurence King Publishing, 1999), 247.

67 *Ibid.*, 94, 98. The sculpture gallery designed by William Burn was added in 1852 by the 11<sup>th</sup> Duke who succeeded to the title in 1851, see 99. There was extensive 'remodelling of the 17<sup>th</sup>- century house during 1820-29 in the Tudor revival style' by the architect William Vitruvius Morrison, exactly contemporaneous /cont...

Gabrielli had moved to Dublin in 1808 becoming vice-president of the Royal Dublin Society of Arts in 1811. Returning to Rome after Napoleon's defeat he was elected to the Academy of St Luke in 1817. Although the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire spent little time at Lismore, his Irish house, during the early 1820s he was concerned with politics in Ireland and this activity intermingles with the 'causes of happiness' and those of 'regret and sorrow' in his annual summary for 1822. On the happy side 'my visit to Ireland & everything got through there successfully' is followed immediately by 'The satisfactory progress of the work at Chatsworth' alongside which he cites his success speaking in the House of Lords on the subject of 'Irish Tithes.' His 'journey to Rome. Endymion & enjoyment of Rome' are high points but these were countered by 'The death of Canova.'<sup>68</sup>

By the time the Duke visited Rome, Gabrielli was one of several artists and artisans who specialised in sourcing different varieties of rare marble for sale.<sup>69</sup> The Duke records a visit to Gabrielli's shop in early January 1823 when he 'got some pretty things in ancient stones' and also ordered from him a view of Rome from Monte Mario.<sup>70</sup> They visited the Capitol together to measure the *Isis Serapis* in order that the correct quantity of black Ashford marble could be shipped from Derbyshire for a copy to be made for Chatsworth.<sup>71</sup> In July 1823 Gabrielli made a point of elaborating how difficult it was to source high quality marbles: 'it is however necessary to buy the marbles whenever I can find them, for your Grace knows, how rare and scarce [sic] such articles are, and many besides me are on the look out, as soon as any is offered on sale.'<sup>72</sup> His correspondence also reveals the huge artistic and financial investment that his patron was making in contemporary art, as well as his own tireless activity in the Duke's service.<sup>73</sup> For example, in one letter of 22

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*/cont.* with the improvements at Chatsworth.

68 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Diary, Tuesday 31 December 1822.

69 See Raniero Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, (Roma. Edizione dell'Elefante, 1988), 106.

70 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Diary, Monday 13 January 1823.

71 *Ibid.*, Tuesday 21 January 1823.

72 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Sculpture Account Book, 85. Letter from Gaspare Gabrielli, Rome, 19 July 1823 to the Duke.

73 Gabrielli was married to an 'English woman' and it may be that she wrote the detailed letters in excellent English that survive. Letter from Freeborn Smith, (Vice) Consul and 'the only resident British Agent' in Rome, 24 June 1828 informing the Duke of Gabrielli's sudden death and offering to manage the outstanding */cont...*

February 1825, Gabrielli lists works that he considers will be ready for shipment to England by the end of April. These include Rinaldi's copy of Canova's *lion*, Joseph Gott's *greyhounds*, Tenerani's *Venus*, Pozzi's *Latona*, Albacini's *Achilles*,<sup>74</sup> and two colossal busts *Ariadne* by Gott and *Achilles* by Rennie.<sup>75</sup> At the same time he reports that Rinaldi was paid for 'Lady Abercorn's bust of Canova.'<sup>76</sup> Perhaps it was his 'painterly eye' that the Duke was using to assemble the rich and varied appearance that he so relished.<sup>77</sup> This delight in colourful effects in the marrying of coloured marble with the white Carrara marble is evident not least in a magnificent pair of porphyry and marble tables that Gabrielli designed and had made for the Duke.<sup>78</sup>

Contained in Gabrielli's letters are many suggestions for pedestals to set off the sculptural 'diamonds' of the Duke's collection. His death in June 1828 meant that some of his proposals for pedestals, notably those for *Endymion* and *Madame Mère*, were never to be realised.<sup>79</sup> In 1822 he had written to the Duke to tell him that he taken measurements for *Endymion* and *Madame Mère*, 'I will with great pleasure undertake the making of the two bases [...] that for the *Endymion* will be of Green Africano, Canova wishes that the base might be rather low and have agreed upon that point as well as of the colour [...] the one of *Madame Mere* will also be of Africano, but different colour.' The day after seeing *Endymion* for the first time the Duke also took care to examine the low

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/cont. commissions that Gabrielli had to realise, see 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Sculpture Account Book, 105.

74 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Sculpture Account Book, 7: receipts for payments from Albacini, 24 June 1823, 8 September.

75 In an earlier letter from Gabrielli to the Duke he writes that Gott had taken upon himself to carve a colossal bust as a pendant to that by Rennie, rather than the 'small size one' that the Duke had originally ordered, 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Sculpture Account Book, 87: letter from Gabrielli to the Duke, Rome, 20 December 1823.

76 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Sculpture Account Book, 91: letter from Gabrielli to the Duke, Rome, 22 February 1825. In an earlier letter (87: 20 December 1823) he reports that Rinaldi's bust of Canova is 'finished' and that he has paid him the 20 Louis still owing.

77 See the letter 23 May 1823 (Sculpture Account Book, 85) where he writes 'I have almost got all the measures of all your Grace's statues, and when I can find pieces of fine kind adapted to the different sizes I have them worked on.'

78 *Ibid.*, 87: Letter from Gaspare Gabrielli to the Duke, Rome, 14 August 1824. The tables were sent with Thorvaldsen's bas reliefs with several pedestals, including that used for *Finelli's Cupid with a butterfly*.

79 The Duke was to keep in touch with the 'poor widow Gabrielli' on his subsequent visits to Rome, see for example his Diary entry for Saturday 22 December 1838.

green africano pedestal. Perhaps these were lost in the same shipment on board the *Io* that included the plasters from which a bronze version of the Endymion was to have been cast in Paris.<sup>80</sup> The pedestal for *Madame Mère* was made from local stone and in the event the Duke chose a similar africano to that used under the *Cupid with a butterfly* by Carlo Finelli (1786-1853), a work which according to his diary he had bought in memory of Canova and which he chose to place in the corner of the bay behind *Endymion*.<sup>81</sup> At the time that these letters were received by the Duke it should be remembered that the sculpture gallery was a building site and its internal ordering was still to be determined.

What is clear from Gabrielli's correspondence as a whole is that the Duke sent black marble from Ashford to be carved by Roman workmen with the resulting works sent back to him at Chatsworth in the very early stages of the project.<sup>82</sup> We know that a shipment of this stone had arrived in the port of Leghorn, interestingly with a 'basket of plants,' by December 1823.<sup>83</sup> There is also an instruction from Gabrielli just over two years later when the completed objects from this local stone were on their way home: Gabrielli advising the Duke that a shipment of 'all the objects in marmo nero Inglese' which includes the bust of Isis and Serapis, two tazze copied from the Vatican Museum, Scipio's tomb, two obelisks, a further Tazza [of fluorspar] was ready to depart.<sup>84</sup> The Duke had also sent over white alabaster which, unlike the black Derbyshire marble, Gabrielli declared had 'proved very bad.'<sup>85</sup>

The Duke took enormous care over placing the sculptures in the gallery. The Great Dining room 'opened' on Thursday 10 October 1832.<sup>86</sup> He records in his diary for Friday 9 August 1833 arriving at Chatsworth, 'The Sculpture Gallery finishing and so very beautiful, also the dining room. My improvements!' Then the following day 'Happy day, the

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80 John Kenworthy-Browne, see fn. 1 above.

81 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Sculpture Account Book, 95: letter from Gabrielli to the Duke, Rome, 30 July 1825. This reveals that the square pedestal of 'beautiful africano' upon which the statue stands in the Sculpture Gallery was made in Rome.

82 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Sculpture Account Book, 87. Letter from Gaspare Gabrielli to the Duke, Rome, 14 August 1824 reports on progress and that the workmen had found the quality of the marble 'rather hard.'

83 *Ibid.*, 87, Gabrielli, to the Duke, Rome, 20 December 1823.

84 *Ibid.*, 91, Gabrielli to the Duke, Rome, 22 February 1825.

85 *Ibid.*, 87, Gabrielli to the Duke, Rome, 14 August 1824.

86 6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Diary, 1832.

weather perfect. [...] the pleasure ground newly laid out by the Stables is a charming improvement.’ On Tuesday 13 August he writes, ‘sat in the Orangery & was occupied in Statue Gallery and among my books all day.’ The Building Accounts for 17 August 1833 record ‘making ‘skeleton’ figures of statues and vases for the Sculpture Gallery’ and the process of fixing works in place can be seen to have taken place throughout that year and well into 1834. The ‘two green columns were raised in the Statue Gallery’ on Monday 23 September, but as his diaries bear testimony, the Duke who was suffering with a bad knee missed seeing this event but was ‘wheeled to see’ them on the following day. On Saturday 9 November 1833 he gave a ‘grand dinner for the workmen in the statue gallery previous to the marbles being brought in.’<sup>87</sup> After these events he leaves Chatsworth on an extended trip to Naples and Sicily, his plans having been set in place.

Perhaps a fitting postscript to this paper is the annotation made by Leigh Hunt to the Duke’s statement at the end of his account of the Gallery published in the *Handbook*,

‘the contents of this room afford me great satisfaction and pleasure, and are among the excuses for an extravagance that I can neither deny nor justify, nor (when I look at Endymion) repent.’<sup>88</sup>

Alongside this Hunt writes: ‘Can any payment (supposing it to be at the expense of no suffering to anybody) be too great for things that so elevate the mind & give such pleasure for ages, as beautiful works of art? The noble owner of a gallery like this may exclaim with a poet whom he understands & admires,

“Never, believe me,  
Appear the Immortals  
Never alone:  
(that is to say, one good thing brings another)  
“Scarce had I welcom’d the Sorrow beguiler,  
Iacchus! But in came boy Cupid the Smiler:  
Lo! Phoebus the Glorious descends from his throne!  
They Advance, they float in, the Olympians all!  
With Divinities fills my

87 *Ibid.*, Monday 11 November 1833, the Duke records a servants ‘ball’ taking place in the statue gallery.

88 *Handbook*, 105.

Terrestrial Hall!  
How shall I yield you  
Due entertainment,  
Celestial Quire?

Schiller's "Visit of the Gods" by Coleridge<sup>89</sup>

The Duke's sense of Canova's immortality is certainly present in the Chatsworth Gallery, as is an enduring sense of the transience of human life and political power found in the references to Napoleon and modern Rome. As an act in the drama of one of those evenings devoted to pleasure and entertainment he delighted in at Chatsworth, after dinner he and his guests would enter the sculpture gallery from the Great Dining Room to music played from the anteroom gallery. The perfume of blossoms in the Orangery would fill the air and viewing the gallery and its 'diamonds' under dramatic lighting effects both natural and artificial, they could not fail to notice immediately before them the luminous figure of *Endymion*, and at the far end of the gallery that of *Hebe*, raising her ewer to fill the cup, placed immediately below the colossal bust of the Duke set in its niche on the north wall. From this viewpoint Canova's 'memorial' forms a backdrop to the gallery and through the doors the delights of the Orangery at the centre of which shone the illuminated Borghese vase. Walking towards this they would pass Consalvi's bust before encountering Napoleon and his mother and sister and a host of marble divines and semi-divines.

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89 *Handbook*, 105-108, written in ink across the foot of the pages.