

Open Research Online

The Open University's repository of research publications and other research outputs

Myth In Reception: Insights From Stourhead Gardens

Thesis

How to cite:

Harrison, John Edward (2018). Myth In Reception: Insights From Stourhead Gardens. PhD thesis The Open University.

For guidance on citations see [FAQs](#).

© 2017 The Author

Version: Version of Record

Copyright and Moral Rights for the articles on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. For more information on Open Research Online's [data policy](#) on reuse of materials please consult the policies page.

oro.open.ac.uk

Myth in reception: Insights from Stourhead gardens

John Edward Harrison

BSc (Hons) Psychology, University of Hertfordshire, UK

Dip CS, Open University, UK

PhD Neuroscience, University of London, UK

Thesis submitted to The Open University in partial fulfilment
of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS)

The Open University

December 2017

Declaration

I declare that this thesis represents my own work, except where due acknowledgement is made, and that it has not been previously submitted to the Open University or to any other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualification.

Abstract

The focus of my thesis is the reception of classical myth in Georgian Britain as exemplified by responses to the garden imagery at Stourhead, Wiltshire. Previous explanations have tended to the view that the gardens were designed to recapitulate Virgil's *Aeneid*. However, the garden owner, Henry Hoare II, left no record to substantiate this, or any other theme, and it is not mentioned in the many extant visitor accounts from the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.

My approach to understanding the garden began with the systematic collection of information on the garden's content and evolution. This endeavour yielded more than 20 further visitor reports, as well as visual and literary sources not considered in previous secondary accounts. This research has shown that the garden included a number of artefacts unknown to previous theorists. It has also shown that the true provenance and acquisition of extant garden elements is often different to that listed in the Stourhead secondary literature.

I conclude that visitor reception of the gardens yields highly idiosyncratic interpretation, the emotional and cognitive content of which was largely determined by information obtained from published literature, garden guides and fellow visitors. A strong further influence on the interpretation of the gardens by some visitors was familiarity with the Roman and wider Italian influences on the garden content. I have especially considered visitor experience of the Grand Tour in this context. I propose that visits to Stourhead elicited emotional and cognitive responses from visitors. An effect of encountering the garden edifices and artefacts was to prompt memories,

particularly of prior visits to the original Roman or Italian buildings and artefacts, but also of copies encountered in English landscape gardens and elsewhere.

Acknowledgments

There are so many people to thank, but it is only fitting to begin with my three supervisors, Helen King, Jessica Hughes and Jo Paul. Theirs was a challenging endeavour, to take a life-long scientist and turn him into a classicist. I hope they would say that the journey has been worthwhile and that the arrival satisfactory evidence of at least some success. I would also like to take the opportunity to thank the wider OU and classicist community. I have been shown many kindnesses and very healthy guidance. It is a long list of individuals, but amongst them are Laura Swift, Gill Perry and my fellow PhD students, Stuart McKie, Mair Lloyd and Sophie Raudnitz.

Many of the wider classicist, urban historian, and garden historian community gave generously of their time and endeared themselves to me forever by accepting my invitation to speak at the ‘Classical Influences on Georgian Stourhead’ event I organised in November 2015. Special thanks to Michael Symes, Danielle Westerhof, Caroline Barron, Oliver Cox, Richard Wheeler and Roey Sweet.

When embarking on this project I wondered whether the many cash-strapped institutions to whom I needed to go cap in hand for favours would be able to help. Helen King offered the view that they would have neither the time nor the money to do so, but that they would have the goodwill. It seems that goodwill triumphs over adversity, as these individuals and institutions have been of huge help to me. I would like to thank therefore the National Trust, English Heritage, the Beinecke Library,

the British School of Rome, the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, the Archivio di Stato di Roma, the Saint John Lateran Archives, and Hoare's Bank. Individuals from these institutions that I would like to thank by name for their kindness and help are Emily Blanshard, Alan Power, Mike 'Mac' MacCormack, Georgina Mead, Pamela Hunter, Emily Utgren and Dudley Dodd, as well as the many guides and NT staff who gave so unselfishly of their time.

My efforts across the past six years have been sustained by providers of tea, coffee and 'supplies' across numerous cafés, restaurants, canteens, hotel lobbies and airport lounges. Thank you to them all.

Final thanks are reserved for my family for their indulgence. My wife Rachel, whom I met whilst completing my first PhD, managed to disguise her astonishment and disbelief when I announced my intention to complete the research in this thesis. Without her support and indulgence, I would never have reached this point. My love and thanks always to her. My children Cordelia and Sebastian have cheerily endured trips to more country houses, museums, ruins and libraries than any child should have to suffer. Hopefully they too have had some fun along the way and perhaps been inspired by their experiences.

Table of Contents

Myth in reception: Insights from Stourhead gardens	1
Declaration	2
Abstract	3
Acknowledgments	4
Prior publication	10
List of Figures	11
List of Tables.....	16
Chapter 1 – Roman myth in reception: Insights from Georgian era gardens... 18	
Political influences in the eighteenth-century landscape garden.....	27
Roman influence in the English landscape garden.....	30
The early years of Henry Hoare’s life	35
The Development of Stourhead gardens.....	45
Roman elements at Stourhead.....	51
Theories of authorial intent for the gardens at Stourhead.....	57
The influence of visual art on the design of Stourhead garden.....	73
Conclusions and chapter summary.....	75
Chapter 2 – The design, content and evolution of Stourhead gardens 1743-1753	
.....	77
The <i>Apollo Belvedere</i> and <i>Versailles Diana</i> copies	78
The Temple of Ceres	85
Transition to the Temple of Flora	93
The Temple on the Terrace, or Venetian Seat	99
The Temple of the Nymph, also referred to as the Grotto	102
The Grotto in an ancient Roman context.....	112

Chapter 3 – The evolution of Stourhead gardens, 1754-1764	125
Visitor accounts of the temple	127
Provenance and iconography of the Temple statues	135
Rysbrack’s Hercules	137
Rysbrack’s Flora	144
Meleager	147
Saint Susanna	149
Isis	152
<i>Dancing Faun, or Faun of Florence</i>	157
Venus Anadyomene	160
Bacchus	160
Panel 1 – <i>Chariot racer in a quadrigae at the games.</i>	161
Panel 2 – <i>Mount Olympus</i>	162
Panel 3 – <i>Bacchic Celebration</i>	163
Panel 4 – <i>Bacchus visiting the house of Icarius.</i>	164
Panel 5 – <i>Hunters returning from a boar hunt</i>	165
Panel 6 – <i>The Rape of a Nymph by Neptune.</i>	165
Panel 7 - <i>Bacchic celebration.</i>	166
Panel 8 – <i>Roman marriage celebration.</i>	168
Interpreting the significance of the bas-relief depictions	169
Pine bench decorated with <i>A painted classical scene of the Three Graces (?)</i>	169
Pine bench decorated with <i>A painted classical scene of the birth of Venus</i>	170
Pine bench decorated with <i>A painted classical scene of Venus Anadyomene</i>	172
Pine bench with <i>A painted classical scene of the marriage of Cupid & Psyche</i>	173
Interpreting the temple furniture paintings	174
Echoes of the Pantheon?	175
 Chapter 4 – The design, content and evolution of Stourhead gardens up to 1766	 182

Visitor accounts of the Temple of Apollo	186
Interpretation of the statue selection for the Temple of Apollo	194
Apollino.....	198
Callipygian Venus.....	199
Mercury	202
Urania.....	203
Pomona.....	212
Bacchus	217
Vestal Virgin.....	218
Ceres.....	221
Minerva	223
Possible selection principles and visitor reception of the Temple of Apollo statuary.	225
What were the design influences on the Temple of Apollo?	227
Henry Flitcroft Bench with Aurora painting by William Hoare	231
Chapter 5 – Interpreting classical influences on the Georgian visitor to Stourhead	238
Stourton Gardens (Anonymous, 1749).....	248
Days Departed (Bowles, W.L., 1829)	249
A Ride and Walk through Stourhead (Anonymous, 1780).....	251
Bidcombe Hill (Skurray, F., 1822).....	252
Conclusions regarding visitor reception of Roman myth	259
Authorial intentions for Stourhead gardens	262
As yet unheard voices at Stourhead	267
Stourhead in context – other eighteenth-century landscape gardens.....	268
Final conclusions: What can the gardens at Stourhead tell us about the reception of ancient Roman myth in Georgian Britain?	284
Appendix A – Visitor accounts	294
Richard Pococke, 2 nd July 1754	294
Jonas Hanway, 1756.....	294

Elizabeth Berkely, 4 th Duchess of Beaufort, July 1762.....	295
Horace Walpole, 1762.....	296
Anonymous, Saturday 10 th August 1765.....	297
Joseph Spence, 1765	297
Anonymous, 1766.....	298
Katherine Gertrude Harris' letter to her brother, Stourhead, 18 th July, 1767	299
William Clarke, 1767	300
Sir John Parnell, 26 th & 27 th September, 1768.....	301
Johannes Wiedewelt, 26 th May 1769	305
Mrs. Rishton to Miss Fanny Burney 13 th April, 1773.....	305
Mrs Caroline Lybbe Powys, 1774	306
Lady Amabel Yorke of Studley, 25 th August 1776.....	308
Rev. John Wesley, 12 th September 1776.....	309
Samuel Curwen, 26 th September 1776.....	309
Edward Jerningham, 13 th September, 1777.....	311
Sir Richard Sullivan, July 1778.....	311
David Garrick, before January 1779	314
Hester Hoare to Harriett Anne Bysshopp Saturday 1783.....	314
Mrs Delany (Mary Granville), 25 th September, 1783.	314
Conte Carlo Gastone della Torre di Rezzonico, 17 th July, 1787.....	315
John Henry Manners, 5th Duke of Rutland, 11 th September, 1795.	318
Baron Johan Frederik Willem van Spaen van Biljoen, 1797.....	318
John Thelwall, 6 th July, 1797.....	320
William Gilpin, 1798	320
Anne Rushout, 20 th August 1798.....	322
John Britton, 1801.....	323
Richard Fenton, 10 th November 1807	328
James Storer, 1808.....	332

Louis Simond, 6 th July, 1810	333
Thomas Dibdin (also known as Cuthbert Tunstall), c.November 1822	334
William Hazlitt, 1823	336
Richard Colt Hoare, 1822	336
Parson James Woodforde, various dates.	339
Appendix B – Excerpt from <i>Bidcombe Hill</i> by Rev. Francis Skurray.....	341
Appendix C – <i>Stourton Gardens</i>, Anonymous, 1749	342
Bibliography - Primary Sources.....	346
Bibliography - Secondary Sources	355
List of paintings, statues, and other artefacts	374

Prior publication

Elements of this thesis have been published in the following papers and book chapter:

Harrison, J.E., ‘The Development and content of Stourhead Gardens: Recent findings, insights from an eighteenth-century poem and the visit of Carlo Gastone Della Torre di Rezzonico in 1787’, *Garden History*, 43, 1, 2015, pp. 126-143.

Harrison, J.E., ‘More than just squabby cupids? History and myth in Stourhead’s famous landscape garden’, *ABC Bulletin* (London, National Trust, 2015), pp. 6-8.

Harrison, J.E., ‘From Rome to Stourhead and thence to Rome again: The phenomenon of the eighteenth-century English landscape garden’, in Stobart, J. (ed.) *Travel and the Country House* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2017), pp. 42-62.

List of Figures

- Fig. 1.1 Redrawn version of Piper's 1779 plan of Stourhead Gardens
- Fig. 1.2 Comparison of a modern photograph of Stourhead gardens from Entrance B with Claude's *Coastal Scene with Aeneas at Delos* (1672)
- Fig. 2.1 Parnell's sketch of the area around Stourhead House and the Apollo Belvedere statue copy (circled in red)
- Fig. 2.2 Turkish tent depicted on a piece of the *Green Frog* (1773) service
- Fig. 2.3 Comparison of Temple of Flora paterae with patera feature of restored right hand of Livia Augusta as Ceres statue
- Fig. 2.4 An artist's impression of the Temple of Ceres interior, c.1749
- Fig. 2.5 Bampfylde, C.W., *The Grotto, Stourhead; lake with swans and fountain, and temple-like structure behind, reclining man to the left in foreground in front of trees* (1753)
- Fig. 2.6 Flitcroft's design for the Manning river god and rocky recess
- Fig. 2.7 Images of Overton's temple design, the Englischergartensitz and Piper's Temple on the Terrace
- Fig. 2.8 Comparison of Stourhead Grotto figure (centre) with Rosa (c.1663-4) figure of Tiber (left) and Peneus by Goltzius (1589)
- Fig. 2.9 Hoare, W., *Sleeping Nymph of the Grotto* (1760)
- Fig. 2.10 de Holanda, F., *The Fountain of Cleopatra/Sleeping Nymph* (1538-9)
- Fig. 2.11 Nicholson, F., *The Grotto or Cave, Interior of left statue of sleeping nymph* (1760)
- Fig. 2.12 An annotated version of FM Piper's 1779 sketch of the Grotto at Stourhead
- Fig. 3.1 Architectural plan of Stourhead Temple of Hercules

- Fig. 3.2 Comparison of temple interior in 1784 with modern day interior
- Fig. 3.3 Harding, F., *Architectural Capriccio with the Pantheon and the Maison Carrée (manner of Panini)* (c.1745)
- Fig. 3.4 An artist's impression of the Temple of Hercules in 1787
- Fig. 3.5 Chays, L., *Interior of the Palazzo Farnese* (1775)
- Fig. 3.6 Poussin, N., *Choice of Hercules* (1636-7)
- Fig. 3.7 de' Matteis, P., *The Choice of Hercules* (1713)
- Fig. 3.8 Reynolds, J., *Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy* (1760-1)
- Fig. 3.9 Kauffman, A., *Self-portrait of the Artist between Music and Painting* (1794)
- Fig. 3.10 Order detailing Flora commission
- Fig. 3.11 Comparison of the heads from Rysbrack's marble and terracotta versions of the *Farnese Flora*
- Fig. 3.12 Comparison of the Stourhead and *Pighini Meleager* statues
- Fig. 3.13 Original, Stourhead and Kedleston Saint Susanna statues
- Fig. 3.14 Comparison of Pax with Saint Susanna statue
- Fig. 3.15 Comparison of *Capitoline Isis* statue with Stourhead version
- Fig. 3.16 The Dancing Faun statue at Kedleston
- Fig. 3.17 Two paintings by Thomas Patch (1725-1782) containing depictions of the *Faun of Florence*
- Fig. 3.18 *Quadriga* bas-relief panel and likely ARA source
- Fig. 3.19 *Mount Olympus* bas-relief panel and likely ARA source
- Fig. 3.20 Poussin, N., *Triumph of Bacchus & Ariadne* (reversed) (1636) and the Bacchic Celebration bas-relief panel

- Fig. 3.21 *Bacchus visiting the house of Icarius* bas-relief panel and likely ARA source
- Fig. 3.22 *Hunters returning from a boar hunt* bas-relief panel and likely ARA source
- Fig. 3.23 *The Rape of a Nymph by Neptune* bas-relief panel and likely ARA source
- Fig. 3.24 *Bacchic Celebration* bas-relief panel and likely ARA source
- Fig. 3.25 *Roman marriage celebration* bas-relief panel and likely ARA source
- Fig. 3.26 Comparison of Bartoli Plate with William Hoare painted seat from the Stourhead Temple of Hercules
- Fig. 3.27 A painted classical scene of the *Birth of Venus*
- Fig. 3.28 A painted classical scene of *Venus Anadyomene*
- Fig. 3.29 A painted classical scene of *The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche*
- Fig. 3.30 *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche* cameo
- Fig. 3.31 Pictorial comparison of the Pantheon at Rome and the Temple of Hercules
- Fig. 3.32 Size comparison of the Pantheon at Rome and the Temple of Hercules
- Fig. 4.1 Early nineteenth-century postcard published by Frederick Holmes showing Temple of Apollo in a state of disrepair
- Fig. 4.2 A comparison of a) the Temple c.1814 and b) the current temple, with c) the Kew Gardens Temple of the Sun, d) the Baalbek Temple of Venus, and e) a reconstruction of the temple at Tivoli
- Fig. 4.3 John Cheere statues receipt from 1766
- Fig. 4.4 Representation of the Temple of Apollo interior showing the means by which light was shone down onto *Apollo Belvedere* copy statue

- Fig. 4.5 Bacchus and Venus Stourhead statues and their respective locations on the Temple of Apollo. Below, illustrations of the Thomassin Bacchus and original Callipygian Venus statue
- Fig. 4.6 Location of *Apollino* and Urania statues on Stourhead Temple of Apollo
- Fig. 4.7 Temple of Apollo section of Bampfylde's Stourhead landscape
- Fig. 4.8 Statue and bust placement in the Temple of Apollo niches. Broken lines indicate that the precise location of the listed statues has not yet been ascertained.
- Fig. 4.9 Comparison of *Uffizi Mercury* with Stourhead version
- Fig. 4.10 van Haecht, W., *The Picture Gallery of Cornelius van de Geest* (1628)
- Fig. 4.11 Kaufmann, A., *Portrait of Frances Ann Acland* (1733)
- Fig. 4.12 Putative Muse statues from the rear of Kedleston Hall
- Fig. 4.13 Brueghel, J., *The Four Elements* (1621-32)
- Fig. 4.14 Brueghel, J., *Air* (1621-32)
- Fig. 4.15 John Cheere statue of Pomona (c.1765)
- Fig. 4.16 Ancient Roman statue of Pomona
- Fig. 4.17 Cavaceppi restoration of *Seated Pomona* (1768)
- Fig. 4.18 Colossal Bacchus with Panther statue from Anglesey Abbey
- Fig. 4.19 Thomassin's sketch of the Versailles' Vestal side-by-side with the Stourhead lead copy
- Fig. 4.20 John Cheere Vestal statues from Kedleston and Saltram House
- Fig. 4.21 John Nost (?) Vestal statue at Anglesey Abbey. The original is shown reversed on the left of the figure.

- Fig. 4.22 Limestone statues of Urania and Vesta
- Fig. 4.23 Ceres statue at Stourhead
- Fig. 4.24 Stourhead Minerva and *Minerva Giustiniani* comparison
- Fig. 4.25 Batoni paintings featuring Minerva busts
- Fig. 4.26 Kent sketch for circular temple on the hillside at Chatsworth
- Fig. 4.27 Current photograph and reconstruction of the circular temple at Tivoli
- Fig. 4.28 Lorrain, C., *Apollo and the Muses* (1680)
- Fig. 4.29 Maratta, C., *Marchese Niccolò Maria Pallavicini (1650-1714) guided to the Temple of Virtù by Apollo with a Self-portrait of the Artist* (1705)
- Fig. 4.30 Flitcroft designed bench with William Hoare version of Reni's *Aurora* (1765)
- Fig. 4.31 Reni, G., *Aurora* (1614) from the Palazzo Palavicini Rispolgiosi
- Fig. 4.32 Section of Poussin, N., *A Dance to the Music of Time* (1634-6)
- Fig. 4.33 Artist's impression of the Bacchus, Venus and Ceres statue placement
- Fig. 5.1 Turner, J.M.W., *Rise of the River Stour at Stourhead* (c.1825)
- Fig. 5.2 Turner, J.M.W., *Landscape, Composition at Tivoli* (c.1825)
- Fig. 5.3 Turner, J.M.W., *Aeneas and the Sibyl, Lake Avernus* (c.1798)
- Fig. 5.4 The Hestercombe *Friendship Urn*

List of Tables

Table 1.1 Stourhead garden design phases

Table 2.1 Stourhead visitors and their paths through the gardens

Table 3.1 A summary of Stourhead garden statuary

Table 4.1 Known John Cheere statues collated from various sources
(not a *catalogue raisonné*).

Table 5.1 Stourhead visitors from 1749-1830. Those for whom we have no extant account, but who are known to have visited, are marked with an *.

‘Any writer with a taste for antiquarian studies, when attempting a description of such a place as Stourhead, if he followed the bent of his own mind, would dwell largely on the remote past, giving every detail, even the most minute, preferring to know a little thoroughly, rather than much cursorily’.

- George Sweetman (1930) *Guide to Stourhead*

Chapter 1 – Roman myth in reception: Insights from Georgian era gardens

In this thesis, I am concerned with the reception of classical myth in eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Britain. The focus of my research is the eighteenth-century English landscape garden at Stourhead in Wiltshire. From 1744 onward, the garden was populated with copies of ancient Roman statues, bas-reliefs, busts, and vases, illustrating characters from Roman mythology. It also featured four edifices, all influenced by ancient Roman architecture, two of which featured quotations from Ovid and Virgil. Later in this chapter I will illustrate how these statuary, literary and architectural choices were influenced by the Grand Tour experience of the garden owner, as well as documentary sources available in Britain during the eighteenth century. I will consider how other recent scholars have interpreted the various ancient elements of Stourhead's design, for instance by proposing that the journey through the garden was intended to recapitulate Aeneas' journey from Troy to Rome.¹ However, as I shall relate, my research shows difficulties with this and other interpretations.

Stourhead theorists exhibit the tendency to construct a general theory of the garden iconography from specific garden elements. In contrast, my research methodology has been to discover as much information about the content, development and evolution of the garden as possible, and then consider the evidence to determine whether the designers indeed sought to imbue the garden with a unified meaning, as

¹ Woodbridge, K., 'Henry Hoare's Paradise', *The Art Bulletin*, XLVII, 1965, pp. 83-116.

has been supposed. Implicit in this approach has been the assumption that Henry Hoare, the owner of Stourhead during the most intense period of garden building between 1743 and 1783, was the garden designer. In this context, it is important to state that if Henry ever recorded his design intentions, they are no longer available to us. One certain aspect of the garden building that took place during the period 1743-1783 is that Henry had available to him texts on gardening and established examples of the English landscape garden with which to plan. The extant Stourhead literature confirms that Henry was at the very least acquainted with the likes of Horace Walpole, Joseph Spence and Charles Hamilton. Their role in the design and execution of the gardens at Stourhead will be discussed in later chapters. I will also discuss individuals for whom we have documentary evidence of their roles in helping to create the garden. These individuals include Lord Burlington's protégé designer Henry Flitcroft, the sculptor Michael Rysbrack, as well as local grotto experts and master builders such as Nathaniel Ireson. I will revisit this topic of design influences in the final chapter of the thesis. In the interim, when considering authorial intent, I will refer to the 'designers of Stourhead gardens', rather than adopt the uncritical view that Henry Hoare was the sole designer.

To better understand the content and evolution of Stourhead gardens I have drawn on a variety of primary sources, many of which have not been considered by earlier theorists. For example, I have located more than twenty previously unconsidered eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century visitor accounts (see Appendix A), as well as garden details drawn from visual and literary sources, such as paintings, poems and novels. These new accounts provide further corroboration of previously reported features, as well as sources of information regarding the reaction of visitors to the

Stourhead garden imagery. In many cases these new accounts also provide information on garden elements that were not mentioned in the published corpus of visitor information. For example, in his detailed account of the garden Count Carlo Castone Gaetano della Torre di Rezzonico lists three now lost statues that have not been mentioned by any of the authors that have contributed to the secondary literature.² Visitor reception of Stourhead has only rarely been the focus of theorising about the garden imagery. In fact, some commentators have been dismissive of visitor accounts, and especially those that are inconvenient to their theories of authorial intention. Woodbridge is particularly severe, commenting that visitor accounts ‘vary enormously in quality and usefulness, from the cliché-ridden description of the uninstructed tourist, to the specialised attention of the connoisseur’.³ Cox has recently reviewed visitor reception of Stourhead gardens and has pointed out that none of the extant accounts, whether provided by the ‘uninstructed tourist’ or the ‘connoisseur’, include reference to the iconographic interpretations that are a key feature of the secondary literature.⁴ Cox further points out that many of the garden features upon which these iconographic interpretations are based were rarely mentioned by visitors. He asks us to consider theories of Stourhead iconography in the context of visitor accounts and concludes that they should lead us to question whether secondary source interpretations have yielded a ‘mistaken iconography’.⁵ Cox shifted focus away from issues of authorial intention to those of visitor reception. My research further develops this approach by

² Harrison, J.E., ‘The Development and content of Stourhead Gardens: Recent findings, insights from an eighteenth-century poem and the visit of Carlo Gastone Della Torre di Rezzonico in 1787’, *Garden History*, 43, 1, 2015a, pp. 126-143.

³ Woodbridge, K., ‘Stourhead in 1768: Extracts from an unpublished journal by Sir John Parnell. Edited with an introduction on 18th-century visitors’, *The Journal of Garden History*, 2, 1, 1982, pp. 59-70.

⁴ Cox, O., ‘A mistaken iconography? Eighteenth-century visitor accounts of Stourhead’, *Garden History*, 40, 1, 2012, pp. 98-116.

⁵ *Ibid*, 2012, p. 98.

analysing the content of extant and new visitor accounts for information regarding the cognitive and emotional response of visitors to the garden imagery.

Throughout this thesis I will treat all the sources of information listed above as receptions of the gardens. Many of the poems that are available to us about Stourhead were written by poets known to have visited the gardens, such as those by William Lisle Burrows and the Rev. Francis Skurray, or include specific references to having been written in the gardens.⁶ Similarly, the majority of extant visual representations were executed by artists who also visited, including professionals such as Francis Nicholson, Samuel Woodforde and JMW Turner, but also by amateurs, such as Hoare's friend Coplestone Warre Bampfylde, the owner of nearby Hestercombe.⁷ These new sources of information have helped to yield a more thorough account of the garden's evolution. This information has facilitated the development of a new interpretation of Stourhead gardens in which I show how ancient Roman mythology may have been integrated into the garden by its designers, but more importantly, how it was received by visitors. I will also employ the content of visitor accounts to show that previously advanced theories of authorial intent can be challenged on elements of fact.

Various methodological issues arise when considering visitor accounts. One issue is veracity, as it might be that the information in the accounts is factually incorrect.

Fortunately, in many cases the presence of a garden edifice or artefact at a specific

⁶ Bowles, W.L., *Days Departed* (London, Murray, 1828); Skurray, F., *Bidcombe Hill, a descriptive poem* (London, Cadell, 1824).

⁷ Hestercombe garden features, such as the cascade, predate the Stourhead examples and may have influenced the Stourhead designers in their selections. White, P. *A Gentleman of fine Taste* (Taunton, Hestercombe Gardens Project, 1995).

location, on a certain date, is commonly corroborated by other visitors, as well as by other sources of documentation, such as the extant financial records available at Stourhead, the Hoare's Bank archives and the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre. Another issue is that visitors often provide only a partial account of what they have witnessed on their visits. My analysis of visitor accounts indicates that none appear to be comprehensive reports of the garden and its contents. These same accounts are also idiosyncratic with respect to what is reported, though descriptions of the garden buildings are common to most. In contrast, the presence, and details of, statues, bas-reliefs, urns, busts, etc., are more piecemeal and are reported with various levels of detail. Exceptions to this are the 1762 and 1787 accounts provided by Horace Walpole and Count Rezzonico. These two highly educated and well-travelled visitors provide a wealth of detail that is largely absent from the accounts of other visitors. At the same time, the presence of many of the garden elements they list *is* corroborated by other visitors.

A further issue that arises is the reconciliation of apparently contradictory information. In these instances, my approach has been to research exhaustively all extant sources of information in order to adjudicate between the possible accounts. For example, Walpole describes one of the interior Temple of Hercules statues as Antinous, whereas all other visitors that comment describe the statue as one of Meleager. This example is discussed in detail in Chapter 3, where I compare Walpole's description with those of other visitors', available documentation regarding statue purchases for the Temple of Hercules, as well as discussions of the challenges of identifying statues. As one who has access to visitor accounts and

documentation from both before and after the visit, I have a privileged position in seeking to identify and account for errors and discrepancies.

Part of my purpose in this thesis is to review critically theories that have been proposed to recover the authorial intention of the text.⁸ I will reassess these theories based on findings from a detailed programme of research in which I have sought to determine the content and evolution of the gardens throughout the period of interest. The Stourhead commentators whose theories I shall critically review have tended to take what Prettejohn describes as an approach ‘which might be called “positivist” or “historicist” and which aims to discover as much as possible about the object’s making, the social and historical contexts in which it was made, and its meanings within this context’.⁹ This paradigm follows what Hardwick describes as:

‘The classical tradition’. This studied the transmission and dissemination of classical culture through the ages, usually with the emphasis on the influence of classical writers, artists and thinkers on subsequent intellectual movements and individual works.¹⁰

Hardwick continues that:

⁸ ‘Text’ here is being employed in the post-modernist sense of referring to the garden and its various buildings and contents.

⁹ Prettejohn, E., ‘Reception and ancient art: The case of the Venus de Milo’, in Martindale, C. and Thomas, R. F. (eds.) *Classics and the Uses of Reception* (Oxford, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2006), pp. 227-49.

¹⁰ Hardwick, L., *Reception Studies* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 2.

Furthermore, it could carry an assumption, sometimes tacit, sometimes explicit, that these works yielded a ‘meaning’ which was unproblematic, there to be grasped and to be applied on all kinds of situation far removed from the ancient one.¹¹

Contemporary scholarship within classical reception studies tends to privilege the view of the recipient of the text over that of authorial intention. Reception theory also tends to the view that meaning is constructed on encountering the text and that this inferred meaning is not a static interpretation, but a dynamic one, capable of being updated and revised.¹² As Jauss writes, the meaning of a text is the result of ‘a convergence of the structure of the work and the structure of the interpretation which is ever achieved anew’.¹³ Thus ‘interpretation, we might conclude, is predicated upon not reception (an achieved state) but recipience (an ongoing process)’.¹⁴ In the context of classical studies Skinner has suggested that this approach has led to a ‘far-reaching intellectual shift’ to ‘post-classicism’ in which:

The idea of all cultural artefacts and systems as broadly accessible ‘texts’ open to multiple and even conflicting readings, and to a flexible and pluralistic notion of our disciplinary activity.¹⁵

In seeking to understand what Stourhead gardens meant to Georgian Britons I will

¹¹ Ibid, 2008, p. 3.

¹² ‘Meaning is always realized at the point of reception’. Martindale, C. *Redeeming the Text* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 3.

¹³ Segers, R.T., ‘An interview with Hans Robert Jauss’, *New Literary History*, 11, 1, 1979, pp. 83-95.

¹⁴ Whitmarsh, T., ‘True histories Lucian, Bakhtin, and the pragmatics of reception’, in Martindale, C. and Thomas, R. F. (eds.), *Classics and the Uses of Reception*, (Oxford, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2006), pp. 104-15.

¹⁵ Skinner, M.B. *Rescuing Creusa: New Methodological Approaches to Women in Antiquity* (Lubbock, Texas Tech University Press, 1987), p. 4.

focus primarily on the meaning realised by recipients of the garden. Many such accounts are extant and therefore available for consideration. In contrast, the relatively modest number of surviving accounts from the likely garden designers makes recovering authorial intentions very difficult. I will nevertheless consider the evidence for design intentions in my review of primary sources. A critical dimension of this endeavour will be consideration of garden elements, and especially statues, in proximity to one another. By way of illustration, the iconography of a solitary statue might illustrate a specific theme. Two semantically related elements found in proximity may also converge on a theme. As the number of elements in any single tableau increases it becomes less likely that they are juxtaposed solely by chance. For example, the iconography of a solitary *Apollo Belvedere* statue is difficult to determine. However, a Diana and Apollo placed in proximity might illustrate the theme of their fraternity. This example is pertinent in the context of Stourhead gardens, as an early (1745) statuary acquisition was of a pair of lead *Versailles Diana* and *Apollo Belvedere* copies.¹⁶ However, the two statues were placed at a substantial distance from one another, so whilst purchased as a pair, they were not displayed together.

A key feature of the eighteenth-century English landscape garden is the many classical influences. The term ‘classical’ has been used to indicate both Greek and Roman associations and many of the classical elements found in the English garden have their origins in ancient Greek culture.¹⁷ However, in Britain for the first half of

¹⁶ 2 May 1745, ‘By Mr. Cheere for Apollo and Diana & his packing cases...£51.5. Hoare’s Bank Archive, 37 Fleet Street, London.

¹⁷ According to Grafton et al. there is ‘a privileged connection between classical and the realm of Graeco-Roman culture’, Grafton, A., Most, G.W., Settis, S. *The Classical Tradition*, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2010), p. 205

the eighteenth century it is largely Greek culture filtered by ancient Roman reception. Visits to Greece as part of the Grand Tour were rare whilst Greece was under Ottoman rule, though an exception to this was the visit made by James ‘Athenian’ Stuart and Nicholas Revett in 1751.¹⁸ Their findings would in 1762 be published in *The Antiquities of Athens*, after which Greek influences would become a more common feature of the English garden.¹⁹ This is much later than the bulk of the garden building at Stourhead, which is mostly influenced by Rome. For example, there are no Greek quotations from the work of Sappho or Homer, whereas amongst the exclusively Roman quotations there are literary examples from Virgil and Ovid. Furthermore, amongst the deities represented in the garden is the exclusively Roman goddess Pomona. This is of course not to suggest that Greek influence is absent from Stourhead, as most of the myth represented in quotations and statues were originally Greek tales. However, we are seeing them after their reception by ancient Roman authors, sculptors and building designers. In this thesis, I will hereafter therefore refer to Roman rather than ‘classical’ influences, whilst acknowledging their Greek origins.

As I shall shortly discuss, ancient and later Roman influences are abundant in Stourhead gardens and I shall review them for their iconography.²⁰ This review of ancient and later Roman influences is a necessary requirement for the critical review of theories of the garden iconography at Stourhead with which I close this chapter. Before turning to a review of Roman influences at Stourhead, I will consider why the

¹⁸ Black comments that ‘In the first half of the century travellers to the Turkish empire were ‘so rare that their return to Britain merited a mention in the British press’. Black, R., *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the eighteenth century* (Sutton Publishing, 1992), p. 66.

¹⁹ Stuart, J. and Revett, N., *The Antiquities of Athens* (London, 1762).

²⁰ In Chapters 2, 3 and 4 I will provide a detailed account of the development and content of the garden.

garden designers at Stourhead were influenced by the legacy of ancient Rome.

Political influences in the eighteenth-century landscape garden

Aristocratic and mercantile Britons in the early eighteenth century were the recipients of a variety of ancient Roman influences. Roman art, history and literature were key elements of a classical education. The eighteenth-century expansion of newspaper, journal and pamphlet production brought news of archaeological discoveries from Herculaneum, rediscovered in 1709, and later in 1748 from Pompeii. These influences all came to bear at a time when Britain was experiencing marked imperial expansion, analogous to the prodigious Roman imperial expansion seen during the period of the Republic. Arnold writes that many Britons saw themselves as latter-day Romans and that ‘Classical forms, whether in architecture, painting, sculpture, garden design or literature enabled the expression of the fundamental ideology of a culture which aligned itself with Augustan Rome. And the use of classicism as a primary expression of English culture helped to underpin the imperialist nature of early Eighteenth-century British society’.²¹ The eighteenth-century artist Jonathan Richardson articulated this desired association of the British with Rome when in 1715 he wrote that ‘no nation under Heaven so nearly resembles

²¹ Arnold, D., *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 1998), p. 15. Richardson also writes on this topic, stating that the early eighteenth century vision for ‘a new Britain was something like the enlightened age of Augustus, the Roman emperor who reigned from 27 BC to AD 14 – the time of Virgil, Horace and Ovid – and who brought political stability and just rule to the empire. With the great Maecenas encouraging artists, the Augustan age was seen (by writers, at least) as the zenith of the arts, which is why this period in eighteenth century England came to be known as the second “Augustan Age”’. Richardson, T., *The Arcadian Friends: Inventing the English Landscape Garden* (London, Bantam, 2007), p. 135. Of note is that the different garden history commentators refer to both Republican and Augustan Rome. My interpretation of this reference to ancient Rome is that the rapid expansion of the British Empire is being compared to the analogous situation with the Roman Empire in the 1st and 2nd centuries BCE. The analogy with Augustan Rome compares the circumstances of Tories and disaffected Whigs living under the government of Sir Robert Walpole, with Romans living under Augustus.

the ancient Greeks and Romans than we'.²²

The analogy with Augustan Rome was for many in Britain the most appropriate comparison. From 27 BCE Roman citizens had to reconcile themselves to the transition from republican to autocratic rule under Caesar Augustus. Similarly, sections of British society had expected to enjoy greater liberty after limitations on the power of the monarchy were established with the removal of King James II in the Glorious Revolution of 1688-9. Many in the British aristocratic and merchant classes expected to be living in a political system similar to that enjoyed by Roman citizens during the Republic.²³ However, the revolution stumbled when Robert Walpole rose to power under the patronage of George I. Tories and disaffected Whigs, including George Lyttelton, the first Baron Lyttelton, and Richard Temple, the first Viscount Cobham, saw themselves in circumstances akin to those of Roman citizens living under Imperial rule. In response, they created the 'Country Party', a movement that agitated for effective opposition to Walpole's administration and a limit to his power.²⁴ In opposition, a number of Country Party figures retired to their rural estates, which they regarded as sanctuaries from the corruption of court circles in London.

Lyttelton and Temple were amongst the earliest creators of the English landscape garden, the former at Hagley in Worcestershire and the latter at Stowe in

²² Richardson, J., *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (London, 1715), pp. 222-23. That the eighteenth-century 'New Augustans' viewed themselves in these terms is confirmed by contemporary commentators, including Count Carlo Gastone della Torre di Rezzonico, who comments in his tour diary how 'the English...so love to compare themselves to the Romans' ('Che gl'Inglesi che tanto amano di paragonarsi a Romani', Gamba, B., *Viaggio in Inghilterra di Carlo Gastone della Torre di Rezzonico comasco* (Venezia, 1824), p. 22).

²³ Morrill, J., 'The Sensible Revolution', in Israel, J.I. (ed.) *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its world impact* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 73-104.

²⁴ Black, J., *British Politics and Foreign Policy 1727-44* (London, Routledge, 2014) p. 158.

Buckinghamshire.²⁵ Their Roman-style garden building was influenced by the writing of Joseph Addison, who had advocated a return to ‘the Pindaric manner’, i.e. one which imitated ‘the beautiful Wildness of Nature’.²⁶ They were also influenced by the activities of Lord Burlington, Pope’s ‘Apollo of the arts’, who on his return from Grand Tour in 1729 had together with William Kent created a garden in a revolutionary new style at Chiswick.²⁷ Here serpentine paths, often referred to as ‘wiggles’, were installed in preference to the linear, and, as Addison had suggested, the garden was integrated into the wider landscape. William Kent had famously ‘leaped the fence, and saw that all nature was a garden’.²⁸ At various points along the meandering paths, copies of Roman temples, statues and columns were incorporated.

A feature of the early eighteenth century was the profusion of further writing and guidance on the topic of garden design. Switzer and Langley were key figures in this revolution and extensively referenced ancient Roman texts in their writing.²⁹

Alexander Pope also offered advice on garden design, stating that ‘the taste of the ancients for their gardens’ was ‘for the amiable simplicity of unadorned nature’.³⁰ He suggested that garden designers emulate these ancient garden makers and that they:

Consult the genius of the place in all;
That tells the waters to rise or fall;
Or helps th’ ambitious hill the heav’ns to scale,

²⁵ Ayres suggests that these individuals saw ‘themselves as virtuous Romans’. Ayres, P., *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. XIII.

²⁶ Christie comments that ‘The usual reference point for the rejection of formality in landscaping is Joseph Addison’s articles for *The Spectator* in 1712. Christie, C., *The British Country House in the Eighteenth century* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 136.

²⁷ Hewlings, R., *Chiswick House and Gardens* (London, English Heritage, 1989), pp. 44-46.

²⁸ Walpole, H., *The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening* (London, 1771), p. 313.

²⁹ Switzer, S., *Ichnographia Rustica* (London, 1718); Langley, B., *The City and Country Builder’s Treasury* (London, 1741).

³⁰ Pope, A., ‘On Gardens’, *The Guardian* (London, 1713).

Or scoops in circling theaters the vale,
Calls in the country, catches opening glades,
Joins willing woods, and varies shades from shades,
Now breaks, or now directs, th' intending lines;
Paints as you plant, and as you work designs.³¹

Hussey has identified a number of English landscape gardens where Pope's advice appears to have been followed and where Switzer's concept of 'Extended or Rural and Forest Gardening' became widely adopted.³² This approach required that garden builders not employ fences or hedges, but instead create a seamless, uninterrupted transition. Rather than divide land into garden, plantation and field, these elements should instead be incorporated into a landscape.

Roman influence in the English landscape garden

By the early eighteenth century antiquity had already exerted considerable influence on British art and architecture. As Mowl writes, 'The Classicism of Greece and Rome had already obsessed Europe for three hundred years'.³³ Worsley comments that whilst the incorporation of classical elements into English gardens is commonly thought of being consistent with the 'new style' introduced by Burlington and Kent, it is also a characteristic of Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor's work.³⁴ He writes that 'Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor and Kent were equally inspired by Antiquity' and that

³¹ Pope, A., *An epistle to the Right Honourable Richard Earl of Burlington: Occasion'd by his publishing Palladio's designs of the baths, arches, theatres, &c. of ancient Rome* (London, 1731).

³² Hussey, C., *English gardens and landscapes, 1700-1750* (London, Country Life, 1967), p. 33.

³³ Mowl, T., 'The Trouble with the Palladian', in *An Insular Rococo: Architecture, Politics and Society in Ireland and England, 1710-1770* (Reaktion Books, London, 1999), pp. 13-24.

³⁴ Worsley, G. "'After ye Antique': Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor and Kent", in Ridgway, C., Williams, R., eds, *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture* (Stoud, Sutton Publishing, 2000), pp. 131-153.

Hawksmoor possessed ‘A fascination with Antiquity and a desire to recreate it in the English landscape, nowhere more so than at Castle Howard’.³⁵ An illustration is the Castle Howard Mausoleum, built between 1729 and 1736 for Charles Howard, the 3rd Earl of Carlisle. The building exhibits a variety of classical influences, including an exterior peristyle of Doric columns. The circular design employed by Hawksmoor is itself influenced by Bartoli’s engravings of the Tomb of Gallienus on Rome’s Via Appia.³⁶ The interior features an entablature supported by Corinthian columns. Further confirmation of the classical influence on the Mausoleum is indicated by Worsley who points out that ‘you only have to read his [Hawksmoor] defence of this design for the Mausoleum at Castle Howard, look at his drawing for ‘The Belvidera’ at Castle Howard inscribed ‘After ye Antique. Vid Herodotus, Pliny, and M: Varo’.³⁷

The gardens at Castle Howard also contain statues on plinths adjacent to curving paths. Bills from the London premises of John Nost and Andrew Carpenter list statues of ‘Dianna & Stagg’, Narcissus, Venus of the Medicis, Meleager, Apollo, Flora etc., as well as copies of the *Farnese Hercules*, a ‘Sitting Venus’, a Faunus and a Spartan boy, all delivered on July 13th, 1723.³⁸ Worsley comments on how ‘Both Vanbrugh at Castle Howard and Kent at Rousham place statues on heavy plinths casually beside informally curving paths’.³⁹ Rousham is a further example of how Roman features were included in the English landscape garden.⁴⁰ These influences are evident in the garden features included by Kent are encountered as soon as the

³⁵ Worsley, 2000, pp.135 & 153.

³⁶ Rossi, D. *Romanae Magnitudinis Monumenta* (1699), plate 50.

³⁷ Worsley, 2000, p. 139.

³⁸ Ridgway, C., Howard, N. *Castle Howard, 6th Edition* (Castle Howard, Castle Howard Publishing, 2015), p. 71.

³⁹ Worsley, 2000, p. 134.

⁴⁰ Mowl, T. *The Historic Gardens of England: Oxfordshire*, (Stroud, Tempus Publishing, 2007), pp.65-88.

very back of the house, which is adorned with copies of the *Medici Venus* and *Medici Apollo*, as well as a copy of the *Faun of Florence* and a Bacchus. A Venus statue is again encountered at the Cascade, as well as statues of Dionysius Mercury, Pan and a Satyr, some dating from the very earliest years of the eighteenth century.⁴¹ Roman influence is also evident within the house, in which ‘The ceiling of the Saloon at Rousham is decorated with William Kent’s “grotesque-style painting to illustrate the Merton educated General’s chosen line from Terence: ‘Sine Cerere Et Baccho Frigit Venus’”.⁴²

Worsley confirms Kent’s passion for Antiquity, which he declares ‘is clearest in his designs for gardens: Chiswick with his exedra, the Plineian layout of the garden at Holkham; and Rousham with its Praenest. Particularly interesting is Stowe, where Kent was following in Vanbrugh’s footsteps’.⁴³ William Kent and James Gibbs added a Temple of Ancient Virtue at Stowe in 1734. This edifice is a peristyle rotunda modelled on the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli. However, a key difference is that the Stowe temple is in Ionic order, whereas the temple at Tivoli is Corinthian. The temple is the focal point for the Elysian Fields area at Stowe and contains statues of the Greek ‘ancient worthies’ Homer, Socrates, Lycurgus and Epaminondas. The gardens also contain a Palladian Bridge, built in 1744, as well as the Cobham monument, erected in 1747. This 111-foot column is in Doric order with a spiral staircase that leads to a belvedere. At the base of the column are four stone lions on buttresses. Plaques held by the lions contain quotations, including ‘How many have imitated the magnificence of Lucullus’ villas! But how few have aspired to emulate

⁴¹ Gordon, S., *The Iconography and Mythology of the 18th Century English Garden* (University of Bristol, unpublished doctoral thesis, 1999), p. 94.

⁴² Mowl, 2000, p. 71.

⁴³ Worsley, 2000, p. 140

his virtues', from Cicero.⁴⁴ This monument further underlined the association with Rome by depicting Lord Cobham in Roman garb.⁴⁵ Kent's work is important for the history of Stourhead garden, as his protégé Henry Flitcroft was later to design all four of the classical garden edifices at Stourhead. By 1743 Flitcroft had spent more than two decades working alongside William Kent and there had been ample opportunity to learn from both him and Burlington.⁴⁶ Flitcroft had redrawn many of the designs for Kent's 1727 publication *The Designs of Mr. Inigo Jones*.⁴⁷ He had also worked with Burlington at Tottenham Park in 1720 and Wilbury in 1726, a time when Wilbury House was owned by Henry Hoare's uncle, William Benson.⁴⁸ After serving his apprenticeship assisting Kent and Burlington Flitcroft had become what Levis refers to as a key 'part of the second generation of Palladian architects'.⁴⁹ By the time he came to work on the Temple of Ceres at Stourhead, Flitcroft had undertaken commissions at Montagu House in London and Wimpole House in Cambridgeshire.⁵⁰ He would also contribute designs for the house and garden at Wentworth Woodhouse in Yorkshire.⁵¹ Flitcroft had worked with Kent at Ditchley House, and he would have known about Kent's Roman-influenced designs at Stowe.⁵² Further possible influences on Flitcroft were Kent's unexecuted designs for garden buildings. For example, Kent produced a design for a circular peripteral

⁴⁴ Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1, XXXIX

⁴⁵ Bevington, M., *Stowe: The people and the place* (Swindon, The National Trust, 2011), pp. 28-39.

⁴⁶ Flitcroft's architectural skills had been spotted whilst he was working as a carpenter at Burlington House.

⁴⁷ Kent, W., *The Designs of Mr Inigo Jones* (London, 1727).

⁴⁸ Mowl, T., *Historic Gardens of Wiltshire* (Stroud, Tempus Publishing, 2004), pp. 64 & 81.

⁴⁹ Levis, R.B., "'Begin to grow rude and clamorous?': English Politics and the Battle over Church Architecture", 1714-1760. *Journal of Church and State*, 47, 4, 2005, pp. 841-860.

⁵⁰ Jackson Stops, G., *An English Arcadia 1600-1990* (London, National Trust, 1991), p. 44

⁵¹ Arnold, 2013, p. 160.

⁵² White, R., 'Kent and the Gothic Revival', in Weber, S. (ed.), *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain*, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 247-269.

temple for the hillside at Chatsworth, the placement and design of which is similar to those of the Stourhead Temple of Apollo.⁵³

The creators of these gardens had generally been recipients of a classical education and would have obtained knowledge of the ancient classical world when studying the *trivium* and *quadrivium*. These had been components of a classical education since the Middle Ages and the means by which the English gentry and aristocracy had been exposed to classical ideas and literature as part of their formal schooling and university education.⁵⁴ As Marshall and Wolfe suggest ‘The values of British culture were, in the eighteenth century, wholly identified with those of Republican Rome’ and they note that this was ‘inculcated in the British aristocracy from the beginning of their education, which consisted largely of the study of Latin literature’.⁵⁵ Ayres supports this view, and further states that ‘The British aristocracy of the eighteenth century proclaimed the classical principles of liberty and virtue in their demeanour, their speeches, their busts and statues, houses and gardens’.⁵⁶ It is these last four categories with which I will be most concerned in this thesis.

⁵³ Harris, J., ‘Garden Buildings’, in Weber S., (ed.), *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2013) p. 408. Richard Wheeler has recently pointed out that the same arrangement of a circular temple on a hillside is depicted in the previously discussed Maratta, C., *Marchese Niccolò Maria Pallavicini (1650-1714) guided to the Temple of Virtù by Apollo with a Self-portrait of the Artist* that hangs in the main house at Stourhead, suggesting a consistent theme (1705, Oil on canvas, 299.7 × 212 cm, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732098). Wheeler, R., ‘Stourhead: Procul O Procul Este Profanis. A Classical Landscape in a Picturesque Setting’, *Classical Influences at Georgian Stourhead*, Stourton Memorial Hall, 11-12th November, 2015.

⁵⁴ The trivium was based on the study of grammar, logic and rhetoric. The quadrivium included the study of arithmetic, astronomy, music and geometry. Mahoney writes that ‘The system had developed in the sixteenth century and was not significantly modified until well into the nineteenth’. Mahoney, J.L., ‘The Classical Tradition in Eighteenth Century English Rhetorical Education’, *History of Education Journal*, 9, 4, 1958, pp. 93-97.

⁵⁵ Marshall, D.R., and Wolfe, K., ‘Roma Britannica’, in Marshall, D.R., Russell, S., and Wolfe, K. (eds.), *Roma Britannica. Britain and Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, conference proceedings (London, British School at Rome Publications, 2011), p. 3.

⁵⁶ Ayres, 1997, p. XIV. This was apparent even to Voltaire who wrote that ‘The members of the English Parliament are fond of comparing themselves to the old Romans’, Voltaire, F.M.A., *Letters on the English* (Paris, 1734), p. 86.

The early years of Henry Hoare's life

By the early eighteenth century newly-wealthy merchants could secure an education for their children alongside those of the aristocracy at schools such as Westminster. Murray describes these institutions as 'a few major schools for a gentlemanly elite, teaching only Latin and Greek, and preparing schoolboys for Oxford and Cambridge'.⁵⁷ Henry Hoare (1677-1725) was a member of this new mercantile class, the son of Sir Richard Hoare (1648-1719), the founder of Hoare & Co. bankers, of which Henry became a partner in 1702. Henry helped to steer the bank successfully through the South Sea Bubble crisis, from which Hoare & Co. made a profit of £28,000.⁵⁸ This and the other fruits of banking provided Henry Hoare with a comfortable living and sufficient funds to purchase the baronial estate of Stourton in 1717 for £23,000.⁵⁹ Henry had the manor house demolished and replaced it with a Colen Campbell-designed Palladian Mansion, one of the first to be built in England and an early example of Italian influence on the Stourhead estate.⁶⁰ This investment had significance beyond the pleasures associated with a country residence. As Hutchings notes, establishing an estate at Stourton 'propelled the Hoare family from their membership of the merchant classes into the ranks of the landed gentry and his building of a neo-Palladian villa put them in the vanguard of good taste'.⁶¹ On Henry's death, his son, also named Henry (1705-1785), inherited his father's estate at Stourhead. Initially Henry Hoare II did not live at this new Stourhead mansion and instead divided his time between the family's London properties and the Palladian

⁵⁷ Murray, O., 'Classics in England', *The Classical Review*, 50, 1, 2000, pp. 256-259.

⁵⁸ Hutchings, V., *A History of the Hoare Banking Dynasty* (London, Constable, 2005), p. 47.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 2005, p. 46.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 2005, p. 46.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 2005, p. 47.

mansion Wilbury House near Amesbury in Wiltshire, which he purchased from his uncle, William Benson (1682-1754), in 1734.⁶²

Henry II (henceforth Henry) was educated at Westminster School where he received a classical education.⁶³ Later he would serve as a partner in the bank, as well as the Member of Parliament for Salisbury between 1734 and 1741. Remarkably, given this latter role, Henry also found time to embark on the Grand Tour between 1739 and 1741. Grand Tourists when embarking on their travels were usually younger than Henry's 34 years. They would typically be accompanied by a 'Bear-leader' who would act as a guide and chaperone. Opportunities to complete this tour were interrupted in the late seventeenth century by the Nine Years War (1688-1697) but restored with the end of the War of Spanish Succession in 1713 which 'rekindled aristocratic enthusiasm for the Grand Tour' and 'gave the heirs to future fortunes both an acquaintance with classical antiquity and the chance to purchase its remnants for display in architectural settings of appropriate dignity and grandeur'.⁶⁴ This tradition was designed to expose Grand Tourists to the cultural legacies of classical antiquity and the Renaissance, and typically included visits to the cultural centres of northern Italy, Rome, and from the mid-eighteenth century, further south to Pompeii and Herculaneum.⁶⁵

⁶² Mowl has suggested that Wilbury was 'where the Arcadian garden was first tried out around a Palladian House'. Mowl, 2004, p. 81.

⁶³ Hutchings, 2005, p. 49. His education was later supplemented by tuition in Greek and Latin.

⁶⁴ Tames, R., *Robert Adam: An Illustrated Life of Robert Adam, 1782-92*, (London, Shire Publications, 2004), p. 7.

⁶⁵ Baker, M., 'Collecting and the Grand Tour', in Snodin, M. and Styles, J., (eds.) *Design and decorative arts: Georgian Britain 1714-1837* (London, V&A Publications, 2004), pp. 114-119.

We have very little information regarding Henry's Grand Tour schedule. The little we know confirms that Henry spent a good deal of time in France and that he managed to reach as far as Rome in 1740.⁶⁶ Travelling during this period meant that Henry was amongst the earliest examples of the new merchant class to embark on the Grand Tour. However, Henry's name does not feature amongst the extant records of other British visitors to Rome in 1739 and 1740. As a *nouveau riche* banker it is possible that he would not have mixed with the then largely aristocratic British visitors to Rome.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, his presence on the Grand Tour shows that by the early eighteenth century the institution was no longer the sole preserve of the aristocracy and helps to confirm that 'the landed gentry had grown in power, wealth and influence' and were now part of the British presence in Rome 'as a succession of "milordi", arriving with their bear leaders, hiring cicerone, renting accommodation near the Piazza di Spagna, getting introductions to Italian aristocrats and relieving them of their collections'.⁶⁸ Many Grand Tourists returned to Britain with mementoes of their tour, including statues and other objects from classical antiquity.

⁶⁶ The most thorough account of Henry's Grand Tour we have is the one contained in Jervis, S.S. and Dodd, D., *Roman Splendour, English Arcadia: The English taste for Pietre Dure and the Sixtus Cabinet at Stourhead* (London, Philip Wilson Publishers, 2015). The authors write that based on letters and bank accounts, 'Henry made two expeditions in Italy: first, from May or June 1739 to September 1739, when he visited Venice before going south to Florence and Rome; the second from autumn 1739 until April 1740, when he returned to Rome and may, or may not, have continued to Naples and other cities' (p.132).

⁶⁷ I have been unable to locate specific examples of aristocratic Grand Tourists slighting merchant class travellers. Roey Sweet in a personal communication (26th May, 2017) has written that 'With regard to Hoare's invisibility in the accounts: first, a lot of the material we have is written by tutors/bear leaders, rather than the members of the aristocracy themselves - the tutors tended to be better at writing the letters home to parents than the young men. But the same point would apply, that Hoare probably would not have numbered amongst those whom the tutor would have thought it appropriate to report having met -- members of European nobility, other members of English nobility yes, but Hoare would have been an also ran. I don't think you will find a snobbish comment - he just wasn't worth writing home about (literally) - and if he did nothing unusual or outrageous, he wouldn't have attracted notice'.

⁶⁸ Marshall and Wolfe, 2011, p. 4.

Henry, whilst in Rome, acquired paintings, statues and other objects, including the Pope Sixtus Cabinet.⁶⁹

Henry left very little in the way of journals, diaries and letters from the early period of his life and consequently we know very little of his character. However, his activities during this period suggest that he was an industrious and ambitious individual. This is confirmed by the few extant sources from this time, including a letter that Henry wrote to his brother in 1755, in which he links the features of the garden to industry and commerce:

Those are the fruits of industry and application in business and shows what great things may be done by it, the envy of the indolent who have no claim to temples, grottos, bridges, rocks, exotic pines and ice in Summer. When those are won by the industrious, they have the best claim to them provided their foundations (sic) is laid by the hand of prudence and supported by perseverance in well-doing and constant watchfulness.⁷⁰

These comments show that Henry saw the features of his garden as literally ‘great things’ and that he thought of the garden contents as conspicuous evidence of his success.

⁶⁹ Jervis and Dodd, 2015, *passim*.

⁷⁰ Letter from Henry Hoare to Richard Hoare, 30th January, 1755, cited in Woodbridge, K., *Landscape and Antiquity* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 42.

We know also of Henry's recognition of the value of knowledge and learning. In a further letter to his brother Richard, Henry writes of:

Looking into Books and the pursuit of that knowledge which distinguishes only the Gentleman from the Vulgar and teaches Him to adorn the fortune he acquires or possesses and which, without the Lessons in History (which is Philosophy teaching by example) the most envied Height of Fortune will not be enjoyed.⁷¹

Here Henry explicitly recognises the value of being a man of taste and knowledge and its importance for reaching the 'heights of fortune'. It is, as Downing suggests, the case that 'wealth was well enough, but without the elegant taste derived from a classical education it was no longer a true indicator of noble status'.⁷²

Possible further evidence of Henry's commitment to learning is the substantial library he helped to create at Stourhead. The contents included key texts on garden building and antiquities, and the Classics section contained late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century editions of works by Homer, Horace, Juvenal, Livy, Lucan, Martial, Ovid, Propertius, Seneca, Statius, Tacitus and Virgil.⁷³ We cannot be certain

⁷¹ Letter from Henry Hoare to Richard Hoare, undated, cited in Woodbridge, 1970, p. 42. The 'Lessons of History' section would appear to be a reference to a section of Lord Bolingbroke's letter dealing with this topic: 'I will answer you by quoting what I have read some where or other, in Dionysius Halicarn. I think, that history is teaching by example'. Bolingbroke, H.S.J., *The works of Lord Bolingbroke with a life, Vol. II*, Carey & Heart, Philadelphia, 1841), p.177. Berlin writes that 'Bolingbroke says that he thinks he read the remark in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and he is right (see *Ars rhetorica* 11.2), expect that the *Ars rhetorica* is no longer attributed to Dionysius. Pseudo-Dionysius attributes his version "History is philosophy from examples" – to Thucydides, but it is fact a creative paraphrase of what Thucydides says at 1.22.3'. Berlin, I. *Political Ideas in the Romantic Age: Their Rise and Influence on Modern Thought* (London, Pimlico Publishing, 2007), p. 15.

⁷² Downing, S.J., *The English Pleasure Garden: 1660-1860* (London, Shire Library, 2009), p. 5.

⁷³ Nichols, J.B., *Catalogue of the Hoare Library at Stourhead, Co. Wilts* (London, 1840).

that these acquisitions were made by Henry II, as the library was also substantially expanded by his successor at Stourhead, Richard Colt Hoare. It is not possible to consult the books listed, as most were sold at auction in 1883, together with paintings, drawings and other *objets d'art*.⁷⁴ However, in the preface to the 1840 list of books in the Stourhead library, Nichols writes that ‘The foundation of the Library, as of the mansion itself, was originally laid by the munificent Henry Hoare, Esq. whose book-plate occurs in many of the volumes, particularly in the departments of Classics, General History, and Belles Lettres’.⁷⁵ This is of course a reference to Henry I, but many of the volumes listed post-date his death in 1725 and were quite possibly purchased by Henry II. A possible interest in gardens and garden buildings is indicated by the presence of both Switzer’s *Ichnographia Rustica* and Batty Langley’s *The City and Country Builder’s Treasury*.⁷⁶

Henry’s formal education at Westminster, his Grand Tour experience and his own ‘looking into books’, would have informed his understanding of the art, sculpture and artefacts that he acquired. His collection at Stourhead included the Pope Sixtus Cabinet, a Livia Augusta as Ceres statue and paintings by noted artists, including Poussin, Mengs and Maratta.⁷⁷ Henry also patronised a number of British painters,

⁷⁴ Sotheby, J., Wilkinson, J., Hodge, T., *The Stourhead Heirlooms. Catalogue of the library removed from Stourhead*. (London, Dryden Press, 1883).

⁷⁵ Nichols, 1840, p. i.

⁷⁶ Henry was also listed as a subscriber in Overton, T.C. *The temple builder’s most useful companion* (London, 1776).

⁷⁷ Unknown, *The Pope’s Cabinet*, 1742, Rome, Ebony, marble, gilt bronze, ormolu, onyx, lapis lazuli, spa, 210 × 130 × 64 cm, Stourhead House, Wiltshire, National Trust Inventory Number 731575.

Unknown, *Livia Augusta as Ceres*, second century CE, Rome, Marble, 193 cm (height), Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562913.1. Amongst the works purchased by Henry II were two paintings by Poussin, N., *Choice of Hercules* (c.1636-7, Oil on canvas, 88.3 cm × 71.8 cm, The Gallery, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 732103), bought by Henry Hoare at the posthumous sale of the 1st Duke of Chandos, in 1747, and Poussin, N., *The Abduction of the Sabine Women*, c.1633-34, Oil on canvas, 154.6 cm × 209.9 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 46.160). Other purchases made by Henry included a commission from Mengs, A.R., *Octavian and Cleopatra*, Rome, 1759/60, Oil on canvas, 299.7 cm × 212.0 cm, The Gallery, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 732099. The Mengs was acquired to accompany the previously

including Richard Wilson and John Plimmer.⁷⁸ His purchases were made during an age ‘obsessed with definition and rational analysis’ and in which ‘attitudes towards art and architecture were becoming codified’.⁷⁹ Tinniswood suggests that:

An understanding of this code and an ability to apply it in discussing a painting or a house were becoming prerequisites for belonging to the upper strata of society. At the same time this concept was filtering down to a growing professional class – Walpole’s ‘middling sort’ – who, far from resenting their social superiors, espoused and aspired to their values and beliefs, and who made up a large proportion of tourists by the middle of the eighteenth century.⁸⁰

This description of the ‘middling sort’ can readily be applied to Henry Hoare, and many of the eighteenth-century Stourhead visitors whose accounts will form a substantial component of later chapters.⁸¹

purchased Maratta, C., *Marchese Niccolò Maria Pallavicini (1650-1714) guided to the Temple of Virtù by Apollo with a Self-portrait of the Artist*, Rome, 1705, Oil on canvas, 299.7 cm × 212.0 cm, The Gallery, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 732098. The Maratta canvas had been acquired for Henry Hoare by Horace Mann around 3 June 1758 from the Arnaldi collection in Florence. These two paintings were originally hung in the main entrance hall to Stourhead House (Climenson, E.J., *Passages from the diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys of Hardwick House, Oxon, AD 1756 to 1808* (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1899, p. 171.

⁷⁸ Dorchester-born John Plimmer (1722-1760) was sponsored by Henry Hoare to visit Rome and receive tutelage from the landscape painter Richard Wilson. Between 1758 and his death in 1760 Plimmer lodged with the art dealer, Thomas Jenkins, on the Via del Corso. Plimmer was highly regarded as a landscape painter and Jenkins wrote to Henry Hoare in June 1759 stating that, ‘I can safely say that he [Plimmer] is without comparison the best landskip painter we have at this time in Italy and is allowed to be such by all the Dilettanti here, he has and does study Claude with success as I believe you will think when you see his works’ (<http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/732178>, accessed 4th September, 2016).

⁷⁹ Tinniswood, A., *The Polite Tourist: A history of country house visiting* (London, National Trust, 1989), p. 88.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 1989, p. 88. The visitors described were domestic tourists.

⁸¹ ‘Middling sort’ was a common expression in the eighteenth century to describe the new merchant class. Their social aspirations were also commented upon. Oliver Goldsmith complained of the ‘pride and luxury of the middling class of people: their eager desire to be seen in a sphere far above their

The content of Henry's letters to his brother Richard suggests that he understood how social advancement might be gained, and that he comprehended the need to emulate the activities of the aristocratic ruling class to attain the levels of political power they enjoyed. Further evidence of Henry's ambitions includes the placement of his portrait within Stourhead House. Retford et al. point out that 'It is highly significant that Hoare's portrait was hung in the entrance hall of his country property, at the very threshold, rather than encountered later in the house'.⁸² Henry's portrait was originally accompanied in the reception hall of the house by portraits of Augustus and the Marchese Pallavicini.⁸³ This arrangement placed Henry metaphorically in the company of notable ancient and Renaissance Romans, both of whom were well-known patrons of the arts. Portraiture was 'of great importance, and it speaks of the profound confidence of the new "Augustan Age" that the established canon was now expanded to include contemporaries considered equal in stature to their ancient predecessors'.⁸⁴ Association with the Marchese Pallavicini is perhaps particularly significant. Pallavicini was illegitimate and made his own fortune, probably by usury. He gave 2,000 scudi of his wealth to the Genoese Senate and three years later was added to Genoa's *Libro dei Nobili*, the state listing of nobles. Schutte suggests the fact that 'in other Genoese nobles' eyes this was not enough to

capacities and circumstances'. Goldsmith, O., 'On the pride and luxury of the middling class of people', in Friedman, A.F. (ed.) *The collected works of Oliver Goldsmith*, Volume 1 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 486. Langford confirms the acknowledged rise of this class: 'The view that western society, in its 'commercial' stage of development, brought particular benefits to the middling entrepreneur, whether in trade, manufacturing, or farming, is supported by ample historical evidence'. Langford, P. *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727-1783* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 61.

⁸² Retford, K., Perry, G., Vibert, J., 'Introduction: placing faces in the country house', Perry, G., Retford, K., Vibert, J. (eds.), *Placing Faces* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 5.

⁸³ Laing, A., *Stourhead: Illustrated list of pictures and sculptures* (London, National Trust, 2010).

⁸⁴ Oppen, T., 'Ancient glory and modern learning: the sculpture-decorated library', in Sloan, K. (ed.) *Enlightenment: Discovering the world in the Eighteenth Century* (London, British Museum, 2003), p. 60.

make him a bona fide member of the patriciate and may well have prompted him to move to Rome in 1676. There he pursued a different sort of legitimacy by becoming a major patron of the visual arts'.⁸⁵ The Marchese's commitment to the arts is acknowledged by other authors. As well as a patron of the arts, Martin describes the Marchese as 'one of the most important connoisseurs of contemporary art in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Rome'.⁸⁶ Pallavicini was also a merchant and had sought to raise his status through patronage of the arts and connoisseurship. It is possible that Henry recognised in the Marchese a kindred spirit and a model for progression. Henry's collection of art, his patronage of artists, and his garden, might well have been in emulation of the Marchese's previously successful advancement.⁸⁷

Christie suggests that the aristocracy of the early eighteenth century were wary of new merchants like Hoare. He writes that 'In 1733 a critic wrote scornfully of "A set of brocaded tradesmen cloaked in purple and fine linen...raising to themselves immense wealth, so as to marry their daughters to the first rank"'.⁸⁸ This could readily be applied to Henry's progress in raising the fortunes of his family. Henry's daughter Susanna was married in 1753 to the Earl of Orrery, and after his death in 1759 she was married to Lord Bruce of Saverlake.⁸⁹ Porter also comments on this tendency when he writes 'It was the alliance of a gentleman's son with a merchant's daughter, the landed embracing the loaded, that was marriage a la mode'.⁹⁰ Christie's

⁸⁵ Schutte, A.J., *By Force and Fear: Taking and Breaking Monastic Vows in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2011), p. 62.

⁸⁶ Martin, F., 'Camillo Rusconi in English Collections', p. 50, in Sicca, C. and Yarrington, A. (eds.), *The Lustrous Trade: Material Culture and the History of Sculpture in England and Italy c.1700-c.1860* (London, Leicester University Press, 2000), p. 49-66.

⁸⁷ Lippincott describes Henry Hoare as one of the 'great collectors' (p. 102) of foreign art, together with Sir Robert Walpole, Sir Paul Methuen and General Guise. Lippincott, L., *Selling Art in Georgian London* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1983).

⁸⁸ Christie, 2000, p. 9.

⁸⁹ Hutchings, 2005, p. 67.

⁹⁰ Porter, R., *English Society in the 18th Century* (London, Penguin Books, 1982), p. 52.

comment that ‘Perhaps no man in the eighteenth century moved directly from a humble background to a country house and peerage’ could also be applied to Henry, and similarly that ‘it was quite possible for one generation to take a step up the ladder and acquire the house and the land, if no more’.⁹¹ It is not evident that Christie specifically had Henry in mind, but he comments also that ‘banking could also produce a fortune to sustain a country house and estate, and eventually to produce a gentry or aristocratic family’.⁹²

In creating his garden Henry sought to emulate the building activities of the aristocratic members of the Country Party. Great country estates readily distinguished wealthy individuals, as ‘to build magnificently was to create something which few could afford to imitate and grand architecture therefore made the most proper and visible distinction of riches and greatness’.⁹³ The new merchant class also ‘aspired not only to the architecture of the aristocracy but to its society’.⁹⁴ It is within this context that we must view Henry’s garden building activities at Stourhead. By creating, at very significant expense, a landscape garden that rivalled the grandest aristocratic examples, Henry understood that Stourhead had the potential to be listed with gardens such as those at Stowe and Hagley.⁹⁵ Through his garden he could show his good ‘Taste’, conceptions of which were profoundly influenced by the literature, architecture and culture of ancient Rome.⁹⁶ This influence has been

⁹¹ Christie, 2000, p. 101.

⁹² Ibid, 2000, p. 12.

⁹³ Barbon, N., *A Discourse of Trade* (London 1690), cited in Christie, 2000, p. 18.

⁹⁴ Christie, 2000, p. 29.

⁹⁵ The Hoare and Lyttelton families would become linked by marriage in 1779 when Richard Colt Hoare married Hester Lyttelton, daughter of George Lyttelton, the 1st Baron Lyttelton (Hutchings, 2005, p. 82).

⁹⁶ There are accounts in ancient Roman literature of freedmen building grand gardens. For example, the Horti Epaphroditiani gardens of the Esquiline may have taken their name from the freedman Epaphroditus who served as *procurator a libellis* from Nero and Domitian (Constans, A. L., ‘Les

acknowledged by modern garden historians. For example Mowl suggests that early-eighteenth-century Britain was ‘a society determined to be Augustan and to reshape itself on the model of that Roman greatness before the martial simplicity of a senatorial aristocracy had been corrupted by emperors’.⁹⁷ As previously mentioned, Roman influence was evident in the gardens at Chiswick, Hagley and Stowe and this ‘English landscape garden’ was emerging as a distinctive cultural phenomenon at precisely the time at which Henry returned from Grand Tour in 1741. For a socially aspirational ‘new man’ seeking advancement and advantage for his family, the New Augustan age offered a context in which he might display his wealth and taste. His garden also offered an excellent opportunity to display his knowledge of ancient Roman culture.

The Development of Stourhead gardens

Mowl has suggested a four-phase development scheme for Stourhead garden beginning with a formal phase of a linear avenue of firs leading to the Obelisk (see location Z in Fig. 1.1).⁹⁸ He describes this phase as ‘virtually London and Wise’, a reference to the garden design company of George London and Henry Wise. The linear view to the Obelisk has been preserved to this day, though the firs planted during this phase were removed by Richard Colt Hoare during the 1790s. Late eighteenth-century visitors recognised that by the time of their visit this part of the garden appeared dated. Lady Amabel Yorke noted ‘Garden, the first part old

jardins d'Épaphrodite’ (pl. II). In: *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, tome 34, 1914. pp. 383-387). Gardens as a means of elevating one’s status may have a long provenance.

⁹⁷ Mowl, T., *Gentlemen & Players: Gardeners of the English Landscape* (Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 2000), p. 93.

⁹⁸ Mowl, 2000, p. 144. The location of the Obelisk is shown at location ‘Z’ in Figure 1. Hereafter the location of garden elements will be indicated with the appropriate letter in parentheses.

fashioned'.⁹⁹ William Gilpin visiting in 1798 wrote 'As to the grounds near the house, they are still in the old style of avenues and vistas'.¹⁰⁰ Mowl proposes that the 'London and Wise' phase was succeeded by a 'Virgillian-Palladian' and then a 'Post-1757 Eclectic Fantasy' phase.¹⁰¹ However, I contend that the Virgillian-Palladian' phase is better dated from 1765. The period from 1743 to 1765 is in my view best considered as a 'Classical' phase, as during this period the dominant influence was Roman, beginning with the building of the Temple of Ceres in 1744 (element E in Fig. 1.1), the Temple of the Nymph (also known as the Grotto (W)), and the Temple of Hercules, also known as the Pantheon (T). At this point in the garden's history it was devoid of non-Italian features, excepting the Chinese Alcove (D), which was in place as early as 1749. My revised version of Mowl's staged development is shown in Table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1 – Stourhead garden design phases

Phase	Dating to
Linear fir avenue phase	c.1724
Roman phase	1743-1765
Eclectic Fantasy phase	1766-1784
Post-1785 Neo-Classical purge	1785-c.1815

Inconvenient for both Mowl's and my revised interpretations is the presence of the Chinese Alcove during his 'Virgillian-Palladian' phase and the period I have labelled

⁹⁹ Diaries of Lady Amabel Yorke, Vol. 5, Catalogue Finding Number, WYL150/7/6/5/015 downloaded via <http://library.hud.ac.uk/calmview/>, 3rd January, 2017.

¹⁰⁰ Gilpin, W., *Observations on the western parts of England* (London, 1798), p. 122.

¹⁰¹ Mowl, 2000, p. 144.

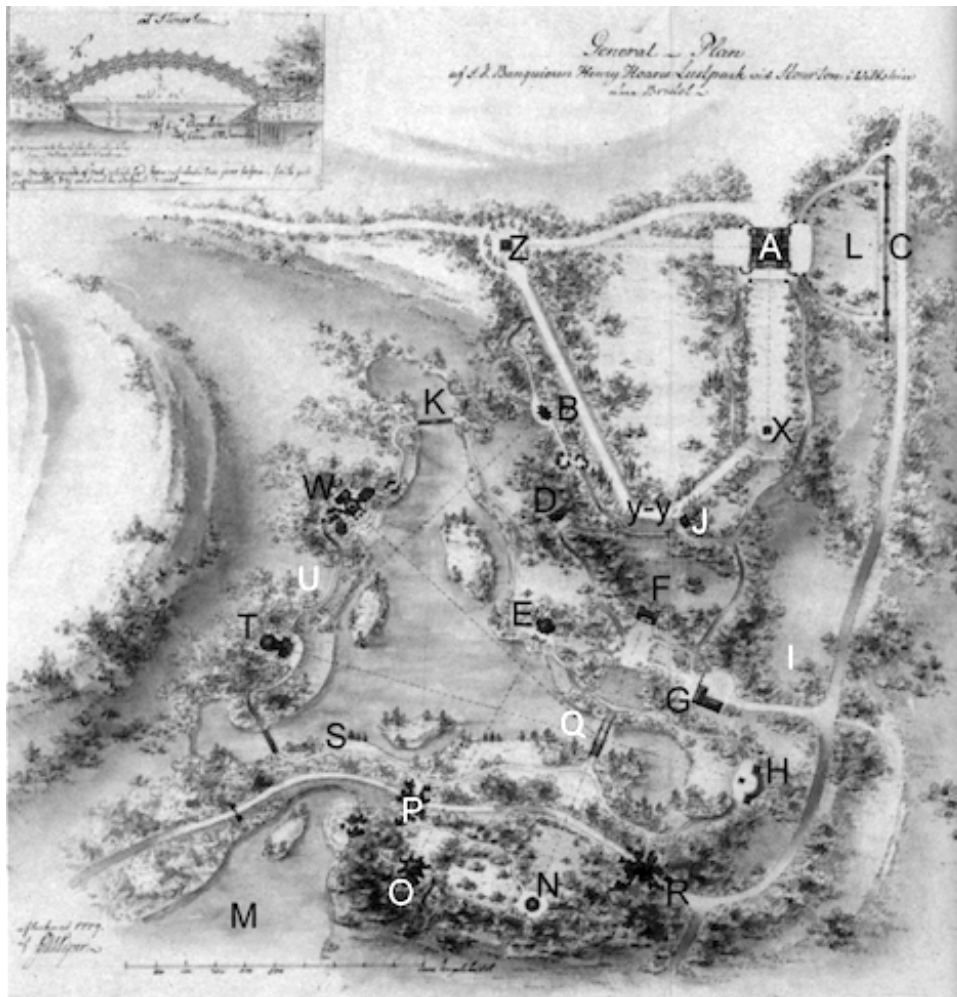
as Roman. Also inconvenient for claiming a phase of classical purity is Richard Pococke's comment regarding the planned lake is that 'There are to be three islands in it, with different kinds of buildings in them, one of which is to be a Mosque with a Minaret'.¹⁰² Pococke appears well-informed with respect to the content of his account, so it seems likely that a mosque was indeed a planned feature by the garden designers. However, this is the sole extant mention of the mosque and there is no evidence that building ever began on this structure. One possible reason is that after the dam had been erected and the islands formed, none was of a size that could reasonably accommodate the proposed mosque with minaret.

The Chinese Alcove remains a garden element at odds with an exclusively Virgillian-Palladian or Roman phase. Curious in this context also is the comment from Jonas Hanway that 'Here we ought to contemplate not only what delights, but what does not shock. In this delicious Abode are no Chinese Works, no Monsters of Imagination; no Deviations from Nature, under the fond Notions of fashion or Taste'.¹⁰³ Hanway's 1757 account suggests that he travelled widely through the gardens, so it is perhaps surprising that he excludes the presence of Chinoiserie. One interpretation is that Hanway doesn't consider the top of the ridge between the old fir walk and the valley an integral part of the garden. His visit predates the Temple of Apollo by several years and was made at a time when the major garden features were limited to the grotto, Temple of Ceres and the Temple of Hercules whilst still under construction. His characterisation of the garden might have been limited to these elements, and not to the periphery of the valley and the wider estate.

¹⁰² Pococke, R., *Travels through England*, Cartwright, J.J. (ed.) (London, 1889), p. 43.

¹⁰³ Hanway, J., 'Journey through Wiltshire', *The London Chronicle*, June 16-18th 1757, p. 578-9.

Figure 1.1 – Redrawn version of Piper’s 1779 plan of Stourhead Gardens



- A Stourhead House
- B Turkish Tent
- C Ha-Ha
- D Chinese alove
- E Temple of Flora
- F Orangery (also known as Gothic Greenhouse)
- G Gardener's building
- H Portico
- I Chinese umbrella
- J Temple on the Terrace (also known as Venetian Seat)

- K Bridge-span of oak, 100 feet of opening, with steps from both abutments and a level plane on the top and from which a path winds up to the tent (B)
- L Lawn or grassfield in front of Villa (A) which slopes and enlarges towards the road with an ‘ha-ha’ (C) between the nearest pedestals
- M Lower water
- N Temple of Apollo
- O Hermitage
- P Vaulted steps over the road between artificial rocks to get to the hermitage
- Q Stone Palladian bridge*
- R Sousterrain or Grotto which passes under the road
- S Dam which with its concave side retains a mass of water 28 feet of depth and by means of which a triangular artificial basin or lake has been formed between the surrounding hills
- T Pantheon or Rotunda with a portico of six columns in the front and which together with four statues has cost £12,000 sterling
- U Gothic cottage*
- W Grotto built against the slope of the hill on the back side consisting of many caverns and sections with accompanying rigoles, minor cascades, bath-cisterns and statues
- X Statue of Apollo Belvedere on a mound at the end of a lawn 120 feet wide and four times as long on that side
- y-y Terrace: where two straight walks from Apollo’s statue and the obelisk: and from which there is an extensive view over the lower arrangements and the Temple of the Sun (N), the Hermitage (O) and other things on the hillside
- Z Obelisk of the same dimensions as the one at Porta del Popolo in Rome.

NB – In preparing the key for this plan I have preserved Piper’s original labelling and wording. For items not included in Piper’s key I have added italicized notes and approximate locations denoted by letters not employed by Piper (i.e. notes I, J, Q and U).

The ‘Eclectic Fantasy phase’ included the building of a Gothic Greenhouse (F) and Gothic cottage (U), a rustic hermitage (O), as well as a Turkish Tent (B), and further Chinoiserie in the form of a Chinese Umbrella (I). This mixed content is reflected in the comments of visitors at the time. The inclusion of these exotic objects in the English garden, and especially those influenced by mid-eighteenth century

interaction with the Ottoman empire and China, is for Downing part of the ‘abandonment of the formal garden’ and a move to a fashion for pleasure gardens, of which she estimates there were 64 in London alone during the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Henry Hoare, with a house and business in London, would have been aware of the pleasure gardens, even if he did not necessarily frequent them. The content of these gardens may even have influenced his selection of buildings for Stourhead. For example, the pleasure garden built in 1742 at the former home of the Earl of Ranelagh included a building created ‘as an echo to the rotunda at the Pantheon in Rome’.¹⁰⁵

During what Mowl refers to as Stourhead’s ‘Post-1785 Neo-Classical purge’ many of the elements introduced during the eclectic fantasy period were removed. Richard Colt Hoare was the orchestrator of these removals and his intention seems to have been to establish a neo-classical garden. Elements such as the Temples of Apollo and Ceres were preserved, as was the Pantheon. However, much of Henry Hoare’s pleasure garden was removed, including the Turkish tent and Chinese umbrella. The Palladian bridge (Q) and the Gothic cottage were preserved, possibly because they had functional roles. For example, the cottage also served as a ‘watch’ cottage from which the garden could be monitored. Britton (1801) described these changes as ‘improvements’ and included specific reference to ‘removal of a wide-stretched Chinese bridge (K), which formerly crossed the lake’.¹⁰⁶ He continues that this was because it ‘ill accorded with the scenery’, confirming that the intention was to harmonize the gardens to the classical tone established by Henry between 1743 and

¹⁰⁴ Downing, 2009, pp. 5-9.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 2009, p. 27.

¹⁰⁶ Britton, J., *Beauties of Wiltshire* (London, 1801), p. 14.

1765. Colt Hoare confirms this motivation for changing the gardens.¹⁰⁷ In his 1822 description of Stourhead House he asserts that ‘The character of Stourhead is an Italian villa; for on all sides we behold the imitations of Grecian and Roman buildings’.¹⁰⁸ He praises Henry Hoare for his ‘good sense, not to call in the assistance of a landscape gardener’ but criticizes the juxtaposition of different cultural styles.¹⁰⁹ In addition to ordering removals, Colt Hoare added a Grecian-style lodge in 1815, and a Grotto-style boat house in 1794.¹¹⁰ He also added substantially to the garden flora, planting literally thousands of trees, shrubs and plants, especially laurels, which are still very much in evidence.

Roman elements at Stourhead

As mentioned earlier, explanations of the iconography at Stourhead tend to have been inspired by specific garden elements. Therefore, before reviewing these theories it is necessary to orient the reader by providing a brief account of the Roman elements of the garden.¹¹¹ Later in this thesis I will consider these garden elements in far greater detail with a view to determining the influence of Roman myth. In the meantime, I will provide a brief account of Roman influences in Stourhead gardens.

All four of the classical edifices in Stourhead gardens exhibit ancient Roman influence. The first structure built was the Temple of Ceres (location E in Figure 1.1), which was almost certainly erected to house the Livia Augusta as Ceres statue

¹⁰⁷ Hoare, R.C., *The History of Modern Wiltshire: The Hundred of Mere* (London, 1822), p. 66.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 1822, p. 64.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 1822, p. 66.

¹¹⁰ Woodbridge, K., *The Stourhead Landscape* (London, The National Trust, 1999), p. 47.

¹¹¹ The period after 1765 featured non-Roman elements. These features are not of specific interest in the context of a consideration of classical influences and will therefore only be mentioned to the extent that they are relevant to the development and evolution of the Roman features.

purchased by Henry Hoare in Rome whilst on Grand Tour in 1740.¹¹² This rectangular temple was built between 1744 and 1746 to a design provided by Henry Flitcroft. The external features include a portico of four Tuscan Doric columns.¹¹³ The temple originally contained pulvinaria and altars, and an early account of the temple indicates that these items were in place by 1757.¹¹⁴ In the niches are busts, most likely copies of the Faustina the Younger and Elder originals in the Capitoline Museum.¹¹⁵ Rezzonico confirms their identity as Empresses in his journal entry for Stourhead. He writes that ‘in the two side niches are two busts of the roman empresses’ though he is critical of the quality.¹¹⁶ A reference to Roman literature here is the *Procul o procul este profani* (‘Away, away, all ye who are unhallowed’) quotation from Virgil’s *Aeneid* (6.258) above the entrance of the temple.

The second construction was the Grotto, originally titled the Temple of the Nymph and dating from about 1748. Above the original entrance there is a further quotation from the *Aeneid* (1.167-8), *Intus aquae dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo, Nympharum*

¹¹² Anonymous, *Notes of a tour in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, etc.*, British Museum, Add MS 6767, f.37. This statue is a 2nd century CE piece the arms and nose of which were restored prior to delivery at Stourhead. The arms were restored with a patera in the right hand and a sheaf of corn and poppy-heads, the attributes of Ceres, hence the title of this statue. In Chapter 2 I will discuss the provenance and history of this statue in detail.

¹¹³ This order had previously been employed by Inigo Jones (1633) in the design and building of St Paul’s Church in Covent Garden. It is possible that this influenced Flitcroft’s selection when designing the four-columned Temple of Flora.

¹¹⁴ Hanway, 1757, p. 578-9. Jonas Hanway (August 12, 1712 – September 5, 1786) was a merchant and philanthropist who travelled extensively through Europe and especially in Germany, The Netherlands, Russia and Persia. He wrote extensively of his travels, publishing an account of his journeys in 1753. After this date he continued to write, often for periodicals such as the London Gazette, as well as devoting himself to various philanthropic activities, including founding the Marine Society in 1756. A description of these items has been published by Dodd, D., ‘Fit for the Gods: Furniture in Stourhead’s temples’, *The National Trust Historic Houses & Collections Annual*, (London, National Trust, 2007), pp. 14-22.

¹¹⁵ Unknown, *Portrait of young Faustina Minor*, sculpture, marble, 60 cm, 147-8 CE, Capitoline Museum, Inv. No. MC0449. Unknown, *Portrait of Faustina Major*, sculpture, marble, 63 cm, 138-161 CE, Capitoline Museum, Inv. No. MC0447. This identification is suggested in Gordon, S., *The Iconography and Mythology of the 18th Century English Garden* (University of Bristol, unpublished doctoral thesis, 1999) p. 113.

¹¹⁶ ‘...and which are in no way worthy of being in that temple’. Harrison, 2015a, p. 136.

domus ('Within, fresh water and seats in the living rock, the home of the nymphs'). In the main chamber is a copy by John Cheere of the *Sleeping Ariadne*, in front of which is Alexander Pope's translation of Cardinal Bembo's lines referencing the nymph.¹¹⁷ In the next chamber is a lead river god statue, likely to represent the tutelary deity of the river Stour.¹¹⁸ This statue was added in 1751. Originally lines from Ovid's tale of Daphne and Peneus (*Metamorphoses* 1.473-567) appeared on a wooden plaque in front of the river god statue.¹¹⁹

The third garden building, also designed by Henry Flitcroft, was built between 1753 and 1754. This rotunda was originally titled the 'Temple of Hercules', presumably because it was intended to house the Hercules statue commissioned from Michael Rysbrack.¹²⁰ Three of the four external niches were by 1787 occupied by a statue of Bacchus and copies of the *Venus Anadyomene* and *Faun of Florence* statues.¹²¹ The Hercules statue situated inside the building opposite the main entrance had by Walpole's visit in 1762 been joined by the Livia Augusta as Ceres from the Temple of Ceres, a Rysbrack copy of the *Farnese Flora*, and a lead copy of the *Versailles Diana*.¹²² The *Versailles Diana* copy that had previously been situated in a grove on the valley side, was at some point between 1753 and 1762 moved pendant to the

¹¹⁷ Cheere, J., *Nymph*, about 1745, Lead, 86.5 cm (height) × 170.0 cm (length). Grotto, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562876.

¹¹⁸ Cheere, J., *River God*, 1751, Lead, 198.0 cm (height). Grotto, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562877.

¹¹⁹ Warner states that 'Over the arch in front of this recess hangs a wooden tablet, with some lines allusive to this aquatic deity'. The presence of this plaque is confirmed by Colt Hoare who writes in 1822 that 'in front of this cavern are the following lines: Haec domus' etc. Warner, R., *Excursions from Bath* (Bath, R. Cruttwell, 1801), p. 108; Hoare, 1822, p. 66.

¹²⁰ Rysbrack, J.M., *Hercules*, 1756, Marble, 185.5 cm (height), Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562911.1.

¹²¹ Gamba, 1824, p. 40. The Faun statue was still in place as late as 1867 (Anonymous, *Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*, 1, (Bath, Bleeck and Leach, 1867-79), p. 78).

¹²² Rysbrack, J.M., *Flora*, 1760-2, Marble, 179.0 cm (height), Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562912.1; Cheere, J., *Diana of Versailles*, 1744, Lead, 2080 mm (height). Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562880.1.

plaster copy of the *Pighini Meleager* statue currently on display in Sala degli Animali of the Vatican.¹²³ Copies of the *Capitoline Isis* and Duquesnoy's *Saint Susanna* complete the internal statuary.¹²⁴ Bas-reliefs, copied from designs in *Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum*, are above the door and internal statue niches.¹²⁵ These depict scenes of various Roman celebrations and deities. Fry suggests that the Stourhead Pantheon was 'a model of the Renaissance building by Sebastian Serlio' and indeed the Pantheon drawings in *Tutte l'Opere d'Architettura et Prospetiva* show similarities between the original Pantheon in Rome and the one at Stourhead.¹²⁶ There are for example the same number of recessed niches. Further, the portico columns for both buildings are Corinthian and both domes are coffered and feature an oculus. However, there are also clear differences. The Stourhead Pantheon has the additional feature of the square towers that were disparaged by Walpole after his visit in 1762.¹²⁷ A further difference is the proportion of the two buildings. The height to the oculus and diameter of the interior circle of the Roman Pantheon are both an equal 43.3 m. In contrast the Stourhead Pantheon height to the oculus is 13.5 m and the interior circle diameter is 9.7 m, yielding a ratio of 1.4 to 1. These differences indicate that the Stourhead Pantheon was not designed to be

¹²³ Cheere, J., *Meleager*, 1762, Plaster, 208.0 cm (height). Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562914.1.

¹²⁴ Cheere, J., *Saint Susanna*, 1762, Plaster, 203.5 cm (height). Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562915.1; Cheere, J., *Priestess of Isis/Isis*, 1762, Plaster, 188 cm (height). Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562916.1. Duquesnoy's original Saint Susanna has been on display in the church of Santa Maria di Loreto in Rome since the statue's completion in 1633.

¹²⁵ Bartoli, P.S., *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum* (Rome, Joanne Iacobo de Rubeis, 1693). Bartoli's (1635-1700) book of 83 engravings is a collection of ancient Roman bas-relief sketches.

¹²⁶ Fry, C., 'Spanning the Political Divide: Neo-Palladianism and the Early Eighteenth-Century', *Garden History*, 31, 2, 2003, pp. 180-192.

¹²⁷ 'Taken from the Pantheon, except that each end of the Portico is stopped up, and I think not judiciously, with a square tower, with niches and statues'. Walpole, H., *Journals of Visits to Country Seats* (July 1762), published in Toynbee, P. (ed.), 'Horace Walpole's Journals of Visits to Country Seats, &c', *Walpole Society*, 16, pp. 1927-28.

simply a reduced-size copy of the Roman Pantheon, but instead an original building, albeit one with clear Roman influences.

The fourth garden building is Flitcroft's Temple of Apollo (N), completed in 1765. A number of influences for the temple's design have been identified, including the Temple of the Sun at Baalbek and the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli. A further possible influence was William Chamber's Temple of the Sun at Kew, built in 1761. The presence of a zodiacal frieze at the Kew temple might account for the comments from Stourhead visitors such as Rezzonico who expected to see signs of the zodiac at the Temple of Apollo.¹²⁸ Both buildings incorporated a representation of the sun in their ceilings. By 1801 the temple housed a copy of the *Apollo Belvedere* statue and a bench designed by Henry Flitcroft.¹²⁹ The bench is decorated with a painting based on Guido Reni's *Aurora* from the Casino of the Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi.¹³⁰ The exterior of the temple features 12 Corinthian columns forming 11 niches. The temples at Baalbek and Tivoli are circular, peripteral temples decorated with Corinthian columns and so both remain possible sources of inspiration. The niches either side of the door were originally occupied by two antique busts.¹³¹ The remaining niches were occupied by nine lead statues purchased from John Cheere.¹³² These statues have a decidedly Roman theme and include a Vestal Virgin and a

¹²⁸ Harrison, 2015a, p. 133.

¹²⁹ Flitcroft, H., *Curved Bench Seat*, 1765, Pine, grained, oil on panel, 132.0 × 222.5 × 67.5 cm, Temple of Apollo, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562873.1.

¹³⁰ Inspection of the Reni version reveals that the William Hoare version is only very loosely based on the original. See Calabrese, L., *Il Casino dell'Aurora Pallavicini: Percorsi, immagini, riflessioni* (Milano, Skira Editore S.p.A, 2007), pp. 114-5.

¹³¹ Ward, G.A., (ed.), *Journal and Letters of the Late Samuel Curwen, Judge of Admiralty: An American Refugee in England, from 1775-1784* (New York, C S Francis & Co., 1842), p. 231.

¹³² 1766, 'Henry Hoare esq. from Mr. Cheere, to five drapery statues of a Vesta, Ceres, Pomona....', 383/4 1707-1807, 1808-1838, 1795-1820. Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Chippenham, UK.

statue of the Roman goddess Pomona.¹³³ The juxtaposition of the Bacchus, Venus and Ceres statues may have been intended to illustrate the Roman proverb *Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus* ('Without Bacchus and Ceres, Venus freezes').¹³⁴

This brief outline of the four key garden buildings, the statues, and quotations from Virgil and Ovid, confirms a substantial Roman influence on the gardens. Many of the selected statues are copies of those that were on display in Roman palazzi in the early eighteenth century and that had been excavated from ancient Roman sites.¹³⁵ A number of these statues appeared in Roman illustrated guides such as *Antiquarum statuarum urbis Romae*.¹³⁶ It seems likely that much of the garden content was influenced by Henry Hoare's Grand Tour experience. For example, virtually all of the statues selected for Stourhead garden were copies of original antique pieces that could be viewed in Rome or Florence at the time he visited. Further, the design of the garden buildings was influenced by structures that could be visited by Grand Tourists at locations in and around Rome. In addition to ancient features, Stourhead garden buildings also contained then more contemporary Roman features, such as the *Saint Susanna* statue copy and the William Hoare version of Reni's *Aurora*.

¹³³ Cheere, J., *Vesta/Vestal Virgin*, 1765-6, Lead, 160 cm (height). West Front, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 562884.

¹³⁴ Harrison, J.E., 'More than just squabby cupids? History and myth in Stourhead's famous landscape garden', *ABC Bulletin* (London, National Trust, 2015b), pp. 6-8. Terence, *Eunuchus*, Act IV, scene 1, line 5.

¹³⁵ For example, many of the statues in the Farnese collection, including the Farnese Hercules, had been found in the baths of Caracalla.

¹³⁶ During the eighteenth century, the Farnese Hercules and Farnese Flora were both on show in the courtyard of the Farnese Palace (Aymonino, A., Lauder, A.V., *Drawn from the Antique: Artists & the Classical Ideal* (London, Sir John Soane's Museum, London, 2015) p. 176). Cavalieri, G.B., *Antiquarum Statuarum Urbis Romae*, (Rome, 1585-1594).

Theories of authorial intent for the gardens at Stourhead

The lack of extant information regarding Henry's design intentions for the garden has left an epistemic void. However, there has been no shortage of theories about his intentions. Various hypotheses have been presented, the first of which was offered by Kenneth Woodbridge in 1965, and in revised versions in 1970 and 1999.¹³⁷ Since Woodbridge, successive commentators have offered nuanced versions of his account.¹³⁸ The literature has also been punctuated by theories criticizing Woodbridge's explanation and occasionally offering alternative accounts of the iconography at Stourhead.¹³⁹ Hunt has pointed out that most Stourhead theorists have supposed that it was the intention of the garden designer, or designers, to imbue the whole garden with an overall theme.¹⁴⁰ He suggests that this approach is likely a legacy of these theorists' academic training, which he points out is as art historians (Woodbridge and Charlesworth) or as literary critics (Paulson, Turner, Schulz and Kelsall). Hunt writes that 'an "iconographical" approach seems necessary to almost all of them [i.e. these scholars], and yet is not an approach that anyone of them feels obliged to defend'.¹⁴¹ Reading iconography is common in these disciplines and so it is therefore perhaps not surprising that these authors do not find it necessary to defend this approach. However, Hunt's comment highlights that not only may

¹³⁷ Woodbridge, 1965, pp. 83-116; Woodbridge, 1970; Woodbridge, K., *The Stourhead Landscape* (London, The National Trust, 1978).

¹³⁸ Malins, E., *English Landscaping and Literature 1660-1840* (London, Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 49-56; Paulson, R., *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth century* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1975); Schulz, M.F., 'The Circuit Walk of the 18th-Century Landscape garden and the Pilgrim's circuitous progress', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 15, 1981, pp. 1-25.

¹³⁹ Turner, J., 'The structure of Henry Hoare's Stourhead', *The Art Bulletin*, 61, 1, 1979, pp. 68-77; Kelsall, M., 'The iconography of Stourhead', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 46, 1983, pp. 133-143; Charlesworth, M., 'On meeting Hercules in Stourhead gardens', *Journal of Garden History*, 9, 2, 1989, pp. 71-75; Charlesworth, M., 'Movement, Intersubjectivity, and Mercantile Morality at Stourhead', Conan, M. (ed.) *Landscape Design and the experience of Motion* (Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, 2003), pp. 263-285.

¹⁴⁰ Hunt, J.D., 'Stourhead revisited & the pursuit of meaning in gardens', *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 26, 4, 2006, pp. 328-341.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, 2006, p. 329.

specific readings of authorial intention be mistaken, but so too might be the general assumption of any authorial intent.

A challenge in offering holistic explanations of Stourhead is that their authors must necessarily incorporate the entire content of the garden, or at least provide a rationale for selecting specific garden elements. However, as Hunt writes, to date no theorist has yet provided compelling arguments to justify their omission of garden features that are inconvenient to their theories. In a garden that has at various times featured ancient Roman, Gothic, Turkish, Chinese and Rustic elements, providing a satisfactory holistic theory has presented a significant challenge.¹⁴²

An additional and critical challenge to past theories of iconography at Stourhead is that my research indicates that the authors of these theories have relied on inaccurate information regarding the content and evolution of the garden. Furthermore, identifying a general theory for a garden that developed across a period of more than 70 years seems excessively ambitious. Between 1742 and 1830 garden fashions changed markedly. New influences were incorporated as the result of discoveries at Italian locations such as Rome, Herculaneum and Pompeii, as well as further afield, such as in Baalbek, China and Turkey. This period also witnessed different owners at Stourhead, with, as I have described, very different ideas regarding the style and content of the garden. A common explanation of Stourhead iconography, beginning with Woodbridge, is that the Roman elements of the garden are keys to its meaning. Woodbridge focused almost entirely on the Virgilian elements, whereas Hercules was the focus of Charlesworth's speculations. With this Roman theme a key

¹⁴² Ibid, 2006, p. 336.

consideration, I will now critically review theories of the garden iconography at Stourhead, including those proposed by Woodbridge, Schulz, Malins, Paulson and Charlesworth. I begin with a critical review of Woodbridge's theory and the evidence on which it is based.

The first issue to consider is the evidence for Henry Hoare's awareness of the *Landscape with Aeneas at Delos*, which Woodbridge suggested might be the inspiration for the design of Stourhead viewed from the village entrance.¹⁴³

Woodbridge suggests there are similarities between the scene across the lake to the Pantheon and the Claude painting. However, the similarities are in fact relatively modest, with the two views sharing nothing more than quite different representations of a bridge and two temples (see Figure 1.2). Hunt lists the following further differences:

1. At Stourhead the lake sits between the spectator and the Pantheon, whereas in the painting no water intervenes.
2. The relative positions of temple and distant view are reversed from painting to garden.
3. The scale of the temples is very different.¹⁴⁴

Also, as Kelsall points out, a literal reading of the Stourhead scene in this context would mean 'the Pantheon/Temple of Hercules across the lake would be incorrectly associated with Apollo, or Latona/Diana'.¹⁴⁵ It is remarkable also that no Stourhead visitors noted the purported similarity. Even more remarkable is the total absence of any reference to the *Aeneid* in visitor accounts. Not even a classical scholar of

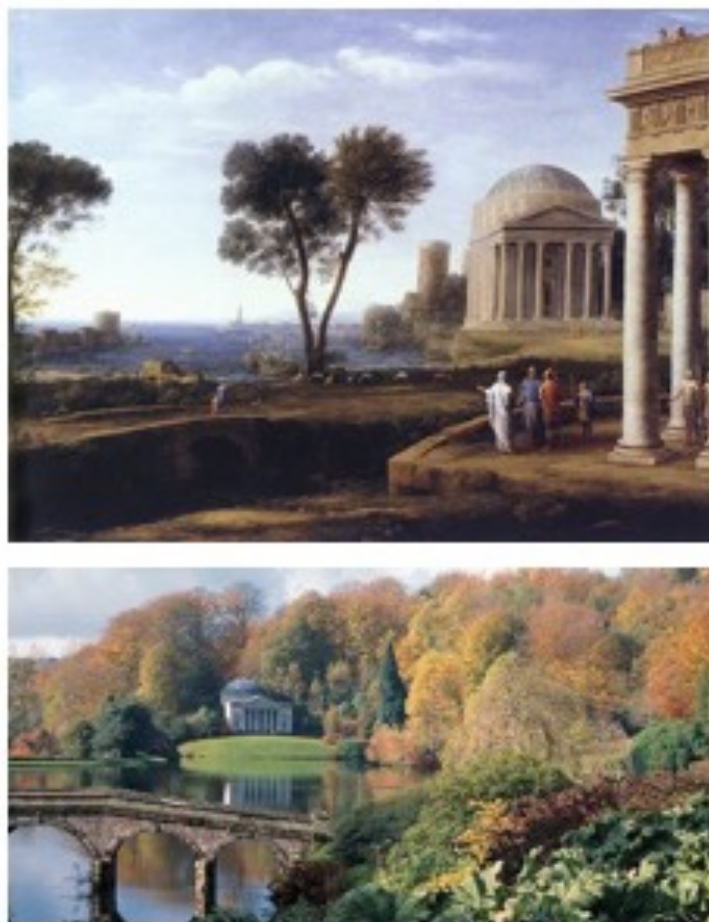
¹⁴³ Lorrain, C., *Landscape with Aeneas at Delos*, 1672, Oil on canvas, 99.6 × 134.3 cm, National Gallery, London, NG1018.

¹⁴⁴ Hunt, 2006, p. 331.

¹⁴⁵ Kelsall, 1983, p. 136.

Horace Walpole's eminence and authority sees fit to mention this theme.¹⁴⁶ This point is emphasized by Cox with respect to the *Aeneid* quotation inscribed on the Temple of Ceres. He comments astutely that of all the extant visitor accounts the *Procul o procul este profani* quotation 'was not recorded in print until Richard Warner's Excursions from Bath in 1801'.¹⁴⁷

Figure 1.2 – Comparison of a modern photograph of Stourhead gardens from Entrance B with Claude's *Coastal Scene with Aeneas at Delos* (1672)



¹⁴⁶ Essays such as Walpole's essay on modern gardening indicate familiarity with classical myth. (Walpole, 1771).

¹⁴⁷ Cox, 2012, p. 103. In fact, Rezzonico mentions the quotation in his 1787 account, but the point is still well made.

Perhaps most telling is that even Richard Colt Hoare does not mention the quotation in his detailed account of the ‘Stourhead demesne’.¹⁴⁸ Woodbridge states that the Claude painting was ‘said to have been in a sale in 1737, about the time Henry Hoare was travelling abroad’ and that Henry may have viewed it at this time.¹⁴⁹ However, Henry did not leave on his Grand Tour until March 1739 and the earliest reference to a version available in Britain is Richard Earlom’s edition of the *Liber Veritatis* in 1774.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, there is no record of the Aeneas landscape in the extant Stourhead records and no copy amongst the many Stourhead prints. Additionally, neither Henry nor any of his associates mention the painting. The evidence strongly suggests that Henry Hoare did not own a copy, and was in fact unlikely to have even known of the painting until at least 1774. However, this is not to deny the influence of French landscape painting on the development of the eighteenth-century English garden, a topic I will return to later in this chapter.

A second line of evidence evinced by Woodbridge in support of his Virgilian interpretation is that Henry’s reference to the line *facilis descensus Averno*, in his

¹⁴⁸ Hoare, 1822, p. 64.

¹⁴⁹ Woodbridge, 1970, p. 32. The likely provenance of the painting is as follows: According to the inscription on LV 179, painted for ‘Monsieur Dupassy le gout’, according to the second index to the *Liber Veritatis* with ‘Mr. de Viviers a Paris’, presumably the Du Vivier, Officier aux Gardes Francaises, who lodged at the Arsenal, Paris, in which case probably inherited by his nephew, Louis Auguste Angran, vicomte de Fonspertuis (d.1747), since in his sale, Paris, Gersaint, 4ff. March 1748 (lot 427, 2001 livres to Barran (?); in the collection of Augustin Blondel de Gagny (1695-1776), Intendant des Menus Plaisirs du Roi, of place Royale (now place des Vosges), Paris, by 1757: his sale, Paris, Remy, 10ff. December 1776 (lot 197, 9900 livres to Donjeux); in the collection of Jeremiah Harman (1764?-1844), banker, of Higham House, Woodford, Essex, by 1837: in his post-humous sale, Christie & Manson, 18 May 1844 (lot 115, £1837 10 s. to Nieuwenhuys); in the collection of Edmund Higginson (d.1871) of Saltmarshe, Herefordshire. By 1846 when offered in his sale. Christie & Manson, 6 June 1846 (lot 222, bought in at 1200 guineas; his sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, 16 June 1860 (lot 46, £892 10s. to Pearce probably for Wynn Ellis); bequeathed by Wynn Ellis (1790-1875) of Cadogan Place, London and Whitstable, Kent, in 1876. Wine, H. *The Seventeenth Century French Paintings* (National Gallery Company, London, 2002), p. 116.

¹⁵⁰ Earlom, R., *Liber Veritatis* (London, 1774), plate 179.

1765 letter to Lord Bruce, refers to the Grotto. In his letter Hoare refers to a sousterrain in his garden, and shortly thereafter quotes from the *Aeneid*, writing ‘facilis descensus Averno’ (‘easy is the path to hell’). Woodbridge suggests that the juxtaposition of the sousterrain and the quotation is evidence that Hoare intended the Grotto to represent Avernus.¹⁵¹ However, a key issue is whether Hoare was referring to the Grotto, or the rock pathway to the Temple of Apollo, or the rock archway under the road to Zeals that is encountered after the descent from the Temple of Apollo (see Figure 1.1).¹⁵² Close reading of the letter reveals clues concerning which sousterrain is meant by Hoare. The middle section, including the *Aeneid* quote, reads as follows:

I had the satisfaction of seeing Neptune and his 4 naggs (& very fine and full of spirit they are) landed on his pedestal before the arch under the Dorick Temple before I decampd, & it has a fine appearance there.¹⁵³ I also saw the first story of the cross put just together & repaired. Now the rest will go swimmingly & be done sooner than we expected & the foundation of Stone is finished and the mount forming round it & also round the Temple of Apollo & I have made the passage up from the sousterrain Serpentine & will make it easier of access facilis descensus Averno.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Avernus is the ancient term for a volcanic crater near modern Cuma and was believed to be the entrance to the underworld.

¹⁵² Woodbridge initially attributed Hoare’s mention of the sousterrain to the Zeals road tunnel. but that he later revised this interpretation and instead identified the sousterrain as the Grotto. Kelsall, 1983, p. 136.

¹⁵³ I will describe and discuss the Neptune figure in Chapter 4.

¹⁵⁴ Woodbridge, 1970, p. 60-61.

Hoare's use of 'Serpentine' and 'passage up' are telling, as is the context for discussing the sousterrain in the same sentence as the Temple of Apollo. The steps up from the Grotto are rough-hewn, not easily negotiated, and not 'serpentine'. In contrast both the rocky climb to the Temple of Apollo via the old hermitage path, and the path up from both the Zeals tunnel, feature sousterrain and are manifestly 'serpentine'. Given the steep gradient of the ascent to the Temple of Apollo serpentine paths indeed 'make it easier of access'. We must remain agnostic about which path up to Apollo Henry Hoare refers to in his letter, though we can be sure that he does not mean the path to the Grotto. This clarification allows us to reconsider Woodbridge's use of the *facilis descensus Averno* quotation. Given the Temple of Apollo context we might consider the quotation to indicate merely an easy path, specifically via either of the serpentine paths that lead up to, and down from, the Temple.

A third issue concerns the importance of the *Procul, o procul este profani* quotation that is carved into the lintel above the entrance to the Temple of Ceres. For Woodbridge, this is a key piece of evidence in support of the *Aeneid* interpretation, as it marks the beginning of what he considers to be the anti-clockwise circuit walk around the lake. However, eighteenth-century visitors rarely seem to have entered the garden by the village entrance and instead tended to enter the gardens from the main house. I have identified various accounts that throw doubt on whether there is in any sense a 'right' way to walk the gardens. One example is the visit made by Rezzonico in 1787.¹⁵⁵ He begins his walk from the garden at the rear of the house, where he comments on the *Apollo Belvedere* copy statue. Thereafter he walks

¹⁵⁵ Harrison, 2015a, pp. 126-143.

towards the obelisk and then ‘down to a Turkish Tent’ after which he describes the view of the lake from the Mount of Diana, before descending to the Grotto via the Chinese bridge. His route then takes him to the Pantheon, the hermitage, the Temple of Apollo, and finally to the Temple of Ceres via the Zeals tunnel and the Palladian bridge. This route through the garden is very much at odds with Woodbridge’s supposed circuit, but consistent with the experience of other visitors. The idea of Stourhead as a circuit walk was likely only established with the installation of the lakeside path in the 1790s.¹⁵⁶ Woodbridge contends that the Cumean Sibyl quotation indicates ‘that at some time the path to the Pantheon was associated with Aeneas’ journey’.¹⁵⁷ Even if this was the case, few visitors would have encountered the gardens in the manner that Woodbridge requires to support his Aeneas interpretation. Woodbridge includes other elements of the garden in his Virgil-themed theory. He interprets the Pantheon as being the fulfilment of the promise of Rome as represented by the Hercules statue.¹⁵⁸ However, as Kelsall reasonably asks, why did Henry Hoare not represent Rome with statues and dedications to more obvious figures, such as Romulus and Remus?¹⁵⁹ Despite these many difficulties with Woodbridge’s theory, many later commentators accepted his ideas without criticism. These derivative theories will be considered in the forthcoming section, beginning with Paulson’s interpretation.

There are very few novel elements in Paulson’s account and he accepts without criticism Woodbridge’s theory of the *Aeneid*-influenced circuit walk.¹⁶⁰ Early in his

¹⁵⁶ Hunt, 2006, p. 333.

¹⁵⁷ Woodbridge, 1999, p. 19.

¹⁵⁸ Woodbridge, 1970, p. 36.

¹⁵⁹ Kelsall, 1983, p. 137.

¹⁶⁰ Paulson, 1975, p. 54.

account he seeks to simplify interpretation by declaring the garden to have been ‘completed’ in the 1760s and asserts that the additions made in the 1770s were ‘irrelevant Gothic elements’.¹⁶¹ However, he offers no evidence in support of either statement. He suggests that the change of nomenclature from the Temple of Ceres to Flora changed ‘Hoare’s original meaning’ and that Henry Hoare ‘saw his estate as a place of retirement from the business world of the City’.¹⁶² However, no evidence is offered to support the idea that the temple name was ever formally changed. Indeed, Britton, a good friend of Richard Colt Hoare, refers to this edifice as the Temple of Ceres as late as 1801.¹⁶³ Anne Rushout, who visits in 1798, also refers to the edifice as the Temple of Ceres, which suggests that use of this title for the temple was commonplace, even after the Ceres statue was replaced, first by a statue of Flora, and later by a *Borghese Vase* copy.¹⁶⁴ In an attempt to endorse the idea that visitors should begin with the Temple of Flora, Paulson provides a quote stating that they ‘keep to the right-hand walk, which will lead to a small temple’. However, this quotation is taken from Richard Colt Hoare’s *History of Modern Wiltshire*, written after the installation of the circuit pathway which occurred several years after Henry Hoare’s death. Paulson also uncritically accepts that the ‘passage up from the sousterrain serpentine’ refers to the Grotto. Paulson’s interpretation of other garden elements includes reference to the juxtaposition of the Hercules, Flora and Ceres

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 1975, p. 28.

¹⁶² Ibid, 1975, p. 28.

¹⁶³ It is notable that Britton dedicates his book to Richard Colt Hoare and thanks him for his ‘alacrity in promoting my enquiries’ and his ‘anxious exertions toward promoting this county [Wiltshire]’. Britton, 1801, pp. iii-iv).

¹⁶⁴ Rushout, A., Diary entries for 6th July and 20th August, 1798 transcribed by O’Donoghue, J., Stourhead Research Room archives, Box file titled ‘Early visitors’. This text was sent by the transcriber to the National Trust in an undated letter received 24rd February 2005. Anne (1768-1849) was the eldest daughter of John Rushout, Baron Northwick of Northwick Park (1738-1800).

statues in the Pantheon which he considers to be a deliberate invocation of the Choice of Hercules story.¹⁶⁵

For Paulson ‘Stourhead was laid out like an allegory with a beginning, middle and end’.¹⁶⁶ He assumes that the ‘end’ is the Temple of Apollo, which he suggests ‘is where the garden in fact came to a climax’.¹⁶⁷ However, he offers no evidence in support of this assertion, which is in any case at odds with the fact that visitors took various routes through the garden. He later reproduces Woodbridge’s notion of the Grotto representing Avernus. He associates unquestioningly the river god statue with Father Tiber, and declares that the Temple of Hercules was so named because it was associated with the story of Aeneas visiting the Arcadian king who is ‘paying anniversary honours’ to Hercules.¹⁶⁸ Hercules figures a good deal in Paulson’s discussion of Stourhead, an emphasis he seeks to justify by pointing out that ‘Hoare included a Hercules in his Pantheon and had Poussin’s *Choice of Hercules* hanging in his house’.¹⁶⁹ However, Paulson does not offer any consideration of the more than 100 other paintings and more than 30 statues at Stourhead, many of which represent mythic characters in both painting and statuary. Paulson never sways from his conviction that Henry Hoare made ‘his garden almost literally a poem’ and ‘ultimately about his choice between a life of duty and a life of retirement and contemplation’.¹⁷⁰ We have no evidence that Henry Hoare thought in such terms, so this perspective must necessarily remain a speculation.

¹⁶⁵ Paulson, 1975, p. 30.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 1975, p. 29.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 1975, p. 20. Paulson associates the Temple of Apollo and the Temple of the Sibyl on the basis that the former ‘appears in the general shape’ of the latter, which is to say they are both circular.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 1975, p. 30.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 1975, p. 30.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 1975, p. 30.

Malins' account of the iconography in Stourhead gardens varies little from that of Woodbridge.¹⁷¹ He is, however, willing to go beyond the suggestions and claims made by Woodbridge. This is evident with respect to his interpretation of the iconography, but also by his invoking a psychoanalytic explanation of Henry Hoare's motivations. Malins makes the error of proposing the Claude *Coastal Scene with Aeneas at Delos* as an influential source. However, he is far less circumspect than Woodbridge when he writes 'suddenly the view opens and Claude's "Coast view of Aeneas at Delos", unfolds before you'.¹⁷² Remarkably he describes the Temple of Ceres, Pantheon and Stone bridge as 'the three architectural features are exactly as in Claude's composition'.¹⁷³ A simple comparison of the actual scene with the Claude painting (see Fig. 1.2) quickly reveals this not to be the case. Consistent with Woodbridge's 1965 account, Malins also assumes that the serpentine path mentioned in Henry Hoare's 1765 letter is the one up to the Temple of Apollo.¹⁷⁴ Malins is then moved to suggest that 'the path from the Temple of Ceres to the Temple of Apollo may be an allegory of the journey through life'.¹⁷⁵ He suggests the presence of 'archetypes of the collective unconscious' on the Stourhead circuit journey beginning with Woodbridge's 1965 notion that the Grotto nymph is 'The princess who must be won...one aspect of what Jung calls the anima' and then extends the anima archetype to include the river god statue.¹⁷⁶ This Jungian interpretation is then extended to include the Hercules statue, the fully developed

¹⁷¹ Malins, 1966, pp. 49-56.

¹⁷² Ibid, 1966, p. 51.

¹⁷³ Ibid, 1966, p. 51.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, 1966, p. 53.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 1966, p. 54.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 1966, p. 54.

man, and then ‘in the Temple of the Sun, all the life span can be reviewed’.¹⁷⁷

Acceptance of Malins’ interpretation is reliant on a belief in psychodynamic theories of behaviour, a paradigm that has been repeatedly criticized.¹⁷⁸ Irrespective of one’s paradigmatic psychological predilection, Malins’ reliance on Woodbridge’s Virgilian interpretation is misplaced.

Woodbridge’s theories were also later invoked and developed by Schulz.¹⁷⁹ Schulz accepts uncritically Woodbridge’s *Aeneid* theory and adds further assertion: for example, that ‘At Stourhead one usually began the circuit of the lake at the village end of the gardens’.¹⁸⁰ However, as already discussed, accounts from Henry Hoare’s time show that the gardens were typically accessed by the back lawn of the main house.¹⁸¹ Schulz suggests that the lakeside path was laid to ensure ‘the proper sequence of sacred associations’.¹⁸² There is no evidence in support of this notion and as discussed earlier (p. 56), the gravel path around the lake dates from as late as 1792-1798.¹⁸³ Schulz asserts that the river-god statue is ‘Father Stour, Henry Hoare’s witty metamorphosis of Father Tiber’ and that the Temple of Apollo is ‘a copy in part of the Roman Temple of Sibyl’.¹⁸⁴ Such a view is conveniently allusive to the *Aeneid* theme, though inconsistent with the facts. The best that we might conclude with respect to the Temple of Apollo and Temple of the Sibyl similarity is that both

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, 1966, p. 55.

¹⁷⁸ See, for example, Eysenck, H., *Decline and fall of the Freudian Empire* (London, Viking, 1985).

¹⁷⁹ Schulz, 1981, pp. 1-25.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, 1981, p. 7.

¹⁸¹ Harrison, J.E., 2015a, p. 130; and e.g. Anonymous, *Ride and a walk through Stourhead: A poem* (London, 1780).

¹⁸² Schulz, 1981, p. 8.

¹⁸³ ‘Proceeding on our course, we must keep the right hand walk, which will lead us to a small temple with Doric portico, dedicated to Flora; which commands the most spacious view of the lake, and from whence the Pantheon, deeply embosomed in wood, and beyond it the circular hill, called Topwood, appear to great advantage.’ Hoare, 1822, p. 64.

¹⁸⁴ Schulz, 1981, p. 8.

temples are circular. Schulz asserts also that visitors (now termed ‘pilgrims of the circuit’) ‘would have recognised in the Pantheon a replication of the temple appearing in Claude paintings’ and ‘would have also noted the link to Aeneas of the Sun Temple’.¹⁸⁵ No evidence for such a view is presented and in fact not one of the many eighteenth-century visitor accounts records either of these connections. Schulz uncritically accepts Paulson’s unsubstantiated view of the circuit walk echoing the Christian soul’s journey through life, though provides no evidence for this claim.¹⁸⁶ As Kelsall states, ‘Not one shred of evidence has been offered by Schulz to substantiate the view that late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century readers of the *Aeneid* interpreted it in terms of medieval Christian exegesis. It has not been offered because it does not exist’.¹⁸⁷ Schulz’s interpretation can also be criticized because his consideration of the Stourhead estate is highly selective. As Hunt comments, ‘Schulz floats happily above most actual events on the site’.¹⁸⁸

In his account, Turner takes issue with the idea that the circuit walk follows the story of the *Aeneid* in its entirety and instead suggests that ‘A far more cogent and plausible program is provided by the first book of the *Aeneid*’.¹⁸⁹ Turner criticizes Woodbridge’s account on the basis that ‘he does not distinguish between the various stages of the garden’s development and thus imposes upon it a false unity’.¹⁹⁰ Turner explores the inadequacies of Woodbridge and in answer to his criticism of false unity in earlier theories offers his own account. He proposes three key elements of the Stourhead garden to support his thesis. The first element of his theory requires that

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, 1981, p. 9.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, 1981, p. 9

¹⁸⁷ Kelsall, 1983, p. 135.

¹⁸⁸ Hunt, 2006, p. 330.

¹⁸⁹ Turner, 1979, p. 75.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 1979, p. 68.

we view the lake as a sea. In support of this idea he musters evidence from Switzer that ‘Neptune should possess the centre of the great body of water’.¹⁹¹ Neptune was in 1765 indeed installed on a plinth in front of the Temple of Flora, though not centrally, and arguably not in a great body of water either. Turner recasts the river god of the Grotto as Neptune, citing the account of Mrs. Maria Rishton and her mention of ‘Neptune reclining in his grotto’ as evidence.¹⁹² Thus by Turner’s account we have both a metaphorical ocean and the presence of Neptune, whom in book one of the *Aeneid* calms the storm created by Aeolus. The missing third element is the storm which Turner suggests ‘was associated in Hoare’s mind with Stourhead’.¹⁹³ The storm is the troubles of the world from which the enclosed lake at Stourhead has been calmed by the divine intervention of Neptune. Turner musters various accounts of storms in the letter writing of Henry Hoare to support his thesis regarding metaphorical thunderstorms. However, these are unpersuasive in supporting his theory which more generally lacks any primary source evidence.

Charlesworth takes a very different theme for his interpretation of the gardens at Stourhead.¹⁹⁴ He proposes that the two key themes are Hercules’ status as an eighteenth emblem of industriousness and the experience of visitor’s movement through the gardens. Charlesworth links the house and garden by focusing on the Poussin painting *The Choice of Hercules* which Henry Hoare purchased in 1747.¹⁹⁵ The theme of this painting is taken from an allegorical parable from Prodicus

¹⁹¹ Switzer, 1718, p. 313.

¹⁹² Mrs Rishton described the Convent as such to Fanny Burney. Ellis, A.R., *The Early Diary of Frances Burney 1768-1778*, Vol. 1, (London, George Bell & Sons, 1889), p. 323.

¹⁹³ Turner, 1979, p. 75.

¹⁹⁴ Charlesworth, 1989, pp. 71-75.

¹⁹⁵ Poussin, N., *The Choice of Hercules*, c.1636-7, Oil on canvas, 88.3 cm × 718 cm, The Gallery, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 732103.

recounted in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (2.1.21-34) in which Hercules is visited by two nymphs representing Vice and Virtue. The former offers him a pleasant and easy existence, whereas the latter offers him a severe but glorious life, which he chooses.¹⁹⁶ Charlesworth points out that we encounter Hercules often in the Stourhead estate and draws a link between the Poussin painting and the rocky structure that marks the ascent to the Temple of Apollo. Here, Charlesworth proposes, we are offered a choice analogous to that of Hercules. The rocky ascent leads to the Temple of Apollo, consistent with a choice of severity and glory. The alternative is a flat and more pleasant path back to the garden entrance.

Key to Charlesworth's theory are previous encounters with Hercules (i.e. in the Pantheon) that have prepared us for this choice, hence he claims to be 'focusing more intently on the question of visitors' movement'.¹⁹⁷ However, this is at odds with the fact that visitors entered the garden using various routes and it is curious, as Cox points out, that Charlesworth 'did not use a single eighteenth-century visitor account to support his argument'.¹⁹⁸ Charlesworth allows for the impact of his theory to depend 'upon the visitor's interpretation', but then suggests that 'it may be chiefly unconscious in impact'.¹⁹⁹ A further issue is Charlesworth's uncritical acceptance of the idea of a fixed circuit walk.²⁰⁰ Finally, Rysbrack's Hercules statue shows the hero at rest, i.e. after completion of the twelve labours. This depiction is inconsistent

¹⁹⁶ Kelsall testifies to the 'commonplace Renaissance identification of the hero's labours as representing a compendium of civic virtue', though he questions how appropriate a Renaissance allusion is on the context of an eighteenth-century landscape is not evident. Kelsall, 1983, p. 140.

¹⁹⁷ Charlesworth, 2003, p. 263.

¹⁹⁸ Cox, 2012, p. 103.

¹⁹⁹ Charlesworth, 1989, p. 74.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 1989, p. 73.

with representing Hercules at the point in his life when he is offered a choice between a life of labour or leisure.

Charlesworth's theory fails to account for myriad other aspects of the Stourhead estate discussed earlier in this chapter. His account is thus open to the obvious criticism that amongst a substantial array of objects, vistas, paintings and buildings, he has selected only those that are convenient for his theory and neglected those that cannot be accounted for. In fairness, Charlesworth begins by stating his belief that 'the iconography of Stourhead is far from being incontrovertibly established' and that his account 'does not attempt to resolve these problems'.²⁰¹ He is dismissive of the quotations in the garden and in his view 'quotations make a point but do not necessarily create a theme'.²⁰² There is some merit in his comment, though one might reasonably make the same point about individual paintings, including the *Choice of Hercules*. Charlesworth seeks to pre-empt this criticism by stating that Poussin's painting was 'Considered the most important remaining at Stourhead', though he includes no evidence to support such a view and acknowledges that 'Poussin's painting had to compete for attention with many other striking paintings'.²⁰³ In fact, many visitors do not mention this canvas in their 'best paintings' list. In later chapters I will consider the possible influence of specific paintings in Stourhead house on garden elements. In the next section I will discuss possible general influences of, in particular, French seventeenth century painting on the scene in Stourhead gardens.

²⁰¹ Ibid, 1989, p. 71.

²⁰² Charlesworth, 2003, p. 268.

²⁰³ Ibid, 2003, p. 266-7.

The influence of visual art on the design of Stourhead garden

Landscape painting is popularly considered to have influenced the design of the eighteenth-century English landscape garden. Mowl (1999) writes that:

The templed Arcadia of the true eighteenth-century park would be a remarkable topographical hybrid – classical Greece as envisaged by garden designers who not only had never set foot in Greece, but had virtually no conception of its stony, sun-soaked reality. They interpreted it instead by extemporising on Claude and Poussin Landscapes.²⁰⁴

We have direct evidence of Henry's interest in Claude in the form of copies. The originals in both cases at the time of Henry's visit to Rome were hung in the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj.²⁰⁵ One is a copy of Claude's *The Mill* attributed to the Roman painter Andrea Locatelli.²⁰⁶ The second is a copy of Claude's *Procession to the Temple of Apollo at Delos* by John Plimmer, which was commissioned by Henry in 1759, possibly to hang paired with the Locatelli copy.²⁰⁷ Henry also acquired landscape works painted by Gaspard Dughet (1615-1675), including two purchased on Henry's behalf by Horace Mann from the collection of the Marchesi Arnaldi in

²⁰⁴ Mowl, 1999, p.79. This theme was explored in detail by Michael Liversidge at a recent event. Liversidge, M., 'Painting and Planting: art, aesthetics and landscaping in Georgian England', *The Landscape Garden: Britain's Greatest Eighteenth-century export?*, British School at Rome, 6th March, 2018.

²⁰⁵ Lorrain, C., *Landscape with dancing figure (the Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca)*, 1646, Oil on canvas, 150.5 x 198 cm, Palazzo Doria Pamphilj, Rome, FC 237; Lorrain, C., *Imaginary view of Delphi with a procession* 1650, Oil on canvas, 150.5 x 198 cm, Palazzo Doria Pamphilj, Rome, FC 263.

²⁰⁶ Locatelli, A., *The Mill (after Claude Lorrain)*, 1700-1741, Oil on canvas, 149.9 cm (height) × 198.1 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732157.

²⁰⁷ Plimmer, J., *Procession to the Temple of Apollo at Delos (after Claude Lorrain)*, 1759-60, Oil on canvas, 149.8 cm (height) × 200.6 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732178.

1758.²⁰⁸ A further classically themed Dughet was purchased by Henry in 1758 at the Schaub collection sale.²⁰⁹ In addition to these purchases, we have further evidence of Henry's interest and familiarity with Dughet from his 23rd October 1762 letter to his daughter Sukey, in which he describes the view to Stourton village beyond the arched Palladian bridge as a 'Charmg Gasp picture at the end of that water'.²¹⁰

Common to all five of the above listed paintings is the depiction of a landscape, often classical, and featuring figures and buildings whose forms are influenced by antiquity. It is perhaps significant that the Plimmer copy also features a bridge and temple in the foreground, with a rotunda in the distance, with square towers.

However, there are differences in the composition as compared with the view of Stourhead gardens from the village. Landscapes canvasses that feature architectural features such as rectangular features, bridges and rotunda are all depicted in the Claude Delian scenes. Whilst Stourhead does not seem to match any one canvas well, generic elements from these paintings are matched by the edifices in the Stourhead landscape. These observations support the idea that seventeenth century French landscape painting influenced the design and content of the eighteenth-century English landscape garden. Whilst the inspiration for the Stourhead garden elements was diverse, the sources drawn upon might include those depicted in Claude canvasses. This suggests that the garden can be thought of as a horticultural equivalent of the architectural caprices found at Stourhead. One example, known to be at Stourhead since at least 1754, is Francis Harding's *Architectural Capriccio*

²⁰⁸ Dughet, G., *A classical landscape with sportsmen* c.1658, Oil on canvas, 152.4 cm (height) × 222.3 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732125; Dughet, G., *Mountainous Landscape with, possibly, Eurydice*, c.1658, Oil on canvas, 152.4 cm (height) × 222.2 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732126.

²⁰⁹ Dughet, G. *Classical landscape with Figures in a Road* c.1650-60, Oil on canvas, 48.9 cm (height) × 64.1 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732158.

²¹⁰ Woodbridge, 1979, p.53.

with the Sacrifice of Iphigenia.²¹¹ Working in the style of Giovanni Paolo Panini (1691 - 1765), Harding has placed in the scene Roman elements, including the Arch of Constantine, Trajan's column the pyramid of Cestius and the Colosseum. To these features he has added and the Mausoleum of the Giulii from St. Rémy. Much the same features have been included in a further Harding work, his *Architectural Capriccio with the Tomb of the Giulii, the Colosseum and a Triumphal Arch (after Panini)*.²¹² A further Harding caprice at Stourhead will be examined for influence on the architectural style of the Stourhead Pantheon in Chapter 3. I will also return to theme of the eighteenth-century English landscape garden as a caprice in the final chapter.

Conclusions and chapter summary

In this first chapter I have considered possible influences of ancient Roman history, politics, art, architecture and literature on early eighteenth-century Britain. I have shown how this legacy was inculcated into the minds of the aristocracy, as well as the landed gentry. Henry Hoare II, as an eminent and wealthy member of the new merchant class enjoyed a classical education, as well as an extensive Grand Tour. I have shown how his experience of Renaissance and ancient Rome influenced his 'Taste' and yielded an opportunity to raise the status of his family. The garden at Stourhead is a good example of how Henry displayed his taste, wealth and knowledge. I have also provided a brief description of Henry's garden as a necessary

²¹¹ Harding, F., *Architectural Capriccio with the sacrifice of Iphigenia*, 1745-54, Oil on canvas, 167.6 cm (height) × 142.2 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732300.

²¹² Harding, F., *Architectural Capriccio with the Tomb of the Giulii, the Colosseum and a Triumphal Arch (after Panini)*, c.1745-58, Oil on canvas, 90.2 cm (height) × 101 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732375.

requirement for considering interpretations of the iconography at Stourhead, as well as having critically reviewed previously offered theories. In the following three chapters I will build on these initial descriptions of Roman influence in the garden. The focus will be the primary eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century sources we have in the form of visitor accounts. My intention in taking this approach is to build a detailed picture of the Roman garden elements and their influences, as well as their reception by individuals whose visit was contemporary with Henry Hoare and Richard Colt Hoare's time at Stourhead. In chapter 2 I will consider the development of the gardens from 1743 to 1753. This was the period during which Henry initiated his programme of garden development, including building both the Temple of Flora and the Temple of the Nymph. In Chapter 3 I will describe and discuss the phase of the garden that includes the damming of the lake and the building of the Temple of Hercules. In Chapter 4 I will consider the period from 1756 through to the completion of the Temple of Apollo in 1765. In these chapters I will consider the following issues:

- 1) Extant evidence from primary research regarding the design intentions for each garden element.
- 2) Recorded, and possible, artistic, literary and architectural influences.
- 3) The location of these possible and actual influences at the time Henry Hoare was on Grand Tour (i.e. during the period 1739-1741).
- 4) The iconography of each individual element, as well as the possible significance of locating each element in proximity to other garden artefacts.

Chapter 2 – The design, content and evolution of Stourhead gardens 1743-1753

In Chapter 1 I described how the history, art and architecture of ancient Rome influenced early eighteenth-century Britons' view of themselves as the natural heirs of Imperial Rome. I considered in general terms how ideas about Rome influenced the design of an original art form, the English landscape garden, that emerged at this time. I described also how various Stourhead theorists have sought to explain authorial intent with reference to the garden iconography. In the course of my critical review I indicated that many of the assumptions underlying these theories can be criticised on the basis of factual accuracy, especially when contradictory information and opinion can be found in visitor reception of the gardens. In this chapter I will provide a detailed account of the 10-year evolution of Stourhead gardens from the point at which Henry had returned from Grand Tour. My intention throughout this chapter is to evaluate the garden elements with a view to determining how the garden iconography was interpreted by visitors. The *Stourton Gardens* poem written in 1749 is a key primary source for this chapter. I will also reference Stourhead financial records when identifying dates on which garden elements were purchased, or work paid for. Later visitor accounts will be used to establish and confirm the earliest dates at which artefacts and edifices were viewed, and when garden elements moved location or were lost. I will consider in turn each of the classical elements introduced in the period 1743-1753, thus focusing on the Grotto and the Temple of Ceres, later referred to as the Temple of Flora, as well as the Temple on the Terrace. I will also describe and discuss the statues and artefacts that were housed within these structures, as well as the *Apollo Belvedere* and *Versailles Diana* copies that stood

distinct from the garden buildings. I will provide detailed physical descriptions of the buildings and artefacts, as well as information regarding their locations within the garden. After each description, I will consider Roman influences for each building and artefact, as well as their availability to be viewed in the period 1739-1741 when Henry Hoare was on Grand Tour. By considering the possible influence of his Grand Tour experiences, I aim to determine whether it is possible to recover evidence of authorial intent with regard to the content and development of the garden.

The Apollo Belvedere and Versailles Diana copies

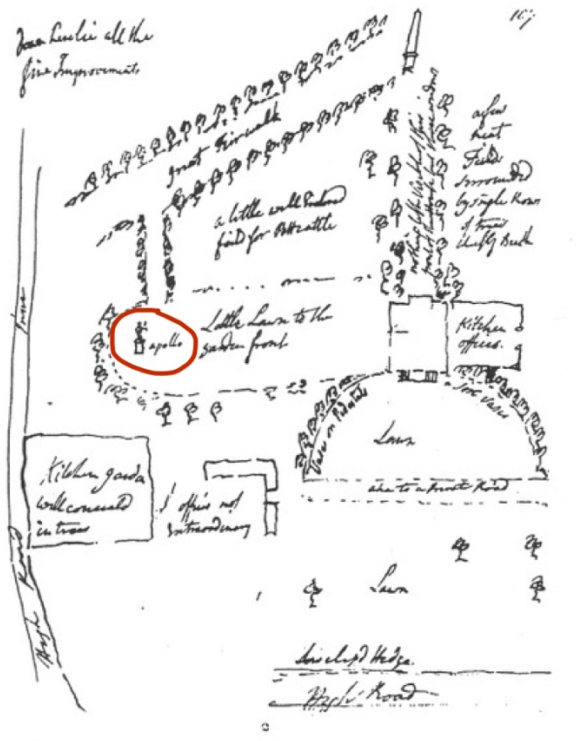
The Stourhead accounts show that these two statues were purchased from John Cheere in 1745.²¹³ Visitor reports confirm that the *Apollo Belvedere* copy was placed on a small mound on the south lawn of the house. The earliest such account comes to us from the writing of an anonymous individual who visited the estate on 10th August 1765. This information was received in a letter sent to the National Trust.²¹⁴ The visitor notes that: ‘theres (sic) a remarkable long & wide Grass Walk, at one end is an Obilisk & the other a Statue’. This location for the statue is confirmed by a second anonymous visitor in 1766, who begins at the house and then describes a route to the garden that takes him ‘down a Bowling Green to a cast of the *Apollo*

²¹³ 2 May 1745, ‘By Mr. Cheere for Apollo and Diana & his packing cases in full...£51.5, F.S. (acc) W.

²¹⁴ Text of letter from Mrs. Janet Ede, 3 Essex Street, Norwich, NR2 2BL, dated 27th January, 2004: ‘Dear Sir, When clearing the house of my late aunt we came across a small notebook which is a closely handwritten account of a series of journeys undertake by a (presumably) young lady, the first of which was in 1765 from London to Bath and Bristol and surrounding places of interest. Unfortunately, we know nothing of the author as there is no name, however I thought her description of her visit to Stourhead in August 1765 on her way back to London might be of interest to you. You may have seen her description of the garden as this was printed in our local Plantation Garden Preservation Trust newsletter but the description of the house has never been published. I transcribed the diary exactly as written with spelling mistakes, lack of punctuation etc. I hope you will find it of interest. Yours sincerely, Mrs. Janet Ede.’

Belvedere, which leads you to the right into a shady walk'.²¹⁵ Parnell, after visiting in 1768, drew a plan of the house and its environs and marked the location of the Apollo statue. He included a simple sketch of the statue which shows from the pose that it approximated to the *Apollo Belvedere* (see Figure 2.1).²¹⁶

Figure 2.1 – Parnell’s sketch of the area around Stourhead House and the *Apollo Belvedere* statue copy (circled in red)



Rezzonico, visiting in 1787, confirms that the Apollo statue was at that time still in its original location: ‘from the house I entered the garden, crossing a lawn so gently and neatly cut that it looked like a velvet carpet, and then I climbed a small, grassy

²¹⁵ This account of Stourhead from 1766 is held at the British Library. We do not know the author’s identity. Anonymous, *Notes of a tour in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, etc.*, BM Add MS 6767 f37.

²¹⁶ Woodbridge, 1982, p. 68.

hill. At the summit is placed a copy of the Apollo Belvedere'.²¹⁷ This is currently the latest visitor account in which the *Apollo Belvedere* copy was present on the south lawn. The statue has not survived and we have no other visual record of its form. However, it seems reasonable to suppose that it was a close facsimile of the Vatican statue and possibly indeed a cast of the original.²¹⁸ Images of the statue were available in publications such as Bartoli's *Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum*, as well as the English translation of Montfaucon's work.²¹⁹ Bernard de Montfaucon (1655-1741) was a French Abbé who between 1719 and 1724 produced 15 volumes of then extant antiquities from across the ancient world, and especially those from Roman sites.²²⁰ The work of both these authors was widely employed as source books by artists and sculptors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including Rembrandt.²²¹ As I shall describe later in this thesis, copies of a number of the artefacts depicted in Bartoli's 83-plate collection of the ancient wonders of Rome were to be found in the gardens at Stourhead. Illustrations of the *Apollo Belvedere* were a feature of both oeuvres and the image was well known in England by the time the Stourhead garden designers selected a copy for display. The extant Stourhead *Versailles Diana* copy, with which it was purchased, stands slightly over 2 metres in height and it might therefore be that the Stourhead version of the Apollo statue was comparable to the 2.24 metre height of the original.²²² The statue, also known as the

²¹⁷ Gamba, 1824, p. 42.

²¹⁸ Unknown, *Apollo Belvedere*, Marble, 224 cm (height), Rome, Belvedere Court, Musei Vaticani, Cat. 1015.

²¹⁹ Bartoli, 1693; Montfaucon, B., *Antiquity Explained, and Represented in Sculptures*, trans. Humphreys, D. (London, Tonson & Watts, 1721-22).

²²⁰ Montfaucon, B., *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* (Paris, 1719-24).

²²¹ Gyllenhaal, M., *Rembrandt's artful use of statues and casts: New insights into his studio practices and working methods* (Temple University, unpublished doctoral thesis, 2008), p. 99.

²²² We have no record of the lawn Apollo Belvedere copy after Rezzonico's 1787 account. It is possible that the statue was removed, but a further possibility is that the statue was eventually moved into the Temple of Apollo. I will consider the evidence for this in Chapter 4.

Pythian Apollo, is still on view in the Belvedere courtyard of the Vatican.²²³ Pope Julius II moved the statue to this location in 1509, so the statue was thus on public display during the period that Henry Hoare was in Rome. In 1797 the statue was ceded to Napoleon by Pope Pius VI under the terms of the Treaty of Tolentino but returned to Rome after the fall of Napoleon in 1815. On its arrival at the Musée Central des Arts in Paris, it was paired with the *Versailles Diana*. Visitors noticed physical similarities between the two statues, which led to speculation that the statues were sculpted as a pair. The figures are linked in myth by the story of the children of Niobe and are the twin children of Latona and Jupiter. Haskell and Penny point out that paired copies of these statues were common throughout the nineteenth century.²²⁴

The original location of the Stourhead *Versailles Diana* statue copy has until recently remained a mystery. However, my close reading of the poem *Stourton Gardens* has revealed that in 1749 the statue was in a grove close to the fir-tree walk that ran from the main house to the obelisk.²²⁵ The anonymous poet of *Stourton Gardens* writes of travelling ‘thro’ the windings of a lovely grove’ where ‘The virgin huntress next presents to view;/ Her favourite chace (sic) seems eager to pursue’, indicating that the Diana statue was originally located where the Turkish tent was later erected.²²⁶ Piper’s plan of Stourhead shows the grove to be along the woodland labelled the ‘Shades’ on an undated map and which end at the location of the Turkish Tent

²²³ The title *Pythian Apollo* was a reference to Apollo slaying the python of Delphi, as the pose suggests that Apollo has discharged an arrow from a bow held in his left hand.

²²⁴ Haskell, F. and Penny, N., *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1981), p. 150.

²²⁵ Harrison, 2015a, pp. 126-143.

²²⁶ Anonymous, ‘Stourton Gardens’, *The Royal Magazine* (February, 1764), p. 103. A note beneath the title of poem states that it was ‘Written in June, 1749’.

(Figure 2.2).²²⁷ No further accounts of the *Versailles Diana* copy occur until mention is made by Horace Walpole of ‘Lord Leicester’s Diana’ in his 1762 account.²²⁸ We cannot be certain that this is the same Diana statue but a clue to its provenance is that it is the only internal Pantheon statue made of lead, indicating that it was originally for outdoor display.²²⁹ Thus the Diana mentioned by Walpole is very likely the one that is currently located in the Pantheon and a close copy of the *Versailles Diana* currently held in the Louvre.²³⁰

Figure 2.2 - Turkish tent depicted on the *Green Frog* (1773) service



²²⁷ Piper, F.M., *Plan of Stourhead*, 1779, Watercolour on paper, 32 x 44 inches. Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Stockholm, pi-e-6-1; *Stourhead Garden*, map, 210 mm x 149.5 mm (London, The National Trust, undated). A detailed visual representation of the Turkish Tent is unavailable to us, but an impression of the tent and its location can be obtained by inspection of a piece from Catherine the Great’s ‘Green Frog’ service (see Figure 2.2), Raeburn, M., Voronikhova, L., Nurnberg, A. (eds.), *The Green Frog Service* (London, Cacklegoose Press, 1995), p. 362.

²²⁸ Walpole refers to the Diana statue owned by Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester. Coke purchased this statue during his extensive Grand Tour. At a cost of 900 crowns, this was the most expensive purchase made by Coke during his time in Rome and was purchased on 13th April 1717. It is still displayed in the Statue Gallery at Holkham Hall and described as ‘The highlight of sculpture collection’. White, R., *Holkham* (Great Ellingham, Arie & Ingrams Design, 2010), p. 31. Whilst similar to Coke’s Diana, the Stourhead version is evidently a copy of the *Versailles Diana*, showing Walpole to be incorrect in his attribution.

²²⁹ Cheere, J., *Diana of Versailles*, 1744, Lead, 208 cm (height). Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562880.1.

²³⁰ Unknown, *Diana of Versailles*, 1st-2nd century CE, marble, 200 cm (height), Musée du Louvre, Paris.

The placement of the Diana statue in a grove close to the Fir Walk explains why this location is known as the Mount of Diana. It was referred to in these terms in a drawing held at Stourhead titled *A view from the Mount of Diana in Mr Hoare's Garden at Stourton*.²³¹ The view captures much of the lake and includes the Pantheon, as well as a sizable boat. Piper's map of 1779 (see Figure 1.1) suggests that the drawing was executed from the location at which the Turkish tent was placed.²³² Maps of Stourhead label the pond at the foot of the hill as 'Diana's Basin'. We have no information about how the pond got this name, but one possibility is that the circular shape and calm surface were thought reminiscent of Lake Nemi, known in ancient Roman times as *speculum Dianae*, or 'Diana's Mirror'.²³³ However, the proximity of the pond to the Mount of Diana also provides a possible explanation for why the pond is so named.

What were the garden designers' intentions in acquiring these statue copies and placing them in the garden? It is very likely that Henry would have seen the Apollo statue in the Vatican Belvedere and in placing the statue on the south lawn the statue was positioned on one possible route into the gardens (see Figure 1.1). It is intriguing that he purchased the *Versailles Diana* copy statue as a pair with the Apollo. It seems likely that Henry would have known of the mythic links between

²³¹ Unknown, *View from the Mount of Diana*, c.1765, paper, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 731309.1.

²³² For a thorough description of the Stourhead Turkish tent, see Magleby, M., 'Reviewing the Mount of Diana: Henry Hoare's Turkish Tent at Stourhead', (Ohio State University, unpublished doctoral thesis, 2009).

²³³ It is worthy of note that Henry Hoare purchased a painting of Lake Nemi in 1758; Wilson, R., *The Lake of Nemi, with Diana and Callisto*, c.1758, Oil on canvas, 75.6 cm (height) × 97.2 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732391.

Diana and Apollo. Although often paired in nineteenth-century English gardens, Henry's 1745 purchase represents a very early example of this pairing.

One possible reason for his acquisition of the Diana statue is her link with hunting. Woodbridge recounts that Henry confessed to living a 'gay and dissolute style of life' when a young man hunting and drinking with companions at his father's house near Quarley in Hampshire.²³⁴ Henry reformed his lifestyle, but apparently never lost his love of hunting, a pastime celebrated in the 1729 Wootton painting, in which Henry is shown with a pack of hounds near an obelisk.²³⁵ Hunting rights in eighteenth-century Britain were dependent on social status. Knoll writes that the activity, and the logistics needed to support it, were displays of wealth and power by the elite classes.²³⁶ He suggests that hunting at this time is best considered as 'An activity that connected the elite's culture, agrarian society, and the natural environment'.²³⁷ In the eighteenth century 'different options for land use competed with each other' and putting land over to hunting indicated social power.²³⁸ Knoll writes also that for the elite hunting was a means of demonstrating 'The domination of nature as an instrument to communicate power'.²³⁹ Dodd recently pointed out that hunting is a theme referenced in the Pantheon through the bas-reliefs and statuary.²⁴⁰ However, we have no information from Henry regarding the acquisition of either the Diana or Apollo statues, and so this must necessarily remain a speculation.

²³⁴ Woodbridge, 1970, p. 20.

²³⁵ Wootton, J., *The Meet of a Hunt with Henry II Hoare*, c.1758, Oil on canvas, 188 cm (height) × 162.6 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732281.

²³⁶ Knoll, M., 'Hunting in the Eighteenth Century, An Environmental History Perspective', *Historical Social Research*, 29, 3, 2004, pp. 9-36.

²³⁷ *Ibid*, 2004, p. 9.

²³⁸ *Ibid*, 2004, p. 34.

²³⁹ *Ibid*, 2004, p. 9.

²⁴⁰ Dodd, D., 'Rysbrack's documented work at Stourhead', *Classical Influences at Georgian Stourhead*, Stourton Memorial Hall, 11-12th November, 2015.

The Temple of Ceres

This was the first Roman-influenced temple at Stourhead and was built by William Privet in Chilmark stone between 1744 and 1746 to a design provided by Henry Flitcroft.²⁴¹ The temple is composed of a room with a prostyle and tetrastyle portico of four detached Tuscan columns in Doric order.²⁴² The fifteenth-century Italian architect Sebastiano Serlio stated that this order is selected for buildings that have connections with industry, storage, or some military use. He points out also that ‘the ancients dedicated buildings to the gods, matching them according to their nature whether either robust [*robusta*] or delicate [*delicato*]’.²⁴³ These comments help to explain Rezzonico’s observation regarding the choice of Tuscan Doric for the temple. He comments that ‘the order is heavy Doric, which really doesn’t suit Flora’.²⁴⁴ Rezzonico is suggesting here that a delicate order would be more appropriate for the goddess of flowers. He would have been unlikely to know that the temple was originally dedicated to Ceres. As a goddess of food acquired by industry, the use of the *robusta* Tuscan Doric order for a temple of Ceres would have been appropriate. The temple’s design was specified by Henry Flitcroft in his letter to Henry Hoare dated 1st September 1744, in which he writes:

I have inclosd. to you the plan and elevation of the Temple of
Ceres, with a sketch of the entablature showing how the tryglyphs

²⁴¹ This is a fine-grained quality limestone employed for its durability and strength. Woodbridge, K., *The Stourhead Landscape* (London, The National Trust, 1991), p. 45.

²⁴² Prostyle indicates free standing columns across the front of a building. Tetrastyle means to have four columns.

²⁴³ Serlio, S., *Tutte l'Opere d'Architettura, et Prospetiva, di Sebastiano Serlio*, Bolognese. (Venetia, 1619), foreword to Book IV, fol. 126.

²⁴⁴ Harrison, 2015a, p. 136.

and metops (sic) should be proportioned with the sculs (sic) and be introduced therein.²⁴⁵

The entablature features the specified triglyphs and metopes, the latter with alternating bucrania and paterae. This follows a traditional format for a Doric frieze, such as those illustrated in Palladio's *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, and in various of his designs, including one for the Basilica in Vicenza.²⁴⁶ Close inspection of the paterae in the entablature indicates a good deal of similarity with the patera in the restored right hand of the Livia Augusta as Ceres statue (see Figure 2.3).²⁴⁷ The former are less ornate than the latter, but as the illustration shows, there are a number of shared characteristics, such as the almonds, stylised plants, and central flower.

Figure 2.3 – Comparison of Temple of Flora paterae with patera feature of restored right hand of Livia Augusta as Ceres statue



²⁴⁵ Woodbridge, 1970, p. 29.

²⁴⁶ Beltramini, G. and Burns, H. (eds.), *Palladio*, Exhibition Catalogue (London, Royal Academy of Arts, 2008), p. 81.

²⁴⁷ Extant ancient Roman temple friezes commonly feature metope decorations. Bucrania, similar to those alternating with the paterae on the Temple of Ceres metopes, are relatively common and are a feature of the Temple of Portunus frieze. An example of alternating bucrania and paterae metope decoration is the Library of Celsus at Ephesus, dating from c.114 CE. However, these paterae are of a relatively simple design, as are the paterae reproduced in translations of *De Architectura* by Vitruvius (Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, Morgan, H.M. (trans.) (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1914).

The frieze paterae are quite different to those reproduced in Palladio's writings and it seems likely that they were based on the statue patera design. This suggests an early relationship between the temple and the Livia Augusta as Ceres statue. A further source of evidence for this relationship can be found in the poem *Stourton Gardens*:

Yon temple, whose exact proportions please,
Commands a prospect, where, with pleasing ease,
The lovely windings of the vale you see,
Which charming Livia's sacred made to thee.
There stands thy statue, once at Rome rever'd.²⁴⁸

The text helpfully confirms the presence in the temple of the Livia Augusta as Ceres statue in 1749.²⁴⁹ This observation is at odds with Laing's view that the Livia Augusta as Ceres statue was acquired in 1754 from the collection of Dr Richard Mead.²⁵⁰ However, it sits well with a comment from the anonymous visitor writing of his trip to Stourhead in 1766, who stated that the statue was purchased from the estate of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni in 1740.²⁵¹ Ottoboni left substantial debts on his

²⁴⁸ Anonymous, 1764, pp. 102-4.

²⁴⁹ Although routinely referred to as a statue of Livia Augusta as Ceres, Vermeule and Von Bothmer have cast doubt upon the attribution. They point out that the 'LIVIA AUGUSTA' script on the base is an eighteenth-century addition and limit the attribution by stating that the statue 'does indeed represent Livia, or a Julio-Claudian princess such as Antonia Minor, as Ceres' (Vermeule, C. and von Bothmer, D., 'Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain Part Two', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 60, 4, 1956, p. 343). Hughes points out that 'Livia and Ceres were united through their (biological and agricultural) fertility' (p. 8). Hughes, J., 'The myth of return: restoration as reception in eighteenth-century Rome', *Classical Receptions Journal*, 3, 1, 2011, pp. 1-28.

²⁵⁰ Unknown, *Livia Augusta as Ceres*, second century CE, Marble, 193 cm (height), Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562913.1; Laing, A., *Stourhead: Illustrated list of pictures and sculptures* (London, National Trust, 2010).

²⁵¹ Anonymous, 1766, Add MS 6767, f.37.

death on 29th February 1740, a time when Henry Hoare was on Grand Tour and approximately when he is known to have purchased the Pope Sixtus Cabinet in Rome.²⁵² Henry was not alone in acquiring artefacts from the Ottoboni estate. Horace Walpole recorded in 1741 that he had purchased a bust of Vespasian for which he had given ‘but twenty-two pounds for it at Cardinal Ottoboni’s sale’.²⁵³ It seems certain that the Temple of Ceres was built to house this newly-acquired classical statue and explains why it was the first garden building at Stourhead.

Hanwell in 1756 refers to the building as the Temple of Ceres and writes that the Livia Augusta as Ceres statue was ‘standing in front of you as you open the door’. He mentions also two large pulvinaria on either side of the room.²⁵⁴ Figure 2.4 is an artist’s impression of the temple interior in c.1749 and shows the location of the temple furniture, including the two altars. In the niches above the altars are two sculpted busts. Gordon suggests these are copies of the Faustina the Elder and Younger busts in the Capitoline Museum in Rome.²⁵⁵ Rezzonico confirms the

²⁵² Unknown, *The Pope’s Cabinet*, 1742, Ebony, marble, gilt bronze, ormolu, onyx, lapis lazuli, spar, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 731575. For a detailed description and discussion of the cabinet, see Jervis and Dodd, 2015. The author has visited Rome on two occasions (March 2013 and July 2014) to search for documentary evidence to support the sale of the Livia Augusta as Ceres bust to Henry Hoare or one of his agents. The archives inspected included what is believed to be the most comprehensive Ottoboni inventory, that held at the Archivio di Stato (AS N.A.C. 1838, 5 March 1740). Based on Olszewski’s report (Olszewski, E.J., ‘Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667-1740) in America’, *Journal of the History of Collections*, 1, 1, 1989, pp. 33-57), an abbreviated version is held at the archives of St. John Lateran that ‘contains notations, in a second hand, of sales prices, dates, and indications by number of items given to heirs’, I inspected also the Archive ASV, Archivio Ottoboni, vol. 78. Neither visit yielded evidence of the sale of a Livia Augusta as Ceres statue. However, by 1740 the Roman authorities had moved against the export of antiquities and so any sale of the statue was likely to have been made surreptitiously. It might be that to ensure export of the statue its value and appearance were deliberately downplayed. Jervis and Dodd (2015, p. 143) point out that consistent with this possibility is that ‘this was the sculpture which Mark Parker applied to export, for an unnamed client, on 13 October 1740, ‘una statua antica di marmot al natural di mediocre scultura figurante una donna in parte ristorata’ [a mediocre antique statue in plain marble with restorations]’. The description is broadly accurate, but downplays the value of the piece, perhaps to facilitate obtaining an export license.

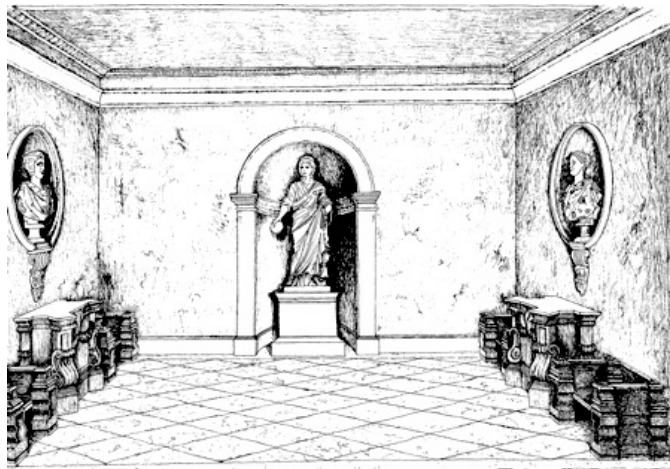
²⁵³ Mowl, T., *Horace Walpole* (London, Faber and Faber, 1996), p. 63.

²⁵⁴ Hanway, 1757, p. 578.

²⁵⁵ Gordon, S., *The Iconography and Mythology of the 18th Century English Garden* (University of Bristol, unpublished doctoral thesis, 1999), p. 113.

identity of the busts as empresses and refers to the habit of depicting emperors' wives as goddesses in statues and on coins.²⁵⁶ These attributions suggest a thus far unconsidered theme for the temple. By 1743 Henry had been married and widowed twice, first to Anne Masham (m. 1726-1727) and then to Susan Colt (m. 1728-1743).

Figure 2.4 – Artist's impression of the Temple of Ceres interior, c.1749



The death of his second wife Susan coincided with the time at which he began work on the garden. The contiguity of these events has tempted more than one writer to suppose that the loss of his second wife weighed heavily in his decisions regarding the garden content. One manifestation of this idea is the proposal that the Saint Susanna statue in the Pantheon was selected by Henry to commemorate his wife Susan.²⁵⁷ However, there is no evidence for this in the extant Stourhead literature and the idea seems somewhat fanciful, if only because the statue was purchased 20 years after her death.

²⁵⁶ 'in the past it was the Augustas who were worshipped, dressed as Flora, Ceres, Juno and Venus, of which there are many examples in medallions and marbles in the museums', Harrison, 2015a, p. 136.

²⁵⁷ Woodbridge, 1991, p. 53.

Malins suggests that Henry's garden design was subconsciously influenced by his family bereavements, and specifically that 'These may not have been the conscious associations of Henry Hoare's. Yet he must have known, in his tragic bereavements, that he could find consolation in the creation of "delightful scenes"'.²⁵⁸ Bevington takes up this theme and writes that garden interpretation must 'depend on the epistemological and conceptual framework within which the garden's creator operated, as well as the physical evidence'.²⁵⁹ In this context he lists Henry's bereavements and makes inferences about Henry's assumed state of mind, specifically:

A year or two after moving from Wilbury house, his second wife died in 1743, he felt bereft, left with three young children, the oldest only 12 years old. Like others at this time, such as George Lyttelton at Hagley who also lost his wife, Lucy, to whom he was devoted, he found solace for his bereavement in creating a garden. Without the presence of his helpmeet the garden could be no more than demy-paradise, but if, unlike the paradise to come, she were not present personally, at least the distraught young widower could use his creation to express his deep grief and to recall her delightful company.²⁶⁰

Working within this context, Bevington suggests that 'Henry Hoare, still grief stricken, doubtless chose Hercules and Ceres partly because they were appropriately

²⁵⁸ Malins, 1966, p. 55.

²⁵⁹ Bevington, M.J., 'Henry Hoare and the creation of his "demy-paradise"', *Studies in Iconography*, 12, 1988, pp. 121-147.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 1988, p. 126.

linked in the Roman calendar on 21st December, the winter solstice, at the Festival of Angerona, the goddess of suffering and silence'.²⁶¹ That the state of mind of the designer might be relevant seems a reasonable position to take when seeking to explain the garden iconography. However, we have no direct evidence of Henry's state of mind in the aftermath of his second wife's death and we cannot know whether he was indeed either distraught or grief stricken. Felus picks up this theme when she questions Bevington's view of Henry 'as something of a morbid pessimist'.²⁶² She presents an alternative view, acknowledging that 'the majority of his landscaping was carried out after the early death of his wife (and he never married again) and against the backdrop of the loss of his only son', but that 'his letters reveal Henry the Magnificent, as he was called, to have been affectionate and sociable, fit and active'.²⁶³ Henry's state of mind in 1743 and its impact on his decisions regarding the garden design are unknowable. It must also be mentioned that Angerona is a relatively minor deity and whilst it is possible that Henry knew of the goddess and her festival dates, this represents highly specialist knowledge of Roman mythology. Moreover, Bevington's point regarding Henry's selection of Hercules and Ceres requires that the decision to build the Temple of Ceres was made after the death of his wife Susan, whereas the evidence suggests that the temple was built to house the statue purchased in Rome three years before his wife's death. It seems therefore very unlikely that Henry chose Ceres on the basis of an association with the festival of Angerona. However, the elements selected for the interior of the Temple of Ceres do suggest a theme of spousal remembrance. As previously discussed, as well as Livia, two further emperors' wives are commemorated. In the

²⁶¹ Ibid, 1988, p. 127.

²⁶² Felus, K., *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden* (London, I.B.Tauris, 2016), p. 78.

²⁶³ Ibid, 2016, p. 78.

roundel above where the altar originally stood on the left of the Temple is a bust of Faustina the Younger, the wife of Emperor Antoninus Pius. In the roundel opposite is a bust of Faustina the Elder, wife of Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Thus, within the temple three wives of Roman emperors are commemorated. The selection and juxtaposition of three thematically related individuals seems unlikely to be due to chance. A further thematic link is that all three women were deified and thereafter depicted as Ceres on coinage and in statuary. Levick writes that:

Faustina I became a new Ceres, represented as such on coin issues of Rome, an identification confirmed in the Greek poem dedicated to the high-born but deceased (c.157) wife of the Athenian magnate Herodes Atticus, Appia Annia Regilla, by Marcellus of Side. Atticus put up a temple to Demeter (Ceres) ‘old and new’ – the latter being identical with Faustina I – on the Via Latina near Rome, now the church of St. Urban.²⁶⁴

We cannot be certain that Henry wished to commemorate his wife with references to the wives of three emperors, but the possibility must be recognized. The identifiable themes in the temple are the wives of Roman emperors, and their post-deification depiction as Ceres. The inclusion of accurate reproductions of temple furniture, such as altars and pulvinaria, the latter of which were diligently copied from Montfaucon’s work, induced a sense of reverence, as specified by the *Aeneid* quotation *procul, o procul este profani* which requires the unhallowed to stay

²⁶⁴ Levick, B.M., *Faustina I and II: Imperial Women of the Golden Age* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 126-7.

away.²⁶⁵ This quotation was interpreted by Woodbridge as being relevant to the entire garden. However, as the quotation was placed specifically above the Ceres building entrance it seems far more likely that it was peculiar to the temple. This is certainly Warner's interpretation, who records that 'Over the gate of the temple is this prohibition of entrance to the profane'.²⁶⁶ If the quote was supposed to warn garden visitors, it would have been more appropriate to place it at the village entrance. This would follow the precedent set at the Vatican, where a similar quotation was carved above the early-sixteenth century entrance to the Pope's private Vatican garden.²⁶⁷

Transition to the Temple of Flora

Henry Flitcroft specifically refers to 'The Temple of Ceres' in his letter of 25th August 1744. Hunt proposes that its name changed sometime during the 1770s, basing this view on Piper's 1779 plan, which labels the structure as the 'Temple of Flora'.²⁶⁸ Walpole, visiting in 1762, also refers to the building as the Temple of Flora. The reasons for this shift in nomenclature are not apparent, but a possible reason for the change in how visitors referred to the building was the installation of a Flora statue. William Clarke reports viewing a statue of Flora in 1767, which suggests that the Flora replaced the Livia Augusta as Ceres statue after the latter was moved to the Pantheon.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁵ de Montfaucon, 1721-2, p. 41. Woodbridge states the pulvinaria 'are early examples of archaeological correctness in English eighteenth-century furniture'. Woodbridge, 1991, p. 46.

²⁶⁶ Warner, 1801, p. 113.

²⁶⁷ Pugh, S., *Garden, Nature, Language* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 38. Hunt offers the more mundane, but equally plausible hypothesis that Henry Hoare 'may simply have liked the words for their own sake' (Hunt, 2006, p. 335).

²⁶⁸ Hunt, 2006, pp. 331.

²⁶⁹ Clarke, W., Diary entry for 5 July 1767, Stourhead Research Room archives, Box file titled 'Early visitors'.

Gordon offers an explanation of the Temple's name change that owes much to Woodbridge's theory that the gardens reflect the influence of Virgil's *Aeneid*.²⁷⁰ She suggests generously that Woodbridge 'was able to recover the iconography of the garden' and 'to deduce that the landscape Henry Hoare II had wished to create had been one designed to echo the legendary foundation myth of Rome, the Wanderings of Aeneas'.²⁷¹ By her interpretation, in order 'to make everything in the garden agree, the Temple of Ceres, i.e. the Temple of Harvest (symbolizing industry), had to become the Temple of Flora, i.e. the Temple of Flowers (symbolizing idleness)'. Gordon suggests that the change in title also precipitated alterations in ornamentation. However, it is entirely possible that the reverse is true and that the change in ornamentation led to the change in title. Rezzonico's account clearly indicates that a statue of Flora is the central feature of the Temple.²⁷² He states also that at the time of his visit the pulvinaria, altars and busts were still present. It is difficult to be certain about the provenance of the Flora statue, but one possibility is that a Cheere statue was installed and later replaced by the current *Borghese Vase* copy.²⁷³

The Coade stone copy of the *Borghese Vase*, the current focus of the temple, was once a feature of the now lost Temple on the Terrace that was removed by Richard Colt Hoare in the 1790s.²⁷⁴ It is possible that the *Borghese Vase* copy replaced the

²⁷⁰ Gordon, 1999, p. 113.

²⁷¹ Ibid, 1999, p. 113.

²⁷² Gamba, 1824, p. 42.

²⁷³ The Borghese Vase is a large (1.71m) marble vase which during Henry Hoare's lifetime was on display in the Villa Borghese. Unknown, *Kylix, known as the "Borghese Vase"*, Marble, 172 cm × 135 cm, 1st Century BCE, Denon Wing, The Louvre, Paris, Inventaire MR 985.

²⁷⁴ Pincot, D., *Borghese Vase*, 1771, Coade stone, 124.5 cm (height), Temple of Flora, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562904. Coade stone, or 'Lithopyra' was an artificial stone

Flora statue at around this time.²⁷⁵ In Piper's 1779 drawing the vase is the centrepiece.²⁷⁶ According to Haskell and Penny, the *Borghese Vase* was, from the mid-seventeenth until the mid-nineteenth century, 'with the Medici Vase, the most admired of antique marble vases'.²⁷⁷ Elsewhere, such as on the rear façade of the main house at Kedleston, copies of these two vases were paired. The *Borghese Vase* shows a Bacchic procession of satyrs and maenads dancing, and depicts Dionysus, half-naked and crowned with ivy and vine. He is also shown holding a thyrsus and is accompanied by Ariadne playing a lyre.²⁷⁸

It is interesting to consider why replacing the Flora statue with the *Borghese Vase* copy did not occasion a further change of name for the temple of Flora. This is perhaps because the vase was not specifically purchased for the temple in the way that the Flora statue had been. The *Borghese Vase* copy was simply rehoused there after the temple was removed. A now-lost feature of the area in front of the temple is the cascade designed by Flitcroft.²⁷⁹ This feature is captured in Bampfylde's 1753 drawing (see Figure 2.5).²⁸⁰

composed of flint, quartz, soda lime, glass and 'Ball clay'. It was popular in the 18th century as a material for moulding statues, decorations and garden ornaments.

²⁷⁵ Prince Franz of Anhalt-Dessau visited Stourhead in the early 1760s and subsequently modelled elements of his Schlossgarten at Wörlitz on Stourhead. The Englischergartensitz closely resembles drawings of the Venetian Seat. Umbach commented: 'Both began with the creation of an emblem: at Stourhead, this was the Venetian Seat, erected in 1744; at Wörlitz, the English Seat in 1764'; Umbach, M., *Federalism and Enlightenment in Germany 1740-1806* (London, The Hambledon Press, 2000) Fig. 7, pp. 82-83. The bridge is reproduced in Piper's plan of Stourhead (see Figure 1.1).

²⁷⁶ Woodbridge, 1978, p. 45.

²⁷⁷ Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 315.

²⁷⁸ A thyrsus was a wand made of giant fennel, covered with ivy and leaves and topped with a pine cone.

²⁷⁹ Henry Flitcroft letter to Henry Hoare dated 25th August 1744.

²⁸⁰ Bampfylde, C.W., *The Grotto, Stourhead; lake with swans and fountain, and temple-like structure behind, reclining man to the left in foreground in front of trees*. 1753, Pen and black ink and grey and brown wash, with watercolour. 28 cm (height) × 47 cm (width), British Museum, London, 1970.0919.20.

Figure 2.5 – Bampfylde, C.W., *The Grotto, Stourhead; lake with swans and fountain, and temple-like structure behind, etc.* (1753)



The river god statue was purchased from Thomas Manning in 1743 and placed in the rocky recess as part of Flitcroft's cascade.²⁸¹ Research conducted and reported by the Nautical Archaeological Society yielded a sketch of the Manning river god and the rocky recess (see Figure 2.6).²⁸² The figure is shown in the traditional reclining pose typical of river god statues from the ancient Roman era. At the time of Henry's visit to Rome in 1740 at least two ancient river god statues, those of the Nile and Tiber, were on display in the Belvedere statue court. Perhaps the most famous of these was the former, which was installed as a fountain and placed opposite the Tiber statue.²⁸³ A third river god statue on display in the court was a representation of the Arno. This was restored as a sixteenth-century integration through the addition of a modern head

²⁸¹ Woodbridge, 1991, p. 46.

²⁸² McKewan, C., (ed.), *Stourhead Lake Project 2005* (Portsmouth, Nautical Archaeology Society, 2006), p. 93.

²⁸³ Both statues had been excavated from the site of the Roman sanctuary of Isis and Serapis (close to modern Via Labicana) in 1512 and 1513 (Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 272).

and a right arm taken from another antique sculpture.²⁸⁴ This statue was placed diagonally opposite the *Sleeping Ariadne*, a copy of which was placed in the Stourhead Grotto.

Figure 2.6 – Design for the Manning river god and rocky recess



Of the three Vatican river gods, the Flitcroft and Bampfylde drawings most closely resemble the Nile figure. The Tiber statue reclines to the right, so is an unlikely source, whereas the very similar Nile and Arno statues recline to the left and are similar in pose to the Manning river god. The Nile is the most similar in pose, though the 16 putti do not appear to have been reproduced on the Stourhead figure. The Arno figure is dissimilar to the Manning statue in that a jug has been placed in the right hand. The Manning river god figure pre-dated the purchase of the Grotto river god figure by several years and it might have been the garden designer's initial intention for this statue to represent the river god Stour. Like the Grotto river god, it was placed where one of the springs that forms the Stour emerges.

²⁸⁴ Lazzaro, C., 'River gods: personifying nature in sixteenth-century Italy', *Renaissance Studies*, 25, 1, 2011, doi: 10.1111/j.1477-4658.2010.00708.x.

Woodbridge has suggested that this temple was based on Pliny the Younger's description of Clitumnus.²⁸⁵ However, the sole evidence for this is a comment made by the garden historian Georgina Masson, prompted by the contents of a letter from Pliny the Younger to Romanus in which he describes the source of the Clitumnus:

Have you ever seen the sources of the Clitumnus? If not (and I think, if you had, you would have mentioned it to me), go and see them. I saw them not long since, and I regret that I did not see them sooner. There is a rising ground of moderate elevation, thick shaded with aged cypresses. At the foot of this, a fountain gushes out in several unequal veins, and having made its escape, forms a pool, whose broad bosom expands, so pure and crystal-like.....Hard by, is an ancient and venerable temple.²⁸⁶

Prior to the dam being built, the Temple of Ceres sat above a spring, so some similarity of situation is evident and the combination of 'moderate elevation', shade from trees, a fountain, and a temple, invite comparison. However, this combination of factors is not particular to either Stourhead or Clitumnus.

The Temple of Ceres was the first garden edifice to be built at Stourhead and was likely designed to house the newly acquired Livia Augusta as Ceres statue. The temple does not seem to have been designed to copy any single temple from

²⁸⁵ Woodbridge, 1991, p. 9.

²⁸⁶ Pliny, *Epistulae*, 8.

antiquity, but includes various ancient classical features, such as the Doric columns, the paterae and bucrania motifs on the frieze metopes, and the *Procul, o procul este profani* quotation. Once the Livia Augusta as Ceres statue was moved to the Pantheon the temple featured in very few of the later visitor accounts (see Table 2.1). Woodbridge and later theorists who subscribe to the *Aeneid* theory see this structure as a critical opening element to the garden. However, evidence from visitor accounts shows that only very rarely was this temple the starting point for garden visits (see Table 2.1). Recent commentators have suggested reasons for a change in name from Ceres to Flora. However, there is no evidence in the Stourhead archives to confirm that the Temple was ever formally renamed. In this context, it is worthy of note that Britton, who was well acquainted with the Hoare family, is still referring to this edifice in 1801 as the Temple of Ceres.²⁸⁷ The original placing of the Livia Augusta statue in proximity to the Faustina busts suggests that the theme of this temple was the wives of early Roman emperors. This theme was perhaps inspired by the death of Henry's second wife Susan in 1743, just prior to the temple being built.

The Temple on the Terrace, or Venetian Seat

This feature of the garden has been oddly neglected by Stourhead commentators and even Woodbridge mentions it only in the context of how its contents were distributed. Nijhous writes that the structure was erected in 1744, though does not provide a reference in support of this assertion.²⁸⁸ In fact the first mention we have in visitor accounts is from Pococke in 1754 who describes this structure as being south of the house and states that from there 'is a winding descent over the above

²⁸⁷ Britton, 1801, pp. iii-iv.

²⁸⁸ Nijhuis, S., *GIS-based landscape design research* (Steffen Nijhuis, Delft, 2015), p. 179.

mentioned valley; in the way is a Dorick open Temple'.²⁸⁹ Pococke seems to have mixed up the orders at the Temple of Ceres and the Temple on the Terrace, as the former is of Tuscan Doric, which implies that the latter was the one that featured ionic columns. The building no longer exists. Fortunately, Piper sketched the structure and so we have an image of how it looked (see Figure 2.7).²⁹⁰ Piper's sketch confirms the Ionic order and depicts the *Borghese Vase* copy with two busts in the roundels either side of the entrance. The busts appear to be the Marcus Aurelius and Alexander the Great pieces that were later moved to the Temple of Ceres, perhaps at the same time as the *Borghese Vase* copy.²⁹¹

A further reference to the look of the building is Colt Hoare's description of 'a little temple on the hill above'.²⁹² However, in spite of it apparently featuring ancient Roman décor and Ionic columns, Colt Hoare judged it to be 'not in harmony' with the predominantly Italian theme of the garden and he writes that his 'object in removing them [i.e. the ornamented greenhouse, Temple on the Terrace, Chinese temple and Turkish tent] was, to render the design of these gardens as chaste and correct as possible'.²⁹³ This indicates that Colt Hoare thought that the structure 'could never accord with that of

²⁸⁹ Pococke, 1889, p. 43.

²⁹⁰ A reference point for the Temple on the Terrace was not included on Kenneth Woodbridge's annotated version of Piper's 1779 plan of Stourhead (Woodbridge, 1999, p. 44). Piper's key is incomplete with respect to this item, but the legend to Piper's sketch of this structure ('Loge wid Terrassen y.y. - se foregaende Plans Lit. J') indicates that the structure shown to the right of the y.y. location on Piper's plan is labelled 'J'. I have therefore added 'J' to Figure 1 to indicate its position. Piper, F.M., *Beskrifning ofwer Ideen och General-Plan till end Angelsk Lustpark*, (Stockholm, Byggforlaget, 2004), pp. 17 & 9.

²⁹¹ Unknown, *Alexander the Great (356 – 323 BCE)*, 1740, Marble, 109 cm (Height), National Trust Inventory Number 562906.1. Unknown, *Young Marcus Aurelius (121-180 CE)*, 1740, Marble, 112 cm (Height), National Trust Inventory Number 562905.1.

²⁹² Hoare, 1822, p. 66.

²⁹³ Ibid, 1822, p. 66.

Greece and Rome'.²⁹⁴ Overton includes a building of very similar design in his 1766 catalogue of temples (See Figure 2.7).²⁹⁵

Figure 2.7 – Images of Overton’s temple design, the Englischergartensitz* and Piper’s Temple on the Terrace.



* The Englischergartensitz in the gardens at Wörlitz is included as the middle panel for comparison purposes. This structure will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

A further source of influence for this structure is almost certainly Palladio’s design for the basilica at Vicenza.²⁹⁶ The initial role of the structure was likely to provide sheltered seating. Placing a copy of the *Borghese Vase* in the structure around 1772 elevated the structure in the view of visitors to the status of temple, hence later references to the Temple on the Terrace.

²⁹⁴ Hoare, 1822, p. 66.

²⁹⁵ Overton, 1766, design 16 (see Figure 2.7).

²⁹⁶ Beltramini, G. and Burns, H. (eds.), *Palladio*, Exhibition Catalogue (London, Royal Academy or Arts, 2008), p. 81.

The Temple of the Nymph, also referred to as the Grotto

As previously mentioned, Pococke visited Stourhead on July 2nd, 1754.²⁹⁷ He describes the Grotto as being set with ‘a great variety of spars and christals, and other curious stone’ but makes no mention of any other elements.²⁹⁸ Joseph Spence in his 1765 visitor account focuses largely on the Grotto and his narrative confirms that this was the first garden element he encountered.²⁹⁹ He describes ‘a low, (mysterious) laurel-arching over the path which hides all the front of the Grot’. Later he states that:

When under the laurel-arch, you first discover the entrance to the Grot, at about 16 f before you; & thence go through a close archt passage of 14 f into the Principal circular Room, of 20 f Diameter. Here there is an Opening, coverable with a sort of Curtain when

²⁹⁷ Richard Pococke (19 November 1704 – 25 September 1765) was an English prelate and was the Bishop of Ossory (1756–65) and Meath (1765), both dioceses of the Church of Ireland. However, he is perhaps best known for his travel writings and diaries. Pococke was born in Southampton and educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, receiving a Bachelor of Law degree. His father was the Reverend Richard Pococke and his mother was Elizabeth Milles, the daughter of Rev. Isaac Milles. Pococke's uncle, Thomas Milles, was a professor of Greek. He was also distantly related to Edward Pococke, the English Orientalist and biblical scholar. His family connections meant he advanced rapidly in the church, becoming vicar-general of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore. Pococke visited Italy as part of a Grand Tour made in 1733 and 1734.

²⁹⁸ He describes how ‘On the other side of the water is a very beautiful grotto, with cascades of water at the end falling down in streams about a river God’ (Pococke, 1889, p. 43).

²⁹⁹ Spence (28 April 1699–20 August 1768) was born at Kingsclere in Hampshire. He was educated at Eton and Winchester Colleges and graduated in 1727 from New College Oxford. Spence was ordained in the Oxford Diocese in 1726, the same year as he published an essay on Alexander Pope’s translation of Homer’s *Odyssey*, leading to a friendship between the two men. In 1728 Spence was elected to the post of Oxford Professor of Poetry, a post he held for the next 10 years. From 1730 onward Spence acted as travelling companion to various offspring of the English aristocracy, for example accompanying Charles Sackville, 2nd Duke of Dorset, on the Grand Tour between December 1730 and July 1733. Spence’s principal work in the 1740s was his *Polymetis* (1747) in which he sought to demonstrate a relationship between the works of ancient artists and Roman poets. In 1748 Spence moved to a house in Byfleet owned by Henry Pelham-Clinton. Here he developed his interest in landscape gardening, translating an account of the Emperor of China’s gardens and beginning his own treatise on gardening, ‘Tempe’, although this was unfinished at the time of his death in 1768. Spence travelled to a number of English gardens, including Shenstone’s Leasowes. In 1765 Spence wrote a letter to the Earl of Lincoln describing the gardens at Stourhead (Sambrook, J., ‘Spence, Joseph (1699–1768)’, first published 2004; online edn, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/26/101026111/>, accessed 16th May 2015).

you chuse it, which gives a View to the Lake on the left hand; & the Nymph sleeping over a little Cascade is on your right; the light falls in often very pleasingly upon her from an unseen side window above. There is also an opening in the centre of the Dome or roof; in one view shewing some of the wood above, & in another the sky. You go out of this room thro' a second archt passage; as the former, into An open of 12 f long, before Stour's Cave; where he sits retired within, with his Urn always running with a very pure water. That little opening gives you a View of the Lake to the left, & has a rude sort of staircase on the right. The steps are of unequal widths, & broken in front; they rise winding; & are 23 in number. The Grot is hid here too, on the top of the stairs; & there is a Seat, & Peep to some pretty objects on & near y^e Lake. You descend hence to a soft & pleasing Scenary, which leads you to the Pantheon. This is partly taken from the famous temple of the same name.³⁰⁰

Richard Fenton also provides a detailed account of the Grotto.³⁰¹ He begins with a description of the river nymph figure and comments: 'In a recess on one side, recumbent on a couch of white marble, lies asleep a Naiad, of exquisite

³⁰⁰ Hunt, J.D. and Willis, P. (eds.), *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 1988), p. 272.

³⁰¹ Fenton, R., *A Tour in Quest of Genealogy: Through Several Parts of Wales, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire* (London, 1811). Richard Fenton (1747-1821) was born at St. David's in Wales in 1746 where he received his education at the Cathedral school. He was a topographer and poet, as well as an occasional translator, and was a close friend of both the poet William Lisle Bowes and Sir Richard Colt Hoare. As a topographer he published 'A Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire and his poetic works included a collection simply titled 'Poems' (Leslie, 1889). One visit to Stourhead occurred on November 10-12th 1807. The quoted comments are taken from this account.

workmanship'.³⁰² A similar compliment is offered for the river god figure which is described as: 'Another fine figure to represent the river Deity of the Stour'.³⁰³ Next Fenton describes what in my research represents a unique association for the Grotto when he writes: 'After emerging from this Egerian retreat'.³⁰⁴ This is a reference to the sacred grove of Ægeria which stood by the Roman Porta Capena on the south side of Rome and through which the Via Appia passed. This site, in common with other sites sacred to Ægeria, featured a spring positioned in a natural grotto. This reference is to the story of the nymph Ægeria, who according to Roman myth gave laws of worship to Numa Pompilius, the legendary second king of Rome. Numa was said to have died in 673 BCE and according to Ovid Ægeria was afterwards transformed into a spring.³⁰⁵

It seems that little in the Grotto has changed since the late eighteenth century, as a comparison with the Grotto text of the ninth edition of the Stourhead Guide reveals:

The Grotto is about the most elaborate and complete structure of its kind to survive in England. The winding path descends into what first appears a long straight tunnel, which is subtly illuminated in the Baroque tradition with shafts of light in the openings in the roof and walls. The original building made about 1748, was symmetrical and the pedimented entrance, with its

³⁰² Fenton, 1811, p. 207. Later Fenton quotes from Juvenal (*Satires*, 3.17–20), who offers a view of the relative merits of nymph figures in grottoes: 'Juvenal regretted an earlier phase of architectural elaboration: *Nymph of the Spring! More honour'd hadst thou been, If, free from art, an edge of living green, Thy bubbling fount had circumscribed alone, And marble ne'er profaned the native stone*'.

³⁰³ Ibid, 1811, p. 208.

³⁰⁴ Ibid, 1811, p. 208.

³⁰⁵ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 15.479.

Virgilian inscription, can be seen embedded in later additions of about 1776. In the centre of the tunnel is a vaulted subterranean hall, lit from a dome, with tufa lined walls and a pebble floor.³⁰⁶

The inside of the domed chamber is lined with limestone and tufa, the latter imported by Henry Hoare from Italy.³⁰⁷ The main chamber features the seats promised in the quote from the *Aeneid* above the rock arch entrance to the Grotto: *Intus aquae dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo Nympharum domus* ('Sweet waters and seats of living rock in the house of the nymphs').³⁰⁸ The chamber features a sleeping Nymph statue, purchased from John Cheere in 1756, in front of which is text from Alexander Pope's translation of Cardinal Bembo's words:

Nymph of the grot, these sacred springs I keep,
And to the murmur of these waters sleep.
Ah, spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave,
And drink in silence or in silence lave.

This epigram shown beneath the nymph of the grot is a further feature designed to mirror the antique. The epigram was originally believed to be from the classical Roman period. However, it has been identified by MacDougall as having first appeared in a compilation by Michael Fabricius Ferarinus between in 1477 and

³⁰⁶ Palmer, G., *Stourhead, Wiltshire, 9th Edition* (London, Country Life, 1968), p. 12.

³⁰⁷ Hull and Hull (p. 7) comment that the style of the Grotto at Stourhead is consistent with the typical grotto design built by the building company of Joseph Lane at nearby Tisbury. Whilst there is no documentary evidence that Joseph worked on the Stourhead Grotto, Hull and Hull write that 'it is surely likely' (p. 17). Hull, M. and Hull, G., *Half-forgotten: The grotto work of Joseph Lane (1717-1784) and his son Josiah (1753-1833) of Tisbury, Wiltshire. A Re-Appraisal* (Bath, 2017).

³⁰⁸ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1. 167-8.

1484.³⁰⁹ It was claimed that the epigram appeared under a sculpture of a sleeping nymph in a beautiful fountain on the banks of the Danube.³¹⁰

The Grotto leads through to a second chamber which houses a river god figure. Commentators such as Warner described the male figure as the *Pater Amnis* of the Stour, a reasonable attribution given that the statue was placed at the location of one of the six springs that form the river Stour.³¹¹ As previously discussed, in the Woodbridge *Aeneid* theory of the garden iconography, the statue represents the Tiber. However, there is no evidence that this was the intention of the garden designers and no visitor notes this attribution. Of further note is that the Grotto river god is different in pose to the Tiber statue that Henry would have likely seen in the Vatican statue court. Rather than reclining, the Grotto river god is sitting upright, an unusual pose for ancient Roman river god statues. Woodbridge offered an

³⁰⁹ MacDougall, E.B., *The Sleeping Nymph: Origins of a Humanist Fountain type. Fountains, Statues, and Flowers: Studies in Italian Gardens of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1994) pp. 37-55.

³¹⁰ Ibid, 1994, p. 37. At least two visitors to Stourhead have authored answers to the nymph's entreaties. Richard Llywd, 'the bard of Snowdon', produced the following reply:

Yes, guardian Nymph, thy cave I softly tread,
With veneration view thy tranquil bed;
This tuneful vow from whispering zephyrs take;
I would not for a realm thy slumbers break.

These lines were originally published in Llywd, R., *The Poetical Works of Richard Llywd* (London, Whittaker & Co, 1837), p. 257. Llywd confirms that the lines were 'Written in the Grot, at Stourhead'.

A second verse was reproduced in an 1830 guide to Stourhead (Anonymous, *The Salisbury Guide, Comprising the History and Antiquities of Old Sarum, and the Origin and Present of New Sarum, Or Salisbury* (Salisbury, John Easton, 1830), p. 80. The following reply, by an author described solely as 'Watson', is cited in the guide:

Sleep on, all beauteous Nymph, in holy rest,
My steps prophane shall ne'er thy peace molest,
Nor tremble lest thy dreams unhallowed be,
For sleepy Virgins have no charms for me.

³¹¹ Warner, 1801, p. 107.

explanation for this after viewing a Salvator Rosa exhibition at the Hayward Gallery. He was prompted to suggest that the source for the Stourhead river god was Rosa's painting *The Dream of Aeneas* (see Figure 2.8).³¹² Woodbridge indicates some clear differences but is nevertheless content to see similarities as further evidence for his *Aeneid* interpretation. In his 1965 paper, Woodbridge supposed that the Grotto statue clasped an oar in the right hand, although Colt Hoare specifically states that the figure held a trident.³¹³ Woodbridge assumes that because an oar cannot be fitted in the statue's hand 'it would seem to be that the crooked finger now points in the direction of the Pantheon'.³¹⁴ However, the finger in fact points back towards the nymph's chamber. In any case, as the finger pose was simply part of the needed grip for the trident, further interpretation is not necessary. Rosa's picture was not the only possible inspiration for the Grotto river god. A further possible source is an engraving of the river god Peneus by Hendrik Goltzius, produced for a sixteenth-century copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.³¹⁵ The Goltzius engraving, the Rosa drawing and a photograph of the river god statue are reproduced in Figure 2.8 for comparison purposes.³¹⁶ There are evident differences between all three of the representations. However, the presence of the wooden plaque bearing the quotation from Ovid's tale of Daphne and Peneus offers further context for the possible

³¹² Anonymous, *Salvator Rosa, Exhibition Catalogue* (London, Arts Council, 1973), plate 27.

³¹³ Woodbridge, K., 'The Dream of Aeneas: A Rosa Source for Cheere's River God at Stourhead', *The Burlington Magazine*, 16, 861, 1974, pp. 756+758.

³¹⁴ *Ibid*, 1974, p. 756.

³¹⁵ Henry Hoare owned illustrated versions of the *Metamorphoses* in his library, including, *Ovid's Metamorphoses in latin and english, translated by the most eminent hands. Written in French by the Abbott Banier*, Preface by Sir S. Garth, Amsterdam, 1732, the Library, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 3201447.

³¹⁶ Goltzius, H. (1589), *The river-god Peneus seated on rocks in a waterfall*, Engraving on paper, 15.9 cm × 17.8 cm × 25.5 cm, London, British Museum, 1947, 1022.17. A further possible Grand Tour influence on the design of the river god is Bernini's statue of the Danube river god on the *Fontana dei Quattro Fiumi*.

sources of influence. It is of course possible that Rosa was himself influenced by Goltzius.

Figure 2.8 – Comparison of Stourhead Grotto figure (centre) with Rosa (c.1663-4) figure of Tiber (left) and Peneus by Goltzius (1589)



Much of the guidebook description for the Grotto is borrowed from Horace Walpole's account.³¹⁷ Walpole visited Stourhead at least twice, once in 1762 and then again in 1776, the second time in the company of Robert Adam.³¹⁸ His 1762 account provides a description of the Grotto which he writes is 'charmingly

³¹⁷ Horatio Walpole, 4th Earl of Orford (24 September 1717 – 2 March 1797) was born in London, the youngest son of Sir Robert Walpole, the British Prime Minister. He was educated at Bexley and later at Eton College and King's College, Cambridge. Walpole attended Cambridge until 1738 although he left without a degree. Robert Walpole acquired various government positions for Horace and so guaranteed him a reasonable income. On 29th March 1739 Walpole left for Boulogne to begin the Grand Tour, following a conventional path from Boulogne to Paris and Lyons, entering Italy via Turin venturing as far south as Rome in February 1740 and returning to England on 12th September 1741. Walpole stayed with his father at Houghton Hall after the latter's resignation as Prime Minister. After his father's death in 1745 Horace, in addition to serving as an MP, also developed his interests in art history and antiquities, as well publishing various tracts and the Gothic novel *The Castle of Otranto*. Walpole's interest in the Gothic extended to building his home at Strawberry Hill in the Gothic style. Paul Langford, *Walpole, Horatio, fourth earl of Orford (1717-1797)*. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University press online edition, accessed 10th May, 2015.

³¹⁸ Mrs Lybbe Powys confirms these two gentlemen as the ones who occupied the rooms at the Inn in Stourton, thereby compelling her to find accommodation in nearby Mere. Climenson, E.J., *Passages from the diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys of Hardwick House, Oxon, AD 1756 to 1808* (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1899, pp. 63-64.

designed; and composed of two arched chambers; in a recess of the first is a copy of the sleeping Cleopatra, but without the Asp, to represent a Nymph, and under her, Pope's translation of *Hujus Nympha loci etc'*. Walpole then describes the river god figure as being 'like Neptune, stepping out of a Fount, illuminated from above, to represent the God of the Stour, which river actually rumbles out of his urn; under him are lines of Virgil'. Later accounts, including that of Richard Colt Hoare, attribute these lines to Ovid, and in the Virgil attribution Walpole would appear to be mistaken.

The identity of the nymph is now considered to be Ariadne in repose and is believed to represent her after having been deserted on Naxos by Theseus.³¹⁹ In the sixteenth century the statue had two alternate identities, as i) Cleopatra, through a reading of the armband as a serpent and her body position signifying death; and ii) as a sleeping nymph associated with a fresh water spring.³²⁰ The serpent jewelry is much less pronounced on the Stourhead statue than on the Vatican original, and the same lack of emphasis is evident in William Hoare's painting of the figure that hangs in Stourhead House (see Figure 2.9).³²¹

³¹⁹ Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 187.

³²⁰ Ibid, 1981, p. 186.

³²¹ Hoare, W., *Sleeping Nymph of the Grotto, Ariadne asleep*, Gouache on paper, 1760, Stourhead, National Trust, National Trust Inventory Number 730719.

Figure 2.9 – Hoare, W., *Sleeping Nymph of the Grotto* (1760)



Colt Hoare expresses surprise at the Cleopatra attribution when he writes ‘this figure is modelled from an antique statue at Rome, and, for what reason I know not, called Cleopatra.’³²² Montfaucon in the text accompanying the sketch of the *Sleeping Ariadne* upon which the Stourhead nymph is based, labels the figure ‘Cleopatre’.³²³ This received interpretation perhaps accounts for Walpole’s description. These comments address Hunt’s requirement that any explanation of the Grotto’s origins must explain ‘Walpole’s identification of Cleopatra’.³²⁴

A further possible influence on the selection and siting of the nymph figure was Francisco de Holanda’s 1538-9 picture, illustrating a nymph sleeping in a cave to the

³²² Hoare, 1822, p. 66.

³²³ Unknown, *Sleeping Ariadne*, c.100 CE, Marble statue, Pio-Clementine Museum.

³²⁴ Hunt, 2006, pp. 328-341.

murmuring sound of water.³²⁵ Holanda's drawing (see Figure 2.10) is strongly reminiscent of the Stourhead nymph and the Grotto location.

Figure 2.10 – de Holanda, F., *The Fountain of Cleopatra/Sleeping Nymph* (1538-9)



Fig. 8 Francisco de Holanda, *The Fountain of Cleopatra/ Sleeping Nymph*, 1538–39, Antigualhas, fol. 8v, El Escorial, Library of San Lorenzo (Copyright Patrimonio Nacional)

Holanda likely took for his model the then (1512) recently-excavated nymph statue that was installed as part of a fountain in the Vatican Belvedere statue court. The tableau of a sleeping nymph in a cave with the epigram was a common combination thereafter (even after the epigram was revealed to be a Renaissance forgery), possibly influenced by Ovid's description of Rhea Sylvia in his *Fasti* in which she is

³²⁵ Lazzaro, 2011, p. 76.

described as the image of a girl lulled to sleep by the sounds of water.³²⁶ MacDougall suggests that the inspiration for the tableau may have been Hyginus' tale of Amymone (*Fabulae*, 169), Ovid's account of the same tale, or perhaps Ovid's tale of Byblis.³²⁷ The key features of the Stourhead nymph statue accord with the classical pose, specifically shown as semi-recumbent, head propped on one arm, and legs crossed at the calf or ankle, a pose known as *anapauomenai*.³²⁸ The Stourhead nymph tableau is also set within a rocky grotto, which is consistent with the accounts given of nymphs' homes in both the *Odyssey* (13.102-12) and the *Aeneid* (1.166-68).

The Grotto in an ancient Roman context

Seneca the Younger described how Romans 'worship the sources of mighty rivers; we erect altars at places where great streams burst suddenly from hidden sources' and from various accounts it is clear that they were a common feature of the ancient Roman world.³²⁹ Bowe provides us with a description of grottoes in ancient Roman times:

'Grotto' was the name given to a cave, either natural or artificially constructed, that was adapted as a cool Summer retreat. Shade was the key ingredient of a successful grotto, since it ensured the desired cool atmosphere. Shade was first provided on the approaches to a grotto. For example, a grotto described by the writer Seneca (ca. 4 BC – AD 65) at a villa in Cumae, north of the Bay of Naples, was approached through groves of shady plane

³²⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, 3.11-42.

³²⁷ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 2.240 and 9.452.

³²⁸ Ancient Greek term (*αναπαυόμενος*) for 'resting'.

³²⁹ Seneca, *Epistulae*, XLI, 1.3.

trees. A plantation of Plane trees as well as crossing over a cooling stream marked the approach to the grotto of Cicero's friend Atticus (ca. 110-32 BC). A grotto was preferably oriented away from the sun so that the coolness could be preserved. The two grottoes at Cumae described by Seneca were oriented so that one never received the sun and the other only received a shaft of low sun for a short time before sundown. When the desired northern orientation was not possible, the grotto could be located instead next to a stream or other source of cooling water or by an overhanging tree or group of trees.³³⁰

Bowe's account is a useful physical description, but reference to ancient Roman accounts and grotto commentaries indicate differences in content and opinion. Pausanias describes a natural-sounding grotto near Delphi:

It is of considerable height, and hath several springs within it; and yet a much greater quantity of water distils from the shell and roof, so as to be continually dropping on the ground. The people round Parnassus hold it sacred to the Corycian nymphs and to Pan.³³¹

This describes a natural-sounding grotto, but Juvenal in his poetic satire of Roman structures writes of 'Egeria's vale with its synthetic grottoes'. His account suggests that natural grottoes were embellished with marble, whereas he suggests:

³³⁰ Bowe, P., *Gardens of the Roman World* (Los Angeles, Getty Publications, 2004), pp. 24-25.

³³¹ Pausanias, *Periegesis Hellados*, 10.32.2-7.

How much more effective the fountain's power would be.

Its waters were enclosed by a margin of verdant grass,

And its marble had never desecrated the native tufa.³³²

Like the grotto described in Juvenal's account, the interior of the Stourhead Grotto was lined with imported tufa and was sited over a spring that fed the original fish ponds. As with the Cumean grottoes described by Seneca, the Stourhead Grotto approach is shaded by trees, which has the effect of helping to preserve the cool of the interior and shade the entrance. The Stourhead Grotto is on a north-east to south-west axis. This means that it receives the morning sun and is thus in this respect unlike the grottoes at Cumae described by Seneca. In the vocabulary employed by Rutherford and Lovie the Grotto at Stourhead is a secluded landscape feature and was not intended to be an 'eyecatcher', but instead an edifice that invites the visitor to 'come hither'.³³³

Today there are no lines in front of the river god. However, we know from eighteenth-century accounts that a third quotation was a feature of the Grotto. This is described by Warner in the following terms:

Opposite to the arch by which we depart from the grotto, is a smaller cavern, inhabited by an ancient river god, Pater Stour, I presume... Over the arch in front of this recess hangs a wooden

³³² Juvenal, *Satires*, 3.13-15.

³³³ The term 'eyecatcher' is used to describe a garden element designed to stand out from the landscape so that it captures the attention of the viewer.

tablet, with some lines allusive to this aquatic deity; Haec domus,
haec sedes, haec sunt penetralia magni Amnis; in hoc residens
facto de cantibus antro Undis jura dabat, nymphisque colentibus
undas.³³⁴

This is confirmed by Colt Hoare who writes that ‘Another arched passage, but much shorter, leads to a cavern in front, in which is placed the effigy of a river god, holding an urn in his left hand, and in his right a trident. From the urn issues a copious spring of water, and in front of the cavern are the following lines’, after which he lists the same lines as Warner and confirms that they are taken from Ovid.³³⁵ Turner suggests that there is no evidence to link these lines with Hoare’s lifetime.³³⁶ However, whilst Hanway does not specify the text of the Ovid river god quotation inscription, he states that ‘From the Grotto of the Nymph, we proceeded to that adjoining, which is sacred to the river god Stour and to him are inscribed some Latin verses’.³³⁷ This indicates that the Ovid quote dates from at least as early as 1756. The presence of the same tablet and quotation are confirmed by Rezzonico, showing that the plaque was still in place in 1787. The use of the quotation suggests that the garden designers might have intended a direct reference to the story of Daphne and Peneus as a second layer of interpretation for the Grotto. Further support for this idea is the reference to Daphne in the 1780 poem *A Ride and Walk through Stourhead*:

³³⁴ Warner, 1801, p. 113. This is the dwelling, the mansion, the innermost shrine of the mighty river-god; here he dispenses justice, enthroned in a cave carved out of the rock, to all the waters and nymphs of the waters. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.567.

³³⁵ Hoare, 1822, p. 66.

³³⁶ Turner, 1979, pp. 68-77.

³³⁷ Hanway, 1757, p. 578.

Apollo's defiant fane commends the eye
To feast with greediness. Beauties at hand
Compel me to defend where Daphne cool
Checks and defies Phoebus' youthful Warmth.
Here evergreens in phalanx join to guard
The grove imbrown'd and coy Peneian Nymph³³⁸

This is rare visitor evidence that the composition of the Stourhead Grotto was designed to represent a tableau of the Daphne tale. This story is recounted in book 1 of the *Metamorphoses* (452-567) and is the tale of how Cupid afflicts Apollo with love for the nymph Daphne. Cupid ensures this love is unrequited by shooting Daphne with an arrow that will cause her to dislike Apollo. The god pursues Daphne, intent on ravishing her, and so she calls upon her father, the river god Peneus, to protect her. Peneus hears his daughter's pleas and turns her into a laurel tree to keep her from Apollo's clutches. The *dramatis personae* of this tale from Ovid would appear to be a good fit for the scene created at the Stourhead Grotto, which on this reading would match Peneus with the river god, and Daphne with the sleeping nymph. It is also notable that the entrance to the Grotto is shaded by laurel trees, a further reference to the story. As mentioned above, Spence in his letter to the Earl of Lincoln wrote that 'when under the laurel-arch, you first discover the entrance to the Grot', showing this feature was in place by the time of his visit in 1765.

The foregoing discussion suggests that in contrast to Woodbridge's interpretation of the Grotto as Avernus, it is instead better considered a representation of Ovid's

³³⁸ Anonymous, *A Ride and Walk through Stourhead: A poem* (London, 1780), lines 240-245.

Daphne and Peneus story. The siting of the Grotto directly across the lake from the Temple of Apollo also supports this interpretation. We know that Henry Hoare owned several copies of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and was likely familiar with the tale.³³⁹ Commentators such as Horowitz have described how eighteenth-century translations of Ovid 'were not catering to a specialized audience for neoclassical verse', but were instead 'feeding a consistent demand across the century for Ovidian writing'.³⁴⁰

The Grotto at Stourhead is a copy of the Italian grottoes that were built extensively throughout the Renaissance period and which were themselves heavily influenced by ancient Roman grottoes. In common with Renaissance grottoes, it was not intended as a religious building and is thus an adaptation of classical Roman grottoes. One role of the grotto in the Renaissance and the eighteenth century was to offer physical relief as a place to sit and take cover from the sun, as well as to appeal to the emotions and to delight the senses. In the Temple of Ceres, the chair-like pulvinaria appear to invite visitors to be seated, an action that is strictly at odds with the Cumaean sibyl's edict. Rezzonico specifically points this out in his journal, stating that there are 'two pulvinaria, which invite people who don't know better, to sit down'.³⁴¹ In contrast, the visitor is informed on reaching the Grotto that within are sweet seats and waters. Here visitors are invited to be seated, like the figure in Nicholson's painting of the Grotto (see Figure 2.11).³⁴²

³³⁹ For example, Anonymous, *Ovid's Metamorphoses in latin and english, translated by the most eminent hands. Written in French by the Abbott Banier*, Preface by Sir S. Garth, Amsterdam, 1732, the Library, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 3201447.

³⁴⁰ Horowitz, J.M., 'Ovid in Restoration and Eighteenth-Century England', in Miller, J.F., Newlands, C.E. (eds.) *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid* (John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 2014), pp. 355-369.

³⁴¹ Harrison, 2015a, p. 136.

³⁴² Nicholson, F., *The Grotto or Cave, Interior - on left statue of sleeping nymph*, 1760, Watercolour on paper, 41.0 cm × 46.9 cm, British Museum, 1944,1014.126.

Figure 2.11 – Nicholson, F., *The Grotto or Cave, Interior - on left statue of sleeping nymph* (1760)

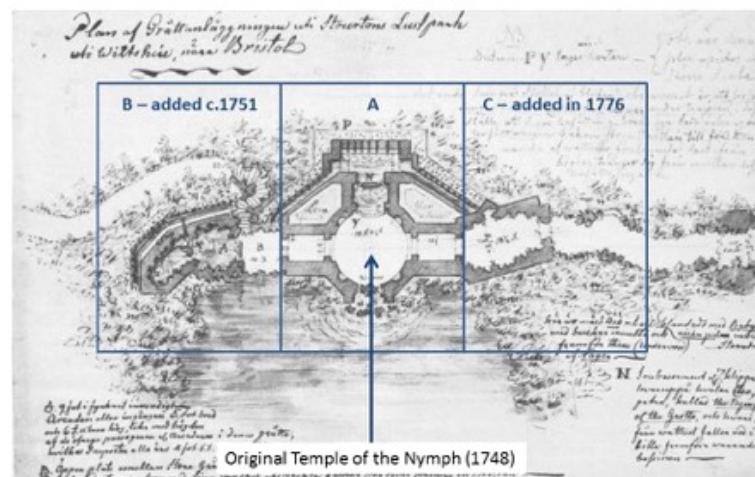


The informality of the Grotto is confirmed by accounts of Henry Hoare bathing in the pool in front of the nymph. During the hot Summer of 1765 he writes of taking ‘A souse in that delicious bath and grot’ which was ‘fill’d with fresh magic, is Asiatick luxury’. He repeated this experience the following Summer, but on this occasion to the sound of music: ‘I had a delicious souse in the cold bath this morning, to the tune of French horns playing round me all the while, belonging to company who lay at our inn & took advantage of a second view...before they decamped’.³⁴³ Henry’s bathing is a further dimension to the tactile nature of the Grotto and an illustration of the informality that occurred in this structure.

³⁴³ Felus, 2016, p. 80.

The development of the Grotto shows a progression from the original Temple of the Nymph (section A of Figure 2.12), augmented in 1751 with the addition of the river god cavern (section B of the figure) and in 1776 the extension of the tunnel leading to the nymph's chamber (section C of the figure). It is helpful to contemplate what the garden designers sought to achieve in building this edifice across a period of 30 years. The initial building, the Temple of the Nymph, was built to house the *Sleeping Ariadne* copy, following in the tradition established with the Temple of Ceres of building an edifice to house a single eponymous figure. Later, in 1751, Henry added the cavern, with its statue of the river god and wooden plaque bearing the quotation from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The inclusion of the wooden plaque, with the juxtaposition of the statues, would appear to be designed to connect the new format of the Grotto with Daphne and her father Peneus in the minds of visitors. This is not to suggest that the river god statue does not represent the river Stour, but instead to acknowledge that the statue has multiple possible interpretations. It is simultaneously the *pater amnis* of the Stour, and a representation of the Roman river god Peneus.

Figure 2.12 - An annotated version of FM Piper's 1779 sketch of the Grotto at Stourhead



Da Vinci writes that, on approaching a grotto, ‘Two contrary emotions arose in me, fear and desire – fear of the threatening dark grotto, and a desire to see whether there were any marvellous thing within it’.³⁴⁴ This view of grottoes persisted into the eighteenth century. The poet Akenside encouraged the reader to ‘Enter-in, O stranger, undismay’d. Nor bat nor toad here lurks’.³⁴⁵ A second eighteenth-century English poet, Thomas Cole, also wrote on the how grottoes invoke quiet and pensive engagement.³⁴⁶ Da Vinci’s view of grottoes is much the same as that of modern garden writers. For example, Rutherford and Lovie suggest that grotto entrances are intended ‘to stir the imagination to fear’ and that they would then ‘encounter a great surprise at the watery, glittery cavern decorated to delight and enrapture in the exact opposite of the expected horror’.³⁴⁷ Prior experience might prepare the visitor for the revelations of a Grotto and render the experience less surprising. However, the designers of the Grotto appear to have added to the structure in an attempt to induce the fear and desire that Da Vinci and later writers describe. The Temple of the Nymph, up to and including the addition of the river god cavern, was relatively well lit. Light was admitted to the edifice through both entrance arches, as well as by the aperture with its view across the lake. The chamber is further illuminated via the oculus and the shaft above the Ariadne nymph figure. Consequently, whilst

³⁴⁴ Leonardo da Vinci, *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, MacCurdy, E. (trans.), Vol. 2 (London, Jonathan Cape, 1938), p. 526. Fenton confirms this effect in his account of the Stourhead Grotto: ‘The entrance into the retreat buried beneath their dark shade, leaving imagination at work to picture what you are to encounter’. Fenton, R. *A Tour in Quest of Genealogy: Through Several Parts of Wales, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire* (London, 1811), p. 206.

³⁴⁵ Akenside, M., *For a Grotto, A collection of poetry* (London, J. Dodsley, 1782), p. 43.

³⁴⁶ Beneath the calm sequestered grove;
Oft design’d my secret steps to lead
Along the dewy pathless mead;
Or up the dusky lawn, to spy
The last faint gleamings of the twilight sky,
Then wilt thou still thy openive vot’ry meet,

Cole, T., *The Grotto: An Ode to Silence* (London, J. Dodsley, 1782), p. 111.

³⁴⁷ Rutherford, S. and Lovie, J., *Georgian Garden Buildings* (Oxford, Shire Library, 2012), p. 59.

resembling a traditional grotto, in its original format the edifice would have been unlikely to elicit the traditional and unexpected sense of apprehension. The addition of the approach tunnel was specifically designed to change the nature of the building, inducing sensory changes in the visitor. The transition from natural light to relative darkness means that visitors on entering the tunnel needed to shift from day-time (photopic) to night-time (scotopic) vision. Jerningham, visiting in 1777, in particular comments on how ‘The entrance was very dark’.³⁴⁸ The pebble stone floor also required careful navigation, especially as it is damp, and therefore slightly slippery. The addition of the tunnel created a gloomy, precarious approach to the nymph’s chamber. The required shift from photopic to scotopic vision meant that many visitors would have passed into the main chamber before their eyes could accommodate to the darkness. Thus, once the tunnel had been built it is unlikely that they would have noticed the *Aeneid* quote over the original entrance. After 1776, what was originally the Temple of the Nymph now more closely resembled a grotto.

In adding the tunnel, the garden designers altered the nature of the experience and in its finished form it more closely resembled the ancient Roman grottoes described by Bowe earlier in this chapter. Henry saw a clear conceptual distinction between the Grotto and the Temple of the Nymph. In 1776, around the time the tunnel was added to the Grotto, he wrote to his daughter Susanna ‘I am upon the entrance to the Grotto to get it finished before you come. It is a spot of such Romantick Pleasure as to strike everybody and nothing here ever delighted me so much’. Evident in this letter is Henry’s continued delight with the Grotto and later in the same letter he writes

³⁴⁸ Bettany, L., *Edward Jerningham and his friends – a series of eighteenth century letters* (New York, Brentano, 1919), p. 18.

that he ‘mounted the Tower Thursday with the Dear children. The Temple of the Nymph is all enchantment to them & the cross new painted fills them with rapture’.³⁴⁹ In this letter Henry makes a clear distinction between the Grotto and the Temple of the Nymph. The explanation for this distinction is that the term Grotto is the overall title for i) the main chamber (the ‘Temple of the Nymph’), ii) the 1776 tunnel, and iii) the river god’s cavern. We have in his letter confirmation that across more than 30 years the title of the main chamber never changed and that the central element of this edifice remained in Henry’s mind the Temple of the Nymph. It is therefore incorrect to suppose that the edifice was renamed ‘the Grotto’, just as the Temple of Ceres was never formally renamed the Temple of Flora. In the next chapter I will consider this possibility for the developments that occurred between 1754 to 1764, and particularly the Temple of Hercules, commonly referred to as the Pantheon.

³⁴⁹ Letter from Henry Hoare to Susanna Hoare, 1776, cited in Woodbridge, 1978, p. 15.

Table 2.1 – Stourhead visitors and their paths through the gardens

Visitor	Jonas Hanway	Mrs Lybbe Powys	John Parnell	Richard Pococke	Richard Warner
Date	June 16th 1757	August 5th 1776	1768	July 2nd 1754	Sept 1st 1801
In order?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
1	House	Bristol Cross	Bristol Cross	Obelisk walk	House
2	Obelisk walk	Greenhouse	Gothic Greenhouse	House	Grotto
3	Grotto	Bridge	Small temple (Flora)	Open temple	Pantheon
4	Pantheon	Pantheon	Neptune statue	Temp of Ceres	Hermitage
5	Temple of Ceres	Temple of Apollo	Grotto	Grotto	Temple of Apollo
6		Temple of Flora	Pantheon	Pantheon	Temple of Flora
7		Turkish Tent	Ruined temple		
8			Temple of Apollo		
9			Turkish Tent		
10			Obelisk walk		

Visitor	Jerningham	Richard Fenton	Anonymous	Thomas Dibdin	Carlo Rezzonico
Date	13 th Sept 1777	November 1807	1766	November 1822	July 1787
In order?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
1	Turkish Tent	House	House	Pantheon	House
2	Circular bridge	Grotto	Apollo Belvedere	Grotto	Turkish Tent
3	Grotto	Gothic cottage	Chinese Pavilion		Palladian bridge
4	Pantheon	Pantheon	Chinese Bridge	House	Grotto
5	Hermitage	Hermitage	Grotto	Temple of Flora	Pantheon
6	Temple Apollo	Bristol Cross	Pantheon	Bristol Cross	Hermitage
7		Temple of Flora	Temple of Apollo		Temple of Apollo
8		Temple of Apollo	Bristol Cross		Temple of Flora
9			Turkish Tent		Bristol Cross
10			Obelisk		Gothic greenhouse

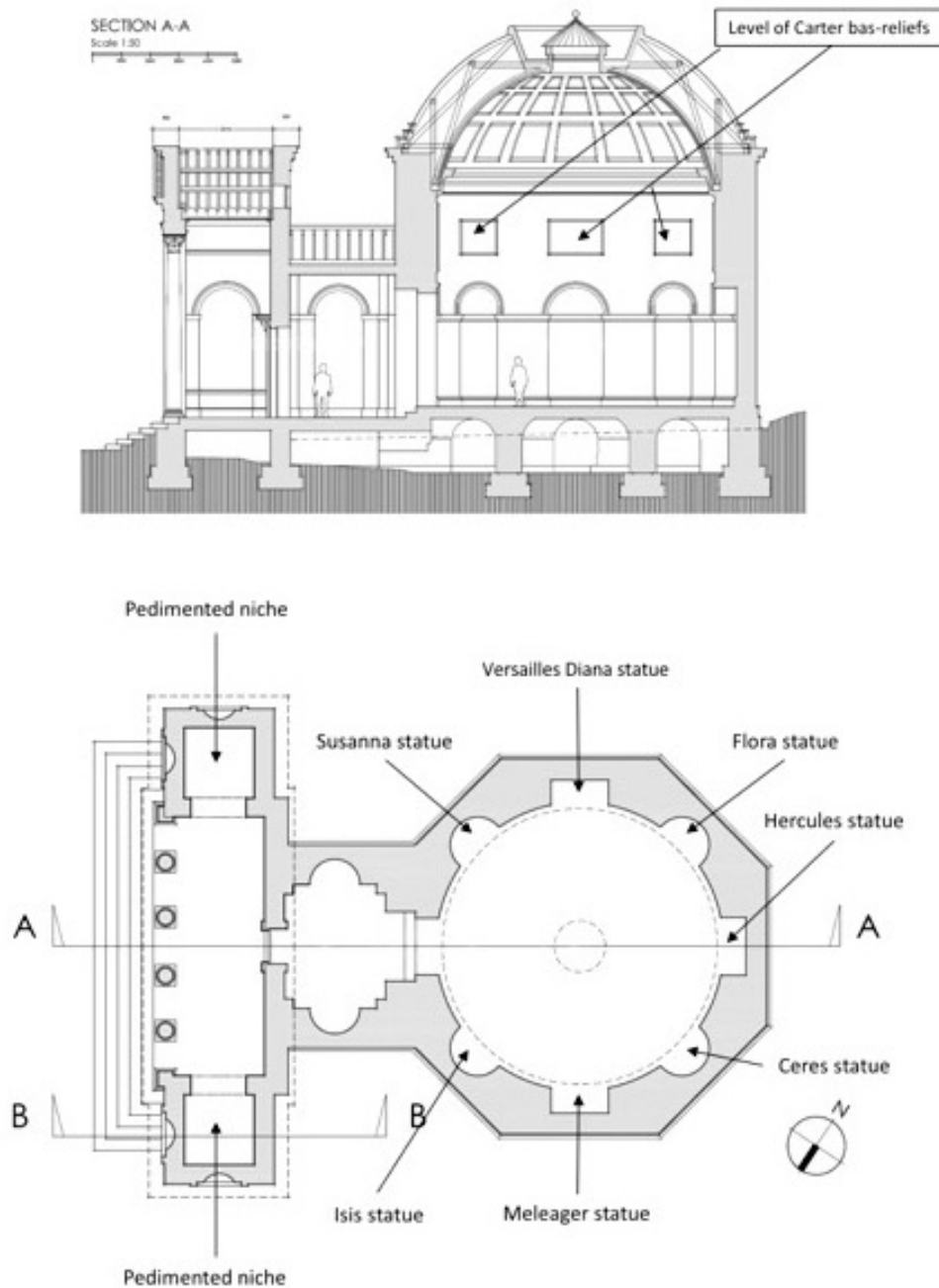
Chapter 3 – The evolution of Stourhead gardens, 1754-1764

In the previous chapter I addressed the history of Stourhead gardens during the first phase of its development from 1743-1753. In this third chapter I will consider developments in the decade that followed. The major theme of the chapter will be visitor reception of the garden elements created during this period and especially the Pantheon. In the course of my research I have located a number of new visitor accounts for this period. The information in these accounts permits a more precise description of the content and evolution of the garden than has previously been reported.

The Pantheon was originally titled the Temple of Hercules, but later referred to by Henry Hoare as the Rotunda. I will discuss issues regarding the veracity of the term Pantheon later in this chapter and I will refer to this building as the Temple of Hercules for here on. The temple is richly decorated and as well as the seven statues, there are four Flitcroft-designed benches and eight decorated bas-relief panels. I will include a detailed consideration of the panels and furniture later in this chapter. The statues receive a good deal of attention and are commonly mentioned by visitors. They also often comment on the edifice itself, typically mentioning its similarity to the Pantheon in Rome. A key theme in my consideration of the gardens' reception is the extent to which garden elements incorporated references to Roman influences. In the next section I will begin by describing the Temple of Hercules and comparing it with the Pantheon in Rome.

The Stourhead Temple of Hercules was built between 1754 and 1756 to a design by Henry Flitcroft. The portico is hexastyle, with six Corinthian columns, and closed bays to the left and right. On either side of the front of the portico are pedimented niches featuring shallower recesses (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1 – Architectural plan of Stourhead Temple of Hercules



The entrance features a large door, leading to a small, rectangular room. Beyond this room, through a set of wrought iron gates, is the main chamber of the building. This contains seven niches, alternately semi-circular and rectangular recesses. Within the niches are statues of marble, lead and plaster, mounted on marble pedestals (see Figure 3.2). Above the bays and the entrance are eight bas-reliefs. Above the bas-reliefs is a frieze of bucrania

and garlands. The dome of the building is coffered with an oculus filled with coloured glass.

Visitor accounts of the temple

The development of the Temple can be constructed from visitor reports, the earliest of which is that of Richard Pococke, who visited on 2nd July 1754. Pococke (1704-1765) was an English clergyman best known for his travel writings and diaries. He describes the temple as ‘the most magnificent building’ and states that the Temple of Hercules is ‘not yet finished, with a grand portico of the Corinthian or Composite order’.³⁵⁰ He continues:

A Colossal Statue of Hercules, which is making in London by Risbrack, is to be placed in the niche opposite to the entrance; in the other niches are to be statues and pulvinars; on each side of the entrance is a small open apartment, to be adorned also with statues.

The later fulfilment of his account suggests that Pococke was privy to accurate information about plans for the temple. He indicates that statues and pulvinars were intended for the niches and entrance hall. Several statues were in place by 1762. However, there is no further reference to the pulvinars and their use seems to have been restricted to the Temple of Ceres. Four extant, Flitcroft-designed benches, decorated by William Hoare of Bath (1707-1792), are the only known furniture in the Temple. Pococke’s account shows that the maximum number of statues planned for the Temple was four, as the Hercules statue occupied one niche and the provision of at least two pulvinars indicates a planned maximum of four other statues.

³⁵⁰ Pococke, 1889, p. 43.

The merchant and travel writer Jonas Hanway (1712-1786) visited Stourhead in approximately 1756. In his account of the Temple he writes: ‘Under the hill, is the temple dedicated to Hercules. This is a rotunda, or Pantheon, calculated to receive in the centre a pedestal of about three feet high; and the figure of this heathen Deity is about eight’.³⁵¹ If we assume that Hanway’s reference to the ‘centre’ indicates the niche opposite the main entrance, this is consistent with Pococke’s 1754 account. An alternative possibility is that ‘centre’ indicated the middle of the temple. However, there is no information with which to adjudicate between these two possibilities. The Hercules statue was signed and dated in 1756 by Rysbrack, suggesting that delivery in that year was likely. Hanway’s account is the second reference to the building as the Temple of Hercules and it seems that the intention was for this building to be dedicated to this semi-divine hero. This is a third example of the convention by which Stourhead temples are named after the focal deity. As discussed in Chapter 2 (p. 75), the first Temple was named after the Ceres statue purchased in Rome. The Grotto building was originally the Temple of the Nymph.

No further visitor accounts are available to us between Hanway’s visit and that of Horace Walpole in July 1762. Walpole provides us with the following account of the statue:

Fronting the entrance, on a lofty pedestal of marble, stands Rysbrack’s Hercules, an admirable Statue; the head taken from the Farnese, and the body composed from the best formed parts of a noted Boxer’s, who practiced before Figg’s amphitheatre was suppressed: It cost four hundred pounds.³⁵²

³⁵¹ Hanway describes the Hercules statue as ‘A beautiful piece of marble work and weighs about 8 tons’. Hanway, 1757, p. 578.

³⁵² Walpole, 1762, pp. 1927-28.

It is evident that by the time of Walpole's visit the interior of the Temple had changed markedly. He informs us that:

On each hand are three Statues, likewise on vast marble pedestals. On one hand Rysbrack's copy of the Flora; but much inferior to the Hercules; the head particularly flat and without grace. Next to him, Lord Leicester's Diana and Bernini's St. Susanna, in jesse. On tother side, an antique Livia, the Drapery fine; the hands modern and not good: then the Antinous and the Isis, in jesse. Over the statues, bas-reliefs. Four benches in the classical style, invented by Mr Hoare of Bath, and painted with the history of Cupid and Psyche. Behind the Hercules, is a large grate of brass to admit heat from a stove, and looking like a grate for nuns in a catholic chapel. In short, few buildings exceed the magnificence, taste and beauty of this temple. The Hercules was finished in 1756; the Flora 1762.³⁵³

Figure 3.2 – Comparison of temple interior in 1784 with modern day



³⁵³ Henry Hoare seems to have taken Walpole's criticism of the Flora statue very seriously. In a letter dated July 17th, 1762, he informs Lord Bruce that 'Mr Rysbrack will return with me after I have stayed about a month in London in order to examine and retouch the Head of Ceres he left unfinished till he saw it in its place with skylight. I beg yours and dear Lady Bruce's thoughts on the enclosed from Mr. Walpole wherein he says the features are too short and compressed'.

A comparison of the Temple of Hercules interior in 1784 with its current content suggests that very little has changed (see Figure 3.2). A curiosity is Walpole's reference to an Antinous figure placed between the Livia Augusta as Ceres and Isis statues. We have no other record of an Antinous statue and it seems likely that it was in fact the Meleager that Stourhead records confirm was paid for on 27th November 1762. Haskell and Penny note that the correct attributions for statues of Adonis, Antinous and Meleager could be difficult to make.³⁵⁴ This overlap is acknowledged by Vout.³⁵⁵ She writes that in the mid-eighteenth century “‘Antinous’ became the codename for a classicizing youth’ in that his identity as an icon relies ‘to a large extent on this similarity to youthful deities such as Dionysus, Apollo or Silvanus, and tragic, eroticized heroes such as Ganymede and Narcissus’.³⁵⁶ Vout writes that mistaking Antinous was likely due to ‘his membership of a larger visual category: that of divine, beautiful, young males (most of whom hunted like him, and died young and beautiful)’.³⁵⁷ Thus statues fitting this description tended to be identified as Antinous, just as ‘a serious-looking man without a beard was a consul, with a long beard a philosopher’, and ‘statues of the kouros-type were classified as Apollo’.³⁵⁸

Walpole also refers to this building as the Temple of Hercules which he describes as:

A large Stone building taken from the Pantheon, except that each end of the Portico is stopped up, and I think not judiciously, with a square tower, with niches and statues. At each end of the Portico is a niche with

³⁵⁴ Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 263. As further illustration of the difficulties of attribution, Burke in 1852 identifies the Meleager copy as Acteon. Burke, J.B., *A Visitation of the Seats and Arms of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Great Britain, Vol. 1* (London, Colburn and Co., 1852), p. 92.

³⁵⁵ Vout, C., ‘Antinous, Archaeology and History’, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 95, 2005, pp. 80-96.

³⁵⁶ Ibid, 2005, p. 83.

³⁵⁷ Ibid, 2005, p. 90.

³⁵⁸ Ibid, 2005, p. 87.

vase, to imitate porphyry; and then thro a vestibule, with a bust on either hand, you enter by a blue iron gate into the Temple.³⁵⁹

One possible source of inspiration for the Stourhead Temple is the distant building included in Francis Harding's painting shown in Figure 3.3.³⁶⁰ The picture was brought to Stourhead from Wavendon, another Hoare family property, by the last family owners, Sir Henry Hugh Arthur Hoare and Alda Weston at some point between 1894 and 1898.³⁶¹ Little is known of the painting's provenance prior to these dates, but it is possible it was in the Hoare family from its creation in 1745. Laing states that this picture is composed of elements taken from the antique architectural capriccios painted by Giovanni Paolo Panini (1691-1765). However, he concedes that 'the form given to the Pantheon appears to be of the artist's own invention'.³⁶² This painting predates the building of the Stourhead Temple by a decade and it is possible that this representation directly influenced the design.

Figure 3.3 - Harding, F., *Architectural Capriccio with the Pantheon and the Maison Carrée* (c.1745)



³⁵⁹ Walpole, 1762, p. 1927.

³⁶⁰ Harding, F., (attributed to), *Architectural Capriccio with the Pantheon and the Maison Carrée* (manner of Panini). Oil on canvas, 72.4 cm x 47 cm (28½ x 18½ in), c.1745, National Trust Inventory Number 732275.

³⁶¹ Laing, A., <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/732275>, accessed 6th May, 2017.

³⁶² Ibid, A., <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/732275>, accessed 15th January, 2017.

Walpole does not list the exterior statues, but based on Rezzonico's account of Stourhead in 1787 it is evident they were copies of the *Venus Anadyomene*, *The Faun of Florence* and a Bacchus (see Figure 3.4 for an artist's impression of the front of the Temple of Hercules c.1787).

Figure 3.4 – An artist's impression of the Temple of Hercules in 1787



Rezzonico also provides a substantial description of the Temple and its contents:

The rural deities worshipped, and on some steps half broken and wet, I got to the stony brow, which is the roof of the cave dwelling Naiads, and thence dropped back to the lake through grass, vegetation and a wide lawn, saw the rising Pantheon portico, round like the example of Agrippa. The order is Corinthian, and four isolated columns and two pillars are supported with dignity, the vestibule and rotunda less

extensive, but very elegant, and all adorned with bas-reliefs, and statues in the niches, among which stands out a Livia Augusta in the figure of Ceres with a bunch of wheat in hand, and superb work. This marble statue cost Mr. Hoare 700 pounds. Beautiful still is the copy of Hercules' apples of the Hesperides in the palm of the hand; Rysbrack when he carved this in 1786 [sic] was able to imitate the Farnese Hercules, emulating Glyco, but varied the pose. The ancient Meleager, Flora, and Diana are always beautiful, when they are reproduced, as here, in their original character. A holy Ursula, a copy of Quesnoy, though why are you here among so many pagan gods? In front there is Bacchus, and Anadyomene, on the side of the temple the Faun of Florence, the other niche is empty.³⁶³

Rezzonico is visiting 25 years after Walpole's first visit, and whilst he fails to comment on the Isis statue, his account confirms that little had changed in the intervening quarter of a century. These accounts indicate that the Temple and its contents have remained largely unchanged up until the present day. The exceptions to this are the now lost exterior niche statues, though the *Faun of Florence* copy appears to have been present until at least 1867.³⁶⁴ A peculiarity from this period regarding the Temple interior is the appearance as represented in Samuel Woodforde's painting (see Figure 3.2).³⁶⁵ Here the Meleager statue is shown on the left. The Diana is still pendant to the Meleager but is shown on the right. It might be that for some period of the Temple's history the Diana and Meleager had their

³⁶³ The statue referred to as Saint Ursula is in fact of Saint Susanna. Both are female saints from the same period and extant statues of them in the eighteenth century are similar in pose and dress. One explanation for Rezzonico's attribution of Ursula is that as a Romano-British saint she was the more likely candidate. Harrison, 2015a, pp. 126-143.

³⁶⁴ Anonymous, 1867-79, p. 78.

³⁶⁵ Woodforde, S., *Interior of the Pantheon, Stourhead*, Oil on canvas, 121.9 cm x 91.4 cm, c.1784, Stourhead House, Wiltshire, National Trust Inventory Number 732271.

positions switched. The other more likely possibility is that Woodforde is mistaken in their placement and has painted them in mirror image.

Of interest are the differing reactions of Walpole and Rezzonico to the presence of the Saint Susanna statue in the Temple. Rezzonico is surprised to find a Christian martyr within a pagan Temple, whereas Walpole makes no special note or criticism of this. This is perhaps because each man's expectations for the combination of statues was different. The Saint Susanna was included amongst arrays of pagan deities in the saloon at Kedleston Hall, as well as in the Marble Hall at Holkham. Walpole had visited both these houses and thus for him the inclusion of Saint Susanna might have been unremarkable, whereas for Rezzonico the inclusion seemed odd. This possible difference in the reception of the Susanna figure might also be explained by the religion of the two visitors. Rezzonico, as a Catholic and cousin to Pope Clement XIII, would perhaps be more attuned to the presence of a Christian martyr and consequently perplexed as to why a pantheon to pagan gods would include this reference. Viewing ancient statues in a Christian context, such as the *Apollo Belvedere* and *Laocoön* in the Belvedere of the Vatican, was relatively commonplace in Italy. Further, Christian churches in Italy were not unusually built using *spolia*, building materials recovered from ancient monuments. Walpole, as an English Protestant, would have had less exposure to these phenomena and would therefore likely have been less mindful of the contrast. Hughes raises this theme in her discussions of a 2nd century CE Antinous statue restored as Ganymede, when she points out that the meaning of an object varies according to context; in the case of the Ganymede 'When the statue travelled from Rome to Protestant England, a new viewing public would have approached the statue with entirely different knowledge and expectations'.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁶ Hughes, 2011, pp. 1-28.

A later Stourhead visitor, Richard Warner comments that ‘the large sum of twelve thousand pounds has been expended in a manner that at once interests the imagination, and pleases the judgment’.³⁶⁷ This provides some detail of the expense that Henry Hoare went to in creating the garden at Stourhead. If the figure of £12,000 is accurate, using the x118 multiplier recommended by Twigger yields an equivalent figure in today’s terms of £1,416,000.³⁶⁸ However, we have no independent verification of the cost, so some caution is required in accepting Warner’s figure. Later in his account of the Temple Warner states that the Livia Augusta was ‘purchased for two thousand guineas’.³⁶⁹ Again we have no independent confirmation of this and this figure is at odds with Rezzonico’s account, in which he states that the Livia Augusta cost 700 pounds.

Provenance and iconography of the Temple statues

In this section I will describe influences upon both the extant and lost Temple statuary, beginning with Rysbrack’s Hercules. I have already described the *Versailles Diana* copy and Livia Augusta as Ceres statues (see Chapter 2) and so in this chapter I will refer to them only with respect to developments after 1753. A challenge in accounting for the numerous Stourhead statues is that many have moved location or are no longer extant. In the following table I have therefore listed the known statues together with details regarding the date of purchase and both their original and current locations.

³⁶⁷ Warner, 1801, p. 103.

³⁶⁸ Twigger, R., *Inflation: The Value of the Pound 1750-1998*, Research Paper 99/20, 23 February 1999, House of Commons, London.

³⁶⁹ Warner, 1801, p. 111.

Table 3.1 – A summary of Stourhead Garden statuary

Statue	Original location	Purchased	Current location
Apollino	Temple of Apollo	1765	West Front of House
Apollo Belvedere	South Lawn	1744	Lost
Bacchus (1)	Pantheon	By 1787	Lost
Bacchus (2)	Temple of Apollo	1765	Front right Pantheon niche
Ceres	Temple of Apollo	1765	Front pediment of house
Faun of Florence	Pantheon	By 1787	Lost
Flora (1)	Temple of Apollo	1765	Front pediment of house
Flora (2)	Temple of Ceres	By 1757	Lost
Flora (Farnese)	Pantheon	1761	Pantheon
Hercules	Pantheon	1756	Pantheon
Isis	Pantheon	1762	Pantheon
Livia Aug. as Ceres	Temple of Ceres	1744	Pantheon
Meleager	Pantheon	1762	Pantheon
Mercury	Temple of Apollo	1765	West Front of House
Minerva	Temple of Apollo	1765	Front pediment of house
Neptune	Temple of Ceres	1765	Lost
Pomona	Temple of Apollo	1765	Front pediment of house
River god (1)	Temple of Ceres	1744	Lost
River god (2)	Grotto	1751	Grotto
Saint Susanna	Pantheon	1762	Pantheon
Sleeping Ariadne	Grotto	1748	Grotto
Venus Anadyomene	Pantheon	By 1787	Lost
Venus Callipygia	Temple of Apollo	1765	Front left Pantheon niche

Versailles Diana	Mount of Diana	1744	Pantheon
Vestal	Temple of Apollo	1765	West Front of House

Rysbrack's Hercules³⁷⁰

During the period of Henry Hoare's Grand Tour the *Farnese Hercules* was on display in the Palazzo Farnese in Rome, adjacent to the *Farnese Flora* statue, as shown in Figure 3.5 and confirmed by visitors of the time.³⁷¹ This is perhaps why the Rysbrack Flora stands next to the Hercules statue in the Stourhead Temple. As discussed, Woodbridge and Malins have offered an alternative reason for their proximity. The *Farnese Hercules* is a late second- or early third-century CE copy by 'Glykon the Athenian' of an earlier bronze original by Lysippus.³⁷² Repairs, including reattaching the head and replacing the legs, were carried out by Guglielmo della Porta in the sixteenth century.³⁷³ Webb recounts both Walpole and Vertue's account of Rysbrack copying the head of the *Farnese Hercules*.³⁷⁴ The figure is posed *contrapposto* in the style of the original, but cross-legged in the style of a then recently discovered statue of Apollo. The cross-legged pose for the Rysbrack statue was likely influenced by Pietro da Cortona's depiction of Hercules being given a crown of foliage by the Hesperides after slaying the dragon Ladon.³⁷⁵ Copper engravings of the da Cortona painting were on show at Stourhead, as well as a terracotta *bozzetto* made by Rysbrack, presumably made to show Henry Hoare the planned design prior to commencement of the Temple statue.³⁷⁶ The limbs, torso and abdomen were not copied

³⁷⁰ Rysbrack, J.M., *Hercules*, 1756, Marble, 185.5 cm (height), Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562911.1.

³⁷¹ 'In the court are several ancient statues of large size, and particularly that known by the name of Hercules Farnese'. 'Near this excellent statue is that of Flora, admired for its beautiful drapery'. Northall, J., *Travels through Italy* (London, 1766), pp. 309-310.

³⁷² Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 230.

³⁷³ Vout, C., *Following Hercules, The Story of Classical Art* (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 2015), p. 6.

³⁷⁴ Webb, M.I., *Michael Rysbrack Sculptor* (London, Country Life Limited, 1954), p. 121.

³⁷⁵ Kenworthy-Browne, J.A., 'Rysbrack, Hercules, and Pietro da Cortona.' *Burlington Magazine* 125, 1983, pp. 216-17+219.

³⁷⁶ Rysbrack, J.M., *Hercules*, 1744, Painted terracotta, 60 cm × 32 cm × 25 cm, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732894; Greuter, J.F., *Hercules, having slain the dragon, being honoured with a crown of*

from the Farnese original but instead modelled on the physiques of various characters, including well-known pugilists.³⁷⁷ Warner provides the details:

The head he borrowed from the Farnesian god, the arms he copied from Broughton, the breast from a noted bruising coachman, and the legs from Ellis the painter.³⁷⁸

Figure 3.5 – Chays, L. *Interior of the Palazzo Farnese* (1775)³⁷⁹



Webb suggests that, by including physical aspects of these eighteenth-century pugilists, Rysbrack's Hercules 'is the monument of those gladiators'.³⁸⁰ However, the idea of copying the best attributes from a variety of models is reminiscent of Cicero's tale of

foliage by the Hesperides (after Pietro da Cortona), 1756, Print, copper engraving on paper, Stourhead, Wiltshire, National Trust Inventory Number 730754.

³⁷⁷ Webb, 1954, p. 121.

³⁷⁸ Warner, 1801, p. 18.

³⁷⁹ Chays, L., *Interior of the Palazzo Farnese* Pen and brown ink, brown wash, pencil and white gouache, 43.4 cm × 53.4 cm, 1775, Kunstbibliothek, Berlin, Hdz 3027.

³⁸⁰ Webb, 1954, p. 121.

Zeuxis.³⁸¹ Cicero recounts how the painter Zeuxis was hired by the citizens of Croton to produce a painting of Helen of Troy for their Temple of Juno. To produce the best possible depiction of Helen, he chose as models five beautiful virgins, and selected various of their attributes as the template for his Helen of Troy figure. The account of Rysbrack copying various boxer attributes for his Hercules statue may of course be true. Alternatively, Warner might have included this story as an homage to Cicero's tale.

As already noted, this building was originally titled the Temple of Hercules and it may have been a celebration of strength in the same way that the Temple of Ceres may have been a celebration of remembrance and rebirth, the Temple of the Nymph of beauty, and the later Temple of Apollo, of wisdom and the arts. Hercules' physical strength was a key feature of the twelve labours set him by King Eurystheus as penance for Hercules having killed his wife and children whilst drunk. Pseudo-Apollodorus lists the labours completed during his twelve years of service in the following order:³⁸²

1. Slay the Nemean Lion
2. Slay the nine-headed Lernaean Hydra
3. Capture the Ceryneian Hind
4. Capture the Erymanthian Boar
5. Clean the Augean stables in a single day
6. Slay the Stymphalian Birds
7. Capture the Cretan Bull
8. Steal the Mares of Diomedes
9. Obtain the girdle of Hippolyta, the Queen of the Amazons

³⁸¹ Cicero, *De Inventione*, 2, 1.

³⁸² Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.1-2.5.12.

10. Steal Geryon's cattle
11. Steal the apples of the Hesperides
12. Capture Cerberus

Rysbrack copies the Farnese original in depicting Hercules wearing the leonté lion-skin, taken as a trophy from the Nemean lion, and holding the apples of the Hesperides. This suggests that at the point of depiction the hero has completed at least the eleventh task, and possibly all twelve. Rysbrack is thus representing Hercules after having completed his labours.

In addition to the attribute of strength represented in the physique, Hercules also exemplified moral strength in choosing a life of industry and virtue over one of indolence and vice. This theme is illustrated in the Poussin painting that still hangs in Stourhead house and which was purchased from the Duke of Chandos by Henry Hoare in 1747 (see Figure 3.6). Hercules is stood between two female characters in a stance similar to that of the Farnese Hercules statue. On his right is the figure of Vice, accompanied by Cupid, who offers Hercules a posy of flowers. Vice is dressed in revealing orange robes and is pointing with her left hand to a lateral path. This flat route is easily negotiated, representative of an easy path through life. In contrast, the figure of Virtue is dressed more modestly in white robes. She points to a rocky ascent, a symbolic representation of taking the harder life path, full of challenges and labours, but with the promise of rewards once they have been completed and overcome. The painting is composed so that Hercules is looking at the figure of Virtue, indicating his selection of the harder path.

As discussed in Chapter 1 (pp. 60-62), Charlesworth highlights the importance of the Choice of Hercules story in eighteenth-century Britain. He writes that 'The major reason

for it to be so well-known and well-used was that versions of it featured in the curricula of many schools'.³⁸³ Wasserman also writes that Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, in which the story is included, was a set book in eighteenth-century schools.³⁸⁴ Its role was as a moral story in which the young Hercules is presented with a choice of living a life of vice or virtue.

Figure 3.6 – Poussin, N., *Choice of Hercules* (1636-7)



Hercules' choice in choosing the latter over the former was commonly offered to eighteenth-century audiences for contemplation. Jonathan Swift, writing as 'Isaac Bickerstaff Esq.', offers the following commentary on this tale:

³⁸³ Charlesworth, 1989, p. 71.

³⁸⁴ Wasserman, E.R., 'The inherent Values of Eighteenth-Century Personification', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 65, 1950, p. 438.

That noble Allegory which was written by an old Author called Prodicus, but recommended and embellished by Socrates. It is the Description of Virtue and Pleasure, making their Court to Hercules under the Appearance of two beautiful Women.³⁸⁵

Henry Hoare would almost certainly have been aware of this allegorical story and this may have influenced his decision to purchase the Poussin canvas in 1747. It might also have influenced him to dedicate a temple in his garden to this example of physical and moral strength.³⁸⁶ Henry may have seen the tale's depiction by Annibale Carracci on a visit to the Palazzo Farnese.³⁸⁷ The Carracci version was a likely source for the de' Matteis painting commissioned by Anthony Ashley-Cooper, the third Earl of Shaftesbury (see Figure 3.7).³⁸⁸ Shaftesbury had previously set out his thoughts on how the allegory should be represented, with a particular concern for the specific moment at which Hercules' encounter with Vice and Virtue should be depicted.³⁸⁹ The theme of a dilemma delivered by competing protagonists was a common representation in the eighteenth century. Reynolds in 1761 employed this artistic trope when he painted the actor David Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy (see Figure 3.8).³⁹⁰ Angelica Kaufmann, whose work was commissioned by the Hoares and displayed at Stourhead, also experimented with this trope, depicting herself between the arts of Music and Painting (Figure 3.9).³⁹¹ Painting,

³⁸⁵ Bickerstaff, I., *The Tatler*, Number 97, November 19th, 1709.

³⁸⁶ Henry might also have read Robert Lowth's poem on the topic and perhaps attended a recitation of Handel's oratorio which employed Lowth's poem as the libretto. Lowth, R., *The Judgment of Hercules: A Poem (1743)* (Kessinger Legacy Reprints, London, 2010). Handel, G.F., *The Choice of Hercules*, HWV 69 (London, 1750).

³⁸⁷ Carracci, A., *The Choice of Hercules*, 1596, Oil on Canvas, 16.6 cm × 23.7 cm, Capodimonte Gallery, Naples.

³⁸⁸ de' Matteis, P., *The Choice of Hercules*, 1713, Oil on canvas, 198.2 cm × 256.5 cm, The Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, Oxford, A1116.

³⁸⁹ Ashley-Cooper, A., *Historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules, according to Prodicus* (London, 1713).

³⁹⁰ Reynolds, J., *David Garrick (1716-1779) between Tragedy and Comedy*, 1760-1, Oil on canvas, 183 cm × 147.6 cm (height), Waddesdon Manor, Aylesbury, Accession number 102.1995.

³⁹¹ Kauffman, A., *Self-portrait of the Artist hesitating between the Arts of Music and Painting*, 1794, Oil on canvas, 147 cm × 215 cm, Nostell Priory, West Yorkshire, National Trust Inventory Number 960079.

her eventual career choice, points the way to the temple of Glory, a circular temple high on the hills in the background. This is a theme I will return to again in Chapter 4 when discussing the Temple of Apollo.

Figure 3.7 – de' Matteis, P., *The Choice of Hercules* (1713)



Figure 3.8 – Reynolds, J., *Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy* (1760-1)



Figure 3.9 – Kauffman, A., *Self-portrait of the Artist between Music and Painting* (1794)



Rysbrack's Flora³⁹²

This statue is based on the *Farnese Flora* which, like the *Farnese Hercules*, was found in the Baths of Caracalla. The flower wreath and garlanded right hand on the *Farnese Flora* are sixteenth century additions by Guglielmo della Porta, who restored the statue based on the belief that it depicted Flora.³⁹³ Stourhead records contain a copy of the document describing the commissioning of this statue (see Figure 3.10). The order is dated March 14th, 1759 and lists an 'on account' payment of £200 made on 9th December 1760. The statue was in the Temple by the time of Horace Walpole's visit in July 1762, indicating that it had been delivered some time in 1761 or early 1762. Walpole was critical of the statue's facial features, something that Henry Hoare sought to correct. Henry's letter to Lord Bruce dated 17th July 1762 includes the following text:

³⁹² Rysbrack, J.M., *Flora*, 1760-2, Marble, 179 cm (height), Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562912.1.

³⁹³ Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 218.

Mr Rysbrack will return with me after I have stayed about a month in London in order to examine and retouch the Head of Ceres (sic) he left unfinished till he saw it in its place with skylight. I beg yours and dear Lady Bruce's thoughts on the enclosed from Mr. Walpole wherein he says the features are too short and compressed.

A terracotta *bozzetto* for the Temple statue was made by Rysbrack and a comparison of the figures (see Figure 3.11) indicates differences in the facial features.³⁹⁴ This suggests that Rysbrack made changes after seeing the statue *in situ*, as well as possibly in response to Walpole's criticism.³⁹⁵

Figure 3.10 – Order detailing Flora commission

1759.
March 14th Agreed with The Hon^{ble} Henry Hoare Esq^r by Michael Rysbrack Statuary.
To make a Figure of Flora in Statuary Marble from the Antique.

1760
Dec^r 9th Rec^d of The Hon^{ble} Henry Hoare Esq^r the sum of Two Hundred Pounds, upon account of the Flora. 200.00.00
Received by Mich^l Rysbrack

13

³⁹⁴ Rysbrack, J.M., *Flora*, 1759, Terracotta, 57.3 cm (height), Victoria & Albert Museum, London, A.9-1961.

³⁹⁵ Kenworthy-Browne also notes differences between the Temple of Hercules marble statue and the terracotta bozzetto (Kenworthy-Browne, 1983, p. 219).

Figure 3.11 – Comparison of the heads from Rysbrack’s marble and terracotta versions of the *Farnese Flora*



Henry’s mention of Rysbrack leaving the head unfinished is intriguing. It suggests that this element of the statue was left incomplete so that it could be finished with the benefit of knowing the environmental characteristics of the Temple and its oculus, and how they would impact on viewing the statue. One explanation of Henry’s response to Walpole’s criticism is that he was pretending that the statue was deliberately left unfinished in order to save face. Alternatively, it might have indeed been the plan to make alterations to the statue once it was in place at Stourhead. If the former explanation is correct, this is evidence of the extent to which Henry wished to impress Walpole.

In Chapter 2 I noted that the Livia Augusta as Ceres statue had been moved to the Temple from the Temple of Ceres. This seems to have occurred at some point between 1757 and 1762. If it was the intention of the garden designers to recreate the Choice of Hercules in statuary, then it would have been necessary to augment the Hercules and Livia with a representation of Vice. The commissioning and delivery of the Flora statue occurs between 1757 and 1762 and it is therefore perhaps the case that it was specifically commissioned to create a Choice of Hercules tableau.

Meleager³⁹⁶

The statue of Meleager is a copy or cast of the *Pighini Meleager*.³⁹⁷ This depiction of Meleager shows the character as a hunter armed with a spear alongside a tree-trunk support upon which is a boar's head. This is likely the Calydonian boar that was hunted by Meleager and Atalanta.³⁹⁸ Hughes has described this depiction of Meleager as having 'a particularly Ovidian flavour, since the boar's "head of doom and death" forms the centre point of the myth as related in the *Metamorphoses*, and, together with the boar's hide, is the catalyst for the tragedy that follows'.³⁹⁹ We have one example of a visitor confirming this attribution.

Figure 3.12 – Comparison of the Stourhead and *Pighini Meleager* statues



³⁹⁶ Cheere, J., *Meleager*, 1762, Plaster, 208 cm (height). Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562914.1.

³⁹⁷ The possibility of the statue being made from Brettingham's casts is consistent with Kenworthy-Browne's theory regarding the statue's origins. He reports that a cast of the *Pighini Meleager* was amongst the casts listed in Brettingham's account book. The two statues are of approximately the same height, and so it is reasonable to suppose that the Stourhead version is a cast of the original.

³⁹⁸ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8.425.

³⁹⁹ Hughes, 2011, p. 23.

The Reverend Francis Skurray, a nearby landowner and vicar at Horningsham, writes in the Stourhead section of his *Bidcombe Hill* poem:

There Meleager boasts
His conquest o’ver the Calydonian boar,
And bears its head, the emblem of his spoil.⁴⁰⁰

The Stourhead Meleager statue is opposite the lead *Versailles Diana* copy. The goddess Diana is also a protagonist in this tale, as it was she who set loose the Calydonian Boar in retribution for King Oeneus’ failure to honour her for a successful harvest. The boar was finally slain by Meleager, and later in the tale he is himself killed.⁴⁰¹ It is possible that the placement of the Diana statue is deliberately pendant to the Meleager. The *Pighini Meleager* was well-known to British Grand Tourists, largely due to Lord Arundel’s many unsuccessful efforts to buy the statue in 1636.⁴⁰² Versions of the statue could be seen at other British locations, including Robert Adams’ great hall at Kedleston.⁴⁰³ At the time of Henry Hoare’s visit to Rome the original statue was on display in the Palazzo Pighini, situated opposite the Palazzo Farnese.

What was the appeal for the Stourhead garden designers of having a Meleager statue in the Temple? Gordon speculates that the positions of Diana and Meleager may have been based on the pairing at Ray Wood in Castle Howard, a garden that she points out was partially financed by Hoare’s bank.⁴⁰⁴ The National Trust website specifies that the statue is pendant to the *Versailles Diana* copy, presumably on the basis that the two characters are linked by

⁴⁰⁰ Skurray, 1824, pp. 165-6.

⁴⁰¹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8.260-328.

⁴⁰² Lassels, R., *The Voyage of Italy* (Paris, 1679), p. 224

⁴⁰³ Cheere, J., *Meleager*, 1762, Plaster, 208 cm (height). Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, National Trust Inventory Number 109007.

⁴⁰⁴ Gordon, 1999, p. 227.

the story of the Calydonian Boar.⁴⁰⁵ This is perhaps also the inspiration for the pairing at Castle Howard. A further factor in the selection of the *Pighini Meleager* copy was its availability in the Cheere catalogue. Other figures, including Adonis and Actaeon, were linked with Diana in myth, but were perhaps not so readily obtained. An additional influence might be Meleager's prowess as a hunter. As I shall discuss, hunting is a theme of the Temple bas-reliefs, suggesting an affinity between these selections and the interests of the garden designers.

Saint Susanna⁴⁰⁶

As previously observed, the Saint Susanna statue in the Temple is at first glance an odd inclusion. The statue was purchased from John Cheere at the same time as the other plaster statues, the Meleager, and the Isis. The Duquesnoy original of which it is a copy was completed in March 1633. Thereafter the statue was placed on display in the church of Santa Maria di Loreto in Rome.⁴⁰⁷ It was placed in a left hand-side niche of the chancel together with three other statues of virgins. The statue was widely admired soon after its installation and Bellori in his *Lives of the Modern Painters* singled out Duquesnoy for producing a statue that met the quality of antique Roman sculpture.⁴⁰⁸ Inclusion of a Saint Susanna statue, a Christian martyr, seems incongruous in a temple otherwise populated by pagan deities and heroes. As discussed in the previous chapter (p. 76), the suggestion that the statue was selected as a memorial to Henry Hoare's second wife Susan, seems unlikely to be the case.

⁴⁰⁵ <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/562914.1>, accessed 15th October, 2017.

⁴⁰⁶ Cheere, J., *Saint Susanna*, 1762, Plaster, 203.5 cm (height). Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562915.1

⁴⁰⁷ Lingo, E.C., *Francois Duquesnoy and the Greek ideal* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007), p. 148.

⁴⁰⁸ In fact, Bellori was fulsome in his praise, writing that 'The perfection of this statue consists principally in its drapery'. Lingo, 2007, p. 140.

It is important to note that we have no documentary evidence for the purchase of this statue. It seems likely that it was part of a group purchased from John Cheere, paid for around 12th November 1762, and described in the Hoare private accounts as ‘Meleager and others’, for which Henry Hoare paid £23 15s. At the time of purchase John Cheere was typically charging c.£8 for a single plaster statue and the cost therefore suggests the acquisition of three statues at a cost of c.£8 per piece. It seems likely that the three statues in this order were the Meleager, Isis and Saint Susanna. We have no commentary from Henry Hoare on the purchase of this statue and for identification we are entirely reliant on visitor accounts. Walpole identifies the statue as Saint Susanna, but other visitors, including Rezzonico, make different identifications. John Thelwall, visiting on 6th July 1797, describes the statue as ‘Peace’.⁴⁰⁹ Elizabeth Berkeley, fourth Duchess of Beaufort, visiting in July 1762 lists the usual six statues but describes the statue as ‘Wisdom’.⁴¹⁰ Thus there is some inconsistency in the attributions that deserves further attention. A comparison of the Stourhead temple statue with that of the original Saint Susanna shows the two are very similar (see Figure 3.13) and it might be that the Stourhead statue was produced from a Matthew Brettingham mould of the original.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁹ Thelwall, J., ‘A pedestrian excursion through England and Wales, during the Summer of 1797’, *The Monthly Magazine*, 77, 1801, p. 105.

⁴¹⁰ Harris, J., ‘The Duchess of Beaufort’s Observations on places’, *Georgian Group Journal*, 10, 2000, p. 41.

⁴¹¹ Kenworthy-Browne, J., ‘Designing around the statues. Matthew Brettingham’s casts at Kedleston’, *Apollo*, April 1993, pp. 248-252.

Figure 3.13 – Original, Stourhead and Kedleston Saint Susanna statues



There is a lack of fine detail on the Stourhead version as compared with the original, especially with regard the drapery. This might be due to progressive degradation of the mould through repeated use. If this is a copy of the Duquesnoy *Saint Susanna*, why were other attributions made? To begin with John Thelwall's comment, a comparison of the Stourhead Saint Susanna and a statue of Eirene, the Greek equivalent of the Roman goddess Pax, indicates only slight similarities (see Figure 3.14). However, a comparison of the Stourhead statue with that of the Pax statue at Pavlovsk indicates greater concordance. The attribution of Wisdom is an intriguing one. It is possible that Elizabeth Berkeley saw similarities between the Stourhead statue and representations of Minerva depicted in aspects other than the Promachos. By the time both Thelwall and Berkeley visited Stourhead, the temple was routinely referred to as the Rotunda. Interpretation of the statue's identity in this context might reasonably have been restricted in the visitor's mind to Roman deities. This might account for why Burke identified the same statue as being Juno.⁴¹² Visitor attributions vary significantly, indicating that the Saint Susanna statue

⁴¹² Burke, 1852, p. 92.

possessed attributes that were sufficiently ambiguous to allow for multiple identity interpretations to be made.

Figure 3.14 – Comparison of Pax with *Saint Susanna* statue



Isis⁴¹³

The statue of Isis, sometimes labelled a priestess of Isis, is a copy of the statue in the Capitoline museum in Rome.⁴¹⁴ The statue was almost certainly purchased at the same time as the plaster Meleager and Saint Susanna statues. The original statue was found in the ruins of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli after which it was moved to the Capitoline.⁴¹⁵ The Stourhead version is almost precisely the same height as the original, as well as being physically very similar (see Figure 3.15). It is therefore possible, as might be the case with the Saint Susanna, that the Stourhead version was cast from a mould of the original owned by Matthew Brettingham. This is certainly the view of Kenworthy-Brown, who lists the

⁴¹³ Cheere, J., *Priestess of Isis/Isis*, 1762, Plaster, 188 cm (height). Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562916.1

⁴¹⁴ Unknown, *Statue of Isis*, Hadrianic period (117-138 CE), Marble, 179.5 cm (height), Albani Collection, Musei Capitolini, Inventory number MC0744.

⁴¹⁵ Tivoli was a popular Grand Tour destination in the early eighteenth-century. Wilton, A., Bignamini, I., *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (Tate Gallery Publishing, London, 1996), pp.141-3.

Priestess of Isis figure amongst the twelve casts accounted for in Brettingham's Account Book.⁴¹⁶ Inspection of the original and the Stourhead version show a loss of detail on the latter, consistent with repeated casting using the same mould. There are several extant versions of the Cheere Isis, including copies at Saltram and Kedleston, as well as one in the Los Angeles County Museum.⁴¹⁷ The statue is a close copy of the original and is shown with the same regalia.⁴¹⁸

Figure 3.15 – Comparison of *Capitoline Isis* statue with Stourhead version



In contrast to the substantial corpus of knowledge regarding Greek and Roman antiquities,

⁴¹⁶ Kenworthy-Browne, 1993, pp. 248-252.

⁴¹⁷ Cheere, J., *Isis/A Priestess of Isis*, c.1756/8, Plaster, 184 cm (height), Kedleston Hall, National Trust Inventory Number 108994; Cheere, J., *Isis/A Priestess of Isis*, c.1756/8, Lead, Saltram, National Trust Inventory Number 872424.2; Cheere, J., *The Capitoline 'Isis'*, 1767, Plaster, 195 cm (height), Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Inventory number M.62.57.2.

⁴¹⁸ The figure holds a sistrum in the right hand. Sistra are bronze or brass percussion instruments comprised of a handle and a U-shaped frame. When the sistrum is shaken small metal rings on the crossbar rattle. In ancient Egypt it was employed as a ritual instrument and was associated with Bastet, as well as with Isis. In the figure's left hand is a situla. These ritual jugs take their name from the Latin for bucket and the example here has a rounded shape, with a small peak on the very bottom. These characteristics have prompted some commentators to suggest they are symbolic of the female breast and when carried by Isis were said to contain water from the Nile, symbolic of milk with which the lands of the Nile delta were nourished by the annual flood. Situla were given as votive offerings and have been found in Temples of Isis across the Roman Empire.

very little information regarding ancient Egypt was available in the early eighteenth century. There was little access until Napoleon invaded in 1798 and so consequently the reception of ancient Egypt in the early eighteenth century was largely through the filter of Roman reception. Isis is a substantial figure in *The Golden Ass* by Apuleius, in which the goddess is the focus of the eleventh final chapter.⁴¹⁹ Isis is introduced as the Queen of Heaven who explains to Lucius how he can return to human form.⁴²⁰ Thereafter he returns to Rome and is there initiated into the cult of Isis.

The Golden Ass was well-known in eighteenth-century Britain. This tale is cited as the original 'Ass-Novel', what Doody refers to as stories of negative metamorphosis.⁴²¹ Adams states that 'The Golden Ass is listed as an original example of the "anti-novel"', i.e. those featuring anti-heroes, such as Lucius' and that Apuleius' book, with its episodic ('picaresque') structure had inspired books such as *Moll Flanders* and *Tristram Shandy*.⁴²² Doody confirms that *The Golden Ass* was 'readily available - at least to readers of Latin - from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries'.⁴²³ Carver confirms that prior to the eighteenth century the novel had a continuous influence from antiquity through to the Renaissance.⁴²⁴ The influence of the *The Golden Ass* extended to an updated version written by Charles Gildon, thereby making the tale accessible to non-Latin speaking

⁴¹⁹ Apuleius, *Asinus Aureus*, 11.

⁴²⁰ In *The Golden Ass* tale, the princess Psyche is so beautiful that she is worshipped in preference to Venus, whose daughter she is rumoured to be. Venus takes offence at this and charges Cupid with making Psyche fall in love with something hideous. However, Cupid scratches himself with his own dart and falls in love with Psyche. She is taken to Cupid's house and shares his bed, though is not permitted to know his identity. Psyche is provoked by her sisters into finding out the identity of her partner. On discovering Cupid, he flees and she is cast out. Venus then sets Psyche three tasks, including an encounter with Ceres. Ultimately Psyche is given ambrosia to make her immortal and as his equal is permitted to wed Cupid. The story concludes with a huge wedding feast attended by gods, the Muses and the Horae.

⁴²¹ Doody, M.A., (2000) 'Shandyism, Or, the Novel in its Assy Shape: African Apuleius, The Golden Ass, and Prose Fiction', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 12, 2-3, pp. 435-457.

⁴²² Adams, P.G., The anti-hero in eighteenth-century fiction, *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 9, 1, 1976, pp. 29-51.

⁴²³ Doody, 2000, p. 439

⁴²⁴ Carver, R.H.F., *The Protean Ass: The Metamorphoses of Apuleius from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007).

British readers.⁴²⁵ This tale was well-known in eighteenth-century Britain and representations are found in sculpture, paintings, drawings and wall-hangings.⁴²⁶ Many of these representations were based on a stylised Roman representation of the type depicted on the Cupid and Psyche sarcophagus at Cliveden.⁴²⁷

The other principal source of Isis reception myth from ancient Rome was Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*.⁴²⁸ Richter writes that this is largely a philosophical tract, but that it contains 'a fairly full discussion of the Egyptian cult of the goddess Isis and her consort Osiris as it existed in the Pharaonic era'.⁴²⁹ Plutarch's treatise was available in the eighteenth century to a readership that would have included Henry Hoare and his contemporaries.⁴³⁰ We know that Henry was interested in this period of Roman history from his commissioning of the Mengs painting of Octavian and Cleopatra in 1759. It is also possible that Henry would have seen in Rome surviving artefacts from the 43 BCE *Isaeum Campense*.⁴³¹ At the time of Henry's visit to Rome Egyptian artefacts were on public view, including an obelisk from the dromos of the Isaeum that had been set up in Piazza della Rotonda in 1711.⁴³² Henry is almost certain to have seen the Egyptian obelisk in Piazza del Popolo, which from 1589 was a feature of the piazza.⁴³³ This Egyptian obelisk was carved during the reigns of Sety I and Rameses II and originally stood in

⁴²⁵ Gildon, C., *The New Metamorphosis; or, The Pleasant Transformation: being the Golden Ass of Lucius Apuleius of Madaura, Alter'd and Improv'd to the Modern Times and Manners* (London, 1708).

⁴²⁶ e.g. Unknown, *Cupid and Psyche*, c.1749, Rome, Marble sculpture, Ickworth, Suffolk, National Trust Inventory number 852240.3; Fagan R., *Cupid and Psyche*, 1793-5, Rome, Oil on canvas, 1200 x 1048 mm, Attingham Park, Shropshire, National Trust Inventory Number 609098.

⁴²⁷ Unknown, *The Cupid and Psyche Sarcophagus*, 150-200 CE, Marble, Cliveden Estate, Buckinghamshire, National Trust Inventory Number 766188.

⁴²⁸ Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*.

⁴²⁹ Richter, D.S., 'Plutarch on Isis and Osiris: Text, Cult, and Cultural Appropriation', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 131, 2001, pp. 191-216.

⁴³⁰ Plutarch, *Vitae Antonius*, 54, 9. Plutarch's *Life of Antony* had been translated by John Dryden and would also have been available to the reading public. Isis in this book was referenced solely in the context of the context of Cleopatra's public appearances after the birth of Caesarion where she 'assumed a robe sacred to Isis, and was dressed as the New Isis'.

⁴³¹ The Isaeum Campense was a Roman temple of Isis, one part of a double temple to Isis and Serapis that stood on the Campus Martius.

⁴³² Curl, J.C., 'Egypt in Rome – an introductory essay I: Isis, obelisks, and the Isaeum Campense', *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews*, 25, 1, 2000, 53-64, DOI: 10.1179/isr.2000.25.1.53.

⁴³³ Curl, 2000, p. 56.

Heliopolis. As observed earlier, Piper states that the Stourhead obelisk was modelled on this Egyptian original.

Inclusion of the Isis statue at Stourhead was perhaps a deliberate attempt by the garden designers to recognize the importance of Egyptian influences in the ancient world, and especially on Rome. Humbert writes that:

A ‘new Isis’, the product of the philosophy of the Enlightenment, appeared in the second half of the eighteenth century, when there was considerable debate over the place, the role and the importance of Egypt in the development of Western civilisation. What better representation can there be than Isis, of this ideal of purity to which all enlightened minds aspired? The motivations and the manifestations of this theme are very varied, but the results seem to be remarkably concordant throughout a most diverse range of incarnations of Isis. An Isis in the garden at Stourhead is exemplary in this respect.⁴³⁴

Selection of the Isis statue might have reflected this intention at Stourhead, as well as the other properties featuring copies of this statue. However, the combination of the *Capitoline Isis* statue copy, with one of Duquesnoy’s *Saint Susanna*, as seen at other properties, suggests that presence of the Isis statue in the Temple might also be explained by the availability of the statue from British vendors and a fashion for their selection and combination.⁴³⁵

⁴³⁴ Humbert, J-M., ‘Egypt in the eighteenth-century garden: decline or revival of the initiatory journey?’ In Calder, M. (ed.), *Experiencing the Garden in the Eighteenth Century* (2006), p. 205.

⁴³⁵ Harrison, 2015b, p. 7.

Dancing Faun, or Faun of Florence

Although now lost, this statue is described by Rezzonico as occupying the left side niche of the Temple. As noted earlier, a later account confirms the statue could still be seen at the Temple in 1867. Given that the statue is no longer available to us, some caution must be exercised when accounting for its physical description. However, it is likely to be similar to the extant gilt Cheere version at Syon House and the version that can be found in the great hall at Kedleston (see Figure 3.16).⁴³⁶ These are but a couple of examples and, as Haskell and Penny comment, the faun ‘was reproduced in a wide variety of sizes and materials throughout the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century’.⁴³⁷ As the statue was seen in one of the exterior niches of the Temple, it is likely that it was made of lead.

The Faun statue features in visual references to the Grand Tour, including canvasses by the noted caricaturist Thomas Patch (see Figure 3.17).⁴³⁸ At the time of Henry Hoare’s Grand Tour visit the Faun was on view in the *Tribuna* of the Uffizi in Florence. The statue was heavily restored, probably sometime in the sixteenth century, at which time the legs, head, arms and part of the support were replaced. The cymbals are thus the invention of the restorer and we have no firm evidence that the original figure was engaged in music-making. Haskell and Penny point out that:

Numismatic evidence suggested to Klein in the first decade of this century that the Faun was conceived of as part of a group and was

⁴³⁶ Unknown, *The Dancing Faun I*, c.1759, Painted Plaster, 137 cm × 420 cm × 40 cm, Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, National Trust Inventory number 109003; Unknown, *The Dancing Faun II*, c.1759, Painted Plaster, 144 cm × 65 cm × 40 cm, Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, National Trust Inventory number 109009.

⁴³⁷ Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 206.

⁴³⁸ Patch, T., *A Punch Party*, 1760, Oil on canvas, Florence, 114.3 cm × 171.5 cm, Dunham Massey, Cheshire, National Trust Inventory number 932354; Patch, T., *A Gathering of the Dilettanti around the Medici Venus*, 1760, Oil on canvas, Florence, 147.2 cm × 238.3 cm, Basildon Park, Berkshire, National Trust Inventory Number 267120.

neither dancing nor playing the cymbals, but clicking his fingers and inviting a seated nymph, who adjusts her sandal, to dance.⁴³⁹

Northall has no reservations about the Faun's activities and happily reports that the statue is of 'A faun playing on two instruments, as is seen in Bacchanalian dances'.⁴⁴⁰ Henry Hoare visited Florence in 1739 whilst on Grand Tour. Jervis and Dodd write that the style of decoration of the *Tribuna* was 'a style of presentation which Henry later emulated at Stourhead'.⁴⁴¹

Figure 3.16 – The Dancing Faun statue at Kedleston



⁴³⁹ Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 206.

⁴⁴⁰ Northall, 1766, p. 53.

⁴⁴¹ Jervis and Dodd, 2015, p. 137.

Figure 3.17 – Two paintings by Thomas Patch (1725-1782) containing depictions of the *Faun of Florence*



Depictions of the *Faun of Florence* statue were commonplace in eighteenth-century Britain. It is perhaps therefore unsurprising that a version of the statue was selected by the garden designers at Stourhead. Haskell and Penny note that the statue was popular ‘Like the *Venus de’ Medici*, near which it stood in the Tribuna and with which it was so frequently paired in copies’.⁴⁴² In Rezzonico’s description the Faun was in the adjacent niche to a Venus statue. This association and the popularity of the piece in eighteenth-

⁴⁴² Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 205.

century Britain may help to account for its selection. Bacchanalian scenes are a feature of two of the Temple bas-reliefs and it might be that the Faun statue was selected to provide thematic continuity between the exterior and interior of the building.

Venus Anadyomene

Anadyomene is Greek for ‘rising from the waves’. This is one of the aspects of Venus which according to Pliny was a famous depiction in a now lost painting by Apelles. Pliny tells how Alexander the Great commissioned Apelles to paint Pancaste, one of Alexander’s mistresses, and suggests that ‘Some authorities think that she was the model for Aphrodite Rising from the Foam’.⁴⁴³ As with the Faun statue discussed above, the Stourhead statue is now lost, and some caution must therefore be exercised in its consideration. Based on the Tribuna commentary of Venus and Faun pairings, we might expect a copy of the *Venus Medici* to have been selected for the Temple niche and it might be that it was a copy of the *Venus Medici* statue that Rezzonico saw at Stourhead.⁴⁴⁴ An alternative is that the statue’s pose is similar to depictions in paintings such as Titian’s *Venus Rising from the Sea*.⁴⁴⁵ In either case the symbolism is of Venus, a deity associated with fertility. A Venus statue would later be selected to fill a niche on the Temple of Apollo, as would the Bacchus statue that during the time of Rezzonico’s visit occupied the remaining front niche of the Temple.

Bacchus

Rezzonico lists a Bacchus statue in his account but provides no further details about its design. There are a number of statues upon which the Stourhead Bacchus might have been

⁴⁴³ Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 35.79.97.

⁴⁴⁴ The *Venus Medici* might have influenced the pose in Botticelli’s painting.

⁴⁴⁵ Titian, *Venus Rising from the Sea* (*Venus Anadyomene*), c.1520, Oil on canvas, 75.8 cm × 57.6 cm, National Gallery of Scotland, NG 2751.

based. One possibility is that it was a further Cheere copy of the Bacchus statue chosen for the Temple of Apollo, which I shall describe and discuss in the following chapter. The key consideration when interpreting the iconography is that the statue was a representation of the god of wine. Pairings of Venus and Bacchus were common in eighteenth-century Britain and the Temple association is a further example of this. The juxtaposition of Bacchus and Venus with other representations of deities will be a theme of the following chapter and especially in the context of statue selection for the Temple of Apollo.

The Temple also contains eight bas-reliefs, which Colt Hoare states were designed by Rysbrack and executed by Benjamin Carter.⁴⁴⁶ These panels are largely based on engravings in *Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum* (ARA) and depict classical Roman scenes. In the following section I will describe and discuss their content and possible Roman influences.

Panel 1 – *Chariot racer in a quadrigae at the games.*

The panel above the Hercules statue is Carter's bas-relief of a quadriga.⁴⁴⁷ The Temple bas-relief is shown in Figure 3.18, and alongside for comparison purposes is Plate 23 from ARA. The Latin inscription beneath the plate states that the picture shows a driver and team in the circus and describes the procedure for chariot racing.⁴⁴⁸ There are several points of similarity indicated in the text from the ARA plate. Both the relief and the plate depict a man driving a *quadriga*, apparently as part of a Roman chariot race. His supporters are stood behind the charioteer. A further individual stands by the *quadriga* and gestures to the left.

⁴⁴⁶ Wiltshire Record Office 383.6. 9th May 1761.

⁴⁴⁷ Carter, B., *Chariot Racer in a Quadrigae at the Games*, Plaster, The Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562961.

⁴⁴⁸ *Circenses ludi cum agitatoribus in quadrigis, ac pretore qui mappam mittit, ac signum dat ineundorum ludoru. Emissos e carceribus equos clamor populi, plaususq facientum, et spontionnum sequebatur, qui sublata voce ac minibus ipsos hortabantur atque incitabant.*

Figure 3.18 - *Quadriga* bas-relief panel and likely inspiration from ARA



Panel 2 – *Mount Olympus*

Moving clockwise, the next bas-relief is above the Livia Augusta as Ceres statue and is a scene titled *Mount Olympus* (see Figure 3.19).⁴⁴⁹ This is a faithful reproduction of the Plate 27 scene from ARA in which Jupiter and Juno are shown seated with their symbolic animals, respectively the eagle and peacock. Neptune is shown standing, and then Mercury, posed in such a way as to suggest that he is delivering a message. The accompanying text to the ARA plate confirms these identities, but unfortunately not the identity of the figure on the far right.⁴⁵⁰

Figure 3.19 – *Mount Olympus* bas-relief panel and likely inspiration from ARA



⁴⁴⁹ Carter, B., *Mount Olympus*, Plaster, The Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562962.

⁴⁵⁰ *Votum solutum Iovi ac Iunoni D.M. sedentibus in throno Neptuno et Mercurio Iovi nunciante adstantie.*

Panel 3 – *Bacchic Celebration*

The next bas-relief is above the Meleager statue niche.⁴⁵¹ Dodd has recently suggested that the panel was directly influenced by Poussin's *The Triumph of Bacchus*.⁴⁵² This painting and the bas-relief are both reproduced in Figure 3.20. The two depictions seem very close in style and content, though the Poussin painting has the figures processing from left to right. As well as the direction of the procession, a further difference is that in the Stourhead version the figures of Bacchus and Ariadne have been switched. Bacchus now rides on the male centaur's back and Ariadne is seated in the carriage. Hercules, depicted carrying the tripod in the Poussin painting, is one of the figures not reproduced in the bas-relief. There are also similarities with the Carracci fresco, which is a feature of the Palazzo Farnese.⁴⁵³ The Poussin painting was known in Britain through preliminary sketches, including one given to Prince Frederick, the Prince of Wales (1707-51).⁴⁵⁴

Figure 3.20 – Poussin's *Triumph of Bacchus & Ariadne* (reversed) (1636) and the *Bacchic Celebration* bas-relief panel



⁴⁵¹ Carter, B., *Bacchic Celebration*, Plaster, The Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory number 562963.

⁴⁵² Poussin, N., *The Triumph of Bacchus*, 1635-6, Oil on canvas, 128.3 cm × 151.1 cm, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas, 31-94.

⁴⁵³ Carracci, A., *The Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, c.1597, the Camerino Room, Palazzo Farnese, Rome.

⁴⁵⁴ Poussin, N., *The Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, c.1627, Pen and ink with wash over red chalk, on pale buff paper, 12.6 cm × 42.5 cm, The Royal Collections, RCIN 911990.

Panel 4 – *Bacchus visiting the house of Icarius*

The bas-relief above the Isis statue niche takes as its theme Bacchus visiting the house of Icarius.⁴⁵⁵ The scene has been simplified, with the three left furthest bacchantes omitted, as well as the background. However, the poses of the included figures are sufficiently similar to identify Plate 43 of ARA (see Figure 3.21 for comparison) as the inspiration for this panel. The text identifies the figures as characters from the Trimalchio's feast from Petrararch's *Satyricon*.⁴⁵⁶ However, the original relief predates the writing of the *Satyricon* and is instead perhaps a representation of the story of Bacchus teaching Icarius how to make wine.⁴⁵⁷ Ellis cites Apollodorus and Hyginus as sources for this story.⁴⁵⁸

Figure 3.21 – *Bacchus visiting the house of Icarius* bas-relief panel and likely inspiration from ARA



⁴⁵⁵ Carter, B., *Bacchus visiting the house of Icarius*, Plaster, The Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562964.

⁴⁵⁶ *Triclinium sive biclinium Trimalcio a Balneo ad Triclinium deductus accubiturus faestis epulis soleas deponit quas puer detrahit inductis comaedis Silenus senex tibias pares inflat, Sileni juvenes ad numerum choreas ducunt praeuente Narthecophoro, apposita est mensa tripes, aulaisque Triclinium instratum, Tabella cum auriga faestos ludos designat.*

⁴⁵⁷ Ellis, H., *The British Museum: The Townley Gallery* (London, Charles Knight & Co., 1836), p. 143.

⁴⁵⁸ 'Bacchus, desirous that mortals should become acquainted with the grape, and with the art of making wine from its juice, came to Attica upon a visit to Icarius, who received him hospitably, and to whom he disclosed his secret, directing that it should be imparted to other countries. The visit is represented in the bas-relief, but not its catastrophe. Icarius, in compliance with the terms of the gift, gave a portion of the wine to some neighbouring shepherds, who having drunk copiously of the inspiring liquor, became intoxicated, and conceiving that some deadly ingredient had been administered to them, killed Icarius with their clubs. Erigone, going in search of her father, was attracted to the spot where his body lay, by the howling of his faithful dog Maera; and, in her grief, suspended herself from a neighbouring tree'. Ibid, 1836, p. 144.

Panel 5 – *Hunters returning from a boar hunt*

The bas-relief above the entrance is a copy of plate 25 of ARA, entitled *Venatores* (see Figure 3.22 for comparison).⁴⁵⁹ The text accompanying this plate states that the figure represents hunters returning from the hunt with a rustic cart drawn by two yoked oxen. The cart is further described as being of the type used to haul baggage on wartime campaigns.⁴⁶⁰

Figure 3.22 – *Hunters returning from a boar hunt* bas-relief panel and likely inspiration from ARA



Panel 6 – *The Rape of a Nymph by Neptune*

This panel is to the left of the entrance and above the Saint Susanna statue.⁴⁶¹ It is virtually identical in content to plate 29 of ARA (see Figure 3.23 for comparison). The brief text that accompanies the ARA drawing indicates that the panel was believed to recount the tale

⁴⁵⁹ Carter, B., *Hunters returning from a Boar Hunt*, Plaster, The Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562965.

⁴⁶⁰ *Venatores - Post uenationem redeunt venatores, a pro ferisq, interemptis uehiculo impositis formam obseruamus rustici plaustri, bobus duobus iugalibus, ac solidis rotis sine radys, axi quadrato coherentibus; que rote tympana dicte firmiores errant oneri ferendo ysque utebantur in bello sarcinis transuehendis. In aedibus barberinis.*

⁴⁶¹ Carter, B., *The Rape of a Nymph by Neptune*, Plaster, The Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562966.

of Theophane, a Thracian princess.⁴⁶² This tale is taken from Hyginus and recounts the story of how she was so beautiful that she attracted the ardent and unwanted attention of several suitors.⁴⁶³ Neptune was also taken with her beauty and carried her away to the Island of Crinisa. However, her suitors followed her. To protect her, Neptune turned her into a ewe and the island's inhabitants into animals. When Theophane's suitors arrived on the island they began slaughtering the animals, so Neptune turned them into wolves. The god turned himself into a ram and coupled with Theophane and the result of this was the birth of Khrysomallos, the golden-fleeced ram.

Figure 3.23 – *The Rape of a Nymph by Neptune* bas-relief panel and likely inspiration from ARA



Panel 7 - *Bacchic celebration*

Above the lead statue of *Versailles Diana* is a bas-relief panel titled *Bacchic Celebration*.⁴⁶⁴ This is a broad copy of Plate 46 from ARA entitled *Liberalia* (see Figure 3.24). The title is a reference to the Roman feast of Liber Pater and Libera, deities connected with wine-making, freedom and fertility. The ARA text accompanying the plate

⁴⁶² Theophane bysaltidis filia formosissima virginem cum plures proci peterent a patre Neptunus rapta transtulit in insulam crumissam.

⁴⁶³ Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 188, 1-15.

⁴⁶⁴ Carter, B., *Bacchic Celebration*, Plaster, The Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory number 562967.

is a description of the scene, with mention of the clothing worn and details of the fruit on display.⁴⁶⁵

Figure 3.24 – *Bacchic Celebration* bas-relief panel and likely inspiration from ARA



⁴⁶⁵ *Liberante aram pomis refertam cum is non tantum vini sed mnum pene fructuum culturam docuerit arbor pinus apposite est quod bacchus expiates a berecynthia multa cybeles et cereris in dionysiis instituit idem tunicato et chlamidato sileno titur pendente ab eius dextra potorio cantharo et ductus comu stat sacer hircus ad aram.*

Panel 8 – Roman marriage celebration

The bas-relief above the statue of Flora is titled *Roman Marriage Celebration*.⁴⁶⁶ This is a heavily adapted version of plate 82 from ARA, titled *Nuptiae*, as well as three figures from Plate 65 (see Figure 3.28 for comparison). The text accompanying Panel 65 describes the scene as one of a bride and bridegroom joined in conjugal love.⁴⁶⁷ Panel 82 text is more detailed and reveals a good deal more information about the theme of Roman marriage.⁴⁶⁸ This text describes the newly married man who pledges his faith and love to the bride. Also described is the aulos player and the sacrifice of the bull, the entrails of which would be inspected so that the auspices for the marriage could be taken.

Figure 3.25 – Roman marriage celebration bas-relief panel and ARA sources



⁴⁶⁶ Carter, B., *Roman marriage celebration*, Plaster, The Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562968.

⁴⁶⁷ *Sponsus ac sponsa inuicem dextraeras iungunt coniugals amoris ac fidei argumentu, Iunone pronuba utrumque amplectente.*

⁴⁶⁸ *Noua nupta uiro tradita dexteram eidem porrigit fidei amorisque pignus; flammeo caput obnubit prae uerecundia, mox nuptialem thalamum aditura. Auguris captis sacra peragit uir paludatus. Victimarios taurum sistit ad tripodem. Popa secure percutit, Tibicens duplicem tibiam inflat. Pronuba Iuno utrumque amplectitur; adstante Hymenaeo cu accensa face. Mater cum puero manus extendit ad accipiendam liberalitatem.*

Interpreting the significance of the bas-relief depictions

The content of the bas-reliefs tends to reflect the same themes as are evident in the Temple furniture. The depiction of birth, marriage, hunting, feasting and bacchanal themes has already been commented on and can accommodate much of the content. However, they do not incorporate the abduction of Theophane or the Olympian theme particularly well. An intriguing characteristic of the bas-reliefs organization is that they alternate between scenes containing a carriage of some kind and those that do not. We can again not exclude coincidence as the explanation, but if deliberate this ordering implies an organizing principle. The bas-relief content is of elegant if simplified scenes drawn from the books of Bartoli and Montfaucon, and the work of Poussin. Beyond their invocation of ancient Rome, their inclusion in the Temple appears to be decorative. The final Pantheon elements I will consider are the four Flitcroft-designed benches that were painted with classical scenes by William Hoare of Bath.

Pine bench decorated with *A painted classical scene of the Three Graces (?)*⁴⁶⁹

The National Trust inventory describes this bench painting as a painted classical scene of the Three Graces. However, the scene is almost identical to the content of Plate 68 of Bartoli's *Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum* (ARA) which is titled *The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche* (see Figure 3.26).⁴⁷⁰ The text that accompanies the plate in ARA indicates that the Psyche figure is shown with butterfly wings symbolic of the 'noble immortality of the soul after death'.⁴⁷¹ The three central figures are identified as the three

⁴⁶⁹ Flitcroft, H., *Pine bench by Henry Flitcroft (1697 - 1769) with painted classical scene of the Three Graces (?) by William Hoare of Bath, RA (Eye 1707 – Bath 1792) (one of four)*, c.1760, Pine carcass, grained and oil on panel, 110.5 cm × 122 cm × 54.5 cm, Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562867.1.

⁴⁷⁰ Bartoli, P., *Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum* (Rome, 1693).

⁴⁷¹ *Cupidinem psyche et uicissim Cupido Psychen mutuo nexu complectitu. Illa papilionis alis nobilis immortalitatem anime ac perpetui conuigalis amoris etiam post fata, in hoc sepulchrali marmore typum designat. Tres gratie in medio partier in amplexu se palam exhibent, aligeris Veneris filijs comitantibus, gratiam etiam pulchritudinis sociam, studuimque et amerom uxoris erga uirim facile commendant. Vasa*

Graces, in Roman mythology titled the *Gratiae*, three minor goddesses of charm, beauty, and fertility.

Figure 3.26 – Comparison of Bartoli Plate with William Hoare painted seat from the Stourhead Temple of Hercules



Pine bench decorated with *A painted classical scene of the birth of Venus*⁴⁷²

The painting on this bench features a central figure held aloft by two tritons. The three figures represented in this pose are virtually identical to the central figure shown in plate 30 of ARA (see Figure 3.27).

floribus, aristic et pomis referta anni tempora, sey Felicia tempora in Elysus indicare uidentur; tres uero ad Gratiarum numerum. Rome ex chalcographia dominici de rubeis heredis Io Iacobi de Rubeis ad Templ S Marie de Pace cum priu S.P. et super.perm.

⁴⁷² Flitcroft, H., *Pine bench by Henry Flitcroft (1697 - 1769) with painted classical scene of The Birth of Venus by William Hoare of Bath, RA (Eye 1707 – Bath 1792) (one of four)*, c.1760, Pine carcass, grained and oil on panel, 114.5 cm × 135 cm × 61 cm, Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562869.1.

Figure 3.27 - A painted classical scene of the birth of Venus



However, the flanking figures are very different in the Stourhead version as compared with the Bartoli plate.⁴⁷³ The text accompanying the ARA plate states that the other figures depicted are drawn from the myth of Perseus and Andromeda. On the left-hand side of the panel Perseus is shown holding the head of the Gorgon alongside the goddess Minerva who bears the polished shield she lent Perseus so that he could avoid Medusa's petrifying gaze. Perseus is depicted a second time, here in the company of Andromeda whom he has rescued from the sea monster Ceto, whom he has turned to stone using Medusa's head. The Stourhead version in contrast places two female figures on either side of the triton and Venus figures taken from Plate 32 of ARA titled *Chorus Veneris Aphrodite*. The Bartoli sketch is of a panel from the *Ara Pacis Augustae* which depicts the goddess Aphrodite on the left and a female figure with rosebuds woven into her hair. The seat panel is thus a

⁴⁷³ *Natam venerem e mraia spuma utraque manu rorantes capillos detergit. Ipsam tritons euehant in concha, in qua cyprum adnauigasse canunt, Amoribus comitantibus. Eius imaginem ab Apelle pictam, carminibus tum grecis tum latinis nobilem sic descripsit ausonius. Reliquae persone appicte diuersi argumenti fabulam agunt, alter enim est Perseus e gorgonibus rediens adiuuante Minerva medusa capite amputate; altera est Andromeda e scopulo, in quo fuerat alligata, ac Ceto exposita, ipsi Perseo liberatori, ac sponso dexteram porrigens.*

composite of panels 30 and 32 and the combination yields two representations of Venus in the same painting.

Pine bench decorated with *A painted classical scene of Venus Anadyomene*⁴⁷⁴

This painting is a further depiction of Venus, here in her anadyomene form. The inspiration for the centrepiece of the seat back is taken from Montfaucon and depicts Venus, this time riding a dolphin (see Figure 3.28). Bernard de Montfaucon (1655-1741) was a French monk who between 1719 and 1724 authored a series of 15 volumes that documented extant European antiquities. This work was widely available in Britain during the early eighteenth century and after 1721-2. The text refers to her hair being wet from salty sea foam, which she dries using linen cloth, hence anadyomene.

Figure 3.28 - *A painted classical scene of Venus Anadyomene*



⁴⁷⁴ Flitcroft, H., *Pine bench by Henry Flitcroft (1697 - 1769) with painted classical scene of Venus Anadyomene by William Hoare of Bath, RA (Eye 1707 – Bath 1792) (one of four)*, c.1760, Pine carcass, grained and oil on panel, 110.5 cm × 122 cm × 54.5 cm, Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562868.1.

Pine bench with *A painted classical scene of the marriage of Cupid & Psyche*⁴⁷⁵

Dodd identified this depiction as a reproduction from Montfaucon (see Figure 3.29).⁴⁷⁶ The bench painting could also have been taken from a cameo which once belonged to the painter Rubens, and which by 1727 was in the Duke of Arundel's collection.⁴⁷⁷ I located the cameo in the collections of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts where it is displayed with the title *An Initiation Rite* (see Figure 3.30). It is of course possible that the cameo is a common source for both the Montfaucon sketch and the Stourhead bench painting. Venus is again included in the scene through the addition of the winged figure with the harp shown on the far left. The figure on the far right is Cupid. These two figures are also taken from Montfaucon.⁴⁷⁸

Figure 3.29 - A painted classical scene of *The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche*



⁴⁷⁵ Flitcroft, H., *Pine bench by Henry Flitcroft (1697 - 1769) with painted classical scene of the Marriage of Cupid and Psyche by William Hoare of Bath, RA (Eye 1707 – Bath 1792) (one of four)*, c.1760, Pine carcass, grained and oil on panel, 110.5 cm x 122 cm x 54.5 cm, Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562870.1.

⁴⁷⁶ Dodd, 2007, pp. 14-22.

⁴⁷⁷ Tryphon, *Cameo with the wedding of Cupid and Psyche, or an initiation rite*, Roman, Late Republican or Early Imperial Period, Layered Onyx Cameo, 3.7 cm x 4.5 cm x 0.6 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Accession number 99.101.

⁴⁷⁸ Dodd, 2007, p. 20.

Figure 3.30 - Marriage of Cupid and Psyche cameo



Interpreting the temple furniture paintings

Common themes in the four seat-back paintings are the presence of the goddess Venus and the story of Cupid and Psyche. Venus appears in three of the paintings, one of which depicts the birth of Venus and has been reconfigured to include a second representation of the goddess. Given the variety of choice available in Montfaucon and Bartoli, it is surely significant that Venus should be such a focus. As with the choice of the exterior niche statue, it might be that her status as a fertility goddess accounts for her ubiquity in the Temple. Perhaps also significant is that two of the seat-back paintings illustrate scenes from the marriage of Cupid and Psyche. Walpole identifies this theme in interpretation and writes that there are ‘four benches in beautiful Classic style, invented by Mr Hoare of Bath, and painted with the history of Cupid and Psyche’.⁴⁷⁹ Implicit in Walpole’s comment is that the four pieces tell the story of Cupid and Psyche. However, the varied content suggests that this is not the case. Nevertheless, the stylistic influences are evidently drawn from antiquity, and largely from ancient Roman sources. Other than Walpole’s

⁴⁷⁹ Walpole, 1762, p. 1927.

interpretation, these four items of furniture attract no further visitor commentary in the extant accounts I have located.

It is tempting to seek a unifying theme in the bas-relief panels and four Flitcroft-designed pine benches. The source for the decorative element of these features was likely to have been the works of Montfaucon and Bartoli. The depiction of Roman deities is a feature of all four benches and four of the panels, but no clear, consistent theme emerges. Similarly, overall consideration of the scenes depicted does not reveal a single theme. Birth, marriage, hunting, feasting and bacchanals are all represented, and the scenes depicted may have been selected on their aesthetic appeal by the seat painter, William Hoare, and the panel designer, whom Richard Colt Hoare states was Rysbrack. The one unifying influence for all eight bas-relief panels and four benches is that the themes were all derived from ancient Roman sources.

Echoes of the Pantheon?

It is important to consider why the temple has come to be referred to as the Pantheon. There are some similarities with the Pantheon in Rome. However, it is very definitely not as Langford states ‘the exact model of that at Rome’.⁴⁸⁰ In adopting this view Langford is following Richard Fenton. Other Georgian commentators were more circumspect. Neither Pococke nor Hanwell suggest any similarity to the Roman Pantheon and they restrict their language to describing the edifice as the Temple of Hercules. Walpole suggests that the building is ‘taken from the Pantheon’ and points out the addition of the square towers, of which he does not approve. Parnell suggests that the building is ‘a miniature of the Pantheon’ but notes differences in the portico, which in contrast to Walpole he believes is ‘an improvement’. Britton writes that ‘It is built in imitation of the Pantheon at Rome, and

⁴⁸⁰ Langford, 1989, p. 84.

derives its name from that circumstance'. Richard Colt Hoare offers a more measured comparison, writing that 'The general idea of its plan is borrowed from the celebrated Pantheon at Rome'. Walpole is the first commentator to acknowledge similarities and differences between the Roman Pantheon and the Stourhead Temple. A visual comparison of these buildings yields some major differences (see Figure 3.31).

Figure 3.31 – Pictorial comparison of the Pantheon at Rome and the Temple of Hercules

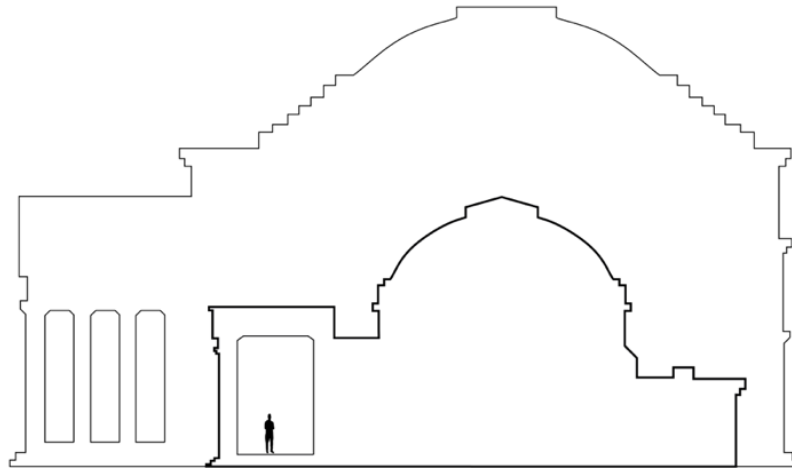


For example, both buildings feature Corinthian columns, though the Roman version features eight columns in the front rank, with two groups of four behind.⁴⁸¹ In contrast the Stourhead version features just four columns. The most conspicuous difference between the two buildings is the inclusion of the square towers for the Stourhead version. These towers mark out the Stourhead Temple as a distinctive structure and their presence provides a principled means of identifying possible influences. In this context, it is worthy of note that the Temple of Apollo depicted in Claude's *Coastal Scene of Aeneas at Delos*, the proposed influence for Stourhead, is devoid of square towers. Furthermore, even a

⁴⁸¹ The Pantheon in Roman was completed at the instruction of the Emperor Hadrian in about CE 126. However, he retained the original 'M. AGRIPPA L.F. COS TERTIUM FECIT ('Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, three-time consul, made this.')

superficial comparison of the two buildings quickly reveals a marked disparity in their size (see Figure 3.32).

Figure 3.32 – Size comparison of the Pantheon at Rome and the Temple of Hercules



The Stourhead temple, whilst partially based on the architecture of the Roman Pantheon, is thus not a copy. This edifice has been a prominent feature in writing about Stourhead. Charlesworth sees the trio of Ceres, Hercules and Flora as evidence of the Choice of Hercules being reproduced in statuary, and Woodbridge sees the building as Aeneas' achievement of Rome. Given this focus it is surprising that to date no systematic comparison between the Pantheon at Rome and the temple at Stourhead has been made. If the intention of the garden designers was to invoke connections between the Stourhead Temple and the Roman Pantheon, then it would have made sense to make the buildings as similar as possible. The similarity between the two buildings would have increased the likelihood that visitors would make the association.

As well as a comparison based on physical similarity a second reason for this Pantheon epithet might be because the contents of the Temple met the definition in that it contained

representations of ‘all the gods’. Dio Cassius writes that the Roman Pantheon contained statues of the gods. He states explicitly that Mars and Venus were amongst them. However, he does not provide the identities of the other deities represented and we have no other extant accounts specifying the remaining figures.⁴⁸² It seems likely that the seven deities were drawn from the twelve *dii consentes*, made up of six gods - Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Neptune, Vulcan and Apollo - and six goddesses - Juno, Minerva, Vesta, Ceres, Diana and Venus. The presence of the Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva seems likely given their importance in Roman religion. It is remarkable that the temple at Stourhead includes none of the Capitoline Triad and only three of the *dii consentes*. In fact, of the seven statues only three are deities, as two are heroes (Hercules and Meleager), one either the Egyptian goddess Isis or a servant of Isis, and one a third-century CE Christian martyr.⁴⁸³ This seems an unlikely basis upon which to describe the temple as a Pantheon and the comparison made by various visitors seems likely to have been on the basis of the architectural similarity. Of the eight bas-reliefs, only two depict deities: Neptune in the bas-relief above the Saint Susanna statue, and Jupiter, Juno, Neptune and Mercury in the one above the Livia Augusta as Ceres statue. The statuary selected for the temple does not suggest the intention was to create a pantheon (i.e. ‘all the gods’) in a literal sense.

The earliest visitor accounts refer exclusively to the building as the Temple of Hercules. This approach is consistent with that adopted for the earlier buildings, which were all named after the principal deity represented. It is possible that once delivered, the Rysbrack Hercules was the sole statue in the Temple until being joined at some later date prior to mid-1762 by the Livia Augusta as Ceres and Rysbrack’s *Farnese Flora* copy. The

⁴⁸² Dio Cassius, *Romaika*, 53, 27. Pliny confirms the presence of the Venus statue in his account of how one of Cleopatra’s pearls was split to provide pendants for the earrings of the Pantheon Venus (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, IX.59.119-121).

⁴⁸³ Although typically listed as a hero, rather than a deity, as the son of Zeus Hercules had divine strength and power and is therefore sometimes referred to as being of semi-divine status.

Hercules and Flora statues were associated by their proximity in the Palazzo Farnese and this might account for their commissioning and placement. Moving the Livia Augusta as Ceres statue from its initial location in the Temple of Ceres was in Charlesworth's view an attempt to reproduce the Choice of Hercules represented in the Poussin painting in Stourhead House. The gaze of the Hercules statue faces the Ceres, which is ostensibly consistent with Hercules' selection of virtue and industry. However, a further possible explanation for their positioning opposite the entrance is that this placement ensured that these three high quality marble statues would be the first ones seen by visitors entering the Temple.

At some point prior to July 1762 the lead *Versailles Diana* statue copy was moved into the temple and paired with the John Cheere Meleager, which was likely purchased with the plaster Cheere Isis and Saint Susanna statues. It is likely that Walpole was mistaken in his identification of the statue as Antinous and that it was the Meleager statue that he saw. Evidence for this is that it seems very likely that the Meleager, Isis and Saint Susanna were purchased as a batch from John Cheere, and although the statues have a ledger entry payment date of 12th November, they may well have been delivered much earlier. The presence of the Isis and Saint Susanna is in want of an explanation. One possibility is that their presence owes something to fashion. Copies of these same statues can be found elsewhere. Statues of both deities were included in the Marble Hall at Holkham. The statues, together with a Flora and Bacchus, also originally occupied the four statue niches of the Saloon at Kedleston Hall. The Kedleston statues are estimated to be from c.1758, which is prior to the acquisition of the Stourhead statues of the same name.⁴⁸⁴ The

⁴⁸⁴ The National Trust website contains the following text 'One of the plaster casts after the Antique acquired by Sir Nathaniel Curzon, 1st Baron Scarsdale (1726-1804), as part of a set taken from moulds procured, in 1758, from Rome, by the architect Matthew Brettingham the Younger (1725-1803). The casts were possibly made by Bartolomeo Mattevalli, a craftsman who had been brought to England by Brettingham'. <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/108994>, accessed 17th November, 2016.

selection of Isis and Saint Susanna at Holkham might have set a fashionable precedent which influenced later statue choice at Kedleston and Stourhead. Kent was closely involved with the development of Holkham and it might well be his influence on Flitcroft that we are seeing in the Stourhead temple. The Bacchus and the *Venus Anadyomene* and *Faun of Florence* copies that populated three of the four exterior niches are also represented in the Kedleston Marble Hall statuary and are commonly found at other eighteenth-century houses and gardens.⁴⁸⁵ A further possible source of inspiration for their selection might have been the Uffizi Tribuna in Florence, which features ancient Roman statues of these three characters. We have no direct evidence for Henry Hoare visiting Florence, but it would have been very commonly included in an eighteenth-century English Grand Tourist's itinerary. The right hand-side wall niche of the Temple does not feature a plinth and is not listed by any visitor as featuring an artefact. This is presumably because the niche is not presented to view and therefore any added feature, such as a statue, would not have been readily noticed by visitors.

The addition of the statues discussed above and earlier in this chapter, together with the superficial architectural similarities between the temple and the Pantheon in Rome, led eighteenth-century commentators to refer to this building as the Pantheon. However, as with the shift of name from the Temple of Ceres to Temple of Flora, and from the Temple of the Nymph to the Grotto, this change of name does not appear to have been the intention of the garden designers. Beyond the coffered dome and the number of niches, there are in fact very few similarities between the Roman Pantheon and the Stourhead Temple. The bas-reliefs, square-towered portico, exterior niches, bucrania and garland internal motifs are Stourhead temple features that have no parallel in the design or decoration of the Roman Pantheon.

⁴⁸⁵ E.g. Syon House, etc.

In the next chapter I will consider the Temple of Apollo. After a detailed consideration of the content, building and evolution of the Temple, I will consider whether there is any evidence that the garden designers intended use of iconography through the design, selection and positioning of the artefacts selected for the building.

Chapter 4 – The design, content and evolution of Stourhead gardens up to 1766

In the previous two chapters I have reviewed the development of the gardens from the building of the Temple of Ceres through to completion of the Temple of Hercules. In the course of these chapters I have reviewed the impact of ancient and later Roman influences on the design of the gardens. A key source of information for the garden's development has been the many visitor accounts. In addition to informing us about the content and evolution of the garden, these sources have provided detailed information regarding cognitive and emotional reception of the garden and its contents. I have described how these visitor accounts have revealed different interpretations and reactions, indicating that garden elements were capable of eliciting a variety of responses. In this chapter, I will extend the foregoing analysis of visitor reception to developments at Stourhead during the period from 1755 to 1766. The period of the garden under Henry Hoare's stewardship from 1766 to 1783 included a proliferation of non-Roman buildings, including a Gothic greenhouse, Chinese umbrella, a cascade, and a Turkish tent.⁴⁸⁶ The erection of these buildings marks the previously discussed transition from largely Roman influences, to an eclectic 'Pleasure garden'. However, as non-Roman elements they are beyond the remit of the current thesis and so will not be considered in detail. My focus will instead be upon the Temple of Apollo, the building of which commenced in 1765 and was completed by December of that year.⁴⁸⁷ As with previous chapters, I will begin by describing the structure and content of the temple and the possible sources of inspiration for the design of the building. The temple was furnished with statuary, busts and a Flitcroft-designed bench.

⁴⁸⁶ Woodbridge, 1991, p. 44-45.

⁴⁸⁷ Henry Hoare in a letter to his son-in-law Lord Bruce writes 'My Lord, The Temple of Apollo was finished last week and the scaffold are now taking down and it charms every body'. Letter from Henry Hoare to Lord Bruce, 1765. Woodbridge Archive, Research Room, Stourhead House.

I will describe in detail each of these items. I will also consider possible influences and inspiration for the selection of each of the artefacts, as well as their iconography. Issues of context and juxtaposition will, as in previous chapters, will also be a consideration.

The Temple of Apollo was designed by Henry Flitcroft. A number of possible influences for the design have been suggested, but it is essentially as Woodbridge states: ‘A round temple with detached Corinthian columns on a raised platform, and a scalloped entablature’.⁴⁸⁸ There are 12 columns on the exterior of the temple forming 11 bays, in each of which is a niche and a blind oculus. Each column stands in opposition to square pilasters in the external wall. The space between the external wall and the columns creates an arcade which is covered by a scalloped frieze and a cornice. Heaton records that the temple is in the shape of a domed cylinder with an internal diameter of 6.22 m and 10.5 m from the floor to the base of the dome. At a height of 8.15 m above the floor level are six Diocletian windows set slightly above the cornice.⁴⁸⁹

As previously noted, we have no information regarding the decision-making of the garden designers concerning the selection of garden buildings and artefacts. In the absence of clear evidence, associations between household elements and garden features must be offered with caution. However, there are evident links between house and the garden. Examples of this are Woodforde’s painting of the interior of the Temple, William Hoare’s *Sleeping Ariadne*, and the Poussin *Choice of Hercules*. The previously discussed Maratta painting held pride of place in the Reception Hall when first acquired.⁴⁹⁰ Henry Hoare later commissioned from Mengs the Augustus and Cleopatra painting to be of the same size as

⁴⁸⁸ Woodbridge, 1991, p. 55.

⁴⁸⁹ Heaton, M., *Temple of Apollo, Stourhead, Wiltshire. Archaeological observations during restorations August-October 2009* (Warminster, Michael Heaton Heritage, 2009), p. 3.

⁴⁹⁰ Mrs Lybbe Powys noted that ‘You enter a noble hall, round this in panels are whole-length portraits, very capital ones, one in particular by Carlo Maratti’. Climenson, 1899, pp. 65.

the Maratta and placed in an identical frame. As previously noted, these two canvasses were hung alongside a large portrait of Henry Hoare, possibly a deliberate attempt to represent himself as a notable sponsor of the arts, comparable to the artistic patrons of ancient and Renaissance Rome. It is possible that the Maratta canvas with its circular, colonnaded, peripteral Temple of Virtù might have directly influenced the plan, design and location of the Stourhead temple. It is perhaps also significant that the painting features the god Apollo, the deity after whom the temple is named.

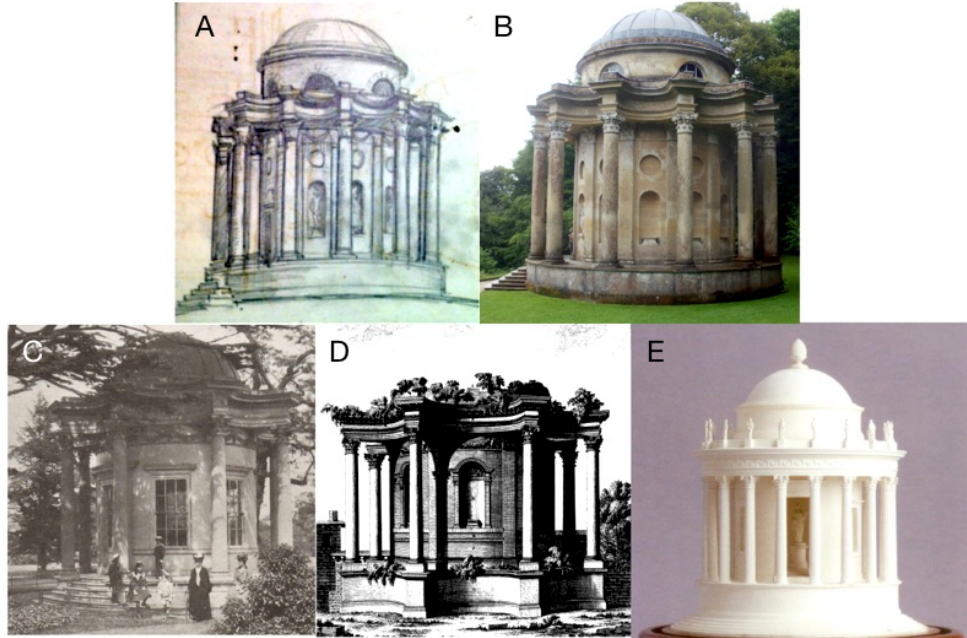
Figure 4.1 – Early nineteenth-century postcard published by Frederick Holmes showing Temple of Apollo in a state of disrepair



The temple has been restored at least twice and the most recent restoration in 2009 has had the effect of changing the height of the dome.⁴⁹¹ Heaton reports that by 1912 the original dome had decayed, and the loss of the original is evident in early twentieth-century postcards (see Figure 4.1).

⁴⁹¹ Heaton, 2009, p. 3.

Figure 4.2 – a comparison of a) the Temple c.1814 and b) the current temple, with c) the Kew Gardens Temple of the Sun, d) the Baalbek Temple of Venus, and e) a reconstruction of the temple at Tivoli



The current dome is less shallow than either the original or the 1956 replacement, as is evident from eighteenth-century drawings and paintings of the temple (see Figure 4.2).⁴⁹² Woodbridge writes that ‘It is a version of a round temple illustrated in Robert Wood’s *Ruins of Balbec*, of which Henry Hoare bought a copy in 1757’.⁴⁹³ Woodbridge also allows for the possibility that Flitcroft was inspired by Sir William Chamber’s Temple of the Sun at Kew.⁴⁹⁴ Other theories regarding the architectural influences of the temple’s design will be considered throughout this chapter. Toward the end of this chapter I will offer my own interpretation of the design influences on this structure.

⁴⁹² Heaton describes the temple as ‘a compact garden gazebo of Classical form, based on the Temple of Venus at Baalbek in the Lebanon, set on a deep plinth and facing north within a terrace in the north-facing slope’. Heaton, 2009, p. 4.

⁴⁹³ Woodbridge, 1991, p. 55.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid, 1995, p. 55.

Visitor accounts of the Temple of Apollo

The idea that the temple was based on the Temple of Venus at Baalbek was referenced by a number of Stourhead visitors. For example, Joseph Spence in his letter to the Earl of Lincoln describing the gardens at Stourhead, wrote that ‘This is taken partly, from the Temple at Tivoli, and partly, from a Temple of the Sun at Balbeck’.⁴⁹⁵ Spence is inaccurate in this latter Baalbek attribution, as the Stourhead temple is in fact based on the Baalbek Temple of Venus. The error is possibly due to Apollo’s status as a sun god. Spence provides the most complete extant description of the Temple of Apollo, including reference to planned embellishments such as the signs of the zodiac and various paintings:

Tis a Peristyllium, with 12 Corinthian Columns; & Niches for Eleven Statues on the outside wall: and the 12 signs of the Zodiac, are to be over these statues, & the Door. The Door, exactly faces the Palladian Bridge: & from it, you take in all the chief Beauties of the place. It is to be lighted from the top of the Dome; and Guido’s Aurora, (enlarg’d by the Season following the Chariot of Apollo, & Night fleeing from before her) is to be painted round the inside walls by Mr Hoare.

Spence’s account describes the Temple of Apollo still under development, which dates his visit to early 1765. He refers to a ‘Walk of the Muses’ which to the best of my knowledge is a unique reference.⁴⁹⁶ No other commentator describes this feature, which refers to a path to the Temple of Apollo from the Hermitage. This is intriguing in the context of a

⁴⁹⁵ Hunt and Willis, 1988, pp. 272-3. There is evidence to suggest that the Temple complex at Baalbek is a plausible source of influence. Henry Hoare was amongst the subscribers to Robert Wood’s book of sketches and descriptions published in 1757. Henry’s letter to his daughter Susanna confirms familiarity with the ‘Balbeck’ temples when he compares Charles Hamilton’s Temple of Bacchus with ‘the form of the temple of Fortuna Virilis or the long temple of Balbeck’ (Letter from Henry Hoare to Susanna Hoare, 1762). Woodbridge, 1970, p. 52.

⁴⁹⁶ Spence processes from the Grotto to the Temple of Hercules and from there writes of walking ‘between the two waters, to an odd sort of ruinous Building which hides the road; & over which you wind by roughish steps, toward the Walk of the Muses, & the Temple of Apollo’ (Hunt and Willis, 1988, p. 272).

1765 account, as it offers the possibility that the approach to the temple was intended to feature references to the Muses, perhaps even statues. If it was the garden designer's intention to add statues, an obstacle to achieving this might have been the availability of appropriate statues. The Cheere catalogue includes only the Muse statue Urania (see Table 3.1). To populate the niches with the nine Muses Henry Hoare would therefore have had to commission bespoke statues.

A later visitor was Samuel Curwen who viewed the gardens on 24 September 1776 and provided further helpful information regarding the temple's style and content:

The structure is of an octagon form; passing an open gate in the chinese style, in which the fence surrounding it is built, we entered the porch. In the niches on either hand stand two antique busts and without in niches are six statues nearly as big as the life, of which five were filled: Venus, Minerva, Apollo, Jupiter &c.⁴⁹⁷

Curwen helpfully tells us that either side of the door were two antique busts, though not their identities. Thereafter we might have expected an account of nine statues consistent with the 1766 receipt (see Figure 4.3). Instead he lists three deities that are consistent with other visitor sources (Venus, Minerva and Apollo) but adds a statue of Jupiter. This inclusion is unique amongst the visitor accounts and in this he is probably mistaken. His statement that 'without in niches are six statues...of which five are filled' also seems confused.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁷ Oliver, A. (ed.), *The Journal of Samuel Curwen, Loyalist* (Salem, Essex Institute, 1972), p. 231. It is of note that Curwen earlier in his account forgets the order of the Temple of Hercules pillars, mistakes the Meleager statue for Mercury and incorrectly records the number of Temple of Hercules bas-reliefs as totalling six.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 1972, p. 231.

Rezzonico, who visits in July 1787, provides the following description:

After the hermitage I saw the Temple of the Sun. It is round, and has twelve columns that take in half as many niches in which I wanted to see the twelve signs of the zodiac, instead of the Callipygia, the Apollino, Mercury and other similar deities.⁴⁹⁹

Rezzonico's expectation of seeing the signs of the zodiac has at least two possible sources. First is the possible influence of William Chambers's Temple of the Sun at Kew on the architecture of the Stourhead Temple of Apollo. Chambers' design for the Kew temple included the signs of the zodiac in exterior roundels. It is also possible that the intention to include the signs of the zodiac reported by Spence in 1765 remained an ambition, and was mentioned to Rezzonico during his visit.⁵⁰⁰ Rezzonico confirms that at the time of his visit the statues purchased from John Cheere in 1766 were still *in situ*.⁵⁰¹ In this context it is interesting to reflect that whilst the Temple of Apollo exhibits a slight resemblance to the Temple of Venus at Baalbek, it differs significantly with respect to the number of niches. The Baalbek temple has five, whereas the Stourhead temple has eleven.

⁴⁹⁹ Gamba, 1824, p. 40.

⁵⁰⁰ Hunt and Willis, 1988, pp. 272-73.

⁵⁰¹ 1766, 'Henry Hoare esq. from Mr. Cheere, to five drapery statues of a Vesta, Ceres, Pomona....', 383/4 1707-1807, 1808-1838, 1795-1820. Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Chippenham, UK.

Figure 4.3 – John Cheere statuary receipt from 1766

Henry Hoare Esq^r — Dr
to Mr^r Cheere

To five Drapery Statues of Vestal Virgins } £ 50
1766 Ceres Pomona Minerva all unstruck } 131:15:0
made very strong & finish'd within lead

125 metal at 25 pence each —

20 To a Drapery Statue of Urania Dr 25:0:0

18 To a Statue of Mercury Dr 14:12:0

18 To a Statue of Apollo Very Small 14:14:0

20 To a Statue of Bacchus with a stamp } 21:0:0
with grapes & vine leaves on Dr —

10 To a large Bacchus in next figure — 12:10:0

To 755 feet of work in stone & wood }
for 7 Statues & masonry Cases }
Bacchus of insides of 7 Cases of 7 }
10.19.11 Statues strongly lead to prevent } 10:19:11
damages & of insides brass not mended }
no charge only of outside work double }
of lead

2 To 12 Iron Cramp on 7 Cases of 7 } 5:12:0
Bacchus — } 233:2:11

222, 11. — }
80. — }
According to the bill — 231:0:0
Dues — 153:2:11

A possibility is that the difference was intended to allow for the population of the temple niches with statues of the nine Muses, to which might be added two busts or vases. Instead, the statues ordered to fill the niches were of the *Apollino* (also known as the *Medici Apollo*), Urania, Mercury, Vesta, Bacchus, a *Callipygian Venus* copy, Pomona, Ceres and Minerva.⁵⁰² These last three were moved in the early twentieth century to the front

⁵⁰² Cheere, J., *Vesta/Vestal Virgin*, 1765-6, Lead, 160 cm (height), West Front, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 562884; Cheere, J., *Ceres*, 1765-6, Lead, Main Entrance, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 731879; Cheere, J., *Minerva*, 1765-6, Lead, Main Entrance, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 731878; Cheere, J., *Pomona*, 1765-6, Lead, Main Entrance, Stourhead House, National Trust; Cheere, J., *Urania*, 1765-6, Lead, 175 cm (height), West Front, Stourhead House,

pediment of Stourhead House.⁵⁰³ The first four statues listed are now all to be found on the West Front of the house. Sketches of the temple by Nicholson suggest that the Bacchus and *Callipygian Venus* copy now occupy the front niches of the Temple.⁵⁰⁴ Further circumstantial evidence is that of the original nine statues, all but these two are accounted for. Rezzonico continues with a description of the temple's construction:

It ascends to varying degrees, and on the base, which runs throughout the building, and seemed to me to be 4 foot tall, stand the Corinthian columns. The entablature, or cornice ledge, is shaped as half-moons from one column to another twisting in an affectation unknown to the ancients, and contrary to the purity of the order. An image of the radiant sun occupies the top of the dome. There is a bench seat with a wooden back, on which is painted Apollo, the Horae and Aurora, vaguely imitating the one by Guido.⁵⁰⁵

As mentioned, Joseph Spence in his 1765 letter described how a copy of the *Aurora* was to be painted round the inside walls.⁵⁰⁶ However, Spence makes no mention of the intention to include the Horae. From Rezzonico's account it is evident that William Hoare's copy was instead eventually depicted on a wooden seat, almost certainly the one described by

National Trust Inventory Number 562883 and Bacchus ('with a stump with grapes & vine leaves', Cheere, J., *Bacchus*, 1765-6, Lead, 158 cm (height), Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562879.

⁵⁰³ It is worth noting that the drawing of Stourhead that appeared in Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Volume 3 (London, 1725) includes three female figures on the roof above the main entrance. The selection of Pomona, Minerva and Ceres for the front pediment was possibly influenced by the Campbell drawing.

⁵⁰⁴ Other authors have speculated that this is the case, including Symes, M., *Garden Sculpture* (Princes Risborough, Shire Garden History, 1996), p. 55. Note that Symes omits Ceres from his list of statues purchased for the Temple of Apollo.

⁵⁰⁵ Gamba, 1824, p. 41.

⁵⁰⁶ Hunt and Willis, 1988, pp. 272-73.

Dodd.⁵⁰⁷ This seat is currently to be found in the cellar of the main house.⁵⁰⁸ Rezzonico also provides details regarding influences on the architectural design:

To tell the truth, there is amongst the ruins of Baalbek a temple that served as a model for this, but lovers of austere architecture might not approve of that excessive meander of lines that harms the function of the entablature itself. The dripstone, curving inwards, brings the rain closer to the building; nevertheless, if the Eastern temple was for some the authoritative example, I would not dare to exercise my criticism on those famous monuments, even though the architecture in those climates was bolder than in the Peloponnese, and although the century of Odaenathus and Zenobia was certainly not like the one of Pericles and Aspasia or Alexander, it did not even match, in terms of dignified architectural taste, the praised times of Augustus and Trajan.

Here Rezzonico contrasts unfavourably the quality of third-century CE Roman architecture with that of fifth-century BCE Athens, and Roman architecture from the time of Augustus and Trajan. Richard Colt Hoare made a similar criticism of the Temple of Apollo's construction when he wrote:

I may add, a defect in the architecture of the portico which surrounds the building; for one of the chief intents of a portico was to secure a sheltered walk along the building; whereas, in this design, the roof is intersected by excavations of a horse-

⁵⁰⁷ Dodd, 2007, pp. 14-22. Dodd raised the possibility that the altars were originally located in the now lost Venetian Seat and that they were transferred to the Temple of Flora after 1791. However, it is clear from Gastone's account that they were present in the Temple of Flora as early as 1787.

⁵⁰⁸ Flitcroft, H., *Curved Bench Seat*, 1765, Pine, grained, oil on panel, 132 cm x 222.5 cm x 67.5 cm, Temple of Apollo, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562873.1.

shoe form between each column, so as to admit every shower of rain in the portico.⁵⁰⁹

Biljoen's 1791 description of the Temple of Apollo adds to our understanding of the content and its arrangement:

The temple is built in imitation of one at Palmyra, it is top lit but off-centre, the middle of the dome being adorned with a golden sun beneath which is placed a colossal copy of the regal Apollo Belvedere whose majesty fills the whole temple while several statues of divinities are modestly placed in niches all around.⁵¹⁰

Mrs Lybbe-Powys confirms this general appearance. She writes that the temple had 'on the outside niches with statues, on the inside a gilded sun with a skylight to illuminate it'.⁵¹¹ In an intriguing annotation (likely by Spence himself, as it is in his hand) to the copy of Spence's account of his visit to Stourhead held at the Beinecke Library, he comments with respect to the temple that it 'Wou'd not admit of a statue, in the middle. Mr Hoar.'⁵¹² This suggests that it was the intention of the garden designers to install an Apollo statue in the temple from the time of its building. This problem was solved by the time of Biljoen's visit in 1791. The Reverend Richard Warner later confirms that:

⁵⁰⁹ Hoare, 1822, p. 67.

⁵¹⁰ Tromp, H. and Newby, E., 'A Dutchman's visits to some English gardens in 1791', *The Journal of Garden History*, 2, 1, 1982, pp. 14-22. In the Palmyra comment Biljoen is inaccurate. The temple is in fact in Baalbek.

⁵¹¹ Climenson, 1899, pp. 63-64.

⁵¹² Joseph Spence Papers, OSB MSS 4, Box 6, folder 202, series V 'Gardening notes', Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, US. The Mr Hoar mentioned is the painter, William Hoare of Bath.

A large cast of Belvedere Apollo occupies the interior, which is lighted from above by a circular hole. The roof of the temple spreads into a dome, and has a double ceiling; in the lower is the aperture, and in the coving of the other, a splendid gilt representation of the Solar Rays, which, receiving the real light of this orb by an artful construction, throws into the temple below a most splendid reflection when the sun is in its strength.⁵¹³

Warner also affirms that each of the temple niches was ‘filled with its deity, cast in lead from antique models’.⁵¹⁴

It is entirely possible that the *Apollo Belvedere* copy seen by Warner was acquired specifically for the temple. However, a further possibility is that this was the statue from the small mound near the house that was described in Chapter 2. A precedent for moving statues into temples from outside locations was established with the rehousing of the *Versailles Diana* copy in the Temple after its time spent on the Mount of Diana. This shift from external to internal statuary has the effect of promoting attention to the temples. We cannot be certain whether this was the garden designers’ intention and it may have instead been an economical use of the available statuary. The *Apollo Belvedere* copy is no longer present in the temple and the most likely explanation of its fate is that it melted in the 1837 fire that consumed the temple.⁵¹⁵ Although the temple has twice been restored and refurbished, on neither occasion has the statue been replaced. The most recent restoration in 2009 included a gilded representation of Apollo in the roof of the temple, though this

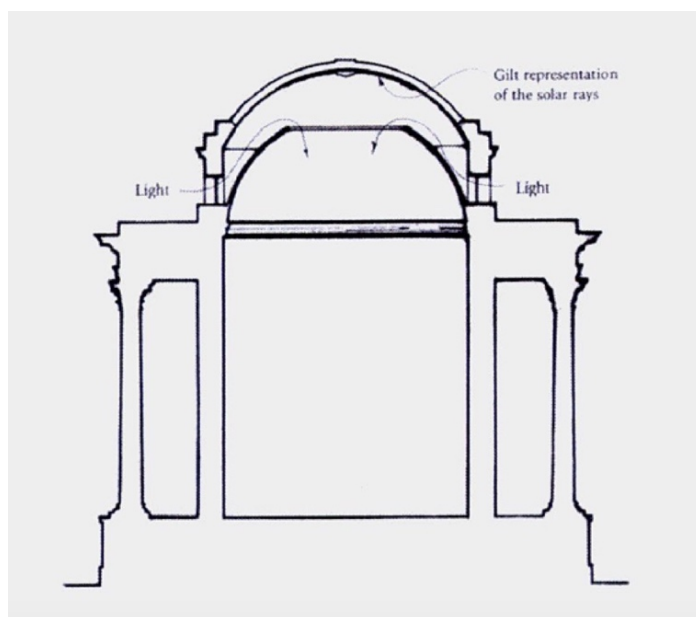
⁵¹³ Warner, 1801, p. 112.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid, 1801, p. 112.

⁵¹⁵ ‘A fire lately took place in the magnificent grounds of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart., Stourhead, which entirely consumed ‘The Temple of the Sun.’ A swarm of bees had settled on the top, and fire was employed to dislodge them; but having been incautiously applied, it terminated as above.’ Anonymous, *Berrow’s Worcester Journal*, Thursday, August 3rd, 1837.

was not configured to reflect light downward, even though a recent report included a diagram (Figure 4.4) illustrating how the temple roof was originally built to achieve this effect.

Figure 4.4 – Representation of the Temple of Apollo interior showing the means by which light was shone down onto the *Apollo Belvedere* copy statue



Interpretation of the statue selection for the Temple of Apollo

The placement of the Bacchus and Venus in adjacent niches is possibly an example of the symbolic groupings often seen with deity statues.⁵¹⁶ Ceres, also ordered for the Temple of Apollo, when added to Bacchus and Venus becomes a symbolic representation of the Roman expression ‘without food and wine, love cannot flourish’.⁵¹⁷ Paintings by

⁵¹⁶ Roberts, P., *Life and death in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (London, The British Museum, 2013), p. 159.

⁵¹⁷ The quotation *Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus* is from Act IV, scene 1, line 5 of Terence’s *Eunuchus*. An expanded version of this proverb appears in Canto II, sections 169-170, of Byron’s *Don Juan*:

For health and idleness to passion's flame
Are oil and gunpowder; and some good lessons
Are also learnt from Ceres and from Bacchus,
Without whom Venus will not long attack us.

Nicholson (see Figure 4.5) show the Bacchus statue placed on the front right of the temple and his preparatory sketch depicts a Venus Callipygia in the adjacent anti-clockwise niche.⁵¹⁸

Figure 4.5 – Bacchus and Venus Stourhead statues and their respective locations on the Temple of Apollo. Below, illustrations of the Thomassin Bacchus and original Callipygian Venus statue



Other Nicholson views of the temple (Figure 4.6) show that one of the eastern side niches was occupied by the *Apollino* copy, and a preparatory sketch for this painting indicates that the next anticlockwise niche is occupied by a figure with the left arm partially outstretched.

While Venus fills the heart (without heart really
 Love, though good always, is not quite so good),
 Ceres presents a plate of vermicelli,—
 For love must be sustain'd like flesh and blood,—
 While Bacchus pours out wine, or hands a jelly.

⁵¹⁸ Nicholson, F., *The Sun Temple also known as the Temple of Apollo on left the church*, c.1814, paper, 40.8 cm (height) by 56.3 cm (width), British Museum, 1944, 1014.135.

The best candidate for this statue is the Urania (see Figure 4.7). Urania's pose is also seen in the Bampfylde painting of Stourhead that hangs at Hestercombe. Bampfylde has placed a cowed figure in the next anticlockwise niche, which because of the cowl is therefore very likely to be the Vesta statue. I have not been able to locate pictorial or written accounts of the remaining figures' locations, and so I cannot determine the original niche locations of Ceres, Mercury, Pomona and Minerva. I am therefore unable to confirm that the statue of Ceres was adjacent to the Venus figure, though this remains a possibility.

Figure 4.6 – Location of *Apollino* and Urania statues on Temple of Apollo



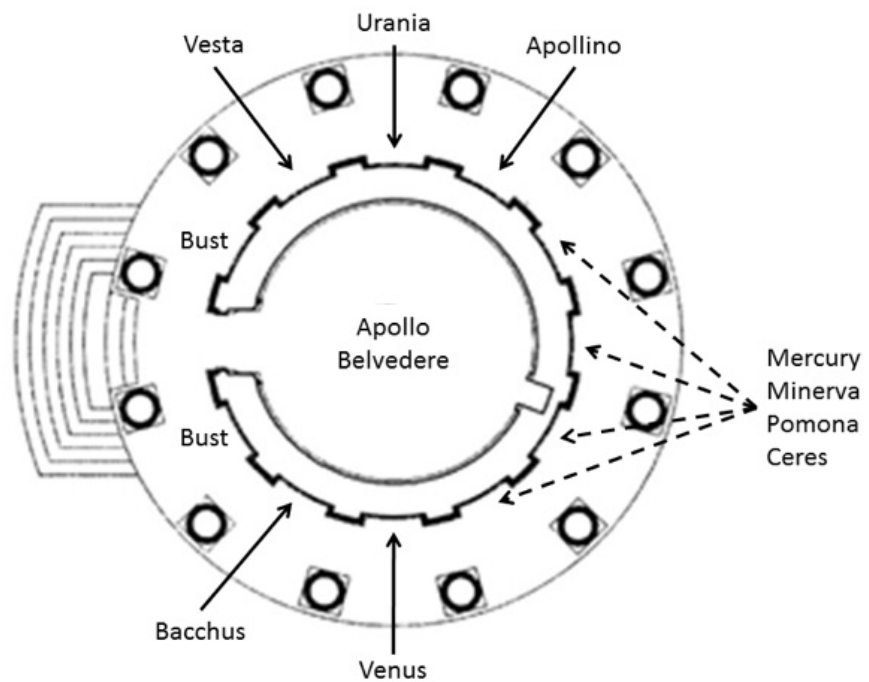
A summary of the known Temple of Apollo statue locations is shown in Figure 4.8. In addition to the possible iconography of these statues and their proximity, it is also possible that the individual statues were themselves symbolic representations. In the following section I will describe the provenance of each statue and I will reference the locations at which the original statue was to be seen in the period of Henry Hoare's Grand Tour (1739-1741). I will in each case consider the iconography of the statue.

Figure 4.7 – Temple of Apollo section of Bampfylde’s Stourhead landscape



Figure 4.8 – Statue and bust placement in the Temple of Apollo niches.

Broken lines indicate that the precise location of the listed statues has not yet been ascertained



Apollino

The *Apollino* statue (see Figure 4.6), also known as the *Medici Apollo*, is a representation of Apollo as an adolescent. This is indicated by the youthful appearance and by the hair fixed in braids on top of the head. The statue shows the god resting his left arm on a tree trunk and the right forearm touching the top of the head. The pose of this statue has been labelled Apollo Lyceus, a presentation of Apollo familiar from Greek statues and Athenian coinage from the first century BCE. Lucian describes a statue of this Lycean-type that was on show at the Lyceum (hence ‘Lycean’) in Athens. Lucian describes the god’s pose ‘as if resting after long effort’.⁵¹⁹ The arm to the brow was also seen in the nymph of the grot figure discussed in Chapter 2 and the pose may also convey lassitude in the *Apollino* figure. A striking feature of the *Apollino* is its comparatively small size. The Stourhead copy is 1.4 m and the delivery note for the nine John Cheere statues contains a handwritten annotation declaring the statue to be ‘very small’ (see Figure 4.3). This comment reflects the statue’s actual size of 1.4 m and accords with Hazlitt’s comment that the statue was of ‘equivocal size (I believe called *small-life*)’.⁵²⁰ The comment regarding the statue’s size is a relative judgment. The *Apollino* statue purchased for Stourhead is small relative to the height of the other purchased statues, which vary between 1.58 and 1.73 metres. The size of the Stourhead *Apollino* copy might be due to it having been cast from the original. A mould for this statue was amongst those listed in Matthew Brettingham the younger’s Account Book.⁵²¹ Given that a copy of the *Apollo Belvedere* was the planned centrepiece of the temple, one possible reason for the *Apollino*’s selection was Lanzi’s association of the two statues.⁵²² In this combination the *Apollino* symbolized adolescence, or the sun at

⁵¹⁹ Haskell and Penny, 1982, p. 148.

⁵²⁰ ‘The Apollo of Medicis, which is in the same room, is a very delightful specimen of Grecian art; but it has the fault of being that equivocal size (I believe called *small-life*) which looks like diminutive nature, not nature diminished.’ Hazlitt, W., *Notes of a journey through France and Italy* (London, 1826), p. 261.

⁵²¹ Kenworthy-Browne, 1993, p. 251.

⁵²² Lanzi, L., *La Reale Galleria di Firenze, Giornale de’ letterati*, 1782, XLV11, p. 175.

dawn, and the *Apollino Belvedere* adulthood, or the sun in full splendour.⁵²³ The *Apollino* was sometimes also paired with the *Callipygian Venus*, as well as the *Apollino Belvedere*.⁵²⁴ The known associations and the popularity of the *Apollino* in England during the eighteenth century likely influenced selection of the statue for the temple. British copies were commonplace in the eighteenth century. The sculptor John Smith (1652-1743) produced two versions and the statue was also incorporated into portraiture.⁵²⁵ The painter Joseph Wilson (?-1793) depicted the Irish landowner Isaac Ambrose Eccles with the *Apollino* in the background, in the style of a Pompeo Batoni Grand Tour portrait.⁵²⁶ Henry Hoare might well have visited the Villa Medici whilst in Rome, where it is very likely that he would have seen the original statue on display. The association with the *Callipygian Venus* might also have provided motivation for its purchase.

Callipygian Venus

This statue is a copy of the *Callipygian Venus*, now in the Farnese collection in Naples (see Figure 4.5). It is possible that the statue is a cast of the original.⁵²⁷ The figure was heavily restored in the sixteenth century, with most of the upper part, the left arm, right hand and right leg all being added. The positioning of the arms, and especially that of the left arm, suggests a drying motion and this possibly accounts for the eighteenth-century comment that the statue depicts Venus leaving the bath and drying herself. An important legacy of

⁵²³ The original statue was discovered in Rome in the seventeenth century, originally forming part of the Borghese collection. In 1704 it was moved to the Villa Medici where it remained until being moved to Florence by Cosimo Medici III in 1769. The *Apollino* statue is currently displayed in the Tribuna of the Uffizi in Florence together with the Faun of Florence and the Venus Medici. The proximity of the *Apollino* to the Medici Venus appears to have fixed the pairing of these two statues and Haskell and Penny report that they were often placed pendant to one another in English houses.

⁵²⁴ Haskell and Penny, 1982, p. 147.

⁵²⁵ Smith, J., *Apollino* Marble, 254 cm (height), Anglesey Abbey, Cambridgeshire, National Trust Inventory Number 516619; Unknown, *Apollino* Painted plaster, 140 cm (height), Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, National Trust Inventory Number 109002.

⁵²⁶ Wilson, J. (?), *Isaac Ambrose Eccles (?1736 - 1809)*, c.1750, Oil on canvas, 208.3 cm × 137.2 cm, Castle Ward, County Down, NT 836127.

⁵²⁷ Kenworthy-Browne lists a mould for this statue in Matthew Brettingham the younger's account book (Kenworthy-Browne, 1993, p. 251).

the restorer's work was the decision to render the statue so that the figure appears to be looking over its right shoulder at the buttocks. As Beard and Henderson have commented, this decision has 'created a masterpiece in place of a fragment'.⁵²⁸ According to Haskell and Penny, the pose lends the piece an 'erotic character', a view echoed by other writers, including Beard and Henderson.⁵²⁹

A further consequence of the restoration posing is that the statue became associated with a third-century CE story by Athenaeus. Haskell and Penny recount the story thus:

Two daughters of a peasant settled a dispute concerning which had the more shapely buttocks by accosting a young man on the highway who was unknown to both of them and inviting him to judge. His choice was his reward, and his brother hearing of the contest preferred and thus won the other girl. The double marriage that ensued so improved the girls' fortunes that they dedicated a temple to Venus Callipygos at Syracuse.⁵³⁰

The statue was by 1697 situated in the Sala di Filosofi of the Palazzo Farnese where it remained 'until the second half of the eighteenth century'.⁵³¹ It is entirely possible that Henry Hoare would have seen the statue at this location.

As shown in Chapter 3, the goddess Venus was extensively and variously represented in the gardens at Stourhead. In the Temple of Hercules, she was represented as a statue, as well as on the painted panels of the seats that furnished the temple. However, these representations are of the anadyomene type, whereas at the Temple of Apollo she is

⁵²⁸ Beard, M. and Henderson, J., *Classical Art: from Greece to Rome* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 124.

⁵²⁹ Haskell and Penny, 1982, p. 318.

⁵³⁰ Ibid, 1982, p. 317. The tale is from Athenaeus (*Deipnosophists*, 12.554 c-e).

⁵³¹ Ibid, 1981, p. 316.

represented in her Callipygian aspect. This statue is the sole example at Stourhead of a female depiction in which nudity is a significant feature. There is evidence to suggest that the lack of clothing on the figure was unexpected. A handwritten note just above the Venus statue listing on the 1766 receipt (Figure 4.3) reads ‘almost naked’. We do not know in whose hand the note is written and it seems unlikely to be Henry Hoare. However, the statue was not replaced and thus it seems that the display of partial nudity was tolerated.

As well as the absence of other female nude figures in the garden, it is interesting to note that certain other individual examples and categories of gods and goddesses are not present. Other than Ceres, the Roman counterpart of Demeter, none of the chthonic deities are represented. For example, Pluto, Charon, Hecate and Persephone are absent, and not just from Stourhead, but from the principal contemporary eighteenth-century English landscapes in both British and overseas English gardens. Additionally, the presence of Ceres might reasonably be considered as being due to her agricultural associations rather than as a representative of the chthonic deities. Also absent are representations of more sexual deities and creatures, such as Pan, Priapus or satyrs, though whilst not common in other gardens, Pan and satyrs are a feature of the gardens such as Rousham. Also absent from Stourhead are any representations of the *dii consentes* Jupiter, Juno, Ares and Vulcan. The statuary selection at Stourhead is composed largely of agricultural mythological figures and those connected to the home, the arts and commerce. I shall return to this issue in my final chapter.

With regard to selection principles for the Temple of Apollo statuary, if the designers’ intention was to represent the Roman proverb, *Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus* then obtaining a Venus statue was a necessity. Given the availability of a John Cheere statue via the Brettingham mould, a copy of the *Callipygian Venus* might simply have represented an

expeditious choice. However, the evidence for depiction of this proverb is not strong and the selection and placement of the statuary could be coincidental.

Mercury

This Cheere statue of Mercury, cast in lead, is very similar to the marble Mercury statue that has stood in the Uffizi galleries in Florence since 1734 (see Figure 4.9 for comparison).

Figure 4.9 – Comparison of *Uffizi Mercury* with Stourhead version



The original is an antique Roman statue to which the winged petasos hat and forearms were added during the Renaissance. According to Haskell and Penny ‘there is no reason to suppose that the statue had originally been intended to represent Mercury’.⁵³² Other Cheere statues of Mercury are copies, and perhaps casts, of ‘Lord Bateman’s Mercury’.⁵³³ This statue is similar in pose to that of the Stourhead example, except that the latter is

⁵³² Ibid, 1982, p. 267.

⁵³³ e.g. Cheere, J., *Mercury*, Lead and stone statue, 175 cm (height), Saltram, Devon, National Trust Inventory Number 872424.1.

distinguished from the former by the position of the left arm. The Stourhead Mercury shows the left hand on the hip. The *Uffizi Mercury*, and the very similar *Bateman Mercury*, were popular selections for eighteenth-century house or garden statuary. Haskell and Penny write that ‘in England and Ireland...there were probably more copies of the Mercury than elsewhere’.⁵³⁴ Given the foregoing observations regarding the popularity of this statue in eighteenth-century Britain, it is unsurprising that it should have been selected for inclusion amongst the Temple of Apollo statues at Stourhead. Mercury is a member of the *dii consentes* and amongst his many areas of patronage he was the god of financial gain and commerce. A possibility is that the Mercury statue was selected on this basis.

Urania

This statue is a lead copy of a now lost Urania sculpture.⁵³⁵ The statue is similar to drawings of Urania appearing in early eighteenth-century compendia of ancient Italian statues and paintings from the same period.⁵³⁶ However, van Haecht’s painting shows a different version of the Urania statue to the one at Stourhead (see far right, adjacent to the *Farnese Hercules*, in Figure 4.10).⁵³⁷

⁵³⁴ Haskell and Penny, 1982, p. 267.

⁵³⁵ Lead sculpture, Urania, possibly by John Cheere (1709 – London 1787), 1760s. Lead statue of Urania, after the antique, supplied by John Cheere. Original appears to have belonged to a 'Monsieur Berton' at Rome, now lost and a version (sic) with a lower left arm (sic) was in the Capitoline Museum, Rome, recorded in Willem van Haecht's 1628 painting of the Picture Gallery of Cornelis van de Geest (Rubenshuis, Antwerp). This lead cast presumably made by Cheere in the 1760s, from Matthew Brettingham junior's moulds, for the Temple of Apollo. Removed to West Garden 1903-4. <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/562883>, accessed 5th January 2017.

⁵³⁶ For example, that shown in plate 14 of Gori, A.F. *Museum Florentinum* (Florence, 1734).

⁵³⁷ Van Haecht, W., *The Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest*, 1628, Oil on panel, 99 cm × 129.5 cm, Rubenshuis, Antwerp, Accession number RH.S.171.

Figure 4.10 – van Haecht, W., *The Picture Gallery of Cornelis van de Geest*, (1628)



Evidence that the statue once belonged to a Monsieur Berton is taken from notes in Brettingham's account book. However, neither the specific identity of this individual nor the current whereabouts of the Urania statue are known to us.⁵³⁸ A Urania statue was also a feature of Thomas Coke's collection of ancient statues for Holkham Hall. The pose of Coke's Urania is similar to that of the Stourhead statue, but the size of the Holkham Hall example, as well as differences in the facial and head detail, show that the former cannot be a cast of the latter.⁵³⁹

One approach to understanding how Urania was viewed in the eighteenth century is to consult entries in mythological dictionaries of the time. Lemprière's dictionary, printed in

⁵³⁸ Kenworthy-Browne, 1993, p. 251.

⁵³⁹ Angelicoussis, E., *The Holkham Collection of Classical Sculptures* (Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 2001), Plate. 70.

1788, was well-known as a literary resource in Britain, and reference to this tome yields the following definition:⁵⁴⁰

Daughter of Jupiter and Mnemosyne, who presided over astronomy. She is generally called mother of Linus by Apollo, and of the god Hymenaeus by Bacchus. She was represented as a young virgin dressed in an azure coloured robe, crowned with stars, and holding a globe in her hand, and having many mathematical instruments around her.⁵⁴¹

Urania was often cited in the literature of the seventeenth century, including her invocation at the beginning of Book 7 of Milton's *Paradise Lost*:

Descend from Heaven, Urania, by that name
If rightly thou art called, whose voice divine
Following, above the Olympian hill I soar,
Above the flight of Pegasean wing!⁵⁴²

Mention of Urania was not peculiar to Milton's work. Dolloff lists several works from the seventeenth century that reference the Muse, including William Drummond's *Urania, Or Spiritual Poems*.⁵⁴³ Urania is also commonly encountered in eighteenth-century English literature, including Samuel Boyse's *An Ode Sacred to the birth of the Marquess of*

⁵⁴⁰ Wright, F.A., *Lemprière's Classical dictionary of proper names mentioned in ancient authors* (London, Routledge, Keegan & Paul, 1986), p. 650.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid, 1986, p. 650.

⁵⁴² Milton, J., *Paradise Lost, Book 7* (London, 1667), l.1-4.

⁵⁴³ Dolloff, M., *Meditating the Muse: Milton and the Metamorphosis of Urania* (University of Texas, Austin, unpublished PhD thesis, 2006), p. 6.

Tavistock.⁵⁴⁴ Watts and Langhorne are amongst other eighteenth-century poets to reference Urania.⁵⁴⁵

Milton, like Virgil and Homer, had invoked the inspiration of a Muse, in the case of *Paradise Lost*, Urania. In 1700, on the death of John Dryden, the Muses were associated with English women writers who had contributed to a volume of elegiac poems edited by the author and playwright Delarivier Manley.⁵⁴⁶ The associations were as follows:

Contributor	Muse association
Delarivier Manley (1663 or 1670-1724)	Melpomene and Thalia
Sarah Fyge Egerton (1668–1723)	Erato, Euterpe and Terpsichore
Mary Pix (1666-1709)	Clio
Catherine Trotter (1674?-1749)	Calliope
Lady Sarah Piers (1697-1719)	Urania
Known only as Mrs D. E.	Polyhymnia

The association between author and Muse appears to be contrived and marks a pattern of associating eminent women with the goddesses. Wetenhall Wilkes in 1741 had asked rhetorically ‘If it were intended by Nature, that Man should monopolize all learning to himself, why were the Muses Female, who as Orpheus observes in his hymn, Mus. were

⁵⁴⁴ ‘Propitious Goddess of immortal song, Urania! from thy starry height descend’. Boyse, S., (1740) in Johnson, S., *The Works of the English Poets, From Chaucer to Cowper Vol. 14* (London, 1810), p. 525.

⁵⁴⁵ ‘Urania takes her morning flight, with inimitable wing’, Watts, I., (1707) ‘The Adventurous Muse’ in Johnson, S. (ed.), *The Works of the English Poets, From Chaucer to Cowper Vol. 46* (London, 1779), p. 206.; ‘Fair Urania’s favour’d child! George to thee devotes the day’, Langhorne, J., (1760), ‘Hymneal: On the Marriage of His Present Majesty’ in Langhorne, J.T., *The Poetical Works of John Langhorne, D.D., Vol. 2* (London, 1804), p. 121. Langhorne adds a footnote referencing Catullus, presumably a reference to the lines ‘O dweller of Mt. Helicon, child of Urania, who carries off to a husband a tender maiden’ from the Epithalamium by Catullus (*Carmen* 61).

⁵⁴⁶ Manley, D. (ed.), *The Nine Muses, Or, Poems Written by Nine severall Ladies Upon the death of the late Famous John Dryden Esq.* (London, Richard Basset, 1700).

the Mistresses of all the Sciences, and the Presidents of Music and Poetry?’⁵⁴⁷ Later the association was extended from women writers to women who had achieved eminence in other areas, including painting and singing. These modern Muses were also professionals ‘who earned a living from their work’ and were likely to be known by the public, including visitors to Stourhead.⁵⁴⁸ Contemporary with Henry’s development of the gardens at Stourhead was the emergence of the Bluestocking circle, which during the 1750s were hosted by Elizabeth Vesey, Elizabeth Montagu and Frances Boscawen, the last of whom visited Stourhead in 1783. The activities of this group provide a further insight as to how the Muses were received by eighteenth-century English society. The activities of the Bluestocking group encouraged ‘women to pursue a life of the mind’ and individuals associated with the group were celebrated in Samuel’s painting *Portraits in the Characters of the Muses in the Temple of Apollo* in 1778.⁵⁴⁹ In this picture the following nine ‘Muses’ are depicted:

Contributor	Area of activity
Elizabeth Carter (1717-1806)	Scholar and writer
Anna Letitia Barbauld (1743-1825)	Poet and writer
Angelica Kauffmann (1741-1807)	Painter
Elizabeth Ann Sheridan (1754-1792)	Singer/writer
Charlotte Lennox (1720-1804)	Writer
Hannah More (1745-1833)	Religious writer
Elizabeth Montagu (1718-1800)	Literary critic
Elizabeth Griffith (1727-1793)	Playwright/novelist
Catherine Macaulay (1731-1791)	Historian

⁵⁴⁷ Wilkes, W., *An Essay on the Pleasures and Advantages of Female Literature* (London, 1741), p. 17.

⁵⁴⁸ Peltz, L., ‘Living Muses. Constructing and Celebrating the Professional Woman in Literature and the arts’, in Eger, E. and Peltz, L. (eds.) *Brilliant Women: 18th-Century Bluestockings*, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2008), p. 62.

⁵⁴⁹ Samuel, R., *Portraits in the Characters of the Muses in the Temple of Apollo*, Oil on canvas, 1778, 132.1 cm × 154.9 cm, Purchased, 1972 Primary Collection NPG 4905.

Kauffman was amongst the many artists commissioned by the Hoare family. Her portrait of Frances Ann Acland, the second wife of Sir Richard Hoare, 1st Bt. is listed in the 1800 Stourhead catalogue.⁵⁵⁰ Kauffman has included in the painting a marble bust of Clio, the Muse of history (see Figure 4.11). Samuel's composition is an illustration of the mid-eighteenth-century inclination to link prominent women with the Muses and 'coincided with the debate about whether the nine Muses merely provided inspiration to men practising the arts and sciences or could also represent active female creativity'.⁵⁵¹ By the time of Samuel's painting Georgian women were no longer simply the inspiration to other, typically male artists and writers, but as Peltz has written 'Britain now had its own active Muses, blessed for their artistic creativity by Phoebus (Apollo), the presiding deity of the arts'.⁵⁵²

Figure 4.11 – Kaufmann, A., *Portrait of Frances Ann Acland* (1773)



⁵⁵⁰ Kaufmann, A., *Frances Ann Acland*, c.1773, Oil on canvas, 125.7 cm × 100.3 cm, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 732283.

⁵⁵¹ <http://www.npg.org.uk/whatson/exhibitions/2008/brilliant-women/celebrating-modern-muses>, accessed 21st June, 2017.

⁵⁵² Peltz, L., 2008, p. 57.

Peltz suggests that the accoutrements with which the Muses were shown on Josiah Wedgwood's plaques were derived from the iconography mentioned in Ausonius' *Twentieth Idyll*.⁵⁵³ These same items are included in the few Muse statues to be found in eighteenth-century English landscape gardens, such as those at Kedleston Hall. Two of these statues are shown in Figure 4.12.

Figure 4.12 – Putative Muse statues from the rear of Kedleston Hall



The presence of the flute suggests a Euterpe attribution and the lyre suggests either Erato or Terpsichore. However, the tragic dramatic mask offers the possibility of a Melpomene identification. The combination of features suggests a multivalency of these figures, in that they could be interpreted variously by different viewers. Whereas the Kedleston Muse

⁵⁵³ Clio Sings the history of times past
Melpomene tells a sad tale with a tragic air
Thalia light-heartedly performs comedy.
Euterpe plays a flute in sweet tones.
Terpsichore stirs and rouses the emotions with her lyre.
Erato strums her lyre and dances.
Calliope tells of heroic deeds from her book.
Urania studies the motion of heaven and the stars.
Polyhymnia communicates with her hand, speaking with gesture.
Ausonius., *Idyll*, 20.

statues are multivalent in nature, the Stourhead Muse is conspicuously one of Urania, perhaps intended as a metonymic representation of all nine Muses.

Figure 4.13 – Brueghel, J., *The Four Elements* (1621-32)



Muses were not a common feature of the English landscape gardens of the eighteenth century, with the exception of Stowe which featured the now-lost Apollo and the Muses statuary in its Elysian Fields. Little is known of the nature and provenance of these statues and it is uncertain whether these were cast or bespoke items. The lack of availability perhaps accounts for the single Muse representation at Stourhead. Ultimately the availability of a Urania statue mould, plus her prominence in English eighteenth-century art and literature, may be sufficient to account for the statue's inclusion at the Temple of Apollo. There are other references to Urania at Stourhead, including a painting titled *The Four Elements*, bought by Henry Hoare in 1765 (see Figure 4.13).⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵⁴ Brueghel, J. and Van Balen the Elder, *The Four Elements*, 1621-32, Oil on copper, 71.1 cm × 88.9 cm, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 732304.

This is one of a number of paintings by Brueghel on this theme. It is a representation of all four elements, though Brueghel often produced individual element paintings. One example of this is the *Air* painting at Stourhead (see Figure 4.14), although this piece was given to Henry Hugh Arthur Hoare (1865 - 1947) in 1869, and was not an original purchase by Henry Hoare.⁵⁵⁵

Figure 4.14 – Brueghel, J., *Air* (1621-32)



In both paintings the figure representing *Air* is depicted in a loose-fitting, orange robe. Whilst not evident in the Stourhead *Four Elements* painting, in the *Air* painting this figure is shown holding an orrery, a mechanical model of the solar system. This suggests that the depicted figure is Urania, here used to illustrate the element of air. Of perhaps further significance is that the Palazzo Doria Pamphili also contains a set of the four element paintings.⁵⁵⁶ As already mentioned, Henry also commissioned copies of two of the Doria Pamphili Claude landscapes, which suggests that he was familiar with the palazzo and its contents.

⁵⁵⁵ Brueghel, J. and Van Balen the Elder, *Air*, 1621-32, Oil on copper, 49.5 cm × 66 cm, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 732104.

⁵⁵⁶ Safarik, E.A., *Galleria Doria Pamphilj masterpieces: Paintings* (Rome, Societa Arti Doria Pamphilj, 1993).

In addition to a figure likely to represent Urania, the element earth is commonly represented in Brueghel's paintings by Pomona.⁵⁵⁷ The figure in the *Four Elements* Stourhead painting and in various versions of the Earth theme is shown with a cornucopia in which orchard fruits are most conspicuous. Pomona is also one of the statues listed on the Cheere receipt and to which I shall now turn.

Pomona

The Pomona figure is currently listed as a statue of Flora in the National Trust Collections.⁵⁵⁸ However, the statue is shown with a cornucopia in the crook of its left arm (see Figure 4.15), and whilst a cornucopia was by no means unique to Pomona, it is rare for depictions of Flora, which usually include garlands or floral wreaths, as is the case with the Rysbrack Flora in the Temple of Hercules. Much of our understanding of Pomona derives from Ovid's tale of how she is wooed by Vertumnus, the god of seasons, plant growth, gardens and fruit trees.⁵⁵⁹ Ovid lists Pomona as a hamadryad or wood nymph and begins his tale by describing her skill at maintaining orchards, which she tends with her pruning knife. He writes also that to avoid unwanted male attention she enclosed herself within an orchard. Vertumnus possessed the capacity to change his form and used this ability to gain access to Pomona by transforming himself into a series of characters, including that of an old woman.

⁵⁵⁷ The National Trust website containing details of the Saltram painting of Earth states that the main figure is Cybele (<http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/872528>). However, Cybele is usually depicted wearing a mural crown and flanked or drawn by lions.

⁵⁵⁸ Cheere, J., *Flora* (sic), 1765-6, Lead, Main Entrance, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 731880. <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/731880>, accessed 26th December 2016.

⁵⁵⁹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 14.632-697.

Pomona is represented in ancient Roman statues with various attributes, but very commonly with orchard fruits, and especially apples on platters, or in cornucopia, as in the case of the Stourhead statue and in the Brueghel painting. She is also often depicted as holding an apple or pruning knife. The Stourhead statue is shown with the right hand held laterally across the abdomen.

Figure 4.15 – John Cheere statue of Pomona (c.1765)



No apple or other fruit is evident, but it might be that the hand holds a pruning knife. The statue is on top of Stourhead House and so is inaccessible. Extant images are not of sufficient resolution to determine whether any objects are clasped in the statue's right hand. Pomona had no equivalent in Greek mythology and her origins are as a distinctively Roman deity. Varro writes that Pompilius established a priesthood for Pomona, the *flamen Pomonalis*.⁵⁶⁰ The presence of a Pomonal, or sacred grove, in the Solonian field between Ostia and Ardea is reported by Festus.⁵⁶¹ Elsewhere (e.g. in Salerno) temples were dedicated to her. Varro is writing during the first century BCE, showing that Pomona was

⁵⁶⁰ Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 7.45.

⁵⁶¹ Festus, *Portent*, 144.10– 14L.

amongst the oldest Roman deities. Ancient Roman statues of Pomona also depict the goddess with cornucopia (see Figure 4.16).⁵⁶² Cavaceppi includes a Pomona statue in his catalogue (see Figure 4.17).⁵⁶³ Here the goddess is seated, garlanded with a vine tendril, holding a bowl of fruit in her left hand and grapes in her right. This is likely to be the same statue listed in the 1768 inventory of Wilton House.⁵⁶⁴ References to Pomona are a common feature of eighteenth-century British literature and especially poetry. The poem *Cider* by John Philips in 1708 references Pomona throughout the piece, including the opening stanza, which begins:

What soil the Apple loves, what care is due
To Orchats, timeliest when to press the fruits,
Thy gift, Pomona!⁵⁶⁵

Figure 4.16 – Ancient Roman statue of Pomona



⁵⁶² <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3285509>, accessed 28th December, 2016.

⁵⁶³ Cavaceppi, B., *Raccolta d'antiche statue busti bassirilievi ed altre sculture restaurate da Bartolomeo Cavaceppi scultore romano*. Volume primo (Roma, 1768), plate 38.

⁵⁶⁴ 'The statue of Pomona sitting; the Cushion so naturally cut as to appear soft'. Kennedy, J., *A new description of the pictures, statues, bustos and basso-relievos at the Earl of Pembrokes House at Wilton* (Salisbury, 1768), p. 31.

⁵⁶⁵ Philips, J., *Cider, A poem in two books* (T. Cadell, London, 1791). In the preface to this volume Charles Dunster describes 'Cider' as an 'English Georgic'. Philip's opening line is homage to Virgil's first line of the *Georgics* 'What makes the cornfields glad'.

Figure 4.17 – Cavaceppi restoration of *Seated Pomona* (1768)



As the goddess of orchard fruit, it is perhaps unsurprising that she is evoked in poems such as James Thomson's *Summer* written in 1730, which includes the following lines:

Bear me, Pomona! To thy citron groves;
To where the lemon and the piercing lime,
With the deep orange, glowing through the green,
Their lighter glories blend. Lay me reclined.⁵⁶⁶

Further evidence of popular familiarity with Pomona was the publication of Batty Langley's 1728 tract on fruit growing.⁵⁶⁷ The book title *Pomona: or the fruit garden, illustrated* indicates that in early eighteenth-century Britain Pomona was commonly

⁵⁶⁶ Thomson, J., *Seasons, A Poem* (New York, Clark, Austin & Co., 1854), p. 57, l.663-7. In the poem *Autumn* Thomson pays tribute to Philips whom he describes as 'Pomona's bard' (p. 105, l.664).

⁵⁶⁷ Langley, B., *Pomona: or the fruit garden, illustrated* (London, 1729).

associated with orchard fruit. Some years later, Spence provides advice on placement of Pomona in his *Polymetis*, writing that:

The figure which answers Flora on the opposite side, with a pruning hook in her right hand and a branch in her left, is Pomona.⁵⁶⁸

This suggests that for Spence the proper placement of a Pomona statue is pendant to one of Flora.

What might have been the appeal of selecting a Pomona statue for the Temple of Apollo? The figure is admittedly ambiguous in its depiction of a female figure holding a cornucopia. Roman deities such as Ceres, Fortuna and Abundantia were all shown holding this feature. However, the Cheere receipt confirms that the statue was purchased as Pomona and it is in this context that the statue's selection must be considered. Pomona, Ceres and Bacchus were all deities concerned with agriculture, so are appropriate to a landscape garden. Varro includes Minerva and Venus in this context for their roles in protecting olive trees, and the fecundity of gardens, respectively.⁵⁶⁹

Whatever the reasons for the selection of Pomona, no Stourhead visitor mentions her inclusion amongst the Temple of Apollo statues. So, in spite of featuring in British eighteenth-century art and literature, her presence as one of the Temple of Apollo statues was not reported in any of the visitor accounts. This is also the case for the Urania statue described above, as well as the Ceres, Vesta and Bacchus statues. This is an issue I will discuss later in this chapter, particularly with respect to the issue of how readily and

⁵⁶⁸ Spence, J., *Polymetis* (London, 1747), p. 251.

⁵⁶⁹ Varro includes several minor deities in his list, including Tellus, Sol, Luna, Liber, Robigus, Lympha and Bonus Eventus. *De Re Rustica* 1.1.4–6.

reliably statues of these deities could be identified. Of these five unmentioned statues, the Bacchus exhibits the most distinctive attributes, and especially the grapes and vines.

Bacchus

The Bacchus sculpture is based on a statue that was once on display in the Grande Galerie at Versailles and is based on a Thomassin sketch of the figure.⁵⁷⁰ The description of the statue in Thomassin's book states that it is 'Bacchus, draped with a skin and holding grapes in his hand, an ancient figure of marble'.⁵⁷¹ The statue is now believed to be lost; however, the pose is similar to the *Colossal Bacchus with Panther* that was once the centrepiece of the Temple of Bacchus at Painshill, and which is currently at Anglesey Abbey in Cambridgeshire (see Figure 4.18).⁵⁷² If Henry visited Versailles, then it is entirely possible that he would have seen the Versailles original of the Stourhead Bacchus, as well as the Vestal statue that was also selected for the Temple of Apollo, and which will shortly be discussed. The inclusion of a Bacchus statue would be necessary for representing the *Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus* theme quoted earlier. As discussed in the previous section on Pomona, Bacchus is also one of the five deities selected for the Temple of Apollo that are linked with agriculture. These factors may account for the selection of this statue for one of the temple niches. However, it is important to note that no visitor mentions the proverb, or even that the Bacchus statue is amongst those at the Temple of Apollo.

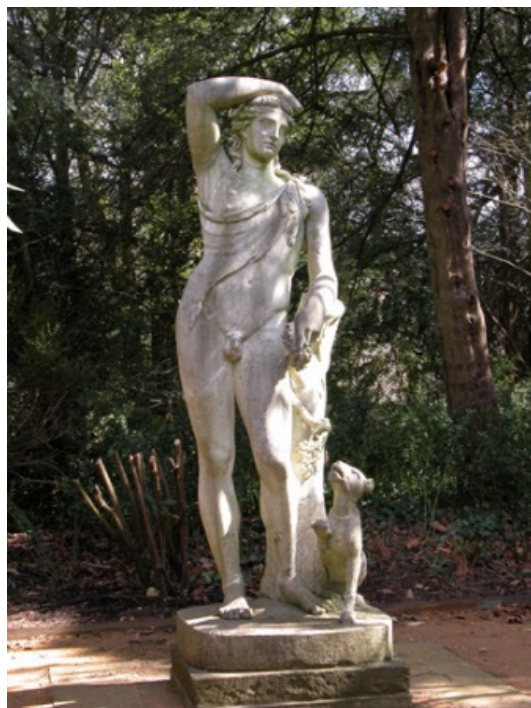
⁵⁷⁰ Lead sculpture, Bacchus by John Cheere (1709 – London 1787). Lead statue of Bacchus after the antique. Original statue was in grande Galerie, Versailles. John Cheere presumably (sic) modelled his work from the engraving of statues at Versailles published by Simon Thomassin (1694) who later enrolled at the French Academy in Rome; supplied for Temple of Apollo in 1765-66.

<http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/562879>, accessed 2nd January 2017.

⁵⁷¹ Thomassin, S., *Recueil des Statues, Groupes, Fontaines, Termes, Vases et autres magnifiques Ornaments du Chateau & Parc de Versailles* (Paris, 1723), p. 13. The Bacchus statue is reproduced as Plate 2 of the same publication.

⁵⁷² Unknown, *Colossal Bacchus with Panther*, 1st/2nd Century CE, Rome, Marble statue, 241.3 cm (height), Anglesey Abbey, National Trust Inventory Number 516675.

Figure 4.18 – Colossal Bacchus with Panther statue from Anglesey Abbey



Vestal Virgin

The Vestal Virgin statue at Stourhead is a 1.6 m lead copy of a now-lost antique statue that in the early eighteenth century was on display in the gardens of Versailles. The Stourhead statue appears to be a reversed copy of an engraving by Thomassin (see Figure 4.19).⁵⁷³

Better-preserved Cheere copies of the statue can be found at Saltram House (see Figure 4.20).⁵⁷⁴ Both this version and the Stourhead copy were likely influenced by the very similar statue now at Anglesey Abbey, but originally from the pediment of the Temple of Concord at Stowe (see Figure 4.21).⁵⁷⁵ After the Stourhead house fire in 1902, lead statues from the Temple of Apollo were moved to the main house and the Temple of Hercules.

Limestone copies of the Urania and Vestal (see Figure 4.22) were installed in the two

⁵⁷³ Thomassin, 1723, Plate 9.

⁵⁷⁴ Cheere, J., *Vesta/Vestal Virgin*, 1765-6, Lead, 160 cm (height). Saltram House, Devon, National Trust Inventory Number 872424.3.

⁵⁷⁵ Nost, J. 1st (c.1655-1710) or Carpenter, A. (1677-1737), *Vestal Virgin*, 18th Cent., Painted white lead on stone pedestal, 177.8 cm (height). Anglesey Abbey, Cambridgeshire, National Trust Inventory Number 515150. The provenance notes for this statue specify that it is 'One of a pair of full-length lead figures of Vestal Virgins their heads covered by their mantles. Originally from the pediment of the Temple of Concord & Victory at Stowe'.

niches either side of the door to the temple, presumably as a token acknowledgment of the prior presence of the Cheere statuary.⁵⁷⁶ The National Trust webpage for this statue lists it as being one of a Vestal Virgin.⁵⁷⁷ However, the Cheere receipt lists the statue as Vesta. The statue was thus purchased as the goddess herself, rather than one of her priestesses. Vesta was the Roman goddess representative of the hearth and domestic life and one of the twelve *dii consentes*. This association with fire is represented by the flames in the pot at the base of the statue. This statue is amongst those at the Temple of Apollo that are not mentioned in the extant Stourhead visitor accounts.

Figure 4.19 - Thomassin's sketch of the Versailles' Vestal side-by-side with the Stourhead lead copy



⁵⁷⁶ British school, *Vesta/Vestal Virgin*, 1907-8, Limestone, 1580 mm (height). Temple of Apollo, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 562917. British school, *Urania*, 1907-8, Limestone, 1575 mm (height). Temple of Apollo, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 562918.

⁵⁷⁷ <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/562884>, accessed 1st January 2017.

Figure 4.20 – John Cheere Vestal statues from Kedleston and Saltram House



Figure 4.21 – John Nost (?) Vestal statue at Anglesey Abbey. The original is shown reversed on the left of the figure.



Figure 4.22 – Limestone statues of Urania and Vesta



Ceres

As with the other two goddess statues (Minerva and Pomona) that now sit atop the main entrance to Stourhead House, very little information is provided in the National Trust online archive.⁵⁷⁸ However, this is almost certainly the Ceres statue that once occupied an external niche of the Temple of Apollo (see Figure 4.23). She holds a wreath of corn in her right hand and a corn sheath in her left. The statue is therefore markedly different from the Temple of Hercules Livia Augusta as Ceres statue. This combination of symbols identifies the figure as being one of Ceres and provides a basis upon which to research possible antecedents.

⁵⁷⁸ 'Lead sculpture, Ceres. Full-length lead statue of Ceres. May well date from period of original building of house (1721 - 1724) but not in present position (central apex of East Pediment of house) before 1902 fire.' <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/731879>.

Figure 4.23 – Ceres statue at Stourhead



There are some similarities with perhaps one of the best-known Ceres statues in the eighteenth century, the *Mattei Ceres*. However, there are some conspicuous differences and it seems unlikely that this is the source inspiration for the Stourhead statue.⁵⁷⁹ Of the possible candidates so far located, the Ceres statue that appears in Perrier's seventeenth-century catalogue matches the sheaf and wreath accoutrements, but is still not a match for the Stourhead statue.⁵⁸⁰ Beyond these two attributes there is nothing else to indicate that it is of Ceres. The only other match I have located for this figure is a statuette at Saltram House. The text for this item includes the speculation that it is designed to represent a Vestal Virgin. However, there is nothing to suggest that this is the case.⁵⁸¹ This is of course also the case for the Livia Augusta as Ceres statue, which, as discussed earlier (p. 74), is most likely a Julio-Claudian female to which the patera, and corn and poppy sheaf,

⁵⁷⁹ Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 181.

⁵⁸⁰ Perrier, F., *Segmenta nobilium signorum e statuarum* (Rome, 1638).

⁵⁸¹ Unknown, *Female statuette*, Plaster and paint, 48.3 cm, Saltram, Devon, National Trust Inventory Number NT 872413.2.

have been added.⁵⁸² I have already pointed out that five of the statues on the Temple of Apollo were connected with agriculture in ancient Rome. Ceres, as the goddess of grain crops, was directly concerned with agriculture, and as one of the *dii consentes* was amongst the twelve principal Roman deities. As already discussed, she was symbolic of grain, and indirectly therefore bread, in Roman literature. As well as representing an aspect of agriculture, the selection of this statue would have been needed to represent the Roman proverb, *Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus*. However, as mentioned in the context of the Venus and Bacchus statues, no visitor mentions the proverb in their account of the temple.

Figure 4.24 – Stourhead Minerva and *Minerva Giustiniani* comparison



Minerva

The National Trust collections website provides very little information about this statue, but it is very likely to be the Minerva statue purchased from John Cheere for the Temple of Apollo niches in 1766.⁵⁸³ The statue (see Figure 4.24) depicts Minerva in similar dress and

⁵⁸² John Cheere provided a Ceres statue to James, 2nd Duke of Atholl for Blair Castle in 1740. However, this statue is very different from the Stourhead example. <http://canmore.org.uk/collection/538876>, accessed 31st, December, 2016.

⁵⁸³ 'Lead sculpture, Minerva. Full-length lead statue of Minerva. May well date from period of original building of house (1721 - 1724) but not in present position (central apex of East Pediment of house) before 1902 fire.' <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/731878>, accessed 30th December, 2016.

pose to the *Minerva Giustiniani* statue in the Vatican Museum. There are however, some conspicuous differences from the Vatican statue, which is larger and more detailed, especially with respect to the carving of the aegis. The two statues are similar in that in both cases the goddess is represented wearing a himation over a chiton, with the aegis set with the Medusa's head across the chest. Both statues show the goddess wearing a Corinthian helmet set back from the forehead, the top of which has been decorated with a sphinx which was added as part of the statue's restorations, together with the forearms and spear. The fact that both statues are depicted with the sphinx indicates that the Stourhead version is likely a copy of the *Minerva Giustiniani*, or a common source. The original Minerva derived its name from having been part of the Giustiniani collection, where it was kept until 1805.⁵⁸⁴ The statue receives special mention from Northall who, in a footnote to the text describing the statue's location, records that 'They say that the youth of Rome used to come and kiss the hand of this statue before they went to their schools'.⁵⁸⁵

Figure 4.25 – Batoni paintings featuring Minerva busts



⁵⁸⁴ Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 269.

⁵⁸⁵ Northall, J., *Travels through Italy* (London, 1766), p. 328.

Goethe was later told by the custodian of the collection that English visitors maintained this tradition.⁵⁸⁶ This anecdote suggests that the statue was well-known to English Grand Tourists. This may account for its inclusion in portraits by Pompeo Batoni, including those of Charles Compton and Sir Robert Danvers (see Figure 4.25).⁵⁸⁷ As a goddess presiding over affairs of commerce, selection of the statue would also be a good fit with Hoare's banking activities.⁵⁸⁸ Langley suggests that statues of Minerva should be placed in 'open lawns and large centres' and that they be accompanied by statues of the 'seven Liberal Sciences' and other minor deities.⁵⁸⁹ Spence includes a passage on Minerva based around her 'terrible beauty', and incorporates Minerva in his Pantheon collection.⁵⁹⁰ He describes also how 'Jupiter, sitting on his curule chair, faced them as they came in. On his right hand, stood Minerva; and Juno, on his left'.⁵⁹¹ Minerva is here placed with the other two deities that form the Capitoline Triad. Henry Hoare, or whoever decided on the selection of the Minerva statue, thus did not feel constrained by the 'rules' of statue placement.

Possible selection principles and visitor reception of the Temple of Apollo statuary

The Cheere catalogue in 1765-6 was extensive and so the selection of these statues is instructive with respect to the garden designers' reception of classical myth. Switzer suggests that 'Niches ought to be fill'd with the Dii Minores'.⁵⁹² Batty Langley specifically suggests accompanying Apollo with the nine Muses.⁵⁹³ Given this clear guidance from

⁵⁸⁶ Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 270.

⁵⁸⁷ Batoni, P., *Charles, 4th Earl of Northampton, 1758*, Oil on canvas, 238 cm × 149 cm PD.4-1950; Batoni, P., *Sir Robert Danvers, 5th Bt. (1729-1763), aged 21, 1756*, Oil on canvas, 126 cm × 104 cm, Ickworth, Suffolk, National Trust Inventory Number 851699.

⁵⁸⁸ Minerva was also a goddess of music, poetry and wisdom, all complementary to those of Apollo.

⁵⁸⁹ Langley, 1728, p. 204.

⁵⁹⁰ Spence, 1747, p. 59.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 1747, p. 46.

⁵⁹² Switzer, 1718, p. 313.

⁵⁹³ Langley, B., *New Principles of Gardening* (London, 1728), p. 203.

well-known and respected figures in garden design, it seems odd that the Stourhead garden designers chose to populate the niches with a mix of minor and major deities and only one muse, Urania. It is interesting to consider this statue selection in the context of Flitcroft's design. As noted above, the Temple of Apollo and the temple at Baalbek vary with respect to the number of niches. The provision of eleven niches allows for all nine Muses to be represented with the addition of two further *dii minores* (Flora and Pomona), as Switzer recommends.

A number of possibilities exist with respect to the process of selecting statues, one of which is that they were selected from the Cheere catalogue according to availability. However, an indication that the statues were chosen for their iconography, as well as availability, is that a deposit of £80 was paid on June 7th, 1766 to 'Mr Jn Cheere for cast of statues in part'.⁵⁹⁴ This shows that the process of acquiring statues began with a commission to produce bespoke items, rather than simply being based on what stock John Cheere's workshops had available. A further possibility is that the statues were chosen with a specific scheme in mind, i.e. that they were selected according to a planned programme of pairings or associations. I have proposed above that the selection of Bacchus, Venus and Ceres can be interpreted as representing a specific theme. Other selections might have been made on the basis of acknowledged pairings or themes, as well as individual statues being associated with certain meanings, virtues or attributes.

Whatever the authorial intention of the garden designers, the statues that filled the temple niches were rarely mentioned by Stourhead visitors. In fact, amongst the extant accounts only Curwen and Rezzonico make specific references to the identity of the niche statues. Their descriptions are limited to both visitors mentioning Venus and Apollo, with a single

⁵⁹⁴ Mako, M., *The Temple of Apollo* (National Trust, London, 2008), p. 7.

mention of Mercury (Rezzonico) and of Minerva (Curwen). No visitor, in any of the extant accounts, including Rezzonico, mentions the Pomona, Ceres, Urania, Vesta or Bacchus statues. There are a number of reasons why this might be the case. As already discussed, identification of specific statues could be challenging, and especially that of female agricultural deities with shared attributes, such as the cornucopia. In contrast, Mercury and Minerva, with distinctive apparel, such as the petasos and aegis, offer more conspicuous clues to the statue's identity.

A further consideration is the familiarity visitors would have with the many Roman deities. I mentioned earlier that Angerona, as a relatively minor Roman deity, may not have been known to Henry Hoare. Similarly, in spite of featuring in eighteenth-century British art and literature, *dii minores*, such as Pomona and Urania, were unlikely to be as well-known and readily identified as the *dii consentes*. Furthermore, as Curwen illustrates with his reference to the otherwise unmentioned Jupiter statue, even these deities were hard to correctly identify. Few Stourhead visitors mention the presence of these statues, and those that do typically restrict their comments to their presence, rather than their identities. One possibility is that these statues were so commonly encountered that their presence was literally unremarkable. However, given the unusual combination and misattribution, this explanation seems an unlikely one.

What were the design influences on the Temple of Apollo?

In addition to the Baalbek and Kew influences, there are at least two other possible sources of inspiration for the design of the temple. In Chapter 3 I discussed Roman influences on William Kent whilst he was on Grand Tour in Rome. Amongst Kent's later collection of garden building designs for Chatsworth was one for a circular peripteral structure, which in

his drawing has been placed high on the top of a steep-sided valley.⁵⁹⁵ There are some differences with the design of the Stourhead Temple (see Figure 4.26), but they are similar in both look and situation. Flitcroft, as a colleague of Kent, is likely to have been influenced by the latter's designs. It might well be that Flitcroft's design for the Temple of Apollo was inspired by Kent's ideas. One further possible influence on the Temple of Apollo might have been the round temple high above the River Aniene at Tivoli (see Figure 4.27). Both the Stourhead and Tivoli temples are elevated, circular, peripteral temples and these are presumably the similarities that led Spence in 1765 to suggest that the Stourhead temple was taken from the one at Tivoli.

Figure 4.26 – Kent sketch for circular temple on the hillside at Chatsworth



⁵⁹⁵ Harris, 2014, p. 408.

Figure 4.27 – Current photograph and reconstruction of the circular temple at Tivoli



Placing circular temples on hillsides is a relatively common feature of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century depictions of Apollo, such as Claude's *Apollo and the Muses* (see Figure 4.28).⁵⁹⁶

Figure 4.28 - Lorrain, C., *Apollo and the Muses* (1680)



⁵⁹⁶ Lorrain, C., *Apollo and the Muses on Mount Helicon*, Oil on canvas, 1680, 99.7 cm × 136.5 cm, William I. Koch Gallery, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Accession Number 12.1050.

Figure 4.29 – Maratta, C., *Marchese Niccolò Maria Pallavicini (1650-1714) guided to the Temple of Virtù by Apollo with a Self-portrait of the Artist* (1705)



This theme is also a feature of the Stourhead Pallavicini painting (see Figure 4.29), which depicts the apotheosis of the Marchese Niccolò Maria Pallavicini (1650-1714), a frequent and substantial patron of the arts in Rome.⁵⁹⁷ He is guided by Apollo to the Temple of Virtù, which is represented as a circular, colonnaded, peripteral temple high on a hill side. Above the figure of Apollo is ‘Glory’, a winged figure who carries a trumpet and laurel wreath. Minerva, who was amongst the Stourhead Temple of Apollo statues, is in the

⁵⁹⁷ Maratta, C., *Marchese Niccolò Maria Pallavicini (1650-1714) guided to the Temple of Virtù by Apollo with a Self-portrait of the Artist*, Oil on canvas, 1705, 299.7 cm × 212 cm, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 732098.

background instructing Fame to inscribe the Marchese's name in gold on her shield.⁵⁹⁸ In the right foreground are the three Graces, Euphrosyne, Aglaea and Thalia, representing mirth, elegance and beauty respectively.⁵⁹⁹ The painting was bought in Florence from the Marchese Arnaldi in 1758 and was thus in Henry Hoare's collection several years before the building of the Temple of Apollo. I commented earlier that the painting, paired with the bespoke Mengs' *Augustus and Cleopatra*, was originally hung alongside portraits of Henry Hoare in the main reception hall of Stourhead House. If Henry was indeed associating himself with ancient and Renaissance patrons of the arts, it might be that the location of the Temple of Apollo was influenced by this painting of the Marchese. Henry might have seen the building of a temple to Apollo as presaging his own imagined apotheosis.

Henry Flitcroft Bench with Aurora painting by William Hoare

This is the sole piece of internal furniture we know of from the Temple of Apollo (see Figure 4.30). The National Trust Collections website offers the following description:

Grained pine, curved bench seat from the Temple of Apollo, painted brown with a large scallop shell and oak leaf carving to top of the back, by Henry Flitcroft (Twiss Green, Cheshire 1697 – Hampstead 1769). The bench is painted with a classical scene of Apollo in his chariot and the Nine Muses. The bottom edge of the seat has c-scroll carving and the six

⁵⁹⁸ Colt Hoare included the verse inscribed on the shield in his review of Stourhead House's contents:

*Viddi, Signor, che della Gloria al tempio
Ti toglieva il ben genio, e viddo poi
Scriver colei, che dell'oblio fa scempio
Sullo scudo di Palla I pregi tuoi
Viddi, che á farsi altrui d'onore esempio
Correa la fama, e offrati I lauri suoi
Dalle grazei assistito io tutti ho spresso
Su I lini, e in te spero eternar me stesso*

Nichols, 1840, p. 745.

⁵⁹⁹ The painting also includes a representation of the artist Carlo Maratta (1625-1713) in the right foreground.

legs are carved with acanthus leaves and flower bosses. Paint loss near Apollo's face.⁶⁰⁰

Describing the female figures as 'the Nine Muses' is incorrect, as only seven female figures are reproduced, and in the Reni original they are intended to be the Horae (see Figure 4.31).⁶⁰¹

Figure 4.30 – Flitcroft designed bench with William Hoare version of Reni's *Aurora* (1765)



⁶⁰⁰ <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/562873.1>, accessed 18th December 2016.

⁶⁰¹ Lady Amabel Yorke records in her visit account only a 'Chair painted with Chariot of the Sun by Hoare of Bath'. Diaries of Lady Amabel Yorke, Vol. 5, Catalogue Finding Number, WYL150/7/6/5/015 downloaded via <http://library.hud.ac.uk/calmview/>, 3rd January, 2017.

Figure 4.31 – Reni, G., *Aurora* (1614) from the Palazzo Palavicini Rispogliosi



In fact, the bench painting representation and the Reni original are quite different and, as pointed out by Dodd, the bench painting more closely reproduces the Horae and Apollo figures from Poussin's *A Dance to the Music of Time* (see Figure 4.32).⁶⁰²

Figure 4.32 – Section of Poussin, N., *A Dance to the Music of Time* (1634-6)



⁶⁰² Dodd, 2007, pp. 14-22. Poussin, N., *A Dance to the Music of Time*, c.1634-6, Oil on canvas, 82.5 cm × 104 cm, Wallace Collection, London, P108.

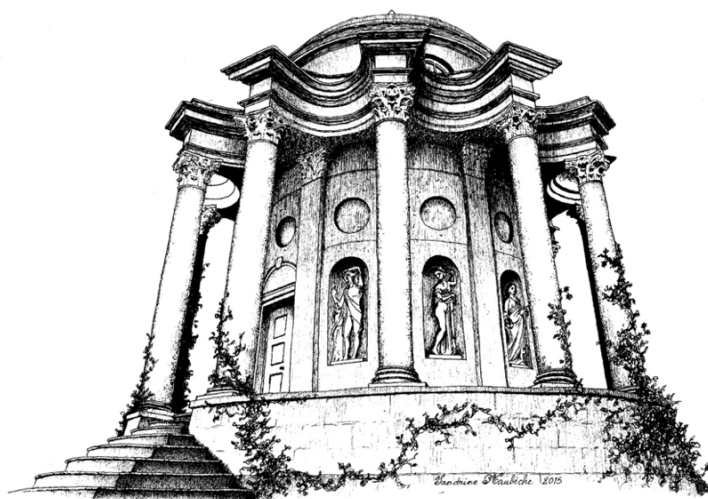
The design features of the bench, like those in the Temple of Hercules, have again been influenced by Jupiter's throne as depicted in the Bartoli source for the Olympus bas-relief. The focus of the seat panel is the god Apollo, who is set in the centre riding a quadriga and bathed in the light of dawn. Such a panel lends itself well to the interior of a temple dedicated to the god. Dodd, in considering the provenance of the panel, raises Spence's comment that it was planned to be placed on the wall.⁶⁰³ Dodd points out the presence of screw holes along the perimeter of the reverse side of the panel and notes that they have no role in the construction of the bench. He explores also the intriguing survival of the bench. As previously noted, the temple was severely damaged by fire in 1837 and yet the bench survived and appears undamaged. Dodd speculates that the bench might have been removed to make room for the installation of the *Apollo Belvedere* statue copy mentioned by Warner and other visitors. Such an account is plausible, especially given the comment from Spence referenced earlier, that there had been problems placing the statue in the temple.

So why were these specific statues selected? As mentioned earlier, the Stourhead accounts indicate that £80 was paid in June 1766, prior to their casting, and were thus made to order, rather than supplied from stock. This suggests a specific design for the temple statue selection rather than the mundane explanation that the statues were selected from available supplies. Selection was still limited by the extent of the Cheere catalogue, but as shown in Table 4.1, this catalogue was extensive. The juxtaposition of the Venus and Bacchus statues in adjacent niches, with the possible addition of Ceres in the next niche, offers the possibility that the trio of statues were selected and placed to illustrate *Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus* (see Figure 4.33 for an artist's impression of this trio *in situ*).

⁶⁰³ Dodd notes also that 'The height of the back panel makes the bench look top-heavy', further evidence that the back was perhaps originally planned to be a wall panel. Dodd, 2007, p. 20.

However, just as with the Charlesworth proposed choice of Hercules motif for the Temple of Hercules statuary, it is significant that no visitor comments on the *Sine Cerere* theme.

Figure 4.33 – Artist’s impression of the Bacchus, Venus and Ceres statue placement



A possible selection principle is that of deities connected with agriculture. This is conspicuously the case for Pomona (orchard fruits), Ceres (grain) and Bacchus (grapes). The Pomona selection is interesting in that she is, amongst all the deities represented in the garden, solely a Roman deity, having no equivalent in the Greek pantheon. In addition to Venus, Apollo and Minerva, only Vesta and Mercury are from the twelve major deities of the Roman pantheon, and only Minerva is drawn from the Capitoline triad. Juno and Jupiter are both conspicuously absent from the Temple of Apollo, and indeed from the entire garden. Statues of Mars and Vulcan are also not present at Stourhead, and their absence, as well as those of Saturn, Pan, Pluto and mythic creatures such as satyrs, will be discussed in the next and final chapter in which I will discuss how these visitor responses can inform us about the eighteenth-century British reception of Roman myth.

Table 4.1 – Known John Cheere statues collated from various sources (not a catalogue raisonné)

Subject	Source	Subject	Source	Subject	Source
Alexander Pope	Clifford	Francis Bacon	Clifford	Pan	Afonso
Antinous	Henrymoore	Gaeta	Clifford	Peter Paul Rubens	Clifford
Antoninus Pius	Clifford	Ganymede	Clifford	Plato	Clifford
Apollino	Stourhead	Geoffrey Chaucer	Clifford	Plautilla	Clifford
Apollo	Stourhead	Hercules & Cerberus	Clifford	Pomona	Henrymoore
Apollo	Afonso	Homer	Stourhead	Rape of Proserpine	Afonso
Aristotle	Clifford	Horace	Clifford	River god	Stourhead
Augusta	Henrymoore	Horace	Stourhead	Robert Boyle	Clifford
Autumn	Afonso	Inigo Jones	Clifford	Samuel Clarke	Clifford
Bacchus	Stourhead	Isaac Newton	Clifford	Saint Susanna	Clifford
Bacchus	Afonso	Isis	Clifford	Sappho	Clifford
Bacchus and Ariadne	Afonso	John Dryden	Clifford	Seneca	Clifford
Ben Jonson	Clifford	John Locke	Clifford	Socrates	Clifford
Cain and Abel	Afonso	John Milton	Clifford	Spring	Afonso
Callipygian Venus	Stourhead	John Tillotson	Clifford	Summer	Afonso
Camillus	Clifford	Jonathan Swift	Clifford	Triumph of Aeneas	Afonso
Capitoline Flora	Clifford	Joseph Addison	Clifford	Uffizi Satyr	Clifford
Ceres	Clifford	Livia Augusta	Clifford	Urania	Clifford
Ceres	Afonso	Mars	Henrymoore	Van Dyck	Clifford

Cicero	Clifford	Mars	Afonso	Venus	Afonso
Cornelia	Clifford	Matthew Prior	Clifford	Venus and Adonis	Afonso
Cupid	Afonso	Medici Apollo	Clifford	Vertumnus & Pomona	Afonso
Demosthenes	Clifford	Meleager	Clifford	Vestal Virgin	Stourhead
Diana	Clifford	Meleager & Atalanta	Afonso	Virgil	Clifford
Diana	Stourhead	Mercury	Clifford	William Congreve	Clifford
Diana	Afonso	Mercury	Afonso	William Shakespeare	Clifford
Edmund Spencer	Clifford	Minerva	Henrymoore	Winter	Afonso
Farnese Flora	Clifford	Minerva	Afonso	Zingara	Clifford
Farnese Hercules	Clifford	Nymph of the Grot	Stourhead		

Clifford Clifford, T., Friedman, T., (eds.) *The Man at Hyde Park Corner; sculpture by John Cheere*
(Leeds and London, Temple Newsham House, 1974).

Henrymoore *A Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain, 1660-1851* <http://217.204.55.158/henrymoore/index.php>, accessed 3rd Jan 2017.

Stourhead Stourhead records.

Afonso Afonso, S.L., Delaforce, A., *Palace of Queluz, the Gardens* (Lisbon, Quetzal Editores, 1989).

Chapter 5 – Interpreting classical influences on the Georgian visitor to Stourhead

In the preceding chapters I have described the content and evolution of the gardens at Stourhead. I have employed a variety of sources of information in this endeavour, including the many new visitor accounts I have located. As well as using these accounts to characterise the content of the garden, I have also analysed them to determine how the gardens were received cognitively and emotionally. In this final chapter, my principal intention is to focus on the central question of my thesis, visitor reception of Roman myth at Stourhead. I will further consider whether it is possible to recover evidence of authorial intention, itself likely to include the garden designers' reception of Roman myth. A further issue is to consider other possible interpretations of the garden content.

Visitor accounts of the garden vary in a number of ways. First, the length varies substantially, from a just a few lines in the case of Elizabeth Berkeley, to a few pages, as in the case of Fenton, Walpole and Rezzonico. The styles also differ, from brief notes as in the case of Lady Amabel Yorke, through to the flowery prose of Thomas Dibdin.⁶⁰⁴ A key consideration for any visitor account is whether it was a personal record or intended for consumption by other readers. Dibdin's account was intended for a third-party audience, as were those of Jonas Hanway and Horace Walpole. Intended consumption by third parties applies also to the many epistolary reports, from Spence's detailed letter to the Earl of Lincoln, through to the relatively cursory accounts sent from Mrs Boscawen to fellow bluestocking Mrs Delany, or by Hester Hoare to Harriett Anne Bysschopp just after the

⁶⁰⁴ E.g. 'We suffered our attention to be so long and so closely riveted to this magical figure [the river god statue], that the shades of night began to darken the grotto, from which we viewed it, so sensibly as to render our egress somewhat hazardous.' (Dibdin, 1822, p. 389).

former's marriage to Richard Colt Hoare in 1783. Personal journals and diaries are a further format for visitor accounts. Many of these have been found in the effects of Stourhead visitors. Whilst we cannot be sure of the audience for these accounts it seems likely that they were intended for personal use and to serve as an *aide memoire*, as well as a reflexive form of writing through which the author could cognitively process their visit. A few of these accounts refer to tales and characters from Roman mythology, including the tale of Meleager and the Calydonian boar.

Visitor accounts of the garden have been a key source of information in my research. Those of Hanway, Walpole, Lybbe-Powys, Parnell and Biljoen have been a focus of the secondary literature for some time and have provided crucial evidence regarding the content of the garden. However, the more than twenty further accounts I have located show that the garden included many more elements than has been acknowledged in the Stourhead secondary literature. Some of these new accounts, and especially that of Rezzonico, have informed us of previously unknown statues and, just as importantly, the location of garden items. As both Cox and Hunt have pointed out, the content of many visitor accounts has been ignored if inconvenient, and even condemned as being naïve and uninformed. In contrast, I have focused on the records of visitors as a principal source of garden data. In this next section I will consider the reception of Roman mythology at Stourhead. My intention in this exercise is to address the central concern of my research, to determine how Georgian society received ancient Roman mythology through the eighteenth-century landscape garden.

Sources of influence on Stourhead visitors include a variety of temporal, environmental and social factors. For example, individuals visiting at varying periods in the garden's history will have experienced it differently. There are many possible examples of this, but

the evolution of the Grotto will help make this idea clear. An individual visiting in 1749 will have encountered a rectangular, well-lit structure, the focus of which will have been the *Sleeping Ariadne* nymph statue. After 1751 the river god cavern with its Cheere statue focus will have meant that visitors would glimpse the river god figure before encountering the nymph. After the extension of the southern entrance the edifice became darker, and for the reasons outlined in Chapter 2, more precarious. Experiences of the garden will also have varied depending on the season in which the visit was made. A visit made on a hot Summer's day will likely have yielded a very different experience to one made in the Autumn, or in the midst of Winter. Even within a single day, the weather and timing of the visit will have shaped the way that visitors interacted with the imagery.

A further source of variability will have been the order in which the garden was encountered. As previously observed, crucial to Woodbridge's theory is that the Temple of Ceres Cumean Sibyl quotation be encountered on first entering the gardens. Charlesworth requires of his visitors that they first encounter and remember the Poussin painting before visiting the Temple of Hercules, and then progress to the choice of ascent to the Temple of Apollo, or the flat path to the inn, which Charlesworth suggests represents the garden visitor's own choice. However, as already extensively discussed in this thesis, there is no evidence of there being a 'right' way to journey through the garden. The visitor paths discussed earlier, and the order of visiting listed in Dibdin's account and *A Ride and a Walk through Stourhead*, indicate that visitor routes were idiosyncratic. As well as a refutation of circuit theories of garden iconography at Stourhead, this variability supports Hunt's view that, contrary to the claims of prior theorists, Stourhead cannot be read in a linear way, like a painting or a novel. Unlike these other art forms, gardens vary in look as a function of season, time of day, etc., and tend not to be invariant over time, but change with fashion, designer, and owner inclination.

The presence of companions was also likely to impact visitor reception. For example, a knowledgeable companion, guide, or *cicerone* would almost certainly have influenced the visitor's experience. We have evidence that visitors were guided around the garden and the wider estate. Some guides were garden workers, of whom Mrs Lybbe Powys states there were more than fifty, 'constantly employ'd in keeping the pleasure grounds, rides, &c.'. ⁶⁰⁵ Her visit account includes reference to the staff sending 'a guide with us over the top of the hill, which commands so many fine views of this now cultivated spot'. Edward Jerningham, visiting on 13th September 1777, was guided by one of the gardeners. He records that 'The gardiner conducted me to a green terrace, above which was a Turkish tent'. This individual may have accompanied Jerningham throughout his garden tour as Jerningham writes that on reaching the Temple of Apollo 'The gardiner told me that this spot is reckoned the most capital'. ⁶⁰⁶ Other records show that Stourton village residents also acted as guides. Thomas Dibdin (1771-1842) visited in 1822 with his two companions. ⁶⁰⁷ His party made two journeys into the garden, the first of which was at dusk on arrival in Stourton. On this occasion, he and his friends were shown into the grounds by 'The Fair Gabrielle', who from Dibdin's account is a resident of the village inn. ⁶⁰⁸ Instead of walking around the lake, the party are conveyed by boat directly to the Temple of Hercules. Parson Woodforde also encountered guides on his visit on 11th October 1770, 'the Gardner Mr. Vegor' and 'the housekeeper Mrs. Lloyd'. He records that they were rewarded with 5 shillings each for their efforts. ⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁵ Climenson, 1899, p. 169.

⁶⁰⁶ Bettany, 1919, pp. 18-19.

⁶⁰⁷ The Royal Academician Thomas Phillips (1770-1845) and the writer and antiquary Joseph Haslewood (1769-1833).

⁶⁰⁸ 'The fair Gabrielle reached her flower-decorated residence and disappeared' (p. 389). Staying at the Inn they can see 'The fair Gabrielle looked from her window' (p. 390).

⁶⁰⁹ Woodforde, J., in Jameson, P. and Winstanley, R.L. (eds.), *The Diary of James Woodforde, 18 volumes*, (Wymondham, Parson Woodforde Society, 2008), III, p. 13.

It was possible from 1800 onwards to obtain Stourhead guidebooks, including those by Britton and Warner. Guidebooks could be inspected as part of the preparation for visiting, as could other written sources. A number of these have already been mentioned and include poetry (e.g. *Bidcombe Hill* and *A Ride and a Walk through Stourhead*), prose (e.g. Graves' *Columella* and Britton's guide), as well as journal, newspaper and magazine accounts. These sources once read would provide the visitor with details about Stourhead in the same way that knowledgeable companions could impart information. This *a priori* knowledge could shape and influence visitor reception of the gardens. Knowledge specific to Stourhead was by no means the only source of information that would shape visitor reception. There was also potential for the same sources that may have influenced the designers' intentions for the garden, to impact visitor experience. Latinists could read the inscriptions and might have recognised their origins. Those familiar with Roman art and architecture from written and visual sources, will likely have recognized their influence on the garden and especially the various edifices. Visitors familiar with ancient Roman literature probably recognized English translations of quotations from Ovid and Virgil. A further possible influence on visitor experiences of Stourhead would have been visits to other English landscape gardens. In previous chapters I have discussed how many of the Roman elements at Stourhead were also found at other British houses and gardens. One good example of this was the statuary selections for the Temple of Hercules and the Temple of Apollo. I have also discussed how the Stourhead cascade and the Turkish tent were likely influenced by similar structures at Hestercombe and Painshill respectively. Later in this chapter I will consider the physical and thematic similarities between Stourhead and other English landscape gardens of the eighteenth century.

Knowledge obtained from visiting sites in Italy was not only a likely source of inspiration for the garden designers but may also have influenced the reception of Stourhead gardens.

Of the visitors listed in Table 5.1, Horace Walpole (from 1739-1741), Joseph Spence (1730-1733), and Richard Pococke (1733-4) are British visitors who had embarked on Grand Tour to Italy before visiting Stourhead. A further visitor was Count Rezzonico, who had spent time in Rome, and especially during the pontificate of his cousin Pope Clement XIII (born Carlo della Torre di Rezzonico) from July 1758 to 1769. Close reading of these Grand Tourists' Stourhead accounts yields associations with locations they would likely have seen in Italy. Walpole for example describes the Temple of Hercules as being 'taken from the Pantheon' and Rezzonico compares the Stourhead *Sleeping Ariadne* nymph statue with the Belvedere original.⁶¹⁰ A further characteristic of these accounts is the tendency to be critical of Stourhead garden elements. For example, Rezzonico criticizes the pediment of the Temple of Apollo for the lack of protection from the rain and disparages the charioted Neptune statue. These comments contrast with those offered by garden visitors who, at least to the best of our knowledge, did not go on Grand Tour. I have previously made the argument that many visitor accounts tend to offer general praise but very little further criticism.⁶¹¹ Their accounts of Stourhead rarely include judgments concerning the quality or merit of the garden features. For example, Britton wrote in the context of the Grotto that it was 'impossible for me to describe the awful sensations which I experienced on entering its gloomy cells', and later: 'this grotto is truly admirable for its natural beauty and simplicity'.⁶¹² However, no explanations of this beauty were offered, and Britton limited his description of the *Sleeping Ariadne* copy to 'an elegant figure of a sleeping nymph'. The river god was mentioned only in the context that the 'river bursts from the urn of its god'. A similarly cursory account was given of the Temple of Hercules which we are told plainly, is 'thirty-six feet in diameter'. Later opinions are in the same vein, so the

⁶¹⁰ 'Proportions of the limbs and the presentation of the clothing are reminiscent of the elegance of the supine Vatican Cleopatra'. Gamba, 1824, p. 38.

⁶¹¹ Harrison, 2017, p. 138.

⁶¹² Britton, 1801, p. 15.

view from the Temple of Apollo was ‘extensive and pleasing’, though no mention was made of the statues in the niches.⁶¹³ The account given by Mrs Lybbe Powys also tends to impressionistic, descriptive accounts. For example, she describes the Bristol cross as ‘pretty’, a word she also used to describe the Gothic greenhouse, the semi-circular, arched Palladian bridge, the trees at the Temple of Hercules, and the Turkish tent. Lybbe Powys noted the presence of statues; however, none of the statues was identified, nor was there any attempt to interpret the iconography. Parnell in his 1768 account employed similar vernacular; the Turkish tent was described as ‘very elegant’, the nymph statue as ‘lovely’ and the contents of the Temple of Hercules as the ‘beauties of the rotunda’.⁶¹⁴ These accounts stand in contrast to Rezzonico’s report, and that of Horace Walpole. These are qualitatively different from those offered by other visitors, the key differentiating features being:

- an interest in providing accurate attributions of the garden elements, whether edifices or individual artefacts, such as statues or vases
- knowledge of garden element significance, particularly concerning their origins and iconography
- the application of critical faculty to the garden elements

Chloe Chard, in her analysis of Grand Tourists’ travel writing, distinguished between the use of two literary tropes: those of hyperbole and digression.⁶¹⁵ She suggested that the former is used to invite ‘the reader to share in a response of wonder’, whereas the latter

⁶¹³ Ibid, 1801, p. 18-19.

⁶¹⁴ Woodbridge, K., ‘Stourhead in 1768: Extracts from an unpublished journal by Sir John Parnell. Edited with an introduction on 18th-century visitors’, *The Journal of Garden History*, 2, 1, 1982, pp. 59-70.

⁶¹⁵ Chard, C., *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel writing and imaginative geography, 1600-1830* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999).

‘promises opportunities for the indulgence of curiosity’.⁶¹⁶ Analysis of Walpole and Rezzonico’s Stourhead accounts shows their tendency to employ the trope of digression. Specific examples of this are listed in the foregoing section, but in general their approach is to identify a feature of the garden and then digress to a discussion of pedigree, provenance and iconography. In contrast, most other visitor accounts tend to employ the trope of hyperbole, typically including superlatives married to adjectives in their descriptions.

In Chapter 1 I argued that part of Henry Hoare’s motivation for creating Stourhead garden was to display his taste and wealth. These attributes could be demonstrated by creating a garden that would compete with the finest in Britain, and especially those built by the aristocracy. Most visitors to Stourhead express their admiration, and the approval of individuals such as Horace Walpole was an important source of validation for Henry’s endeavours. The only visitor from whom we have an account who seems less than pleased with what he encounters in the gardens was Louis Simonds. However, it is possible that Simonds’ experience of visiting was soured by his not being permitted to sit whilst viewing the paintings in the picture gallery. Walpole’s account of the gardens at Stourhead contains a good deal of praise and one imagines that Henry Hoare sought to ensure this approval. Tangible evidence of Henry’s keenness to please was his bringing Rysbrack to Stourhead to make alterations to the facial features of his Flora statue shortly after Walpole’s July 1762 visit.⁶¹⁷ We cannot be certain that Henry courted the attentions of Walpole, but there was certainly a concern with his impressions, as illustrated by the fact that Henry sent his daughter and son-in-law Walpole’s negative comments on Rysbrack’s

⁶¹⁶ Ibid, 1999, p. 4-6.

⁶¹⁷ This good opinion is sought, even though Walpole wrongly attributed the original Saint Susanna to Bernini, mistook Meleager for Antinous and stated that the Grotto plaque was lines from Virgil, when they were in fact from Ovid.

Flora for their opinions.⁶¹⁸ That Henry wished to have his gardens admired is confirmed by his erection of the inn at Stourton at which visitors could stay, as well as his willingness to make the gardens available for viewing.

In the previous section I considered the benefit to Henry Hoare of obtaining for his endeavours at Stourhead the approval of individuals such as Horace Walpole. On this interpretation the garden designers' taste in creating the gardens is validated by the visitor, documenting his good opinion. However, we should also consider the benefits accruing to Walpole from this creator-visitor interaction. Horace was the son of Sir Robert Walpole and represented various constituencies as MP between 1741 and 1768. He was a man of letters and published extensively, including essays and one of the earliest Gothic novels, the *Castle of Otranto*. His reputation and popular regard had already been established before visiting Stourhead, but his visit, commentary, and later writing, offered an opportunity to reinforce his status as an eminent critic and a man of taste. Stourhead gardens, rich with Roman and wider Italian influences, offer Walpole the opportunity to demonstrate once more his knowledge and refinement. On this interpretation, the relationship between the visitor's reception of the garden, and the designer's endeavours, are reciprocal. The former's judgment of the latter's garden offers the chance to gain recognition. The creation of the garden provides the visitor with the chance to demonstrate their knowledge and good taste.

⁶¹⁸ Henry was sufficiently well-acquainted with Walpole to deserve an invitation to Strawberry Hill in 1763 (Woodbridge, 1970, p. 59). Walpole was also acquainted with Henry's son-in-law, Lord Bruce, who he described as 'a formal, dull man, totally ignorant of and unversed in the world, and a Tory; very unexceptionable in his character' (Cokayne, G.E, Gibbs, V., Doubleday, H.A., et al. (eds.), *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant* (Gloucester, Alan Sutton Publishing, 2000), Vol. 1, p. 63; <https://stourheadnt.wordpress.com/2011/10/06/the-gothic-cottage-transformed/>).

In previous chapters I have reviewed various sources in order to determine the content and evolution of Stourhead gardens during the period from 1743 onwards. Additionally, I have reviewed visitor reception of the iconography at Stourhead and shown how artefacts have been variously interpreted. This multivalency is best illustrated by the Saint Susanna statue in the Temple of Hercules and the Grotto nymph, which were differently interpreted by visitors. I have also reviewed emotional and aesthetic reception of the garden based on close reading of visitor accounts. In addition to the garden reports so far considered, I contend that poems should also be considered visitor accounts, since they are also ‘receptions’, i.e. accounts written by visitors. For a poem to qualify, a minimum condition would seem to be that it was based on the author actually having visited the estate. Sometimes the author confirms visiting, as in the case of Bowles’ poem *Days Departed*. Here the poet includes the text ‘These lines were written at Stourhead’ as a footnote to the poem.⁶¹⁹ In other instances, such as *A Ride and Walk through Stourhead*, the detailed content of the poem indicates that the author has a clear familiarity with the garden. Circumstantial evidence, such as the author’s proximity to the estate, as in the case of the Reverend Francis Skurray, also suggests likely first-hand knowledge of the gardens. A further issue is the veracity of the poem’s content. My purpose in reviewing other visitor accounts has been to determine the content and evolution of the garden. In this I have relied on matches between various sources of information, often the content of visitor accounts, and other sources of formal documentation converging to yield confirmation of an artefact’s presence in the garden. I have focused on the specific language used to describe the object, and the visitors’ reception of it. However, there are examples where visitor interpretations vary. In these instances, I have tended to the view that this variability of interpretation reflects the multivalent nature of the object or edifice. As discussed in

⁶¹⁹ Bowles, W.L., *Days Departed* (London, Murray, 1828), p. 44.

previous chapters, applying this same cross-referencing to Stourhead poems shows significant continuity, indicating veracity of content in the poetic accounts.

How should we value the content of Stourhead poems as accounts of the author's reception of the gardens? A variety of tropes and techniques are available to the poet to convey experience. When writing poems about Stourhead the author might contrive metaphors, similes, associations, etc. that are hyperbolic or fanciful, at least to an extent beyond the more immediate reaction that seems typical of journal, letter or diary accounts. Poets are also afforded the opportunity to share their considered thoughts and reactions to encountering the garden and its contents. In Chapter 1, when discussing modern classical reception theory, I cited the view that inferred meaning is not a static interpretation, but a dynamic one, capable of being updated and revised.⁶²⁰ As Jauss writes, the meaning of a text is the result of 'a convergence of the structure of the work and the structure of the interpretation which is ever achieved anew'.⁶²¹ Thus 'Interpretation, we might conclude, is predicated upon not reception (an achieved state) but recipience (an ongoing process)'.⁶²² Such a definition of reception requires that poetic portrayals of the garden be accepted as visitor accounts. In the next section I will describe the use of classical myth in the extant poetic accounts, beginning with one of the earliest poems, *Stourton Gardens*.

Stourton Gardens (Anonymous, 1749)

Written in 1749, but published in February 1764, this is the earliest poem about Stourhead gardens that I have so far located. As described previously, the content has been useful in specifying and dating the presence of key garden items. Elements of the poem describe the presence of the Livia Augusta as Ceres statue in the Temple of Ceres, the *Versailles Diana*

⁶²⁰ 'Meaning is always realized at the point of reception'. Martindale, 2006, p. 3.

⁶²¹ Segers, 1979, pp. 83-95.

⁶²² Whitmarsh, 2006, pp. 104-15.

copy statue in a grove in the Shades, and the *Apollo Belvedere* copy statue. In spite of the poem's length (see Appendix C) there is little content that relates to Roman myth. The single, conspicuous reference beyond the already discussed mention of the 'virgin huntress', concerns the Grotto:

There in yon grotto, far remov'd from light,
The Naiads dwell, invisible to sight;
For yonder silver god they sigh, they burn,
And pour their tears incessant thro' his urn;
But cold as lead, and deaf when they complain,
Supine he lies, and they but weep in vain.

The poem was written before the river god cavern had been added to the Grotto and so 'Yonder silver god' must refer to the recumbent Manning statue (see Figure 2.6) that was positioned in the rocky alcove beneath the Temple of Ceres. The description of a supine figure fits with our knowledge of this Manning river god. Evident also from Flitcroft's sketch is the presence of an urn placed near the god's left forearm. The author of the poem also references naiads, the term for the mythic nymphs believed to inhabit springs. This accords with the *Aeneid* quotation above the lintel to the original Grotto entrance inscription referring to the home of the nymphs.

Days Departed (Bowles, W.L., 1829)

A later poem (1829) that includes reference to Stourhead is William Lisle Bowles' *Days Departed*. Bowles' mentions Stourhead gardens only briefly when he asks the reader to 'Witness, Elysian Tempe of Stourhead!'. This observation is of key interest, especially given the text content of the wooden plaque that was hung above the river god cavern. In

the section from the *Metamorphoses* that precedes the text on the wooden plaque Ovid provides an ekphrastic account of Tempe:

Théssaly boasts a ravine called Tempe, enclosed on each side
By a rock face covered with trees; and down it the river Peneüs
Pours and rolls on this foaming way from the foot of Mount Pindus.
Powerfully tumbling, the cataract leaps into clouds of a wandering,
Wispy vapour; the spray besprinkles the trees on the clifftops
Like showers of rain; and a constant roar is returned from the distance.
This is the dwelling, the mansion...etc.⁶²³

Through the inclusion of the wooden plaque the garden designers associated the river god figure with Peneus. The hills behind Six Wells provide a steep backdrop to the valley in which Stourhead gardens were created and contain springs that are the source of the river Stour. The erection of the dam in 1753 created the lake around which the garden buildings are located and had the effect of closing in the valley on all sides, rendering the terrain more like a Tempe. Bowles draws a comparison between Tempe and Stourhead and extends the comparison with use of the adjective Elysian. An understanding of how ideas of both Tempe and the Elysian fields (*Elysii Campi*) were regarded in the eighteenth century can be obtained by reference to their entries in Lempriere's *Classical Dictionary of proper names mentioned in ancient authors*. With respect to the former, Lempriere confirms the location listed by Ovid and then writes that:

⁶²³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.566-575.

The poets have described it as the most delightful spot on the earth, with continual cooling shades, and verdant walks, which the warbling of birds rendered more pleasant and romantic, and which the gods often honoured with their presence...All vallies that are pleasant, either for their situation or the mildness of their climate, are called *Tempe* by the poets.⁶²⁴

His definition for *Elysii Campi* begins with locating them in ‘the infernal regions’. They are described in the following terms:

There happiness was complete, the pleasures were innocent and refined. Bowers for ever green, delightful meadows with pleasant streams, were the most striking objects. The air was wholesome, serene, and temperate; the birds continually warbled in the groves.⁶²⁵

Through this comparison Bowles invites the reader to compare the gardens at Stourhead with these two sites, both of which were linked in myth with the pastoral enjoyment of nature.

A Ride and Walk through Stourhead (Anonymous, 1780)

The poem *A Ride and Walk through Stourhead* also features a number of references to myth. Most are offered in the context of an adjectival trait, or of an object associated with a deity. Thus, we find references to ‘Ceres’ Bounty’, a ‘Cybelean Grove’, ‘Aeolian music’,

⁶²⁴ Wright, 1986, p. 613.

⁶²⁵ Wright, 1986, p. 223.

‘Pomona’s richest fruits’, and ‘Minerva’s art’. However, the only reference to a mythic story in the entire poem is the tale of Daphne previously discussed in Chapter 2.

Bidcombe Hill (Skurray, F., 1822)

A final poem for consideration is Skurray’s *Bidcombe Hill*. This is an extensive poem which details the environs of Bidcombe Hill, the eastern end of which brings the walker to the Stourhead estate. Of all the poetic accounts of Stourhead, Skurray’s is the most fanciful with respect to mythic references. In line seven of the section describing Stourhead the painting and sculpture selections are said to have been ‘Fir’d by Prometheus’. Five lines later the lake is referred to as ‘Stygian’ and the ferry across the lake mentioned by Dibdin and others is referred to with a request to ‘Conduct me, ferryman, to shades below’, a presumed reference to Charon, who conducted the souls of the dead across the river Styx. A further chthonic reference is then made when Skurray writes that ‘Fancy pourtrays the watchful Cerberus guarding the entrance to the underworld’. Skurray imagines passage past Cerberus ‘With proffer’d cates or music’s notes disarm’. These are references to myths in which access to and from the Underworld is achieved. The ‘cates’ likely refer to the passage in the *Aeneid* in which the Sibyl plies Cerberus with bread containing herbs and honey to induce sleep.⁶²⁶ The latter reference to music as a means of safe passage refers to Virgil’s *Georgics* tale of Orpheus lulling Cerberus to sleep by playing his lyre.⁶²⁷ Skurray includes further mythic references, but with the exception of the previously discussed reference to the Calydonian boar hunt, rather than refer to specific tales, they are largely conventional adjectival references. Examples include ‘chaste Diana’, ‘beauteous Naiad’, and ‘Hercules with sinewy arm’. A further reference is Skurray’s description of the Grotto as ‘Pluto’s realms’. The chthonic references are akin to the Stourhead theories that

⁶²⁶ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6, 417-425.

⁶²⁷ Virgil, *Georgics*, 4, 471-2.

the Grotto represents Aeneas' descent into the underworld. However, no reference is made to *Bidcombe Hill* by Woodbridge, Malins or Schulz. There are many references to Roman myth included by Skurray in the Stourhead excerpt. However, the extensive mythic content of this section stands in marked contrast to the rest of the poem, in which there are very few. This is significant in that it seems that of the many locations mentioned by Skurray, it is only the gardens at Stourhead that evoke recall of mythic tales and characters. The capacity of Stourhead to cue recall of Roman myth, and its significance for our understanding of visitor reception of the gardens, will be a key theme in later sections of this chapter.

Reception of Stourhead gardens is also evident in the many paintings and drawings that have provided such an important source of information regarding the garden's content and evolution. I have referred extensively to works by Nicholson, Woodforde and Bampfylde in the foregoing chapters, but largely in the context of the garden's development. These visual sources have been a useful form of corroboration, but we should keep in mind that visual artists also respond to landscapes creatively, using the gardens as a vehicle for their own artistic intentions. While the drawings and plans used so far are relatively straightforward, one powerful example of how painters transformed and reinterpreted the Stourhead landscape for their own purposes can be seen in Turner's *Rise of the River Stour at Stourhead* (c.1825, see Fig. 5.1).⁶²⁸ The painting is notionally a view of the lake from just in front of the Bristol Cross. The scene is shown in brilliant sunshine such that the

⁶²⁸ Turner, J.M.W., *Rise of the River Stour at Stourhead*, Watercolour, 67.3 cm × 102.2 cm, c.1825, Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire. The painting was exhibited at the 57th Royal Academy Exhibition to a good critical reception: 'Turner's water colour picture, No. 465, is a landscape of much milder effulgence than his gorgeous sea-port of the upper room: but is also very poetically treated, without violating or exaggerating any of the truths of nature, or the rules of art. It represents "The Rise of the River Stour, at Stourhead"'. Anonymous, 'The fifty-seventh Annual Exhibition of the Royal Academy', *The European Magazine and London Review*, Vol. 87, Dec 1824-July 1825 (London, Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper), p. 465.

Temple of Hercules is faintly represented and reflected in the lake. The Temple of Apollo is shown on the southerly valley side but has in the painting been incorporated into the garden and now rises steeply above the lake with the distance between the temple location and the lakeside markedly shortened. A swan's nest (an alternative title for the painting) is shown in the foreground on the approach to a Doric temple, reminiscent of the Temple of Ceres. The Palladian bridge is not shown, but Turner appears to have incorporated this element into the painting as a pathway to the temple. Turner has thus integrated the Palladian bridge and Temple of Ceres and to execute this combination has relocated the temple to the southern side of the lake. The title and content of the painting clearly indicate that it is a depiction of Stourhead gardens, but both the represented elements and their locations have been altered according to Turner's inclination. Turner's canvas is thus a reconfiguration of the garden at Stourhead in which he leaves sufficient veridical detail for the viewer familiar with the garden to identify the location. However, the topography of the garden is dramatized, and garden elements are combined to create grand structures. The nesting swans suggest the scene is depicted in Spring or early Summer and the sun is above the Temple of Hercules at the west side of the lake, indicating that the scene depicts sunset. An intriguing element of the painting in the context of earlier considerations of the Vale of Tempe is the revisualisation of the Temple of Apollo on a cliff top. The gradient of the lakeside has been depicted as far more precipitous than is actually the case, and in the painting, is now much closer to Ovid's description of 'a ravine called Tempe, enclosed on each side by a rock face' and 'trees on the clifftops' (see page 251). We have no direct evidence of Turner planning to represent the Stourhead lake as the Vale of Tempe, but his reimagining of the Stourhead landscape brings the painting closer to Ovid's description.

Figure 5.1 Turner, J.M.W., *Rise of the River Stour at Stourhead* (c.1825)



Writers on Turner's work have often commented on the 'Italianate' light of this painting, with early commentators on the preparatory studies pointing to the similarities with Turner's series of idealised Italianate landscapes.⁶²⁹ In this context of Turner's use of light, a further point of discussion has been whether the painting was created as a pendant to Turner's *Landscape, Composition at Tivoli* (see Fig. 5.2).⁶³⁰

⁶²⁹ Finberg, A.J., *A Complete Inventory of the Drawings of the Turner Bequest* (National Gallery, London, 1909), II, p. 1213; Turner, J.M.W., *Study for 'Rise of the River Stour at Stourhead'*, Watercolour on paper, 67.3 cm × 100.5 cm, c.1824-5?, Tate Britain, London, D36320, Turner Bequest CCCLXV 29; Turner, J.M.W., *An Idealised Italianate Landscape with Trees above a Lake or Bay, Lit by a low sun*, Watercolour on paper, 31.2 cm × 43.9 cm, c.1828-9, Tate Britain, London, D25311, Turner Bequest CCLXIII 189.

⁶³⁰ Turner, J.M.W., *Landscape, Composition of Tivoli*, Watercolour on paper, 67.6 cm × 102 cm, c.1818, Private Collection, Turner Worldwide ref. TW1399.

Figure 5.2 Turner, J.M.W., *Landscape, Composition at Tivoli* (c.1825)



Turner and Colt Hoare's friendship extended over 25 years, beginning in the 1790s and 'by 1798-99 accounted for more than a third of the orders for drawings that Turner then had to hand'.⁶³¹ Gage suggests that it was Colt Hoare who influenced Turner to produce classical subjects and offered him his first occasion for painting a classical landscape, the *Aeneas and the Sibyl, Lake Avernus* (see Figure 5.3).⁶³²

⁶³¹ 'Turner's personal contact with Colt Hoare seems to have lasted into the 1820s' (p. 61). Gage, J., 'Turner and Stourhead: The making of a classicist?', *The Art Quarterly*, 37, 1, 1974, pp. 59-87.

⁶³² Turner, J.M.W., *Aeneas and the Sibyl, Lake Avernus*, Oil on canvas, 104.5 cm × 126.0 cm, c.1825, Tate Britain, London, N00463.

Figure 5.3 Turner, J.M.W., *Aeneas and the Sibyl, Lake Avernus* (c.1798)



The setting of the painting was based by Turner on a sketch of Lake Avernus drawn by Colt Hoare whilst on Grand Tour. A common theme in Turner's work is to 'revive an old subject in a new style; or to compare antiquity in its original state and returning as it were to nature'.⁶³³ This scene at Stourhead affords Turner the opportunity to explore this theme, here painting ancient Roman buildings that have been built complete, rather than ruined, and depicting antiquity as a received version of its original state. In addition to the canvas, Turner included a brief text to accompany the painting at the Annual Exhibition in 1825:

From his two springs in Stourton's woody glade
Pure welling out – into a lake,
He pours his infant stream

⁶³³ Brown, D.B., 'Born again: Old and New in Turner's Later Work', In Brown, D.B., Concannon, A., Smiles, S. (eds.) *Late Turner, Painting Set Free* (London, Tate Publishing, 2014), pp. 33-34.

We cannot be sure that these lines are Turner's own work, but he would have at least approved them to accompany his painting. The text refers to the springs that form the head of the Stour. Intriguing in the text is the author's use of the masculine possessive pronoun. A likely explanation is that 'his' in this verse refers to the tutelary deity of the Stour represented by the river god statue in the Grotto complex.

In addition to the pictorial records of the garden left us by the artists discussed in the previous section, visitor accounts largely focus on what was received visually in the gardens. The exception to this is the reception of the Grotto. Sensory references to this edifice include sound, smell, touch and changes in temperature. As discussed earlier (p. 106), the construction of the approach tunnel to the Grotto in 1776 had the effect of reducing the visual content. Various accounts of visits to the Grotto confirm that for many visitors it stimulated other senses. The anonymous visitor in 1766 comments on how 'The noise of the water and the gloominess of the scene are very striking'. Fenton also refers to sounds and how 'the ear hears nothing but the echo of your own steps, and the murmuring lapse of waters'.⁶³⁴ The Grotto also cools the visitor by stimulating thermoreceptors in the skin.⁶³⁵ This is a distal form of touch, but in the case of Henry's 'souse' the coolness is experienced proximally. The Grotto is thus a multi-sensory experience.⁶³⁶ To stimulate the visual senses there are statues, dramatic changes of light, and, if one proceeds anti-clockwise round the lakeside path, the long reveal of the pebble-stoned route to the river god. The damp causes the edifice to have a musty smell, and the sound of the spring bubbling up behind the nymph lends the Grotto an auditory dimension. It is also possible

⁶³⁴ Fenton, 1811, p. 207.

⁶³⁵ In the author's experience, the most conspicuous example of a cooling grotto water feature is the waterfall near the Bagno de Venere in the English garden at Caserta, visited on a very hot August day in 2016.

⁶³⁶ This is confirmed in Fenton's account: 'A subterranean grotto, where the eye loses sight of every thing but the interior, lighted faintly by an opening in its roof, and the ear hears nothing but the echo of your own steps, and the murmuring lapse of waters'. Fenton, 1811, p. 207.

to touch the water in the pool and touching is in fact encouraged. In the Temple of Ceres the chair-like pulvinaria invite the naïve to be seated, an action that is strictly at odds with the Cumean Sibyl's edict. Rezzonico specifically points this out in his journal, stating that there are 'two pulvinaria, which invite people who don't know better, to sit down'⁶³⁷ In contrast, the visitor is informed on reaching the Grotto that 'within are sweet seats and waters'. Visitors are invited to be seated, like the figure in Nicholson's painting (see Figure 2.11).⁶³⁸

Conclusions regarding visitor reception of Roman myth

As discussed in the last section, the artefacts and edifices in Stourhead gardens elicited recollection of specific mythic themes. The Meleager statue could for instance cue recall of the Calydonian boar tale. The Saint Susanna statue was identified variously as 'peace', 'wisdom', Saint Ursula and Saint Susanna, and the Grotto nymph to generic references to nymphs and draiads, as well as specific exemplars, such as Egeria, and most particularly Daphne. There are also numerous references within the corpus of visitor accounts to the gardens inducing thoughtful reflection. Britton offers a good example of this when he writes 'My fancy was set afloat on the ocean of conjecture' and how Stourhead 'Cannot fail of inspiring the solitary wanderer with plaintive musing and interesting reflection'.⁶³⁹ Some visitors are specific about what is cued as recall. Even visitors who had not been on Grand Tour recognised Italian items, presumably based on their familiarity with ancient Roman literature and exposure to then-contemporary texts. For Grand Tour visitors, the garden evoked memories of locations and objects seen in Italy, and particularly Rome. For example, William Hazlitt describes the road down from Stourhead House to the gardens as

⁶³⁷ Harrison, 2015a, p. 136.

⁶³⁸ Nicholson, F., *The Grotto or Cave, Interior - on left statue of sleeping nymph*, 1760, Watercolour on paper, 41.0 cm × 46.9 cm, British Museum, 1944,1014.126.

⁶³⁹ Britton, 1801, pp. 15-16.

being like ‘a sort of rural Herculaneum’.⁶⁴⁰ This mnemonic effect is evident in Walpole’s account when he describes the Stourhead Temple of Hercules as being similar to the one at Rome.⁶⁴¹ Similarly, Graves’ character Atticus in the novel *Columella* comments ‘When I contemplate those objects [The Pantheon and Temple of Apollo], and one or two more in the Roman style, I could fancy myself upon a visit to Cicero, Lucullus, or some ancient Roman.’⁶⁴² For these visitors, both real and fictional, Stourhead is cueing recall of memories from travel in Italy, or memories of writing on, and visual representations of, Italian locations. The sight of statues, inscriptions and Roman-style buildings could also cue recall of historic figures, such as Cicero and Lucullus, as well as Roman deities and mythical stories. For example, the wooden plaque in the Grotto with the quotation from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* could prompt recall of the Daphne and Peneus story. Similarly, Pantheon statues could cue memories of the Choice of Hercules and the story of the Calydonian boar. In a similar vein, the capacity of the English garden to cue recall has been acknowledged by Italian commentators seeking to explain the popularity of the English garden (*Il Giardino Inglese*) in Italy. Melchiorre Cesarotti’s (1730-1808) writing supports this idea.⁶⁴³ He suggests that:

[The English garden] has a perpetual succession of scenes in new and surprising ways [that]...speak to the eyes, to the imagination and to the heart of the viewer, and arouse pleasant memories, revived sensations of unexpected wonder, or carry them in a delicious and almost ecstatic escape.⁶⁴⁴

⁶⁴⁰ Hazlitt, W., *Sketches of the Principal Picture Galleries in England* (London, 1824), p. 137.

⁶⁴¹ Walpole, 1762, pp. 1927-28.

⁶⁴² Graves, R., *Columella, or the distressed anchoret: A colloquial tale* (Presses Universitaires du Mirail: Toulouse, 1989) p. 74.

⁶⁴³ Cesarotti, 1817, p. 103. Cesarotti (1730-1808) was professor of Greek and Latin language and literature at the University of Padua.

⁶⁴⁴ ‘Presenta una successione perpetua di scene nuove e mirabili...parlano successivamente agli occhi, alla fantasia ed al cuor dello spettatore, e ora gli destano reminiscenze piacevoli, sensazioni rinvivate, ora li

The key element here is the reference to the arousal of pleasant memories, a theme also identified by Pietrogrande, who proposes that the English garden ‘stimulates amongst educated Italians a more careful consideration of their ancient traditions’.⁶⁴⁵ These comments suggest that a valued aspect of the English garden to the Italian visitor is that the content, often drawn from Roman antiquity, elicits a reaction that is literally ‘romantic’ and which evokes atavistic memories of the achievements and legacies of Ancient Rome. These are similar reactions to the memories elicited by Stourhead features in visitors such as Walpole, Rezzonico and Hazlitt, as well as the accounts of fictitious visitors such as Graves’ Atticus in *Columella*. Woodbridge refers to this idea in the specific context of Stourhead, when he writes that ‘Nostalgia was reinforced by travel; countless Englishmen saw for themselves the places they had read about, the Roman campagna strewn with antique remains’.⁶⁴⁶ From the many Stourhead visitor accounts it is evident that the content of the Roman-influenced English garden had the power to prompt memories in the British visitor of trips to Italy, and especially Rome, and of writings and visual representations of Italian locations. These gardens could also cue recollection of stories from Roman mythology, poetry and political and historical events in those who recognised the significance of the iconography. These could be potent cues for English visitors, but also to continental Europeans, and especially Italians, from whose culture the English garden content had largely been received.

colpiscono d’inaspettata meraviglia, or lo trasportano in un delizioso e quasi estatico rapimento’. Cesarotti, M., ‘Estratto dalle relazioni accademiche’, in *Operette di varj autori intorno ai giardini inglese ossia moderni* (Verona, dalla Societa Tipografica, 1817), p. 103.

⁶⁴⁵ Pietrogrande, A., ‘Un’interpretazione veneta del nuovo giardino europeo: Selvaggiano, il ritiro campestre di Cesarotti’, in Finotti, F., (ed.), *Melchiorre Cesarotti e le trasformazioni del paesaggio europeo* (Trieste, EUT Edizioni Universit. di Trieste, 2010), p. 62. By including the caveat ‘educated’ Pietrogrande is suggesting that these induced reflections require a familiarity with ancient Roman literature, architecture and culture. However, less well-educated visitors could still be expected to enjoy the aesthetics of the garden. I have previously suggested that a useful distinction can be made between Stourhead visitors, such as Walpole and Rezzonico, who in their writing employ the ‘trope of digression’, and those who employ the ‘trope of hyperbole’ (see Harrison, 2015a, p. 138). Pietrogrande implies a similar distinction.

⁶⁴⁶ Woodbridge, 1999, p. 9.

Authorial intentions for Stourhead gardens

I will now move on to the issue of whether we can reasonably determine the authorial intentions of the Stourhead garden designers. The supposition underlying the garden design has been that it is attributable to Henry Hoare's vision and gifted amateur endeavours. The little documentary evidence we have of his design intentions is contained in the letters that passed between Henry and his daughter Susanna, his son-in-law, Lord Bruce, as well as a limited correspondence with Henry Flitcroft. Hoare's letters to his daughter suggest that Charles Hamilton, Horace Walpole and Coplestone Warre Bampfylde may have been sources of inspiration and criticism. We cannot know for certain the extent of their influence on Henry's plans. Nevertheless, the instructive tone of Flitcroft's letters to Henry, as well as Henry's keenness to accommodate Walpole's criticism of Rysbrack's *Farnese Flora* copy, imply significant influence.

A key consideration is why the garden designers would even have considered employing iconography in Stourhead gardens? Neal has considered this issue and suggests that there is a second layer of possible interpretation, beyond the aesthetic, the garden's 'intellectual function'.⁶⁴⁷ He points out that influential eighteenth-century commentators, such as Shaftesbury, advocated that gardens should be possessed of a moral message, specifically 'that beauty is representative of a universal order and harmony in all worthwhile things, in accordance with which we should lead our lives'.⁶⁴⁸ Neal asks 'what moral value does all this beauty actually impart?' and in answer proposes the following:

⁶⁴⁷ Neal, R., 'Beauty and morality: the aesthetic and intellectual functions of statuary and ornament in the eighteenth century'. *Sculpture Journal*, 17, 1, 2008, pp. 77-83.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 2008, p. 77.

First there are the directly didactic allegorical portrayals of ‘virtue, fortitude, temperance’. Then there are the busts of philosophers, with their mottoes and inscriptions which, by allusion, would serve to put us in mind of noble thoughts and deeds. And thirdly there are the ‘Solemn representations of things deeply natural’, by which evocative phrase Shaftesbury must surely refer to figures of the Olympian gods, who were admitted into Stoic theology as metaphors for the various forces of nature and thus would, by symbolism, refer us to matters divine.⁶⁴⁹

Neal suggests that this issue can be helpfully considered within the framework outlined in Kant’s *Critique of Judgment*.⁶⁵⁰ For Neal, this source offers a helpful general approach as, in his view, Kant’s commentary is ‘a summation of eighteenth-century aesthetic thought’.⁶⁵¹ As noted above, the majority of extant accounts of the gardens at Stourhead are characterised by a vocabulary of hyperbole. In Kantian terminology these visitors are admiring the ‘free’ beauty (*pulchritudo vaga*) characteristics of the garden (the *ergon*). As also observed, only a minority of visitors comment on the identification and historical, artistic and architectural antecedents of the works. These elements constitute what Kant describes as the ‘surround’ (the *parergon*) of the work and form the ‘adherent beauty’ (*pulchritudo adherens*). A further element of the *pulchritudo adherens* is the capacity of the work to evoke ideas, memories and emotions in the viewer.

Neal’s account of Whatley’s views on early eighteenth-century gardens provides context for how the Stourhead garden designers might have been influenced by prevailing thoughts on garden design and content. However, even if we could recover the designers’ intended

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid, 2008, p. 78.

⁶⁵⁰ Kant, I., *Critique of Judgment*, Bernard, J.H. (trans), 2nd edition (MacMillan and Co., London, 1914).

⁶⁵¹ Neal, 2008, p. 78.

iconography for the garden, we cannot be sure that the text conveys their real intentions. Beardsley, when discussing written texts, points out that textual meaning is not identical to authorial meaning and provides examples to illustrate his point. He specifies that ‘the belief that a text means what its author meant is not sensible’ and thus he proposes that we should ask ‘what does this line mean?’ and not ‘what did the author mean in this line?’.⁶⁵² To pursue the latter is in his view to fall victim to the ‘Intentionalist fallacy’. The absence of information regarding design intentions for Stourhead has left a void that later commentators have been more than willing to fill. In Chapters 2, 3 and 4 I have been concerned with influences on Stourhead’s content and evolution and sought to determine the designers’ intentions with respect to iconography. In an attempt to understand the garden iconography Stourhead garden theorists have relied on the little we know, or can reasonably assume, regarding Henry’s travels and education, as well as inferences made on the basis of garden content and context, i.e. where edifices and artefacts have been located, as well as the juxtaposition of these artefacts. There are thus considerable limitations on our ability to determine authorial intention. Nevertheless, the reception of Roman myth expressed as garden elements by the designers is relevant to the question addressed in this thesis. On this basis it should be considered, a task to which I now turn, beginning with a summary of the context in which the garden designers were working.

Switzer and Langley’s advice on ‘Taste’ in gardening extended to statue selection, park design and methods by which gardens could be integrated into wider estates. Much of this advice was inspired by the literature, art and architecture of ancient Rome, occasionally filtered through the prism of the Renaissance. However, absent from these tracts was any requirement for the gardens to exhibit an overall theme. In spite of this, the search for a

⁶⁵² Beardsley, M.C., *The Possibility of Criticism* (Wayne State University Press, 1970), p. 17.

global theme has been a key characteristic of the Stourhead literature. Of the themes proposed, it is the *Aeneid*-influenced account first proposed by Woodbridge that has been most frequently repeated, typically uncritically, and sometimes with the embellishment of supposition into fact. Woodbridge's speculation that Henry Hoare sought to reproduce Claude's *Coastal Scene with Aeneas at Delos* in his garden was amplified by later writers to be fact, some even asserting that Henry owned the painting. He never did, and in fact the evidence suggests it is unlikely he even knew of its existence.

Woodbridge adduced further sources of evidence to support the *Aeneid* theory. However, none of the evidence is compelling and, as discussed in Chapter 1 (see pp. 57-64), fault can be found with the presented facts. Close analysis of the evidence presented by Woodbridge shows the *Procul, o procul este profani* quotation above the entrance to the Temple of Ceres to have a key role in inspiring this theory. Other theories have proceeded from a key element of the garden, whether it be the presence of a circuit pathway, or of a figure, such as Hercules. The shared characteristic of these theories is that they are derived from either just a few or even a single element of the garden, thus arguing for a general theory from the specific. As Hunt has pointed out, the proponents of these accounts of the iconography then disregard garden elements that are inconvenient for their theories. For example, the presence of an Ovid quotation in the Grotto, and the presence of non-Roman elements, such as Turquoiserie and Chinoiserie. This is to say nothing of the garden elements discovered in the course of my research, such as now lost statues, including the *Faun of Florence* and *Venus Anadyomene* copies. Unaccounted for also in these theories is lost information, such as the original location of statues, and especially those on the Temple of Apollo.

A further challenge for past theories is the lack of confirmation and validation from garden visitors. Previous Stourhead commentators have been critical of the apparent inability of visitors to understand and appreciate the supposed intentions of the designers. For example, Woodbridge complains that ‘The iconology of statues and inscriptions provoked little reflection on the part of visitors’ and of one visitor that his account ‘adds little to our information and contains chiefly conventional appreciation...and the usual misinterpretations and inaccuracies’.⁶⁵³ Woodbridge cites the visitor’s description of ‘Neptune leaning on his urn’ as an example of misinterpretation of the river god figure. However, we have no primary evidence that the garden designers specifically intended the figure to represent a river god.

The lack of corroboration by visitors was a key theme of Cox’s review. It is of course entirely possible that many elements of the garden were unremarkable and not thought worthy of comment. However, what can be gleaned from these accounts is that, contrary to the assertions of commentators insisting on a ‘right’ way to walk the gardens, typically anti-clockwise around the lake, the gardens were experienced via a variety of routes. Of these routes, the most popularly recounted path starts not from the Temple of Ceres with its warning to the unhallowed, but instead from the main house, and then to the Grotto and Temple of Hercules via the obelisk. Rather than reject visitor accounts as at best uninformative and at worst naïve I have preferred to try to account for their reception of the gardens. We cannot assert that visitors were wrong in their attributions, merely that they differed.

⁶⁵³ Woodbridge, K., ‘Stourhead in 1768’, *Journal of Garden History*, 2, 1, 1982, pp. 59-70.

Amongst the visitor accounts I have collated are some helpful comments that can be used to guide our understanding of the garden design. One example is the comment from Mrs. Boscawen that the gardens are a succession of ‘opera’. Her comment suggests that each of the garden buildings is to be understood solely within its own context. She provides no further details, but other visitors, such as the anonymous author of *A Ride and a Walk through Stourhead*, specifically reference the Ovid tale of Daphne in the context of the Grotto. The identity of the poem’s author is unknown to us, but the specific references to Hoare family members and friends suggests that the author was well acquainted with Stourhead. With the exception of a reference to Meleager and the tale of the Calydonian boar, the poet’s interpretation of the Grotto is to date the sole visitor confirmation of garden iconography recognised as a tale from Roman myth or history.

As yet unheard voices at Stourhead

In spite of my attempts to be comprehensive, it seems likely that further Stourhead visitor accounts will come to light. I have thus far been unable to locate several accounts from individuals known to have visited the gardens. This includes members of Marie Antoinette’s inner circle, including Yolanda de Polignac.⁶⁵⁴ Charles Dibdin’s companions, the Royal Academician Thomas Phillips (1770-1845), and the writer and antiquary Joseph Haslewood (1769-1833), are also known to have visited the gardens. Further accounts might include similar content to the extant examples reported in this thesis. However, they might well contain different interpretations and attributions. We can currently only speculate and given the variety of responses to items such as the *Saint Susanna*, *Sleeping Ariadne* and *Pighini Meleagher* statue copies, it seems possible that further accounts will

⁶⁵⁴ A 1787 newspaper report confirms that Marie Antoinette’s close circle were amongst the visitors to Stourhead that year: ‘Our correspondent at Frome informs us, that on Friday last their Excellencies the French and Spanish ambassadors, with the Duchess of Polignac, and their suite passed thro’ that town in their way to Stourton, the seat of H. C. Hoare Esq.’ Anonymous, *Bath Journal*, 44, 2266 (13 June 1787), p. 4.

yield yet more interpretations. Walpole appears to have mistaken the *Pighini Meleager* statue copy for one of Antinous and, as Vout comments, it is possible that others might suppose the statue to represent other ‘divine, beautiful, young males’. Given the foregoing comments about the uncertainties of known visitors when making attributions of identity, we may conjecture that the polyvalent nature of Stourhead garden edifices and artefacts will yield further, as yet unreported, visitor interpretations.

Stourhead in context – other eighteenth-century landscape gardens

In this penultimate section of the chapter I will expand my consideration of Roman myth reception to other eighteenth-century English landscape gardens. I have two ambitions in embarking on this endeavour. First, I will revisit a theme introduced in earlier chapters concerning common elements in English gardens. I have suggested previously that the design of Stourhead garden edifices and artefact selection was influenced by those made for other estates. Examples of this are the influence of the Kew Gardens Temple of the Sun on the Temple of Apollo, as well as the selection of Saint Susanna and Isis statues from places such as Holkham. Second, I will take the opportunity of this review to examine in detail Mowl’s statement that ‘Stourhead was the epitome of the “English Garden” as imitated in France, Germany, Sweden and Russia’.⁶⁵⁵ Stourhead’s typicality as an exemplar of the eighteenth-century landscape is a consideration in understanding whether it was designed with the specific intention of including iconography, as well as how meaning was realised by visitors. I will examine this proposition by describing the defining characteristics of eighteenth-century landscape gardens and discussing to what extent Stourhead exhibited these features. I will begin with the theme of common elements in the English gardens of the eighteenth century.

⁶⁵⁵ Mowl, 2004, p. 80.

As discussed in Chapter 1 (see pp. 30-34), the earliest examples of the eighteenth-century English garden were those at Chiswick, Castle Howard, Rousham and Stowe. Pope was an early influence on the movement with his advocacy of a return to nature and an emulation of the ancient Roman style of gardening. Kent's design innovations, including the introduction of the ha-ha, presaged the informal, landscape garden-style. The earliest example of this new-style garden was at Chiswick, which featured a number of edifices influenced by Kent and Burlington's time in Rome.⁶⁵⁶ The Ionic temple is a circular structure featuring a portico similar to the one on the Temple of Portunus in Rome. Kent added a cascade, probably inspired by those at Villa Aldobrandini, and a casino-style bagnio. As well as Roman-influenced buildings, a Doric column was installed upon which was placed a statue of Venus. Other statues of Roman deities and heroes were erected, including ones of Mercury, Hercules, and a gladiator. These features influenced later gardens, including those at Stowe, Holkham and Rousham. The gardens at Stourhead also show this influence, and as I have suggested, indicate Kent's views on building designs expressed through his colleague Flitcroft. These features were also incorporated into the gardens at Rousham, which though initially designed by Charles Bridgeman, were further developed by Kent in the period 1737-1741. The gardens at Rousham also feature serpentine paths, sudden reveals and quotations in Latin.

Many of the features introduced by Kent and Burlington can be found in later gardens, including Stourhead, as well as Charles Hamilton's gardens at Painshill. Hamilton was a school friend of Henry Hoare and it is likely that the two discussed issues of garden design.⁶⁵⁷ It is evident from the text of a letter from Henry to his daughter Susanna that he

⁶⁵⁶ Harris, 2013, pp. 393-412.

⁶⁵⁷ Henry's interest in developments at Painshill is indicated by his inclusion of an account from Rysbrack of the Temple of Bacchus. He commented that the temple was: 'an oblong, the Form of the Temple of Fortuna

had visited Painshill and viewed the Temple of Bacchus. It has been suggested that the temple 'was a building somewhat similar to the Temple of Flora'.⁶⁵⁸ However, this is not obviously the case. Nevertheless, the gardens at Painshill contain a number of features similar to those seen at Stourhead. Two of the bridges at Painshill were, like those at Stourhead, based on Palladian designs.⁶⁵⁹ Similarly, both gardens feature a grotto, though the one at Painshill is of a much later date than the one at Stourhead, and is of a very different design. The Painshill grotto is unlike the Stourhead structure in that its interior is encrusted with shells and crystals. Symes writes that work on the Painshill Grotto began in around 1762 and that Hamilton employed Joseph Lane of Tisbury (c.1717-1784) to assist with the building; it is possible that Lane also contributed to the design.⁶⁶⁰ It seems unlikely that the temple and grotto structures at Painshill were influenced by those at Stourhead, if only because of the extensive precedents for grotto and temple structures at earlier landscape gardens, such as Stowe and Chiswick. In the case of later garden elements, it might have been that the Stourhead garden designers were influenced by developments at Painshill. The Painshill cascade is estimated to date from the late 1750s and the Turkish tent dates from at least as early as 1763, and possibly even 1750.⁶⁶¹ The equivalent structures at Stourhead are later, dating from 1766 and the mid-1760s. A further influence for the cascade was the example at Hestercombe.⁶⁶² As previously mentioned, Bampfylde and Henry Hoare were close friends, a friendship celebrated on an urn that was placed in Hestercombe gardens after Henry's death in 1785 (see Figure 5.4). Hestercombe

Virilis or the long temple of Balbech. The Bacchus, a Noble Statue stands in the Centre & turns a profile to you as you enter. Windows are on the other end & in my poor opinion the figure (truly Antique) is lost or hurt in a Temple built on purpose for it'. Henry Hoare letter to Susanna, Lady Bruce, October 23rd, 1762 in Woodbridge, 1970, p. 52

⁶⁵⁸ Woodbridge, 1971, p. 25.

⁶⁵⁹ Symes, M., *Mr Hamilton's Elysium* (London, Frances Lincoln, 2010), p. 68-9.

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 2010, p. 97.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid*, 2010, pp. 74; Collier, M. and Wrightson, D., 'The Re-Creation of the Turkish Tent at Painshill'. *Garden History*, 21, 1, 1993, pp. 46-59.

⁶⁶² Woodbridge, 1970, p. 60-61.

also featured a Sibyl's temple and a Doric-style 'arbour', but neither edifice appears to have been of the same grandeur and permanence as the buildings at Stourhead.

Figure 5.4 The Hestercombe Friendship Urn



The gardens created in the first half of the eighteenth century, such as Stowe and Stourhead, have been described as 'emblematic' gardens, whereas the later style of the century was considered to be expressive. The roots of this distinction are found in Thomas Whately's *Observations on Modern Gardening*. Whately provides us with a late-eighteenth century observer's view on the earlier gardens of that century:

Character is very reconcileable with beauty; and, even when independent of it, has attracted so much regard, as to occasion several frivolous attempts to produce it; statues, inscriptions, and even paintings, history and mythology, and a variety of devices, have been introduced for this purpose. The heathen deities and heroes have therefore had their several

places assigned to them in the woods and the lawns of a garden; natural cascades have been disfigured with river gods, and columns erected only to receive quotations; the compartments of a summer-house have been filled with pictures of gambols and revels, as significant of gaiety; the cypress, because it was once used in funerals, has been thought peculiarly adapted to melancholy; and the decorations, the furniture, and the environs of a building, have been crowded with puerilities, under pretence of propriety. All these devices are rather emblematical than expressive; they may be ingenious contrivances, and recall absent ideas to the recollection; but they make no immediate impression, for they must be examined, compared, perhaps explained, before the whole design of them is well understood; and though an allusion to a favourite or well-known subject of history, of poetry, or of tradition, may now and then animate or dignify a scene, yet as the subject does not naturally belong to a garden.⁶⁶³

Whatley's commentary offers us a contemporary eighteenth-century view on the nature of the early gardens and their iconographic content. Hunt writes that the gardens at Stowe are 'allusive and richly emblematic' and also suggests that Kent deliberately imbued the gardens at Rousham with his 'most learned reference, I believe, to *The Fairie Queene*'.⁶⁶⁴ Hunt restricts his consideration of Stourhead in this context solely to the Grotto, but much of Whatley's description of the emblematic garden can be fitted to Stourhead, and especially the section dealing with 'heathen deities and heroes'. Stourhead in its earliest phase accords with Whatley's description of an emblematic garden, though whilst Whatley

⁶⁶³ Whately, 1770, pp. 150-151.

⁶⁶⁴ Hunt, J.D., 'Emblem and Expressionism in the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 4, 3, 1971, pp. 294-317.

provides descriptions and interpretations of the gardens at, amongst others, Claremont, The Leasowes, Painshill, Blenheim, Hagley and Stowe, he makes no mention of Stourhead. However, if Whatley's theory holds true for all eighteenth-century English landscapes, then Stourhead can be placed within the scheme. It might be, as Bending writes, that at Stourhead:

Meaning is stable and public in that, with a knowledge of the correct language, a definitive meaning for the design can be arrived at. The production of meaning is part of an intellectual game, but a game with a set of rules and a predetermined outcome. The design is predicated upon a confidence in shared knowledge, yet, equally, that knowledge is of a deliberately exclusive and excluding nature.⁶⁶⁵

Bending further suggests that 'the meaning produced is only accessible to a highly sophisticated elite and could easily be misread or even ignored; the very elusiveness was part of the design'.⁶⁶⁶ If Bending is correct, then we might reasonably expect Walpole and Rezzonico to qualify as part of the specified highly sophisticated elite. Yet, as remarked upon repeatedly throughout this thesis, neither visitor confirms the many iconographic interpretations offered by Stourhead theorists. However, the early Stourhead contains many of the attributes of an eighteenth-century English landscape garden, including most of the features built in its 'Roman phase' between 1743 and 1765, as well as most of the devices described above by Whatley. It was later to include many of the buildings characteristic of an expressionist garden, such as the hermitage, Venetian seat, Chinese umbrella, Turkish tent, and Gothic greenhouse. Similar elements can be found in the

⁶⁶⁵ Bending, S., 'Re-reading the Eighteenth-Century English Landscape Garden', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, Summer, 55, 3, 1992, pp. 379-399.

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 1992, p. 385.

numerous continental European ‘English gardens’ dating from the early 1760s, such as Wörlitz (Germany), Hagaparken (Sweden), Pavlovsk (Russia), Wilanów (Poland), and in Italy at Caserta, Cremona, and even in the Borghese gardens in Rome.⁶⁶⁷

In order to determine how typical Stourhead is as an exemplar of the category of ‘eighteenth-century English landscape garden’ we need a construct against which it can be compared. In the foregoing discussion, I have described the characteristics that help to define the constructs of both the archetypal ‘early’ (emblematic) and ‘late’ (expressionistic) eighteenth-century English landscape garden. Stourhead gardens differed from other exemplars of the category with respect to both the content and extent of garden features. For example, the Leasowes featured forty-two quotations from Roman literature, as compared to just four at Stourhead.⁶⁶⁸ In the same vein, unlike other exemplars of the category (e.g. at Hestercombe), Stourhead did not contain a mausoleum.

One possible approach to addressing the issue of what is an archetypal eighteenth-century English landscape garden, is to consider what Weber has referred to as the ‘Ideal type’.⁶⁶⁹ Weber proposed the use of the Ideal type as a methodology by which we might analyse and understand. This is a mental representation of a construct against which exemplars can be compared for typicality. The Ideal type for an eighteenth-century English landscape garden would likely exhibit the following attributes:

⁶⁶⁷ Harrison, J.E., ‘From Rome to Stourhead and thence to Rome again: The phenomenon of the eighteenth-century English landscape garden’, in Stobart, J. (ed.) *Travel and the Country House* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2017), pp. 42-62.

⁶⁶⁸ Dodsley, R. ‘Description of the Leasowes’ in Sanford, E. (ed.) *The Works of the British Poets* (Philadelphia, Mitchell, Ames and White, 1819), pp. 11-32.

⁶⁶⁹ Mommsen, W.J., ‘Ideal Type and Pure Type: Two Variants of Max Weber’s Ideal-Typical Method,’ in Mommsen, W.J., (ed.) *The Political and Social Theory of Max Weber* (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1992), pp. 121-32.

1. The absence of clear boundaries between proximal features and the wider estate, often facilitated through the use of ha-has
2. Serpentine pathways ('wiggles')
3. 'Surprise reveals' i.e. previously only glimpsed, or unseen, garden features suddenly encountered
4. Clumps of trees, especially of cedars
5. Extensive areas of turf (this is a feature often overlooked by British visitors, but routinely commented upon by overseas visitors)⁶⁷⁰
6. Water features, often cascades and serpentine lakes
7. Pathways punctuated by garden features, often Roman, but sometimes also with rustic (hermitages), Gothic (cottages, greenhouses, mausolea, etc.), Chinese (alcoves, pagodas, etc.) or Turkish (especially tents) influences
8. The presence of grottoes, often featuring springs or fountains
9. Statuary, often of Roman and Greek deities and heroes, placed according to the conventions proposed in Switzer's *Ichnographia Rustica*, Langley's *New Principles of Gardening* and Spence's *Polymetis*
10. Quotations carved into stone and sometimes wood, often drawn from Roman literature

In addition to these 'positive' features, eighteenth-century English landscape gardens are also defined by their lack of linearity and topiary. Many of the previously discussed exemplars exhibit a number of these characteristics, but to the best of the author's knowledge, no one garden exhibits them all. Items 1-5 of the list are commonly found at most gardens, but the latter items are more variously observed.

⁶⁷⁰ Harrison, 2017, p. 52.

Piper, who appears to have been heavily influenced by Stourhead, includes most of the listed features in his plan for an English garden.⁶⁷¹ This is perhaps unsurprising in that Stourhead in its heyday of the late 1770s possessed all ten of the attributes listed above. This is likely why it was regarded as amongst the finest examples of the English landscape garden and why Mowl describes it as the epitome. Stourhead has at various points in its evolution contained characteristics consistent with both the early ('emblematic') and late ('expressionistic') typologies. In its emblematic stage, it featured the various elements described by Whatley. In its 'Post-1757 Eclectic Fantasy' period it contained many of the characteristics of the expressionism phase.

The typicality of Stourhead can assist us in interpreting how visitors might have received the gardens. This is especially of interest when considering reception by overseas visitors, many of whom created English gardens on their return home. Their concepts of the English landscape garden were often founded on visits to Stourhead. Two gardens in particular appear to have been directly influenced by Stourhead, the gardens at Wörlitz and those at Hagaparken. Much of the research for Hagaparken was collected by Piper, whose work I have discussed earlier in this thesis. I shall discuss Piper's designs for Hagaparken as a special example of visitor reception, one that resulted in the creation of an English garden in Stockholm. However, in advance of considering Piper and Hagaparken, I will discuss how visitor reception of Stourhead influenced the building of the English garden at Wörlitz in Germany.

⁶⁷¹ Piper, 2004.

The gardens at Wörlitz, just south of Berlin, were begun in 1764 and are thus one of the first English gardens built outside of Britain.⁶⁷² As with Henry Hoare at Stourhead, we have little in the way of extant information regarding Prince Leopold Anhalt-Dessau's plans for his 'Garden Kingdom'. Trauzettel informs us that this is because the Prince 'had the records of his English Travels destroyed...so as not to reveal the cost of his projects to posterity'.⁶⁷³ We know that he made four visits to England and it seems certain that he visited Stourhead on the first of these visits in 1763/64, as work on the garden at Wörlitz began in late 1764.⁶⁷⁴ By the time of the Prince's visit many of the Stourhead Roman garden elements were in place, as well as at least one Chinese feature.⁶⁷⁵

Trauzettel states that Prince Leopold's garden design at Wörlitz was influenced by 'Henry Hoare iconography at Stourhead'.⁶⁷⁶ The most conspicuous example of this is the *Englischergartensitz* (see Figure 2.7). In the Wörlitz garden this structure has a sight-line across the swan pond, a situation comparable to the Orangery shown at location F on F.M. Piper's plan of Stourhead (see Figure 1.1). Piper's sketch of the 'Temple on the Terrace' shows that it is very similar to the Wörlitz structure (see Figure 2.7).⁶⁷⁷ Further Stourhead influence can be seen in the *Grotte der Egeria*. This figure is very similar to the Stourhead nymph, though the setting is more obviously influenced by the *Ninfeo d'Egeria* in Parco della Caffarella, Rome. Another point of similarity is the *Versailles Diana* copy at Stourhead, which originally stood isolated in a grove high on the north side of the valley, and the *Dianenstatue* at Wörlitz, which also stands in isolation. Some of the Wörlitz garden elements share names with Stourhead features even though they are physically dissimilar.

⁶⁷² Trauzettel, L., 'Wörlitz: England in Germany', *Garden History*, 24, 2, 1996, pp. 221-236.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid*, 1996, p. 222.

⁶⁷⁴ Trauzettel records the other visit dates as 1768/9, 1775 and 1785, which with the 1763/4 tour totals some 2.5 years spent in England. *Ibid*, 1996, p. 221.

⁶⁷⁵ There is evidence for a single item of Chinoiserie in the garden from 1749 (see Harrison, 2015a, p. 128).

⁶⁷⁶ Trauzettel, 1996, p. 224.

⁶⁷⁷ The Stourhead edifice is now lost, a casualty of Richard Colt Hoare's 1790s neoclassical purge.

For example, the Temple of Flora at Wörlitz is unlike the Stourhead temple of the same name and instead appears to have been modelled on the Casino at Wilton.⁶⁷⁸ Trauzettel suggests that ‘The pantheon at Stourhead may have been the pattern for the Wörlitz Pantheon’.⁶⁷⁹ However, the design, size and building materials of the two structures are very different. Furthermore, the interior of the Wörlitz Pantheon features half life-size statues of the Muses around a central figure of Urania. This contrasts with the Stourhead Temple of Hercules, which contains an entirely different set of statues, most of which are larger than average human height. So, there is good evidence of Stourhead influence at Wörlitz: some features were visually very similar to their Stourhead counterparts; others, such as the Temple of Flora and the Pantheon, were thematically linked, but visually quite different.⁶⁸⁰

Later in the eighteenth century further examples of the English garden were built across Europe. For example, Catherine the Great commissioned an English garden for her palace at Pavlovsk near St Petersburg.⁶⁸¹ Similarly, Stourhead visitor Princess Izabela Czartoryska

⁶⁷⁸ The Wilton Casino was itself influenced by the Temple of Clitumnus at Spoleto. It has been suggested that the Temple of Flora at Stourhead was also inspired by Clitumnus, but other than its proximity to water, the similarities are not at all obvious. Woodbridge (1970, p. 31) writes that the originator of this suggestion was Georgina Masson. However, she writes on this topic that ‘Byron’s evocation of Clitumnus... could have applied equally well to an English landscape garden of his day’ (Masson, G., *Italian Gardens*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1961, p. 38). This suggests that her comment was not specific to the Temple of Flora at Stourhead.

⁶⁷⁹ Trauzettel, 1996, p. 225.

⁶⁸⁰ Trauzettel takes a strong position on Stourhead influence. However, M. Symes (personal communication, 28th May, 2016) has pointed out that William Chambers’ Kew ‘would probably have been the principal influence’.

⁶⁸¹ Pavlovsk was built by Catherine the Great for her son Pavel and his second wife Maria Feodorovna. The palace grounds featured various structures consistent with the design of an English garden, including a Chinese kiosk, Chinese bridges and classical temples. Catherine’s architect, the Scot Charles Cameron (1745-1812), designed both the domed circular temple and a colonnade containing a copy of the Apollo Belvedere, as well as the Palladian-influenced palace (Massie, S., *Pavlovsk: The Life of a Russian Palace* (Blue Hill Maine, Heart Tree Press, 1990, pp. 20-21)). On 25th June 1772 Catherine wrote to Voltaire of her affection for the English garden: ‘I now love to distraction gardens in the English style, the curving lines, the gentle slopes, the ponds in the forms of lakes, the archipelagos on dry land, and I scorn straight lines and twin allées. I hate fountains, which torture water in order to make it follow a course contrary to its nature; statues are relegated to galleries, halls etc. In a word, anglomania rules my plantmania’ (Piotrovsky., M., Dedinkin, M., and Jacques, D., *The Hampton Court Albums of Catherine the Great* (London, Fontanak, 2016), p. 14). Michael Symes has suggested to me that extant designs by James Meader (see Piotrovsky et al., 2016, pp. 16-17) indicate that the gardens at Peterhof were more consistent with the traditional precepts of the English garden.

built her English garden at Wilanów Palace in Warsaw.⁶⁸² An English garden was even built at Versailles for Marie Antoinette.⁶⁸³ English gardens were popular in Sweden and especially with the monarch King Gustav III.⁶⁸⁴ Gustav decided that first-hand accounts of notable examples were required for planning English gardens in Stockholm and so a young architect, Fredrik Magnus Piper, was dispatched on a tour, with the specific remit of studying and recording details of English landscape gardens.⁶⁸⁵ Piper began in England and then toured through France to Italy. In 1778 he returned to England and embarked on a tour of notable English gardens including Painshill and Kew. However, a major focus of his attention during this time was the garden at Stourhead.⁶⁸⁶ Garden buildings influenced by Stourhead were a feature of the gardens at Drottningholm and Hagaparken that Piper was commissioned to design by Gustav III on his return to Sweden in 1780. Piper produced a number of plans and designs for Haga between 1781 and 1786, some of which were executed, such as the Turkish kiosk. One (the grotto) was partially completed and others, including a Casino and a Temple of Neptune, were never begun. These garden elements provide *prima facie* evidence that Piper was influenced by the garden at Stourhead, but more direct evidence can be found in Piper's book.⁶⁸⁷ Whilst at Stourhead Piper produced a substantial corpus of sketches and notes which Karling writes 'bear witness to the important part which Stourhead was to play

⁶⁸² I am grateful to Agnieszka Whelan and Zdzisław Żygulski jnr for providing me with the following translation of the Princess' 19th June (1790) visit: 'We went to Stourhead, the estate of Mr. Hoare, twenty-five miles away, superbly placed and brilliantly designed. We saw the temple, the grotto and a public walk on top of the rocks. The house is sad but beautiful'.

⁶⁸³ The competition between Maria Antoinette and her favourite sister Maria Carolina, the Queen of Naples, may have influenced the building of the Giardino Inglese at Caserta.

⁶⁸⁴ A detailed account of the English garden in Sweden has been provided by Phibbs, J., 'Pleasure Grounds in Sweden and their English Models', *Garden History*, 21, 1, 1993, pp. 60-90.

⁶⁸⁵ Piper, born in Uppsala in 1746, read mathematics and hydrostatics at University and later studied with Carl Fredrik Adelcrantz (1716-1796).

⁶⁸⁶ Henry Hoare provides an account of Piper's activities at Stourhead in a letter to Charles Hamilton dated 30th August, 1779: 'Mr Hoare of Bath presents his best respects to Mr Hamilton, and begs to be permitted, in favour of a young artist who is sent by the King of Sweden to study the culture of lands for Gardening in England, to request leave for him to see the disposition of Mr Hamilton's Grounds at Bath, which he is more desirous of, having been to study at Painshill'. Cited in Harris, J., 'FM Piper, his English Studies', in *Fredrik Magnus Piper: Texter och kommentarer* (Byggforlaget: Stockholm, 2004), p. 117.

⁶⁸⁷ Piper, F.M., *Beskrifning ofwer Ideen och General-Plan till end Angelsk Lustpark* (Stockholm, Byggforlaget, 2004), p. 133.

in the landscape design which he himself introduced in Sweden'.⁶⁸⁸ An examination of Piper's book shows that he advocated the inclusion of many Stourhead garden elements in his English garden design. In a single sentence Piper suggests the inclusion of a rotunda Pantheon, a hermitage, an obelisk, 'an opening through the forest to the large Bassin' and a cascade, all features that in 1779 were to be found in Stourhead gardens.⁶⁸⁹ Stourhead features are extensively referenced throughout the book as having inspired Piper's plan and are often illustrated by sketches and descriptions. For example, Piper provides details of the location of Stourhead House; an extensive description of the Hermitage; a description of the dam and lake and a very thorough account of the Grotto.

The account provided above of Piper and Prince Leopold Anhalt-Dessau's reception of the gardens at Stourhead is my final consideration of specific examples of how Stourhead was received by visitors. In this final section, I will offer summary conclusions of visitor reception of Stourhead gardens, with a particular focus on their reception of Roman myth. The content of the gardens indicates that in the earliest, emblematic phase, ending with the completion of the Temple of Apollo, the iconography was drawn from ancient Roman art, literature and architecture. In theorising about the iconography of the garden's edifices and artefacts, I allowed for the possibility that individual edifices might each have been designed around a specific theme. I speculated that this theme might be based on the association between the presiding deity and a virtue or characteristic. On this interpretation, the Temple of Ceres represented industry, the Temple of the Nymph beauty, the Temple of Hercules strength, and the Temple of Apollo knowledge. However, there is no firm evidence of such an intention.

⁶⁸⁸ Karling, S., 'From Tessin to Piper: A Century of Swedish Landscape Gardening', in *Fredrik Magnus Piper and the Landscape Garden*, Exhibition Catalogue (Stockholm, Royal Academy of Fine Arts, 1981), pp. 8-38.

⁶⁸⁹ Piper, F.M., 'Description of the Idea and General-Plan for an English Park', in *Fredrik Magnus Piper: Texter och kommentarer* (Stockholm, Byggforlaget, 2004), p. 130.

In the search for evidence of iconographic references to Roman mythic themes I began my research by seeking out as much information about the content and evolution of the garden as possible. I chose to research each of the individual garden elements, as well as the Roman influences, including their location at the time Henry Hoare was on Grand Tour. This was done in order to determine whether the items were on show and where they were located at the time of Henry's visit to Rome in 1739-1740. As well as considering individual elements I considered their locations, and especially in the context of their juxtaposition with one another. In applying this approach, I looked for mythic themes based on the co-location of garden elements and especially statues. An explicit assumption of this approach has been that whilst single and paired elements may have been intended to convey mythic references, their presence in the garden might instead be coincidental. For example, whilst it is tempting to interpret the Diana and Meleager statues as having been deliberately placed pendant to one another, it might have occurred just by chance. Similarly, the combination of three thematically related items in proximity might also be due to chance, including the combination of the Hercules, Flora and Ceres statues in the Temple of Hercules, the river God, Nymph and Ovid plaque, and the Livia Augusta and Faustina representations in the Temple of Ceres. Based on information gleaned from various sources, but especially visitor accounts, financial records and pictorial representations, I sought to determine whether garden elements suggested a particular iconography and whether each edifice was designed with a specific theme in mind. In previous chapters I have tentatively suggested themes of spousal loss for the Temple of Ceres, the tale of Daphne and Peneus in the Grotto, the Choice of Hercules in the Temple of Hercules and an illustration of *Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus* at the Temple of Apollo. However, the evidence for the presence of these themes is at best circumstantial. We have no evidence from the garden designers of such intentions and Richard Colt Hoare makes no comment on them. Inconvenient also for theories of individual edifices

exhibiting a key theme is that, in all cases, the structures and their contents changed over time, sometimes markedly. As previously discussed, the focus of the Temple of Ceres changed from the Livia Augusta as Ceres, to a statue of Flora and finally a copy of the *Borghese Vase*. The statuary displayed in the Temple of Hercules also changed from what seems to have been an initial plan for a Temple of Hercules to showcase Rysbrack's *chef d'oeuvre*. The addition of six further internal statues, as well as three external statues, marks an apparent transition to a pantheon although, as previously observed, the statue combination does not justify the 'pantheon' epithet. The Temple of Apollo statuary is varied, and it seems that the *Apollo Belvedere* copy became a centrepiece of the building some years after its construction. The Grotto content also changed. When titled the Temple of the Nymph it featured solely the *Sleeping Ariadne* statue copy. Three years later it was augmented with the river god cavern, and 28 years later, with the approach tunnel. It seems unlikely that at its inception the Temple of the Nymph was intended to evolve in this way.

When considering iconographic themes, it is perhaps significant that the anonymous author of *A Ride and Walk through Stourhead* is the sole visitor to mention these themes. No other author makes mention of them and none of the then-contemporary Stourhead guides list the inclusion of visual references to proverbs or mythical tales. Visitors who wrote poetic accounts of their visit have provided the richest mythic references, perhaps because this medium is one that has a long tradition in Britain of references to classical mythology. The authors of the Stourhead secondary literature have omitted possible sources of information. For example, whilst there has been some contemplation of the poem *A Ride and a Walk through Stourhead*, sources such as *Stourton Gardens* and poems by Skurray and others have usually been overlooked. This is unfortunate, as the date and content of the poems have been useful in determining the evolution of the gardens. A few Stourhead paintings and sketches, especially those by Bampfylde, Woodford and Nicholson, have

been considered by Stourhead theorists. However, many have not, and a further original contribution of my research has been to consider the content of visual sources made by Hoare family members and some of the lesser known Stourhead paintings. As described in earlier chapters, these poems and visual sources have markedly contributed to our understanding of the content and evolution of the gardens.

Whilst we have nothing beyond circumstantial evidence regarding authorial intention in the gardens at Stourhead, we have an abundance of first-hand evidence regarding their reception. Visitor accounts vary substantially in content and detail but consistently yield information regarding the cognitive and emotional reception of the garden, its edifices and artefacts. Most visitor accounts focus on the emotional and aesthetic content. This aspect of the literature tends to be written hyperbolically. Some visitor accounts, and especially those of Walpole and Rezzonico, contain reasoned, critical views of the gardens, and tend to be digressive in style. The source of these reactions to the garden are the artefacts and edifices that were closely modelled on ancient Roman art and architecture, themselves iconographic representations of Roman myths.

The presence of Roman influence is conspicuous in the garden at Stourhead. Reception of the gardens by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century visitors has left us a detailed account of the content and evolution of the gardens. These accounts confirm that visitors were often familiar with the identities of deities and heroes depicted in paintings and as statues.

Hercules, Apollo, Diana, Mercury, Venus, Ceres, Flora and Minerva are commonly referenced by visitors. Less well-known minor deities, such as Pomona, Urania and Vesta are not listed in any of the extant accounts, perhaps reflecting their lesser status. This is in spite of these minor deities featuring in eighteenth-century British art and literature. Whilst identification of individual deities was relatively common place, very few visitors mention

tales from Roman mythology or report characteristics associated with them, such as Ceres and industry, Hercules with strength, etc. The exceptions to this general rule are the poems written by garden visitors, as well as Graves' fictional account of a visit to Stourhead in *Columella*.

Final conclusions: What can the gardens at Stourhead tell us about the reception of ancient Roman myth in Georgian Britain?

In light of the reported new research findings and contemplation of the garden iconography at Stourhead, what might we conclude regarding the reception of Roman myth in the eighteenth century? With respect to the garden designers' reception, the vast majority of Stourhead theorists have accepted unquestioningly that it was their intention to include symbolic content. This has largely been supposed to be attributable of Henry Hoare. Indeed, this was my view when I began my research. However, as often noted in this thesis, Henry has left very little in the way of explanation for the choices made in his garden. The little available information has been gleaned from his letters and especially those exchanged with Henry Flitcroft and written to Hoare's son-in-law Lord Bruce. Financial records confirm the purchase of many of the garden features and payments for building and decorating the garden edifices. However, these financial records are mute with respect to the garden iconography and it remains the case that we have no *prima facie* evidence to support any general design plan for Stourhead. In fact, Richard Colt Hoare, writing almost 40 years after Henry's death, specified that the garden was created *con spirito*, which can be taken to imply a piecemeal, gradual development. With regard to authorship, Colt Hoare credits Henry with the design, praising his grandfather for having 'the good taste and, I may add, the good sense, not to call in the assistance of a landscape

gardener'.⁶⁹⁰ However, beyond this statement Colt Hoare has nothing further to add with regard Henry's design intentions. A key question is whether it is possible to recover the authorial intentions regarding the design of the gardens? The methodology I have employed is one that relies on a consideration of the probability that garden items were placed in proximity by chance, or according to some specific design intention to convey particular meaning. In this final section I will consider evidence of this kind for all four of the major classical buildings.

As discussed in chapter 1, the first phase of the garden's development featured the inclusion of multiple references to ancient Roman culture. Statues of the twins Apollo and Diana were placed at locations consistent with the prevailing advice on good taste. The first garden building, the Temple of Ceres, was built to house Henry's marble Livia Augusta as Ceres statue, purchased during his time in Rome. The Tuscan Doric order, the accurate representation of bucrania, triglyphs and paterae, and the inclusion of historically accurate copies of pulvinaria and altars, all suggest a desire to reproduce with fidelity an ancient Roman temple. On the altars were placed busts of Faustina the Younger and Elder, whose placement in proximity to the Livia Augusta as Ceres statue allows for one possible iconographic reading of the Temple of Ceres as homage to the wives of early Roman emperors. The building of the temple following close on the death of Henry's wife Susan invites the possibility that this theme was employed in remembrance of her.

Ancient Roman influence, with a hint of the Baroque, was also included in the Temple of the Nymph. Visitors to this building variously interpreted the identity of the nymph. For Walpole it was Cleopatra, for the anonymous 1766 visitor, Venus, and for Fenton she was

⁶⁹⁰ Hoare, 1822, p. 63.

Egeria. Others were content in labelling the statue as simply the Nymph of the Grot. This variety of attributions suggest that the statue is a multivalent text. The addition of the cavern and the river god in 1751 were further Roman elements. To emphasize the Roman connections, a plaque bearing the Daphne and Peneus quotation was placed in front of the river god figure to augment the *Aeneid* quote that had been chiselled into the rock above the Grotto entrance. The 1776 addition of a tunnel structure to the Temple of the Nymph suggests that the garden designers wished to transform the structure into a classical grotto. The placement of the river god and his cavern seems to have been intended as a representation of the Stour *pater amnis*. However, the addition of the Peneus quote from the *Metamorphoses*, and its juxtaposition with the nymph and laurels, suggests a second possible layer of interpretation, specifically that the nymph and river god figures can also be read as Daphne and Peneus.

The Temple of Hercules, later referred to as the pantheon, was added in 1753-5. From its size, richness of decoration, and conspicuous placement on the lake edge, it seems certain that this third major garden building was designed to be an ‘eyecatcher’, i.e. a garden element designed to capture the visitor’s attention. The geographical placement of the Temple of Ceres and the Temple of the Nymph is accounted for by the location of springs. Their positioning also happily offered periodic relief on the journey around the lake. This is consistent with Whately’s view that ‘Buildings probably were first introduced into gardens merely for convenience, to afford refuge from a sudden shower, and shelter against the wind; or...to be seats for a party, or for retirement’.⁶⁹¹ A further factor, therefore, in positioning the Temple of Hercules at the head of the lake was that in this position it offered a further place for visitors to take rest and shelter. From here the visitor

⁶⁹¹ Whately, T., *Observations on modern gardening* (London, 1770), p. 65.

could choose to move into the wider estate or, after the dam's completion, take a route around the lake.

The rotunda temple followed the established Stourhead theme of having a single deity as its focus, here Rysbrack's version of the Farnese Hercules. The addition of further statues appears to have precipitated a shift in visitor reception to interpret the edifice as a pantheon. However, few visitors comment on the specific identities of the statues, and those that do tend to focus on the marble statues of Flora, Hercules and Livia Augusta as Ceres. The Isis and Diana statues elicit very little commentary. The Saint Susanna copy is variously identified and for Rezzonico represents an unusual choice, presumably on the basis that a Christian martyr is an odd statuary selection for a Pantheon. With respect to external statuary, only Rezzonico identifies the *Faun of Florence* copy and the Bacchus and Venus statues. The furniture and bas-reliefs are only rarely mentioned in visitor accounts. The content of the panels is not considered in any of the extant accounts and only Walpole describes and discusses the wooden benches. With regard to explanations of Stourhead iconography, it is important to note that no visitor mentions either the Choice of Hercules reference proposed by Charlesworth, or Woodbridge's founding of Rome component of the *Aeneid*. Nevertheless, just as the juxtaposition of Roman empresses in the Temple of Ceres, and the Daphne and Peneus theme in the Grotto, one iconographic reading of the Hercules, Flora and Ceres statues is that they represent the choice of Hercules. With respect to other statues, the Meleager elicits reference to the Calydonian boar tale from two visitors, though neither mention the possible significance of the statue having been placed opposite the *Versailles Diana* copy.

At the Temple of Apollo there is further obvious evidence of ancient Roman influence and this is especially evident in the architectural design of the temple and the statues that were

selected for the external niches, as well as the central copy of the *Apollo Belvedere*. Roman influence from the eighteenth century is also evident in William Hoare's Reni-influenced painting on the back of the Flitcroft-designed bench. With respect to the architectural design of the temple, the structure exhibits similarities to the Temple of Venus at Baalbek, which was either a direct influence, or one channelled through the Kew Temple of the Sun. The physical similarity with the ancient Roman temple at Tivoli is limited to both temples being circular, peripteral temples. Given these diverse possible influences the temple is best described not as hybrid of the styles evident in the referenced sources, but as an original design.

The Hoare painting of the *Aurora* and the *Apollo Belvedere* copy indicate that the presiding deity of the temple is Apollo. However, we have no extant account of why he built a temple and named it after Apollo. I have previously pointed out that the first three major buildings were temples to Ceres, the Nymph and Hercules respectively, and housed statues of these temple deities from the beginning of their history. However, this does not seem to have been the case with the Temple of Apollo. If the lawn-based *Apollo Belvedere* copy was intended to be the focus of the temple then it would have been in place by the time of Rezzonico's visit in 1787. Henry Hoare refers to the edifice as the Temple of Apollo but leaves us no explanation as to why a temple to this deity was specified. A speculative possibility is that having built temples to deities associated with industry (Ceres), beauty (the nymph) and strength (Hercules), the garden designers wished to add a temple to knowledge and the arts. This is however entirely speculative.

As noted earlier, the appropriate decorative elements for a Temple of Apollo were considered to be statues of the nine Muses. Whilst nine statues were purchased, Urania was the only muse. In spite of this, the theme of the Muses pervades commentary on the

temple. Spence goes so far as to describe the approach to the temple as the ‘Walk of the Muses’. This assumption follows through to the content of the National Trust website for the Flitcroft bench, the author of which confidently states that the depicted figures are of the Muses, whereas they are in fact of the *Horae*. Urania, perhaps because of her familiarity to an eighteenth-century English audience, is the only Muse amongst the temple statues. Earlier in this section I have considered themed iconographic readings of arrays of artefacts in other garden buildings. In this context it is interesting to consider whether there are any defensible iconographic readings of the Temple of Apollo statuary groups. As previously acknowledged, the selected statues appear diverse and there is no obvious theme linking this chosen combination. However, one possibility is that the selection of the *Venus Callipygia* copy, plus the Bacchus and Ceres statues, can be read as a statuary representation of ‘without bread and wine, love cannot flourish’. My research has shown that the Bacchus and Venus statues were housed in adjacent niches. I have also indicated that here is a one-in-four chance that the Ceres statue stood adjacent to the Bacchus and Venus pairing. However, we have no primary evidence to indicate the niche location of the Ceres statue, and so this interpretation remains a less compelling reading of the iconography.

The garden edifices at Stourhead bear a relationship to narratives from classical antiquity. However, rather than one single narrative being imposed onto the whole, my research shows that several different ancient narratives were present across the garden and that individual edifices, or ‘opera’ to employ Mrs Boscawen’s term, exhibit independent iconographic themes. There is, however, one interpretation that could unify the disparate elements of the garden. Earlier in this thesis (see pages 74-5) I discussed the possible influence of the various caprice canvasses by Harding that were present early in the history of Stourhead house. These canvasses combined ancient monuments from primarily Rome,

but also other locations, into a single scene. One possibility is that the garden at Stourhead in its Roman phase was an attempt to create a horticultural caprice of Roman influenced building from across the empire. The Turner depiction of the garden exhibits elements of caprice in his treatment of the lakeside temples, which he has relocated and combined. As with almost all interpretations of the building, we again have no record of Henry's intention to create a caprice, or indeed any indication from visitors that the garden was intended as a melange of Roman influences.

Visitor reception of Roman myth in Stourhead gardens must be seen as part of its wider reception in eighteenth-century Britain. This was a time when the nation saw itself as heir to the Roman imperial mantle, where 'new men' such as Henry Hoare could, by emulating the activities of the aristocracy, such as garden building in the 'new style', raise their social standing. Just as artefacts in Italian *giardini inglese* could stimulate in visitors 'a more careful consideration of their ancient traditions', so too could the statues, temples and views to be found in the eighteenth-century English landscape garden.⁶⁹² Stourhead, brimming with Roman influences, was, and is, a source of numerous cues to stir recollection of the classical world.

⁶⁹² Pietrogrande, A., 'Il dibattito padovano sui giardini all'Inglese all'Accademia di scienze, Lettere e Arti di Padova: 1782-98', *In Atti e memorie dell'Accademia patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 108, part III: *Memorie della Classe di Scienze Morali, Lettere e Arti*, 1994/5, pp. 19-38.

Table 5.1 – Stourhead visitors from 1749-1830. Those for whom we have no extant account, but who are known to have visited, are marked with an *.

	Visit or publication date	Visitor
1	1749	Stourton Gardens (poem)
2	2nd July 1754	Dr. Richard Pococke
3	16th June 1757	Jonas Hanway
4	1762	Horace Walpole
5	July 1762	Lady Elizabeth Berkeley
6	1763-1793	Parson James Woodforde
7	10th August 1765	Anonymous
8	1765	Joseph Spence
9	1766	Anonymous
10	5th July 1767	William Clarke
11	18th July 1767	Katherine Gertrude Harris ⁶⁹³
12	1768	Sir John Parnell
13	26 th May 1769	Johannes Wiedewelt
14	27th November 1769	Norton Nicholls ⁶⁹⁴
15	13 th April 1773	Mrs. Maria Rishton
16	5 th August 1776	Mrs. Lybbe Powys
17	12th September 1776	John Wesley
18	1776	Robert Adam*

⁶⁹³ Harris, K.G., Letter to her brother dated 18th July, 1767 transcribed by Dunhill, R., Stourhead Research Room archives, Box file titled 'Early visitors'. This text was sent by the transcriber to the National Trust in a letter dated 22nd March 1999. Katherine (1750-1834) was the eldest daughter of James Harris (1709-1780), composer, scholar and MP.

⁶⁹⁴ Mitford, J. (ed) *The Correspondence of Thomas Gray and the Rev. Norton Nicholls* (London, William Pickering, 1843), Letter XXIII, dated Bath November 27th 1769, p. 98: 'How pleased we were with Stour Head!'

19	25th August 1776	Lady Amabel Yorke
20	24th September 1776	Samuel Curwen
21	1776	William Gilpin
22	13 th September 1777	Edward Jerningham
23	3rd May 1778	John Wilkes*
24	August	David Garrick*
25	July 1778	Sir Richard Sullivan ⁶⁹⁵
26	1780	A Ride and a Walk through Stourhead (poem)
27	18th August 1783	Hester Hoare
28	25th September 1783	Frances Evelyn Boscawen
29	July 1787	Carlo Gastone della Torre di Rezzonico
30	19th June 1790	Princess Izabela Czartoryska
31	1791	Baron Van Spaen van Biljoen
32	11th September 1795	John Henry Manners, 5th Duke of Rutland ⁶⁹⁶
33	Summer 1797	John Thelwall
34	6th July & 20th August 1798	Anne Rushout
35	1800	John Britton
36	1 st September 1801	Richard Warner
37	10 th November 1807	Richard Fenton
38	1808	James Storer
39	6th July 1810	Louis Simond
40	1815	Hermann Ludwig Heinrich Pückler-Muskau*
41	1818	Johanna Schopenhauer*

⁶⁹⁵ Sullivan, R., *A Tour through various parts of England, Scotland and Wales in 1778 in a series of letters, Vol. 1* (Dublin, 1785), pp. 132-146.

⁶⁹⁶ Manners, J.H., *Journal of a Tour round Southern Coasts of England* (London, 1805), pp. 226-7.

42	November 1822	Thomas Dibdin, also known as Cuthbert Tonstall
43	November 1822	Thomas Phillips*
44	November 1822	Joseph Haslewood*
45	1822	Francis Skurray
46	1823	William Hazlitt
47	1823	John Gage*
48	7th July 1823	Elizabeth Selwyn*
49	1837	Frank Llwyd*
50	1842	Rev E A Strutt*

Appendix A – Visitor accounts

Richard Pococke, 2nd July 1754

Leaving Witham, we soon came on the estate of Stourehead, formerly Lord Stourton's now Mr. Hoare's. It has its name from being at the Stour Head, which they say rises from six springs out of so many valleys, and I saw at Salisbury a tomb of the family, on each side of which are three holes to represent the six springs, and the spaces between 'em the hills that divide the vales; this, they told me, was the family arms. Over the northern vale we went on a very fine terras, which is a lawn; on each side there are plantations, and, passing by an obelisk to which there is a walk from the grounds, came to the house, which is a very handsome building of hewn stone, the design of Campbell. There is a fine hall and a saloon beyond it, and a very handsom library, and the whole is finished and furnished in the most elegant manner, and, beside many fine originals, there are some very good copies, especially by Davison, I think his name was, of Frome. To the South of the house is a lawn with a piece of water, and from that is a winding descent over the above-mentioned valley; in the way is a Dorick open Temple, and below, over the water, is an Ionick temple, with a handsome room in it; below this are two large pieces of water, which are to be made into one and much enlarged, for which a head is making at great expence. There are to be three islands in it, with different kinds of buildings in them, one of which is to be a Mosque with a Minaret. On the other side of the water is a very beautiful grotto, with cascades of water at the end falling down in streams about a river God. In this grotto are a variety of spars and christals, and other curious stones; but the most magnificent building is the Temple of Hercules, not yet finished, with a portico of the Corinthian or Composite order. A Colossal statue of Hercules, which is making in London by Risbrack, is to be placed in the nich opposite to the entrance; in the other niches are to be statues and pulvinars; on each side of the entrance is a small open apartment, to be adorned also with statues. The prospect from this spot is very beautiful of the places I have already described, of the village of Stourton in the bottom, and of the vale in which the Stoure runs from this water.

Jonas Hanway, 1756

I am never half an hour in a fine house in the country, without impatience to walk into the open air. The most costly Carpets of Persia, with plafonds enriched with the labours of the greatest Masters, have no joy is equal to Grass plat, and the azure canopy of the heavens. But here are the Groves and Lawns called us abroad with all the Blandishments of the most inviting Pleasures. The lawn in the West Front falls with an easy Descent into a Valley, where stands the small village of Stourton, the Prospect of whose Steeple: tho' in Repair, has almost as good an Effect as a Ruin. On the Brow of this Hill is a Walk of considerable Extent, of the softest mossy turf, bordered on each side by stately Scotch Firs of Mr Hoares own planting, about six Years since; these, as well as the wood behind them, are rather too thick set. This noble broad Walk is terminated by an obelisk one hundred and twenty Feet in Height, built on the highest ground, it has a Mythra, or Sun, of six feet in Diameter, in gilded Copper, at the Top. This Obelisk is divided from the Garden by an Ha ha, but the View of the Sheep feeding at the Foot of it, has as delightful an Effect as if there was no such Separation.

Upon the same Brow of the Hill, below this fine Walk, are several irregular Walks of different Breadths leading into the valley. These are covered by stately Trees, and receive the most heightened Charms by a large Piece of Water at the Bottom, on which there is a very pretty Boat. You will remember the longer by the Female Rower, whose Vivacity induced her to try her skill: it was not one of the least pleasing Adventures of the Day. We made a coasting Voyage on the little enchanting Ocean, where we discovered several little

islands, which are either planted or covered with Rocks, uninhabited except by the feathered Kind. This Piece of Water is also rendered the more charming, by a light wooden Bridge of one Arch; another of more Cost and Beauty is intended to be Built, to serve as a Communication with the opposite side.

After passing the Bridge, the Ground is steep and lofty, and covered with wood: A narrow Path at the Bottom of it leads to the Grotto of the Nymph, which is formed in rude Rock-Work, almost level with the Water. Here is a Marble Bason of pure Water, which is made use of as a cold Bath. In the interior Part of the Niche over the Bason, is a marble Statue of a sleeping Nymph, to whom this Grotto is dedicated: She is covered with a light Garment, which hardly conceals her Limbs. At the Foot of this Bath is a marble Slab with these Lines, from our celebrated Mr. Pope, which are admirably adapted to this pleasant gloomy-Scene.

Nymph of the Grot, these scared Springs I keep,
And to the Murmur of these Waters sleep:
Stop, gentle Reader, lightly tread the Cave,
Or drink in Silence, or in Silence lave.

From the Grotto of the Nymph, we proceeded to that adjoining, which is sacred to the River God Stour, and to him inscribed by some Latin Verses. Here he sits in gloomy, awful Majesty, in a very natural Attitude, with one of his Legs in a Bason of pure Water; this Grotto is form'd in a Rock-work, and arched with the same Materials, at the Foot of a steep Hill covered with Trees, which look venerably ancient. The Statue is of Lead. As we advance, upon a more open and rising Ground, under the Hill, is the temple dedicated to Hercules. This is a Rotunda, or Pantheon, calculated to receive in the Center Pedestal of about three feet high, and the Figure of this heathen Deity is about eight. It is a beautiful Piece of marble Work, and weighs about eight Tons. The ingenious Mr. Rysbrack, after ten Years Labour, has at length finished it.

Perhaps I should have mentioned the Temple of Ceres, which is on the side of the Water nearest to the Village. This Building has a Portico supported by Columns. Here is the Figure of the Goddess, with her proper Emblems, standing in Front as you open the Door. On each Side are two commodious Seats, which are made in Imitation of the Pulvinaria, or little Beds which were placed near the Altar at the Time of Sacrifice, on which the Pagans were wont to lay the Images of their Gods in their Temples. Eight or ten Feet below, level with the Water, in a subterranean Grotto is another Figure of the River God. Here we ought to contemplate not only what delights, but what does not shock. In this delicious Abode are no Chinese Works, no Monsters of Imagination; no Deviations from Nature, under the fond Notions of fashion or Taste. All is grand, or simple, or a beautiful Mixture of both.

Mr. Hoare has formed his Plan for extending the Walks upon the Brow of the Hill, though his Park for near five Miles. By this means he will take in several Delightful Views which Dorsetshire, Wilshire, and Somersetshire afford: these counties all meet in his Grounds. Part of Hampshire is also to be seen, and contributes its Share to heighten the Charms of this august and captivating Scene.

Elizabeth Berkely, 4th Duchess of Beaufort, July 1762

From Longleat we went to Stourhead the seat of Mr. Hoare in Wilts. The house stands well & has from the principall Front of it an exceeding good View bounded by Hills: a Flight of

Steps leads up to it two Ways, three Quarter pillars adorn the House wch has only 5 windows in the front the Hall is a Cube of 30ft with a Glass Door being part of a Venetian Window. Here are 8 Rooms a skylight room & small Dressg room on the principal Floor. The rooms on each Side of ye Hall 20 by 30 & 20 high – the Saloon 48 by 30 odd & 30 high – a great number of fine Pictures the Capital of whc appeare to me to be the one in the Hall by Carlo Maratti, the Holy Family , in ye Cabinet room/Cabinet very fine of precious Stones, & Coffree of the same/Noah’s Sacrifice in the red Damask Bed Chamber – Mary Magdalan washing our Saviour’s Feet – Titian by Himself at upwards of 90 yrs old both in the Closet Elisha raising the Shunamites dead Son to life by Rembrandt in the Worked Bed Chamber, and several in the Sky light room, too many to name. the Stair Case is in the middle of the House lighted by a Skylight, the Garden consists of 100 Acres, fine long Walks in it well wooded on each Side and exceeding broad. Here are 6 buildings – One after the Plan of the Pantheon, the Portico of 4 Ionic Pillars: within the Temple are the Statues of Hercules, Livias Augusta / in the character of an antique Ceres, a Meleager with a Head of the Wild Boar & a Priest Isis of Flora, Diana & Wisdom. The Temple of Flora, a Gothic Temple, a Chinese Temple, a Doric Temple, Am extreme pretty Grotto with the river God Stour within it – the Stour winds very agreeably thro’ one part of the Gardens. An obelisk with a Gilt sun upon it.

Horace Walpole, 1762

The garden is planted on the top and sides of steep hills, with noble walks of firs, and a wood surrounding a fine irregular lake, and washing its feet in the Waves. You pass over wooden Palladian bridge with urns, and wind to a Grotto, charmingly designed and composed of two arched chambers; in a recess of the first is a copy of the sleeping Cleopatra, but without the Asp, to represent a Nymph, and under Pope’s translation of the ‘Hujus Nympha loci, etc’. Thence you pass into another vaulted room, at the end of which under an Arch is a figure, like Neptune, stepping out of a Fount, illuminated from above, to represent the God of the Stour, which river actually tumbles out of his urn, under him are lines of Virgil – I would put these lines

‘This Stream like Tone, still hastens from
My Urn, for ever rolling, never to return.’

Leaving the grotto, which is lost in the wood, you mount to the temple of Hercules; a large Stone building taken from the Pantheon, except that each end of the Portico is stopped up, and I think not judiciously, with a square tower, with niches and statues. At each end of the Portico is a niche with a vase, to imitate porphyry; and then thro a vestibule, with a bust on either hand, you enter by a blue iron gate into the Temple. It is painted of soft colours, and the floor dark, and a rich ceiling. Fronting the entrance, on a lofty pedestal of marble, stands Rysbrack’s Hercules, an admirable Statue; the head taken from the Farnese, and the body composed from the best formed parts of a noted Boxer’s, who practised before Figg’s amphitheatre was suppressed: it cost four hundred pounds. On each hand are three statues, likewise on cast marble pedestals. On one hand Rysbrack’s copy of the Flora; but much inferior to the Hercules; the head particularly flat and without grace. Next to her, Lord Leicester’s Diana and Bernini’s Saint Susanna, in jesse. On tother side, an antique Livia, the drapery fine, the hands modern and not good: then the Antinous and the Isis, in jesse. Over the Statues, bas-reliefs. The Temple was designed by Flitcroft, but has been altered. Round, are four benches in beautiful Classic style, invented by Mr Hoare of Bath, and painted with the history of Cupid and Psyche. Behind the Hercules, is a large grate of brass to admit heat from a stove, and looking like a grate for Nuns in a catholic chapel. In short, few buildings exceed the magnificence, taste and beauty of this temple. The Hercules was

finished in 1756; the Flora 1762. There is another small temple of Flora, a greenhouse of false Gothic, a large Obelisk, and an elevated Terrass of great length. The Lake is full of Swans, and large carp, and the whole composes one of the most picturesque scenes in the world.

Anonymous, Saturday 10th August 1765

We rode through Kilmington, & then arrived at the Gardens at Henry Hoare Esqr at Stourton, otherwise called Stourhead, there are but much the finest I ever saw, they are laid out in shrubberies and Wood walks, which are formed by Beach and fir Trees, intermixed, theres a remarkable long & wide Grass Walk, at one end is an Obilisk & the other a Statue, the gardens are decorated with many fine Buildings, of which shall make some observations, the first I saw was a Green house, the inside & roof was lined with little pebbles, looked very pretty, the 2 the grotto has a cold bath in it 5 feet deep, about the middle is a sleeping Nymph, upon the stone in the front is some lines out of Pope's works, adopted for the purpose, beginning with the Nymph of the grotto, and ending with the word love, it is partly divided in middle by an Arch, at the upper end a sea Monster from which there falls a cascade, you assend by stone steps into the Garden, I then entered the Temple of gods and Goddesss, which is most Magnificent Building cost 10000, its adorned with all the heathen Gods and goddesss and has a very fine echo, the Statues are all different Marble, we then walked over the Chinese Bridge which is excessive pretty, it consists of one large Arch, it is boarded all over & assends by steps at each end, there is a piece of rock work goes across the road, & a large Arch for equipages to pass through, over the Top there is steps made to go to the other side of the road, where is a temple building which is to be called the Temple of Apollo, there is to be another Arch of the same kind a little distance from the other, to return from the temple to the stone Bridge, which consists of arches, from thence we proceeded to the Temple of Ceres, in which is a statue of that Goddess and seats to sit on, we next walked to the Turkish Tent, a very pretty Invention. It is covered with white Linnen and fringed with Blue, the inside is Painted Blue & White in Stripes like a Sattin, there is three half Moons on the top which you see at a great distance, went up to the Chinese Temple in which is a Mandarin with his hand on a Globe of the World, there are two other buildings which are not taken notice of now.

Joseph Spence, 1765

You go to the Grotto first thro a dark walk, where you often catch little pieces of the water thro' the bottoms of the trees, then Open a little way again: & then a [2nd] dark walk, which rises to a rustic Arch & from that begins to descend toward the Grotto. When you are at this Arch, You see a thick wood rising to a good hight, before you; a low, (mysterious) laurel-arching over the path, which hides all the front of the Grot, except a part of the top to the lefthand: & a little on to the same side, is a lump or two of Stones, with Harts-tongue, Fern, & much periwinkle, growing on & between them. When under the laurel-arch, you first discover the entrance to the Grot, at about 16 f before you; & thence go through a close archt passage of 14 f into the Principal circular Room, of 20 f Diameter. Here there is an Opening, coverable with a sort of Curtain when you chuse it, which gives a View to the Lake on the left hand; & the Nymph sleeping over a little Cascade is on your right; the light falls in often very pleasingly upon her from an unseen side window above. There is also an openingin the center of the Dome or roof; in one view shewing some of the wood above, & in another the sky. You go out of this room thro' a second archt passage; as the former, into an open of 12 f long, before Stour's Cave; where he sits retired within, with his Urn always running with a very pure water. That little opening gives you a View of the Lake to the left, & has a rude sort of staircase on the right. The steps are of unequal widths, & broken in front; they rise winding; & are 23 in number. The Grot is hid

here too, on the top of the stairs; & there is a Seat, & Peep to some pretty objects on & near y^e Lake. You descend hence to a soft & pleasing Scenery, which leads you to the Pantheon.

Anonymous, 1766

Stourhead the elegant seat of Mr. Hoare is about 7 miles from Longleat. The house is modern – the entrance is adorned with columns of the Corinthian order. It is in every respect most superbly furnish'd. The Cabinet, which once belonged to Pope Sixtus 5th I esteemed a great curiosity, and is indeed very fine. There is a small but good Collection of Painting – some admirable copies of the most capital Pictures in Europe, by the most eminent living Masters – Raphael, Mengs, Pompeo Batoni etc. several of them from the most esteemed of Raphael and Guido Reni. The rape of the Sabines by Nicolo Poussin, is a fine Picture – the judgement of Hercules which Strange has engraved – two very fine Rembrandts, and some by Salvator Rosa. The gardens are very pleasing – the country of which they make a part is very fine. No expence has been spared, it seems to have been lavish'd to adorn them. You first go down a Bowling-Green to a cast of the Belvidere Apollo, which leads you to the right into a shady walk the first object that strikes you is a Chinese pavilion, from vents you suddenly have a fine view of the lake and the Temple. You then descend and pass over a large Chinese bridge of one arch, and enter a Grove, you walk sometime in the beautifull gloomy path by the side of the lake and are struck with the appearance of a rude arch of rock work - this is the entrance into one of the most beautiful grottos that can be imagined - the sides are formed of Petrifications. The noise of the falling water and the gloominess of the scene are very striking - under a beautiful arch of this rockwork lies the statue of sleeping Venus, she rests upon a kind of tablet of rock work, from whence the water falls in pleasing murmurs, at her feet as the following inscription:

Nymph of the grot, these secret springs I keep,
And to the murmurs of these Waters sleep
Ah! Spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave,
And drink in silence or in silence lave.

The water falls from and then into a bason, is clear as chrystal. Fronting this is another statue representing a river god - the Stour, which is supposed to rise in this spot - water runs from his urn in a large stream..near him is inscribed:

Haec domus, haec sedes, haec sunt penetralia magni / amnis; in his, residens facto de
cautibus antro, / undis iura dabat nymphisque colentibus undas

These things are often placed without propriety, but here it is with the utmost for the Stour is supposed at least to issue from this very urn. After leaving this grotto you enter upon a fine lawn, which commends a prospect of the lake below you, and the different temples on the surrounding hills - The first that presents itself is called the Pantheon, it is the exact model of the famous rotunda at Rome, the entrance is decorated with two beautiful urns from the antique - fronting the principal entrance is a large statue of Hercules by Rysbrack, this cost Mr Hoare 700 guineas, on it is left-hand is a charming antique statue of Livia Augusta from the collection of Cardinal Ottoboni, and cost £1000 - There are several others in the temple not inferior to these - From this temple you walk upon a large terrace, which commands a beautiful view between the two Lakes. The next object is an old piece of Rock Work upon which you ascend over the common roads to the Temple of Apollo, an elegant building (unfinish'd 1766) from there is a different view of the gardens from where

you are conducted to the bridge on the side which is the Parish Church and Old Bristol Cross – a noble object, from hence a pleasing walk to the Temple of Apollo in which there is a good statue of proper habit from hence you ascend a hill of fine Turf adorned with trees to the Turkish tent a long walk at the end of which is an Obelisk - After many windings you reach the house - the whole circuit of the Gardens is near 3 miles - it is thought £4000 per Anni is laid out in adorning them, and keeping them in repair.

Katherine Gertrude Harris' letter to her brother, Stourhead, 18th July, 1767

My very dear Brother,

It is a long time since I last wrote you, which would not be so remiss had I known for certain where to reach you. I am still not sure I shall succeed, but am prepared to chance sending a letter in the hope of receiving one in return.

My mother and Louise received your letters and have asked me to convey their thanks.

You may be interested to see where we are from the date of my letter but you should know that my father arrived here with Lord Littleton last Wednesday. We followed them here on Friday and would have come on Thursday but Louise developed a 'rash' (I do not know what this is in French) but presume you will know what I mean, which prevented us arriving on Thursday.

We were to have left here today but father, thank heaven, has had a rethink and we now stay until tomorrow. I swear to you it is like being in an earthly paradise here. There are so many lovely things; a beautiful house, superbly furnished and with some of the finest paintings one could wish to see plus a hundred thousand other curiosities. A garden and lake amidst one of the finest parks and set amongst the most charming areas of countryside; full of magnificent buildings, one of which is called the Pantheon which is superb. It is a building in the shape of a dome containing marble statues. Another one called The Temple of Apollo, which is not quite finished, is to contain The Four Seasons as well as Dawn and Night designed by Mr Hoare which should fit well in the Temple.

I must not forget our friends who have been really wonderful. The two men and their wives, the great Mr Hoare and Mrs Hoare and her daughter. Lord Littleton and Mrs Rust who amused us so much yesterday evening to an extent which is impossible to describe.

Your letter to my mother reminded me of an Arab society in which I could imagine you as one of those lost princes who fund such unexpected welcome without expecting it. I very much doubt that what you are missing without Louise would make you become as
As Mr

The Cambridges are from this part of the country and had I been lucky enough to arrive here two days earlier, it is very likely I would have met them since they had come to see the house. This would have pleased me immensely but I expect to see them at home very soon. I believe we wrote earlier to tell them not to come then because our house was full of guests.

The last part of your letter will be formally answered by the next part.

Lord Littleton sings your praises with as much fervour as did Homer to Achilles. Everyone sends their best wishes, especially the misses..... Who have been staying with us for a few days.

I remain your affectionate sister,

K G Harris

William Clarke, 1767

From Hundin we travelled 10 miles to Stourton, where we saw the tranquilly beautiful estate Stourhead, which belongs to a particular gentleman named Hoare. We walked first into the park in spite of the rain and wind making the walk less pleasant. The highly beautiful park soon removed these thoughts as the blend of hills and valleys, flowing water and clearings nature has made soon attracted all one's attention. The owner (Hoare) has embellished the landscape with several decorations, such as:

The Orangery, a beautiful building whose walls are inset with little flint (possible chert) stones giving an 'arty' appearance. A large wooden obelisk, A Chinese parasol (parasol Chinese). The Temple of Flora, a fairly beautiful building decorated inside with a statue of Flora and two busts. Along the walls are marble seats. A wooden bridge 26 alnar (an aln is 2 feet or 60cm) long built in a half moon shape with 48 steps on either side of its apex and urns decorating either side of the entrances to the bridge. The Grotto, the most beautiful we have seen yet, is made from a kind of dark limestone most of which are concave and filled with sea fossils. These can be found in the bigger hills around Bristol and also China and are known as Pierre's Anti-delugienne (pre-deluvian stones), as it is believed that a revolution of nature once made the stones reachable by the animals of the sea the fossils consist of. The entrance to the Grotto is very somber and in this place where day is night Neptune made of white marble sits elevated, leaning against a fallen urn out of which there is a constant flow of water. In the middle room, lit by a window in the ceiling was a large pool of water out of which a pedestal rises with the statue of a nymph, also of marble, lying on top. From above the pedestal water flows constantly down all sides. This grotto may not have cost as much as the other two I have mentioned, but exceeds both in beauty and tranquility and should alone merit a visit.

Pantheon, a large, round building with a domed roof approx. 13 alnar in diameter. Hercules statue, masterly made in white marble, stands opposite the entrance and around it nine other statues, some marble others lead with white varnish/render/plaster.

A ruin, tastefully made, out of which trees and bushes grow even though the building is but 25 years old.

A Hermitage of linked and hollowed trees, the chairs thick tree stumps, all in good taste. The Hermitage and have an 'arty' and curiosity aspect in that the main road runs under and a little distance away over the ruin. Descriptions on paper do not do this feature justice and cannot be created other than where valleys and hills occur naturally.

The Sun Temple, a beautiful building displaying a remarkable architecture. The roof or Dome is supported by 16 pillars de l'ordre composite. Inside stands a statue of Apollo and in the ceiling a golden sun.

A Chinese Folly with an enclosed level/room in the same style. The view across to the Pantheon is extraordinarily beautiful.

One walks away from all these beautiful buildings along a wide ally towards a tall Obelisk, to the mansion itself. In front of the mansion lies a large flat area edged by large urns on pedestals similar to this described in the landscape.

Sir John Parnell, 26th & 27th September, 1768

A few miles from Longleate you pass thro a part of Mr Hoares grounds between the lawn before his house & some farmlands on either side of the road. These last consist only of smooth well laid down fields neatly enclosed with clip'd hedges and great beach clumps also enclosed with neat hedges. These grounds are very pretty, tho' with no advantage from anything but the neat husbandlike manner they are laid down with and enclosed. About a quarter of a mile from the entrance to Mr Hoares this way lies the Inne where we putt up, ordering dinner at six o'clock and immediately proceeded to view the improvements. If I was ever charmd with a fine view in an improvement where I expected it, how much was I charmd with the most delighfull scene almost I ever beheld, enjoyd in full perfection from the high road not twenty paces from the inne door. I confess I never beheld such a goodnatured improvement so beautifully ornamenting the country and feasting the travellers eye; this, not from a citizen ostentation to the high road, but from the road lying a little on the side of a hill which enjoys to perfection the picturesque beauties of the lake and wooded banks surrounding it with the several buildings scattered along them. In full view on the other side of the lake stands, as in an isleand, the most elegant expensive building I ever saw in an improvement, not even the best at Kew excepted. It is perfectly Attic — a miniature of the Pantheon with I think an improvement in the portico. The Temple is something on this plan nearly as I could carry it in my head, the inside lighted solely with a light at top as the Pantheon is; a noble circular room furnishd with some antique statues of the largest human size, and some copies in marble from some of the best antiques at Rome. Above is relievos in compartments over the statues, & the roof is finely stuccoed in the antique. The water covers twenty four acres. The disposition of the grounds round it are singularly beautiful]; one side a swelling knowl coverd thick with old timber is surrounded by the lake as if a winding river; the opposite is a mixture of lawn, shrubbery & wood. Where the lake narrows towards the glin where the water appears to enter, & where it soon is lost from the rising of the ground, a great geometrical bridge thrown over conceals the end of the water, makes a communication between the two sides, and gives the whole the appearance of the opening of a great river, not a confined pool. On the bank opposite the Attic Temple is a Turkish tent taken from Mr Hamiltons, very elegant but rather inferior to his. Below this tent is a little Gothic greenhouse, and a small temple still nearer the water. Where the water runs in, here is a statue of Neptune in his carr with sea horses just as coming out of his cave & launching into the deep. The worst thing in my opinion of Mr Hoares, as having too little of nature to be admitted into a scene where all appears an arcadia or beautifull spott of an existing country, not, a mere visionary scene where Neptune may be supposed more properly to exhibit his ideal chariot. This was suggested to me by the line grounds in view beyond the lake, by the cottages, the woods, the comfortable, the usefull scenes joint to the view of the highly linishd banks of the lake and Grecian buildings. It may be objected that in England an appearance of nature is broke in on as much by introducing the Attic Temple and another taken from the Ruins of Baalbec in an English scene- But this I denie, there being nothing unnatural in the appearance of any building, tho' never so unusual. In a country, all buildings being artificial, none can strike with impropriety as being unnatural. We may at any time conceive a mans building an habitation, or at least a pavilion or banquetting house, in any style of architecture; but the introduction of a heathen deity can never be without violating all pretensions to a natural scene. I woud therefore never blend them in this manner could I effect it, but give them some recess, some little amphitheatre where they shoud make the

principle object, and consequently how much they might ornament that particular scene, I should be certain they marr'd no natural beauty. Here then I must confess Mr Hoare has shown as much propriety in the embellishing a grotto, where natural objects were not blended, nor required as being the inside of a room, as could, from the system I observe above, be wish'd. It lies in the spot from whence the spring proceeds which is supposed to give rise to the River Stoure. A great River God lies in a rude recess, reclined on his urn, from whence issues the stream; the motto "undis jura dabat &c &c". It does not begin here, but near those words in another recess into which this water runs is a cold bath; beyond it, or rather on a bank of fossils, shells &c rising out of it, lies a lovely figure of a nymph asleep, done finely considering it is in lead; the motto on a piece of white marble, "Nymph of the Grott &c", and from Pope, ending with "and drink in silence or in silence lave."

Near the inne stands the great cross wch stood once in a principle part of Bristol. It is one of the most elegant pieces of antient Gothic workmanship I ever saw, and must have been an exquisite ornament to an antient city as Bristol. But the wise mayor & aldermen disposed of it to Mr Hoare, who paid for the carriage & putting up about £300. It stands within his grounds, but appears as belonging to a little village, with a real parish church just without them- This was the very spot of all others to place this neat building in, which would have wanted meaning as a mere garden building. Here it 'appears as the market cross of a neat village. On entering the grounds by this cross are two or three pretty cottages neatly ornamented with trees, but thatch'd, wch I much admire for its simplicity- Soon after you pass thro' a winding shrubbery and meet a small Gothic green-house built of coarse flints, with Gothic pilasters. Not about 25 or thirty feet long from hence you look down to the lake and the scene before mention'd. Pursuing your course from hence thro' old beech, ash & some oak, you come to the banks of the lake at the foot of the geometrical bridge, and passing over it enter the thick wood on the knowle at the opposite side of the lake. Here the path becomes shady & winding sweetly by the lakeside amidst thick wood 8: artificial rocks thro' a wild arch of which it passes. You arrive at last in a cavern or grotto, sufficiently characterized to appear as a building, consequently not improperly ornamented with works of art within, which had it been as a mere natural grotto would not in my opinion have been so proper. In this lies the River God and Nymph I mentioned before. From hence you ascend up little winding steps, and pursue your walk thro' beech trees till, the ground growing liner dress'd and higher ornamented as you approach, you come to the front of the lovely Grecian Temple which stands on a rising mound about twenty feet above the water elegantly dress'd; and after enjoying sometime the coolness and beauties of the Rotunda, pursue your walk by the banks of the lake open to it & sweetly dress'd, ornamented with some exotics lightly scatter'd on the dress'd ground. Here stands, level almost with the surface of the lake, a kind of seat which, tho' no ornament in itself, is the best contriv'd seat I know to take in the ornaments of a fine situation, as by moving your foot you can take in a new portion of the scene when you have sufficiently examined another. It is form'd of a great butt or porter hogshead cutt in the front, and a seat fix'd in with the top sloped up to keep off the weather. It is prettiest painted all green, except the top which may be slate colour, or the barrel may be white, if in a place where a white object is desireable. It rests on a pivot below, and with a foot may be turned as the person sitting in it pleases. They say Queen Elizabeth was the first inventor of these & built one at Ham. The iron hoops are riveted on where they are not extended all round — they are rivetted where the dotts are. A rail cutts off this fine dress'd part of the banks of the lake from a part fed with sheep and open to many sorts of fowl, which being fed here keep on this part when out of the water. But the walk enters a sort of mind castle & winding up one of the turrets goes along a passage which you find to be over the high road, as the passages round a fortified town are carried over the great gateways, only all seems in min, grass &c

growingly extremely romantically in every interstice of this whimsical building. The other side, from the steep rising of the hill, is on a level with the top of the arch; and here you find a dressed path through some ornamented ground spotted with laurels and flowering shrubs & fed with sheep. On the top of this swell stands a temple which has cost a great sum, taken from that temple of the Sun at Balbec. It is a most expensive building, but I think not beautiful in proportion to its cost, the dome rather heavy & the indented entablature over the colonade unmeaning & destructive of the use designed in a colonade round a temple where the votaries are supposed to be sheltered from the inclemency of sun or rain, and where those who walk for pleasure might enjoy the same benefits, all which this indented colonade cannot possibly perform.

Thus the road is surrounded as I at first observed with beautiful objects. You return by a winding arched passage under the road, and pursuing the banks of the water, pretty nearly by the place we enter at pass by a pavilion where Neptune stands; and mounting up a vista from the water arrive at the Turkish Tent, from whence at one view you take in the great lake with two beautiful islands, the attic temple beyond it. the great knoll of wood, a large piece of water apparently a continuation of the great lake though on the other side the road. This water loses itself in a wood & leaves the Spectator well satisfied that he might if he pleased pursue its course many miles. You also see another fine piece of water not long made, its head not as yet concealed by plantation as it will be in a few years; the great bridge, also another of stone over which you pass in returning from the temple of the Sun; the fine dressed grounds on the other side the road with that temple on its summit. These objects disposed in the spots you would wish them, with the scattered houses in the village mixed with trees, the little church, the line gothic cross, added to the distant view of woods, downs, meadows & tilled lands present a scene, as may be well conceived, the most varied and beautifully replete with every object that the eye can be feasted with. From this glorious scene you enter a dark winding walk through old wood & coppice; but that it winds, from some fir trees, its height above the valley and some other circumstances strongly resembling the Long Walk at Ballyarthur - the trees, in the same way they are there, being scalded and raw at the bottom from too great age or closeness to each other. After making a turn or two to gain the summit, you come at once into a noble walk on the very top of the hill, I believe 500 yards long, about 40 wide or less, terminated at one end with a magnificent Obelisk, at the other a line [view] open to the country. Here, you'll naturally say, is a specimen of the old fashioned straight lined gardens so much decried in the present age. How comes it here in a new improvement admired for elegant taste? The question would be pertinent did these sort of walks alone adorn Mr. Hoare's gardens. Those long close sided vistas have not much beauty in themselves to bear frequent repetition; especially as they exclude, except at each end, any desirable objects in the adjacent country. But a single one, line as this is, introduced on the top of a hill, after a winding walk apparently the work of nature, has given you in its turns all the beauties of prospect, and retirement of shade, has a noble effect; whether produced by contrast or the power of perspective strongly striking you on the first entrance is no way material, but so it is. I never met a better instance of the good effect of introducing a fine walk of this kind than here. That at the Duke of Newcastle's Claremont, which is the same way on the top of a hill, not being so well contrasted with a natural walk before you enter it, though in other respects I believe equal to this at Mr Hoare's, the terminations better as well as I recollect. In this way therefore, for the sake of variety well I see has powerful charms, I would always have such a walk as this in every extensive improvement; and if (as these two I mention use) it is gained on the very summit of the hill, the effect will be greater from its being quite unexpected; but it will take much a longer time to come to perfection, the sides of this being I believe 60 feet high at least, all fine spruce fir, which is the proper tree for

the front, as a very little cutting up with a plashing hook of the lower branches keeps it always in order from the pyramidical shape of the fir: add, that they should be always of evergreen trees for the line effect in winter. I observe that the spruce fir takes splashing up to great perfection, feathering out after cutting like a deciduous tree, and the branches from tenderness beautifully weeping. In fact the height of the trees & the smoothness of the walk gives the appearance of a line valley where you could little expect it on the top of a hill. I must observe that this walk was not in reality as long as it appeared - I mean in continuance - a valley (as at Cirencester) intervening -- but the walk by plantations continued to the eye. At one end was an open to the country, at the other a very fine Obelisk, which as I after found was seen from another walk at the other side forming an angle with this last mention'd. From the end of the Long Walk farther from the Obelisk you strike into a closer straight vista of fir which has an Appollo of Belvedere for its termination, on approaching which you come at once into an open about the size of the front lawn at Hayesville or less which terminates with the house. This is properly one side of the house but its the largest facade, that to the great steps being shorter. I need say little of the house as the two fronts and ground plan are in the Vitruvius Britannicus. I must only observe that there is a convenience, grandeur, neatness and, at the same time, a degree of comfortableness in its inside that tempts me to pronounce it the most desirable house for a man from 2,000 to 10,000 a year ever was shewn, and a strong contrast is the waste of rooms and unmeaning size and expense of Mr Beckford's wch I saw the day following. I was rather displeas'd with one thing as to its situation; it is confined in its view on three sides, the garden front before mentioned seeing little farther than the small lawn terminated with a sweeping plantation and the statue of Apollo of Belvedere, the back looking thro' an odd sort of close to the Obelisk, and the other side to a kitchen yard of offices.

Now the Disposition of the Rooms all round a central stair case seem'd to require this houses being placed where it might have had a more extensive view to the front. The lawn is but small till the road crosses, but its reassum'd beyond the road, and as some of the down-like hills, part of Salisbury Plain or just such ground, terminates the continuation of the lawn at the other side the road, there is as fine a range for the eye as could possibly be desired. On the whole it is a most enchanting spott for a Desmesne. After viewing this most agreeable mansion and improvements about four hours we returned to our Inn where our dinner was just ready for us and after a comfortable meal we played cards till supper. So ended the first day; the next we schem'd to breakfast early at Hindon to view Mr Beckford's at Font Hill and return to Bath that night but accident gave us a much more agreeable disposition of our time. On awaking on Wednesday morn Sep" 27 I found it a heavy day of rain, so much so that we concluded we must pass the day in our Inn and content ourselves with quadrille or a party at Pickett. But as we could do that as well or rather better at home without running live and twenty miles for the purpose I propos'd that we should be sett down on the coach at Mr Hoare's house and spend our day in viewing his pictures more narrowly than we could do it the day before. We gain'd by this scheme of the finest rides or drives I ever mett, and particularly pleasing from being so little expected that day, for as it cleared up a little the housekeeper mention'd our driving to see the Abbey in the wood which I eagerly caught at, and being told our way was by the great Obelisk, and that a terrass from thence woud convey us to the wood, I found the noble riding I mention'd before as terminating with the Obelisk, but had no idea of its great extent till I rode it. It is on the very verge of the brow from whence the hillslopes down which forms one side of the valley at the head of his great piece of water. A stripe of ground about forty yards broad is fenced by a whitethorn hedge from the ground and on the right hand, and thrown into the brow. This is planted thickly on the right and dress'd very smooth like a race course and left open but for clumps here and there to the left where

the prospect down to the valley lies. This great wall: or drive is about two miles, nearly straight, and then winds so gently along the brow still, that the continuance is not broken by it; for about half a mile the plantation is on both sides, this keeps the eye from being sated with the prospect and shows it in higher beauty. Where it breaks in at the end of this double plantation on the right, the plantation still continues, mostly beech and firs. What amazed me was the number of beech about Mr Hoare's and other trees thick as my thigh bound round with furze or blackthorn and tyed with a couple of gads to prevent the cattles rubbing them. I am sure there were some thousands so managed, mostly with furze. This great drive putt me in mind of Lord Bathurst's, and made up all that was desirable at Mr Hoare's for I thought his improvements, tho so beautifull, were rather too confined, and chiefly intended for viewing on foot, the water so fully taking up the valley that there seem'd not room for a terrase between the hill and the water edge. But this noble terras and continued drive of eight miles in extent added a grandeur to all the other beauties. At about three miles from Mr Hoare's you come to the extent of the drive in [length]. Here he is about building a belvedere which will cost a vast sum. It is to be dedicated to Alfred who it is imagin'd in the adjoining wood used to hold his councils. It is triangular with three towers as Mr Farr's. From it a prodigious tract of country or rather countries will be visible, as the hill is very high on which it is building.

From hence the road winds down thro' woods & a great extent of plantation to a sequestered spot looking on little piece of a river in a vale surrounded by oaks. Here is built the Abbey, a slight building of flints with an abundance of little figures of nuns of different orders lett in in niches round the room, the windows adorned with painted glass. Next room is a kitchen; over it a bedroom for a man & his wife who takes care of the room & breeds fine wild turkeys, bantam fowle, guinea hens etc in this wood, which is very great & all kept in Mr Hoare's own hands, no cattle being admitted into it, tho' I believe it must be sixteen or eighteen years old. All the adjacent parts to the roads and ridings are planted with different sorts of firrs and laurels in profusion. About four of five miles driving brought us thro' the grounds on the opposite side of the water from that where we sett out to our Inne, highly satisfied with the beauties of the country and Mr Hoare's magnificent manner of enjoying them. This kind of drive on the brow of a hill dressd smooth, about the brea[d]th of a race course, is one of the most striking &- pleasing of all improvements, affording a charming place for air and exercise any time of the year, taking in the beauties of the surrounding country and giving a place the appearance of the greatest extent.

Johannes Wiedewelt, 26th May 1769

Johannes Wiedewelt (1 July 1731 – 17 December 1802) was a Danish sculptor born in Copenhagen, the son of Wiedewelt, who was royal sculptor to the Danish Court. In this role and informed by his travels outside of Denmark, Wiedewelt introduced neoclassicism in his home country, especially with respect to garden sculpture and memorial monuments. Wiedewelt's journal indicates that he visited Stourhead on 26th May 1769. His account is brief and in note form, but confirms that began his tour at the obelisk and from there visits the Pantheon. Perhaps predictably for a sculptor, much of his commentary is restricted to a description of statues within the Pantheon, and especially the Hercules and Flora. From here he visits the cascade and canal and concludes his visit at the 5-arched Palladian bridge.

Mrs. Rishton to Miss Fanny Burney 13th April, 1773

My dear Fanny,

I know not whether I owe you a letter or not but as I think I should be guilty of a great piece of rudeness in sending a frank directed to you, and no letter – so without anything to

say or one grain of sense in my noddle I intend filling three sheets (read sides) of paper – so to begin and give a little account of myself – I have been near three weeks in Froome with my Bold Face – and have spent my time very agreeably – we have bought a new Whiskey and horse and sold my Julia, and Martin has very often the complaisance to let my drive him, a thing I am remarkably fond of – We were yesterday to see Mr. Hoare’s house and Garden at Stourhead, a place I think the best worth seeing of any seat I ever beheld – it has every advantage Art or Nature can bestow – Imagine to yourself the Most beautiful, romantic Country there is in the West of England Commanding the most delightful prospects and where three Hundred Thousand pounds on the most modest Calculation has been spent in the Improvement – The River Store (Stour) rises in one part of the gardens and is so beautifully Contrived as to come gushing out of an Urn on which Neptune is reclining in his grotto – Which is composed of the most beautiful spas (sic) and Fossils. There are several apartments in this grotto and Such a Cold Bath – with an invocation to the Nymph of the place. There is a palladion (Palladian) Bridge over a most beautiful piece of Water – a temple of the Sun situated on a very great eminence and so Contrived that the top which is a Window looks like the rays of phoebus and seems to enlighten the Temple – there is a Pantheon filled with very costly statues of all the heathen gods and goddesses – on pedestals of Sienna marble – many of them cost £112 – there is a temple of Flora – a beautiful Turkish Tent such as Sultans take out when they go to war – a Prodigious fine roothouse with several cells intended as a Hermitage a lamp always burning, hour glass, human bones and several inscriptions, there are hundred others disposed about the gardens which are of such amazing Extent that they are not at all crowded – there are mighty pretty inscriptions etc – the House is very well worth seeing many very beautiful things and fine pictures – after dinner we had the most delightful ride on a terrace that surrounds all his estates – to Alfred’s Tower – which is about 3 miles and &c from the house – this tower is 152 feet high and is seen more than 50 miles off – there is this inscription on it – on this spot – King Alfred the great erected his standard against Danish invaders he formed – laws and raised a Militia he is justly called the Father of his country as he laid the first basis for English Monarchy and Liberty (It was words to this Effect tho’ better expressed_ we mounted this beautiful building which forms three Angles – and three towers up one of which runs a winding Staircase – and brings you up to a Stupendous height it is all built of New Brick and Portland Stone and has not Cost so little as 20,000. After that we drove thro’ the most divine Winding Walks to the Convent – which is built exactly in the Monastic Stile – and the pictures of Nuns of all the different Orders of France – I never saw anything prettier in my Life but to shew you how little the Owner of these things Enjoys them the Gardiner told us Mr. Hoare had never been to the Top of Alfred’s Tower – or had been to the Convent. I spent a Most Happy Day.

Mrs Caroline Lybbe Powys, 1774

We intended laying at the inn at Stourton, built by Mr. Hoare for the company that comes to see his place, but to our great mortification, when we got there at near ten o'clock, it was full, and we oblig'd to' go on to Meer, a shocking little town three miles off. There too the best inn was filled. The other, or rather ale-house, was bad indeed, but the landlord so anxious to accommodate us with beef steaks or anything of that kind for supper, that, as we could not do better, we laugh'd ourselves into good-humour, tho' his only parlour, the man said, was taken by two gentlemen from the other inn, belated too, and whom he begged we would join, he was sure they would be willing ; but as we imagin'd the gentle- men, like ourselves, liked their own company, and might not be of the landlord's sentiments, we stuff'd ourselves into the bar-room till bed, when the above heroes were so kind as to resign the best bed, as the maid styl'd it to me, and getting two more in the village, we did tolerably, and in the morn return'd to Stourhead, which answered every difficulty we had met with

the preceding evening, as both house and grounds are so vastly well worth seeing. The inn I mention'd is just at the entrance of the garden. We there left our horses and carriages, and walk'd for about two miles; the pleasure-ground in all is seven; Alfred's Tower, at the extent one way, which is seen for miles round Stourhead. The first building after the gardener's cottage is the Bristol Cross, ¹ a present from that city to Mr. Hoare, a very light Gothic structure, but its kings and queens in the niches round it would, in my opinion, have look'd better of the original stone colour than so ornamented with red, blue, and gilt clothing; but still 'tis pretty through this profusion of finery, and I believe it may in some measure be more strikingly gaudy from its nearness to one; could it be plac'd on an eminence at a little distance, it surely would have a more pleasing effect. Fifty men are constantly employ'd in keeping the pleasure grounds, rides, &c., in order, in all about 1000 acres.

It was a park when Mr. Hoare purchas'd it of Lord Stourton, but all the buildings and plantations are the present owner's own doing, without any assistance but common workmen to plan or lay out the whole seven miles' extent, nor could Brown have executed it with more taste and elegance. Nature indeed had been profuse in giving a spot the most beautifully irregular, without which no grounds can be laid out pleasing to the eye. These were nothing more than naked hills and dreary valleys, which now are so beautifully adorn'd by art, assisting Nature with trees, her greatest ornament, where hills and water only were before. This indeed might be discovered by the disagreeableness of the country the instant you are out of Mr. Hoare's domains. The next building after the Cross is a greenhouse, prettily adorn'd outside by stone or burnt cinders from the glass-houses at Bristol, the inside black gravel stones mixed in the mortar; it looks like pounded flints and has a pretty effect. We then pass'd over what the gardener called a Palladian bridge, but he certainly mistook, as I think Palladio's bridges were cover'd over.

This is open top and sides, pretty at a distance when near, the idea of going over a kind of ladder only is frightful. Another party of company could not bring themselves to venture, but 'tis not so bad after you have brought yourself to venture a few of its steps, tho' its perpendicular appearance and seeing the water through at first looks formidable.

We saw many pretty seats at the stems of trees of stones piled like rock-work on each other. The next building is the Pantheon, ¹ in which are seven niches with statues large as life, over them seven alto-relievos. From the Pantheon colonnade you have a fine view of a constant cascade which is very beautiful; from this we went to the Temple of Apollo. On the outside niches with statues, on the inside a gilded sun with a skylight to illuminate it. From thence we cross'd another bridge leading to a stone alcove, then to the Temple of Flora. In general these edifices are so alike at all gardens, and the seats and buildings here put one greatly in mind of Stowe, if it were not for the much more beautiful spots each is here erected on, to what that flat situation can boast. The Turkish tent at Mr. Hoare's is very pretty; 'tis of painted canvas, so remains up the whole year; the inside painted blue and white in mosaic. We thought it best for our horses to take them at this time to Alfred's Tower, three miles off, that they might again rest while we walk'd the remainder of the tour. They sent a guide with us over the top of the hill, which commands so many fine views of this now cultivated spot. One of them looks down an immense valley, where is the head of the river Stour. It rises in six different springs at a piece of rock-work where the figure of Neptune is striking, and the river gushing out. The tower is lately finish'd, cost above £4000 yet we thought it the least worth seeing of any one building at Stourhead. It being brick in a country of stone is rather wonderful. The form triangular, 150 feet 10 inches high, one of the angles round a stone pillar is a spiral staircase of 225 stone steps

before one gains the top, and then there being no seat or enclos'd room, only an iron at such a distance that people may just pass in walking round, and those who can, may look down the tower from top to bottom on the inside. It does take in an immense tract of prospect, and our guide inform'd us of twenty different things he saw and meant us to see. The tower was erected in honour of Alfred the Great, as an inscription over the entrance mentions that on this summit his standard ² was erected against the Danes.

After seeing the tower we descended the hill, and by the banks of the river came to the Convent, an elegant building, painted glass in the upper part of the windows in miniature. Nuns in their different habits in panels round the room, very pretty Gothic elbow- chairs painted in mosaic brown and white. Two very ancient pictures found in the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey the Wise Men's Offerings well painted.

From this place we came back to the house, again put up the horses while we saw indoors, which in itself answers the situation, and contains a thousand curiosities of furniture, pictures, &c. You enter a noble hall, round this in panels are whole-length portraits, very capital ones, one in particular by Carlo Maratti. He is drawing the portrait of a young nobleman standing by him, other figures behind as large as life. Opposite the chimney, Mr. Hoare, when a youth, on horseback. There are ten rooms on the principal floor, the saloon finely proportioned, 50 by 30, and 30 high. The paintings here large and fine, some historical. In the third room shown is the so-much-talked-of cabinet ¹ that once belong'd to Pope Sixtus, which Mr. Hoare purchased at an immense sum, so great that he says he never will declare the sum. It is, indeed, most beautifully ornamented, as well as valuable, for on the outside are many fine gems. A border goes round the frame four feet from the ground, here set in frames. Pope Sixtus' picture, and those of his family, drawn, you may be sure, after he was raised from his original obscurity. Some time after the purchase was made, in some inner private drawers were found seventy-two other miniatures, some in the old English dress, others of Spain and Italy. The date on this curious antique cabinet is 1677. In a closet out of this room is a most inimitable portrait of Titian by himself, at ninety-two years old. Round this are hung the seventy-two miniatures above mention'd. There are a number of fine paintings, and they are hung in a most clever manner, the frames having hinges fasten'd to the walls on one side as a door is, and may be pulled forwards as the light is required. The best picture at Stourhead is, I think, over the chimney in the picture gallery, a Rembrandt Elijah restoring the widow's son to life, Elijah as large as life, and a most striking figure. There are many of Rembrandt, Canaletti, Claude Lorraine.

Lady Amabel Yorke of Studley, 25th August 1776

Garden, first part old-fashioned, terrace to the Obelisk. Turkish seat, walk the limits to Turkish tent. Bridge. The lake is in most places edg'd with words - Grotto in this recess a river god and urn. Dark passage turns behind are one side Path ascends to Pantheon. Hercules by Rysbrack at the upper end. Other statues from antique, bas-reliefs over them from ditto chairs painted from ditto. Walk on the dam. - View of cascade. Passage over road. Hermitage, which seems constructed of trunks of living trees. Temple of the Sun, from the ruins of Balbec. Chair painted with chariots of sun by Hoare of Bath. Way under road. Doric building, on Lake ends the circuit. Turning to the village, Chinese bench, Gothic green-house. -Gothic Cross, which the town of Bristol sold, because they did not like the expense of repairing it.

Drive round hills, valleys, young plantations. Gothic room, painted with figures of Nuns old picture said to be dug up at Glastonbury. Alfred's tower where tradition says he defeated the Danes. This is an odd triangular building. Very extensive prospect from top of

Wiltshire & Somersetshire Bristol Channel seen in clear weather. Drive round the banks of the valley where the Stour rises and runs, till it forms the lake.

Rev. John Wesley, 12th September 1776

I spent about two hours in Mr. Hoare's gardens at Stourton. I have seen the most celebrated gardens in England, but these far exceed them all. 1. In the situation; being laid out on the sloping sides of a semicircular mountain; 2. In the vast bason of water enclosed between them, covering, I suppose, sixty acres of ground; 3. In the delightful interchange of shady groves and sunny glades, curiously mixed together. Above all in the lovely grottos, two of which excel every ting of the kind which I ever saw; the fountain-grotto, made entirely of rock-work, admirably well imitating nature, and the castle-grotto, into which you enter unawares, beneath a heap of ruins. This is within totally built of roots of trees, wonderfully interwoven. On one side of it is a little hermitage, with a lamp, a chair, a table, and bones upon it. Other were delighted with the Temples but I was not, (i) because several of the statues about them were mean; (ii) because I cannot admire the images of devils – and we know the gods of the heathen are but devils; (iii) because I defy all mankind to reconcile statues with nudities either to common sense or common decency. There is nothing even at Cobham to be compared. 1. To the beautiful cross at the entrance of Stourhead gardens. 2. To the vast body of water. 3. The rock-work grotto. 4. The temple of the Sun. 5. The hermitage. Here too every thing is nicely clean, as well as in full preservation. Add to this, that all the gardens hang on the sides of a semicircular mountain. And there is nothing either at Cobham or Stow which can balance the advantage of such a situation.

Samuel Curwen, 26th September 1776.

From the park we soon arrived in an even fine road to Mr. Hoare's grounds; on our right was a rising planted with laurels &c. and on the left more distant all the luxuriance of nature in its unimproved uncultivated state which country renders this spot and road inexpressibly delightful. We soon arrived at the inn and taking a cold Collation with a bottle of most excellent cyder departed on foot for the house into which we gained an easy admittance. The front looks over a very pleasant lawn, separated from the fields by an Ha Ha fence, and within circular stones on each side or 5 large stone Urns on Pedestals, to a distant prospect bounded by a Insulated improved hilt on one hand, and on the other through a vale to Lord Arundel's just within reach of the eye. The house in point of grandeur is in the middle style, one passes on a flight of noble steps to the center door letting into the hall, by appearance the common sitting room of the owner, when he makes this house his residence; in this hall hangs a full length picture of Mr. Hoare on horseback drawn in younger days, the face, the drapery and the Horse executed by different hands, as the Housekeeper told yet the lines of different pencils are not to be discerned. From this room we passed through a suit filled, say the walls almost covered with paintings of the most celebrated masters; in one, is the cabinet of the famous Pope Sextus, Quintus, which the owner purchased at Rome at an high price. It stands on a rich mahogoney frame, made on purpose to support it, the front is of ebony, and the stories or compartments of which there are many are supported by Amber pillars and the tests or entablatures and [1 word] are stuck with sapphires, emeralds and many precious stones and in a test or border below are himself his sister Camilla, his nephew Cardinal Montalto and all the members of the Perratt's family from which he sprang, in miniature on white alabaster most elegantly and inimitably executed, in low relief and in the drawers were found miniature paintings of the most principal of the royal and noble families in Europe and Italy in metal frames of an oval form now taken out and hanging in one of the closets.

A most unlucky nervous head ach seized me just as I entered the gardens and took from me the powers of attending to the many fine original paintings this house abounds with. At one end is built a semi-circular room with a sky light only, that being judged in England (for good reasons doubtless) to be the best light to view pictures by; and is filled with fine originals of the greatest masters, and is called the picture room. Here I recollect one that extremely struck me, Elijah raising the widow's Son; here also is a fine Madonna and an Herodias with John the Baptist's head. In the Saloon looking over the lawn on the back front, at the end and terminating the view is an Apollo of Belvedere but with more drapery than that at Wilton house; and a bust of Alfred the great standing on a lofty pedestal in the Palm sitting room; a masterly group of Carlo Marratti painting himself with other figures; a good piece of Henry the 4th of France hanging over the chimney. Passing from the house over the back lawn we descended through a serpentine walk in a shrubbery or wilderness, to a Turkish tent, situated on a declivity, having in prospect a fine piece of water in which were swans and is supplied by a cascade in view, from hence to a pantheon which we entered on the other side of the water crossing over a noble light airy bridge of one arch, leading to the walk, continued to a cool retired grotto arched, supported by rough stones, and paved with small pebbles. On the right of the entrance is a small square bason of water, clear as crystal, issuing through a green misty bank, whereon is reclined a female at full length resting on her left arm; and to her is addressed the following lines, wrote by Mr. Pope

Nymph of the grot these sacred springs I keep
 and to the murmurs of these waters sleep
 Oh spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave,
 and drink in silence or in silence lave.

Passing out of this we ascended by a sight of craggy steps in different directions, under a cragged and rough arch and sides made to resemble old ruins, to the serpentine walk (once for all) continued through the whole pleasure grounds; arriving at the Pantheon, of an octagon form, ending in a Dome, we entered it through a vestibule or porch, projecting and supported by pillars, but of what order I forget. In niches round the wall are placed some statues; how many, and what I don't recollect (but by Mr. Smiths memory and notes I find these were Hercules, Livia Augusta in the character of Ceres, an antique bought at Rome for 700 £, Mercury, Diana, Flora, over which were six compartments filled with bass reliefs the history unknown, one boar hunting). In the round are placed seats of a peculiar construction with cushions; 'tis lighted by a circular window in the center of the dome. Following the mazy walk we soon reach the Temple of Apollo standing on an eminence; having behind a wilderness and in front, a most enchanting prospect of the water flowing in a winding stream to the main body wherein were Ducks and Swans. Here also in view of the cascade, the turkish tent, the mansion house, the green house, church, the cross, and many objects which vary and render this a delightful spot. The structure is of an octagon form; passing an open gate in the chinese style, in which the fence surrounding it is built, we entered the porch. In the niches on either hand stand two antique busts and without in niches are six statues nearly as big as the life, of which five were filled: Venus, Minerva. Apollo, Jupiter &c. From hence we descended to a bridge over the canal which we passed, and soon arrived at a passage under the road leading to the other side of the garden wherein were a green house in the chinese manner, and from thence in an enclosure stands a light airy cross bought of the City of Bristol and transported hither, in the Gothic style consisting of 4 or 5 stories. In each of them are 4 niches filled with Kings in their regalia who were really supposed to have been in their day Benefactors to the city. The names as

far as my memory goes are Henry 6, Edward 4, King John, Charles 1 and 2 and Queen Elizabeth.

Tis a gothic structure very finely decorated, and in the highest preservation; and seems to have not at all suffered decay by time though its style and manner proclaim its origins far removed from the present age; leaving this, we repaired to our inn, first engaging the head gardener to send a guide to attend us to Alfred's tower which we intended to visit before taking our last leave of Stourton.

Edward Jerningham, 13th September, 1777

From Bath I went a little out of my road to see Mr. Hoare's which indeed is well worth seeing. As this is all in your own way, you will not be displeased to have an idea of the place. The gardiner conducted me to a green terrace, above which was a Turkish tent. At the foot of the terrace the water; and a little farther the semi- circular Italian bridge, which stands bold and characteristic. This bridge leads to the grotto. The entrance is very dark. As you advance, the path opens into a spacious room. On the right is a form of a woman sleeping, raised on a couch that stands in the water, with drops distilling from every part of the couch. You pass to another department open at top, but shaded with branches of trees, which appear as if they were rushing in. Fronting you is a river god pouring water from an urn. Going out of the grotto you catch a view of the Temple of Flora, and the figure of Neptune on the bank of the river. The walk, as it winds, leads to the Pantheon, which is a beautiful building enriched with statues. From this place is beheld on the left the Turkish tent, a little lower [is seen] the Temple of Flora. The river is here formed into an artificial lake, round which all these buildings are properly disposed. On the right a cascade rushes down, and forces its way from a wood. A little farther on the right appears the Temple of Apollo. In the front is seen a simple stone bridge, and beyond that the famous Bristol Cross, backed by the parish church. The imagination of Ariosto could not invent a more picturesque scene. The path on the right leads to a bar-bridge, where you catch a half-view of the Italian bridge, with a wood rising behind it crowned with an obelisk. The same path leads to a hermitage; and, passing thro' the gloom of that recess, the burst of light and of the scenery has a most striking effect. The full view of the Italian bridge, the obelisk, the Pantheon, and Alfred's Tower growing out of a deep wood that stands on a high ground behind the Pantheon, are objects that altogether form an enchanting scene. As you advance, you reach the Temple of Apollo, from whence all the same objects are beheld, with the addition of the green-house and a partial view of the House seen thro' a vista. The gardiner told me that this spot is reckoned the most capital. It appeared otherwise to me, from the Bristol Cross and [the] church being seen sideways. This kind of circular walk is a mile and a half. The less decorated parts of the park are also very beautiful; but I had not time to see them, having no acquaintance with the family.

Sir Richard Sullivan, July 1778

Awakened by the choristers of the grove, and briskly rising from our beds of sloth, (happy expressions, are they not?) we soon were ready for those beauties, which every account had given us a reason to expect in the improvements of Stourton Park. The morn, however, had been ushered in with deluges of rain. The wind was high, and a dreary gloom scudded along the fields: in short, everything promised as unfavourably as the most adverse stars could possibly denounce; thus this momentary disappointment was only to enliven us the more to joy. About ten o'clock the atmosphere began to clear; Sol burst from his fetters; and the whole country, in an hour, bore the vivid colourings of Spring. At eleven o'clock, therefore, suppose us seated in our carriages, with a guide on horseback, who, having heard of our arrival, had planted himself in waiting early in the morning. Properly

prepared, off then we set, opening to our view, almost immediately from the inn, a beautiful cross, transplanted from Bristol, an elegantly winding river, with an airy bridge thrown across it; an obelisk erecting its head above the trees, and the pantheon, all charmingly disposed of to the right; while the left presented the Temple of Apollo, and an inspiring grove gently ascending to the summit of the hill. From this, passing along, we came to the venerable remains of a mouldering arch, thrown over the road, and then proceeded along the borders of an arm of the rivulet to the banks of a beautiful cascade, happily formed in the bosom of a wood. Still continuing our progress along a winding road, through flowery meads, swelled in a happy taste, we next opened a prospect of woods and water, summer houses and pavilions, all most charmingly diversified and picturesque. Thence passing through a grove, and along the borders of some fair fields, we came to an extensive wood, where some cottages are interspersed, and where Alfred's tower I seen to rear its awful form on the very summit of the hill. Proceeding onward, we got into the wood, crowned with the profuse charms of luxuriant nature; while, to the left, a little monastery discovered its slender spires through the verdant foliage of the trees. Hence we descended almost imperceptibly into a vale, whose sides on either hand were covered with fern, heath, and a variety of shrubs; and thence we entered the bosom of a wood, sacred to gloom, and to religious contemplation; the road through which led us by a gentle ascent to a rustic pile, called the Convent, in which is, A good painting, dug out of the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey: and an ancient drawing of our Saviour.

From the convent we descended the opposite side of the hill, and then entered into an extensive wilderness, which led us to the summit of the brow, on which the tower of Alfred in placed, approaching to it on a verdant carpet, bounded by a grove of firs to the right: and open to the left by an expanse, which seems to have no termination. Alfred's Tower is of a triangular form, of modern date, and built of brick. The height, perpendicularly, is one hundred and fifty-five feet; and the number of steps to the top, two-hundred and twenty-one. Nothing can be conceived more striking than the prospects from every side of this structure, round one turret of which, for the benefit of the view, a gallery has been railed in. Over the portal, on the outside, is this inscription:-

Alfred the Great
 A.D. 879
 On this summit
 Erected his Standard
 Against Danish Invaders
 To him we owe the Origin of Juries
 The Establishment of a Militia,
 The Creation of a Naval Force,
 Alfred, the light of a benighted age,
 Was a Philosopher and a Christian,
 The Father of his People,
 The Founder of the English
 Monarchy and Liberty.

The martial hero also, of, in those days, a devoted country, who, according to historians, sought, in person, fifty-six battles by sea and land, and who was able, during a life of no extraordinary length, to acquire more knowledge, and even to compose more books, than many learned men, whose time has been entirely devoted to study.

Leaving the tower, we proceeded along a meadow till we came to the head of the river Stour, which has a little building around it, called Peter's Pump, removed thither from Bristol. This river, it is said, gives the name of Stourton to the neighbouring village, as well as to a lordship of old creation. From its source it winds in a gentle stream. Still gliding on our way – for gliding it might fairly be called, we entered on a lawn, exquisitely green, and on either side bounded by a grove, which leads to an avenue on the brow of the hill; the left formed by a regular range of trees, and the right by clumps of evergreens and holly. This avenue, when we came to the end of it, afforded delightful views. In the vale, the natural windings of the river are carefully embanked, and terminated by the Temple of Apollo; and along the opposite hills, the groves are gracefully planted and diversified. From the avenue, we again entered on the lawn, at the end of which is an obelisk, encircled by a range of elms; and thence through another avenue to the house, the appearance of magnificence. The lawn, however, before it, together with the prospects which it commands, are most enchantingly fine and picturesque.

Pleased with the paintings, and satisfied altogether with the stile and furniture of the house, we entered on a verdant lawn, at the end of which is an avenue of high trees, that leads to a beautiful terrace in a circular form, whence is a good view of the temple of Apollo. From this place we proceeded up another avenue, leading directly to the obelisk, and thence descending, we at once opened a most enchanting prospect of a pavilion immediately beneath us, a pantheon rising on the banks of a beautifully-winding river, and thick nodding groves spreading themselves behind it. Still descending, we came to the pavilion, happily erected on a mound, from either side of which an embowered walk continues to the river; along the banks of which, and at the foot of the pavilion-hill, still proceeding, we at last came to a bridge, formed of one arch, in wood, and singularly light and easy of ascent. Leaving the bridge, we then entered a shrubbery, which, leading along the confines of the river, brought us to a romantic grotto, in an apartment of which, to the right, are these lines:-

Nymph of the Grot, these sacred Springs I keep
And to the murmur of these waters sleep;
Oh, spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave,
And drink in Silence, or in Silence lave! Pope

The figure of the nymph is elegant, and the water tinkling around her, with the gloom and stillness of the place, give an effect that is melancholy, but pleasing to the imagination. A river god is placed in another apartment, with a translucent wave pouring from his urn. Quitting this grotto, which is the truest stile of rural simplicity, we ascended a flight of steps into the shrubbery, that leading us along the borders of the river, at length brought us to the Pantheon, where we found collected in one view, a choice and uncommon assemblage of beauties. In the front, an elegantly formed piece of water, with a cavern of Neptune, a temple dedicated to Flora, and a deep wood stretching fancifully around it. On the left, a pavilion on the terrace: and to the right an ancient cross, in imitation of Egyptian granite; a handsome stone bridge; the Temple of Apollo; the murmuring cascade, which, in the beginning of our perambulation, we had admired; and a profusion of groves, harmoniously diversified, and adapted to different objects.

Quitting the Pantheon, we crossed the stone bridge, whence we had a retrospective view of many of the same objects, with the addition of the Pantheon. Still proceeding, however, we next got over the ruins of the old arch, which was formerly mentioned, and thence wandered to the Druid's cell or hermitage, formed by roots and branches of old trees, and

thence passing through a grove, arrived at the Temple of Apollo, a small rotunda, situate on the declivity of a hill.

David Garrick, before January 1779

Epitaph for Mr. Garrick, written by himself, extempore, at Mr. Hoare's, at Stourhead.

Tom Fool, the tenant of this narrow space,
(He play'd no foolish part to choose the place,)
Hoping for mortal honours e'en in death,
Thus spoke his wishes with his latest breath :——
That Hal, sweet-blooded Hal, might once a year
Quit social joys to drop a friendly tear;
That Earle, with magic sounds that charm the breast,
Should with a requiem teach his soul to rest;
Full charg'd with humour, that the sportive Rust
Should fire three vollies o'er the dust to dust;
That honest Benson, ever free and plain,
For once should sigh, and wish him back again;
That Hoare too might complete his glory's plan,
Point to his grave, and say I lik'd the man.

Hester Hoare to Harriett Anne Bysschopp Saturday 1783

I have given you an idea of the House, as for the grounds t'is impossible to describe them at all. There is no park but there are Woods and Lawns and Hills and Dales and a lake for forty acres Temple and buildings of every kind. A pantheon which cost ten thousand pound, a Temple of the Sun placed on a very high Hill commanding the most beautiful view you can imagine. I always long to put into it a venerable Las Casas and some handsome Virgins and other Incas. There is a famous Grotto too of which your young painter has made an exact representation on canvas and you must go and see it next year at the exhibition. The outré tout cela there is a terrace of neat Three miles long, from which you have a view of the whole Country and on clear days may see the Welch mountains. Here it is said Alfred erected his Standard and Mr. Hoare has erected a Tower to his memory with an inscription on it. It is of prodigious height and is seen at forty miles distance, from this Terrace you go into a Vale where you may ride or walk some miles and in the midst of it is a beautiful convent, inhabited at present by the Game keepers Lady and Daughters.

Mrs Delany (Mary Granville), 25th September, 1783.

Mr. Hoare's I have since seen; it has many pretty opera scenes in it, but is not in the style of Longleat, - far from it. I shd have told you that our first gite was Frome, and our first care to visit Dr. Ross; but alas! he had set out for Bristol that morning to stay 3 or 4 days. We left our names upon his writing-table, but his good company would have enliven'd our evening greatly. We spent all yesterday at Mr. Hoare's, and were lucky in a fine day to sit, and tarry at the different stations. There is an immense high tower built at the extremity of his plantation. called Alfred's Tower, on very high ground wch overlooks the whole country. Mrs. Leveson took the pains to mount to the top oi' this edifice—256 steps. I contented myself with viewing and admiring a very extensive prospect from its foot. There is a convent in Mr. Hoare's woods that you wou'd like very well; it has fine painted glass in the windows, and a picture wch belong'd to one of ye altars of Glastonbury abbey wch shuts up with doors, but perhaps, after all, it is only an imitation, for I am easily taken in upon these occasions and believe implicitly the tales of my ciceronis.

Conte Carlo Gastone della Torre di Rezzonico, 17th July, 1787

La mattina dei 20 vidi *Stoaread* del sig. Hoare. Entrai nel Parco in carrozza essendo assai lungo il cammino. Dopo aver molto girato per campi, vallette, e colli ed ombrosi viottoli giunsi al convento. È questa una casa abitata da una famiglia di paesani, ed è nell'esteriore tutta diroccata, come sono in Inghilterra i conventi, e gli antichi castelli, onde fu detto ingegnosamente, che due celebri architettori, Cromvello, ed Arrigo VIII aveano riempiuta di bellissime rovine le contrade Britanniche, l'uno distruggendo le sacre abitazioni de' monaci, l'altro atterrando le munite torri de' potenti. Dalle reliquie dell'Abbazia di *Glastonbury* si sono tolte due preziose tavole, ch' io giudicai lavoro di Andrea Mantegna. Sono due di quegli altari portatili che anticamente si usavano, e si aprivano per vederne le immagini nel fondo, e sugli sportelli dipinte. Figurano amendue l'Annunziata, e la visita dei Magi al presepio. Il colorito è bellissimo, il disegno alquanto secco, ma esatto, le figure sono ornate di filetti d'oro sulle vesti e d'aureola, segno del secolo in cui furono eseguite. Una parmi però inferiore alquanto all'altra tavola, e forse è lavoro del Francia. Avendo dopo visti alcuni quadri di Gausset, detto Mambus, pittor fiammingo conobbi essere queste tavole opera di sua mano.

Un'altra tavoletta è molto singolare per esservi dipinta sullo stile Bisantino la faccia del Salvatore, quale fu inviata sopra un antico smalto da Bajazette ad Urbano VII con una leggenda assai curiosa pel riscatto d'un suo fratello fatto prigioniero da' cavalieri di Rodi. Sulle finestre vi sono altre pitture sul vetro, ed alcune d'un disegno sì bello, che sembrano del nostro Parmigiano. Una mosca così dipinta ingannò lungamente il mio occhio, ed anco la mia mano parendomi che fosse imprigionata fra due vetri, e con fatica m'accertai, ch'era opera di pennello, toccando la superficie del vetro alquanto più aspra, dov'erano i colori, ed affatto liscia nell'opposta parte. Dal convento si discende ad una molto selvaggia solitudine, e poi si sale alla sommità d'un ciglione, dove torreggia il monumento d'Alfredo. L'iscrizione inglese, che sotto la statua di questo Eroe si legge, dichiara perchè fosse eretto '*Monarchy and Liberty*'.

La torre è un'opera moderna, ma poche antiche vi sono, che se le possano paragonare. Ella è triangolare e tutta di cotto con belle fasce di pietra. La sua altezza perpendicolare è di 155 piedi; vi salii e contammo 221 gradi. Sulla cima gira un verrone, o galleria con isbarra di ferro alta più di quattro piedi per sicurezza, ed il verrone ha nel pianerottolo circa altrettanti piedi di larghezza. La vista di tanto paese all'intorno è uno degli spettacoli più superbi, ch'io m'abbia fin qui goduto. Province intere si discoprono ben coltivate e variate in mille guise, e distinte dagli alberi, dalle messi, da' parchi, e dalle agevoli colline, e dai pascoli con numerose greggie ed armenti, casolari e palagi, onde l'occhio si stanca, ma non si sazia d'agguardare, fin dove può giungere la sua saetta. Dalla torre d'Alfredo venni verso il palazzo, e prima incontrai un obelisco molto bello di pietra di *Portland*, su cui avvi un sole di bronzo dorato per dinotare che al sole si consacravano nell'Egitto simili monumenti. L'obelisco è sopra una base quadrata, e corrisponde ad un lungo viale che s'apre verso la casa, ma non in dirittura per isfuggire la regolarità, che qui non piace.

Dalla casa entrai nel giardino, e prima salii una clementissima collinetta d'erba sì morbida e sì ben tagliata, che pare un tappeto di velluto. Sovr'essa è posta una copia dell'Apollo di Belvedere, e sulla dritta vedesi l'obelisco verso del quale c'incamminammo, e rivolgendosi per ameni sentieri scendemmo ad una tenda turchesca. La vista d'un lago, d'un tempio, d'un ponte, d'una barchetta e d'un'isola s'apre qui all'improvviso, e ricrea infinitamente. Non mai ho sentito con evidenza maggiore la verità della definizione della bellezza che ci ha data Hutcheson nelle sue metafisiche ricerche, quanto ne' parchi d'Inghilterra, d'onde per avventura la trasse quel profondo Filosofo (come da' pomi che ne' suoi giardini

cadevano trasse Newtono le leggi della gravità) cioè che *il bello è l'unità in ragione composta della varietà*. Il ponte chiamasi di Palladio per essere un ritrovato di quell'Architetto. Si ascende per gradi l'ardua curva da lui disegnata, e non ha sostegno, che dal contrasto artificioso, e dalla legatura delle travi a romboidi e quadrati, e sembra una scala gittata sull'acqua in forma d'un mezzo cerchio. I trafori delle travi rendono leggerissima la struttura del ponte, e la sua elevatezza ed eleganza lo fa mirabile, e riflettendosi nell'acqua la curva, per la bianchezza del colore dato ai legni, viene così a formarsi tutto il cerchio che molto alletta la vista, essendo la più perfetta delle linee.

Dal ponte di Palladio si passa alla grotta, la quale non poteva essere più poeticamente immaginata ed abbellita. L'ingresso è oscuro e tortuoso, e s'ode un mormorio placidissimo d'acque che sembra, che ti scorrono fra' piedi, e si riesce ad una spelonca illuminata dall'alto, e più addentro se ne discopre un'altra, che diresti profondamente perdersi nelle viscere della montagna; uno spiraglio superiore, che l'arco basso della rupe non lascia vedere, fa scendere una languida luce sopra la statua d'una bellissima Ninfa sopita in dolce sonno. Le proporzioni delle membra, e le vesti ricordano nell'eleganza, e nel drappeggiamento la supina Cleopatra del Vaticano, e stassi in una quasi simile giacitura, e colle braccia sul capo, attitudine dagli antichi attribuita alla stanchezza, ed agli Dei Filesii, e qui forse con ingegnoso pensiero imitata. L'acqua spiccia da' massi, e forma un lucido pelaghetto intorno alla Ninfa, e sopra un candido marmo lessi un Epigramma inglese di A. Pope degno dell'Antologia greca, il quale suona in italiano così.

Mentr'io per non interrompere il sonno della Ninfa con sospeso passo esciva dalla grotta, m'avvenni in un'altra in cui gorgogliavano l'acque con maggior fremito cadendo dall'urna d'un barbato fiume, e lessi quest'altri versi:

*Hæc domus, hæc sedes, hæc penetralia magni
Amnis, in hoc residens facta de cautibus antro
Undis jura dabat, nymphisque colentibus undas.*

Venerai l'agreste divinità, e per certi scaglioni mezzo spezzati ed umidi salii sul ciglio petroso, che fa tetto alle cave abitazioni delle Najadi, e di là scesi nuovamente verso il lago per obliqui calli, ed in una vasta verdura di prato vidi alzarsi il *Pantheon* con portico e rotonda sull'esempio di quello d'Agrippa. L'ordine è corintio, e da quattro isolate colonne e due pilastri viene sostenuto dignitosamente il vestibolo e la rotonda meno vasta, ma molto elegante, e tutta ornata di bassi rilievi, e di statue nelle nicchie, fra le quali si distingue una Livia Augusta in figura di Cerere con mazzo di spighe in mano, e di superbo lavoro. Costò questo marmo 700 lire sterline al sig. Hoare. Bello eziandio si è il simulacro d'Ercole co' pomi dell'Esperidi nel palmo della mano; Rysback che lo scolpì nel 1786 seppe imitare le forme dell'Ercole Farnesiano, emulando Glicone, ma ne variò l'atteggiamento. Il Meleagro tratto dall'antico, la Flora, e la Diana sono sempre belle, quando ritengono, come qui, l'originale carattere. Una santa Orsola, copia di Quesnoy, fra tante divinità pagane non so come vi stia. Nella facciata v'è Bacco, e l'Anadyomene; sul fianco del tempio il Fauno di Firenze, l'altra nicchia è vuota. Da' Numi del gentilesimo fui guidato ad un romitaggio sul pendio d'un colle, onde invece d'Ercole, di Venere, di Bacco e di Diana mi convenne col pensiero riandar le gesta delle Maddalene, de' Paoli, degli Antonj, degli Ilarioni e de' Climachi, e far tragitto da' templi della Grecia alle solitudini dell'Egitto. Questo selvaggio ricovero è tutto contesto di smisurati tronchi di querce, che tagliati in varie forme sostengono le volte e le archeggiano con boschereccia architettura. Orrido e silenzioso è il soggiorno, irregolare e fantastica ogni sua parte, ed ingombra di radici, di sterpi e d'alberi aspri di nocchi e cavernosi ed informi, che spandono un sacro

orrore, ed invitano a malinconiche meditazioni. Passai per giungervi sovra le rovine d'una porta che cavalca con uno degli archi suoi la frapposta via pubblica, e poscia per un sotterraneo ripassai sotto la strada medesima con aggradevole sorpresa. Vidi, dopo il romitaggio, il tempio del sole. Egli è tondo, ed ha dodici colonne che tolgono in mezzo altrettante nicchie, nelle quali avrei voluto vedere i dodici segni del zodiaco, anzichè la Callipiga, l'Apollino, il Mercurio ed altre simili Deità. Si ascende per vari gradi, e sullo zoccolo, che gira tutto l'edifizio, e che parvemi alto da 4 piedi in circa, posano le colonne corintie, di cui il sopraornato, o cornicione incurvasi e rientra in mezze lune dall'una all'altra colonna serpeggiando con certa affettazione ignota agli antichi, e contraria alla purità dell'ordine. L'immagine del sole raggiante occupa il fondo della cupola. Un banco vi è posto con ischienale di legno, su cui è dipinto Apollo, l'Ore e l'Aurora, imitando debolmente quella di Guido. A dir vero avvi nelle rovine di *Balbec* un tempio che ha servito di modello a questo, ma gli amatori della severa architettura forse non approveranno quel soverchio meandro di linee, che nuoce all'offizio del sopraornato medesimo. Il gocciolatojo rientrando porta la pioggia più presso al corpo dell'edifizio; nulladimeno, se l'esempio dell'orientale tempio facesse autorità presso alcuni, non ardisco esercitare la mia critica su que' celebri monumenti, quantunque l'architettura in que' climi fosse più ardita, che nel Peloponneso, ed il secolo d'Odenato, e di Zenobia non fosse certamente quello di Pericle, e d'Aspasia o d'Alessandro, e nemmeno a' lodati tempi di Augusto, e di Trajano si accostasse pel gusto dignitoso nell'architettura.

Lasciato il Tempio del sole, e valicata la strada pel sotterraneo passaggio di sopra menzionato, mi si presentò un ponte di pietra, che l'erbose zolle coprivano, unendolo così al prato, e di là giunsi al Tempio di Flora, e lessi sulla porta: *Procul o procul este profani*. Piacquemi l'epigrafe, ma non approvai la spezzatura del frontone sulla cima della porta, malgrado gli esempj di gran maestri. Quattro colonne alzano il portico; l'ordine è il grave dorico, il quale a Flora punto non conviene. Dentro evvi la statua della Dea, due are, e due *lectisternii* che invitano a sedere i profani, se non sono atterriti dall'epigrafe. Nelle due nicchie laterali sono due busti d'Imperatrici Romane che per nulla sono degne d'essere in quel tempio. Alcuna volta furono le Auguste figurate dall'adulazione in abito di Flora, di Cerere e di Giunone e di Venere, di cui molti esempj si veggono in medaglie e in marmi ne' Musei. La Venere Felice di Sallustia è la più celebre, ed è nel cortile del Museo Vaticano. Il fregio dorico è benissimo eseguito. Poco di là lontana si vede una guglia gotica che stava a *Bristol*, cadde e non fu rimessa dagli indolenti cittadini, onde acquistonne i pezzi il sig. Hoare, e li fece riordinare ed unire, e la pose per ornamento nel suo giardino. Otto nicchie sono empiute da otto regnanti dipinti a colori; nelle più basse vi stanno Enrico III, Edoardo III, ed Edoardo IV in piedi. Nelle superiori a sedere stanno Giacomo I, Enrico VI, Carlo I, ed Elisabetta, che in tanta altezza trovasi in isconcia positura a sedere. Sembra ch'ella, al dir del Tasso: *Sovra scettri e corone alzi la gonna*. Il lavoro è gotico, come dissi, e forma una prospettiva molto dilettevole sovra una picciola eminenza. Poco lungi dal ponte di pietra un'altra prospettiva si vede d'un portico parimente gotico cogli archi a sesto acuto, ed una statua nel mezzo. Sul pelaghetto vicino esce da un ciglio di grotta un Nettuno sovra un carro tratto da quattro cavalli marini, ma è troppo piccolo e troppo meschino. *Stourhead* merita ogni lode per la sua eleganza, e per la varietà in picciol campo sì ben distribuita che sembra maggiore del doppio della sua estensione.

Princess Izabela Czartoryska, 19th June 1790

We went to Stourhead, the estate of Mr. Hoare, twenty-five miles away, superbly placed and brilliantly designed. We saw the temple, the grotto and a public walk on top of the rocks. The house is sad but beautiful. Good paintings: the Rape of Sabine women by

Poussin, Elijah resurrecting the child by Rembrandt, a landscape with a fire at night by Rembrandt and many others. Saint Catherine by Guercino, two children by Correggio. The mistress of this house is dead. The woman in charge is not without subtlety. The husband is in Italy. We came back. (Translation by Agnieszka Whelan and Zdzisław Żygulski jnr.)

John Henry Manners, 5th Duke of Rutland, 11th September, 1795.

This morning we walked over the delightful scenes of Stour Head, the mansion and seat of Sir Richard Hoare; and strong as it is the aggregate remembrance of the romantic beauties which we there witnessed, I regret that the subsequent lapse of time, presents an insurmountable obstacle to a particular and individual description of them. Among the objects more particularly deserving notice, is a delightful Grotto, where is a beautiful figure of a naked nymph sleeping, beneath which are the following verses written by Pope:

Nymph of the Grot, these sacred Springs I keep
And to the murmur of these waters sleep;
Oh, spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave,
And drink in Silence, or in Silence lave!

It is singular that these lines are a literal translation of the following inscription on a Nymphaeum at Rome:

Hujus Nympha loci, sacri Custodia fontis,
Dormio, dum blandae sentio murmur aque
Parce meum quisquis tangis cava marmora somnum
Rumpere, sive bibas, sive lavere, tace.

At a short distance from the place, Sir R. Hoare has built a lofty tower, dedicated to the memory of the immortal Alfred. It bears the following inscription:

Alfred the Great
A.D. 879
On this summit
Erected his Standard
Against Danish Invaders
To him we owe the Origin of Juries
The Establishment of a Militia,
The Creation of a Naval Force,
Alfred, the light of a benighted age,
Was a Philosopher and a Christian,
The Father of his People,
The Founder of the English
Monarchy and Liberty.

The tower had been finished 25 years, when we saw it, is 199 feet in height, and has 221 steps to the top of it.

Baron Johan Frederik Willem van Spaen van Biljoen, 1797

From the fine portico which adorns the house one discovers a magnificent view over a large valley and a prospect in deep perspective as though framed between two finely wooded hills covered with large trees. Claude Lorrain himself could not have imagined in his landscapes a more sunny prospect than one sees realized here. When one leaves this

interesting house, one enters the park to discover new beauties at every moment. A large valley is filled by a beautiful lake where nature and art have joined to create a masterpiece of good taste. It is a place filled with thousand upon thousand conceits so diversified that one's interest is always on the increase. A charming walk ends in a sombre and silent grotto in the depth of which one discovers a nymph asleep on a couch from which fresh and limpid water seeps and invites one to sleep or to bathe. On a marble block one reads the following verses by Pope:

Nymph of the grot, these sacred springs I keep
And to the murmur of these waters sleep.
Stop, gentle reader, lightly tread the cave.
Or drink in silence, or in silence lave.

In another corner one can see Neptune leaning on an urn from which pours the spring which feeds the lake, with a similar inscription from a Roman poet: *Hic domus, haec sedes* etc. One then crosses the water by a superb Chinese bridge with an arch of 80 ft span and one arrives at a beautiful building called the Pantheon, top lit in imitation of the Pantheon in Rome. Inside this rotunda, one can admire a colossal Hercules, a fine piece by Rysbrack, an antique Ceres found at Herculaneum and the statues of Flora, Meleager, Diana, and a muse after the antique. From there, and all unaware, one crosses the main road on an arched bridge which spans the public highway, but this span is so masked by a rustic grotto and what is called a shrubbery or mass of flowering shrubs that one perceives nothing and is imperceptibly led to a fine temple dedicated to the sun and situated on the top of a hill from which one can glimpse Alfred's Tower.

The temple is built in imitation of one at Palmyra, it is top lit but off-centre, the middle of the dome being adorned with a golden sun beneath which is placed a colossal copy of the regal Apollo Belvedere whose majesty fills the whole temple while several statues of divinities are modestly placed in niches all around. From the temple portico, the view plunges down onto the lake filled with swans and wild duck. The gondolas which float upon it, the temples and other buildings as well as the picturesque shapes of the trees which border it — an obelisk of 120 ft on the opposite summit — the noise caused by an ornate waterfall of 30 ft and several mills, all these form a whole so evocative — a romantic situation as the English say — that no one who has not seen it can really imagine it; it proved a continual enchantment, we were in such ecstasy that we had the utmost difficulty in tearing ourselves away from this charming spot to which we applied what Montesquieu recounts of a traveller who, after having seen the pyramids of Egypt, travelled on believing that there remained nothing worthy of his notice; we were of the same opinion as regards estates and indeed although I later visited Blenheim I have not come across anything in England which came near the enchanting site which we were then admiring and which made such an impression on us, an impression to which the loveliness of the morning must have contributed something. Thus regretfully leaving this charming colonnade we descended the hill to arrive by a turf bridge to the Temple of Flora occupied by a statue of the goddess and an altar. From this spot, the lake showed itself to advantage and a very agreeable path led us through trees of majestic height and girth, following the water's edge which one glimpses in the most rustic and picturesque manner, as far as the exit to the park where a further curious building attracts our notice, a Gothic pyramid adorned with portrait busts of Queen Elizabeth and other kings and which formerly was part of a public building and presented by the City of Bristol to Mr Hoare, owner of this fine estate.

John Thelwall, 6th July, 1797

Our attention was next directed to the gardens, the least interesting object in which (because so theatrically artificial for it only performs by command of a stop-cock) is the cascade. Barring this foppery, the grounds are in good taste; and the decorations (the Doric temple on the lake, the Chinese bridge, the fine hanging plantations, the arch leading to the grotto, the grotto itself, and the nymph sleeping there, the antique Gothic cross (formerly an ornament to the city of Bristol), the urn, embossed with Bacchanalian revels, the temple of the sun, and the pantheon all deserve the separate portions of attention. In this last in particular, are some very fine statues. They are as follows “Peace” and “Diana,” two casts in metal; a “Flora,” charming from the beautiful simplicity of its drapery; a “Hercules,” truly Herculean; sublime in strength, without bombastic distortion of muscle – (some of our *sublime* painters of the *new* school would do well to study it.) a “Livia Augusta as Ceres,” equally captivating from the beauty of the features and fine representation of the simplicity of ancient drapery. These are in marble by Rysbrach. “Meleager” and the “Egyptian Isis,” are in plaster of paris. The terrace, an extensive ride, commanding a rich variety of prospect; and Alfred’s tower, a modern triangular building of brick, and of very great height, were the next objects of our attention. From the top we commanded the one of those extensive prospects, which fill the eye with present wonder, but from the indistinctiveness of their objects leave but few traces on the remembrance.

William Gilpin, 1798

From Fonthill we proceeded through Hendon to Stourhead, the seat of Mr. Hoare, along downs overlooking an extensive distance on the left. We soon came in sight of the house and plantations, adorned with towers stretching in a line along the horizon. The plantations, which seemed to stand on a flat, appeared, in this distant view, very regular, and gave us but an unfavourable idea of the place. The mystery, however, of this apparently unappealing situation, was unravelled when we came upon the spot. Mr. Hoare purchased Stourhead about forty years ago, of Lord Stourton, who takes his title from a village of that name in the neighbourhood. The improved grounds consist of three parallel vallies; all of them closed at one end by an immense terrace, running several miles in length, with little deviation either to the right or left. This was the horizontal stretch of unpleasing ground, which we saw at a distance. The vallies run from it nearly at right angles; and were entirely screened from the eye, as we approached. But though Mr. Hoare has taken all the three vallies, consisting of several miles in circumference, within his improvements, he has adorned that only which lies nearest his house. The other two are planted and cut into rides; but the wood is yet young.

From the house we went to view the improvements around it. That valley near which the house stands, and which I have mentioned as the most adorned, contains a very noble scene. It is called the valley of Six-wells, from six heads of the river Stour, which arises here, and which the Stourton family take for their arms. The produce of these springs is collected into a grand piece of water; in which, and the improvements on its banks, consist the beauties of the scene.

In the common round, we are carried first to the lower parts, along the margin of the lake, which we cross in a narrow part, by a superb wooden bridge, and still continuing along the water, are amused by a grotto, which has more propriety in it, than these places commonly have. Here arises one of the heads of the Stour, which a well-cut river God (*Deus ipse loci*) pours from his urn.

There is another grotto also near this, in which the springs are collected into a marble bath. It is adorned with the statue of a sleeping nymph, under whom you read these lines:

Nymph of the grot, these sacred streams I keep,
And to the murmur of these waters sleep.
Ah! Spare my slumbers; gently tread the cave;
And drink in silence, or in silence lave.

Leaving these grotto, we ascend the higher grounds, and so proceed from one ornamental building to another, every where entertained with different views of the lake, and its banks. One of these buildings is very beautiful. It is called the Pantheon, as it is built on something like the model of the Pantheon at Rome. Though it is only the *ornament of a garden*, it is a *splendid edifice*. The rotunda, which is the grand part of it, is lighted from the top, and is thirty-six feet in diameter. To this is added a portico, and an apartment on each side. The inside of the rotunda is adorned with statues and bas-relievos; and in the centre stands an excellent Hercules, by Rysbrach.

This statue was the work of emulation. Rysbrach had long enjoyed the public favour without a rival. Schemaker first arose as a competitor; and afterwards Rubiliac, both artists of great merit; the latter of uncommon abilities. Rysbrach, piqued at seeing the applause of the public divided, executed this statue as proof of his skill. He composed it from selected limbs of six or seven of the heroes of Broughton's amphitheatre; a scene of diversion, at that time, in high repute. The brawny arms were taken from that chief himself; the chest from the *coachman*, a champion well known in this day for that appellation; and the legs from Ellis the painter, who took more delight in Broughton's amphitheatre, than in his own painting-room.

Having finished our circuit round the garden, we were on the whole much pleased. There is a greatness in the *design*, though sometimes a littleness in the *execution*. The buildings, in general, are good; but they are too numerous and too sumptuous. The gilt-cross is a very disgusting object. Indeed, simplicity is every where too much wanting. Many of the openings also are forced; and the banks of the lake are in some places formal; the paths are mere zigzags; the going off of the water, and all the management of the head of the lake, which is always a business difficult to manage, is awkward and perplexed; and as to the grounds near the house, they are still in the old style of avenues and villas. We saw many things at the same time which pleased us, particularly the *line of the lake*, in general, along its shores; the woody skreens that environed it; and the effect of some of the buildings in the landscape, *where seen single*, especially that of the Pantheon. On the whole, we spent an agreeable summer evening at Stourhead, and found more amusement than we generally find in places so highly adorned.

The next morning we visited the more different parts of Mr. Hoare's improvements, the other two vallies and the terrace. The vallies will be more beautiful, as the woods improve; at present they are but unfurnished; and yet in their naked state we saw more clearly the peculiarity of the ground. Three vallies, thus closed by an immense terrace, is a singular production of nature. Some parts of the terrace command a most extensive distance. At the point of it, where it falls into the lower ground, a triangular tower is erected for the sake of the view. Over the door is the figure of King Alfred, with this inscription:

In Memory of Alfred the Great,
Who, on this summit,

Erected his Standard,
Against Danish Invaders.
He instituted juries;
Established a militia;
Created and exerted
A Naval Force:
A Philosopher and a Christian;
The Father of this People;
The Founder
Of the English Monarchy.
And of Liberty.

From the tower of Alfred, we returned to Stourhead, after a ride of at least eight miles through the different parts of Mr. Hoare's plantations.

Anne Rushout, 20th August 1798

We reached Stourhead at half past 10 & found a little inn close to the pleasure ground where we got a good breakfast & having sent for the gardener, we rallied forth on our walk. The first object that presents itself is an old Cross, very curious, it formerly stood in the high street at Bristol but it was given to the late Mr. Hoare. We then proceeded round the water, it is all very pretty, but it appeared upon a small scale after what we saw last year. There are several elegant seats scattered about and the Knowles and hills are very well wooded. There is a temple to Ceres and another built from the model of the ancient Pantheon, in which there are several good statues. We crossed the water by means of a boat fixed to a rope, so that it might be pulled for either side. We went into a grotto where there was a Cold Bath & a little further on rough a subterranean arch was the figure of a River God & the Stour rose immediately behind him. The walk led us quite round the water & so on to the house. Sir Richard Hoare has added two wings to the house but they are not finished. We then walked to the terrace, which commands a fine view of the place & three miles from the house is Alfred's Tower, 150 feet high - but I was not equal to walking so far. We saw the situation of the famous building that Mr. Beckford is erecting at Fonthill. We got back to our inn at two o'clock & from thence set off on our return home.

6th July - We found a delightful little Inn at Stourton (the village) where we slept. After dinner we went to see the House. There are no good pictures, but some charming drawings of Ducro brought from Italy by Sir Richard Hoare. The Hall is a good room & the Dining Room is a fine size. There are two large rooms lately added, but they are not finished & many of the pictures were not hung up. The whole furniture looked so old fashioned and shabby after what we had seen at Font Hill. The pleasure ground is pretty & we had a drive in the Coach through the Plantations & home by the terrace of about seven miles. We went up the top of Alfred's Tower. The wind was very high & the roaring it made through the openings was quite tremendous. It is very high & we ascended a great many steps. The view from the top is very extensive, but not pleasing. We got back to our Inn about eight - the Gardener at Stourhead told us he thought it the coldest place in England. By the appearance of the Kitchen Garden I should think he was not mistaken as nothing seemed to thrive. There were some monuments in the Church which we went to see of the late Mr. Hoare & poor Mrs. Colt Hoare who died at three and twenty.

John Britton, 1801

Stourhead has been long celebrated for its gardens, buildings, statues, and pictures; and, though often mentioned by different authors, yet no one has ever done it justice by a *particular* and *accurate description*. Though conscious of my own incapacity to render it that justice, I will endeavour to delineate some of the principal features and ornaments within the area of this domain.

Stourhead, for many generations, was the family seat of the Lords Stourton; from one of whom it was purchased by Henry Hoare, Esq. in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Upon taking possession of the estate, that gentleman gave it the name of *Stourhead*, from its being the source of the river Stour.

About this period (1720) a new era arose in the embellishment and disposition of gardens. Mr. Kent, a man of original genius; a "painter, an architect, and the father of modern gardening," was lately arrived from Rome, and being patronized by Lord Burlington, soon effected a revolution of system, and was fortunate enough to set the fashion of landscape gardening. It was a new fashion, and consequently followed with avidity.

Mr. Hoare, with the noble ambition and enthusiasm which characterizes the man of genius and taste, felt a glow of emulation when he contemplated Stourhead, and finding it possessed of "capabilities," resolved to apply the united efforts of art, taste, and science, to embellish and adorn this favoured spot of nature. He raised the temple, planted the grove, formed the "crystal lake," and exultingly beheld,

"A new creation greet his gladden'd sight."

Every revolving year produced something new, or brought with it some tasteful alteration at Stourhead; and Mr. Hoare had the happiness to see it acquire that degree of perfection and celebrity, which occasioned it to be *imitated* in many of the most fashionable seats in the kingdom.

"Numbers flock to view the extensive plan,
Applaud the work, and venerate the man,
That in such rich profusion has displayed
Nature and art, in all their charms array'd.
A View of Stourhead Garden's."

People of all ranks visited Stourhead. The poet sounded its eulogy—the painter delineated its beauties—the architect imitated its ornamental buildings—the connoisseur descanted on its charms in the full glow of admiration and delight. Taking these things into consideration, we cease to wonder at its national celebrity; but it is the more to be admired from having been *one* of the first places laid out in the new style of gardening, and designed by a *country gentleman*, unassisted by any *landscape gardener*. Mr. Hoare, at an advanced age, had the heart-felt satisfaction to hear a place of his own creation universally admired, and to see a *barren waste* covered with the most luxuriant woods.

Colin Campbell, the architect of Wanstead House, and author of "Vitruvius Britannicus," gave the original designs for the house at Stour-head. Mr. Hoare made some alterations in the plan, and it was finished in 1722.

It consists of a rustic basement, supporting a regular tetrastile-eustyle of the composite order, with an entablature and balustrade round the whole building. Since its erection it has undergone many alterations, the most material being the building of two additional wings, connected with the north and south sides, forming in the whole a facade of two hundred feet in length. These wings contain two rooms forty-five feet by twenty-five; the one destined for a library, the other for a picture-gallery.

The east front of this mansion commands an extensive and pleasing prospect. Wardour house and castle are directly opposite to the entrance door; a little to the left may be seen Mr. Beckford's newly erected abbey. The view on one side is bounded by the smooth and undulating *chalk hills*, which here have their termination. On the other side a richly wooded and cultivated scene opens itself to view, well broken by two bold knolls, on one of which formerly stood Mere Castle.

The entrance hall, a cube of thirty feet, contains a few pictures; among these, an allegorical piece by Carlo Marratti, is highly deserving of attention. It represents a genius introducing the Marquis Pallavicini to the painter, who is sitting with a canvas prepared to paint his portrait. The painter is attended by the three Graces, one of whom holds his pallet, another directs his attention to the Temple of Fame, which appears on a lofty rock; the third is partially seen leaning with her arm over the shoulder of the other. An Angel, with a crown of laurel, is portrayed hovering over the head of the Marquis. In the back ground are two figures; one, in armour, as relating the heroic actions of the Marquis, the other is recording them on his shield, in letters of gold. Bellori, in his *Life of Carlo Marratti*, gives a particular account of this picture. Augustus and Cleopatra, by Raphael Mengs. Plutarch has given an animated description of this subject, in his *Life of Mark Anthony*. The painter has transferred it to the canvas with expressive penciling.

Having described the principal domestic curiosities of this collection, I will next introduce the reader to some Arcadian scenes, which are situated on the banks of Stour. The visitor is generally conducted, by a winding path through the gardens, to the lake, hanging woods, temples, and grottoes. The river *Stour*, which takes its rise about a mile above the gardens, at a place called the Six Wells, here collects its waters and forms a fine natural lake. A piece of water, in any situation contiguous! to a gentleman's seat, always pleases. This does more, it commands admiration; for here the eye is not disgusted with those strait-lined, and flat banks, which too often accompany what is termed. "*made-water*." We are delighted with its playful windings, its deep recesses, its richly wooded, and tastefully ornamented, borders. At the Six Springs is a curious ancient cross, adorned with four figures in niches. It was brought from Bristol, where it was known by the name of *Peter's Pump*, and erected at Stourhead on a rustic arch of stones. Among the improvements made by Sir Richard is the removal of a wide-stretched Chinese bridge, which formerly crossed the lake, and but ill accorded with the scenery, or the Grecian buildings surrounding it. A ferry boat now supplies its place.

Having crossed the lake, I followed the path to the left, ignorant of its destination; it led to the grottoes, a place of which I had often heard, though I knew neither its situation nor character. It will be impossible for me to describe the awful sensations which I experienced on entering its gloomy cells; my fancy was set afloat on the ocean of conjecture, and imagination conjured up thousands of those ideal images that poets have described, and such painters as a Fuselli and Mortimer have delineated, giving to

-----"Airy nothing,

A local habitation, and a name.”

But whatever were my reveries, I cannot consider myself as authorized to relate them while upon the present subject. The novelist may range through the realms of fancy free and unfettered; he may traverse the fairy fields of imagination without restraint, and give a loose to his invention without controul; but the pages of the traveller should be appropriated to *faithful narration*, and such reflexions as seem naturally to arise from his subject. This grotto is truly admirable for its natural beauty and simplicity.

“The walls are cover'd with the choicest spar,
And curious fossils gather'd from afar.”

Its seclusion among; the woods, contiguity to the waters, subterranean approach, rattling cascades, marble bason, and silent statues

“Gleaming with imperfect light,”

Cannot fail of inspiring the solitary wanderer with plaintive musings and interesting reflections. Horace Walpole says, that grottoes in this climate are only recesses to be looked at transiently. When they are regularly composed within of symmetry and architecture, as in Italy, they are only splendid improprieties. The most judiciously, indeed most fortunately placed grotto, is *that of Stourhead*, where the river bursts from the *urn* of its god, and passes on its course through the cave.

The marble bason is used as a cold bath, and placed in a recess; behind it is an elegant figure of a sleeping nymph. These lines, written by Mr. Pope, are engraven on the margin of the bath.

“Nymph of the grot—these sacred streams I keep,
And to the murmur of the waters sleep;
Oh! spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave,
And drink in silence, or in silence lave.”

Quitting this subterranean abode, I ascended a flight of unhewn stones into open day; a few paces brought me to the Pantheon. The front of this building discloses a rich theatre of congregated beauties. The woods, the cross, the village tower, the ornamental temples, the island, and a small rustic bridge, together burst upon the astonished sight, while the whole assemblage is harmonized and reflected from the liquid bosom of the translucent mirror. This building is situated on the border of the lake, and embosomed in a thick wood. It is built in imitation of the Pantheon at Rome, and derives its name from that circumstance. It contains a rotunda of about thirty-six feet in diameter, which is lighted from the cupola, and adorned with several statues placed in appropriate niches. Over the niches are characteristic basso relievos. The principal statues are an antique in marble of Livia Augusta, brought from Rome, (formerly called Ceres) a Flora, and an Hercules, by Rysbrach. The latter is acknowledged to be the *chef-d'oeuvre* of this artist. It is, unquestionably, a fine piece of workmanship. Mr. Walpole calls it “an exquisite summary of his skill, knowledge, and judgment.”

Emulation is the great incentive to perfection. Roubiliac and Scheemaker contended with Rysbrach for the laurel of perfection. The latter, piqued at the success of his rivals (both of whom were then in high estimation) resolved upon, and quickly executed, this athletic statue. The head he borrowed from the Farnesian god, the arms he copied from Broughton*, the breast from a noted bruising coachman, and the legs from Ellis, the

painter. Thus completed, it remains a durable monument of the skill of the artist, and of the times when pugilistic brutality was sanctioned and encouraged.

Going round the lake, I pursued a path which leads by rude and rocky steps, *over* the village road, to another part of the gardens. Having ascended the hill, I went through the Hermit's cell, and soon arrived at the temple of Apollo; this is built in imitation of the temple of the sun, at Balbeck. From hence the prospect is extensive and pleasing; it comprehends a fine view of the whole gardens, Alfred's tower, &c.

Passing under the same village road, I crossed a small bridge of three arches, and having visited the temple of Ceres, passed on to the rich cross, which stands at a little distance. After saying thus much on the gardens, it would be almost unpardonable were I to omit the description of this cross, which is the most interesting building here; and, for richness of execution, and fine preservation, is probably unequalled by any now remaining in England. It formerly stood at Bristol, and was denominated the "High Cross," but being in the way of some alterations, the citizens sold it to Mr. Hoare, who gladly conveyed it to Stourhead. On a print, engraved by Toms, from a drawing by West in the year 1737, we are informed that it was stationed near the church of St. Augustine. Under the view, is the following historical account:

"The High Cross at Bristol was first erected in 1373, in the High-street, near the Tolsey; and, in succeeding times, it was adorned with the effigies of four kings, who had been benefactors to the city; viz. King John, facing north, to Broad-street; King Henry the Third, east, to Wine-street; King Edward the Third, west, to Corn-street; and King Edward the Fourth, south, to High-street.

"In the year 1633, it was taken down, enlarged, and raised higher, and four other statues were then added; viz. King Henry the Sixth, facing east; Queen Elizabeth, west; King James the First, south; and King Charles the First, north; the whole was painted and gilt, and environed with iron pallisadoes. Being found incommodious, by obstructing the passage of carriages, it was again taken down in 1733, and is now erected in the College-green; the figures, facing the same points as before. It is painted in imitation of grey marble. The ornaments are gilt, and the figures painted in their proper colours." In another engraved view, by Buck, 1734, its height is said to be thirty-nine feet six inches. Having visited every place worthy of attention in the vicinity of the house, I proceeded to the parish church of Stourton, which is a neat Gothic building. It contains several monuments of the Stourton family, and also those of Henry Hoare, Esq. the first proprietor of this estate, and of his son and successor, the late Henry Hoare, Esq.

The following spirited characteristic lines, by Mr. Hayley, are inscribed on this monument:

"Yc who have -view'd, in pleasure's choicest hour,
The earth embellish'd on these banks of Stour;
With grateful reverence, to this marble lean,
Rais'd to the friendly founder of the scene.
Here with pure love of smiling Nature warm'd,
This *far-fam' d demy-paradise he form'd*;
And happier still, here learn'd from Heaven to find
A sweeter Eden in a bounteous mind.
Thankful, these fair and flowery paths he trod;
And priz'd them only as they led to God."

Mr. Gough, in his additions to Camden, has this passage:

“In Stourton church is a monument for William, second Lord, who died 1522, and his Lady, Thomasine. In the windows are painted some hand-barrows, which they pretend were used by Botolph Stourton, whom they make nine feet and a half high, to carry off his dead when he fought the Conqueror on Bonhomme Down.”

The painted glass is gone, but the monument remains; and that the above-named Botolph was a man of gigantic stature, two circumstances conspire to induce a belief, tradition, and a large thigh bone, (the os femoris of a human skeleton) now preserved, and said to have belonged to this gentleman. This relic is now in the possession of Mr. _____, at Bonhomme- House, and measures twenty-two inches in length, from the head to the lower end, which articulates with the tibia, or leg-bone; twenty one inches in circumference at the head, or where it joins the os ilium; the smallest part, or middle, eleven inches and a half. The length of the os femoris of a common-sized man, is commonly about eighteen or nineteen inches.

Leaving the village of Stourton, my attention was arrested by a pleasing cascade formed by the overflowing waters of the lake. Having passed this, I followed the road to the convent, a small rustic building encircled by woods, at the distance of about a mile from the village. It contains a few paintings; particularly a curious piece dug out of the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey, and an ancient painting of our Saviour. Hence, a winding path,

“Within the covert's gloomy shade,”

led me to Alfred's tower. This building is of a triangular form, with round towers at each corner. It is built with red brick, and was erected by Mr. Henry Hoare, to commemorate a signal victory which Alfred obtained over the Danes near this spot. One of Alfred's officers, whose name was Stourton, (supposed to be the before-mentioned Botolph) so greatly signalized himself in this battle, that the King made him Baron of Stourton, and gave him the privilege of fishing in the river Stour, from its head down three leagues below Christ Church, which right has been appurtenant to the manor of Stourton ever since.

The present Sir Richard Hoare's great-grand father attended fishing the whole extent, about the year 1720. The people of Christ-church, (till lately) annually sent a salmon, or a brace of salmon -peal to the Lords of the Manor of Stourton, as an acknowledgment of this prerogative. Tradition (which has commonly some foundation for its stories) says, that there was so much blood shed in the above-mentioned battle, that the water was stained therewith three leagues below Christchurch.

The tower is one hundred and sixty feet in height. A flight of two hundred and twenty-two steps leads to the top, whence the prospect is extensive, grand, and endlessly diversified, overlooking great part of Somerset, Wilts, and Dorset, which counties unite near this place. In a Gothic niche over the door, is a stone figure of the great and good Alfred; under which is the following characteristic inscription:

ALFRED THE GREAT,
A. D. 879, ON THIS SUMMIT
ERECTED HIS STANDARD
AGAINST DANISH INVADERS.

TO HIM WE OWE THE ORIGIN OF JURIES;
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MILITIA;
THE CREATION OF A NAVAL FORCE;
ALFRED, THE LIGHT OF A BENIGHTED AGE,
WAS A PHILOSOPHER AND A CHRISTIAN;
THE FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE,
THE FOUNDER OF THE ENGLISH
MONARCHY AND LIBERTY.

This hero, of *exemplary* character, a hero who fought no less than fifty-six battles by sea and land, was yet able, in spite of the troubles of the times, to acquire more knowledge, and compose more books, than many learned men who had none of these difficulties to encounter, and troubles to contend with. A subject that is congenial with our feelings and sentiments, seldom appears tedious; yet I must check my pen, and will conclude with a wish that we may derive the inestimable benefits procured through the wisdom and virtue of this wise King and good man, by often reflecting on his usefulness, and imitating his *industry, his prudence, and his fortitude.*

Richard Fenton, 10th November 1807

My Dear Charles, A short summer has again commenced, which, as you may imagine, contributes greatly to the fascination of this enchanting place, though in all weathers it has its charms; for in everything we see here, there is such a happy union of elegance and comfort, such a provision against the season, that leaves most fine places for five months dreary and cheerless, as little of nature as possible sacrificed to ostentation, and such an air of tranquillity over the whole, and so many happy human faces occurring every where, and even the unreclaimed tenants of the wild mixing in your path, fearless and tame, as in Eden ere sin had entered; there is no satiety, and you fancy yourself in a better world. We hurried our favourite repast, and so impatient was Jones for starting, that he would not spare three minutes to boil his second egg. Having settled our bill of fare for dinner, and given the necessary direction for the comforts of the evening, we sallied out with spirits unclouded as the sky, and as light as the atmosphere then around us. We at first took the same road as on the preceding mornings, entering the turretted gateway, and falling into a walk on the left, that leads from the house to the gardens, through a grove of tall laurels, excluding all the landscape. Nearly at the end of this laurel-sheltered walk, a turn to the left brings you to a door that opens into the walled gardens occupying the side of a hill which faces the south, in a gradation of slopes. In the first range is the green-house, or conservatory, not overgrown, but well furnished with a choice assemblage of plants, including a large collection of heaths, arranged with great taste, and externally covered with the evergreen rose at that time in most luxuriant bloom. In the next are the hot-houses for grapes, peaches, nectarines, &c. seemingly in a most productive state. There are no pines. Having seen the gardens, we pursue a walk skirted on one side by some of the most picturesque veterans of the forest^ and on the other by a beautiful lawn, lightly dotted with trees, into which the library opens, and over which, as I have already remarked, you see every morning a hundred pheasants, intermixed with hares, playing their gambols with a confidence and familiarity that is delightful.

We then descend through a rich avenue of laurels overshadowed by the most majestic forest trees of every sort and character, into the first vale. But in order to make my account intelligible, and for you to form a clearer estimate of the extent and variety of the grounds at Stourhead, you must know, that they comprise three vallies, nearly parallel, yet by most happy insinuations contracted and expanded so as to destroy any monotonous uniformity,

and each of a character widely differing from the other. The first vale we now enter, as nearest the house, you may suppose, is more highly cultivated and decorated, more under the dominion of art, and more in full dress than the others; for here chiefly are found the temples, grottos, and other adventitious ornaments, yet all so happily disposed of, such elegant and classical models of art, or chaste imitations of nature, that no person of the smallest taste would wish them fewer. Everything that partook of that fantastic order once too prevalent in the kingdom, and by which, I am told, this fine place had been disfigured, such as pagodas, Chinese bridges, &c. have been long since swept away by the present gentleman, whose taste is too correct to admit of such deformities existing. At the foot of the descent into this vale, a walk receives you that takes nearly a straight course on the margin of the lake here covering the whole expanse of the vale. The water is most remarkably clear, and free from weeds, with its banks finely fringed with laurel, alder, and the most grotesque growth of every kind; and the hills on each side, richly clad with trees, fall with a gentle slope towards it whilst its surface is enlivened by swans and abundance of wild fowls of various sorts, which through the season afford a regular supply for the table; nor is the water below unpeopled, as it produces carp, tench, and eels of an exquisite flavour, so that the Baronet's bill of fare never need lack fish, though those of the sea may not be procured; which I am told with him rarely happens, so providently and methodically is every part of his establishment conducted. Out of this walk a turn of a few yards brings us to the ferry, where there is a boat in summer to waft passengers over, but is shut up in a boat-house in winter, so that we were obliged to prosecute our walk on that side a considerable way, to enable us to get over by land, and connect us with the corresponding walk on the other side. This opposite walk, carried over a fine lawn projection from the woody hill above it, leads us into a covert of trees of the most wild and entangled appearance, and so, intermixed as to conceal the lake, and the entrance into the retreat buried beneath their dark shade, leaving imagination at work to picture what you are to encounter. In the midst of this matted umbrage a grotesque arch scarcely seen till entered, admits you into a subterraneous grotto, where the eye loses sight of every thing but the interior, lighted faintly by an opening in its roof, and the ear hears nothing but the echo of your own steps, and the murmuring lapse of waters. The passage you enter at is rather narrow, but, soon expands into a wide circular space, whose sides and roof represent as nearly as possible a natural cavern, and on whose floor various kinds of pebbles are so disposed of as to work a curious mosaic. In a recess on one side, recumbent on a couch of white marble, lies asleep a Naiad, of exquisite workmanship, with water from behind streaming in every direction over the figure, and falling into a basin below, on whose margin, composed of a white marble tablet, is inscribed Pope's translation of the following Latin lines by Cardinal Bembo:

Hujus Nympha loci, sacri custodia fontis
 Dormio, dum placidae sentio murmur aquae:
 Parce precor, quisquis tangis cava marmora, somnum
 Rumpere, sive bibas, sive lavere, tace.

Nymph of the grot, these sacred streams I keep,
 And to the murmur of the water sleep;
 Oh! spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave,
 And drink in silence, or in silence lave.

I agree with Jones, that *lave* is a weak, if not an improper word, and very unworthy Pope; a pitiful shift for the sake of rhyme: I believe Pope was the only person who ever used *lave*

as a verb neuter, a property that Johnson very servilely allows it on the strength of this solitary instance.

Opposite to the narrow passage leading out of tin part of the grotto, in a rocky caverned recess, another fine figure to represent the river deity of the Stour, in white marble, forcibly arrests the attention in the midst of the most transparent water, sitting on a rude fragment of rock, pouring the silver stream from his urn. The whole of this grotto, with its accompaniments, both within and without, is so appropriate, that it is impossible to visit it without feeling disposed to pay a just tribute to the fine taste of the designer. After emerging from this Egerian retreat, and revisit another day, a beautiful path, under the noblest hanging woods, leads you by a picturesque Gothic cottage, -covered with various sorts of creepers, woodbines, and clemates; and a little farther on, by a fountain trickling from a rocky aperture, through moss intermingled with wild flowers, to a gently swelling elevation, just above the lake crowned with that superb building the Pantheon, the exact model of the building of that name at Rome. This noble edifice is a rotundo, thirty-six feet in diameter, lighted from the dome, and furnished with statues in niches all round it; among which some of the principal are, an antique of Livia Augusta, in the character of Ceres; a Flora; and a Hercules, by Rvsbrack, the chef-d'oeuvre of his art. From the front of this building you have a most charming view, composed of an assemblage of the chief beauties of the place: an amphitheatre of rich wood, embosoming, on the opposite side of the lake, the beautiful temple of Flora, whose portico you catch, the cross, the village and church, and the polished mirror of the lake (as it was, when we saw it, unruffled by a breath) reflecting the inverted landscape. After passing the Pantheon, and having nearly made the circuit of the lake, we came to and entered a grotesque rocky adit, conducting us by rude broken steps over the archway leading from the village to the hermit's cell. Nothing can be more characteristic of a hermitage than the profound seclusion of this spot, from which you cannot hear

"The distant din the world can keep."

Still ascending, we reach the temple of Apollo, or the Sun, after the model of that at Balbec, placed on the summit of the hill above the village. Here the view is very extensive, taking in the whole of the gardens and grounds as far as Alfred's Tower, over the most majestic gradation of wood that can be imagined. In our ascent we went above the road, but in our descent we pass under the road through a subterraneous passage that brings us, by a walk through picturesque spruce firs, rendered more so by the circumstance of the leading shoot having been destroyed, and an irregular leader formed, to the much celebrated cross, so placed as to appear from the village, just without it, as a cross, that might originally have belonged to it ; but this exquisitely fine specimen of that species of building was brought from Bristol, and formerly stood near the centre of the four principal streets when it was first erected, in 1373, and afterwards adorned with the statues of several of the English Kings, benefactors to that city, prior and subsequent to its erection, viz. King John, Henry III. Edward III. and Edward IV. In the year 1633 it was taken down, enlarged, and raised higher, when four other statues were added, Henry VI. Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. It occupied its original site till the year 1733, when, to give more room to the streets at their confluence, it was taken down and removed to St. Augustin Street, College Green, where it stood till it was finally taken down and sold to Mr. Hoare, who thought so highly of its merits as to be at the pains and expense of bringing it stone by stone to Stourhead, notwithstanding the city of Bristol had disenfranchised this ancient member of their corporation, and sent it packing with all its cargo of royalty, leaving on record a memorable instance of their taste, their gratitude, and

their loyalty. After minutely surveying this elegant Gothic relic, we turn to the left, and have an opportunity of contrasting it with a very different style of architecture in the Temple of Flora, whose portico only had caught our eye from the opposite side. It bears in front this inscription:

"Procul, O procul este profani."

Near this place I was shown a fountain of the most translucent water I ever beheld, as well as of the finest taste, whence the drinking water of the house is supplied. Indeed, all the water here is very excellent, the soil that it passes through being sandy, acting as a filter. Here we closed our excursions for this day, and returned to our inn, where, after a most sumptuous mental feast, on the recollection of what we had seen, nature, that pander to the body, put in her claim for a dish of South-down mutton, to relish which nothing was wanting but the laver and the samphire of Milford. After our wine Jones treated me with some delicious music, having set up his flute for the first time since we have been here; and feeling the inspiration of the muse, he has, in his usual rapid way, thrown off a song, set it to a favourite air, and sung it with great taste; and now, while, to atone for the insipidity of this letter (for I am very awkward at local description), I am preparing to copy another sample of my Shakespearian collection, the production of a lady bard, Anna Hatheway, afterwards Mrs. Shakespeare (for she too, it seems, had tasted of Helicon); Jones has promised me a copy of his song, both which I shall inclose; so adieu, and believe me
Yours, &c.

My Dear Charles, Stourton, November 13, 1807.

After another day devoted to the lovely grounds of Stourhead, and another proof of the excellence of our inn, I sit down to recount yesterday's adventures. After breakfast, in company with our landlord, who undertook to be our Cicerone, we took the road leading under the grotesque archway, over which we yesterday ascended to the hermitage and temple of the Sun, and turning to the right, followed a screen of laurels of the noblest growth I ever remember to have seen, till we came to a gate, which having passed, we kept to the left for the purpose of visiting the principal keeper's house, pleasantly situated above a running water, and connected with the kennels, that are so disposed of on a declivity open to the south, as to admit of their being flooded, and so easily kept clean and wholesome.

These were on each side of the house: one for the pointers, the autumn dogs; and the other for the spaniels, the winter dogs. The dwelling-house over the door has this inscription: *Venatoribus atq. amicis*: and is decorated with prints representing the sports of the field, exhibiting within and without every thing that can render it picturesque, comfortable, and appropriate; a remark applicable to every thing appertaining to Stourhead, and that cannot fail to be made by all who see it. Hence by a gentle acclivity, under a beautifully wooded knoll, we take the path towards an elegant cottage fronting us, the residence of the curate of the parish, that which no situation can be conceived more delightful; with its courts, its garden, its orchard, and all its little elegant appendages facing the sun, and looking on a view that can never tire. You no sooner pass this cottage than a scene grand and interesting bursts upon you, consisting of a voluminous, and, seen at that distance, an apparently connected, expanse of woods, only of different heights, as the summits they cover are more or less elevated, and the intermediate breaks wider or narrower; but in description as well as prospect, the pen, in giving an idea of a general view, must foreshorten no less than the pencil, otherwise the writer would be as unintelligible as the draughtsman. In the centre of

these rich inequalities rises a beautiful conical hill, having its sides clothed with pines of the most majestic character. Beyond and above these woods you catch the tower of Alfred, which of itself, were it unaccompanied by so many other striking objects, would give dignity to its situation, had it been raised on the blasted heath. The road here gently falls into a vale, rendered very cheerful by several neat cottages, prettily sprinkled over it. It for some time takes a straight direction, then, crossing the vale, winds round the base of the conical hill, under the awful shade of its pines, preparatory to your entering a most sequestered spot a little farther on, whence you suddenly fall on the convent, a building most judiciously placed, and constructed to produce the desired effect. Here one of the keepers lives. The principal room is hung round with prints of the different religious habits, and some old paintings, said to have been brought from Glastonbury. In the windows is a great deal of ancient painted glass; and in every part of its exterior as well as interior, the true monastic costume is preserved. To render the scene more sombre, the tree that here predominates is that species of fir which most truly harmonizes with it, whose branches feather down to the ground, and are so tiled as almost to exclude the light of day. Having struggled through this monastic gloom, and again felt the cheering influence of the sun, we meet with walks of a more cheerful character, taking various directions; and one of green turf, lightly overarched with trees, and winding through an expanse of forest of every growth, and which must form one of the most delightful summer rides or walks imaginable. However, we took the more open and frequented road, gradually ascending through the upper part of this valley, till it loses itself in the terrace, which again brings us to Alfred's tower, that august monument to the greatest of men; for which, in this our second visit to it, we felt our respect rather increased than lessened, especially when contrasted with that proud, ostentatious turret seen from it, that unmeaningly crowns the summit of Fonthill. The prospect from the back of Alfred's tower, and immediately under it, looking over the vale of Bruton, is very rich, as we now saw it in all the splendour of a meridian sun. Hence by a lovely, circuitous, and diversified route through open and woody grounds we come to the third valley, which, though not so dressed as the two former, displays uncommon charms in dishabille,' and capable of being equally heightened and improved, unless it be "When unadorn'd adorn'd the most."

James Storer, 1808

The Pantheon, Stourhead, Wilts. The view that this Plate represents, is, perhaps, one of the richest and most beautiful in the whole grounds of Stourhead, and it involves not only wood and water finely disposed of, but likewise a very superb building on the model of the pantheon at Rome; and most happily placed on a gentle rising above the margin of the transparent mirror of the lake, here at its broadest expanse, and almost filling the area within the amphitheatre of hills that encircles it, whose sides display a most magnificent clothing of every species of growth the forest can yield.

The building is of course a rotundo like that which it professes to imitate, thirty-six feet in diameter, and lighted from the dome; nor it is only its external that is so much to be admired, whether we regard its position or architecture; but, the internal and its contents are equally entitled to notice, its niches being replenished with some of the finest works of the sculptor's hand. Among the principal figures that adorn it, is a most elegant antique marble statue of Livia Augusta, in the character of Ceres, and a Flora and Hercules, from the chisel of Rysbrack, the most finished specimens of his art.

A walk that is conducted above the sloping margin of the lake, and continued all the way around, receives you at the foot of the hill which you descend from the upper grounds immediately about the house, and leads you to this magnificent object; or, if you wish to

avoid such delightful circuitry, a boat, always ready, ferries you over. When you arrive at this lovely spot, the opposite side presents scenes that amply repay you for shifting your ground. The temple of Flora, embosomed in a clump of lofty trees, exactly fronts it; an edifice that does great honour to the taste of the designer; through a little hollow, to the right of which, the eye, insinuating itself, catches a very picturesque, but partial, view of the church, the village, and the so justly admired cross, and sweeping round still in a northerly direction to the right, is arrested by another noble building in the brow of the hill, that forms the northern boundary of the lake, the temple of the sun, on the model of that at Balbec.

Louis Simond, 6th July, 1810

From Wilton we went to Stourhead. The inn, close to the grounds, is in a romantic little lane, buried in laurels and pine trees, with a picturesque little Gothic church, all grey and mossy. After dinner, we were conducted to the house of Sir Richard Hoare. You go up a number of steps, too many by half, to the door, and enter of fine hall, leading to a large room in front, probably sixty by forty feet and on each side a wing connected with the hall by a short gallery. These apartments are full of pictures, none of which are very remarkable. One of the ladies and myself having sat down a moment to look at the pictures more conveniently, a young girl who showed the house, told us as civilly as she could, that it was the rule of the house is not to allow visitors to sit down. This is a rule of which that gentleman (a rich banker) has the merit of the invention. We have not met with any thing of the sort anywhere else; and there really seems to be less reason for it out of London, and in a place rather out of direct roads.

The upper part of the grounds is very high, scooped out in the middle by a gentle descent, which becomes a deep dell or valley, where several springs unite to form the head of the Stour, - a rapid Little River. The grandfather of the present possessor dammed up this valley, which became a little irregular shaped lake, covering perhaps 30 acres; the outlets, the fall of about twenty feet; the whole surrounded with woody banks and sloping lawns. Three temples peep out of the woods, marking the best points of view. An easy path leads to these stations, round the lake, passing by several fine springs, issuing clear and cool from the bosom of the mountain, - one of them in a grotto. There is certainly great beauty in all this; but the water of the lake is dull and muddy, full of reeds and aquatic plants, which mark its stagnation. The lawns are half covered and belittled by shrubs, planted everywhere, particularly endless tufts and thickets of laurels; beautiful in themselves, but in too great profusion. The woods also are too close, resembling rather an American ticket. None of those magnificent single trees, so peculiar to English landscape, are to be seen here; in fact, I think there is as much done to spoil, as to adorn this fine spot. I have not yet seen an artificial piece of water that bore any resemblance to the water of a natural lake, always so clear; and it seems strange. Perhaps if the surface of the valley intended to be flooded, which is generally a rich soil, was first peeled off a few inches, or spade deep, according to the depth of the mould, aquatic plants would not be so apt to grow in the poor under-soil; worms and insects also would not meet with so much food as among the decayed sod and vegetable mould. The Serpentine River in Hyde Park is, I think, the clearest artificial water I have seen.

The highest parts of these grounds is marked by tradition as the spot where the great Alfred raised his standard against the Danes, in 867; and the Hoares have erected there a stupendous triangular tower, where you may go and get as giddy as you please, and gaze at an immense prospect like a geographical map. There is a charm certainly, and a deep feeling of interest in the idea of treading the soil where such a man stood.

Thomas Dibdin (also known as Cuthbert Tunstall), c.November 1822

The village of Stourton flanks a part of the park of Stourhead; and it was approaching night-fall as we entered it. The entrance is exquisitely picturesque. You descend rather abruptly, and winding among well-clothed hedges, which skirt the road, come on a sudden on the Inn and Church; both of which, especially the latter, are exceedingly well placed and striking. To the right are some small houses, in neat trim, and of which the well-glazed windows were then smothered with the autumnal rose. We alighted at the bow-windowed inn. Here a note from Sir R. Colt Hoare, the venerable owner of Stourhead House, was put into our hands; from which we learnt that that worthy Baronet had chalked out a '*Prospectus of a new Work,*' of which the perusal afforded us unmixed gratification. We were to see his house, books, pictures, and grounds — from 9 to 5 on the following day; and, at the latter hour, to partake of a haunch of venison at his hospitable board. 'Euge!' exclaimed my friends; 'this is gallant and good!' We ordered our dinner, inspected our bed-rooms, and resolv'd on a stroll in the lower grounds of the park, just flanking the inn. The evening was brightening up; and a few lingering sun-beams would light us along the embowered walks of the park. At any rate, the comfort, of the inn, and (shall I speak the truth?) the thoughts of the Baronet's '*Prospectus,*' gave a livelier turn to our spirits, and a more agile movement to our feet. As we sallied forth, looking on all sides, the principal things that struck us were, the silence, solitude, and luxuriant picturesqueness of the place. Trees of all species and ages were either artfully or naturally grouped; and their towering heads and feathered sides came out soft and sweet against a grey evening sky. How neat, how smart, how inviting are these hamlets to the right! 'They belong to the proprietor of Stourhead' — said one of the inmates—as we inquired for the person to show us the grounds, -We opened a wicket gate, ascended a few steps, and knocked at the door of 'the person,' who was to show us the grounds. And who should open the door but a FAIR GABRIELLE?

The night was rapidly descending; but we saw, with exquisite effect, the Grecian Temple aloft, to the right, and the Pantheon below, near the water's edge—while the broad and soft masses of light on the lake, produced as it were additional picturesque enchantment! A boat was now in motion before us, and we were beckoned to approach it; it was the ferry ... to conduct us to the GENIUS OF THE PLACE.

The fair Gabrielle smiled on witnessing the delight we took at the various surrounding objects. We enter the wherry. The fair Gabrielle accompanies us. The cord runs smoothly through the pulleys, and the boat, feeling no 'unusual weight,' we alight on the thick soft grass on the opposite side in a trice. Meanwhile, the cockpheasant is heard to *cluck* in the brake, and the more subdued note of the water-fowl to issue from the island of laurels. The Pantheon is approached—in which the genius of Rysbrach is said to be enshrined; for here are his *Hercules* and *Flora*. A sturdier gentleman was never sculptured than the former; and few sweeter females than the latter: but the light, introduced from the lantern above, was not sufficient to enable us to appreciate their excellencies. On shutting the outward door of this building, a long, dull, rambling noise was heard; and a score of bats were roused from their naps within their stony recesses. We now entered a subterraneous vault, or grotto, with light sufficient to enable us to view a recumbent female figure in marble, from whom dripped a number of streamlets into a reservoir — having, in front, the following exquisitely melodious verses:

"Nymph of the grot, these sacred springs I keep,
And to the murmur of these waters sleep;

Ah! spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave,
And drink in silence, or in silence lave."

'Move onward now, Gentlemen, if you please, and see another object in marble, which may interest you yet more.' We obeyed willingly. Look there!— 'Angels and ministers—' but no: it is no gaunt ghost or grim marauder; it is a white venerable figure, with bushy beard, and inclined head, sculptured in the purest Parian marble. How magically, and how like moon light, this figure appears! Tis the *Genius of the river Stour*. His right hand is raised aloft, holding a (qu. paddle?) his right leg is buried knee deep in the gushing fountain, and his head is bent downwards — as if he disdained to gaze on the vulgar eye of the intruder. These things are either *very good*, or *very bad*, in their effects: and the present, luckily, is eminently of the former kind.

We suffered our attention to be so long and so closely rivetted to this magical figure, that the shades of night began to darken the grotto, from which we viewed it, so sensibly as to render our egress somewhat hazardous. But the fair Gabrielle knew every turning and winding, and she bade us follow her and fear nothing. We were prompt to obey; and casting a longing look towards the *Grecian Temple*, and the *Gothic Cross* — to be visited on the morrow—we sauntered along, and in ten minutes found ourselves at the wicket gate where we had entered. 'Goodnight! We shall meet to-morrow.' 'Gentlemen, good night; tomorrow, if you please.' So saying, the fair Gabrielle reached her flower decorated residence and disappeared. Now, had the moon only been civil enough to show her broad disc (for she was at the full), while we were perambulating the lake, could anything have rendered the scene more thoroughly picturesque?

A good dinner and a good night's rest rendered this 'morrow' most welcome! The day was exquisitely beautiful: by far the brightest with which we had been blessed since we quitted the metropolis. And now — we witnessed the entire character and complete effect of the whole scenery!- while

"Springlett on the hills were streaming,
Diamonds on the lake were gleaming!"

'Awake—awake, my fair Gabrielle'— exclaimed Julius, as he rose betimes, on purpose to soil the lustre of his blacking by the heavy morning dews — 'awake —and, so saying, touched with a delicate hand the 'ventage holes' of his flageolet, which he always carries, when he makes rural excursions, in an inner coat-pocket. The fair Gabrielle looked from her window—and retreated—being all abashed at such strains from such a quarter. But the host at Stourhead was expecting us, and by 10 o'clock we were introduced to Sir Richard. The pleasure, on such an introduction, was twofold: first, of paying our respects to the owner of a fine house, fine pictures, fine books, and a yet finer domain. Secondly, that of witnessing, in the same owner, a man, not less venerable from years, than celebrated for his achievements in the fields of literature and antiquity, and respected for the fulfilment of all the ties between master and servant, landlord and tenant, magistrate and yeoman. Here too we saw the glorious application of wealth to the solid purposes of instruction, and preservation of ANTIQUITIES. So various are Sir Richard's labours—executed on a plan, at once both splendid and independent—and calculated to produce such lasting benefit to his *country* as well as county — that I know not who is to be named his equal; being well assured that his superior is not in existence. There is scarcely a barrow but what his perseverance has opened, or a cairn but what has yielded to his insurmountable curiosity. Inconsequence, his house is richly stored with Roman and Druidical remains: spear-heads,

vases, rings, hatchets . . . and what not? . . . are all placed, below stairs, in due order; and one would think that their owner had handled the beard of every Druid in the realm. Indeed, I believe there are some few specimens of these hirsute remains preserved in a particularly formed vase. But be this as it may, the treasures of Stourhead House are worthy of their owner, and their owner of them. Old Tom Hearne would have prostrated himself to the ground, on his first interview with such a distinguished character, Sir Richard is yet in the full enjoyment of his mental faculties, although the gout now and then cripples his feet, and a deafness prevents a very quick colloquial intercourse. He is GAME—and will be to the last. No country squire recounts the adventures of the chace with more ardour, or points to the antlers in his hall with more satisfaction, than Sir Richard shows in the enumeration of his antiquarian labours, from the earliest remains of the Druid to the more recent (yet now remote) Journey of *Giraldus Cambrensis*. His books are proud testimonials of his toils. They are rich and fine in themselves, and they have been thumbed (but cleanly thumbed) by their owner. Dugdale and Hearne stand pre-eminent for choice and condition. Long may this excellent Baronet yet hold discourse with them; and while there is breath in his body, and volition in his intellect, I will venture a round wager that the public will continue to be benefited by his exertions. No digression this, Mr. Editor: as it relates to the master of the mansion. After viewing a well-chosen collection of pictures, in which a *genuine* Leonardo da Vinci, a Nicolo Poussin, and a small Rembrandt take the lead, we walked round the lower grounds, and rode round the upper ones. Day-light made the objects, imperfectly seen the preceding evening, yet more interesting. The Grecian Temple was entered, and the Gothic Cross (which the *magnanimous Bristolians* gave up) was admired: but it is by no means an interesting farrago of styles. I should say these grounds were perfect: and then for the *Drive* — and a gaze from *Alfred's Tower!* We saw every thing; the Nunnery included. The greensward is delicious: and the view, in riding softly along, extensive and fine. The tower is triangular, and perhaps 180 feet in height. You count 220 steps in mounting. It is considered to be a very fine piece of brick work, and is said to have cost 10,000*l*. Here Alfred is supposed to have planted his standard on the Danish invasion: a pleasing, but romantic notion. The hour of dinner arrived, everything that the season afforded was placed before us, in a manner which showed that the *Cuisine* was as perfect as the *Druidery*. Wines of delicious flavour crowned the banquet, and at ten we sought our romantic quarters at the inn.

William Hazlitt, 1823

Stourhead, the seat of Sir Richard Colt Hoare did not answer our expectations. But Stourton, the village where it stands, made up for our disappointment. After passing the park-gate, which is a beautiful and venerable relic, you descend into Stourton by a sharp-winding declivity, almost like going underground, between high hedges of laurel trees, and with an expanse of woods and water spread beneath. It is a sort of rural Herculaneum, a subterranean retreat. The inn is like a modernized guard-house; the village church stands on a lawn without any inclosure; a row of cottages facing it, with their white washed walls and flaunting honey-suckles, are neatness itself. Every thing has an air of elegance, and yet tells a tale of other times. It is a place that might be held sacred to stillness and solitary musing! —The adjoining mansion of Stourhead commands an extensive view of Salisbury Plain, whose undulating swells shew the earth in its primeval simplicity, bare, with naked breasts, and varied in its appearance only by the shadows of the clouds that pass across it. The view without is pleasing and singular: there is a little within doors to beguile attention.

Richard Colt Hoare, 1822

Having satisfied our curiosity, in viewing this elegant architectural relick of former days, our attention will next be directed to the works of nature. At a short distance from the

entrance gate into the garden, the eye is greeted with a general view of the most varied ground, enlivened by two magnificent temples, embosomed in deep Woods, and reflected in a lake of the most transparent hue: a circular hill (called Topwood), crowned with fine trees, and rising from a verdant lawn, fills, most happily, the centre of this pleasing picture. The same objection, in a small scale, maybe made to the first introduction into these gardens, as has been made to the entree into the magnificent park at Blenheim; where, perhaps, the finest view is the one which meets the eye. We must not, however, depart from our regular routine; and though we may find no other point of view equal to that from Belvue seat, at all events we shall commence our walk with a favourable impression.

Proceeding on our course, we must keep the right hand walk, which will lead us to a small temple with a Doric portico, dedicated to Flora; which commands the most spacious view of the lake, and from whence the Pantheon, deeply embosomed in wood, and beyond it the circular hill, called Topwood, appear to great advantage. Beneath this temple, you descend by steps to a spring of the purest source, called Paradise well; it is of so clear a nature, that on looking into it, you almost doubt if it contains water. The walk now leads, at a short distance above the banks of the lake, to a ferry across it; Where a boat now supplies the place of a Chinese bridge, which was of one large span, I shall here observe, that within the short distance from the garden gate to the bridge, there were no fewer than four other buildings, of different architecture; an ornamented green-house, a little temple on the hill above it, a Chinese temple, and a Turkish tent. Such was the gardening fashion of former days, when nature was overcrowded by buildings, and by buildings not in harmony with each other. My object in removing them was, to render the design of these gardens as chaste and correct as possible, and to give them the character of an Italian villa; and I think every man of taste will agree with me, that the Turkish and Chinese architecture could never accord with that of Greece and Rome. Having crossed the lake, an arched and obscure passage leads us into a grotto, which, from its great simplicity, might almost be considered as natural; for, instead of the usual articles of shells, fossils, &c. with Which these nymphae are usually decorated, this is merely composed of stones; some of which, from the dampness of the place, have produced petrifications, and stalactites. From a dark and winding passage, we enter into a circular area, lighted from its cove; on the right is a recess, and cold bath; in which reclines a nymph in a sleeping posture; this figure is modelled from an antique statue existing at Rome, and, for what reason I know not, called Cleopatra. On the margin of the bath are these lines:

"Nymph of the grot, these sacred springs I keep,
And to the murmur of these waters sleep:
Ah! spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave,
And drink in silence, or in silence lave."

These lines are imitated, from those in Latin by Cardinal Bembo.

"Hujus Nympha loci, sacri custodia fontis,
Dormio, dum placidse sentio murmur aquse.
Parce meum, quisquis tangis cava manna,
somnum Rumpere; sive bibas, sive lavere, tace!"

Another arched passage, but much shorter, leads to a cavern in front, in which is placed the effigy of a river god, holding an urn in his left hand, and in his right a trident. From the urn, issues a copious spring of water, and in front of this cavern are the following lines:

“Haec domus, haec sedes, haec sunt penetralia magni Amnis;
in hoc residens facta de cautibus antro Undis jura dabat,
nymphisque colentibus undas.”

Emerging from these dark recesses, we come to a rustic cottage, from which there is an advantageous view of the gardens, and totally varied in character from any we had before seen. A little further is the Pantheon, the most magnificent building, perhaps, that ever decorated the grounds of an English individual. The general idea of its plan is borrowed from the celebrated Pantheon at Rome, which once formed a portion of the baths of Agrippa, and has since been consecrated to religious offices. This modern building consists of a handsome portico in front, and within a rotunda, illuminated by a cupola; the ceiling is divided into compartments; a rich cornice encircles the dome; around which are several well-executed bas-reliefs, designed by the celebrated sculptor Rysbrach. On the ground-floor are six niches, which are filled with original statues, and casts from the antique: of these, the Livia Augusta is the only true antique; but an elegant figure of Flora, distinguished by the beauty of her drapery, and a spirited effigy of Hercules, do credit to the talents of the celebrated sculptor Rysbrach: the other statues are copied after the antique, viz. Meleager, Diana, Isis, and a Susannah. We now arrive at the South-west limits of the pleasure-grounds. Crossing a little wooden bridge, we make a sudden angle to the left, and continue our walk along the head over the water, which, considering the period when it was made, and the great body of water it had to resist, may be deemed a work of considerable science: but since the general introduction of canals, &c. these hydraulic matters are how much better understood. On coming to the Eastern extremity of this head, an apparent obstacle occurred in the formation of these grounds, by the unlucky intervention of a parish road; but these impediments were obviated by the happy thought of turning a high arch over the road, which allowed the passenger an easy access to the grounds above. After having ascended this hill we are greeted with the sight of another temple, very happily placed on the apex of the hill, backed by wood, and commanding a bird's-eye view of the gardens and lake beneath, and the adjacent country. The form of this temple is circular, somewhat resembling that of the Sibyl at Tivoli; surrounded by columns, and small statues in niches. Its plan was taken from the temple of the sun, at Balbec, which was built at a period when the arts were declining, in the reign of the Emperor Dioclesian. Thus we may account for a novelty, and, I may add, a defect in the architecture of the portico which surrounds the building; for one of the chief intents of a portico was to secure a sheltered walk along the building; whereas, in this design, the roof is intersected by excavations of a horse-shoe form between each column, so as to admit every shower of rain in the portico. Here, indeed, there is just reason for criticism: and I wished to have effected such an alteration as to prevent it, by filling up the interstices and cavities in the upper part of the colonnade; but the difficulty was too great to be undertaken. The hill, on which this temple is placed, till my own time, presented a naked declivity of turf, unbroken by a single tree, or even bush. The face is now, I trust, both altered and improved by a thriving plantation of forest trees, and a rich underwood of laurel. On descending from this hill, the parish road comes again in our way, but the same obstacle has been remedied, though in a different manner, by turning the walk under the road. We now return to the same spot from which we entered the gardens; and, I hope, with some degree of pleasure and gratification. But the curiosity of the traveller who visits Stourhead should not remain satisfied with the mere perambulation of the pleasure-grounds. The more unadorned tract of the demesne should claim a portion of his leisure time. As in viewing the gardens, so in the outward circle or drive, a certain course should be observed by those who wish to see the place to the best advantage. From the inn we must proceed towards the vales, and visit a small rustic building, placed in the midst of a

wood, and commanding a very pleasing and rather extensive prospect. The *natura loci* has, within these few years past, experienced a total change, owing to the decay of a thick grove of fir trees, which totally obscured the building, and concealed the prospect; and, in this instance, I had occasion to lament the injudicious adoption of the fir tribe, on such ground as we could wish to see permanently wooded. Their prosperity does not extend, in this soil, to above sixty years, when then- ragged tops and tall stature render them a perfect antidote to all rural beauty. The ground they occupied must be re-planted, and a vacuum will take place for many years.

Parson James Woodforde, various dates.

Entry 1: 30th September 1763

The Temple of Hercules in the Gardens must (have) cost Mr. Hoare 10000. It is excessively grand – The Grotto where the sleeping Nymph laid struck me more than any thing there.

Entry 2: 6th September 1766

We dined at Stour-Head at Stourton kept by one Hillyard, and for ourselves & Horses – I paid 0-6-0. Whilst our Dinner was getting ready we went & saw Mr. Hoare's Garden, which far exceed any thing of the kind I ever saw – I gave the Gardener 0-1-0.

Entry 3: 26th March 1768

I dined at Stourton at Stowerhead a good Inn, kept by Mr. Helliard a very civil man – I paid there 0-5-5. I went & walkt over Mr. Hoares Gardens and had my Man with me. For seeing it I gave 0-1-0.

Entry 4: 1768

After breakfast I went to Justice Creeds at C. Cary where I went with him on horseback (on Mr. Francis' Horse which he lent me) to Stourton, where we dined and spent the Afternoon at Mr. Hoares, with him, his Daughter, Niece, Mrs. La Visme, and one Mr. Russ, all entire Strangers to me; I was introduced to Mr. Hoare by Justice Creed and received very graciously. Mr. Hoare's House is a well-furnished a House as any in the kingdom, not excepting any, and his Pictures are the best without exception in this Kingdom. Mr. Hoare is a tall thin gentleman, & very familiar, and as rich as any man in the Kingdom. After we drank Coffea we returned home. N.B. Servants wear Ruffels, but not suffered to take Vails.

Entry 5: 11th October 1770

I took my horse & went & saw King Alfred's Tower, now erected by Mr. Hoare upon the top of Kingsettle Hill. It is an immense Building, is now 70. Foot high & designed when finished to be 100. Gave man for shewing it 0-0-6.

Entry 6: 2nd June 1772

We walked about Mr. Hoares Gardens & saw the House before Dinner. We gave the Gardner Mr. Vegor 0-5-0. We gave the housekeeper Mrs. Lloyd 0-5-0.

Entry 7: 26th September 1772

After breakfast I went up to Mr. Creeds on horseback and from thence went with Mr. Potts, Mrs. Carr, Mrs. Potts and Charlotte for to see Mr. HOares House &c. The Ladies went in Mr. Hindley's chariot. Mr. Hindley went out on the Shooting Scheme.

We went first to Alfreds Tower and then to the Convent and then to the Inn at Stourton, where we put up our Horses and then went to see the House & Gardens. Frank Woodforde

was at the Inn & had got the best Parlour, and it seems the whole of it to be a Scheme contrived last night at Mrs. Melliards, if possible to discompose us in our Scheme, but it did not answer. We dined at the Inn and very comfortably however. Ford whom I once served at Winton once was with Frank. The Earl of Pembroke was at Mr. Hoares. At Alfreds Tower to a Man holding my horse gave 0-0-6. Mr. Potts gave at the above Place & Houses a great deal.

Entry 8: 13th May 1773

I went this morning to Stourton & got there by ten o'clock & did not set out till half an Hour after eight o'clock. Mrs. Woodforde, Sister Jane, Nancy Woodforde, Brother John & Mr. Pouncett, breakfasted at Mr. Pounsetts and then went on to Stourton where I met them at the Inn. My Boy went with them to open the Gates &c. We walked over Mr. Hoares Gardens before dinner. They promised to meet me at Alfreds Tower, but they were gone from it before I got there – however I went up to the Top of the Tower, having the Key of it – the height of which made me a little giddy. I gave Mr. Vogan the Gardner 0-4-0.

Entry 9: 13th July 1773

I took a ride this morning to Stourton to Mr. Hoares and Mr. Creed and Counsellor went in the Counsellor's Chaise to Mr. Hoares, and we dined and spent the Aft: at Mr. Hoare's with him, Mr. Russ, Mr. Benson, Mr. & Mrs. Hoare of Bath & Son. Mr. Hoare behaved very genteel and handsome to us. Mr. Benson is a very good natured jocular Man, as is Mr. Hoare of Bath, but as for Russ, he is quite a coxcomical Chap. No Vails suffered to be taken by Mr. Hoares Servants.

Entry 10: 12th April 1776

After breakfast Sister Jane & myself, Mr. and Miss Chester, Sister White & her little Maid. And Son Robert went to Stourton & saw Mr. Hoares House & Gardens. Sister Jane and myself & Mr. Chester went in one of the Ansford Inn Chaises and Mrs. Chester, Sister White & her little Maid in another. Bob White went upon my Mare there. Morn' fair but cold NW. Afternoon fair but cold NW. We dined at the Inn at Stourton & the Bill was 0-18-0. I never made a Worse Dinner the Bread being very musty. We took Alfreds Tower in our Way back & went to the top of it. At Mr. Hoare's house we gave 2/6 – Gardner 2/6 and the Tower 2/0.

Entry 10: 11th September 1793

Miss Webb & Miss Hussey, Mrs. R. Clarke, my Brother & Wife, Nancy Woodforde, Sister Pounsett & Daughter, Betsy Guppy and myself, took an Excursion this Morning to Stourhead to see Sir. Richard Hoares House & Gardens, and we all dined at the Inn there. Miss Webb, and my Sister Pounsett went with me in Bruton Chaise, Mrs. R. Clarke, Nancy Woodforde & Jenny Pounsett in one of the Ansford Inn Chaises, my Brother & Wife and Miss Hussey in another of Anford inn Chaises, and Betsy Guppy rode on horseback, single. After we refreshed ourselves at the Inn with a Glass of Wine & eat a Biscuit, we walked to Sir Richd. Hoares and saw his House and Gardens. I don't think that the Gardens or House are kept to neat as I old Mr. Hoares time. I gave the Gardner 0-2-6. To Patty Collins, who shewed the House gace 0-5-0. Mem: Patty Collins is the Daughter of Fanny Collins. It was near 4 o'clock before we returned to the Inn.

Appendix B – Excerpt from *Bidcombe Hill* by Rev. Francis Skurray

Wide-stretch'd beneath we trace the woodland scene
Of fam'd Stourhead, where philosophic Hoare
(Himself an artist and a patron too)
Fosters sweet science and congenial taste.
Forth from the mansion, where with mimic life
The canvas glows and sculpture seems to breathe
Fir'd by Prometheus, let remembrance stray
Over enchanted scenes. The Gothic Cross,
Which once adorn'd the city's crowded square,
In solitary grandeur lifts its head,
Deck'd with the sculptur'd imagery of Kings.
Quick bring the boat, and o'er the Stygian lake
Conduct me, ferryman, to shades below.
As I descend the subterranean way
Which to the grotto's cool retreat conducts
Fancy portrays the watchful Cerberus
Guarding the entrance of the nether world.
With proffer'd cates or music's notes disarm
The monster's rage, whilst I pursue my way
To view the beauteous Naiaid of the stream
Lull'd on her rocky couch by waterfall;
Or from his urn behold the water-god
Discharge the rill which forms the source of Stour
Escaping Pluto's realms, let fancy lead
To brighter scenes, where demi-gods and men
Renew their pastimes in Elysium blest.
There Hercules, with sinewy arm, is seen
Grasping his club; upon the scowling brow
Defiance lowers. There Meleager boasts
His conquest o'er the Calydonian boar,
And bears its head, the emblem of his spoil.
Livia too stands, like Ceres, with a sheaf,
And chaste Diana with her crescent crown'd.

Appendix C – *Stourton Gardens*, Anonymous, 1749

No more my friends! Of your fatigues complain,
Nor think you've travelled tedious roads in vain;
Thro this fair avenue pursue your way,
And pass the bless'd remainder of the day –
See! yonder peas present their painted bloom,
And blowing beans the ambient air perfume:
The dusky elder, crown'd with flowers gay
Gives June a near similitude to May.
Mark yonder waters, thro' the bending trees,
Glittering with light, and quivering with the breeze;
Prepare the mind for something grand and new;
For Paradise soon opens to the view!
Yon temple whose exact proportions please.
Commands a prospect, where, with pleasing ease,
The lovely windings of the vale you see
Which charming Livia's sacred made to thee.
There stands thy statue, once at Rome rever'd,
When in meridian glory Rome appear'd;
The form, the attitude, and every grace,
The fame as when 'twas copy'd from thy face!
Thus marble can our fleeting features hold,
When centuries of ages have been told.
Now turn your eyes, behold a different scene,
Fragments of rocks, and woodbines blown between
Vast piles of flints, and plants forever green:
There in yon grotto, far remov'd from light,
The Naiads dwell, invisible to sight;
For yonder silver god they sigh, they burn,
And pour their tears incessant thro' his urn;
But cold as lead, and deaf when they complain,
Supine he lies, and they but weep in vain.
See from beneath him (tinctur'd by the sun
With colours radiant) sheets of waters run;
Where mimic lovers, ready to indite,
With the swift pen their vows and passion write.
Here the smooth lawn invites with lovely green
The watry mirror there reflects the scene;
The lake's fair margin while we walk along,
The birds salute us with their artless song;
The stately swan sits on the curling wave,
Or like a galley sails he love to save.
That litt'e skiff moor'd here in safety rides,
Fearless of tempests, storms, or rapid tides.
Perhaps, at first, on some such dimpled pool,
Bold man essay'd this element to rule,
Whose slender barg its daring master bore,
Elate with joy, invention then would try
With oars to run, with sails and winds to fly!
To distant climes the well-built barg to steer,

Stranger to nothing buy unmanly fear.
 O my dear country! May propitious peace
 Extend thy commerce, bid thy trade increase:
 Blest be thy mariners! Whose rising name
 Stands foremost in the ample rolls of fame!
 But yonder see, amidst the opening glade,
 Form'd by the ash, the beech and poplar's shade,
 A dome appears enchanting to the sight,
 For taste and grandeur happily unite,
 Sacred to silence – here the limpid stream
 Runs murm'ring, and invites the nymph to dream;
 Who, bound in fetters of eternal sleep,
 Forges the waters she is plac'd to keep.
 But view the roof! There with amazement gaze,
 If petrefactions have the pow'r to please;
 Strange objects form'd by nature's daedal hand,
 Plac'd here by magic art, our thoughts demand.
 The wond'ring rustics, who this place explore,
 Feel sentiments their souls ne'er felt before;
 And virtuous with amazement own
 They never thought such wonders were in stone!
 Display their foliage, and with beauty glow.
 The same High Wisdom and Almighty Power
 That gives from matter beauty to the flower,
 From the same matter forms th'austere mien,
 And barbarous features in the lion seen:
 In dreary deserts roses often blow,
 Where snakes and scorpions have their dens below:
 Matter! To various forms does ever yield,
 Now human flesh, now herbage of the field.
 To yon stone seat, my friends! We next repair,
 Perhaps a Mandarin inhabits there!
 Design uncommon is in all express'd,
 'Twas surely finish'd in the furthest East.
 The genius thus by foreign nations shown
 (And but for commerce never had been known)
 Deputed there the stately Tartar see,
 Whose greatest princes dare not say they're free:
 His finger points to th' globe beneath his hand;
 He seems to say, All China I command.
 Hence thro' the windings of a lovely grove,
 Thro' shady walks, and flowr'y paths we rove;
 The virgin huntress next presents to view;
 Her favourite chace seems eager to pursue.
 From view to view thy eyes, spectator, run.
 And various scenes below unite in one.
 The tranquil mind here every sense employs,
 And feels a vast variety of joys:
 But if dire gloomy thoughts your soul invade
 This spot's a desert; all its beauties fade.
 At length the summit of the hill we gain,

Where health, with all her blessings, seems to reign.
 Serenest skies are wide extended there
 And Zephyr's breathe around a purer air;
 Vast prospects that remote and distant lie,
 With ease become familiar to the eye:
 There ancient Shaston rear'd her reverend piles
 When Romans sway'd the sceptre of these illes
 There the old Britons show'd their warlike skill,
 And form's their rude entrenchments round the hill
 Mistletoe their the druids oft have spread,
 And sung their dirges for some hero dead.
 Yon mounds, the tombs of ancient warriors slain,
 Still guard their dust, their monuments remain;
 Perhaps in war for liberty they fell,
 Some vile usurper of their rights to quell:
 Perhaps some prince, distinguish'd for his care
 And friendly love, his subjects buried there;
 As war's strange chances made their fortunes wane.
 In vain th' historian turns the faithful page
 To trace th' illustrious heroes of that age;
 They sunk in death, their deeds unknown to fame
 They lost at once their glory and their name.
 Not so Alfred, patron of the arts!
 He lives in fame, and in his people's hearts.
 O'er yonder hill, where Sellwood's forests wave
 Distress'd the monarch sought his realms to save
 When all seem'd lost! All was despair and grief
 The mighty prince there meditates relief;
 Troops in small numbers unobserv'd receives,
 The forest hides his forces with its leaves;
 Himself disguis'd a peasant harper goes,
 To learn the disposition of his foes;
 Then brings, like eagles eager for the prey,
 His soldiers where the Danes securely lay:
 A fight ensues, his foes are overthrown,
 And his glad subjects Alfred's sceptre own.
 But this way further let our footsteps tend
 Traverse this walk and then our wand'rings end.
 See stately firs along the margin stand
 (We seem to walk on soft enchant'd land):
 But yonder slopes that terminate the green,
 And to the eye are hence contiguous seen,
 Are distant far---the village lies between.
 So oft deceitful hopes our minds enslave,
 We paint our wishes till we meet the grave.
 Delightful village! Sure some angel-guest
 Here stopp'd delighted, and pronounc'd thee blest;
 Thy careful guardian here has fix'd his seat,
 And banish'd evils from this calm retreat
 What shape! what air! What elegance was seen
 In yonder statue on that mount of green;

The form how graceful, how divine the mien!
Surely the sculptor sought each grace to kind,
Could evr'y beauty that adorns mankind,
As once Apelles, when he Venus drew,
Had all the beauties Greece could boast in view,
Some poet warm'd the statuary's heart,
And sweetly sung the patron of his art;
His bosom glow'd, his fancy soar'd on high,
It left the earth, and rang'd the spacious sky,
To find superior models for his plan,
And form'd his god like the most perfect man.
There the grand palace of the owner stands,
And various prospects all around commands;
All fancy's treasures that the pencil gives,
Imprest on canvas, and in colours live.
No more! For time, disguis'd in evening grey
Unnoticed steals the rosy hours away;
The sun declines, night's fable pinions wide
Extend themselves, those various charms to hide:
In one vast gloom, the different objects blend,
And seems, e'en now as when time's reign shall end.
O Time! What art thou? Thy contracted hours
Are shrunk to moments in these blissful bow'rs!
But when oppress'd with labour or with pain
Thy moments then will stretch to hours again!

Bibliography - Primary Sources

2 May 1745, 'By Mr. Cheere for Apollo and Diana & his packing cases...£51.5. Hoare's Bank Archive, 37 Fleet Street, London.

1766, 'Henry Hoare esq. from Mr. Cheere, to five drapery statues of a Vesta, Ceres, Pomona....', 383/4 1707-1807, 1808-1838, 1795-1820. Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Chippenham, UK.

Akenside, M., *For a Grotto, A collection of poetry* (London, J. Dodsley, 1782).

Anonymous, *Ovid's Metamorphoses in latin and english, translated by the most eminent hands. Written in French by the Abbott Banier*, Preface by Sir S. Garth, Amsterdam, 1732, the Library, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 3201447.

Anonymous, 'Stourton Gardens', *The Royal Magazine* (February, 1764), p. 103.

Anonymous, 1766, *Notes of a tour in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, etc.*, British Museum, Add MS 6767, f.37.

Anonymous, *A Ride and Walk through Stourhead: A poem* (London, 1780).

Anonymous, *Bath Journal*, 44, 2266 (13 June 1787), p. 4.

Anonymous, 'The fifty-seventh Annual Exhibition of the Royal Academy', *The European Magazine and London Review*, Vol. 87, Dec 1824-July 1825 (London, Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper).

Anonymous, *The Salisbury Guide, Comprising the History and Antiquities of Old Sarum, and the Origin and Present of New Sarum, Or Salisbury* (Salisbury, John Easton, 1830).

Anonymous, *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, Thursday, August 3rd, 1837.

Anonymous, *Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*, 1, (Bath, Bleeck and Leach, 1867-79).

Anonymous, <http://www.npg.org.uk/whatson/exhibitions/2008/brilliant-women/celebrating-modern-muses>, accessed 21st June, 2017.

Ashley-Cooper, A., *Historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules, according to Prodicus* (London, 1713).

Barbon, N., *A Discourse of Trade* (London, 1690).

Bartoli, P.S., *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum* (Rome, Joanne Iacobo de Rubeis, 1693).

Bettany, L., *Edward Jerningham and his friends – a series of eighteenth century letters* (New York, Brentano, 1919).

Bickerstaff, I., *The Tatler*, Number 97, November 19th, 1709.

Bowles, W.L., *Days Departed* (London, Murray, 1828).

Boyse, S., (1740) in Johnson, S., *The Works of the English Poets, From Chaucer to Cowper Vol. 14* (London, 1810).

Britton, J., *Beauties of Wiltshire* (London, 1801).

Burke, J.B., *A Visitation of the Seats and Arms of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Great Britain*, Volume 1 (London, Colburn and Co., 1852).

Cavaceppi, B., *Raccolta d'antiche statue busti bassirilievi ed altre sculture restaurate da Bartolomeo Cavaceppi scultore romano*. Volume primo (Roma, 1768).

Cavalieri, G.B., *Antiquarum Statuarum Urbis Romae*, (Rome, 1585-1594).

Cesarotti, M., 'Estratto dalle relazioni accademiche', in *Operette di varj autori intorno ai giardini inglese ossia moderni* (Verona, dalla Societa Tipografica, 1817).

Clarke, W., Diary entry for 5 July 1767, Stourhead Research Room archives, Box file titled 'Early visitors'.

Climenson, E.J., *Passages from the diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys of Hardwick House, Oxon, AD 1756 to 1808* (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1899).

Cole, T., *The Grotto: An Ode to Silence* (London, J. Dodsley, 1782).

Constans, A. L., 'Les jardins d'Épaphrodite' (pl. II). In: *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, tome 34, 1914. pp. 383-387).

da Vinci, L., *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, MacCurdy, E. (trans.), Vol. 2 (London, Jonathan Cape, 1938).

Diaries of Lady Amabel Yorke, Vol. 5, Catalogue Finding Number, WYL150/7/6/5/015
downloaded via <http://library.hud.ac.uk/calmview/>, 3rd January, 2017.

Dodsley, R. 'Description of the Leasowes' in Sanford, E. (ed.) *The Works of the British Poets* (Philadelphia, Mitchell, Ames and White, 1819).

Dolloff, M., *Meditating the Muse: Milton and the Metamorphosis of Urania* (University of Texas, Austin, unpublished PhD thesis, 2006).

Earlom, R., *Liber Veritatis* (London, 1774).

Ellis, H., *The British Museum: The Townley Gallery* (London, Charles Knight & Co., 1836).

Ellis, A.R., *The Early Diary of Frances Burney 1768-1778*, Vol. 1, (London, George Bell & Sons, 1889).

Fenton, R., *A Tour in Quest of Genealogy: Through Several Parts of Wales, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire* (London, 1811).

Finberg, A.J., *A Complete Inventory of the Drawings of the Turner Bequest* (National Gallery, London, 1909).

Gamba, B., *Viaggio in Inghilterra di Carlo Gastone della Torre di Rezzonico comasco* (Venezia, 1824).

Gildon, C., *The New Metamorphosis; or, The Pleasant Transformation: being the Golden Ass of Lucius Apuleius of Madaura, Alter'd and Improv'd to the Modern Times and Manners* (London, 1708).

Gilpin, W., *Observations on the western parts of England* (London, 1798).

Hanway, J., 'Journey through Wiltshire', *The London Chronicle*, June 16-18th 1757, p. 578-9.

Hazlitt, W., *Sketches of the Principal Picture Galleries in England* (London, 1824).

Hazlitt, W., *Notes of a journey through France and Italy* (London, 1826).

Hoare Archives, Wiltshire Record Office 383.6. 9th May 1761.

Hoare, H., Letter from Henry Hoare to Lord Bruce, 1765. Woodbridge Archive, Research Room, Stourhead House.

Hoare, R.C., *The History of Modern Wiltshire: The Hundred of Mere* (London, 1822).

Kant, I., *Critique of Judgment*, Bernard, J.H. (trans), 2nd edition (MacMillan and Co., London, 1914).

Kennedy, J., *A new description of the pictures, statues, bustos and basso-relievos at the Earl of Pembrokes House at Wilton* (Salisbury, 1768).

Kent, W., *The Designs of Mr Inigo Jones* (London, 1727).

Langhorne, J., (1760), 'Hymneal: On the Marriage of His Present Majesty' in Langhorne, J.T., *The Poetical Works of John Langhorne, D.D., Vol. 2* (London, 1804).

Langley, B., *New Principles of Gardening* (London, 1728).

Langley, B., *Pomona: or the fruit garden, illustrated* (London, 1729).

Langley, B., *The City and Country Builder's Treasury* (London, 1741).

Lanzi, L., *La Reale Galleria di Firenze, Giornale de' letterati*, 1782, XLV11.

Lassels, R., *The Voyage of Italy* (Paris, 1679).

Llwyd, R., *The Poetical Works of Richard Llwyd* (London, Whittaker & Co, 1837).

Manley, D. (ed.), *The Nine Muses, Or, Poems Written by Nine severall Ladies Upon the death of the late Famous John Dryden Esq.* (London, Richard Basset, 1700).

Manners, J.H., *Journal of a Tour round Southern Coasts of England* (London, 1805), pp. 226-7.

Milton, J., *Paradise Lost, Book 7* (London, 1667).

Mitford, J. (ed) *The Correspondence of Thomas Gray and the Rev. Norton Nicholls* (London, William Pickering, 1843).

Montfaucon, B., *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* (Paris, 1719-24).

Montfaucon, B., *Antiquity Explained, and Represented in Sculptures*, trans. Humphreys, D. (London, Tonson & Watts, 1721-22).

Nichols, J.B., *Catalogue of the Hoare Library at Stourhead, Co. Wilts* (London, 1840).

Northall, J., *Travels through Italy* (London, 1766).

Overton, T.C. *The temple builder's most useful companion* (London, 1776).

Perrier, F., *Segmenta nobilium signorum e statuarum* (Rome, 1638).

Philips, J., *Cider, A poem in two books* (T. Cadell, London, 1791).

Pococke, R., *Travels through England*, Cartwright, J.J. (ed.) (London, 1889), p. 43.

Pope, A., 'On Gardens', *The Guardian* (London, 1713).

Pope, A., *An epistle to the Right Honourable Richard Earl of Burlington: Occasion'd by his publishing Palladio's designs of the baths, arches, theatres, &c. of ancient Rome* (London, 1731).

Richardson, J., *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (London, 1715), pp. 222-23.

Rossi, D. *Romanae Magnitudinis Monumenta* (1699).

Rushout, A., Diary entries for 6th July and 20th August, 1798, transcribed by O'Donoghue, J., Stourhead Research Room archives, Box file titled 'Early visitors'.

Sambrook, J., 'Spence, Joseph (1699–1768)', first published 2004; online edn, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/26/101026111/>, accessed 16th May 2015).

Serlio, S., *Tutte l'Opere d'Architettura, et Prospetiva, di Sebastiano Serlio*, Bolognese. (Venetia, 1619), foreword to Book IV, fol. 126.

Skurray, F., *Bidcombe Hill, a descriptive poem* (London, Cadell, 1824).

Sotheby, J., Wilkinson, J., Hodge, T., *The Stourhead Heirlooms. Catalogue of the library removed from Stourhead*. (London, Dryden Press, 1883).

Spence, J., *Polymetis* (London, 1747).

Spence, J., Joseph Spence Papers, OSB MSS 4, Box 6, folder 202, series V 'Gardening notes', Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, US.

Sullivan, R., *A Tour through various parts of England, Scotland and Wales in 1778 in a series of letters, Vol. 1* (Dublin, 1785), pp. 132-146.

Switzer, S., *Ichnographia Rustica* (London, 1718); Thelwall, J., 'A pedestrian excursion through England and Wales, during the Summer of 1797', *The Monthly Magazine*, 77, 1801, p. 105.

Thelwall, J., 'A pedestrian excursion through England and Wales, during the Summer of 1797', *The Monthly Magazine*, 77, 1801, p. 105.

Thomassin, S., *Recueil des Statues, Groupes, Fontaines, Termes, Vases et autres magnifiques Ornemens du Chateau & Parc de Versailles* (Paris, 1723).

Thomson, J., *Seasons, A Poem* (New York, Clark, Austin & Co., 1854).

Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, Morgan, H.M. (trans.) (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1914).

Voltaire, F.M.A., *Letters on the English* (Paris, 1734).

Walpole, H., *The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening* (London, 1771).

Walpole, H., *Journals of Visits to Country Seats* (July 1762), published in Toynbee, P. (ed.), 'Horace Walpole's Journals of Visits to Country Seats, &c', *Walpole Society*, 16, pp. 1927-28.

Ward, G.A., (ed.), *Journal and Letters of the Late Samuel Curwen, Judge of Admiralty: An American Refugee in England, from 1775-1784* (New York, C S Francis & Co., 1842).

Warner, R., *Excursions from Bath* (Bath, R. Cruttwell, 1801).

Watts, I., (1707) 'The Adventurous Muse' in Johnson, S. (ed.), *The Works of the English Poets, From Chaucer to Cowper Vol. 46* (London, 1779).

Whately, T., *Observations on modern gardening* (London, 1770).

Wilkes, W., *An Essay on the Pleasures and Advantages of Female Literature* (London, 1741).

Wright, F.A., *Lemprière's Classical dictionary of proper names mentioned in ancient authors* (London, Routledge, Keegan & Paul, 1986).

Bibliography - Secondary Sources

Adams, P.G., 'The anti-hero in eighteenth-century fiction', *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 9, 1, 1976, pp. 29-51.

Angelicooussis, E., *The Holkham Collection of Classical Sculptures* (Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 2001).

Arnold, D., *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 1998),

Aymonino, A. and Lauder, A.V., *Drawn from the Antique: Artists & the Classical Ideal* (London, Sir John Soane's Museum, London, 2015).

Ayres, P., *Classical culture and the idea of Rome in eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Baker, M., 'Collecting and the Grand Tour', in Snodin, M. and Styles, J., (eds.) *Design and decorative arts: Georgian Britain 1714-1837* (London, V&A Publications, 2004), pp. 114-119.

Beard, M. and Henderson, J., *Classical Art: from Greece to Rome* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001).

Beardsley, M.C., *The Possibility of Criticism* (Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1970).

Beltramini, G. and Burns, H., (eds.), *Palladio*, Exhibition Catalogue (London, Royal Academy of Arts, 2008).

Bending, S., 'Re-reading the Eighteenth-Century English Landscape Garden.', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, Summer, 55, 3, 1992, pp. 379-399.

Berlin, I. *Political Ideas in the Romantic Age: Their Rise and Influence on Modern Thought* (London, Pimlico Publishing, 2007), p. 15.

Bevington, M.J., 'Henry Hoare and the creation of his "demy-paradise"', *Studies in Iconography*, 12, 1988, pp. 121-147.

Bevington, M., *Stowe: The people and the place* (Swindon, The National Trust, 2011).

Black, J., *British Politics and Foreign Policy 1727-44* (London, Routledge, 2014).

Black, R., *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the eighteenth century* (Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 1992).

Bolingbroke, H.S.J., *The works of Lord Bolingbroke with a life, Vol. II*, (Philadelphia, Carey & Heart, 1841).

Bowe, P., *Gardens of the Roman World* (Los Angeles, Getty Publications, 2004).

Brown, D.B., 'Born again: Old and New in Turner's Later Work', In Brown, D.B., Concannon, A., Smiles, S. (eds.) *Late Turner, Painting Set Free* (London, Tate Publishing, 2014), pp. 33-37.

Calabrese, L., *Il Casino dell'Aurora Pallavicini: Percorsi, immagini, riflessioni* (Milano, Skira Editore S.p.A, 2007).

Campbell, C., *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Volume 3 (London, 1725).

Carver, R.H.F., *The Protean Ass: The Metamorphoses of Apuleius from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007).

Chard, C., *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel writing and imaginative geography, 1600-1830* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999).

Charlesworth, M., 'On meeting Hercules in Stourhead gardens', *Journal of Garden History*, 9, 2, 1989, pp. 71-75.

Charlesworth, M., 'Movement, Intersubjectivity, and Mercantile Morality at Stourhead', Conan, M. (ed.) *Landscape Design and the experience of Motion* (Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, 2003), pp. 263-285.

Christie, C., *The British Country House in the Eighteenth century* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000).

Cokayne, G.E., Gibbs, V., Doubleday, H.A., White, G.H., Warrand, D., de Walden, H. (eds.), *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant* (Gloucester, Alan Sutton Publishing, 2000).

Collier, M. and Wrightson, D., 'The Re-Creation of the Turkish Tent at Painshill' *Garden History*, 1, 1993, pp. 46-59.

Cox, O., 'A mistaken iconography? Eighteenth-century visitor accounts of Stourhead', *Garden History*, 40, 1, 2012, pp. 98-116.

Curl, J.C., 'Egypt in Rome – an introductory essay I: Isis, obelisks, and the Isaeum Campense', *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews*, 25, 1, 2000, pp. 53-64.

Dodd, D., 'Fit for the gods: furniture from Stourhead's temples.' *Apollo, suppl. Historic Houses and Collections Annual*, 2007, pp. 14-22.

Doody, M.A., 'Shandyism, Or, the Novel in its Assy Shape: African Apuleius, The Golden Ass, and Prose Fiction', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 12, 2-3, 2000, pp. 435-457.

Downing, S.J., *The English Pleasure Garden: 1660-1860* (London, Shire Library, 2009).

Eysenck, H., *Decline and fall of the Freudian Empire* (London, Viking, 1985).

Felus, K., *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden* (London, I.B.Tauris, 2016).

Fry, C., 'Spanning the Political Divide: Neo-Palladianism and the Early Eighteenth-Century', *Garden History*, 31, 2, 2003, pp. 180-192.

Gage, J., 'Turner and Stourhead: The making of a classicist?', *The Art Quarterly*, 37, 1, 1974, pp. 59-87.

Goldsmith, O., 'On the pride and luxury of the middling class of people', in Friedman, A.F. (ed.) *The collected works of Oliver Goldsmith*, Volume 1 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966).

Gordon, S., *The Iconography and Mythology of the 18th Century English Garden* (University of Bristol, unpublished doctoral thesis, 1999).

Gori, A.F., *Museum Florentinum* (Florence, 1734).

Grafton, A., Most, G.W., Settis, S., *The Classical Tradition*, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2010).

Graves, R., *Columella, or the distressed anchoret: A colloquial tale* (Toulouse, Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1989).

Gyllenhaal, M., *Rembrandt's artful use of statues and casts: New insights into his studio practices and working methods* (Temple University, unpublished doctoral thesis, 2008).

Handel, G.F., *The Choice of Hercules, HWV 69* (London, 1750).

Hardwick, L., *Reception Studies* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Harris, J., 'The Duchess of Beaufort's Observations on places', *Georgian Group Journal*, 10, 2000, p. 36-42.

Harris, J., 'FM Piper, his English Studies', in *Fredrik Magnus Piper: Texter och kommentarer* (Stockholm, Byggforlaget, 2004) pp. 393-411.

Harris, J., 'Garden Buildings', in S. Weber (ed.), *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2013) pp. 393-411.

Harrison, J.E., 'The Development and content of Stourhead Gardens: Recent findings, insights from an eighteenth-century poem and the visit of Carlo Gastone Della Torre di Rezzonico in 1787', *Garden History*, 43, 1, 2015a, pp. 126-143.

Harrison, J.E., 'More than just squabby cupids? History and myth in Stourhead's famous landscape garden', *ABC Bulletin* (London, National Trust, 2015b), pp. 6-8.

Harrison, J.E., 'From Rome to Stourhead and thence to Rome again: The phenomenon of the eighteenth-century English landscape garden', in Stobart, J. (ed.) *Travel and the Country House* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2017), pp. 42-62.

Haskell, F. and Penny, N., *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1981).

Heaton, M., *Temple of Apollo, Stourhead, Wiltshire. Archaeological observations during restorations August-October 2009* (Warminster, Michael Heaton Heritage, 2009).

Hewlings, R., *Chiswick House and Gardens* (London, English Heritage, 1989).

Horowitz, J.M., 'Ovid in Restoration and Eighteenth-Century England', in Miller, J.F., Newlands, C.E. (eds.) *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid* (New York, John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 2014).

Hughes, J., 'The myth of return: restoration as reception in eighteenth-century Rome'. *Classical Receptions Journal*, 3, 1, 2011, pp. 1-28.

Hull, M. and Hull, G., *Half-forgotten: The grotto work of Joseph Lane (1717-1784) and his son Josiah (1753-1833) of Tisbury, Wiltshire. A Re-Appraisal* (Bath, 2017).

Humbert, J-M., 'Egypt in the eighteenth-century garden: decline or revival of the initiatory journey?' In Calder, M., (ed.), *Experiencing the Garden in the Eighteenth Century* (Bern, Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 189-212.

Hunt, J.D. and Willis, P., (eds.) *The Genius of the Place: English Landscape Garden, 1620-1820* (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1988), pp. 272-3.

Hunt, J.D., 'Emblem and Expressionism in the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden.', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 4, 3, 1971, pp. 294-317.

Hunt, J.D., 'Stourhead revisited & the pursuit of meaning in gardens.' *Studies in the History of Garden Design*, 26, 4, 2006, pp. 328-341.

Hussey, C., *English gardens and landscapes, 1700-1750* (London, Country Life, 1967).

Hutchings, V., *A History of the Hoare Banking Dynasty* (London, Constable, 2005).

Jackson Stops, G., *An English Arcadia 1600-1990* (London, National Trust, 1991).

Jervis, S.S. and Dodd, D., *Roman Splendour, English Arcadia: The English taste for Pietre Dure and the Sixtus Cabinet at Stourhead* (London, Philip Wilson Publishers, 2015).

Karling, S., 'From Tessin to Piper: A Century of Swedish Landscape Gardening', in *Fredrik Magnus Piper and the Landscape Garden*, Exhibition Catalogue (Stockholm, Royal Academy of Fine Arts, 1981), pp. 8-38.

Kelsall, M., 'The iconography of Stourhead', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 46, 1983, pp. 133-143.

Kenworthy-Browne, J.A., 'Rysbrack, Hercules, and Pietro da Cortona.' *Burlington Magazine* 125, 1983, pp. 216-17+219.

Kenworthy-Browne, J., 'Designing around the statues. Matthew Brettingham's casts at Kedleston', *Apollo*, April 1993, pp. 248-252.

Knoll, M., Hunting in the Eighteenth Century, An Environmental History Perspective, *Historical Social Research*, 29, 3, 2004, pp. 9-36.

Laing, A., *Stourhead: Illustrated list of pictures and sculptures* (London, National Trust, 2010).

Langford, P., *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727-1783* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989).

Lazzaro, C., 'River gods: personifying nature in sixteenth-century Italy', *Renaissance Studies*, 25, 1, 2011, doi: 10.1111/j.1477-4658.2010.00708.x.

Levick, B.M., *Faustina I and II: Imperial Women of the Golden Age* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014).

Levis, R.B., "'Begin to grow rude and clamorous": English Politics and the Battle over Church Architecture', 1714-1760. *Journal of Church and State*, 47, 4, 2005, pp. 841–860.

Lingo, E.C., *Francois Duquesnoy and the Greek ideal* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007).

Lippincott, L., *Selling Art in Georgian London* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1983).

Lowth, R., *The Judgment of Hercules: A Poem (1743)* (Kessinger Legacy Reprints, London, 2010).

MacDougall, E.B., *The Sleeping Nymph: Origins of a Humanist Fountain type. Fountains, Statues, and Flowers: Studies in Italian Gardens of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1994).

Magleby, M., 'Reviewing the Mount of Diana: Henry Hoare's Turkish Tent at Stourhead', (Ohio State University, unpublished doctoral thesis, 2009).

Mahoney, J.L., 'The Classical Tradition in Eighteenth Century English Rhetorical Education', *History of Education Journal*, 9, 4, 1958, pp. 93-97.

Mako, M., *The Temple of Apollo* (National Trust, London, 2008).

Malins, E., *English Landscaping and Literature 1660-1840* (London, Oxford University Press, 1966).

Marshall, D.R. and Wolfe, K., 'Roma Britannica', in Marshall, D.R., Russell, S., Wolfe, K., (eds.), *Roma Britannica. Britain and Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, conference proceedings (London, British School at Rome Publications, 2011), pp. 3-12.

Martin, F., 'Camillo Rusconi in English Collections', In Sicca, C and Yarrington, A., (eds.) *The Lustrous Trade: Material Culture and the History of Sculpture in England and Italy c.1700-c.1860* (London, Leicester University Press, 2000), p. 49-66.

Martindale, C., *Redeeming the Text* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993),

Massie, S., *Pavlovsk: The Life of a Russian Palace* (Blue Hill Maine, Heart Tree Press, 1990).

Masson, G., *Italian Gardens* (London, Thames & Hudson, 1961).

McKewan, C., (ed.), *Stourhead Lake Project 2005* (Portsmouth, Nautical Archaeology Society, 2006).

Mommsen, W.J., 'Ideal Type and Pure Type: Two Variants of Max Weber's Ideal-Typical Method,' In Mommsen, W.J., (ed.) *The Political and Social Theory of Max Weber* (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1992), pp. 121-32.

Morrill, J., 'The Sensible Revolution', in Israel, J.I. (ed.) *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its world impact* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 73-104.

Mowl, T., *Horace Walpole* (London, Faber and Faber, 1996).

Mowl, T., 'The Trouble with the Palladian', in *An Insular Rococo: Architecture, Politics and Society in Ireland and England, 1710-1770* (Reaktion, London, 1999), pp. 13-24.

Mowl, T., *Gentlemen & Players: Gardeners of the English Landscape* (Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 2000).

Mowl, T. *The Historic Gardens of England: Oxfordshire*, (Stroud, Tempus Publishing, 2007).

Mowl, T., *Historic Gardens of Wiltshire* (Stroud, Tempus, 2004).

Murray, O., 'Classics in England', *The Classical Review*, 50, 1, 2000, pp. 256-259.

Neal, R., 'Beauty and morality: the aesthetic and intellectual functions of statuary and ornament in the eighteenth century'. *Sculpture Journal*, 17, 1, 2008, pp. 77-83.

Nijhuis, S., *GIS-based landscape design research* (Steffen Nijhuis, Delft, 2015).

Oliver, A., (ed.), *The Journal of Samuel Curwen, Loyalist* (Salem, Essex Institute, 1972).

Olszewski, E.J., 'Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667-1740) in America', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 1, 1, 1989, pp. 33-57.

Opper, T., 'Ancient glory and modern learning: the sculpture-decorated library', in Sloan, K., (ed.) *Enlightenment: Discovering the world in the Eighteenth Century* (London, British Museum, 2003), pp. 58-67.

Palmer, G., *Stourhead, Wiltshire, 9th Edition* (London, Country Life, 1968).

Paulson, R., *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth century* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1975).

Peltz, L., 'Living Muses. Constructing and Celebrating the Professional Woman in Literature and the arts', in Eger, E. and Peltz, L. (eds.) *Brilliant Women: 18th-Century Bluestockings*, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 59-64.

Phibbs, J., 'Pleasure Grounds in Sweden and their English Models', *Garden History*, 21, 1, 1993, pp. 60-90.

Pietrogrande, A., 'Il dibattito padovano sui giardini all'Inglese all'Accademia di scienze, Lettere e Arti di Padova: 1782-98', *In Atti e memorie dell'Accademia patavina di Scienze*,

Letter ed Arti, 108, part III, *Memorie della Classe di Scienze Morali, Lettere e Arti*, 1994/95, pp. 19-38.

Pietrogrande, A., 'Un'interpretazione veneta del nuovo giardino europeo: Selvaggiano, il ritiro campestre di Cesarotti', in F. Finotti (ed.), *Melchiorre Cesarotti e le trasformazioni del paesaggio europeo* (Trieste, EUT Edizioni Universit. di Trieste, 2010), pp. 57-90.

Piotrovsky., M., Dedinkin, M., Jacques, D., *The Hampton Court Albums of Catherine the Great* (London, Fontanak, 2016).

Piper, F.M., *Beskrifning ofwer Ideen och General-Plan till end Angelsk Lustpark* (Stockholm, Byggforlaget, 2004).

Porter, R., *English Society in the 18th Century* (London, Penguin Books, 1982).

Prettejohn, E., 'Reception and ancient art: The case of the Venus de Milo', in Martindale, C. and Thomas, R. F. (eds.) *Classics and the Uses of Reception* (Oxford, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2006), pp. 227-49.

Pugh, S., *Garden, Nature, Language* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1988).

Raeburn, M., Voronikhova, L., Nurnberg, A., (eds.), *The Green Frog Service* (London, Cacklegoose Press, 1995).

Retford, K., Perry, G., Vibert, J., 'Introduction: placing faces in the country house', Perry, G., Retford, K., Vibert, J. (eds.), *Placing Faces* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 1-36.

Richardson, T., *The Arcadian Friends: Inventing the English Landscape Garden* (London, Bantam, 2007).

Richter, D.S., 'Plutarch on Isis and Osiris: Text, Cult, and Cultural Appropriation', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 131, 2001, pp. 191-216.

Ridgway, C., Howard, N. *Castle Howard, 6th Edition* (Castle Howard, Castle Howard Publishing, 2015).

Roberts, P., *Life and death in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (London, The British Museum, 2013).

Rutherford, S. and Lovie, J., *Georgian Garden Buildings* (Oxford, Shire Library, 2012).

Safarik, E.A., *Galleria Doria Pamphilj masterpieces: Paintings* (Rome, Societa Arti Doria Pamphilj, 1993).

Schulz, M.F., 'The Circuit Walk of the 18th-Century Landscape garden and the Pilgrim's circuitous progress', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 15, 1981, pp. 1-25.

Schutte, A.J., *By Force and Fear: Taking and Breaking Monastic Vows in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2011).

Segers, R.T., 'An interview with Hans Robert Jauss', *New Literary History*, 11, 1, 1979, pp. 83-95.

Skinner, M.B., *Rescuing Creusa: New Methodological Approaches to Women in Antiquity* (Lubbock, Texas Tech University Press, 1987).

Stuart, J. and Revett, N., *The Antiquities of Athens* (London, 1762).

Symes, M., *Garden Sculpture* (Princes Risborough, Shire Garden History, 1996).

Symes, M., *Mr Hamilton's Elysium* (London, Frances Lincoln, 2010).

Tames, R., *Robert Adam: An Illustrated Life of Robert Adam, 1782-92*, (London, Shire Publications, 2004).

Tinniswood, A., *The Polite Tourist: A history of country house visiting* (London, National Trust, 1989).

Trauzettel, L., 'Wörlitz: England in Germany', *Garden History*, 24, 2, 1996, pp. 221-236.

Tromp, H. and Newby, E., 'A Dutchman's visits to some English gardens in 1791', *The Journal of Garden History*, 2, 1, 1982, pp. 14-22.

Turner, J., 'The structure of Henry Hoare's Stourhead', *The Art Bulletin*, 61, 1, 1979, pp. 68-77.

Twigger, R., *Inflation: The Value of the Pound 1750-1998*, Research Paper 99/20 (House of Commons, London, 23 February 1999).

Umbach, M., *Federalism and Enlightenment in Germany 1740-1806* (London, The Hambledon Press, 2000).

Vermeule, C. and von Bothmer, D., 'Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain Part Two', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 60, 4, 1956, pp. 321-350.

Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, Morgan, H.M. (trans) (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1914).

Vout, C., 'Antinous, Archaeology and History', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 95, 2005, pp. 80-96.

Vout, C., *Following Hercules, The Story of Classical Art* (Cambridge, The Fitzwilliam Museum, 2015).

Wasserman, E.R., 'The inherent Values of Eighteenth-Century Personification', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 65, 1950, pp. 435-463.

Webb, M.I., *Michael Rysbrack Sculptor* (London, Country Life Limited, 1954).

White, P. *A Gentleman of fine Taste* (Taunton, Hestercombe Gardens Project, 1995).

White, R., *Holkham* (Great Ellingham, Arie & Ingrams Design, 2010).

White, R., 'Kent and the Gothic Revival', in Weber, S. (ed.), *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 247-269.

Whitmarsh, T., 'True histories. Lucian, Bakhtin, and the pragmatics of reception', in Martindale, C., Thomas, R. F. (eds.) *Classics and the Uses of Reception* (Oxford, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2006), pp. 104-15.

Wilton, A., Bignamini, I., *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London, Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996), pp.141-3.

Wine, H. *The Seventeenth Century French Paintings* (London, National Gallery Company, 2002).

Woodbridge, K., 'Henry Hoare's Paradise', *The Art Bulletin*, XLVII, 1965, pp. 83-116.

Woodbridge, K., *Landscape and Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead 1718 to 1838* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1970).

Woodbridge, K., 'The Dream of Aeneas: A Rosa Source for Cheere's River God at Stourhead', *The Burlington Magazine*, 16, 861, 1974, pp. 756+758.

Woodbridge, K., *The Stourhead Landscape* (London, National Trust, 1978).

Woodbridge, K., 'Stourhead in 1768: Extracts from an unpublished journal by Sir John Parnell. Edited with an introduction on 18th-century visitors', *The Journal of Garden History*, 2, 1, 1982, pp. 59-70.

Woodbridge, K., *The Stourhead Landscape* (London, The National Trust, 1991).

Woodbridge, K., *The Stourhead Landscape* (London, The National Trust, 1999).

Woodforde, J., in Jameson, P. and Winstanley, R.L. (eds.), *The Diary of James Woodforde, 18 volumes*, (Wymondham, Parson Woodforde Society, 2008).

Worsley, G. "'After ye Antique': Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor and Kent", in Ridgway, C., Williams, R., eds, *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture* (Sutton Publishing, Stroud, 2000), pp. 131-153.

List of paintings, statues, and other artefacts

Bampfylde, C.W., *The Grotto, Stourhead; lake with swans and fountain, and temple-like structure behind, reclining man to the left in foreground in front of trees*. 1753, Pen and black ink and grey and brown wash, with watercolour. 28 cm (height) x 47 cm (width), British Museum, London, 1970.0919.20.

Batoni, P., *Charles, 4th Earl of Northampton, 1758*, Oil on canvas, 238 cm x 149 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, PD.4-1950.

Batoni, P., *Sir Robert Davers, 5th Bt. (1729-1763), aged 21, 1756*, Oil on canvas, 126 cm x 104 cm, Ickworth, Suffolk, National Trust Inventory Number 851699.

Brueghel, J. and Van Balen the Elder, *The Four Elements, 1621-32*, Oil on copper, 71.1 cm x 88.9 cm, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 732304.

Brueghel, J. and Van Balen the Elder, *Air, 1621-32*, Oil on copper, 49.5 cm x 66 cm, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 732104.

British school, *Vesta/Vestal Virgin, 1907-8*, Limestone, 158 cm (height). Temple of Apollo, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 562917.

British school, *Urania, 1907-8*, Limestone, 157.5 cm (height). Temple of Apollo, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 562918.

Carracci, A., *The Choice of Hercules, 1596*, Oil on Canvas, 166 cm x 237 cm, Capodimonte Gallery, Naples.

Carracci, A., *The Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, c.1597, the Camerino Room, Palazzo Farnese, Rome.

Carter, B., *Chariot Racer in a Quadrigae at the Games*, Plaster, The Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562961.

Carter, B., *Bacchus visiting the house of Icarius*, Plaster, The Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562964.

Carter, B., *Hunters returning from a Boar Hunt*, Plaster, The Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562965.

Carter, B., *The Rape of a Nymph by Neptune*, Plaster, The Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562966.

Carter, B., *Bacchic Celebration*, Plaster, The Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562967.

Carter, B., *Roman marriage celebration*, Plaster, The Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562968.

Carter, B., *Mount Olympus*, Plaster, The Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562962.

Carter, B., *Bacchic Celebration*, Plaster, The Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust
Inventory Number 562963.

Chays, L., *Interior of the Palazzo Farnese* Pen and brown ink, brown wash, pencil and
white gouache, 43.4 cm × 53.4 cm, 1775, Kunstbibliothek, Berlin, Hdz 3027.

Cheere, J., *Diana of Versailles*, 1744, Lead, 208 cm (height). Pantheon, Stourhead,
National Trust Inventory Number 562880.1.

Cheere, J., *Nymph*, about 1745, Lead, 86.5 cm (height) × 170 cm (length). Grotto,
Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562876.

Cheere, J., *River God*, 1751, Lead, 198 cm (height). Grotto, Stourhead, National Trust
Inventory Number 562877.

Cheere, J., *Isis/A Priestess of Isis*, c.1756/8, Plaster, 184 mm (height), Kedleston Hall,
National Trust Inventory Number 108994.

Cheere, J., *Isis/A Priestess of Isis*, c.1756/8, Lead, Saltram, National Trust Inventory
Number 872424.2.

Cheere, J., *Meleager*, 1762, Plaster, 208 cm (height). Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, National
Trust Inventory Number 109007.

Cheere, J., *Meleager*, 1762, Plaster, 208 cm (height). Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust
Inventory Number 562914.1.

Cheere, J., *Saint Susanna*, 1762, Plaster, 203.5 cm (height). Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562915.1.

Cheere, J., *Priestess of Isis/Isis*, 1762, Plaster, 188 cm (height). Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562916.1.

Cheere, J., *Vesta/Vestal Virgin*, 1765-6, Lead, 160 cm (height). Saltram House, Devon, National Trust Inventory Number 872424.3.

Cheere, J., *Vesta/Vestal Virgin*, 1765-6, Lead, 160 cm (height). West Front, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 562884.

Cheere, J., *Ceres*, 1765-6, Lead, Main Entrance, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 731879.

Cheere, J., *Minerva*, 1765-6, Lead, Main Entrance, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 731878.

Cheere, J., *Flora* (sic), 1765-6, Lead, Main Entrance, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 731880.

Cheere, J., *Urania*, 1765-6, Lead, 175 cm (height), West Front, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 562883.

Cheere, J., *Bacchus*, 1765-6, Lead, 158 cm (height), Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562879.

Cheere, J., *The Capitoline 'Isis'*, 1767, Plaster, 195 cm (height), Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Inventory number M.62.57.2.

Cheere, J., *Mercury*, Lead and stone statue, 175 cm (height), Saltram, Devon, National Trust Inventory Number 872424.1.

de' Matteis, P., *The Choice of Hercules*, 1713, Oil on canvas, 198.2 cm × 256.5 cm, The Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, Oxford, A1116.

Dughet, G., *Mountainous Landscape with, possibly, Eurydice*, c.1658, Oil on canvas, 152.4 cm (height) × 222.2 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732126.

Dughet, G., *A classical landscape with sportsmen* c.1658, Oil on canvas, 152.4 cm (height) × 222.3 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732125.

Dughet, G. *Classical landscape with Figures in a Road* c.1650-60, Oil on canvas, 48.9 cm (height) × 64.1 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732158.

Fagan R., *Cupid and Psyche*, 1793-5, Rome, Oil on canvas, 120 cm × 104.8 cm, Attingham Park, Shropshire, National Trust Inventory Number 609098.

Flitcroft, H., *Curved Bench Seat*, 1765, Pine, grained, oil on panel, 132 cm × 222.5 cm × 67.5 cm, Temple of Apollo, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562873.1.

Flitcroft, H., *Pine bench by Henry Flitcroft (1697 - 1769) with painted classical scene of The Birth of Venus by William Hoare of Bath, RA (Eye 1707 – Bath 1792) (one of four)*, c.1760, Pine carcass, grained and oil on panel, 114.5 cm × 135 cm × 61 cm, Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562869.1.

Flitcroft, H., *Pine bench by Henry Flitcroft (1697 - 1769) with painted classical scene of Venus Anadyomene by William Hoare of Bath, RA (Eye 1707 – Bath 1792) (one of four)*, c.1760, Pine carcass, grained and oil on panel, 110.5 cm × 122 cm × 54.5 cm, Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562868.1.

Flitcroft, H., *Pine bench by Henry Flitcroft (1697 - 1769) with painted classical scene of the Marriage of Cupid and Psyche by William Hoare of Bath, RA (Eye 1707 – Bath 1792) (one of four)*, c.1760, Pine carcass, grained and oil on panel, 110.5 cm × 122 cm × 54.5 cm, Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562870.1.

Flitcroft, H., *Pine bench by Henry Flitcroft (1697 - 1769) with painted classical scene of the Three Graces (?) by William Hoare of Bath, RA (Eye 1707 – Bath 1792) (one of four)*, c.1760, Pine carcass, grained and oil on panel, 110.5 cm × 122 cm × 54.5 cm, Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562867.1.

Goltzius, H., *The river-god Peneus seated on rocks in a waterfall*, Engraving on paper, 1589, 17.8 cm × 25.5 cm, London, British Museum, 1947,1022.17.

Greuter, J.F., *Hercules, having slain the dragon, being honoured with a crown of foliage by the Hesperides (after Pietro da Cortona)*, 1756, Print, copper engraving on paper, Stourhead, Wiltshire, National Trust Inventory Number 730754.

Harding, F., (attributed to), *Architectural Capriccio with the Pantheon and the Maison Carrée (manner of Panini)*. Oil on canvas, 72.4 cm × 47 cm, c.1745, National Trust Inventory Number 732275.

Harding, F., *Architectural Capriccio with the sacrifice of Iphigenia*, 1745-54, Oil on canvas, 167.6 cm (height) × 142.2 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732300.

Harding, F., *Architectural Capriccio with the Tomb of the Giulii, the Colosseum and a Triumphal Arch (after Panini)*, c.1745-58, Oil on canvas, 90.2 cm (height) × 101 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732375.

Hoare, W., *Sleeping Nymph of the Grotto, Ariadne asleep*, Gouache on paper, 1760, Stourhead, National Trust, National Trust Inventory Number 730719.

Kauffman, A., *Self-portrait of the Artist hesitating between the Arts of Music and Painting*, 1794, Oil on canvas, 147 cm × 215 cm, Nostell Priory, West Yorkshire, National Trust Inventory Number 960079.

Kauffman, A., *Frances Ann Acland, Lady Hoare (1735/6-1800)*, c.1773, Oil on canvas, 125.7 cm × 100.3 cm, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 732283.

Locatelli, A., *The Mill (after Claude Lorrain)*, 1700-1741, Oil on canvas, 149.9 cm (height) × 198.1 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732157.

Lorrain, C., *Landscape with dancing figure (the Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca)*, 1646, Oil on canvas, 150.5 x 198 cm, Palazzo Doria Pamphilj, Rome, FC 237.

Lorrain, C., *Imaginary view of Delphi with a procession* 1650, Oil on canvas, 150.5 x 198 cm, Palazzo Doria Pamphilj, Rome, FC 263.

Lorrain, C., *Landscape with Aeneas at Delos*, 1672, Oil on canvas, 99.6 cm × 134.3 cm, National Gallery, London, NG1018.

Lorrain, C., *Apollo and the Muses on Mount Helicon*, Oil on canvas, 1680, 99.7 cm × 136.5 cm, William I. Koch Gallery, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Accession Number 12.1050.

Maratta, C., *Marchese Niccolò Maria Pallavicini (1650-1714) guided to the Temple of Virtù by Apollo with a Self-portrait of the Artist*, Oil on canvas, 1705, 299.7 cm × 212 cm, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 732098.

Mengs, A.R., *Octavian and Cleopatra*, Rome, 1759/60, Oil on canvas, 299.7 cm × 212 cm, The Gallery, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 732099.

Nicholson, F., *The Grotto or Cave, Interior - on left statue of sleeping nymph*, 1760, Watercolour on paper, 41.0 cm × 46.9 cm, British Museum, 1944,1014.126.

Nicholson, F., *The Sun Temple also known as the Temple of Apollo on left the church*, c.1814, paper, 40.8 cm (height) × 56.3 cm (width), British Museum, 1944,1014.135.

Nost, J. 1st, (c.1655-1710) or Carpenter, A. (1677-1737), *Vestal Virgin*, 18th Cent., Painted white lead on stone pedestal, 177.8 cm (height). Anglesey Abbey, Cambridgeshire, National Trust Inventory Number 515150.

Patch, T., *A Punch Party*, 1760, Oil on canvas, Florence, 114.3 cm × 171.5 cm, Dunham Massey, Cheshire, National Trust Inventory Number 932354.

Patch, T., *A Gathering of the Dilettanti around the Medici Venus*, 1760, Oil on canvas, Florence, 147.2 cm × 238.3 cm, Basildon Park, Berkshire, National Trust Inventory Number 267120.

Pincot, D., *Borghese Vase*, 1771, Coade stone, 124.5 cm (height), Temple of Flora, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562904.

Piper, F.M., *Plan of Stourhead*, 1779, Watercolour on paper, 32 x 44 inches. Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Stockholm, pi-e-6-1.

Plimmer, J., *Procession to the Temple of Apollo at Delos (after Claude Lorrain)*, 1759-60, Oil on canvas, 149.8 cm (height) × 200.6 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732178.

Poussin, N., *The Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, c.1627, Pen and ink with wash over red chalk, on pale buff paper, 12.6 cm × 42.5 cm, The Royal Collections, RCIN 911990.

Poussin, N., *The Abduction of the Sabine Women*, c.1633-34, Oil on canvas, 154.6 cm × 209.9 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 46.160.

Poussin, N., *A Dance to the Music of Time*, c.1634-6, Oil on canvas, 82.5 cm × 104 cm, Wallace Collection, London, P108.

Poussin, N., *Choice of Hercules*, c.1636-7, Oil on canvas, 88.3 cm × 71.8 cm, The Gallery, Stourhead House, National Trust Inventory Number 732103.

Poussin, N., *The Triumph of Bacchus*, 1635-6, Oil on canvas, 128.3 cm × 151.1 cm, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas, 31-94.

Reynolds, J., *David Garrick (1716-1779) between Tragedy and Comedy*, 1760-1, Oil on canvas, 183 cm × 147.6 cm (height), Waddesdon Manor, Aylesbury, Accession number 102.1995.

Rysbrack, J.M., *Hercules*, 1744, Painted terracotta, 60 cm × 32 cm × 25 cm, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732894.

Rysbrack, J.M., *Hercules*, 1756, Marble, 185.5 cm (height), Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562911.1.

Rysbrack, J.M., *Flora*, 1759, Terracotta, 57.3 cm (height), Victoria & Albert Museum, London, A.9-1961.

Rysbrack, J.M., *Flora*, 1760-2, Marble, 179 cm (height), Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562912.1.

Samuel, R., *Portraits in the Characters of the Muses in the Temple of Apollo*, Oil on canvas, 1778, 132.1 cm × 154.9 cm, Purchased, 1972 Primary Collection NPG 4905.

Smith, J., *Apollino* Marble, 254 cm (height), Anglesey Abbey, Cambridgeshire, National Trust Inventory Number 516619.

Titian, *Venus Rising from the Sea ('Venus Anadyomene')*, c.1520, Oil on canvas, 75.8 cm × 57.6 cm, National Gallery of Scotland, NG 2751.

Tryphon, *Cameo with the wedding of Cupid and Psyche, or an initiation rite*, Roman, Late Republican or Early Imperial Period, Layered Onyx Cameo, 3.7 cm × 4.5 cm × 0.6 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Accession number 99.101.

Turner, J.M.W., *Landscape, Composition of Tivoli*, Watercolour on paper, 67.6 cm × 102 cm, c.1818, Private Collection, Turner Worldwide ref. TW1399.

Turner, J.M.W., *Study for 'Rise of the River Stour at Stourhead'*, Watercolour on paper, 67.3 cm × 100.5 cm, c.1824-5?, Tate Britain, London, D36320, Turner Bequest CCCLXV 29.

Turner, J.M.W., *Aeneas and the Sibyl, Lake Avernus*, Oil on canvas, 10.4.5 cm × 126.0 cm, c.1825, Tate Britain, London, N00463.

Turner, J.M.W., *Rise of the River Stour at Stourhead*, Watercolour, 67.3 cm × 102.2 cm, c.1825, Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire.

Turner, J.M.W., *An Idealised Italianate Landscape with Trees above a Lake or Bay, Lit by a low sun*, Watercolour on paper, 31.2 cm × 43.9 cm, c.1828-9, Tate Britain, London, D25311, Turner Bequest CCLXIII 189.

Unknown, *Kylix, known as the "Borghese Vase"*, Marble, 172 cm × 135 cm, 1st Century BCE, Denon Wing, The Louvre, Paris, Inventaire MR 985.

Unknown, *The Cupid and Psyche Sarcophagus*, 150-200 CE, Marble, Cliveden Estate, Buckinghamshire, National Trust Inventory Number 766188.

Unknown, *Diana of Versailles*, 1st-2nd century CE, marble, 200 cm (height), Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Unknown, *Sleeping Ariadne*, c.100 CE, Marble statue, Pius-Clementine Museum.

Unknown, *View from the Mount of Diana*, c.1765, paper; Stourhead House, National Trust, Inventory Number 731309.1.

Unknown, *Alexander the Great (356 – 323 BCE)*, 1740, Marble, 109 cm (Height), National Trust Inventory Number 562906.1.

Unknown, *Young Marcus Aurelius (121-180 CE)*, 1740, Marble, 112 cm (Height), National Trust Inventory Number 562905.1.

Unknown, *Livia Augusta as Ceres*, AD second century, Marble, 193 cm (height),
Pantheon, Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 562913.1.

Unknown, *The Pope's Cabinet*, 1742, Rome, Ebony, marble, gilt bronze, ormolu, onyx,
lapis lazuli, spa, 210 cm × 130 cm × 64 cm, Stourhead House, Wiltshire, National Trust
Inventory Number 731575.

Unknown, *Apollo Belvedere*, Marble, 224 cm (height), Rome, Belvedere Court, Musei
Vaticani, Cat. 1015.

Unknown, *The Dancing Faun I*, c.1759, Painted Plaster, 137 cm × 42 cm × 40 cm,
Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, National Trust Inventory Number 109003.

Unknown, *The Dancing Faun II*, c.1759, Painted Plaster, 144 cm × 65 cm × 40 cm,
Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, National Trust Inventory Number 109009.

Unknown, *Cupid and Psyche*, c.1749, Rome, Marble sculpture, Ickworth, Suffolk,
National Trust Inventory Number 852240.3.

Unknown, *Statue of Isis*, Hadrianic period (117-138 CE), Marble, 179.5 cm (height),
Albani Collection, Musei Capitolini, Inventory Number MC0744.

Unknown, *Portrait of young Faustina Minor*, sculpture, marble, 60 cm, 147-8 CE,
Capitoline Museum, Inv. No. MC0449.

Unknown, *Portrait of Faustina Major*, sculpture, marble, 63 cm, 138-161 CE, Capitoline Museum, Inv. No. MC0447.

Unknown, *Colossal Bacchus with Panther*, 1st/2nd Century CE, Rome, Marble statue, 241.3 cm (height), Anglesey Abbey, National Trust Inventory Number 516675.

Unknown, *Female statuette*, Plaster and paint, 48.3 cm, Saltram, Devon, National Trust Inventory Number NT 872413.2.

Wilson, J. (?), *Isaac Ambrose Eccles (?1736 - 1809)*, c.1750, Oil on canvas, 208.3 cm × 137.2 cm, Castle Ward, County Down, NT 836127.

Wilson, R., *The Lake of Nemi, with Diana and Callisto*, c.1758, Oil on canvas, 75.6 cm (height) × 97.2 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732391.

Woodforde, S., *Interior of the Pantheon, Stourhead*, Oil on canvas, 121.9 cm × 91.4 cm, c.1784, Stourhead House, Wiltshire, National Trust Inventory Number 732271.

Wootton, J., *The Meet of a Hunt with Henry II Hoare*, c.1758, Oil on canvas, 188 cm (height) × 162.6 cm (width), Stourhead, National Trust Inventory Number 732281.