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PORTRAIT BUSTS OF ARCHITECTS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BRITAIN¹

Malcolm Baker

The territory explored in this paper lies between observations on sculpture and architecture from two familiar mid eighteenth century sources. The first comes from Campbell's *London Tradesman* of 1747: 'The taste of busts and figures in . . . Clay, Wax and Plaster of Paris . . . prevails much of late years, and in some measure interferes with Portrait Painting: The Nobility now affect to have their Busts done that Way rather than sit for their Pictures, and the fashion is to have their Apartments adorned with Bronzes and Figures in Plaster and Wax'.² The second is a statement made by George Vertue in 1749: 'I must own (that) the branch of the art of building in Architecture is much improved and many men of that profession has made greater fortunes . . . than any other branch of Art whatever – their manner of undertakings is so profitable, by their agreements at so much per cent for drawings and direction of works of building'.³

Although the first quotation has often been cited in accounts of English portrait sculpture and the second in the considerable literature on the growth of the architectural profession, the links between the two phenomena described have not been pursued. Together, however, they help to explain the production of a number of impressive portrait busts of architects between about 1720 and 1760. The main examples are the marbles of James Gibbs (1726) and Francis Smith (about 1741) (both by Rysbrack), a plaster of Nicholas Hawksmoor (about 1736) and various marble versions of William Adam (about 1753) (both perhaps to be attributed to Henry Cheere), and Roubiliac's marble of Isaac Ware (from the early 1740s).⁴ I shall also refer to various lost busts which need to be considered in this context.

All the busts in this list are of architects from the first half of the century. It is striking that while we have a number of sculptural portraits of architects from this period, there are none as far as I am aware from between about 1755 and the early nineteenth century. No busts exist of William Chambers, Robert Adam or even Robert Taylor, who was himself a sculptor. Whereas painted portraits of architects run throughout the century, sculptural portraits seem to be confined to the period before 1750.

From about 1720 the demand for portrait busts was growing rapidly and the range of sitters was no longer confined to a relatively narrow band of aristocrats and military figures. In response to this demand sculptors developed a rich variety of forms and conventions for portrait sculpture and these may be said to constitute one of the major and most inventive contributions made by English artists to European art in the eighteenth century. The same period also saw some fundamental changes in the status and nature of the architect. This may be seen as the shift from an ambiguous situation in which 'architect' could mean anything from a master builder to an aristocratic amateur to the emergence of the professional architect as one 'whose education had included the conscious study of design and whose functions were to be supervisory rather than executive'.⁵

A discussion of sculptural images of architects must therefore touch on issues such as the changing status of the architect, the way in which he perceived and presented himself and his relationship with both patrons and other professional groups. It also

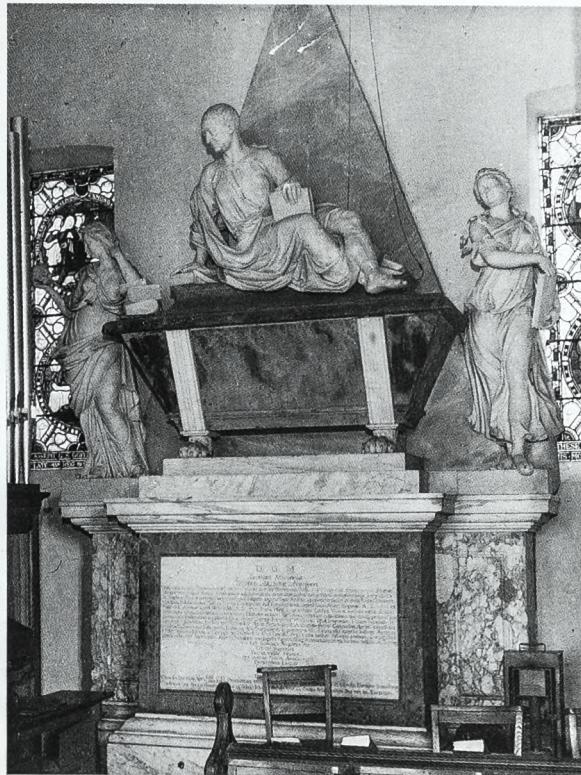


FIG. 1. Monument to Thomas Archer.
Probably by Henry Cheere. Hale,
Hampshire.



FIG. 2. Monument to Edward Tufnell.
Westminster Abbey.

involves wider questions about sculptural portraiture such as the use and significance of different conventions and forms of bust, the function and setting of busts, their relationship with painted portraits and the use of different materials. The relatively small number of examples does not of course allow us to draw any firm conclusions but some of these questions will be raised in my brief survey of the individual busts and considered together at the end.

Before turning to specific portraits there are three points to be made about the circumstances in which these busts were produced. The first concerns the close professional relationship between the architect and the sculptor. Many masons and master builders combined sculpture with building, particularly during the months when the weather made building impossible. As Campbell commented, 'They are idle about four Months of the Year, unless they have some skill in sculpture, in which they may be employed all the Year'.⁶ As the professional architect gradually emerged, the relationship between the design and erection of buildings and sculptural activity remained close and can be seen in the collaboration that produced monuments such as that in Westminster Abbey to Matthew Prior, designed by Gibbs and carved by Rysbrack.⁷ The commissioning and execution of a number of architects' busts makes best sense when seen in the context of these professional networks.

The second factor is that portraiture had long formed an important element in English commemorative sculpture, in the form not only of full-length reclining effigies but also of portrait busts. For example, the architect Thomas Archer is shown on his monument at Hale, Hampshire (Fig. 1), as a classically draped figure reclining on his sarcophagus flanked by two female allegories⁸ while the monument in the cloister of Westminster Abbey to Edward Tufnell, described on the inscription as an architect,

shows the deceased in bust form, wearing a soft cap (Fig. 2).⁹ The Tufnell monument is one of an increasing number from the late seventeenth century onwards that include a portrait bust of a sitter who was far from aristocratic, albeit reasonably wealthy. However, busts of non-aristocratic sitters executed as independent portraits, intended for non-ecclesiastical settings – placed in a domestic interior as a house bust or displayed in a more public or at least institutional setting – were rare before about 1720. (One of the few examples, perhaps significantly, is Edward Pierce's bust of Wren.) The busts of architects discussed here fall into this category rather than that of monument busts, although the distinction is sometimes rather blurred.

The third point to be born in mind in this discussion is that by 1727 there already existed two celebrated sculptural representations of architects that were to be much reproduced: Rysbrack's portraits of Inigo Jones and Palladio¹⁰. The two marble busts at Chatsworth, which are the primary versions, were, it may be presumed, commissioned by Lord Burlington and are related to the two figures that stand outside Chiswick House. The figures were in place by 1728¹¹ but as early as the previous year Rysbrack was supplying plasters of them, together with what was probably another marble version of the Jones bust, to Henry Hoare. The busts must therefore date from before 1727.

The Jones bust is based ultimately on the Van Dyck drawing in Burlington's collection and together the drawing and bust established the standard image of the architect. Rysbrack's sculptural version became particularly popular and numerous reproductions or reductions in a variety of materials survive, including the bust placed in the Temple of English Worthies at Stowe and the ivory figure by Verskovis on the cabinet made for Horace Walpole. The proliferation of such reductions was such that by the mid eighteenth century few sculptural images could have been so familiar as the bust of the figure whom Colvin describes as the first 'to exercise the full functions of an architect in the modern sense'.¹²

Rather less frequently reproduced but even more significant in its form was the bust of Palladio (Fig. 3). As Wittkower has shown, this bore no resemblance at all to the historical image of the architect as represented by Zucchi's portrait.¹³ Instead it seems to have been based on a portrait later used as the frontispiece to Burlington's edition of Palladio's drawings. This may have been developed from an engraving in Leoni's 1716 translation of Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture* which shows the architect in open shirt and soft cap, a format that was to be used constantly in painted and sculptural portraiture in eighteenth century England. The frontispiece of Leoni's work, however, presents us with a further type, representing Palladio in the form of a bust in the antique manner, with classical drapery and short hair.¹⁴ In these two busts we see Palladio remodelled, as it were, and represented according to the two conventions that were to prove most popular with English sculptors and, more importantly, their patrons. It is against this background that the commissioning, design and execution of the busts of contemporary architects listed earlier should be seen.

The earliest, dated 1726, is the bust of James Gibbs, which, like the marbles of Inigo Jones and Palladio, was carved by Rysbrack (Fig. 4). As Kerslake¹⁵ and Friedman¹⁶ have shown, the iconography of Gibbs is unusually rich and in addition to the surviving images a number of other ambitious portraits are known from documentary sources. The marble bust, now in the V & A, shows the architect dressed in long wig and open shirt and follows the format already used for the image of Gibbs seen in the engraving by Peter Pelham, after Hans Hysing (before 1726), though with the addition of a swathe of classical drapery to mask the truncation around the chest and shoulders. Evidently intended to represent a person of standing, it recalls sculptural portraits such as Pierce's bust of Wren or Rysbrack's effigy of Colston and provides a visual parallel to Roger



FIG. 3. Palladio. Marble. By Michael Rysbrack. Chatsworth. (By permission of the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement).



FIG. 4. James Gibbs. Marble. By Michael Rysbrack. Victoria and Albert Museum.

North's characterisation of the 'profest architect' as 'proud and opiniative'.¹⁷ Although grand in its effect, the bust is relatively small in size, being truncated quite high on the chest. Its scale suggests that it was intended for a domestic interior. What context was it made for and who commissioned it?

No firm evidence exists for the provenance of the bust before 1888 when it was given by William Boore to St. Martin-in-the-Fields who sold it to the museum. However, it is likely that it is the same 'noble marble bust of Gibbs, the architect, finely modelled and beautifully executed, on a black marble pedestal, by Rysbrack', that appeared in the 1842 Strawberry Hill sale.¹⁸ In 1784 this had stood on a coin cabinet in Horace Walpole's Star Chamber,¹⁹ perhaps reflecting the owner's admiration for the sculptor who 'taught the age to depend on statuary for its best ornaments'.²⁰ It was probably acquired by Walpole from the collection of George Bubb Dodington (Lord Melcombe)²¹ and may have been displayed at the latter's Hammersmith villa, 'La Trappe'.

At first sight the most probable person to have commissioned the bust is the sitter himself, for by 1726 – the year in which St. Martin-in-the-Fields was consecrated – Gibbs was well established as an architect and evidently a person of some standing. However, another marble portrait was, as we shall see, already in his possession and there is no evidence that he owned this one also. Another figure worth considering as the original owner is that remarkable early eighteenth century Maecenas, Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, who was the principal patron of both Gibbs and Rysbrack as well as of Prior, Dahl, Wootton and Bridgman.²² During the 1720s, Gibbs and Rysbrack were working in close collaboration on a number of projects, including the monument to Prior, commissioned by Harley and described in a contemporary verse as a work in which 'Gibbs displays his elegant Design/And Rysbracks Art does in the Sculpture shine'.²³

Sculptor and architect were at this period living close to each other on the Harley estate, then being developed north of Oxford Street. In addition to his work as Harley's architect at Wimpole Hall, Gibbs was acting as supervising architect for this urban scheme and played an important role in the realisation of his patron's ambitious plans.

No reference to a marble of the architect occurs in the catalogue of Harley's sale in 1741 but listed in this were painted portraits of a number of the artists he patronised, including images of Bridgman and Wootton by Dahl.²⁴ Among these was a portrait of Gibbs also by Dahl.²⁵ Definite evidence exists for two other portrait commissions given by Harley to Rysbrack. The first is a marble of his daughter, Peggy, which survives at Welbeck Abbey, dated 1723 and shown placed on a table in an engraving of 1727 by Vertue in the 1729 edition of *The Works of Edmund Waller*.²⁶ The second is a bust of William Thomas, 'Steward to the Earl of Oxford', now lost but mentioned by Vertue in 1732.²⁷ In the latter we have a sculptural portrait presumably executed for Harley of someone who, like Gibbs, was in his employ. It is therefore conceivable that the bust of Gibbs was commissioned by the architect's principal patron, perhaps for display in the latter's London house or at Wimpole.

The marble now in the V & A is not the only sculptural portrait of Gibbs. In 1723 Vertue includes Gibbs' name in a list of portraits, continuing 'his head Moddeld by Mr. Rysbrack, extreamly like him a bald head. Cut in Marble from that another basso relievo. with a wigg on'.²⁸ The payments, totalling £111, made to Rysbrack between 1723 and 1726 from Gibbs' account at Drummond's Bank probably relate to these portraits and the marble discussed above. The marble version of the bald Gibbs, mentioned by Vertue and dated 1726, survives in the Radcliffe Camera, Oxford (Fig. 5).²⁹ The uncompromising – perhaps even to modern eyes rather bizarre – representation of the sitter may well have been Gibbs' own conceit, given the interest he had shown in evolving a new convention for the portrait bust of Prior produced by Richard Dickenson 'bespoke by Mr. Gibbs, and done after his own Fancy'.³⁰ If the marble bust of Gibbs shown wigged was commissioned by the architect himself and not his patron, perhaps the two were conceived as complementary images. It is unnecessary, however, to explain the nature of the Radcliffe bust in this way for this is not the only instance in which Rysbrack used the combination of bald head and classical drapery. A closely comparable image of a bald sitter is to be found in the same sculptor's bust of the Earl of Winchelsea, the model for which was made, according to Vertue, in 1744.³¹

The Oxford bust belonged to Gibbs himself who presented it to the Radcliffe Library in 1754; it was presumably placed in the niche in which it now stands at this time. However, as Katharine Eustace has observed, an engraving by Vertue in the *Biblioteca Radcliviana*, published in 1746, already shows a bust *al antica* in this position, raising the possibility that Gibbs had intended at a much earlier date to have his own bust placed in the building he had designed.³²

Another of Rysbrack's sitters – or at least the subject of a posthumous portrait – was Francis Smith, the builder of the Radcliffe Camera. Two versions of this are known: a marble that appeared on the London art market (Fig. 6)³³ and a terracotta in the Radcliffe Camera (Fig. 7).³⁴ The marble is unsigned but in its carving and surface detail is consistent with documented Rysbrack marbles; its early provenance and setting are unknown though the carefully finished back suggests that it was intended for a domestic context rather than for placing on a monument or in an architectural setting. The terracotta – presumably the model for the marble – is signed and dated 1741. Although Webb suggested that the sitter is Francis Smith's son, William, the father's name is that given by the architect Francis Hiorne of Warwick, by whom the bust was bequeathed to 'the Trustees of Dr. Radcliffe's Library' at his death in 1789. Hiorne in fact requested

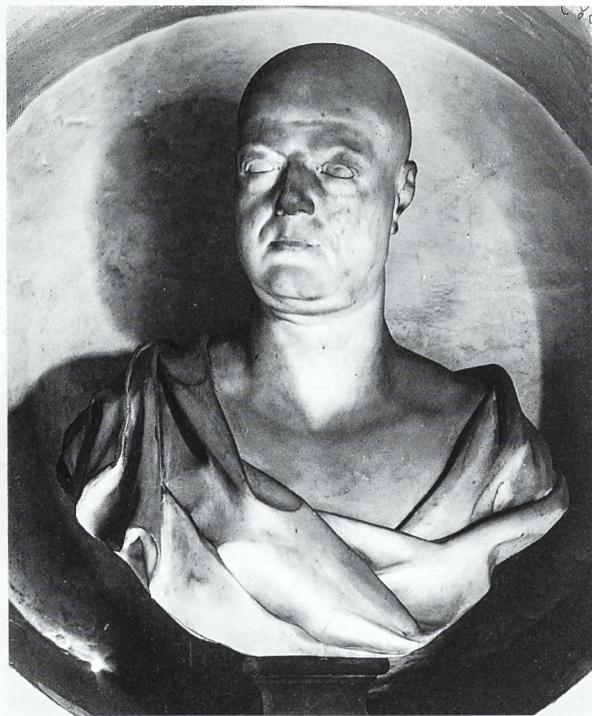


FIG. 5. James Gibbs. Marble. By Michael Rysbrack. Radcliffe Camera, Oxford.

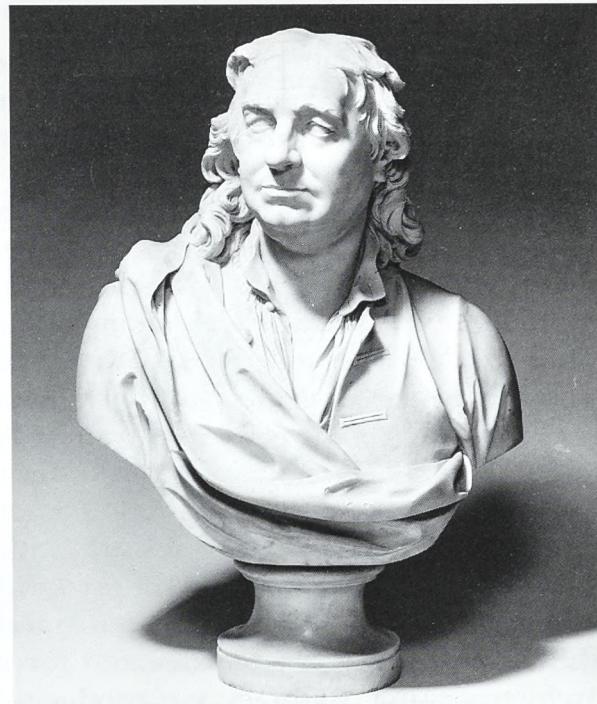


FIG. 6. Francis Smith. Marble. By Michael Rysbrack. Private collection.

that 'they will place and continue it in the said library in the Neech answerable to that wherein stands the bust of Mr. Gibbs the architect'.³⁵ Hiorne took over the Smith business and perhaps acquired the terracotta bust with this. Since Francis Smith had died in 1738, the terracotta of 1741 and probably the marble are likely to have been commissioned by his son William. Trained as a mason, the elder Smith represents that type of successful master builder who not only carried out other people's designs but also constructed buildings he himself had designed. The Smith family has recently been described as 'a fascinating example of social mobility through sheer talent'³⁶ and it is not surprising that Francis, who was responsible for initiating this rise in status should be commemorated by such an impressive sculptural portrait. Instead of the baroque bust with full wig (as in the St. Martin's Gibbs), the severe classical form (as in the Oxford Gibbs) or the increasingly popular type with soft cap, the patron – perhaps William Smith – chose a convention showing the sitter in an open shirt and with his own long hair. This had already been employed by Rysbrack for his busts of Pope and Newton and was later to be used for his portrait of Franklin.³⁷

Although the Gibbs and Smith busts are the only surviving portraits of architects by Rysbrack, lost busts of two other architects by him are recorded. Vertue's list of 1732 includes a portrait of Thomas Ripley, for a time a senior figure in the Board of Works and perhaps best remembered on account of Pope's couplet; 'Heav'n visits with a taste the wealthy fool/And needs no rod but Ripley with a rule'. Pope's scathing lines were no doubt in part prompted by Ripley's involvement with Walpole for whom he supervised the erection of Houghton Hall between 1722 and 1735. He must therefore have been dealing closely with Rysbrack around 1730 over the production and installation of the chimney pieces which are among the sculptor's most important decorative sculpture. The bust mentioned by Vertue in 1732 must presumably have been executed about the same date and the marble version recorded in Rysbrack's 1765 sale was presumably

based on this.³⁸ Nothing is known about the commissioning of either the terracotta or the marble. The latter is likely to have been carved to order and then not collected or paid for. It could conceivably have been commissioned by Ripley himself, whom the Duke of Chandos described in 1732 as 'very rich', and whose wealth was increased by his second marriage in 1742.

Also mentioned in the 1732 list of Rybrack's busts was one of Sir Thomas Hewett, Surveyor General of the King's Works between 1719 and 1726.³⁹ A further intriguing, if somewhat cryptic, note by Vertue seems to indicate that it not only belonged to Hewett himself but was placed in a building designed by him: '*Shire Oakes* near Keaten. the seat of Sr. Tho. Hewett fine Vistos Water falls. in the greek Tempietto lind with Marbles, pillasters of 3 greek Orders. the floors marble ceilings painted by . . . Trench little Cupids on several Angles. prettily design'd the Bust of Sr. Tho. in Marble by Rjcebrake'.⁴⁰

The commissioning of Rysbrack for the various busts of Gibbs, Smith, Hewett and Ripley, as well as for Lord Burlington's portraits of Jones and Palladio, probably followed from the sculptor's close involvement with architects. In addition to working closely with Gibbs and others on monuments, Rysbrack played an important role in the introduction of sculpture as a prominent and integral element in the neo-Palladian interior.⁴¹ During the very period when the demand for portrait busts was growing and the status of architects rising, Rysbrack was producing a type of decorative sculpture – particularly chimneypiece reliefs – that was being increasingly used by architects and demanded close collaboration between architect and sculptor. It is therefore not surprising that most of the known portrait busts of architects were executed by him. If this group is in one sense a visible manifestation of both the growth of sculptural and architectural activity during the 1720s and 30s⁴² and the changing status of architect and sculptor, the sitters represented and the choice of Rysbrack as sculptor may be regarded as a sign of the dominance of this particular network at that date.

The other busts of architects mentioned at the start of this paper, however, show other networks of sculptor, architect and patron operating. The plaster bust of Hawksmoor (Fig. 8), painted black to resemble bronze or lead, is undocumented but both the circumstantial and stylistic evidence suggest that it was produced by Sir Henry Cheere. By 1786 it is recorded as being in its present position on a bracket, inscribed 'NICH HAWKSMOOR/ARCHITECT', in the college buttery at All Souls College, Oxford – part of the Hawksmoor building – and it is likely that it was placed there when acquired by the college.⁴³ Opposite it on a similar bracket stands another plaster bust of the college manciple Giles Bennett; on the bracket is painted the date 1736. Although the All Souls bust is the only known portrait of Hawksmoor, the production of a plaster either as a model or in its own right is very unlikely at this date so that it must be assumed that a terracotta or marble existed from which this plaster was cast. The All Souls bust should therefore be seen as a replica of a lost primary version which may have been executed for the architect himself, though no reference to such a bust occurs in the sitter's posthumous sale catalogue and it is unclear whether or not the bust was executed in the sitter's lifetime.⁴⁴ As the date is painted on the bracket below the other bust, rather than inscribed on or cast in the Hawksmoor bust, it cannot be assumed that it refers to the date of the original portrait's execution or indeed the placing of the plaster in the buttery. However, it is likely that the plaster was produced around this date to be placed in the building that the sitter designed.

The attribution of the Hawksmoor bust to Cheere, first proposed by Webb, rests partly on the fact that during the 1730s Cheere received many commissions for work in Oxford including that for the statue of Codrington at All Souls. Until recently Cheere's activity as a portrait sculptor has received little attention and it has been difficult to

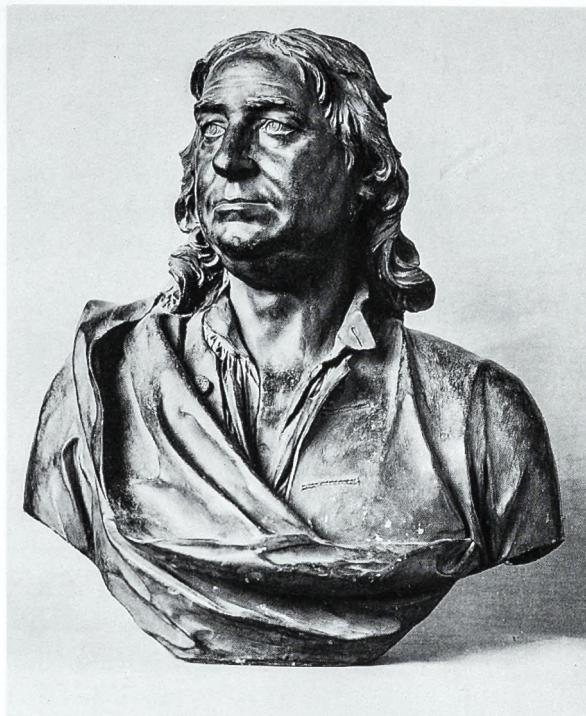


FIG. 7. Francis Smith. Terracotta. By Michael Rysbrack. Radcliffe Camera, Oxford.



FIG. 8. Nicholas Hawksmoor. Painted plaster. Attributed to Henry Cheere. All Souls College, Oxford.

construct a clear picture of the conventions employed by him and his workshop for busts. However, the Hawksmoor bust may now be seen to belong to a distinctive form of portrait bust produced by Cheere during the 1730s. Another bust with an identical drapery pattern was used for the portrait of Thomas Missing on his monument at Wooton St. Lawrence.⁴⁵ Although this is not signed this corresponds closely to a number of monuments, still very much dependent on Gibbs for their general design, that are likely to have been produced by Cheere's workshop in the 1730s.⁴⁶ The most characteristic feature of both busts is the tightly stretched drapery with deeply carved linear folds and this may be seen on a number of other works of around this date that may be plausibly associated with Cheere. Similar drapery – in particular a wide band of drapery comparable to that which is pulled vertically over the left shoulder on both the Hawksmoor and Missing busts – is seen on the figure of Bowater Vernon, that of George Cooke⁴⁷ and the bust of Sir Justinian Isham.⁴⁸ In certain respects these busts stand rather apart from other portraits attributed to Cheere, such as that of George Pitt with its softer undulating drapery, suggesting that they may be modelled by a different hand. One possible candidate is Roubiliac who, according to one source, was working in Cheere's workshop at this period. Roubiliac's involvement is indeed hinted by his use on his marble of Mrs Aufrere of the same distinctive band of drapery around the shoulder that has already been seen on the Hawksmoor bust.⁴⁹

The links between Cheere and Oxford at this period provide a possible context in which the bust of Hawksmoor might have been commissioned. If, however, the All Souls plaster is seen as a secondary version, the original need not have been commissioned for an Oxford patron or have arisen through these Oxford connections. A more likely point of contact between Cheere and Hawksmoor is Westminster for which the architect

designed the west towers in 1734 and where the sculptor had his workshop from 1726 onwards. It seems probable that the original terracotta or marble was commissioned through this Westminster network (possibly for the architect himself) and that the All Souls plaster was cast from this for display after his death in one of his principal buildings.

Still more problematic is the bust of William Adam. The two marble versions – one in the collection of John Harris and the other in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery (Fig. 9) – correspond closely to the bust on the Adam mausoleum in Greyfriars churchyard, Edinburgh. The only variation in composition between them would appear to be the use of continuous drapery across the sitter's left shoulder on two independent busts instead of sharp angular truncation on the mausoleum version; however, recent examination of the Greyfriars examples has revealed that both the sitter's left shoulder and nose have been restored. The mausoleum was designed by John Adam and erected in 1753, five years after William Adam's death.⁵⁰ No documentation exists for either the mausoleum or any of the busts. Although it is conceivable that the other two busts are somewhat later replicas of the mausoleum portrait, they might equally well be contemporary versions produced by the same sculptor as the mausoleum bust for display in the houses of the family. Such a practice was followed, for example, by the distinguished amateur architect, John Pitt of Encombe, when he apparently commissioned both a monument with a bust of his father along with another version for his house, both of them probably by Henry Cheere.⁵¹ Since the SNPG version is more crudely finished than the Harris example, it is probable that the latter was the house bust and the former a later replica.

No strikingly close parallels may be cited to support the attribution of the Adam portrait to a particular sculptor. There are, however, some similarities with various of Cheere's busts. The flurried open shirt was used by Cheere in the late 1730s on the Pitt portrait just mentioned while much the same format and head type are found on monument busts produced in the 1750s, among them that of Samuel Tufnell at Pleshey, Essex.⁵² Although it is unclear whether or not the Adam bust was posthumous, a date in the 1750s would seem reasonable and in its style it would not be wholly inconsistent with the busts from Cheere's workshop at this date.⁵³ There is, however, no documentary evidence for any link between Cheere and the Adam family so that, while the commissioning of one or more busts says much for William Adam's standing and the family's sense of its own status, the circumstances in which this occurred must remain uncertain.

More information is available about the final example to be discussed – the bust of Isaac Ware – although here too the patron and context for which it was produced are matters of speculation. Two marble versions are known, one in the Detroit Institute of Arts (Fig. 10) and the other in the National Portrait Gallery, and these differ in their quality of execution rather than in composition. The sitter may be identified not only by comparison with the portrait by Soldi in the RIBA but, as Colvin has shown, on the basis of the print of one version of the bust by J. T. Smith and the latter's anecdote about the bust in his *Nollekens and his Times*.⁵⁴ Smith describes the bust he engraved as 'one of Roubiliac's best performances' and at another point relates how his father, Nathaniel, heard Ware talk about his humble origins 'while he was sitting to Mr. Roubiliac for his bust'.⁵⁵ This suggests that the bust was executed after 1755 when Nathaniel Smith became an apprentice in Roubiliac's workshop. However, as Kerslake's discussion of the NPG version has made clear,⁵⁶ the two marbles and the bust in the engraving correspond closely in style and format to the busts executed by Roubiliac in the early 1740s, such as those of Pope and Hogarth. The apparent age of the sitter as he is shown in these representations would be consistent with a date in the early 1740s and Vertue indeed



FIG. 9. William Adam. Marble.
Attributed to Henry Cheere. Greyfriars
Churchyard, Edinburgh.



FIG. 10. Isaac Ware. Marble. By Louis
Francois Roubiliac. Detroit Institute of
Art.

refers to what was evidently a terracotta of Ware in a note of 1741 in which the busts of Pope, Hogarth and Handel are also mentioned. It is difficult to reconcile Smith's information with this evidence unless it is assumed either that another bust of Ware was produced later or that another sitting took place at which a marble based on the earlier model was reworked. However this is to be interpreted, it is clear that the composition seen in all the surviving visual images is that of the early 1740s.

Comparison of the two marble versions suggests that the Detroit example is the primary one, since the London bust shows the loss or misunderstanding of a number of details that are clear on the former.⁵⁷ Although there may have been some recutting on the sitter's left side,⁵⁸ the sharpness of the carving in other areas supports an attribution to Roubiliac. The Detroit bust was formerly in the collection of the Ingilby family at Ripley Castle and is first recorded as 'A White Marble Bust of Isaac Ware the Architect' in Sir John Ingilby's inventory of 1773.⁵⁹ No further information has been found about its acquisition by the family and there is no direct evidence to suggest that it was commissioned by them. However, the same inventory includes among the 'Small Plans of Estates &c', 'Mr Ware's Drawing of Tower designed for Haver Park &c', suggesting that the Ingilby family were patrons of Ware.

Despite this connection it seems unlikely that the marble was commissioned from Roubiliac by the Ingilby family in the early 1740s. The bust's small scale and informal, almost intimate nature make it far more probable that the terracotta was originally executed like the closely comparable portraits of Hogarth and Hayman as a bust of one of Roubiliac's friends. Ware was a member of the St. Martin's Lane circle and since Roubiliac, unlike Rysbrack, only collaborated with architects in two minor cases, their connection was social rather than professional, suggesting that the original terracotta version of this bust is best understood as one of these portraits of the sculptor's friends.

The marble could have been carved then or later for the sitter himself – the choice of the more expensive material perhaps made possible by the architect's success – or possibly made later for the Ingilby family at the time they were employing Ware. Could this perhaps have been the occasion, after 1755, to which Smith was referring?

The relatively small number of busts of architects, the disparate and partial evidence available about their setting and the circumstances in which they were produced and the speculative nature of many of the comments made above mean that any conclusions to be drawn from this brief survey must be regarded with caution. However, certain tentative observations may be made on the surviving material. All the known eighteenth century busts of architects were made (or at least modelled) between about 1720 and 1755. Most of them were apparently produced within the context of a network of professional associations involving architect and sculptor and a striking number were executed by Rysbrack at a time when he was collaborating closely with architects in connection with monuments or sculpture for interiors. Unlike most sculptural portraits of sitters within a sculptor's social or professional circle, the majority – if not all – of these busts were not executed merely as terracottas but were carved in marble. Some were evidently made for the sitters themselves, others may have belonged to patrons and a number were placed in, and were possibly intended for, buildings designed or erected by the architects themselves. Despite these similarities in their material, commissioning and setting, it is nonetheless striking that they do not resemble each other in appearance and employ a wide variety of conventions.

The busts discussed here would therefore appear to form a distinct group with many common features as far as the circumstances of their production and use are concerned. On the other hand, in format and composition they appear very different from each other, suggesting that there was no one type of bust that was considered appropriate for the sculptural representation of an architect.

Comparison with the far more numerous painted portraits of architects serves to bring this into sharper focus. Soldi's portrait of Ware, for example, was executed about ten years after the Roubiliac bust and, in addition to including the figure of his daughter, presents the architect pointing to a design for an elevation with a building in process of construction in the background. This image follows one of various standard types of composition used for portraits of architects, almost all of which include attributes – a plan or dividers, for instance – or an architectural background that refer directly to the sitter's profession. As we have seen, comparable profession-specific elements are entirely lacking on the sculptural images.

Busts, however, had very different functions from painted portraits, carrying a different set of associations and being viewed with a different set of assumptions. Unlike two-dimensional portraits they existed in the spectator's space and in this sense – as the contemporary critical commonplace about statues appearing alive makes clear – were more real. But because of both the need to mask the truncation across the chest and the use of costume that, if not classical, always differed appreciably from contemporary dress, they were at the same time more artificial. Above all they registered differently to the spectator by showing the human face not in flesh tones as on canvas but in white marble. The material itself carried associations with memorial sculpture, and this had connotations of commemoration in a public setting and the perpetuation of an individual's qualities and achievements in a noble and enduring form.⁶⁰

Although some of these busts may have been owned by the sitters themselves, a number – Gibbs, Smith, Hewett and Hawksmoor – were during the eighteenth century placed within the architects' own buildings which provided the most appropriate public setting for sculpture with this commemorative function. The use of a bust in this way



FIG. 11. William Cheselden. Terracotta. By Louis Francis Roubiliac. Royal College of Surgeons, London.

converted the building into a monument to its designer's – and no longer merely the patron's – fame. The juxtaposition of an architect and his buildings seen in the Adam mausoleum, where the bust of William Adam is placed above a sarcophagus with a relief depicting Hopetoun House and Chatelherault,⁶¹ was repeated on a far grander scale in Oxford when the busts of Gibbs and Smith were placed inside the Radcliffe Camera.

The white statuary marble in which these busts are carved also had strong associations with antique sculpture and the classical tradition. The busts may therefore be regarded as one element in the discourse of classicism as it was being developed in neo-Palladianism. This is indeed made clear by the inclusion in the frontispieces of Lord Burlington's edition of the *Quattro Libri* of the two different busts of Palladio mentioned earlier. Although there is – perhaps surprisingly – no bust recorded of Burlington himself, most of the sitters are associated in some way with this movement and the period during which they were executed is that in which neo-Palladianism became established as the dominant architectural style.

Such factors may in part account for the common circumstances in which these busts were produced but the question of the diversity of types employed remains. Quite apart from the absence of any attributes to suggest the sitters' profession, no consistency of convention can be discerned other than a certain tendency towards informal dress that seems often to have been preferred by – but was in no way confined to – sitters who considered themselves virtuosi. For a similar diversity in sculptural conventions we must turn to the many contemporary busts of surgeons, physicians and apothecaries who in the mid eighteenth century formed an emerging professional group in many ways comparable to that of the architects. Here too we find a considerable number of busts which were commissioned by the sitters and likewise lack any features that denote a specific profession. Characteristic of such portraits is Roubiliac's bust of the surgeon William Cheselden (Fig. 11). The commissioning of similar types of portrait bust by both

medical men and architects is one of the many parallels that may be seen between the emergence of the medical profession and the rise of the architect. The placing – albeit at a rather later date – of the busts of Gibbs and Smith inside the building on the outside of which stands Rysbrack's statue of Dr John Radcliffe, the most successful of all the eighteenth century medical men and the University's benefactor, may therefore be regarded as an appropriate and significant conjunction.

The rise of such professional groups as been examined in some detail by Geoffrey Holmes who has suggested that 'the most important criterion of all, and the decisive one' in the establishment of a profession's identity was that its members were '*perceiving*' their own function as more of a professional one than a commercial one'. The portrait busts commissioned by these groups form a telling, if somewhat ambiguous, example of such self-perception. While they might perceive themselves as having certain professional skills – in the case of architects, supervisory and artistic rather than mechanical – what was important as far as the portraits are concerned was the claim to gentility and politeness that the wealth accruing from the use of these skills made possible. Accordingly their self-presentation in the form of portrait busts emphasised their position (as they saw it) in the social hierarchy rather than their specialist abilities.

Predominantly a sign of status and form of polite display, busts had only recently begun to be commissioned by non-aristocratic sitters and so still carried aristocratic associations. To commission a bust was therefore to make a claim about one's social standing and to emulate a practice followed by those of a higher rank. The appropriation of the painted portrait as an image of politeness by those who would not formerly have been considered gentlemen was already common by the 1730s⁶² but because of their cost and process of execution, sculptural images were less widely available. By 1738 Benjamin Rackstraw's trade card states that he 'Takes off Faces for the Life & forms then into Busts to an exact likeness & with as little trouble as sitting to be Shaved'⁶³ and five years earlier the models in wax and terracotta sold with the effects of 'Mr. Harre Statuary and Carver' included those for 'Busto's' as well as for 'Chimney Pieces, Girandoles & Consoles . . . Basso & Alto Relievo's, Monuments, Terms Friezes etc, large Frames for glasses, Picture frames of various sizes, Festoons off Fruit and Flowers, and other ornaments finished'.⁶⁴ The inclusion of busts among the ornamental sculpture being sold by this section of the sculpture trade indicates the extent of the market for sculptural portraits. However, the execution of a bust in marble was a more costly undertaking and by the middle of the century the commissioning of a version in marble was still restricted to a relatively wealthy market. The striking feature of the surviving busts of architects is that, though most of the sitters were of quite humble origins, all of their portraits were executed in marble. By commissioning such images they were not so much defining themselves as members of a particular professional group as claiming a certain social status. It is therefore not surprising that the conventions employed for their portraits were not new and distinctive but well-established ones already used by the aristocracy. What is significant is that architects such as Ware or Smith could afford busts and felt able to adopt the same sculptural types for their images as were used by those with more established positions in society.⁶⁵

These various factors may account for the production and appearance of architects' busts during the second quarter of the eighteenth century but the question remains as to why there are no recorded portrait busts of any neo-classical architects. Given Robert Adam's concern with the display of sculpture in, for example, the sculpture gallery at Newby, Chambers' close collaboration with Wilton at Somerset House and Sir Robert Taylor's practice as both architect and sculptor, why are there no busts of these sitters?⁶⁶ The answer may lie partly in a perceptible shift in popularity away from the sculptural

portrait in favour of the painted portrait during the second half of the century. But the striking absence of busts of neo-classical architects may also perhaps be connected with the different role that sculpture played in the neo-classical interior. Although sculptural decoration formed an important element in many of Adam's rooms, this consisted largely of low reliefs in plaster that contrast markedly with the monumental reliefs and chimney pieces executed by Rysbrack twenty-five years earlier. The three-dimensional and more obviously sculptural elements in Adam's interiors took the form of free-standing figures or groups, often placed within a room designed expressly for their display and carved as independent works in their own right. Although still of importance, sculpture had ceased to be the dominant and fully integral part of the interior that it had been in neo-Palladian houses and the sculptor no longer played quite the same central role or worked so closely and directly with the architect.

The busts of architects produced between about 1720 and 1755, despite their diverse appearance, would therefore seem to form a distinctive group, the commissioning and making of which provide a telling instance of both the significance of portrait sculpture and the changing role of the architect in English culture at this period.

NOTES

1. This paper is based on work at present in progress on eighteenth century portrait sculpture. I am grateful for helpful comments from Kathy Adler, David Bindman, John Harris, Alan Morton, Tessa Murdoch, Anthony Radcliffe, Charles Saumarez Smith, Michael Snodin, Jacob Simon and others mentioned below.

2. Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, 1747, pp. 139-140.

3. *Walpole Society*, XXII (Vertue III) (hereafter Vertue), p. 146.

4. As Charles Saumarez Smith has suggested to me, the bust of Dean Aldrich at Christ Church, Oxford (Mrs R. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of the Portraits in the possession of the University . . . of Oxford*, III, Oxford, 1925, p. 42) might be included in this group but is not discussed here since the image presents him as a cleric and his role as an architect was probably considered secondary to his position as Dean. Nevertheless contemporary appreciation of his standing as an architect is evident from the proposal to commemorate him with a statue, never executed, 'in the middle of the area of Peckwater with a model of Peckwater in his hand' (Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on Manuscripts at Welbeck*, vii, p. 68, cited by Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 41.)

5. H.M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 1978, p. 29. As well as relying heavily on Colvin's introduction, this paper also makes use of discussions of the architectural profession in F. Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, 1961, B. Kaye, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain*, 1960, and J. Wilton-Ely, 'The Rise of the Professional Architect in England', in S. K. Kustof (ed.), *The Architect*, New York, 1977, pp. 180-208.

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 159, cited by Colvin, *op. cit.* p.19.

7. For the collaboration of architects and sculp-

tors see M. Webb 'Architect and Sculptor', *Architectural Review*, CXXIII (1958), p. 330, T. Friedman, 'Rysbrack and Gibbs', in K. Eustace (ed.), *Michael Rysbrack*, Bristol, 1982, pp. 16-22, and T. Friedman, *James Gibbs*, London and New Haven, 1984, pp. 87-102.

8. Although this monument was formerly attributed to Peter Scheemakers the handling of the drapery is closer to that on contemporary work by Sir Henry Cheere and a payment of £100 to Cheere from Archer's account at Hoare's Bank on 19th January 1739 (kindly brought to my attention by Ingrid Roscoe) may well be connected with this work. The source of the right hand figure is one of two sibyls engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael. (For this engraving and the figures on a sarcophagus relief used by Marcantonio as a source see R. O. Rubenstein, 'A Bacchic sarcophagus in the Renaissance', *British Museum Yearbook*, I (1976), p. 121.) A terracotta model for the left hand figure is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (A11-1934); although Cheere's sale on 26-27th March 1770 included numerous models, very few are identified and this piece is the only example that may be securely linked with Cheere.

9. Tufnell died in 1719 but the fine for the erection of the monument was paid in 1726 so that the monument must be later than this date. Other monuments to architects or master builders include those to Edward Strong in St. Peter's, St. Albans (W. H. Godfrey, *English Mural Monuments & Tombstones*, London, 1916, pl. 5) and to Joseph Patience (d. 1797) in All Hallows, London Wall.

10. The various versions are discussed in my catalogue entries National Gallery of Art, *Treasure Houses of Britain*, (G. Jackson-Stops ed.) (exhibition catalogue), Washington, 1985 (hereafter *Treasure Houses*), cat. nos. 143-4. For the use of images of Jones and Palladio by William Adam and his sons,

see I. G. Brown, 'William Adam's Seal: Palladio, Inigo Jones and the image of Vitruvius Scoticus', *Architectural Heritage*, I (1990) (forthcoming issue on William Adam). I am most grateful to Iain Brown for sending me the typescript of his illuminating paper which complements my study.

11. For a description of them at this date by a visiting Frenchman see J. Physick, *Designs for English Sculpture 1680-1860*, 1969, p. 79.

12. *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

13. R. Wittkower, 'English Neoclassicism and the Vicissitudes of Palladio's *Quattro Libri*', *Palladio and English Neopalladianism*, 1974, pp. 72-112.

14. This is also used on the title page of Hoppus and Cole's *Andrea Palladio's Architecture*, 1733, for which see Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

15. J. Kerslake, *National Portrait Gallery, Early Georgian Portraits*, I, 1977, 96-98.

16. *Op. cit.*, pp. 15-18.

17. *Of Building* (B. L., Add MS 32540), cited by Colvin, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

18. 13th May 1842, lot 99. The descriptions here and in the earlier account of Strawberry Hill make no mention of a pedestal. Although, as Friedman points out (*op. cit.*, p. 334, n. 61), this follows a Gibbs design it is likely to date from the time of its acquisition by St-Martin-in-the-Fields.

19. *A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole*, Strawberry Hill, 1784, p. 42.

20. H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, 1771, p. 96.

21. 28th March 1783, lot 88.

22. J. Harris, 'Harley, the Patriot Collector', *Apollo* CXXII (1985), pp. 198-207.

23. Cited by T. Friedman, *op. cit.*

24. Earl of Oxford's sale at Mr. Cock's, 8th March 1741/2, lot 26 (Bridgeman, bought by Lord Essex), 9th March, lot 32 (Wootton, bought by Hay).

25. 9th March, 1741/2, lot 31, bought by Hay.

26. Fenton's dedicatory poem, placed opposite the engraving of the bust refers to it in the following terms: 'Inspir'd with life by SCULPTURE'S happy toil,/The Marble breathes, and softens with your smile; Prior to receive the form, by fate design'd/The fairest model of the fairer kind.' (I am grateful to Simon Jervis for kindly drawing my attention to this engraving.) The bust itself is discussed by M. Webb, *Michael Rysbrack*, 1954, (hereafter Webb, *Rysbrack*), pp. 52-3. It is mentioned in Virtue's list of Rysbrack's busts in 1732, together with 'a profil' of the same sitter (*Walpole Society*, XXII, p. 56).

27. Virtue, p. 57: Webb, *Rysbrack*, p. 61. This list of Rysbrack's busts also includes portraits of Bridgeman, Wootton and Dahl and it is conceivable that these too were commissioned by Harley. Thomas is one of the figures represented, together with Rysbrack, Gibbs, Dahl, Virtue, Wootton and Bridgeman in Gavin Hamilton's group portrait 'A Conversation of Virtuosi . . . at the Kings Armes' in the National Portrait Gallery (for which see J. Kerslake, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-2). Webb points out that many of those shown here sat to Rysbrack for their busts but still more striking is that fact that almost all of them enjoyed the patronage of the Earl of Oxford. This may simply testify to the importance

of Harley's role as a patron but it is perhaps worth considering whether this was conceived originally as a group portrait of Harley's artists. However, Virtue's account of the picture's origin as a means of promoting 'the Interest of Mr. Hamilton' would seem to speak against this. For Thomas see *The Diary of Humphrey Wanley*, (C. E. Wright and R. C. Wright, eds.), II, 1966, p. 463; Wanley's diary is a particularly valuable source for the connections of those in Harley's patronage.

28. *Walpole Society*, XXII (1934 (Virtue III), p. 13.

29. Lane Poole, *op. cit.*, 1912, no. 685.

30. T. Friedman, *op. cit.*, p. 101. A bust of Prior in classical dress is shown in Gibbs's unexecuted design for the poet's monument, for which see J. Physick, 'Westminster Abbey: Designs for Poets' Corner and a new Roubiliac in the Cloister', *Church Monuments IV* (1989), pp. 56-8. A bust closely related to that shown in the drawing is in the hall at Alscot Park, Warwickshire.

31. Sotheby's, 22nd April 1986, lot 72.

32. Eustace, *op. cit.*, p. 75. A bust of uncertain date showing Gibbs as an older man is recorded by Lane Poole (*op. cit.*, I, 1912, p. 226, no. 686) on the stairs of the Radcliffe Camera. Gibbs was also apparently represented at the Duke of Argyll's Whitton Place, Middlesex, the sale of which (Christie's, 21st May 1795) included: "Cenotaph, containing Marble Medallions of Bernini, Gibbs, &c. and Busts of Sir Christopher Wren and Buenorati."

33. Sotheby's 17th July, 1988, lot 278. A detailed account of the literature about this bust is given in the full catalogue entry by Gordon Balderston and I am grateful to him for making his material available to me. The iconography of Smith (including the Winstanley portrait on which the Rysbrack busts may be based) is discussed in A. Gomme, 'A Portrait of Francis Smith of Warwick', *Bodleian Library Record*, XI (1985), pp. 277-279 and H. M. Colvin, 'Francis Smith of Warwick 1672-1738', *Warwickshire History*, II (1970), pp. 3-13; S. Gillam, 'A Bust by Rysbrack - A Postscript', *Bodleian Library Record* XIII (1989), pp. 172-5.

34. Webb, *Rysbrack*, pp. 180, 225, pl. 89; E. G. Tibbits, 'A Bust by Rysbrack', *Bodleian Library Record*, I, (1941), pp. 230-234.

35. For Hiorn see A. Gomme, 'William & David Hiorn 1712-1776; ?-1758', *The Architectural Outsiders*, (R. Brown ed.), 1985, pp. 45-62, 195-198. Gomme points out (p. 297, n. 30) that at Packington – one of the projects taken over by the Hiorns after Smith's death – a portrait of Francis Smith was in 1739 framed for the owner, Lord Guernsey.

36. G. Holmes, *Augustan England, Professions, State and Society, 1680-1730*, 1982, p. 25.

37. Christie's, 24th April 1986, lot 89.

38. Langford & Son, 20th April 1765, lot 28, 'One of the late Mr. Ripley, Architect' (under 'Busts in Marble').

39. Virtue, p. 56. This was perhaps intended to be paired with a bust of his wife since below the entry 'Sr. Tho. Hewet Surveyr -- a marble' is written 'his lady --- a marble'.

40. Virtue, p. 33. No reference is made here to the bust of his wife (for which see the note above).

41. M. Baker, 'Sculpture for Palladian Interiors', in Eustace, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-41.
42. For the marked rise in country house building during this period see C. Saumarez Smith, 'Supply and demand in English Country House Building 1660-1740', *Oxford Art Journal*, 11 (1988), pp. 1-9.
43. M. Webb, 'Henry Cheere, Sculptor and Businessman, and John Cheere', *Burlington Magazine*, C (1958), (hereafter Webb, 'Cheere') p. 233. Dr. J. S. G. Simmons has kindly informed me that no documentation for the bust can be found in the college records. The bust is identified as Hawksmoor in John Gutch's edition of Anthony A Wood, *History and Antiquities of the colleges and halls of the University of Oxford*, Oxford, 1786, p. 242 (cited by K. Downes, *Hawksmoor*, 1979, p. 9.)
44. Apparently no monument was erected to Hawksmoor so that the original version is most likely to have been a house bust. It could possibly have passed to the architect's descendants so that the absence of any reference in the sale catalogue does not preclude the possibility of a terracotta or marble belonging to Hawksmoor himself. The architect's gravestone (for which see Downes, *op. cit.*, p. 6, n. 13) was carved by Andrews Jelfe, a mason who lived in Westminster and may well have had links with Cheere.
45. The Missing monument is among the considerable number of monuments newly attributed to Cheere by Matthew Craske in the course of his research on the works produced by this workshop and the networks of connections between patrons and sculptor. I am grateful to Matthew Craske for discussing his material with me and for drawing my attention to the bust of Missing.
46. For these Gibbs-derived works see M. Baker, 'Sir Henry Cheere and the response to the rococo in English sculpture', *The Rococo in England*, (C. W. Hind ed.), 1986, p. 159.
47. For the Vernon and Cooke monuments see *idem.*, pp. 146-8.
48. For the Isham bust see Royal Academy of Arts, *The First Hundred Years of the Royal Academy 1769-1868*, (exhibition catalogue), London, 1951, p. 22, cat. no. 16. Although this bust, which is mentioned in his widow's will, has usually been attributed to Scheemakers on the basis of Mary, Lady Isham's description of it in the nineteenth century and its presumed relationship with the bust on Sir Justinian Isham's monument, it differs very markedly from the monument portrait and from the many signed and documented busts by Scheemakers.
49. Victoria & Albert Museum, *Rococo* (M. Snodin ed.) (exhibition catalogue), 1984, cat. no. S9 (dated 1748 and not 1747 as in the first printing of the catalogue). As Matthew Craske has pointed out to me, it may be significant that Esdaile's attribution to Roubiliac (for which see E. A. Esdaile, *Louis Francois Roubiliac*, 1928, p. 120) of the monument to Thomas Hooke, which is the only other monument of any significance in the same church at Wootton St. Lawrence, rests on the vicar's mention of a reference to Roubiliac in the parish records. This has not been further investigated but could perhaps be connected with the Missing monument.
50. Although the bust does not appear to be close to the painted portrait by Aikman (J. Fleming, *Robert Adam and his circle in Edinburgh and Rome*, 1962, pl. 2) and the mausoleum apparently underwent at least some alteration by Commissioner Adam, William's grandson, the roundel in which it is set and the sarcophagus beneath are clearly visible in Robert Adam's watercolour in Sir John Soane's Museum (*ibid.*, pl. 40). I am grateful to Iain Brown and Helen Smailes for discussing these portraits with me, to James Simpson for making available to me his unpublished material on William Adam and to John Harris for allowing me to see his version.
51. For the documentation see my catalogue entry in Victoria and Albert Museum, *Rococo*, (M. Snodin ed.), exhibition catalogue, 1984, p. 228, cat. no. S1.
52. For which see Webb, 'Cheere', fig. 25.
53. The mausoleum portrait rests on a low square socle of a type not dissimilar from that used on busts associated with either Henry or John Cheere such as the leads of Dr. and Mrs. Salmon and the Duke of Cumberland in the Victoria and Albert Museum, for which see M. Whinney, *English Sculpture 1720-1830*, 1971, pp. 81-91 and 94, where they are attributed respectively to Roubiliac and an anonymous sculptor. The large turned socle on the Scottish National Portrait Gallery version appears to be a nineteenth century addition.
54. H. M. Colvin, 'Roubiliac's Bust of Isaac Ware', *Burlington Magazine*, XCII (1955) pp. 151-2; J. T. Smith, *Nollekens and his Times*, II, 1828, p. 208n.
55. *Idem.*, p. 207.
56. J. Kerslake, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-95.
57. For example, the folded edge of the coat on the sitter's right and the folds and tassel of the cap. For the Detroit bust see A. P. Darr, 'European and decorative arts acquired by the Detroit Institute of Arts 1878-87', *Burlington Magazine*, CXXX (1988), pp. 497-8.
58. It is possible that the bust has perhaps suffered some water damage and been slightly recut on this side. I am grateful to John Larson for his helpful comments about this.
59. *An inventory of Household Goods, Furniture, Implements . . . and other articles late the Property of Sir John Ingilby of Ripley in the County of York*, manuscript, 1773.
60. There is no surviving evidence to suggest that any of these particular busts was made for presentation by the sitter to a friend. The gift of a portrait bust as a sign of close friendship is a well documented eighteenth century practice and may be said to be one of the functions of sculptural portraiture at this period. Bouchardon's bust of Lord Hervey, for example, was probably given to his friend Sir Stephen Fox who showed him 'an affection and friendship I am as incapable of forgetting, as any nature but his is incapable of feeling'. (For the documentation on this see my entry in *Treasure Houses*, cat. no. 239.)
61. Compare also the monument to Dean Willcocks in Westminster Abbey though here the west

front of the Abbey is shown on the sarcophagus but without any bust.

62. This is discussed in David H. Solkin, 'Great Pictures or Great Men? Reynolds, Male Portraiture, and the Power of Art', *Oxford Art Journal*, 9 (1986), pp. 42-49.

63. For Rackstraw's trade card see M. Snodin, 'Trade cards and the English Rococo', *The Rococo in England*, (C. W. Hind ed.), 1986, p. 86.

64. *Public Advertiser*, 5th November 1753. 'Busto's' here may refer to reduction of busts of worthies rather than busts of contemporaries executed from the life.

65. Perhaps the adoption of hitherto aristocratic forms might help to explain why Burlington appears to have commissioned no bust of himself. His portrait by Knapton (for which see Francis Russell's entry in *Treasure Houses*, cat. no. 139) does, however, include the Rysbrack bust of Inigo Jones.

66. As I. G. Brown points out ('The resemblance of a great genius': Commemorative Portraits of

Robert Adam', *Burlington Magazine*, CXX (1978), p. 446), a bust of 'Mr. Adam' is included in J. T. Smith's list of Nolleken's works and a 'bust of Mr. R. Adam in plaster' by Hoskins was sold at Robert Adam's sale at Christie's on 22nd May 1818, lot 10. However, as Hoskins worked primarily as a modeller for Wedgwood it remains uncertain as to whether this was a full scale portrait bust. The identity of the Adam in Smith's list is unclear though Robert Adam is the most likely candidate, as Brown suggests. If so Nolleken's portrait is the one recorded eighteenth century bust of an architect produced after 1755. Further information about the iconography of Robert Adam is given in John Kerslake's letter to the *Burlington Magazine*, CXX (1978), p. 762. Since this paper was delivered, a medallion of Inigo Jones has been published by M. J. H. Liversedge, "Two Portrait Medallions by Michael Rysbrack", *Burlington Magazine*, (1990), pp. 870-873.