

The making of portrait busts in the mid-eighteenth century: Roubiliac, Scheemakers and Trinity College, Dublin*

WHILE the workshop practices of portrait painters in eighteenth-century England have received some attention, little has been written about the procedures employed by portrait sculptors or about how these conditioned the use of conventions and the representation of individual likeness.¹ By examining a problematic series of busts commissioned for the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, this article will outline the diverse practices involved in the production of portrait sculpture in mid-eighteenth-century England and suggest the implications these may have for understanding the operation of the sculpture trade as well as the transactions between sculptor and sitter.²

Among the many marble busts that now line the Long Room of the Library are fourteen ancient and modern worthies which form a distinct set.³ In 1743 a sum of £500 was bequeathed by Dr Claudius Gilbert, the Vice-Provost, 'for the purchase of busts of men eminent for learning to adorn the library'. Some at least of these must have been in place by March 1749, when it was reported that Roubiliac's bust of Swift, which was not acquired out of the Gilbert funds, was 'to be placed in the College Library, among the heads of other men eminent for genius and learning'.⁴ Although the busts have been displayed on plinths abutting the projecting book cases since the enlargement of the library in 1858, if not before,⁵ they were earlier placed on the gallery, as is shown in James Malton's view of 1793 (Fig.36). The fourteen marble busts acquired as a result of Gilbert's bequest consisted of six ancients (Homer, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes and Cicero) and six moderns (Shakespeare, Bacon, Milton,



36. *View of the Long Room, Trinity College, Dublin*, by James Malton. 1793. Engraving, 27 by 37.5 cm. From: J. MALTON: *A picturesque and descriptive view of the city of Dublin*, Dublin [1794]. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

Newton, Locke and Boyle), plus two benefactors (Archbishop Usher and the 8th Earl of Pembroke).⁶ Unlike the almost contemporary busts in the Codrington Library at All Souls College, Oxford, the Gilbert busts served not to illustrate the college's own past but rather, like other sets of library portraits, to provide images that might, in Naudé's words, 'at once make judgement of the wit of authors by their Books, and by their bodies [and] . . . excite a generous and well-born Soul to follow their track'.⁷

*This article forms part of a project about sculptural portraiture in eighteenth-century England and complements the chapter about the portrait sculpture in the Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge, cited at note 7 below. For help of various kinds I am grateful to Kathy Adler, Gordon Balderston, David Bindman, Matthew Craske, Aileen Dawson, Jane Farrington, Peter Fox, Anne-Marie Diffley, John Kenworthy-Browne, John Larson, Bernard Meehan, David McKitterick, Tessa Murdoch, Ingrid Roscoe, Timothy Stevens, Marjorie Trusted and Phillip Ward-Jackson; also to the Conway Library, Sotheby's, Christie's, the Earl of Pembroke, the Yale Center for British Art, the British Museum and the Victoria & Albert Museum for help with the photographs reproduced here.

¹Painters' practices are discussed by D. MANNINGS: 'At the Portrait Painters – How the painters of the eighteenth century conducted their studio and sittings', *History Today*, XXVII [1977], pp.279–87; H. BELSEY: 'A Visit to the Studios of Gainsborough and Reynolds', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, CXXIX [1987], pp.107–09; and M. POINTON: *Hanging the Head*, New Haven and London [1993], pp.36–52. The relatively sparse amount of evidence published about eighteenth-century sculptors' practices is to be found mainly in M. GREENACRE: 'A Technical Examination of Some Terracottas by Rysbrack' in K. EUSTAGE: *Michael Rysbrack Sculptor 1694–1770*, exh.cat. Bristol Museum and Art Gallery [1982], and J. LARSON: 'Techniques de la sculpture en terre cuite au XVIIIe siècle' in G. SHERF, ed.: *Clodion et la sculpture française de la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris [1994], pp.487–501. For a detailed discussion of Roubiliac's procedures for making monuments see D. BINDMAN and M. BAKER: *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument. Sculpture as Theatre*, New Haven and London [1995], chapters 14–17.

²For examples of the options offered by sculptors to patrons see T. FRIEDMAN: *James Gibbs*, New Haven and London [1984], p.101, and M. BAKER: 'Portrait busts of architects in 18th century Britain' in C. HIND, ed.: *New Light on English Neo-Palladianism*, London [1990], pp.14–30.

³For the library and its portraits see A. CROOKSHANK: 'The Long Room' in P. FOX, ed.: *Treasures of the Library Trinity College Dublin*, Dublin [1986] pp.16–28. For fuller details of individual portraits see W.G. STRICKLAND: *A descriptive catalogue of the pictures, busts and statues in Trinity College, Dublin and in the Provost's House*, Dublin [1916], and A. CROOKSHANK and D. WEBB: *Paintings and Sculptures in Trinity College, Dublin*, Dublin [1990],

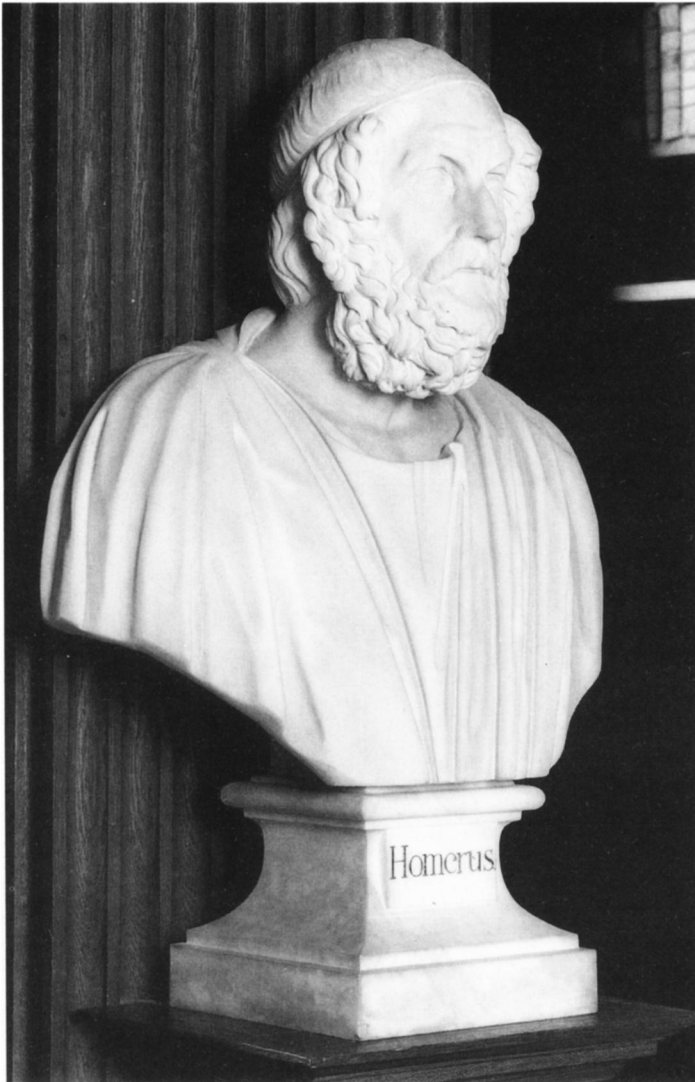
which has provided an invaluable basis for my discussion here.

⁴*Faulkner's Dublin Journal* [21st March 1749].

⁵It is possible that the repositioning of the busts on the main floor of the library had taken place before 1858 since they are shown in the new position in Sean McManus's view of the Long Room of before 1858 (for which see CROOKSHANK and WEBB, *op.cit.* at note 3 above, p.177). The lengthy description in an anonymous article on 'Patrick Delany D.D.' in the *Dublin University Magazine* LII [November 1858], pp.578–86 which seems to be of the library before it was modified, refers to the busts of modern figures from the College's history lining the right hand side of the room and being placed on plinths 'at each division of the sunken recesses'. Several busts of eighteenth-century date were given to the college during the nineteenth century, and now form a significant part of the collection in the Long Room.

⁶In his commentary on the unnumbered plate JAMES MALTON (*A Picturesque and Descriptive View of Dublin*, London [1794]) indicates that other busts of benefactors or illustrious members of the college added later in the eighteenth century were evidently viewed as part of the series. He specifies that the *Homer* and *Socrates* were placed on the gallery at the door end, and that the busts were ranged along the sides of the gallery, divided between the ancients and the moderns (although there were, in fact, too few of the former) and arranged in approximately chronological order so that the donors to the library followed the authors. On the left were: Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Cicero, Thomas Earl of Pembroke, Gilbert, Baldwin and Clayton; and on the right, Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, Usher, Boyle, Locke, Newton, Swift and Delany.

⁷G. NAUDÉ: *Instructions concerning Erecting of a Library*, tr. J. Evelyn, London [1661], Ch.8. Compare the *Dublin University Magazine* article cited at note 5 above: 'for, as there are books for the mind, so are there busts for the memory – and some of them as delineatory of the outward physical features of Ireland's learned sons, as the volumes they appear to sentinel are delineatory of their inward mental faculties'. For a discussion of the use of busts in libraries see M. BAKER: 'The Portrait Sculpture' in D. MCKITTERICK, ed.: *The Making of the Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge*, Cambridge [1995], pp.110–37.



37. *Homer*, by Peter Scheemakers. Marble, 78 cm. high (Trinity College, Dublin).

With the exception of the oblique reference to heads of other men made in the 1749 report about the Swift portrait, there are no contemporary documents for the Gilbert busts. They are, however, mentioned in Horace Walpole's account of Roubiliac, which stated that the sculptor owed the commission 'to execute half the busts in Trinity College, Dublin' to a recommendation from Sir Edward Walpole.⁸ Although Stubbs's 1889 *History of the University of Dublin* attributes the marbles to Roubiliac,⁹ following Walpole, Malton had not included Roubiliac's name among the sculptors responsible for the busts present in 1794, which were 'by Smyth, Cunningham, and Skeemakers; and the great part were only the

Sculpture's [*sic*] initials, P.S.F'.¹⁰ The Shakespeare bust is indeed fully signed 'Peter Scheemakers', and seven others – *Usher*, *Homer* (Fig.37), *Demosthenes*, *Cicero*, *Milton*, *Locke*, and *Pembroke* – are signed 'P.S.Ft.' On this basis modern commentators have attributed to Scheemakers all the fourteen busts purchased with Gilbert's bequest thus (implicitly at least) following Katherine Esdaile's suggestion that Walpole's published remark was based on a confusion between Trinity College, Dublin, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where Roubiliac's authorship of most of the marbles in the Wren Library had always been remembered.¹¹

Recent work on Roubiliac's procedures as a portrait sculptor and disparities in form and technical features between the eight marbles signed by Scheemakers and the six others that constitute the Gilbert set suggest that Walpole's reference to Roubiliac deserves more serious consideration. The six unsigned busts – of Aristotle, Socrates, Plato, Bacon, Newton, and Boyle – not only differ from the Scheemakers marbles in the way in which they are truncated, having regularly incurved sides, but also have various other features that are found on documented busts by Roubiliac. Two of them – the *Newton* (Fig.39) and the *Bacon* – are recognisable as versions of busts known to have been executed by Roubiliac for other patrons. The Dublin *Newton* follows a terracotta model (now in the Royal Greenwich Observatory) commissioned from Roubiliac by John Conduitt, on which were also based the marble given in 1738 to the Royal Society (Fig.41) and then the version commissioned by Daniel Lock for Trinity College, Cambridge in 1751.¹²

A different type of connexion with Roubiliac occurs in the Dublin *Plato* and *Aristotle*. Although no documented versions of these subjects by Roubiliac are known, each has a drapery pattern used on busts of other sitters. The arrangement of Plato's drapery (Fig.38) corresponds exactly to that used for several versions of Roubiliac's bust of Pope (Fig.40), with only a slight modification to the fold on the left of the lower chest to allow for the elongation of the bust. Similarly, the drapery pattern used on the Dublin *Aristotle* (Fig.42) may be seen, for example, on Roubiliac's bust of Sir Andrew Fountaine at Wilton (Fig.44). The Dublin *Socrates* and *Boyle* cannot be paralleled so precisely but the configuration of folds on both is closely comparable to that found on many Roubiliac busts, particularly those of the early 1740s.¹³

Taken together, these connexions indicate that models by Roubiliac must have provided a starting point for the six unsigned busts associated with Gilbert's bequest, and it therefore becomes more plausible that Roubiliac was indeed involved in the commission, as Horace Walpole stated. One possibility is that Roubiliac may have supplied models that

⁸H. WALPOLE: *Anecdotes of painting in England*, Strawberry Hill [1765–71], IV, p.99. Walpole's note in his 'Book of Materials' (I, pp.187–88) at the Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington, CT, states more fully that 'Scheemaker was to execute a great number of heads of ancient and modern great men for Trinity coll. Dublin. Sir E. Walpole procured half of them to be done by Roubiliac, which first made him known'.

⁹J.W. STUBBS: *The History of the University of Dublin*, Dublin and London [1889], pp.178–79.

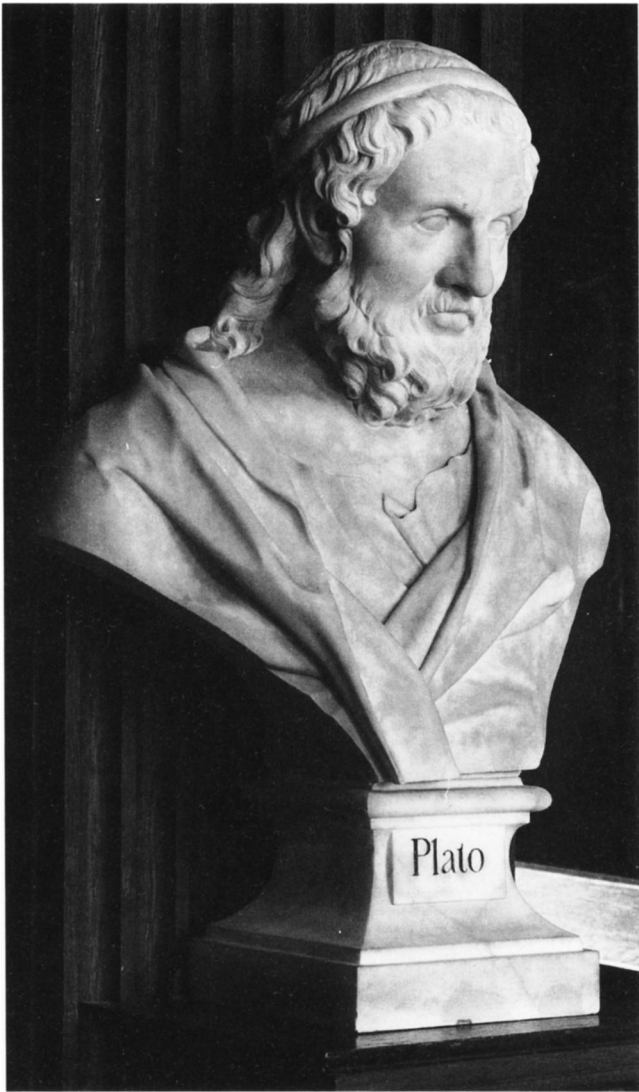
¹⁰MALTON, *loc.cit.* at note 6 above.

¹¹STRICKLAND, *op.cit.* at note 4 above, p.79; CROOKSHANK and WEBB (*op.cit.* at note 3 above, pp.149–52), for example, state that 'all are attributed to Peter Scheemakers', adding that 'some, both signed and unsigned, are poor in quality and clearly workshop pieces'. K. ESDAILE (*Louis François Roubiliac*, London [1928], p.54) suggests that 'Horace mixed his notes, and . . . combined the different commissions into one inaccurate sentence'.

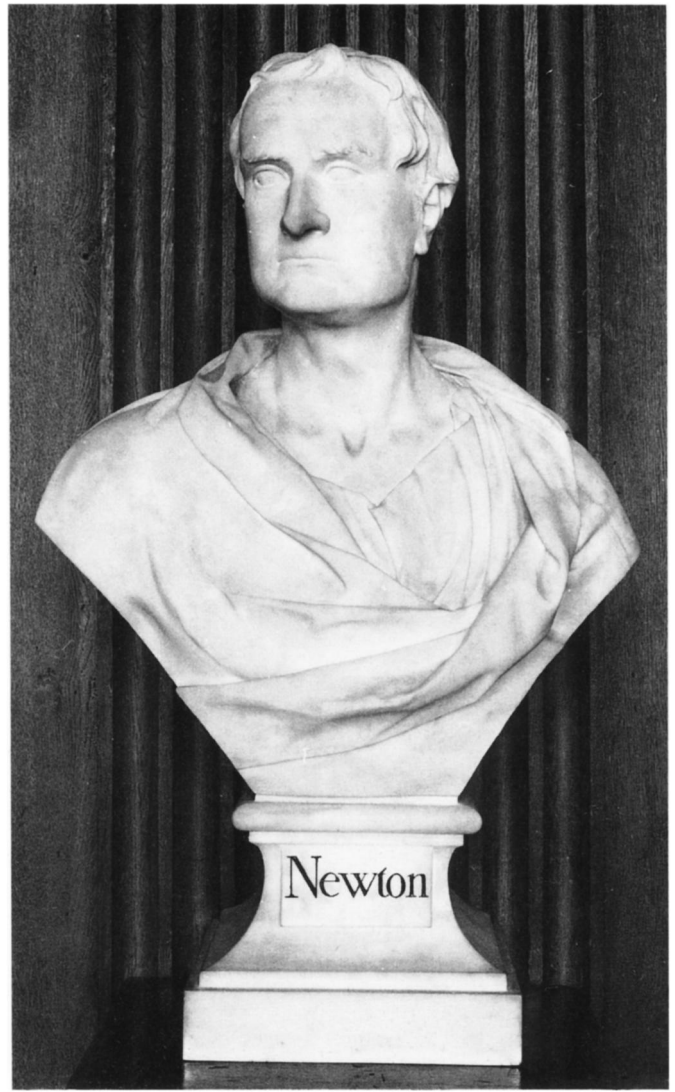
¹²For the Royal Society marble see notes 38 and 41 below. The terracotta now at the

Royal Greenwich Observatory, Cambridge, was first recognised as a terracotta model rather than a plaster by HUGH TAIT (*British Museum Quarterly* [1965], news supplement, pp.1–3). According to the Minutes of Council, 18th August 1785, it was bequeathed to the Royal Society by John Belchier with the intention that it should be 'placed at the Observatory in Greenwich Park, and to be scheduled in like manner as the bust of Flamsteed which I gave to the Society some years ago. N.B. This Bust in Terra Cotta was made under the Eyes of Mr Conduitt and several of Sir Isaac Newton's particular friends by Roubiliac, from many Pictures and other Busts'. For the Trinity College, Cambridge version see BAKER, *loc.cit.* at note 7 above, p.133. This was given by Daniel Lock along with a bust of Bacon that corresponds closely with the Dublin marble of Bacon. A terracotta version of the *Bacon* is at Wilton House where it was once paired, as at Cambridge, with a *Newton*.

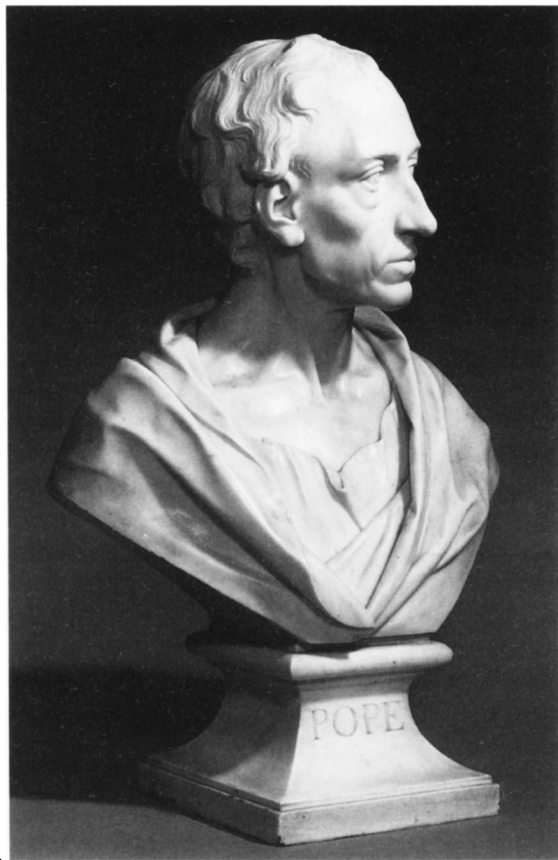
¹³The way in which the drapery is pulled across the (viewer's) left on the Boyle recalls the pattern used on busts such as that of Ware in the Detroit Institute of Art, for which see BAKER, *loc.cit.* at note 2 above, pp.22–24.



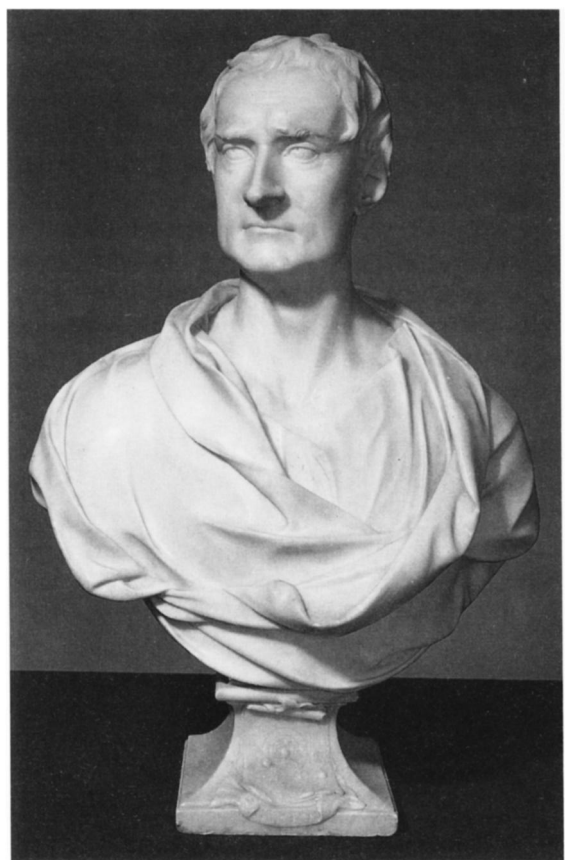
38. *Plato*, attributed to L.F. Roubiliac. Marble, 78 cm. high (Trinity College, Dublin).



39. *Isaac Newton*, attributed to L.F. Roubiliac. Marble, 80 cm. high (Trinity College, Dublin).



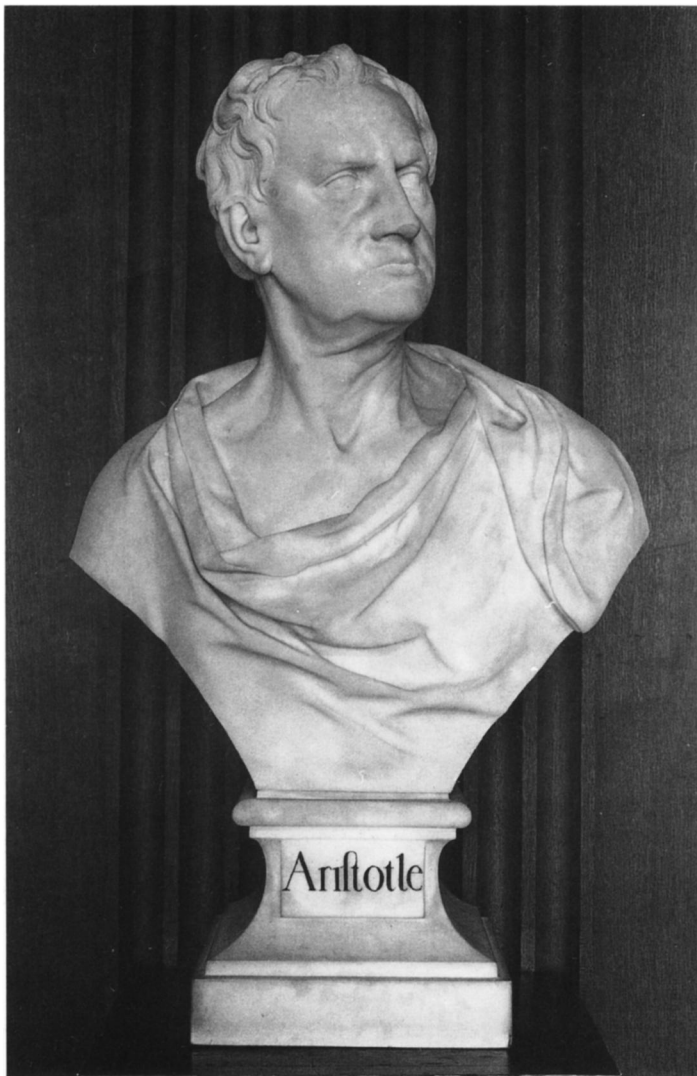
40. *Alexander Pope*, by L.F. Roubiliac. Marble, 63 cm. high (Yale Center for British Art, New Haven).



41. *Isaac Newton*, by L.F. Roubiliac. Marble, 55.9 cm. high (Royal Society).

40.

41.



42. *Aristotle*, attributed to L.F. Roubiliac. Marble, 78 cm. high (Trinity College, Dublin).



44. *Andrew Fountaine*, by L.F. Roubiliac. Marble, 78 cm. high (Earl of Pembroke, Wilton House, Wiltshire).



43. Back of *John Ray*, by L.F. Roubiliac. Terracotta. (British Museum, London).

were used as the basis for marbles carved in Scheemakers's workshop. This would apparently be compatible with the use of identical socles for both the unsigned busts and those signed by Scheemakers. There is, however, a significant, but unremarked, distinction between the ways in which the two groups of busts are finished at the back. The eight Scheemakers busts are all carved with a central square-sectioned support, as can be seen on the *Homer* (Fig.46). By contrast, the other six, including the *Socrates* (Fig.47), have no central support but are excavated in a shallow concave curve, across which carefully chiselled parallel lines run horizontally. At the top, the shoulder line is flat with a smoothly finished surface, while at the bottom the curve is terminated by a similarly finished right-angled straight edge.¹⁴

The various technical features seen in the Dublin busts need to be interpreted within a wider context of evidence available about the working practices of sculptors producing portrait busts in eighteenth-century England. Although no comprehensive analysis of either modelling or carving procedures has been made, enough material is available about individual sculptors' practices to sketch out a tentative account that reflects the evident diversity of practices. The most substantial single body of material from any sculptor's workshop is the group of clay, terracotta and plaster busts bought for the British Museum by Dr Maty at the sale of Roubiliac's effects in May 1762, following the sculptor's death. The interpretation of these also involves consideration of the detailed descriptions in the 1762 sale catalogue as well as of a series of drawings by Nollekens (now in the Harris Museum, Preston) which were done either in Roubiliac's studio or, most likely, at the time of the sale.¹⁵ The survival of this firmly documented group, along with other individual terracottas and plasters, allows us to follow Roubiliac's use of models in some detail and relate this to the evidence provided by

¹⁴The *Newton* and *Aristotle* differ slightly from this pattern in that the back of the shoulders on each is not completely flat but follows a convex curve.

¹⁵For the British Museum models see ESDAILE, *op.cit.* at note 11 above, pp.103–06. As Hugh Tait has pointed out, two, of *Bentley* and *Barrow*, are not in fact terracotta but dried, unfired clay. I am grateful to Aileen Dawson for giving me the opportunity to see all these busts together and to examine them closely. Some of the British Museum busts were probably seen by Nollekens, either in Roubiliac's workshop or (more likely) at the 1762 sale, but various of his drawings in the Harris Art Gallery, Preston, show versions of these busts that are on socles that suggest that they were multiples, perhaps in plaster. The Roubiliac sale catalogue is reproduced in BINDMAN and BAKER, *op.cit.* at note 2 above.



45. Back of *Queen Caroline*, by Michael Rysbrack. Terracotta, 66 cm. high (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

surviving terracottas of other sculptors, most notably Michael Rysbrack.

The most striking characteristic of the Roubiliac terracottas, when viewed from the back, is the thinness of the clay (Fig.43). At the back this thin wall is usually supported by two struts, which were evidently inserted into the otherwise hollow concavity. This mode of construction is markedly different from that employed by Rysbrack and other Flemish-trained sculptors,¹⁶ whose terracotta models – such as that by Rysbrack for the bust of *Queen Caroline* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Fig.45) – were apparently built up as solid masses of clay and then excavated so as to leave a solid central support. In other cases, as John Larson has observed, the top of the head was removed and the clay excavated from inside of the bust; the top of the head was then put back (with an air hole) and the back of the bust left so that it appeared solid.¹⁷ These procedures were all in part designed to minimise damage to the model during firing by reducing the mass of clay, although the post-firing repairs on Rysbrack's terracottas especially show how difficult it was to avoid firing damage entirely.¹⁸

Although the thinness of Roubiliac's terracottas no doubt

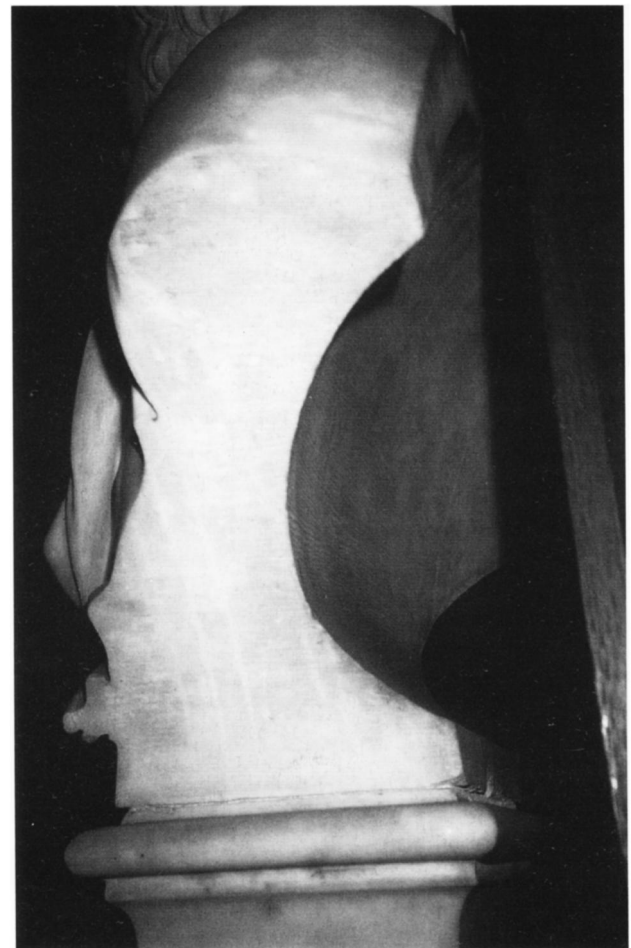
¹⁶The relatively few surviving terracotta busts associated with sculptors such as Schemakers and Adye suggest their techniques resembled that of Rysbrack. Adye's model at West Wycombe for the bust of the Earl of Westmorland, for example, also has a back with two supports, though these were left after the excavation from a solid mass of clay.

¹⁷LARSON, *loc.cit.* at note 2 above. This technique seems to have been used, for example, in Rysbrack's terracotta of Canon Finch in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

¹⁸For example, the red painted surface of the model for *Flora* (Victoria and Albert Museum). This corresponds to the type of painted surfaces mentioned by Rysbrack in his letters to Sir Edward Littleton, for which see M. WEBB: *Michael Rysbrack*, London [1954], pp.192–209.



46. Side view of the Dublin *Homer* (Fig.37), showing the support at the back.



47. Side view of *Socrates*, attributed to L.F. Roubiliac. Marble. (Trinity College, Dublin).



48. Back of Roubiliac's Yale Pope (Fig. 40).



49. Back of *Alexander Pope*, by Michael Rysbrack. Marble, 49 cm. high (National Portrait Gallery, London).



50. Back of *Francis Smith*, by Michael Rysbrack. Marble, 75.5 cm. high (Private collection).

helped to make the firing more successful, their unusual construction seems to have been primarily the result of a workshop method that was quite different from Rysbrack's, one which also had other advantages. The British Museum busts were described as 'Models' in the Roubiliac sale catalogue, and the terracotta of Ray, for example, seems indeed to have been used as the model for the marble at Trinity College, Cambridge. When it is seen from behind, however, the bust proper would seem not to have been modelled, as were Rysbrack's terracottas, but cast. The thin walls would then need to be supported, hence the insertion of the struts. Casting in plaster seems to have played a considerable rôle in Roubiliac's making of monuments and here his procedures seem to be linked with those employed by sculptors in France as opposed to those current in the Netherlands.¹⁹

The significance of casting for Roubiliac's business as a sculptor is very evident from the 1762 sale catalogue. The listing there not only of busts in terracotta that in many cases include the same sitters several times but also of busts in plaster and their corresponding moulds leave us in no doubt that the production of cast multiples in both plaster and terracotta formed an important part of his trade. This is indeed confirmed by both surviving and otherwise documented examples. As early as 1739 the Earl of Marchmont paid Roubiliac for plasters of Pope and Bolingbroke,²⁰ and the production of such multiples seems to have continued throughout the sculptor's career. The practice was often linked with

the execution of marbles. The marbles of Lady Grisell Baillie and her daughter at Mellerstain House, Berwickshire, for example, are recorded in Lady Murray's account book as being sent to Mellerstain in 1746, but they are listed along with the terracotta models which were sent to Tynningham (another of the family's houses) together with plaster versions of both.²¹ In this case the models (painted white) and the plasters served as duplicate images to be used elsewhere within the family's properties, but some at least of Roubiliac's busts were available more widely as multiples to other purchasers. A late portrait of Handel, perhaps executed after the musician's death while Roubiliac was at work on the Westminster Abbey monument, is known in two versions, one in terracotta and one in plaster, both of them cast.²² An attempt to continue this part of the business was made after Roubiliac's death by Nicholas Read, whose advertisement lists the sitters available, and the moulds were also probably used later by Charles Harris, whose catalogue from the 1770s tallies at many points with the 1762 sale catalogue.²³ Here again Roubiliac's practice may be contrasted with that of Rysbrack who, when asked by Littleton for a plaster version of a bust, replied that it was 'a thing Entirely out of my way' and that he usually employed the plaster caster Peter Vanina for such work.²⁴

The centrality of casting within Roubiliac's workshop practice not only made possible the production of multiples but had important implications for the design and making of

¹⁹For a discussion of the design procedures used by various sculptors for monuments and their continental connexions, see BINDMAN and BAKER, *op.cit.* at note 2 above, pp.241–44, 249–53.

²⁰Entry for 10th February 1738/89 in the Earl of Marchmont's account book, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Library, MS 1578–1939.

²¹M. SNODIN: *Rococo Art and Design in Hogarth's England*, exh.cat., Victoria and Albert Museum, London [1984], cat.no. S8.

²²For the terracotta version from Grimsthorpe see J. SIMON, ed.: *Handel*, exh.cat., National Portrait Gallery, London [1986], cat. no.16. Jacob Simon has kindly informed me of a plaster version at Gloucester Cathedral. Both are hollow, and the

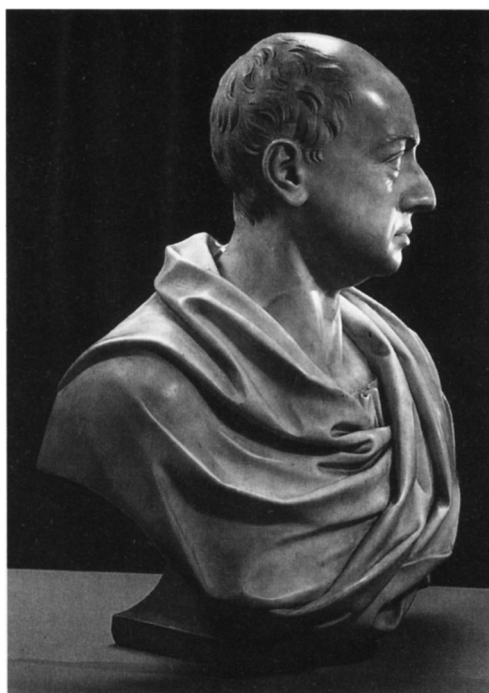
plaster was possibly supplied by Harris (for whom, see note 23 below). Plaster versions of this were evidently available in the nineteenth century (perhaps supplied by Brucciani?) since at least one cast (in the National Museum of Ireland) has a nineteenth-century circular socle.

²³A list of the casts available from Read is found in his advertisement, pasted into Walpole's 'Book of Materials' (I, p.154) mentioned in note 8 above. Harris's casts are listed in the apparently unique *Catalogue of the Statues, Bass Reliefs, Bustos, &c. of Charles Harris, Statuary* (Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Library, Box I.37.Y).

²⁴WEBB, *op.cit.* at note 18 above, p.199.



51. Back of *Unknown man*, by Joseph Wilton. Marble, 78.4 cm. high (Victoria and Albert Museum, London).



52. *Lord Chief Justice Raymond*, here attributed to L.F. Roubiliac. Marble, 60 cm. high (bust only) (Victoria and Albert Museum, London).



53. Back of Fig.52.

busts. It cannot be assumed that all of Roubiliac's terracotta busts were necessarily cast, and a bust such as that of Hogarth in the National Portrait Gallery may well have been modelled as a one-off piece. In many cases, however, Roubiliac's practice seems to have been to model a bust in clay, take moulds from this and then use these moulds to cast a thin-walled 'model' which would be followed while the marble was being carved. The same moulds could then be used for the production of multiples of that particular bust. But they also had a further function: the lower part – the bust proper and its drapery – could effectively be re-employed for portraits of other sitters by casting it from the mould and then inserting a freshly modelled head into the new cast. The bust and drapery used for Ray, for example, had already been employed in the late 1730s for a terracotta of George Streatfeild and again for one of Jonathan Tyers. Similarly, the lower part of the Fountaine bust, already mentioned in connexion with the Dublin *Aristotle*, was used for the portraits of Winnington and Lord Trevor.²⁵ The replication of part of the bust through such casting techniques meant that the same composition could be employed over long periods. This seems to have been a procedure distinctive to Roubiliac.

Differences in workshop practice observed here in the making of terracottas also occur in the way marbles are finished. Although marble busts by Roubiliac, Rysbrack, Scheemakers and others are usually differentiated in terms of their compositions and the qualities of the carving, the diverse ways in which their workshops operated are perhaps even more readily seen in the more mechanical elements that would presumably have been executed by assistants. These

features – particularly the backs and socle types – have received little attention but, precisely because they would have been carved according to established patterns, they can tell us a great deal about how workshop practice diverged.

Roubiliac's documented marbles, such as those of Chesterfield or Pope (Fig.48), are almost all carved at the back in a shallow curve, with a flattened surface around the shoulders and a square-sectioned lower edge. Although they are all very neatly finished, some variation may be found in the chiselling, which sometimes runs horizontally and sometimes vertically, and is in some cases reserved within a smoothly worked border and in others not. This is indeed the same type of back already seen on the six unsigned Dublin busts.

Busts by other sculptors, such as Henry Cheere, have, by contrast, backs that are sometimes quite roughly finished with the point, especially if they were made to be set on a monument or in an architectural context. Others are carefully finished, but according to different patterns. Scheemakers's busts usually have a central square-sectioned support of the type already seen on the Dublin *Homer*, while Rysbrack frequently employs either the smoothly worked, deep curve seen on his *Pope* (Fig.49) or a back with a central cylindrical support, such as that found on his bust of Francis Smith (Fig.50).²⁶ Wilton's busts, such as that of an unknown man in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig.51), usually have a rather flat central support that splays out at the top; both the support and the concave areas are finely chiselled with parallel lines.²⁷ The relatively flat form of the support on the Wilton bust is designed to fit within the outline of the oval socle. Although Harwood (who worked closely with Wilton

²⁵For the Ray and related busts see BAKER, *loc.cit.* at note 7 above, pp.133–34. I owe my knowledge of the Streatfeild bust to Matthew Craske, and we intend to publish a fuller account of this shortly. For the related terracotta of Alexander Small see note 44 below. For the Winnington and Trevor busts, see note 47 below.

²⁶These variations within the work of a single sculptor may often be accounted for by the need for the back, and especially the support, to fit with the shape of the socle.

²⁷For an outline of the different types of back see the Appendix below.

in Florence in the early 1750s) also sometimes uses an oval socle, the moulding profiles used in each case are quite distinct. So too are the form and proportions used by Roubiliac for many of his socles when compared with the type used by Rysbrack.²⁸

These differences might be so obvious as not to be worth discussing, but the relative consistency of the various workshops has been hardly mentioned until now, even in discussions of attributional questions. An examination of the backs of the busts on the Temple of Friendship at Stowe, for example, would seem to confirm the attribution of some of them to Scheemakers and others to Rysbrack.²⁹ Such evidence may also lead to a re-assessment of familiar works. The bust of Lord Chief Justice Raymond (Fig.52), for example, has long been attributed to Henry Cheere on the assumption that it must have been executed by him when he produced Raymond's monument at Abbots Langley.³⁰ Its back, however, is largely consistent with those by Roubiliac mentioned above (see Fig.53). Together with the similarities between the inscription and those on documented Roubiliacs and the resemblance of the hair to that on marbles such as Roubiliac's *Chesterfield*, such details of the facture suggest that this may perhaps be not a work by Cheere but Roubiliac's earliest known portrait bust. Consideration of this type of evidence might also allow us to distinguish between an original version and later versions from other workshops on other grounds than quality. This would seem to be so in the case of the Detroit marble of Isaac Ware (which has a characteristic Roubiliac back) and the version in the National Portrait Gallery, London, which is very roughly chiselled at the back.³¹

The apparent consistency of these workshop-executed features would seem to provide a framework in which the Dublin busts may be placed. The distinction observed within the Gilbert portraits between the signed Scheemakers busts with their square central supports and the unsigned busts

with their concave backs and Roubiliac drapery patterns might seem to confirm Horace Walpole's statement that half the busts in Dublin were commissioned from Roubiliac. But the attribution of these works to Roubiliac is less straightforward than it might seem.

In Dublin, alongside the marbles probably purchased from Gilbert's bequest, there are a number of other portrait busts from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including ones of Gilbert himself and of Richard Baldwin, both by the relatively little-known Simon Vierpyl. Vierpyl, who had probably come to Dublin from Florence in the late 1750s,³² is recorded as having been paid £34 2s 6d in 1758 for the *Gilbert* and the same amount for the *Baldwin* in 1761.³³ Vierpyl's two busts are relevant here not simply as an apparent continuation of the Gilbert series, but because they are truncated in the same way as the six putative Roubiliac busts (with concave curves on the sides) and have backs that resemble those described here as characteristic of Roubiliac's workshop. At first sight this might raise doubts about the connexion between the six busts and Roubiliac. However, a further bust by Vierpyl, of Robert Clayton, which was given to the College only in 1845, differs from the other two not only in its form but also in being carved roughly and with a central strut at the back.³⁴ If this was a typical Vierpyl portrait, it seems probable that in the case of the Gilbert and Baldwin portraits the sculptor did not follow his usual practice but produced busts to match the existing ones, not only in their truncation but also in the format of the backs.

Further qualifications are, however, suggested by other evidence, both contextual and from the busts themselves. While the dismissal of Walpole's reference to Roubiliac in the *Anecdotes of Painting* as a confusion between Dublin and Cambridge might be rather too easy, this nonetheless has to be considered a possibility in view of the evidence of the close connexion between Sir Edward Walpole – credited with

²⁸For different socle types see the Appendix, below.

²⁹The busts of Queen Elizabeth, Inigo Jones, Milton, Shakespeare, Newton, Bacon, Edward Prince of Wales, William III, Locke and Hampden all have open, concave backs with shaped shoulders characteristic of Rysbrack's marbles. Those of Alfred, Drake, Gresham and Barnard, on the other hand, are roughly finished at the back, each with a central square-shaped support typical of Scheemakers. The division between the two sculptors on this basis would seem very largely consistent with what is known from documentary sources, such as Vertue's description of at least some of the busts in 1732, as well as attributions made on stylistic grounds. The *Alfred*, however, is known in the form of a terracotta produced by Rysbrack for Queen Caroline's Library, for which see EUSTACE, *op.cit.* at note 1 above, pp.171–73. It is conceivable, however, that Scheemakers's workshop carved the Stowe bust from Rysbrack's model and, indeed, WEBB *op.cit.* at note 18 above, pp.135–36) has already suggested that 'it is possible that Scheemakers was called in to help complete the order more rapidly'. Both J. KENWORTHY-BROWNE ('Portrait Busts by Rysbrack', *National Trust Studies* 1980, London [1979], p.77) and G. CLARKE ('Grecian Taste and Gothic Virtue', *Apollo*, XLVII [1973], p.569) attribute the Alfred bust to Scheemakers.

³⁰The bust is attributed to Cheere by M. WHINNEY: *English Sculpture 1720–1830* (Victoria and Albert Museum publication), London [1971], p.64. For the monument see BINDMAN and BAKER, *op.cit.* at note 2 above, pp.46–47, and M. CRASKE: *The London Sculpture Trade and the development of the imagery of the family in funerary monuments of the period 1720–60*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Westfield College, University of London, 1992, pp.89–93, 263–64. A similar form of back is used on some Cheere monument busts of the 1730s and 40s (such as the signed bust of Anne Borrett at Shoreham, Kent), prompting questions about collaboration between Roubiliac and Cheere during this period. This group requires further investigation.

³¹For the NPG version of the Ware see J. KERSLAKE: *National Portrait Gallery. Early Georgian Portraits*, London [1977], pp.294–95. Later versions might sometimes reproduce the original form of the back. This appears to be the case with a marble version of Roubiliac's *Pope* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, for which see WHINNEY, *op.cit.* at note 30 above, pp.80–82. Unsigned and undocumented, this is difficult to date but seems unlikely to have been executed by Roubiliac and may have been produced in

the late eighteenth century. Here the back is carved in a shallow curve that at first sight seems consistent with Roubiliac's backs; but it lacks the squared edge at the bottom of the curve. It is probably a fairly accurate copy of one of the signed versions.

³²Vierpyl is recorded in the mid 1750s working in Florence for the Earl of Huntingdon and, on a more extensive scale, for Lord Charlemont; and it was presumably on account of the latter's patronage that he came to Dublin. For Huntingdon's commissions to Vierpyl and Wilton see F. RUSSELL: 'Thomas Patch, Sir William Lowther and the Holker Claude', *Apollo*, CII [1975], pp.115–19. Further unpublished documentation for Huntingdon's patronage of both sculptors, including a letter of 23rd April 1757 from William Wilkins to the Earl of Huntingdon, is to be found among the Hastings papers in the Huntingdon Library, San Marino, CA (HA 13303, Box 91). Vierpyl also seems to have worked for the Earl of Pembroke since the Wilton House guide book records a dying 'Gladiator By Verepoil' (*A New Description of the Pictures at Wilton*, Salisbury [1778], p.62).

³³See CROOKSHANK and WEBB, *op.cit.* at note 3 above, pp.16 and 59, where it is suggested that the *Gilbert* may have been commissioned with funds that may have remained from Gilbert's bequest. The same sum was paid to Patrick Cunningham in 1759 for his bust of John Lawson (*ibid.*, p.82). Other busts added in the eighteenth century include Edward Smyth's *Thomas Parnell*, given in 1789, and probably the same sculptor's *William Clement*, though neither the date of execution nor the date of acquisition is recorded (*ibid.*, pp.37 and 108). A contemporary account of the *Gilbert* was published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XXVIII [1758], p.91.

³⁴CROOKSHANK and WEBB, *op.cit.* at note 3 above, p.36. A bust by another sculptor that has the same type of back as documented in the Roubiliac busts and the six Dublin portraits is that of Zachary Pearce on the monument to him by William Tyler in Westminster Abbey. Although such a bust could of course have been executed by another sculptor before Pearce's death in 1774 and then placed on the monument, the carving of drapery and hair are consistent with busts on other monuments by Tyler. The use by Tyler of this pattern for the back strengthens rather than undermines the argument advanced here since, as he was 'for many years [a] student under the late Mr. Roubiliac' (City of London Records, MS 167.13; quoted in R. GUNNIS: *Dictionary of British Sculptors*, London [1953], p.404), it might be expected that he would have followed the procedures of Roubiliac's workshop.

securing the Dublin commission for Roubiliac – and Robert Smith, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Smith was the central figure in the College's vigorous campaign in the 1750s to acquire portraits of its most illustrious former members, and in his will left his 'worthy and honoured friend' Walpole a ring and £2,000 of stock.³⁵ Further doubts as to Roubiliac's direct involvement with the Dublin set are raised by the lack of any unambiguous models for the six relevant busts in the sculptor's 1762 sale catalogue. This includes references to terracotta or plaster versions of almost all of Roubiliac's other signed or documented busts, including, for example, the *Swift*.³⁶ The fact that two versions of the modern subjects – Bacon and Newton – were also made for other patrons means that their names are listed, but there is no mention of a Boyle. The names of both Socrates and Plato are listed under 'Antique Busts in Plaister' but, from their context here at least, these would seem to be casts after the antique rather than Roubiliac's inventions; Aristotle is not mentioned at all.³⁷

A rather more substantial argument against the attribution of the six Dublin busts to Roubiliac is based on the way in which their surfaces are carved. Although details such as the hair on all six are executed more carefully than on the examples signed by Scheemakers, they nonetheless lack the subtlety that is one of the distinguishing characteristics of secure portrait busts by Roubiliac such as the *Swift*. Furthermore, in the case of both the *Newton* and the *Bacon* – the two which are known in other, signed and documented, versions in marble and terracotta – there is an obvious negligence of detail in, for example, the execution of the curls of hair around the ears.³⁸ This degree of finish is a matter not simply of attention to detail but rather of a concern with the sculptural surface that assumes a close viewing of sculpture and an interest among at least some patrons and viewers in portrait busts that were made for sustained and careful contemplation. Roubiliac's distinctive treatment of surfaces and the shifting attitude to sculpture that are associated with this are more easily followed in his monuments and contemporary responses to these, particularly in the later 1750s.³⁹ But, already in the early 1740s in busts such as the *Pope*, the importance Roubiliac (and presumably his patrons) attached to the finish of the marble surface makes his portraits quite distinct from those of Scheemakers or even Rysbrack. These qualities are not, how-

ever, very evident in the Dublin busts.

These various types of documentary, technical and stylistic evidence suggest that the six unsigned Dublin busts have a clear connexion with Roubiliac but are not to be unequivocally attributed to him. The fact that they have drapery patterns used by Roubiliac elsewhere does not necessarily indicate that they were produced by him, since such patterns are all found on plaster multiples being sold during the 1740s and could therefore have been replicated by other sculptors.⁴⁰ However, the heads of Boyle and Aristotle in particular have enough in common with Roubiliac portraits to make it unlikely that they were produced by another sculptor who had simply appropriated drapery patterns from Roubiliac's plasters of other sitters. The possibility mentioned earlier that Roubiliac supplied models from which Scheemakers's workshop then carved the marbles, is, as we have seen, undermined by the difference between the backs of the signed Scheemakers busts and those of these six portraits.

A further interpretation of this conflicting evidence might be to see these six busts as products of Roubiliac's workshop that were deliberately left rather roughly finished because of their setting. Intended to be placed on the gallery in the Long Room, they would have been seen only from a distance and so did not require very much detail. A comparable case of this in Roubiliac's work may be found in the Royal Society's marble of Newton where such considerations may well have accounted for the relative lack of detail. Both its roughly chiselled back and the fact that the socle was made by Roubiliac only after the bust had been given to the Society leave little doubt that it was intended for an architectural setting.⁴¹ In the case of the six Dublin busts, however, the lack of finish is too great to be explained in this way and in any case, Malton's statement about the balcony that 'here there is opportunity to examine the busts, which so very aptly and beautifully embellish the Room' suggests that they could be seen from close up.⁴²

The use of both compositional devices and workshop features associated with Roubiliac along with a lack of finish uncharacteristic of his production must therefore be accounted for in another way, perhaps by a notion of workshop practice that involves collaboration and sub-contracting.⁴³ One notable case of collaboration on a series of busts was the series by Scheemakers and Rysbrack carved for the Temple of Wor-

³⁵For Smith's will and the connexions with Walpole see BAKER, *loc.cit.* at note 7 above, p.121.

³⁶4th Day, lot 14. However, models for neither the bust of Jonathan Tyers nor the portrait of Mrs Aufrere (for which see SNODIN, *op.cit.* at note 21 above, cat.no.S9) can be identified in the list, although the latter may have been the unnamed 'Lady' (4th Day, lot 73).

³⁷2nd Day, lot 46; and 3rd Day, lot 44. The minute referring to the acquisition of these busts by the British Museum describes the busts of Plato etc. as 'after the antique'.

³⁸The disposition of the curls on the Bacon differs markedly from that on both the Wilton terracotta version and the marble at Trinity College, Cambridge, as does the chiselled decoration on the chest. The hair on the *Newton* conforms more closely with that on the terracotta model made for John Conduitt, now at the Royal Greenwich Observatory, Cambridge (see note 12 above), but the curls around the ear are far less precisely articulated than on either the terracotta or the marble at Trinity College, Cambridge. There is, however, a certain, if not entirely comparable, loss of detail observable on the Royal Society marble, presented as early as April 1738 by a Mr Freeman who had purchased it 'with the intention of making a present of it to the Society' (Royal Society, *Journal Book*, XVII, pp.231–32). For the Royal Society bust see note 41 below.

³⁹For the surfaces of his monuments see BINDMAN and BAKER, *op.cit.* at note 3 above, pp.213–21, 256–66. For the surfaces and viewing of busts see BAKER: *loc.cit.* at note 7 above, p.127.

⁴⁰Possible candidates might include John van Nost the Younger and Simon Vierpyl. This would assume that these busts were not executed until the 1750s but, as we know only that some of the Gilbert busts were in place when the *Swift* arrived in 1749, a date as late as this cannot be ruled out. However, the carving of the heads is difficult to parallel in work by either sculptor.

⁴¹According to the Royal Society Minutes of Council (vol. III, 1728–47), the meeting on 19th June 1738 approved payment of 'Mr Roubiliac's Bill for a Pedestal to Sr Isaac Newton's Bust 2–7–0'. This was presumably the separately carved socle with the cartouche containing an astronomical diagram of the planets. The back of the bust is very roughly chiselled with a point in a series of V-shapes and was evidently not intended even to be glimpsed. As the reference to the gift to the Society (for which see note 38 above) implies that the bust was recently purchased, it is conceivable that this was a marble executed for Conduitt and sold after his death in 1737, although at least one bust of Newton remained in the family until the sale of 19th December 1750 (as Elizabeth Einberg has pointed out to me). It is, however, possible that the Royal Society marble is the bust represented by Hogarth above Conduitt's chimney piece in his *Conquest of Mexico* (on loan to the Tate Gallery, London).

⁴²MALTON, *op.cit.* at note 6 above.

⁴³For discussions of sub-contracting see CRASKE, dissertation cited at note 30 above, and M. BAKER: 'Roubiliac and Cheere in the 1730s and 40s: collaboration and sub-contracting in eighteenth-century English sculptors' workshops', *Church Monuments*, X [1995] (forthcoming).

thies at Stowe in the early 1730s. Here the rôle played by William Kent probably meant that the two sculptors were separately commissioned by him rather than one being sub-contracted by the other. But the involvement of rival sculptors was probably more common than has been recognised. A plausible reading of the evidence assembled here about the Dublin busts is that fourteen were commissioned from Scheemakers shortly after 1743 but that, with his own workshop fully committed to work brought in by the success of the Shakespeare monument, he sub-contracted six to Roubiliac, whose output at this date consisted almost exclusively of portrait busts.⁴⁴ These were modelled by the latter and carved in his shop following already established patterns and methods of production. But while this allowed for differences from Scheemakers's own busts in their form, composition and the finishing of the backs, the socles on which the marbles were to be placed evidently had to conform to a standard type.⁴⁵

The square socles on all fourteen busts not only all have similar mouldings and rectangular name plaques but correspond exactly in their heights and widths. There is, however, a difference in the internal measurements, such as the dimensions of the plaques, used on the Scheemakers examples and those used on the six others, with a striking consistency within the two groups. This relationship suggests that the design and overall dimensions were established in Scheemakers's workshop – the sculptor's name or initials are indeed found on the socles – and these were then passed on to Roubiliac's workshop where similar, but not completely identical, socles were made for those busts carved there.⁴⁶

To interpret the differences between these two groups of busts in terms of such a system of sub-contracting might account for some of the features already discussed, but the distinction in finish and detail between the six Dublin busts and documented Roubiliac marbles still requires explanation. A comparable loss of detail is, however, to be seen in a later case of collaboration between Roubiliac and another sculptor, although here it would appear that Roubiliac himself was the dominant figure in the partnership. In this case – a bust of Thomas Winnington, carved by Roubiliac for a monument by an unidentified sculptor – the pattern of drapery earlier used for the *Fountaine* and *Aristotle* busts, and shortly to be seen on the *Trevor* in Cambridge, was employed but with a significant simplification of the internal folds, as well as a truncation of the overlapping end of drapery, as on the *Aristotle*.⁴⁷ Perhaps a bust produced for a collaborative work simply merited fewer hours of work and therefore less detail. But a further factor may have been involved in the case of the Dublin busts.

In undertaking work sub-contracted by Scheemakers, it seems likely that Roubiliac had to produce marbles that were not too dissimilar in appearance from the relatively generalised and blandly finished marbles characteristic of the Flemish sculptor's workshop. More significantly, these six marbles were not to be associated with Roubiliac's name in the way that the busts of Pope and Handel already were. The distinctiveness of Roubiliac's surfaces was already well-established by the early 1740s and was one of the qualities that differentiated them from the busts produced by his rivals. In adopting what amounted to a strategy of monopolistic competition, Roubiliac had an interest in maintaining this distinctiveness in works associated with his name.⁴⁸ Conversely, it was obviously undesirable that any sub-contracted work that was to be supplied to a patron by another sculptor should be recognisably distinctive in the same way.⁴⁹

The distinctive and subtle finish of Roubiliac's signed marbles, even those of the early 1740s, played a significant rôle in the aesthetic evaluation of his sculpture during the 1750s. This was linked with the sculptor's presentation of himself, especially through the accounts of his monuments that appeared in periodicals of the late 1750s, with an increased emphasis on his powers of invention.⁵⁰ But, if the qualities of his marble busts support this, both the case of the Dublin commission and his methods of making busts show how his activities as a portrait sculptor were very much linked with the workings of the London sculpture trade. Collaborating with and apparently sub-contracting from other sculptors, he used technical processes that allowed not only the production and marketing of multiples but also the use over long periods of standard drapery patterns for different sitters. While his portrait busts may have been distinct from those of other sculptors, they were, in some respects at least, far from distinct from each other.

Roubiliac's methods of making portrait busts also had implications for his patrons and need to be considered in any discussion of the transaction between sculptor and sitter. Although the Dublin busts are all of 'worthies', the same drapery patterns could be used for living sitters, as in the case of the *Aristotle* and *Sir Andrew Fountaine*. The choice of convention was evidently regarded as important. But the way in which the standard types could be re-used for the lower part of the busts suggests that this was more arbitrary and carried less significance than is sometimes supposed, despite its obvious rôle as a way of signalling identification with a particular group. On the other hand, the number of sittings required for *ad vivum* portraits – Sir Mark Pleydell, for example, sat to Roubiliac over five days – suggests that it was the head that

⁴⁴While there is no documentary evidence to support this, some hint of Roubiliac supplying busts for which Scheemakers then received payment from the patron perhaps lies behind the reference made by GUNNIS (*op.cit.* at note 34 above, p.18) that Scheemakers executed the terracotta bust of Alexander Small (d.1752) on the monument of James Andrews at Clifton Reynes, Bucks. This terracotta, which is made like Roubiliac's terracottas, does not conform to a Scheemakers type but is one further example of the re-use of the Tyers/Ray/Streatfeild drapery pattern.

⁴⁵This differs in both its form and dimensions from the square socle already being used regularly by Roubiliac on busts such as the Yale *Pope*. It does, however, conform quite closely to a type used by Scheemakers.

⁴⁶This would have allowed necessary adjustments to be made, such as the insertion of a sliver of marble at the bottom of the *Plato*.

⁴⁷For the Winnington monument and the letter from Charles Hanbury Williams (kindly brought to my attention by Todd Longstaffe-Gowan) which establishes that the bust was posthumous and commissioned from Roubiliac in 1749 to be placed on a monument of a design resembling Henry Cheere's monument to Archbishop Boulter, see BAKER, *loc.cit.* at note 43 above. For the *Trevor* bust see BAKER, *loc.cit.* at

note 7 above, p.134. The same pattern was used yet again for the bust of John Bamber on his monument at Barking, for which see BINDMAN and BAKER, *op.cit.* at note 3 above, p.357.

⁴⁸My reading of the distinctiveness of Roubiliac's sculpture in terms of monopolistic competition is prompted by MICHAEL BAXANDALL's interpretation of the Master H.L.'s 'distinctive and often showily skilful style' as the 'primary characteristic of the monopolistic competitor' (*The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*, New Haven and London [1980], pp.120–22).

⁴⁹The notion of distinctiveness (or the need to play this down in sub-contracted work) may account for the absence of any models being recorded in Roubiliac's 1762 catalogue. A more likely explanation, however, is that these were passed to Scheemakers along with the marbles. Unfortunately the descriptions in Scheemakers's sales do not specify the subjects of the models.

⁵⁰For Roubiliac's self-presentation see BINDMAN and BAKER, *op.cit.* at note 2 above, pp.70–81, 263–73. For this process of aestheticisation and Joseph Wright of Derby's 'first significant attempt to treat the aesthetic as the central focus of a public work of art', see D. SOLKIN: *Painting for Money*, New Haven and London [1993], pp.214–15.

was considered all-important.⁵¹ This is supported by contemporary accounts revealing the care that was evidently taken to establish an acceptable likeness in the case of deceased or historical figures; the making of Winnington's bust, for example, involved the loan to Roubiliac of Van Loo's portrait and Gosset's wax.⁵²

The evidence available about Roubiliac's making of busts and about the unusually complex case of the Dublin portraits in particular allows us to read in a different way the few accounts that survive of commissioning portrait busts. Through a combination of archival and material evidence, the complexities of sculptural practice may be mapped out to complement the more explicit statements of the patron and to suggest the rôles that a sculptor might have played in such negotiations. The history of the Trinity College busts and their production is most telling, however, in terms of the sculpture trade and its organisation in the mid-eighteenth century. Apparently taken on as a commission by Scheemakers but in part sub-contracted to Roubiliac, it exemplifies a process of collaboration between sculptors that has been little discussed. Yet, in collaborating with Scheemakers, Roubiliac seems to have taken care not to undermine the potential attraction of works supplied to patrons under his own name. Not least through its complexity, the case of the Dublin busts should prompt a re-examination of the workings of the sculpture market at a date when the portrait bust was enjoying unprecedented popularity.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

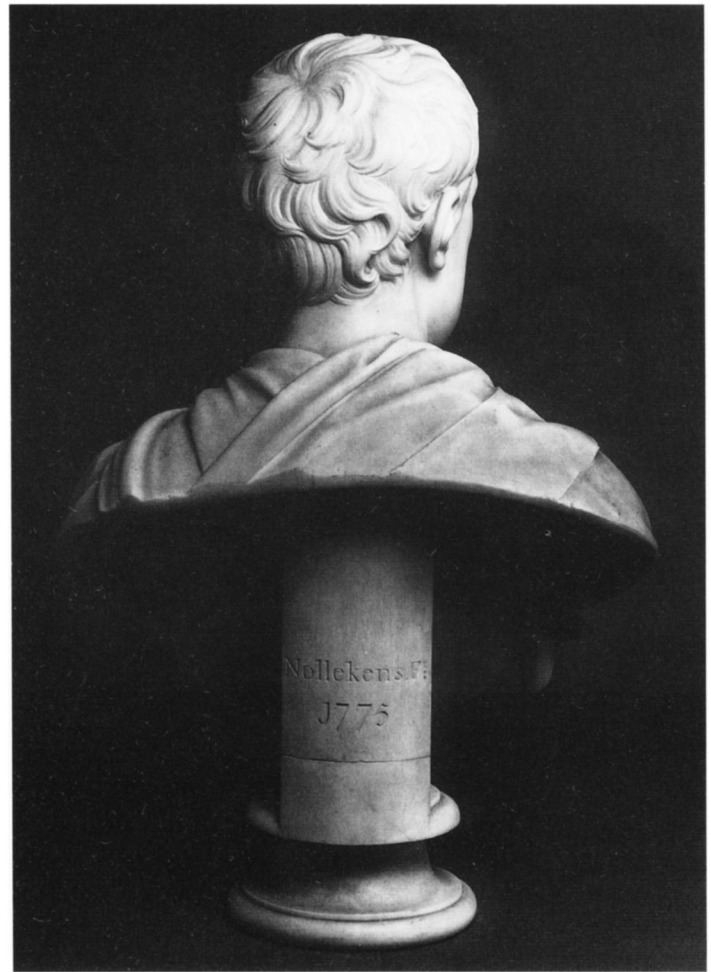
⁵¹For the Pleydell bust see my entry in SNODIN, *op.cit.* at note 21 above, cat.no.S33.

⁵²See BAKER, *loc.cit.* at note 43 above.

Appendix

Different sculptors' workshops seem to have finished the backs of busts following different patterns that appear to have been used fairly consistently, even though any one workshop may have employed several types. Some deviation is found on busts that were intended for particular settings: for example, Roubiliac's *Newton* (Royal Society) was left roughly chiselled at the back and the same sculptor's *Sir Mark Pleydell* (National Trust, on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum) has the customary lower part of the curved back truncated, presumably to fit on the chimney piece in the saloon at Coleshill. The different forms of the backs were determined to some extent by the different shapes of socle, and here too certain distinctive types are characteristic of different workshops. By the 1770s, however, a circular socle with rounded mouldings and name plate, along with a corresponding half-rounded central support, becomes quite widely used, particularly by sculptors such as Nollekens who had worked in Italy. This seems to have become a standard type in the late eighteenth century and the forms of socle and back employed by different workshops appear less easily distinguishable. In the following table some examples of different workshops are arranged to illustrate what seem to be typical backs and socle forms and to provide a framework for the arguments in this article.

Sculptor	Back	Socle
Rysbrack		
<i>Alexander Pope</i> (1730; National Portrait Gallery; Fig.49)	Deep open curve; shaped at each side in double scallop	Square socle
<i>James Gibbs</i> (1726; V & A)	Deep open curve with pronounced lower edge of rectangular section	Small square, waisted socle
<i>Francis Smith</i> (c.1741; City Art Gallery, Birmingham; Fig.50)	Deep open curve with drum-shaped support	Circular socle with straight-edged lower moulding
<i>George II</i> (1760; V & A)	Deep open curve with drum-shaped support	Tall circular socle with integral square base



54. Back of *William Stanhope*, by Joseph Nollekens. Marble, 58 cm. high (Private collection).

Henry Cheere		
<i>Archbishop Boulter</i> (c.1743; Westminster Abbey)	Square-sectioned slanting support	Square socle
Scheemakers		
<i>Admiral Balchen</i> (c.1745; Westminster Abbey)	Roughly worked, square-sectioned vertical support	Square socle
<i>Homer</i> (c.1745; Trinity College, Dublin; Fig.46)	Roughly worked, square-sectioned vertical support	Square socle with rectangular panel
Roubiliac		
<i>Alexander Pope</i> (1741; Yale Center for British Art, New Haven; Fig.48)	Shallow open curve with horizontal chiselling; flat sides	Square socle
<i>Sir Peter Warren</i> (c.1753; Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino)	Shallow open curve; horizontal chiselling	Square socle with bowed front
Wilton		
<i>Homer</i> (c.1755; Kenwood House, London)	Support with rounded back, horizontal chiselling	[socle lost]
<i>Unknown man</i> (1781; V & A; Fig.51)	Support with rounded back, flaring out at the top; horizontal chiselling	Oval socle; straight-edged lower moulding
Francis Harwood		
<i>Unknown black man</i> (c.1760; J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu)	Support with rounded back	Circular socle; straight-edged lower moulding
Christopher Hewetson		
<i>Clement XIV</i> (1773; V & A)	Straight-sided support, with rounded back	Circular socle half-round mouldings
Joseph Nollekens		
<i>Sir William Stanhope</i> (1775; private collection; Fig.54)	Straight-sided support, with rounded back	Circular socle, with half-round mouldings