



Francesco Righetti and Henry Hope: The Welgelegen Lead Statues

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Until 2005 seven large grey statues stood in the park surrounding the eighteenth-century Welgelegen Pavilion in Haarlem, now the offices of the Province of North Holland (fig. 1). Intriguingly, they were made of lead, not the stone or bronze one would expect. As they approached the monumental façade of the great Neoclassical house, visitors to Welgelegen before 2005 came face to face with a lead version of the *Laocoön*, one of the most famous sculptures of Classical Antiquity (fig. 2). Dotted around in the enclosed garden behind Welgelegen, they would have found the other six statues: a seated Euterpe, the muse of flute-playing and lyrical

Detail of fig. 3

poetry, the young androgynous god Apollo (*Apollino*), Cupid, the little god of love, stringing his bow, the youth Ganymede with the Greek supreme deity Zeus in the guise of an eagle beside him, the classical god of wine Bacchus embracing the satyr Ampelos, and lastly Mercury, the god of trade, balancing on the tips of his toes (figs. 3-8). With the exception of the *Laocoön*, they are the work of Francesco Righetti (1749-1819), a caster of statues in Rome who was renowned in his day.¹

Fig. 1
Welgelegen front
elevation (after
restoration in 2009).

In 2007 the provincial authorities officially transferred the seven statues to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam because their condition was visibly







Fig. 3
FRANCESCO
RIGHETTI,
Euterpe, 1781.
Lead, h. 140 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. BK-2006-11.



Fig. 4
FRANCESCO
RIGHETTI,
Apollino, 1781.
Lead, h. 148 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. BK-2006-10.

Fig. 2
Laocoön, Rome,
c. 1699.
Lead, h. 224 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. BK-2006-13.



Fig. 5
FRANCESCO
RIGHETTI,
*Amor Stringing his
Bow*, 1781.
Lead, h. 133 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. BK-2006-9.



Fig. 6
FRANCESCO
RIGHETTI,
*Ganymede and
the Eagle*, 1802.
Lead, h. 135 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. BK-2006-7.



Fig. 7
FRANCESCO
RIGHETTI,
*Bacchus and
Ampelos*, 1781/82.
Lead, h. 187 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. BK-2006-8.

deteriorating in the open air. To do nothing would have meant the irretrievable loss of the exceptional statues, one of the very rare surviving ensembles of monumental lead statuary in Europe.² Exact copies were made in bronze, a material better able to withstand the rigours of the Dutch climate, to fill the seven empty plinths left in Haarlem.³ The original lead statues were restored in 2010,⁴ and are now on display in one of the most prominent positions in the Rijksmuseum – the large atrium – where they welcome hundreds of visitors every day.

A Merchant Prince in the Haarlemmerhout

Welgelegen was built between 1786 and 1789 as a country seat by the Anglo-Dutch banker Henry Hope (1735-1811), who had been a partner

in the Amsterdam merchant bank Hope & Co since 1762 (fig. 9). The firm already had a respectable history by then; originally established in Scotland, England and France, it had opened a branch in the Republic in the mid-seventeenth century.⁵ After a thorough grounding in a firm in London, Henry developed into a successful general merchant with an extensive list of clients and a wide range of goods in his portfolio. His trade relations extended throughout Europe, the Middle East and North and South America. In 1802 a contemporary painted a picture of Hope as kind and congenial man who did not put on airs: 'He is one of the very rare exceptions of being spoken well of by everybody and deserving it...'⁶ He was also described as a merchant prince, who coupled his commercial talents with highly refined taste and a love



Fig. 8
FRANCESCO
RIGHETTI AFTER
GIAMBOLOGNA
(model), *Flying
Mercury*, 1781/82.
Lead, h. 210 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. BK-2006-12.

Fig. 9
CHARLES HOWARD
HODGES AFTER
JOSHUA REYNOLDS,
Henry Hope, 1788.
Mezzotint,
405 x 288 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-1883-A-7533.

of the arts. This side of Henry Hope was very much in evidence in his art collection and in the building and furnishing of his country house, Welgelegen, on the edge of the Haarlemmerhout – the woods outside Haarlem (see fig. 1).

Welgelegen, a Temple of Art

Seven years after he joined the family business, Hope bought the old manor house of Welgelegen (which literally means well-situated) and its land on the outskirts of Haarlem.⁷ Between 1770 and 1785 he extended his Haarlem holdings to include an adjacent, very considerable estate with a view of the Haarlemmerhout, so that the simple manor house now really lived up to its name. In 1785 Hope decided to demolish the old manor house and build a modern, tasteful country house in its stead. He had the avenues and paths of the Haarlemmerhout

repositioned and commissioned the German landscape gardener Johann Georg Michael (1738-1800) to transform part of the ancient woodland into a park in the English landscape style. This would give his magnificent new mansion a long, gradually widening and stylish carriage drive in the sightline of the building and an appropriate 'front garden'.⁸

The new Welgelegen, which was eventually completed around 1790, was built in a modern style with a foreign grandeur perfectly in keeping with its owner and his art collection. The house was one of the earliest and most convincing examples of Neoclassicism in Netherlandish architecture, designed by the Amsterdam city architect Abraham van der Hart (1747-1820) with the assistance of Hope himself.⁹ The front elevation was and is dominated by a tall pillared portico like a Roman temple, flanked to left and right by lower wings with corner pavilions, echoing the palace

architecture that had come into fashion throughout Europe in the eighteenth century. The elegant building was intended above all to underpin its owner's prestige and house his extensive art collection, for which three large galleries were built on the principal floor. Their presence gave Welgelegen a character at odds with the prevailing Dutch architecture, an air of foreignness that was reinforced by the input of the international artists and designers Hope employed. Italian craftsmen made the numerous stucco ornaments and carried out the scagliola work, usually working to models in French and Italian prints. A marble mantelpiece that was designed around 1760 by the famous Italian Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778) for 'Cavaliere Giovanni Hope', Henry's cousin John, was installed in Welgelegen by John more than twenty years later (fig. 10). It is now also in the Rijksmuseum.¹⁰



Fig. 10

GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIRANESI (design), *Mantelpiece made for John Hope originating from Welgelegen, c. 1769*. Marble, h. 133 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-15449; on loan from the Province of North-Holland.



Fig. 11
Righetti's signature
(detail of fig. 3).

Although Hope's art collection consisted predominantly of first-class paintings, sculpture was given a prominent place in and around Welgelegen. The magnificent façade was adorned in 1789 with appropriate sculptures by the Neoclassical sculptor Gilles-Lambert Godecharle (1750-1835). However Hope also owned statuary that stood more freely in the natural surroundings of Welgelegen, independent of the architecture, forming a link between the temple of art and its rural environment. There were thirteen large lead statues, most of them cast from famous works of Classical Antiquity. Hope had ordered twelve of them from the renowned statuary founder Francesco Righetti in Rome in 1781. Four works from this suite were disposed of at the end of 1803 or slightly later because they were in such poor condition. One has been missing without trace since 1920; another found its way into the garden of the Drents Museum in Assen. The other seven withstood the ravages of time in the gardens of Welgelegen reasonably well, eventually ending up in the Rijksmuseum in 2007. The sculptor signed his name in block letters cast into the pedestals of six of the seven lead statues: FRANCISCVS RIGHETTI FECIT ROMAE followed by the year of manufacture (1781, 1782 and in one case 1802) (fig. 11).

Righetti the Bronze-Founder
Reproducing statues in Italy had become increasingly popular in the eighteenth century and Righetti was by no means the only one to engage in this branch of sculpture. The practice of copying famous classical statues had begun in the Renaissance, of course, but in Hope's day the demand for such replicas had grown very considerably. This was due in part to the sky-high prices for original antiquities, and in part to the tourists who flooded to Italy from all over Europe every year, with the English in the forefront. As the cradle of European culture, the country attracted countless wealthy young men who went on their Grand Tour – the educational rite of passage, almost mandatory for the upper classes – to see the wonders of art and culture that Italy had to offer. Undertaking a Grand Tour was apparently not unusual in the Hope family either. Henry's cousin John was not in Amsterdam in 1762, when the firm of Hope & Co was established, because he was 'now on his travels'.¹¹ We cannot say for sure that Henry also went on a Grand Tour, but it certainly cannot be ruled out. In October 1760, the French philosopher Voltaire wrote to the Marquess Albergati Capacelli in Bologna that 'a gentleman named Mr Hope, half English, half Dutch, and very rich,' wanted to travel through Italy and Greece.¹² Given the description



Fig. 12
 LUIGI VALADIER,
Satyr, c. 1700.
 Bronze and *alabastro*
fiorito, h. 58 cm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum,
 inv. no. BK-16945.

'half English, half Dutch', this could very well have been Henry Hope, who would then have been about the right age for such a cultural trip and had arrived in Amsterdam from England not long before.

Many foreign travellers bought expensive souvenirs to take home with them, small or sometimes even life-sized copies of the most famous

statues in Rome. There were several foundries in the city, supplying copies in various materials, sizes and price brackets. The goldsmith and statuary caster Luigi Valadier (1726-1785) produced high quality, very carefully finished replicas in bronze (fig. 12). Francesco Righetti learnt the trade from him and, after Valadier's death in 1785, took over his leading role in the

Roman art trade.¹³ At the same time, however, Righetti had to contend with formidable competition from, among others, Giovanni Zoffoli (c. 1746-1805) and the rather shadowy figure in art history, Giuseppe Boschi, who offered statues more cheaply (fig. 13).¹⁴ As well as these excellent copies in bronze, countless small copies of classical statues in alabaster, biscuit porcelain, earthenware or plaster were made in Rome, Naples and Florence, most of them eventually finding their way on to the mantelpieces or tables of well-to-do Britons.¹⁵

When Hope placed his first order with Righetti, the bronze-founder was at the start of his career,¹⁶ and it seems very likely that this major commission

from the Dutch Republic laid the basis for his later successes. It is striking that Righetti attracted the attention of important clients very soon after this. In 1786, for instance, Catherine the Great of Russia commissioned a marble copy of Mount Parnassus with Apollo and the Muses,¹⁷ and from 1788 onwards there were various deliveries of statues to the Swedish court.¹⁸ Righetti also enjoyed the patronage of the Vatican. In 1801 he was even honoured with a papal visit. On this occasion Pope Pius VII commissioned a set of ormolu altar decorations as a gift for San Giorgio in Venice. Four years later the same pope appointed him director of the Vatican bronze foundry. The Bonapartes also contributed

Fig. 13

ATTRIBUTED TO
GIOVANNI ZOFFOLI,
Two Centaurs, c. 1755.
Bronze, marble,
h. 47.5 and 44 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. BK-1955-17A, B.



AUX AMATEURS DE L'ANTIQUITE ET DES BEAUX ARTS

François Righetti Sculpteur & Fondeur en bronze à Rome Rue la Purification à Cape le Case donne avis au Public qu'il a considérablement augmenté la collection de modèles soit en Groupes, Statues, Bustes, Animaux, soit enfin en morceaux précieux de toute espèce que l'on admire à Rome, à Florence, & ailleurs. Après les avoir fidèlement copiés, on les a réduits à une juste proportion, & chaque Groupe, ou Statue est d'un palme sept onces mesure Romaine.

On en trouve ci joint le Catalogue avec le prix de chaque pièce en *Siquins Romains*.

GROUPES

	<i>Siquins Romains</i>
D'Apollon & Daphné du Bernin à la Villa Borghese	60
De Mercure & de l'Amour du Prince Altieri	30
Ajax de Florence	35
Laocoon de Belvedere	60
Pétras & Arrie de la Villa Ludovisi	38
Venus avec un Cupidon de Rondanini	30
Lucius Papirius dit Prætextat de la Villa Ludovisi	35
Castor & Pollux en Espagne	33
La Collection de Niobé avec la Famille	300
Amour & Psyché du Comte Foy	33
Lutte de Florence	33
Bacchus & un Faune de Florence	33
Ariadne & Bacchus	35
Castor & Pollux de Monte Cavallo	100
Le Taureau de Farnese	150
Marc Aurèle à cheval au Capitole	45
Mars assis avec un enfant de la Villa Ludovisi	25
Les deux Centaures du Capitole	60
Le Centaure de Borghese avec un enfant	25
La Déesse triomphante faite d'après l'antique	25
Silène de Borghese	25
Les trois Grâces de la Villa Borghese	50
Dionitrie du Museum du Vatican	40
Lutte de deux enfants, qui fait de pendant de la Lutte de Florence	33
Lutte de Mercure avec l'Amour du palais Altieri	30

FIGURES SIMPLES

Deux Consuls du Museum du Vatican	40
Deux esclaves de Farnese	36
Ganimède du Museum du Vatican	20
Agrippine de Naples	15
La Junon de la Villa Albani sur un globe doré avec son piédestal de Marbre garni en bronze doré	60

Possilipe du Museum Vatican	20
Mélicandre du Museum Vatican	20
Un Enfant qui dort servant de pendant à l'Hermaphrodite	18
Le David lançant la pierre avec la fronde à la Villa Borghese	20
Petit Amour au Capitole	18
Hercule Farnese	23
Apollon de Belvedere	22
Petit Apollon de Medici	18
Sybille de la Villa Medici	18
Venus Marine de Medici	18
Venus Callipige de la Farnesine	18
Muse assise en Angleterre	18
Nerva assis du Vatican	18
Une Victoire ailée sur un globe, formée d'après l'antique avec son piédestal de marbre orné de métaux dorés	60
Mercury volant de Medici avec son Piédestal enrichi des ornements en bronze doré	50
Mercury en forme de Berger du Museum du Vatican	18
Antonin du Capitole	18
Læla du Capitole	20
Junon du Capitole	18
Pandore du Capitole	18
Sardanapale du Vatican	18
Zénon du Capitole	18
Agrippine du Capitole	18
Amazone du Capitole	18
Jupiter assis du Vatican	20
Faune avec une chèvre du Capitole	25
Marius assis de la Villa Negroni	18
Scylla assis de la Villa Negroni	20
Gladiateur combattant de Borghese	20
Bacchus de Medici	18
Le Berger Paris du Vatican	18
Deux enfants de Borghese l'un avec un oiseau, l'autre avec le nid en main	30
Achille de Borghese	18
Faustine assise de Borghese	18
Junon assise en Angleterre	18
Néron à Paris	18
Cléopâtre de Belvedere	20
Flore du Capitole	35
Flore de Farnese	18
Fortune qui suit pendant au dit Mercury	18
Les neuf Muses & Apollon du Vatican	25
L'athlète de la Gentili	18
Marsyas écorché de Medici	200
Faune aux palmes de Florence	18
Mélicandre du Museum Vatican	18
Petite Béménide de Borghese	25
Gervanac du Vatican	18
Attionis de Belvedere	18
Hermaphrodite de Borghese	18

Lu

Incece de Jean Bologna qui fait pendant à la Cléopâtre	20
Venus d'abord du même	18
Venus à genoux du même	18
Mars du même	18
Cheval écorché de Mattai	20
Tibère du Museum Vatican	20
Jules-César du Museum Vatican	22
Auguste du Museum Vatican	22
Liloe en forme d'Antonius du Capitole	18
Discobol du Museum Vatican	18
Faon du Capitole ayant un Chevreau sur les épaules	20
Fidèle qui s'arrache l'épave de pied au Capitole	18
Deux Curiatius de Villa Albani	36
Alexandre du Museum du Vatican	36
Julius Pie	18

BUSTES AVEC LEUR BASE DOREE, EN TOUT, HAUTS D'UN PALME, CINQ ONCES

Lucius Verus de la Villa Borghese	15
Marc Aurèle de la Villa Borghese	15
Les deux Césars posés sur des trophées isolés en bronze & différents l'un de l'autre, ayant chacun une base de divers marbres ornés en métaux dorés, à raison de 32 siquins l'un	384
Une Suite complète des philosophes dont l'un se vend	15
Les douze Césars à 12 siquins l'un	144
Marc Aurèle jeune	12
Commode	12
Ariadne	12
Liximque	12
Bacchus	12
Marcus Brutus	12
Jupiter Capitain	12
Hercule	12
Alexandre du Capitole	15
Ajax du Vatican	20
Les deux têtes de Castor & Pollux colossales du Quirinal	36
Les deux fameuses Bacchantes colossales du Museum Vatican	30
Le Jupiter du Museum Vatican	15
La fameuse Junon colossale en Angleterre	15
Un enfant assis avec une masqué de Théâtre en main formé sur l'antique proportion de trois palmes	50
Les deux Vases de Borghese & de Medici hauts d'environ deux palmes & demi	300
Les deux Fleuves du Belvedere de Nil & le Tibre assis, proportion de deux palmes & demi environ	120
Les deux Lions de la Fontaine des Thermes d'un palme	12
Le Sanglier de Florence	12
Les Trophées du Capitole, de Marius hauteur 3 palmes	50
Les deux Lions, qui sont au bas de l'escalier du Capitole	30

STA

STATUES DE TROIS PALMES

Ceux qui désireront toutes les susdites copies, chacune de trois palmes Romains coûtera 65

N.B. Si l'on désire différentes copies d'animaux de la fameuse collection du Museum Vatican, comme Chevaux, Lions, Panthères, Taureaux, Vaches, Cerfs, Daims, Chèvres, & autres, proportion d'un palme environ, chaque pièce coûte 12 siquins & comme dans la dite collection on trouve des modèles de toutes les copies ci devant mentionnées de trois palmes de haut on les vend chacune 60

Si l'on y desiroit des piédestaux de différents marbres avec les garnitures en métal doré dans le goût antique on les aura à un prix raisonnable c'est à dire 5, 10, 12, 14, 15, & 20, 25, 30 sequans l'un, suivant la grandeur & garniture respective.

Ceux qui desireroient faire garnir des Deserts, des Secrétaires, des Horloges, des Vases, des Urnes, des Obélisques, & autres objets avec des ornements en Bronze dans le goût antique & les avoir dorés à différentes couleurs, imitant parfaitement les belles dorures de France, pourroient être pleinement satisfaits dans le même atelier.

On trouve encore chez le même différents trépieds de la hauteur de trois palmes parmi lesquels on voit le fameux trépied de Naples à Portici soutenu de trois chimères sur lesquelles posent trois Sphinx ailés, & le tout orné de la manière la plus délicate & la plus élégante. Nous serions trop longs si nous voulions en décrire en détail toutes les beautés.

On trouve aussi chez le même Professeur des Fontaines de Bernin, celles de la place Navone, une autre de Barberini, une autre antique de la Villa Albani, une autre de la place Mattei & toutes formées de marbres Jura & tendres, garnies de Statues, Bas-reliefs, & autres ornements en métal doré qui exigent de pareils ouvrages.

Il y a dans le même goût le fameux groupe de Monte Cavallo, l'Obélisque & la base le tout enrichi de bas-reliefs & ornemens du meilleur goût possible, & à des prix raisonnables.

STATUES EN GRANDEUR NATURELLE

Qui voudroit encore des Statues grandes comme les originaux qui se conservent dans les Museum de Rome, Florence, Naples, & ailleurs, on les fournira comme on a déjà fait par le passé aux prix suivants.

Statues de la grandeur & proportion de l'Apollon de Medici ou de Florence, <i>Siquins Rom.</i>	
Statues grandes comme la Venus de Medici	400
Statues-hautes comme l'Apollon du Vatican	550
Ces trois grandeurs indiquées suffisent pour donner une idée différente de toute autre Statue qui pourroit être ornée par les Amateurs.	1300

On peut aussi faire encore des bustes en grand formés sur les originaux, comme par exemple des Bustes des Philosophes, Consuls, Empereurs, Impératrices, Hommes & Femmes célèbres; le prix sera proportionné à leur grandeur, & il sera de 30, 40, 50 siquins l'un. Il est bon d'observer qu'il ne s'agit ici que des Bustes de grandeur naturelle, & en dessous; car si l'on demandoit des têtes colossales, le prix augmenteroit nécessairement.

1794.

Fig. 14
 Francesco Righetti's
 printed price list.
 London, Victoria
 and Albert Museum,
 inv. no. D. 1479-1898.

largely to his order book. Righetti supplied two miniature obelisks on the occasion of the marriage of Napoleon's sister Pauline to Camillo Borghese in 1803; five years later he cast the monumental bronze statue of Napoleon from a model by Antonio Canova on the instructions of Prince Eugène de Beauharnais, Bonaparte's stepson and viceroy of Italy.¹⁹ The crowning moment in his celebrated career was a commission for the court in Naples. In the last year of his life, 1819, Righetti completed a monumental bronze equestrian statue of Charles III, again after a model by Canova. It was Righetti's most ambitious and daring undertaking. After his death his workshop was continued by his son Luigi and his grandson Francesco Junior.

Both Righetti and his competitor Zoffoli issued printed price lists, from which it is clear that Righetti had by far the larger range (fig. 14).²⁰ Righetti's dates from 1794 and was published in French for the convenience of his international clientele. There are nigh on eighty statues on the list, as well as twenty-five statuary groups, forty-six busts and a miscellany of vases, tripods and other decorative bronzes. Zoffoli offered only about a third as many.²¹

Righetti's price list was aimed 'aux amateurs de l'antiquité et des beaux arts' and his range precisely reflects the tastes of his target group. While the lion's share of the reproductions were of statues of Classical Antiquity that could be seen in Rome at that time – he scrupulously recorded which collections they were in – he also offered casts of a few sixteenth- and seventeenth-century statues, among them Giambologna's *Flying Mercury* in the Villa Medici and Bernini's famous marble *David* in the Villa Borghese. Evidently the fame of these works was undiminished at the end of the eighteenth century, although it is equally remarkable that not a single work by a sculptor like Michelangelo appears on Righetti's list.

Hope's Commission

The long list of all the bronze statues in his range is followed by a lengthy postscript, in which Righetti informed potential clients of other services his workshop could provide, such as making casts of animal statues in the Vatican collection, supplying pedestals for his statues in various types of marble or gilded bronze 'perfectly imitating the finest French gilding' and, lastly, making copies actual size. He supplied such casts 'en grandeur naturelle' in three price ranges, depending on the size. For the smallest – the Apollino size up to about 140 centimetres tall – he charged 400 Roman *zecchini* or ducats, for the middle category (approximately 150 centimetres), the price was 550 *zecchini*, and the largest statues, the size of the Apollo Belvedere (225 centimetres tall), cost 1,300 *zecchini*. Righetti's small bronzes (with prices ranging from fifteen to fifty *zecchini*) were extremely popular, but his large sizes were much slower to sell – in fact everything seems to suggest that when he ordered the first of his set of lead replicas for Welgelegen in 1781, Henry Hope was Righetti's first (and possibly even his only) customer for this category of life-sized copies. This makes the surviving set of seven statues even more important – and in an international context too.

Going by the prices on Righetti's list, the total commission for twelve statues must have cost Hope a fortune. As we have seen, a statue the size of the Apollino, which was also in Hope's order, cost 400 *zecchini* in 1794, although it is not clear from the price list whether Righetti's prices were based on reproductions in bronze or lead. Lead would have been considerably cheaper and also easier to cast because of its lower melting point. Even if we assume that versions in lead only cost about half as much as bronzes, Hope's total order would easily have come to 5,000 *zecchini*,

not including the cost of transporting the works. This amounts to more than 26,000 guilders at that time.²²

The Selection

Given the size of this investment, the selection Hope made from Righetti's range would not have been motivated by the different prices. He ordered a diverse ensemble that included both classical and later works, probably with a specific spot in mind or with a particularly appropriate significance. Hope initially ordered the statues for an octagonal room on the ground floor at Welgelegen, but he must have changed his plans quite quickly and instead had some of them erected outside. According to the inventories of Welgelegen compiled between 1809 and 1888, only five statues in the group were indoors.²³

Giambologna's *Flying Mercury* was one of the best-known images of post-classical Western art and a model of light-footed elegance but, equally as important, it was an allusion to Hope's profession as a merchant banker (see fig. 8). The lead *Mercury* was originally installed in the hall on the ground floor and was the last of the statues to remain indoors. At some time between 1890 and 1919 it was moved first to the steps and then eventually to a position in the gardens behind the house.

The fact that Hope ordered a copy of François du Quesnoy's *Susanna* (now lost) is equally unsurprising. The marble original in Santa Maria di Loreto in Rome had been regarded as the epitome of pure classicism since it was made in 1633 (fig. 15). In the Low Countries, where Du Quesnoy (1597-1643) was born, the sculptor remained very popular throughout the eighteenth century. *Susanna* represented the modern classicist ideal and was often contrasted with classical statues.²⁴ In a letter written from England in 1803, Hope himself expressed concern about the poor condition of a number of statues and was particularly distressed about the fate of the *Susanna*.²⁵

In Hope's day the *Venus de' Medici* was still accounted one of the finest statues of Antiquity (fig. 16). He may originally have ordered his now lost copy from Righetti as a pendant to the *Apollino*, the lead cast of which has survived (see fig. 4). The two statues were often paired since the original marbles belonging to the Medici were displayed as a pair in the Tribune of the Uffizi in Florence. Henry's great-nephew, Thomas Hope, had full-sized marble replicas of the *Venus* and the *Apollino* together in the sculpture gallery at his country seat, The Deepdene in Surrey.²⁶ It did not happen at Welgelegen, though, for there the *Apollino* was combined with *Amor Stringing his Bow* (see fig. 5) and

Fig. 15
FRANÇOIS DU
QUESNOY,
Susanna, 1629-33.
Marble, h. approx.
200 cm.
Rome, Santa
Maria di Loreto.
Photo: © 2012
Scala, Florence.



placed in the hall of the house, beside the *Flying Mercury*. The *Venus* was quite quickly relegated to the gardens. It would, incidentally, have been highly unlikely that Righetti made his copy directly from the original statue of *Venus*. It had become virtually impossible to make moulds from the statue since it had been damaged by Massimiliano Soldani in the early eighteenth century while he was casting from it.²⁷ Righetti's version for Hope was probably cast from an existing copy.

Amor Stringing his Bow, taken from the original marble in the Musei Capitolini, struck a light-hearted note among the other, more serious classics (see fig. 5). Thematically it is a good fit for the group of the *Crouching Venus with Amor*, in which the little love god offers his mother an arrow (fig. 17). Both statues are relatively small and would be ideal for display indoors, but this combination is not confirmed by the Welgelegen inventories. In 1809, as we have seen, the *Amor Stringing his Bow* was set up in the hall, opposite *Ganymede and the Eagle* (see fig. 6). However, Hope did not receive this last statue until 1802, so it is conceivable that the 1791 *Crouching Venus with Amor* was the counterpart to *Amor Stringing his Bow* until then.

Hope's selection of the seated *Euterpe* (see fig. 3) confirmed that his Welgelegen would be an extraordinary temple of art, where music and poetry would play a role alongside fine art and architecture. Interestingly, in Hope's day the original marble *Euterpe* was no longer in Rome at all, it was at Newby Hall in England. Righetti's price list of 1794 records the statue as 'seated Muse in England'. This means that he must have made the cast from an old mould or after an old cast that had remained in Italy – perhaps with the sculptor Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, who had radically overhauled the antique statue before it was sold to England. Among



Fig. 16
Venus Medici, Greece,
first century BC.
Marble, h. 153 cm.
Florence, Galleria
degli Uffizi.
Photo: © 2012 Scala,
Florence – Courtesy
of the Ministero
Beni e Att. Culturali.

other things, Cavaceppi added the right lower arm with the flute, the attribute that transformed the anonymous seated woman into the muse of flute-playing. This undoubtedly made the statue much more saleable.

Hope probably conceived of the two groups, *Ganymede and the Eagle* and *Bacchus and Ampelos* (see figs. 6 and 7) as a pair, although he never saw them together. The *Ganymede* group was certainly ordered in 1781, but it did not arrive in Haarlem for another



Fig. 17
FRANCESCO
RIGHETTI,
*Crouching Venus
with Amor*, 1781.
Lead, h. 85.5 cm.
Assen, Drents
Museum, inv. no.
H 1961-38. Photo:
Carien Steenbergen.

twenty-one years. The delay came about because the original statue was only excavated in 1780 and still had to be restored. It was probably years later before Righetti was granted permission to take a cast of it. The group depicts Ganymede offering a bowl of wine to Zeus, in the guise of an eagle, a reference to the fact that the youth would be abducted by the bird of prey and carried off to Mount Olympus to serve as cup-bearer to the gods. *Bacchus and Ampelos* had been known since the late sixteenth century, when the Florentine sculptor Giovanni Caccini was commissioned by the Medici to restore the statue. All he had to work from was an antique Roman torso, which he completed as Bacchus; he then added the young satyr Ampelos, whom the wine god loved. When Ampelos died in a tragic accident, Bacchus changed him into a vine and made wine from his blood. The wine cup in Ampelos's hand refers to this and is also the motif that links this group to Ganymede and the eagle.

The other three statues that Righetti supplied for Welgelegen have sadly been lost. We do, though, know what they were from the order Hope placed in 1781 and we can infer from it that they were also part of the classical canon. There was, for instance, a cast of the marble *Antinous* in the Musei Capitolini, the standing nude youth who was the favourite of Emperor Hadrian. It is conceivable that Hope combined the elegant statue with another nude youth, the bronze *Idolino*, which was erroneously described as *Bacco dei Medici* in the 1781 order.²⁸ The final item in Hope's order is a cast of the statuary group which was known at that time as *Papirius and his Mother* and owned by the Ludovisi family in Rome. Righetti must have gone to a great deal of trouble to get a cast of this work, because until 1816 the Ludovisis categorically refused permission for anyone to make copies of the statues in their collection.²⁹

Hope's liking for the group may have been prompted by the fact that the subject was associated with friendship and harmony.

The Laocoön

In 1789 the largest of Hope's lead statues, the *Laocoön*, was installed on the forecourt of Welgelegen between the two curving flights of steps, as can be seen in an engraving of that year (fig. 18). This prominent position was justified as much by the reputation of the statue as by its size. The original group was excavated in Rome on 14 January 1506 and immediately recognized as a famous statue from Antiquity that had been praised by Pliny as a depiction of the Trojan high priest Laocoön and his two sons in their life and death struggle with two enormous sea serpents. The marble statue was bought by Pope Julius II and installed in the Belvedere statue court at the Vatican, where it remains to this day.

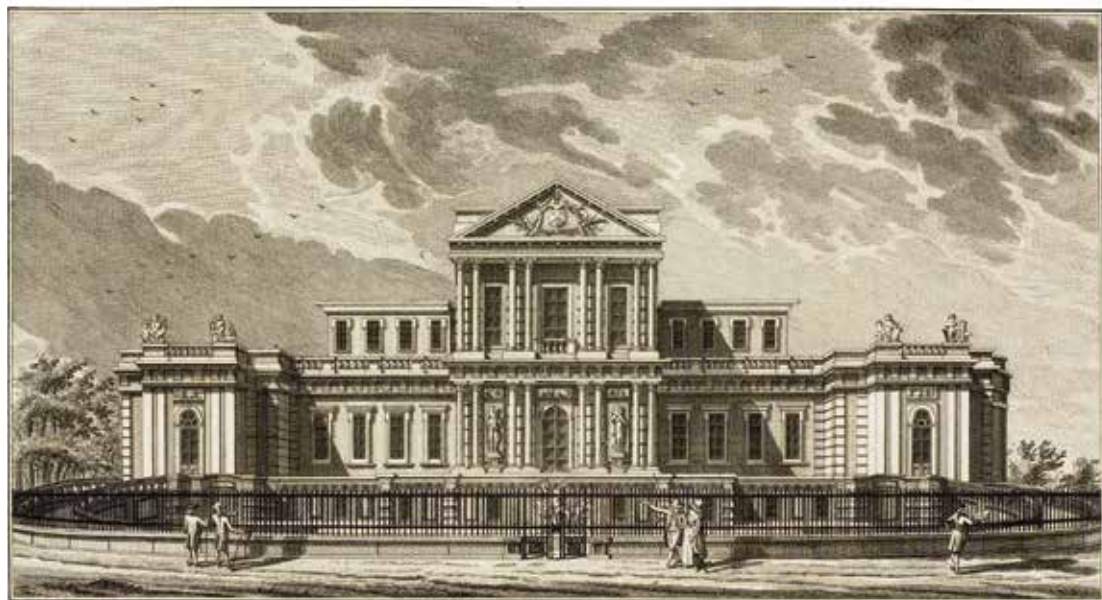
Although the lead *Laocoön* is not listed on the order to Righetti in 1781 and the statue does not bear the founder's signature, it has until now been regarded as a work by Righetti. The provenance of the group, however, makes it clear that this is not the case. Hope did not acquire the *Laocoön* until Welgelegen was completed, as a passage in the *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode* of 1 January 1790 reveals: 'Since last summer a cast or copy in lead of this extremely fine group has adorned the forecourt of Mr Hope's magnificent country house just outside this town (Haarlem). If we have been correctly informed, the late lover of art and antiquities, Mr N. Kalf of West Zaandam, was the owner of this fine and costly piece in earlier years; being in Rome, he bought it there and had it shipped to his Manor of Polanen, near Halfweg. After him Mr Braamkamp of Amsterdam purchased this group. Considerable sums of money were paid for it each time.'³⁰

'The late lover of art and antiquities, Mr N. Kalf of West Zaandam,' is undoubtedly the wealthy Mennonite, Nicolaas Calff (1677-1734). This colourful and successful merchant was among the friends of Tsar Peter the Great when he was staying in Zaandam.³¹ Undeterred by his Mennonite background, Calff adopted a lordly lifestyle; according to Diderot, when he was staying in Paris in 1713-14 he even styled himself Comte de Veau ('Count Calff') or the Marquis des Vaux. Calff built his country house, Polanen, between Amsterdam and Haarlem, and laid out a sculpture garden that was known far and wide: '... which stood where the summer residence of a certain Mr Calff was formerly seen. In former times this latter place, which was also called Polanen, was famed for a great many fine and expensive casts of antiques that the then owner, Klaas or Nicolaas Calff, born in West Zaandam, had had made on his travels in Italy, where he was known as the Marquis des Vaux.'³² After his death, some of Calff's statues found their way to a small garden in Zaandijk, where they still stand. With

gentle mockery and some exaggeration Aldous Huxley referred to them in his description of the Zaan region: 'The houses are small, made of wood and gaudily painted; with gardens as large as table-cloths, beautifully kept and filled – at any rate at the season when I saw them – with plushy begonias. In one, as large, in this case, as two table-cloths, were no less than fourteen large groups of statuary.'³³ From 1698 to 1700 Calff went on a Grand Tour of England, France and Italy, avidly collecting art and buying statues for his country house. If the report in the *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode* is to be trusted, Calff must have ordered the *Laocoön* during his stay in Rome, in or shortly before 1700 and well before Righetti started his business.

After his death, Polanen passed to his nephew Pieter Jansz Calff. On 3 and 4 June 1763, Nicolaas Calff's estate was sold and the *Laocoön* was acquired by the celebrated Amsterdam art collector Gerrit Braamcamp (1699-1771). He erected the group in the garden of his magnificent town house, Sweedenrijk, at number 462 Herengracht, among six

Fig. 18
J.L. VAN BEEK
AFTER D. KERKHOFF,
Welgelegen, 1789.
Engraving,
161 x 298 mm.
Haarlem, Noord-
Hollands Archief –
Kennemerland
Collection,
no. k88 53-015 11031.



other statues after classical examples that had also come from Polanen and, possibly, also originally from Rome.³⁴ From Braamcamp's art gallery, which was built on to the garden side of the house in 1760, visitors who had come to see his collection of paintings had a good view of the statues. In 1772, a year after Braamcamp's death, the statues were sold at auction for large sums. The *Laocoön* fetched 1,025 guilders, while the prices of the other statues ranged from 160 to 1,200 guilders.³⁵ The buyer was probably a certain Mr Falk, who is mentioned elsewhere as the owner, and the statue may have ended up at Welgelegen through him in 1789.³⁶

At that moment Hope owned the only life-sized example of the *Laocoön* in the Low Countries. A second cast was to arrive two years later. This one was an example in plaster that had

been purchased along with a number of other casts of classical sculpture by the painter Hendrik Voogd in Rome for the Amsterdam art society Felix Meritis. In the picture of the society's statue gallery painted by Adriaan de Lelie (1755-1820) in 1809, it stands in the middle of the room, to the right of another famous classical statue, the *Apollo Belvedere* (fig. 19). The two originals were likewise displayed quite close together in the Vatican museums in Rome. The picture also shows two other casts of which Hope owned versions in lead: the *Venus de' Medici* (left) and *Amor Stringing his Bow* (to the left of the doorway). Between 1806 and 1810 King Louis Bonaparte ordered a set of plaster casts for a museum from Humbert de Superville in Leiden, including a *Laocoön* made in Paris by the bronze-founder Joseph Torrenti (fig. 20). The lead *Laocoön* at

Fig. 19
ADRIAAN DE LELIE,
*The Statue Gallery
of the Felix Meritis
Society, 1806-09.*
Oil on canvas,
100 x 133 cm.
Amsterdam,
Amsterdam Museum,
inv. no. SA 7364.





Welgelegen is now regarded as among the oldest surviving life-sized copies of the original marble in the Vatican.³⁷ The *Laocoön* must soon have attracted attention in Haarlem, but the three nude men on the forecourt at Welgelegen were probably too much of a good thing for the narrow-minded burghers. The latest restoration of the statues uncovered traces of solder where lead loincloths or fig leaves had been

attached to conceal the private parts of Laocoön and his sons from the shocked gaze of impressionable ladies and children. They were probably removed during the twentieth century (fig. 21). The conversation between two residents of Haarlem that Adriaan Loosjes – perhaps not entirely coincidentally also the executor of Nicolaas Calff's will – reported in his *Hollands Arkadia of Wandelingen in de Omstreken*

Fig. 20
JOSEPH TORRENTI,
Laocoön, c. 1806-10.
Plaster, h. approx.
225 cm.
Leiden,
Rijksmuseum
van Oudheden,
inv. no. 11927/4.3.



Fig. 21
Detail of the private parts of Laocoön's son showing remnants of solder from a fig leaf or *câche-sexe*.

van Haarlem (1804) illustrates the public interest in the statue. 'What is this large statue standing in the square called?' asks a man called Adriaan, to which his friend Cornelis replies, 'It is Laocoön wrestling with snakes, a cast of an antique, which is certainly why it has been given a place here...'³⁸ And that was no exaggeration.

Later Fortunes

In 1793, when the French invaded the Republic, Hope went to England. He came back for a short while, but in the summer of 1794 he was forced to move to London for good. He took his considerable collection of paintings with him, but the statues remained at Welgelegen. Hope was never to see his Haarlem country house again. In 1808 it passed into the hands of his foster son, John Williams Hope, who sold it a year later to King Louis Bonaparte with the furniture, including all the statues. According to the inventory of Welgelegen drawn up in 1810, when Louis Bonaparte abdicated and left the Netherlands, there were five statues in the two vestibules, three at the front and two statuary groups in the vestibule at the back of the Pavilion. This would have been the logical place, because it meant that the statues provided a fitting connection between the

intimate world indoors and the less private outdoor sphere, since the other statues were in the gardens.

It would have made sense to have the smaller statues indoors and the more monumental ones in the gardens. We know for certain that the *Laocoön*, the *Venus de' Medici* and the *Euterpe* were outside. The *Flying Mercury*, designed to be viewed from all sides, would undoubtedly have been placed in the centre of one of the vestibules, corresponding to the central position of the original in the Villa Medici in Rome. Accompanying him were the *Apollino* and the *Amor Stringing his Bow*. *Ganymede and the Eagle* and the *Bacchus and Ampelos* group were in the vestibule on the garden side. These five statues, in any event, continued to adorn the interior of Welgelegen until 1881. In that year they were moved to the terrace of the main floor at the front of the house and in 1948 – Welgelegen had meanwhile long been the offices of the Provincial Executive of North Holland – they were found places in the park at the back. The large *Laocoön*, installed by Hope on the forecourt in 1789, is the only one of the statues never to have been moved.

The *Crouching Venus with Amor* had probably already left Welgelegen around 1800, because it does not appear on the 1810 list. It was acquired at a sale in Amsterdam in 1961 for the gardens of the former provincial government building in Assen, the present provincial Drents Museum (see fig. 17).³⁹ Before that it was successively at Wildhoeve and Oud Zomerzorg, houses near Bloemendaal. Wildhoeve was renovated in 1788 by the architect Van der Hart, who was also involved in the work at Welgelegen at this time, for Willem Philip Kops (1755-1805). It would seem that Kops bought the *Venus and Amor* from Hope's possessions after he moved to England. It is, after all, hard to imagine that Kops ordered the statue directly from Righetti.⁴⁰

The history of the other five statues is known. The *Venus de' Medici* was still at Welgelegen in 1920, albeit with one plaster arm; the other four, on the orders of Hope himself, were melted down in or shortly after 1803 because they were in such poor condition. With a clear-eyed sense of perspective, in a letter of 2 October of that year written from England, Hope responded to the news that a number of his sculptures were in a deplorable state: I am concerned for the Shocking State and I fear of the Statues, a little expense in the beginning might have prevented such a desperate dilapidation by Lapse

of time and inclemency of the seasons – those you have reserved, are, if entire very fine, I regret the Ste Susanna of Duquesnoy, which with the Mercury of Jean de Bologne, are the two first modern statues existing, the latter I see you have kept, as you should, the Cupid Adolescenti, the 3 Colossal Apollo, Muliagre and Gladiator will yield their costs as lead, including their Pedestals. In fine it is a trifle added to the evils of the times and not worth a ... regret. It's well the Laocoon remained and I hope in good repair, the loss of this would have been lametable indeed.⁴¹

NOTES

* This article is dedicated to Henk Rottinghuis on the occasion of his retirement as president of the Rijksmuseum Fund.

- 1 The most important literature on the statues is F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique. The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900*, New Haven/London 1981, p. 93; A.M. Koldewey, 'De loden beelden van Francesco Righetti voor Welgelegen te Haarlem', *Bulletin KNOB* 82 (1983), pp. 1-24 and no. 9, figs. 12 and 13; R. de Leeuw et al., *Herinneringen aan Italië, kunst en toerisme in de 18de eeuw*, exh. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch (Noordbrabant Museum)/Haarlem (Frans Hals Museum)/Heino (Kasteel Het Nijenhuis) 1984, no. 123; F. Grijzenhout and C. van Tuyl van Serooskerken, *Edele eenvoud. Neo-classicisme in Nederland 1765-1800*, exh. cat. Haarlem (Frans Hals Museum/Teylers Museum) 1989, no. 92; E. de Jong and C. Schellekens, *Het beeld buiten. Vier eeuwen tuinsculptuur in Nederland*, exh. cat. Heino (Hannema-de Stuurs Fundatie) 1994, pp. 98, 99. I am indebted for supplementary information to the anonymous reviewer of my article (who provided some valuable additions), to Gerrit Bosch, the curator of the art collections of the Province of North Holland (Haarlem), to Arjan de Koomen (Amsterdam) and to Chiara Teolato (Rome).
- 2 Others are the late seventeenth-century Netherlandish lead statues at Herrenhausen Castle (Hanover) and at Lerchenborg Castle (Denmark), and the eighteenth-century ensemble by the English sculptors John and

- Henry Cheere in the gardens of Queluz (Portugal), see F. Scholten, 'The Larson Family of Statuary Founders: Seventeenth-Century Reproductive Sculpture for Gardens and Painters' Studios', *Simiolus* 31 (2004/05), nos. 1 and 2, pp. 54-89; and M. Fulton, 'John Cheere, the Eminent Statuary, his Workshop and Practice, 1737-1787', *Sculpture Journal* 10 (2003), pp. 21-39. Among those lost are thirty-two lead statues from Charlottenburg Castle (Denmark), the twenty-eight statues from Fredensborg Castle (Denmark), the lead statues from the Berlin castle of the electors of Brandenburg, from Noordeinde Palace in The Hague, Elswout House near Haarlem and Bergh House in 's-Heerenberg. I thank Caroline Arndt (metal conservation student, Potsdam), who drew my attention to the existence of the Danish statues (e-mail 2012, in Rijksmuseum Righetti file).
- 3 Made by Willem Noyons, Utrecht, and cast by Messrs Steijlaart in Tiel.
 - 4 Restoration by Haber & Brandner, Regensburg. The work involved repairing cracks and errors from an earlier restoration, introducing a stainless steel armature and removing the modern grey finish, retouching superficial damage with water-based paint and applying a wax finish overall. The original white finish (lead white) had already been removed in restoration work carried out around 1970 and replaced with mat grey paint. The core material and original armatures were also removed at that time.
 - 5 Based on M.G. Buist, 'Henry Hope, merchant-bankier, bouwheer van Welgelegen', in

- F.W.A. Beelaerts van Blokland et al., *Paviljoen Welgelegen 1789-1989. Van buitenplaats van de bankier Hope tot zetel van de provincie Noord-Holland*, Haarlem 1989, pp. 15-26.
- 6 Mr Pratt, *Gleanings through Wales, Holland and Westphalia*, London 1802, pp. 329-30.
- 7 J. Heijenbrok and G. Steenmeijer, 'Meer dan Welgelegen: Abraham van der Hart en de familie Hope', *Bulletin KNOB* 107 (2008), nos. 5-6, pp. 196-97.
- 8 B.C. Sliggers, 'Henry Hope's vermakelijke buitenleven en de Haarlemmerhout', in Beelaerts van Blokland et al., op. cit. (note 5), pp. 27-39.
- 9 Heijenbrok and Steenmeijer, op. cit. (note 7).
- 10 J.W. Niemeijer, 'De kunstverzameling van John Hope (1737-1784)', *Nederlands Kunst-historisch Jaarboek* 32 (1981), pp. 127-232, esp. pp. 133, 134, 157, 208 (fig. 22), 209 (no. 370); M.D. Haga, "'Een ongemeen schone antique schoorsteenmantel'", *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 38 (1990), pp. 324-35.
- 11 M. Schreuder, 'De kunstverzameling van Henry Hope', in Beelaerts van Blokland et al., op. cit. (note 5), pp. 93-121, esp. p. 96.
- 12 '... cavaliere chiamato m. Hope, mezzo Inglese, mezzo Olandese, e ricchissimo'. Schreuder, op. cit. (note 11), p. 96.
- 13 R. Righetti, 'Fonditori in bronzo romani del Settecento e dell' Ottocento: i Valadier e i Righetti', *L'Urbe* 5 (1940), no. 11, pp. 2-19.
- 14 H. Honour, 'Bronze Statuettes by Giacomo and Giovanni Zoffoli', *The Connoisseur* 148 (November 1961), pp. 198-205; Haskell and Penny, op. cit. (note 1), p. 93.
- 15 A set of bronzes like this can be seen on the mantelpiece in a portrait of Sir Lawrence Dundas by Johan Zoffany of c. 1770, surrounded by paintings predominantly by seventeenth-century Dutch artists, see Haskell and Penny, op. cit. (note 1), p. 94, fig. 53.
- 16 E. Peters Bowron and J.J. Rishel (eds.), *Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, exh. cat. Philadelphia (Philadelphia Museum of Art) 2000, pp. 276-77.
- 17 Now in the Museo Pio-Clementino in Rome.
- 18 C. Teolato, 'Roman Bronzes at the Court of Gustavus III of Sweden: Zoffoli, Valadier and Righetti', *The Burlington Magazine* 153 (November 2011), pp. 727-33.
- 19 At the entrance of the Palazzo Brera, Milan.
- 20 See Haskell and Penny, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 342-43 (Appendix).
- 21 The idea of publishing catalogues of this kind was not new; in the late seventeenth century the Amsterdam caster of lead statues Barend Dronrijp was already offering his products in this way, an initiative taken up by English bronze-founders in the eighteenth century. See Scholten, op. cit. (note 2), p. 89.
- 22 A zecchino was 3,5 grams of pure gold. The currency equivalent is based on the price of the Piranesi mantelpiece for John Hope dating from the mid-1760s (now in the Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-15449). It cost 70 zecchini, which according to Hope's inventory corresponded to 368 guilders, see Niemeijer, op. cit. (note 10), p. 209.
- 23 This is assumed on the grounds of the building traces found in this room during the most recent restoration of Welgelegen. With thanks to Jacqueline Heijenbrok and Guido Steenmeijer (De Fabryk, Bureau voor Gebouwhistorisch Onderzoek, Utrecht) for this information.
- 24 For more information on Righetti and this statue see E. Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, New Haven /London 2007, p. 158.
- 25 Amsterdam City Archives, 735, inv. no. 464, Henry Hope's correspondence book, letter dated 2 October 1803 from Henry Hope to John Williams Hope in the Netherlands. With thanks to Jacqueline Heijenbrok and Guido Steenmeijer (De Fabryk, Bureau voor Gebouwhistorisch Onderzoek, Utrecht) for this information.
- 26 Haskell and Penny, op. cit. (note 1), p. 147.
- 27 Haskell and Penny, op. cit. (note 1), p. 325.
- 28 See Haskell and Penny, op. cit. (note 1), p. 240, for the confusion of Idolino with Bacchus.
- 29 Haskell and Penny, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 288-91 (no. 71), esp. p. 290.
- 30 'Een Afgietzel of Copy, in 't lood, van deze allerschoonste Group, versierd, sedert den laatsten Zomer, het voorplein van het pragtig Landhuis des Heren Hope, even buiten deze stad (Haerlem). De overledene oudheid- en Kunstminnende Hr. N. Kalf, van Westzaandam, was, so wy wel onderregt zyn, in vroegere Jaren bezitter van dit fraay en kostbaar stuk; het geen hy, te Rome zynde, gekogt en van daar naar zyn Hofstede Polanen, by Halfweg, hadde doen voeren. Na hem wierd de Heer Braamkamp, te Amsterdam, door aan koop eigenaar deser Group. Men heeft er telkens ene aanzienlyke somme gelds voor betaald.' *Algemene Konst- en Letterbode voor meer- en mingeoefenden* 79 (1 January 1790), p. 6, first column.
- 31 R. Couwenhoven, 'De familie Calff, vrienden van de Czaar', *Met stoom* VII (September 1996), no. 24.
- 32 '... daar voorheen de lustplaats van zekeren heer Calf gezien werd, gestaan heeft. Deze laatste plaats, welke mede Polanen genoemd werd, was in vroeger tijd beroemd door een

- groot aantal kostbare en keurige afgietsels van antieken, die de toenmalige bezitter Klaas of Nicolaas Calf, van West-Zaandam geboortig, op zijne reize in Italie, waar hij Marquis des Vaux werd genoemd, had doen vervaardigen.' A.J. van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig woordenboek der Nederlanden*, vol. 9, Gorinchem 1847, pp. 224-25 (under Polanen). See also J. Kok, *Vaderlandsch Woordenboek*, vol. 24, Amsterdam 1791, pp. 30, 31. The statue parks of Polanen and later of Sweedenrijk appear to be direct predecessors of the one at Welgelegen. The combination of a collection of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century paintings in the house and casts of classical statues outside, as Gerrit Braamcamp had, appears to have been the inspiration for the concept of Welgelegen.
- 33 A. Huxley, *Along the Road. Notes and Essays of a Tourist*, London 1948, p. 115. With thanks to Wouter Kloek for this information. It cannot be ruled out that the two lead statues in the coach house of Museum van Loon at number 672 Keizersgracht in Amsterdam – a Flora Farnese and a Silenus with the young Bacchus in his arms – also originally came from Calf's collection.
- 34 C. Bille, *De tempel der kunst of het kabinet van den heer Braamcamp*, Amsterdam 1961, p. 80. According to the catalogue of the sale of the Braamcamp Collection in 1772, these statues were 'all cast from hard composition' and came from 'the Polanen estate at Halfweg, between Amsterdam and Haarlem, previously having belonged to Mr Kalf; they have always been famed as the finest and most artistic statues ever seen in Holland.' ('... alle van harde compositie gegooten'; 'afkomstig van de Buitenplaats Polaanen, gelegen op Halfwegen, tusschen Amsterdam en Haarlem, weleer toebehoord hebbende aan de Heere Kalf; en zyn altyd beroemd geweest voor de fraaiste en kunstigste Beelden, die men in Holland gezien heeft.')
- 35 Bille, op. cit. (note 32), p. 80.
- 36 See De Leeuw et al., op. cit. (note 1), no. 123, pp. 188, 189, where Falk is referred to as the seller to Hope. This was probably George Tammo Falck (1715- in or after 1783) or his brother Karel Gustaaf Falck (1716-1785). Like so many members of the Falck family, they had both made their fortunes in the east in the service of the Dutch East India Company. The two are also associated with Sandbergen, a country estate near Zeist; George Tammo was said to have bought the house and had it renovated in 1754, Karel Gustaaf is described as the Lord of Sandbergen.
- 37 Baccio Bandinelli carved a marble copy actual size in 1523 (Uffizi, Florence), a bronze cast was made for Fontainebleau, the French sculptor Jean-Baptiste carved a marble copy for Versailles in 1684-96 (now by the entrance to the Tapis Vert, Versailles, see A. Maral, *Parcours mythologique dans les jardins de Versailles*, Paris 2012, pp. 103-05) and a bronze version was cast by the Kellers. That one is now at Houghton in Norfolk, see Haskell and Penny, op. cit. (note 1), p. 244. There is also a sixteenth-century copy in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan and a seventeenth-century bronze version in the Skulpturengalerie in Dresden. Lastly there are two seventeenth-century versions that ended up in Sweden: a marble dating from 1650 and owned by Queen Christina, which was probably destroyed in a fire in 1697, and a plaster example that was brought to Sweden a year later by the architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger; it had been cast in Paris with moulds that belonged to King Louis XIV. Tessin's example is still in the Academy of Fine Arts in Stockholm, see J. Zahle, 'Laocoön in Scandinavia, uses and workshops 1587 onwards', in R. Frederiksen and E. Marchand (eds.), *Plaster Casts: Making, Collecting and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present*, Berlin/ New York 2010, pp. 143-62, esp. pp. 148, 149. With thanks to Arjan de Koomen for his information about the last four examples.
- 38 'Hoe heet dit groote beeld dat op het plein staat?'; 't Is Laökoön met slangen worstelende, een afgietsel naar een antiek, waarom het zeker hier een plaats gekregen heeft...' Cited from Koldewei, op. cit. (note 1), p. 1.
- 39 Now in the collection of the Drents Museum in Assen, see Grijzenhout and Van Tuyll van Serooskerken, op. cit. (note 1), no. 92. With thanks to Willemijn Lindenhovius, Drents Museum, for this information.
- 40 With thanks to Jacqueline Heijenbrok and Guido Steenmeijer (De Fabryk, Bureau voor Gebouwhistorisch Onderzoek, Utrecht) for this information.
- 41 Amsterdam City Archives, 735, inv. no. 464, Henry Hope's correspondence book, letter dated 2 October 1803 from Henry Hope to his adopted son John Williams Hope, who had stayed in the Republic. With thanks to Jacqueline Heijenbrok and Guido Steenmeijer (De Fabryk, Bureau voor Gebouwhistorisch Onderzoek, Utrecht) for this information and the transcription. *Cupid Adolescenti* [= *Amor Stringing his Bow*], the 3 *Colossal Apollo* [= *Bacchus Medici?*], *Muliagre* [= *Papirius and his Mother?*] and *Gladiator* [= *Antinous?*].