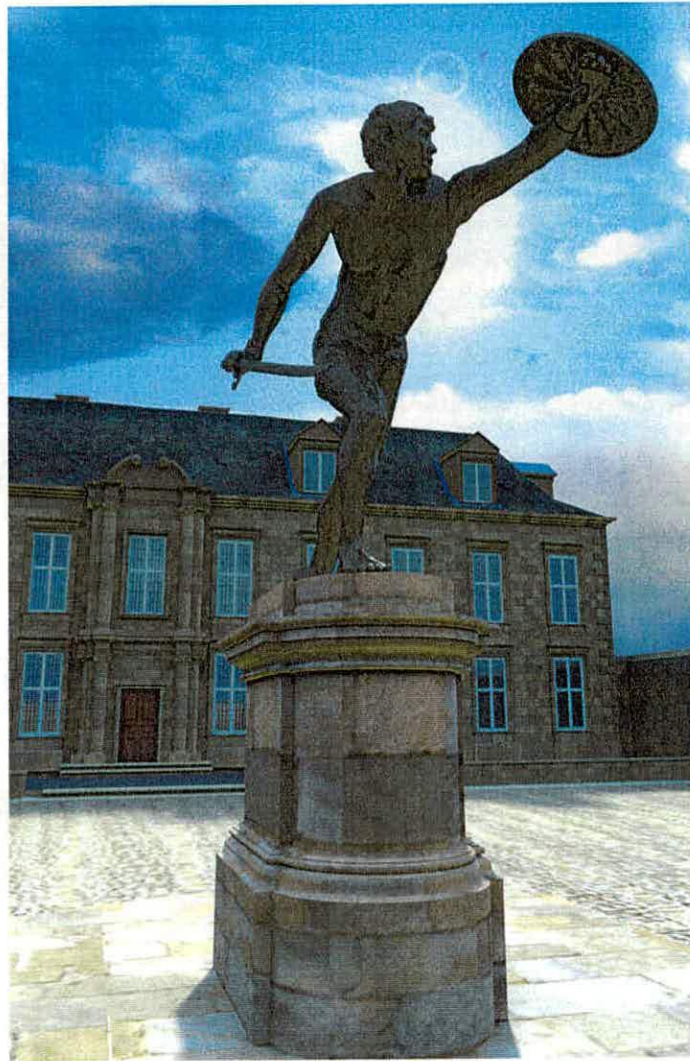


# THE CHOLMLEY HOUSE AT WHITBY

An Account of the 'Curious Statue in Solid Brass'  
which Once Adorned the Courtyard

by

Richard Lea



Historical Analysis & Research Team  
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# 1. INTRODUCTION

Between 1998 and 2002, English Heritage, together with the councils of Whitby and Scarborough, and with funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund, improved visitor facilities at Whitby Abbey. One of the most striking changes is the provision of a new interpretation and display centre housed in the remains of Hugh Cholmley II's New House originally built in 1672 (Fig. 1).

At the beginning of the project, a conservation plan was drawn up to establish priorities for the many historic features within the Whitby Headland area. The report, which has become a planning tool, includes an appendix on the current understanding of the 'Banqueting Hall, as it was then called.'<sup>1</sup> The 'Banqueting Hall' appears to be a misnomer dating from the later nineteenth-century. There is no evidence to suggest that it was ever used as such. Its design indicates that it was built as an elegant house for a gentleman and his family. By the early 1800s, it had become ruinous.

Since that date, works to the surviving shell of the house built by Hugh Cholmley II (1632–1689), including excavation and the removal of the window blockings, have revealed further details of the building's historic development. Also, archaeological recording supervised by Peter Busby of the English Heritage Centre for Archaeology, between 1998 and 2002, has revealed an unusually complete survival of landscaped courtyard surfaces associated with Cholmley's New House.<sup>2</sup>

The new exhibition displays by the York based company, Past Forward include a computer generated reconstruction audio-visual sequence of the seventeenth-century house in its setting. This sequence focuses attention on the statue of a gladiator that is known from documentary sources to have stood somewhere in front of the house. During the development of these displays, an upright statue from a classical source was adopted as the basis for the modelling of the gladiator presented in the exhibition displays when the centre was opened in April of this year (Fig. 2). In Judith Dobie's reconstruction drawings reproduced in the new guidebook, a similar upright pose was adopted although the detail in both drawings is unspecific (Fig. 3 and Fig. 4).<sup>3</sup>

The following report explores the evidence for the statue of the gladiator, its likely form, and its location. The detailing of the statue in the revised visitor centre audio visual sequence is now based on the argument presented here that it would have been a copy of the famous first-century BC Roman sculpture known as the 'Borghese Gladiator' and now in the Louvre, Paris. The report also concludes with a note on whether it would be appropriate within the present scheme to reinstate a copy of the statue in its original location.

<sup>1</sup> Clark 1997. The Conservation Plan draws on historical research undertaken by Roger Bowdler. His notes and report are in the Historical Analysis & Research Team files, OUT 260. The report appended to Conservation Plan on the Banqueting Hall by Richard Lea, also draws heavily on this research.

<sup>2</sup> Busby forthcoming

<sup>3</sup> Goodall 2002, 14, 28

## 2. THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR A STATUE OF A GLADIATOR AT WHITBY

In 1682, the Leeds antiquarian Ralph Thoresby described the New House at Whitby built by Sir Hugh Cholmley II in 1672 as

'[a] most delicate and stately hall, supposed to be exceeded by few in England for the bigness of it,... the hall is of freestone, with large courts and walks with iron grates, and a curious statue in solid brass as large as life in the midst of the square, with a delicate bowling green, gardens, etc. which are extremely pleasant.'<sup>4</sup>

The Whitby statue was therefore probably life size. Larger than life statues are unusual in this period. The use of the word 'brass' in this context can be taken to refer to bronze, since contemporary descriptions of the Hubert Le Sueur bronzes at St James Palace also describe them as of 'brass'.<sup>5</sup>

A plan on vellum, supposedly from c. 1700, among the Cholmley family papers, now held in the North Yorkshire County Record Office, provides more evidence but, unfortunately, its interpretation is difficult (Fig. 5). Although the rectangular lobed feature at the centre of the court, corresponding with the double outline of the missing masonry revealed in excavation (see below), suggests either a fountain or a pool, the same outline may also be read as two steps of a plinth for a statue. However, despite its seemingly early date, the plan shows the surviving pedestal in its present position on the line of the east wall of the court. This is in stark contrast with later plans that show the statue in the centre of the court (Fig. 7 and Fig. 8).

Unfortunately, the reversal in the expected sequence of events cannot be explained by an alteration to the plan. Although the drawing bears some later pencil annotation, the drawing of the pedestal in this position on the plan is original: it has not been altered in this respect. Close examination reveals that the ink outline drawing of the pedestal forms a clean break in the two outlines enclosing the wall in which it is set. Furthermore, the hatching of the two features is quite distinct, that of the wall is almost parallel to the line of the wall and slightly wavy, almost suggesting wood grain. That of the pedestal is more closely spaced, regular, and parallel.

The exact status, date, and authorship of this plan, however, remain a mystery. Does it show the layout of the structures as existing or as proposed? If the latter, could it be that the surviving pedestal was originally set in the middle of the court and that it was only to be moved according to a proposal set out in the 1700 plan?

The enclosed area of ground to the east of the house is annotated: 'The Ground for fir Trees'. This suggests that this area had not been planted, although Cholmley had ordered his Whitby agent Francis Comyn as early as February 1674 to buy fir trees and to be ready to plant them.<sup>6</sup>

Perhaps the plan and Cholmley's order for trees are contemporary. Perhaps, they show him in the act of changing his mind about the best position for the statue, moving it from its original position in the centre of the courtyard to the high revetment wall. The reason for this may reside in the gladiator's pose, which when viewed from the side, is all the more striking. Increased elevation would have made it visible from outside the inner courtyard,

<sup>4</sup> Pearson 1954, 28. Pearson adds that, 'The "curious statue" referred to was, in all probability, that of a gladiator, which is mentioned by other visitors to the House during that period,' but, unfortunately does not specify where these references occur.

<sup>5</sup> Peacham in his *Compleat Gentleman*, published in 1634, wrote, "In the Garden at St James's, there are also half a dozen brasse statues, rare ones, cast by Hubert le Sueur, his Majesties Servant, now dwelling in St Bartholomew's, London..." (Avery 1982, 149)

<sup>6</sup> NYCRO microfilm 1364, 279

even from the west bank of Whitby, but, since this area was not built up at this date, it unlikely that this was a consideration. However, it would have featured in views from the upper terraces 'The Long Walke', 'The Middle Yard', and the 'High Yard', all of which appear to be designed for promenade. Perhaps the drawing also records the proposal to convert the plinth to a pool.

Two maps from the later eighteenth century show a statue at the centre of the court: Charlton's plan of 1779 (Fig. 7), and Gibson's plan of 1794 (Fig. 8). Interestingly, despite the scale of the images, both show the statue apparently as a leaning figure. Thoresby's description does not specify the subject of the statue but, that it was a gladiator of the Borghese type can be gleaned from these thumb nail sketches which reveal the statue's characteristic diagonal thrust. However, given the problems of the so called 1700 plan discussed above, it is worth questioning whether these maps can be relied on for the accurate location of the statue.

Two later views, from the early nineteenth century, fail to show the pedestal in its present position, Fig. 9 and Fig. 10. The Buckler view does not even show the parapet wall and Carter shows the wall but without any features.

### 3. THE PHYSICAL EVIDENCE FOR A STATUE AT CHOLMLEY'S NEW HOUSE

#### *The Seventeenth-Century Courtyard*

Recent excavations have revealed the nearly complete remains of a cobbled yard in front of Cholmley II's 'New House' and this surface is now exposed to the public. The cobbles are laid to a pattern in which areas of stone laid in line are divided from others by thin lines of stone laid on the contrary axis. Both the extent and orientation of this surface demonstrate a clear relationship with the New House. The courtyard is laid on a wide north-south terrace aligned with the building's façade, bounded to east and west by masonry walls that also appear contemporary with the house. That to the east is a revetment wall that marks a change in ground level of about 3 metres (12'). Although Cholmley II's father noted in his memoirs that he undertook a great deal of terracing on the site, the strength of the relationship between the courtyard surface and the house façade strongly suggests that they are contemporary, even if the terracing is not.

#### *The Masonry Feature at the Centre of the Courtyard*

At the centre of the courtyard, traces were found of a masonry feature that might once have been either a pool or a plinth for a statue (Fig. 11). The traces consist, in the main, of an absence of cobblestones. The implied feature was rectangular, with lobes to the north and south, aligned with the principal axis of the yard and the approach to the New House.

A conduit was found running nearby and probably passed beneath it, but there was insufficient evidence to establish a direct relationship between the missing feature and the conduit. Furthermore, since the conduit was clearly set within a trench, itself cutting through the original pattern of the yard surface, it must post-date the original setting of the cobblestones.

It therefore seems that, although the centrepiece of the courtyard was contemporary with the setting out of the yard, the supply of water within this area was not. The original function of the centrepiece therefore did not require water. It is most likely, therefore, that it was designed as a plinth for some other missing feature, and that was probably a statue.

In the recent conservation works to the courtyard surface, the missing masonry feature has been restored as a plinth, according to drawings supplied by the English Heritage regional team now based in York (Fig. 18).

### *The Surviving Monumental Pedestal*

A monumental pedestal cut from the local stone can now be found on the site approximately midway along the east wall of the courtyard (Fig. 14 to Fig. 17). Any statue, placed on top of the pedestal in this position, would certainly have dominated the yard, but the handling of the relationship between the pedestal and its setting is not comfortable and this suggests that it was not originally intended for this location.

The pedestal is evidently designed to be free standing. Its masonry is independent of the parapet wall in which it is set. The present wall, which simply abuts it, was probably built after weathering of the pedestal had occurred.<sup>7</sup> The parapet wall is not shown in the views by Samuel Buck, 1711 (Fig. 6), or Buckler, c. 1820 (Fig. 9), but it is shown by Carter c. 1830 (Fig. 10). When first installed in this position, the pedestal was probably free-standing, although there were probably railings above the revetment wall before the present masonry parapet wall was built. A socket in the south face of the pier to the north of the pedestal suggests that this was the case, but any other evidence would now be masked by the present parapet masonry.

The corbel beneath the pedestal suggests that the pedestal was not originally designed for this location. The pedestal projects beyond the west face of the revetment wall and is supported by an inverted cone-like corbel that is smaller in plan than the pedestal above. This characteristic suggests an architectural sensibility less developed than we might otherwise expect of Hugh Cholmley II. More typically, we might expect to see the corbel larger in plan than the feature that it supports.

The design of the pedestal, however, has a special connection with the central courtyard feature (Fig. 18). The plans of both features consist of rectangles with circular lobes at each end. This strongly suggests that the pedestal was designed to be placed on top of the plinth. The orientation of the plinth gives the north-south axis for the pedestal and hence the statue. In all probability, the statue would have faced north rather than the house.

The lobed apron design of the pedestal is very similar to those made by Hubert Le Sueur for a group of four bronze statues commissioned by Charles I for the gardens of St James Palace, in the 1730s (Fig. 20). The series included a cast from the famous Borghese Gladiator, a classical sculpture discovered in Italy through excavation in 1611. The four bronzes were later moved to Hampton Court and thence to Windsor.

It is possible that there was more than one seventeenth-century statue on the site but this seems very unlikely when only one is mentioned in the documentation on the house.

## 4. THE BORGHESE GLADIATOR AND ITS COPIES IN ENGLISH GARDEN LANDSCAPES

If we accept, that the pedestal on the east wall of the court was relocated from the centre of the court, that Thoresby's reference to a 'a curious statue in solid brass' means bronze, and that the historic maps give us some idea of the statue's pose, then the most likely model for the Whitby statue would be the Borghese Gladiator, now in the Louvre. Following its

<sup>7</sup> To check that this is the case would require some unpicking of the joint between the parapet wall and the pedestal.

discovery in 1611, copies of this statue were to feature in many designed landscapes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

### *The Borghese Gladiator, now in the Louvre, Paris*

The original antique marble sculpture entered Cardinal Borghese's collection soon after its discovery, Fig. 19. Signed by Agasias of Ephesus, it is first documented on 11 June 1611 when it was being restored after its discovery at Nettuno, near Anzio, on the Mediterranean coast due south of Rome. It was to remain at the Villa Borghese in Rome until 1807 when it was purchased by Napoleon Bonaparte, brother-in-law to Prince Camillo Borghese.<sup>8</sup> Cut from marble, the figure is given structural support by the inclusion in the composition of a short tree stump. The original sword and shield are missing although their former existence is evident from the bracket on the right arm and the grasp of each hand.

### *The Gladiator at St James Palace, and now at Windsor*

King Charles I took a leading role in establishing the taste for classical and Italian sculpture in England.<sup>9</sup> In 1631, he commissioned the French sculptor Hubert Le Sueur (before 1585–1670)<sup>10</sup> to travel to Italy and obtain 'moulds and patterns of certain figures and antiques there.' Within two years, Le Sueur had cast six bronzes, which were put on display in the privy garden at St James's Palace. The bronzes included a copy of the Borghese Gladiator. For those interested in following the royal taste, the Borghese Gladiator was to have a particular fascination.

Later, the St James Palace copy of the Gladiator was moved to the end of the Long Water at St James Park before it was again moved to rejoin the other five, at Hampton Court which had been in the meantime been moved to Whitehall. From Hampton Court they were moved to Windsor, (Fig. 20). The stone pedestals on which the statues are set are also attributed to Le Sueur.<sup>11</sup>

### *The Gladiator at Wilton, and now at Houghton Hall, Norfolk*

Shortly after casting the St James gladiator, Le Sueur must have obtained the king's permission to make a second copy for Philip Herbert, fourth earl of Pembroke. It was to be set in the oval circus among the gardens at Wilton, Wiltshire, laid out between 1632 and 1635 by Isaac de Caus, (Fig. 21). Almost a hundred years later, the eighth earl was to give the statue to Sir Robert Walpole, who, with William Kent's supervision, set it within the stairwell of Houghton Hall, Norfolk, where it remains today (Fig. 22).

This particular copy of the Gladiator is important for the history of English garden design because its use at Wilton was publicised. Isaac de Caus's *Wilton Garden*, published c. 1645-6, consists of a description, plans and views of the garden he had laid out for the earl. One of the plates, number 20, was an etching of the antique statue known as the Borghese Warrior. This publication, with no real precedent in the field of garden design, must have played a significant role in establishing the art of the designed landscape in this country. As promotion of the Wilton estate, it must have been effective, since, according to John Evelyn in 1654, the gardens at Wilton were 'heretofore esteem'd the noblest in all England.'

However, in the context of the present study, the inclusion of the Gladiator in the publication is significant for its use in the Restoration period. Although, the statue might not have attracted too much attention in the original document, when the plates were

<sup>8</sup> Haskell and Penny 1981, 221-224

<sup>9</sup> Whinney 1988, 87 et seqq.

<sup>10</sup> Hubert Le Sueur's dates are given by Whinney 1988 as before 1585 to after 1658 and in Benezit

<sup>11</sup> Avery 1982, 148-151

reissued in 1654, without the text, plate 20, that of the gladiator, was reworked as the title page.<sup>12</sup> Its presence could hardly be overlooked and it could now perhaps be said to have achieved an emblematic status. Its associations with royal taste and prestige must have been readily apparent to any well-informed observer.

### *The Gladiator at Deane, Kent*

Copies of the Borghese Gladiator soon began to make their appearance in other gardens of the seventeenth century. A painted view of Deane in Kent from c. 1740 clearly shows a copy of the Borghese Gladiator with three other similar sized statues within an enclosed garden (Fig. 23). The design of the house and garden and the use of the Gladiator could well be contemporary with that at Whitby.<sup>13</sup> The statues, however, are shown as white, which suggests that they were cast in lead and painted. The gladiator is shown in the centre of the main approach to the house, and, interestingly, facing the house not the visitor.

### *The Gladiator at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire*

A painting of Wollaton Hall of 1695 by Jan Siberchts shows the house viewed from the south with a version of the Gladiator in the parterre in front of the house, along with three other statues arranged around the central fountain feature (Fig. 24). The gardens were created for Sir Thomas Willoughby.<sup>14</sup> Again, the figures are white which suggests that they were lead and not cast in bronze.

### *The Gladiator at Chiswick House, and now at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire*

A view of the gardens looking across the north front of Chiswick House by Donowell, probably from between 1750 and 1780, shows a copy of the Gladiator in the gardens to the north of the house (Fig. 25 and Fig. 26). Its inclusion in the landscape probably dates from the 1720s or 1730s when Lord Burlington (1694–1753) was laying out the grounds there.

On his death, Burlington's estate passed, via his daughter, to the fourth duke of Devonshire (1720–64) and many of the works of art in his collection eventually found their way to Chatsworth. The copy of the gladiator at Chatsworth may therefore be the same as that shown in the Donowell view of Chiswick.

### *The Gladiator at Castle Howard, North Yorkshire*

In 1740, John Cheere (1709–87) supplied the fourth earl of Carlisle (1694–1758) with a lead version of the Gladiator for 14 guineas. It now stands on a pedestal designed by Nicholas Hawksmoor in 1720 on Temple Terrace leading to the Temple of the Four Winds (Fig. 27). It was heavily restored between 1997 and 1999. Very little remains of the original other than the right arm and the head. The rest was cast by the Castle Howard conservator, Michael Major, from the similar copy at Burton Agnes.<sup>15</sup>

### *The Gladiator at Burton Agnes, North Yorkshire*

At Burton Agnes Hall, North Yorkshire, the copy of the Gladiator, stands in the middle of the approach to the house (Fig. 28). Cast in lead, it now requires additional support in the

<sup>12</sup> Strong 2000, 183–187

<sup>13</sup> Harris 1979, 138

<sup>14</sup> Strong 2000, 143, ill. 173

<sup>15</sup> Castle Howard also have in store a fibre glass copy made from the same set of moulds (pers. comm. Michael Major).

form of a pole under the statue's left arm. There are sufficient similarities between this copy and that at Castle Howard to attribute this cast to John Cheere.<sup>16</sup>

### *The Gladiator at Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire*

At Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire, the copy of the Gladiator by the east front is also attributed to Cheere.<sup>17</sup>

### *The Gladiator at St Paul Walden Bury, Hertfordshire*

At St Paul, Walden Bury, Hertfordshire, there is another lead copy of the Gladiator.<sup>18</sup> Since Cheere is known to have supplied a copy *Charity* there, it also seems reasonable to attribute the gladiator to him.<sup>19</sup>

### *The Gladiator at Knole, Kent*

At Knole, Kent, the third duke of Dorset, John Frederick Sackville (1745–99), acquired the bronze version of the Gladiator while in Italy.<sup>20</sup>

### *The Gladiator at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire*

The taste for the Borghese Gladiator persisted well into the nineteenth-century: the copy at Woburn, Bedfordshire, was cast and erected by Sir Richard Westmacott (1775–1856) in 1827.<sup>21</sup>

## 5. CONCLUSION

The documentary and circumstantial evidence for the Whitby statue strongly suggest that it was a bronze copy of the Borghese Gladiator now in the Louvre. This conclusion now informs the revised computer generated reconstruction currently on display in the new visitor centre (Fig. 30). That the Whitby copy of the Borghese Gladiator was cast in bronze and not lead indicates that it was a significant commission and of the highest quality. Unfortunately, although the map evidence suggests that it remained at Whitby until the end of the eighteenth century, its subsequent history is not known. It is unlikely, however, that such a statue would have been destroyed, and further research may eventually locate the original Whitby gladiator.

Its exact location in the 1670s at Whitby, however, remains uncertain and this is largely due to doubts about the date and authorship of the 1700 plan (Fig. 5). On present evidence, it seems that the statue was probably installed in the centre of the courtyard in 1672 and then, perhaps as early as 1674, moved with its pedestal to the revetment wall on the east side of the courtyard. Specifically, in the revised computer reconstruction, the statue is shown in the first position, and, consequently, the pedestal is not shown on the revetment wall.

The appeal of the Borghese Gladiator appears to be universal. Haskell and Penny list some of its numerous European copies in their work of 1981.<sup>22</sup> One instance not listed in this work however, is a painting of 1676 by the Dutch artist Ludolf de Jongh (1616–79), which shows a copy of the gladiator in an unidentified garden but probably that of a country

<sup>16</sup> Pers. Comm. Michael Major

<sup>17</sup> Pevsner 1990, 351

<sup>18</sup> Hussey 1967, pl. 102

<sup>19</sup> Pevsner 1977, 330

<sup>20</sup> Haskell and Penny 1981, 221 and fn. 21

<sup>21</sup> Haskell and Penny 1981, 221

<sup>22</sup> Haskell and Penny 1981, 221–224

retreat built along the Amstel and Vecht rivers (Fig. 29).<sup>23</sup> This painting is particularly interesting for Whitby, because it offers a perspective view of both a house and garden that are nearly contemporary with Cholmley's. It also provides some of the missing details for the Whitby design, such as the small trees in planters. The emphasis is on clearly defined but uncluttered space.

If, to enliven the visitor experience, a bronze copy of the Borghese Gladiator were to be obtained and installed on the present site, then the question of the statue's original location becomes critical. It might appear anachronistic to install a statue on a pedestal on the restored central plinth and leave the original pedestal in its present position. Although it would communicate the original design concept, it would compromise the significance of the original pedestal in its present position. The alternative, to relocate the pedestal to the restored plinth would be to move fabric that has probably been in this position for almost two hundred if not three hundred years. A third option would be to install a copy of the gladiator on the pedestal in its present position. This might be the most appropriate course of action, especially if it can be shown that the statue occupied this position from an early date. A reappraisal of the 1700 plan and some unpicking of the parapet wall adjacent to the pedestal might establish the date of the parapet wall itself and whether or not it was preceded by iron railings let in the sides of the pedestal.

The Borghese Gladiator is a dynamic figure that demonstrates a remarkable understanding of anatomy: its popularity has not waned in the four centuries since its rediscovery. Acknowledged as a masterpiece of classical sculpture, its association with Charles I, no doubt, led Cholmley to include a copy of it at the centre of his *court d'honneur*. His choice reflects his aspirations to the royal court and his family's vigorous role in defending the monarchy. To restore a copy of the Gladiator to this location would both restore a degree of human interest, reflecting the Cholmley family's active role in Whitby's history and fill a vacuum at the heart of a fascinating seventeenth-century landscape.

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Fig. 1, the principal façade of Cholmley II's New House, as it now appears housing the visitor centre and the original seventeenth-century courtyard surface exposed in front of it.



Fig. 2, the house and forecourt with a gladiator statue as reconstructed in the computer generated video sequence for the visitor centre display by Past Forward.



Fig. 3, a reconstruction of the forecourt and façade of the Cholmley House, by Judith Dobie, reproduced in the current English Heritage guidebook by John Goodall.

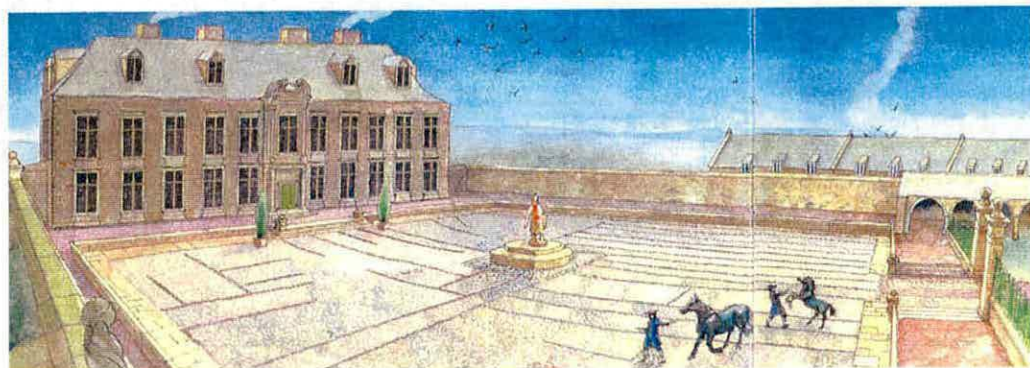


Fig. 4, a second reconstruction of the forecourt and façade of the Cholmley House by Judith Dobie as reproduced in the current English Heritage guidebook.

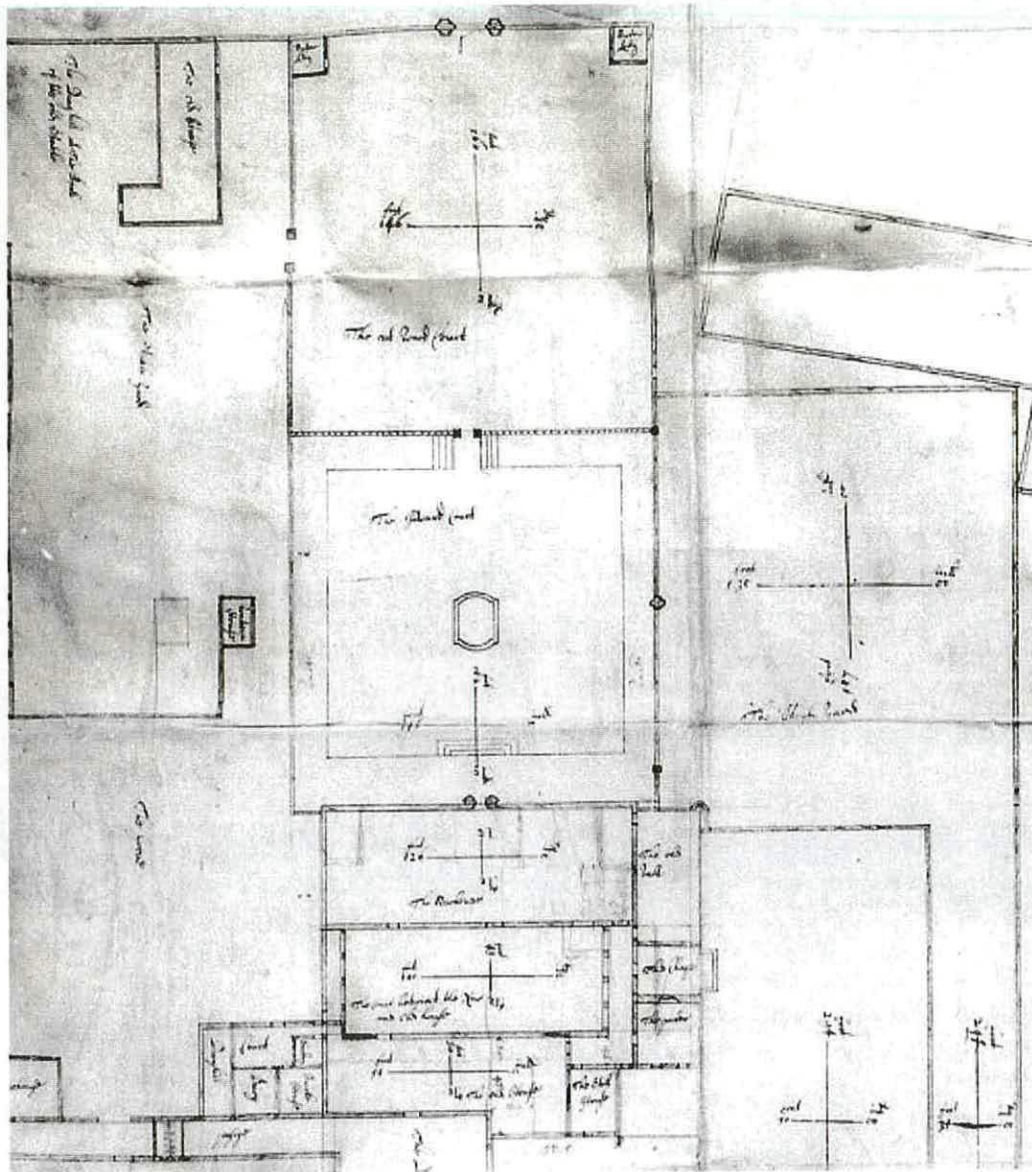


Fig. 5, a detail from *A ground plan of Whitby House, Garden, etc.*, c. 1700 (North Yorkshire CRO, ZCG W)

The North View of WHITBY ABBEY in the North Riding of YORKSHIRE

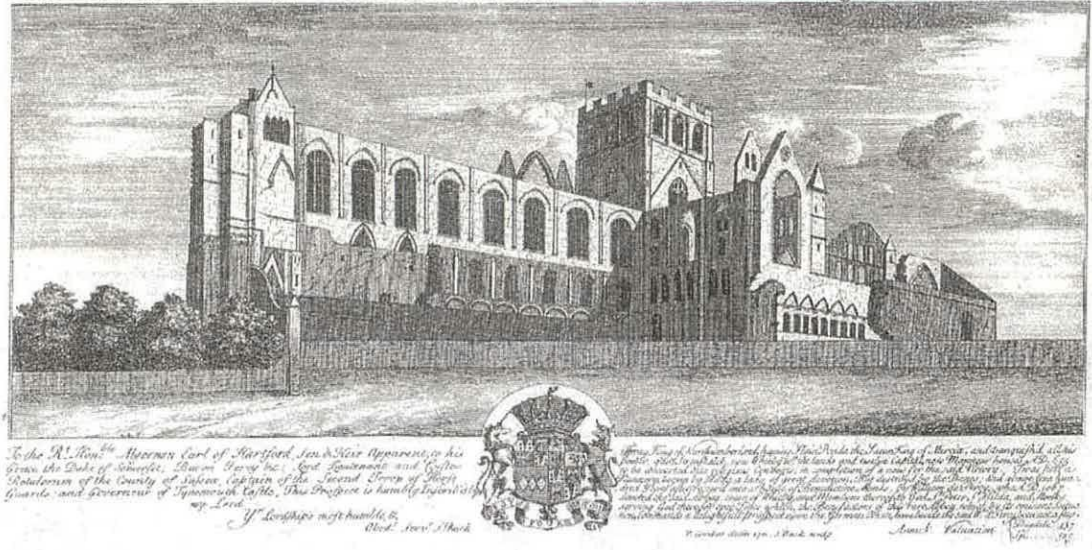


Fig. 6, the view of Whitby Abbey by Samuel Buck, engraved 1711. This shows the east wall of the courtyard, probably without the parapet wall that caps the revetment wall today.

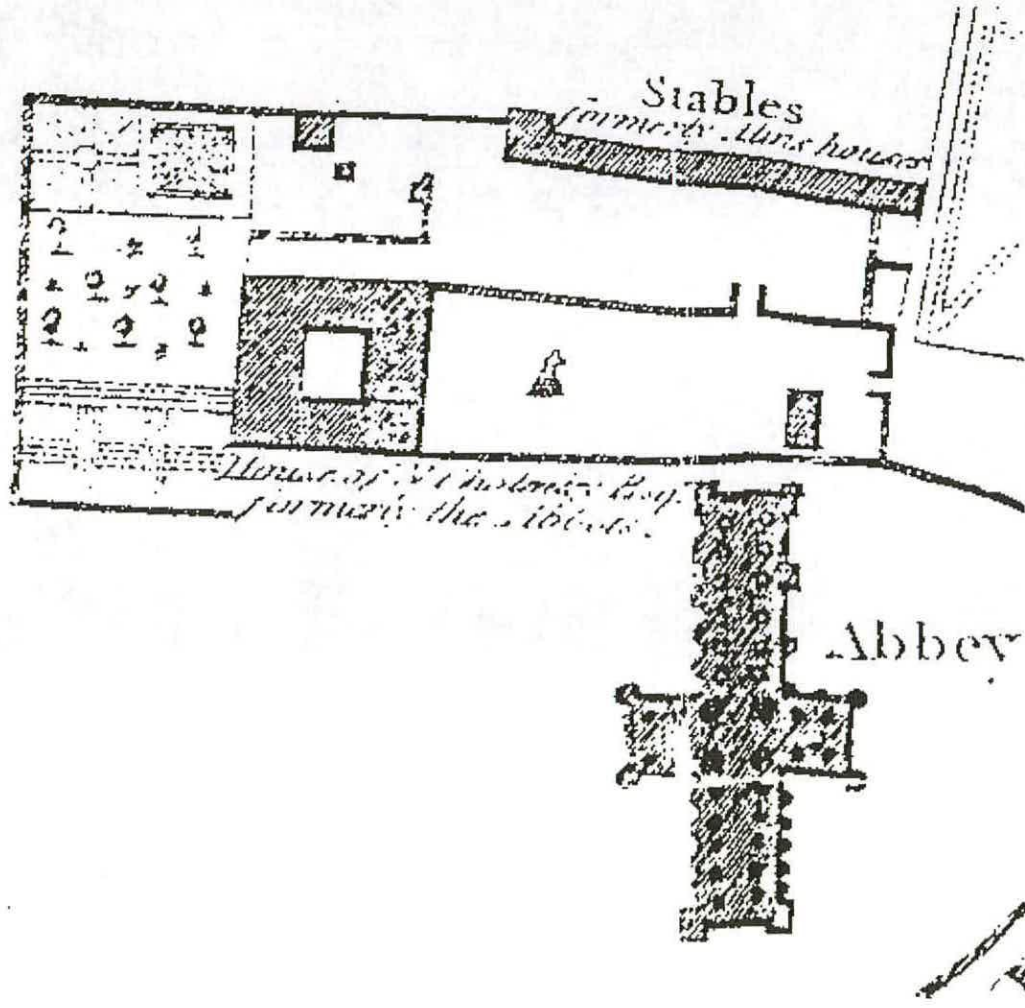


Fig. 7, a detail from *A Plan of Whitby Harbour*, reproduced in Lionel Charlton, *The History of Whitby* (York 1779).

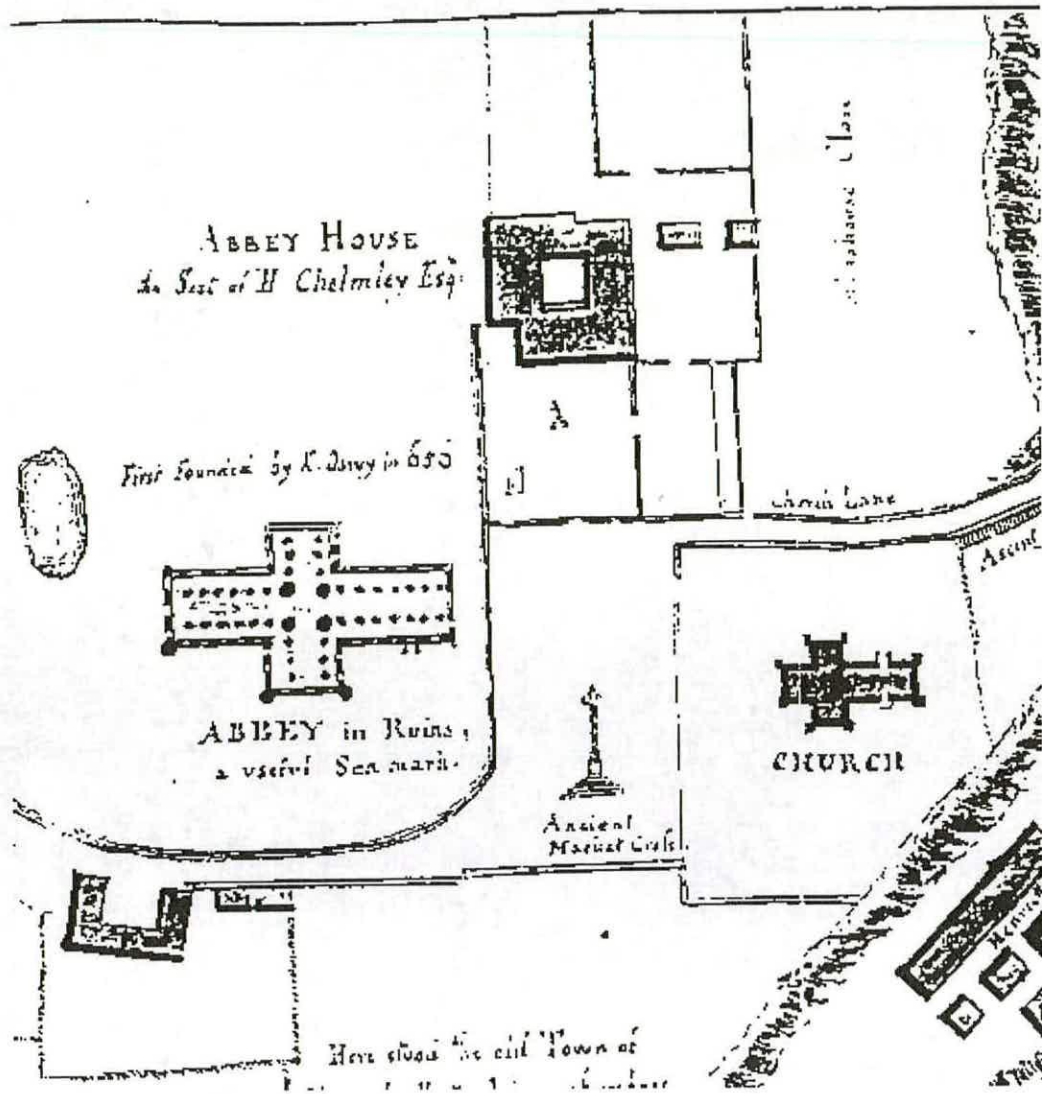


Fig. 8, a detail from Francis Gibson's plan for the erection of batteries at Whitby Harbour, (PRO, MPH 229/3) 1794

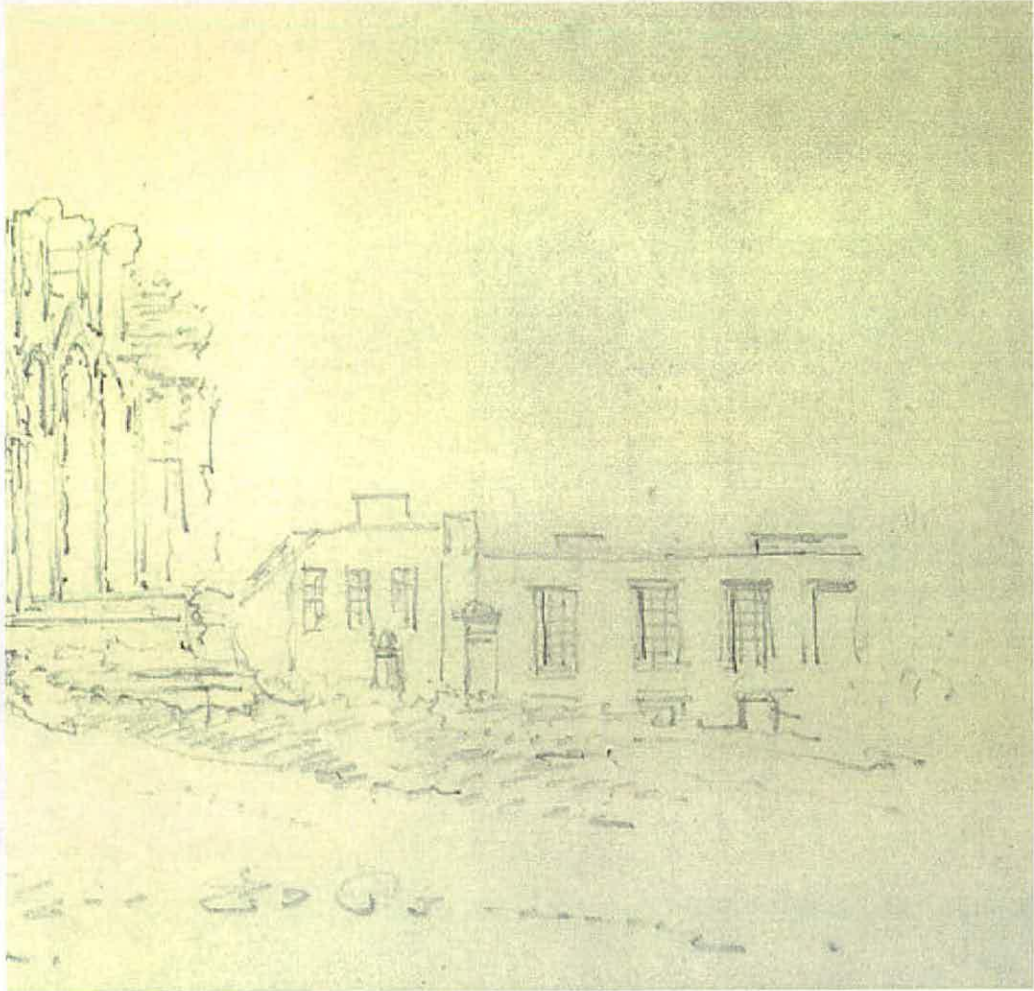


Fig. 9, a detail from Buckler's view of Cholmley's house from the north east, c. 1820 (British Library Add. 36396 f 63). This could be either John Buckler (1770–1851) or his son, John Chessel Buckler (1793–1894)

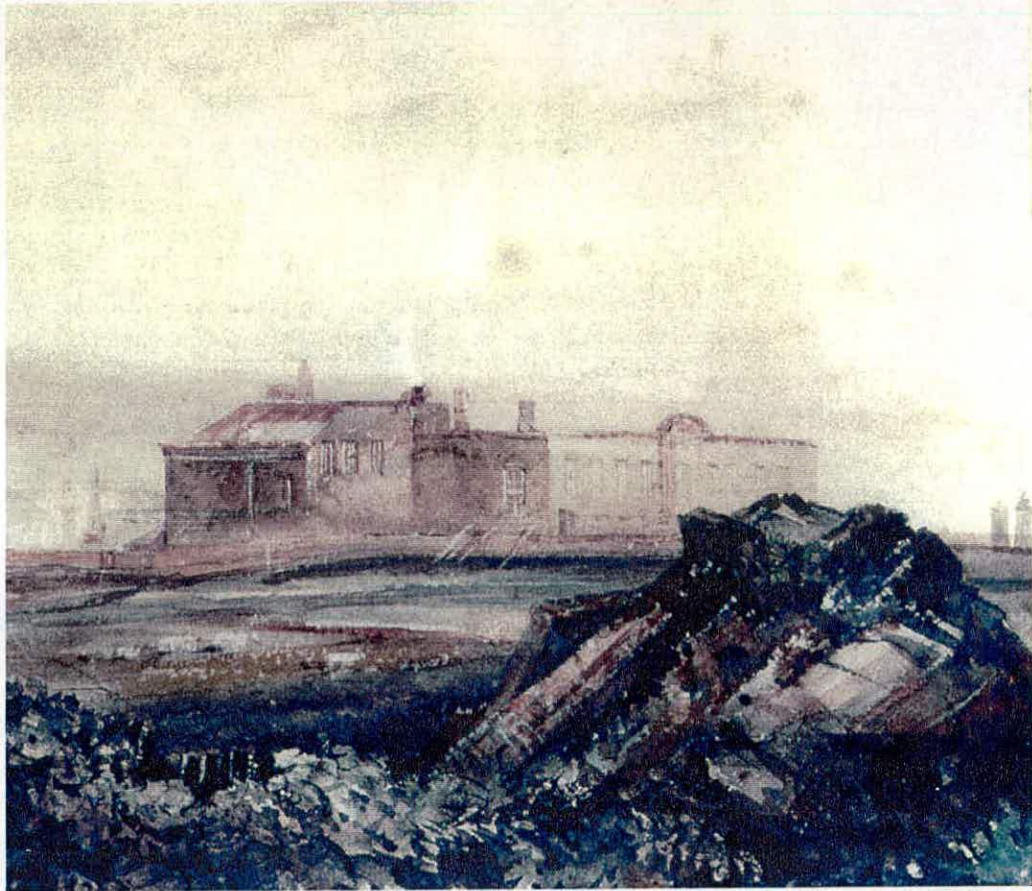


Fig. 10, a detail from *the Abbot's House Whitby* by Henry Barlow Carter (1795–1867), showing Cholmley's house viewed from the north east, probably between 1827 and 1830 (Whitby Museum).

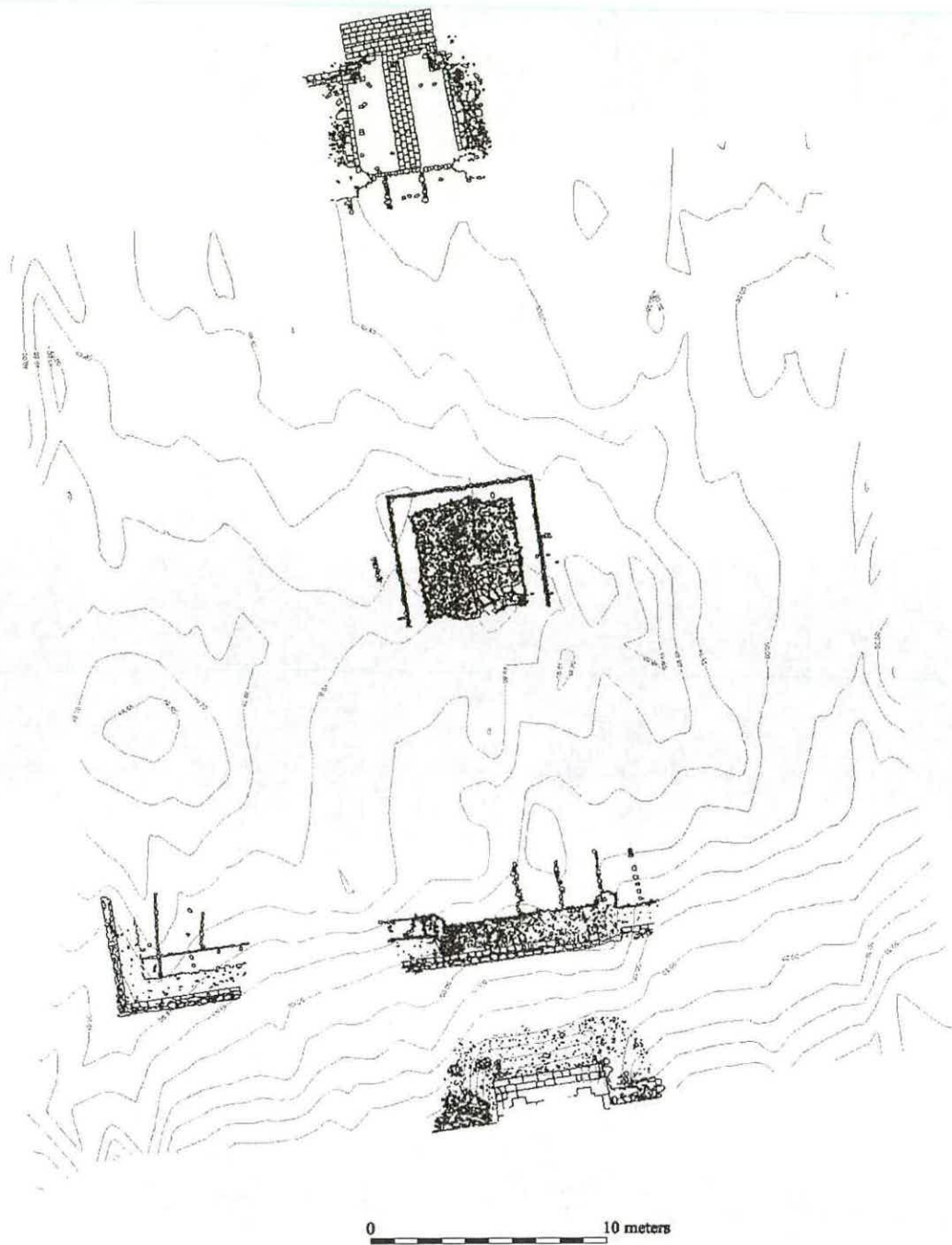
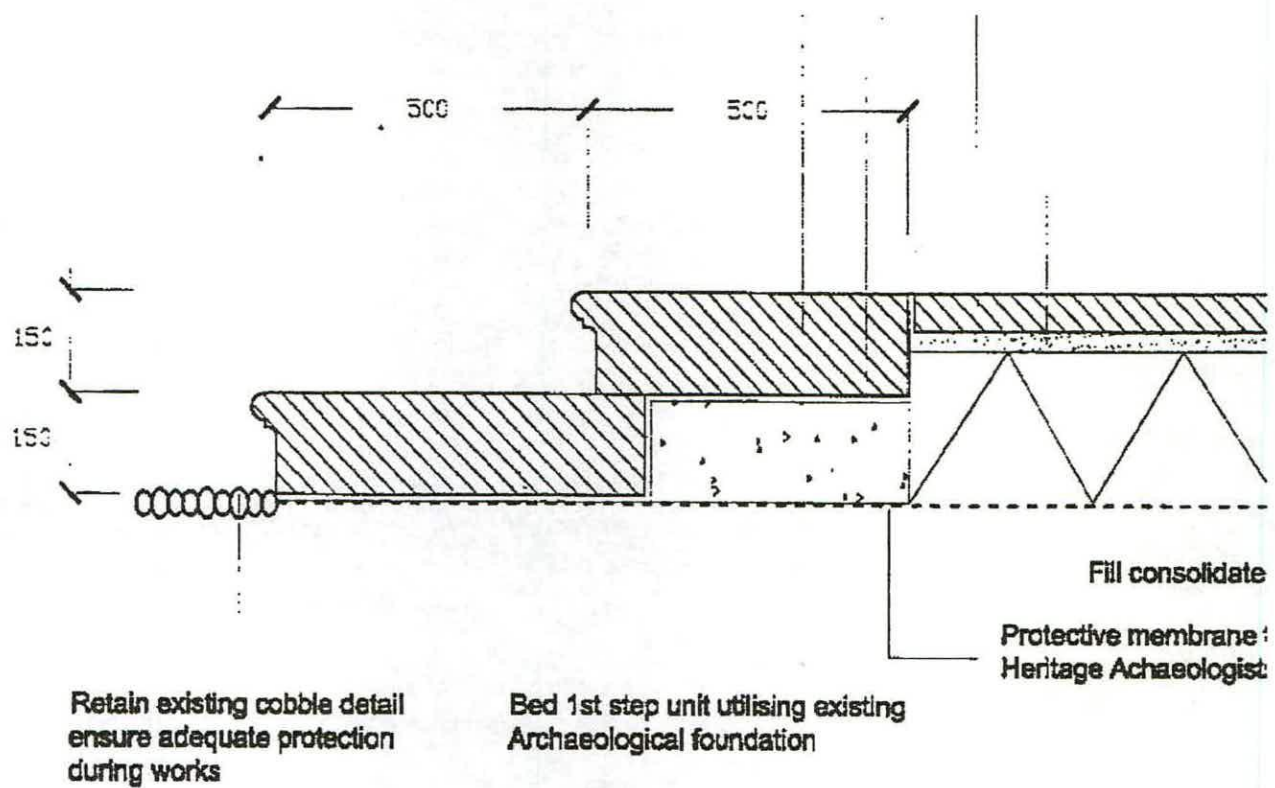


Fig. 11, excavation plan of the courtyard, showing the contours and the areas recorded in detail, next to the stepped entrance to Cholmley II's new house (bottom of the drawing), central feature, the entrance to the courtyard (top of the drawing) and the raised walks.



Fig. 13, the English Heritage architect's drawing for the restoration of the missing masonry feature at the centre of the courtyard in front of Cholmley's house, with two steps.



**Section: Through Courtyard Central Feature**  
**Scale 1:10**

1  
10



Fig. 14, the monumental pedestal set in the east wall of the courtyard in front of Cholmley II's New House, viewed from the west



Fig. 15, the monumental pedestal set in the east wall of the courtyard in front of Cholmley II's New House, viewed from the north.



Fig. 16, a photograph of the pedestal in the east wall overlooking the court.

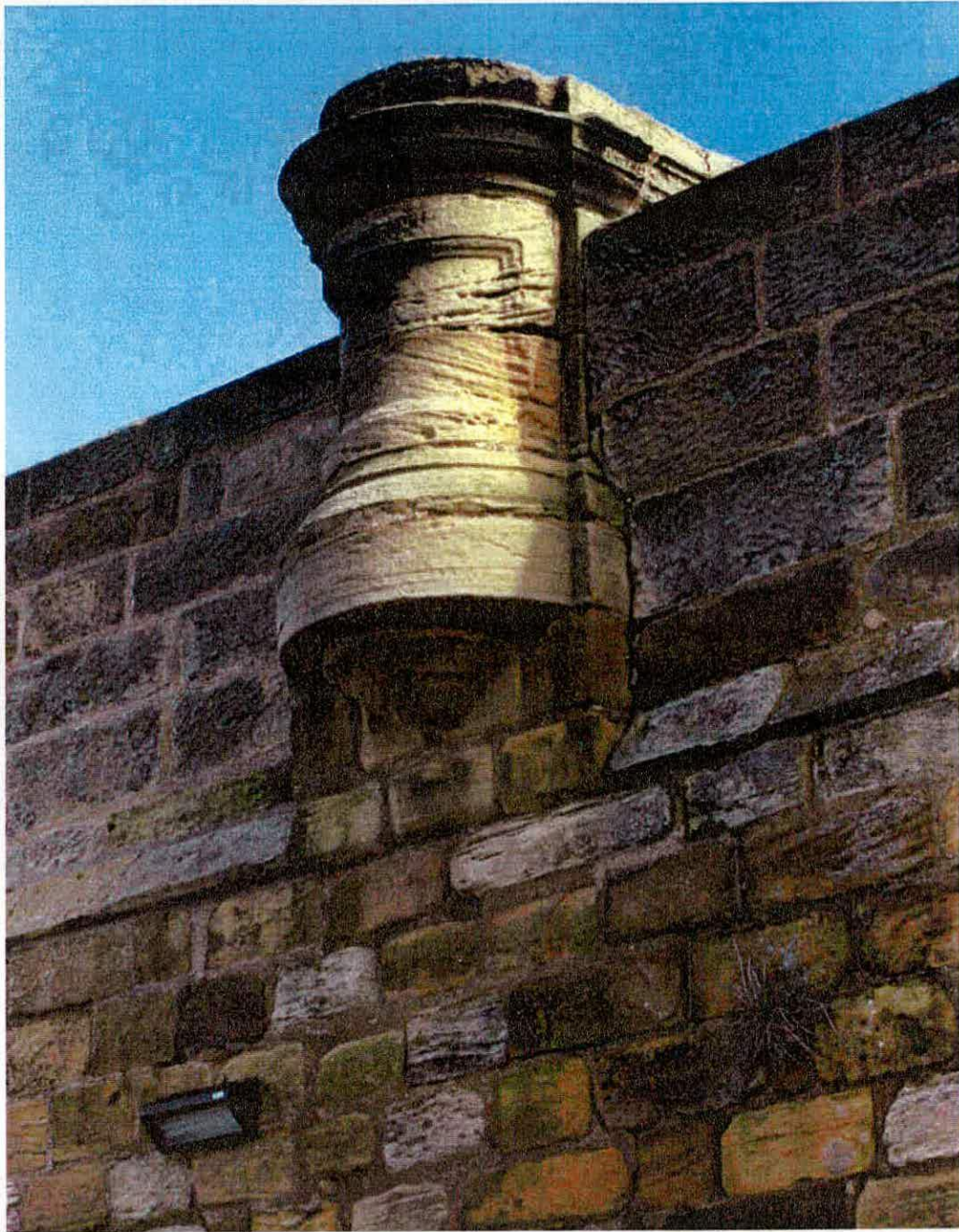


Fig. 17, the monumental pedestal, viewed from the south-west, showing the cone-like corbel on which it is set.

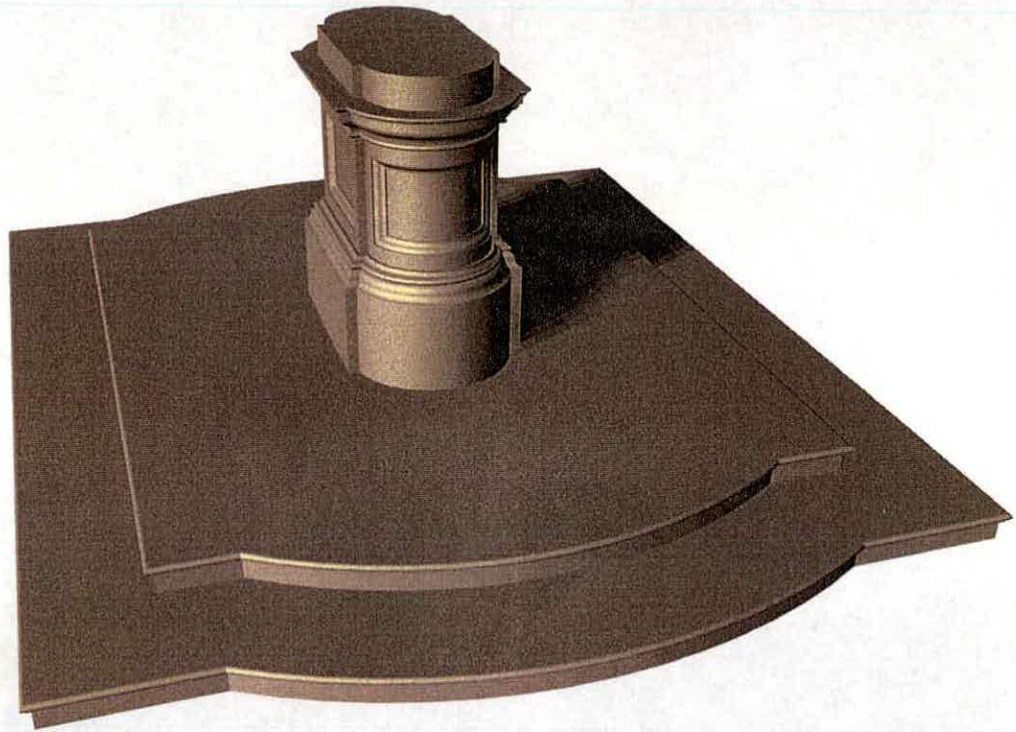


Fig. 18, a reconstruction drawing of the surviving pedestal, which is presently located on the east wall of the court, combined with the plinth at the centre of the court as it is currently restored.



Fig. 19, the Borghese Gladiator, Paris Louvre, marble, signed by Agasias of Ephesus and found in 1611 at Nettuno, near Anzio, early first century BC.



Fig. 20, Henry Le Sueur's cast of the Borghese Gladiator, c. 1633, now at Windsor, but originally made for Charles I and installed in the privy garden at St James Palace.

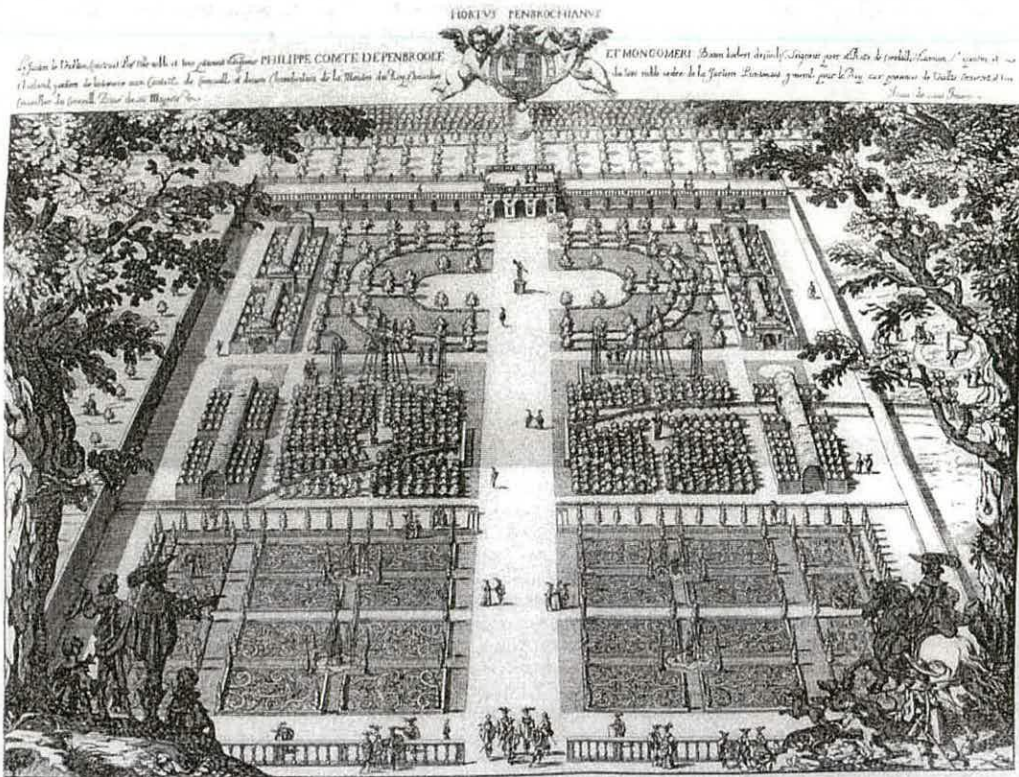


Fig. 21, a bird's eye view of the garden at Wilton from Isaac de Caus, *Wilton Garden*, c. 1645–46, with a copy of the Borghese Gladiator at the centre of the oval circus.

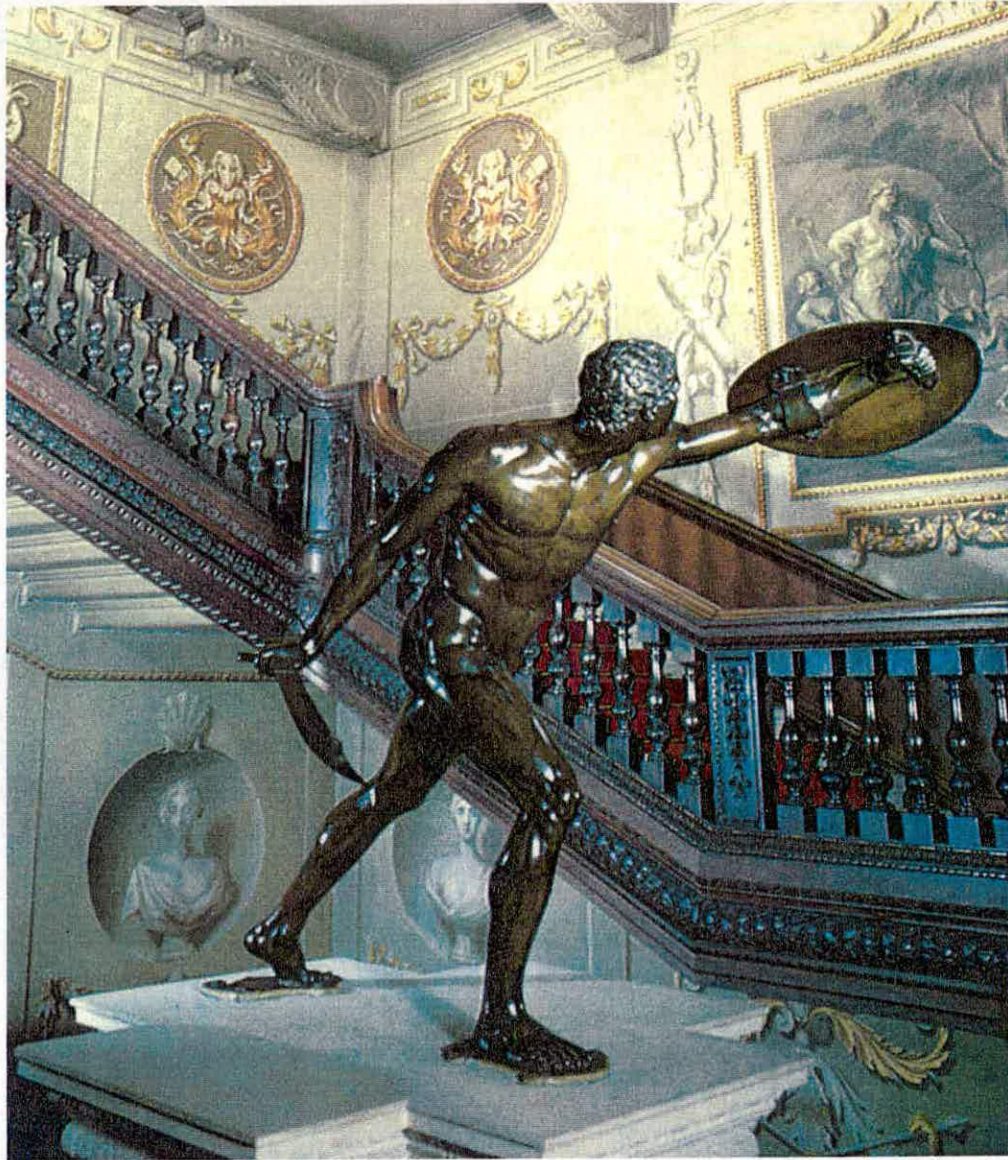


Fig. 22, Houghton, Norfolk, the bronze copy of the Borghese Gladiator probably made by Hubert Le Sueur for the fourth earl of Pembroke at Wilton (photo: Houghton guide book)

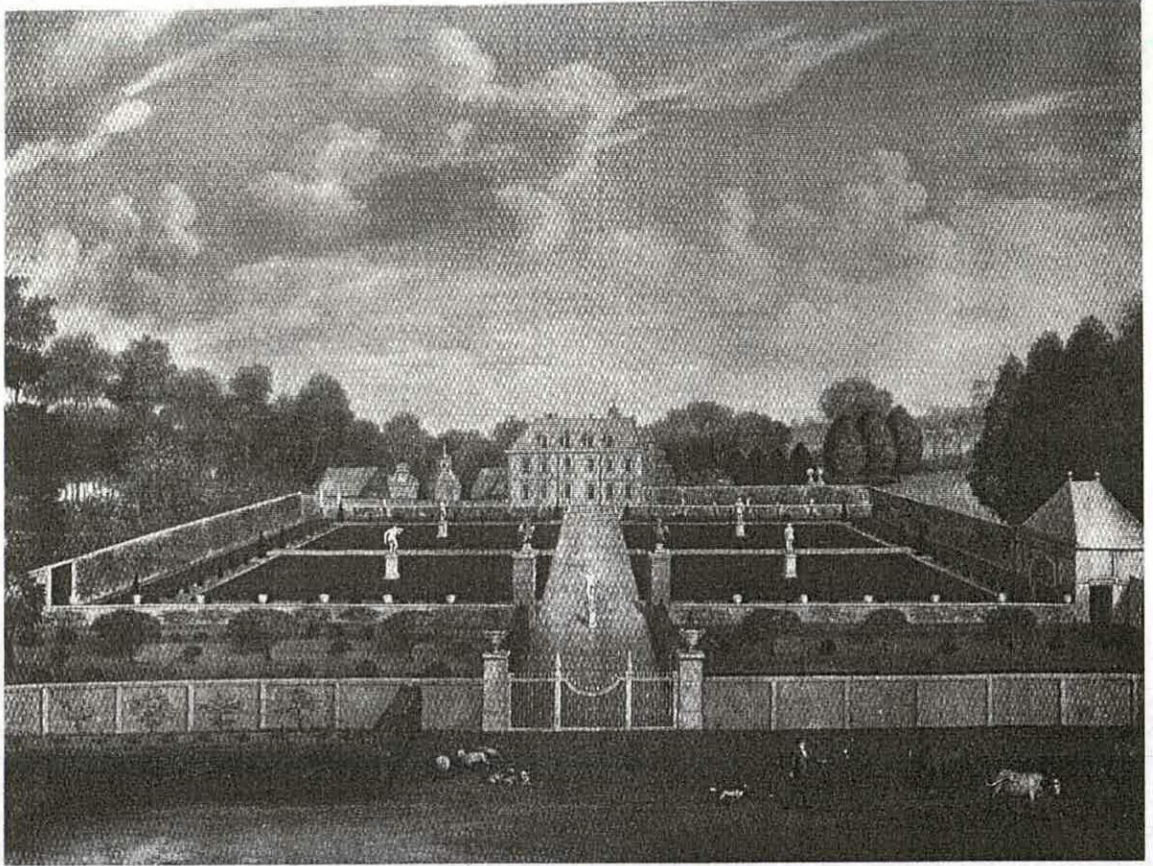


Fig. 23, Deane, Kent, a view across the formal garden, c. 1740 (Harris 1979, 138)

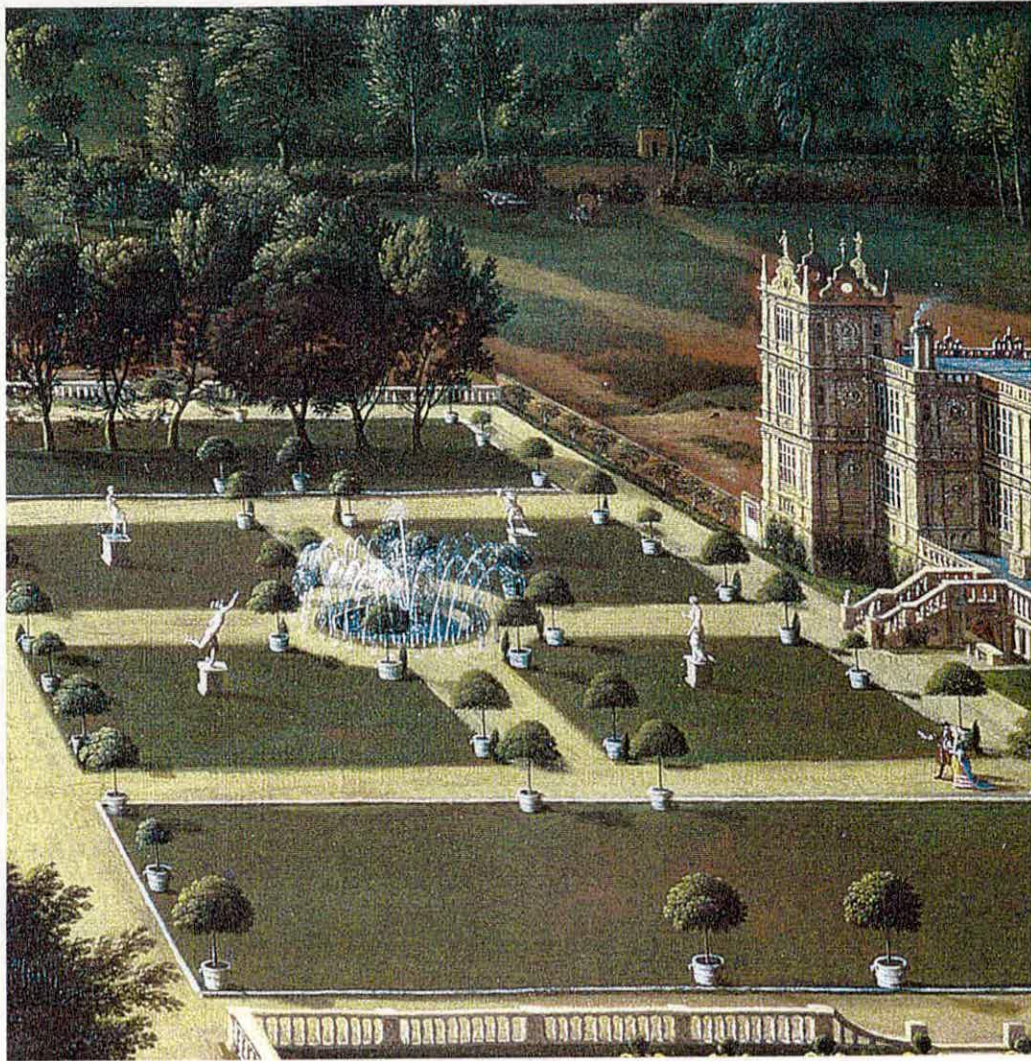


Fig. 24, a detail from Jan Siberchts, *Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire*, 1695. The gardens were created in the 1690s for Sir Thomas Willoughby. A copy of the gladiator appears just to the top right of the fountain.



Fig. 25, John Donowell (fl. c. 1750-c 1780), 'A View of the Back Front of the House, & part of the Garden of the Earl of Burlington, Chiswick; with a distant View of the Orangery, Greenhouse, Inigo Jones's Gate &c.' (Museum of London)



Fig. 26, detail of the above showing the statue of the gladiator in the gardens.



Fig. 27, Castle Howard, North Yorkshire, the lead copy of the Borghese Gladiator supplied in 1740 by John Cheere, on a stone pedestal designed by Nicholas Hawksmoor in 1720.



Fig. 28, the copy of the gladiator in the approach to the main façade at Burton Agnes Hall, Yorkshire (photo from the guidebook of 1985)

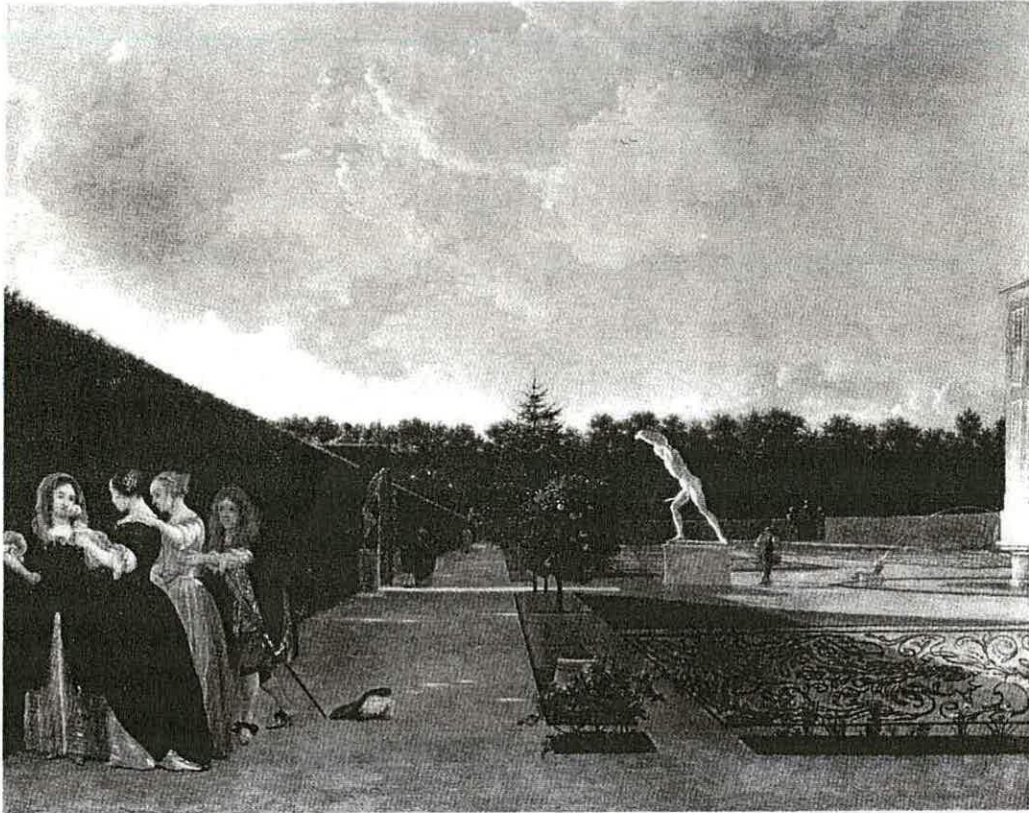


Fig. 29, Ludolf de Jongh (1616-1679), *A Formal Garden: three Ladies surprised by a Gentleman*, c. 1676 (Carlton House Catalogue, 1991)

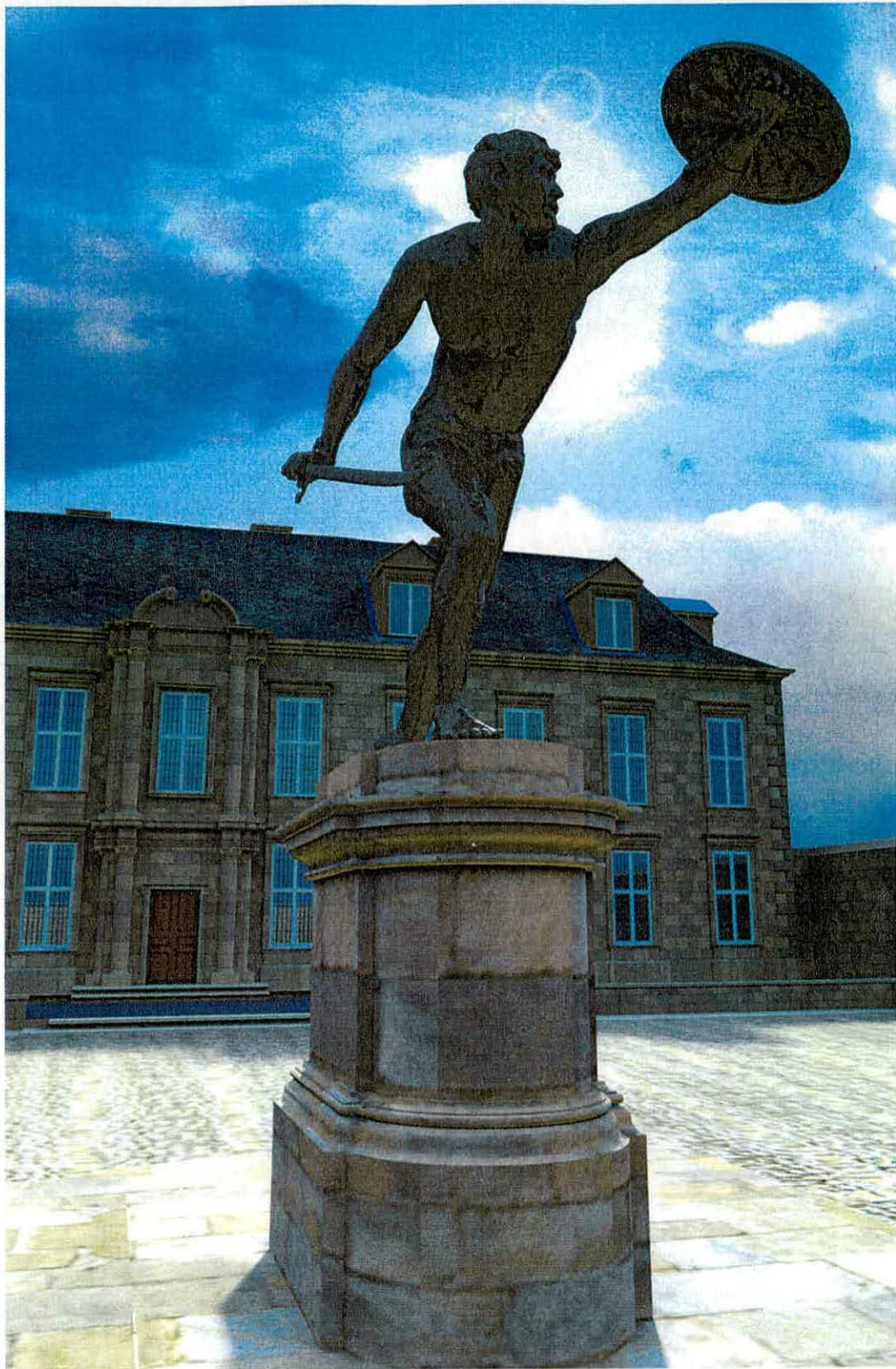


Fig. 30, a scene from the revised computer generated audio visual sequence devised for the new Whitby Abbey visitor centre by Past Forward, showing a version of the Borghese Gladiator mounted on a pedestal of the type found on site.