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Contents

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La Trobe's Garden City and the Lost Sculptures of Fitzroy Gardens —
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La Trobe's Garden City and the Lost Sculptures of Fitzroy Gardens

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Abstract

La Trobe may have found Port Phillip to be '16,000 miles from civilization…' in 1839. He did not intend for it to remain that way. One of his earliest projects was to define parklands, including Fitzroy Square (now Gardens) in 1848. Although La Trobe's governorship concluded before the gardens' completion, the abundant classical statuary that ornamented its walks from the 1860s retained his ideals. These are lost; and have received little attention. Recovering these sculptures through the State Library archives, this article reveals a lost chapter in Melbourne's garden history to demonstrate how La Trobe's ideals informed the city's cultural and physical landscape.

Introduction

Melbourne, mid 1930s. Under the cover of darkness, dozens of classical sculptures were removed from the city's Fitzroy Gardens. Cast in concrete and modelled from the best European collections by leading artists the Fitzroy statuary when installed in the mid-nineteenth century had been the ultimate statement of cultural aspiration (fig. 1).[1] As Melbourne jostled for position in the modern world, however, it began to question classicism's relevance in the twentieth-century metropolis. Against expectations, battle lines in the still nascent European-style city were not clearly drawn between avant-garde artists and conservative patricians. Opinions instead divided artistic

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1 To avoid repetition, and to reflect the attitudes of those who created and instituted them, this article will use the terms 'statuary', 'sculpture', 'statues', and 'casts' to refer to the decorative and figurative objects in the Fitzroy Gardens.

communities and political factions, and forged unlikely alliances. The Fitzroy casts were soon at the centre of a vicious public debate about Melbourne's modern self. Lost in a maelstrom of accusations and judgements, neglected and abused, the sculptures fell into disrepair and were removed. And with them, a physical reminder of La Trobe's vision for the city that greeted him in 1839 disappeared.

La Trobe judged the Port Phillip District of New South Wales to be '16,000 miles from civilisation…'.[2] One year into his term as superintendent to the District, he did not intend it to remain as such. By 1851 when he assumed the role of lieutenant-governor to the newly established colony of Victoria, he had fostered a European culture of learning and art that would manifest in the Fitzroy Gardens sculptures so summarily dismissed by his governmental successors. La Trobe had returned to Europe by the time the sculptures were installed in the mid-1860s. Nevertheless, parity in his aims for Melbourne with those underpinning the Fitzroy Gardens sculptural project reveal La Trobe's lasting impact on Melbourne's formative urban identity. Recovering the sculptures' lost history reveals how the lifestyle of leisure and education that La Trobe envisioned for Melbourne was made integral to the city's fabric. As we follow their demise, the short-lived sculptures expose the debates that forged the city's culture as it joined the modern era.

Problems of interpretation

Open space predominantly defined the Fitzroy Gardens and, enhanced by statuary, in turn the Fitzroy Gardens defined East Melbourne, for many decades (Appendix 1). Although captured in popular reportage and writing that avidly followed the statuary's rise and fall, and echoed in sculptural tributes, their story is largely a forgotten one. With the exception of two incomplete and largely unrecognised urns on the Grey Street Walk, there is no physical trace of the sculptures in the Gardens as we know them today (fig. 2; cf. figs. 1 and 3).[3] Beyond a brief sequence in the 1886 Fergus Hume novel *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab*, and a list of the remaining sculptures created during an abandoned restoration project, there is no detailed written description of the sculptures.[4] Similarly, while numerous images of the sculptures record the Gardens' late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century popularity, these photographs generally focus on a single work without title or location; moreover they are often blurry or even reversed as a result of their production technique. They also reveal that the sculptures were moved around the Gardens as the nineteenth century progressed (cf. figs. 4-5). The few paintings showing the Gardens during the period of the sculptures persistently show the casts as accessories to the overall environment.[5] While the presence of the sculptures reveals their importance to the Gardens as understood by its users, they do not offer any specific information about their identity or location. This all creates problems in reconstructing the original sculptural program.

Scarce and challenging sources may account for the relative absence of the Fitzroy statues from contemporary scholarship to date. Georgina Whitehead's important *Civilising the City: A History of Melbourne's Public Gardens* offers the most detailed account.[6] This article is indebted to Whitehead's formative work on the topic. However, that work inquires specifically only into the Fitzroy casts' original aspect and meaning. The broader focus of *Civilising the City*, and its historical focus, results in the Fitzroy Gardens sculptures being principally a chronological aspect of Whitehead's larger narrative. Beyond Whitehead's text, no focused or lengthy attention has been awarded to the challenge of recovering the sculptures' history.[7] The number of sculptures, their identity and location, and their significance to Melbourne remain unknown. To uncover this forgotten and neglected story, this article adopts a multidisciplinary and source-based methodology.

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2 Charles Joseph La Trobe to John Murray, publisher, London, 15 December 1840, *The La Trobe Journal*, No.71, Autumn 2003, p.130.

3 The 'Discover Fitzroy Gardens' pamphlet available at the Fitzroy Gardens visitor centre does mention the urns (referred to as 'vases') in its description of the Grey Street Walk as 'Two vases on pillars are reminders of the 19th century fashion for classical statuary'. City of Melbourne, 'Discover Fitzroy Gardens', 2018.

4 Fergus Hume, *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab*, Melbourne: Text Publishing, 1999, pp.60-61; and Paul Montford, 'Montford to Town Clerk, 14 November 1925', quoted in Georgina Whitehead, *Civilising the City. A history of Melbourne's public gardens*, Melbourne: Robert W. Strugnell, 2nd ed., 2015, p.97.

5 See for example Tom Roberts, *Autumn – Fitzroy Gardens*, Melbourne. Circa 1885. Oil on cedar (cigar box). Private collection; and John Mather, *Autumn in the Fitzroy Gardens*. 1894. Oil on canvas. p.402.6-1. Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria

6 Whitehead, pp.5-97 passim.

7 There are brief mentions in overview texts such as City of Melbourne, *The Gardens of the City of Melbourne: Celebrating 150 Years*, Melbourne: City of Melbourne, 1993, p.28; and Kornelia Freeman and Ulo Pukk, *Parks and Gardens of Melbourne*, Melbourne: Melbourne Books, 2015, p.32. The statues are also mentioned in reference to William Leslie Bowles' *Diana and the Hounds* (1940), at sites such as City Collection, City of Melbourne, 2017, 'Diana and the Hounds', http://citycollection.melbourne.vic.gov.au/diana-and-the-hounds/ (accessed August 1 2017); and *eMelbourne. The city past and present*, 2008, 'Diana and the Hounds', http://www.emelbourne.net.au/biogs/EM02039b.htm (accessed August 1 2017).

Sources that are individually limited can cumulatively rebuild the late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century Gardens. In Hume's *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab*, Detective Gorby crosses the Treasury and Fitzroy Gardens and notes some of the sculptures in the latter:

> He went along that noble avenue of elms…And on either side Gorby could see the dim white forms of the old Greek gods and goddesses – Venus Victrix with the apple in her hand – which Mr Gorby, in his happy ignorance of heathen mythology, took for Eve offering Adam the forbidden fruit; Diana, with the hound at her feet; and Bacchus and Ariadne, which the detective imagined were the Babes in the Wood. He knew that each of the statues had queer names, but thought they were merely allegorical. Passing over the bridge with the water rippling quietly underneath, Brian went up the smooth yellow path to where the statue of Hebe holding the cup seems instinct with life and almost stepping off the pedestal, and turning down the path to the right he left the gardens by the end gate, near which stands the statue of the Dancing Faun…[8]

The text's usefulness in reconstructing the sculptures and their meaning is restricted, since the fictional passage describes only one section of the Gardens. Nevertheless, Hume based the setting on his own local observations, and contemporaneous photographs of Gorby's path confirm much of the description's accuracy despite its fictional context (figs. 5-7; and Appendix 1, nos. 1-3, 10, and 37).[9] To arrive at this conclusion, however, necessitates matching Hume's description of purposely misidentified works – such as *Dionysos and Maenad* [trad. *Bacchus and Ariadne*] as 'Babes in the Wood…' – to unnamed images.[10] Similar 'red herrings' are present in contemporary accounts of the gardens.

William Leslie Bowles' *Diana and the Hounds* was part of an early twentieth-century sculptural project to replace the Fitzroy casts with modern works (fig. 8).[11] This bronze sculpture is frequently described as having been modelled on a 'Roman Diana, Goddess of Mood and Contemplation, held in the Vatican'.[12] Despite the authority with which it is now quoted, this is an idiosyncratic and likely modern misattribution. There is no contemporaneous account of Bowles, or anyone else, having made this claim. His *Diana and the Hounds* won a competition to specifically replace the central Fitzroy Gardens sculpture, which was cast from the *Diana of Versailles* [trad. *Diane à la Biche*] of the Musée du Louvre in Paris (cf. figs. 8-10 ; Appendix 1 no. 7).[13] The only other 'Diana' known to have been in the Gardens was a nineteenth-century English sculpture, which equally shows Diana hunting and certainly not in an attitude of mood and contemplation (figs 6 and 11, Appendix 1, no.2). However, the Vatican Museum does hold sculptures of Diana in more contemplative moods (figs. 12-13).[14] Yet these bear little or no resemblance to Bowles' active huntress – which, in turn, more closely resembles the Parisian *Diana* than any of the other Vatican works (cf. figs 8-13). We can conclude that 'Roman Diana, Goddess of Mood and Contemplation, held in the Vatican' is a retroactive – and incorrect – appellation. Overcoming such problems of interpretation inherent in the Gardens' story uncovers both the identity of the Fitzroy statuary and their meaning for Melbourne's developing landscape.

Urban gardens in the nineteenth century

When La Trobe arrived in Melbourne in 1839, there had already been murmurings among the populace about the essential requirement of space dedicated to recreation. The *Port Phillip Gazette* repeatedly drew attention to this need for green space,[15] which culminated in an anonymous 1850 article 'Melbourne as it is, and as it should be'.[16] This criticism of Melbourne's developing urban space condemned the city for – among other things – its lack of tree-lined boulevards, natural vistas and a large central square. La Trobe was fully sympathetic to these needs. An ardent nature lover and follower of the nineteenth-century philosophy of gardens as a civilising force, La Trobe reserved most of Melbourne's

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8 Hume, p.60.
9 Simon Caterson, 'Fergus Hume's Startling Story', in Hume, *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab*, p. vi.
10 Hume, p.60.
11 Whitehead, p.74.
12 Ibid; see also City of Melbourne.
13 Whitehead, p.74.
14 The author expresses sincere gratitude to Dott.ssa Barbara Jatta Director of the Musei Vaticani, and to Dott.ssa Claudia Valeri Deputy Curator of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquity of the Musei Vaticani, for their generous assistance with this research.
15 Whitehead, p.1; R. Wright, *The Bureaucrats' Domain: space and the public interest in Victoria*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1989, pp.33-34; *Port Phillip Gazette*, April 24 1839, p.3, February 19 1840, p.3, December 16 1840, Supplement p.1, August 11 1841, p.3.
16 'Melbourne as it is, and as it should be', *Australasian*, I, 1850, pp.137-146.

public gardens even before he became lieutenant-governor in 1851.[17] From the perspective of La Trobe, of the 'Anonymous' author in 1850, and of their contemporaries, Melbourne was a new city. Unlike established European cities from which it drew inspiration, this 'new' capital could be imbued with the best of international urban and social design from its very beginning. And in the mid-nineteenth century, gardens were at the forefront of progressive urban theory.

Green spaces have become ubiquitous in cities. This is especially true of Melbourne, which still enjoys the 'emerald necklace' that La Trobe laid around its centre.[18] In his time, parks and gardens epitomised a social revolution in European urban design.[19] Understanding the Fitzroy Gardens sculptures depends upon appreciating the innovations that green spaces represented in Victorian era cities. Britain's Industrial Revolution had sacrificed civic space to create factories and overcrowded workers housing.[20] Alarmed at the steady march of slums across the country, and their accordant problems of ill-health and crime, a British parliamentary inquiry in 1833 instituted parks and gardens as 'an antidote to the urban world'.[21] Social theorists argued that middle and upper-class citizens would lead by example in these egalitarian spaces, diffusing a sense of civic morality to the working classes.[22] Melbourne may not have undergone an industrialised transformation of its urban environment, but it certainly respected the values captured in the British parks program.

The 1842 Melbourne Town Council petition to La Trobe to reserve public space for city-dwellers' 'recreation… after their daily labour', and to encourage 'the kindred feelings of human nature', directly echoes British parliamentary sentiment.[23] So too does La Trobe's earlier designation of parkland for 'the public advantage and recreation'.[24] With the institution of the eight-hour working day in 1856, these ideals became even more important to the nascent city. And the Fitzroy Gardens,

situated at the city's edge to bridge the urban grid with residential areas to the north and east, were the product of such sentiments. However, this space enacted social reform in a very different context from the loosely picturesque landscape that John Guilfoyle later imposed on the Gardens in emulation of his brother William at the now Royal Botanic Gardens, and which shapes Fitzroy Gardens today.[25] To uncover how the Gardens were intended to be received in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, we need to understand how these theories were manifested in the Gardens' formal landscape. Fundamental to this recovery of the original Gardens is recognition that Melbourne was looking to Europe and the 'mother country' not only for social ideals, but also for direction in its urban landscape.[26]

London and Paris were the acknowledged leaders of nineteenth-century urban garden design. France had held a decisive influence over English garden design since the mid-seventeenth century.[27] At this time, Parisian gardens also began to inform the first London squares, including the area later known as St. James's Square.[28] Unlike *château* gardens such as Vaux-le-Vicomte and Versailles, with their expansive lawns and monumental ornaments, Parisian public gardens reinterpreted urban infrastructure within a garden context. André Le Nôtre's seventeenth-century redevelopment of the Tuileries had used tree-lined paths to extend (what would become) the Champs-Élysées axis between the city and the garden (fig. 14).[29] With expansive planting substituting for city blocks, and basins punctuating the landscape, the result was architecture re-envisioned in green space (figs. 14-15). The addition of sculptures in the early eighteenth century further delineated its formal landscape (fig. 16).

With the French royal art collection and the Salon housed in the Palais du Louvre directly to the east – and from 1793, the Musée du Louvre – sculpture also connected the Jardin

17 Dianne Reilly Drury, *La Trobe: The Making of a Governor*, Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2006, p.187.
18 The National Trust of Australia (Victoria) acknowledged the continued importance of both this idea and its evocative phrasing. The National Trust of Australia (Victoria), 'Melbourne's Emerald Necklace', *Vic News*, May 2014, pp.6-7.
19 Terry Wyke, 'Marginal Figures? Public Statues and Public Parks in the Manchester Region, 1840-1914', in Patrick Eyres and Fiona Russell (eds.), *Sculpture and the Garden*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006, pp.85-86; and David Lambert, 'The Meaning and Re-Meaning of Sculpture in Victorian Public Parks', in Eyres and Russell (eds.), pp.99-100.
20 Wyke, pp.85-86.
21 Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. Select Committee on Public Walks. *Report [of the] Select Committee Appointed to consider the best means of securing Open Spaces in the Vicinity of populous Towns as Public Walks and Places of Exercise, calculated to promote the Health and Comfort of the Inhabitants*, 1833, Chairman: Robert Aglionby Slaney (House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online).
22 Lambert, p.99.
23 Melbourne Town Council, quoted in Whitehead, p.1.
24 La Trobe, quoted in Whitehead, p.3.
25 For John Guilfoyle's later redesign of the Fitzroy Gardens, see Whitehead, pp.39-43.
26 Melbourne Town Council, p.1.
27 David Jacques, *Gardens of Court and Country. English design 1630-1730*, New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art and Yale University Press, 2017, pp.81-133.
28 Todd Longstaffe-Gowan, *The London Square: gardens in the midst of town*, New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art and Yale University Press, 2012, p.30.
29 Paula Deitz, 'Recultivating the Tuileries', *Design Quarterly*, no.155, Spring 1992, p.8.

des Tuileries to the city's institutions. Subsequent renovation of the Jardin du Luxembourg under the First Empire similarly transformed Catherine de Medici's sixteenth-century pleasure gardens into a sequence of formal spaces (fig. 17). Although physically distant from the Musée du Louvre, the Jardin du Luxembourg also hosted a museum. With the addition of a *Diana of Versailles* under Napoleon I, these Left Bank *jardins* and their museums became a visual link to a wider network of Parisian cultural institutions (figs. 10 and 18). In Rome, another locus of modern landscape theory and a popular reference point in the nineteenth century, distinctions between urban and country gardens were part of the city's broader topography.[30] Emanating from the urban centre, *vigne* (vineyards, but also incorporating aristocratic gardens such as the Villa Borghese), then the *campagna* (farmed countryside), and finally *villeggiatura* (rural properties) demarcated the transition from city to country.[31] The Villa Borghese, like *jardins* of Paris, extended its museum's collection into a pleasure garden at Rome's periphery (fig. 19) to designate the first Roman transition of urban living to rural idyll.[32] These European gardens were not spaces for relaxing social mores, but for extending urban activities into more pleasant surroundings populated by physical reminders of the classical ideal. This combination of health consciousness and social standards – especially in France – appealed greatly to Victorian England. References to, and even competition with, Parisian gardens continued into the mid-nineteenth century.[33] The French use of garden infrastructure such as gravelled paths and classical ornaments to regulate nature spawned a thriving industry creating the same objects for the British market.[34] And by the early 1860s, London's new Columbia Square was directly modelled on the Parisian typology.[35] Melbourne's distance from Paris did not lessen the French capital's influence.

Melbourne may have been a proud colonial city in the British Empire. But like London, its cultural leaders were also eager followers of French style. La Trobe, Redmond Barry (amongst other roles, chairman of Melbourne's combined Public Library, Museum, and Gallery, and a strong supporter of garden culture), and Clement Hodgkinson (the man who would institute the Fitzroy statuary) had all visited Paris in their formative years before arriving in Melbourne.[36] La Trobe and Barry also visited Rome; and in addition La Trobe was greatly impressed by the French-inspired Neuchâtel.[37] It was at this time – the first decades of the nineteenth century – that France was redeveloping its urban gardens along similar social reform lines as post-Industrial Revolution England.[38] The resulting 'French formal style' would come to define both French and English metropolitan spaces, and in turn, the Fitzroy Gardens.[39] Appreciation of French urban design was not limited to La Trobe, Barry and Hodgkinson. The tree-lined boulevards and formal streetscapes called for in the 'Anonymous' article of 1850 are the defining feature of modern Paris, where Le Nôtre had opened the Tuileries axis and Haussmann would soon create ever-more expansive vistas.[40] With nineteenth-century Melbourne emphatically lacking a city square, its topography was arguably as suited to the Parisian *jardin* as to the London urban square.[41] As an extension of England in the Southern Hemisphere, adopting the British appreciation of French garden design, Melbourne looked to London for its ideals and to Paris for its inspiration in creating the Fitzroy Gardens, whereby nature was regulated in service to urban activity. The principle was also central to La Trobe's vision for Melbourne's green spaces, and their realisation under Hodgkinson.

Clement Hodgkinson had never intended to become the man responsible for Melbourne's gardens. However, a series of misfortunes led to the English-born and French-trained civil engineer abandoning his dream of becoming a pastoralist to instead take up a post in the Surveyor-General's Office.[42] When Hodgkinson was made secretary and assistant commissioner of the Board of Crown Lands and Survey in 1860, he essentially assumed control for the

30 Allan R. Ruff, *Rome and the Pastoral Landscape*, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015, p.44; and Carole Paul, *The Borghese Collections and the Display of Art in the Age of the Grand Tour*, Burlington: Ashgate, 2009, pp.118-122; and Jacques, p.245.
31 Ruff, p.44.
32 Paul, pp.19-22.
33 Longstaff-Gowan, p.164.
34 Jacques, p.155.
35 Longstaff-Gowan, pp.165-166.
36 For La Trobe, see Charles Joseph La Trobe, *The Pedestrian: A Summer's Ramble in the Tyrol and Some of the Adjacent Provinces, 1830*, London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1832, p.247; and Reilly, pp.34. 56-59. Barry made note of visiting the 'Tuileries…' in particular. See Ann Galbally, *Redmond Barry: An Anglo-Irish Australian*, Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing, 1991, p.30. For Hodgkinson, see Whitehead, p.9; and R. Wright in R. Aitken and M. Looker (eds), *Oxford Companion to Australian Gardens* (2002).
37 For La Trobe, see La Trobe, *The Pedestrian*, pp.202-204; and Reilly, pp.34 and 56-59. With grateful thanks to Dianne Reilly for her advice regarding the significant gardens of Neuchâtel. For Barry, see Galbally, *Redmond Barry*, p.131.
38 Longstaff-Gowan, p.164.
39 Ibid; and Brent Elliot, *Victorian Gardens*, London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1986, pp.110-111.
40 'Melbourne as it is, and as it should be' (1850).
41 Ibid.
42 Whitehead, pp.9-10.

public gardens that La Trobe had reserved before his departure in 1854.[43] Although Hodgkinson had not initially had this goal in mind, it would not have been an unwelcome role. Hodgkinson shared La Trobe's enthusiasm for nature. He wrote *Australia, from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay* during his first sojourn in Australia in 1840-1842 when he was a contract surveyor in New South Wales; and within a few years of his 1851 arrival in Melbourne, Hodgkinson was vice-president of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria and a member of the first council of its successor the Royal Society of Victoria.[44] Hodgkinson's direct interaction with the Fitzroy Gardens, however, most clearly demonstrates his belief in nature as a socially beneficial extension of urban life.

As one element in La Trobe's 'emerald necklace' encircling Melbourne, the Fitzroy Gardens were part of the lieutenant-governor's vision of a physically and culturally healthy city.[45] In Europe, gardens were not separated from either the infrastructure or the activities of the metropolis. A similar Franco-British formality is no doubt what La Trobe had in mind for the Gardens. Their placement between the city grid and Melbourne's premier residential area was ideally suited to extending the city to a shared green space. In this formal urban garden, La Trobe could express his aims of European education and civility in the city landscape.[46] In fact, the Gardens' original name – FitzRoy Square – demonstrates their intended modelling on urban civic spaces. While we do not know specifically whether La Trobe intended his 'FitzRoy Square' to include statuary, statuary was as fundamental as plants or paths to the European urban gardens that served as his model. To designate this area as a 'square' would have been, in the nineteenth century, synonymous with an ornamented and formal urban space. Thus the short-lived Edward La Trobe Bateman design for the Gardens, with serpentine paths and wooded groves, was more suited to an English estate than a European-style urban garden.[47] Hodgkinson, however, clearly shared La Trobe's vision.

Only three years after Bateman completed his plan, Hodgkinson became responsible for Melbourne's gardens, and went on to transform the loosely Picturesque Fitzroy Gardens into a 'conventional star arrangement' typical of English and French formal gardens.[48] In doing so, Hodgkinson demonstrated the influence of his French studies on his own aesthetics.[49] Yet in creating this designed space for Melbourne, a city in which he had only recently arrived, he also acknowledged the lasting impact of La Trobe's principles and ideals on the city's identity. Six years after La Trobe's departure from Australia, Hodgkinson clearly saw Melbourne as the European-styled city of culture and civilisation that La Trobe had fostered during his tenure as lieutenant-governor. With the addition of statuary, the Fitzroy Gardens became a tangible expression of these cultural aspirations.

Classical statuary in the nineteenth century

Within two years of assuming responsibility for the Fitzroy Gardens, Hodgkinson implemented an infrastructure that cemented the Gardens' formal status within the city. In 1862 – the same year that FitzRoy Square became Fitzroy Gardens – Hodgkinson re-laid Bateman's meandering paths along a linear plan and introduced the first sculpture and structures to the Gardens.[50] The bowed titan of Charles Summers' *River God Fountain* is a direct descendant of early modern Italian classicism, with a nod to Victorian revivalism (fig. 20; Appendix 1, A-C).[51] Prominently located adjacent to the Gardens' main eastern entrance, *River God* made the Gardens' cultural contemporaneity explicit in its ornamentation. Over the next two years, Hodgkinson added a further fountain and a

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43 Ibid, p.11.
44 Ibid, p.10.
45 For these ideals, Reilly Drury pp.165-167 and 175-177. Their early formation can be seen in La Trobe's own reflection that appreciating the ancient urban culture of Rome 'was a source of proud delight…'; yet equalled by the Roman *campagna* (countryside) which he repeatedly praises as 'picturesque'. La Trobe, *The Pedestrian*, pp.204-205.
46 Reilly Drury pp.165-167 and 175-177. La Trobe's efforts to promote European culture were recognised – and praised – as Melbourne's institutions continued to grow. In his 1857 pamphlet calling for a 'Museum of Natural and Applied Sciences', Frederick McCoy of the University of Melbourne stressed that just as 'all the more enlightened nations of Europe have long found it profitable to vote annually considerable sums for the prosecution of scientific researches…', so has 'the Victorian Government initiated measures of this kind long ago, and by His Excellency, Mr. Latrobe [*sic*]…'. Frederick McCoy, *On the Formation of Museums in Victoria*, Melbourne: Goodhugh & Hough, 1857, pp.5-6. See also direct attribution of Melbourne's ability to fulfil 'the necessity of making provision to meet the literary wants of the community…' in 'Melbourne. From our correspondent', *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*, February 14 1856, p.2.
47 Edward La Trobe Bateman, *Plan. Fitzroy Square in the City of Melbourne. Victoria.* 1857, Public Records Office Victoria, VPRS 8168, P0005. While discussion of the designs is beyond the scope of this article, see Anne Neale, 'The Garden Designs of Edward La Trobe Bateman (1816-97)', *Garden History*, vol 33, no 2, 2005, pp.225-255.
48 Jacques, p.325.
49 Whitehead first made the connection between Hodgkinson's formative education and his Fitzroy Gardens redesign. See Whitehead, pp.11-12.
50 Whitehead, 12. Cf. Edward La Trobe Bateman, *Plan. Fitzroy Square in the City of Melbourne, Victoria*, 1857; and Clement Hodgkinson, [*1866 Fitzroy Gardens Plan*], 1866, Public Records Office Victoria, M377.
51 For an overview of the Italian tradition to which Summers' work is indebted, see Claudia Lazzaro, 'River Gods: Personifying Nature in Sixteenth-Century Italy', *Renaissance Studies*, vol 25, no 1, February 2011, pp.70-94.

band pavilion (fig. 21; Appendix 1, A-C).[52] These were typical Victorian structures aimed at serving – or even fostering – a nature and culture-loving public. Dedicating this level of attention to one garden, when he was actually responsible for many, revealed that Hodgkinson shared La Trobe's aspirations for Melbourne's eastern gardens.

The Fitzroy Gardens received their first ornaments at a time when sculpture was becoming increasingly significant in Melbourne's gardens and institutions. When the entrepreneur and theatre magnate George Selth Coppin purchased the Cremorne Gardens in 1856, the pleasure gardens did not enjoy the most respectable name in conservative Melbourne.[53] In an effort to improve his new investment's public standing, Coppin imported one hundred and fifty classical and neoclassical cast sculptures from London.[54] No expense, or connoisseurship, was spared in the choice of manufacturer. Domenico Brucciani was Britain's leading modeller, whose firm provided casts for the British Museum and South Kensington Museum, and whose expertise was sought by London's Royal College of Art.[55] With his casts in place, Coppin could publicly boast in 1858 that sculpture 'render[ed] these popular gardens an instructive rendezvous…' for an artist's 'classical employment'.[56] The following year, the Melbourne Museum debuted the casts Barry had also purchased from Brucciani (fig. 22).[57] These too were aimed at 'furnishing means of enlightened gratification and material instruction…'.[58] Inspired by Coppin and Barry's purchases, Hodgkinson began filling the Gardens with classical and neoclassical casts.[59] But before we uncover the ill-fated story of these sculptures, we need to appreciate how the first public exhibitions of casts in Melbourne spoke to international and local cultural ideals to create meaning for the nascent city.

Melbourne's appetite for casts was symptomatic of a broader European taste for all things antique. Much of nineteenth-century society was still in the throes of classical revivalism. In this context, Greek and Roman visual culture was self-affirming proof of the past's importance, and of contemporary society's superiority in adopting its values.[60] Classical sculpture offered an especially potent combination of connoisseurship, social aspiration, and personal exhibition. Aesthetically, scholars and dilettantes believed the works represented (often retroactively inferred) classical ideals of virtue and beauty. Barry – in many respects a European scholar relocated to Australia – saw a direct correlation between 'religious thought and feeling…' in Ancient Greece and that society's ability to reach what he regarded as art's 'highest perfection'.[61] Modern copies in turn connected municipal and private spaces to a lost utopia of Rome and Athens… and by extension, nineteenth-century society to its imagined ancestors. The advice of Gavin Hamilton, a Scottish painter turned antiquity dealer based in Rome, to Thomas Pitt in 1779 is typical of the era's desires for classical associations: 'a *Diana of Ephesus* would doe [*sic*] well at Stow [i.e. Stowe, Pitt's property], at the end of a walk or under a portico as at Villa Albani and Villa d'Este at Tivoli'.[62] The only issue was that the most celebrated (and in competitive nineteenth-century Europe, therefore the worthiest) sculptures were already housed in collections unlikely to relinquish their treasures. Fortunately, casts offered an acceptable replacement.[63]

Firms such as Brucciani – whose modelling workshop was one of fifteen in mid-nineteenth-century London alone – supplied museums, schools, and individuals with a steady stream of casts. These were taken from the most popular antique and suitably classical modern sculptures.[64] As well as providing a faithful facsimile of

52 Whitehead, p.95.

53 Donald Leslie Johnson, *Anticipating Municipal Parks: London to Adelaide to Garden City*, Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2012, p.34.

54 Whitehead, pp.17-18; and 'Cremorne Gardens', *The Argus*, November 13 1858, p.1.

55 Peter Malone, 'How the Smiths Made a Living', in Rune Frederiksen and Eckart Marchand (eds), *Plaster Casts. Making, collecting and displaying from classical antiquity to the present*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010, p.165.

56 'Cremorne Gardens', *The Argus*, November 15 1858, p.8.

57 Correspondence between Redmond Barry, Hugh Culling Childers (Trustee of Melbourne's Public Library, resident in London), R.E. Chester Waters (agent overseeing the Museum's purchases in London), quoted in Ann Galbally, 'The Lost Museum: Redmond Barry and Melbourne's "Musée des Copies"', *Australasian Journal of Art*, vol vii, 1988, pp.35-36.

58 Redmond Barry, *Catalogue of the Casts of Statues, Busts, and Bas-Reliefs in the Museum of Art at the Melbourne Public Library*, Melbourne: John Ferres, 1865, p.xxii.

59 Whitehead, p.18.

60 For an overview of British (being the most directly influential culture on Melbourne's early development) attitudes towards casts, see Diane Bilbey and Marjorie Trusted, '(The Question of Casts" – Collecting and later reassessment of the cast collections at South Kensington', in Rune Frederiksen and Eckart Marchand (eds), *Plaster Casts. Making, collecting and displaying from classical antiquity to the present*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010, pp.465-484.

61 Barry, pp.iii-iv.

62 Gavin Hamilton to Thomas Pitt, Rome 13 July 1779, reprinted in Brendan Cassidy, 'Gavin Hamilton, Thomas Pitt and Statues for Stowe', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol 146, no 1221, December 2004, p.813.

63 Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique. The lure of classical sculpture 1500-1900*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981, pp.84-88.

64 Malone, p.165.

the original, the high skill level demanded of modellers dignified their products as significant artworks in their own right.[65] This union of ancient and contemporary artistry was respected throughout Europe; but was particularly suited to equally classical and novelty-seeking Victorian England.[66] For Melbourne, casts assumed an additional layer of meaning, a meaning overlaid by a localised anxiety.

Although Australia still referred to England as the 'mother country', it could not escape being '16,000 miles from [European] civilisation'.[67] Purchasing casts from Europe, and displaying them in Melbourne, internationalised the dislocation and connection that these objects offered to European societies.[68] Just as classical sculptures in modern European collections suggested correspondence between the object's original and current locations, a further displacement to Melbourne added a connection between the intermediary European location and the new Australian context. Even if Melbourne was geographically 'so far removed from the seats of the renowned originals…', their facsimile offered the same level of 'taste…', 'appreciation of what is correct and beautiful…', and 'refinement…' as in any European city.[69] Melbourne's public spaces were not passive receptacles for international culture, but sites for its active continuation. In fact, the Melbourne Museum purchases predate some significant nineteenth-century European cast collections, including the celebrated cast court at the Victoria and Albert Museum.[70] Despite its anxiety about being disjointed from European culture, Melbourne was clearly in step with – and perhaps even in front of – international movements. This can be attributed in large part to the ideals that La Trobe impressed upon Melbourne before his departure, and which his cultural ally Barry was now bringing to fruition in the Library/Museum/Gallery complex. However, Eurocentric learning and leisure did not end at the institution's doors.

How did Melbourne's steadily increasing public cast collections translate to the Fitzroy Gardens? As Barry was building the Museum's collection in preparation for its public unveiling, and Hodgkinson was ornamenting the Gardens with fountains, the Cremorne Gardens' fortunes were falling. Over the course of two days in November 1863, Coppin sold the land and auctioned its contents.[71] Despite competing with lions and monkeys for the public's attention, Melbourne's largest public cast collection was still touted as desirable objects 'from the studio of Signor Brucciani' especially suited to 'Lovers of Art, Owners of Ornamental Gardens, Directors of Public Institutions, &c'.[72] This advertisement for the 'Monster Sale' demonstrates that Melburnians recognised the potential personal and collective significance of casts for their own culture.[73] So too did Hodgkinson. Although accounts differ on how quickly 'the pretty statues and classic groups…' were sold, by the second day they were all 'disposed of at fair prices'.[74] Hodgkinson was one of the principal buyers.[75]

In the same period as he purchased the Cremorne Gardens casts, Hodgkinson was also having copies of the Museum casts made in concrete (fig. 22).[76] The Fitzroy Gardens were not the only intended recipient of these works. Hodgkinson also ornamented the Flagstaff Gardens in Melbourne's west.[77] However, early and significant interaction with the Fitzroy Gardens reveals that these Gardens were particularly significant to Hodgkinson; and they eventually hosted the most elaborate sculptural program.[78] These Gardens therefore best reveal Hodgkinson's values, and how they reflected post-La Trobe Melbourne. And in enriching the Fitzroy Gardens with classical sculptures at the same time as – and even before – the Museum collection went on display, Hodgkinson made his cultural references very clear. Sculpture was fundamental to Parisian and London gardens, where it extended the city into nature. By this action, the city integrated urbanism into

65 With grateful thanks to Andrea Felice of Felice Calchi in Rome for his advice on the casting process now and in the past. See *Felice Calchi. The Plaster Casting Journal*, Andrea Felice, 2016, 'In Our Name We Made', http://felicecalchi. blogspot.com/2016/04/in-our-name-we-made.html (accessed October 10 2017).
66 Ibid.
67 Melbourne Town Council, p.1; and Charles Joseph La Trobe to John Murray, p.130.
68 Galbally has argued that casts represented 'transferral to the colonies of the classical humanist tradition'; however, this is not connected to the initial transposition discussed above. Galbally, 'The Lost Museum', p.34.
69 'The Sculpture Room in the Public Library', *The Australian News for Home Readers*, July 27 1866, p.7.
70 For connections between Melbourne's cast collection and those of Europe, as well as its influences, see Monique Webber 2020. 'Torchlight, Winckelmann and Early Australian Collections.' *Journal of Curatorial Studies,* vol.9, no.1, pp.114-134.
71 *Geelong Advertiser*, November 24 1863, p.2; *The Argus*, November 24 1863, p.4.
72 *The Argus*, November 23 1863, p.2.
73 Ibid.
74 *The Argus*, November 24, 1863, p.4; and *Geelong Advertiser*, November 24 1863, p.2.
75 Whitehead, p.18.
76 Ibid.
77 The history of these sculptures closely parallels that of the Fitzroy Gardens, albeit on a much faster trajectory. As soon as 1865, *Melbourne Punch* satirised ongoing vandalism against the Flagstaff casts as the 'Flagstaff Gardens Lament' by a 'once "glad"-iator…'. The sculptures were removed in the early 1930s. 'Flagstaff Gardens Lament', *Melbourne Punch*, June 15 1865, p.3; and Whitehead, p.74.
78 Whitehead argues that the Fitzroy Gardens were especially significant to Hodgkinson. Whitehead, p.10.

the landscape. This is remarkably similar to La Trobe's aspirations towards a community of 'harmony and energy…' within 'the beauty of the district…' as expressed in his first public address to Melbourne.[79] In rebuilding the sculptural program, what remains for us to discover is whether Hodgkinson's Fitzroy Gardens fulfilled these aspirations.

The Fitzroy Gardens sculptures

Hodgkinson's 1866 Fitzroy Gardens plan does not include one tree.[80] It does, however, note the location of sixty-five sculptures. The majority of these are described simply as 'statue' or 'vase'; or indicated merely by a dot. Other works, such as the two sculptures of *Diana* and a *Borghese Gladiator*, are mentioned by name. Of these fifty-one sculptures, about forty-five can be identified from either their name on Hodgkinson's map, or via research through the hundreds of untitled and loosely dated photographs in the State Library Victoria collection. And of these, thirty-nine can be located on the map (Appendix 1). The statues were always placed along paths; or grouped around structures such as the Grey Street Fountain [trad. Vase Fountain] (fig. 23). Even after Hodgkinson's tenure finished, placement of the 1873 Temple of the Winds adjacent to an earlier *Dorothea* and *Naukydes Discobolus* perpetuated this association of architectural structure and classical ornament (fig. 24). As well as echoing the formal Parisian urban gardens from which Hodgkinson took his inspiration, these design choices were also pragmatic (cf. figs. 4-7 and 14-18). The gardens had been initially planted less than a decade earlier, only to be redesigned by Hodgkinson in 1860.[81] At this time, plantings barely extended beyond the paths' edges. With Hodgkinson preferring structure (whether architectural, ornamental, or arboreal) over plant displays, they were unlikely to develop further in the foreseeable future.[82] While this would later attract criticism from those preferring a *garden* in the Picturesque style, for now it perfectly suited Hodgkinson's purposes.

Placing the sculptures alongside the Gardens' paths and at its important junctions ensured that they became part of the visual landscape as Melburnians criss-crossed the gardens (Appendix 1). Concern for visibility is also evident in the sculptures being concentrated at the Gardens' north and east, and along the central pathway (Appendix 1). Although the southern half of the Gardens connected with the important thoroughfare of Wellington Parade and in turn the Melbourne Cricket Ground, beyond these landmarks was little more than police barracks and paddocks. To the north and east, however, was the genteel residential grid of East Melbourne. With the Gardens functioning as a bridge between the city centre and its leisured outskirts, sculptures along the main paths were most likely to be seen. Having ensured that the casts would be in the public's vision, Hodgkinson made the most of their attention.

What emerges overwhelmingly from rebuilding the Fitzroy statuary collection is a statement of nineteenth-century 'taste'. All of the casts are taken from ancient originals; or from more recent artists such as Antonio Canova and Bertel Thorvaldsen, whose work was judged to be appropriately 'antique'.[83] The sculptures are also nearly all the works that an educated gentleman would expect to see, and be expected to recognise, in his coming-of-age Grand Tour to Europe (and which La Trobe, Barry, and Hodgkinson would have all seen in their own tours to the Continent).[84] Indeed, the sculptures transform Melbourne's public Gardens into something akin to what one of the wealthier grand tourists would have assembled in their own home from casts and copies.[85] These personal and enduring statements of wealth and erudition allowed the British aristocracy to possess the broader societal values attached to cast collections.[86] Transplanted into a colonial civic space, an analogous collection created a shared Grand Tour heritage for a city proud of its European links and equally anxious to maintain these ties. Participation in European cultural heritage, and its contemporary reinvigoration, is also evident in the interaction of the sculptures with one another.

Examination of the few photographs that show more than one sculpture – single studies having been more popular – reveals that the placement of the casts relative to one another often spoke directly to European cultural ideals. A photograph dated about 1872 shows a *Venus de' Medici* opposite an *Apollino* (fig. 25).[87] These

79 La Trobe Address, October 3 1839, *Port Phillip Patriot and Melbourne Advertiser*, October 7 1839, p.4..
80 Clement Hodgkinson, [*1866 Fitzroy Gardens Plan*], 1866.
81 Whitehead, p.12.
82 Ibid, pp.14–15.
83 Haskell and Penny, p.98.
84 The best overview of these works remains that presented in Haskell and Penny, passim.
85 Haskell and Penny, pp.84–88; and Hamilton to Pitt, p.813.
86 Ibid.
87 Many of the works cast for the Fitzroy Gardens have since been re-identified, and their names have changed. For ease of reference, this paper will use the most widely used contemporary term, with the nineteenth-century title square bracketed if it differs.

two Roman works have been shown together in the jewel-like Tribuna of the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence since 1771 (fig. 26).[88] This authoritative siting, and eighteenth-century belief that the two works were created by the same artist, led to copies often being paired in English and French collections into the nineteenth century.[89] In doing the same at Melbourne, Hodgkinson reaffirmed the city's participation in the shared cultural heritage so emphatically promoted by La Trobe. This was, however, a suitably Victorian view of the past.

There were some notable exceptions to the Fitzroy Gardens summary of classical and contemporary taste. The *Dying Gladiator*, *Laocoön*, and *Farnese Hercules*, for instance, were *de rigueur* in European gardens and collections.[90] Two of these, the *Dying Gladiator* and *Laocoön*, were prominent in the Museum's own Sculpture Gallery (fig. 22).[91] Yet the Gardens do not appear to have included these more violent – and in the case of the hulking *Farnese Hercules*, perhaps less decorative – examples of classical art among its sculptures. Hodgkinson also omitted all but the most *pudica* of Venuses (fig. 25). And he certainly did not place those he did include in 'temples of love' or suggestively shaded groves populated with satyrs, as in some British private estate gardens.[92] In line with the socially aspirational tone of Victorian public gardens across the Empire, and in Melbourne in particular, the Gardens offered a classical education aimed at lifting public morality as well as taste. Here, we can see a concern for aligning the Gardens' ornamentation with its context and purpose. The same concept informs the overarching theme of tamed wilderness that unites the Gardens' periphery sculptures.

A faun, an Amazon, an Apollo, and a Gladiator were used to demarcate the Gardens' northern and eastern entrances. The *Satyr with Cymbals and Kroupezion* [trad. *Faun with Cymbals*] ornamented the Grey Street Fountain, to subsequently be placed at the Gardens' south-east corner; a *Wounded Amazon (Mattei type)* punctuated the eastern terminus of the Hotham Street Walk, close by an *Apollo Belvedere*; and a magnificent *Borghese Gladiator* occupied the main roundel at the northern entrance (figs. 7, 23 and 27-29; Appendix 1 nos. 14-15, 21, 30

and 39). The subject of all of these sculptures evoked, to varying degrees, a contained savagery. Fauns were mischievous, but generally harmless, natural spirits; and both Amazons and gladiators were believed to be little more than barbarians from the peripheries (read uncivilised) of the Roman Empire.[93] The god of music and culture might appear at odds with these socially and geographically marginal beings.[94] However, Apollo's preference for the countryside, and authoritative interaction with wild beings such as satyrs, made him a civilising force in the classical wilderness.[95] Indisputable classical heritage and contemporary acclaim extended Apollo's mediation between simplicity and urbanity – which notably echoes Victorian era ideals around urban gardens – to all of the Gardens' peripheral works. The *Satyr*, like the *Apollino* and *Venus de' Medici*, has long been displayed in the Uffizi Tribuna (fig. 26).[96] Iterations of the *Wounded Amazon (Mattei type)* can be found in such prominent institutions as the Musei Vaticani and the Cour Carrée of the Musée du Louvre (figs. 30-31). The Fitzroy example most closely resembles the former, and therefore was likely to have been cast from the work Barry purchased for the Museum (cf. figs. 27 and 30).[97] The *Apollo Belvedere* was another Roman work, having been present in the Musei Vaticani collections since 1509, when Pope Julius II transferred the work from his personal collection.[98] And the *Borghese Gladiator* entered Musée du Louvre in Paris in 1807 (fig. 32). Casts taken from these illustrious collections, raised on pillars, balanced 'nature' with 'order' – and created very fitting heralds for an urban garden. These sculptures distinguished main paths that converged on the Gardens' centre and its main work, a monumental *Diana of Versailles* [trad. *Diane à la Biche*] from which all paths emanate (fig. 9; Appendix 1). In addition to perpetuating the Gardens' broader nature/order theme in her role as huntress, this *Diana* is also the axis of the most coherent sculptural program of the Gardens along its most important pathway.

The Hotham Walk leads from Treasury Gardens, and therefore the city, to residential East Melbourne (Appendix 1). Defining the Gardens' main east-west axis, this path was – and remains – the Gardens' principal walkway. The nineteenth-century public gave

88 Haskell and Penny, p.147.
89 Ibid.
90 The *Dying Gladiator* was a popular Grand Tour souvenir; Florence's Galleria degli Uffizi holds a post-antique copy of the *Laocoön*; and the gardens of Vaux-le-Vicomte outside Paris are punctuated by a *Farnese Hercules*.
91 Barry, pp.14-16 and 18-20.
92 Wendy Frith, 'Sex, Gender, Politics: The Venus de' Medici in the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden', in Patrick Eyres and Fiona Russell (eds.), *Sculpture and the Garden*, pp.71-72.
93 Strabo, *Geographica* 11.5.1-4; and Petronius, *Satyricon* 45.11-12.
94 *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 180-210.
95 *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 130-150; and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.382-403.
96 Haskell and Penny, p.205.
97 Barry, p.1.
98 Haskell and Penny, p.148.

it a proliferation of titles, including 'Central Avenue', 'Middle Avenue' and 'Main Avenue'.[99] It was the most popular view for amateur and commercial photographs, as well as postcards (see for example figs. 1-4, 7, 9, 11, 23-25, 27 and 29). This is also the path that Detective Gorby takes (albeit incompletely) in Hume's *Mystery of a Hansom Cab*.[100] Even without knowledge of the Walk's public acclaim, a casual visitor could not fail to recognise the pathway's significance. Of all of the Gardens' paths, the central Hotham Walk was the most densely ornamented (Appendix 1). Like all of the sculptures that Hodgkinson placed in the Gardens, the choice and situation of those along the Walk was not accidental. Reading from left to right (west to east on the map), the Walk began with casts of Thorvaldsen's 1813-1816 *Venus with the Apple* [trad. *Venus with the Apple*], followed by the 1st-2nd century CE *Dionysos and Maenad* [trad. *Bacchus and Ariadne*]; Canova's 1816 *Terpsichore*; and Giovanni Maria Benzoni's notably contemporary 1859 *Diana Hunting* before arriving at the central *Diana* (fig. 6; Appendix 1 nos. 1-7). Extending to the east were casts of an eighteenth-century *Spring, Winter*, and *Autumn* (the latter subsequently replaced by an *Apollino*, presumably due to damage); a further Canova, his 1800-1805 *Hebe*; a *Summer* to complete the Gardens' eastern *Four Seasons*; and a 1st-2nd century CE A*phrodite at the Pillar, Restored as Euterpe* [trad. *Euterpe*] before the Walk terminates with a *Wounded Amazon (Mattei type)* and to the south an *Apollo Belvedere* (figs. 5, 9, 27-28, and 33-37; Appendix 1 nos. 8-15). Contemporaneous garden theory regarded sculptures as significant in their own right; and in their dispositions relative to one another, as creating an overarching dialogue as their individual meanings 'spoke' to one another.[101] As a visitor moved through an ornamented garden, this dialogue would become more complex – even change – dependent on which sculptures were visible.[102] References to European connoisseurship in the Uffizi-style pairing of a *Venus de' Medici* and *Apollino* reveal that Hodgkinson applied this theory to the Fitzroy Gardens sculptures. It was also practised on a grand scale with the Hotham Walk.

Intersecting meanings of the Hotham Walk casts both expanded on the Gardens' wider nature/order tension and celebrated Melbourne's cultural heritage leading to future promise. An overview of the sculptures shows that they align with seven themes: youth; innocence; classicism; modern classicism; nature; culture; and Europe (Appendix 2). These were all significant to Melbourne in the first half-century of its European settlement. This was a time when the city – denying its forced settlement – regarded itself as a fresh and innocent transplantation of European heritage into the increasingly romanticised naturalism of the pioneer landscape.[103] And over-riding all of this was the city's aspirational anxiety around retaining European links – a fear perhaps quieted by the Fitzroy casts originating from prominent Northern European collections.

Each of the sculptures' mythological subjects, and original works' subsequent reputation, spoke to a number of the seven overriding themes (Appendix 2). *Dionysos and Maenad* [trad. *Bacchus and Ariadne*], for example, overcame Victorian disdain for the licentious god of wine to embody innocent love and disorder sanctioned by inclusion in European aristocratic collections. Other works, such as Canova's *Terpsichore*, embodied many of the Walk's themes in a single object. It is for this reason that the sculptures' position relative to one another is fundamental to appreciating their meaning in the Gardens. As the Muses of choral dance and epic poetry respectively, Canova's *Terpsichore* and the Roman *Aphrodite at the Pillar, Restored as Euterpe* [trad. *Euterpe*] collectively suggested a flowering of the arts in Melbourne under the watchful eye of *Apollo Belvedere*. When viewed adjacent to the *Four Seasons* and *Hebe*, they became an Arcadian vision of youth celebrating its cultural potential. Although *Autumn* was later replaced by an *Apollino*, adding what the nineteenth century believed was an adolescent vision of the adult *Apollo Belvedere* only strengthened the program's meaning. Simultaneously, mythological (and in the Gardens, visual) connection between Apollo and his twin sister Diana emphasised overcoming 'nature' with 'civilisation'. Reading back towards the city grid, the centralised *Diana* also reinvigorated the classicism/modern classicism dialogue when compared with Benzoni's recent *Diana Hunting*. This internal dialogue partially explains the seemingly unusual choice of placing two analogous sculptures on the same path.

99 See for example *The Middle Avenue in the Fitzroy Gardens*. Circa 1870-1880. Photograph. H31510/12. Melbourne: State Library Victoria; N.J. Caire, *Central Avenue Fitzroy Gardens*. 1867. Photograph. H96.160/2614. Melbourne: State Library Victoria; and Rose Sterograph Co., *The Main Avenue, Fitzroy Gardens, Melbourne, Vic*. Circa 1920-1954. Glass negative. H32492/7423. Melbourne: State Library Victoria. Although this glass negative of a postcard is listed in State Library Victoria as 'circa 1920-1954' as cited above, presence of the sculptures defines its date as pre-1933.
100 Hume, pp.60-61.
101 Patrick Eyres and Fiona Russell (eds.), *Sculpture and the Garden*, p.40; and Lambert, pp.99-100.
102 Ibid.
103 Edmonds, pp.70-74. This romanticisation of the 'bush' would culminate in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth-century move to 'nationalism' in art, epitomised by works such as Frederick McCubbin's *Home Again* (1884. Oil on canvas. A2-1981. Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria) and *The Pioneer* (1904. Oil on canvas. 253-2. Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria).

Grand Tour sensibilities complete the picture.

The Hotham Walk sculptural program spoke directly to nineteenth-century viewing habits. The conspicuous consumption of Grand Tour souvenirs by British aristocrats gave rise in the late eighteenth century to the 'gentlemanly hang' in the United Kingdom and across the Empire.[104] Placing ancient and modern, or Northern European and Italian, iterations on the same theme – or in the Gardens, a classical and a contemporary Diana – alongside one another demonstrated the owner's connoisseurship and tested that of his guests.[105] This approach persisted in Melbourne, in an invitation to compare various *discoboli* and Venuses in the alphabetical catalogue of Barry's *Catalogue of the Casts of Statues, Busts, and Bas-Reliefs in the Museum of Art at the Melbourne Public Library*.[106] Melbourne's two sculptures of *Diana* made the city's self-engineered European heritage an active perpetuation enacted by its citizens and particularly relevant to their environment. Examples of both sculptures of *Diana* in the Fitzroy Gardens and of a *Dionysos and Maenad* [trad. *Bacchus and Ariadne*], *Apollo Belvedere*, *Apollino*, *Terpsichore*, *Wounded Amazon (Mattei type)*, and a *Venus de' Medici* could be found in the Museum (fig. 22).[107] So too were another Diana, Apollo, a Euterpe, and eight Venuses.[108] In an evocation of Paris, the Gardens' interpretation of the 'gentlemanly hang' extended across Melbourne to invite reflection on what different artists and contexts brought to the sculptures' subjects. The status of the original works informed interpretation of their casts, and in turn, of the Hotham Walk. Their dislocated presence in a Melbourne garden imbued the urban landscape with realisation of its cultural ambitions. This was idealisation of the burgeoning city conveyed by movement, and which paired context and purpose to effect cultural change. The sculptural program, which only increases in complexity with further examination, would have been perfectly legible to Hodgkinson, Barry or La Trobe. But was it an effective conveyor of meaning to the people of Melbourne?

Assessment and decline

Contemporary scholarship has doubted whether the average visitor to the Fitzroy Gardens would have understood Hodgkinson's sculptural program, and its references to the European heritage instilled by La Trobe.[109] As with the sculptures more broadly, making this assessment is largely an issue of incomplete or misleading sources. Hume's Gorby in *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab* expressly passed along the Hotham Walk 'in his happy ignorance of heathen mythology'.[110] Whitehead uses the fictional Gorby's inability to identify two of the six sculptures he encounters to argue that Melburnians equally did not recognise the sculptures.[111] If this were true, they certainly would not have understood the sculptural program outlined above. Perhaps we should be less dismissive of the knowledge of past generations. Gorby is, after all, a fictional character. And while Hume did not attribute his detective with much of a classical education, Gorby did identify four of the six sculptures, and in an earlier soliloquy refers to Oedipus's Sphinx.[112] In a contemporaneous example, *The Argus* reported in 1894 that a Detective Christie was a witness in a case of 'impure literature' levelled against a Fitzroy bookseller in possession of very loosely translated copies of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* (*The Art of Love*).[113] Although Christie claimed he 'did not pretend to be qualified' to discuss Shakespeare, the detective readily judged Ovid and was joined in his conclusions by Professor Tucker of the University of Melbourne.[114] Hume's classical references expect a higher level of understanding from his readers than from his characters, while Melbourne's reality justifies his assumption. Without this expected readership, the subtle mocking of Gorby's 'happy ignorance' – and its implication that the reader is better equipped to identify the sculptures – would be meaningless.[115] The same is true of the Hodgkinson's extensive sculptural program.

Hodgkinson was secretary and assistant commissioner of the Board of Crown Lands and Survey. He is unlikely to have justified using Melbourne's closely-scrutinised public funds for an exclusive project – especially since misused funds were a common downfall of his colleagues, and would lead to his own.[116] At a time when explanatory brochures were common practice in English ornamented public gardens, Hodgkinson chose not to explain the sculptures

104 Henrietta Spencer-Churchill, *The Life of the House. How rooms evolve*, New York: Rizzoli, 2012, p.44.
105 Ibid.
106 Barry, pp.10 and 24-27.
107 Ibid, pp. 1-5, 9, and 23-25.
108 Ibid, pp.3, 10, and 24-27.
109 Whitehead, p.97.
110 Hume, p.60.
111 Ibid; and Whitehead, p.97.
112 Hume, pp.60 and 16.
113 'Impure Literature', *The Argus*, August 3 1894, p.3.
114 Ibid.
115 Ibid, p.60.
116 Whitehead, p.23.

beyond titled plinths.[117] Clearly, he expected the general public to comprehend his sculptural program and its meaning for their city. There would, of course, have been differing levels of understanding among a diverse population. Nonetheless, Melbourne in the latter half of the nineteenth century was already far-removed from the 'uncivilised' (read un-urbane from a stridently colonial perspective) settlement that confronted La Trobe upon his arrival, and which he strove to improve.[118] Both the short-lived Cremorne Gardens and the ever-popular Museum cast collections were successfully aimed at public leisure and education.[119] Constant petitioning for greater access to the Library and Museum collections reveals that desire to study and understand such objects was not limited to Melbourne's elite.[120] Finally, the sculptures' overwhelming presence in photographs and postcards demonstrates their significance in Melbourne's popular media. For a culturally ambitious city, the Gardens' transplantation of European ideals to a locally relevant context was a valued collective statement of Melbourne's growing international importance. It was not to last.

Hodgkinson's decision to fill the Fitzroy Gardens with sculptures reflected international urban garden theories, as well as the society that La Trobe had fostered in his time at Melbourne. And as he became disassociated from the Gardens due to ill-health and professional difficulties, the sculptures lost their greatest champion. Without Hodgkinson's watchful eye, the sculptures fell into disrepair. The story of their slow deterioration over the period 1913-1933, and eventual removal by the Melbourne Council, has been covered elsewhere.[121] What is important to this study is what their decline reveals about Melbourne's changing ideals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Melbourne's wealth and population increasingly attracted international attention, the city began articulating its own identity. Mid-nineteenth-century concern with being 'European' was slowly overtaken by ambitions of global modernity.

Already in 1881, Melbourne's prolific architect Nahum Barnet called on his peers to stop relying on imported and outdated ideals to create a new style better suited to the climate and 'the formation of our young city'.[122] With Melbourne the capital city of a newly federated Australia from 1901, the quest for a local style emblematic of this 'social laboratory of the world' found expression in eclectic and enthusiastic adoption of international trends filtered through a localised palette.[123] At the basis of moving Melbourne forward in the world, these early twentieth-century aims were not dissimilar to those of La Trobe and Hodgkinson. Nor was the classicism that they had utilised intrinsically a problem. The Museum's cast collection persisted in its popularity, as early twentieth-century photos demonstrate (fig. 38). Similarly, it was only in the 1920s that the University of Melbourne began its classical cast collection, which attracted attention and patronage from the Victoria and Albert Museum.[124] This prompts a fundamental question that is often overlooked in the scholarship – why were casts still valued in Melbourne's premier institutions during the first decades of the twentieth century, whereas the Fitzroy Gardens sculptures fell further and further into decline – both physically, and in popular opinion?

The increasingly ruined state of the statuary would certainly have contributed to the issue, and made appreciating the casts as representations of classical art difficult, to say the least. An urban garden filled with headless and armless sculptures was equally not a fitting landmark for an up-and-coming modern city such as Melbourne.[125] Especially when the Council's apparent inability to restore the sculptures, and 'Melbourne's love of art…', were ridiculed as far away as Brisbane.[126] Prematurely abandoned restoration projects, as well as public suggestion that the damaged and missing sculptures could be recast from 'a surplus of such things [classical sculptures] in the antique room of the National Gallery…', suggest that these practical matters could in fact have been overcome.[127] Disparity between growing

117 Cf. *Cremorne Gardens. Visitor's Guide to the Works of Art by Ancient and Modern Masters Selected from the Studio of Signor Brucciani, of London*, Birmingham: John Tonks, circa 1850, passim.
118 Charles Joseph La Trobe to John Murray, p.130.
119 'Cremorne Gardens', *The Argus*, November 13 1858, p.1; and Barry, p.xxii.
120 'The Public Library', *The Age*, February 18 1856, p.2; 'Opening of the Public Library and Museum on Sundays', *The Herald*, April 3 1878, p.2; and 'Opening of the Art Room at the Public Library', *The Melbourne Leader*, May 25 1861, p.11. Cf. 'The Public Library', *The Age*, February 18 1856, p.3, in which the anonymous author pompously asserts that Melbourne's 'Library is now, and always must be, much too high to attract the mob of "light" readers…' or for 'the frivolous and the idle [to] while away their hours of indolence…'.
121 This is best seen in Whitehead, pp.67-77.
122 Nahum Barnet, 'Building Material', *The Argus*, September 20 1881, p.6.
123 Kristin Otto, *Capital. Melbourne when it was the capital city of Australia 1901-27*, Melbourne: Text Publishing and State Library Victoria, 2009, p.77.
124 Andrew Jamieson and Hannah Gwyther, 'Casts and Copies. Ancient and classical reproductions', *University of Melbourne Collections*, 8, June 2011, pp.47-48.
125 'Our Shabby Statues', *The Herald*, July 14 1927, p.36.
126 'Teaching by Statues. Fitzroy Gardens', *Telegraph* (Brisbane), July 21 1927, p.7.
127 'Shabby Statues', *The Herald*, July 15 1927, p.2; and 'Fitzroy Gardens Statuary', by 'A.C.', *The Age*, May 13 1933, p.4.

and celebrated cast collections in the Museum and University, and that of the Gardens, is also not as straightforward as it may appear. A first appraisal suggests that classical culture was acceptable within institutional boundaries for the purposes of education, but not in the wider urban landscape. Yet on 2 October 1928, the politician, solicitor and philanthropist Theodore Fink donated marble bust replicas of the *Apollo Belvedere* and *Farnese Hercules* to adorn the Queen Victoria Gardens.[128] Not only were the works prominently celebrated with a photograph in *The Argus* (fig. 39),[129] their description in *The Age* also praised an artistic pedigree analogous to that which had previously validated the Fitzroy Gardens sculptures, including the Gardens' own *Apollo Belvedere*, which a year earlier had been mocked in the *The Herald* as a 'shabby…' and 'armless guardian…' (fig. 28).[130] Melbourne's ongoing appreciation for classical sculpture would suggest that La Trobe's values, so persistently upheld by Barry and Hodgkinson, remained well into its modern era. Following this logic, the Fitzroy Gardens sculptures could have been retained, yet, by 1933, they had been removed. The answer to this seemingly illogical decision can be found in the changing urban landscape.

The Fitzroy Gardens, perhaps more than any of Melbourne's other public spaces, was emphatically an urban garden in the European sense. Unlike the Botanic Gardens, designed to offer a natural respite from the city, the Fitzroy Gardens instead hosted activities in a garden setting. This is demonstrated not only by the theories underpinning the gardens and their design, but also by comparing images of the two sites. Whereas Melburnians lolled in the Botanic Gardens as if on a country picnic, photographs of the Fitzroy Gardens persistently show upright citizens promenading as if on an urban street (cf. figs. 41-43). In terms of La Trobe and Hodgkinson's aims for this site, the responsiveness of the public confirms the Gardens' success. However, it also ensured the demise of its sculpture. As a green extension of the urban grid, the Gardens needed to remain current with the urban landscape as a whole. In the self-styled European Melbourne of the mid-nineteenth century, this was assured by formal paths and garden infrastructure echoing

current Northern Hemisphere theories. By the early twentieth century, however, Melbourne was shaking off its Victorian past to become an emphatically contemporary city.

Renovation of Bourke Street as a modern vision of new typologies and forms, with its department stores in Commercial Gothic and Zigzag Moderne styles, demonstrates how avidly Melbourne pursued new expressions of its identity.[131] Just as the classical portico favoured by the nineteenth century would now seem outdated in this bustling metropolis, so did Hodgkinson's sculptures at the city's edge appear out of step with emphatically modern Melbourne. This is a generalisation, and intentionally so. Traditional architecture was still upheld by many practitioners, and the Fitzroy Gardens sculptures cherished by a number of Melburnians, as relevant *exempla*.[132] Significantly, some members of the artistic community otherwise championing new expressions over classical revision were amongst the most ardent supporters of the casts.[133] Yet the Council men making the decisions did not appreciate the contemporary use to which La Trobe and Hodgkinson had put classicism.[134] For these vanguards of Melbourne's cosmopolitanism, sculpture was emblematic of the present's ability to build upon past achievements towards a stronger future. For Melbourne's new 'City Fathers', with a Centenary approaching, they were only broken and 'deplorable…' remnants of an increasingly distant past.[135] And with their removal, Melbourne lost a physical reminder of its foundational ideals.

Conclusion

The Fitzroy Gardens sculptures were La Trobe's aspirations for Melbourne writ large upon its crafted landscape. Their institution by Hodgkinson, and the city's (initial) receptiveness to their ideals of European culture and urbanity, reveal the synchronicity of early post-settlement culture in Melbourne. Perhaps surprisingly, removing these cultural signs did not rupture that created environment. Nineteenth-century ideals of gardens as extensions of museums established the Gardens' role as a source of artistic inspiration. Even when the visual expression of this link had disappeared, the Gardens

128 'Marble Busts for Gardens', *The Herald*, May 21 1928, p.5; 'Marble Busts for City Gardens', *The Argus*, October 3 1928, p.5; and 'Statuary for City Gardens', *The Age*, October 4 1928, p.11.
129 'Marble Busts for City Gardens'.
130 'Statuary for City Gardens' and 'Our Shabby Statues'.
131 Philip Goad, *Melbourne Architecture*, Boorowa, NSW: The Watermark Press, revised and expanded ed., 2009, p.132.
132 Goad, p.132; 'Shabby Statues' and 'Fitzroy Gardens Statuary'.
133 Cf. Paul Montford and Arthur Streeton quoted in 'Shabby Statues'. William Leslie Bowles remained impartial, arguing that replacing the works with new cement casts was a poor choice given how badly they had weathered, but also suggesting that new Australian works should be included. William Leslie Bowles, 'Fitzroy Gardens Statues', *The Argus*, January 16 1934, p.9.
134 'The Fitzroy Statues. Renovation Decided Upon', *The Age*, December 19 1933, p.10.
135 'The Fitzroy Statues. Renovation Decided Upon' and 'Shabby Statues'.

remained a locus of creative practice. Painters and photographers continued – and continue – to capture the Gardens. Leslie Bowles' reinterpretation of *Diana of Versailles* [trad. *Diane à la Biche*] as a streamlined figure of Moderne activity emphatically states the Fitzroy Gardens sculptures' ongoing relevance (fig. 8). In a sensitive interjection into an increasingly divided city, his *Diana and the Hounds* reinvigorated the Gardens' central figure for a new age. Leslie Bowles' ongoing respect for the past, with an eye to the future, shows the ongoing impact of La Trobe's ideals nearly a century after he had left Melbourne. In turn, the evolving expression that the Gardens hosted is key to understanding their physical and conceptual transformation in the modern era.

Twentieth-century discourse around the Fitzroy Gardens sculptures reveals that damage was not the only – or even the chief – reason for their slow demise and swift removal. The question of what happened to these sculptures speaks more profoundly to the nature of Melbourne itself at this time. From agents in urban philosophy, the casts became objects shifting with its vicissitudes. Whether questioning or defending the casts, removing or mourning them, Melburnians used the Fitzroy Gardens sculptures as a testing ground for their emerging identity on the national and international stage. The implications of this collective culture, however, can tell a less illustrious story. The Fitzroy Gardens sculptures may have been largely intelligible to the 'average' citizen of a self-styled European city. Yet, this remained an emphatically exclusive view of Melbourne's inhabitants. Communicating Melbourne's identity through accessible, but nonetheless privileged, European symbols excluded anyone outside this philosophy from participating in the city. Considered from this perspective, the Fitzroy Gardens statuary remained agents. But they were increasingly exclusionary agents in defining a 'legitimate' inhabitant of Melbourne. This negative leveraging of culture is symptomatic of the broader political systems contemporaneously laying the foundations for the White Australia Policy. This is a contemporary reading, forwarded from a postcolonial perspective. It has not been the purpose of this article to impose theory on the statuary's history, but instead to uncover its intended public (and therefore emphatically positive, whatever the reality) meaning for the society that created it. Inflection of this reading onto the sculptures at this point, however, prompts the question of what they signify for Melbourne in the twenty-first century.

The Fitzroy Gardens sculptures defined a key public space in Melbourne for more than a third of its nearly two centuries of post-settlement history. Even in a city that has historically been ready to remove its past, surely this lengthy presence would not be without meaning. The sculptures may have disappeared almost without a trace. But they remain in Melbourne's cultural memory. Uncovering the sculptures' history reveals the attitudes that shaped – and shape – Melbourne both in its formative years as a 'European' city and in transition to an independent urban culture. In the Fitzroy Gardens sculptures' end is our beginning as a self-determined urban culture.

APPENDIX 1
Map of the Fitzroy Gardens in the early twentieth century
and its sculptural program

Adapted from *Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works Plan, Scale 160 Feet to 1 Inch. No. 27, East Melbourne*, c.1915. Dyeline print map. MAPS 821.09 A 1894. Melbourne: State Library Victoria; with additions Monique Webber, 2018.
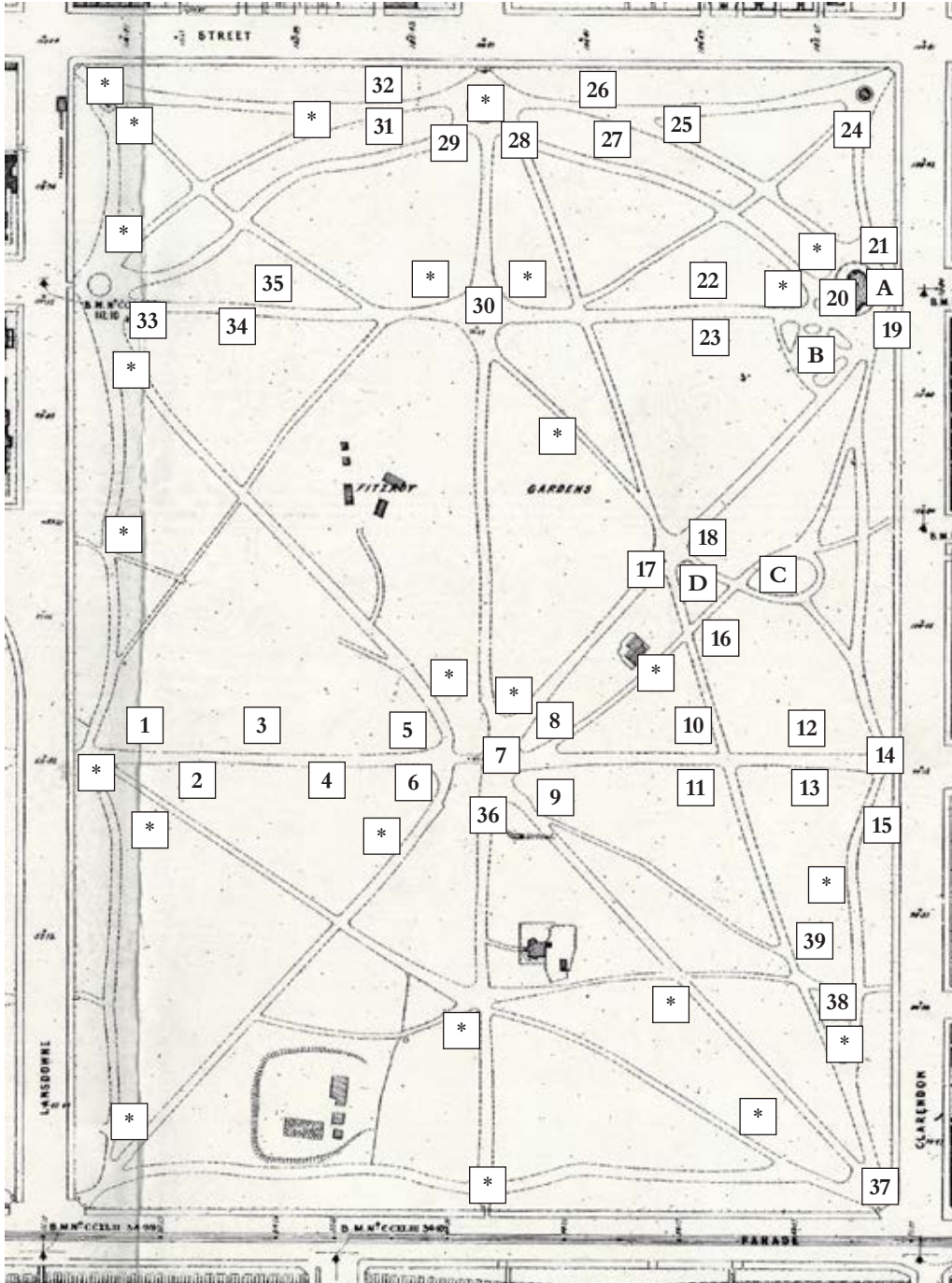
KEY
1–39 Identified sculptures
A–D Other structures
* Unidentified sculptures

IDENTIFIED SCULPTURES

1 Bertel Thorvaldsen, *Venus with the Apple*. 1813-1816.

2 Giovanni Maria Benzoni, *Diana Hunting*. 1859.

3 *Dionysos and Maenad* [trad. *Bacchus and Ariadne*]. Roman. Circa 1st-2nd century CE.

4 Antonio Canova, *Terpsichore*. 1816.

5 Urn [trad.'Vase']

6 Urn [trad.'Vase']

7 D*iana of Versailles* [trad. *Diana à la Biche*]. Roman. 2nd century CE

8 *Winter*. 18th century.

9 *Spring*. 18th century.

10 Antonio Canova, *Hebe*. 1800-1805.

11 *Autumn*. 18th century. Later *Apollino*. Roman. 1st century CE.

12 *Aphrodite at the Pillar, Restored as Euterpe* [trad. *Euterpe*]. Roman. 1st – 2nd century CE.

13 *Summer*. 18th century.

14 *Wounded Amazon (Mattei type)*. Roman. 2nd century CE.

15 *Apollo Belvedere*. Roman. Circa 120-140 CE.

16 Urn [trad.'Vase']

17 N*aukydes Discobolus*. Roman. 410-400 BCE.

18 John Bell, *Dorothea*.1844.

19 *Spinario*. Greco-Roman. Circa 323-31 BCE.

20 V*enus Anadyomene*. Roman. Circa 1st-3rd century CE.

21 *Satyr with Cymbals and Kroupezion* [trad. *Faun with Cymbals*]. Roman. 3rd century CE. Later moved to number 37.

22 Urn [trad.'Vase']

23 Urn [trad.'Vase']

24 Urn [trad.'Vase']

25 Listed by Hodgkinson as 'Amazon'. Potentially the *Cesi Juno*. Roman, 2nd century CE.

26 Urn [trad.'Vase']

27 Listed by Hodgkinson as 'Dancing Faun'. Likely the Pompeiian *Dancing Faun*. Greco-Roman. Circa 323-31 BCE.

28 Urn [trad.'Vase']

29 Urn [trad.'Vase'

30 *Borghese Gladiator*. Roman. Circa 100 CE.

31 'Statue of Diana' [*sic* on Hodgkinson's *1866 Fitzroy Gardens Pla*n]

32 Urn [trad.'Vase']

33 Urn [trad.'Vase']

34 Listed as 'Statue of Diana'. Potentially *Diana of Gabii*. Greco-Roman. Circa 300 BCE-300 CE in the Museum cast collection.

35 Listed as 'Bacchus. Potentially *Bacchus and Ampelus*. Roman. Circa 150-200 CE. This is another 'Bacchus' in the Museum cast collection.

36 Lorenzo Bartolini. *Bacchante*. 1834.

37 *Satyr with Cymbals and Kroupezion* [trad. *Faun with Cymbals*]. Roman. 3rd century CE. Previously at number 21.

38 Urn [trad.'Vase']

39 Urn [trad.'Vase']

OTHER STRUCTURES

A Grey Street Fountain [trad. Vase Fountain]. 1863

B Band Pavilion/Band stand. 1864

C Charles Summers, *River God Fountain*. 1862

D Temple of the Winds. 1873

UNIDENTIFIED SCULPTURES *and potential identifications, as indicated by the State Library Victoria collections*

* *Discobolus of Myron*. Roman. Circa 2nd century CE

* *Venus de' Medici*. Greco-Roman. 1st century BCE

* Antonio Canova, *Venus Italica*. 1810

* *Muse*. Roman. Circa 1st century CE

* Bertel Thorvaldsen (restorer), *Muse*. Roman. Circa 130 BCE, restored 1812

* Various urns [trad. 'vases']

Hotham Walk iconographic program by theme

Sculpture	Youth	Innocence	Classicism	Modern Classicism	Nature	Culture	Europe
Venus with the Apple Bertel Thorvaldsen 1813–1816		•		•	•		•
Dionysos and Maenad [trad. B*acchus and Ariadne*] Roman c. 1st-2nd century CE	•	•	•		•		•
Terpsichore Antonio Canova 1816	•	•		•	•	•	•
Diana Hunting Giovanni Maria Benzoni 1859	•	•		•	•	•	•
Diana of Versailles [trad. *Diana à la Bich*e] Roman 2nd century CE	•	•	•		•	•	•
Spring 18th century	•			•	•	•	•
Winter 18th century	•			•	•	•	•
Autumn (later replaced by *Apollino*) 18th century	•			•	•	•	•
Apollino Roman 1st century CE	•		•	•	•		•
Hebe Antonio Canova 1800–1805	•	•		•	•	•	•
Summer 18th century	•			•	•	•	•
*Aphrodite at the Pillar, Restored as Euterp*e [trad. *Euterpe*] Roman 1st-2nd century CE	•	•	•			•	•
Wounded Amazon (Matteri type) Roman 2nd century CE			•		•		•
Apollo Belvdedere Roman 2nd century CE			•		•	•	•

Bertel Thorvaldsen, *Venus with the Apple,* 1813–1816

Innocence
Thorvaldsen's *Venus with the Apple* was celebrated as a pure celebration of innocent beauty, in which Venus was suitably coy about her nudity.[1]

Modern Classicism
The Neoclassical reputation of Bertel Thorvaldsen (c.1770-1844) was second only to that of Antonio Canova (see *Terpsichore* below).

Nature
Ancient mythology associated Venus with vegetation both in her role as goddess of fertility; and in association with her beloved Adonis, who was born of a tree and became a flower upon his death.[2]

Connection of Venus with nature was continued in the post-classical period by works such as Giorgione's *Sleeping Venus* (c.1510), which places the goddess in a pastoral setting; and association of Venus with gardens.[3]

The specific narrative of the Venus with the Apple – the 'Venus Victrix' who Paris has judged the most beautiful goddess – also took place outside, on the slopes of Mount Ida.[4]

Europe
As well as having been sculpted by a leading European artist, *Venus with the Apple* was amongst the Thorvaldsen works collected by William Cavendish, sixth Duke of Devonshire, at Chatsworth in circa 1819-1834.[5] Against these, the sixth Duke felt 'few things [were] more beautiful'.[6] Commenting further on the work in his Handbook to Chatsworth and Hardwick (1844), the sixth Duke reflected broader nineteenth-century disquiet that the sculpture unites contemporaneity with classicism – the very characteristic for which Venus with the Apple appears to have been selected for Melbourne's Fitzroy Gardens.

Dionysos and Maenad [trad. *Bacchus and Ariadne*]. Roman, circa 1st–2nd Century CE

Youth
Dionysos and Maenad [trad. *Bacchus and Ariadne*] shows the god and his partner as very young figures – so much so that Fergus Hume's Detective Gorby in *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab* mistakes the work as 'the Babes in the Woods'.[7]

Innocence
Although Victorian society largely disapproved of Bacchus as a god of sensual pleasure, *Dionysosa and Maenad* [trad. *Bacchus and Ariadne*] was an exception, and was often paired with the Roman *Cupid and Psyche* as twinned epitomes of innocent love.[8]

Classicism
Dionysos and Maenad [trad. *Bacchus and Ariadne*] contains little more than a fragment of ancient sculpture. Beyond the torsos and drapery, the sculpture is the result of considerable eighteenth-century elaboration. This did not, however, prevent the nineteenth-century prizing the work as an important example of Roman sculpture, as its vaunted inclusion in the Smith Barry collection at Marbury Hall attests.[9]

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1 Just Mathias Thiele: *Den danske Billedhugger Bertel Thorvaldsen og hans Værker*, København, 1831, p.64; and Erik Moltesen, *Bertel Thorvaldsen*, København: Aschehoug, 1929, pp.132-134.
2 For Aphrodite, see Hesiod, *Theogony* 195-196; *Orphic Hymns* 55 'To Aphrodite' (also links to Adonis); and Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 1.1–5. For Adonis, see *Orphic Hymns* 56 'To Adonis'; Ovid, *Met*. 10.730-735; Apollodorus, *Biblioteca* 3.13.4.
3 Frith, pp.71-73.
4 Ovid, *Heroides*, 16.53-56.
5 Alison Yarrington, 'Canova and Thorvaldsen at Chatsworth', in *Burning Bright. Essays in honour of David Bindman*, edited by Diana Dethloff, Tessa Murdoch, Kim Sloan, and Caroline Elam, London: UCL Press, 2015, p.77.
6 Ibid.
7 Hume, p.60.
8 Haskell and Penny, p.190.
9 John Smith Barry, *A Catalogue of Paintings, Statues, Busts, &c. at Marbury Hall, the Seat of John Smith Barry, Esq. in the County of Chester*, Warrington: J. and J. Haddock, 1819, p.17; and Haskell and Penny, p.190.

Nature
Bacchus was a god of nature, who shunned Mount Olympus to live with satyrs and maenads (Roman bacchantes) in the wilds of Greece and Rome.[10] This association was strengthened in Rome, where Bacchus was often syncretized with Liber and became a god of viticulture.[11] The specific narrative of the *Dionysos and Maenad* [trad. *Bacchus and Ariadne*] – Bacchus rescuing the abandoned Ariadne – was notably wild, with Bacchus swooping in accompanied by wild animals and satyrs.[12]

Europe
Dionysos and Maenad [trad. Bacchus and Ariadne] became so closely associated with its collection context at Marbury Hall (see 'Classicism' above) that the sculpture was known in 19th century England as 'the "Marbury Hall" Bacchus and Ariadne…'.[13] This fame, as well as its pre-existing antique status, influenced copies of the works. These were not only in cast form as in the Fitzroy Gardens, but also sculptures such as Richard Westmacott's late 18th-early 19th century version for Chastleton House in Oxfordshire and Johann Gottfried Schadow's 1797 Double Statue of Princesses Luise and Friederike of Prussia influenced by the ancient original.[14]

Antonio Canova, *Terpsichore,* 1816

Youth
The Muses were the young daughters of Zeus (in Roman mythology, Jupiter) and Mnemosyne.[15]

Innocence
In ancient mythology, the Muses were the pure and virginal inspirations of artists and poets; from the eighteenth century their purity was conflated with idealised femininity.[16]

Modern Classicism
Antonio Canova (1757-1822) was the most famous and successful artist of the Neoclassical period. Canova's affinity with antiquity was evinced not only by faithful elaborations on classical themes such as the *Terpsichore*; but also, by his role as papal representative recovering antique works looted by the Napoleonic regime.[17] Canova's *Terpsichore* was drawn from Roman sarcophagi models.[18] With its origins in a portrait of Alexandrine Bonaparte, inspired by the 1807 novel *Corinne, ou Italie* by Germaine de Staël, *Terpsichore* was a modern translation of antiquity to the current era.[19] This was appreciated in Melbourne, with the Museum including a *Terpsichore* in its first cast collections.[20]

Nature
The Muses lived on Mount Helicon, in a sacred grove defined by the springs of inspiration the Hippocrene and the Aganippe.[21]

Culture
As companions of Apollo, the Muses were the conduit by which his inspiration was transferred to humans.[22] As such, they watched over education and learning in all its forms.[23]

Terpsichore was specifically the muse of choral dance.

In the post-classical tradition, Terpsichore was often paired with Euterpe (see below) as symbols of dance and music respectively.[24]

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10 *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* 26.
11 Ovid, *Fasti Fasti* 3.409-414; 3.479-481; and 3.727-728.
12 Catullus, *Carmina* 64.251-264.
13 Hugh Honour, *Romanticism*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981, p.386.
14 Richard Westmacott, Bacchus and Ariadne (after the antique). 1770-1829. Plaster. Oxfordshire: Chastleton House; Johann Gottfried Schadow. Double Statue of Princesses Luise and Friederike of Prussia. Marble. 1797. Berlin: Alte Nationalgalerie; and Honour, p.386.
15 Hesiod, *Theogony* 1-25; and 915-917.
16 Ibid; and Elizabeth Eger, 'Representing Culture: the nine living muses of Great Britain', in *Women, Writing and the Public Sphere*, ed. Elizabeth Eger et al, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp.104-132.
17 Christopher M.S. Johns, *Antonio Canova and the Politics of Patronage in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998, pp.171-172.
18 Helen O. Borowitz, 'Two Nineteenth-Century Muse Portraits', *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art,* 66, no. 6, 1979, pp.251-252.
19 Ibid, p.246.
20 Barry, p.23.
21 Hesiod, *Theogony* 1-5.
22 Ibid, 1-25.
23 Ibid.
24 See Bertel Thorvaldsen, *The Muses Euterpe and Terpsichore*. 1794. Plaster. Copenhagen. Thorvaldsen Museum, which would have been an especially attractive model to Hodgkinson's classical and pro-Thorvaldsen (see *Venus with the Apple* above) tastes; and Auguste-Louise Marie Ottin, *Music and Dance*. 1866-1867. Stone relief. Paris, L'Opéra facade, which is notable for its contemporaneity to the Fitzroy Gardens sculptural program.

Europe

Like Throvaldsen's *Venus with the Apple* (see above), *Terpsichore* enjoyed the status of being created by a leading European artist. Augmenting this status, two versions of *Terpsichore* had been exhibited to great acclaim at the 1812 Paris and 1816 London Salons.[25] The latter represented the first time that Canova exhibited in London, in an exhibition that included *Hebe* (see below).[26]

Giovanni Maria Benzoni, *Diana Hunting*, 1859

Youth

Diana (Greek Artemis) was represented as a young woman, echoing the women for whom she was responsible in ancient societies.[27]

Innocence

Diana was one of the virgin goddesses.[28] This was emphasised in Melbourne. The 1865 *Catalogue of the Casts of Statues, Busts, and Bas-Reliefs in the Museum of Art at the Melbourne Public Library* supplements the catalogue entry for the Museum's Diana with a loose translation of Horace's *Odes* 3.22 that calls Diana a 'chaste goddess'.[29] A reference to Catullus 34 follows.[30] Although this is not reproduced in the *Catalogue*, an interested or classically educated reader would find that the poem identifies Diana's followers as 'chaste boys and girls'.[31]

Modern Classicism

Diana Hunting was a notably recent and celebrated work. Sculpted in 1859, *Diana Hunting* was amongst the eight Benzoni works exhibited at the 1862 International Exhibition held in South Kensington.[32] The work, and its artist, also had the British approval craved by an Anglophile Melbourne. Benzoni was amongst the British sculptors working in Rome that Prince Albert visited in 1859.[33] And in 1886, the Victoria & Albert Museum would acquire the original *Diana Hunting*.[34]

Nature

As goddess of hunting, Diana was associated with woods and groves.[35] Melbourne especially associated Benzoni's *Diana Hunting* with nature, with Barry accompanying its entry in his *Catalogue* with a loosely translated quote from Horace praising Diana as 'guardian of the woods / And Lycia's mountain solitudes'.[36]

Culture

Despite her official designation as a goddess of hunting and woods, Diana could also be associated with 'the cities of pious men'.[37] In this role, and as the twin sister of Apollo, Diana was often included in celebrations of the culture and the Muses.[38]

Europe

See 'Modern Classicism' above.

25 Borowitz, p.246; and Roberto C. Ferrari, 'Before Rome: John Gibson and the British School of Art', in *The British School of Sculpture, c. 1760-1832*, edited by Jason Edwards and Sarah Burnage, London: Routledge, 2017, p.139.
26 Ferrari, p.139.
27 Horace, *Odes* 3.22.1-3.
28 For a source of especial relevance to Melbourne, see Horace, *Odes* 3.22.1.
29 Barry, p. 9. The text refers to Diana more directly as *virgo* ('virgin'). Horace, *Odes* 3.22.1.
30 Barry, p.9.
31 *Dianae sumus in fide / puellae et pueri integri* ('We chaste boys and girls are in faith to Diana'). Catullus, 34.1-2.
32 International Exhibition (1862, London), *The Illustrated Catalogue of the Industrial Department. Volume I: British Division 1*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, p.121.
33 Désirée de Chair, 'Queen Victoria's Children and Sculpture (c.1860-1900): collectors, makers, patrons', Thesis (PhD) University of Warwick, 2015, 63, n.119.
34 *List of Objects in the Art Division, South Kensington Museum Acquired During the Year 1886*, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1887, 134; and Giovanni Maria Benzoni, *Diana Hunting*. 1859. Marble. 1268A-1886, London, Victoria and Albert Museum.
35 For a source of especial relevance to Melbourne, see Catullus, 34.10-13. See also *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 16-20.
36 Barry, p.9.
37 δικαίων τε πτόλις ἀνδρῶν. *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 20.
38 *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 19; and *Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo*, 182-206.

Diana of Versailles [trad. *Diana à Biche*]. Roman, 2nd Century CE

Youth, Innocence
See *Diana Hunting* above.

Classicism
Diana of Versailles was celebrated as an ideal of classical beauty from its discovery in the sixteenth century.[39]

Nature
See *Diana Hunting* above.

Like Benzoni's sculpture, *Diana of Versailles* is hunting, which implies a natural setting.

This sculpture was especially aligned with French formal garden design. The original was in the Fontainebleau gardens from 1586 to 1605 (when it was moved to the Musée du Louvre), then replaced with a bronze cast in 1605.[40] This was later transferred to Malmaison; and has now been returned to Fontainebleau.[41] A copy was placed in the centre of the Jardin du Luxembourg under the First Empire (fig. 18).

Culture
See *Diana Hunting* above.
Whereas the 1865 *Catalogue* focuses on the goddess' purity in its entry for *Diana Hunting*, that for *Diana of Versailles* refers to ancient sources tracing her cultural origins and connection to Apollo. [42]

Europe
Diana of Versailles entered the French royal collections in 1556 as a gift from Pope Paul IV; and was soon made the centrepiece of the Salle des Antiques at the Musée du Louvre.[43] It was later a favourite of Louis XIV, copied for Charles I, and central to French formal garden design (see 'Nature' above).[44]

Spring, 18th Century

Youth
The *Horae* (Seasons) were frequently the companions of Hebe, goddess of youth.[45]

Modern Classicism
Neoclassical iterations of the Four Seasons were ubiquitous in eighteenth to twentieth-century collections and gardens, such as the Jardin des Tuileries.[46]

Nature
The *Horae* (Seasons) were both personified seasons; and inhabited the natural realm.[47]

Culture
The *Horae* (Seasons) were frequently the companions of the Muses under the supervision of Apollo.[48]

Europe
See 'Nature' above.

Winter, 18th Century

Youth, Modern Classicism, Nature, Culture, Europe
See *Spring* above.

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39 Haskell and Penny, p.196.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 Barry, p.9; and See for example Herodotus, *Histories* 2.137.5; and 2.156.5
43 Haskell and Penny, p.196.
44 Ibid.
45 *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 195–196.
46 Guillaume Coustou, *Cérès ou l'Été*, modern cement cast of the 1726 marble original now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris: Jardin des Tuileries; Jean Raon, *L'Hiver*, modern cement cast of the 1712 marble original now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris: Jardin des Tuileries; François Barois, *Vertumne*, modern cement cast of the 1696 marble original now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris: Jardin des Tuileries; and François Barois, *Pomone*, modern cement cast of the 1696 marble original now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris: Jardin des Tuileries.
47 *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 195–196.
48 Ibid.

Autumn (later replaced by *Apollino*), 18th Century

Youth, Modern Classicism, Nature, Culture, Europe
See *Spring* above.

Apollino. Roman, 1st Century CE

Youth
The *Apollino* was often compared with the *Apollo Belvedere* as representatives of the adolescent and the adult god respectively.[49]

Classicism
The *Apollino* was amongst the ancient sculptures celebrated by the Grand Tour and into the nineteenth centuries.[50]

Nature
As well as being the god of culture (see 'Culture' below), Apollo also presided over hunting like his sister Diana (see *Diana of Versailles* [trad. *Diane à la Biche*] and *Diana Hunting* above).[51] The quiver slung against a tree in the *Apollino* refers to this role. Even in his role as god of culture, Apollo could often be found with the Muses, Graces, Seasons and other deities in Greece's sacred groves.[52]

Culture
Apollo was the undisputed ancient god of culture, whose realms included poetry, music, and philosophy.[53] By the Renaissance, Apollo was regarded as the epitome of cultural inspiration and achievement; and maintained this status into the Victorian era.[54]

The *Apollino* had been one of Florence's prized possessions since 1771, when it entered the Galleria degli Uffizi collection and immediately enjoyed a privileged position in the exquisite Tribuna alongside other celebrated works such as the *Venus de' Medici*.[55]

Antonio Canova, *Hebe,* 1800–1805

Youth
Hebe was the Greek goddess of youthful beauty; and in Rome was conflated with Juventas, the goddess of youth.[56] In this capacity, she awarded Iolaus with restored youth.[57]

Innocence
In the Victorian era, Hebe's role as cupbearer saw her being associated with the Temperance movement.[58] Although not seen in Australia, sculptures of the goddess were commonly used on public water fountains to popularise the movement.[59]

Modern Classicism
See *Terpsichore* above.
In 1827, London's *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* praised Canova's *Hebe* for being the 'elder sister…' of Thorvaldsen's *Hebe*, which was 'the Hebe of the ancients'.[60]

Nature
Mythology, Hebe dances with the Graces, Seasons, Muses, Apollo, and Artemis in the groves of Greece and its divine realms.[61]

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49 Haskell and Penny, p.147.
50 Ibid.
51 *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 130–150.
52 *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 195–200.
53 *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 180–210.
54 Haskell and Penny, p.148.
55 Ibid, p.147.
56 Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 21.62.9.
57 Euripides, *Children of Heracles*, 847–858; and Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 9.399–400.
58 Homer, *Iliad*, 4.2.3. An anonymous complaint about severe licencing laws, published in the Brisbane *Truth* on 15 November 1908, p.6, was titled merely 'Hebe'. Ironically, Hebe was also a nickname for 'barmaid'. Diane Kirkby, *Barmaids. A history of women's work in pubs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.100.
59 Carol A. Grissom, *Zinc Sculpture in America*, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009, p.301.
60 F.H., 'Walks in Rome and its Environs – No. VI. Thorwaltzen [*sic*] the sculptor', *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, I, 1827, p.233.
61 *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 195–200.

Culture
As a companion to the Muses – and by extension, Apollo – Hebe is associated with their bringing of culture.[62]

Europe
After being shown at the Paris Salon in 1808, Canova's *Hebe* became popular with the French nobility.[63] Josephine Bonaparte ordered a version.[64] By the mid-nineteenth century the work's fame had spread to London, where a zinc cast was shown at the Crystal Palace in 1851.[65]

Summer, 18th Century

Youth, Modern Classicism, Nature, Culture, Europe
See *Spring* above.

Aphrodite at the Pillar, Restored as Euterpe [trad. *Euterpe*]. Roman, 1st–2nd Century CE

Youth, Innocence
See *Terpsichore* above.

Classicism
The *Aphrodite at the Pillar, Restored as Euterpe* [trad. *Euterpe*] entered the Musée du Louvre collection in the late eighteenth century. It was sufficiently important to be copied in the early nineteenth-century redesign of the Museum's Cour Carrée, which adorned the courtyard facade with copies of classical sculptures from the Museum's collection.[66]

Nature
See *Terpsichore* above.

Culture
See *Terpsichore* above.
     Euterpe was specifically the muse of lyric poetry and flute playing, as Barry noted in his entry for a Musei Vaticani iteration in the Melbourne cast collection.[67]

Europe
Unlike many of the other works included in the Fitzroy Gardens, the fame of *Aphrodite at the Pillar, Restored as Euterpe* [trad. *Euterpe*] was predominately confined to Paris (see 'Classicism' above). Its inclusion – and prominence – in the Hotham Walk sculptural program may reflect Hodgkinson's Francophile design inclinations.

Wounded Amazon (Mattei Type). Roman, 2nd Century CE

Classicism
Various iterations of the *Wounded Amazon* type can be traced to a reference to Greek sculpture in Pliny the Elder, who describes a Greek competition for different Amazon sculptures resulting in works from the five leaders of Greek art.[68] Barry refers paraphrases this text in his entry for the Museum's *Wounded Amazon*.[69]

Nature
In classical mythology, the Amazons lived at the borders of 'civilisation' and were considered to be little more than 'barbarians'.[70] This was echoed in Melbourne, in Barry's entry for Melbourne's *Wounded Amazon*.[71]

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62 Ibid.
63 Johns, p.117.
64 Ibid.
65 Grissom, p.301.
66 The copy of *Aphrodite at the Pillar, Restored as Euterpe* [trad. *Euterpe*] is visible today on the Cour Carrée southern facade. For the renovation more generally, see Andrew Ayers, *The Architecture of Paris: an architectural guide*, London: Axel Menges, 2004, p.31
67 Barry, p.12.
68 Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 35.53.
69 Barry, p.2.
70 Strabo, *Geographica* 11.5.1–4
71 Barry, pp.1–2.

Europe

The *Amazon*'s ancient fame, and its presence in numerous ancient copies, meant that it was a prominent work in European collections. The Musée du Louvre holds an *Amazon (Sosicles type)*, yet strangely shows a copy of the Vatican Mattei type in its Cour Carrée (fig. 31). This indicates the latter's especial significance in nineteenth-century connoisseurship. Melbourne's repeated choice of this type engineers another link between Australia and European *cognoscenti*.

Apollo Belvedere. Roman, 2nd Century CE

Classicism

The *Apollo Belvedere* became emblematic of classical ideals almost immediately upon its 1509 arrival in the Vatican collections.[72] Barry dedicates two pages to the work in his *Catalogue* alone.[73]
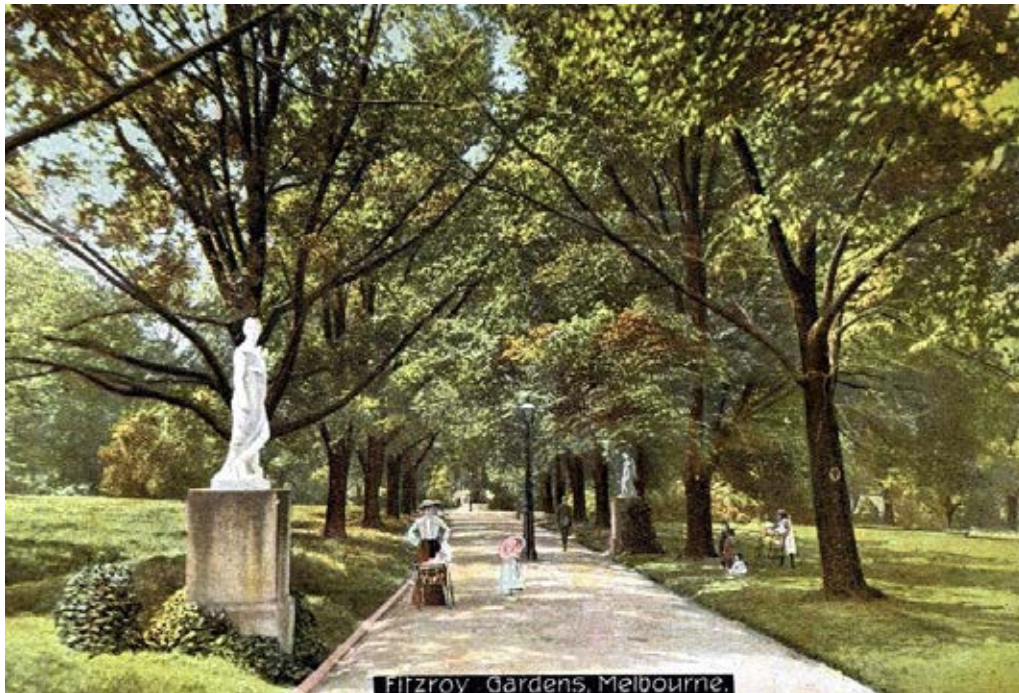
Nature, Culture

See *Apollino* above.

Europe

Apollo Belvedere was in the nineteenth century – and remains today – the centrepiece of the Belvedere Court in the Musei Vaticani from which it takes its name.

_____

[72] Haskell and Penny, p.148.
[73] Barry, pp.2-3.

Figure 1. W.T.P., *Fitzroy Gardens, Melbourne*. Circa 1906. Postcard, Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H96.200/246.

Figure 2. One of the two incomplete urns on the Grey Street Walk. Monique Webber, 2017.

Figure 3. The west end of the Hotham Walk (shown in figure 1) today. Monique Webber, 2018.

Figure 4. An *Apollino* in an unknown location in the Fitzroy Gardens in 1872. *Fitzroy Gardens* [detail]. 1872. Albumen photograph, State Library Victoria, H96.160/1726.

Figure 5. Melbourne's *Apollino* relocated to the east end of the Hotham Walk by circa 1909, opposite a cast of Antonio Canova's *Hebe* of 1800-1805. *Fitzroy Gardens, Melbourne*. Circa 1909. Postcard, Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H96.200/68.

Figure 6. A postcard showing Detective Gorby's 'Diana, with the hound at her feet' (Giovanni Maria Benzoni's 1859 *Diana Hunting*) at centre; 'Bacchus and Ariadne, which the detective imagined were the Babes in the Wood' (the 1st-2nd century CE *Dionysos and Maenad* [trad. *Bacchus and Ariadne*]) at far right. Antonio Canova's *Terpsichore* is at the front left. *Fitzroy Gardens – Western Avenue – Melbourne*. Circa 1905. Postcard, Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H96.200/645.

Figure 7. Charles Rudd, *Fitzroy Gardens*. 1890. Albumen photograph, Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H82.285.

Figure 8. William Leslie Bowles, *Diana and the Hounds*. 1940. Bronze, City of Melbourne Art and Heritage Collection, 1086739. Located in front of the Conservatory, Fitzroy Gardens Melbourne. Monique Webber, 2017.

Figure 9. Valentine Publishing Co. *Statue of Diana, Fitzroy Gardens, Melbourne.*
Circa 1908. Postcard, Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H96.200/624.

Figure 10. Roman, after Leochares. *Artemis, Goddess of the Hunt, known as the 'Diana of Versailles'*. Second century CE. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Ma589. Monique Webber, 2017.

Figure 11. *Fitzroy Gardens*. 1895. Albumen photograph, Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H82.246/3/13.

Figure 12. *Artemis/Diana with Torch*. Roman. First–second century CE. Musei Vaticani. Monique Webber, 2018.

Figure 13. *Artemis Holding Torches*. Roman. Second century CE. Musei Vaticani.
Monique Webber, 2018.

Figure 14. The Jardin des Tuileries looking west towards the Champs-Élysées (its termination here indicated by the Roue de Paris in the Place de la Concorde). Monique Webber, 2017.

Figure 15. The Jardin des Tuileries looking along a north axis through one of the *bosquet* plantings. Monique Webber, 2017.
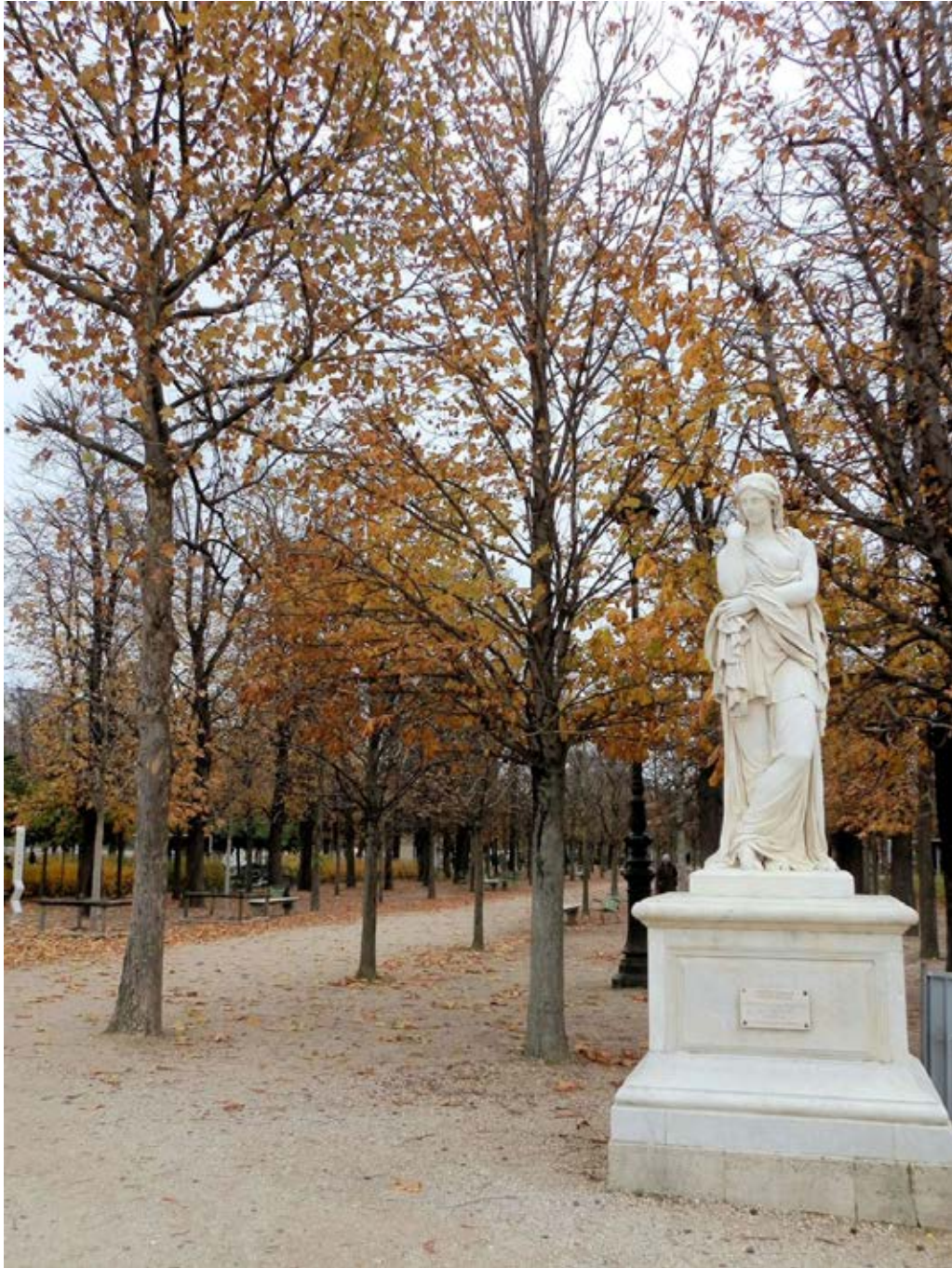
Figure 16. Pierre Le Gros II's *Véturie or Silence or Vestal*, placed in the Jardin des Tuileries in 1722. Pierre Le Gros II, *Véturie or Silence or Vestal*. 1695. Marble. Jardin des Tuileries, Paris. Monique Webber, 2017.

Figure 17. The central basin and terraces of the Jardin du Luxembourg, Paris. Monique Webber, 2017.

Figure 18. A cast of *Diana of Versailles* at the centre of the Jardin du Luxembourg, Paris. Monique Webber, 2017.
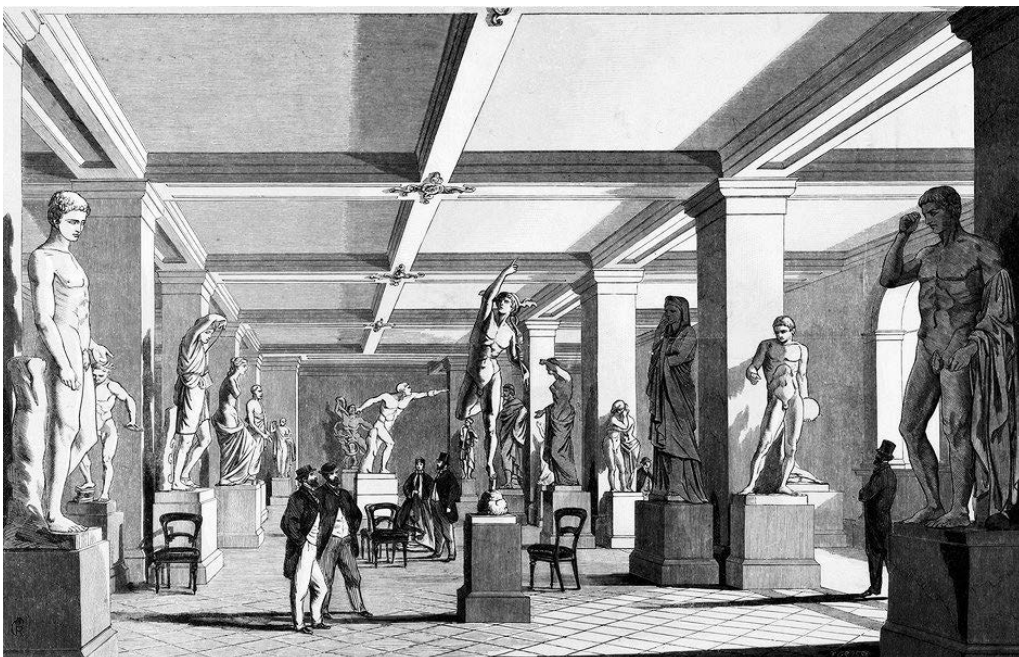
Figure 19. The parterre garden of the Villa Borghese with its classical casts. Monique Webber, 2018.

Figure 20. Charles Summers, *River God Fountain* [detail]. 1862. Concrete, Fitzroy Gardens Melbourne, Monique Webber, 2017.

Figure 21. Grey Street Fountain and Band Pavilion. 1863–1865. Concrete, Fitzroy Gardens Melbourne, Monique Webber, 2017.

Figure 22. Frederick Grosse (engraver) and Oswald Rose Campbell (artist), *The Sculpture Gallery – Public Library Melbourne*. Wood engraving published in *The Australian News for Home Readers*, July 27 1866. Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, IAN27/07/66/SUPP.

Figure 23. The Grey Street Fountain [trad. Vase Fountain] with a *Venus Anadyomene* at left and *Satyr with Cymbals and Kroupezion* [trad. *Faun with Cymbals*] at right. The latter was subsequently relocated to the south-east entrance of the Gardens (cf. fig. 7).
Vase Fountain in the Fitzroy Gardens. Circa 1880. Albumen photograph, Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H2001.20/329.

Figure 24. J.W. Lindt, *Fitzroy Gardens, Melbourne*. Circa 1880-1894. Photograph, Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H82.166/106.

Figure 25. *Fitzroy Gardens*. 1872. Albumen photograph, Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H96.160/1726.

Figure 26. The Tribuna of Florence's Galleria degli Uffizi, which maintains the same arrangement today as in the nineteenth century. With *Satyr with Cymbals and Kroupezion* [trad. *Faun with Cymbals*] at far left, *Venus de' Medici* at centre, and *Apollino* at far right. Monique Webber, 2017.

Figure 27. Looking west down the Hotham Walk, with the back of the *Wounded Amazon (Mattei type)* at centre. *The Middle Avenue in the Fitzroy Gardens*. Photograph. Circa 1870–1880, Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H31510/12.

Figure 28. Arthur Fox, *Hermes of Praxiteles in Fitzroy Gardens* [*sic* – this is an *Apollo Belvedere*]. Circa 1906–1914. Transparency, Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H90.137/56.
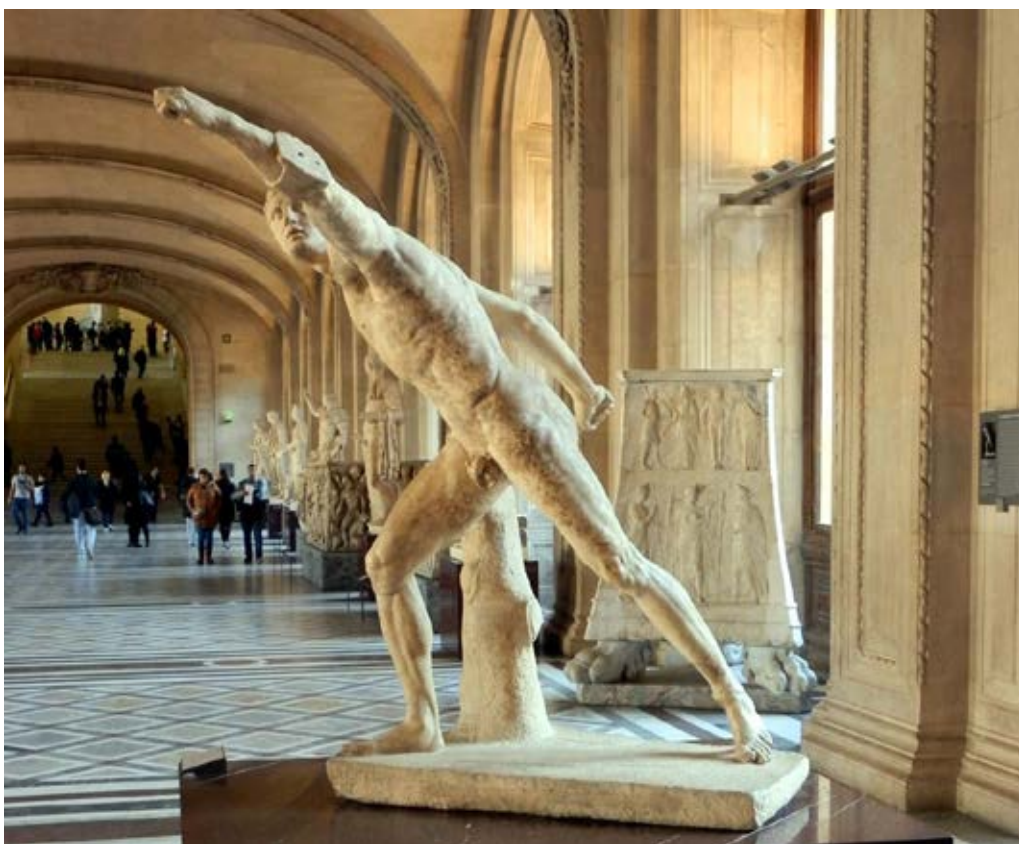
Figure 29. N.J. Caire, *Fitzroy Gardens – Central Roundel*. Circa 1880. Albumen photograph, Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H87.269/21.

Figure 30. *Wounded Amazon*. Circa 1st century CE. Marble, Musei Vaticani, 2272. Monique Webber, 2018.

Figure 31. Cour Carrée, east facade, with a copy of the *Wounded Amazon (Mattei type)* at right. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Monique Webber, 2017.

Figure 32. *Borghese Gladiator*. Roman. Circa 100 CE. MR 224/Ma 527. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Monique Webber, 2017.

Figure 33. John Steel, *The Fitzroy Gardens – Spring.* 1889. Albumen photograph from album *Reminiscence of a visit to Victoria, Australia,* Part I: April 1889, p.17. Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H32938.

Figure 34. John Steel, *The Fitzroy Gardens – Summer.* 1889. Albumen photograph from album *Reminiscence of a visit to Victoria, Australia,* Part I: April 1889, p.18.

Figure 35. John Steel, *The Fitzroy Gardens – Autumn.* 1889. Albumen photograph from album *Reminiscence of a visit to Victoria, Australia,* Part I: April 1889, p.19.


Figure 36. John Steel, *The Fitzroy Gardens – Winter.* 1889. Albumen photograph from album *Reminiscence of a visit to Victoria, Australia,* Part I: April 1889, p.20.

Figure 37. Looking west along the Hotham Walk, with *Summer* at left and *Euterpe* at right. *Fitzroy Gardens, Melbourne*. Circa 1918. Postcard, Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H33668/82.

Figure 38. *Sculpture Gallery, North Wing, National Gallery of Victoria*. Circa 1905. Gelatin silver photograph, Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H4578.
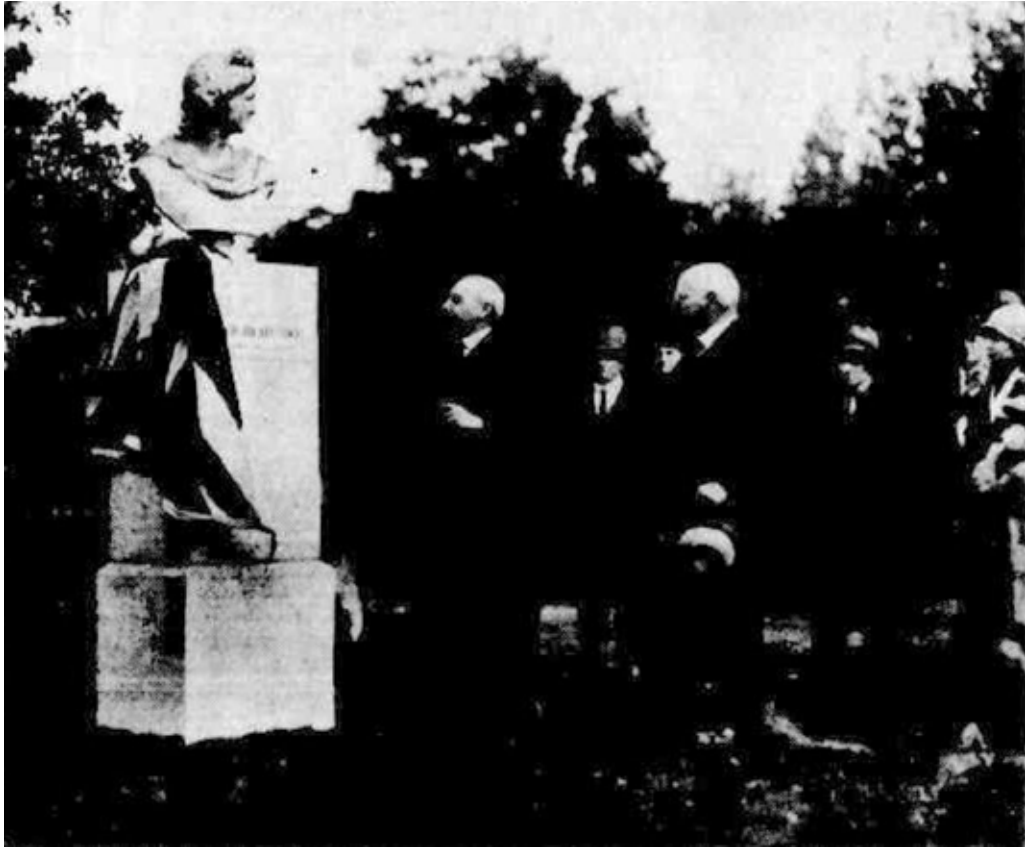
Figure 39 Unveiling the *Apollo Belvedere* at the main entrance of the Queen Victoria Gardens. 'Marble Busts for City Gardens', *The Argus*, October 3 1928, p.5.

Figure 40. Illustration from the July 14 1927 *Herald* article 'Our Shabby Statues' showing the damaged forms of (l–r) *Dionysos and Maenad* [trad. *Bacchus and Ariadne*]; *Discobolos of Myron*; *Apollo Belvedere*; and *Euterpe*. 'Our Shabby Statues', *The Herald*, July 14 1927, p.36.

Figure 41. G.G.M., *Scene Bot* [*sic*] *Gardens*. 1914. Negative, Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H2002.198/6.

Figure 42. Arthur Fox, *Tempietto and Grotto in the Fitzroy Gardens*. Transparency, Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H90.137/57.

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