THE LANSDOWNE HERAKLES

Seymour Howard
The Lansdowne Herakles as reconstructed in 1976; height, 193.5 cm. (76 3/16 in.) (70.AA.109)
The J. Paul Getty Museum

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To the memory of my teacher Franklin Plotinus Johnson

Since the first edition of this monograph appeared in 1966, the Lansdowne *Herakles* has been renovated and old restorations have been removed. New illustrations document these changes, and the conservator, Zdravko Barov, describes the condition of the statue and the renovation. I have rewritten the text and notes, incorporating new ideas and dealing with recent literature. Ilia Howard helped to prepare the manuscript for publication. I am grateful for the editorial suggestions of Sandra Knudsen Morgan and for the continued encouragement and assistance of the J. Paul Getty Museum Curator of Classical Antiquities, Dr. Jiří Frel.

Seymour Howard
Davis, California
FOREWORD

J. Paul Getty considered the Lansdowne Herakles as the most important antiquity in his museum. Besides the respectable history of the sculpture and its unquestioned artistic merit, Getty also had considerable affection for the hero Herakles himself. He expressed his feelings about the statue in the The Joys of Collecting (1965) where he wrote of his “incredulous joy” at “acquiring a unique work of exceptional artistic and historical value.” The prominence given the statue in the museum today owes much to Mr. Getty’s desire to provide it a fit setting.

In this revised edition of the monograph that he wrote for the museum a decade ago, Seymour Howard introduces important new information concerning the modern history of the statue and reviews the arguments for attributing it to different sculptors. In addition, he suggests that the author may have been Euphranor, who has not been associated with this statue. Euphranor is certainly known to have been a famous sculptor, although few monuments can be attributed to him with certainty. If the Lansdowne Herakles should be credited to him, he would indeed be appreciated among the great masters. Archaeological research rarely establishes a definitive truth, however, and various archaeologists prefer other attributions. As Dr. Howard also observes, there is perhaps a solid kernel of truth in the suggestion raised by Linfert and recently espoused by Lattimore that the Lansdowne Herakles is a second century A.D. Roman creation uniting a Skopaic head with a more traditional body type.

The mystery of the statue’s authorship surely does not lessen the interest and value of the piece itself. The Herakles is now displayed in the new presentation achieved by the museum’s Chief Conservator Zdravko Barov, whose report about his procedure and findings is presented below. Together with the author, we would like to extend our thanks to Ms. Sandra Knudsen Morgan whose indefatigable efforts brought the manuscript many considerable improvements.

Jiří Frel
CONSERVATION REPORT

In late 1976 it was observed that the internal iron rods supporting the Lansdowne Herakles were developing rust. There was danger that the marble would split, as it seemed already to have begun on the upper right arm. It was decided to proceed with a major conservation of the entire sculpture. As a first step, the Herakles was carefully taken apart and the numerous iron rods and their lead settings removed. At the same time, the late eighteenth century marble additions were taken off. It was determined that only restorations necessary for support and aesthetic considerations would be made, while all other additions would be left off (see Figs. 24-36).

When reconstructed, brass rods and clamps replaced the old iron braces. Major restorations were not replaced, including the large back part of the lion skin, tip of the nose, both extremities of the club, right thumb, tip of the left thumb, the second joint of the left index finger and most of the left little finger. The missing parts of the right forearm and wrist, the large chip in the right thigh, the whole left calf, the small chips in the left wrist, the center of the left arm including the elbow, the hole of the modern penis, and smaller areas above the rear right elbow and behind the right knee and leg were replaced by cast shells made out of fiberglass-reinforced tixotrophic epoxy paste “Pliacre” (Philadelphia Resins Corp., Montgomeryville, Pennsylvania) with added titanium dioxide and other mineral pigments to match the color of the marble surface (Fig. 30). The thickness of the shell is about 0.5 mm. The inside spaces were filled with lightweight expanded polyurethane to connect the shells with the central brass rods. To avoid direct contact between the marble and the resins, the surfaces where they join were coated with easily soluble acrylic resin (Acryloid B72). We will test the optical stability of the “Pliacre” more carefully, but preliminary tests indicate a satisfactory grade of permanence. These new restorations are recessed slightly below the marble surface, so that while the aesthetic impression of the whole sculpture is preserved, the additions can be readily identified even by the nonexpert eye.

The eighteenth century base in which the fragments of the ancient base were sunk was removed, and the fragments were pieced together and strengthened with brass clamps. Because the marble of the feet and the remainder of the ancient base (Fig. 32) was too weak to carry the weight of the statue, the eighteenth century holes behind the right heel and in the right buttock were used for an external stainless steel support rod continuing into the new travertine pedestal.

The surface was treated with a solution of mildly basic salts in water to remove the grime of the past 190 years. All the plaster patches were taken off, and the cleaned surface revealed, among other things, an old scar with rough edges from the left pectoral to the right groin and two small circular scars inside the left thigh.

The eighteenth century cleaning of the surface was extensive but follows the ancient modeling. Dr. Frel points out that the eighteenth century restorer systematically trimmed down both head and body to deemphasize damage to
the left side. At some points the eighteenth century polish survives, most notably on the thighs and under the arms. Inside the left hand (Figs. 33-34), however, and especially in the drilled fissures between the buttocks and the arm pits, there is still perfectly preserved ancient surface and also traces of the animal glue used in the nineteenth century to protect surfaces when molds were taken for the making of plaster casts. There is considerable eighteenth century recarving under the left arm and on the fronts of the thighs. A round puntello about 10 cm. in diameter, which supported the right forearm, was carefully removed from the right flank (Fig. 27). The surface of the right back thigh and calf was lightly scratched for better adhesion of the marble restoration of the back of the lion skin (Fig. 28). The procedure for the addition was in the usual tradition of eighteenth century Roman restorers like Cavaceppi: a kind of *anathyrosis* was cleanly cut and the rough surface was equalized with short parallel linear incisions made with a claw chisel, mostly in a horizontal direction over a picked area.

It is interesting to note that the ancient marble, evidently Pentelic, is of better quality than the Carrara used for the eighteenth century restoration. After two centuries, the disintegration of the Carrara was much more advanced, the upper extremity of the club having turned completely “sugary.” The structure of the ancient marble is visible on the left side and flank, the harder veins rising a little above the present surface.

The recutting particularly affected both shoulders, the left knee and the head. The changes are most clearly seen on the head, where the restorer recut both eyes slightly, moving the lower eyelids down, enlarging the outer corners of the eyes, and changing the contour of the upper lids a trifle (see Fig. 37). He made both ears smaller by reducing their outermost curves and also flattened the curves of the head, especially along the nape, the top of the skull and the left side (Fig. 40). The brow ridge and hair line were lightly smoothed over.

A small broken patch on the back of the left shoulder inside the club tip (Figs. 35-36) was noticed by Professor Howard in his original study. After cleaning and reflection, it seems that here a thin piece of the original surface broke away. The nearby raw surface between the club and the neck, however, may have been the edge of the fillet, the ends of which originally extended along the shoulders like the wreath on the Hope *Herakles*. This is confirmed by examination of the fillet itself, which has been drastically trimmed in back so that the twisted knot has become meaningless (see Fig. 42).

The new restoration of the statue was made not only for technical reasons but also to show the original as much as possible free of alien additions. The emphasis is now on what is left of the original, with additions limited to those necessary to cover the technical joins. It should also be noted that the statue now turns more forcefully to the left than when it was viewed on the eighteenth century pedestal.

Zdravko Barov  
Antiquities Conservator
1. We successfully used a cleaning paste containing ammonium bicarbonate, sodium bicarbonate and disodium EDTA in water solution plus carboxymethyl cellulose which forms the gel as published in P. Mora and L. N. Sbordini, “A Method for the Removal of Incrustations from Limestone and Mural Paintings,” Problemi di Conservazione (1973) 339-344.

2. In 1976 the late David Rinne undertook a temporary conservation of the Hope Herakles (see Figs. 48-49, 86-88), on loan from the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and displayed to the left of the Lansdowne Herakles. The two Herakles are frequently discussed together as by Linfert and Lattimore and here by Professor Howard. The following eighteenth century restorations have been removed: the tip of nose, several vine leaves of the crown, the tip of the right strand of fillet, the left hand and wrist, all the external part of the lion skin, most of the club except a part near the fist, and all the fingers of the right hand with the exception of the third finger. The right forearm and the large chip in the left flank have been replaced with plaster. Numerous small chips appear on both thighs and on other parts of the surface. Most of the iron rods have been replaced with brass, but the separation of the upper half of the statue has still to be done.
INTRODUCTION

The Lansdowne Herakles is one of the best-known Classical sculptures in the United States, and it was once reckoned among the finest ancient works in England. Since its discovery in the late eighteenth century, this superb statue has been an important document in the history of art and archaeology. The story of its discovery, repair, and display illustrates the beginnings of modern excavation and collecting and introduces the influential persons engaged in these enterprises. In the long-standing debate concerning its place in Greek and Roman sculpture, we may trace the methods of scholarly criticism and the painstaking growth of knowledge of ancient art. Furthermore, the Herakles is an important human document, demonstrating how our ancient heritage contributes to the modern understanding of the hero, the man worthy of emulation.

I. HERAKLES THE HERO: MAN AND GOD

The Lansdowne Herakles represents the favorite hero of the ancient Classical world. He was its oldest human paradigm, a model of strength, courage, tenacity, intelligence and accomplishment. Herakles (called Hercules by the Romans) remained through the Middle Ages an example of moral and physical virtue; and from the Renaissance through modern times, he and his exploits have been revived as symbols of enlightened action in the good government of the state and of the self. Even now, the splendid victories of this superman and his better-known descendants in popular culture continue to capture the imagination.

There are many ancient legends about the origins and exploits of this archetypal hero. His dim beginnings can be detected in the adventures of demi-gods such as Gilgamesh in various river cultures at the dawn of civilization. Doubtless the records preserve oral traditions of story-telling about the prehistoric hearth. From the ancient Near East, legends and images of the strong man came to Archaic Greece, where his actions were documented in the illustrations of vase painters and other artists. His feats of brain and brawn were celebrated for centuries before these adventures were collated in the anthologies of the Greco-Roman age. (Before then, such sources were the basis for the adventures of many local heroes, the Athenian Theseus for example.)

Traditions record that Herakles was the son of the father god Zeus and the mortal princess Alkmene of Mycenae. The mother goddess Hera, full of spite, relentlessly pursued the child of her philandering husband all of his life, continually inflicting upon him terrible hardships, endless journeys, family tragedy, and, finally, madness. The dozen superhuman labors (Fig. 5) that he was compelled to undertake by his elder twin and evil half-brother, the god-favored (i.e. Hera-favored) king of Argos, Eurystheus, are his best-known trials. They symbolize in epic form those terrible rites of passage that man has had to undergo in civilizing himself and his environment. For the Greeks and
their descendants (including ourselves), each triumph of the hero is a reminder and a self-congratulatory recognition of a history of maturation in the conquest, control, and conversion of destructive natural forces.

Herakles slew the great predator beasts of land and sea, the Nemean Lion and the vicious and many-headed Lernean Hydra. He captured the ravaging Boar of Erymantheus and the Keryneian Stag. He shot the thieving Stymphalian birds, diverted a river to clean the Augean stables, and tamed the Cretan Bull and the man-eating horses of Diomedes. He won the girdle of Hippolyta from the fierce Amazons, captured Geryon's cattle in far-off Spain and the watchdog Cerberus from the Gates of Hell, and returned with the Golden Apples from the Garden of the Hesperides after supporting the skies at the end of the world. He was the master of men and beasts, of all the elements, and, most important, of himself. He was the Greek model of accomplishment when man became the measure of all things.

Herakles undertook many other adventures, often in the service of mankind. He was deified, and his cult and his numerous manifestations were honored all over the Greek and Roman world. As Classical civilization matured, so did he in the service of his dedicants, who sometimes saw their hero as a precocious child or as an old and wizened wreck suffering from the frailties of the flesh. He was variously shown as salacious, feminized, drunk and incontinent, as a compassionate philosopher and as a furious barbarian, an aspect that recalled his chthonic and Archaic manifestations.

What we see in the Getty statue is Herakles as a perfect specimen, an intelligent athlete of heroic form, the model for men of all ages. He carries the well-known signs of his power — the virile club and the fur mantle of a lion, the once-invincible and rapacious force he has mastered. He stands easy and self-confident; his finely tuned body and mind are at the peak of their abilities, mature yet youthful. He combines grace and beauty with easy attention and readiness. Here is truly the epitome of his ancient conception: the hero's hero, made during an age that deified heroes.

5 Labors of Herakles, Roman sarcophagus, first half of the third century A.D. Rome, Museo Torlonia (The Labors, from the left: Nemean lion, Hydra of Lerna, Erymanthean Boar, Keryneian Stag, Stymphalian Birds)
II. MODERN HISTORY

THE NEW CLASSICISM: Count Fede, Thomas Jenkins, Charles Townley, and Lord Lansdowne

The Lansdowne Herakles was reportedly unearthed in 1790 or 1791 at the Villa of the emperor Hadrian near Tivoli. Count Giuseppe Fede, a Roman antiquities collector and sometime dealer and excavator, presumably found it in one of the many excavations conducted on his estate, later belonging to the Marefosci family. From Renaissance times, the immense villa site (Figs. 6, 7) had proved a rich mine for the antiquarians of Rome. During the late eighteenth century, it was excavated with particular zeal to satisfy a growing interest in ancient art that coincided with the beginnings of the modern age.

A Classical revival of unprecedented archaeological seriousness began to excite all Europe about the middle of the eighteenth century. The Greeks and Romans once more seized the imagination of Western political and cultural leaders, who began to view ancient sources as presenting quite literally the best, the most beautiful, and the most morally correct views of life. They wished to remake their world to accord with the newly projected image of antiquity. In that time of the American and French and Industrial Revolutions, Classical Antiquity — its arts, politics, and philosophy — were seen as the worthiest alternative to what men felt were the degenerate and despotic ways of the ancien régime and its fading Rococo superficialities.

Archaeological discoveries were followed with the keenest interest, first in excavations near Rome and Pompeii and eventually in Greece itself. These excavations, financed by state and private fortunes, yielded treasures eagerly snatched up by great collectors and recently founded public museums. Like their venerated predecessors, the many newly discovered antiquities were freely renovated, copied, and paraphrased for eager clients in ever-increasing numbers, helping to usher in the first style of modern art, Neo-Classicism. Artists and leaders in culture, politics and science eagerly strove to assimilate the new Classical images and ideals. By the end of the century, the mounting antiquarian craze had worked basic changes in every aspect of contemporary life, from fashions in furniture, jewelry, and clothing to the major life and art style not only of painters, sculptors, and architects but of all men of worldly affairs.

Since the Renaissance, collecting antiquities had been evidence of exalted taste. Their value as emblems of good judgment, wealth, and power — virtù — was further enhanced by the mania for Classical art during the late eighteenth century. As signs of social and political status, antiquities bestowed international reputations on their owners. Their acquisition reflected the political supremacy of nations. The British, who were then becoming the most powerful commercial force in Europe, were also rapidly becoming second only to the Italians as collectors of ancient art.
6 Villa of Hadrian, *model*. Tivoli, Villa Museum

7 Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Ruins of Sculpture Gallery at Hadrian's Villa (*central hall of the large baths*), *etching*
The purchaser of the *Herakles* was a powerful and enlightened figure in world affairs. William Petty-Fitzmaurice, Lord Lansdowne, formerly Earl of Shelburne, had been the Whig prime minister (1782-1784) during the reign of George III. He was a notorious sympathizer with the cause of the American Revolution and a frequent opponent of Hanoverian political policy for his party. He had one of the finest collections of ancient sculptures in England. Another ardent collector involved in the purchase of the Lansdowne *Herakles*, Charles Townley (Fig. 8), was a wealthy Catholic Jacobin who, denied an outlet for his considerable talents in government, turned
passionately to acquiring antiquities after his first visit to Italy in 1765. Both men were frequent customers of Thomas Jenkins, the influential art dealer and banker for the English in Rome, and Gavin Hamilton, an equally influential Scottish painter, excavator, and antiquarian-entrepreneur, who with Jenkins, his sometime partner, dominated the ancient sculpture market. Such clients as Lord Lansdowne and Charles Townley generally received favorable attention from the many artists, dealers and local bureaucrats and statesmen who trafficked in the burgeoning art market.

The demand for antiquities generated a thriving and lucrative commerce in Italy. Enthusiasts vied for purchases, and they sometimes financed excavations to supply works for their collections. However, most amateurs who came to Rome bought their proofs of good taste and souvenirs of the Grand Tour from art dealers. Landowners, eager to capitalize on the growing enthusiasm for ancient marbles in return for a percentage of the finds, leased their estates to dealers, who could then excavate cheaply with a few workmen. Until the Renaissance, when an antiquities market developed, marble pieces turned up by farmers or laborers were often destroyed in lime kilns or chopped into building materials. The eighteenth century collecting mania preserved many works that might have been lost.²

Soon after their discovery, Jenkins bought the fragments of the *Herakles.* At the same time, he acquired from Count Fede a copy of Myron's *Diskobolos (Discus Thrower)*, another famous virile nude sculpture, presumably from the same site.

Jenkins was a central figure in the sparkling and influential society of antiquarian artists and amateurs thriving in Rome during the last half of the eighteenth century. His father was a painter, and he was born in Rome about 1720. After a stay in England and study with the painter Thomas Hudson, Jenkins returned to the venerable art capital of Europe in 1752 or 1753 with Richard Wilson, who was to become the father of modern English landscape painting. Like many other English painters of the day, Jenkins expected to acquire a fashionable continental finish and a repertoire of Italian motifs for his work. Like other artists, he was quickly drawn into serving as a dealer and agent for British collectors, a knowledgeable intermediary between the rich "milord" on tour or at home who wanted to buy rare antiquities and obliging local collectors and art dealers. He was more diligent and successful in these pursuits than most of his artist colleagues, and soon he gave up painting to become a full time dealer, agent, collector, and, occasionally, excavator. Jenkins was elected in 1761 to the Roman society of artists, the Accademia di San Luca (Fig. 9), no doubt because of his growing commercial influence in the art world, since he had little fame as a painter.

Jenkins enjoyed a special prominence in late eighteenth century Rome as banker for the hordes of wealthy amateurs coming from Great Britain on grand tour. During what has been aptly termed the "Golden Age of Classical Dilettantism," they flocked to Rome to buy antiquities from its private collections, and their patronage gave Jenkins unrivaled leadership among Roman dealers. Goethe and other visitors described how the salon and gallery of his palazzo on the Corso became the meeting place for collectors and grandees from all over Europe. He entertained royalty, and his clients and intimates included statesmen, prelates, and men of learning. They came to see his many
choice art works, to enjoy his exquisite manners and connoisseurship, and to participate in the exciting company around him. By then, Jenkins had become something of an unofficial ambassador to the Papacy. When the small exiled court of the Stuart pretender was living in Rome (1766-1774), relations between Rome and London were sensitive. Jenkins was an especially close friend and ally of the papal diplomat Cardinal Alessandro Albani (1750-1834), who was Rome's official Director of the Arts and protector of its many foreign artists. Albani was also its leading antiquarian and tastemaker; the patron of J. J. Winckelmann, prophet of the rising antiquarian movement; and, apparently, the unofficial papal liaison with the English government. It was popularly said that only Jenkins, Fra Buontempi, and a Jew named Aaron had the ear of Pope Clement XIV (1769-1774).

PURCHASE: Jenkins, Charles Townley, and Lord Lansdowne

Jenkins was shrewd, and his skill as a dealer was reportedly as great as the wealth of his showrooms. He was master of all the tricks of Roman dealers: tantalizing the customers with "unique" treasures, ascribing famous authors and seductive titles to the works of art, feigning reluctance to sell them and at the same time raising prices, and at the end weeping at their loss and begging for their return. His profits were sometimes enormous. Though incidents of his generosity and professional integrity are recorded, he acquired a greater reputation for sharp practices. Ultimately the French occupation of Italy in 1797 precipitated Jenkins' ruin. He fled to England in his old age; there he died at Yarmouth immediately after crossing the channel.

The following account of the acquisition of the *Herakles* seems to corroborate the suspicions about Jenkins' practices and many other well-known scandals about the practices of Roman art dealers.
Upon the receipt of a letter from Jenkins, promising him the first choice of some discovered statues, Mr. Townley instantly set off for Italy, without companion or baggage, and, taking the common post conveyance, arrived incognito at Rome, on the precise day when a very rich cava [excavation] was to be explored. He stood near, as an uninterested spectator, till he perceived the discovery of an exquisite statue, little injured, and which decided his choice. Observing that his agent was urgent in concealing it, he withdrew to wait the event. Upon his calling at Mr. Jenkins' house in the Corso, who was not a little surprised by his sudden appearance, the statue in question was studiously concealed, while the other pieces were shared between them with apparent liberality. Mr. Townley remonstrated, and was dismissed with an assurance that, after due restoration, it should follow him to England. In about a year after Mr. Townley had the mortification to learn that the identical young Hercules had been sold to Lord Lansdowne at an extreme, yet scarcely an equivalent price.4

The above account, written by James Dallaway (1763-1834), the early historian of English antiquarianism, may have been largely fabricated in defense of Charles Townley (1737-1805), at the expense of Jenkins' already dubious reputation. Dallaway elsewhere rallied to the support of Townley, his patron and a leading collector of the day.5

According to the correspondence of Lord Lansdowne, preserved in the archives of his estate, by mutual agreement, and apparently solely on the basis of drawings and description, Townley and Lansdowne each chose one of two fine male statues offered to them by Jenkins. The hitherto unpublished drawings, perhaps by Jenkins, are in the Townley collection at the British Museum (Figs. 10, 11). They and the following letters give a good matter-of-fact introduction to this little-known late eighteenth century method of trafficking in antiquities when the collectors were far from Rome.6

My Lord

The inclosed are the sketches, sent by Mr. Jenkins of the two statues in question. He repeats his praise of them, particularly of the Hercules, which has its own head never broke from the body, both its hands and feet, and wants nothing of consequence but the middle part of one of the legs.

The smaller statue with the Discus, which, as your Lordship has decided is to fall to my lot, it not so entire, but the head, tho broke off, being its own, it will be fully satisfactory to me, as I wish for one good male figure in my little collection, and this not exceeding the size of nature will well suit the space I have for it. I have the honor to be, My Lord,

Your Lordships
Most obedient
& Most humble Servant
Chas. Townley

if your Lordship wishes to keep the drawing of the statue with the Discus, I will request, when your Lordship will please to spare it, to have a copy taken of it.

Rt Honble
The Marqs of Lansdown
Berkeley Square
London, Inghilterra

My Lord
The Honor of Your Lordps. Commands for the statues of the Hercules &
Discobolus, were Communicated to me, by the Obliging Means of Mr. Townley. By My Answer to that Gentleman Your Lordp. will have been Informed, that the Hercules would be sent away as soon as restored, & Altho a difficulty was made for Granting Permission to send away the Discobolus, I had reason to be assured it would be soon got the Better of.

The Hercules is now Compleat, & cased up, & is to be shipped on Thursday the 3. of Next Month for Leghorn, with Order for its being forwarded, by the first Good Occasion to Your Lordp. in London. For the Price of it, have this day drawn a Bill on Your Lordp. for Five Hundred Pounds & Order of Missrs Child & Co., at two Months Date, which you will be so Good My Lord, as to direct to be Honoured.

The Pope is now at Terracina, Very soon after his return the Antiquary assures me, a License for the Discobolus will be Obtained, he having now Got a duplicate for the Museum, the Motive for Detaining this is Ceased. Altho I am just Setting out for England, I shall leave all necessary directions for This Statue to be forwarded as soon as the License is Obtained.

I have the Honor to be

Your Lordps most Dutiful & Obedt Humble Servant
Thos. Jenkins.
"A Statue of a young Hercules, large [as] life, holding
the lion's skin in one hand, and the club in the other,
head never broke off, has both its hands & feet, wants
nothing of consequence but a piece of the leg between
the part under the knee and above the ankle."

according to your Lordships desire I have transcribed as above the precise words,
which Mr. Jenkins used in his first description of his Hercules. I truely congratulate yr
Ldship on the acquisition of this statue, there being few now existing which shew so
much of the fine ancient Style of Greek sculpture, and tho it is probably a repetition of
some esteemed original, it appears from the Style of the hair & the general character of
the work to have been executed by some good Greek artist anterior to the time of the
Caesars. I have the honor to be

My Lord
yr Ldships most obedt
& most hmbServt
Chas. Townley.

27 Dec: 92.

Townley obviously was well-informed about both the Herakles and the
Diskobolos. His collection and manuscripts show that he was probably the
most dedicated amateur and collector of antiquities in England during the last
quarter of the century. His collection was without equal in both quality and
quantity. When he died, it was bought for the nation through an act of Parlia-
ment and laid the foundation for the British Museum holdings in ancient
sculpture. Townley had been a major customer of Jenkins for almost a
generation. Conceivably he had first choice of the works. He handled the
negotiations with Jenkins and presumably the first correspondence.

Townley’s choice was criticized after the event, but at the time his absentee
selection of the Diskobolos was fully justified. He already owned a herm of the
Young Herakles, found at Genzano in 1777, which has been long considered
the finest example of the type (Figs. 46, 47). Moreover, shortly before the ex-
cavation of the Diskobolos and the Herakles a nearly intact copy of the
Diskobolos had been found and was in the Massimi collection (Fig. 12). Its
identification by the archaeologist Carlo Fea (see n. 20) with the famous lost
masterpiece of Myron made a grand stir, clearing up confusion about several
less well preserved fragments of the statue that had been bizarrely restored.
Here now was a second well-preserved copy of sure lineage and of excellent
quality.

Townley had to pay £100 (twenty per cent) more for his Diskobolos than
Lord Lansdowne did for the Herakles, and Jenkins confessed to having con-
siderable apprehension about his ability to get permission to export the
Diskobolos before the Vatican acquired a version of its own. The descriptions
of Jenkins and the accurate drawings, perhaps made with a camera obscura,
no doubt also contributed to Townley’s decision. For further study, he event-
ually also acquired other drawings of the Diskobolos statues, with in-
dications of the modern additions made by restorers (Fig. 12). His choice,
then, was well considered, and for a time it was satisfactory.
12 Myron, Diskobolos. Top left, Massimi copy; top right, Vatican copy; bottom left, Lansdowne copy restored as Diomedes with the Palladion; bottom right, Uffizi copy restored as Endymion and his Dog. Townley Drawings, British Museum
But the good fortune of Lord Lansdowne was realized soon after the statues arrived. Townley acknowledged the excellence of the *Herakles*, and perhaps a note of envy can be detected in his letters reproduced above, though he did not express regret for his own selection. Richard Payne Knight, a well-recognized savant of early nineteenth century English antiquarianism, briefly told the story that may have prompted Dallaway's defense. It appears in the Society of Dilettanti's sumptuous and very selective publication of 1809, *Specimens of Antient Sculpture in Great Britain*, where a fine intaglio print illustrates the *Herakles* (Fig. 13).\(^{10}\)

Found with the Discobolos in the neighborhood of Rome. And the late Mr. Townley, to whom the choice of them was immediately offered, was induced by the drawing and the description sent him to prefer the latter, though when he saw them he instantly changed his opinion, the *Heracles* being, with the exception of the Pan or Faun at Holkham, incomparably the finest male figure that has ever come into this country, and one of the finest that has hitherto been discovered.

Knight wrote that Townley owned the best copy of the *Diskobolos*. Lord Lansdowne already owned a copy of the *Diskobolos* torso, fancifully restored as *Diomedes Stealing the Palladion* (Fig. 12), bought shortly after 1772 under the direction of Gavin Hamilton. This circumstance no doubt also affected the choices.\(^{11}\)

The marquess of Lansdowne paid £500 for the *Herakles*, a large price even for his lavish collection. It was money well spent. Within a quarter century, during the deliberations by Parliament for purchase of the Elgin marbles for the British Museum, Payne Knight reckoned it worth over £1000. Only the Lansdowne copy of the Vatican "Antinous," which was found in a comparable state of preservation, was valued as highly (Fig. 102).\(^{12}\)

RENOVATION: Restorers and Restorations in Rome

Until its recent dismantling and reconstruction, using only the antique core of fragments, the Lansdowne *Herakles* was a characteristic example of the art of restoration that thrived in the late eighteenth century. During those years, the environs of Rome, already mined for three centuries, were excavated with unprecedented zeal and success for the burgeoning European antiquities market, dominated by Jenkins and his fellows. Literally thousands of works were dug up, almost all of them in the style of Roman Imperial academic classicism found at the Villa of Hadrian. Because of their fragmentary condition, restoration was felt to be necessary. Fortunately, the style of restoration fashionable in the late eighteenth century was compatible with the ancient neoclassic fragments themselves. A growing taste for archaeological restraint also contributed to the success of the renovations.

By the end of the eighteenth century, restoration had become an established prerequisite for the sale and display of antiquities. Jenkins habitually included its cost in the price of his works. His apparent indifference to the practice is clear from the passing reference to the restoration of the *Herakles* in his letter to Lansdowne. Collectors and dealers tacitly assumed that fragments would be carefully assembled and brought to a fashionable decorative finish suitable to the modish interiors designed by the Adam brothers for Lansdowne House and other palatial homes in Great Britain.
These decorators and others encouraged restoration for the sake of neat and unified Neo-Classic ensembles.\textsuperscript{13}

Nevertheless, Jenkins, like many other well-informed professional antiquarians, was aware of a growing disillusion with restoration. But he knew his market and once chided the more scrupulous Hamilton, who once said that he “... did not understand the taste of English virtuosi, who had no value for statues without heads: and that Lord Tavistock would not give him a guinea for the finest torso ever discovered.”\textsuperscript{14}

Appreciation of an antique fragment for its own sake as expressed by some of their colleagues prefigures the modern taste and practice that they helped to initiate.

In comparison with many restorations, especially restorations of earlier times, the repairs to the \textit{Herakles} were modest and circumspect. But they were not so limited as Jenkins’s description would lead one to believe (cf. letter, p. 15). To give the renovated ensemble an agreeable appearance of finish and completeness, the statue was everywhere cleaned, rubbed, polished, trimmed, braced, glued, patched and filled with “antiqued” reconstructions in marble (see further Figs. 24-36 and the conservator’s report).\textsuperscript{15}

The sculptor who restored the Lansdowne \textit{Herakles} is unknown. The names of such craftsmen are often not recorded. The methods he employed resemble those advocated by the founder of decorative Neo-Classic restora-
tion in the previous generation, Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (Fig. 14). That sculptor, restorer and dealer was the protégé of Cardinal Albani, and he was the busiest and best-known restorer in Rome after the middle of the century. In accordance with his principles, the composition was made whole, the surfaces were cleaned and rubbed to uniform whiteness, and additions were made of closely matched marble and firmly attached with strong iron dowels. They were joined at slowly curving and natural-looking seams, and conspicuous elaborations in subject or composition were avoided. The purity, neatness, and rhythmic contours of the finished work and the archaeological probity of the repairs accorded fully with the classicistic aesthetic and responsible historicism championed by Cavaceppi's close friend J. J. Winckelmann, the founder of modern art history and archaeology. 16

Cavaceppi restored works for Jenkins for several decades; conceivably he restored the _Herakles_. But in 1790 he was already seventy-four years old, engaged in making his own works, and no longer as fashionable as he had been. A younger man probably was commissioned to restore this choice piece. Possibly he was a follower of Cavaceppi, such as Carlo Albacini or Giovanni Pierantoni, who were leading independent restorers of the next generation. They had helped to renovate antiquities for the large new Pio-Clementino Museum, whose restored works are so much like the Lansdowne _Herakles_ in their general effect. 17

In an account book of his collection, Townley recorded that Albacini restored his _Diskobolos_. 18 Albacini lived and worked with Cavaceppi when he was a young man and fully assimilated the old restorer's methods. Probably he restored the _Herakles_. He had just renovated the famous Farnese collection before it was removed to the great new archaeological museum in Naples. His work and technique, which were much admired by Goethe and Canova, were the standard of excellence for the craft by 1790. 19

Jenkins no doubt supervised the repairs, as dealers and curators increasingly had come to do by the end of the century. He was not always so re-
strained. The Townley Diskobolos, for example, was given a head that belonged to another statue. And that head was set to look forward — not back as in the description of Lucian (Philopseudes, 18) or as in the intact Massimi copy (Fig. 12) discovered several years earlier. Jenkins’ caprice resulted in a unique variant, subsequently repeated with a modern head in the Vatican copy, restored by Albacini (Fig. 12); it also resulted in a reconstructed neck with two Adam’s apples.20 The Herakles’ excellent state of preservation no doubt saved it from similar mischief. Except for the trimmed patch under the club on the left shoulder (Figs. 35, 36, 39), a trimmed strut support on the right thigh (Fig. 27), and some lionskin added to hide a large brace near the supporting leg (Figs. 18, 26), the alterations are minor.

EXPORT AND THE DWINDLING MARKET

That Jenkins succeeded in exporting such a fine and unique work as the Herakles is astonishing and calls for further comment. In the years after 1770, the Pio-Clementino galleries in the Vatican had been formed to slow the exodus of choice antiquities from Rome: the rising mania for antiques had encouraged the city authorities to protect their treasures. Like Winckelmann before them, the papal commissioners of antiquities, Giovanni Battista and Ennio Quirino Visconti, issued export permits routinely for minor works, duplicates and badly damaged fragments, as is evident from contemporary documents. First choice, however, was reserved for the new papal museum, which became the model for other modern national collections.

An export permit for Townley’s Diskobolos was issued late in 1792, but none for the Herakles at that time is extant.21 Jenkins may have employed some special maneuver in the case of the Herakles.22 Supposedly he once rumored that the king of England was the buyer of a choice Venus so that the statue might pass customs.23 An unrecognized factor perhaps contributed to easing export for the Herakles. By 1790, the once-profitable Roman market based on English collecting had dwindled, probably as much from the dangers of Continental travel following the French Revolution as from papal protectionism. As a result, antiquarian collectors turned increasingly to Greece. The release of the Diskobolos, and tacitly the Herakles, was conceivably intended to reawaken a lucrative commerce. But subsequent purchases were few compared with the intensive trading of earlier decades. The heyday of Rome in the art world was over.

PLACE AND PROMINENCE: London, Malibu

For almost a hundred and fifty years, the Herakles stood in the grand statue gallery and ballroom of Lansdowne House, planned and decorated successively by Gavin Hamilton, G. P. Panini, Robert Adam, and George Dance (Fig. 15).24 The house and collection were designed to be a showplace of virtu for all Europe to admire, and the Herakles was one of its principal adornments. Around the middle of the nineteenth century, when Gustav Waagen, director of the Royal Museum in Berlin, was visiting Great Britain to catalogue outstanding treasures in its many private collections, he described how the statue could be seen during a chamber concert attended by the
social and political leaders of England. Thus, the ancient station and function of the Herakles were restored to it in modern times: by the example of its heroic subject and the excellence of its form, the sculpture served as a chief ornament in a decorative scheme designed to foster civilization and humanism in the beholder.

Early in the 1930s Lansdowne House was sold, and many of the statues were put up for auction. The Herakles was retained by the family and housed at their country estate, Bowood. Twenty years later, in 1951, J. Paul Getty acquired it by an unexpected and brilliant purchase. At that time, he bought another well-known work from the collection at Bowood, the Leda and Swan after Timotheus. Mr. Getty’s purchases of select antiquities and other art objects for his estate followed the practice of great collecting for the villas and palaces of England as well as their antecedents in the Renaissance and Antiquity. This culturally enlightened tradition continues on the shores of the Western United States in a public museum that celebrates its late founder’s ambitions.
III. ANCIENT HISTORY

ROMAN ORIGINS

Recently the Lansdowne *Herakles* has been identified as a Hadrianic pastiche because it has no precise counterpart in works of its class, because it combines elements of different styles, and because it is generalized in execution and conception. These observations are sound, but they do not disprove its basic Greek origin.

The Villa of the emperor Hadrian at Tivoli (ancient Tibur), where the statue was found, was a virtual museum of copies of famous Greek art works (Figs. 6, 7). In designing his vast retreat, an ideal court city in the picturesque countryside eighteen miles from Rome, the enlightened emperor exercised the eclectic taste and collecting habits of a well-bred Roman amateur on a grand scale. Hadrian (Fig. 73) (ruled 117-138) was a dedicated architect, scholar, aesthete and phil-Hellene. This beautiful image of the youthful *Herakles* may have had special meaning for him, since he also had strong interests in athletics, youthful beauty and extraordinary achievement. A large sanctuary of Hercules Victor was at Tivoli, and underground sanctuaries dedicated to the hero were in the vicinity, including one at Hadrian’s villa. (The Lansdowne *Herakles* now stands in a reconstruction of a round domed room found in such a sanctuary located between Tivoli and Rome near ancient Praeneste.)

Many copies representing the Young Herakles have been linked with the Getty statue and a lost original. Once, some fifty pieces were related to it; in later, more critical assessments, about half as many. The Lansdowne statue is a key member of most lists because the head was never detached, it is of full size and excellently preserved, and the workmanship and conception are fine. Most of the copies are heads preserved as busts or herms with wreaths of oak, ivy, laurel, grape or poplar leaves. These works are sometimes named after their best-known example, from Genzano (Figs. 46-47). Several are very similar to the Lansdowne *Herakles* (Figs. 50-57, 60-62). However, the disparities between all these works are too great to be explained merely as copyists’ variations on one model (cf. Figs. 46-49), and the works have been ascribed to different sources. A review of these attributions introduces the problem of identifying the author of the *Herakles*. Scholars often encounter such difficulties when they attempt to trace the origins of Greek sculptures known from Roman copies and little other ancient evidence.

No two works in the Genzano-Lansdowne group are exactly the same. Apparently there was little desire to make facsimiles in antiquity, and the technology for producing faithful marble copies was rudimentary. Compared with the products of modern pointing machines used for making replicas (see, e.g., Fig. 14), ancient copies show wide variation. Moreover, Roman Imperial
copyists, like their Hellenistic and Republican predecessors, often improvised freely — changing the material, scale, proportions, orientation, attributes and even the context of the original works by adding, subtracting, reversing and recombining stock ingredients as taste and circumstances warranted. Often, copyists' studios were far from the original famous sculptures, which made variation even more likely. The copyist might also use several established types to make a new composition, whose significance was enhanced rather than reduced by its well-recognized prototypes. Such examples as the well-known Louvre “Germanicus,” the Augustus Prima Porta, and the many representations of Antinous and Polydeuces immediately come to mind (see also Fig. 73). Such derivative works were made throughout the Imperial age, and they reflect its changing styles. Like other versions of the Young Herakles type, the Lansdowne statue doubtless shows the distorting influence of the copyist and the style of his time as well as the alterations of a modern restorer. The question is not whether original Greek models are changed but where, how, and to what degree they are changed.31

Fortunately, for purposes of establishing its Greek ancestry, the Lansdowne Herakles is not the only copy of its type. There is a small bronze statue of a young Herakles with the same pose (though not identical attributes) in Copenhagen (Fig. 79). There are related marble statues with other variations (cf. Figs. 80-85, 94) and more similar versions of the composition in other media (cf. Figs. 92, 93, 95). Closer parallels are found among heads of the type. Their variations in decoration, usually wreaths of various leaves, presumably reflect different manifestations of the hero. A head in the Uffizi (Fig. 61), perhaps after the same original, has a simple fillet like that of the Lansdowne Herakles and other examples of the type. Conceivably their model was prepared for the application of metal leaves, which could be varied (cf. Figs. 50-51, 54-57, 60).32 There is also a gem that is very similar to the head (Fig. 62).33 The features, hair styles and proportions of these heads are similar enough to point to a common ancestor, presumably a statue of Greek origin, as is true of most Roman copies. Furthermore, the Herakles was apparently found with the copy of Myron’s Diskobolos; perhaps it was part of a suite of sculptures after famous Greek originals. The question remains, what was the ancestor of the Lansdowne figure?

GREEK ORIGINS

Most students of Greek sculpture have seen a fourth century (Silver Age) prototype reflected in the over-all conception and execution of the Lansdowne Herakles. Conservative traces of fifth century (Golden Age) compositional devices and detail, pointing to both Attic and Peloponnesian influences, have also been noted. Because of its quality and similarities to other well-known sculptures, it has been variously attributed to leading masters of the Silver Age or their immediate circles.

The following section deals with the Lansdowne Herakles in terms of its most accepted identification as a Hadrianic copy of a fourth century B.C. original Greek sculpture associated with the style of Skopas. Just as Roman Imperial eclecticism is to be understood as embracing a host of Hellenic styles, so the Skopaic label should be understood to allow for a wide latitude of ascriptions to possible masters, ranging from the early fourth century...
through the Hellenistic age when the passionate style championed by Skopas flourished. His authorship or influence has been variously linked with such famous and diverse Silver Age compositions as the Uffizi Niobids, Ilissos Grave Stele (Fig. 99), Capitoline Venus and Demeter of Knidos (Fig. 68) as well as various reliefs from the Mausoleum of Halicarnassos on which he worked (Pliny, N. H., XXXVI, 30). No one suggests that the Lansdowne Herakles is a Hellenistic invention.

GOLDEN AGE, FIFTH CENTURY CHARACTERISTICS: Polykleitos, Sikyon, and Athens

Although many of its elements point to a fourth century date, the Lansdowne Herakles, when compared with most sculptures attributed to Skopas, seems conservative on first impression. Its chiastic balance of tense and relaxed body parts disposed as masses to either side of a countercurving axis illustrates the norm used for ideal standing figures. By the time of Skopas, this pose formula, established at the end of the Archaic age, had undergone considerable elaboration. The poise and beauty of the figure, the frontal stance in a shallow space, the clarity of the musculature, and the proportions of the powerful torso and limbs are characteristics that bring to mind the fifth century athletes of Polykleitos of Sikyon, especially his paradigm the Doryphoros, also known as the Canon (Fig. 72) or its variant, his Herakles (Figs. 77-78). The Herakles of Polykleitos, like the Lansdowne-Genzano type, was apparently a favorite model for inexpensive herms, frequently used to represent the hero in ancient gymnasia as an inspiration to the men and youths who exercised and studied there. The mid-second century Greek traveler Pausanias (I,10,6) recorded such a herm of Herakles in a gymnasium at Sikyon, where scholars believe the original of the Lansdowne Herakles stood.

The Lansdowne Herakles has occasionally been attributed to the followers of Polykleitos because the torso so closely agrees with the canons of form and proportion developed by that great fifth century master and because the strong lateral movement and unifying sweep of the pose recall compositional principles furthered by his school, as in the Florentine Idolino (Fig. 75), a heroic figure in the British Museum (Fig. 76), and the Diskobolos of Naukides (Fig. 74). Unfortunately, little is known about the many followers of Polykleitos other than their names. Presumably they, too, were sculptors of athletes and continued the conservative, formalist ways of their master. Recently, a little-known sculptor from that school, Antiphanes of Argos, was singled out because a statue base at Delphi signed by him shows traces of feet and other attachments that are disposed somewhat like those of the Lansdowne Herakles (Figs. 81, 82). But many works attributed to Lysippos and other fourth century sculptors were similarly posed in a flatfooted and sidewise stance, by then a routine formula (e.g. Figs. 100, 104).

Departures from the strict canons of Polykleitos in the head as well as body of the Lansdowne Herakles have been attributed to liberal late fifth century Attic innovations, presumably influenced by Polykleitan modes, as in Alkamenes' Ares (Fig. 73), the Ludovisi Hermes, and Diomedes and the Palladium. A blend of Athenian and Sikyonian influences, as they are generally un-
derstood, has been frequently associated with the Lansdowne *Herakles* — and with the work of Skopas.37

**SILVER AGE, FOURTH CENTURY CHARACTERISTICS**

Profound crises affecting all aspects of Greek life during the early fourth century resulted in a more secularized attitude to the world. After the Peloponnesian Wars, Athenian democracy and its leadership among the Greek city states were compromised, often sacrificed to private ambition. Artists represented the gods as more closely associated with the lives of men, whose worldly interests were undermining ancient religion. Cults of lesser gods and heroes began to flourish. Herakles, as a demi-god, surely had special attractions. Since he was once mortal, the sufferings as well as achievements of his life, which resulted eventually in deification, must have been particularly appealing and meaningful to the Greeks, who traditionally aspired to follow his example. The feeling that the once earthbound hero could be called upon for aid and inspiration when more august deities might not be interested no doubt contributed enormously to the growth of his cult.

Herakles, the Pan-Hellenic model of action and heroic accomplishment, was usually represented as a bearded and ferocious bully during the Archaic age. He was civilized in the fifth century and made a young and beautiful athlete by Polykleitos (Figs. 77-78). He remains that sort of cultivated model in the Getty statue. He is still robust, capable and balanced in Polykleitan ways, but close inspection shows that the conception is more temporal, self-conscious and expressive—no longer so ideal and abstracted as the fifth century interpretations. The ancient hero has become an exceptional young amateur, with only subdued traces of the unique strength and awesome passion characteristic of his Archaic and Hellenistic images. The victor's fillet, crushed ears, and maturing body show that he has trained long and hard and has been tested in severe contests. He has conquered the terrible Cithaeronian (or Nemean) Lion and taken its hide for his mantle; he has earned the stout club he bears. Herakles, the son of Zeus, is prepared to meet the cruel labors set by his elder twin and half brother, the god-favored Eurystheus, whom the jealous Hera made his master. He is ready; he is waiting; he is magnificent.

The basic conception for the hero, who stands with such relaxed ease, originated in the Early Classical age. Myron's *Herakles* (Fig. 71) illustrates its severe beginnings in the Transitional Period — after the Archaic age and before Polykleitos. A red-figure vase painting (Fig. 91), made about the end of the fifth century, representing Herakles as a god, is closer to the Lansdowne *Herakles* in composition, use of attributes and mannered grace. The pose is, however, partly reversed and more contained and balanced. More akin to our *Herakles* in form and feeling is the svelte, sanguine and sophisticated representation of Theseus in a mural painting probably based on a mid-fourth century original (Fig. 92). The figure of Herakles grouped with other sculpturesque gods on a Kerch pelike made in Athens shortly after 350 (Fig. 93) may be derived from the statue itself. Perhaps drapery was attached to the shoulder (where an area has been trimmed) and to portions of the left arm (now lost), as appears on the pelike and various mid-fourth century statues — to enhance the face side of the composition (cf. Figs. 102, 103).38 However, drapery does not appear in other close copies, which vary in
still other details (c.f., e.g. Figs. 79, 91, 94, 95). How much the Lansdowne Herakles and its kin may differ from an original prototype is simply unknown.

The Lansdowne Herakles everywhere shows signs of fourth century experiment coupled with conservative vestiges of Golden Age canons. In the stance, for example, the left foot projects to the side and forward, shifting most of the body weight to the right leg in a novel, restive way, initiating a high-rising curve to one side. That contour is complemented to the other side by the outstretched arm and lionskin, which strengthens the tall, triangular and deepened composition, characteristic of the Silver Age. The serpentine median line and twist in the body are pronounced and give the pose a sweep and cohesion that unites the figure in a way that was not possible in the more rectangular and autonomously divided compositions of fifth century athlete sculpture.

The head is alert, turned to the raised arm with its shouldered club. The glance — like the posture, which is transient though firmly rooted — gives a sense of urgency and direction that undermines the vestiges of Golden Age balance in the pose. The effect is one of subtle disquiet coupled with elegant and mannered grace, a combination characteristic of most fourth century sculpture.

The scheme of proportions or commensurability (symmetria) also shows sophistications of the Silver Age. The legs are longer than fifth century models, while the neck, shoulders, upper back and torso are shorter and more massive, in a fashion that is appropriate to the subject. The head also looks shorter, though it really is not smaller; the brow, temples, cheeks and the bridge of the nose are wider; the jaw and chin are more pointed (Figs. 37-40). This compact and intense mask differs radically from its antecedents in the Golden Age, whose faces are tall rectangles, large-featured and open (cf. Figs. 44-45). A sense of depth is everywhere more developed in our statue through an increased use of space and mass, light and shade (Figs. 1-4, 17). The fleshier body, the projecting arms and attributes, the raised head, the rolling hips and abdomen, the expanded chest, the greater weight and movement in both details and large masses — everything amplifies the formulae of Polykleitos and the Golden Age, which seem by comparison linear, subdued and crisply divided into separable parts (compare, e.g. Figs 70-73, 77-78).

The surface of the Lansdowne Herakles, though lively looking in some oblique views and in raking light, is no doubt flatter than the original, as is generally true of the dry copies of Hadrianic neoclassicism. Exposed areas have been further reduced by weathering and cleanings by restorers; these effects are not so obvious on the back and in protected parts. The rich modulations and details of fourth century style are especially evident in the finely worked head with its distended forehead, thickened brow, deep-set eyes, full, parted lips and exposed teeth. The hair, while showing subtle rhythmic patterns established during the Golden Age, has also been rendered more plastic; the locks are larger, thicker, more disheveled and made almost impressionistic by virtue of heightened contrasts of light and shade. The crisp handling suggests work in bronze (cf. Fig. 43 and n. 49).

These formal innovations give shape to a new and dramatic interpretation of the subject, a disquiet that approaches yearning, particularly evident in another version of the head (Figs. 52-53), which closely prefigures the pathos.
and tragedy found in the Skopac Tegea sculptures (cf. Fig. 64). Such psychological animation, also found in the diffused sensuality of Praxiteles’ sculptures and the fatigue expressed in the work of Lysippos, characterizes experiments with emotion begun in the fourth century.

The new interest in representing character and expression that was to develop during the fourth century was recorded in a dialogue between the philosopher Socrates (d. 399), perhaps once a sculptor himself (see Pausanias, I, 22, 8; IX, 35, 3), and the painter Parrhasios.

Even when Socrates talked with professional artists, he was useful to them. Once he went to see Parrhasios the painter and said to him, “Parrhasios, is painting a representation of visible objects? Through colors you represent and closely imitate bodies that are old or young, smooth or rough, soft or hard, light or dark, high or low.”

“That is right,” he answered.

“When you portray beautiful forms, since it is not easy for one man to be completely flawless, you unite the best features of many men, so that you make the whole body appear beautiful.”

“Yes, we do that.”

“How do you represent the state of mind [ethos tes psyches] that is the most winning, the most agreeable, the most friendly, the most desirable, and the most lovable? Or can’t this be imitated?”

“How, Socrates, could I represent what has no measure, no color, none of the qualities which you just mentioned, and is completely invisible?”

“Doesn’t it happen that a man looks at people in a friendly or hostile way?”

“I think so,” replied Parrhasios.

“Can’t this be imitated in the eyes?”

“Yes, indeed.”

“When good or evil befalls friends, do you think that men who are concerned over this have the same expression on their faces as those who are not concerned?”

“By Zeus, surely not! For they are radiant because of the good or crestfallen because of the evil that has befallen their friends.”

“Therefore, it is possible to represent this,” said Socrates.

“Yes, indeed,” was the reply.

“But really, magnificence and freedom, lowliness and slavery, temperance and prudence, insolence and vulgarity, are apparent in the face and bearing of a man, whether he stands still or is in motion.”

“You are right,” said Parrhasios.

“Therefore, even these things can be represented.”

“Yes, indeed.”

“Do you find it more pleasant to look at men whose characters appear beautiful, good, and lovable, or at men whose characters appear ugly, evil, and hateful?”

“By Zeus, there is a great difference, Socrates.”

Xenophon, Memorabilia, III, 10, 1-5

LYSIPPOS AND PRAXITELES

Because of the excellence of its interpretation of character and formal organization, the Lansdowne Herakles has almost always been identified as the invention of a great master. Each of the best-known sculptors of the Silver Age — Praxiteles of Athens, Lysippos of Sikyon and Skopas of Paros — has been proposed as its creator.

In 1882, a century after its discovery, the great archaeologist Adolf Michaelis presented the first detailed discussion of the Lansdowne Herakles, attempting to identify its author. For him, the small head and torso, long legs,
and flat-footed stance; the noble unconstrained freedom of the whole movement; the freshness and elasticity of the slightly twisted pose; and the delicacy of certain details indicated that this figure was one of the finest specimens of a *Herakles* according to the conception of Lysippos (cf. Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV, 61-65). Other archaeologists have noted its strong affinities to copies after the sculptures of this famous and prolific artist, a master of sophisticated improvisations; and a few scholars have attributed the prototype to him even in recent years. The statue, however, does not have the subtle intricacies or naturalism usually associated with the accepted core of works attributed to him. Lysippos had, however, a long career, extending through much of the fourth century. He reportedly made some fifteen hundred works (Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV, 37). Conceivably the Lansdowne statue is like his earliest and most conservative style, still influenced by fifth century models.

In 1886, several years after the identification of Michaelis, the Genzano herm, which usually has been linked with the Lansdowne *Herakles*, was identified as the work of Praxiteles on the basis of excellence, delicacy and general similarities to the style of that master. In recent years another, similar head (Figs. 58-59), close to the Genzano herm, has also been likened to the work of Praxiteles — well known to be an experimenter with the seductive beauties attributable to gods (Fig. 65) — and it was identified as Dionysos. But Praxiteles was not a sculptor of heroes or athletes, and no one to my knowledge has linked the massive body of the Lansdowne *Herakles* to that great master of softness and charm, for all the subtle conservatism in pose and proportion or the subtle beauties of handling that these works may have in common (cf. Fig. 102).

**SKOPAS**

Most scholars who have dealt with the Lansdowne *Herakles* or its companions have linked them with Skopas, a master of heroes and pathos (see nn. 47 and 48). His work was the antithesis of Praxiteles’ feminine-seeming passivity and softness, and it was the forerunner of a subtle synthesis found in Lysippos’ anxious, fitful and self-conscious illusionism.

Polykleitos, the sculptor’s sculptor of the Classical age (Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV, 53), perhaps had some direct influence on Skopas. In 405, Aristandros of Paros, thought to be the father and teacher of Skopas, worked with Polykleitos on the memorial of Aigospotamoi at Amyklai (Pausanius, III, 17, 8). The similarities of the Lansdowne *Herakles* to the work of Polykleitos and his followers have prompted the suggestion that the statue may be a copy of an early work by Skopas, an international figure who probably lived and worked in Athens which was near to and artistically allied with Sikyon. The Lansdowne *Herakles* is reportedly made of Pentelic marble from the quarries of Athens, whose art and industry were richly subsidized by Hadrian (Pausanias, I, 5, 5; 18, 9; 21, 1). Copies by Athenian sculptors were well represented in his villa. But the original *Herakles* need not have been made in Athens. As noted above, the fact that such copyists’ centers were sometimes far removed from the famous statues to be reproduced no doubt contributed to the variability in copies. There are, for example, many versions of the *Weary Herakles* by Lysippos once in Sikyon (see below and Figs. 106-108), as well as sundry versions of the Young Herakles related to the
Lansdowne figure. Factors of provenance may explain some of the conservatisms and other problems associated with the statue.

In 1889, shortly after the excavation of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, similarities were noted between certain of the heads in its pedimental sculpture and the Lansdowne Herakles (cf. Fig. 64). Pausanias recorded in his guidebook (VIII, 45, 5; 47, 1) that the temple architect was Skopas and that he also made cult sculptures for the interior. Archaeologists concluded that he probably directed the architectural sculptures too and that they show his style, if not his hand. Because of similarities between works akin to the Lansdowne Herakles and the Tegea heads and other works in the reconstructed oeuvre of Skopas, the attribution has been generally accepted. At the least, few now question the Herakles' Skopaic character.47

A specific work by Skopas was long ago singled out as the lost original: a stone Herakles in the training ground for youths at Sikyon, near the market place, where a bronze Herakles by Lysippos also stood (Pausanias, II, 9, 6; 10, 1). This attribution has often been accepted as likely.48 Though the Lansdowne Herakles is conceivably based on a metal original,49 its prototype may equally well have been stone. The lionskin, like the club, is natural-looking in that material, ingeniously serving as both a physical and an iconographic support, unlike the conspicuously awkward and heavy tree stumps often used to help sustain Roman marble copies of Greek bronze statues. Besides, Skopas is thought to have worked primarily in marble, and he may have preferred that medium; he was famous for his heroes of stone (Horace, Odes, IV, 4-8). He came from the island of Paros, famous for its excellent sculptural marble, and was apparently skilled in its use.

A crude Roman coin of Sikyon struck in the time of the emperor Geta (c. A.D. 211) (Fig. 89) has been thought to be a reproduction of the Herakles of Skopas.50 Like the Lansdowne Herakles, the figure on the coin is nude. He stands heavily on one leg and apparently is beardless and wears a hairband, perhaps a wreath. But the disposition of the limbs and attributes differs. The image on the coin is closer in all discernible details to another statue of the subject, the Hope Herakles from Deepdene (Figs. 48-49, 86-88), now also housed in the Getty Museum, on loan from the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. It, too, has a head related to the Genzano herm type, but it does not particularly resemble the Lansdowne Herakles — illustrating once again the variations among these loosely grouped sculptures. As is true of the Lansdowne Herakles, the head of the Hope Herakles was never detached from the body. If the Geta coin reproduces the Herakles of Skopas seen by Pausanias, which is far from certain, so may the Hope Herakles. Some scholars subscribe to this attribution which was first proposed early in the century;51 others favor the Lansdowne Herakles (see n. 48).

The Hope statue is poor in quality, the rough image of a hero frequently represented and freely reinterpreted by Roman copyists. Its aggregate of clumsy attributes and ill-proportioned parts can hardly be the faithful representation of a great master's work. Rudimentary elements of contrapposto mastered in the mid fifth century are absent: the figure does not stand convincingly; the slack left shoulder and the chin do not incline toward the foot of the weight-bearing leg; the frontality and Archaic-looking disjointedness recall simplifications of the Severe style in the Transitional age (cf.
Figs. 70-71). The large head, like the stiff, awkward and cubic forms of the body, hardly agrees with Silver Age formulae. But these crudities, found in the details as well, may be due to the copyist and to late Antonine expressionism — perhaps also evident in the schematic reductions of the coin. Related copies of the young and the bearded Herakles have poses and proportions that correspond better to fourth century norms (Figs. 80-85). Some of them resemble aspects of both the Lansdowne Herakles and the Hope figure. Scholars have suggested that the Genzano head and Lansdowne figure reproduce two statues by Skopas, and, as we have seen, still other authors have been suggested for related pieces. That any of these works, or the Geta coin, represents the marble Herakles of Skopas at Sikyon is, of course, simply speculation.

EUPHRANOR

Surprisingly, though the Herakles has been attributed to many sculptors, no one has promoted Euphranor as its possible author. The reasons for such an attribution are better than for most. Euphranor was a famous fourth century Athenian master (Plutarch, De Glor. Athen., 2) who reportedly was originally an Isthmian (and therefore presumably trained at the greatest art center of the Isthmus, Sikyon).

[Euphranor] was active in the 104th Olympiad [364 B.C.]. . . made colossal statues and works in marble . . . was the most intellectual and industrious of artists, excelling in every genre of art and always maintaining his artistic standard. He seems to have been the first to express the dignified qualities of heroes and to have made symmetria his special province, although [the proportions he used] for the whole body were too thin and those for the head and limbs were too large. He also wrote volumes about symmetria and about colors. Works by him [include] . . . a Theseus, in connection with which he said that the Theseus by Parrhasios had been fed on roses, but his own was fed on meat. (Pliny, N. H., XXXV, 128)

The Alexander-Paris is a work of Euphranor which is praised because it conveys. . . simultaneously — the judge of the goddesses, the lover of Helen, but also the killer of Achilles. (Pliny, N. H., XXXIV, 77).

These descriptions and the little we know of his work are compatible with what we find in the Lansdowne Herakles: a mixture of Athenian and Sikyonian ancestry, a date around the end of the second quarter of the fourth century, a work of the highest intellectual and artistic standards, subtle schemes of proportion most likely preceding those of Lysippos and still related to Polykleitos and his works on symmetria, and an early and formative conception of the hero in late Classical Greek sculpture.

A sanguine Theseus conceivably derived from Euphranor’s model is similar to the Herakles in pose, proportion and demeanor (see above, Fig. 92). The bronze “Paris” from the Antikythera shipwreck (Figs. 66, 96), which is the only statue we have worthy of the description of Euphranor’s Paris, has comparably rendered anatomy, facial detail, composition and proportions. An original work apparently by Euphranor, a large fragment of the cult statue found near the Apollo Patroos temple in the Athenian Agora (Pausanius, I, 3, 3), is, like our Herakles, marble, august and conservative in its subtle frontality and otherwise noble and circumspect handling (Fig. 97). A copy of the head, though dulled (Fig. 69), resembles the Herakles (Fig. 67) and the Demeter of Knidos, once linked to the Herakles by F. P. Johnson (Fig. 68; n.
The over-all appearance was probably similar to the Palatine Apollo of Skopas, from Rhamnous in Attica (cf. Fig. 98). Early in this century, various body types associated with the Young Herakles type and the Lansdowne Herakles and with Skopas and Lysippos were linked to Euphranor in attempts to reconstruct his oeuvre. Presumably Euphranor, a theorist, perfectionist, and versatile innovator and a near contemporary of Skopas and Lysippos, both reflected and influenced their work. A Herakles by Euphranor was once known from an inscribed herm in Rome that is now lost. Perhaps Hadrian favored Euphranor's work; it has been suggested that Euphranor's statues were prototypes for representations of Antinous.

Of course these arguments do not prove that the Lansdowne Herakles is a work of Euphranor, any more than other arguments prove that it is the work of another artist or that it is or is not the Sikyon Herakles, of Skopas. Its author and final identification remain uncertain.

HELENISTIC LEGACY: The Lansdowne Herakles, Lysippos, and the End of the Silver Age

Comparisons with work by Lysippos, the founder of Hellenistic sculpture, can further our understanding of the place of the Lansdowne Herakles in the history of Greek art. Lysippos, the renowned court sculptor of Alexander the Great (356-323), was a subtle innovator and, as a master of symmetria and athlete statues, the descendant of Polykleitos. The statue of Agias (Figs. 100-101), presumably made by Lysippos or his studio early in his career (see also Fig. 104), is often likened to the Lansdowne Herakles, because their poses, proportions and mood are similar and show related variations on fifth century formulas.

Lysippos was a native of Sikyon and surely knew the works and theories of Euphranor and his contemporaries, just as he knew Skopas’ stone Herakles. It stood near the agora, where his own masterpiece, a colossal bronze statue of the Weary Herakles, was later erected (Pausanias, XI, 9, 8) (see Figs. 106-108). Even as the Lansdowne Herakles descends from works of great Attic and Sikyonian masters, so Lysippos’ statue, made in his advanced years, depends upon works like the Lansdowne Herakles and its kin, including Lysippos’ own earlier Resting Herakles (Fig. 105). The Weary Herakles virtually brings to fruition the novel elements of pathos and dynamism that were beginning to emerge in its predecessors (cf., e.g., Fig. 17). By increased use of projection, torsion, and oscillation, Lysippos unified the composition and subordinated its parts to the over-all conception in ways that radically advance the formal experiments of its forerunners. The sculpture explores a far wider and more sophisticated physical (and spiritual) realm, introducing the new baroque and cosmopolitan expansiveness of the Hellenistic age. The Lansdowne Herakles, by comparison, still embodies hallowed and conservative principles of balance and the discrete articulation of parts — ideals of the Classical age and its autonomous city states.

The Weary Herakles owes more to its immediate antecedents such as the Skopaic Meleager (Fig. 103), whose agitated pose also leads the observer around the figure to a covered hand. In rudimentary form, this device had
already appeared in Polykleitos’ *Herakles*, but the hand remains visible in the primary view (Figs. 77, 78). Lysippos added a new and unique dimension of drama and sophistication; his crushed *Herakles* conceals behind him an explanation of his weariness — Apples of the Hesperides, the fruits of his most exhausting labor.\textsuperscript{60}

In similar germinal fashion, a muted anxiety in the Lansdowne *Herakles* foreshadows the sense of tragedy and mortality in Lysippos’ hero. The passionate and maturing athlete-amateur gives way to an aging professional strongman — a massive, brooding Stoic, exhausted after a life of fatiguing labors. The depressed giant, bereft of aspiration and confidence, supported by his club, slumps into introspection: brute strength is no longer enough.\textsuperscript{61} Lysippos here presents an ironic motif that was to become a favorite image of later Greek art: the once-proud but now fallen and tormented protagonist who possesses a lavish and still-powerful body. For the Greeks, this figure of awesome strength brought low and rendered contemplative surely evoked romantic as well as jaundiced sentiments about such glories and promise as the Lansdowne *Herakles* represents.
IV. CONCLUSION

Clearly, the Getty statue occupies a place of crucial importance in the story of Greek art. Its highly idealized representation of the beautiful Greek hero literally embodies the sum of Classical norms. Yet its tempered reflection of austere and perfect models of the Golden Age, in the silvered mirror of its own era, introduces a new, more secular and humanized norm, one that people could more readily admire and emulate. The greater existential appeal and worldliness in the Lansdowne *Herakles*, the muted anxiety and vague torment in the pose and expression that convey this heightened self-awareness, the growing sophistication and technical facility enlisted to achieve a convincing illusion of a sumptuous material life — these are the very foundations of the mature art of Greece. They are also latent seeds of discontent leading to its ultimate transformation in the Christian era. The Lansdowne *Herakles*, like other great works of art, is at once a culmination and a prophecy.
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NOTES


For Jenkins, Townley, and Lord Lansdowne generally, see the entries in *Dictionary of National Biography*, London, 1882-; and the annotation below.


For the political machinations involved in the collecting of antiquities during the 18th century, see the Walpole-Albani correspondence and other sources cited in Lewis, *Connoisseurs and Secret Agents*, passim (see pp. 205, 272, for Prince Charles Edward, the Young Pretender). On the traditional attractions that antiquities collecting had for persons of influence, see A. Furtwängler, *Über Kunstsammlungen in alter und neuer Zeit*, Munich, 1899, and Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, introductory chapters. Michaelis described the predelec-
tions of and preferential treatment given to Townley and to a fellow Catholic and Lancashireman, Henry Blundell of Ince (ibid., esp. pp. 96-101 and passim). He also described the collecting activities and ancient sculptures of Lord Lansdowne (ibid., pp. 103ff., 435-471, 451, no. 61; the Herakles).

When the Lansdowne collection was put up for sale, the entries of Michaelis, illustrations of the sculptures, and the correspondence of Hamilton to Earl Shelburne (recording favors extended to his patron) appeared in A. H. Smith, A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Lansdowne House, Based upon the Work of Adolf Michaelis, London, 1889; idem, Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Ancient Marbles the Property of the Most Honorable The Marquess of Lansdowne M.V.O. D. S. O. [Lansdowne Marbles], Christie sale catalogue, 5 March 1930, pp. 77ff., 24ff., no. 34, frontispiece (Herakles). Various of the statues were also illustrated in Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen [EA], eds. P. Arndt, W. Amelung, G. Lippold, Munich, 1893-, 1925-.) nos. 489. The whereabouts of many of them after the sale (including the Herakles which was bought back by Lord Lansdowne from the auction and kept at the family estate at Bowood until purchased by Mr. Getty in 1951) was recorded by C. C. Vermeule ("Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis; Ancient Marbles in Great Britain," American Journal of Archaeology [AJA], 59, 1955, 139ff.; 60, 1956, 334ff.; 63, 1959, 330, pi. 77, fig. 10 [Herakles].


6. Photocopies of the correspondence were generously provided by J. R. Hickish, F. L. A. S., Bowood Estates Office, Calve, Wiltshire; the letters were noted briefly in Smith, Lansdowne Marbles, p. 25. Denys Haynes, Keeper of the Department of Classical Antiquities, British Museum, on several occasions generously provided me with access to the Townley manuscripts and drawings and permitted them to be photographed.

For Jenkins' drawing of antiquities and handwriting, see Ford, Apollo, 99, 1974, 416, fig. 1 (Cupid).

7. Ellis, Townley Gallery, I, 4f.; Michaelis, Ancient Marbles, pp. 78, 97.


9. For the various restorations and controversies about the torso, see J. Barry, Works of James Barry, Esq., London, 1809, I, 479ff., and S. Howard, "Some Eighteenth-Century Restorations of Myron's 'Discobolos'." Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 25, 1962, 330ff. According to Knight, £600 was the price of the Lansdowne Herakles (the same as the "Meleager"-"Antinous"; see n. 12), £100 less than the much inferior Townley Diskobolos (Report from the Select Committee on the Earl of Elgin's Collection of Sculptured Marbles, London, 1816, p. 95; Michaelis, Ancient Marbles, p. 452; Smith, Lansdowne Marbles, p. 25). Cf., however, the £500 price cited in Jenkins' letter of 30 April 1772.


11. Ibid., I, pl. 29 (Townley Diskobolos); for the Lansdowne Diskobolos-"Diomedes," see Howard, J. Warburg-Courtauld Inst., 25, 1962, 332, pl. 46, fig. e; Michaelis, Ancient Marbles, pp. 467-68, found by Gavin Hamilton at Ostia in 1772 and sold to Earl Shelburne in 1776.

The “Antinous,” perhaps derived from Praxiteles’s *Hermes of Andros*, had been a favorite statue type since the Renaissance. The Lansdowne “Meleager” or “Antinous,” formerly in the Wright S. Ludington collection, was also found at the Villa of Hadrian and was restored in the same style as the *Herakles*. The statue was discovered at Tor Colombaro in 1771 and was bought shortly thereafter from its excavator Gavin Hamilton (Michaels, *Ancient Marbles*, pp. 454f., no. 65; and Smith, *Lansdowne Marbles*, pp. 17, 88, no. 20, for the correspondence from Hamilton to Earl Shelburne, July 1773, “Meleager . . .£600”). The recent history of the statue is noted by Vermeule, *AJA*, 60, 1956, 335.


Jenkins’ usual views on restoration are documented in Ashby, *BSR*, 6, 1913, 55 (to T. Tatham, architect) and in Smith, *Lansdowne Marbles*, p. 81, Hamilton to Earl Shelburne, 6 August 1772, “. . .I sold to Jenkins a torso of a Meleager little inferior to that of your Lordship, but without head, arms or legs, I gave him at the same time a fine head of a young Hercules, which he appropriates to the above torso, and in place of a Meleager he makes a Hercules of it. This statue will no doubt be properly puffed and sold to advantage, which obliges me to mention the above particulars in self defense.”

Hamilton was not immune to such practices either; cf. *ibid.*, p. 61, fig., pp. 94ff., Hamilton to Earl Shelburne, 25 March 1776, Myron’s *Diskobolos* restored as *Diomedes* by Hamilton (see also n. 11).

The avid interest of Hamilton and Earl Shelburne in the restoration of ancient fragments is clear from the Hamilton correspondence; see further, e.g., Smith, *Lansdowne Marbles*, pp. 78ff. (1771-1772), 81 (“The Meleager [also “Antinous” and Hermes] I am afraid will go deep, but I can not judge exactly of the value till such time it is completely restored,” 6 August 1772), and passim.


15. For a detailed account of the eighteenth century restorations discernable in 1956 (partly recapitulated in the Conservation Report), see my first edition, pp. 21f. and n. 24. For here, let it suffice to make the following observations: (a) The lion skin added to hide a square iron support bar recessed into the right leg and buttock obscured the rear silhouette of the leg, making the face side of the statue relatively more important — an orientation reinforced by higher polish on the front, the decorative function of the statue, and neo-classic emphasis on facades, generally; (b) Jenkins’ drawing of the restored work shows no modern penis, although some scholars have reported one; (c) The surfaces of the additions were everywhere ground, gouged, crushed, or cracked (but never worked with the running drill) to stimulate the appearance of adjacent ancient parts, which were in most cases polished and reworked to make them fresher and more compatible with the restorations (procedures anticipating the aesthetic of restorative dentistry). (See Figs. 16-23, esp. 18, and comparisons in Figs. 25-36.)

17. Lists of the restorers and their works are given by Pietrangeli in Scavi e scoperte and, idem, in the Appendix to G. Lippold, Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums, Berlin, 1956, III 2, 532ff., where these two restorers are frequently mentioned with others as appearing in the museum payment books of Cardinal Braschi, later Pius VI (Rome, State Archives, Camerale MSS, no. 308, Giustificazione diverse di ordini spediti...). The influence of these restorations upon early modern style is discussed in Howard, Eighteenth-Century Studies, 7, 1973, 49ff., 60f.; idem, Studies on Voltaire, 151-155, 1976, 106ff.

18. Ellis, Townley Gallery, I, 243 (restored for Jenkins); Smith, British Museum Catalogue, I, 90ff., no. 250.


21. A. Bertolotti, “Esportazione di oggetti di belle arti de Roma nei secoli XVI, XVII, e XVIII,” Archivio storico artistico archeologico e letterario della città e provincia di Roma, 4, 1878, 87, “199bre 1792.” An earlier (abortive?) declaration of 12 March 1792, written before the April correspondence and not listed by Bertolotti, includes both the Diskobolos and the Herakles (Rome, State Archives, Camerlengato MSS, Antichità belle arte folios). Jenkins mentions no anticipated difficulty in exporting the Herakles in his April 1792 letter to Earl Shelburne.

22. At the end, Jenkins, sure of immunity, perhaps sent the statue from Rome clandestinely, as Hamilton once had threatened to do should he have trouble exporting a bust of Antinous for Lord Lansdowne; see Smith, Lansdowne Marbles, pp. 16, 81ff., Hamilton to Earl Shelburne, 16 July 1772: “As to the Antinous I am afraid I shall be obliged to smuggle it, as I can never hope for a license.” Apparently its removal was effected by means of “an additional present to the under antiquarian” (Michaelis, Ancient Marbles, pp. 453ff.).

23. Winckelmann, Briefe, III, 106, no. 711, 22 June 1765, to Schlabrendorf. Winckelmann, then Commissioner of Antiquities, permitted export of the Venus knowing that one leg and both arms were new and that the head did not belong. See further Michaelis, Ancient Marbles, pp. 527ff., no. 20 (Newby-Barberini Aphrodite); Vermeule, AJA, 59, 1955, 143, pl. 45, fig. 23.


26. The Herakles was bought for £6000 through Spink’s gallery in London. An account of the acquisition is recorded by E. Le Vane and J. P. Getty (Collector’s Choice, London, 1955, pp. 108-110, 129-134, 286ff., 326ff., et passim). Mr. Getty there also presents an imaginative narrative on its history and observations concerning the villa and taste of Hadrian and his commercial subsidization of Greece (cf., further, J. P. Getty, Joys of Collecting, New York, 1965, pp. 17f., 74 [pl.]).

27. Michaelis, Ancient Marbles, p. 461, no. 78; Smith, Lansdowne Marbles, pp. 27, 96, 99f., Hamilton to Shelburne letters, August 1776, November 1779; Vermeule, AJA, 59, 1955, 132; Le Vane and Getty, Collector’s Choice, pp., 132f., 134 (£500); C. C. Vermeule and N. Neuerberg, Catalogue of Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 1973, p. 4, no. 4. Like the Lansdowne Herakles, the statue is now rerestored; the modern additions are removed, and the alien head is mounted and displayed separately.

Lattimore concludes (a) that "The Lansdowne Herakles is — on the highest level — a pastiche, a new creation of imperial Roman sculpture" and (b) that the composition combines a Polykleitan body type especially close to the Doryphoros and a "very free" or "casual" adaptation of a Skopas (Gennano-type?) Herakles head.

N. B. Like most other investigators who have studied the statue and for reasons given in the text and in the first edition of this monograph, I believe that although the Lansdowne Herakles reflects the dry and eclectic academicism of Hadrianic copyists and imperial classicism, it is based upon a fourth-century composition close to or within the circle of Skopas and his contemporaries. It is still possible that it is a Hadrianic combination of disparate sources, but I think this is unlikely.


The place of discovery of the Lansdowne Herakles was recorded by J. Dallaway (Anecdotæ of the Arts in England, London, 1800, p. 341; cf. also Winnefeld, Villa des Hadrian, p. 162). See further Knight, whose probable source was Townley (Specimens of Antient Sculpture, I, pl. 29 [found near Rome with Townley's Diskobolos]). The Diskobolos was reportedly found in 1791; see G. Zoega (18 February 1792), in Wecklers Zeitschrift, I, 1818, 268, and F. G. Welcker (Alte Denkmäler Erklärt, Göttingen, 1849-, I, 422), who notes that both statues were found at Hadrian's villa and bought by Jenkins. Ellis, presumably following Townley's descriptions, indicated that the Diskobolos (hence also the Herakles?) was found at the Pinacotheca of Hadrian's Villa (Townley Gallery, II, 243).

For the reconstructed sanctuary, where the Herakles is now displayed, see N. Neuerberg, Herculanæum to Malibu: A Companion to the Visit of the J. Paul Getty Museum Building (Museum pamphlet), Malibu, 1975, [p. 28].

30. B. Graef made the influential initial grouping, a well-considered list of 23 heads and 7 statues ("Herakles des Skopas und Verwandtes," Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung [RM], 4, 1889, 189-226). A. Preyss inflated the number to 55 items (in H. Brun and F. Bruckmann, Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur [BrBr], Munich, 1888-, pls. 691ff., p. 5 [1925]). The following entries listed by Preyss (omitting 15 of his attributions to figurines) include most of the sculptures associated with our Young Herakles type and its kin, with mention of an illustration (the abbreviated references are given elsewhere in the notes and Bibliography):

HEADS WITH PLAIN FILLETS: 1 Uffizi, EA 85-6 (Fig. 61). 2 Roman market, EA 2001-2002 (Jandolo head; Figs. 52-53). 3 Lateran, EA 2181-82.


GEM: 22 British Museum (Fig. 62).

STATUES AND TORSOS: 23 P. Doria, EA 2266. 24 Vatican Rotunda, W. Helbig, Führer durch die ... Allertäum in Rom, Tübingen, 1963-, no. 293. 25 Parma, Reinch, II, 212, no. 2. 26 Pitti, EA 228 (Fig. 83). 27 Prado, EA 1545-47. 28 Pitti, EA 231 (Fig. 80). 29 M. Torlonia, Visconti, no. 25. 30 P. Torlonia, F. Matz and F. von Duhn, Zerstreute antike Bildwerke in Rom, Leipzig, 1881-82, no. 97. 31 P. Colonna, EA 1136. 32 Athens, National Museum, no.
For the methods and improvisations of Greco-Roman and Imperial copyists, see, e.g., G. Lippold, *Kopien und Umbildungen griechischer Statuen*, Munich, 1923, pp. 63, 133, 159 (Landsdowne Herakles); G. M. A. Richter, *Three Critical Periods in Greek Sculpture*, Oxford, 1951, Ch. 3; idem, *Ancient Italy*, Ann Arbor, 1955, Chs. 3-4; C. C. Vermeule, "Greco-Roman...

32. G. A. Mansuelli, Galleria degli Uffizi, Rome, 1958, I, no. 29, fig. 30. For other kindred works and problems of their association, see note 30. Linfert finds no replicas, yet he cites similar heads, believes the Copenhagen bronze is a first-century or early Roman idealization of the Lansdowne Herakles composition, and notes other related figures (Polykleitos zu Lysipp, pp. 37, 75 nn. 21ff.). Lattimore (Getty Museum Journal, 2, 1975, p. 24, nn. 43ff.) also notes differences between the Lansdowne Herakles and the Gennzano type and the Tegea heads. The latter he finds closer to the Hope Herakles (cf. my n. 30, no. 35, and n. 51) with its singular forward-set ears (grossly outsized in the Hope edition and not cauliflowered as in the Gennzano herm and many of its kin, including the Lansdowne Herakles). He also observes (p. 20) that wreaths were commonly added in copies.

33. The gem may be modern. D. E. Strong, Greek and Roman Department, British Museum, states in a letter that, with some reservations, he believes that the gem is not ancient, viewing it with suspicion because of its unantique shape and technique "meant to be seen through the convex side which enlarges the intaglio," material "aquamarine beryl," present condition "exceedingly well preserved," and the Gnaios inscription, which "has worried many people" — notwithstanding "other Gnaios gems" about which he had "the same feeling" (see G. M. A. Richter, Catalogue of Engraved Gems, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, Rome, 1956, p. xxxiv [five gems signed by Gnaios], p. 161, no. 463 [signature first published in 1741]). Though not the same in all details, the gem is closer to the Lansdowne Herakles than are related copies. A gem industry specializing in antico reproductions of ancient statues and reliefs flourished in late-eighteenth-century Rome (cf., e.g., G. Lippold, Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit, Stuttgart, 1922, passim). For this investigation it is important to recall observations made by the knowledgeable antiquarian entrepreneur and restorer Joseph Nollekens about the art dealer who sold the Herakles to Lord Lansdowne (J. T. Smith, Nollekens and His Times, London, 1949 [1st ed. 1828], p. 122):

"As for Jenkins, he followed the trade of supplying the foreign visitors with intaglios and cameos made by his own people, that he kept in a part of the ruins of the Coliseum, fitted up for 'em to work in styly by themselves. I saw 'em at work though, and Jenkins gave a whole handful of 'em to me to say nothing about the matter to anybody else but myself. Bless Your Heart! he sold 'em as fast as they made 'em."

34. For variations on Skopaic models, see, e.g., Poulsen, in EA, no. 4773, and C. Picard, La sculpture antique, Paris, 1948, III, 705ff. The mythos of style and reputation gathered about Skopas and a circumspect view of attributing the above-mentioned works and others to him — including extant fragments from the Mausoleum of Halicarnassos — is given by B. Ashmole, in Enc World Art, XIII, 58ff. He has also written on the Demeter (B. Ashmole, "Demeter of Cnidus," JHS, 71, 1951, 13ff.). Johnson (Lysippos, p. 211) likened the Herakles and Demeter heads, thought them to be by the same master, and placed them in a fourth-century context near Skopas. For the ascription of a late Hellenistic date to the "Demeter," see C. M. Havelock, Hellenistic Art, Greenwich, Conn., 1970, pp. 138ff., no. 127.

35. The Polykleitan Herakles has a more mature and three-dimensional composition than Polykleitos' Canon, the Doryphoros. The body's torque and projecting arms (forward and to one flank) modestly anticipate these features in the Skopaic Melazger and Lysippic Weary Herakles discussed below. E. Paribeni (Sculture greche del V secolo, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, 1953, p. 37, no 53) listed 17 replicas of the Polykleitan Herakles, including herms. For the popularity of these and Skopaic herm editions of Herakles in ancient gymasia, see A. Furtwängler, Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture, tr. E. Sellers, Chicago, 1964 (reprint of 1895 ed.), pp. 234ff.

36. See Linfert, Polykleitos zu Lysipp, p. 36 (Antiphanes), and passim, on the Polykleitan-Peloponnesian characteristics of the Lansdowne Herakles.

Marks on the base in Delphi identifying the hero's feet and four smaller attachments that might have been animal feet or the paws of the lionskin do not agree with the frontal and parallel orientation of these elements in the Lansdowne Herakles, but form a concave face
side, implying an oblique view of Herakles’ body and a flattening of the Argive composition in the Athenian copy, if it (or its Skopaic variant?) is in fact based upon the Antiphanes statue (cf. D. Arnold, Die PolykletNachfolge, Berlin, 1969 [Jdl. Ergänzungsheft 25], figs. 36, 40C, pl. 26B [gem copy? with standing lion, my Fig. 81]; she attributes the Lansdowne Herakles to Skopas following the model of Antiphanes [pp. 197f., 230, n. 780].

37. This synthesis and international ancestry for the statue are discussed in the formative assessments of Furtwängler, Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture, pp. 296ff.; see also esp. the penetrating descriptions of K. A. Neugebauer, in BrBr, pls. 717f., pp. 5f.; O. Brendel, in EA, pl. 4168; B. Schweitzer, Zur Kunst der Antike, Tübingen, 1963, II, 23f.; idem, JOA, 39, 1952, 107; and the recent reviews and references to other analyses in Lattimore, Getty Museum Journal, 2, 1975, 24, including that of L. Alscher (Griechische Plastik, Berlin, 1956, III, 172f.), who proposed an Ionian origin for the Lansdowne Herakles, but not Skopas as the author.

38. Parallels for the Herakles figure type in painting are noted by G. Lippold, Die Griechische Plastik, Munich, 1950, p. 251, n. 7.

For the vase-painting, see A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei, Munich, 1904-32, pl. 20; Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Villa Giulia, III 1 d, pl. 1; J. D. Beazley, Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1963, p. 1339, no. 4 (near the Talos Painter, late 5th-c. pot painter. Presentation of Herakles in Olympia). For the well-known heroic figure in mural copies of the Victorious Thessae and the Dead Minotaur, see esp. the fresco found at Herculaneum; Naples Museum 9049; E. Pfuhl and J. D. Beazley, Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting, New York, 1955, pp. 106f., pl. 91 (Republican copy, probably of a late-fourth-century original).

K. Schefeld (Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen, Berlin, 1934, pp. 40-42, 67, no. 368) dates the pelike in the Hermitage about 340-320. Stewart cites the presumed reproductions of the Herakles on the vase (depicting statues?) and on an Athenian parasitos as partial confirmation that the original statue stood in Athens during the 350’s (Skopas, pp. 99, 169 n. 48). He identifies the drapery on the pelike (and, by implication, that on the statue) as a chlamys, citing an observation in my 1st edition (p. 22, fig. 22), which is not so specific, though I observed that something sizable was there, to judge from the large area of damage.

39. Xenophon, Recollections of Socrates, tr. A. S. Benjamin, New York, 1965, pp. 91f. For the likelihood that the philosopher Socrates was also a sculptor, see R. Ridgeway, The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture, Princeton, 1970, pp. 114f., 119.

40. Michaelis, Ancient Marbles, p. 451, no. 61; reprinted in Smith, Lansdowne Marbles, pp. 24f., no. 34.

41. Vermeule and Neuerberg, Catalogue . . . Getty Museum, pp. 6-8, no. 9; see also Johnson (Lysippos, pp. 210, n. 79; p. 244, n. 66), who cites others attributing the Lansdowne Herakles to Lysippos.

42. Johnson (Lysippos, pp. 53, 208ff., 210f.) reviews various arguments for assigning the Herakles to Lysippos and Skopas; he concludes that its maker was not obviously Skopas and “certainly was not Lysippos.” On the style of Lysippos, see also my n. 58.


44. Ashmole, JHS, 42, 1922, 242-44.

45. The names of Aristandros and Skopas were linked for several generations on Paros; both had international reputations; cf. C. Robert, in A. Pauly and G. Wissowa, Real Encyclopädie, Stuttgart, 1894-1903, II, 860; Johnson, Lysippos, pp. 48ff.; Arias, Skopas, pp. 93f.; Ashmole, Enc. World Art, XIII, 58ff.

46. Michaelis identified the marble as “Pentelic (not Carrara)” (Ancient Marbles, p. 451), which is probably correct. However, the identification of provenance for ancient marbles, including Pentelic, remains debatable; see my discussion of this problem in S. Howard, “Observations Concerning the Antiquity of the Getty Veristic Head and the Authentication of Ancient Marbles,” California Studies in Classical Antiquity, 7, 1974, 169-171.

Hadrian’s support of the arts and traditions of Athens, where he was made an archon, is discussed in Cambridge Ancient History, XI, 305, 317, 559, 706. 745. Reproductions from a second great copyists’ center, Aphrodisias in Lycia, were also well represented at his villa (cf. Toynbee, Hadrianic School, n. 1.)
Graef (RM, 4, 1889, 189ff.) first linked the Lansdowne Herakles and its kin to the Tegea heads. The literature dealing with Skopas and with the Lansdowne Herakles is vast; see esp. the abstracts by Arias of some 200 publications on the sculptor to 1951 (Skopas, pp. 3-57; pp. 60-97 for 37 ancient references).

In most handbooks and studies, the Lansdowne Herakles is described as by Skopas or Skopaic. For a sampling of references to the statue, see, e.g., the annotation and bibliographies of Preyss, in BrBr, pl. 69ff., p. 1; Lippold, Griechische Plastik, p. 251; O. Brendel, in EA, nos. 416ff.; Vermeule and Neuerberg, Catalogue . . . Getty Museum, pp. 7ff.; and Lattimore, Getty Museum Journal, 2, 1975, 17ff.

For a partial list (including Lippold, della Seta, Schweitzer, Brendel, Arias, and myself), see Lattimore, Getty Museum Journal, 2, 1975, 21, n. 32; for earlier ascriptions to the artist and at times to the statue (including Furtwängler, Collignon, Klein, Loewy, Mahler, and Amelung), see Johnson, Lysippos, p. 210, n. 80.

Cf. esp. the Naples and Copenhagen copies in bronze (n. 30, nos. 4, 39; Figs. 54-55, 79). Johnson thought bronze technique was indicated by close-cut hair (Lysippos, p. 211), which is sharply articulated with the running drill.

When using the Geta coin as evidence, it is important to note that numismatic reproductions of sculpture often vary in important particulars; cf., e.g., the different weight-bearing leg in coins reproducing the Palatine Apollo, presumed to be by Skopas (Arias, Skopas, pp. 101, figs. 1a, 1b; see also my n. 55). The Geta coin is moreover coarse and worn; even if it should represent the Herakles of Skopas, it hardly makes a reliable source. See further L. Lacroix (Les reproductions des statues sur les monnaies grecques, Liege, 1949, p. 317) and Picard (Sculpture antique, III 2, 708), who find that owing to its roughness little of conclusive nature can be learned from it about the original work.

Lattimore has ascribed "tentative" iconographic meanings to the Hope statue attributes, as appropriate to the Herakles of Skopas at Sikyon, presuming that it reflects the influence of an unusual local cult that may have intrigued him—namely, that of a Cretan Herakles also worshiped in Paros as god and hero—and that Skopas represented this Herakles as the benefactor of humanity approaching apotheosis (Getty Museum Journal, 2, 1975, 25).

The projected identifications may be correct, but it should be observed that (a) the cult sanctuary was elsewhere in Sikyon (Pausanias, II.10.1); (b) the wreath of Herakles was a common addition of Roman copyists (as Lattimore observes, ibid., p. 20 and n. 16) and is found in other statues cited above in this note; (c) the poplar leaves but not the other wreaths or fillets of the Genzano type are explained by Lattimore; (d) the supposed Cretan steer head below the club has the high domed (hornless?) skull of a small and youthful animal; and (e) the left hand with the Apples of the Hesperides is modern (disclosed by recent cleaning, J. Frel informs me), although the restoration is perhaps correct, to judge from other Roman copies of Herakles, where this and other of the attributes are commonly found.

I do not see in the rigidly squared and frontal Hope figure the expressive naturalism or the innovative, unclassical, and one-sided movement that Linfert and Lattimore claim for that statue, works by Skopas, and other compositions of the Polykleitan school. If, contrary to
what they suggest, the crude Hope copy were to be imagined as drastically changed by the addition of svelte and twisting characteristics such as those in the Osterly Park and Delos versions of the subject (noted above), which differ from it in other particulars, a Skopas attribution would seem acceptable. See further my reservations about the accuracy of the Hope *Herakles* copy in the Addendum to the first edition, p. 35 (an Antonine pastiche?); see also Stuart, *Skopas*, p. 91, on shortcomings in its quality and possible Severe style ancestry.


Not much has been made of the striking similarities between the *Apollo Patroos* and the Palatine *Apollo* of Skopas, apparently also from Attica (cf. Arias, *Skopas*, pp. 10ff., figs. 1f.; Picard, *Sculpture antique*, III, 639ff., figs. 273f.). Their relationship is difficult to assess. Stewart (*Skopas*, pp. 94, 141) recently noted confusion of the two works in copies cited by Arias; he suggests that Euphranor’s work was later, on the basis of minutiae of costume in copies that show considerable variation; he dates the Palatine *Apollo* about 360 and finds its composition similar to but perhaps stiffer than that of the Lansdowne *Herakles*.

In comments equally applicable to problems concerning the Lansdowne *Herakles*, Thompson (pp. 37, 40, fig. 3), justly observes (a) that the Vatican copy of the *Apollo Patroos* head may be correct in its general configuration but its flat and insipid rendering surely differs as much from the original as does the drapery and (b) that the dating and interrelation of variants is “made difficult, perhaps impossible” by dependence upon heavily contaminated copies and by religious conservatisms in the statue type. He notes that the Sorrento *Apollo* figure (Fig. 98), presumably a copy of Skopas’s *Apollo* once on the Palatine, is more static than the *Apollo Patroos*, but he does not date it (p. 39). With serious reservations, he conjectures that the *Apollo Patroos* was made in the middle to the third quarter of the fourth century—on the basis of comparisons with drapery in other Greek original sculptures, finds about the Agora temple, and the recorded activities of Euphranor (pp. 41-45).


59. The place of the *Weary Herakles* in the work of Lysippos is discussed in detail by Johnson (*Lysippos*, pp. 190ff., 196f.), who compiled a list of copies (44 figures and 5 heads); for a more recent list, see C. C. Vermeule, “The Weary Herakles of Lysippos,” *AJA*, 79 (1975) 323-332. Unlike the *Herakles* of Skopas, the *Herakles* of Lysippos appears on various extant coins of Sikyon; see, e.g., E. T. Newell and S. P. Noe, *The Alexander Coinage of Sicyon*, New York, 1950, p. 28, pl. 18:27.2 (a fine late-fourth-century reproduction). The colossal bronze
original, like many famous statues, was translated by copists into different attitudes, materials, and sizes in ancient and in modern times; see, for example, the ivory and marble statuettes in the Getty Museum (no. 1.49, Figs. 107-108) and the lists by Johnson and Vermeule. To judge from the other copies, Glykon's well-known reproduction exaggerates the musculature of Lysippos' original work but is otherwise correct. For the modern history of the Glykon statue, see Howard, *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, pp. 402ff.


It is worth noting that Lysippos' hero, who partly hides and is sustained by his attributes, presents both the subtle inverse and the extension of the simple and direct composition and iconography found in the Lansdowne *Herakles* and, in a more cluttered way, in the Hope figure.

61. For the evolution of the Classical and Hellenistic standing *Herakles* as a type, see the illustrations and discussions in W. Fuchs, *Skulpturen der Griechen*, Munich, 1969, pp. 74ff. and passim, pp. 101, 562, figs. 92f., 678 (Lansdowne *Herakles*). For the 4th-c. iconography of *Herakles* in art and myth, see Roscher, *Lexikon . . . Mythologie*, I, 216ff.
PHOTOGRAPHIC CREDITS

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 71
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Archaeologikon Deltion 11, 1927-28, paratema 95
50, no. 177, fig. 9

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Others by the J. Paul Getty Museum
Lansdowne
Herakles
before
Conservation
Conservation and Reconstruction Details
The Lansdowne Herakles with all eighteenth century additions removed before further conservation
25  Buttocks, showing uncleaned (above) and cleaned marble surface

26  Back of legs and lion skin before reconstruction
27 Right flank, showing site of removed ancient strut support for right forearm

28 Back of right thigh and lion skin, showing eighteenth century preparation for marble additions
29  Left ankle from rear, showing brass support rod before additional repairs

30  Cross-section of reconstructed leg

- Pliacure shell
- Expanded polyurethane
- Brass support rod
31 Back of legs after conservation, with new support rod and plastic fill (eighteenth century additions removed)

32 Feet and ancient base disassembled for reconstruction
33 Inside of left hand before conservation, showing ancient surface, left uncleaned during eighteenth century restoration

34 Left hand after conservation
35 Left shoulder before conservation, showing damaged and trimmed surface, grain of marble exposed by weathering, and deteriorated eighteenth century club end

36 Left shoulder after conservation. See also Fig. 39
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50  Herakles (restored as a bust). Rome, Corsini Collection
52 Herakles (fragment), from Jandolo collection, formerly in the Roman art market
54  Herakles (facsimile of bronze bust in Naples, National Museum of Archaeology). Malibu, Getty Museum

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56  Herakles (herm). *Vatican Museum*

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58  Herakles (herm). Rome, Palazzo Conservatori
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61 Herakles (detail). Florence, Uffizi Museum
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63  Lansdowne Herakles. Right profile before 1976 reconstruction
64 Skopas' workshop, Herakles (fragment), from the Temple of Athena Alea. Tegea Museum

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95  Herakles, relief on para-stos from Athens
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108 Weary Herakles, sixteenth century Paduan statuette after Lysippos. Getty Museum