

THE  
LANSDOWNE  
HERAKLES

Seymour Howard

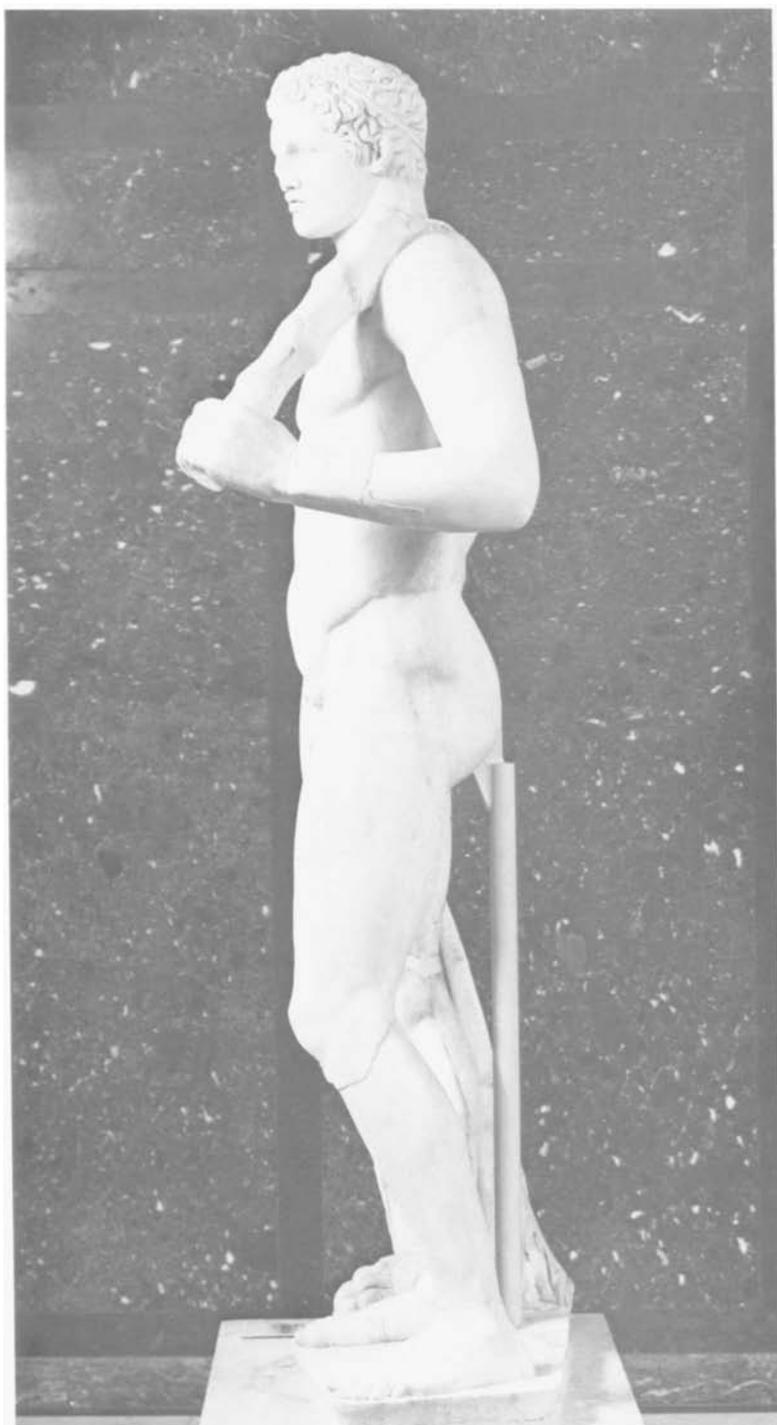
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LANSDOWNE  
HERAKLES



**1-4** *The Lansdowne Herakles as reconstructed in 1976; height, 193.5 cm. (76 3/16 in.) (70.AA.109)*







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The J. Paul Getty Museum

Seymour Howard

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LANSDOWNE  
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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. Jifi 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 tixotropic 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.<sup>1</sup> 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*.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

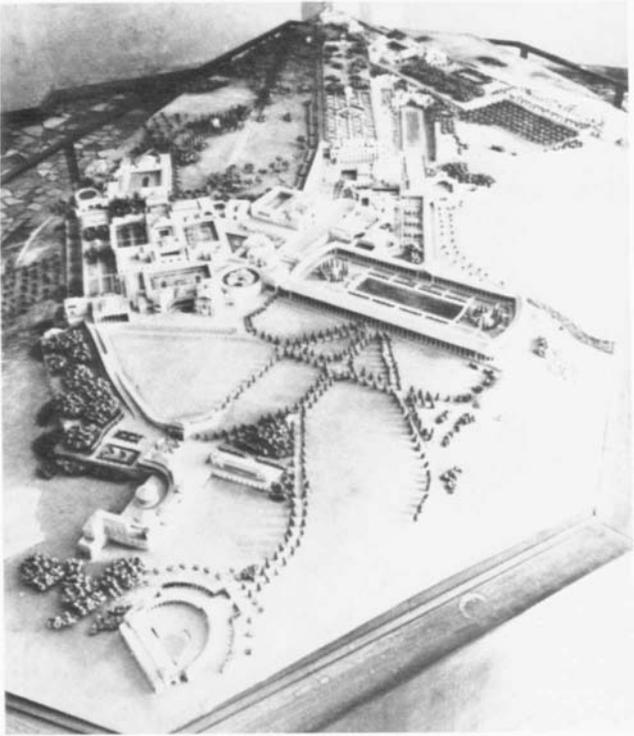
THE NEW CLASSICISM: Count Fede, Thomas Jenkins, Charles Townley, and Lord Lansdowne

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



**8** *John Zoffany, Charles Townley and his Collection, intaglio print by Worthington (Townley is seated, right; his Diskobolos, lower left)*

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.<sup>2</sup>

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



9 Anton Mengs-Maron, Thomas Jenkins.  
Rome, Academy of St. Luke

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).<sup>3</sup>

**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.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup>

—

Park Str. Westr/3d April 92

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

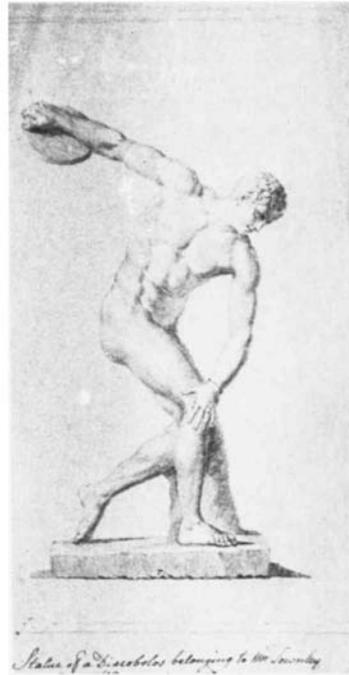
Rome April the 30—1792

My Lord

The Honor of Your Lordps. Commands for the statues of the *Hercules* &



**10** Thomas Jenkins(?), Statue of Hercules at Lord Lansdowne's House, black chalk. Townley Drawings, British Museum



**11** Thomas Jenkins(?), Statue of a Discobolos Belonging to Mr. Townley, black chalk and ink. Townley Drawings, British Museum

*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 truly 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 hmbly Servt  
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 Parliament and laid the foundation for the British Museum holdings in ancient sculpture. Townley had been a major customer of Jenkins for almost a generation.<sup>7</sup> 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).<sup>8</sup> Moreover, shortly before the excavation 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 considerable 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 eventually also acquired other drawings of the *Diskobolos* statues, with indications of the modern additions made by restorers (Fig. 12).<sup>9</sup> 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).<sup>10</sup>

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.

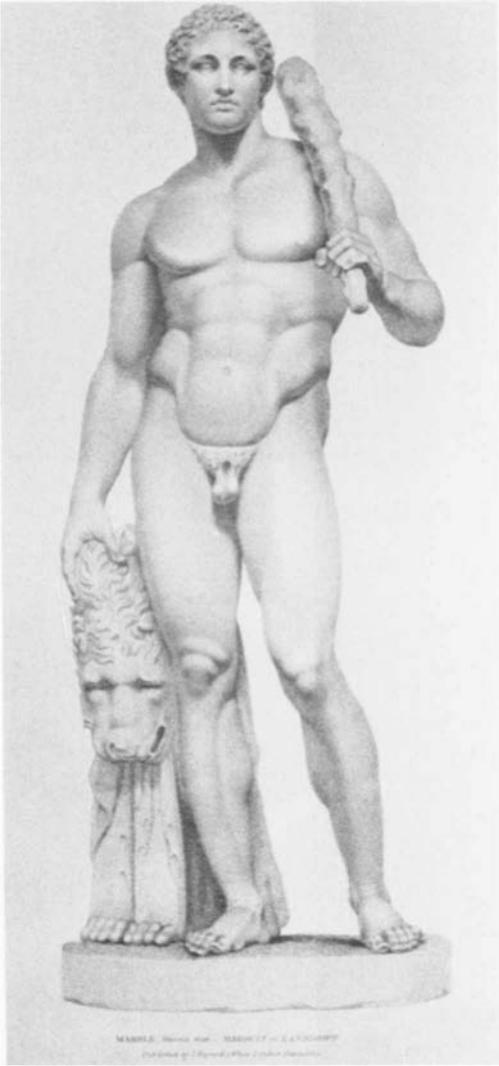
Knight wrote that Townley owned the best copy of the *Diskobolos*. Lord Lansdowne already owned a copy of the *Diskobolos* torso, fancifully restored as *Diomedes Stealing the Palladion* (Fig. 12), bought shortly after 1772 under the direction of Gavin Hamilton. This circumstance no doubt also affected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

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).<sup>12</sup>

## 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.



**13** J. Agar, Lansdowne Herakles, *print* (Specimens of Antient Sculpture in Great Britain, 1809, pl. 40)

These decorators and others encouraged restoration for the sake of neat and unified Neo-Classic ensembles.<sup>13</sup>

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."<sup>14</sup> 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 *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).<sup>15</sup>

The sculptor who restored the Lansdowne *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.<sup>16</sup>

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.<sup>17</sup>

In an account book of his collection, Townley recorded that Albacini restored his *Diskobolos*.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup>

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-



**14** Restoration Studio of Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, intaglio print (portrait of Cavaceppi lower left, pointing machines with copy of Diana center right) (*Raccolta d'antiche statue . . .*, Rome, 1769, vol. II, frontispiece)

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.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> Jenkins may have employed some special maneuver in the case of the *Herakles*.<sup>22</sup> Supposedly he once rumored that the king of England was the buyer of a choice *Venus* so that the statue might pass customs.<sup>23</sup>

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).<sup>24</sup> The house and collection were designed to be a showplace of *virtù* 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



**15** George Dance, Gallery, Lansdowne House, London (*Lansdowne Herakles and Athena bust, right; Leda and Swan and Lansdowne "Antinous," left*)

social and political leaders of England.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> At that time, he bought another well-known work from the collection at Bowood, the *Leda and Swan* after Timotheus.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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.)<sup>29</sup>

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.<sup>30</sup>

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 Polydeukes 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.<sup>31</sup>

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).<sup>32</sup> There is also a gem that is very similar to the head (Fig. 62).<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup>

#### 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 chiasmic 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.<sup>35</sup>

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).<sup>36</sup> 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 Palladion*. 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.<sup>37</sup>

## 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).<sup>38</sup> 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 Skopaic 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<sup>39</sup>

## 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).<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup>

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.<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup> 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 (Pausanias, 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.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> 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 conservatism 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.<sup>47</sup>

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.<sup>48</sup> Though the Lansdowne *Herakles* is conceivably based on a metal original,<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup> 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;<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup> 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).<sup>53</sup>

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.<sup>54</sup> An original work apparently by Euphranor, a large fragment of the cult statue found near the Apollo Patroos temple in the Athenian Agora (Pausanias, 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.

34). The over-all appearance was probably similar to the Palatine *Apollo* of Skopas, from Rhamnous in Attica (cf. Fig. 98).<sup>55</sup>

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.<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup>

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.

#### HELLENISTIC 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.<sup>58</sup>

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).<sup>59</sup>

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.<sup>60</sup>

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.<sup>61</sup> 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

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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.

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

8. See n. 30, no. 5; R. P. Knight, *Specimens of Antient Sculpture, Aegyptian, Etruscan, Greek and Roman, Selected from Different Collections in Great Britain*, Society of Dilettanti, London, 1809, I, pl. 60; A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, British Museum, London, 1904, III, 93, no. 1731.

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 'Diskobolos'," *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.

10. Knight, in *Specimens of Antient Sculpture*, I, pl. 40: "J. Agar del. et sculp./marble heroic size, Marquis of Lansdowne/Published by T. Payne, London, Jan. 1, 1809."
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.

12. Knight, *Report . . . Elgin's Collection*, pp. 99, 107.

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 (Michaelis, *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 Vermeüle, *AJA*, 60, 1956, 335.

13. For introductions to the history of restoration and its flourishing in the eighteenth century, see the discussions and bibliographies of M. Cagiano de Azevedo, *Il gusto nel restauro delle opere d'arte antiche*. Rome, 1948; Ladendorf, *Antikenstudium und Antikenskulptur*, pp. 55ff., 113ff., 181; and S. Howard, in works cited elsewhere in the annotation; *idem*, "Pulling Herakles' Leg," *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, Berlin, 1968, pp. 402ff., and *idem*, "The Antiquarian Market in Rome and the Rise of Neoclassicism: A Basis for Canova's New Classics," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 151-155, 1976, 1057ff.
14. See Dallaway, in Nichols, *Literary History*, III, 728, and Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 83, for Hamilton's and Jenkins' views on Lord Tavistock and his fellows.

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. 94f., 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. 78f. (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*.

Robert Adam dealt with dealers and restorers of Classical sculptures in Rome when accumulating art works for his projects and for his customers, including Lord Lansdowne (see, e.g., J. Fleming, *Robert Adam and His Circle*, London, 1962, pp. 296f., 376f., and *passim*; S. Howard, "The Lansdowne Athena," *Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin*, 17, 1965, 141, n. 17).

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 façades, 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.)
16. Cavaceppi's principles of restoration appear in the introductory essays to his *Raccolta d'antiche statue, busti, bassirilievi*. . . , Rome, 1768-1772, I-III. On his activities, see e.g., Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, pp. 88ff., *passim*; F. Noack, in U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig, 1907-, VI, 209; Azevedo, *Gusto nel restauro*, pp. 68ff.; S. Howard, "Boy on a Dolphin, Cavaceppi and Nollekens," *Art Bulletin*, 46, 1964, 177ff.; and *idem*, "Bartolomeo Cavaceppi and the Origins of Neo-Classic Sculpture," *Art Quarterly*, 33, 1970, 120ff.

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 Vaticanischen 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, 1062ff.
18. Ellis, *Townley Gallery*, I, 243 (restored for Jenkins); Smith, *British Museum Catalogue*, I, 90f., no. 250.
19. On Albacini as a sculptor and restorer, see, e.g., Goethe, *Werke*, XXX, 438; A. Canova, *I quaderni di viaggio (1779-1780)*, ed. E. Bassi, Venice, 1959, pp. 138f.; A. de Franciscis, "Restauro di Carlo Albacini," *Sannium*, 19, 1946, 96ff.; Howard, *J. Warburg-Courtauld Inst.*, 25, 1962, 333f., n. 30.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 333; C. Fea, in annotation to J. J. Winckelmann, *Storia delle arti*, Rome, 1783-84, III, 4; G. A. Guattani, *Monumenti antichi inediti*, Rome, 1784, p. 8, pls. 1, 9.  
The restored head of the Vatican statue, as well as its position, is based upon the Townley model; cf. Lippold, *Skulpturen des vaticanischen Museums*, III 2, 88ff., no. 618 (found in 1791 on the Fede estate, like the Townley copy).
21. A. Bertolotti, "Esportazione di oggetti di belle arti de Roma nei secoli XVI, XVII, e XVIII," *Archivio storico artistico archaeologico e letterario della città e provincia di Roma*, 4, 1878, 87, "19 9bre 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, 81f., 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. 453f.).
23. Winckelmann, *Briefe*, III, 106, no. 711, 22 June 1765, to Schlabbrendorf. 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.
24. The history of the saloon and its original designs are reviewed in brief in A. T. Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam 1785-1794*, London, 1922, II, 14ff., figs. pp. 6, 15f. (Hamilton-Panini sketch). The Adam drawing is in the Soane Museum, London.
25. G. F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1854, II, 143ff., 149 (*Herakles*).
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, 286f., 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 reresstored; the modern additions are removed, and the alien head is mounted and displayed separately.
28. See S. Lattimore, "Two Statues of Herakles," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 2, 1975, 25, 26. Lattimore cites, as central to his argument, recent discussions on "inventions" by Hadrianic copyists, as well as descriptions of the Roman copyists' techniques by B. Schweitzer ("Herakleskopf der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Kopienkritisches zu Skopas," *Jahreshefte des*

*oesterreichischen archaologischen Instituts [JOAI]*, 39, 1952, 108ff.), who however accepts the usual identification of the Lansdowne *Herakles* as a replica after Skopas.

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 Skopaic (Genzano-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.

29. On the emperor, his taste, and his villa, see H. Kähler, *Hadrian und seine villa bei Tivoli*, Berlin, 1950; J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, Cambridge, 1934 (esp. pp. xiii ff. on the villa sculptures); and the historical *novella* M. Yourcenar, *Memoirs of Hadrian*, tr. G. Frick, New York, 1954.

Lists of statues found at the villa and sundry illustrations of them appear in H. Winnefeld, *Die Villa des Hadrian bei Tivoli*, Berlin, 1895 (third supplement of *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts [JdI]*), pp. 150ff (p. 162, Lansdowne *Herakles* found at Villa Fede); P. Gusman, *La villa imperiale de Tibur*, Paris, 1904; and S. Aurigemma, *Villa Adriana*, Rome, 1961.

The place of discovery of the Lansdowne *Herakles* was recorded by J. Dallaway (*Anecdotes 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 *Welckers 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, *Herculaneum 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. Brunn and F. Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur [BrBr]*, Munich, 1888-, pls. 691f., 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 Uffzi, *EA* 85-6 (Fig. 61). 2 Roman market, *EA* 2001-2002 (Jandolo head; Figs. 52-53). 3 Lateran, *EA* 2181-82.

HEADS AND HERMS WITH GARLANDS: 4 Naples, BrBr 365 (Figs. 54-55). 5 British Museum (Figs. 46-47). 6 Conservatori, Mustilli, pl. 55 (Figs. 58-59). 7 P. Corsini, Ger. Inst. neg. no. 125 (Figs. 50-51). 8 Vatican, Galleria geografica, Lippold, III 2, pl. 224, no. 64 (Figs. 56-57). 9 Brockelesby, *EA* 4862. 10 Capitolino, *EA* 429-30. 11 Capitolino, Jones, pl. 13, no. 23. 12 Copenhagen, *EA* 1167. 13 M. Torlonia, C.L. Visconti, *Les monuments . . . du Musée Torlonia*, Rome, 1884, no. 186. 14 Prado, *EA* 1619-20. 15 Dresden, *EA* 164-65. 16 Dresden, *EA* 152-53. 17 Deepdene, Michaelis, no. 16. 18 Conservatori, Jones, pl. 47, no. 7. 19 Vatican, Amelung, I, pl. 85, no. 683. 20 Venice, *EA* 2618-19. 21 Uffzi, BrBr 693.

GEM: 22 British Museum (Fig. 62).

STATUES AND TORSOS: 23 P. Doria, *EA* 2266. 24 Vatican Rotunda, W. Helbig, *Führer durch die . . . Altertümer in Rom*, Tübingen, 1963-, no. 293. 25 Parma, Reinach, 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.

257. 33 P. Borghese, *EA* 485. 34 Vatican, Amelung, II, pl. 8, no. 57. 35 Deepdene (now L.A. County Museum), Reinach, V 1, pl. 81, no. 6 (Figs. 48-49, 86-88). 36 Massimi, Matz-Duhn, no. 1002. 37 Florence, Boboli Gardens, Amphitheater.

COIN: 38 British Museum (Fig. 89).

BRONZES: 39 Copenhagen, *EA*, pls. 89-92 (Fig. 79). 40 Munich, Kleinkunst M., BrBr 691f., figs. 3-7.

D. Mustilli (*Il museo Mussolini*, Rome, 1939), in dealing with one of these works (no. 6), reduced the list to 18 closely related pieces and added 3 more heads (his nos. 5, 9, and 11); Copenhagen, *EA*, nos. 4168-69 and 4170-71; Dresden, P. Herrmann, *Verzeichnis . . . Skulpturen Sammlung*, Dresden, 1913.

P. E. Arias (*Skopas*, Rome, 1952), in a grouping which he rightly identified as loosely associated with the type, added to 32 items in Preyss' list 2 more heads and 2 more figures (pp. 104-108, nos. 27, 28, 29, 32); Vatican Magazines, G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del magazzino del Museo vaticano*, Vatican, 1937, pls. 35, 42, nos. 132, 156 (heads); Terme, G. Cultrera, *Memorie della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei [MemLinc]*, 14, 1910, 179ff., pls. 1-4; and Vienna, H. Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch, Altertum*, Munich, 1912, pl. 57 (figures).

In a confessedly conservative though still wide-ranging list, A. Linfert (*Von Polyklet zu Lysipp*, Giessen, 1966 [dissertation]) reduced the number of examples to 22 items, adding 2 more heads (pp. 39, 72ff., n. 20, items p and v); Toronto, *Art and Archaeology*, 23, 1927, 58, and Kostas Collevtion, *Ancient Art in American Private Collections*, Fogg Art Museum Catalogue, 1954-55, no. 159, pl. 43.

The first groups of attributions were justifiably criticized for their latitude, particularly by B. Ashmole ("Notes on the Sculpture of the Palazzo Conservatori," *Journal of Hellenic Studies [JHS]*, 42, 1922, 242f., and *idem* in H. S. Jones, *The Sculptures of the Palazzo Conservatori*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 90-92, n. 28) and F. P. Johnson (*Lysippos*, Durham, N. C., 1927, pp. 53ff., 208ff.); see also Mustilli, *M. Mussolini*; Arias, *Skopas*; and Linfert, *Polyklet zu Lysipp*. Because of its undecorated fillet and its eye shape, Johnson excluded the Lansdowne *Herakles* from copies of the Genzano type (*Lysippos*, p. 53). So does Linfert, whose list of close and associated works includes heads with simple fillets and different wreaths that other specialists have found to be like the Lansdowne *Herakles* in over-all effect and in minutiae (cf., e. g., Figs. 50-57, 60-62, and *Polyklet zu Lysipp*, pp. 73ff., items d, o, u, et al.).

N. B. Various investigators have observed that, when grouped together, suites of these heads based on typological similarities contain examples that differ widely in appearance. The situation is probably due to a melding of related prototypes as well as to copyists' variations.

In a recent monograph on the sculptor (seen by me after the arguments of this revised edition were substantially complete), A. F. Stewart identifies the Genzano herm type with the Hope statue, the Geta coin, and the Sikyon *Herakles* of Skopas (see my nn. 48-52), characterizing the original as an early unsophisticated and tentative work recalling the Severe style and carved about 370 or before, when the sculptor was about 20 to 25 years old. He lists 23 reproductions (*Skopas of Paros*, Park Ridge, N.J., 1977, pp. 91, 139f. [N. B., his no. 5, the Corsini head, is closer to the Lansdowne *Herakles* than to the Genzano herm]). Stewart further conjectures (*ibid.*, pp. 98f., 142) that the Lansdowne *Herakles* reproduces some unrecorded private commission made by Skopas in Athens during the 350's, when he probably returned from Asia Minor to supervise quarrying of Pentelic marble for sculptures of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassos. He associates 9 other reproductions with the original statue: 3 copies (supra, my nos. 1, 2, 3), 3 variants (my nos. 4, 15, and a head in Copenhagen [*EA* 4168-9 listed also by Mustilli]), and 3 replicas in other media (my no. 22; a red-figure pelike, Leningrad [see my n. 38 and Fig. 93]; and a parastas [pilaster relief with the composition reversed, no drapery, thinner figure, and reportedly traces of a club on the ground], Athens, *Archaeologikon Deltion*, 11, 1927-28, paratema 50, no. 177, fig. 9 [Fig. 95]). He also mentions (p. 169 n. 36) 3 related works (2 statues, E. Paribeni, *Catalogo delle sculture di Cirene*, Rome, 1959, nos. 433 [Figs. 60, 94] and 434 [see also nos. 43, like Jandolo head (Figs. 52-53), and 45, relief, reversed], and a double herm, H. von Heintze, "Doppelherme mit Hermes und Herakles," *RM* 73-74, 1966-67, 251-255, pls. 90-91 [cf. my 1st ed., no. 2]).

31. 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 (Lansdowne *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

Statues: I. Purpose and Setting; II. Literary and Archaeological Evidence for the Display and Grouping of Greco-Roman Sculpture," *Burlington Magazine*, 110, 1968, 454ff., 607ff.; P. Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen*, Mainz, 1974, and M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, New York, 1977.

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 (*Polyklet zu Lysipp*, pp. 37, 75 nn. 21f.). Lattimore (*Getty Museum Journal*, 2, 1975, p. 24, nn. 43ff.) also notes differences between the Lansdowne *Herakles* and the Genzano 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 oversized in the Hope edition and not cauliflowered as in the Genzano 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 slyly 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. 138f., 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 *Meleager* 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 gymnasias, see A. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, tr. E. Sellers, Chicago, 1964 (reprint of 1895 ed.), pp. 234f.

36. See Linfert, *Polyklet 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*, *JOAI*, 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 Olympus*). For the well-known heroic figure in mural copies of the *Victorious Theseus 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. Schefold (*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 parastos 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.
43. P. Wolters, "Mitteilungen aus dem British Museum, Praxitelische Kopfe," *Jdl*, 1, 1886, 54-56; S. Reinach, "Courrier de l'art antique," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, ser. 2, vol. 35, 1887, 334.
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-, 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.)

47. 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. 691f., p. 1; Lippold, *Griechische Plastik*, p. 251; O. Brendel, in *EA*, nos. 4168f.; Vermeule and Neuerberg, *Catalogue . . . Getty Museum*, pp. 7f.; and Lattimore, *Getty Museum Journal*, 2, 1975, 17ff.

48. 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.
49. 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.
50. P. Gardner and F. Imhoof-Blumer, "Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias," *JHS*, 6, 1885, 79, pl. 53, no. 11; Lattimore, p. 17, n. 3.
51. S. Reinach, "Un Herakles du IV siècle," *Revue Archéologique*, 6, 1917, 460f.; *idem*, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, Paris, 1924, V, 81, no. 6; A. H. Smith, *An Ancient Greek Statue of Herakles from the Arundel and Hope Collections*, London, 1928; Linfert, *Polyklet zu Lysipp*, pp. 33ff.; Lattimore, *Getty Museum Journal*, 2, 1975, 20f.; and Stewart, *Skopas*, pp. 90f., 139f., pl. 31. The statue (Los Angeles County Art Museum inventory no. 50.33.22.) was not recorded by Michaelis; cf. Vermeule, *AJA*, 59, 1955, 134.

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.

52. Cf., e.g., Preyss, in BrBr, text to pl. 691, and Reinach, *Rev. arch.*, 6, 1917, 461; Johnson, *Lysippos*, p. 207; and E. Curtius, *Die klassische Kunst Griechenlands*, Potsdam, 1938, p. 382, for references to more than one prototype. For similarly disposed figures and attributes, cf., e.g., the statues listed in n. 30 and in Reinach, *Répertoire statuaire*, I, 466ff., II, 211ff., V, 81ff.; the well-known Palazzo Conservatori bronze colossos; the Terme Albertina fragment and related works excavated at Cyrene (end of n. 30); and the statues at Osterly Park (Vermeule, *AJA*, 59, 1955, 144, fig. 26) and Delos (J. Marcadé, *Au Musée de Délos*, Paris, 1969, pl. 63, A 721).

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 Skopaic 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.

53. Translation from J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Greece*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965, pp. 172f., 139.
54. J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, tr. W. Barth, Athens, 1903, I, 18ff., figs. 2-14, pls. 1-2; Johnson, *Lysippos*, pp. 44f. (bibl.), pl. 5; M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, rev. ed., New York, 1961, p. 12; R. Lullies, *Greek Sculpture*, tr. M. Bullock, rev. ed., New York, 1960, pp. 92f., figs. 218-20.
55. For the *Apollo Patroos*, see K. Kourouniotes, excavation notice in *Archaiologikon Deltion*, 2, 1916, 80, fig.; H. A. Thompson, "The Apollo Patroos of Euphranor," *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, 1953-54 [1961;3], 30-44; G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of Greek Art*, 6th ed., London, 1969, pp. 156, 418, fig. 210.

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. 101f., 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 conservatism 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. 41-43).

56. On his works and career, cf., e.g., Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 348ff.; M. Bieber, "Der Paris des Euphranor und Junglingskopfe aus dem IV. Jahrhundert v. Chr.," *JdI*, 25, 1910, 159-173, 168 (*Herakles* types); Johnson, *Lysippos*, pp. 40ff., 48, 256 (influences on Skopas and Lysippos), 207 (*Herakles* figures); Picard, *Sculpture antique*, III, 853-78; and G. Bendinelli and F. Floriana Squarciapino, in *Enc. Arte Antica*, III, 531ff. (ancient and modern bibl.).
57. The lost herm and inscription were recorded in seventeenth-century Rome. See E. Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, Stuttgart, 1965 (reprint of Leipzig, 1885 ed.), p. 332, no. 501; further, Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 357 and 353, n. 5 (*Euphranor's* sculptures as models for statues of Antinous).
58. The *Agias*, from the Daochos monument at Delphi, is usually identified as a school copy after a conservative work of Lysippos (see, e.g., Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, p. 33, n. 8, and for illustrations and a recent ascription to Lysippos, T. Dohrn, "Die Marmor-Standbilder des Daochos-Weiageschenks in Delphi," *Antike Plastik*, Berlin, 1968, VIII, 33ff., 51, pls. 10-37). For a comparison of the similarities and differences in style between the *Agias* and the Lansdowne *Herakles*, see Johnson, *Lysippos*, pp. 210f. For the style and career of Lysippos generally, see the review by E. Sjöquist in *Enc. World Art*, IX, 358ff. (bibl.).
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 Sikyon*, 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. I.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.

60. For the Skopaic *Meleager*, see Johnson, *Lysippos*, pp. 240ff.; H. Sichtermann, "Das Motiv des Meleager," *RM*, 69, 1962, 43-51; 70, 1963, 174-77; S. Lattimore, "Meleager; New Replica, Old Problems." *Skrifter svenska Inst., Opuscula Romana*, 33, 1973, 157-166.

On Polykleitos' *Herakles*, see again n. 35.

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.

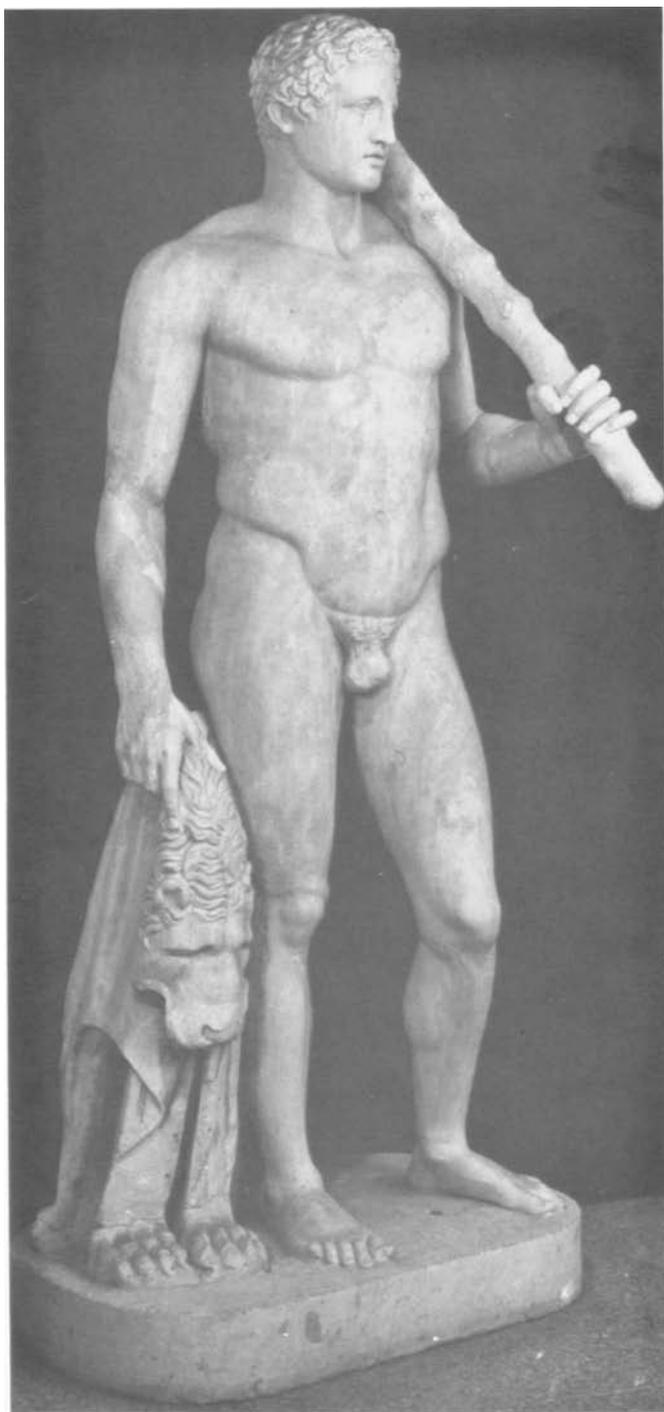
61. For the evolution of the Classical and Hellenistic standing *Herakles* as a type, see the illustrations and discussions in W. Fuchs, *Skulpturen der Griechen*, Munich, 1969, pp. 74ff. and passim, pp. 101, 562, figs. 92f., 678 (Lansdowne *Herakles*). For the 4th-c. iconography of *Herakles* in art and myth, see Roscher, *Lexikon . . . Mythologie*, I, 2164ff.

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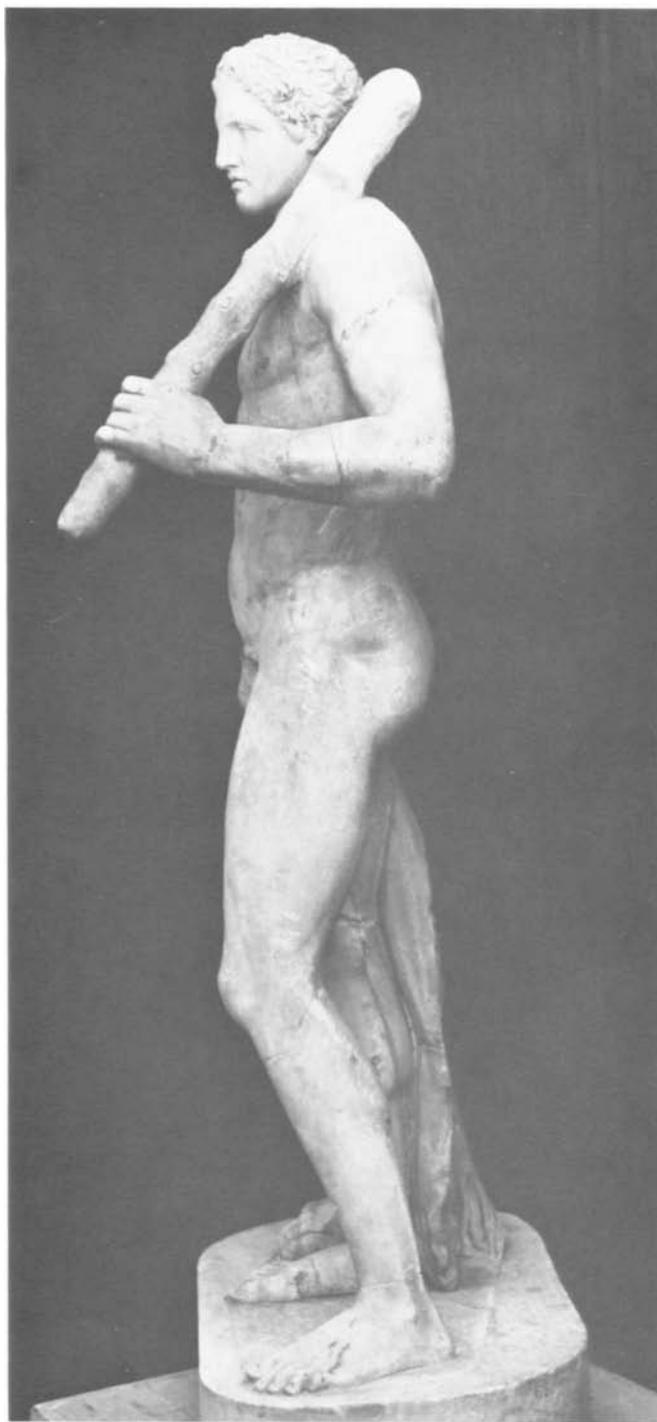
Lansdowne  
Herakles  
before  
Conservation

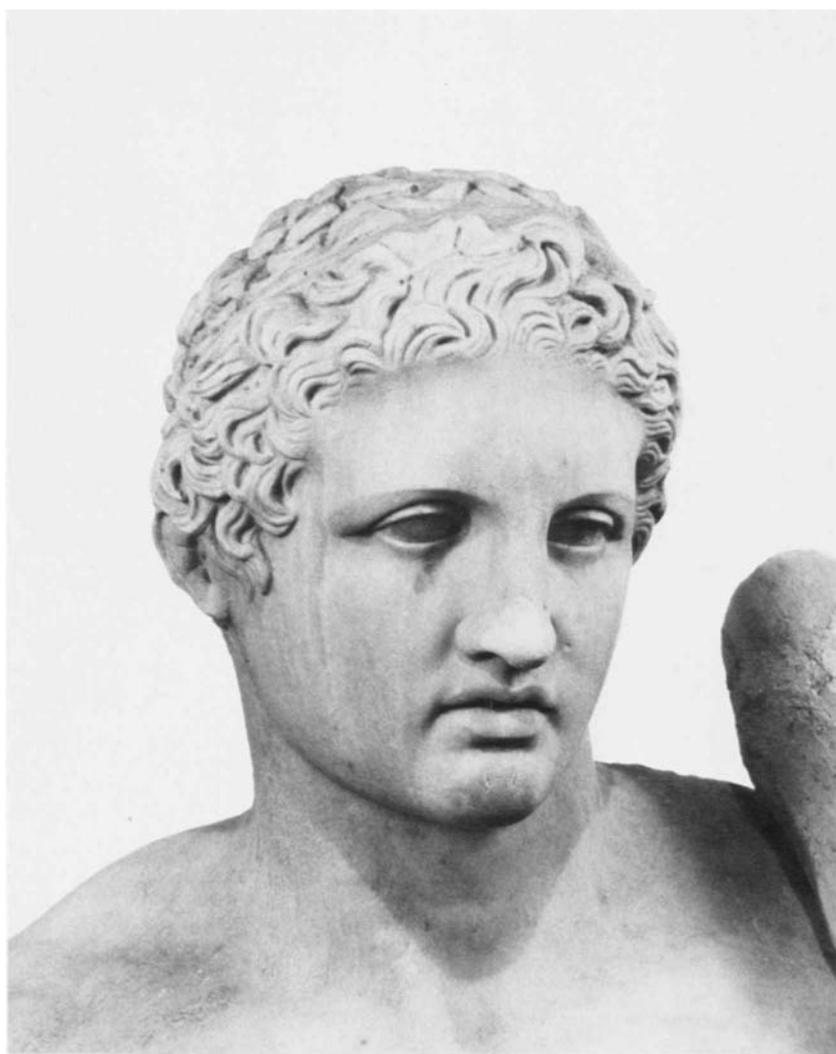




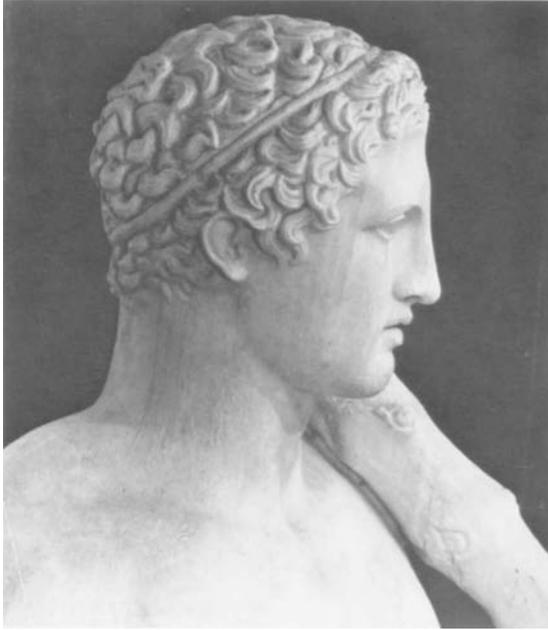




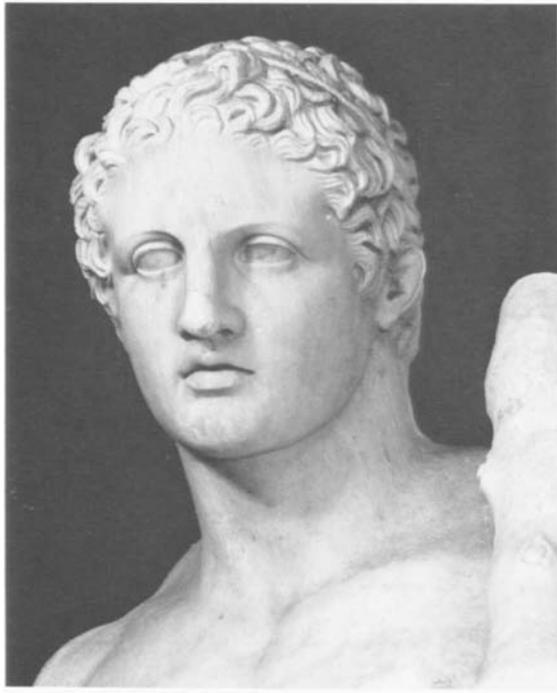




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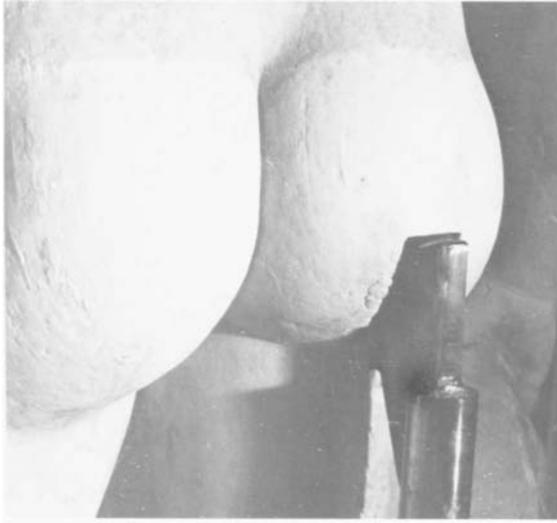
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# Conservation and Reconstruction Details



**24** *The Lansdowne Herakles with all eighteenth century additions removed before further conservation*



**25** *Buttocks, showing uncleaned (above) and cleaned marble surface*



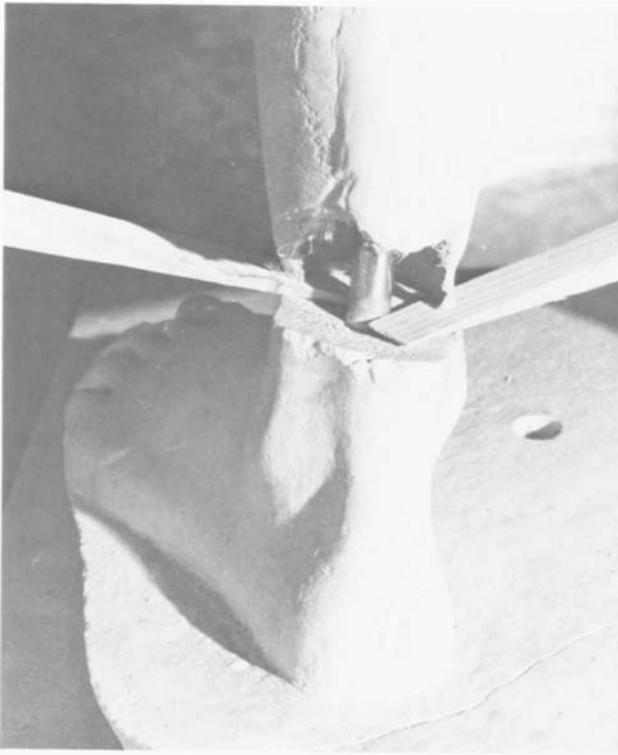
**26** *Back of legs and lion skin before reconstruction*



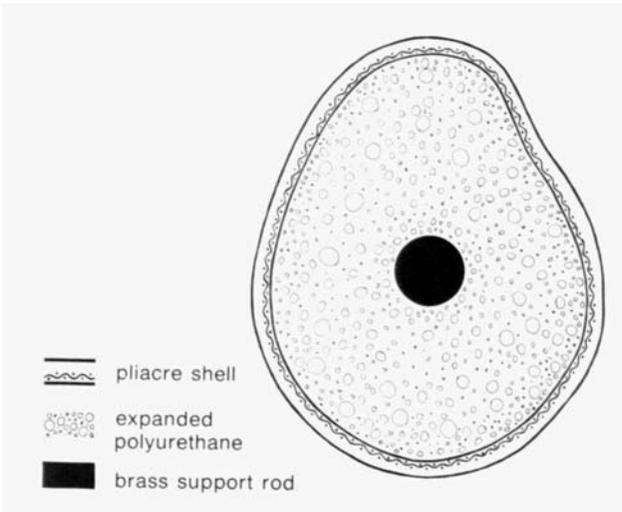
**27** *Right flank, showing site of removed ancient strut support for right forearm*



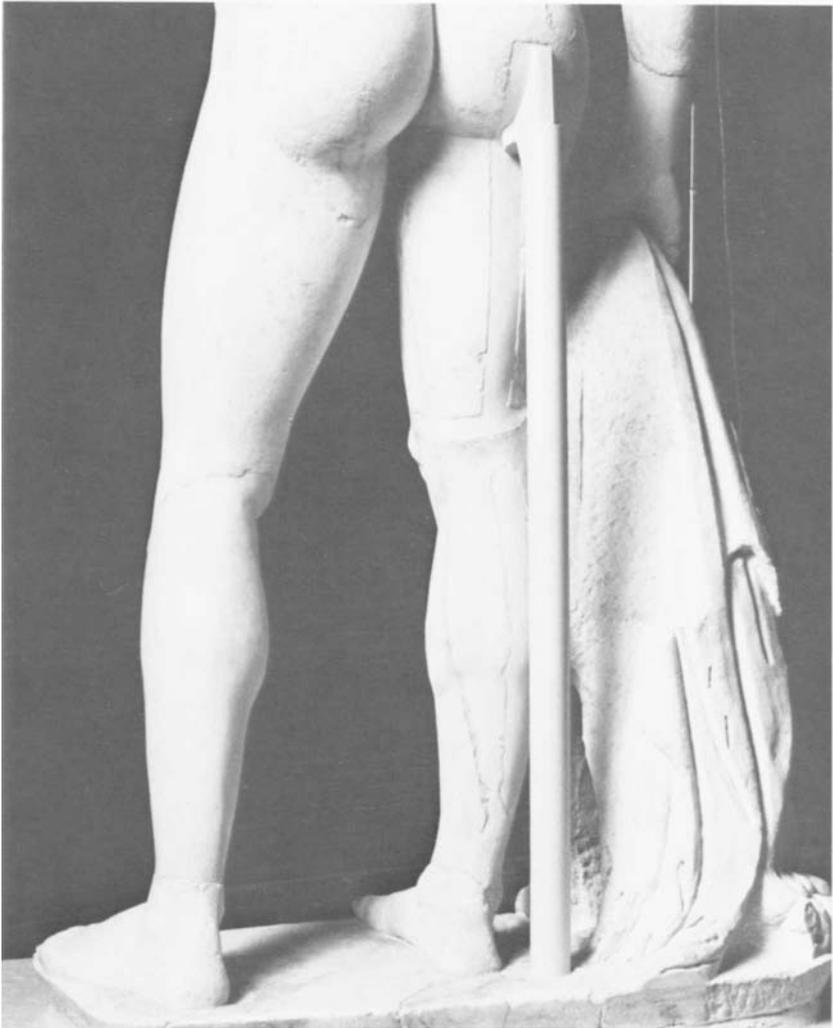
**28** *Back of right thigh and lion skin, showing eighteenth century preparation for marble additions*



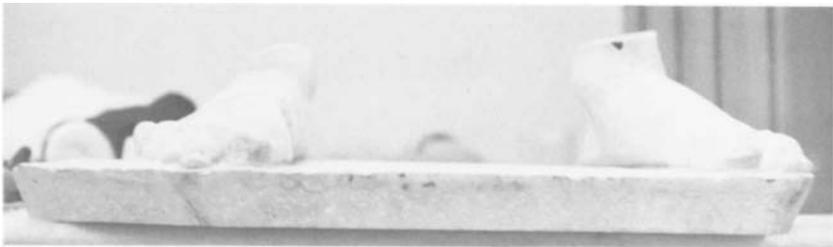
**29** *Left ankle from rear, showing brass support rod before additional repairs*



**30** *Cross-section of reconstructed leg*



**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 uncleared during eighteenth century restoration*



**34** *Left hand after conservation*

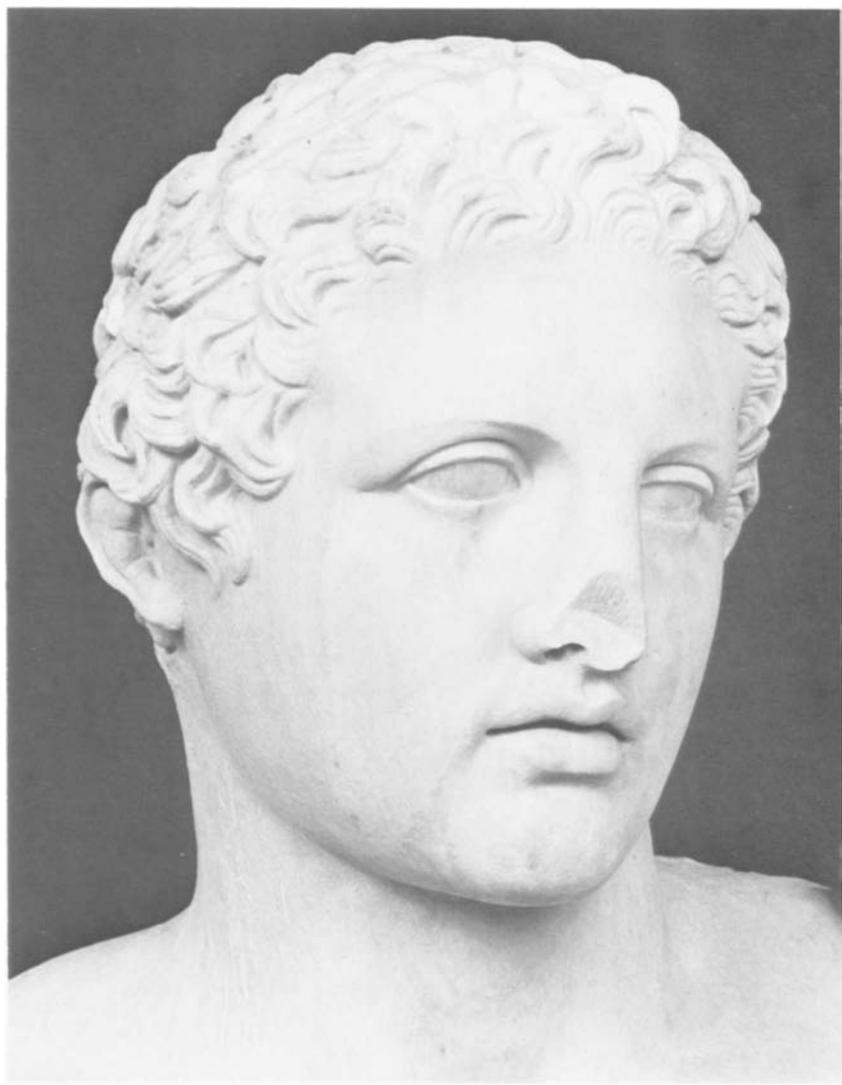


**35** *Left shoulder before conservation, showing damaged and trimmed surface, grain of marble exposed by weathering, and deteriorated eighteenth century club end*

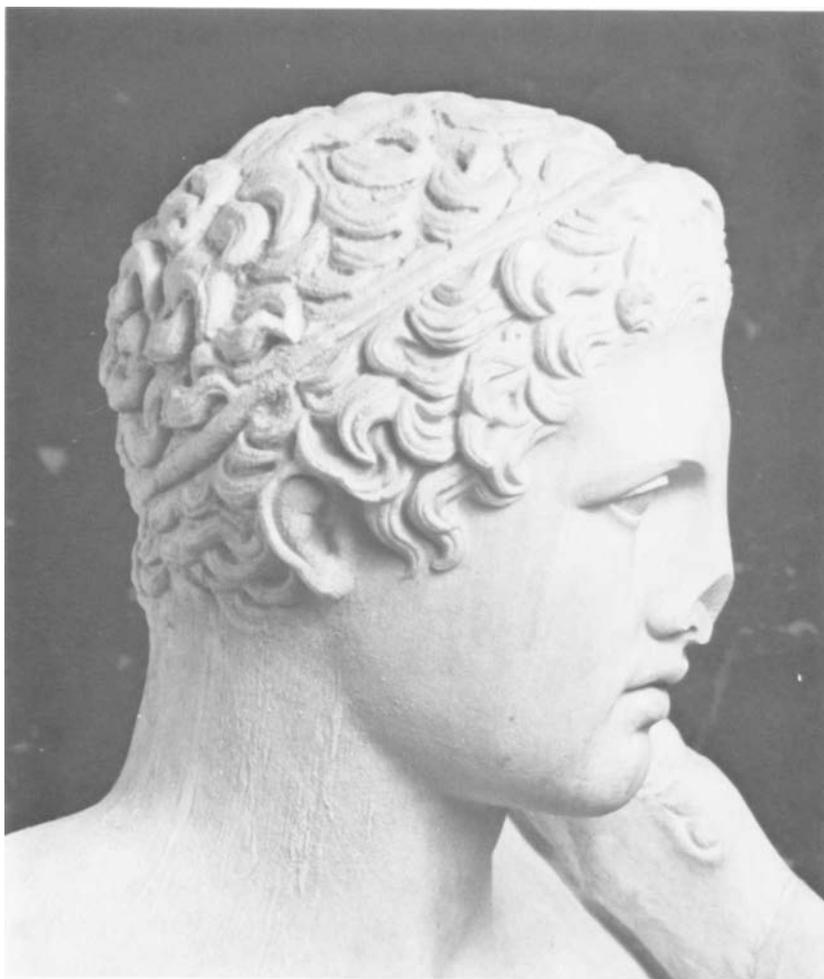


**36** *Left shoulder after conservation. See also Fig. 39*

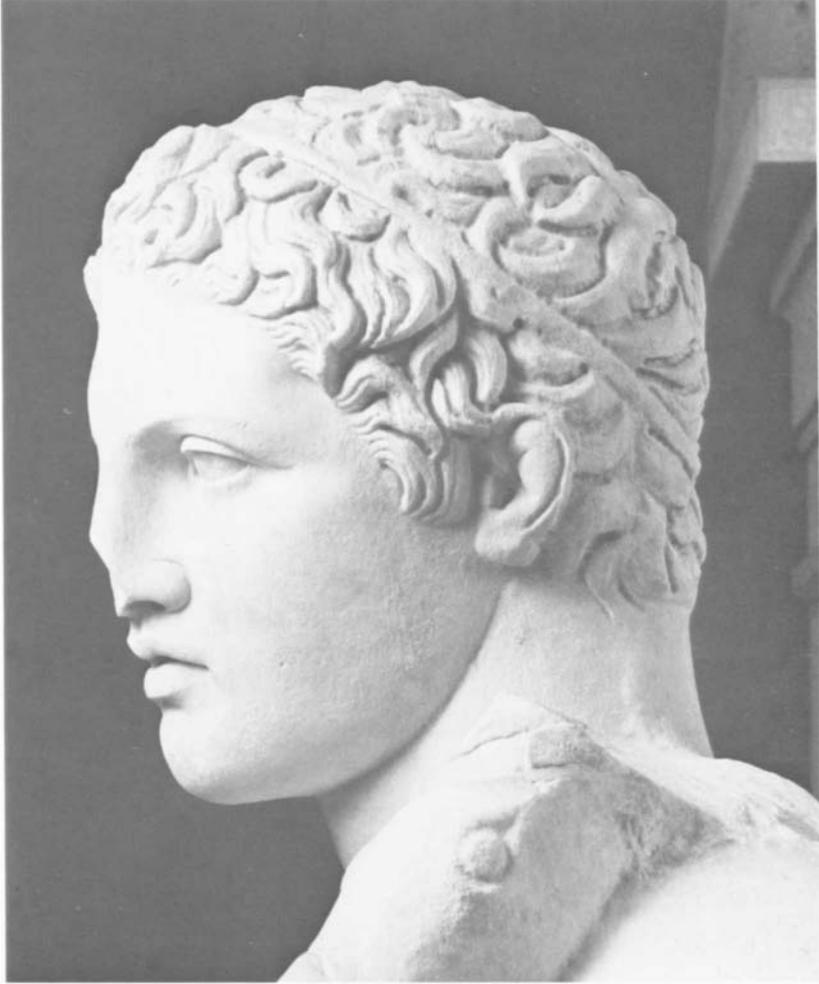
Details of  
Lansdowne  
Herakles  
Head  
after  
Conservation



37



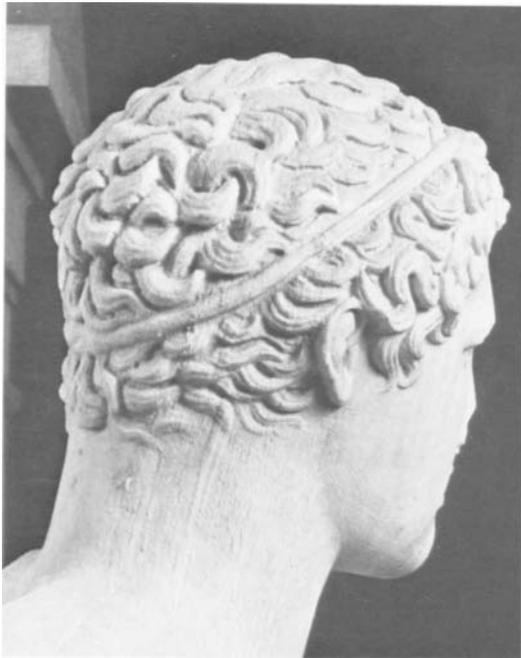
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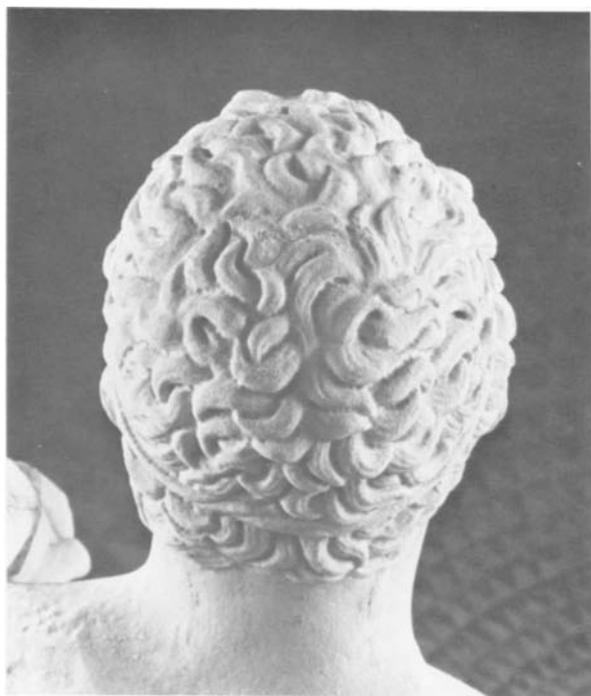
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40



41



42



43

69

The  
Doryphoros  
and  
Heads  
Close to the  
Lansdowne  
Herakles



**44** Polykleitos, Doryphoros (herm). Naples, National Museum of Archaeology





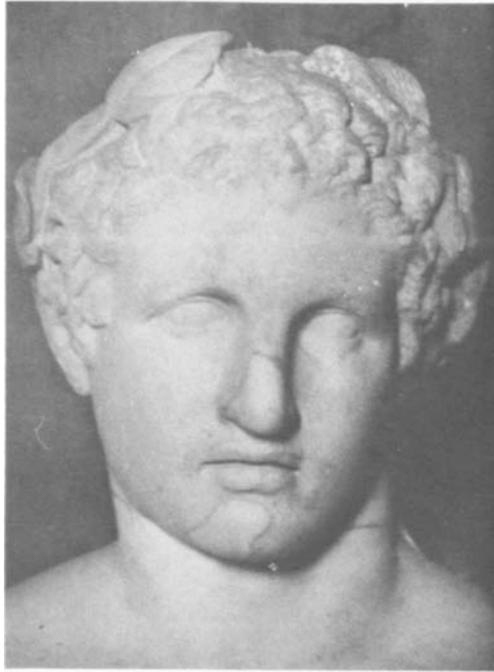
**46** Skopas(?), Herakles (*herm*), from Genzano. Townley Collection, British Museum





**48** Skopas(?), Herakles, from Hope Collection (see Figs. 86-88). Los Angeles County Museum of Art

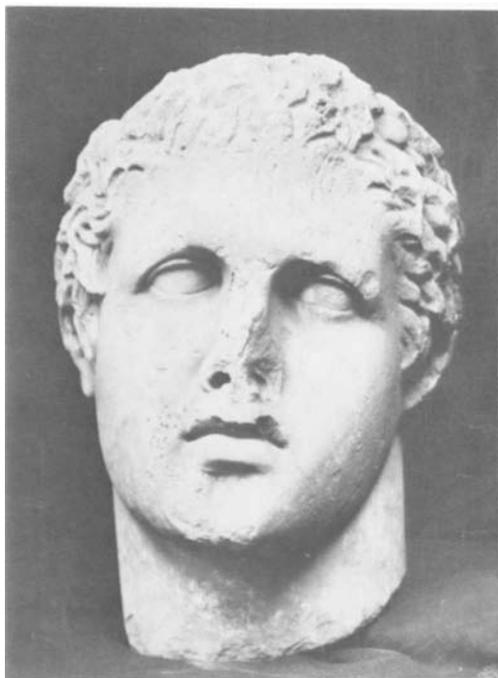




**50** Herakles (*restored as a bust*). Rome, Corsini Collection



**51**



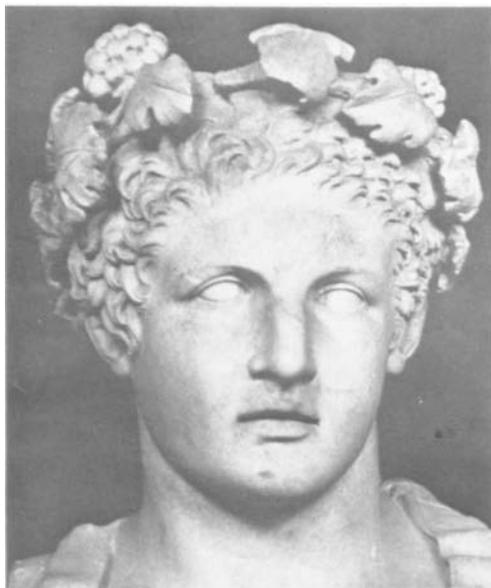
**52** Herakles (fragment), from Jandolo collection, formerly in the Roman art market





**54** Herakles (*facsimile of bronze bust in Naples, National Museum of Archaeology*). Malibu, Getty Museum





56 Herakles (*herm*). *Vatican Museum*



57



**58** Herakles (*herm*). Rome,  
*Palazzo Conservatori*



**59**



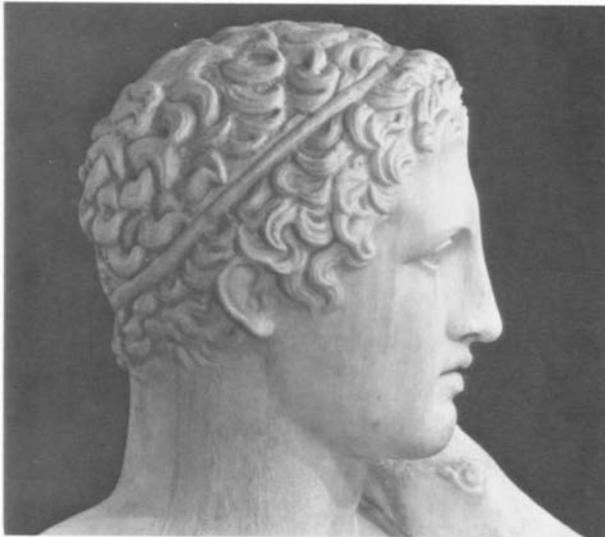
**60** Herakles (*detail of statue, see Fig. 94*). Cyrene Museum



**61** Herakles (*detail*). Florence, Uffizi Museum



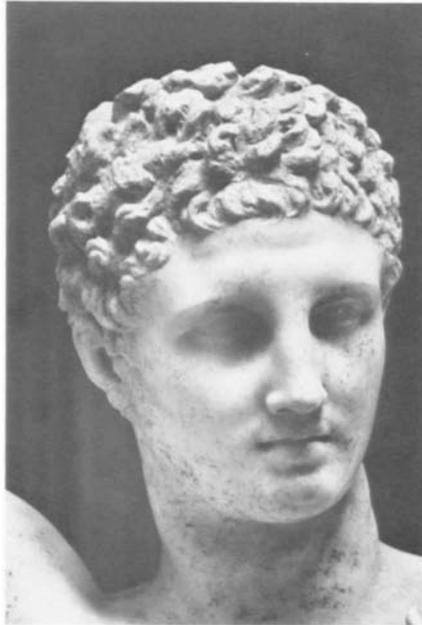
**62** *Gnaios, Herakles, gem. British Museum*



**63** *Lansdowne Herakles. Right profile before 1976 reconstruction*



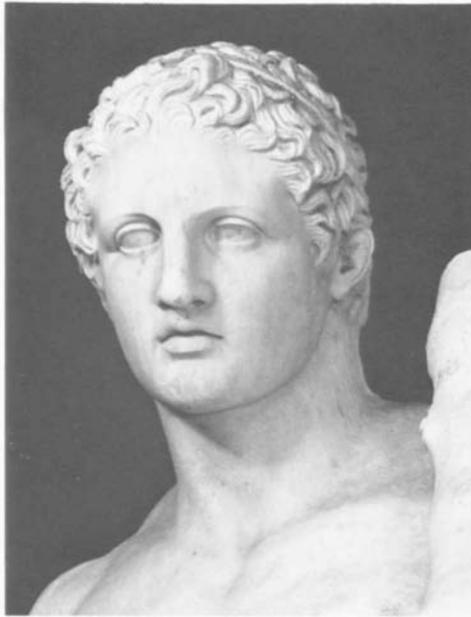
**64** Skopas' workshop, Herakles (fragment), from the Temple of Athena Alea. Tegea Museum



**65** Praxiteles, Hermes and Dionysos (detail, Hermes' head). Olympia Museum



**66** *Euphranor(?)*, *Paris(?)* (detail, see Fig. 96), from *Antikythera shipwreck*. Athens, National Museum



**67** *Lansdowne Herakles*

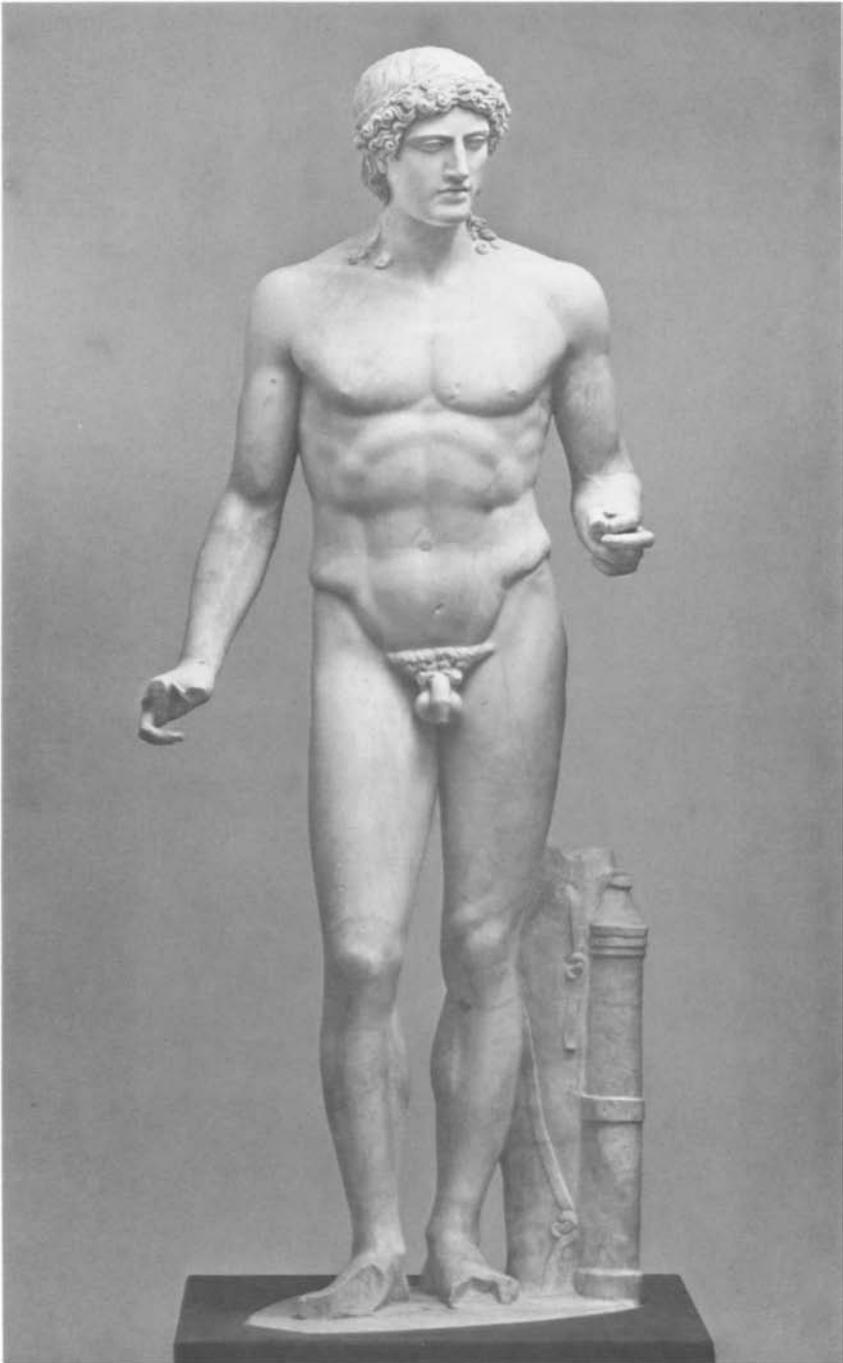


**68** Demeter(?) from Knidos (detail). British Museum



**69** Euphranor, Apollo Patroos (detail, see also Fig. 97). Vatican Museum

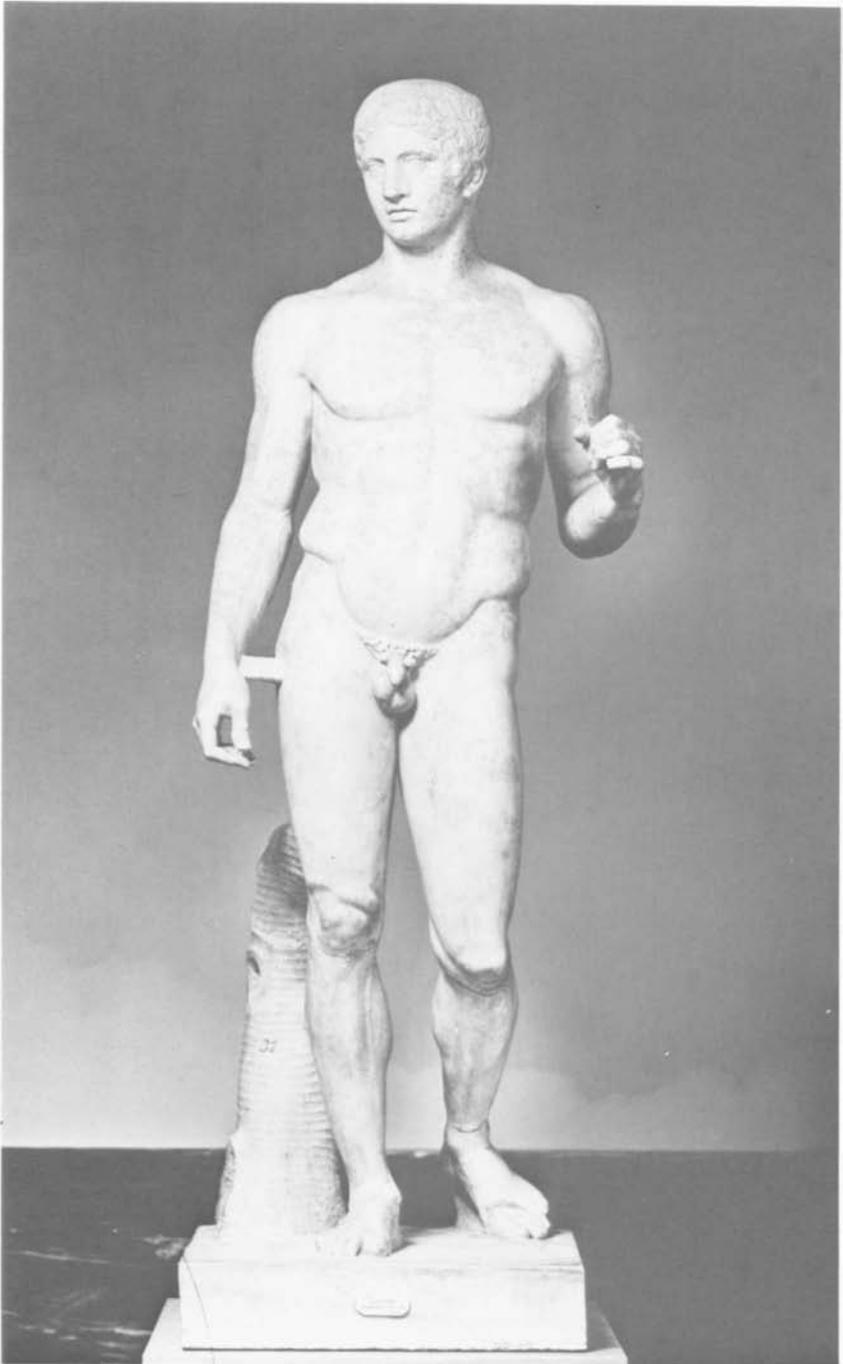
Precursors  
for  
the  
Pose



**70** *Phidias(?)*, Apollo. Kassel, State Art Museum



**71** *Myron(?)*, Herakles. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts



**72** *Polykleitos, Doryphoros (The Canon). Naples, National Museum of Archaeology*



**73** *Portrait of Hadrian on copy of Alkamenes(?), Ares, from Albani collection. Rome, Capitoline Museum*



**74** *Naukides(?), Diskobolos. Vatican Museum*

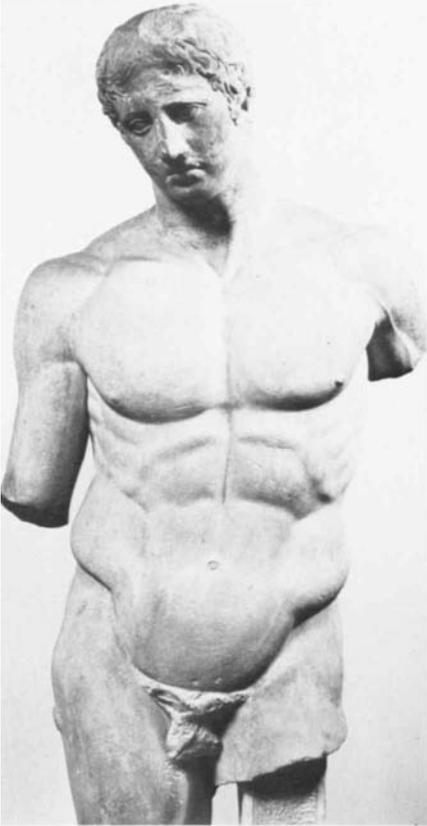


**75** *School of Polykleitos, Youth (Idolino). Florence, National Museum of Archaeology*



**76** *School of Polykleitos, Hero with Chlamys. British Museum*

Polykleitos  
and the  
Fourth  
Century  
Young  
Herakles



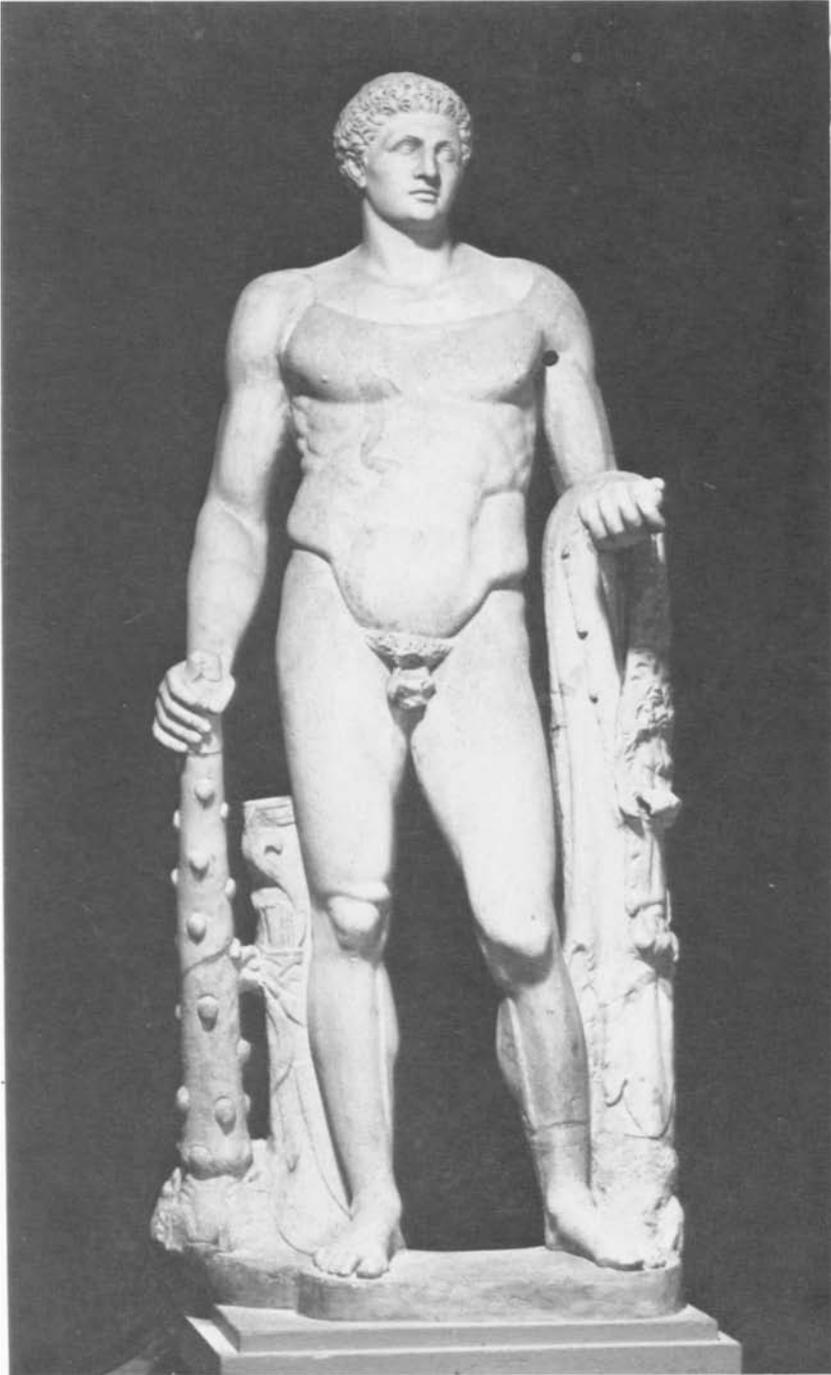
**77** Polykleitos, Herakles. Rome, National Museum (Terme)



**78** Polykleitos, Herakles. Rome, Barraco Collection



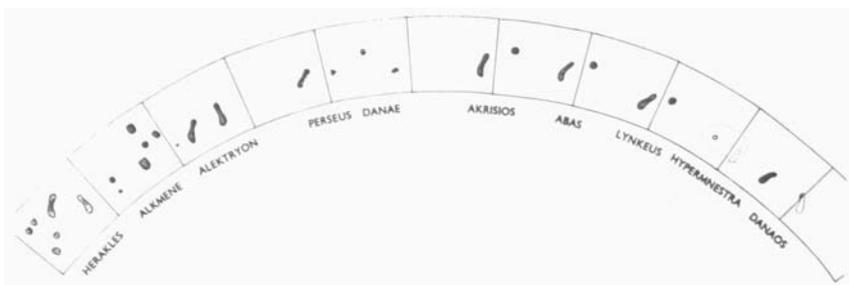
**79** Herakles, *bronze statuette*. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek



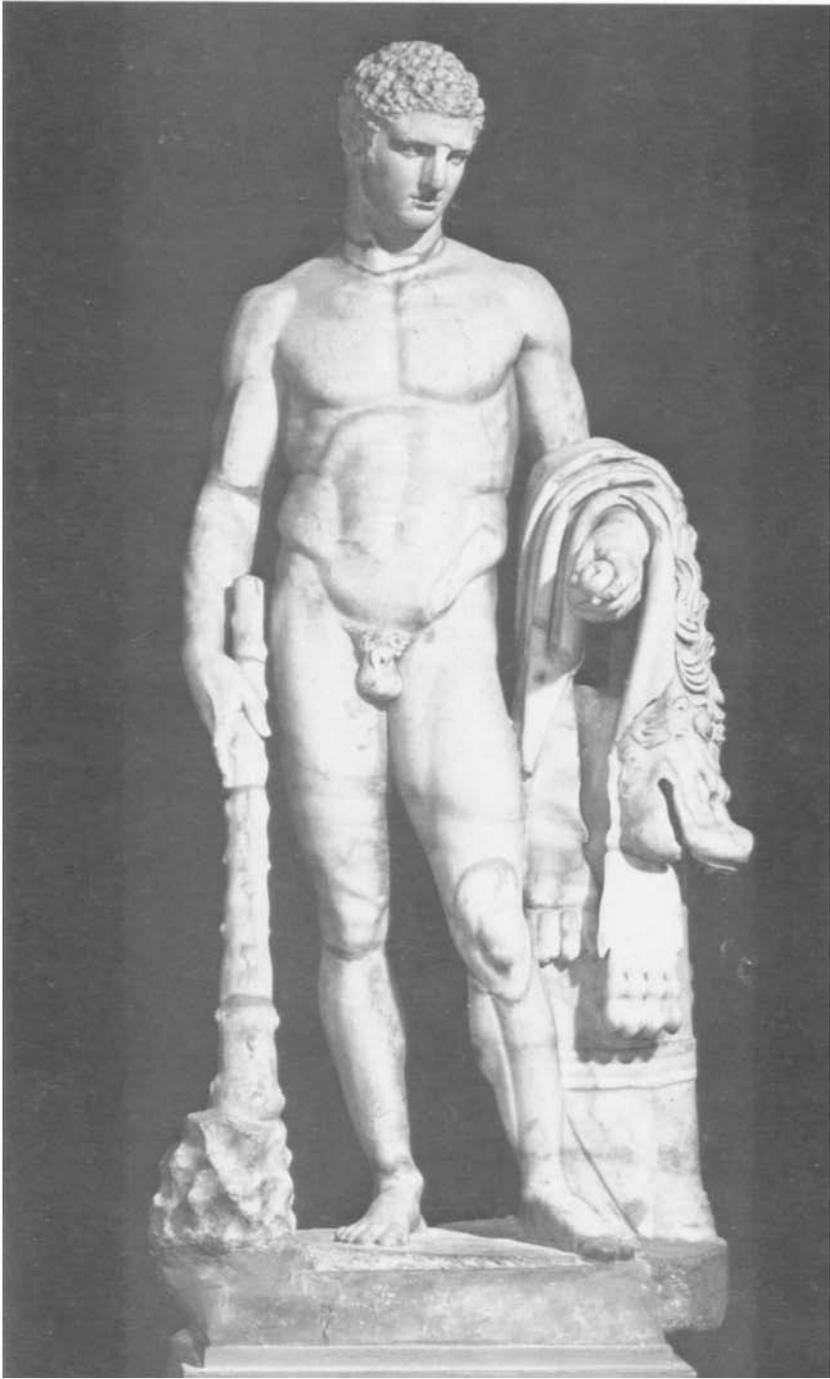
80 Herakles. Florence, Pitti Palace



**81** After Antiphanes of Argos(?), Herakles, gem. Collection General Ramsay



**82** Argive Monument, Delphi. Diagram of statue bases. Far left, Herakles by Antiphanes of Argos



83 Herakles. *Florence, Pitti Palace*



**84** Herakles. *Osterley Park*



**85** Herakles. *Florence, Guicciardini Collection*



86



87

*Skopas(?)*, Herakles, from *Hope* collection. Los Angeles County Museum of Art





**89** Herakles, coin of Geta (reverse) from Sikyon. British Museum

Lansdowne  
Herakles  
and Related  
Compositions



90 *Lansdowne Herakles*



**91** *Near Talos Painter, Herakles in Olympos (detail). Rome, Villa Giulia*



**92** *After Euphranor(?), Theseus Triumphant, wall painting from Herculaneum. Naples, National Museum of Archaeology*



93 Herakles, detail of a pelike from Kerch. Leningrad, Hermitage



**94** Herakles. *Cyrene Museum*

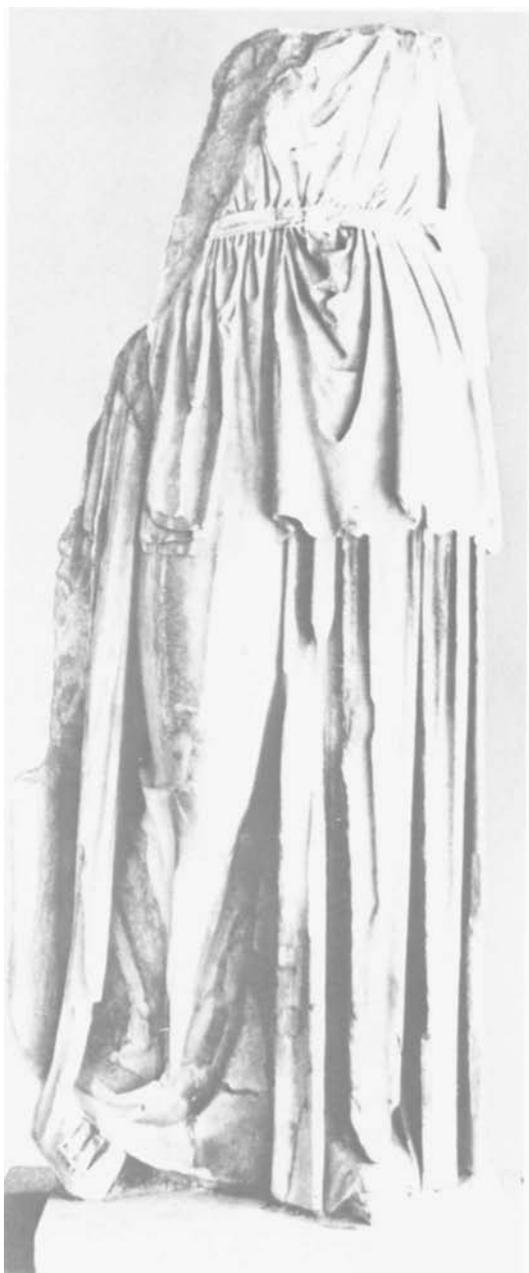


**95** Herakles, *relief on parasitos from Athens*

Contemporary  
Ideal  
Figures



**96** *Euphranor(?)*, Paris(?), from the Antikythera shipwreck. Athens, National Archaeological Museum



**97** *Euphranor, Apollo Patroos. Athens, Agora Museum*



98 Skopas, Palatine Apollo, copy in relief. Sorrento Museum



**99** Grave Monument of a Youth, *from near the Ilissos River. Athens, National Archaeological Museum*



100



101

*Lysippos(?), Agias, from Daochos Monument. Delphi Museum*



**102** *Praxiteles(?) replica of the Hermes of Andros (so-called Antinous or Meleager), from Lansdowne collection. W.S. Ludington Collection*



**103** Skopaic, Meleager, reconstruction with cast of a head in the Villa Medici, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek



**104** Lysippos(?), Young Athlete. Berlin, Pergamon Museum

Legacy  
of  
Herakles



**105** *Lysippos, Resting Herakles. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*



**106** *Lysippos, Weary Herakles, copy by the Athenian Glykon. Naples, National Museum of Archaeology*



**107** *Lysippos, Weary Herakles, Graeco-Roman, ivory statuette. Getty Museum*



**108** *Weary Herakles, sixteenth century Paduan statuette after Lysippos. Getty Museum*

