

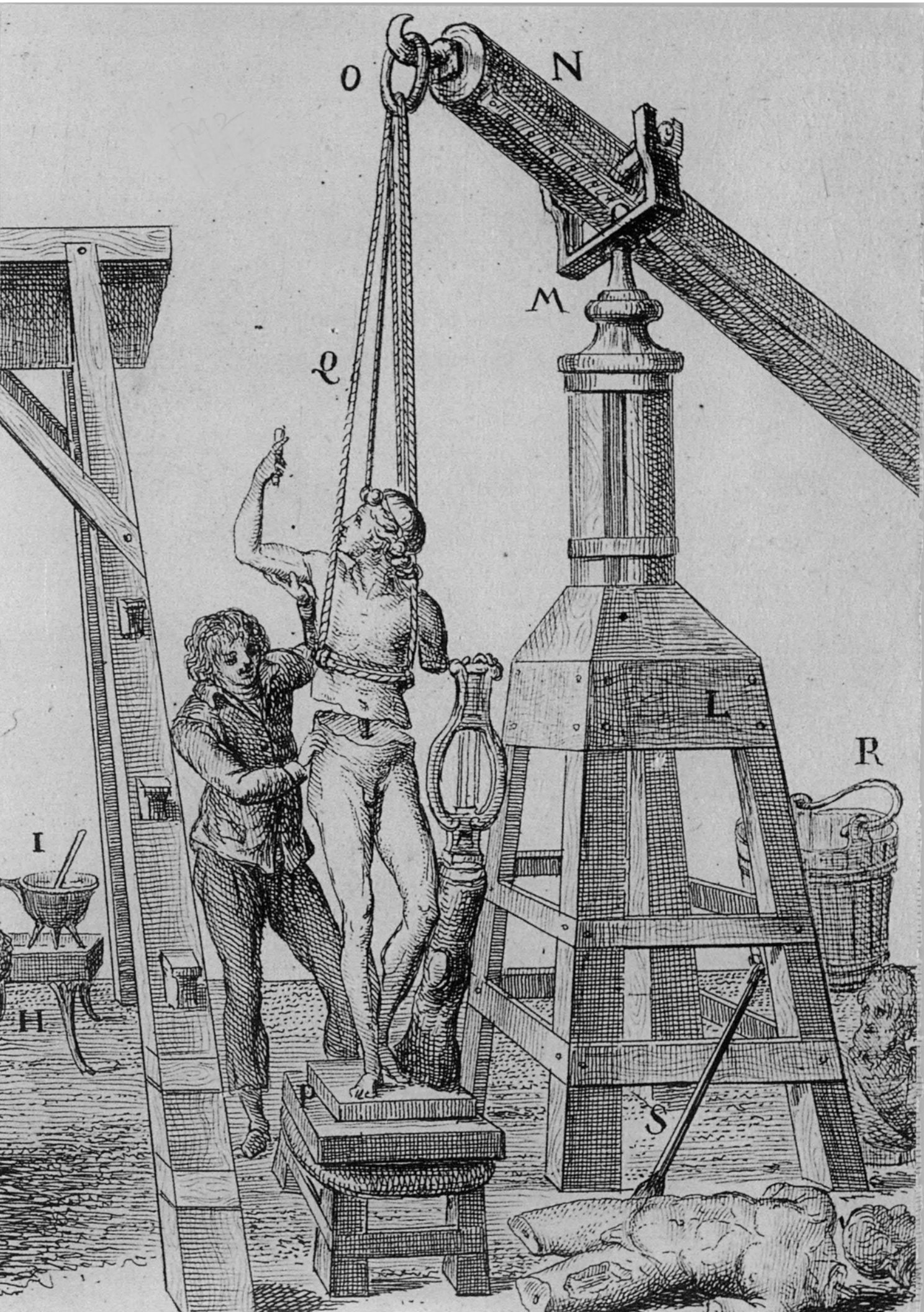
PAPERS FROM A SYMPOSIUM

October 2001

History of Restoration of Ancient Stone Sculptures



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History of Restoration of Ancient Stone Sculptures

Papers Delivered

at a Symposium Organized

by the Departments of Antiquities

and Antiquities Conservation

of the J. Paul Getty Museum

and Held at the Museum

25–27 October 2001

Edited by Janet Burnett Grossman, Jerry Podany, and Marion True

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Carradori, *Elementary Instructions for Students of Sculpture*, trans. M. K. Auvinen
(Los Angeles, 2002), pl. 17.

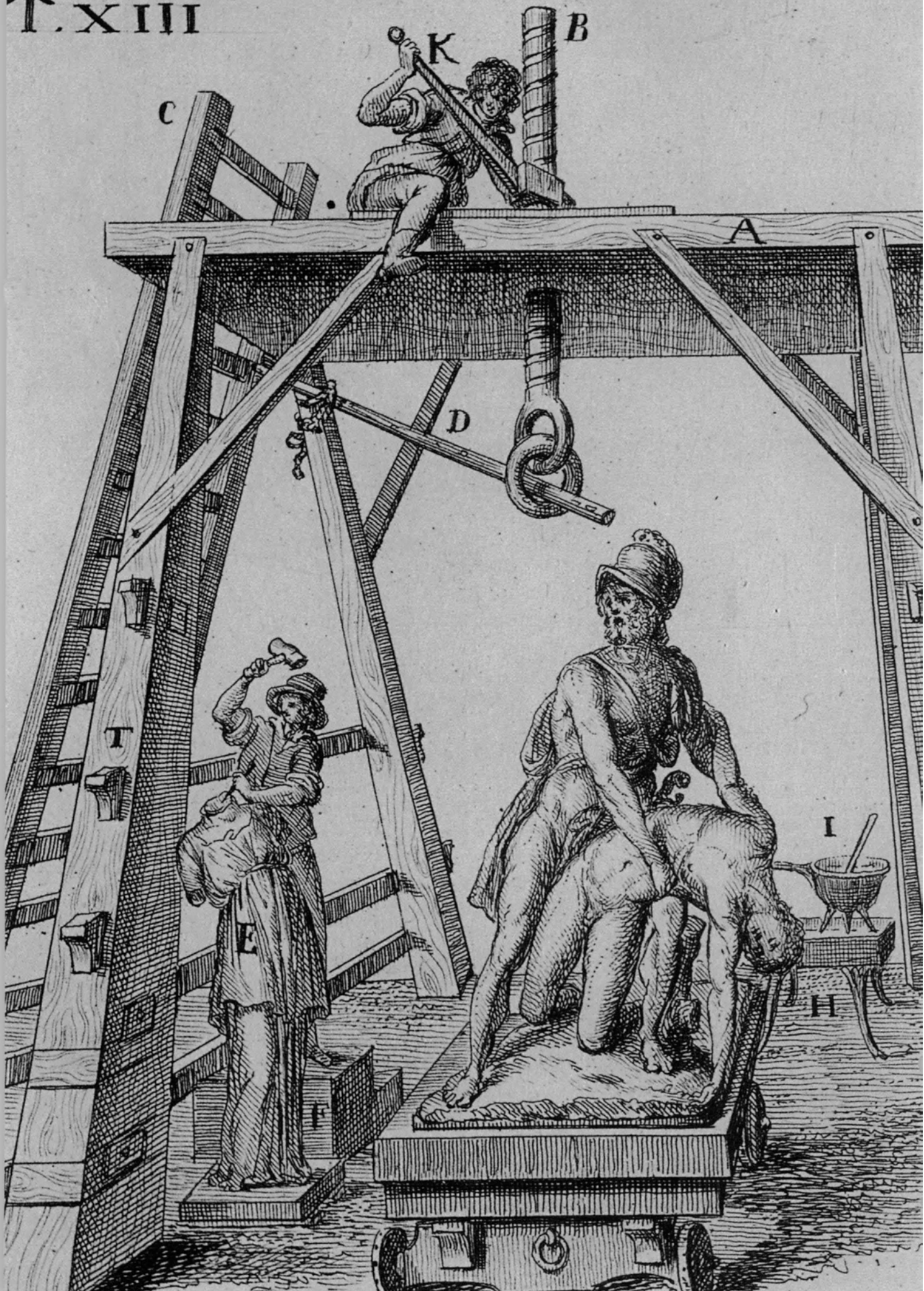
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Preface

The idea for a conference on re-restoration of ancient sculptures arose in discussions with Brigitte Bourgeois and Mette Moltesen during a meeting in Thessalonike in the spring of 2000. Talking together about current projects in our various collections, we realized that conservators and curators internationally were facing many of the same problems when they undertook new treatments of previously restored pieces. More and more, museums were finding it necessary to re-serve old collection pieces as the early adhesives failed and old fills and joins deteriorated and became unsightly with age. The lack of systematic documentation for reference of the various techniques used by the earlier restorers had become clear to all, and conservators had established neither guidelines nor any universally accepted approaches to the preservation of the telling details and information they uncovered in the process of disassembling the work of previous generations of artisans. At the same time as the conservators were coping with the problems presented by the actual objects, scholars sifting through archival materials in libraries across Europe and the United States were discovering previously unmined sources of information about the early sculptors, restorers, and stonemasons who actually did the work. Shopping lists of materials, records of payment, and letters of instruction provided many new insights into the practical aspects of the business of restoration.

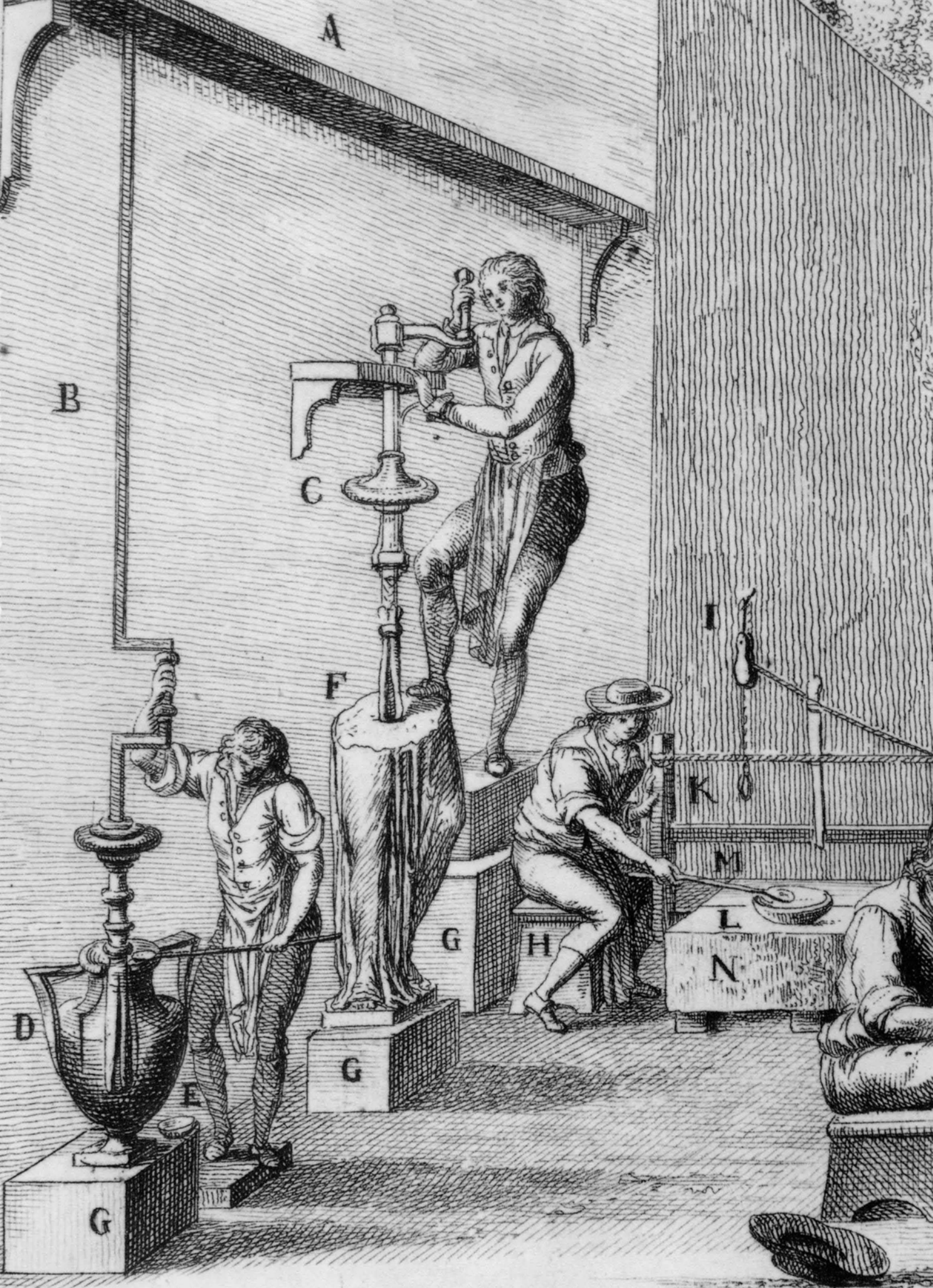
What, if anything, could be said about the differences between restorations done in Italy—the source of most of the objects in question—and those undertaken in France, Germany, or England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? Were there specific techniques or materials that could serve as identifying fingerprints for known restorers? How could this information be preserved in spite of the need for the sculptures to be re-served? We could not hope to answer these questions conclusively, but we thought it was time to convene a group of our colleagues to share what information and experience had been gathered in recent research and conservation efforts.

The development and coordination of all aspects of this conference were primarily the work of Dr. Janet Grossman, Associate

Curator of Antiquities at the Getty Museum and a specialist in ancient sculpture. She has also overseen the delivery of manuscripts and the editing of this volume. Ann Patnaude assisted with the preparation of all invitations, contracts, and events around the meetings. The tragic events of 11 September 2001, which occurred shortly after the letters of invitation had been mailed, unfortunately impacted the program, but those who attended were committed to gaining the maximum benefit from the exchange of information. Discussions were so productive that a variety of publications have been planned as a result of the meeting, including focused studies of various restorers and a more detailed analysis of their working techniques. A second conference, held in March 2003, followed up on more detailed questions relating to the specific problems conservators and curators face in restoring sculptures with missing parts. It is our hope that the publication of these proceedings captures something of the spirit of this fruitful meeting.

Marion True

Curator of Antiquities and Assistant Director for Villa Planning
The J. Paul Getty Museum



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Changing Approaches to Conservation

Marion True

The practice of restoration is so out of fashion nowadays that we are liable to dismiss it as a harmful error of the past that has further separated us from the accurate experience of antiquities. That may be true, but it is also the case that we cannot fully understand the status of fragmentary antiquities in the Renaissance if we do not appreciate how changeable these material conditions were. . . . Changes wrought upon sculptural objects represent attempts to fix their shape and identity.

—LEONARD BARKAN, *Unearthing the Past*¹

Who among us has not experienced the frustration of being misled in the accurate identification of a work of art by distorting or misunderstood restorations? Sometimes the problem is the result of repairs made or reuse practiced in antiquity. For example, the reclining female figures found in excavations of the temple of Zeus at Olympia appear at first glance to fit very well into the complex iconographic program of the west pediment. Scholars recognized some years ago, however, that three of these images and one arm of the fourth did not belong to the original composition, being different in both material and style from the rest of the sculptures.² Although definitely ancient, the pieces are made of Pentelic marble instead of the fine Parian stone used for the rest of the pedimental figures, and they differ in the style of execution of many details. They were most likely made during later restoration campaigns, the first (including so-called figure A and the arm of figure V) probably undertaken in the fourth century B.C., and the second (including figures B and U) in the first century B.C., perhaps to replace earlier versions of the same types of figures or to replace different images that may have been damaged or destroyed in an earthquake.³

The well-known portrait found at Pergamon and now in Berlin, and identified variously as Attalos I or Eumenes II, represents a different kind of ancient intervention.⁴ At first glance, its



FIG. 1
Statue of Paris, perhaps ancient, reworked in the eighteenth century (before 1763). Marble, 111.33 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 87.SA.109.

most remarkable feature appears to be the luxuriously carved hair, but a closer look reveals this to be a stone wig that was clearly created after the original portrait head was finished. Whether a modification made by the original sculptor to add a diadem to a formerly unwreathed head or an alteration made by a different artist to justify changing the identity of the person portrayed, the carefully worked hairpiece remains uniquely successful among the ancient efforts to rework a piece for a different purpose.

But while ancient repairs or examples of adaptive reuse can cause confusion, most of our problems in interpretation are the results of restorations made in much later times, many centuries if not millennia after the original work was created. The growing enthusiasm for ancient sculptures in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries in Rome especially led to the active search for surviving statues, reliefs, and inscriptions among the ruins of the ancient buildings in the city and to impromptu excavations at picturesque sites such as Tivoli⁵ and Palestrina.⁶ The tastes of the Roman nobility strongly influenced cultural life in other European capitals; France, England, and Germany in particular competed in the active market for ancient marbles. As collectors at this time, and indeed collectors of most periods until the nineteenth century, had little appreciation for fragmentary works of art, damaged pieces were more or less skillfully restored by an expanding circle of artists and stonemasons.

This work, which was often undertaken by the leading sculptors of the day such as Alessandro Algardi (1598–1654) or Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680),⁷ consisted of not only carving new limbs or heads to replace the missing features but also incorporating fragments from a variety of ancient pieces into a single statue. Misunderstood poses or mistakenly identified attributes in the fragmentary works often led restorers to complete these images, whether in relief or in the round, with fanciful details of their own invention. A good example of this process is the draped body of a figure carved in porphyry now in the collection of the Naples Archaeological Museum.⁸ It was persuasively completed as an image of a seated Apollo, first in the sixteenth century with bronze extremities, and later in the eighteenth century with marble extremities. Given its current presentation, it is difficult to conceive that, prior to restoration, it was identified as the image of a woman—perhaps Cleopatra or a Muse—and that it influenced a number of Renaissance artists in the creation of their images of the Madonna (including the sculptor Jacopo Sansovino's Madonna in San Agostino in Rome).⁹ Clearly, its gender as well as its interpretation should remain somewhat more open to discussion than these restorations would suggest.



FIGS. 2A–C
Joseph Nollekens, 1737–1823. *a.* Athena, 1775. Marble, H 144 cm. *b.* Aphrodite, 1773. Marble, H 124 cm. *c.* Hera, 1776. Marble, H 139.1 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 87.SA.107, 87.SA.106, 87.SA.108.

The image of the so-called Hera Borghese is a case of more understandable misidentification that can now be corrected. Although the drapery slipping seductively off the left shoulder is uncharacteristic for the queen of the Olympians, this statue was long identified as Hera because her right arm was raised aloft, presumably to hold the upright scepter that has been restored in many of the versions. The recent discovery of a small votive relief from Aegina showing an image of the goddess with original attributes preserved proved clearly that she was not Hera, however, but Aphrodite, goddess of love, for whom the bared shoulder was characteristic.¹⁰ The goddess here is in the guise of Aphrodite Euploia, or Aphrodite of the Fair Voyage, holding not a scepter but an oar upright in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left. The identification of the figure type with Aphrodite on this relief is further supported by two colossal images in the Archaeological Museum in Naples, both of which originally carried cornucopiae.¹¹

Sometimes the later fanciful identification of a much restored figure could have a significant impact beyond its own appreciation. A small statue identified as the Trojan prince Paris, now in the Getty's collection (fig. 1), was so famous and so much admired in the eighteenth century¹² that the British sculptor Joseph Nollekens was inspired to create images of the three



FIG. 3

The Hope Athena. Second century A.D. copy after a Greek original of the late fifth century B.C., with restorations. Marble, H 218.4 cm. L.A. County Museum of Art, William Randolph Hearst Collection. 50.18.12. Photo © 2003 Museum Associates, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

FIG. 4

The Hope Hygieia. Second century A.D. copy after a Greek original of about 360 B.C., with restorations. Marble, H 190.5 cm. L.A. County Museum of Art, William Randolph Hearst Collection. 50.33.23. Photo © 2003 Museum Associates, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Olympian goddesses, Athena, Aphrodite, and Hera (figs. 2A–C), to make a group composition, the Judgment of Paris.¹³ To illustrate how tastes change, the statues by Nollekens are now exhibited as masterworks in the museum's European sculpture collection while the Paris remains in storage. Historical records do not seem to survive to document the origins of the piece, which has never been disassembled. Thus it is difficult, if not impossible, to tell whether there was an ancient original at the core of this restored image and, if so, to trace what is actually left of it in this pastiche. And needless to say, its identification as Paris is uncertain at best.

In some instances with restored sculptures, the original identification may have been correct, but the image was incorrectly restored in some important aspects that misled many scholars and weakened the original composition. The brooding face of Demosthenes, for example, had long been recognized on the basis of portrait busts inscribed with his name,¹⁴ but the few known full-length images of the great orator were all missing the hands. When restored, they were shown holding a book roll, a suitable attribute that was well documented among portraits of intellectuals.¹⁵ That recreation of the hands persisted until a pair of marble clasped hands that had come to light in Rome was correctly associated with the image.¹⁶ The quiet modesty of this gesture, more in harmony



FIG. 5
Statue of Athena, figure 3, after de-restoration
in the 1970s.

FIG. 6
Statue of Hygieia, figure 4, after de-restoration
in the 1970s.

with the resolute expression of the face and the posture of the body, also agrees with Plutarch's description (*Demosth.* 31, 1–2) of the bronze portrait with “interlaced” hands.¹⁷ The correction of the better known sculptural representations allows us now to appreciate fully the originality of Polyektes' celebrated portrait statue.

Fortunately, the tendency to replace the missing parts of ancient sculptures began to wane over the course of the nineteenth century.¹⁸ Perhaps the refusal of an artist of such reputation as Antonio Canova to touch the fragmentary pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon in the early years of the century slowly influenced what had been fairly universal practice.¹⁹ Given the problems of interpretation and even appreciation caused by later restorations, it was natural that some aggressive corrective measures would ultimately begin—but it took a long time. Finally, in the 1960s and 1970s, curators and conservators began to remove the distorting and often disfiguring additions. These restorations had frequently aged badly, their means of attachment, whether adhesive or metal, discolored with time and sometimes corroding from within and damaging the exterior surfaces.

Probably the most influential de-restoration project of all was that of the figures from the pediments of the temple of Athena Aphaia on the island of Aegina undertaken by the staff of the

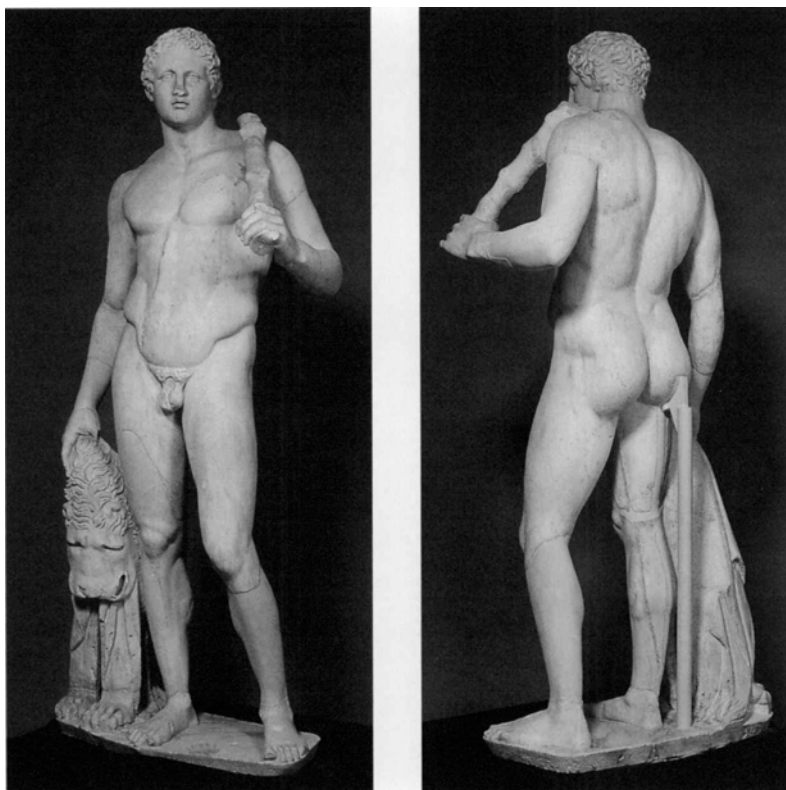


FIG. 7
The Lansdowne Herakles, front, as
de-restored and re-restored in the 1970s.
Roman, c. A.D. 125. Marble, H 193.5 cm.
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum
70.AA.109.

FIG. 8
Rear of The Lansdowne Herakles, figure 7.

Glyptothek in Munich from 1962 to 1965. As the excavator at Aegina, Glyptothek director Dieter Ohly had conservators strip the pieces of the nineteenth-century restorations done by Bertel Thorvaldsen in order to better understand the disposition of the figures in the original pedimental compositions.²⁰ The cosmetic work of Thorvaldsen was much criticized from the moment the Glyptothek opened; Adolf Furtwängler, director of the Glyptothek at the beginning of the twentieth century, had already condemned it as the “darkest hour in the history of the Aegina figures.”²¹ Ohly’s groundbreaking work led to new understanding of the figures, including the identification of a third, earlier pedimental composition that Ohly suggested had never been put on the building, and a rearrangement of the existing sculptures with additional joins made to hitherto unattached fragments.

The de-restored pieces exhibited today in their stripped-down state show clearly the results of Thorvaldsen’s ruthless cutting of broken edges to make new joins. One can question the results aesthetically, but Ohly’s investigation proved to be remarkably successful in terms of the technical information that was recovered or revealed in the process. When put on view in Munich in their new arrangements, the pediments met with enthusiastic approval from the archaeological community, which applauded the purification

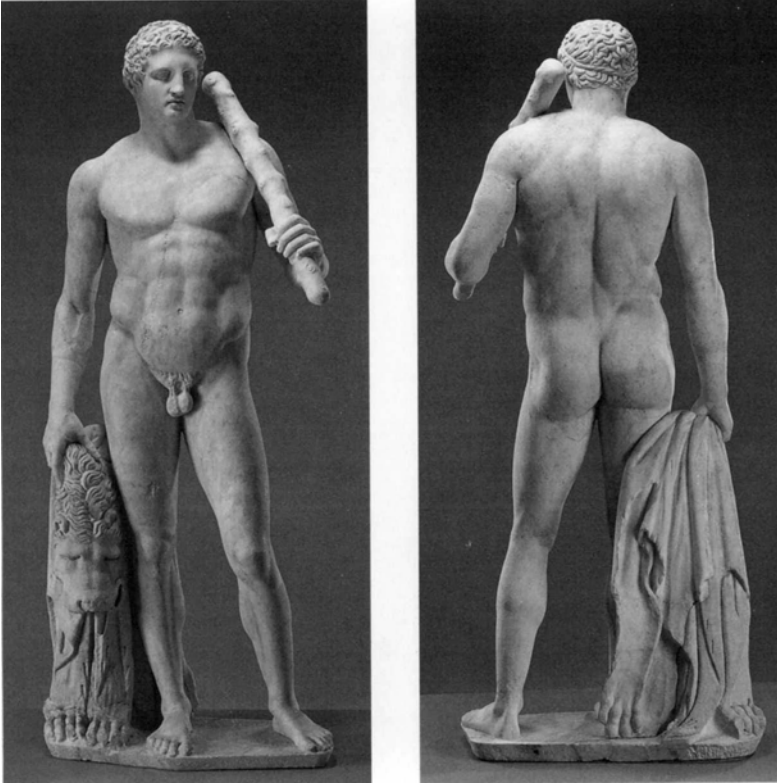


FIG. 9
Front of The Lansdowne Herakles, figure 7,
as currently displayed, with old restorations
reattached in 1996–1997.

FIG. 10
Rear of The Lansdowne Herakles, figure 9.

of the ancient remains as both appropriate and necessary to facilitate scholarly research. With this major de-restoration effort, a trend was started.

Here in Los Angeles, the first curator of the Getty Antiquities collections, Jiří Frel, and his conservator, David Rinne, were much influenced by this new current. Two large marble statues, the Athena (fig. 3) and the Hygieia (fig. 4) from the collection of Thomas Hope, had been given to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art by William Randolph Hearst in the 1950s. But as there were few other Classical works in the museum to provide an appropriate context for these pieces, they were placed on loan to the Getty Museum when it opened to the public in 1974. Shortly thereafter, Frel persuasively argued that the eighteenth-century restorations should be removed, and they were. Unfortunately, the results, which transformed the appearance of the sculptures (figs. 5–6), were far less informative than those obtained from the Aegina pieces. Few records were kept of the stages of treatment, and some pieces used for the restorations were discarded. In hindsight, we can seriously question the value of this effort, considering what was lost in the process, in terms of both aesthetic appeal and restoration history.

Even more problematic was the de-restoration of the Lansdowne Leda in the Getty's own collection,²² which left the ancient

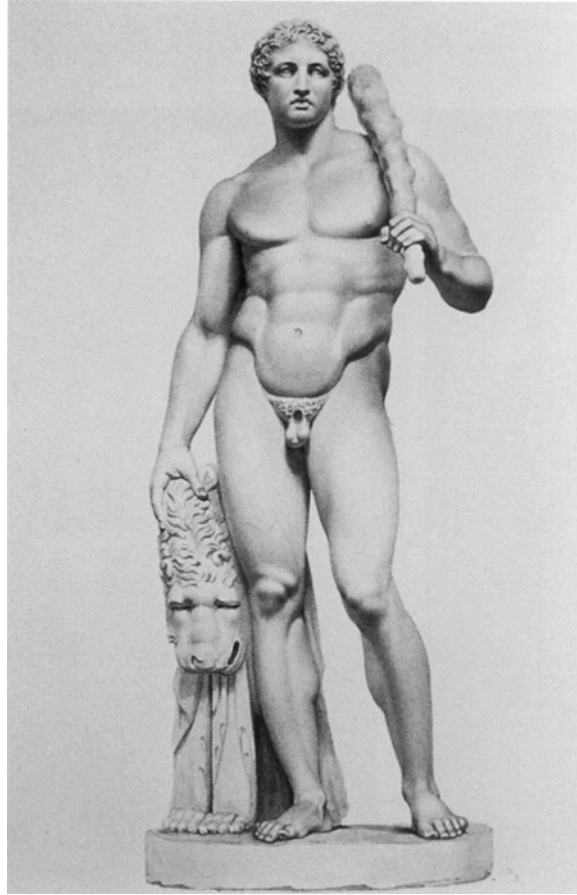


FIG. 11
John Samuel Agar (c. 1770–c. 1835), *The Lansdowne Herakles* (1835). Pencil and ink wash. Los Angeles, Research Library, Getty Research Institute no. 840199.

core of the composition as an unexhibitable, cannibalized torso with unsightly iron pins protruding in all directions (plate 1). These pins had been the justification for the de-restoration: one pin set within a finger of Leda's right hand had corroded, causing the surrounding marble to fracture and disintegrate. But in the end, they apparently defeated even the conservator and curator—what was left hardly seemed worth the trouble, and the pins remained embedded although most of the restorations had been removed. The disfigured sculpture was condemned to storage. More than anything else, it was the disheartening condition of this piece that persuaded Jerry Podany and me of the value of cleaning and studying but ultimately preserving earlier restorations in place on the sculptures. There was much to be learned from the work that had been done by earlier campaigns of restoration, but in the end, the restoration had become part of the history of the object.

Several years later, when it became clear that the statue of Herakles from the same English collection (figs. 7–8) would have to undergo a complete disassembly and cleaning to repair the damage done in a 1970s restoration, Jerry Podany and I began to discuss the reintegration of the original eighteenth- and nineteenth-century restorations that had been removed at that time. Miraculously, they had been saved and remained in a box in the storeroom.



FIG. 12

Fragment of a statue of sacrificing Mithras, 200–100 B.C. Marble, H 99 cm. Formerly Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AA.74 (deaccessioned in 1999).

Working to place them back on the sculpture, Jerry rediscovered a great deal about the work that had been done on the statue to unite the various original fragments of the body. The result was a far more beautiful and comprehensible piece of sculpture for exhibition with disfiguring, discolored restorations and external props removed (figs. 9–10). A drawing from the Special Collections of the Getty Research Institute done by John Samuel Agar in 1835 showing the statue as it looked with the eighteenth-century restorations still in place (fig. 11) was extremely helpful in completing the new restoration.

The problems created by restorations undertaken in earlier centuries do not end with the decision to maintain or replace earlier additions. There is also the issue of explaining them to the public. If we are to preserve the later additions, we must make clear to the visitor what he or she is seeing—and exactly how much is ancient. Our approach to the exhibition of these re-restored pieces has been influenced by an informative and revealing exhibition of sculptures from the Ludovisi Collection that was held in Rome at the Fondazione Memmo in the Palazzo Ruspoli from December 1992 to April 1993.²³ In preparation for this display, the individual sculptures were carefully studied and documented as to which parts were original fabric and which were later restorations. As many of

these pieces had been restored by famous artists, the later additions could not be removed. They could however be fully identified and made explicit on the label in a complete and instructive way.²⁴

When the Lansdowne Leda finally went on view in the opening exhibition at the Getty Center after being skillfully restored by Eduardo Sánchez (plate 11A), it was accompanied by a label inspired by this approach, since it included a drawing showing the various restorations (plate 11B). The restoration history was more complex on this piece than on the Ludovisi Apollo, but the use of color graphics to define the different periods of intervention made the story quite clear. The formerly unexhibitable statue now stands at the entrance to the galleries of ancient art at the Getty Center, and the history of interventions on the sculpture has not been forgotten.

Finally, it is important to remember that modern de-restoration may be done for another purpose entirely. The torso of Mithras (fig. 12) acquired by the Getty Museum in 1982²⁵ was said by the dealer to “come from an old English Collection.” Some years later, a graduate student researching the piece noticed several uncomfortable similarities to a sculpture known as the “Gladiatore Giustiniani,” last known to have been exhibited in the gardens of the Giustiniani in Bassano.²⁶ A quick inquiry to the Ministero per i Beni Culturali elicited the information that the Gladiatore was indeed missing. Although the torso had once been completed with a head, raised arms, and a lion, these details had all been removed before it reached the Getty, apparently to make it less recognizable once it was illegally removed from Italy. Now safely back on Italian soil, this statue can serve to remind us that not all de-restoration has been done in the interest of science.

Notes

- 1 L. Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven, 1999), p. 174.
- 2 B. Ashmole and N. Yalouris, *Olympia: The Sculptures of the Temple of Zeus* (London, 1967), pp. 21–22.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 179, pls. 62–70.
- 4 For a recent consideration of the head in the context of another Hellenistic portrait, see A. Herrmann, “A Hellenistic Portrait Head,” *GettyMusJ* 21 (1993), pp. 32–35, figs. 3a–e.
- 5 W. L. MacDonald and J. A. Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa and Its Legacy* (New Haven, 1995), pp. 205–28, esp. 216–17 on Pirro Ligorio's excavations, and 286–305 on the works of art discovered and their eventual destinies.
- 6 G. Ferrarri, “The Geography of Time: The Nile Mosaic and the Library at Praeneste,” *Ostraka* 7.2 (1999): 359–86, esp. 361–63.
- 7 The association of these artists with restoration is discussed at length in A. Giuliano, ed., *La collezione Boncompagni Ludovisi: Algardi, Bernini e la fortuna del l'antico*, exh. cat. (Rome, 1992); see esp. cat. 5, pp. 94–100, and cat. 22, pp. 182–87.
- 8 Naples Archaeological Museum 6281.
- 9 Barkan (note 1 supra), pp. 183–84, figs. 3.65 (Naples Apollo) and 3.76 (Sansovino Madonna).
- 10 A. Delivorrias, “Polykleitos and the Allure of Feminine Beauty,” in *Polykleitos, the Doryphoros and Tradition*, ed. W. G. Moon (Madison, 1995), pp. 202–3, figs. 11.1 (so-called Hera Borghese from Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 247) and 11.3 (votive relief from Aegina Archaeological Museum).
- 11 A smaller Neapolitan replica of the type is illustrated in S. De Caro, *Il Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli* (Naples, 1994), p. 304, Naples Archaeological Museum 150383, found at Baia.
- 12 J. J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti* (Rome, 1767), p. 205, pl. 152. I am grateful to Dr. Catherine Hess of the Department of European Sculpture for this reference.
- 13 M. Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain 1530–1830* (London, 1964), p. 159, pl. 118 B. As above, Dr. Catherine Hess of the Department of European Sculpture generously provided this reference.
- 14 G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, vol. 2 (London, 1965), pp. 215–23, esp. 216–17 and no. 12, the small bronze bust inscribed with the name of the orator found in 1753 in the Villa dei Papi; see also R. R. Smith's abridged and revised version of Richter (Ithaca, 1984), pp. 108–12, with the bronze bust illustrated in fig. 72.
- 15 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, fig. 1074 (portrait of Menippos); vol. 2, figs. 1261–66 (portraits of Metrodoros).
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 216, under cat. 1 fig. 1407.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 216.
- 18 On this subject, see F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven, 1981), p. 103.
- 19 A. H. Smith, “Lord Elgin and His Collection,” *JHS* 36 (1916): 297.
- 20 D. Ohly, *Die Aegineten* (Munich, 1976), vols. 1–3, with extensive photo documentation of the figures before and after the restoration. The introduction to vol. 1 provides an historical perspective on the project and discusses the length of time required for the removal of the restorations.
- 21 Quoted in D. Ohly, *The Munich Glyptothek: Greek and Roman Sculpture* (Munich, 1974), p. 56.
- 22 J. Paul Getty Museum 70.AA.110.
- 23 See note 7 supra; see also M. Marvin in this volume, pp. 225–38.
- 24 See note 7 supra, cat. 12, pp. 130–1.
- 25 The statue was returned to Italy in February 1999.
- 26 G. Becatti, “Una copia Giustiniani del Mitra di Kriton,” *BdA* (1957): 1–6.

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Lessons from the Past

Jerry Podany

He also discovered inside that old foundation a statue of Sargon, father of Naram Sin. Half of the head was missing, crumbled so that no one could discern his face. On account of his reverence for the gods and respect for sovereignty, he brought expert craftsmen and had the head of that statue and its face restored.

— From a sixth-century-B.C. cuneiform tablet¹

These words recount the efforts of Nabonidus, king of the Babylonian Empire, and provide one of the earliest accounts of *restoration* carried out by specialized craftsmen. The inscription also notes that Nabonidus, while preparing to construct a new temple, discovered an ancient foundation. With the same reverence expressed for the sculpture of Sargon, Nabonidus built his temple “without altering it [the foundation] one finger-length” and thus presents us with an equally early example of *preservation*. Nabonidus’s words inform us not only that the sense of respectful awe that objects of antiquity elicit within us has existed for many centuries, but that our desire to restore those objects is equally familiar.

Despite this long-term familiarity, the topic of restoration, although not devoid of major writings, is far from being fully explored, particularly with reference to its historical development. Indeed it is fair to say that we have only begun to understand the role that restorers have played over the centuries in both clarifying and distorting our knowledge and perception of antiquity. While they pieced together, added to, took away from, and at times even invented the ancient fragments so enthusiastically embraced by the popular tastes of the sixteenth through nineteenth century, the restorers were also forming (and being formed by) the prevailing cultural and social fashions of their day. As a result the objects being restored reflect, for better or worse, those same contemporary conventions. The imposition of present time and contemporary taste also influenced conservators in the twentieth century and will



FIG. 1
Statue of an Athlete. Roman, 100 B.C.–A.D.
100. Copy after a Greek original of c. 340–
330 B.C. by Lysippos. H 190.5 cm. (*Left*)
With early restorations still in place. (*Right*)
After de-restoration during the late 1970s.
L.A. County Museum of Art, William
Randolph Hearst Collection 49.23.12.
Photo © 2002 Museum Associates, Los
Angeles County Museum of Art.

continue to be present in the twenty-first, despite our insistence that a more professional, scientific, and objective approach informs modern conservation practice.

Much transpired between the awe Michelangelo felt for the Torso Belvedere despite its fragmentary condition and the advice of Camillo Boito, who in 1884, reflecting the late nineteenth-century revival of positivism, called for the end of restoration. Being suspicious (and rightly so) of what had been done before, Boito declared that all previous restorations should be removed and “thrown away.”² As we know, many were (fig. 1). But during these centuries of change there remained two continuous, almost intractable, constants, like lines that run parallel through time, sometimes separated by great distances and sometimes drawing so near that their influence can be seen in the other’s evolving character. The dialectic of these lines involves the struggle between the need to preserve the authentic relic—untouched and pure—on one hand and the desire to repair, make whole again, and improve—to restore—on the other. The latter exists despite the danger that our contemporary tastes, preferences, and uses for ancient sculpture might misinform the process.

In the Renaissance, particularly after 1527, the pace of discovery of antiquities reached an unprecedented frenzy, as did the

restoration of the objects. Michelangelo's influential respect for the fragmentary condition of the Torso Belvedere and his cautious advice, if not direct action, with respect to the restoration of the Laocoön group was essentially contemporaneous with the work of Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571), who in the late 1540s was presented with a fragmentary Praxitelean torso of an ephebe. He is reported to have exclaimed, “The excellence of this great artist calls me to serve him,”³ and then proceeded to serve by creating, from the fabric of the ancient torso, a vision of Ganymede teasing Zeus (fig. 2). His act represented the view of many artists of his time who, counter to Michelangelo's assumed insight toward preservation and the primary value of ancient fragments, saw it as their artistic prerogative to use the ancient material as both a model of inspiration and a source of raw material. Although some fragments were collected and exhibited as just that—fragments—many were completed either by the addition of newly created parts or by the combination of fragments from a variety of surviving pieces, not all necessarily of the same period, let alone from the same sculpture. The Bateman Mercury at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, restored by Antico (Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi) is just such a pastiche: the head, although ancient, does not belong to the body, and the legs as well as the base are the work of the restorer. Clearly, for some in this period, the awe that the ancient finds instilled was not complete unless the sculpture was. The desire to have sculpture *represtinated* (a Renaissance term meaning “to make like new”⁴) existed side by side with the desire for the protection of the products of artists whose skill could not be equaled. As Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro reminds us, “No epoch has been more ambiguous than the Renaissance in the alternate practices of destruction and conservation.”⁵

That coexistence continued through the seventeenth century despite the cautionary concerns of many, such as the historian Giovanni Bellori (1613–1696), who emphasized the value of authenticity, at least in paintings, in light of the free-styled reworking being generally undertaken. Caution was being expressed among some restorers as well. Francis Girardon (1628–1715), whose work was guided by his large collection of casts of ancient works, made a wax model of the Venus of Arles before undertaking its restoration in order to verify that the king would be satisfied with his proposed completion.

The eighteenth century brought a maturing of historical consciousness. The long-present direct link to the past, as well as the security of that link, was being cut by two massive upheavals: the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution. In response, restorers tempered their invention and became more open to the

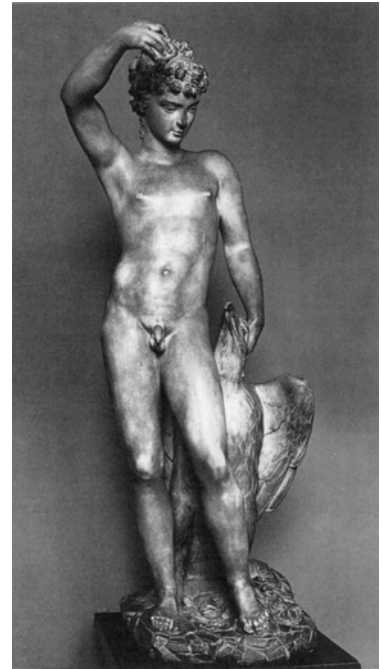


FIG. 2
Statue of Ganymede. Roman imperial copy of a fourth-century type restored by Benvenuto Cellini in the late 1540s as Ganymede Teasing Zeus with an Eagle Chick. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello. Photo © Scala/Art Resource, NY.



FIG. 3
Throne of Zeus. Roman original, late first century A.D., restored by Bartolomeo Cavaceppi. Marble, 154.94 × 67.31 × 86.36 cm. L.A. County Museum of Art, William Randolph Hearst Collection 50.33.14. Photo © 2002 Museum Associates, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

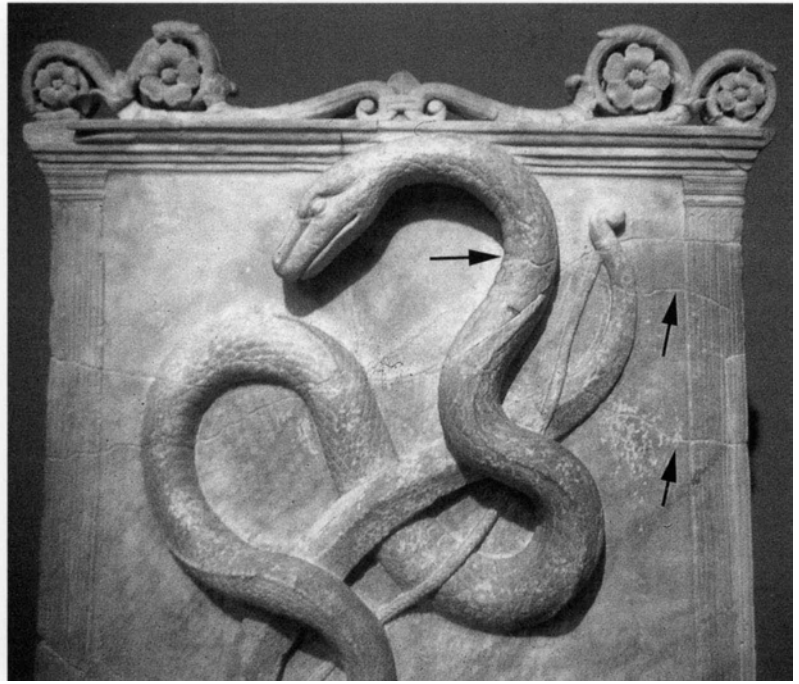


FIG. 4
Detail of Throne of Zeus, figure 3, showing carved joints and cracks (arrows) made by Cavaceppi to disguise the restorations.

trends of objectivism espoused by the burgeoning disciplines of archaeology and art history. Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) brought systematization to the study of ancient art, and restorers began to incorporate into their efforts a distinct move toward historical accuracy.

From the mid- to the late eighteenth century there was a great deal of discussion regarding the appropriateness of restoration. Major failures of technique and blatant disregard for the value of ancient material focused criticism on the self-aggrandizement of restorers, who often undertook restorations, not out of any obvious need presented by the object, but rather to present a tour de force to buttress their own reputations. Reactions ranged from aggressive accusations to more cautious and thoughtful policy, such as that created by Pietro Edwards who, in 1778 as Registrar of Public Paintings in Venice, required all restorers to use “materials as reversible as possible in their work.”⁶ Yet, at about the same time, Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (1717–1799) was violating (by modern standards) the surface of ancient objects to disguise the completion of their form, albeit a completion more conscious of historical accuracy than previous attempts. Witness the second-century A.D. throne to Zeus (figs. 3–4) thought to have been restored by Cavaceppi. To better disguise the addition of his restorations, Cavaceppi

chiseled false fractures and joins into the ancient surface of the back support of the throne. As a result the viewer would have been less likely to notice the difference between the quality of marble, the difference in carving, and the dissimilarity between the surface patina of the ancient parts and Cavaceppi's additions. While such a violation of the ancient surface would certainly not be acceptable today, one wonders what Pietro Eduards would have said regarding the permanence of Cavaceppi's actions.

Nonetheless, as Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny point out in *Taste and the Antique*, Cavaceppi was, within the context of the time, an informed restorer who "made self-conscious a profession formerly noted for its lack of inhibitions."⁷ *Restoration*, as a vocation, was being clarified during the Enlightenment and the process was now carried out by *restorers*, such as Cavaceppi, who stood firmly at the transformation of restoration from an inventive process with a decorative aim to a pursuit guided by scientific method and historical accuracy. Artists and sculptors, whether of great acclaim or mediocre ability, no longer had claim over the masterpieces to be improved and clarified. That shift may in fact be one of the most important moments in defining the development of restoration. Restoration was now tied to historicism and potentially freed from service to societal whims, specifically those of the young men of wealth venturing off on the Grand Tour and creating, in their wake, a virtual industry focused on the restoration of antiquities and, at times, on their manufacture. This industry and the simultaneous changes in the practices, at least those espoused by many restorers, reflect again the collision between invention and authenticity, restoration and preservation.

Peter Fritzsche has recently reminded us that the nineteenth century was the age of memoirs, diaries, and autobiographies. It was, as he says, "filled with people who mourned the past."⁸ Fritzsche notes that this particular malaise was encouraged, if not caused, by the French Revolution, which disrupted the Western conception of historical continuity. The term "old-fashioned" entered everyday vocabulary as nineteenth-century travelers lingered among the ruins of the revolution, ruins they saw as representing the increased distance of the past and the fragility of the material links to it.

The nineteenth-century audience for antiquity was of two minds. There were those who appreciated, if not preferred, the fragments for the sense of authenticity they presented,⁹ and those, predominantly collectors, who wanted the sculpture complete for presentation so as to recapture a sense of its original magnificence. The restored sculpture also provided the owner with a degree of respectability and stature within nineteenth-century society. Both

these minds were reflected in the opinions and actions of restorers and artists of the time. Antonio Canova (1757–1822), emulating Michelangelo, refused the British Museum’s invitation in 1816 to restore the Parthenon reliefs. At the same time he expressed admiration for the work of his student Bertel Thorvaldsen (1768–1844), who, restrained only by the dictates of working *in the style of*, fully restored the Aegina pediment for Ludwig I. While Canova’s refusal may at first appear contradictory, we must remember it was based on the fact that restoration could not improve the Parthenon marbles. Had he been confident that a restorer could have matched the ability of Pheidias (as Thorvaldsen was seen to match the mastery of the Aegina craftsmen), there might have been an entirely different result.

There arose, in the second half of the nineteenth century, a belief that imitative restoration was impossible; from this was born a quest for purism and an adamant desire to de-restore, thus freeing the object from the burden of previous additions and regaining the original purity of the ancient form. “*Ent-Restauration*” (de-restoration) was not only a quest for knowledge but also a quest for visual authenticity via fragmentation, and it would be a driving force for at least a century to come.

From the sixteenth through the nineteenth century restorers had been both pawns and instigators in the changing process of perception, and the twentieth century provided no exception. Restorers now became conservators, struggling to define themselves in the light of society’s technological and scientific developments. They welcomed an opportunity to distance themselves from past restorations that appeared in both concept and actuality to be the antithesis of objectivity. International bodies within the profession began to formalize historicism as a primary tenet of conservation.¹⁰ Cesare Brandi, one of the twentieth century’s greatest thinkers in the field of conservation, called for restoration without “historic or artistic falsification” and encouraged the use of Gestalt principles to neutralize the additions made by conservators to fill lacunae or make structural connections between separated planes and fragments.¹¹ There was hope that research in human perception of the day could bring a solution to the conundrum of *completion* faced by conservators wanting to preserve authenticity through unrestored fragmentation and yet provide some form of acceptable visual unity for ease of interpretation.

Perception, the general approach believed, is based on economy. We perceive along the lines of familiarity.¹² Details either fit into a particular schema or are ignored. Hence the viewers will complete what is not there if sufficient and familiar general information is available and at best will require only a suggestion, a

background foundation, to assist in the effort of “perceptual restoration.”

The aim was the separation of objectified layers of reality and shifting layers of perception. This of course also meant the thorough separation of the restorations from the ancient fragments in a continuing act of “historical purification.” Unfortunately, however, some details are, in fact, so foreign that they come to the foreground as dominant details and cannot be ignored. As a result, the conservators of the mid-twentieth century not only removed the material evidence of irreversible historical changes to works of antiquity (the previous restorations that reflected the knowledge and fashions of that period), but added aspects to the assumed “pure” artifact that did not perceptually recede, but rather overpowered the ancient fragment—or at best layered onto it contemporary tastes. What was gained is often questionable as we stare at the amputated remains of antiquity that must compete for our attention with foreign planes of synthetic cleanliness. In a growing dissatisfaction with purist beliefs, conservation in the late twentieth century, and now in the twenty-first, launched an ever-expanding campaign of “re-restoration.” Earlier restored additions, when they were saved, are being put back in recognition that they reflect an irreversible alteration, a reflection of a certain moment in time, and a certain understanding of antiquity colored by that period’s tastes and beliefs. As we evaluate this action will we see it as the correction of an error, or as yet another error, born in the belief that somehow we can actually reverse time? Such an assumption is not foreign to restoration and indeed is its basis.

This broad overview of events in the history of restoration has attempted to show the parallel lines of activity within restoration efforts over many centuries and expose the pendulum-like motion of restoration’s ongoing development, the swings of which can be both large and short-lived. The Lansdowne Herakles is an example of such shifting in acceptable practice in a relatively short period of time.

The sculpture was reportedly found by Count Giuseppe Fede at Hadrian’s Villa near Tivoli in 1790–1791. It was purchased almost immediately by the dealer Thomas Jenkins, who then successfully offered the Herakles to William Petty-Fitzmaurice, Lord Lansdowne.¹³ Prior to the sculpture’s being shipped to Lansdowne it was restored in Italy, most likely by Carlo Albacini (c. 1735–1813), a student of Cavaceppi and by then (1792–1793) a restorer of some fame (fig. 5). For almost 200 years it stood in the Lansdowne collection relatively unchanged, entering the Getty collection in the early 1950s as one of J. Paul Getty’s first and most prized acquisitions.



FIG. 5
The Lansdowne Herakles, with early restorations still in place. Roman, c. 125 A.D.
Marble, H 193.5 m. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 70.AA.109.



FIG. 6
Detail of The Lansdowne Herakles, figure 5,
showing discolored modern restoration
segment above the proper right knee.

In the early 1970s a concern was raised about the rusting iron dowels used in the early restoration, and as a result the sculpture was disassembled. In the prevailing spirit of purism all the removed restorations were not returned to the object, leaving a rather wanting vision of the once magnificent hero. Some of the restorations, needed to support the sculpture or connect various fragments, were replaced with epoxy versions (in fact, casts of the restorations). These new additions adhered to the monochromatic, smooth, and recessed characteristics that at the time were so much part of the modern conservation aesthetic (fig. 6; see also True, fig. 7, p. 6).

Unfortunately the fabric of these restorations proved unstable, and in a relatively short time became unsightly. In 1991, dissatisfaction with the sculpture's anachronistic appearance led to a reevaluation of the reasoning behind the removal of all the eighteenth-century restorations, and concerns were raised about the imbalance between what had been gained and what had been lost. The object that now stood in the galleries revealed more about the recent history of restoration than about the Herakles that had been so much a part of art history for two centuries. Even the assumption that stripping away the eighteenth-century additions would reveal an ancient core came under question, since a more

careful study revealed extensive surface weathering and evidence that the surface of the sculpture had been modified during the eighteenth-century restoration campaign.

After long and cautious discussion the Herakles was again disassembled, and the eighteenth-century restorations, which fortunately had been saved, were reinstated. The sculpture now stands looking as similar as possible to its appearance at that point when it experienced its last permanent alteration—its restoration in the eighteenth century. The Herakles has returned to being both an ancient sculpture and a product of eighteenth-century taste. In this sense it has returned to being both a work of art and a historical document (see True, figs. 9–10, p. 7).

What may be instructive to our understanding of the development of restoration and conservation is that the reversal of what was thought to be the most ethical and visually acceptable approach was undertaken less than twenty years after it had been imposed. This suggests a degree of impermanence to philosophies that may have significant, permanent impact on ancient artifacts. These philosophies are as dynamic as time, and as such must be approached with caution.

The intention of this publication is to look at the history of restoration, both from the viewpoint of the scholar who brings to bear the researcher's insights and historical perspective, and from the viewpoint of the practitioner—that is, the restorer or conservator, who brings direct experience of the process. For the historian it is the history of the object and of the period that is reflected in restorations. But for conservators it is the history of a process and of the profession; in a way, it is their own history.

Restorers and conservators have come late to the investment of time and intellect toward the understanding of their own past. Perhaps this is due to the demand placed on them by a past embedded in craftsmanship and artistic skill, lending itself more to the practical challenge of a stonemason than to that of a scholar. Perhaps it is the discipline's desire to find a modern definition of itself within the objectivity of science, while often still failing to apply the scientific method, that now urges them to enter into a dialogue about the past and what came before modern conservation. Or perhaps what keeps practitioners continually seeking new approaches is conservators' reluctance to abandon the idea that there is a single, valid, and lasting answer to the challenge laid before them: to serve *all* the values contained in an object while also serving an equally diverse audience.

We are at an interesting point in the history of restoration and conservation. It seems to me that despite our learned (and assumed) objectivity and despite our ever-broadening mission to

preserve rather than to repair, we still want to repair . . . and to clarify . . . and, yes, even to restore. The amount of restoration undertaken, though certainly better informed than in previous centuries, has been defended by arguments echoing from the past and has been challenged by many of the same concerns.¹⁴ What we do next in this continuum will depend on how thoroughly we have learned the lessons of the past, lessons that the authors of this volume have attempted to reveal.

THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

Notes

- 1 A. K. Grayson, "‘O Sin . . . Deliver Me’: Nabonidus and the Fall of Babylon," in *Papyrus and Tablet*, ed. A. K. Grayson and D. B. Redford (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1973).
- 2 C. Boito, *I restauratori*. Lecture held at the Turin Exhibition, 1884 (Florence, 1984).
- 3 E. Van DeWetering, "The Anatomy of Restoration: Ethical Considerations in Relation to Artistic Concepts" in vol. 3 of *World Art: Themes of Unity and Diversity*, ed. I. Lavin (University Park, Penn., 1989), pp. 849–53.
- 4 L. Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven, 1999), p. xxvii.
- 5 A. Melluco Vaccaro, "Historical Perspective," in *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*, ed. N. S. Price, M. K. Talley, and A. M. Vaccaro (Los Angeles, 1996), p. 265.
- 6 J. Jokilehto, "Authenticity in Restoration Principles and Practices," *Association of Preservation Technology Journal* 17.344 (1985): 6.
- 7 F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven, 1981), p. 102.
- 8 P. Fritzsche, "Specters of History: On Nostalgia, Exile, and Modernity," *AHR* 106.5 (2001): 1593.
- 9 In 1830, when visiting a museum in Berlin, Wilhelm von Humboldt condemned modern completion because at the moment of intervention the nature of the fragmentary work was changed: J. Paul, "Antikenergänzung und Ent-Restaurierung," *Kunstchronik* 25 (1972): 93–99.
- 10 According to the principles of the Charter of Venice of 1964, "The intention in conserving and restoring monuments is to safeguard them no less as works of art than as historical evidence" (ARTICLE 3, VENICE Charter 1964).
- 11 C. Brandi, "Il trattamento delle lacune e la Gestalt psicologie," in *Problems of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, vol. 4 of *Studies in Western Art: Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art*, ed. M. Meiss (Princeton, 1963), pp. 146–51.
- 12 A. T. Welford, "Perceptual Selection and Integration," *Ergonomics* 13.1 (1970): 5–23.
- 13 S. Howard, *The Lansdowne Herakles* (Malibu, 1978), pp. 10–20.
- 14 J. Beck, "Bill of Rights for a Work of Art," in *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 10.2 (1991): 1–6.

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Restoration and the Antique Model

Reciprocities between Figure and Field

Seymour Howard

When I began research on the restoration of ancient sculptures with Peter von Blanckenhagen and Ulrich Middeldorf fifty some years ago, the history of that practice was largely anecdotal compared to its more amply fleshed-out present state. With few notable exceptions—for example, those by Adolf Michaelis, Rodolfo Lanciani, and Michelangelo Cagiano de Azevedo—archaeological and art-historical treatments of restoration practice and its implications were largely sporadic. Restorers and restoration generally received short shrift, although there were piecemeal records of repairs by otherwise unknown hacks and scattered accounts of inventive refurbishing by well-known masters.

The revealing and richly complex history of restoration, with its own internal momentum, myths, and shared imagery, reflects major changes in art styles, technology, and attitudes toward antiquity and classicizing art by artists, theorists, and historians—from its emergence in the Renaissance through the ambivalent early modern questioning of the practice by Johann Joachim Winckelmann and his archaeologically minded fellows to the present day. Responding to the desire for archaeological probity, deceptive restoration ultimately helped generate a romance with the fragment and its powers of imaginative invention among artists, patrons, collectors, scholars, and others.

The intrinsic value of restorations—as examples of projected fancy and interpretation (fig. 1),¹ revealed by their acute juxtaposition with classic norms preserved in the ancient fragments—has rightly drawn increased attention in recent years, so concerned with the many-layered meanings in analytic (“deconstructive”) critiques as well as with archival studies on the history of collections. Such interests go far to explain restoration’s growing attraction as a subject for investigation. Studies of the practice of restoration and its implications as a form of near-involuntary confession and projection of taste have made significant, often



FIG. 1
Copy of Myron's Diskobolos from about 450 B.C., restored by Gavin Hamilton and Bartolomeo Cavaceppi(?) c. 1776 as Diomedes Stealing the Palladion. Marble, H 177.8 cm. Shelburne collection, Bowood, Calne, Wiltshire. Photo: Courtesy Lord Lansdowne.

subversive, contributions to theory and practice in the history of art and archaeology, as well as to humanistic enquiry in general.

Here, in a sampling of restoration practices briefly viewed from historical, technological, psychological, and humanistic points of view, I wish to single out the abiding and evolving importance of the antique model itself for restoration—and, by extension, independent invention—a matter that is all too often overlooked. Restoration has been largely seen from the point of view of the restorer's effect on the antiquity; here I am equally interested in the seemingly passive baseline effect, as field to figure, of the antique fragment-core on the restorer and his traditions.²

Assimilation, marking, appropriation, and “own-ing” of ancient “goods”

Nothing is so dead [or schematically persistent] as last year's mask.

—ANTHROPOLOGISTS' MAXIM

The traditional communal wisdom retained in meanings of the word “restore,” and its analogues like *Ergänzung* and *restaure*, reveals the elemental intention of the practice: namely, *to make whole again the material, and implicitly the spiritual, “goods” surviving in antique fragments*—literally, to re-store their value as norms of “cultural capital” or “material culture,” to use a present-day, Marxist-derived, seeming oxymoron.

Paleolithic remains already record complex physical and affective mechanisms of restoration, primarily in the repeatedly refreshed outlines and whole images of life-threatening and life-giving totem animals with which Cro-Magnon man identified and which he magically-mystically mastered and controlled in effigy by repeated re-presentations. This pattern of appropriation is biologically analogous to personal territorial marking and scenting in other animals to claim physical and psychological ownership. Marking and appropriation are essential, abiding aspects of restoration and other forms of art. The retention, repetition, and appropriation of Bronze Age schemata—as in Ramses II's relabeling appropriation of Middle Kingdom pharaonic portraits, or their reassuring constancy in repeated depictions of nobility in Egyptian and among Near Eastern rulers—illustrate the same obsessive compulsion.

Early in the Iron Age, these archaic Bronze Age formulas were assimilated and further developed by the Greeks. During the Greek Classical age, individualizing dynamic symmetries in chiastic balance coupled with accidents of mimesis and illusionism were

developed, and these mature Hellenic graphic formulas were passed on, along with literary descriptions, to the hellenized Greco-Roman and late antique Mediterranean world, where they survived contaminated or were revived and simulated in later classicisms.

Classical canons, as broadly based norms potent throughout classical antiquity, thrived again in the Renaissance—first in Italy, then in its long-lived reaches throughout Europe. During that period, ownership of literary and tangible ancient remains, expressed in a lust for collecting, studying, and restoring, supported a kindred attitude of individualism embedded in a received pagan-Christian idealism of growing refinement and importance. Like Cicero in antiquity, Castiglione expected a Renaissance nobleman of *virtù*—that is, of strength, power, tact, good manners, virtue—to collect and commit to memory and lifestyle works of classical, academic art for their ability to inspire intellect, prudence, grace, and a sense of beauty.

These values were, broadly speaking, worldly middle-class political and individualist alternatives to (or equivalents of) the traditional anonymity promoted by transcendental religious truths and revelations characterizing the medieval mind-set. Classicism had been adopted as a sustained and sustaining lineage.³

Learnings from the basic classical model

For their hungry admirers, fragmentary classical sculptures were informing sources for restoration as well as invention, although in many ways their traits seem now so obvious as to be virtually taken for granted, having lost their initial evocative novelty. Consider, for example, the immense influence of close sustained association with classical sculpture's centuries-long evolving repertoire of imagery, whose subjects, compositions, poses, motifs, attributes, formulas of pathos, and points of view were preserved in the pattern-book-like repetitions found in sarcophagi, architectural reliefs, coins, gems, vases, and rare extant murals, as well as in surviving free-standing sculpture.

Consider, too, the importance—recognized by Leon Battista Alberti and Giorgio Vasari—of parallel developments of style in the art of antiquity and the Renaissance—from classic and mannerist, subsequently extended to Baroque, Neoclassical, and archaistic historicizing. Also, there were lessons to be learned from discrepancies in style between antique fragments and their modern additions, resulting in re-restorations that reflected “better” judgment. All these elements were a growing source of information and inspiration for Renaissance invention and restoration.

Speaking as a studio artist, I must also note the elemental importance of sustained exposure to and work with classical

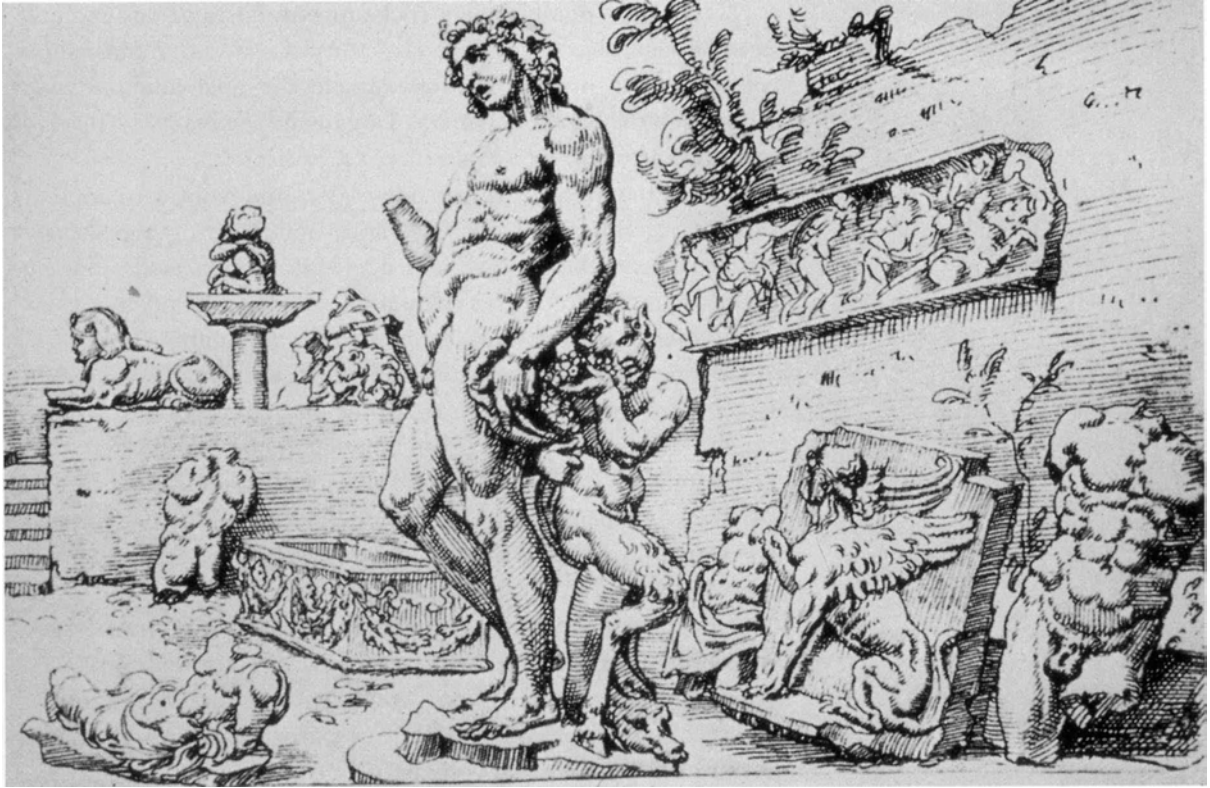
sculptures for the development of, especially, young sculptors, for whom restoration was an early source of support. The composing, cutting, and finishing of antique works showed ways of using the saw, pick, point, gouge, chisel, rasp, and graded abrasives and polishes. Examples of patching, adding, and joining with sockets, tenons, cramps, dowels, pins, scoring, and cements were also all inherited and used as models in making independent work as well as restorations. Especially important, too, in this technical connection were examples from antiquity of measuring or quasi-pointing-off, copying, pendant reversals, eclectic improvisation, and variations in scale, material, and media, as well as changes and refinements in the poses and attributes of stock figures.

Evidence of all these antique practices helped inform modern invention, patching, restoration, pastiches, and outright fakery, along with the production of copies of famous antiquities (themselves often copies), whose perfected modern copies eventually came to be preferred to battered and patched second-rate ancient works.⁴

Ancient finds and literature reveal relatively few examples of restoration and repair. Think, for example, of the Kritios and Nesiotes partially archaized Tyrannicides that replaced Antenor's similar group carried off to Persia; the crudely matching corner figures of the Olympia pediments, which were probably replaced after an earthquake; the ultimate substitutions of chryselephantine drapery and parts of akrolithic sculpture; the recorded maintenance of wooden relics; the refreshed garments of the Archaic Athena Polias celebrated in the Parthenon frieze; and the "restored" stylish Pergamene-baroque bouffant hair of Attalos I from Pergamon.

Better known to Renaissance sculptors and patrons, however, were informative fragmentary remains themselves, like the white and red versions of the Pergamene Hanging Marsyas, restored by Donatello and Verrocchio for the Medici, and the fragmentary remains of the Laocoön from an obviously pieced and repaired composition that Pliny had enthusiastically described as made from a single block, a comment that encouraged rival compositions by Michelangelo and his followers (see Postscript). Think, too, of pyrotechnic achievements and lessons learned from the Lysippan Farnese Herakles, with its missing legs, the battered remains of the massive Farnese Bull by Apollonios and Tauriscos of Tralles, and the Esquiline Dioskouroi group, then still fancifully ascribed to Pheidias and Praxiteles.

From the beginning, the ways and means of extant antique remains and heroicizing anecdotal literature were abiding examples for minute and comprehensive antico emulation, and, in time, also for rebellious *paragone* competition.⁵



Powers of classical antiquities as comprehensive and competitive models

Much can be learned from the millennium of degradation, yet retention, of classical antiquities in medieval *spoglie*—literally the opportune spoils of pillaged treasure or “goods” of surviving ancient sculpture fragmented through malicious defacing, accident, or neglect. With their dimmed yet uncanny, daemonic, and magical powers of pagan mimetic achievement and materialism, ostensibly purged and overcome, classical sculptures were preserved as battered inchoate mementos or trophies—a practice, a tradition continued into the high Renaissance by Roman collectors (e.g., fig. 2).⁶ At times they were crudely appropriated as raw material for pastiche sculptures of saints and other subjects, as in the now lost ancient Roman equestrian bronze restored in 1315 as the Regisole at Pavia (a model for Leonardo) or the Capitoline Etruscan Wolf given tangible infant figures of Remus and Romulus during the Renaissance. In a similar way, whole classical buildings might be converted, or “restored” in the broadest sense, into religious basilicas, as were the Pantheon and Parthenon, and as, in a kindred way, pre-Columbian tomb-temple foundations or the Cordoba Mosque would be appropriated.⁷

FIG. 2
Maerten van Heemskerck (1498–1574),
Antique Sculpture Garden of Jacopo Galli,
1532–1536. Ink drawing. Staatliche Museen
zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett.

Degrees of ambivalent enchantment, hostility, and indifference variously characterize attitudes toward restoration throughout its history. In its first heyday, for example, the much admired Pasquino in the Piazza Navona, a Pergamene fragment of Menelaus Rescuing Patroclus, was in alternate years displayed on Saint Mark's day, temporarily restored in plaster and paint with popular subjects, accompanied by waspish notes and poems by the likes of Aretino, in assemblages that lauded and criticized persons and scandals of the moment.⁸ Such exploitation and degradation characterized an ongoing admiration of and *querelle* with antique models by artists and patron collectors over the power and latent tyrannies of attraction in antique models, a growing concern especially in contemporary literature. The egoism inherent in classical imagery was compounded in its descendant, Renaissance illusionism, which variously enlisted ancient models as guides, allies, and worthy competitors in creating new classicisms.

Classical marble sculptures, more than painting and architecture with their abstracting qualities, have numinous powers by virtue of their subject, plasticity, scale, color, nudity, exposure, and actions, and they tend to induce in viewers elemental haptic and empathic bodily identification. Empathic discomfort prompted by the mutilated and missing body parts of cherished antique mimetic statuary might reasonably have elicited anxious desires for their completeness and restoration.⁹

Proponents from Benvenuto Cellini and Vasari to Cardinal Albani, Winckelmann, and their antiquarian followers championed an aesthetic and ultimately scholarly attitude justifying comely, iconographically informative, and "fulfilling" restoration. A contradictory attitude also flourished, promoting a ruin romanticism of sorts, with display of unrestored fragments that would encourage imagination and sentiment in the avid viewer. In this connection, think only of the Pasquino's eloquence or Michelangelo's praise of and touching libidinous affection for the Torso Belvedere, which apparently informed his *non finito* practices and various of his key figure types and which he legendarily refused in humility to restore, although he was outspoken in supporting restoration by his schoolmen.¹⁰

Renaissance antiquarian homage, transformation, competition, and rapprochement

Of course, each restoration has its own unique history, and yet evolving attitudes toward classical antiquities also are reflected in the overall history of collecting and restoration. (Such mutual arisings, paradoxes in the simultaneity of opposites, I find, have impelled much of my research.)



FIG. 3
Maerten van Heemskerck (1498–1574),
*Lorenzetto's Sculpture Court of Restored
Antiquities at Palazzo della Valle Capranica*.
Engraving by Jerome Cock, c. 1635.

The artist-historian-biographer Vasari, with obvious Florentine prejudice, alludes to supposed beginnings of restoration and uses of fragments (a) in Donatello's and Verrocchio's refurbishings of the above-noted white and red copies of the hanging and flayed artists' archetype, Marsyas, for the Medici palace courtyard and its garden;¹¹ (b) in works at the Medici garden of ancient sculptures near San Marco, where the young Michelangelo and his well-bred artist fellows were academically schooled by its curator, Lorenzo's friend Bertoldo;¹² and (c) in the admirable precedent of Lorenzetto, who designed for Cardinal Andrea Della Valle the first Roman palace courtyard decorated in the antique manner, with "attractively restored" antiquities, as would be the Vatican Belvedere; the Villa Medici; and salons, facades, and gardens throughout Europe (fig. 3).¹³

Renaissance and Mannerist restoration was first done in a fairly naïve and circumspect homage to classical antiquity, primarily by hack *scarpellini* but also occasionally by better-known sculptors such as Nanni di Banco(?), Tulio Lombardo, Montorsoli, Guglielmo Della Porta, Flaminio del Vacca, and Aspetti, and contemporary copy and cast makers such as Il Antico, Bandinelli, the Della Portas, and Primaticcio. Symptomatically, prideful Cellini saw himself as a capable and compassionate brother to the ancient

mannerist Praxitelean master, whose agreeable Apollo fragment, which he seductively, teasingly restored for Duke Cosimo as Ganymede, cried out to him for completion.¹⁴

Still more willfully cavalier and florid Franco-Italian Baroque and Barochetto improvisatory restorations and antiquarian inventions—by Cordier, Bernini, Duquesnoy, Algardi, Buzzi, Girardon, Monnot, Adam, and hosts of others documented in archives of collections—reflect waxing self-assurance and a growing competition or tacit quarrel with antiquity concerning matters of excellence and dominance, another fruit of compounding ancient and modern egoisms and talents. The growing ranks of professional restorers like the academician Orfeo Boselli, whose manuscript treatise on sculpture briefly deals with restoration practice as concerns its materials, technique, and aesthetic rationale, were ostensibly, if not in fact, more conservative and self-effacing in their repairs.¹⁵

The latter practitioners prepared the way for still more restrained hordes of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century restoration specialists from all nations, in an age of founding national museums and massive collections for European royalty and lavishly wealthy Grand Tour collectors, artists, and amateurs. They in turn were served, for example, by the “inconspicuous” repairs of Napolioni, Cavaceppi, Pacilli, Albacini, Pacetti, Sibilla, Pierantoni, and various transalpine sculptors, dealers, and agents informed from the 1740s onward by an intense new archaeological as well as decorative Neo-classical taste for the antique.¹⁶

The Grecophile prince of new classics, Antonio Canova, the modern Pheidias, whose eclectic antico inventions virtually raised him to the stature of Michelangelo, like “il divino” refused to make restorations and even condemned the unregulated practice, opposing the old-fashioned expectations of the aged restorer Nollekens and his generation during the momentous Elgin Marbles trial and controversy, and afterward controlling the practice in Roman museums by government edict (1816).¹⁷

Decades earlier, Winckelmann’s colleague and informant, Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (fig. 4)¹⁸ (who possibly began his career as a restorer [c. 1734] with Albani’s restorer Carlo Napolioni, then repairing the Cardinal’s collection that was sold to the Capitoline Museum), in his publication on restoration (1772) had, like Michelangelo, already urged that the finest fragments (such as the Torso Belvedere or the Pasquino) not be restored but be preserved untouched, as he and other artists and connoisseurs preserved them in their own collections. Echoing the matured Arcadian tastes of Albani, his minion Winckelmann, Pius VI, and throngs of native and foreign antiquarians (who as a group were informed by decades of experience in the field, gallery, studio, library, and learned salon or

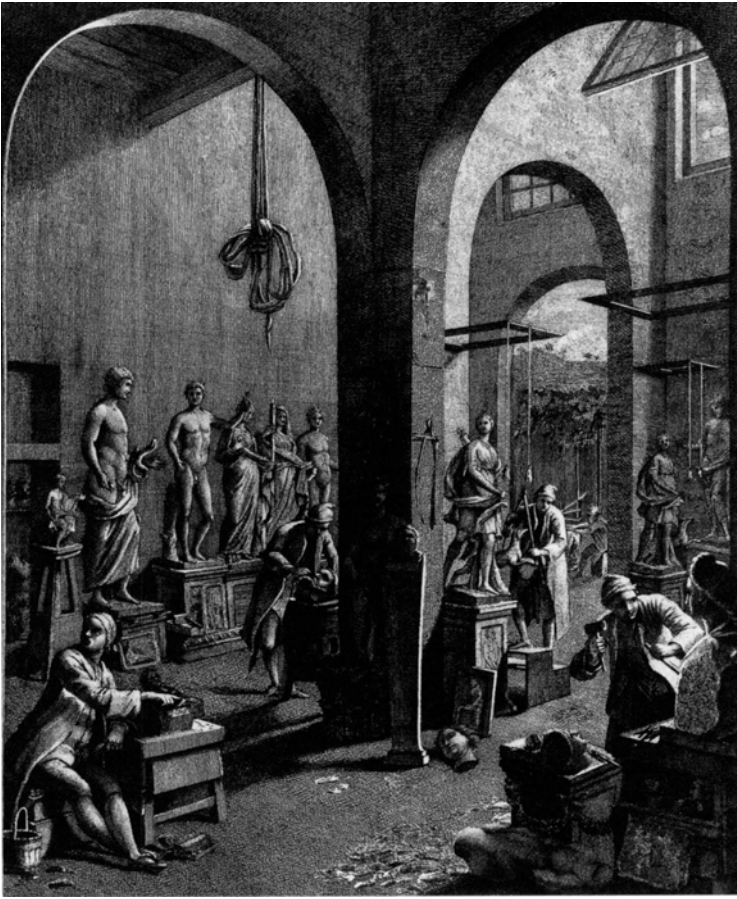


FIG. 4
Studio of Bartolomeo Cavaceppi. Frontis-
piece from B. Cavaceppi, *Raccolta*, vol. 2.

coffeehouse conversation), Cavaceppi advised a compromise. To avoid errors of identification, only general, natural-looking, inconspicuous, stylistically compatible, and minimal archaeologically based repairs should be made until iconographically appropriate attributes could be supplied by classical scholars, in accord with current findings and knowledge of the history of art (which he succinctly described, with admirably prophetic vision). These principles helped set the future pattern of conservation.

Cavaceppi deplored in print, but—for profit and pleasure, like his fellows and predecessors—practiced virtually every mischief of antiquities dealers and restorers. They deceived both scholars and amateurs with excessive additions, reworkings, invented subjects, pastiches combining foreign fragments, and outright fakes (cf. fig. 1). And all the while he supplied splendid sought-after marble copies, casts, and terracotta statuettes of famous antiquities, increasingly preferred to restored second-rate fragments in an expanding and enlightened market.¹⁹

Modern to postmodern historicism and cults of the fragment, reconstruction, and conservation

Although generally more circumspect and administered by archaeologically trained curators, deceptively inconspicuous and frequently

erroneous restorations continued to be made in marble throughout the nineteenth century and after for both public and private collections by such sculptors as Carradori, Franzoni, Thorvaldsen and his aide Finelli, D'Este, Tenerani, Gnaccarini, Rauch, Tieck, and their heirs, who increasingly became talented, technologically adept specialists with archaeological training. Inconspicuous restorations in marble have been made even to the present; they contribute mightily to our conception of the original appearance of classical sculpture.²⁰

The practice of exhibiting untouched fragments, however, increasingly gained favor, prompted by new Romantic and Enlightenment ideals of history, science, scholarship, and objectivity, especially as concerned matters of origin, originality, and legitimacy. It is no accident that this impulse coincided with an informed, awakened, and democratized taste for the Archaic and other archaisms of a more anthropological nature. Restored fragments were fashionably stripped of their additions, as they had been, temporarily, in the past when re-restored to suit changes in taste and, on occasion, newly excavated evidence.²¹

Echoing museological interests of Goethe and Mengs in using casts as evidence for the preservation of compositions, unrestored and once-restored fragments since the nineteenth century have also been reproduced in scholarly plaster "reconstructions," at times painted bronze or tinted with colors based on traces of ancient polychrome—evidence largely ignored in both antique and modern whitened classicisms. Ancient examples using mixed materials have much influenced late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century decorative and archaeologically minded classicizing sculpture.

Ancient fragments have also been partially restored in varying degrees with plaster and other materials, with new parts usually distinguished by subtle changes in surface treatment or color, and often accompanied by labels with explanatory texts and diagrams, as in catalogue descriptions, while the discernible antique core remains intact. Besides modern simulations of fragments by the likes of Rodin and various forgers, cast copies have been used in post-modern inventions of Neo-Neoclassical bricolage that wittily mirror contemporary treatments of the fragment.²² The fragment's new dominion as an ostensibly pristine commodity and primary evidence, even when altered by the scars of prior restoration, has in fact helped establish current conservationist principles and the practice of stabilization and reversibility in scientific restoration. Our advanced technical ability to remove virtually without trace all modern additions from the sacrosanct fragment, without damage, has essentially insured its integrity as original work.²³

In addition, growing recognition of restorations as uniquely significant inventions of historic and aesthetic importance in their own right has also resulted in their retention and, recently, even replacement, as coequals in illustrating our classical heritage as well as celebrating contemporary interests in diversity and individual autonomy. It would seem that we can now at last have our cake and eat it, too, in this best of all possible worlds.

**Postscript: The Laocoön and Lansdowne Herakles
as models of present-day restoration**

Since the momentous discovery and identification of the Laocoön, attended by Giuliano da San Gallo and Michelangelo in 1506 apparently among the remains of the Golden House of Nero, the restorations of that complex Hellenistic-Baroque and Greco-Roman mélange celebrated by Pliny (*NatHist*, 36.37) has been a bellwether symptom of changes in the history and practice of restoration. Its display as a fragment; its reconstruction in sketches, miniatures, and full-scale; and its suites of temporary and permanent repairs or reproductions in wax, bronze, terracotta, stucco, plaster, and marble have involved hosts of artists, including San Gallo, Sansovino, Bandinelli, Michelangelo, Montorsoli, Titian(? in caricature), Bernini(?), Girardon, Cornacchini, Mengs, and countless others, as well as hosts of litterati, scholars, and critics who, to the present, re-create its forms and meanings in words and images. This melodramatic sculpture addresses dull and jaded tastes with a hubristic tragedy that involves destruction of the Trojan priest and his sons as retold in literature and graphic art from Homer and Sophocles to Virgil, perceived as depicting struggle, resistance, bellowed pain, hushed stoic moans, inevitable surrender and death, or not, in restored compositions variously made flat, triangular, pyramidal, and now concave.

Ironically, expectedly, in its present tattered state (accomplished after long speculation, reconstructions, and dismemberment followed by replacement of the priest's acutely contracted, smallish, original[?] right arm and its lost shoulder partly reconstructed from Primaticcio's bronze cast copy of the original support, later trimmed to hold a heavy new arm) the lateral and somewhat infacing composition—based partly on modern forgeries and a questionable right arm drill-hole attachment—remains controversial. Inevitably this presentation is at odds with the centuries-long, still-potent iconic legacy of a heroic *agon* once exclaimed by the vertically outstretched right arm associated with the sanguine Renaissance restoration, initially displayed in a nearby cast. The precise original form of the group remains in doubt. The serpentine composition naturally permits, even encourages, pictorial effects

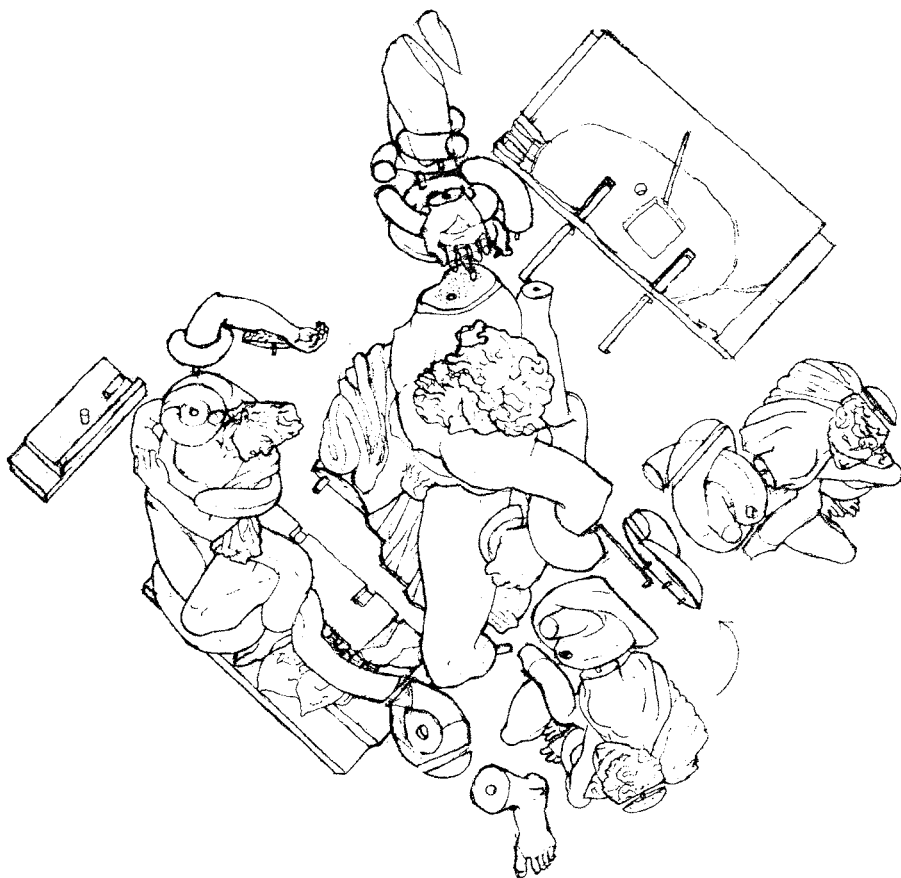


FIG. 5
Alternative planigraphic and pyramidal
reconstructions of the Vatican Laocoön,
1987. Ink drawing: Author.

characterizing late Greek illusionism, like the composition(s) of its Rhodian masters' complex group(s) at Sperlonga, also designed to fit irregular terrain and apparently also having experienced renovating adjustments during centuries of display in antiquity (fig. 5).²⁴ There is always more to know and to understand.²⁵

Equally revealing, but less problematic, are restorations of the Lansdowne Herakles (see True, figs. 7, 8–11, pp. 6–7; Podany, fig. 5, p. 19), discovered in 1790 at Hadrian's Villa, another philhellenic emperor's pleasure dome. This eclectic composition, based on mid-fourth-century models by followers of Polykleitos during the generation of Euphranor, Scopas, and the young Lysippos, was quickly recognized as a masterwork and one of the most important finds of the century. The influential painter, banker, and antiquities dealer Thomas Jenkins acquired the statue and entrusted its restoration to Cavaceppi's most talented student, Carlo Albacini, who had become Rome's leading restorer of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. After its restoration Jenkins sold it to Lord Lansdowne, the former Whig prime minister and sympathizer with the American Revolution. Its additions, in a style compatible with that of the fragment, admirably illustrate reciprocal harmonies possible with an analogous vision—in this case, mutually enhancing views of ancient and modern Neoclassicisms.

Threats of damage from rusting iron dowels once exposed to the weather prompted in recent years a fashionably “strict” archaeological restoration that stripped the eighteenth-century additions, as with the Aegina pediments. Fortunately, the awkward prosthetics quickly aged, discolored, and deteriorated, prompting another, more recent, restoration, where, in enlightened and syncretic fashion, the curator, Marion True, and conservator, Jerry Podany, replaced yet clearly demarked Albacini’s supportive additions. The Herakles now serves as a monument actively celebrating both ancient and modern art, as well as a distinguished lineage in restoration extending from Duquesnoy, Boselli, Napolioni, and Cavacceppi to Albacini, whose *antico* style and methods—with tutelage from Jenkins’ sometime partner Gavin Hamilton—helped turn his admirer Canova from a Venetian Rococo pyrotechnician into a restrained and archaeologizing Neoclassical zealot.

Lastly, it is worth noting that the re-restored work now better approximates the eighteenth-century Lansdowne Herakles, one of J. Paul Getty’s proudest acquisitions and a tacit model for his own “Hadrianic” ambitions to create a classical pleasure dome with international appeal in our own democratizing era of so-called globalization.²⁶

Notes

Abbreviations

- Cagiano M. Cagiano de Azevedo, *Il gusto nel restauro delle opere d'arte antiche* (Rome, 1948)
- Howard 1990 S. Howard, *Antiquity Restored: Essays on the Afterlife of the Antique* (1959–1990; Vienna, 1990)
- Howard 1997 S. Howard, *Art and Imago: Essays on Art as a Species of Autobiography* (1968–1997; London, 1997)
- Rossi Pinelli O. Rossi Pinelli, “Chirurgia della memoria: Scultura antica e restauri storici,” in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, ed. S. Settis, vol. 3 (Turin, 1986), pp. 179–250

1 The Diskobolos fragment was excavated in 1772 at Ostia by the painter-antiquarian Gavin Hamilton, who, before 1776 and its dispatch to Lord Lansdowne's house in London, apparently directed its restoration, probably in the studio of Cavaceppi. It was given a Hellenistic-Baroque-styled head, which resembles sailors in the Sperlonga Odysseus and Polyphemos group and the statuette adaptation of a fifth-century Athena type for Troy's Palladion. Hamilton intended the “Diomedes” hero as a pendant to the Earl of Shelburne's Lysippic Hermes restored as Cincinnatus and wrote that “[I]t would be to the last degree absurd to suppose it [the Diomedes] anything else, as I believe your lordship will easily grant when you see it.” In 1781 the better preserved Massimo-Lancelotti copy of the Diskobolos was discovered, and Giovanni Battista Visconti identified it as representing Myron's Athlete described in Lucian's *Philopseudes* 18 (see Howard 1962, note 2 *infra*).

2 General studies: A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, trans. C. A. M. Fennell (Cambridge, 1882) (see further C. C. Vermeule, “Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis' Ancient Marbles in Great Britain,” *AJA* 59 [1955]: 129–50; 60 [1956]: 321–50; 63 [1959]: 140–66, 329–48); R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1902–1912); M. Neusser, “Studien über die Ergänzung antiken

Statuen” (Ph.D. diss., Univ. Vienna, 1926); Cagiano, pp. 91–100 (annotation); S. Howard, “Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Eighteenth-Century Restorer” (Ph.D. diss., Univ. Chicago, 1958; phototocopy reprint with added foreword, concordance, indexes, and *Raccolta* (note 19 *infra*) plates, New York, 1982, cited as 1958/1982); H. Ladendorff, *Antikenstudium und Antikenskopie* (Berlin, 1958), pp. 55–61, 113–15, 181, 209; and 185–92 (bibl. index of authors on antiquarianism, including Michaelis, Lanciani, Cagiano, Huelsen, et al.); S. Howard, “Some Eighteenth-Century Restorations of Myron's ‘Diskobolos,’” *JWarb* 25.3–4 (1962): 330–34, 330, n. 1 (bibl.) [reprint, Howard 1990, pp. 70–77, 254–55]; idem, “Pulling Herakles' Leg: Della Porta, Algardi, and Others,” in *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, ed. A. Kosegarten and P. Tigler (Berlin, 1968), pp. 402–7 (thematic chronicle) [reprint, Howard 1990, pp. 63–69, 252–53, nn. 1, 12]; A. Conti, *Storia del restauro e della conservazione delle opere d'arte* (Milan, 1973), pp. 33, 49–54, 103–5, 173, 208, 213–14, 225, 243–44, 255–60 (bibl.); W. Oeschlin, “Il Laocoonte: O del restauro delle statue antiche,” *Paragone* 287 (1974): 3–29 (Laocoön, Barberini Faun, Aegina pediments); F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Greek Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven, 1981) (restorers of ancient favorites noted, *passim*); G. La Monica, *Ideologia e prassi del restauro con*

antologia di testi (Palermo, 1985); P. P. Bober and R. Rubenstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* (Oxford-New York, 1986) (pre-Mannerist sources and histories); L. Dolcini, “Per una storia del restauro delle sculture: Posizioni teoriche fra XVI e XIX secolo,” *OPD Restauro* 1 (1986): 12–31; Rossi Pinelli, pp. 179–250 (review of history, examples, theories, and technique); A. Nesselrath, “The Venus Belvedere: An Episode in Restoration,” *JWarb* 50 (1987): 205–14 (monographic chronicle); P. Sénéchal, “Restaurations et emplois de sculptures antiques,” *Revue des Arts* 79 (1988): 47–51; J. Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art* (New Haven, 1989), pp. 151–72, 213–19; Howard 1990 (essays on restoration and antiquarian revivals, esp. “Antiquity Restored: An Overview with Definitions,” pp. 12–27, 243–44); Howard 1997 (essays on liminal and subliminal attachments in restoration, antiquarianism, and other representational arts); D. L. Sparti, “Tecnica e teoria del restauro scultoreo a Roma nel Seicento, con una verifica sulla collezione di Flavio Chigi,” *Storia dell'Arte* 92 (1998): 60–131, 125–31 (wide-ranging bibl.)

Before settling on Cavaceppi as the cardinal figure, I gathered (from 1952) references to some two hundred restorers, from biographers, archivists, catalogues, and antiquarian essays. These informed the elements of more general history discussed in my dissertation

(1958/1982) and subsequent studies, partly reprinted and enlarged in my 1990 and 1997 anthologies, with bibliographies of my publications. For further amplification on matters of context and detail, see also bibliographic samplings and literature below, esp. notes 14–17, 19–20 infra with their train of references, as well as archival inventories or catalogues generally, journals and symposia on conservation, and electronic databases, e.g., Getty/RILA's "Bibliography of the History of Art: Ancient Sculpture Restoration" (83 entries since the 1980s), a resource used here in part.

- 3 Stone Age, Bronze Age, and Classical schemata: *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, vols. 1–3, 13–15 (Berlin, 1966–1974); H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1970); J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-figure* (Berkeley, 1951). See esp. the magical restorative images of horses, cattle, and handprints in the Casares, Lascaux, and Peche Merle caves, and graffiti generally.

For an array of approaches to classical antiquarianism since antiquity and from Alberti and Vasari to Vico and Winckelmann, embodied in the classicist-humanist scheme of the Warburg Institute and Library, see, for example, its publications and sources, essays, and annotation cited in Ladendorf (note 2 supra), passim and pp. 81–200 (bibl.); C. C. Vermeule, *European Art and the Classical Past* (Cambridge, 1964) (archaeological orientation); S. Settis, ed., *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, 3 vols. (Turin, 1986); and L. Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven, 1999) (ekphrastic orientation); for illustrated and annotated compendia of classical art, see S. Reinach's outline drawings of the early 1900s and *LIMC*, 9 vols. (Zurich and Munich, 1981–1997).

Virtù and classical norms: See Cicero in J. J. Pollitt, *The Art*

of Rome c. 753 B.C.–337 A.D. (Englewood Cliffs, 1966), pp. 74–79; cf. B. Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. L. E. Opdycke (1506–1516; New York, 1929), pp. 37–38, 64–70.

- 4 Alberti, Vasari, and comparative sculpture techniques, styles, and studio practices: E. H. Gombrich, "Vasari's *Lives* and Cicero's *Brutus*," *JWarb* 25 (1960): 309–11 (prototype in Cicero's art history recognized by Alberti and Vasari); S. Casson, *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture* (Oxford, 1933), pp. 168–222 (tools); S. Adam, *The Technique of Greek Sculpture in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (London, 1966); S. Howard, "A Cultural Parallel in Baroque and Hellenistic Portraiture," in *Actes du cinquième Congrès International d'Esthétique*, Amsterdam 1964 (Paris, 1968), pp. 686–89 [reprint, Howard 1997, pp. 12–17, 445–46]; C. Blümel, *Greek Sculptors at Work*, 2nd ed., trans. L. Holland (London, 1969); G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 4th ed. (New Haven, 1970), figs. 493–507 (techniques); S. Howard, "Observations Concerning the Antiquity of the Getty Veristic Head and the Authentication of Ancient Marbles," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 7 (1974): 165–74; M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art* (New York, 1977) (911 illustrated samples of schemata); C. C. Vermeule, *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste: The Purpose and Setting of Graeco-Roman Art in Italy and the Greek Imperial East* (Ann Arbor, 1977); R. Wittkower, *Sculpture: Processes and Principles* (London, 1977) (historical-technical-stylistic overviews); O. Palagia, "Les techniques de la sculpture grecque sur marbres," in *Marbres helléniques: De la carrière au chef d'oeuvre*, ed. L. Demeyer et al. (Brussels, 1987), pp. 76–89; E. Bartman, "Decor et Duplicatio: Pendants in Roman Sculpture Display," *AJA* 92 (1988): 211–25; M. True and J. Podany, eds.,

Marble: Art Historical and Scientific Perspectives on Ancient Sculpture (Malibu, 1990), cited as *Marble*; P. Rockwell, *The Art of Stoneworking: A Reference Guide* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 299–308 (bibl.); S. B. Butters, *The Triumph of Vulcan: Sculptors' Tools, Porphyry, and the Prince in Ducal Florence* (Florence, 1996).

- 5 Ancient restoration, repair, and maintenance: M. Cagiano de Azevedo, "Conservazione e restauro—presso i Greci e i Romani," *Bollettino dell'Istituto Centrale del Restauro* 9–10 (1952): 53–60; L. V. Borrelli and M. Cagiano de Azevedo, "Restauro," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica: Classica e orientale*, vol. 6 (Rome, 1965), pp. 654–62; J. Frel, "Ancient Repairs of Archaic Sculpture," *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 15 (1982): 202–14; S. Howard, "The Dying Gaul, Aigina Warriors, and Pergamene Academicism," *AJA* 87 (1983): 483–87; J. Frel, "Ancient Repairs to Classical Sculptures at Malibu," *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984): 73–92 (pentimenti, reworkings, restorations); S. Howard, "Pergamene Art Collecting and Its Aftermath," in *Schatzkammer, Salon, Ausstellung, "Museum,"* vol. 4.4 of *Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte*, Wien 1983 (Vienna, 1986), pp. 25–36, 179–88 [reprint, Howard 1990, pp. 28–41, 245–48]; A. Claridge, "Ancient Techniques of Making Joins in Marble Statuary," in *Marble* (note 4 supra), pp. 135–62; E. B. Harrison, "Repair, Reuse and Re-working of Ancient Greek Statuary," in *Marble* (op. cit.), pp. 163–84.
- 6 Especially notable in fig. 2 (a picturesque array of fragments characteristic of early Renaissance antiquities collections in Rome and elsewhere in Italy) is the central placement of young Michelangelo's competitive antico *Drunken Bacchus* (c. 1496–1498), with token mutilations, displayed as if it were the most choice of the assembled antiquities.

- 7 Medieval *spoglie* and antiquarianism: J. Adhémar, *Influences antiques dans l'art du moyen âge français: Recherches sur les sources et les thèmes d'inspiration* (London, 1939); G. Q. Gigliotti, "Il 'Regisole' di Pavia," *BollMC* 68 (1940): 63–65; R. Bianchi Bandinelli, "An 'Antique' Reworking of an Antique Head," *JWarb* 9 (1946): 1–10 (Nanni di Banco?); Cagianò, pp. 9–13; W. Oakeshott, *Classical Inspiration in Medieval Art* (London, 1959); *L'uso dei classici*, vol. 1 of *Memoria dell'antico* (note 3 supra); C. Frugoni, "L'antichità: dai 'Mirabilia' alla propaganda politica," in *Memoria dell'antico* (note 3 supra), vol. 1, pp. 46–49, fig. 15 (Regisole); M. Greenhalgh, "Ipsa ruina docet: L'uso dell'antico nel Medioevo," in *Memoria dell'antico* (note 3 supra), vol. 1, pp. 113–67; L. Rebaudo, "Questione di storia dell'archeologia nel quattrocento: Part II, La 'Lupa Capitolina' nel 1471," *Prospettiva* 73–74 (1994): 21–31.
- 8 Pasquino "eloquence": R. Lanciani, *New Tales of Old Rome* (Boston, 1901), p. 47, citing D. Gnoli, *Nuova Antologia* (January 1890), whence Howard 1990, pp. 23, 70, 244, n. 14; V. Marucci, A. Marzo, and A. Roncano, eds., *Pasquinata romane del cinquecento* (Rome, 1963); Haskell/Penny (note 2 supra), no. 72; Howard 1997, pp. 4–8; Barkan (note 3 supra), pp. 209–22 (selection and critiques).
- 9 Empathic associations and identifications: S. Howard, "The Revival of Ancient Archaic Art in the Late Eighteenth Century and the Use of Archaizing Postures and Modes in Drama and Living Sculpture," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 192 (1980): 1453–60 [reprint, Howard 1997, pp. 209–16, 448]; N. Eisenberg and J. Strayer, eds., *Empathy and Its Development* (Cambridge, 1987); K. F. Morrison, *I Am You: The Hermeneutics of Empathy in Western Literature, Theology, and Art* (Princeton, 1988); H. Mallgrave and E. Ikonomou, eds. and trans., *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873–1893* (Santa Monica, 1994); S. Howard, "Eros, Empathy, Expectation, Ascription, and Breasts of Michelangelo (A Prolegomenon on Polymorphism and Creativity)," *Artibus et Historiae* 22.44 (2001): 88, 109 (bibl.).
- 10 Torso Belvedere: Ladendorf (note 2 supra), pp. 31–32, passim, 155–56; H. H. Brummer, *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere* (Stockholm, 1970), pp. 143–52; Haskell/Penny (note 2 supra), no. 80 and passim; Bober/Rubenstein (note 2 supra), no. 132; M. Winner, ed., "Il cortile delle statue: Der Statuenhof des Belvedere im Vatikan," *Akten des internationalen Kongresses zu Ehren von Richard Krautheimer* (Mainz, 1998), pp. 287–326.
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- 17 Canova, Elgin marbles, and aftermath: *Report from the Select Committee on the Earl of Elgin’s Collection of Sculptured Marbles, &c.* (London, 1816); Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettres écrites de Londres à Rome et adressées à M. Canova, sur les marbres d’Elgin* (Rome, 1818); J. T. Smith, *Nollekens and His Times* (1828; London, 1949), pp. 145–47 (Nollekens interviewed by Elgin committee, observing that value would include the cost of restorations to “put them in order,” also noting their higher value if not restored); Michaelis (note 2 supra), pp. 132–51; H. Honour, “Antonio Canova and the Anglo-Romans,” *Connoisseur* 143 (1959): 241–45; ibid., Part II, 144 (1960): 225–31; W. St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles* (London, 1967), pp. 166–67 (Canova opposes restoration); S. Howard, “The Antiquarian Market in Rome and the Rise of Neo-Classicism: A Basis for Canova’s New Classics,” *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 151–55 (1976): 1057–1068 [reprint, Howard 1990, pp. 154–61, 276–77]; O. Rossi Pinelli, “Artisti, falsari o filologi? Da Cavaceppi a Canova, il restauro della scultura tra arte e scienza,” *Ricerche di Storia dell’Arte* 13–14 (1981): 41–56.
- 18 In fig. 4, Cavaceppi (lower left) awaits inspiration from his muse as he models a clay sketch of the sort found in his classicist terracotta studies. Such *bozzetti* functioned as exercises in imitation, for use as prototypes for enlargement in restorations, or in more independent inventions. A studio aide, with the help of two of three pointing machine frames and a compass, measures and points off his marble antico Diana (now in the Villa Ruffo, Rome, without adherences) from a full-size stucco prototype. Another inscribes or antiquates the front of a portrait herm, and still another is seated at work in an interior garden court by an arbor. The walls are lined with restored sculptures for Frederick II’s collection at Potsdam, and ancient fragments litter the floor and are stacked in an adjacent storage room. Sundry hoists, chisels, calipers, squares, and other tools are scattered here and there.
- 19 Cavaceppi: B. Cavaceppi, *Raccolta d’antiche statue, busti, teste cognite ed altre sculture restaurate*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1768–1772); Cagianò, pp. 68–70, 74–77; Howard 1958/1982 (note 2 supra) (biographic chronicle, works, circle, and critique of restoration theory; reproductions of Cavaceppi’s *Raccolta* essays [pp. 355–64] and plates [pp. 432–37], bibl. [pp. 271–81], reproduction of collection inventory mss [pp. 366–408; indexes, pp. 418–29], concordance [pp. 410–12]); idem 1964 (note 13 supra), pp. 177–89; idem, “Bartolomeo Cavaceppi and the Origins of Neo-Classical Sculpture,” *Art Quarterly* 33 (1970): 120–33 [reprint, Howard 1990, pp. 98–116, 263–65]; idem, “Bartolomeo Cavaceppi,” in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 22 (Rome, 1979), pp. 549–51; I. Gesche, “Antikenergänzungen im 18. Jahrhundert: Joachim Winckelmann und Bartolomeo Cavaceppi,” in *Antikensammlungen im 18. Jahrhundert* (note 16 supra),

pp. 335–41; C. A. Picón, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi: Eighteenth-Century Restorations of Ancient Marble Sculpture from English Private Collections* (London, 1983); Rossi Pinelli, pp. 233–37, 237, n. 2 (list of late eighteenth-century restorers); S. Howard, “Bartolomeo Cavaceppi’s Saint Norbert,” *ArtB* 70.3 (1988): 478–85; idem, “Ancient Busts and the Cavaceppi and Albacini Casts,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 3.2 (1991): 199–217; idem, “Albani, Winckelmann, and Cavaceppi: The Transition from Amateur to Professional Antiquarianism,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 4.1 (1992): 27–38; idem, “Fakes, Intention, Proofs, and Impulsion to Know: The Case for Cavaceppi and Clones,” in *Why Fakes Matter* (note 16 supra), pp. 51–62; C. Gasparri, “Cavaceppi a Villa Albani,” *BdA* 80–81 (1993): 93–106; idem and O. E. Ghiandoni, *Lo studio Cavaceppi e le collezioni Torlonia*, vol. 16 of *Rivista Arch* (Rome, 1993); D. Gasparotto, “Momenti della fortuna de ‘Discoforo Duncombe,’” *Prospettiva* 75–76 (1994): 65–76; M. G. Barberini and C. Gasparri, eds., *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, scultore romano (1717–1799)*, (Rome, 1994) (essays: M. G. Barberini, C. Bartoli [Early Christian sarcophagi], A. Campitelli, C. Gasparri, B. Steindl, S. Howard; list of works, pp. 85–137 [Barberini]; bibl., pp. 138–44); S. Howard, “Cavaceppi e i suoi bozzetti,” in *ibid.*, pp. 71–76 (trans. M. L. Casanova); M. Kunze and S. G. Bruer, *Von der Restauration der Antiken: Eine unvollendete Schrift Winckelmanns* (Mainz, 1996); T. Weiss, ed., *Von der Schönheit wissen Marmors: Zum 200. Todestag Bartolomeo Cavaceppis*, exh. cat. (Mainz, 1999) (eighteenth-century ambience: D. Rössler, M. Kunze, J.-P. Haldi, D. Grassinger, A. Dostert, K. Knoll, A. Schäfer; Cavaceppi and circle: S. Howard, I. Pfeifer, N. H. Ramage, D. Kreikenbom, U. Müller-Kaspar; catalogue: pp. 100–51 [principally by I. Pfeifer]; bibl.: pp. 153–61); S. Howard, “Casa-Museo-Accademia Cavaceppi, Wörlitz Antiquarianism,

and an Industrial Revolution in Early Modern Art,” in *Von der Schönheit wissen Marmors* (op. cit.), pp. 61–71; I. Pfeifer, “Cavaceppi und seine Beziehungen nach Anhalt-Dessau,” in *Von der Schönheit wissen Marmors* (op. cit.), pp. 73–77, 122–25 (untraced Anhalt-Dessau Cavaceppi works, including various copies); see also note 16 supra.

- 20 Early modern, nineteenth-century restoration, Aegina: De Rossi (note 16 supra); L. von Urlichs, *Die Glyptothek Seiner Majestät des Königs Ludwig 1. von Bayern nach ihren Geschichte und ihrem Bestande* (Munich, 1867) (lists of restorations by Albacini, Camuccini, Cavaceppi, Finelli, Franzoni, Kaufmann, Massimilliani, Meyer, Moglia, Pacetti, Il Sposino, Thorvaldsen, Vitali; pp. 25–35 [Barberini Faun], 35–49 [Aegina marbles acquired 1811], 42–49 [Aegina restorations 1816–1818, Johann Martin Wagner designer, Thorvaldsen modelmaker in clay, Finelli superior restorer in marble, also Kaufmann]); P. E. Visconti, *Museo Torlonia* (Rome, 1881), pp. 9–10; C. Boito, *I restauratori* (Florence, 1884); C. L. Visconti, *Les Monuments de la sculpture antique du Musée Torlonia* (Rome, 1884) (Filippo Gnaccarini and Colombo Castelpoggi restorers, whence Cagiano, pp. 84–85); A. Furtwängler, *Die Aegineten der Glyptothek Königs Ludwig 1.* (Munich, 1906); Cagiano, pp. 81–90; M. G. Picozzi, “La statua di Lucio Vero nel Braccio Nuova dei Musei Vaticani,” *Xenia* 15 (1968): 99–109; L. O. Larsson, “Thorvaldsens Restaurierung der Aegina-Skulpturen im Lichte zeitgenössischer Kunstkritik und Antiken-auffassung,” *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 38 (1969), pp. 23–46; O. Rossi Pinelli, “Carlo Fea e il chirografo del 1802: Cronaca giudiziaria e non, delle prime battaglie per la tutela delle ‘Belle Arti,’” *Ricerche di Storia dell’Arte* 9 (1979): 27–41; Howard 1980 (note 9 supra); idem, “Archaism and Attitudes in Italianate Neo-Classical Sculpture,” in *La scultura*

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- 21 Cult of the fragment: [M. Cagiano de Azevedo], “I restauri di Thorvaldsen ai marmi di Egina,” *Bollettino dell’Istituto Centrale del Restauro* 2 (1950): 71–72; Ladendorf (note 2 supra), p. 181; D. Ahrens, “Restored Stone Sculptures at the Munich Glyptothek,” in *New York Conference on Conservation of Stone and Wooden Objects, 1970* (London, 1971), pp. 65–69; J. Paul, “Antikenergänzung und Ent-Restaurierung,” *Kunstchronik* 25 (1972): 85–112; A. Chastel, “La dérestauration des statues et ses problèmes,” *Le Monde* (Paris, 8 August 1975); A. Monferini, *Giulio Paolini* (Milan-Rome, 1988), nos. 5, 16, 20, 22 (casts of antiquities as neo-Dadaist bricolage vehicles alluding to lost self-identity); W. J. Diebold, “The Politics of Derestoration: The Aegina pediments and the German Confrontation with the Past,” *ArtJ* 54.2 (1995): 60–66 (linked to postwar program of denazification).
- 22 Reconstructions (and color): Furtwängler (note 20 supra), pls. 4–10; P. Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik, Griechenland und Rom* (Stockholm, 1960); Howard 1962 (note 2 supra), p. 334, nn. 31–35, pl. 46, fig. f; Richter (note 4 supra)—see, e.g., reconstructions in figs. 415–20,

- 468–92, 610, 613–16, 631, 715; M. Shedd, “Phidias at the Universal Exposition of 1855: The Duc de Luynes and the ‘Athena Parthenos,’” *GBA* 108.1813 (1986): 123–34 (ancient polychrome models); N. Penny, *The Materials of Sculpture* (New Haven, 1993), pp. 40–41, figs. 38, 39 (Cambridge Museum polychrome 1975 cast reconstruction of the Acropolis Museum “Peplos Kore”).
- 23 Principles of conservation, stabilization, and reversibility: See, for example, issues of *Bollettino dell'Istituto Centrale del Restauro* (1950–); *Studies in Conservation* (1950–); *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* (1960–); C. Brandi, *Teorie del restauro* (Rome, 1963); H. J. Plenderleith and A. E. A. Werner, *The Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art: Treatment, Repair, and Restoration*, 2nd ed. (London, 1971); Conti (note 2 supra), passim; D. Rinne, *The Conservation of Ancient Marbles* (Malibu, 1976); *Sculpture Conservation* (note 16 supra).
- 24 In fig. 5, the parts of the Laocoön group, separated at ancient cuts and joins, include the Pollack arm, now attached to the priest, and the original contours of the trimmed right shoulder, preserved in Primiticcio's bronze. Also indicated are suggested intervening details of marble, as well as extant iron cramps, dowels, and pins with accompanying slots, which are especially prominent in the added rear altarblock of Italian marble, with its massive excavation for a tenon, to hold Laocoön's body. Note: The reset arm in the Vatican restoration, which is abruptly turned forward from its join at the deltoid (see top view in F. Magi, “Il ripristino del Laocoonte,” *AttiPont-Acc* 9: fig. 27, pl. 48), should instead rise up and back, following the direction implied by the remnant of a large, ancient, more vertically directed and rear-facing dowel hole in the large shoulder cavity (see Howard 1990, esp. figs. 68–70). That arm and its mass of coils was drawn back and anchored with dowels to the snake's body behind Laocoön's shoulder and to his lower ribs—as seen, for example, in the full-scale Renaissance reconstruction in marble by Baccio Bandinelli (Magi, op. cit., pl. 16.1–2, in Uffizi; see also pl. 47) and in more open small bronzes (Magi, op. cit., pl. 14.1 in Bargello).
- 25 Laocoön restored and re-restored: M. Bieber, *Laocoön: The Influence of the Group since Its Rediscovery* (New York, 1942); Howard 1959 (note 14 supra) (suggested pyramidal reconstruction); Magi (note 24 supra), fig. 6, pls. 7.1, 8 (Primiticcio Fontainebleau bronze cast-copy with ancient shoulder support), fig. 9, pls. 46.5, 19–50 (“Michelangelo” unfinished raised and bent right arm), fig. 15, pls. 29.6, 34–35 (rear altar block ancient restoration[?] of Italian marble), figs. 19–20 (forgery prototypes), fig. 27, pl. 48 (top view), pls. 21.1, 23.1 (Renaissance excavated right arm socket), pl. 26.2 (Pollack arm reworked with point [for Roman restoration?]), pl. 32.2 (elder son's broken and trimmed thigh-coil, a flexible attachment); Howard 1964 (note 14 supra) (Laocoön analogues in the Great Altar of Zeus gigantomachy and Attalos friezes); Brummer (note 10 supra), pp. 73–119; G. Daltrop, *Die Laokoon-gruppe im Vatikan: Ein Kapitel aus der römischen Museumsgeschichte und der Antiken-Erkundung* (Constance, 1982); Rossi Pinelli, pp. 183–91; S. Howard, “Laocoön Rerestored,” *AJA* 93 (1989): 417–22; Howard 1990, pp. 50–62, 250–51 (Addendum); Winner (note 10 supra), pp. 117–210; R. Brilliant, *My Laocoön: Alternate Claims in the Interpretation of Art Works* (Berkeley, 2000), general overview and pp. 64–66, 101–5 (critiques of Magi, Howard, and Brilliant “restorations”), fig. 27 (Brilliant's compound Sperlongesque grouping with a Herakliskos statue not mentioned by Pliny); M. Koortbojian, “Pliny's Laocoön?” in *Antiquity and Its Interpreters*, ed. A. Payne, A. Kruttner, and R. Smick (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 199–216; Howard, in press (note 11 supra), referring to Michelangelo's drawing of a nude male torso (British Museum 1859-6-25-563) apparently of Laocoön in side view before excavation of socket for the Priest's right arm, also related to his statue group Victory, c. 1527–1530, in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence).
- 26 Lansdowne Herakles history and restorations: Michaelis (note 2 supra), pp. 451–52, no. 61; A. H. Smith, “Celebrated Collection of Ancient Marbles . . . the Marquis of Lansdowne,” Christie's cat. (London, 1930), no. 34 (letters), pp. 24–25 (citing Townley and Jenkins to Lord Lansdowne, April and December 1792); E. La Vane and J. P. Getty, *The Joys of Collecting* (New York, 1965), passim, esp. pp. 322–29; Howard 1978 (note 16 supra), pp. 6–46 (history; restoration of the sculpture ascribed to Albacini), 25–32 (fourth-century characteristics); for 1976 “repairs” see *ibid.*, p. 2, “Foreword” (J. Frel), pp. 3–5, “Conservation Report” (Zdravko Barov), and figs. 25–43, 90 (after “renovation”); Vaughan 1991 (note 16 supra), pp. 194–95 (Albacini noted as restorer in recently surfaced Townley mss); J. Podany, “Restoring What Wasn't There: Reconsideration of the Eighteenth-Century Restorations to the Lansdowne Herakles in the Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum,” in *Restoration: Is It Acceptable?* *British Museum Occasional Papers*, ed. A. Oddy (London, 1994), pp. 9–18. (importance of supporting the viewer's gestalt in restoration and aspects of the object's history, specifically in re-restoring the Lansdowne Herakles); see also M. True, “Changing Approaches to Conservation,” and J. Podany, “Lessons from the Past,” in this volume.

Ein Apoxyomenos des 5. Jahrhunderts

Überlegungen zu einer von Cavaceppi ergänzten Statue in Los Angeles

Sascha Kansteiner

Um zu einer Beurteilung römischer Skulpturen zu gelangen, wird heutzutage selten der Versuch einer Replikenrezension unternommen. Man hat sich zuletzt stattdessen häufig mit einer oberflächlichen Gruppenbildung begnügt, indem man Statuen zusammenstellte, denen lediglich bestimmte Haltungsmotive gemeinsam sind.

Diese Art der Herangehensweise stellt eine unzulässige Vereinfachung dar: Zum einen konnten auf diese Weise bestimmte griechische Originale überhaupt nicht erschlossen werden, nämlich dann, wenn das Haltungsmotiv nicht besonders originell ist, wie etwa bei ruhig stehenden männlichen nackten Figuren mit gesenkten Armen. Dies hat zu absurden Schlussfolgerungen geführt, beispielsweise daß der statuarische Typus des polykletischen sog. Diskophoros überhaupt nicht existiert hätte. Zum anderen beinhaltet diese Herangehensweise eine viel zu beschränkte Sicht der griechischen Plastik, indem man annimmt, daß bestimmte Haltungsmotive in der griechischen Kunst nur einmalig Verwendung gefunden hätten. So hat man z.B. zu Unrecht vermutet, allen römischen männlichen Statuen, bei denen eine Hand auf dem Kopf ruht, läge der spätklassische Apollon Lykeios zugrunde.

Große Schwierigkeiten hat auch die kunsthistorische Bestimmung von Torsi bereitet, die als Apoxyomenoi rekonstruiert werden, also als Athleten, vorzugsweise Ringer oder Pankratiasten, die mit einer Strigilis Öl und Sand von einem ihrer Arme entfernen. Von ihnen soll im folgenden die Rede sein.

Aus der Geschichte der Kunst des 5. Jh. ist seit geraumer Zeit eine Statue verschwunden, die allein schon aufgrund ihrer spezifischen Armhaltung Beachtung verdient (Abb. 1). Es handelt sich um eine lebensgroße Athletenfigur unbekannter Provenienz aus parischem Marmor, die von Bartolomeo Cavaceppi als Faustkämpfer ergänzt worden ist und im County Museum in Los Angeles aufbewahrt wird¹. Ihre Höhe beträgt 1,715 m ohne Plinthe, die ursprüngliche Höhe samt der Kalotte muß 1,73 m betragen haben². Die Körperhöhe beträgt 52 cm³.

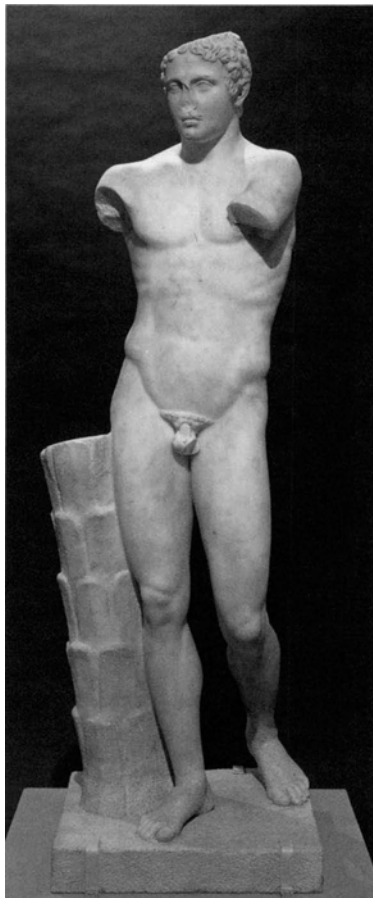
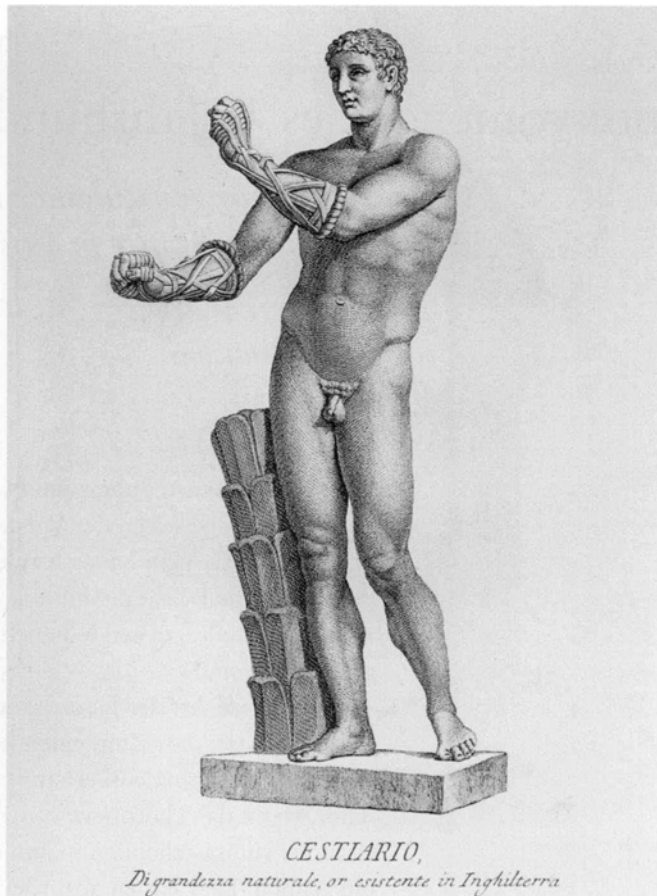


ABB. 1
Statue eines Apoxyomenos (*Athlet*). Im 2. Jh. n.Chr. angefertigte Kopie eines Originals aus dem 5. Jh. v.Chr. Marmor, H 172 cm. L.A. County Museum of Art 49.23.12. Foto © 2001 Museum Associates, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

ABB. 2
Apoxyomenos. Aus Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, *Raccolta*, vol. 1, Taf. 21.



Die Statue ist von Cavaceppi im ersten Band seiner *Raccolta d'antiche statue* mit der Bildunterschrift "jetzt in England" im Jahr 1768 publiziert worden (Abb. 2). Sie war wohl im Jahr 1762 von James Adam für seinen Bruder Robert Adam erworben worden und gelangte 1775 in die Sammlung von William second Earl of Shelburne in Lansdowne House, London. Im Jahr 1930 wurde die Skulptur zusammen mit den meisten anderen Statuen der Sammlung Lansdowne, etwa dem Herakles Lansdowne (heute im Getty Museum) und dem Hermes Lansdowne (heute in Santa Barbara), bei Christie's versteigert und gelangte vermutlich über einen amerikanischen Kunsthändler in die Sammlung des amerikanischen Medienmoguls William Randolph Hearst, der das Stück im Jahr 1949 dem Los Angeles County Museum schenkte.

Im heutigen Zustand ergänzt sind beide Füße samt den Knöcheln, der Plinthe und dem untersten Stück der Palmstammstütze. Die übrigen Ergänzungen sind nach und nach entfernt worden, zunächst die Arme, später die Nase und ein Hoden sowie die Kalotte, die, anders als die Abbildungen der Statue vermuten liessen, ursprünglich nicht gesondert gearbeitet war, sondern offenbar genau dort abgebrochen ist, wo eine Eisenader den Kopf durchzog, die ungefähr parallel zu der Ader in Höhe des Mundes verlief (Abb. 3). Der Marmor der Nase und des linken Hodens ähnelt



demjenigen der Statue so sehr, daß man angenommen hat, Cavaceppi hätte ihn der Statue entnommen⁴.

Daß der Kopf nur gebrochen war, also zum Körper gehört, wie meistens angenommen wird, haben im 19. Jh. Clarac und in jüngerer Zeit Seymour Howard in Frage gestellt⁵. Ihrem Verdacht kommt besondere Bedeutung zu, weil bei der kunsthistorischen Beurteilung der Statue immer die Zusammengehörigkeit vorausgesetzt wurde, offenbar ohne daß einer der Forscher — mit Ausnahme von Furtwängler — die Statue im Original gesehen und studiert hätte.

Um ohne Autopsie der Statue zu einer Entscheidung in der Frage der Zusammengehörigkeit von Kopf und Körper gelangen zu können, habe ich zunächst geprüft, ob sich vor allem bei den von Cavaceppi im ersten Band seiner *Raccolta* publizierten, ungefähr zur gleichen Zeit, also um 1760 ergänzten Statuen bestimmte Restaurierungsgesetzmäßigkeiten hinsichtlich der Verbindung von Köpfen und Körpern feststellen lassen⁶. Hier einige Beispiele:

Ebenfalls in die Sammlung Lansdowne gelangte eine bei Cavaceppi abgebildete Umdeutung des Apollon Lykeios als Dionysos (Farbtafel III)⁷. Diese überlebensgroße Statue ist nie publiziert worden und wurde nach der Versteigerung der Lansdowne-Skulpturen im Jahr 1930 sogar für verschollen gehalten⁸. Sie befindet sich heute,

ABB. 3

Detail, Statue eines Apoxyomenos,
Abb. 1. Foto © 2001 Museum Associates,
Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

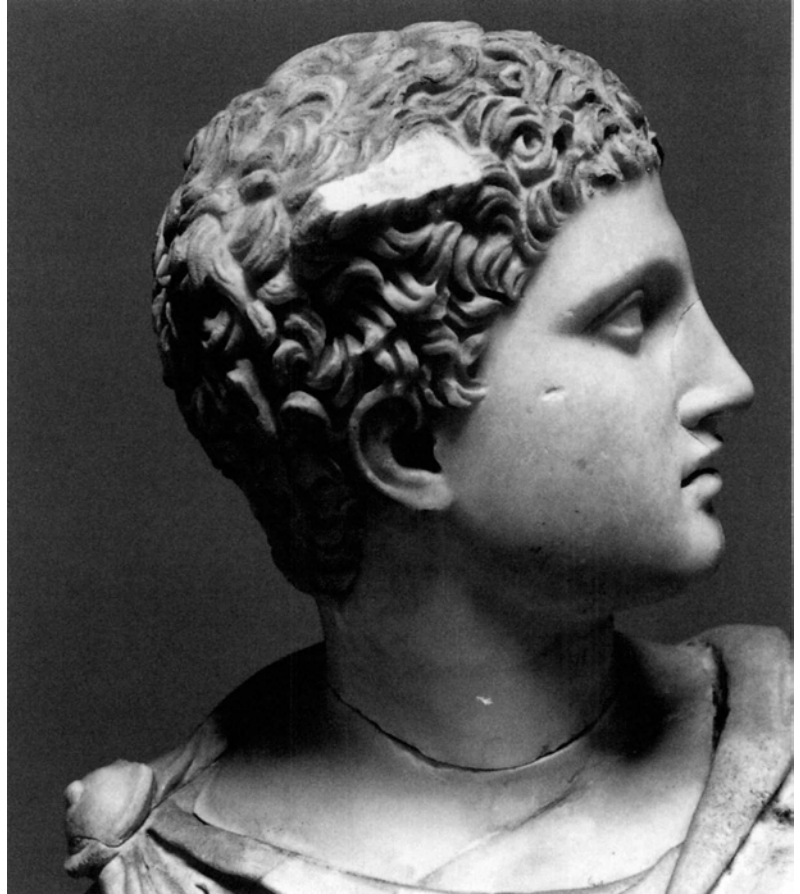


ABB. 4
Detail, Statue eines Jünglings. 18. Jh.
Marmor, H 154 cm. Berlin, Altes Museum
Sk 531. Foto: M. Taschner.

genauso wie andere Statuen der Sammlung Lansdowne, etwa der Hermes Lansdowne, im kalifornischen Santa Barbara, und zwar im Garten einer Villa, die ehemals dem Sammler Wright Ludington gehört hat (Farbtafel IV). Laut Adolf Michaelis, der das Stück in den Jahren 1873 und 1877 studiert hat, handelt es sich bei dem Kopf um eine moderne Ergänzung. Der gegenwärtige Zustand des Stückes bestätigt dies: die Halsfläche ist für die Anpassung einer Ergänzung, deren Verbleib unbekannt ist, geglättet worden. Den ergänzten Kopf hat man zweifellos deshalb entfernt, weil er offensichtlich als modern zu erkennen war. Antik ist dem heutigen Zustand und den Angaben Michaelis' zufolge nur der Torso. Cavaceppis Restaurierung ist interessanterweise in allen wesentlichen Punkten, der Position der Beine und der Drehung des Kopfes, zutreffend. Dies gilt auch für die Haltung des rechten Arms, was beachtlich ist, weil Cavaceppi bei der Ergänzung einer weiteren, heute verschollenen Umdeutung desselben Originals (*Raccolta*, vol. 1, Taf. 37) das Motiv nicht erfasst hat, indem er den rechten Arm als erhoben ergänzte.

Bei einer im Pergamonmuseum in Berlin aufbewahrten, ebenfalls in den 60er Jahren des 18. Jh. ergänzten Kopie des Apollon Lykeios dürfte Cavaceppi dieser Fehler nicht unterlaufen sein⁹. Die Ergänzungen sind hier zwar um 1825 durch Daniel Rauch

erneuert worden, doch ist der rechte Arm bis zum Ellbogen antik, so daß nicht daran zu zweifeln ist, daß ihn bereits Cavaceppi in zutreffender Weise vervollständigt hat.

In den 60er Jahren hat Cavaceppi auch eine in Vergessenheit geratene knapp lebensgroße Jünglingsfigur restauriert, die sich im Obergeschoß der Rotunde des Alten Museums befindet (*Raccolta*, vol. 1, Taf. 14)¹⁰. In diesem Fall hat man den Kopf (Abb. 4), dessen Lippen und Nase ergänzt sind, für antik aber nicht zugehörig gehalten. Die Machart der Haare und die überdeutliche Öffnung des Mundes läßt indes eher erwarten, daß es sich um ein Werk Cavaceppis handelt¹¹. Eng verwandt ist ein als Arbeit Cavaceppis angesehener Kopf in der Sammlung Wallmoden in Göttingen, der auf eine Statue des Perseus gesetzt ist¹². Ein Versuch seitens Cavaceppis, die moderne Ergänzung der Statue in Berlin als wiederangesetzte antike Partie zu kaschieren, ist übrigens nicht ersichtlich.

Der Statue in Los Angeles unmittelbar vergleichbar ist dagegen eine überlebensgroße Statue des Domitian, ehemals in der Villa Albani, heute in München, Glyptothek 394¹³. Ihr Kopf, der zu Recht als sicher zugehörig gilt, war wie derjenige der Statue in Los Angeles gebrochen. In beiden Fällen sind die Bruchränder etwas ausgefranst und mit Kitt gefüllt¹⁴. Sehr ähnlich ist auch der ebenfalls von Cavaceppi selbst oder in seiner Werkstatt restaurierte sog. Berliner Athlet (SK 471; *Raccolta*, vol. 1, Taf. 47). Sein Kopf ist sicher zugehörig, die Bruchränder mußten hier mit relativ großen Flecken ausgebessert werden.

Gut zu vergleichen ist schließlich der Ölgießer in Petworth House, West Sussex, dessen Ergänzungen (Unterschenkel, Baumstütze) Cavaceppi zugeschrieben werden. Die Statue ist in jüngster Zeit von Joachim Raeder auch im Hinblick auf die Frage der Zugehörigkeit des Kopfes genau untersucht worden, mit dem Ergebnis, daß der Kopf lediglich gebrochen war¹⁵.

Im Unterschied zu den Köpfen, die von den zugehörigen Körpern abgebrochen waren, läßt sich bei antiken, nicht zugehörigen Köpfen häufig erkennen, daß sie von Cavaceppi mit Hilfe großer Zwischenstücke, einer Art Halskrause, aufgesetzt wurden: dies ist beispielsweise der Fall bei dem sog. Pollux im Louvre, auf den unten noch einzugehen sein wird, bei einer Aphrodite-Statue der Sammlung Hope, bei einer Statue des Antinous in Berlin (Inv. R 59) und bei der Replik des antretenden Diskobols im Liebieghaus in Frankfurt¹⁶.

Fazit: Der Vergleich mit anderen Restaurierungen Cavaceppis erlaubt zwar keine gesicherte Differenzierung in der Frage der Zugehörigkeit von Köpfen, spricht im vorliegenden Fall der Statue in Los Angeles jedoch eher dafür, daß Cavaceppi den *zugehörigen* Kopf aufgesetzt hat.



ABB. 5
Detail, Statue eines Apoxyomenos, Abb. 1.
Foto © 2001 Museum Associates, Los
Angeles County Museum of Art.

Meine eigene Untersuchung der Statue im Oktober 2001 ergab, daß an der Zugehörigkeit des Kopfes kein Zweifel bestehen kann: Kopf und Körper stimmen, wie an der Kristallstruktur ersichtlich ist, nicht nur in der Marmorsorte sondern auch im Vorhandensein von ungefähr horizontal verlaufenden Adern überein. Der einzige Unterschied besteht darin, daß die Oberfläche des Gesichts stärker neuzeitlich geglättet ist als diejenige des Körpers. Wie mir der Restaurator Jerry Podany mitteilte, hat die Restaurierung im Jahr 1980, die ein Abnehmen des Kopfes beinhaltete, gezeigt, daß Cavaceppi zum Ansetzen des Kopfes die Bruchflächen begradigt hat¹⁷, eine in solchen Fällen gängige Praxis.

Vermutlich das Fehlen der Arme und vielleicht auch die im Verhältnis zur Kopfhöhe große Gesichtshöhe haben zu dem Eindruck geführt, der Kopf sei zu groß für den Körper¹⁸. Die Kopfhöhe von annähernd 24 cm korrespondiert jedoch genau mit der Gesamthöhe von 1,73 m, wie der Vergleich mit dem Diomedes und anderen Kopien griechischer Originale verdeutlicht¹⁹.

Die kunsthistorische Bestimmung der Statue in Los Angeles wird Adolf Furtwängler verdankt, der das Stück wegen der Frisur an den Kopf aus Perinth (Jüngling Typus Perinth-Kyrene²⁰) in Dresden anschloß und daher in die Zeit des späten Strengen Stils datierte²¹. Furtwängler stellte außerdem fest, daß der seinerzeit

auf den sogenannten Pollux im Louvre aufgesetzte Kopf²² eine enge Verwandtschaft aufweist. Den Kopf des Pollux hielt Furtwängler indes irrtümlicherweise für zugehörig²³, so daß es Lippold vorbehalten blieb, die typologische Übereinstimmung des Kopfes des Pollux mit dem Athleten der Sammlung Lansdowne zu postulieren²⁴.

In der Tat stimmt die Frisur über der Stirn in dem Maße überein, daß eine Deutung als Replik gerechtfertigt erscheint. Im Vergleich der Profile (Abb. 5–6) erkennt man, daß das Haar an der linken Schläfe im ersten Register genau übereinstimmt, während die Entsprechungen nach oben hin schwerer nachzuvollziehen sind. Am Hinterkopf bestehen kleine Abweichungen. Die Locken der Statue in Los Angeles sind insgesamt erheblich grober gebildet als bei dem Kopf in Paris.

Furtwänglers Datierung modifizierte Lippold dahingehend, daß er das Original der Statue in Los Angeles als Werk des Übergangs vom Strengen Stil zur Hochklassik ansah und in überzeugender Weise dem Jüngling Odeskalchi²⁵ an die Seite stellte.

Kurioserweise ist diese plausible Bestimmung von keinem der Forscher, die sich seitdem, also seit 1950 mit der Statue befaßt haben, zur Kenntnis genommen worden²⁶. Die Ursache liegt wohl darin, daß allen Autoren eine kurze Stellungnahme von José Dörig aus dem Jahr 1965, in welcher die ältere Forschung unberücksichtigt bleibt, als Referenz gilt²⁷. In Dörigs z.T. recht konfusem Artikel²⁸ geht es um den Torso eines Apoxyomenos im Nationalmuseum in Athen, der als Kopie eines Frühwerkes des Lysipp zu interpretieren sei, während das Original der Statue in Los Angeles, die Dörig offenbar nur aus einer schlechten Aufnahme kannte, zwischen dieses Frühwerk (370/60 v.Chr.) und den bekannten Apoxyomenos des Lysipp (320 v.Chr.) an das "Ende der 30er Jahre" (sic!) zu setzen sei²⁹. Dörigs Vergleich des Torsos in Athen mit der Statue in Los Angeles ist von Jiří Frel, dem andere Forscher gefolgt sind, dahingehend modifiziert worden, daß beiden Stücken dasselbe Original zugrunde liege³⁰.

Tatsächlich kann der Torso in Athen weder als Kopie datiert werden³¹, noch bietet er aufgrund seines schlechten Erhaltungszustandes eine Handhabe für eine präzise zeitliche Einordnung des Originals³². Ergiebig ist aber der Vergleich mit der Statue in Los Angeles: Der Abstand zwischen der Halsgrube und der Nabelmitte beträgt bei dem Torso in Athen 37,5 cm. Damit entspricht er der Größe der Statue in Los Angeles, bei der diese Distanz 37 cm ausmacht³³. Der Kopf wird nach Aussage des stärker angespannten linken Halswenders wie bei der Statue in Los Angeles leicht nach rechts gedreht gewesen sein. Die Armansätze entsprechen in der Ausrichtung denjenigen der Statue. Da auch in der Körperbildung keine signifikanten Abweichungen von der Statue festzustellen sind,

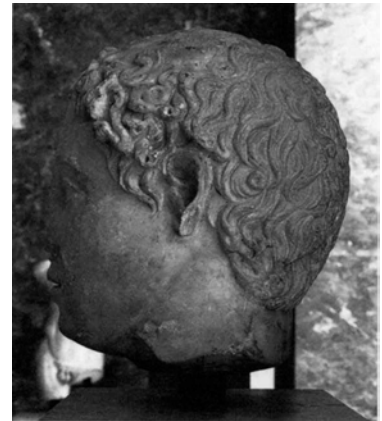


ABB. 6
Kopf des Pollux. Kaiserzeitliche Kopie eines Originals aus dem 5. Jh. v.Chr. Marmor, H 28 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 889bis. Foto: M. Taschner.

besitzt die Annahme eines Replikenverhältnisses zwischen beiden Stücken große Wahrscheinlichkeit.

Die Überlieferung des Originals umfasst demnach neben der unvollständigen Statue in Los Angeles, die im 2. Jh. n.Chr. angefertigt worden ist³⁴, und dem oben erwähnten Kopf im Louvre auch den Torso in Athen.

Aus der Vorwärtsbewegung der Arme läßt sich auf eine Haltung schließen, die am ehesten, jedoch nicht mit Sicherheit mit einer Deutung als Apoxyomenos zu vereinbaren ist. Im Unterschied zur Statue des lysippischen Apoxyomenos weist keiner der Oberschenkel der Statue in Los Angeles Reste eines Steges auf. Zum rechten Arm wird indes ein von Cavaceppi vollständig abgearbeiteter Steg geführt haben, dessen Umriß noch auf der rechten Bauchdecke außen auszumachen ist (nur am Original zu erkennen).

Die Armhaltung ist das einzige Indiz dafür, daß das Original aus Bronze bestanden haben könnte.

Die für die Datierung des Originals ausschlaggebenden stilistischen Vergleiche sind bereits von Furtwängler und Lippold angestellt worden³⁵. Nachzutragen wäre, daß die stilistische Verwandtschaft mit dem Jüngling Typus Perinth-Kyrene außer dem Kopf auch den seinerzeit noch nicht bekannten Körper betrifft. Unmittelbar vergleichbar ist etwa die Bildung der Bauchmuskelpartie³⁶. Ganz nahe steht den beiden statuarischen Typen in diesem Punkt auch der oben erwähnte Jüngling Odeschalchi in Kopenhagen, der selbst in Details wie der ganz leicht giebelförmigen Anlage der Pubes Übereinstimmungen zeigt. Die ohne Plinthe 1,92 m messende, früher in der Sammlung Odeschalchi in Rom aufbewahrte Statue gilt allerdings als Pasticcio, seitdem Helga v. Heintze den Kopf irrtümlicherweise für nicht zugehörig erklärt hat³⁷. Eine in den 80er Jahren erfolgte Marmoranalyse, welche die Zusammengehörigkeit von Kopf und Körper wegen der übereinstimmenden Zusammensetzung des Marmors untermauern konnte³⁸, ist in der Forschung nicht zur Kenntnis genommen worden³⁹. Dabei hatte schon Furtwängler erkannt, daß die Bruchflächen von Kopf und Hals genau aneinander passen⁴⁰, was eine Überprüfung in Kopenhagen ohne jeden Zweifel bestätigen konnte. Das Original des Jünglings Odeschalchi ist außer durch die Figur in Kopenhagen, die aus antoninischer Zeit stammen dürfte⁴¹, noch durch zwei Kopfrepliken in Florenz und im Vatikan überliefert⁴².

Eine Deutung dieses Originals als Athlet ist aufgrund der Überlebensgröße nicht unbedingt zu erwarten (vgl. Lukian, *Pro imaginibus* 11), kann indes, wie der Vergleich mit anderen überlebensgroßen Athletenstatuen, etwa dem Apoxyomenos des Lysipp offenbart, auch nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Das Original dürfte wie dasjenige des Athleten in Los Angeles aus dem frühen dritten

Viertel des 5. Jh. v.Chr. stammen. Charakteristisch für diese Zeit des Übergangs vom Strengen Stil zur Hochklassik ist ein leicht giebelförmiger Verlauf der Pubes⁴³. Zu nennen sind außer dem Jüngling Odeschalchi und dem Athleten in Los Angeles der sog. Münchner König, der sog. Aktaion Typus Boboli-Rom⁴⁴ und eine als Herakles ergänzte lebensgroße Statue im Museo Torlonia in Rom⁴⁵.

Zusammen mit dem polykletischen Doryphoros, dem sog. Münchner König⁴⁶ und dem Kyniskos sind der Jüngling Odeschalchi und der Athlet in Los Angeles zu den frühesten Statuen zu zählen, bei denen der Spielbeinfuß etwas zurückgesetzt ist und nur mit einem Teil der Sohle den Boden berührt.

Die plastische Darstellung eines lebensgroßen Apoxyomenos zeigt bereits im zweiten Viertel des 5. Jh. v.Chr. eine fragmentarisch erhaltene Grabstele in Delphi⁴⁷. Zudem überliefert Plinius im Buch 34 der *Naturalis Historia* die Statue eines „*destringens se*“ des Polyklet⁴⁸. Diese Statue, die im gleichen Zeitraum wie das Original des Typus Los Angeles entstanden sein dürfte, ist offenbar nicht in der Kaiserzeit kopiert worden.

Die früh-hochklassische Statue eines Apoxyomenos, die von der Kopie in Los Angeles überliefert wird, geht dem Apoxyomenos des Lysipp um mehr als 100 Jahre voraus. In der Zwischenzeit sind mit Sicherheit weitere statuarische Fassungen dieses Motivs entstanden, von denen wir indes kaum Kenntnis besitzen, wie eine Übersicht verdeutlichen mag:

Ein Torso im pamphylistischen Side wird als Replik des lysippischen Apoxyomenos angesehen. Wie aus der abweichenden Körperhöhe hervorgeht, muß der Torso aber zu einer mindestens 10 cm größeren Statue gehört haben⁴⁹. Vom Apoxyomenos des Lysipp unterscheidet sich der Torso ferner durch die Haltung beider Arme, die längst nicht so hoch erhoben waren⁵⁰, durch die deutlich geringere Einziehung im Kreuz und wohl auch durch eine andere Formulierung der Pubes. Ein Replikenverhältnis ist daher auszuschließen⁵¹. Trotz den stärker gesenkten Armen bleibt eine Rekonstruktion des Torsos als Apoxyomenos wahrscheinlich. Das zu postulierende griechische Original dürfte dem Vatikanischen Apoxyomenos zeitlich näher gestanden haben als dem Typus Los Angeles/Athen. Die schlechte Erhaltung des Torsos, dessen Datierung in antoninische Zeit⁵² plausibel erscheint, erlaubt indes keine genauere zeitliche Bestimmung des Originals.

Ein Torso im Museo Nazionale in Rom gilt seit einer Besprechung von Hans Lauter als maßgleiche seitenvertauschte Kopie des Vatikanischen Apoxyomenos⁵³. Der ruinöse Erhaltungszustand läßt eine derartig präzise Bestimmung m.E. nicht zu, da z.B. die Haltung der Arme nicht mehr zu rekonstruieren ist⁵⁴. Es kommt hinzu, daß seitenvertauschte Kopien bislang nur äußerst selten

nachgewiesen werden konnten. Im vorliegenden Fall wäre die technisch äußerst aufwendige Vertauschung der Seiten umso weniger zu erwarten, als der Apoxyomenos keinerlei Orientierung zu einer Seite hin aufweist, anders als etwa der sog. Pothos, von dem sich eine in Florenz aufbewahrte, verkleinerte seitenvertauschte Wiederholung nachweisen läßt.

Eine Statue in Florenz, in der Villa Medici di Castello⁵⁵, hat man ebenfalls auf den Vatikanischen Apoxyomenos bezogen. Die Statue, deren Kopf ungebrochen aufsitzt, stimmt in der Größe mit der Statue im Vatikan wohl ungefähr überein, ist von dieser jedoch wegen des anderen Kopftypus und wegen des zur Seite geführten rechten Armes, dessen Ansatz antik ist, mit Sicherheit zu trennen. Die Haltung der Arme divergiert zu stark, als daß eine Deutung als Apoxyomenos in Frage käme⁵⁶.

Auf eine Apoxyomenos-Statue gehen dagegen wohl zwei maßgleiche Torsi zurück, die sich im Konservatorenpalast in Rom und im Museo Civico im kampanischen Fondi befinden⁵⁷. Die Angabe der Körperhöhe von 45,5 cm bei Mustilli läßt darauf schließen, daß das lebensgroße Original eine Höhe von knapp 1,60 m aufwies⁵⁸. Das Motiv der nach vorne gestreckten Arme ist aufgrund eines Stützrestes auf dem linken Oberschenkel des Torsos in Fondi gesichert. Die von Frel für den Torso in Fondi erwogene Deutung als Variante des lysippischen Apoxyomenos⁵⁹ ist allein schon deswegen abzulehnen, weil der Torso genauso wie die Replik im Konservatorenpalast eine deutlich entwickeltere Pubes als der Apoxyomenos zeigt, die bei einer anzunehmenden Verkleinerung keinen Sinn ergäbe. Es erscheint daher berechtigt, ein eigenes Original zu postulieren, welches vielleicht in das 5. Jh. gehört⁶⁰.

Eine Parallele für die Existenz mehrerer, sehr ähnlicher statuarischer Fassungen ein und desselben, aus dem Athletengenre stammenden Motivs bieten die Darstellungen von Ölgießern, von denen zumindest zwei für das 4. Jh. zu sichern sind⁶¹. Eine Art Vorläufer aus dem 5. Jh. ist dort bislang nicht sicher nachweisbar, weil der oben erwähnte Ölgießer in Petworth House als römische Schöpfung angesehen wird⁶². Der Kuriosität halber sei erwähnt, daß Linfert eben diese Statue mit dem Apoxyomenos des Polyklet in Verbindung gebracht hat⁶³.

Die Unterscheidung zwischen männlichen Körpern, denen ein Original des 5. Jh. und solchen, denen ein Original des 4. Jh. zugrunde liegt, hat der Forschung nicht nur im Fall des Athleten in Los Angeles große Schwierigkeiten bereitet. Hingewiesen sei nur auf eine Statue im Museo Torlonia (s. Anm. 45), die sicher zu Unrecht lange als Kopie eines Originals aus dem 4. Jh. angesehen wurde, und auf die von dem Bildhauer Koblanos aus Aphrodisias signierte Statue eines Faustkämpfers im Museo Nazionale in Neapel⁶⁴.

Während man den Kopf dieser wohl in der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jh. v. Chr. angefertigten Statue als Arbeit im Stil des 5. Jh. beurteilte, hat man den Körper—kaum mit Recht—von einer Statue im Salone des Museo Capitolino ableiten wollen, die sicher auf ein Original des späten 4. Jh. zurückgeht. Die Übereinstimmungen zwischen beiden Statuen betreffen freilich lediglich das Thema und das Haltungsmotiv, nicht aber die Größe und Details, so daß der Koblanos-Athlet als großplastisches Beispiel für die eklektische Kombination eines frühklassischen Kopfes mit einem deutlich jüngeren Körper ausscheiden muß⁶⁵. An anderer Stelle soll untersucht werden, ob die von der älteren Forschung favorisierte Interpretation der ganzen Statue als Kopie eines Originals aus dem 5. Jh. in Frage kommt.

Zusammenfassend ist festzuhalten, daß etliche Statuen bzw. Torsi wohl zu Unrecht allein aufgrund der motivischen Ähnlichkeit als Repliken oder Adaptionen auf den lysippischen Apoxyomenos bezogen worden sind. Sie stellen vielmehr eigenständige, vermutlich auf griechische Originale zurückgehende Fassungen eines für Athletenstatuen mit Sicherheit geläufigen Themas dar. Die Deutung der Statue in Los Angeles und die Tatsache, daß Plinius einen Apoxyomenos des Polyklet erwähnt, sprechen dafür, daß dieses Thema in der Großplastik bereits um die Mitte des 5. Jh. verwirklicht worden ist.

Summary

When scholars of Greek sculpture attempt to classify newly discovered or little known pieces of sculpture, they tend to relate them to well-known statue types, attributing all differences to the Roman copyists—as is the case with the statue of an athlete in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. This is based on an idea of originality one certainly cannot apply to the work of Roman sculptors in their approach to Greek statue types.

In the last fifty years specialists have excluded the life-size marble athlete in Los Angeles, formerly in the Lansdowne collection, from the repertoire of fifth-century sculpture. Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, who published the statue in 1768 in the first part of his *Raccolta d'antiche statue*, had restored it as a boxer. It is one of many examples where it is still argued whether the head mounted by Cavaceppi belongs to the body. Thus it is useful to compare other statues restored by Cavaceppi: a statue of the Lycian Apollo, reinterpreted as a Dionysos and now in the Austin Val Verde Foundation in Santa Barbara (the modern head removed), a statue with a modern head in Berlin (Cavaceppi, *Raccolta*, pl. 14), the statue of a Discobolos in Frankfurt (head not belonging), a statue of the emperor Domitian in Munich (head belonging), the so-called Berlin Athlete (head belonging) and the Petworth Oil Pourer (head

probably belonging). Given these examples, it seems likely that the head of the statue in Los Angeles is pertinent because of the way in which it is connected to the body.

As we looked closely at the Los Angeles statue during the Getty symposium, we all could observe the many similarities in the marble of head and body that left no doubt they are from the same block.

The style of the statue in Los Angeles was first analyzed in 1893 by Adolf Furtwängler, who related the statue to an original of the Severe Style. Strangely enough, the scholars who discussed the statue after 1950 never noticed his plausible interpretation. Comparing the statue in Los Angeles stylistically with the Odescalchi youth in Copenhagen, which was erroneously regarded as a pastiche, and with the Perinthos-Cyrene youth, it cannot be doubted that it copies an original of about 450/440 B.C.: for instance, the slightly pediment-shaped pubes is a characteristic feature in male statues of that time.

The sculptural evidence for the original consists of the statue in Los Angeles made in the second century A.D., and of two other replicas, a head in the Louvre ("Pollux") and a torso in Athens. The identification of the statue in Los Angeles is not certain, but a reconstruction as Apoxyomenos seems highly plausible as both arms were probably outstretched.

An early sculptured version of a life-size Apoxyomenos can be found on a fragmentary grave stele in Delphi. On the other hand, Pliny informs us (*NatHist*, 34.55), that a statue of an Apoxyomenos ("*destringens se*") was created by Polykleitos. This statue, which must have been roughly contemporary with the original of the statue in Los Angeles, was apparently not copied in Roman times.

The early high Classical statue of an Apoxyomenos, which is reproduced by the statue in Los Angeles, precedes the Apoxyomenos of Lysippos by more than 100 years. In between, surely other sculptural versions developed the motif of scraping. These versions still remain to be identified.

Anmerkungen

Acknowledgments

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Abkürzungen

Cavaceppi	B. Cavaceppi, <i>Raccolta d'antiche statue, busti, bassirilievi ed altre sculpture</i> (Rom, 1768)
Howard 1982	S. Howard, <i>Bartolomeo Cavaceppi</i> (New York, 1982)
Moser v. Filseck	K. Moser v. Filseck, <i>Der Apoxyomenos des Lysipp</i> (Bonn, 1988)
Rausa	F. Rausa, <i>L'immagine del vincitore</i> (Treviso, 1994)

- 1 L.A. County Museum of Art 49.23.12; Cavaceppi, vol. 1, Taf. 21.
- 2 Vgl. die Höhenangabe bei A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge, 1882), S. 446, Nr. 36. Falsch die Angabe von 1,91 m bei C. C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1981), S. 87, Nr. 58, die wohl auf der Angabe von 6 ft. 3 in. in *Celebrated Collection of Ancient Marbles*, Christie's sales cat. (London, 1930), S. 67, Nr. 103 mit Abb. basiert (dort ist bei allen Stücken die Plinthe eingeschlossen).
- 3 Körperhöhe bis zum Ansatz der Pubes 52 cm, bis zum Gliedansatz 54 cm; Gesichtshöhe 19 cm; Kopfhöhe 22,5 cm (ursprünglich ca. 23,8 cm); Höhe der Basis 10 cm.
- 4 In diesem Zusammenhang ist auf das etwa 6 × 6 cm messende Loch im Schädel hinzuweisen, welches zwar ungewöhnlich groß ist, jedoch keine ausreichende Marmorportion für die Nase und den Hoden geboten haben kann.
- 5 F. De Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture Antique et Moderne*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1851), S. 118, Nr. 2180, Taf. 856; Howard 1982, S. 90; ders., in M. Jones, Hrsg., *Why Fakes Matter* (London, 1992), S. 54 mit Abb. 4 (nach Cavaceppi); ders., "Some Eighteenth-Century Restored Boxers", *JWarb* 56 (1993): 249–50, Taf. 39a–b.
- 6 Ausnahmsweise hat Cavaceppi sogar selbst darauf hingewiesen, daß der Kopf einer Statue nicht antik ist, vgl. Cavaceppi, vol. 1, Taf. 13: "la testa è opera di mia mano".
- 7 Cavaceppi, vol. 1, Taf. 17; A. Michaelis (Anm. 2 supra), S. 445, Nr. 31 (2,30 m, mit Basis); *Celebrated Collection of Ancient Marbles* (Anm. 2 supra), Nr. 108; C. C. Vermeule, "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis", *AJA* 60 (1956): 334–35.
- 8 Howard 1982, S. 246, Nr. 2; die einzige bekannte Abb. zeigt die Statue in einer um 1915 entstandenen Gesamtaufnahme des Speisesaals von Lansdowne House, vgl. *Glyptothek München 1830–1980*, Ausst.-Kat. (München, 1980), Abb. S. 345.
- 9 Sk 44: C. Blümel, *Römische Kopien griechischer Skulpturen des vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen, vol. 5 (Berlin, 1938), S. 19, Nr. κ 227, Taf. 39; Howard 1982, S. 259, Nr. 20; später hat Cavaceppi noch eine weitere Kopie des Apollon Lykeios restauriert, heute in Paris, Louvre MA 916 (Kopf wohl antik und zugehörig, aber nicht richtig aufgesetzt).
- 10 Sk 531: Höhe 1,54 m (ohne Plinthe). Cavaceppi, vol. 1, Taf. 14; Howard 1982, 117–18, Abb. 258 (nach Conze); ders., in *Why Fakes Matter* (Anm. 5 supra), S. 54 mit Abb. 3; G. A. Weber, *Die Antikensammlung der Wilhelmine von Bayreuth* (München, 1996), S. 55, Abb. 14; *Gips nicht mehr*, Ausst.-Kat. Bonn (Bonn, 2000), S. 118, Nr. 7 mit Abb. (Abguß des Kopfes).
- 11 So auch Howard, in *Why Fakes Matter* (Anm. 5 supra).
- 12 *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Wallmoden*, Ausst.-Kat. Göttingen (Göttingen, 1979), S. 24–26, Nr. 1 (H. Döhl).
- 13 Cavaceppi, vol. 1, Taf. 13; C. Gasparri, "Cavaceppi a Villa Albani", *BdA* 80–81 (1993): 94, Abb. 3 (nach Cavaceppi).
- 14 Die Bruchlinie am Hals ist bei der Statue in Los Angeles perfekt gekittet; während der Hals des Domitian etwas zu lang wirkt, erscheint er bei der Statue in Los Angeles eher etwas zu kurz.
- 15 J. Raeder, *Die antiken Skulpturen in Petworth House* (Mainz, 2000), S. 90–93, Nr. 23, Taf. 32, 3, 34–35; problematisch ist dagegen die Beurteilung der Jünglingsfigur in Sledmere House (Cavaceppi, vol. 3, Taf. 5), vgl. A. Linfert, in H. Beck und P. C. Bol, Hrsg., *Polykletforschungen* (Berlin, 1993), S. 141–47, Abb. 3–6; S. Kansteiner, *Hera-kles: Die Darstellungen in der Großplastik der Antike* (Köln, 2000), S. 68–69.
- 16 Zur Aphrodite s. Cavaceppi, vol. 1, Taf. 22; G. Waywell, *The Lever and Hope Sculptures* (Berlin, 1986), S. 18–19, Nr. 1, Taf. 1–2, 6; zum Antinous s. Cavaceppi, vol. 1, Taf. 24; H. Meyer, *Antinoos* (München, 1991), S. 33–34, Nr. 1,

- 11, Taf. 9; zum Diskobol s. Cavaceppi, vol. 1, Taf. 42; P. C. Bol, *Der Antretende Diskobol* (Mainz, 1996), S. 9–14, Abb. 5–10.
- 17 Vgl. den Bericht von J. Podany, "The Conservation of Two Marble Sculptures in the J. Paul Getty Museum", *GettyMusJ* 9 (1981): 104, Abb. 2. An der Halsrückseite mußte ein Zwischenstück eingefügt werden.
- 18 Howard 1982, S. 90. Auf dem Stich in Cavaceppis *Raccolta* wirkt derselbe Kopf übrigens zu klein.
- 19 Beim Diomedes (Kopie Neapel) 24,5 cm u. 1,77 m, beim Berliner Athlet 25 cm u. 1,76 m, und beim Antretenden Diskobol (Kopie des Kopfes und des Körpers mit nicht zugehörigem Kopf in Frankfurt), 23,5 cm u. 1,69 m.
- 20 Zu diesem Typus vgl. B. Vienneisel-Schlörb, *Klassische Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Glyptothek München, Katalog der Skulpturen, vol. 2 (München, 1979), S. 89–90; zuletzt I. Romeo und E. C. Portale, *Gortina*, vol. 3 (Padova, 1998), S. 64–69, Nr. 4, Taf. 2b–d.
- 21 A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1893), S. 346; ders., Text zu *Brunn-Bruckmanns Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur* (München, 1906), Taf. 596/97.
- 22 A. Furtwängler, *Intermezzi* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1896), S. 10–11 mit Abb. oben rechts und unten links (nach Abguß); zum sogenannten Pollux, der vielleicht auch von Cavaceppi ergänzt worden ist, vgl. J. Charbonneau, "Quatre marbres antiques du Musée du Louvre", *Mon Piot* 45 (1951): 42–51 mit Abb. 6, Taf. 5; A. Linfert, "Der Torso von Milet", *AntPl* 12 (Berlin, 1973): 87; A. Hermay, *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, vol. 34 (Paris, 1984), S. 17, Taf. 8, 1–3; S. Howard, "Some Eighteenth-Century Restored Boxers", *JWarb* 56 (1993): 242–43, Taf. 35b; A. González-Palacios, "The Stanza di Apollo e Dafne in the Villa Borghese", *BurlMag* 137 (1995): 538, mit Abb. 75–76.
- 23 A. Furtwängler (Anm. 21 supra), S. 346, Anm. 4.
- 24 G. Lippold, *Die griechische Plastik* (München, 1950), S. 178, Anm. 14; ungeklärt ist bislang die Funktion des Stegrests auf dem Kopf des Pollux, vgl. Furtwängler (Anm. 21 supra), S. 346, Anm. 4.
- 25 Zu diesem Typus vgl. unten.
- 26 Vgl. J. Dörig, "Ein Jugendwerk Lysipps", *AntPl* 4 (1965): 39; Howard 1982, S. 89–90; Podany (Anm. 17 supra); Vermeule (Anm. 2 supra), S. 87, Nr. 58; J. Frel, *The Getty Bronze*, 2nd ed. (Malibu, 1982), S. 50 mit Abb. 70; K. Moser v. Filseck, S. 62 mit Anm. 181; B. S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, vol. 1 (Bristol, 1990), S. 76–77, Abb. 37a–c; M. Fuchs, Rez. zu Vermeule, "Greek and Roman Sculpture in America", *Gnomon* 62 (1990): 266; Rausa, S. 135, 206.
- 27 J. Dörig (Anm. 26 supra): 39, mit Anm. 11 und Abb. 5.
- 28 Eine Kopfreplik des Herakles Lansdowne in Dresden wird als eigener Typus mißverstanden.
- 29 Ähnlich Moser v. Filseck, S. 62.
- 30 J. Frel (Anm. 26 supra), S. 50; ders., in Podany (Anm. 17 supra): 104, Anm. 4. Frels Ansicht ist von B. S. Ridgway (Anm. 26 supra), S. 76, und von Rausa, S. 135, sowie von P. Moreno, *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*, Suppl. 2.1 (Rom, 1994), s.v. "Apoxyomenos", 284 kommentarlos übernommen worden.
- 31 Anders Moser v. Filseck, S. 62, mit einem unbegründeten Datierungsvorschlag in tiberische Zeit.
- 32 Absurd sind die Versuche von Dörig (Anm. 26 supra) und Moser v. Filseck, entweder in das Jahrzehnt 370/60 oder 360/50 zu datieren. H. Lauter, "Drei Werke des Lysipp", *AM* 92 (1977): 160, Anm. 4 hält den Torso in Athen für ein Original.
- 33 Vgl. den etwas größeren Diomedes (Kopie in Neapel) mit 39 cm.
- 34 Vgl. J. Frel, in *GettyMusJ* (Anm. 30 supra): 104, Anm. 4.
- 35 Vgl. oben.
- 36 Im Hinblick auf die Körperbildung läßt sich auch ein Torso im Liebieghaus in Frankfurt vergleichen, der zu einer lebensgroßen Statue gehörte, vgl. P. C. Bol, *Bildwerke aus Stein und aus Stuck* (Melsungen, 1983), S. 63–67, Nr. 17.
- 37 H. v. Heintze, "Herakles Alexi-kakos", *RM* 72 (1965): 16–18. Die dort gegen die Zugehörigkeit angeführten Argumente halten einer Überprüfung am Stück selbst nicht Stand. Der gesamte Artikel zeugt von großer Unsicherheit im Umgang mit der Idealplastik. Von Heintzes Annahme ist von B. Vienneisel-Schlörb (Anm. 20 supra), S. 98, Anm. 46 übernommen worden.
- 38 M. Moltesen, "Ægte, falsk eller midt imellem", *MedKob* 44 (1988): 69–93.
- 39 Vgl. z.B. C. Vorster, *Römische Skulpturen des späten Hellenismus und der Kaiserzeit*, Vatikanische Museen, Katalog der Skulpturen, vol. 2.1 (Mainz, 1993), S. 54, Anm. 18. Nur zu den nicht zugehörigen Unterschenkeln und Füßen äußert sich J. Floren in H. Beck/Bol (Anm. 15 supra), S. 64.
- 40 A. Furtwängler, Text zu *Brunn-Bruckmanns Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur* (München, 1906), Taf. 596/97; so auch F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1951), S. 201, Nr. 271; vgl. bereits F. Matz und F. v. Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*

- in Rom, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1881), S. 42, Nr. 166 ("Kopf scheint nur gebrochen gewesen zu sein").
- 41 Vgl. Poulsen (Anm. 40 supra), S. 202 (2. Jh. n.Chr.).
- 42 Furtwängler (Anm. 40 supra), Taf. 596/97, Abb. 3–5: der Kopf befindet sich im Palazzo Pitti, vgl. Heintze (Anm. 37 supra), S. 18, Anm. 10. Zum Kopf im Vatikan vgl. J. Raeder, Rez. zu Andreae (v. infra), GGA 250 (1998): 263 (mit Datierung des Originals in das späte 5. Jh.); B. Andreae, *Bildkatalog der Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, vol. 1.1 (Berlin, 1994), Taf. 246.
- 43 Vgl. Kansteiner (Anm. 15 supra), S. 92, Anm. 742.
- 44 Vgl. H. Thür, "Der ephesische Ktistes Androklos und sein Heroon am Embolos", *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 64 (1995): 67.
- 45 C. Landwehr, *Die römischen Skulpturen von Caesarea Mauretaniae*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 2000), Beilage 23c; Kansteiner (Anm. 43 supra), S. 92.
- 46 B. Vierneisel-Schlörb (Anm. 20 supra), S. 117–35, Nr. 11.
- 47 M.-A. Zagdoun, *Fouilles de Delphes*, vol. 4.6 (Paris, 1977), S. 16–22, Nr. 3 mit Abb. 12–14; J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period* (London, 1985), S. 77, Abb. 57; Moser v. Filseck, S. 68–69; *Guide de Delphes: Le musée* (Athen, 1991), S. 64–66 mit Abb. 24.
- 48 Plinius (*NatHist* 34.55); Polyklet, Ausst.-Kat. Frankfurt (Mainz, 1990), S. 59. Eine von Furtwängler (Anm. 21 supra), S. 471, auf diese Statue mit einiger Vorsicht bezogene Reihe von Gemmen dürfte eher mit dem Typus des Strigilisreinigers Ephesos in Verbindung zu bringen sein, vgl. C. Pavese, "L'atleta di Ephesos", in *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos*, Hrsg. H. Friesinger und F. Krinzing (Wien, 1999), S. 580. Für den Strigilisreiniger ist unlängst, ohne ausreichende Argumente, nochmals eine Deutung als Apoxyomenos vorgeschlagen worden, vgl. E. Pochmarski, "Neues zum Schaber von Ephesos", *100 Jahre*, op. cit., S. 586.
- 49 Abstand Pubes-Halsgrube 58,7 cm gegenüber 56 cm beim Apoxyomenos, bei dem die Pubes auch noch weiter unten ansetzt.
- 50 Vgl. die Beobachtungen von Moser v. Filseck, S. 37–39.
- 51 Moser v. Filseck geht zwar auf einige Abweichungen ein, klassifiziert das Stück dennoch als leicht veränderte Kopie, vgl. auch B. S. Ridgway (Anm. 26 supra), S. 74, mit der Interpretation als Variante; aus der Replikendiskussion mit Sicherheit auszuschließen ist ein Kopf in St. Petersburg (O. Waldhauer, *Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage*, vol. 2 [Berlin/Leipzig, 1931], S. 36, Nr. 138, Abb. 37), der zuletzt von Rausa, S. 208 auf den Apoxyomenos bezogen worden ist. Die Frisur zeigt keine Entsprechungen zum Apoxyomenos.
- 52 Moser v. Filseck, S. 39–40.
- 53 H. Lauter, "Eine seitenverkehrte Kopie des Apoxyomenos", *Bonner Jahrbücher* 167 (1967): 119–28. Lauter sind gefolgt Moser v. Filseck, S. 40–42; Rausa, S. 208; *Lisippo*, Hrsg. P. Moreno, Ausst.-Kat. Rom (Monza, 1995), S. 202, Nr. 4.29.5 (M. Sapelli); M. Weber, "Zum griechischen Athletenbild", *RM* 103 (1996): 31.
- 54 Auch ein Torso in den Musées Royaux in Brüssel (A 3480) ist, sicher zu Unrecht, als seitenvertauschte Replik des Apoxyomenos gedeutet worden, vgl. C. Balty, *Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire*, vol. 1, *Sculpture antique* (Brüssel, 1990), Nr. 14. Der Torso gehörte der Körperhöhe von 52 cm nach zu einer Statue, die deutlich kleiner als der Apoxyomenos gewesen sein muß. Eine alte Aufnahme, die den Torso ergänzt zeigt, läßt überdies an der Rekonstruktion mit vorgestreckten Armen erhebliche Zweifel, vgl. A. Furtwängler, *Sammlung Somzée* (München, 1897), S. 22, Abb. 29.
- 55 Moreno (Anm. 53 supra), S. 202–3, Nr. 4.29.6 (V. Saladino); Weber (Anm. 53 supra), S. 31; zum Kopf s. P. Arndt, *EA*, vol. 1 (München, 1893), Nr. 299.
- 56 Vgl. bereits Arndt (Anm. 55 supra), Text zu Nr. 298–99.
- 57 Moreno (Anm. 30 supra), S. 284; D. Mustilli, *Il Museo Mussolini* (Rom, 1939), S. 85–86, Nr. 5, Taf. 50; ders., in *NSc* (1937): 71–72, Nr. 9, Abb. 8; weitere Lit. bei Moreno.
- 58 Vgl. die Körperhöhe von 44,5 cm (45,5 cm bis zum Gliedansatz) beim 1,52 m hohen Dresdner Knaben.
- 59 J. Frel, "The Getty Bronze", in *Lysippe et son Influence*, Hrsg. J. Chamay und J.-L. Maier (Genf, 1987), S. 93 mit Abb. 55–58 (mit der Angabe, das Stück befinde sich im Schweizer Kunsthandel). Das Stück ist wohl auch bei B. S. Ridgway (Anm. 26 supra), S. 99, Anm. 4 genannt (mit der Angabe "art market").
- 60 Anders Moreno (Anm. 30 supra), S. 284, der eine Datierung um 350 v.Chr. vorschlägt.
- 61 Die Konstituierung der verschiedenen Typen, die sich sehr ähnlich gewesen sein müssen, bedarf noch einer genauen Untersuchung. Vorläufig sei verwiesen auf die Listen bei Rausa, S. 202–3, 213–14. Der u.a. von L. Todisco, *Scultura greca del IV secolo* (Mailand, 1993), Nr. 60, postulierte Typus Turin/Braccio Nuovo ist mit Sicherheit nicht eigenständig.
- 62 Von L. Todisco (Anm. 61 supra), Nr. 29 als Kopie eines Originals

- aus dem 5. Jh. gedeutet, vgl. aber J. Raeder (Anm. 15 supra), S. 90–93, Nr. 23.
- 63 A. Linfert, *Von Polyklet zu Lysipp* (Gießen, 1966), S. 43–44.
- 64 *Brunn-Bruckmanns Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur* (München, 1912), Taf. 614–15 (mit der besten Abb. und falscher Angabe der Höhe); *Unter dem Vulkan*, Ausst.-Kat. Bonn (Köln, 1995), S. 88–89, Nr. 7 (mit schlechter Abb. und falschen Angaben zur Höhe und zum Fundatum); *Gladiatoren und Caesaren*, Hrsg. E. Köhne und C. Ewigleben, Ausst.-Kat. Hamburg (Mainz, 2000), S. 82, 84–85, Abb. 73–74.
- 65 Anders P. Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen* (Mainz, 1974), S. 79.

From the Need for Completion to the Cult of the Fragment

How Tastes, Scholarship, and Museum Curators’ Choices Changed Our View of Ancient Sculpture

Orietta Rossi Pinelli

This paper concentrates on an early moment in the culture of restoration, a moment that signaled the reversal of a trend in the conservation of ancient sculpture. Tradition had called for fragments to be completed, but in the early years of the nineteenth century this trend was reversed. Antonio Canova (1757–1822) was one of the early supporters favoring display of the fragment itself, and it was the prevailing social, economic, and historical environment of Rome that gave birth to this reversal.

However, I will first mention a critical point that is fundamental to our understanding of the sources and of the changes taking place in the field of restoration during the nineteenth century.

As has happened to many other words, *original*, *authentic*, and *copy* have undergone variations in meaning and use over time. In *Dizionario delle belle arti del disegno* (1797), Francesco Milizia addressed the term “counterfeiting,” which had undergone a transformation in meaning over little more than a century: “Counterfeiting: imitating, pretending, making something in the same way as someone else, according to Baldinucci. At his time, among craftsmen it was the same thing as portraying. Today it is another thing entirely. How many falsifications [there are] in pictures, drawings, prints, cameos, medals, in the antique, in the modern, in everything.”¹

To Filippo Baldinucci (1624–1696), writing at the end of the seventeenth century, “counterfeiting” may have seemed just one of the many operations linked to the production of artistic objects. By Milizia’s time, however, it has taken on the meaning we usually associate today with outright falsification.

What separated the copy from the original, when technically the copy could perfectly imitate in style, workmanship, and material all the characteristics of the original? For example, it was precisely the different perception of categories such as “original” and “authentic” that, over time, favored the extraordinary proliferation of copies throughout Europe and thus the spread of artistic models that otherwise would have remained restricted to limited

areas—models that often exactly duplicated the originals. (In the case of sculpture, coated plaster copies were common.)

To return to Milizia's *Dizionario*, the word *gessi* (casts) allows us to appreciate the subtle difference between the actions of copying, in the sense of counterfeiting, and copying to reproduce: "Casts: faithful representations of statues, bas-reliefs. Invaluable invention. Beautiful ancient sculptures are to be found in Rome, Florence, and Naples. And exact copies are everywhere in Europe, and every artist has his own precious gem at home."² To which we might add, not only every artist, but also every academy and, very often, every large aristocratic collection.

Throughout Europe copies often formed the nucleus of museum collections. In 1880, Charles Newton promoted the idea that the museum offered the opportunity to realize a comparative outline of the material products of mankind. He ended his work with an appeal for the creation of an optimal museum that would contain a selection of casts of works of the past, scientifically arranged according to their era and style.³ Newton referred explicitly to the classification systems of scientists.⁴

Casts and copies of ancient sculptures continued to be made throughout the nineteenth century, even though their aesthetic value declined consistently. Think of the number of copies, alongside authentic pieces, that the architect Sir John Soane (1753–1837) kept in his splendid London dwelling in the 1820s—a dialogue existing independently of any hierarchical scheme. However, by the end of the century copies had come to represent mere didactic aids: to use them as decoration was considered bad taste.

By the end of the nineteenth century "authentic" had come to be used in a stricter sense, and had gained a sacred aura. I believe that what accelerated this process of transformation of values, as well as allowing new experimentation in the field of restoration, was the arrival of the public museum. I am not referring so much to the first museum of ancient sculptures in the Campidoglio, the Capitoline Museum that was inaugurated in 1734, but rather to the Pio-Clementino Museum in the Vatican, and the twenty years from 1770 to 1790 that witnessed its gradual completion. Those were also crucial years for the history of restoration.

The Pio-Clementino was for its time really impressive: The sculptures were finally shedding their purely decorative role, a role they had often had to play in private collections. Here they became the cornerstone that anchored the architectural structuring of exhibition rooms that were intended to provide the sculptures with a new context.

The number of purchases for the new museum was extremely high. The state had the right of preemption on the best of

that which emerged from excavations and also encouraged those who wanted to sell. Often the costs were covered by the proceeds from a lottery. Overseeing the choices was an antiquarian of great learning, Giovanni Battista Visconti (1722–1784), helped by his son Ennio Quirino (1751–1818). The sculptures systematically underwent completion before being installed.

In Rome, a few decades before the opening of the Pio-Clementino, Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), curator of the last collection in the villa built by Cardinal Albani on the Via Salaria, had reflected on the quality of completion that for more than a century and a half had been systematically practiced on the ancient sculpture intended for collections or urban decoration.⁵ Winckelmann had worked alongside the cardinal's trusted restorer, the sculptor Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (1716–1799). Cavaceppi fully appreciated the archaeologist's wish to respect the stylistic aspects and iconographic features of works that had to undergo completion. He shared Winckelmann's conviction of the need for an exchange of skills between restorers and scholars. Cavaceppi had also written on the subject and was considered the leader of a movement in restoration. Thanks to him, Rome became an internationally recognized center for the restoration of antiquities.⁶ At the end of the eighteenth century, the most important works to be restored passed through Rome, whether from collections in England or the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, before being returned to their owners.

There is by now a sizeable bibliography on this subject, but I think it useful to mention it here so we can appreciate the novelty of what happened at the turn of the century. I would like also to draw attention to the fact that it was in the long process leading to refinement of completion that we should see the growing certainty, nourished by the development of antiquarian sciences, that ancient works of art could not be understood unless they underwent completion. There was a history to be read in them, a history to which they had been witness. It meant that recovering the iconography was to be the priority.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the prevailing opinion was that completion was the right thing to do, provided it was based on sound philological principles. It was again in Rome, and again in a museum setting, that the transformation mentioned at the beginning of this article was taking place. Initially, the change took place discreetly, but then it was publicized by a controversial event—the sale of the Elgin marbles. Gradually, by means of non-linear and nonuniform processes that still await clarification, the transformation became accepted by general consensus.

The museum setting was to be the new Vatican wing that Pius VII wanted, the Museo Chiaramonti, to be dedicated to ancient

sculptures. Canova was an important contributory factor in bringing a new sensibility to the field of restoration. However, as we will see, his choices were not univocal and he never contradicted the correctness, the necessity even, of the need for completion.

But to return to the facts: In 1803, immediately after Pius VII's *Chirografo*, aimed at the protection of Rome's artistic heritage and by which Canova had been nominated General Inspector of Antiquities, the Pope decided to carry out an intense campaign of purchases to make up for the losses suffered through French plundering after the Treaty of Tolentino, and to set up a new antiquities section in the Vatican. Antonio D'Este was to be the curator of the museum that took the family name of Pius VII.⁷ Many excavations were still being conducted in the Roman Campagna and, apart from the still flourishing English antiquarian market, the Vatican museum was for local merchants the safest of purchasers.

The museum's acquisitions were regulated by a well-defined price list.⁸ Sculptures were divided into three classes according to their technical quality; the state of conservation does not seem to have carried much weight, except where restorations had already been carried out. Size was the basic determinant of price, but within every category high quality could call for higher prices. For example, the price for a colossal statue over two meters in height ranged from 400 to 1,200 scudi. But if the statue was declared to be first class, the price could rise to more than 2,000 scudi. The novelty was that of the many fragments purchased by the museum, several were exhibited unrestored. In the Museo Capitolino and the Museo Pio-Clementino fragmentary works are rare exceptions—the Torso Belvedere is one of the few examples.

I have not yet found any explicit declaration of Canova's choices, although this is in my opinion a topic that deserves attention. For example, why was a female torso—the so-called “Penelope,” found in a list of works sold by Fagan with a “portrait of the Madre in high-relief” and appraised at only 50 scudi (a price given to mediocre works)—exhibited in its mutilated form? The same goes for the “colossal fragment of a sitting statue with folds” that was probably part of a bust of the emperor Claudius found at Priverno, or for the “bassorilievo; frammento rappresentante il Trionfo di Bacco” that had—according to the printed catalogue of the Museum, edited by Filippo Aurelio Visconti and Antonio Guattani—actually passed through the hands of first Cavaceppi and then his equally famous pupil Giovanni Pierantoni (1742–1817).⁹ I do not intend to list the many cases of fragmentary sculptures exhibited at the Chiaramonti, but a few examples are fragments of anthropomorphic statues such as the vases (*cippi*) in the long, austere wing of the new museum—a very different arrangement from that

followed in the Pio-Clementino. The Museo Chiaramonti, inaugurated in 1808, presented itself to the public in the form of a long corridor, stressing the sense of perspective, and the works were exhibited at different levels with triads of large sculptures interrupted by groups of small objects placed on shelves and bas-reliefs set into the wall.¹⁰ In contrast to most of the Pio-Clementino restorations, many of the Chiaramonti restorations were carried out in plaster by molders and not in marble by sculptors.¹¹

At the same time that work was going on to create the new wing of the museum, Canova was restoring the sepulcher of Marcus Servilius Quartus (first century A.D.) on the Via Appia, creating a wall with materials (bricks, travertine, tufa, peperino blocks) taken from ancient buildings and mixed in with marble fragments of cornices and friezes.¹² Moreover, the sculptor had inserted in the wall of his studio a number of sculpture fragments, as seen here and there along perimeter walls or on the cornices of Roman dwellings.

All this leads to the conclusion that the fragment had begun to take on an aesthetic self-sufficiency at a time and in a culture that continued to think of completion as acceptable and useful. In fact, European culture was slowly being pervaded by a romantic climate that was also finding its way into the heart of Classicism.

From 1802 to 1805, during the years of the Chiaramonti purchases, one of the greatest Prussian intellectuals staying in Rome, Wilhelm von Humboldt, was writing words in his travel notes that implied a melancholic and introspective idea of the city: "Rome is a desert . . . but the most sublime, the most fascinating that I have ever seen. Rome exists only for a few, only for the best . . . here for the first time, in fecund solitude the forms of the world unfold themselves, distinct . . . melancholy and mirth calmly pass one into the other and on the border between life and death, one advances more easily in life, one yearns sweetly for death."¹³ And again: "When one excavates a half-buried ruin, one always feels a certain resentment. It will at most be a gain for learning, but at the expense of the imagination." With this sort of philosophy of life and memory as a starting point, the next step became automatic—to adorn the ruin with extraordinary values, as if it were a witness to an original state, as yet not transfigured by unfit interventions.

Also in the first decades of the nineteenth century a profound transformation was taking place in the philosophy of history. Vico's cyclical vision, taken up by Winckelmann, was being replaced by Hegel's linear vision; later, Darwin's theory of evolution provided a sort of scientific confirmation. Thus there took root a perception of an uninterrupted historical process that marked historical eras out with ruins and remnants laden with meaning, irremediably

linked to their own destiny. Again at the turn of the century, Friedrich Schlegel theorized about the value of fragmentary thoughts in terms of their function of keeping the mind in a state of continuous ferment; he compared his “rough drafts of philosophy” to painters’ sketches “valued by connoisseurs of painting”; he spoke of the chance of sketching philosophical worlds with chalk or characterizing “the physiognomy of a thought with a few strokes of the pen.”¹⁴

Far-reaching cultural horizons were naturally intertwining with experiences of daily life. It is likely that Canova’s cultural coordinates, since he was responsible for the purchases and the organization of the Vatican museums, had already been marked out in 1803 by the first visual encounter with drawings of the famous marbles of the Parthenon that were en route from Athens to London, accompanied by many a misadventure. In 1803, Lord Elgin, the main character in the most controversial, famous, and hotly debated acquisition of the early nineteenth century, had stopped off in Rome to present to Canova the drawings of Pheidias’s bas-reliefs and to ask both his opinion on the chance of restoring them and whether he was available. Canova was struck by these drawings; already on this occasion he was against any sort of intervention, despite the fact that many parts of the works seemed damaged or abraded.¹⁵ Once more, the incipient romantic sensibility heightened the interest in *art of the origin*, a pure art, that was inherent also among those who were apparently not inclined to the romantic values.

But events almost never have a perfect linearity. For example, we should not underestimate the open hostility that the rich collection of Parthenon sculptures caused in learned British circles.¹⁶ It was the artists who first showed their enthusiasm. For some the collection provided an unprecedented revelation. The painter and diarist Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786–1846), who meditated attentively on the marbles, wrote: “I thank God every day, for being still alive on their arrival; . . . the nations now enveloped in their barbarities . . . will be purified by their harmony. Pilgrims from the most remote places in the world will visit their sanctuary, and will be sanctified by their beauty.”¹⁷

The romantic writer William Hazlitt (1778–1830), who shrank from Haydon’s sentimentalism, conceived appreciation of the Parthenon masterpieces as an act of devotion. Hazlitt judged the Parthenon statues as richer with life than the ancient statues known up to then, precisely because they were fragments. The fact that the work of art had lost its completeness meant it could be imagined to be of another realm where it acquired the force and integrity of a natural phenomenon. The marbles were impregnated with a

historical aura that no complete work, even antique, could achieve: “Ruins are grand and more venerable than any other modern structure can be, or than the oldest could be if kept in their most entire preservation. . . . So, the Elgin marbles are more impressive from their mouldering, imperfect state. They transport us to the Parthenon, and old Greece. The Theseus is of the age of Theseus; while the Apollo Belvedere is a modern fine gentleman, and we think of this last figure only as an ornament to the room where it happens to be placed.”¹⁸

John Flaxman (1755–1826) and Henry Fuseli (1741–1825) also judged the newly arrived sculptures immensely superior to the Apollo Belvedere; both appreciated the extraordinary *innocent* naturalism.¹⁹

A definitive word on the exceptional nature of the new acquisitions was left to the European intelligentsia, ranging from Quatremère de Quincy, to Ennio Quirino Visconti, to Canova himself, to King Ludwig of Bavaria, who had deposited as much as thirty thousand pounds in a London bank, ready to purchase such a treasure should the British crown decline the offer—and we should add that he was determined to complete the marbles.²⁰ Hegel too spoke of the Parthenon marbles, especially the figures of Ilissos and Theseus. He felt the Ilissos represented “a sense of wholeness and autonomy more vividly than the sculpture might have done with its face restored.”²¹

Canova was able to study the marbles themselves when he went to London to thank the government for the economic support offered to the Papal States in the recovery of masterpieces carried away by the French.²² The impact of the marbles was extraordinary. According to Antonio D’Este, Canova stated: “If Roman artists had seen them, they would have changed the style of their works.”²³ Asked for an opinion on the need for completion, he replied that the marbles should not be touched. Once more, it was the placing of the sculptures in the British Museum, a public museum, that allowed discussion on their fate in terms of their cultural value and not their function as decoration. Installation in a museum allowed observation of the marbles from a historical perspective, as residual documents of an important phase in the history of art, and also as absolute masterpieces—that is, for their aesthetic value. Their arrangement in sequence in the long galleries allowed a comparative and close analysis that would have been impossible had the works been set up in a private collection.²⁴ It is not possible to go into detail here, but I would like to recall that, at the time, a discrepancy was growing between the economic evaluation of works intended for museums, and thus for study, and those meant for the

antiquarian market.²⁵ The same Elgin marbles sold to private buyers might have had a higher market value, and they would have undergone completion.

There were different types of public. The private collectors were interested in magnificence and decorum; the learned public and artists, the most assiduous frequenters of the museums, were excited precisely because every fragment of the Parthenon exhibited in London still carried within it the throbbing traces of the hand of the sculptors who had worked at the time of Pheidias.²⁶ Canova's attitude was confirmed by William Hamilton, Lord Elgin's secretary, in a memorandum of 1815 stating what he saw as the inestimable value of the sculptures. According to Hamilton, Canova felt that "however greatly it was to be lamented that these statues should have suffered so much from time and barbarism, yet it was undeniable that they had never been retouched, that they were the work of the ablest artists the world have [sic] ever seen. . . . It would be sacrilege in him, or any man, to presume to touch them with a chisel."²⁷

The experience of the Elgin marbles led to a new feeling for the antique, or the fragment. Once back in Rome, Canova, as General Inspector of Antiquities for the Vatican, issued a regulation to promote the purchase for the Vatican museums of "those monuments that are still conserved without restoration (*non tocchi*) in their ancient originality."²⁸ For the first time in an institutional context restoration—that is, completion—was considered falsification. The category of *authenticity* too proceeded in the definition of its own status.

Having said this, I feel obliged to recall that Canova had up till then promoted and continued to promote completion, thus sustaining its legitimacy, although he had never carried out restorations himself.²⁹ Several sources testify to this, including Antonio D'Este and Gherardo de Rossi.³⁰ Moreover, all European culture, including Canova and the intellectuals who had been struck by the Elgin marble fragments, expressed equal admiration and emotion for Bertel Thorvaldsen's restoration in 1817 of the sculptures of the Aegina pediment, which had been purchased by King Ludwig for the Munich museum.

However, a crisis point had been reached. Completion was still practiced, but both institutions and scholars did not conceal their growing worries—worries that were promptly manifested in the detailed and complex law on public artistic heritage promulgated by the Papal States in 1820.³¹ In particular, articles 34, 36, 37, and 55 severely forbade anyone to carry out restorations to antiquities without receiving prior approval from a commission of experts.³²

While completion continued to be practiced, the culture of the fragment was proceeding in tandem, if a little more discreetly. Wilhelm von Humboldt acted as spokesman for this culture when, in a report on restorations of sculpture in Berlin, he condemned modern completion because at the moment in which intervention was carried out on a fragmentary work its nature was changed. It was 1830 when von Humboldt arrived at the realization that the object, worked on by time, still conserved its unity.³³ In Europe a clear feeling for communication by means of fragments was spreading, in literature, poetry, music, and philosophy.

At the height of the nineteenth century the aesthetics of the fragment had achieved a full visibility of its own. It is enough to recall the ecstatic declaration by Gustave Flaubert on observing the fragment of a female bust eroded by rain, which was found on the Acropolis in Athens in 1851: "Parmi les morceaux de sculpture que l'on a retrouvés dans l'Acropole, j'ai surtout remarqué un petit bas-relief représentant une femme qui attache sa chaussure et un tronçon de torse. . . . Il ne reste plus que les deux seins, depuis la naissance du cou jusqu'au-dessus du nombril. . . . La pluie et le soleil ont rendu jaune blonde ce marbre blanc. C'est si tranquille et si noble. On dirait qu'il va se gonfler et que les poumons qu'il y a dessous vont s'emplier et respirer. Comme il portait biens sa draperie fine à plis serrés, comme on serait tombé devant à genoux, en croisant les mains! J'ai senti là-devant la beauté de l'expression *stupet aeris*. Un peu plus, j'aurais prié."³⁴ In those features worn down by time all the emotion of the history of art was concentrated.³⁵

This gradual change of taste in the appreciation of the antique was to find consensus above all in the large European museums. When a few years after the affair of the Elgin marbles the Phigalian marbles arrived from Greece at the British Museum, it was decided to proceed along the same lines as with the Parthenon marbles. Everyone recognized the inferior quality of the new acquisition, but a preference was growing for the idea of conservation rather than restitution of an improbable originality.

At the Louvre, neither the Venus of Milo, purchased in the 1830s, nor the Nike of Samothrace, which arrived in the 1860s, underwent completion, and the same went for practically all the works coming from the excavations of Asia Minor and Egypt. However, I think the decisions reached on the Greek works and on those from the Middle East had different underlying motives: an aesthetic choice in the first two cases and a choice of a historico-documentary nature for the other works. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the antique, in the form of the fragment, began to appear also in private collections (Rodin's, for example). Then in the twentieth

century there was an almost iconoclastic fury, which in the archais-tic purism of the 1920s and at the height of the culture of the *in-formel*, in the 1950s to 1960s, witnessed two seasons of systematic de-restorations. On each occasion, scientific and philological motives were invoked.

Personally, I feel that these choices did not derive only from a desire for knowledge.³⁶ My studies—still incomplete—have led me to the conviction that the same emotions that have over the centuries always greeted interventions on the material history has brought down to us are those that have also guided the choices of twentieth-century curators of antiquities.

In the last century, to most people broken marble sculpture meant ancient Greek and Roman art. As emblems of a heroic past, fragments confirm this assumption, suggesting that the long centuries since the objects' creation have taken their toll. The new religion of the fragment recovered images that, however, had little to do with the originals because of the tampering undergone at the moment of their old restorations. Thus, fragments have come down to us that have almost nothing authentic.

In conclusion, I would like to submit a sort of question to my readers, a question I found myself asking during a recent visit to the Cortile del Belvedere in the Vatican. This year, the statue of the Apollo has regained its right arm and hand together with the left hand, which an incautious, puristic de-restoration in 1924 had removed.³⁷ Both these original prostheses had been conserved in the museum's vaults and thus the operation entailed no risk. The Apollo is now the one we were familiar with, thanks to the immense success that the work, having undergone completion at the end of the fifteenth century, has enjoyed over the centuries. And yet, I ask myself, can we, today, still intervene on an ancient sculpture, deciding what its "best" form is, rather than accepting that which the history of each of these forms has granted us?

I have still not come to any decision about this complex question, but since every work of sculpture given us by the past brings with it so much information on variations in taste, on developments in antiquarian knowledge, on the history of museums and collections, on the different philosophies of the beautiful and history, on different meanings in different ages, and on categories such as "original" and "authentic," I am inclined to think that it would be better to welcome and respect each work as it has come down to us. The Apollo Belvedere in its de-restored form bore also the "stig-mas" of the culture of the early twentieth century. Whether, after eighty years, that choice is a shared one is of little importance. Our time, thanks also to the many innovative paths opened up by postidealist historiography, seems to have benefited more from a

deep acquisition of awareness that it would be naive and dangerous to ignore.

However, while I still hesitate to opt for or against the most recent re-restoring tendencies of ancient sculptures with their historical integrations (fortunately conserved in many museums), I am certain of one thing. In our time a great contribution is being made to the theory and practical choices of restoration, thanks to the very high level of research on restoration methods and their underlying reasons. We have now arrived at a consciousness about this subject that would have been unthinkable only thirty years ago. Certainly we cannot allow ourselves to ignore such awareness and we must continue to recall how fragile is this heritage.

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Notes

Abbreviation

De Angelis 1993 M. A. De Angelis, *Il primo allestimento del Museo Chiaramonti* (1808; 2nd ed. in *Giornale Arcadico* [1820], pp. 278–79), reproduced in *Bollettino dei monumenti, musei e gallerie pontificie* 13 (1993): 81–126

- 1 F. Milizia, *Dizionario delle belle arti del disegno* (Bassano, 1797): “Contraffare: Imitare, fingere, far come un altro, dice Balducci. Al di lui tempo tra gli artefici val eva lo stesso che ritrarre. Oggi è tutt'altra cosa. Quanti contraffaccamenti nei quadri, nei disegni, nelle stampe, nei cammei, nelle medaglie, nell'antico, nel moderno, in tutto.”
- 2 Ibid.: “Gessi: Rappresentazione fedele di statue, e di bassi rilievi. Invenzione preziosa. Le belle sculture antiche sono in Roma e a Firenze, a Napoli. E le loro ripetizioni esattissime sono per tutta Europa, e ogni artista ne ha in casa il suo fiore.”
- 3 C. T. Newton, *Essay on Art and Archaeology* (London, 1880); Newton was a curator of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum. He elaborated a vision of the progressive development of the history of art that was similar to the Darwinian theory of evolution. See also I. Jenkins, *Archaeologists and Aesthetes: In the Sculpture Galleries of the British Museum 1800–1939* (London, 1992), p. 66.
- 4 On casts, see also P. Connor, “Cast-Collecting in the Nineteenth Century: Scholarship, Aesthetics, Connoisseurship,” in *Rediscovering Hellenism*, ed. G. W. Clarke (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 187–235.
- 5 For Winckelmann's thoughts on restoration, see I. Gesche, “Bemerkungen zum Problem der Antiken-ergänzungen und seiner Bedeutung bei Johann Joachim Winckelmann,” in *Forschungen zur Villa Albani: Antike Kunst und die Epoche der Aufklärung*, ed. H. Beck and P. C. Bol (Berlin, 1982), pp. 437–60, and O. Rossi Pinelli, “Artisti, falsari o filologi? Da Cavaceppi a Canova, il restauro della scultura tra arte e scienze,” *Ricerche di storia dell'arte* 13–14 (2000): 5–20.
- 6 The bibliography on the restoration work of Cavaceppi is now extremely long, I therefore mention only a few titles: M. G. Barberini and C. Gasparri, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi scultore romano (1717–1799)*, exh. cat. (Rome, 1994); S. Howard, *Antiquity Restored: Essays on the Afterlife of the Antique* (Vienna, 1990); D. Walzer, “Sculpture,” in *Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. E. P. Bowron and J.-J. Rishel (London and New York, 2000), pp. 211–23; E. K. Gazda, ed., *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity* (Ann Arbor, 2002); C. Piva, “La casa-bottega di Bartolomeo Cavaceppi: Un laboratorio di restauro delle antichità che voleva diventare un'accademia,” *Ricerche di storia dell'arte* 70 (2000): 5–20.
- 7 The Chiaramonti Museum had a good printed catalogue edited by Visconti (external administrator for antiquities 1782–1800) and Guattani, *Il Museo Chiaramonti aggiunto al Pio-Clementino da N.S. Pio VII*, published by D'Este for Gaspare Capparoni (Rome, 1808); this is the first and only volume in a projected series that was delayed and modified by political happenings in Rome. The work was continued by A. Nibby in 1837 (*Il Museo Chiaramonti aggiunto al Pio-Clementino da N.S. Pio VII, con la dichiarazione di Antonio Nibby*, vol. 2), and completed by L. Biondi, *Monumenti amaranziani descritti da L. Biondi* (Rome, 1843). In 1820 a cheaper version of the Visconti/Guattani catalogue, edited by Giovanni Labus, was published in Milan. In the catalogue, the iconographies and descriptions of each work are accompanied by a note on the condition and, above all, the restorations. The collection is mentioned in De Angelis 1993. Most of the works exhibited were purchased by Canova and D'Este between 1803 and 1808.
- 8 For more detailed information see De Angelis 1993, pp. 81–126.
- 9 Visconti/Guattani (note 7 supra), pp. 260–68.
- 10 De Angelis 1993, p. 87.
- 11 There is a Mercury that was completed with a left arm, neck, head, and feet in plaster by the molder Giovanni Paccini. In 1800 Fea commissioned a Giovan Pietro Fraccini, molder and “Roman sculptor,” to “porre insieme tutti li gessi delle figure ed altro portato in Francia quali erano a pezzi in diverse parti [put together all the plasters of the figures and other pieces taken to France that were in different parts]” (De Angelis 1993, p. 88). The Hercules that Canova had purchased from Prince Altieri underwent a long restoration, for which payments were made to the molder Rastaldi, who studied the joints of the legs, the model of the shoulders, and a part of the skin of the lion (De Angelis 1993, n. 16), bibl. See also A. D'Este, *Elenco degli oggetti esistenti nel Museo Vaticano* (Rome, 1921); T. and P. A. Massi, *Indicazione antiquaria delle sculture e pitture del Museo Vaticano, Museo Chiaramonti* (Rome, 1846); idem, *Nuovo braccio del Museo Vaticano* (Rome, 1850); G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, vol. 3.2 (Berlin, 1956).

- 12 P. Fancelli and P. Tomaro, "Antonio Canova tra archeologia e restauro: Il monumento di M. Servilio Quarto sulla via Appia," in *Studi in onore di Renato Cevese*, ed. Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio (Vicenza, 2000), pp. 223–35.
- 13 W. von Humboldt, *Briefe 1802–1805*, ed. W. Rössle (Munich, 1952), pp. 241, 262, 270, cited in E. and J. Garms, "Mito e realtà di Roma nella cultura europea," in *Il paesaggio*, vol. 5 of *Storia d'Italia: Annali* (Turin, 1984), p. 646; J. Paul, "Antikenergänzung und Ent-Restaurierung," *Kunstchronik* 25 (1972): 93–99, which elaborates a complex analysis of de-restorations carried out in museums.
- 14 Schlegel is cited in E. Wind, *Art and Anarchy* (London, p. 42); see also O. Rossi Pinelli, "Cultura del frammento e orientamenti del restauro del XIX secolo," in *Proceedings of the Conference Giovanni Secco Suardo: La cultura del restauro tra tutela e conservazione dell'opera d'arte*, Bergamo 9–11 March 1995, 98 Suppl. *BdA* (1999): 11–20.
- 15 Lord Elgin purchased the sculptures of the eastern and western pediments, the southern and northern metopes, and friezes of the Parthenon from the Ottoman occupiers of Athens. Reactions to the removal of the marbles and their transport to London ranged from the most convinced of enthusiasms to outright condemnations. Of the latter (not a large group) we find above all Lord Byron, who violently condemned the British purchase in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812). Shortly before the publication of the poem, Byron received a letter from E. D. Clarke, a Cambridge professor, who said he had witnessed, powerless, in Athens, the removal of the famous marbles and that he was about to publish *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa*, in which he would attack this devastating despoliation, stating also that the marbles, removed from their natural setting, had lost their excellence. Clarke and Byron were joined by other English intellectuals: see W. St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles* (London, 1967; Italian ed. *Lord Elgin e i marmi del Partenone* [Bari, 1968], pp. 271–72).
- 16 A. H. Smith, "Lord Elgin and His Collection," *JHS* 36 (1916): 225.
- 17 B. R. Haydon, *The Judgment of Connoisseurs upon Works of Art Compared with Professional Men in Reference More Particularly to the Elgin Marbles* (London, 1816), pp. 16–17.
- 18 W. Hazlitt, *The Complete Works*, vol. 10 (London and Toronto, 1933), p. 28, cited in A. Potts, "The Impossible Ideal: Romantic Conceptions of the Parthenon Sculptures in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain and Germany," in *Art in Bourgeois Society, 1790–1850*, ed. A. Hemingway and W. Vaughan (Cambridge, 1998), p. 114.
- 19 H. Fuseli, *Lectures on Painting*, 2nd series (London, 1830), pp. 75–79.
- 20 E. Q. Visconti, letter of 1814 added to Appendix D in W. Hamilton, *Memorandum on the Subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*, 2nd ed. (London, 1815); idem, *Lettre du Chev. Antonio Canova et deux mémoires lus à l'Institut Royal de France sur les ouvrages de sculpture dans la collection de Mylord d'Elgin par le Chev. E. Q. Visconti* (London, 1816), pp. 4–6; A. C. Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettres écrites de Londres à Rome et adressées à M. Canova sur les marbres d'Elgin; ou, Les sculptures du temple de Minerve à Athènes* (Rome, 1818), p. 15. The Elgin marbles are also mentioned by the German archaeologist Ludwig Schron in *Über die Studien der griechischen Künstler* (Heidelberg, 1818), pp. 212, 234, 304, 314; see also Potts (note 18 supra), p. 119, where he quotes John Keats on the Elgin marbles; Keats felt it was the most important sculpture of the time "That mingles Grecian grandeur with the rude/Wasting of old Time—with a billowy main/A sun, a shadow of a magnitude." On the hopes of Ludwig of Bavaria to buy the Pheidonian marbles, see C. L. Ulrichs, *Die Glyptothek seiner Majestät des Königs Ludwig I. von Bayern* (Munich, 1867), pp. 53–54.
- 21 Potts (note 18 supra), p. 118.
- 22 M. Pavan, "Antonio Canova and the Discussion Concerning the Elgin Marbles," *RivistaArch*, n.s., 21–22 (1975): 219–344.
- 23 A. D'Este, *Memorie della vita di Antonio Canova* (1864; Bassano del Grappa, 1999), p. 220.
- 24 B. Cook, "The Townley Marbles in Westminster and Bloomsbury," in *Collector and Collections*, vol. 2 of *The British Museum Yearbook* (London, 1977), pp. 37–78; A. Potts, "Die Skulpturenaufstellung in der Glyptothek," in *Glyptothek München, 1830–1980*, ed. K. Vierneisel (Munich, 1980), pp. 258–83.
- 25 Potts (note 18 supra), p. 110.
- 26 On the question of the restoration see J. Rothenberg, "Descensus ad Terram": *The Acquisition and Reception of the Elgin Marbles* (New York and London, 1977), pp. 164–66, 169, 187–89, 204, 358.
- 27 W. Hamilton, *Memorandum on the Subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuit in Greece*, 2nd ed. (London, 1815), pp. 39–40, cited in Potts (note 18 supra), p. 111.
- 28 D'Este (note 23 supra), p. 247.
- 29 O. Rossi Pinelli, "Chirurgia della memoria: Scultura antica e restauri storici," in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, ed. S. Settis, vol. 3 (Turin, 1986), p. 244.
- 30 D'Este (note 23 supra), passim; D'Este makes frequent mention of

- Canova's advice on completion; see also G. de Rossi, "Lettera sopra il restauro di una antica statua di Antinoo, e sopra il restauro degli antichi marmi nei tre secoli precedenti al nostro," *Nuovo giornale de letterati* 13 (1826): 23–38.
- 31 V. Curzi, "Editto dell'Emo, e R.mo Sig. Cardinal Pacca Camerlengo di S. Chiesa sopra le antichità, e gli scavi. 7 aprile 1820," in C. Zaccagnini, ed., *Bartolomeo Pacca (1756–1855): Ruolo pubblico e privato*, symposium held in Velletri, 24–25 March 2000 (Velletri, 2001), pp. 49–79.
- 32 On the works found in the new excavations, article 34 states categorically "[N]on ardisca alcuno . . . farvi il minimo ritocco o ristauo sia in Marmo sia in Stucco," in Curzi (note 31 supra), p. 68.
- 33 Paul (note 13 supra), who raises the question of de-restoration.
- 34 H. Pinet, "Images de ruines," in *Le Corps en morceaux*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1990), p. 78.
- 35 O. Rossi Pinelli (note 14 supra), pp. 11–20.
- 36 See M. Hollinshead, "Reassessing Roman Replication," in *Rethinking the Romans: New Views of Ancient Sculpture*, ed. G. E. Borromeo and C. C. Goulet, exh. cat. (Providence, 2001), pp. 21–35.
- 37 The de-restoration was carried out by Guido Galli in 1924. See P. Liverani, an intelligent advocate of this work, in *Il Sole* 24, 4 February 2001, who says rightly concerning de-restoration: "Erano anni in cui in molti musei europei ed americani si affermava implicitamente uno pseudo rigore filologico, in realtà del tutto astorico [There were years in which many European and American museums asserted by implication a philological pseudo-rigor that is in fact totally ahistorical]."

The Creative Reuse of Antiquity

Peter Rockwell

Although the preferred term for the treatment of antique fragments is now restoration, what we often see in museums can best be termed “creative reuse.” One advantage of this terminology is that it can include not only ancient fragments but also more complete statues. Another advantage is the inclusion of display and scholarship in the consideration of what has happened to an ancient piece in its passage from the original creation to its present context.

In the Roman world, work done on earlier marble carvings could be either a form of restoration or a form of re-creation. Portraits and even capitals were recarved into different portraits.¹ At Aphrodisias, column drums were turned into vases, a philosopher’s head was partially recarved and left unfinished, and an earlier portrait was recarved in Constantinian times.² However, a form of restoration also occurred. On the Temple of Hercules in Rome, there is ample evidence that considerable recarving was done on the column fluting, probably during reconstruction under Tiberius.³

Recarving has occurred during restoration since the Renaissance. In order to replace a missing arm, leg, or even nose, the surface onto which the new restoration is to be attached must be prepared. Even more extensive recarving was done either to erase unwanted signs of broken-off parts, to change the characteristics of the work itself, or simply to create a clean surface, as seen in the work of Francesco Carradori (1747–1824) on the Ara Pacis. Thus recarving has been used both as a form of restoration and as creative reuse.

The medieval viewpoint toward ancient marble fragments was primarily one of expediency, as can be seen in the work of Arnolfo di Cambio (c. 1245–1302). The statue of Carlo V in the Capitoline Museum was carved from a Roman architectural block. As I observed during the restoration, a Roman architectural molding runs vertically up the back of the block. A more unusual example of Arnolfo’s adaptation of the antique is the Madonna and Child of the monument to Cardinal De Braye (1280) in the Church of San Domenico in Orvieto (fig. 1). When the nave was demolished in the eighteenth century, the monument was taken down and was



FIG. 1
The Madonna De Braye. Roman, probably
second century A.D., with restorations by
Arnolfo di Cambio. White marble, H 115 cm.
Orvieto, Church of San Domenico. Drawing:
Ondine Wright.

reerected—with changes—in what had been the right transept. In the early twentieth century, the monument was again dismantled and reconstructed as part of a restoration. In the 1990s, the monument was yet again deconstructed and studied, and will presumably be reerected in the near future.

During the most recent work, the restorers noted that the Madonna and Child seemed to be an ancient Roman statue of a seated woman with the head slightly recarved and with hands and a child added. With the exception of the Virgin's crown, the surface of the figure is the original Roman statue in remarkably good condition.⁴ The carving style on the Child and on the Madonna's hands is radically different from that of the figure of the Madonna itself. Several other figures in the monument also show marks of Roman workmanship, but they are usually on the backs.

This statue was featured in an exhibition at the Palazzo Venezia in Rome, emphasizing the ancient Roman element rather than the monument for which the statue was altered. The Child and hands were shown separately, with three Roman statues nearby for comparison. The statue itself was shown at eye level, thus completely changing Arnolfo's context where it had crowned a large multfigured tomb. As we have no knowledge of the context of the original Roman piece, this was a completely modern

contextualization of the sculpture. It displays the skill of modern scholarship and exhibition design while concentrating on only one element of Arnolfo's composition.

Lest we think we can divide the uses of antiquity into neat historical periods, it is worth noting that the use of an ancient piece as part of a more modern statue did not end with the Middle Ages. Several statues of saints in Rome are at least partial reworkings of ancient marbles: an ancient torso was used for the statue of Saint Sebastian in Sant'Agnese in Agone, and Nicolas Cordier (1567–1612) used an alabaster torso for his Saint Agnes at Sant'Agnese on the Nomentana.⁵ In 1764, Giuseppe Angelini restored the Good Shepherd statue, now in the Museo Pio-Cristiano of the Vatican Museums.⁶ This statue had been viewed as one of the earliest examples in the round of this sculptural type, and was thus considered an important example of early Christian sculpture. Recent studies indicate that it was originally part of a sarcophagus and that there is no proof it was a Christian work. What is interesting about this reworking is that it was called a restoration—something it is very doubtful Arnolfo bothered to claim. The antiquity has “progressed” from being a useful source of material to being a sort of new completion, a re-creation or restoration of the original. Nevertheless, since the modern sculptor is erasing parts of the original to give it a new meaning, it is difficult to call it a restoration.

As early as the fourteenth century, sculptors were actually attempting to restore antiquities rather than simply use them as raw material. A new way of using an antiquity brought out a new form of expertise. The statue of Mars in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 2) has been restored at least twice. The original fragment, found during the fifteenth century, was an armless and legless torso in Roman armor with a partial head. The first restoration (fig. 3) principally involved adding legs so it could stand. During cleaning some years ago, it became clear that some of the flaps of the armor below the breastplate were also restored. These were slightly weathered and carved differently from the major eighteenth-century work, when the fragment was completely restored by Pietro Bracci (1700–1773).

Bracci's restoration of the Mars (fig. 4) was radical. He removed the previously added legs (but not the minor restorations to the armor) and completed the figure by adding arms, legs, and a new base and finishing the helmet. Comparing this figure to an original Roman figure in armor—the Augustus of Prima Porta, say—we can see that it is a completely different interpretation of a powerful male figure. The Augustus has relatively realistic anatomy, whereas Bracci has created a muscle-bound brute. It is almost a modern Hollywood figure, a sort of stocky Arnold Schwarzenegger.



FIG. 2
Fragmentary statue of Mars. Roman,
first or second century A.D. White marble.
Rome, Capitoline Museum 58. Drawing:
Ondine Wright.



FIG. 3
Late fifteenth-century restoration of fragmen-
tary statue of Mars, figure 2. Drawing:
Ondine Wright.



FIG. 4
Additional restoration by Pietro Bracci
(1730s) of fragmentary statue of Mars, fig-
ure 2, H 360 cm. Drawing: Ondine Wright.

Bracci, now rather neglected, bridges the gap between the Baroque and the first generation of Neoclassicism. Unlike Bernini, he is uninterested in the varieties of surfaces that different tools can apply to marble to suggest the textures of cloth or human flesh. Instead, like Canova but with less subtlety, he smoothes all surfaces to a matte finish. Marble is meant to look hard and perfect so that it imparts to the human figure a sense of being otherworldly and eternal.

It is interesting to compare the Mars with Bracci's Oceanus on the Trevi Fountain. Carved more than twenty years later, it succeeds where the Mars does not. The artist has learned to express his concept of divinity without changing his approach. The finish is smooth and the anatomy overcharged, but the pose is fluid and gives the figure life. This comparison is important; it shows that Bracci in restoring the Roman fragments is creating a statue by Bracci. He seems to have felt such a complete continuity with Roman sculpture that there was no need to question it. He is not trying to imitate the Romans; he simply assumes he and they thought alike.

Bracci's attitude toward Roman sculpture typifies the attitude of Baroque sculptor-restorers. Pietro Bernini, Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Alessandro Algardi, and even the lesser figures who did

restorations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were trained as sculptors. They worked primarily for the Roman nobility, creating complete sculptures from fragments for their patrons' palaces. While admiring Greek and Roman antiquity, they were also concerned to assert that they were heirs to this tradition, just as their patrons asserted that they were descendants of the Romans. We may disagree with them, but it is important to recognize that it was not so much arrogance on their part as a belief in their unity with the past that led them to creative reconstruction rather than what we would now call restoration.

The Baroque sculptors' influence on Roman antiquities was not all one way. One characteristic of all the Trevi Fountain carvings (done by ten sculptors between 1732 and 1762) is that every statue is made from several pieces of stone. In some cases, works that are no larger than sculptures by Michelangelo or Bernini are assemblages, and not carved from a single block. The relief by Andrea Bergondi (1721–1789) of the Acqua Vergine aqueduct is a case in point, being made from twenty-two pieces of marble put together like a jigsaw puzzle.⁷ Since medieval times in Italy, sculptors had been making monuments by piecing marble together, but never with such abandon. Normally, the piecing was such that sculptural details did not cross from one piece to the other. This is no longer true with the Trevi. It seems that in the process of creating restorations, sculptors had learned how to put together complex compositions from many elements so that the division between pieces did not disturb the composition. This acquired technical expertise then carried over to their own work. Not only did the Baroque influence the antique, but working on the antique enhanced the technical capabilities of the Baroque sculptor.

Restoration started to change in the eighteenth century. The study of the antique as a profession began to have a major influence on the way people looked at Roman sculpture. No longer were sculptors and their patrons the only people to make decisions. An example of this change is the two Centaurs in the Capitoline Museum (figs. 5–6), acquired in 1765 by Pope Clement XIII. These pieces were discovered in excavations of Hadrian's Villa in December 1736 and restored by Carlo Napolioni (1675–1742). In 1805, the statues were further restored by a certain Francesco Antonio Franzoni (1734–1818). A few broken pieces were reattached and, more important, the sculptures were cleaned and patinated.⁸ A new restoration was carried out in 2001–2002 by the Centro di Conservazione Archeologica (CCA).

During the last restoration, the Centaurs were studied for both signs of original work and evidence of restoration, with interesting results. Clear evidence was found that there was originally



FIG. 5
Aristeas and Papias of Aphrodisias, The Young Centaur. First half of the second century A.D., with restorations by Carlo Napolioni (shaded areas), second quarter of the eighteenth century. Black, grey, and white marble or limestone, H 136 cm. Rome, Capitoline Museum 636. Drawing: Ondine Wright.

something on the horses' backs, as the stone had been roughly carved away there. On the Old Centaur, the shapes of this carving suggest feet. In the Vatican and the Louvre there are later Centaurs with restored putti on their backs, so it would seem that these bore them as well. Still, the situation is a bit more complicated than the simple erasure of evidence of a putto because there are holes drilled in the stone in the center of the carved-away portion on the Young Centaur and between the two foot shapes on the Old Centaur. The hole in the Young Centaur contains the cut-off remains of an iron pin. The shape of the pin does not look antique, whereas all the obviously antique supports (both those remaining and those removed in restoration) are in the original marble. The originals had large supports under the raised arm of the Young Centaur and many small ones in the leopard skin and in the hair of both statues. It would thus seem that the iron support was part of a restoration. Nevertheless, there is no documentary evidence to show these Centaurs carried putti. Napolioni may have begun his restoration with the idea of restoring the putti and then changed his mind and erased all signs of them.

This interpretation of the evidence is consistent with the other restorations. All the original curls of hair that project into space have small supports going back to the head, whereas only the



FIG. 6
Hypothetical reconstruction of the
original statue of The Young Centaur,
figure 5. Drawing: Ondine Wright.

restored curls project unsupported into space. The broken-off arm of the Young Centaur was reattached, but the original support was carved away. The restored horse's tail is the only extending part without a support, but if it followed the original technique it would have connected with the body of the sculpture, like the tail on the Vatican Centaur. By erasing the supports where possible, as well as by creating locks of hair projecting into space, Napolioni created a statue much more Baroque than the original. The same is true of the erasure of the putti. What we now have are statues that perfectly fit Baroque taste with elements projecting daringly, in technical terms, into space. The original, while being wonderfully well carved, was conservatively carved, avoiding risks with the marble.

Franzoni's 1805 restoration changed the Centaurs again. During the recent cleaning, it emerged that the marble (still not securely identified) is not pure black, but rather black mottled with gray or white streaks and spots. Examination of the surface for tool marks clearly revealed that the original had a fine abrasive finish, which would make the color stand out. The Franzoni patina completely obscured the real color of the marble. It gave the figures a matte black finish that makes them look like bronze, thus making it easy to interpret them as copies of Hellenistic bronzes. However, seen with the original color of the stone, and with all the original

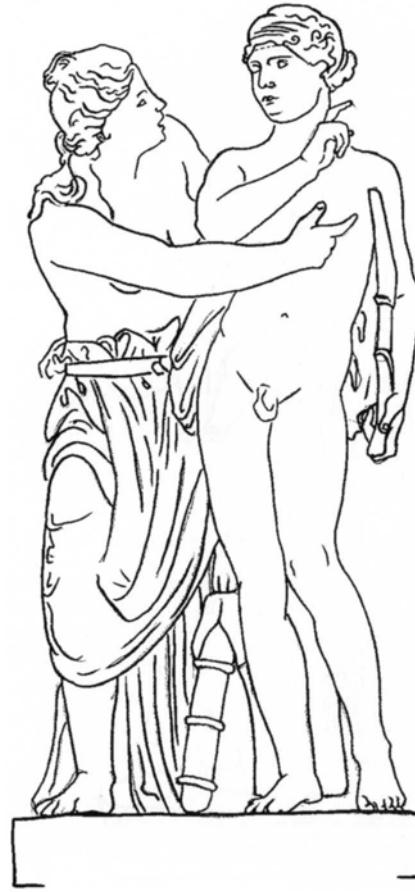


FIG. 7
Amor and Psyche. Undated Roman fragments, with sixteenth-century restoration attributed to Ippolito Buzzi. Various white marbles, H 132 cm. Rome, Palazzo Altemps 8567. Drawing: Ondine Wright. Cf. Marvin, figs. 2A–B, p. 228.

supports, they are much less convincing as copies of bronzes. When one can see the variegated and beautiful color of the marble, as well as the supports that demonstrate the sculptor's struggle with the material, it does make the assertion (lacking any original bronzes to refer to) something of a leap of faith. The idea that Roman marble carvings were copies of Hellenistic bronzes is the product of late eighteenth-century scholarship.⁹ Franzoni's patina therefore asserts a scholarly interpretation of Roman statuary—quite a change from the Baroque.

Up to what point can we call the treatment of antique fragments creative restoration, and when does it become something more? From the erasures on the Centaurs, it is obvious that the sculptor knew there had been something there and eliminated the evidence. Both Napolioni and Franzoni practiced a form of conscious deception, the first in creating a Baroque statue and the second in making it seem more like a bronze. This differs from Bracci's work. We may fault him for assuming that he perfectly understood what the Roman sculptor intended, but we have no evidence that he intentionally erased evidence that the statue was different from his creation. Do we wish to treat this difference as simply a question of degree, with the sculptor pushing his desire to bring an antiquity back to life, or is it something more? Has creative restoration



become a form of falsification? To carry the question forward, to what extent does Napolioni's and Franzoni's work on the Centaurs differ from Arnolfo di Cambio's modification of a Roman statue? Arnolfo made no attempt to assert he was presenting his viewers with an antiquity. He was, to put it in the worst light, stealing another's work and presenting it as his own. Napolioni, however, is erasing evidence and therefore consciously giving a false impression. In both cases, the ancient sculptural fragments are merely a means to an end.

Napolioni was not doing anything new. At least from the sixteenth century on, sculptors put together fragments from different originals to create a whole statue. The Seated Warrior in the Altemps Museum, a restoration attributed to Bernini,¹⁰ has an antique head that is not related to the body. The marble is clearly a different type. While this is a case of addition rather than erasure, it is obvious that the sculptor knew he was creating a whole out of parts that were not originally together. It is creative restoration.

A much more radical re-creation is the Amor and Psyche from the Ludovisi collection in the Altemps Museum (figs. 7–8). This statue, attributed to Ippolito Buzzi (1562–1634), has been in the collection since 1623.¹¹ The sculpture is made up of six antique fragments from different originals put together with much original

FIG. 8
Ippolito Buzzi's carvings for Amor and Psyche, figure 7. Antique fragments have been subtracted from the composition. Drawing: Ondine Wright.

carving by Buzzi. The mythological theme, as well as the inclusion of antique fragments, suggests that the sculptor and his patron wished to go beyond simply creating a work that suggested antiquity. It is not just an imitation of antiquity or a restoration of an antiquity, but rather a new creation.

The problem with this sculpture is what to call it. It is clearly not a restoration in any contemporary sense of the term. Yet it is not exactly a Baroque sculpture because of the inclusion of the antique fragments. To call it a creative adaptation of antiquity is rather to stretch the word “adaptation,” since it is not so much adapting an antiquity to a modern setting as it is incorporating fragments in a modern composition. If it is labeled as an antiquity, it might be called a fake, but its display in the Altemps includes a drawing that makes clear the variety of the provenance of the marble pieces. Even if the Ludovisi knew perfectly well what Buzzi was doing (the only record of payment to Buzzi in their accounts is for unspecified restorations),¹² we do not know how they would have described the piece to their visitors. Perhaps we need some new way to describe this sort of work if we want to be clear about what the museum visitor is seeing, as well as to distinguish between the varieties of sculptures that are currently grouped under the word restoration. Not only is the term restoration inaccurate, it also belittles Buzzi’s mastery in both carving and piecing marble together.

Paolo Liverani¹³ has coined the word “verification” to describe the process by which an antique work is made to fit modern taste. He uses this term in contrast to falsification, the deliberate creation of a false antiquity for purely commercial purposes. Whatever we call the works described above, they are all part of a long tradition that was, and in some cases still is, part of sculpture. The artist exploits materials from an earlier period, perhaps simply as useful material, perhaps to create a new interpretation of the earlier period, perhaps actually to create new works as if they came from an earlier period. As with any tradition, this one mutates over time. Even a work not made from earlier fragments and intended to fool the viewer belongs here. Thus an eighteenth-century fake is part of that tradition and has value to us now, just like restorations from the same period. Even an intentional fake by a modern carver will have historic value a hundred years from now, telling the future something about our current view of the past. Thus, as valuable as it is to understand what was done in the name of restoration in the past and how it differs from the present, it is equally important to understand that the use of words such as falsification or fake does not make the work necessarily less significant.

As we become increasingly aware of the extent to which restoration from the fifteenth to the early twentieth century

created new statues from ancient fragments, we are in danger of developing contempt toward restorers, as happened in some de-restorations carried out in the later twentieth century. The most radical example is probably the de-restoration of the Aegina pediments at the Glyptothek in Munich. The current display makes it clear that modern scholarship views Thorvaldsen's restorations as completely misguided. He used a sculptor's creativity, whereas we now rely on scholarly rationality. Contemporary restorers, curators, and scholars are currently questioning the radical approach of eliminating previous restorations and have reinstalled some former restorations. Museums are again attempting to display whole statues, asserting that the restorations in themselves are of historic value. Is this attitude not an act of creation in its own way? It is important to recognize that restoration is a kind of cycle where each generation seeks to create from the original fragments its own view of both history and antiquity.

ROME

Notes

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All drawings are by Ondine Wright. They are free interpretations of the statues, based in part on restorers' drawings, and not intended as exact reproductions.

- 1 E. R. Varner, ed., *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Portraiture* (Atlanta, 2000), pp. 124–27.
- 2 Personal observations at Aphrodisias between 1982 and 1989.
- 3 My own observation while serving as a consultant to the restorations carried out from 1989.
- 4 This is my own observation. For a more complete description, as well as the suggestion that other surfaces of the statue were reworked, see M. R. Tosti-Croce, ed., *Bonifacio VIII e il suo tempo, anno 1300 il primo giubileo* (Milan, 2000).
- 5 P. Liverani, “Tra falsificazioni e ‘verificazioni,’” in *Falsifications in Polish Collections and Abroad*, ed. J. Miziotek (Warsaw, 2001), p. 95.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 96.
- 7 P. Rockwell, “Le tecniche relative alla scultura ed alla costruzione,” in *Fontana di Trevi: La storia, il restauro*, ed. L. Cardilli (Rome, 1991), p. 73.
- 8 I am indebted to Francesco Paolo Arata’s communication in *Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* (1988), pp. 206–7, for the history of the restoration of the Centaurs.
- 9 Dating based on a personal communication from Miranda Marvin.
- 10 A. Adele, “Guerriero seduto a terra,” in *La Collezione Boncompagni Ludovisi*, ed. A. Giuliano (Venice, 1992), pp. 84–89.
- 11 A. Costantini, “Amore e Psiche,” in *La Collezione Boncompagni Ludovisi*, ed. A. Giuliano (Venice, 1992), pp. 144–51.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pp. 144–51.
- 13 Liverani (note 5 *supra*), pp. 91–100.

Restoration and Display of Classical Sculpture in English Country Houses

A Case of Dependence

Jane Fejfer

During the eighteenth century a number of sculptors in Rome made restoration of ancient sculptures their main business. In the development of this business English buyers played a major role, and restorers developed skills and techniques to suit the English market and country house interiors. One aspect of restoration, the treatment of surfaces, can serve to define the wider context of classical sculpture in eighteenth-century England.

Treatment of ancient surfaces in the eighteenth century

Treatment of the ancient surface of stone sculpture is a subject that has interested neither art theorists of past centuries nor modern archaeologists to the same extent as has the actual joining of new pieces to replace the missing ancient ones.¹ This is probably first and foremost because reworking a surface, either mechanically or chemically, has always been considered a less drastic and less destructive process than the joining of new pieces, and in many private and public collections cleaning of sculpture was considered part of the general care or conservation of the object. Further, surface treatment—or maltreatment—is hard to observe in photographs and impossible to detect in engravings.

But even when confronted with the actual object, it can be difficult to analyze and understand surfaces without special training. However, just as close reading of attached limbs and attributes is important for the interpretation of a sculptural type, so too is close reading of surfaces important when we date a sculpture and judge its style and quality.

One of the problems of dealing with surfaces is that art works have been cared for continuously since they were first set up in antiquity. Art works were not simply left on their own from the day of dedication, but continued to interact with their audience. In antiquity a variety of events took place in front of statues of gods, heroes, and mortals, and at those events the statues were adorned with garlands, rubbed with perfumed balms, and so on. Being displayed outdoors and exposed to the elements caused sculptures to become worn. From inscriptions in Italian municipalities we know

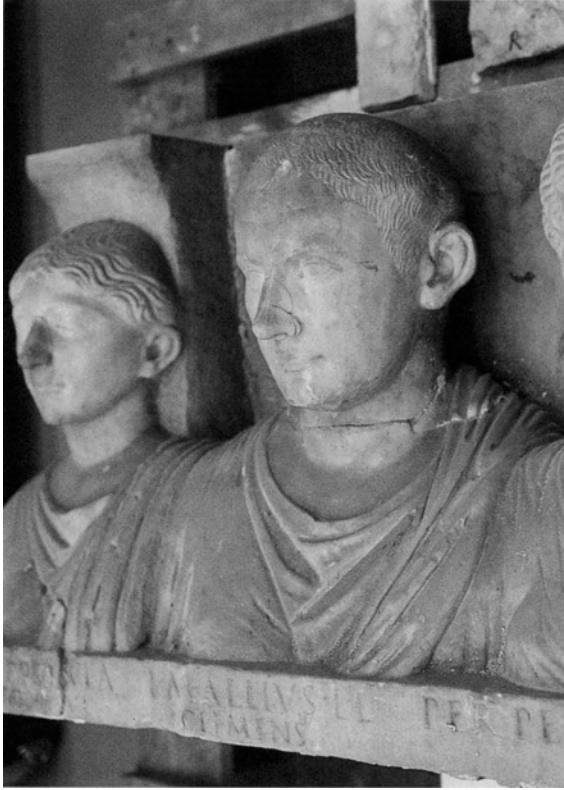


FIG. 1
Detail of the *Freedman's Relief*, Ince Blundell Hall. Roman, late Republic. Marble. Liverpool, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside. Photo: Birgitte Lydik Clausen.

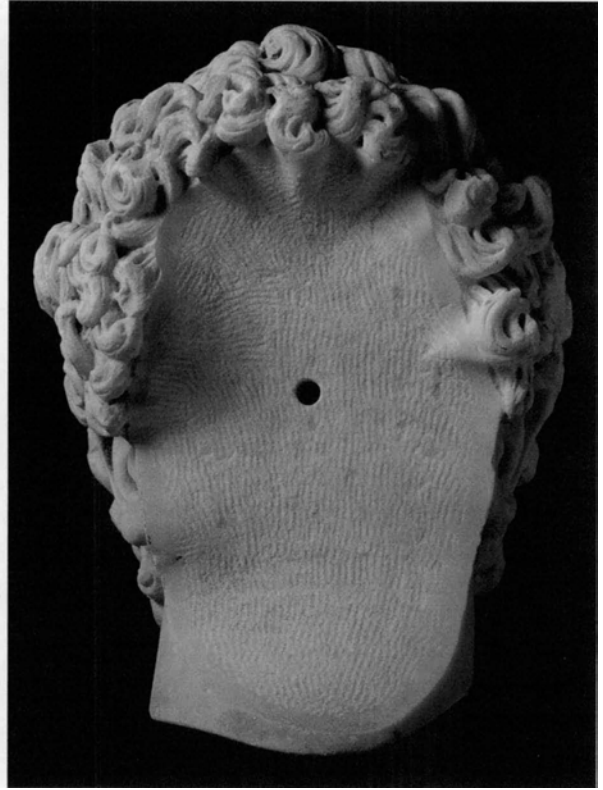


FIG. 2
Portrait of Commodus. c. A.D. 180. Marble, H 31.8 cm. Liverpool, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, Ince 438. Photo: David Flower.

that statues were regularly cleaned, and from Roman Egypt there is evidence for a special tax that was allocated to the caretaking of old statues of emperors.² Cleaning, repolishing, regilding, and repainting of sculpture were in all probability part of the day-to-day routine in ancient city life. In modern times—from the late fifteenth century when sculptures were moved from courtyards indoors to the long galleries of Renaissance palaces—it must be assumed that they were cleaned on a regular basis.³ Cleaning in houses and museums was, of course, more or less drastic, more or less regular. We have all learned from the Elgin marbles, and only a few years ago the administrator of a large English country house told how the former housekeeper, an efficient woman with a passion not just for soap and water, gave the busts and statues in the hall a good scrub every spring when the house was opened up to the family (and public). She used “a white powder” to make the marbles look their best—sparkling white. This continuous process of cleaning complicates the assessment of surfaces.

Postantique restorers used a variety of methods when dealing with a damaged antique surface:

- When the damage was serious, a whole section (for example, of a relief) could be removed and replaced by a modern or another



ancient piece. In a so-called “Freedmen’s Relief” from Ince Blundell Hall the restorer did not cut the replacement head down to match the ancient relief, but made room on the relief for a full head (fig. 1).

- The face of a head could be removed, as in a portrait of Commodus from Ince Blundell Hall where only the ancient hair is preserved and the surface made ready for a new face (fig. 2).
- Heavy incrustation could be removed mechanically with a chisel, as on the back of the diadem of a Trajanic female portrait in the Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen, where one can observe that the restorer (Bertel Thorvaldsen himself?) has tentatively removed some of the incrustation (fig. 3).
- In an over-life-size, early second-century bust of an Oriental, one of a pair found at Tiberius’s villa at Sperlonga and now at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, we can observe the variety of cleaning methods used on its surface. The hair shows clear traces of mechanical cleaning, whereas the face, which was probably just as scarred by heavy incrustation as the hair and bust, has been acid treated. The saltpeter or hydrochloric acid used has removed all the incrustations and seeped into the ancient surface, leaving a completely different, greasy appearance

FIG. 3
Detail of a head of a Trajanic woman.
c. A.D. 100. Marble. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum 1444. Photo: Jo Selsing.



FIG. 4
Head of a Trajanic woman patched up by Bartolomeo Cavaceppi into a double herm with a Republican male portrait. Marble, H 0.23 m. Liverpool, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, Ince 226. Photo: David Flower.

(plate v). This technique of cleaning naked body parts, in particular the face, with saltpeter and leaving hair and drapery partly untouched, was much used in the eighteenth and into the late nineteenth century to imitate an ancient polish.⁴

- A double herm, also from the Ince Blundell Collection, boasts a surface full of small pockmarks probably caused by the use of sulphuric acid (fig. 4).

Winckelmann and sculpture in England

Art theorists of the eighteenth century are to some extent concerned with the problem of restoration, but discussions center around restored pieces and attributes, which, when wrong, could lead to misinterpretations of the subject represented in the sculpture—or, when clumsy, disturb its aesthetic value. This concern is epitomized by Christian Heyne, who wrote in 1779: “[R]estorations must be so skilfully made that the eyes will not be disturbed but deceived.”⁵

More rare are comments in the contemporary literature on surface treatment. The sculptor Orfeo Boselli (1597–1667) wrote perhaps the first treatise on restoration. In an unpublished manuscript of the 1650s he gives careful directions, perhaps in his role as

teacher at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, on how to attach new pieces, but mentions only briefly that acid *acqua forte* cleans well and can bring the marble back to its original purity.⁶ A century later, in 1756, the German art theorist Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) mentions in different letters that he was working on a treatise on restorations. *Von der Restauration der Antiquen* was never completed, but in 1996 Max Kunze published three hitherto unknown manuscripts containing Winckelmann's notes on the planned book.⁷ Although the more theoretical part, which seems to have been planned as an introduction, was never written, Winckelmann makes no reference in his notes to surface treatment, or to surface preservation at all.

On the other hand, Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (1717–1799), Winckelmann's acquaintance and the busiest restorer in Rome in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, urged that ancient surfaces should be left untouched—although he rarely followed his own advice. Francesco Carradori (1747–1824) probably was more honest when in 1802 he stated that saltpeter or hydrochloric acid will remove thick incrustations and dirt. He further said that *acqua forte* is useful to bleach discolored spots on marble. Several other liquids—urine, tobacco water, or ink, for instance—were used to color too-white areas, modern or ancient. What can be concluded is that by the mid-eighteenth century acid treatment of surfaces was a long- and well-established procedure used not only to restore ancient sculpture but also by modern sculptors as a natural step in the final treatment of a new piece.

A few years after Winckelmann made references to his planned book on restorations he was very aware of acid treatment. In a letter from Rome, dated 4 October 1760, to his friend, the collector (and later alleged spy) Baron Philipp Stosch who was in Salisbury, Winckelmann derides the antiquities at nearby Wilton House: "You may recall that a number of statues have been treated with saltpeter. Among them four or five have been associated with the famous Greek artist of the Florence Venus but it must be a fraud. Along the same line it is claimed that one of the statues was brought from Greece by Polybius, a friend of the famous Scipio, and there are other similar stories. The catalogue of the Pembroke collection has been translated into Italian and printed in Livorno and it is detestable. It seems to have been written by an Englishman in country garb (*Land-Garde-robe*)."⁸ Why is Winckelmann so upset with Lord Pembroke's collection, and perhaps with English collections in general? Winckelmann comments on the acid treatment, and is appalled by the wild identification of some of the statues and by their attribution to famous Greek artists. Further, he does not

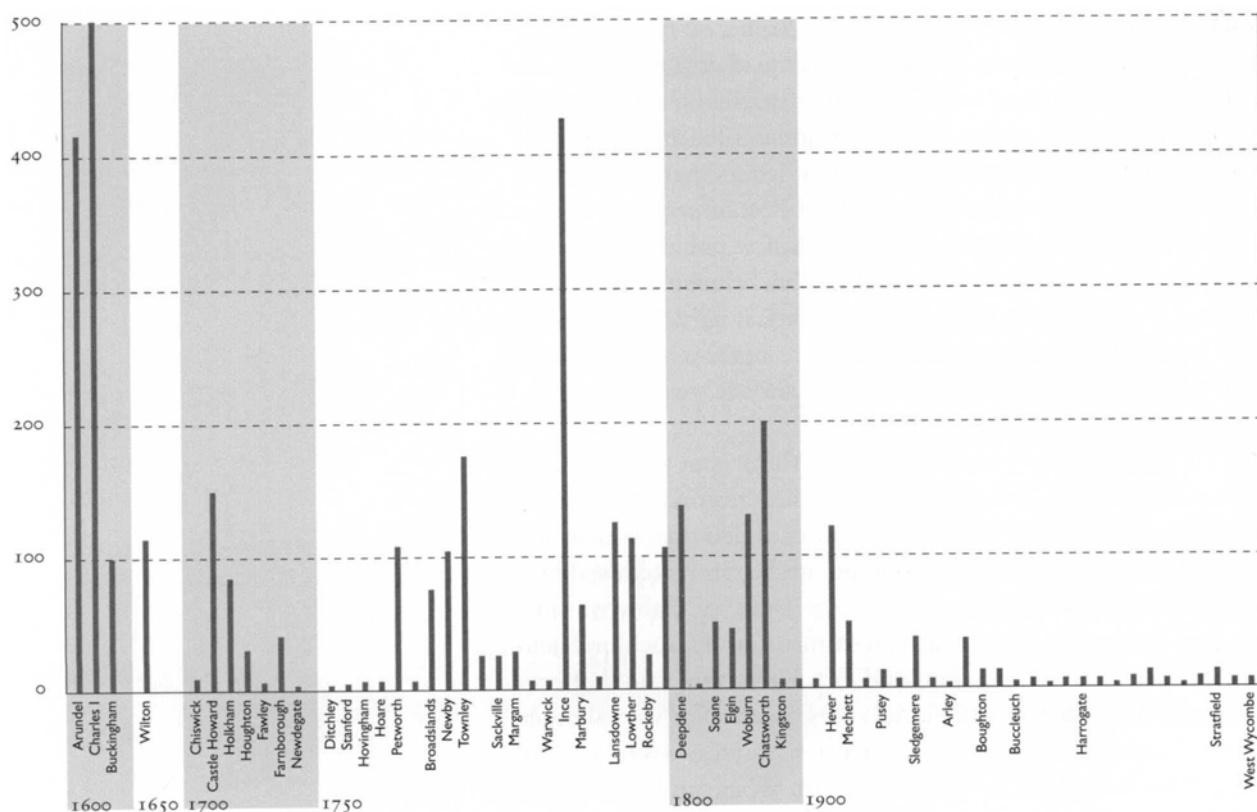


FIG. 5
Histogram showing influx of classical marbles from Italy to Britain, based on marbles registered in the database on marbles in Britain at the University of Cologne, Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik. © Jane Fejfer and Edmund C. Southworth.

understand how the publication of the collection (*Abscheu*) could become so popular that it was not only published in English but also translated into Italian.

The wider context of sculpture in eighteenth-century Britain: Defining the market

Bearing in mind that the Wilton House collection contains both seventeenth- and eighteenth-century restorations⁹ and that there are big differences from collection to collection in England, I argue that the way ancient sculpture was perceived and displayed in Britain during the eighteenth century is reflected in the restoration of the sculptures that were directed toward that market. Most of the sculptures that entered Britain during that period were bought and restored in Rome. Many collectors formed at least part of their collection themselves when on their Grand Tour, others bought through agents acting for them on the antiquities market.¹⁰ However, even if the sculptures were selected by the collector himself, the restoration process could take a long time and was often handled by an agent. In 1772 the young Thomas Mansel Talbot had returned to his country estate at Margam Park after a successful Grand Tour during which he had managed to buy a series of sculptures. Talbot wrote from Margam Park, probably to Gavin

Hamilton: "If you can find time to let me know how the restore goes on of the Lucius Verus, you'll oblige me: I don't in the least doubt its being well executed. If you could favour me with a rough draft of the manner in which you propose to restore the torso, you would confer a satisfactory obligation on your humble servant, Talbot."¹¹ Gavin Hamilton and Thomas Jenkins acted as agents for a number of collectors. They were competitors: Hamilton, for example, accused Jenkins of rubbing down and repolishing his statues to make them white and smooth, whereas his own statues were in a virgin state, "though a little corroded and stained," but both Hamilton and Jenkins were working with the same purpose—supplying suitable sculptures for English country houses.¹²

A histogram, developed by using the more than 4,000 entries of marble sculptures in the database on English collections at the Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik in Cologne, shows the influx of classical marbles into England (fig. 5). Although still in need of refinement, the histogram shows the basic chronological trends in ancient sculpture collecting in England.¹³ The tradition commences shortly after 1600 with the collections of and around the Stuart court.¹⁴ During the following roughly 120 years collecting is kept at a modest level, with the earl of Pembroke's collection the only major one formed until the 1720s when a significant increase in imports of marbles can be detected. The number of collections formed, however, is still limited and concentrated in the hands of the few landed Whigs. Shortly before the middle of the eighteenth century the number of imported marbles increases dramatically, but what is most significant is the growth in the number of collections with classical marble. Some collections—Ince Blundell Hall, for instance—have hundreds of pieces whereas others have only a few. The growth in the number of collections with marbles can be further refined to about 1750 to 1780, and should possibly be seen in connection with the enterprises of Gavin Hamilton, Thomas Jenkins, Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, and Carlo Albacini. Hamilton and Jenkins acted as agents for a number of important collectors, among whom the more significant were Charles Townley, Henry Blundell, Thomas Mansel Talbot, the earl of Shelburne, and James Hugh Smith Barry. The workshops of Cavaceppi and Albacini were responsible for restoring much of the sculpture sold by Hamilton and Jenkins. It is significant that from about 1720 until 1800 almost all the sculptures imported into Britain went to the furnishing of country houses. In order to show that classical marbles were collected with a specific decorative and ideological purpose in mind and that they were selected, restored, and surface treated accordingly, I look briefly at displays and use of sculpture in Britain during the eighteenth century. I will argue that these collections may be

perceived as an important element in the self-expression of a leisured class.

From the early eighteenth century on, classical sculpture became an important element in the country house.¹⁵ Newly rich Whigs were anxious to acquire land and manifest their influence by constructing palatial country houses in the proud Palladian style. In Norfolk Sir Robert Walpole swept away a whole village to make room for Houghton Hall, which included a parade ground and landscaped garden with Colen Campbell as architect. From 1727 William Kent worked on the interiors; classical sculptures, probably mostly bought by Walpole's son on his Grand Tour, were included as a natural part of the design. In the grand stone hall, busts of Roman emperors resting on consoles on the walls are juxtaposed with real family portraits, such as one of Walpole in front of a plaster relief showing the goddess of hunting and based on an ancient prototype. The stone hall reflecting the atrium in the house of a Roman senatorial family celebrates Walpole as a worthy descendant of ancient Rome; we may recall Jonathan Richardson's remarks: "[N]o nation under heaven so nearly resembles the ancient Greeks and Romans than we. There is a haughty courage, an elevation of thought, a greatness of liberty, a simplicity and honesty among us . . . and in these this resemblance exists."¹⁶ At the same time this display celebrates one of the most important pleasures of life in the countryside—hunting.¹⁷

At neighboring Holkham Hall the much larger collection of sculptures was assembled by Thomas Coke, first earl of Leicester.¹⁸ Although some pieces were bought by the earl in his youth while he was on the Grand Tour, the majority were acquired through agents when Coke was back in England. In 1734 he began the construction of a new hall, again with William Kent as architect. The sculptures acquired in the 1740s through Matthew Brettingham the Younger made a great impact on the design of the interiors. In the sumptuous marble hall lined with colored alabaster columns, some of the statues of gods and goddesses confined to niches in the walls of the upper ambulatorium are plaster casts, others are of marble. All act as architectural sculptures or window dressing, emphasizing the atmosphere of a temple to the sublime that is created by the domed coffered ceiling, which recalls the Pantheon, and the Ionic columns copied from those of the temple of Fortuna Virilis. In the sculpture gallery the statues are placed in two tripartite niche arrangements around a central niche with a statue of Apollo. Busts are placed on the opposite wall and in the tribunes at either end. The pale wall color brings harmony and prevents the statues from seeming too presumptuous (fig. 6). Connected to both the dining room and the library, the sculpture gallery served as an integral part



of the decorative scheme and the activities of the house: “[P]lanned, planted, built, decorated and inhabited in the middle of the eighteenth century by Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester,” as was written on the gate. It can be contrasted to William Hogarth’s *Marriage à la Mode: The Tête-à-Tête* painted in 1745 (plate vi). Hogarth ridicules the interior decoration style of William Kent, with a long gallery with old-master paintings and overrestored classical sculpture, and a sad-looking female bust with a clearly attached nose. Note that the joint is picked out in an exaggerated thick black line.

At Castle Howard, home of the earls of Carlisle, the third earl, Charles Howard, built a magnificent Rococo palace with John Vanbrugh and Nicolas Hawksmoor as architects. In 1712, after twelve years of work, the center block and east wing were complete. When the third earl died in 1738 after having spent £78,000, the house was still unfinished. The marbles were acquired later by Henry, the fourth earl, from 1740 to 1747 during his Grand Tour and with the assistance of the antiquarian Francesco Ficoroni. The life-size statues were displayed in the splendid marble hall at the four pillars that support the cupola, as well as over the mantelpiece (fig. 7). However, these mediocre statues, supposed to represent important Roman men and to be appropriate as ancestors, look absolutely lost and out of place in this overwhelming room (one can

FIG. 6
The sculpture gallery at Holkham Hall
designed by William Kent, begun in 1734.
© Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik,
Cologne.

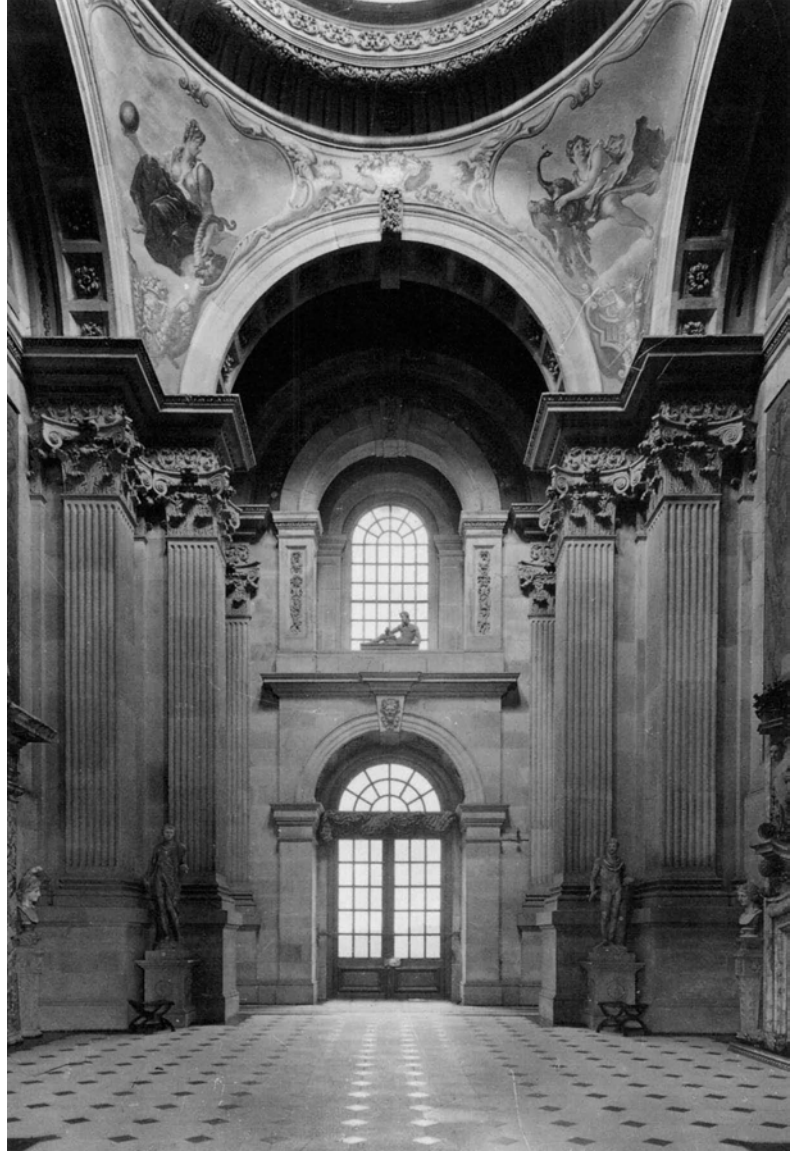


FIG. 7
Castle Howard, the marble hall with antique
sculptures added in the late eighteenth cen-
tury, c. 1712. © Country Life Picture Library.

just glimpse a river god under the cupola). When the earl decided to complete the castle with a west wing in 1753, the architect was his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Robinson, and the style was Palladian. Little is known about the original display of the remaining collection, but a drawing from 1810 by Charles Tatham shows that busts were displayed in the long gallery in a museumlike setting with paintings that became fashionable around 1800.¹⁹ The busts are of excellent quality and extremely well preserved, and one may wonder whose eye picked them out and how it was possible to get them out of Italy. The display of the busts today in the so-called Antique Passage is late nineteenth century.

Thomas Talbot had inherited the estate at Margam Park in South Wales from a distant relative, Sir Rice Mansel, chamberlain and chancellor of south Wales. In 1768 his eighteen-year-old son Thomas Mansel Talbot left England with his tutor Colonel de Roquin in a brand new traveling coach costing £120 and with new robes worth £125. In Turin they spent six months at the Royal Academy. Expenses went to board and lodgings, staff, and room furnishing; lessons in riding, fencing, and dancing; and instruction in arithmetic and fortification. Mansel Talbot was called back to England on the death of his sister, but in 1771 he was again in Rome. During his time on the Continent he was continuously in

contact with his staff at Margam. In his inheritance was a collection of old orange and other citrus trees described as one of the finest in Europe. How it came to be in the possession of the Mansel Talbot family is uncertain; according to one rumor it originally had been sent as a gift for Elizabeth I from the Spanish king, but the ship got lost en route.

From 1771 to 1772 Mansel Talbot spent £2,400 on statues, paintings, and works of art. Most pieces were bought via Hamilton and Jenkins and came from excavations in Rome and its surroundings, such as from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. The relationship with Jenkins and Hamilton was close, and much of the preserved correspondence gives a description of how they worked in Rome—we have already heard about Mansel Talbot's interest in the restoration of Lucius Verus (see note 11). Thirty-one packing cases sent from Livorno to Swansea in 1772 cost him £270 for packing, freight, and bribe. Mansel Talbot was much concerned about the route for his marbles and whether they would arrive safely, but what is important here is that he seems to have acquired them with a specific setting in mind.

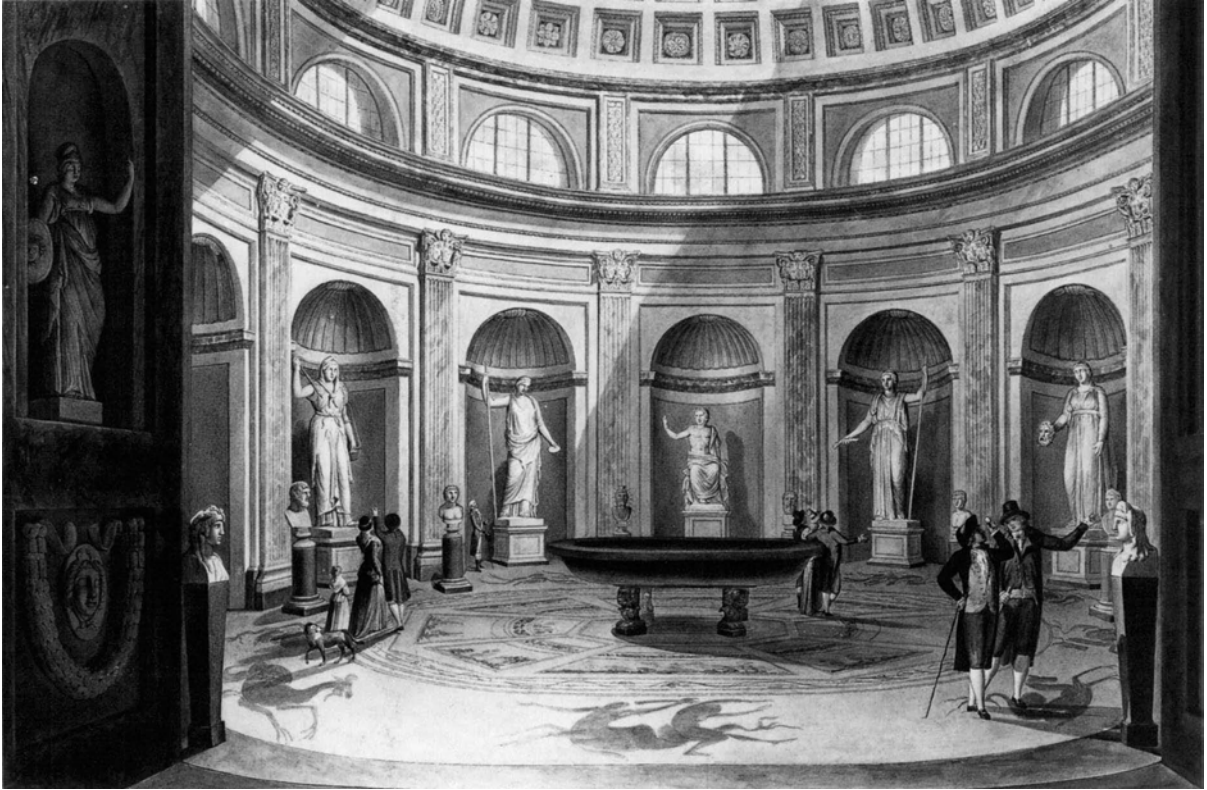
In 1787 he started constructing a new building, an orangery, to house his important collections of citrus trees, sculptures, and books (fig. 8). Designed by Anthony Keck, the orangery was the longest in Britain, with twenty-seven tall windows and a pavilion at either end. Nothing of the interior is preserved and apparently no views of the original interior design have yet been identified. However, a series of descriptions exists. In 1798 the Reverend Richard Warner of Bath described the collection of marbles in detail; he also mentioned cork models of the Colosseum, the Temple of Fortuna at Tivoli, and the Triumphal Arch of Titus. In 1804 E. Donovan described the orangery: "There is at each extremity of this extensive building, a small apartment, one designed for a Library and the other for a museum. In the latter are deposited . . .," and he continues with a description of the items in the collection.²⁰ This sophisticated solution of combining his most precious belongings, books, orange trees, and antique sculptures in this magnificent orangery seems to reflect the ancient idea of having libraries at each end of a colonnaded basilica.

At Ince Blundell Hall in Lancashire Henry Blundell had assembled more than five hundred ancient marbles, and in 1801 we hear for the first time about Blundell's plans for erecting a Pantheon to house the bulk of his collection. The circular building with a domed roof and a central oculus as the only source for light had been considered ideal for the display of classical sculpture ever since the sixteenth century.²¹ Charles Townley, whose dream had been to move his collection into the countryside to his ancestral home,



FIG. 8
Margam Park, Glamorgan, the orangery,
c. 1787. Photo: Author.

Towneley Hall, also had plans drawn up for a Pantheon (by Joseph Bononi, between 1783 and 1790) to house his most important marbles, a project that was never realized.²² The Townley Pantheon is however in the ornate Adam-like tradition, whereas the inspiration for Blundell's fascinating, more serene Pantheon may have come from the Pio-Clementino (fig. 9). Just as in the Pio-Clementino the emphasis is on individual sculptures and the setting is a sort of recreated antiquity. Colors are cooler, and the decorative plasterwork has been scaled down from that which can be observed in the earlier garden temple at Ince and in the gallery at Newby Hall designed by Robert Adam in the 1760s especially for sculpture. The architect is unknown, but Blundell himself certainly played an important role in designing the interior. The Pantheon was an ideal and historically correct way to present classical sculpture; being originally detached from the main house, it was suitable for public access.²³ Blundell's approach to classical sculpture was not that of an antiquarian. In the construction of the Pantheon not only did he try to secure his collection for the future—his son was utterly uninterested in marbles—but it is one of the first attempts in Britain where the focus is on the individual objects in a setting that alludes to the sculptures' original ancient context.



Every market gets the antiquities it deserves:

Sculpture in the countryside

In his introductory talk at the seminar, Jerry Podany quoted Aby Warburg's striking remark: "Every age gets the antiquities it deserves." I have tried to argue that in the case of Britain it could even be claimed that every *market* gets the antiquities it deserves. My main point has been that the ultimate use of sculpture in Britain in decorative settings in country houses had a great impact on the quality and grade of restorations of the sculptures that the British acquired.

There is a significant chronological development in the displays of sculpture in Britain during the eighteenth century. In the early collections, sculpture became a natural part of the over-all decorative scheme in Palladian country houses (Houghton Hall, for instance). During the third quarter of the century, historicist displays with specially constructed galleries or halls reserved for sculpture alone become the concern of collectors. Toward the end of the century and in the early nineteenth century, the gallery-cum-museum display with a mix of art objects—modern and ancient, painting and sculpture—was no doubt sparked by the opening of the grand

FIG. 9

Abraham-Louis-Rodolphe Ducros (1748–1810) and Giovanni Volpato (1735–1803), *Museo Pio-Clementino, La Rotunda*, 1786–1792. Engraving with watercolor.

© Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.



FIG. 10
The hall at Althorp. © Country Life Picture
Library.

public museums. The sculpture galleries at Chatsworth, dating from the 1830s, and at Petworth, from the 1820s, are good examples.

An index to these eighteenth-century collections would show that they are placed in the countryside. But why in the countryside and not in the huge town houses of the gentry? A simple answer may be that sculpture takes up a lot of space, but many town houses were of such dimensions that they could easily have housed a medium-size sculpture collection. The only two major collections in London were Townley's and the earl of Shelburne's at Lansdowne House. Townley's ultimate wish, we have seen, was to move his collection up to Lancashire to Towneley Hall, and Lansdowne House in Berkeley Square was, when it was built in the 1760s, surrounded by a landscaped park and at that time even called "the country house of London." In the countryside classical sculptures express the dignity and erudition of a leisure class. In Henry Peacham's *The Complete Gentleman* (1622), an important attribute of a true virtuoso was skill in sculpture. Connoisseurship was not for the vulgar; it was strongly class conscious and protective. The nonproductive and nonutilitarian way of employing one's time is what enhances the dignity of a connoisseur, making him always respected and esteemed. Foreign travel and classical sculpture were the currency of the connoisseur. The countryside and the country house were not



FIG. 11
The entrance hall at Broadlands.
Photo © Forschungsarchiv für Antike
Plastik, Cologne.

peripherals;²⁴ they were the basis for wealth and the frame for social as well as political decisions.

The houses in the country were well known to members of the ruling class and to the local gentry. Horace Walpole, who visited Castle Howard in August 1772, did not like the architecture of the house, but he mentions its fine antique statues and busts and the finest collection in the world of antique tables in colored marble. The earls of Carlisle were seen and admired for their skills and taste as connoisseurs.²⁵ At the same time, life in the countryside was the utmost expression of the leisured class. A painting from 1745 showing the park at Beachborough House illustrates some of the outdoor activities—reading, drawing, and fishing—and the hall at Althorp, hung with over-life-size portraits of favorite horses, demonstrates the importance of sports, not least riding and hunting. The hall at Althorp (fig. 10) can be contrasted to the entrance hall at Broadlands (fig. 11). One aristocrat preferred to be perceived through his classical marbles, another through his sporting activities, but the common denominator in these halls is leisure in the countryside.

From the early eighteenth century libraries became as established an element of the country house as were the collections of art.²⁶ This did not imply that the approach to classical art became more learned—and here we may recall Winckelmann's letter to

Baron Stosch.²⁷ Winckelmann's theories on art, which had such a great impact on the continent, found no ears in Britain. His *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, first published in 1764, was not translated into English until 1864, and then in an American edition. Winckelmann had opened classical antiquity to the learned, to artists, and to an audience interested in the history of art. The contemplation of art was no longer class conditioned.²⁸ By the end of the century, with the outbreak of the Napoleonic wars, the classical culture as defining a cultural elite was already weakened. Country house visiting developed rapidly during the eighteenth century, and some houses had guides to the collections on display. Boundaries between the leisure class and the many became less significant. This was in direct conflict with the interests of the English gentry who used classical art and erudition as elements in the protection of its social class. Winckelmann, on the other hand, probably had no understanding at all of the way sculpture was perceived in Britain. He was not interested in the display and aesthetics of settings, but rather in the individual pieces of sculpture and their quality. By contrast, individual pieces were not in general what concerned the English. Even in the case of the Townley Diskobolos, the discussions that took place around it, as reported in a letter to Viscount Palmerston, were centered around how to throw the discus, not that the head did not belong to the statue.²⁹ Restorers and dealers knew what the British customers wanted for their grand country house interiors and they supplied them with sculpture accordingly.

Notes

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the conference participants for their many helpful comments. In particular I would like to thank Jane Bassett, Brigitte Bourgeois, and Peter Rockwell.

Abbreviation

Antikensammlungen D. Boschung and H. von Hesberg, eds., *Antikensammlungen des europäischen Adels im 18. Jahrhundert* (Mainz, 2000)

- 1 The bibliography on restorations is extensive; fundamental are S. Howard, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Eighteenth-Century Restorer* (New York, 1982); idem, *Antiquity Restored: Essays on the Afterlife of the Antique* (Vienna, 1990); U. Müller-Kaspar, "Das sogenannte Echte am Falschen: Antikenergänzungen im späteren 18. Jahrhundert in Rom" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. Bonn, 1988); see also *La collezione Boncompagni Ludovisi*, ed. A. Giuliano, exh. Palazzo Ruspoli, Rome (Venice, 1992), passim; D. Kocks, "Antikenaufstellung und Antikenergänzung im 18. Jahrhundert in England," *Antikensammlungen im 18. Jahrhundert*, vol. 9 of *Frankfurter Forschungen zur Kunst*, ed. H. Beck et al. (Berlin, 1981) pp. 317–34; N. H. Ramage, "The Pacetti Papers and the Restoration of Ancient Sculpture in the 18th Century," in *Von der Schönheit wissen Marmors*, ed. T. Weiss, exh. cat. (Mainz, 1999), pp. 79–84; U. Müller-Kaspar, "Cavaceppi zwischen Theorie und Praxis: Das Traktat 'Dell'arte di ben restaurare le antiche sculture'—nichts als schöne Worte?" in *Von der Schönheit wissen Marmors*, op. cit., pp. 93–99; J. Fejfer, *The Roman Male Portraits*, vol. 1.2 of *The Ince Blundell Collection of Classical Sculpture* (Liverpool, 1997), pp. 1–13.
- 2 Evidence collected by the author in J. Fejfer, *Aspects of Roman Portraiture*, forthcoming.
- 3 For classical sculpture in Renaissance galleries, see K. Riebesell, "Die Galleria Farnese als Statuengalerie," in *Das Spiel mit der Antike* (Festschrift R. Düll), ed. S. Düll et al. (Möhnesee, 2000), pp. 185–202.
- 4 See J. Fejfer (note 1 supra), p. 8; idem, "The Classical Portrait Bust in 18th Century England: Identification and Restoration," in *Antikensammlungen*, pp. 56–58.
- 5 C. G. Heyne, *Sammlung antiquarischer Aufsätze* (1779).
- 6 See P. Dent Weil, "Contributions toward a History of Sculpture Techniques: 1. Orfeo Boselli on the Restoration of Antique Sculpture," *Studies in Conservation* 12.3 (1967): 93; M. G. Picozzi, "Orfeo Boselli and the Interpretation of the Antique," in *The Role of the Artist in the Rediscovery of Antiquity*, ed. J. Fejfer, T. Fischer-Hansen, and A. Rathje (forthcoming).
- 7 M. Kunze, "Von der Restauration der Antiquen": *Eine unvollendete Schrift Winckelmanns* (Mainz, 1996).
- 8 J. J. Winckelmann, *Briefe*, vol. 2, ed. H. Diepholder and W. Rehm (Berlin, 1954), p. 101, no. 375: "Sie werden sich noch wohl erinnern dass verschiedene Statuen mit Scheidewasser geäset sind, unter welchen vier oder fünf sind mit dem Namen des Künstlers der Venus zu Florenz welcher aber dort ein Betrug seyn muss. Ingleichen dass man von einer Statue vorgiebt, sie sey von Polybius, dem Freunde des grossen Scipio aus Griechenland gebracht worden und mehr dergleichen Possen. Das Verzeichniss der Pembrokischen Alterthümer ist zu Livorno übersesst gedruckt, und ein Abscheu. Es scheint von einem Englischen Land-Garde-robe aufgesesst zu seyn."
- 9 For the collection of classical sculptures at Wilton House, see J. Dickmann, "Lord Pembroke's Design to Form a School of Sculpture": Erwerb, Aufstellung und Funktion von Antiken in Wilton House während des 17. und 18. Jhs., in *Antikensammlungen*, pp. 115–29; and J. Dickmann (forthcoming).
- 10 For the Grand Tour, see for example A. Wilton and L. I. Bignamini, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, exh. Tate Gallery (London, 1996).
- 11 The Lucius Verus mentioned in the letter is the only sculpture left at Margam after the grand sale by Christie's in 1941. For the documentation of the collection of Thomas Mansel Talbot and Margam Park, see J. Fejfer and E. C. Southworth, *English Country Houses Revisited* (forthcoming).
- 12 See G. Vaughan, "Thomas Jenkins and His International Clientele," in *Antikensammlungen*, pp. 20–30.
- 13 The histogram was developed by E. C. Southworth and the author; more histograms showing the characteristics of British collections will be published (see note 11 supra).
- 14 For collecting at the Stuart court, see J. Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (New Haven, 1995).
- 15 For a survey of collecting classical sculpture in the eighteenth century, see D. Grassinger, *Antike Marmorskulpturen auf Schloss Broadlands*, vol. 3.4 of *Monumenta Artis Romanae* (Mainz, 1994), pp. 16–46; idem, "Antikensammlungen in England in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Von der Schönheit wissen Marmors* (note

- 1 supra), pp. 23–34; G. Waywell, “Influences on the Formation of English Collections of Ancient Sculpture in the 18th century,” in *Antikensammlungen*, pp. 87–92; and J. Raeder, “‘The Experience of the Past’: Zur Vergegenwärtigung der Antike im englischen Landsitz des 18. Jhs. als historischem Erfahrungsraum,” in *Antikensammlungen*, pp. 99–109.
- 16 M. Whitney, *Sculpture in Britain 1530–1830* (Harmondsworth, 1964), p. 69.
- 17 The best introduction to Houghton Hall is A. Moore, ed., *Houghton Hall: The Prime Minister, the Empress and the Heritage* (London, 1996); see also A. Moore, *Norfolk and the Grand Tour* (Fakenham, 1895), pp. 49–65.
- 18 For Holkham Hall, see E. Angelicoussis, *The Holkham Hall Collection of Classical Sculptures*, vol. 3.10 of *Monumenta Artis Romanae* (Mainz, 1999).
- 19 For display of sculpture in Britain in general, see R. Guilding, *Marble Mania: Sculpture Galleries in England 1640–1840* (London, 2001).
- 20 For Margam Park, see note 11 supra.
- 21 See J. M. Mullen, *Rubens: The Artist and Collector* (Princeton, 1989).
- 22 For the plans for Towneley Hall, see R. Guilding, “Robert Adam and Charles Townley: The Development of the Top-lit Sculpture Gallery,” *Apollo* (March 1996): 27–32.
- 23 For Ince Blundell Hall, see E. C. Southworth in this volume, pp. 105–14. For the Pio-Clementino as inspiration for Blundell’s Pantheon, see G. Vaughan, “Henry Blundell’s Sculpture Collection at Ince Hall,” in *Patronage and Practice: Sculpture on Merseyside*, ed. P. Curtis (Liverpool, 1989), pp. 13–21.
- 24 See P. Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (London, 1997).
- 25 For country house visiting, see A. Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist: A History of Country House Visiting*, 2nd ed. (London, 1998).
- 26 For the importance of libraries in country houses, see V. Coltman, “Classicism in the English library: Reading classical culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 11.1 (1999): 35–50.
- 27 This section on Winckelmann owes much to discussions with Rolf Michael Schneider.
- 28 For art theories and social classes see A. H. Abrams, “Art as Such: The Sociology of Modern Aesthetics,” in *Doing Things with Texts: Essays in Criticism and Critical Theory*, ed. M. H. Abrams (New York–London, 1989), pp. 135–58.
- 29 See D. Grassinger, *Antike Marmorskulpturen auf Schloss Broadlands* (note 15 supra), p. 22.

The Role of the Collector

Henry Blundell of Ince

Edmund Southworth

I think it is important to see ancient sculpture as a package, wrapped in several layers like a Russian doll. To get to and understand the sculpture itself you have to remove these layers: You start with the current context and work back through the various processes that have had an impact on the sculpture until you reach the original. At that point only can you reevaluate the original and its relationship to the layers. The Russian doll discussed here is the collection formed by Henry Blundell in England between 1776 and 1810, one of the largest ever created by a private collector in Europe in the eighteenth century. The limited purpose of this paper is to remove two of the many enfolding layers: Henry Blundell's motivation as a collector, and the interventions made on the sculpture he collected.

The label "English country house collections" is often given to collections acquired in the eighteenth century in England. However, it is a simplistic label that lumps collections formed by the great landed aristocratic families together with those of newly rich urban merchants. Henry Blundell was neither of these. He was a wealthy farmer whose family had lived on the same estate in northern England for four hundred years. Like many Catholics at that time who were avoiding persecution, he had been educated in France, studying mainly Latin and Greek and coming into contact there with scholars, antiquarians, and literary figures. But he did not undertake the Grand Tour like many other young men of his generation. Later, as a grown man, he preferred to spend his time in Lancashire with his family rather than keep a house in London. He enjoyed horse racing and other country pursuits, and spent the first fifty-two years of his life without collecting a single piece of classical sculpture. He was not a philistine though. He patronized fashionable local painters such as Stubbs and Gainsborough, and now famous cabinetmakers such as Bullock. He was president of the Society for Promoting the Arts in Liverpool, and later the patron of the Liverpool Academy. Importantly, he was rich enough not to need to get involved in the slave trade that made Liverpool one of the richest cities in the world at the end of the eighteenth century,

and in 1801 he was able to give £2,000 to help establish the Liverpool Royal Institution.

So what happened when Blundell went to Rome with his friend Charles Townley in 1776? Townley took Blundell directly into the inner circle of sculpture collecting and introduced him to the key players. Within a few years Blundell is a regular visitor to Rome, acquiring material from the key sites and the top dealers—on a prodigious scale—and has his own agent buying on his behalf.¹

The role played by the eighteenth-century restorers and dealers has often been simplified. The word agent is used as if a single business transaction is involved. In practice men such as Gavin Hamilton and Thomas Jenkins acted to support the excavation of ancient sites as well as disperse existing collections. They supplied banking, packing, and transport services as well as repair facilities. They also supplied aesthetic advice on the selection and restoration of pieces for display.

So what was Blundell acquiring from these agents and why? What did he like and what did he do with it? Apart from furniture and paintings Henry specialized in sculpture, not gems, coins, or natural history. In a thirty-year period he accumulated 601 pieces of sculpture, of which more than 400 are ancient. As all these were products of the eighteenth-century art market in Italy, it follows that almost all of them have interventions or restorations.

This volume uses *Restoration* in its title. As professional museum curators, conservators, and art historians, we have often been guilty of using the word restoration as if it were a single process. In reality there is a broad continuum of intervention in the artifact. This intervention uses a variety of tools and techniques over time—starting when the block of marble leaves the quarry and ending a few minutes ago. The greater the skill of the craftsmen—whether they be eighteenth-century Italians or twenty-first-century conservators—and the greater the theoretical underpinning to their work, then the more sophisticated the interventions become.

The more one tries to create distinctions or gradations between the different levels of intervention, the more confused one gets. We tend to be very poor at articulating what we mean when we discuss restoration. One scholar's "extensively repaired" is another's "heavily reworked" and another's "overrestored." There is no DIN or ISO standard for us to adopt.

A salutary, if slightly frivolous, exercise in looking at sculpture is to attempt to quantify the level of intervention on a scale of, say, 1 to 100, where 1 is the antique piece as it left the Roman workshop and 100 is an eighteenth-century Neoclassical piece by Antonio Canova (1757–1822) or Carlo Albacini (c. 1735–1813). As you try to give a score, remember how little you know about the

motive of the person who commissioned or undertook that intervention. And to complicate matters the visual impact of intervention may not be as great as the intervention itself. What score do you give to a new leg? Is that a greater intervention than adding an owl, say, to a statue of Athena?

What an exercise of this type will show is that every item has to be looked at on its merits, incorporating documentary and contextual evidence as well as physical and chemical autopsy. It will also demonstrate how subjective we can be. Few experts would agree on how to score a particular piece. Doing such an artificial exercise should also make the observer challenge his or her value judgments. In many museums today the most acclaim is given to the untouched ancient piece—items scoring from 1 to 10 on my scale. Yet the eighteenth century saw the vast majority of such pieces transformed and “improved” by processes many of us would now consider vandalism.

With Henry Blundell we do not have a small selection of high-quality pieces but a representative sample of all the types of sculpture on the market at the time. His collection includes material that would score from 1 to 100 on my scale. He was clearly not prejudiced against copies or heavily restored pieces, and neither was he averse to having unrestored fragments.

In our scale from 1 to 100 we could start with the minimum intervention that still takes place on archaeological sites. Soil and root fiber are removed by a combination of mechanical treatment and water cleaning. Enough of a base or stand is added to allow the fragment to be displayed. The surface might be chemically cleaned or mechanically polished. Damaged areas can be smoothed over, but nothing is added or taken away.

We then move on to repair—say 25 on our scale. This would involve reattaching original parts that have become detached such as legs, head, or feet. For statues or pieces that are to stand unaided this repair work is crucial to the safety of the piece and indeed its subsequent owners. Repair, particularly of a large statue, often involves major structural changes and the creation of new components to support weakened legs. The insertion of new pieces, for example, drapery or hair to replace missing fragments, could be defined as repair.

It is only at this stage that we could start using the term restoration—say 50 on our scale. Where a substantial portion of the original is missing the restorer has considerable flexibility. Depending on where he stops recreating what he believes to be original, he can either fulfill the intention of the original artist or eventually create what is effectively a new piece. The eighteenth-century restoration of sculpture was a response to the English desire for

material to display in sculpture galleries. Faces were given new noses, ears, and eyebrows. The torsos of statues were usually given new heads or old ones found to match. New bases were necessary for most items. New supports in the form of altars, vases, or tree trunks were installed to prop up top-heavy figures. Damage to drapery or foliage was repaired. New hands and feet were fitted. Attributes such as flutes, parchment rolls, or grapes would help suggest an identity for the figure. New joints and mends were filled with resin and wax and stained to match the marble. In order to conceal the difference between old and new marble, either the piece could be stained with tobacco or the entire surface could be re-worked and polished to either remove or create signs of age.

In this kind of jugglery the Italians excel all mankind—they gather together the crushed and mutilated members of two or three old marbles, and by means of a little skill of hand, good cement, and sleight in coloring, raise up a complete figure, on which they confer the name of some lost statue, and as such sell it to those whose pockets are better furnished than their heads—especially our English ‘cognoscenti’. It is indeed wonderful with what neatness and elegance those practiced imposters make up a work for sale; all fractures and patches and joints are concealed under a coat of yellowish coloring, which seems the natural result of time—and the rejoicing virtuoso treasures up in his gallery another legitimate specimen of the wonderful genius of Greece!²

How times have changed from when Blundell was collecting!

There comes a level of restoration when the majority of the piece is in fact modern—say 75 on our scale. This is marked, for example, in sarcophagus ends where a fairly complete piece is mirrored by a fragment. There are several examples in the Ince collection where the second piece of the pair is built up from smaller original fragments. Into this category must also go ancient pieces where the surface has been so dramatically altered that one simply cannot say whether the piece is ancient or modern.

In the Ince Blundell collection there are clearly modern pieces where it is not obvious from the documentation whether Henry Blundell thought he was buying an ancient piece. There are examples where one of a pair of items is modern and the other ancient. We do not know whether the modern piece is intended to deceive. The definition of a work as a fake relies on the motivation of the seller and the knowledge of the buyer. There are examples where pieces have interventions to suggest repair or aging. Without documentary evidence I would be reluctant to use the word fake or forgery and the value judgments these words imply.

Many of the restorers active in Rome in the late eighteenth century developed considerable reputations as sculptors or artists in their own right. They had close ties with England as well as the rest of Europe. Giovanni Volpato (1735–1803), for example, was an engraver and the owner of a pottery in Naples. He also organised excavations and restored material—in 1784 Gustav III of Sweden visited his studio looking for material of interest. At about the same time Blundell describes a visit to Volpato where he found the restorations “horrid.”³

One of the foremost restorers in Rome in the mid-eighteenth century was Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (1717–1799). In 1734 he was employed as the resident restorer for the antiquities collection of Cardinal Alessandro Albani (1692–1779), one of the most influential figures in the antiquarian world of Rome. Cavaceppi’s catalogue of work published between 1768 and 1772⁴ demonstrates the quality of work and the variety and importance of his clients throughout Europe. Thousands of pieces passed through his workshops and the body of his known work is sufficient to allow identification of his characteristic style. As well as candid restorations, his workshops also supplied copies of ancient pieces that were not meant to deceive. However, Cavaceppi also produced a large number of pastiches and copies that challenge the skills of the modern curator. He was a master, and few curators are his equal. In Britain and Europe most eighteenth-century collections contain his material. Henry Blundell came to know Cavaceppi well. Jane Fejfer and I have identified more than thirty pieces as definitely coming from his workshop, with another twenty or thirty beyond reasonable doubt.

Some works by Albacini and Cavaceppi were bought by Blundell as modern work. They are exact copies of ancient originals or new pieces developing an ancient theme or subject. In the 1780s Blundell bought a group of heavily restored busts and statues from Cavaceppi and a number of reconstructed pieces from Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778). These could not conceivably have been sold as ancient.

Blundell acquired a substantial number of modern copies of ancient portraits and other representations of ancient characters, which he almost invariably qualifies in his *Account* as being modern pieces.⁵ A colossal bust of Lucius Verus by Albacini is one of a set with Minerva, Alexander, and Bacchus that he bought in 1777, his first year of collecting. He describes them as fine specimens of modern art.

Blundell very clearly knew how restorers worked and displayed a healthy scepticism when purchasing, but he bought in quantity, often acquiring groups of material rather than single

items. One suspects that he saw some pieces for the first time only when they were unpacked in England. This meant he did not avoid buying fakes—that is, pieces purposely made in modern times to deceive him or other buyers as to their age. A modern piece is sometimes made as a pair to an ancient one—they particularly suit doorways and fireplaces.

After Blundell's first visit to Rome it would have been more typical of the behavior of English collectors of ancient sculpture if he had then gone home with his newly acquired specimens, built a small gallery to house them, and idled away his retirement in peaceful contemplation of the glories that were Rome. But for him it was not the Grand Tour undertaken as an immature young man. He was not about to get married and become heir to all the time-consuming obligations of running an estate and a stately home.

In fact Blundell went to Rome three more times, in 1782, 1786–1787, and 1790. By then prices were lower and his network of dealers was growing, but the market was depressed. In 1786, for example, he acquired a splendid and famous Minerva from the Palazzo Lante via Jenkins for the very reasonable price of £200. This is one of those rare pieces where the head has never been separated from the body. He also purchased from Volpato and his associates, Antonio D'Este and Canova. Canova was probably the most famous artist at the time producing works in the Neoclassical style. In 1780 Blundell commissioned a Psyche from Canova as a “good example of modern art.”

After the death of his agent Thorpe and the slowdown in the trade of antiquities caused by the Napoleonic wars, Blundell seemed to stop collecting. But at the turn of the century a sudden change coincided with the appearance on the market in England of a number of collections formed some years previously. In May 1800, forty-five chests of art and antiquities were sold at auction in London by Christie's. These had been pillaged from the pope's apartments by the French but intercepted on the sea passage back to France. Blundell had seen the material as it was being unloaded at Liverpool and purchased ten pieces at the sale. The price of one particularly aggrieved him.⁶ This was the front of a sarcophagus of the late second century A.D., depicting Phaeton imploring his father Helios to lend him the sky chariot (Ince 523).⁷ When the piece came out of the Villa D'Este some years earlier it had been heavily encrusted with mineral salts due to its use as a fountain. Blundell bought it at that stage, paying £10 for it. Cleaning revealed it to be a splendid piece and it became the subject of conversation at Rome as an interesting find. The pope heard about it through his antiquarian and advisor, Ennio Quirino Visconti (1751–1818), and asked that it stay in the city. A loyal Catholic like Blundell could

hardly refuse, but the pope made amends by giving him five marble-topped tables to take home instead. The subsequent appearance of the piece on the English market was a good opportunity to regain possession, but the price he now had to pay was 260 guineas.

Using the good offices of his friend Charles Townley in London, Blundell bought eight pieces from Lord Cawdor's sale in June 1800, twenty-two pieces from Lord Bessborough at Roehampton in April 1801, and seven pieces from Lord Mendip in May 1802. "You may think me extravagant," he wrote to his brother-in-law some time later, "but if I lay out 1000 pounds it is no great affair to me: the money is no object."⁸

Unlike many other collectors, Blundell was not buying sculpture to decorate a house in the fashion of the time. The Hall at Ince had only recently been finished and the first sculptures were put into niches in the stairways and corridors—very secondary areas of the house. He also remodeled the greenhouses in the garden. As late as 1787 he was telling Townley: "I do not aim at a collection, or crowding my home with marbles, nor will I ever build a Gallerie."⁹ From his trip to Rome in 1790, however, he brought back a large number of marbles, including life-size statues. Clearly he had to do something with them. The solution was a temple in the garden. It has a fairly standard Neoclassical feel to it, although without the formality of an Adam design. Indeed, we have no proof as to who designed it; Blundell may have done it himself. It was completed by 1792, when Townley visited Ince and noted 325 marbles in total.¹⁰

Because of the gaps in the documentary record it is also difficult to find traces of visitors to Ince to see the collections. Liverpool was a long way from anywhere at the end of the eighteenth century, but there must have been visitors. Indeed, Blundell forbade his servants to accept gratuities for showing people round the collections. One intriguing reference has been pointed out to me. The Polish Princess Czartoryska visited Ince in July 1790. Her description is not flattering:

*We went to the house of a gentleman called Mr. Blundell. . . . The house is called Ince. It is a storehouse of various objects gathered without taste or choice. Plenty of ugly statues and many sarcophagi positioned among the geraniums in the hothouses.*¹¹

The garden temple was not adequate for long. The spending spree in 1800 filled the available space in the house and the temple was subsequently replaced as the main display area by a new scaled-down version of the Pantheon at Rome. There was now, however, a calculated approach to display. The Pantheon was

designed on paper and modeled in wood by March 1801, when Blundell asked Townley to bear the dimensions in mind when buying items at the Bessborough sale the following month.¹²

Blundell reveals in his *Account* not only the provenance of his purchases (when he knew what they were) but also the extent of his knowledge of ancient sculpture.¹³ The *Account* lists 553 pieces acquired up to May 1802. Comments on the source and history of individual pieces are blended with anecdotes on ancient history or classical mythology. Many of the comments are repeated in a two-volume collection of engravings published in 1809 and 1810.¹⁴ It is not a work of scholarship. Blundell constantly points out that it was not meant for the eyes of the learned antiquarian. The inspiration for this later work came from Townley, who supervised the selection of pieces for engraving and arranged for most of them to be done in London. The whole enterprise was fraught and at times ill-tempered, as Blundell refused to have “foreigners” in his house to do the work, and showed great reluctance to reimburse Townley for money spent.¹⁵ The work was much delayed by Townley’s death and completed by Blundell with the help of a local schoolmaster while Blundell was confined to bed by sickness.

The *Account* and the *Engravings* often contain a wealth of detail about individual pieces that partially compensate for an almost complete absence of a family archive or any other documentary record at Ince. But Henry is not content with the basic facts and tries to describe the objects as best he can. When his own unadulterated opinion is visible, he seems to revert to what he can remember from his classical education. There are often references to the lurid excesses so beloved of the early biographers. That he prefers this approach is proved in the introduction to the *Engravings* written on his sickbed shortly before his death in 1810. “Pains have been taken to keep the descriptions short, and to avoid all pagan allusions, mystical erudition, and such a profoundness of citations from ancient authors. . . .” He defines “mystical” as “inaccessible to the understanding, artfully made difficult.”

To summarize: Blundell’s perception of sculpture was not initially different from that of many other collectors. After acquiring a fine Roman copy of a Greek piece (a statuette of Epicurus, Ince 49) to start the collection, he proceeds to buy a number of minor ancient pieces and modern copies, and graduates later to fine originals. He accepts the word of those more erudite than he, and where he is left on his own falls back on the conventional, if lurid, view of the Romans and their excesses. He was an astute collector and saw much material in the restorers’ workshops in Rome. Typically he has material restored to suit the eighteenth-century taste, but he acquires more unrestored fragments than most.

Unusually Blundell is not buying to decorate a house, but later adopts current practice by building appropriate structures to house his collection. Most unusual of all is the passion with which he collected, filling his house and garden buildings with the results of more than thirty years of almost continuous spending. He displays some behavior typical of the English collector of sculpture in the eighteenth century, but exhibits a unique enthusiasm for the subject that borders almost on obsession. His private collection has been overshadowed by that of his friend Townley, which has been in the British Museum for two hundred years, but it stands comparison with any collection of classical sculpture outside Rome.

Two images of the same piece characterize the perspective of the collector as owner. He has complete authority over his possessions. A drawing by Charles Townley of a hermaphrodite acquired in London in 1802 still survives in the British Museum. The same piece appears radically different a few years later in the *Engravings*. So what was the new owner's motive for the change? In Henry Blundell's own words:

*When bought, it was in the character of a hermaphrodite, with 3 little brats crawling about its breast. The figure was unnatural and very disgusting to the sight; but by means of a little castration and cutting away the little brats, it became a sleeping Venus and as pleasing a figure as any in this Collection.*¹⁶

Notes

Acknowledgment

Many of the observations in this paper owe much to my collaboration with Jane Fejfer over the last decade. Her paper in this volume gives much of the wider background to the period within which Henry Blundell was collecting.

- 1 The collection at Ince was first listed in detail by Adolf Michaelis in *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, trans. C. A. M. Fennell (Cambridge, 1882). Bernard Ashmole published an illustrated catalogue of the ancient pieces in 1926. For recent introductions to Henry Blundell and his collecting see G. Vaughan, "Henry Blundell's Sculpture Collection at Ince Hall," in *Patronage and Practice—Sculpture on Merseyside*, ed. P. Curtis (Liverpool, 1989), pp. 13–21; see also E. Southworth, "The Ince Blundell Collection: Collecting Behaviour in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the History of Collections* 3.2 (1991): 219–34; see also J. Fejfer and E. Southworth, *The Female Portraits*, vol. 1.1 of *The Ince Blundell Collection of Classical Sculpture* (London, 1990). The provenance of individual pieces is often recorded in H. Blundell, *An Account of the Statues, Busts, Bass-Reliefs, Cinerary Urns, and other Ancient Marbles and Paintings at Ince* (Liverpool, 1803). Many items are mentioned in the correspondence between Blundell and Townley. Much of the background and biographical information about Blundell is extracted from this correspondence, which is now housed in the British Museum.
- 2 A. Cunningham, *Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters Sculptors and Architects* (London, 1830), quoted in C. Picón, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi: Eighteenth-Century Restorations of Ancient Marble Sculpture from English Private Collections*, exh. cat. (London, 1983), p. 16.
- 3 Letter from Henry Blundell to Charles Townley, 2 January 1787 (British Museum TY 7/1316).
- 4 B. Cavaceppi, *Raccolta di antiche statue, busti, teste cognite ed altre sculture antiche scelte restaurate*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1768–1772).
- 5 Blundell (note 1 supra).
- 6 "A Catalogue of a small Assemblage of Capital and Valuable MARBLES recently Consigned from ITALY . . .," Mr. Christie, 31 May 1800, Pall Mall, London.
- 7 Blundell (note 1 supra), pp. 179–80.
- 8 Information from the Stonor papers, courtesy the Dowager Lady Camoys, cited in D. Sutton, "The Lure of the Antique," *Apollo* 129 (1984): 324.
- 9 See note 3 supra.
- 10 Townley archive, British Museum.
- 11 Diary entry for 12 July 1790, manuscript in Biblioteka Czartoryska, Cracow, MS xvii/607; personal communication from Agnieszka Whelan.
- 12 Letter from Henry Blundell to Charles Townley, 23 March 1801.
- 13 Blundell (note 1 supra).
- 14 H. Blundell, *Engravings and Etchings of the Principal Statues, Busts, Bass-Reliefs, Sepulchral Monuments, Cinerary Urns &c. in the Collection of Henry Blundell Esq. at Ince*, 2 vols. (Liverpool, 1810).
- 15 Townley archive, British Museum.
- 16 Blundell, *Engravings* (note 14 supra), pl. 41; Blundell, *Account* (note 1 supra), pp. 182–83.

Piecing as *Paragone*

Carlo Albacini's Diana at Ince

Elizabeth Bartman

In recent years Carlo Albacini (c. 1735–1813; fig. 1) has come to be recognized as one of the foremost sculptors patronized by Grand Tourists visiting Rome in the late eighteenth century. Trained in the studio of Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (1717–1799), Albacini made copies of celebrated antiquities and restored ancient sculptures for an international roster of clients that included Thomas Jenkins, the preeminent dealer serving Englishmen, and the Bourbon King Ferdinand of Naples, heir to the Farnese marbles.¹ Like many of his artist contemporaries, Albacini also dabbled as a dealer in antiquities,² and it is in this capacity that in 1786 he sold a statue of the goddess Diana to Henry Blundell of Ince (fig. 2). Despite being aware of the tendency of restorers to embellish fragments and of dealers to embellish histories, Blundell gave credence to what can be shown to be a patent fiction. For Blundell's Diana, I will argue, is not the ancient cult statue the collector believed it to be, but rather a composite of ancient and modern pieces, fabricated in the eighteenth century. Instead of demoting the statue, however, I celebrate it for its manifestation of virtuoso skill in sculpting and piecing marble. Technically the statue is a tour de force without contemporary parallel. But as with all deceptions, questions of motivation arise; thus this article also explores why Albacini—almost certainly the creator of the Ince Diana—crafted this extraordinary work.

What was Blundell told about the statue? We have no direct record of the transaction by which Blundell acquired his Diana, but his description of the image published some years later undoubtedly reflects the received opinion. In his autograph *Account* of 1803, Blundell writes:

When this statue was first found, it plainly appeared to have been gilt, by the gold being on it in several parts; from whence it is conjectured to have been formerly an idol of great repute, belonging to some temple. This opinion is strengthened by the face having been struck off, and so broken to pieces, (supposed to have been done in the rage against idolatry) that it was necessary to have it restored; though the back part of the head from the ears was left

*on the shoulders. The sculpture of this statue is reckoned good; and the parts restored are mostly its own. It was found in the ruins of the Emperor Gordian's villa. . . . Bought for this collection by Mr. Thorpe, from the sculptor Carlo Albacini.*³

Earlier, in a letter of 1787 to his friend and fellow collector Charles Townley, Blundell expressed the same opinion: "My Diana is also a fine specimen of ancient sculpture all over. . . . The parts are almost all its own, except the face which was found so much disfigured as to require a new mask."⁴

The claims made by Blundell are not unlike those made by other optimistic if slightly gullible collectors of the time. The truth of his narrative, however, is suspect with regard to three aspects: the gilding, the provenance, and the degree of restoration. Because they bear on the statue's representation in the eighteenth century as an authentic antiquity, each warrants discussion here.

In a recent cleaning and examination of the Ince Diana, Michele Hercules of the Conservation Centre, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, found no traces of gilding. Hercules reports that she removed large quantities of wax, and it is possible that the wax, through either aging or tinting, imparted a yellowish color to the statue that was mistaken for the vestiges of gilding. English buyers of the period favored white marble with warm tones. Sir John Soane installed yellow glass in the skylights of his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields in order to achieve this effect, and Robert Adam is said to have painted the walls of the sculpture gallery at Newby Hall a "pale strawberry" to soften "the brightness of the Parian and Pentilican [sic] marbles."⁵ Thus the Ince Diana's yellowish cast would have appealed to the tastes of the English gentlemen who dominated the market for ancient statues in eighteenth-century Rome.

The alleged provenance of the piece, Gordian's villa, is also questionable. Located three miles outside Rome on the Via Prenestina, the villa boasts the remains of various buildings, among which an octagonal hall, a rotunda (a mausoleum known colloquially as the *Tor d'Schiavi*), and a basilica are the most impressive.⁶ An agglomeration of structures dating to different periods, the villa has long been associated with the Gordiani who briefly ruled Rome in the mid-third century because there is ancient testimony for family property on the Prenestina.⁷ Whether imperial or private, a villa of this luxurious scale surely included marble statues among its decorations; but despite numerous excavations conducted along the Via Prenestina in the eighteenth century,⁸ Gordian's villa is not otherwise attested as the find spot of sculpture. It is possible that "excavators" plumbed the site and kept its finds secret in order not to tip

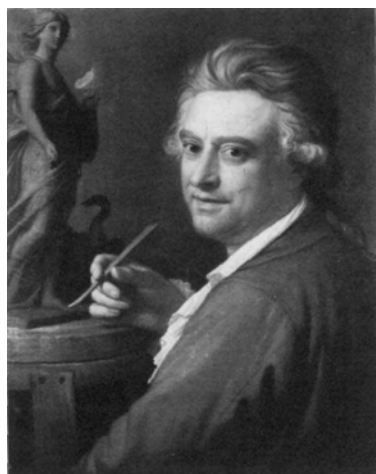


FIG. 1
Stefano Tofanelli, attrib. (1752–1812), *Portrait of Carlo Albacini*, 1783–1790s. Oil(?) on canvas, 62 × 50 cm. Rome, Accademia di San Luca. Photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione.



off competitors, but a network of informers, many working for the pope, usually precluded such secrecy. The absence of other finds does not prove that Blundell's Diana did not come from Gordian's villa. Yet the high profile of the villa—its buildings were recorded over the centuries by such noted artists as Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1536) and Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778)—and the likelihood that Blundell himself visited its picturesque ruins do trigger suspicions about the statue's received history.

On the issue of the Diana's restoration, Blundell was certainly misinformed. Rather than being intact except for the face, as the collector apparently believed, it is a patchwork of 127 pieces (fig. 3). In Blundell's defense it should be said that the now-removed wax would have partially obscured the extent of the piecing, especially when the statue was viewed in the prevailing poor interior light. Then as now, however, breakage was felt to devalue a piece, and dealers describing works to potential buyers routinely underestimated the degree of restoration a piece had undergone. (At the same time dealers and buyers took the opposite tack when applying for export licenses and tended to exaggerate the amount of restoration on a statue.) In view of the high price that Blundell paid—£200, the same sum as for the Ince Athena, a full-scale statue that

FIG. 2

The Ince Diana. Roman, with eighteenth-century restorations. Marble, H 176.5 cm. Liverpool Museum, Ince 2/1959.148.22. Photo: National Museums Liverpool.

FIG. 3

The Ince Diana, figure 2, with 127 different pieces indicated by dots. Photo: National Museums Liverpool.



FIG. 4
Statue group of Orestes and Pylades. Roman,
with seventeenth-century restorations. Mar-
ble, H 145 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA
81. Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/
Art Resource, NY.

was nearly perfectly preserved and bore the prestigious provenance of the Lante collection—it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that he was deliberately deceived.

Almost all surviving antiquities require cleaning and restoration, but the interventions made on the Ince Diana were substantial even by eighteenth-century standards, which we regard today as excessive. Indeed, I have found only one other example of a sculptural restoration involving so many pieces: a two-figure group colloquially known as “Orestes and Pylades” that once belonged to the Borghese collection and is now in the Louvre (fig. 4).⁹ Because of the large number of fragments involved in its construction, the Ince Diana raises questions about the appearance and condition of the ancient image we have long believed to have been its starting point. Close examination of the statue provides some surprising answers.

I begin with the head. As Blundell recognized, the “mask” of the face was an eighteenth-century addition. Indeed, its smooth polish and perfect state of preservation point to a modern date, and the bland, idealized features suggest the influence of Antonio Canova, who had recently begun his career in Rome. The face is not technically a mask, however. It is carved as one with the upper neck and hair on the statue’s proper left side and back (fig. 5); thus it rings the neck and creates a base in which the various pieces of the crown with its elaborate coiffure are anchored. Carved with extensive use of the drill, the hair appears to be ancient although it, too, bears signs of modern intervention. Most notably, the drillwork is confined to the extreme front and back of the coiffure; the hair on the crown itself is rendered by chisel marks. While such tapering from a full front to a narrow bun is common in female coiffures, the presence of a shallow groove several centimeters wide and running from one ear to the other (a kind of recessed band) suggests later interventions. What these interventions were and what the head looked like originally are difficult to determine. One possible explanation is that the front of the crown from the ear forward originally had a different configuration; this view is bolstered by the illogical coiling of the present hair bow over the forehead and the disproportionately large size of both bow and bun in relation to the crown. Although at present the issue cannot be resolved, it should not escape notice that the head is a composite executed in multiple pieces (eight or nine depending on whether one counts the front of the neck), and that even pieces that appear to be ancient have been reworked. As we shall see, this is typical for the statue.

Because the face is so obviously of the eighteenth century, viewers (not only Blundell but also modern commentators¹⁰) have tended to be misled about the character of the rest of the statue: bright white marble pieces are attributed to the eighteenth century



FIG. 5
Detail of the Ince Diana, figure 2, upper left.
Photo: National Museums Liverpool.

whereas those with a yellowish tone or reddish stain are called ancient, and the many pieces—some as tiny as a centimeter—are taken as evidence that a broken statue has been painstakingly reconstituted. Neither conclusion is justified, however. The reddish accretions that cover approximately half the statue, for example, probably stem from rust leeching from the numerous iron dowels used in the eighteenth century to put Diana together.¹¹ Some of these iron-stained fragments may indeed be ancient, but their color is not *de facto* evidence of antiquity. Second, the notion that the statue is largely a reconstitution is contradicted by the range of marble types found among its pieces. Although a full scientific analysis on the marble type of these fragments has yet to be conducted, differences in color and grain size are easy to discern. In addition, the obvious discrepancies in crystalline structure between many adjacent pieces argue against their belonging to the same statue; this conclusion is easily reached when looking at sections of the statue that are composed of multiple smallish pieces—for example, the lower edge of the *nebris* at the back (fig. 6).

As a sculptural composite, the Ince Diana finds many parallels in works restored in Rome for export during the heyday of the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century. Alien heads routinely found their way onto headless torsos, while missing appendages could



FIG. 6
Back of the Ince Diana, figure 2.
Photo: National Museums Liverpool.

easily be completed with spare extremities. Sculpture studios are known to have kept a supply of various body parts for precisely this purpose (see the view of the interior of Cavaceppi's workshop, Howard, fig. 4, p. 33), and the ever-more-ambitious joining techniques elicited heated argument among eighteenth-century cognoscenti. Critics accused the Italian restorers of "jugglery" ("they gather together the crushed and mutilated members of two or three old marbles, and by means of a little skill of hand, good cement, and sleight of coloring, raise up a complete figure"¹²) while the practitioners themselves naturally used more neutral language, describing the art of restoration as "maneuvering the marble, and making it up of bits."¹³

Incorporating scores of ancient fragments from diverse sources, the Ince Diana exemplifies the restoration practices attested in the texts.¹⁴ What distinguishes the Ince Diana from most other marbles restored in the studios of Cavaceppi and his contemporaries, however, is that there is no recognizable core that serves as the starting point, or inspiration, for the sculptor. Although the statue does have some fairly substantial ancient pieces (notably the pleats of "skirt" drapery below the waist on the statue's front, the thick folds of the *nebris* on the front, the arcs of *nebris* slung diagonally across the back, and back skirt with v-shaped drapery folds,



see figs. 2 and 6), each is an orphan that makes no join to another, and not one provides irrefutable evidence of the statue's identity as Diana. Even if one were to postulate that some pieces did originally belong together and thus justify characterizing them as a sculptural base for the other fragments, one would have to acknowledge that they all show evidence of modern recarving. From minor (rasping on the surface of the *nebris*) to major (cutting a quiver strap into the front drapery), these eighteenth-century interventions largely preclude recovery of the fragments' original form.

As a result the Ince Diana conveys a form that finds no parallel in works from antiquity. The argument hinges on the costume. Both shoulders are covered by the sleeves of the goddess's favorite chiton, but over this is layered a thick tunic, an anomaly in her wardrobe. There is no further trace of the chiton below the arms; at the left shoulder, however, the drapery slips in accordance with a motif known from other statues of Diana.¹⁵ To many viewers, the slipped-drapery motif injects an erotic note into the image, but its reference to female sexuality is not further developed. The Ince Diana is uncharacteristically flat chested and any hint of the body beneath the drapery (even the shoulder itself!) is staunchly denied. Indeed, the highly regularized pattern of skirt folds on the front is surprisingly static for this youthful virgin goddess.

FIG. 7
Statue of Diana. Roman, with eighteenth-century restorations. Marble, H 132 cm. West Sussex, Petworth House. Photo: Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik, Cologne.

FIG. 8
Statue of Bacchus (*The Hope Dionysos*). Roman, with eighteenth-century restorations by Vincenzo Pacetti. Marble, H 210.2 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of The Frederick W. Richmond Foundation, Judy and Michael Steinhardt and Mr. and Mrs. A. Alfred Taubman, 1990 (1990.247).

As a final sartorial flourish, Diana drapes a *nebris* diagonally across the torso. Other statues of Diana represent her with this attribute, although it is always paired with a chiton. (A marble statue at Petworth House, acquired by Charles Wyndham, second earl of Egremont, from the dealer Matthew Brettingham between 1750 and 1760 [fig. 7], exemplifies this mode of dressing.¹⁶) On the Ince *nebris* extremities such as the faun's head and leg are obvious restorations, but a modern hand seems also to be present elsewhere, notably in the upper edge that folds over itself; its present flat and harsh forms belie the deerskin's intrinsic suppleness. Other sections are either poorly worked or entirely misunderstood. Below the hoof hanging over Diana's left shoulder, for example, the *nebris* stops abruptly and disappears. Likewise the arrangement of the pelt in superimposed folds around Diana's proper right side is an awkward passage; presumably to suggest its plushness, the artist restricts its manipulation to thick creases rather than narrow arcs or folds, but the resulting pattern seems to defy gravity.

Could Diana's unconventional *nebris* have started life as a different form? In other sculpted images Diana wears a thick rolled mantle around the waist or hips,¹⁷ but this design does not supply enough excess material on the upper torso from which the restorer could have carved a *nebris*. Were the scale of the Ince Diana somewhat larger, we might give serious consideration to the possibility that the Ince Diana began life as Bacchus, draped in a thick panther pelt (fig. 8).¹⁸ Extreme as this suggestion may seem, it should be noted that the *nebris*, although a common attribute of Diana when she is pictured on Attic red-figured vases, never found wide popularity in the sculptural realm; by Roman times, in fact, Bacchus had become the primary wearer of an animal skin. The Ince Diana in its present state, moreover, does not have any certain attributes of the goddess: The quiver (see fig. 5), for example, is broken into three pieces, none of which actually joins the body, and the quiver strap looping down from the right shoulder and running underneath the left breast has obviously been recut—it is not uniform in its width and cuts through nearly 20 fragments, most of them reworked. Nor is the image's present footwear unique to Diana. Much restored, the buskins are of a type worn by other deities such as Bacchus (see fig. 8) and even Roman emperors;¹⁹ that they are often worn by Diana in statues that have been heavily restored in the eighteenth century²⁰ perhaps results more from the admiration that the Ince Diana received in Blundell's time than to their authenticity; in his words, the buskins worn by his Diana were "much noticed at Rome by the artists, and casts taken from them."²¹

Even if it began life as a representation of someone else, the Ince Diana as we have seen has had many original fragments so

“maneuvered” that it no longer qualifies as a work of ancient art. Instead it must be viewed as a fabrication of the eighteenth century. In concept and execution it finds its closest analogies in the candelabra and vases called *pasticii* that were created by Piranesi for visiting Grand Tourists. The so-called Piranesi Vase, made before 1778 and now in the British Museum, is estimated to be 70 percent modern;²² if recarving renders a fragment “modern,” then the ratio of modern to ancient in the Ince Diana exceeds even this.

It surpasses Piranesi’s *pasticii* in skill of construction as well, for despite their often considerable mass these works were usually composed simply by stacking symmetrical elements one atop the other. Like the restoration of hands or noses made to statue figures by Cavaceppi, even the most ornate of these elements joins another along what is essentially a single plane. In contrast, the Diana consists of irregularly shaped fragments that fit together along multiple planes. A typical fragment is shaped somewhat like a pyramid; its flat base fits into the patchwork of pieces that are today visible on the surface of the statue, but its remaining facets meet the sides of other fragments invisibly beneath the surface. In other words, it is a wedge fitted into a cavity, and its insertion involves a highly sophisticated, three-dimensional process of assemblage. In order to understand fully the Ince Diana’s construction, the sculpture has to be taken apart, either literally—an option the conservators obviously do not promote—or figuratively, by means of laser scanning. The Conservation Centre at Liverpool has plans to undertake the latter; until then, we must gauge the restorer’s skill from a study of the statue’s surfaces. Even limited in this way, however, we can see how complicated the statue was. In many parts of the drapery the sculptor uses multiple small fragments when one larger fragment would easily suffice, and certain sections such as the pouchy overfold below the left breast, where each fold is a separate marble piece, demonstrate extraordinary virtuosity in the carving of thin elements.²³

Given what we know of his career, Carlo Albacini is the likely sculptor of this exceptional work. His early training with Cavaceppi would have introduced him to state-of-the-art restoration techniques and, as important, encouraged innovative approaches. In its often audacious piecing, Cavaceppi’s restoration practice broke with tradition, and Albacini’s later work (especially that done on the Farnese marbles in the late 1780s and 1790s) displays a similar technical daring. Carved at the height of his career, the Ince Diana is a sculptural tour de force in which something—a full-size statue—is created out of essentially nothing.

Why did Albacini carve the Diana? Money is one possible explanation: We know the statue fetched the considerable price of

£200. Lack of competing work is another: Commissions for new sculptures declined substantially at Rome in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

There is a less logical but no less compelling explanation for Albacini's labors, however: artistic competition with Cavaceppi. What the Italians call *paragone* had been a driving force in artistic creation since antiquity, leading artists to attempt to outdo their contemporaries and, more pertinently to the Ince Diana, their celebrated predecessors. As one of Cavaceppi's prize students, Albacini would have been anxious to demonstrate his technical magic to a mentor who had, by the measure of fame and wealth, achieved extraordinary success. Nearly twenty years earlier, when Albacini probably still worked for him, Cavaceppi had published a view of his studio as the frontispiece to a lavish promotional volume of engravings of his work (see Howard, fig. 4, p. 33).²⁴ Prominent among the statues shown in the workshop are two versions of a life-size, running Diana, one being copied from the other.²⁵ It is tempting to see the younger artist's choice of subject as driven by the past: Albacini's statue pays homage to Cavaceppi but also offers a challenge. In its extraordinary piecing from 127 fragments, the Ince Diana thus represents Albacini's *paragone*.

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Notes

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- 1 A. de Franciscis, "Restauro di Carlo Albacini a statue del Museo Nazionale di Napoli," *Samnium* 19 (1946): 96–110; M. Pepe, "Carlo, Filippo e Achille Albacini, Scultori Romani," *Capitolium* 35.12 (1960): 28–29; G. Sica, "Carlo Albacini," in *Il Palazzo del Quirinale: Il mondo artistico a Roma nel periodo napoleonico*, ed. M. Natoli and M. Scarpatti (Rome, 1989), p. 9. The standard art-historical and biographical dictionaries also include Albacini, but many confuse the career of Carlo with that of his son Filippo and grand-nephew Achille and contain other errors. I am presently working on a larger study of Albacini.
- 2 See G. Vaughan, "Albacini and His English Patrons," in *Plaster and Marble: The Classical and Neo-Classical Portrait Bust*, ed. G. Davies, *Journal of the History of Collections* 3 (1991): 183–98.
- 3 H. Blundell, *An Account of the Statues, Busts, Bass-Reliefs, Cinerary Urns, and other Ancient Marbles and Painting at Ince* (Liverpool, 1803), p. 8.
- 4 Townley papers, British Museum TY 7/1318.
- 5 The comments about Adam's design were made by the Reverend Richard Warner, who visited Newby in 1802; cited in E. Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2001), p. 219.
- 6 T. Ashby, "The Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna, Part 1," *PBSR* 1 (1902): 149–59; F. Coarelli, *Dintorni di Roma* (Rome, 1981), pp. 162–66.
- 7 *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* Gord. 3.32; Gordian ruled Rome A.D. 238–244.
- 8 R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità* (Rome, 1700–1878), p. 67; p. 187 (license to Gavin Hamilton), p. 232.
- 9 Louvre MA 81; K. Kalveram, *Die Antikensammlung des Kardinals Scipione Borghese* (Worms, 1995), pp. 206–7, no. 90, suggests that the restoration was executed before 1609 because there is no mention of the statue's broken condition in an early inventory. Further study is necessary in order to clarify the question.
- 10 A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge, 1882), p. 342, no. 22 ("Of very mediocre execution."); B. Ashmole, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 13, no. 22, pl. 23.
- 11 The Conservation Centre intends to map these dowels using X-ray technology.
- 12 A. Cunningham, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (1830), cited by C. Picon in *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi: Eighteenth-Century Restorations of Ancient Marble from English Private Collections*, exh. cat. (London, 1983), p. 16.
- 13 Attributed to the sculptor Joseph Nollekens; J. Smith, *Nollekens and His Times* (1828; London and New York, 1920), p. 177.
- 14 Modern technologies help to assess the antiquity of pieces that have been recarved; under ultraviolet light, for example, Diana's left arm reveals different surfaces and thus demonstrates that it has been recut. According to Samantha Sportun of the Conservation Centre, tiny pockmarks visible on the chiton sleeve over Diana's right arm are the vestiges of old accretions removed from the surface in the eighteenth century.
- 15 Notably an example from Ostia, found in the House of Fortuna Annonaria (Ostia Museum 84: Helbig⁴, 3031); the statue is unrestored.
- 16 Petworth House; J. Raeder, *Die antiken Skulpturen in Petworth House (West Sussex)* (Mainz, 2000), pp. 93–97, no. 24.
- 17 For example, see the Diana in the National Museum in Stockholm (Sk 15; D. Boschung and H. von Hesberg, *Antikensammlungen des europäischen Adels im 18. Jahrhundert* [Mainz, 2000], pl. 52.4) and another now in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm (ex Lansdowne; LIMC 2.2 [Zurich and Munich, 1984], p. 645, no. 261, pl. 466.
- 18 The Hope Dionysos, formerly in the Hope Collection in London and now in the Metropolitan

Museum of Art in New York (1990.247), provides a good analogy. Comparison can also be made to statues of *nebris*-clad maenads, but I have found no close iconographic or compositional parallels between them and the Ince Diana.

- 19 A cuirassed statue of Trajan from Ostia wears similar boots (R. Calza, *I ritratti*, vol. 1.5 of *Scavi di Ostia* [Rome, 1964], pp. 57–58, no. 86, pl. 49), as does Mars Ultor in the Capitoline; in the latter they seem to be largely the result of restorations made in the early eighteenth century (see Helbig⁴, 1198, and F. Arata, “Carlo Antonio Napolioni [1675–1742] ‘celebre restauratore delle cose antiche’. Uno scultore romano al servizio del Museo Capitolino,” *BullCom* 99 [1998]: 200–2, no. 74, figs. 58–64).
- 20 See a statue of the goddess in the Villa Borghese, Rome (705; Helbig⁴, 1973; *IIMC* 2.2, pp. 802–3, no. 20c, pl. 591).
- 21 Blundell (note 3 *supra*), p. 8.
- 22 British Museum GR 2502; G. Vaughan, “The Passion for the Antique,” in *Fake? The Art of Deception*, ed. M. Jones (London, 1990), p. 133.
- 23 John Larsen of the Conservation Centre suggests that to produce drapery folds of this thinness, the sculptor attached pieces of raw marble and then carved them in place.
- 24 B. Cavaceppi, *Raccolta di antichi statue, busti, teste cognite, ed altri sculture scelte restaurate*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1769).
- 25 One version is now in the collection of Principe Antonio Ruffo, Rome. See M. Barberini and C. Gasparri, eds., *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, scultore romano (1717–1799)* (Rome, 1994), pp. 80–81, fig. 43.

The Investigation of Two Male Sculptures from the Ince Blundell Collection

Samantha Sportun

The National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside (NMGM) has a collection of more than six hundred classical sculptures that were collected and restored during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A large proportion of these sculptures come from the Ince Blundell collection.¹

NMGM is fortunate in retaining ties with Ince Blundell Hall, the eighteenth-century residence of Henry Blundell. The conservation department has treated a number of sculptures on-site in the various buildings that Henry Blundell created to display his collection—a re-creation of the Pantheon in Rome, a garden temple, a greenhouse, and architectural settings on the interiors and exteriors of the buildings. This working knowledge of the site has given the conservators important insights into eighteenth-century display and use of sculptures that are now in NMGM's collections, contextual information often lost when objects are moved into museums.

When a sculpture from the Ince Blundell collection comes into the studio to be examined and conserved, the material evidence is considered in conjunction with any available archival evidence. For the two male portraits investigated here, as with any object being conserved, this information is used to help assess the present condition of the object and the possible causes of that condition. Many of the sculptures from the Ince Blundell collection have a very complex provenance that is further clouded by sketchy historical sources. To understand the present condition of these sculptures, conservators and art historians are sometimes forced to make assumptions based on scant information. It is also necessary to try to establish some form of chronology to inform the assumptions being made. In the absence of proper archival evidence, the examiner may have no concept of the sculpture's display history and what the sculpture's surface actually represents—original, recarved eighteenth century, patinated, cleaned, recently weathered, and so on.

This confusion can arise because a range of environmental factors and cleaning treatments can profoundly affect the material evidence and may cause different surfaces to look similar even to the experienced eye: Surface variations can be subtle, and it is often

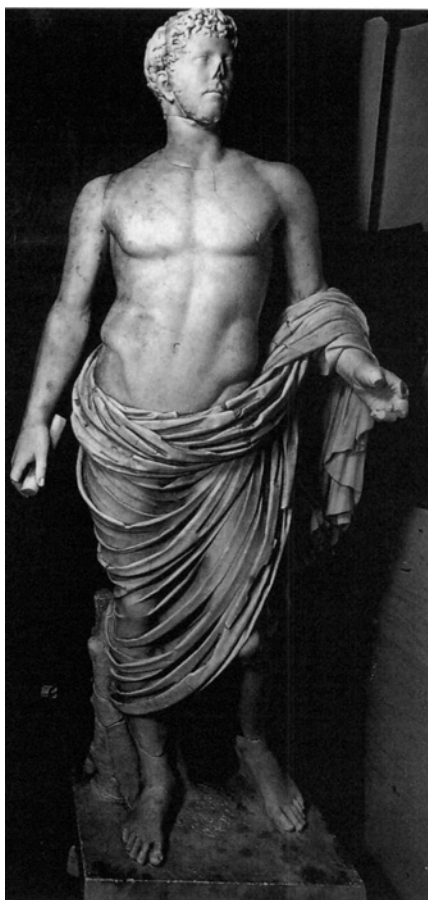


FIG. 1
 “Marcus Aurelius.” Antonine portrait of a man with an ivy wreath restored on an ancient statue. Marble, H 1.99 m. Liverpool, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, Ince 569. Photo: David Flowers.

difficult to differentiate between a naturally weathered surface and an artificially induced patina.

The two portraits being examined here (an over-life-size male, labeled “Marcus Aurelius” by Blundell,² and the bust of a young man) are complex composites of different periods and types of marble. This much is clear to see; what is not so obvious is when pieces were added and why and what has been physically done to alter the classical fragments (such as recarving and repatination) to incorporate them into the whole.

To establish a hypothetical sequence of events for the sculptures from the Ince Blundell collection, the conservator needs to ask some basic questions before looking at the surface characteristics, carving techniques, jointing, and so on, to see which phase may have produced each element (questions that apply not only to eighteenth-century reworkings).

I. Burial. Has the sculpture been buried? Is it complete, or was it part of a larger sculpture or of an architectural feature? Did damage occur or was it recarved during the classical period? Are there accretions (or traces of accretions) on the surface, and where are they? Are there root marks? Has erosion occurred? Has ground water caused staining or salt deposition?

There are signs of burial accretions on both the portraits. These remain on areas of the classical fragments that are either out of the line of sight (below the drapery on the legs of “Marcus Aurelius”) or would have been difficult to remove (they remain on the curly hair of the bust). On both sculptures the surfaces adjoining these areas have had their imperfections removed, as can be clearly seen on the recarved face of the bust.

2. Restoration. What has been removed and why? Where are there natural breaks? Where have break lines been recut? Have new pieces been inserted into classical fragments? Have some elements been recut from more than one classical sculpture? What additions are eighteenth-century restorations, and have they been stained or patinated? Have the classical elements been stained or patinated? Have accretions been faked?

During the eighteenth-century restoration of the bust new pieces were inserted into an old damage line (presumably dating from the Classical period) to disguise and reduce the impact of the losses. Many of the Ince Blundell sculptures incorporate awkwardly shaped classical fragments. The break may be across the middle of the face, or across and cutting diagonally through the torso (fig. 1).

The eighteenth-century additions on the Ince Blundell sculptures vary widely in color and tone, from stark white to a warm yellow tone that is similar to that on the classical fragments. In tests done at the Conservation Centre, we have been able to reproduce this warm tone on new white marble by applying tobacco water, a technique mentioned by Joseph Nollekens.³ The bust does not appear to have obvious staining, and the recarved classical face is a cold white color. Any staining may have been lost during washing. Marcus Aurelius has a variety of tones on its eighteenth-century additions. The feet are a warm yellow, which may be attributed to the reuse of a classical fragment (signs of use on the base) or the application of a staining solution. The other eighteenth-century additions (arms, back, back of head, and parts of the drapery) are again a cold white; here, too, any staining may have been lost during cleaning.

3. Display history at Ince Blundell Hall. Where was the sculpture displayed—inside or out? If outside, what direction was it facing? What was the prevailing wind direction? Was the face of the building sheltered? Was the sculpture cut down to fit an architectural feature (as happened to some of the ash chests from the garden temple)?

Environmental conditions over the last two hundred years are vitally important to consider when examining the weathered surface of externally sited sculpture. The sculptures on the exterior

of Ince Blundell Hall have been exposed to the worst two hundred years of pollution in British history, generated by industrial activity within a thirty-mile radius of Ince from Liverpool, St. Helens, and Ellesmere Port to the south and Manchester, Oldham, and Preston to the east. Some sculptures still in situ on the outside of the buildings have been seriously damaged by these conditions. On the rainwashed sculptures no original surface has survived. Where sculptures have been protected from rain washing, a thick black crust of calcium sulphate has accumulated, incorporating debris, fly ash, carbon, and the like. In a number of cases the deterioration has become critical and this black pollution crust has become detached from the underlying substrate. It is this fragile layer that preserves all the surface detail.

The reliefs that have been removed from the front face of the garden temple have been cleaned with a laser,⁴ a technique that removes the black pollution crust but reveals and preserves actual surface details. These sculptures were removed just in time, as the remaining externally sited reliefs are reaching a critical stage (plate vii).⁵ Had the reliefs been removed from their eighteenth-century architectural settings, conserved, and displayed in a museum, it would not be obvious why one is so much more deteriorated than the other. But since they are preserved in situ, it is clear that the relief on the right of the facade is more exposed to wind and rain and thus the deterioration is more advanced.

4. Display history since 1959. Was the sculpture cleaned and conserved once in the care of the museum? How has it been cleaned? Has it been cleaned or conserved more than once in its museum history? Where was it stored?

There are very few museum records before 1985 relating to the conservation, cleaning, and storage of these sculptures; however, it is clear that many of them have been cleaned. We know that many were washed, but not for how long or whether a detergent was added to the water. It is said that some sculptures were sprayed for two weeks continuously. A slide has been discovered showing that the larger sculptures were placed in purpose-built containers and sprayed. Spraying for an extended period would have exacerbated and accelerated a number of potential problems such as corrosion of iron pins and structural cramps, the spread of resin staining in breaks and fills, and the erosion of friable marble. Remnants of original eighteenth-century organic staining and cosmetic fills may also have been lost during this procedure.

Portrait of a man wearing an ivy wreath ("Marcus Aurelius")

Both the sculptures discussed here, acquired by Blundell from the Mattei collection, were originally displayed within the greenhouse.

The sculptures have friable surfaces but do not show the advanced state of deterioration and loss of surface that can result from being kept in a very hot and humid environment, perhaps because the greenhouse was adequately ventilated. There is also no evidence of biological growth on the surface, although any that might have accumulated would have been lost during cleaning. It is known that the sculptures were stored in the basement of St. George's Hall in Liverpool, where many were washed before going into museum storage.

The man with an ivy wreath is a complex piece composed of a number of classical fragments from different sculptures (see fig. 1). The drapery with the proper left leg down to mid-foot (part of the same piece) is thought to be Claudian, and the head to be either Claudian or Hadrianic.⁶ It has not been established whether the torso, a separate piece, belongs to the drapery. The drapery appears to have been recut along the waistline (point marks can be seen where marble has been removed to widen this opening) to accommodate the torso. The substantial weight of the torso, arms, and head is partly dispersed through the right hip and not down the right leg and tree stump, which would be the norm. This weight distribution has created a running crack around the top half of the drapery, where the marble is thin and has not been carved to take such a weight.

A simple visual examination of color and crystal size reveals that the restored additions are carved from several different marbles; the quality of the carving also varies greatly. The arms and the back of the head (all restorations) and part of the hanging drapery have been carved from a poor-quality friable white marble. The base and feet are superior in both carving and the quality of marble used. Indications of previous use on the base of the sculpture do not necessarily mean that the restorations were done at a different time; they could have been carried out in the same workshop by different sculptors making use of available marble.

The uneven break line across the legs does however appear to represent a different phase of restoration (plate VIII). A shock to this area, perhaps an accident during transit, could have caused this type of damage, with the weight of the sculpture base being transferred to the knees. This may also explain why it was found in a sculptor's yard in London, perhaps for repair after its journey from Italy: "It was met within a sculptor's yard in London; but how it came there or where could not be discovered. It was supposed to have been sent over from some palace in Rome upon speculation."⁷

The internal faces of the break edges are irregular and quite different from the chiseled smooth faces on the interiors of restored joins. The resin used within this break, the marble pieces attached



FIG. 2
Bust of a young man. Roman, second century
A.D. Marble, H 59 cm. Liverpool, National
Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, Ince
198. Photo: David Flowers.

to the back of the leg, the tree stump (for structural reinforcement), and a small section of drapery next to the leg and the proper left elbow, is noticeably different from the resin found elsewhere on the figure. It is dark and has a distinctly musty smell. Its consistency is friable and it no longer is effective as an adhesive. The resin used elsewhere on the sculpture is pale, smells of pine,⁸ and is still relatively effective as an adhesive, although it is degrading where the resin fill has been exposed to air.

The marble sections that were inserted over the break line have become detached. Not only was the resin used of poor quality, but there was no pin to hold the insert in place. This is unusual in the Ince collection, as even the smallest addition (a nose on a small relief panel, for instance) is pinned for extra security, and indicates another phase of restoration.

The resin from numerous areas was analyzed by Fourier Transform InfraRed Spectroscopy (FTIR)⁹ and the results discussed with Raymond White of the National Gallery. He suggested that the dark coloration of the resin in the break joins could have been caused by the addition of a softwood tar, a distillation product from softwood such as pine. The tar is much darker than distilled rosin and not very effective as an adhesive. It may have been added to facilitate pouring, thus allowing the resin to run more freely into the pinhole and break. A wax or oil also found in the resin may likewise have been added to make the fill run more easily.

Other additives were combined with the resin to change its working properties, to provide bulk and strength, and to make the adhesives resistant to compression. Calcium carbonate (marble powder) and calcium sulphate were found mixed in with the fills used on Ince 569.¹⁰ Other additives would be combined to alter color or to make the fill waterproof.

Detaching the marble inserts above the break line exposed the pour holes in the marble above the main pins in the legs (above both knees and above the proper left ankle). This shows that the sculpture must have been laid on its back when the base and lower legs were reattached. The main pin within the proper right leg (3 cm wide \times 19 cm long) spanning the break was embedded in lead. The pins were square in cross section, and the pin from the proper right leg had a flared barbed end to ensure good adhesion. There is also evidence of a thin resin layer around and below the lead infill. This may have been added to fill the gap after the lead had cooled down and contracted (lead can have up to a 4 percent contraction) ensuring an airtight seal around the pin. A large iron clamp (3 cm wide \times 27.5 cm long \times 5 cm bend at either end) was used as an added structural reinforcement behind the right leg and tree stump.

Numerous areas on the sculpture have been recarved, either to remove inconsistencies in the surface, reestablish features obscured by accretions or damage, or accommodate the new inserts, as on the drapery where sections have been broken off. The bottom of the drapery above the knees has been recarved, as has the knee itself above the break line (on the classical fragment). This may have been done to sharpen the form or to allow access to this upper leg area during the restoration, after damage in transit.

Bust of a young man

The bust of the young man (Ince 198) is another example of a sculpture that has been heavily restored and reworked during the eighteenth century: “This bust has been much fractured; but the parts are mostly it’s [sic] own and are well united”¹¹ (fig. 2).

There are accretions in the hair, but no further signs on the head of any other pre-eighteenth-century surface, except perhaps the outline of the pupils.¹² Sculptors sometimes recreated authentic surfaces on reworked classical surfaces or restored additions to produce a pleasing homogeneous sculpture, although at times probably also to deceive the viewer. However the face of this bust is free of these indicators. The entire face, eyes, hairline, whiskers, and ears have been recarved and polished (fig. 3). The chin line and areas behind the ears also appear to have been flattened. The whole face has lost several millimeters of surface to bring about uniformity, as can be seen most clearly around the hairline.

There is a two-centimeter loss below the proper left eye (which may have been filled at one time), in line with a loss above the eye (which has been filled with a marble insert), a disturbance in the hair, and a loss of a section of the restored mouth (plate IXA; see also fig. 2). A running crack in line with these losses may be an extension of the damage that may have occurred either during burial or during the classical period, but is unlikely to have occurred during restoration. The disturbance around this crack above the pinned marble insert may be due to corrosion and expansion of this pin rather than earlier damage noted above.

There is no conclusive evidence that the head and the bust belong together, but the fragments inserted into the head and the top half of the bust are composed of a marble that is large grained and slightly translucent and very similar to the main bulk of the head. X rays have shown extensive internal pinning.

None of the inserted sections has any evidence of an ancient surface. The neck insert bulges slightly and is recessed. On either side of the neck an insert separates the head from the bust. The drapery on the shoulder has been attached as a separate piece,

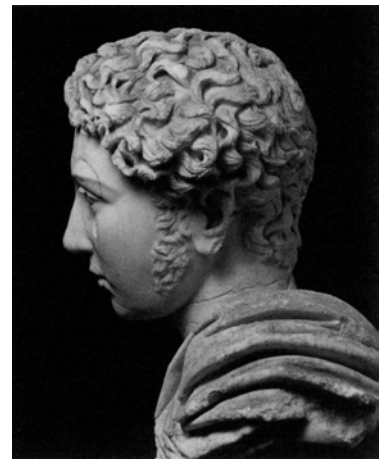


FIG. 3
Proper left side of the bust of a young man,
figure 2. Photo: David Flowers.



FIG. 4
Back of the bust of a young man, figure 2.
Photo: David Flowers.

but the accretions on the back of these fragments span the separate pieces and appear to belong together. The back of the bust appears to confirm that this part is ancient. However, the front of the bust and drapery has lost its entire surface and may well have been acid washed to remove accretions, possibly to even out the different planes once the separate pieces were reunited. This treatment would have been particularly efficient at removing the accretions from within the tight folds on the drapery. The front of the chest area has also been stripped away, and there are signs of a rasp on the top of the proper right side. The collarbone looks to have been originally slightly higher on the front of the bust. The reworking of this area in conjunction with the reworking of the chin, the lower jaw, and the areas behind the ears suggests that the head (if it does belong to the lower portion of the bust) was originally at a different angle.

The antique edge of the bust is still visible on the proper left edge below the drapery insert. Accretions can be seen on the back of the bust and continue to cover part of this left edge. The proper right edge is twice as broad as the left and shows no signs of original surface. This would appear to suggest that the bust has lost a considerable amount in both width and depth and the various sections of the bust have been reduced in size. They have been recut along break edges and filed across the front to accommodate the head,

neck, and recarved chin. The whole bust has been tilted back to counterbalance the weight of the head and has been given extra support at the base of the bust, which is mounted on the socle (fig. 4; plate IXB).

Ince 198 is now in the process of being laser scanned to produce a three-dimensional digital image. Although there is no substitute for looking at the actual sculpture, this technology will be an additional invaluable examination tool for both conservator and art historian. Accurate measurements can be taken on screen to facilitate cross-referencing and monitoring over time. The digital image can be added to and turned in all directions on screen, which is an advantage with heavy objects.

Conservation practices have changed much in Britain over the past hundred years and are constantly being reevaluated. Many local museums (including NMGM) and country house collections have not had dedicated sculpture conservation staff or conservation advice until relatively recently, and cleaning sculpture was seen as a matter of good housekeeping. Sculptures were often dusted and scrubbed (at times with proprietary abrasive cleaning products) without a clear understanding of the damage that might result.

As conservators we must look for evidence from each phase of the historical sequence. Rather than being an indicator of acid patination during its eighteenth-century restoration, dramatic alteration to the surface may have occurred through overzealous cleaning of a friable surface or have been environmentally induced; it is important not to form a quick judgment. The cause of deterioration to a surface may be especially difficult to discern once the sculpture has been cleaned and traces of pollution, biological growths, and damaging accretions have been removed.

Only when conservation practices are well documented and kept with the collections will conservators and art historians become aware of a sculpture's recent past, which is just as important as its historical life span when considering a surface. The conservation department at NMGM now employs a number of cleaning techniques (steam, poulticing, solvent, laser) depending on the nature of the soiling. This list of techniques also needs to be added to the historical sequence, with a clear understanding of the surface that each of these techniques produces.

Each piece that comes into the studio to be conserved has its own complexities, but there are similarities to other pieces in the Ince collection and the more one sees, the more they become apparent.

Notes

- 1 Liverpool City Museum and Art Galleries acquired the majority of Henry Blundell's collection in 1959. The remaining pieces either went with the Weld-Blundell family to Lulworth Hall in Dorset or remained in situ as integral architectural features.
- 2 H. Blundell, *Engravings and Etchings of the Principal Statues, Busts, Bass-Reliefs, Sepulchral Monuments, Cinerary Urns &c. in the Collection of Henry Blundell Esq. at Ince*, 2 vols. (Liverpool, 1810), pl. 35.
- 3 J. T. Smith, *Nollekens and His Times* (1828; London, 1986), p. 10.
- 4 The Nd: YAG laser (Lynon Lasers, Wilmslow, Manchester) at 1,064 nm is now a relatively common technique used to remove various accretions and soiling layers from marble. For a discussion of this technique see M. Cooper, *Laser Cleaning in Conservation* (London, 1998).
- 5 Ince 271 and Ince 272: the two Dioskouroi, bought from the Villa Altieri and "noted for their size and sculpture" (A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* [Cambridge, 1882], p. 39).
- 6 Ince 569 (portrait of a man with an ivy wreath restored on an ancient statue): see discussion in J. Fejfer, *The Roman Male Portraits*, vol. 1.2 of *The Ince Blundell Collection of Classical Sculpture* (Liverpool, 1997), cat. 62.
- 7 Blundell (note 2 supra).
- 8 Discussion of resin samples: see S. Sportun, "Case Study: An 18th Century Restored Classical Male Statue" (master's thesis, Durham University, 1996), pp. 49–51.
- 9 Elisabeth Medcalf, chemistry research student from Birkbeck College, analyzed samples using FTIR in 1996.
- 10 Jeff Boothe, ICI, undertook X-ray diffraction in 1996.
- 11 Ince 198 (bust of a young man): see discussion in Fejfer (note 6 supra), cat. 64.
- 12 H. Blundell, *An Account of the Statues, Busts, Bass-Reliefs, Cinerary Urns, and Other Ancient Marbles, and Paintings at Ince* (Liverpool, 1803), p. 198.

Vincenzo Pacetti and Luciano Bonaparte

The Restorer and His Patron

Nancy H. Ramage

Each man needed the other. Vincenzo Pacetti (1746–1820), the sculpture restorer, and Luciano Bonaparte (1775–1840), brother of Napoleon and patron of the arts, enjoyed a symbiotic relationship. Pacetti (plate x) was self-confident, as was to be expected of the director of the Accademia di San Luca and a successful businessman with a wide practice of creating and restoring sculpture. Luciano (fig. 1) was a worldly man, having been instrumental in the coup d'état that enabled his brother to become first consul in 1799, and having served as ambassador to Spain the following year. These two men each profited from the other: Pacetti found a desirable patron in Luciano, whereas Luciano relied on Pacetti for a variety of different services having to do with his collections, housing, and sculpture. Their correspondence, examined here, serves as a fascinating model of the interaction of patron and sculptor in the early nineteenth century.

Luciano Bonaparte arrived in Rome in 1804 following a serious rift with Napoleon over his unauthorized and unapproved marriage to Alexandrine de Bleschamps, who was his active professional partner for the rest of his life.¹ He was already a collector of paintings, and brought with him a considerable and outstanding collection that he had assembled in Paris.² While living in the Palazzo Lancellotti, which belonged to his uncle, Cardinal Fesch, he continued to acquire more paintings, often with Pacetti acting as intermediary. (Ultimately his collection included works by Raphael, Bronzino, Guido Reni, Velázquez, Rubens, Poussin, and David, among many others.) Only after his arrival in Rome did he begin to acquire ancient sculpture. Pacetti served as a sort of factotum who helped with Luciano's acquisition of artworks, copying of marble pieces in plaster, and restoration of marble sculpture, as well as his real estate interests. Although Pacetti was on the one hand a respected high official, he was also available to serve in any way needed by the newly arrived brother of Napoleon.

Luciano Bonaparte was a wealthy man who, over time, acquired several houses and villas and large collections of paintings and sculpture. He also experienced hard times, as his fortunes were



FIG. 1
François-Xavier Fabre (1766–1837),
Portrait of Luciano Bonaparte, 1806. Oil on
canvas, 71 × 53.5 cm. Rome, Museo
Napoleonico 528.

affected by the rise and fall of his brother—even though they were on the worst of terms. On occasion Luciano was forced to sell some of his property in order to make ends meet. But he maintained a high profile, even when living in country places like Frascati or, eventually, Canino, near Vulci, and he managed to gain a distinguished title, Prince of Canino, by order of the Pope. He was also routinely called Senator.

Our knowledge of Pacetti's activities is based largely on an extensive set of documents housed at the Getty Research Institute, as well as on Pacetti's diary, part of which is in the Getty Research Institute and part in the Biblioteca Alessandrina at the University of Rome. Luciano Bonaparte's activities, especially his excavations in Frascati and Vulci, are well documented in his own publications. Also, he was a well-known person about whom people tended to record observations and information in diaries, books, and letters.³

Luciano lived first in his uncle's palace while looking for a place to call his own. In 1805, the year after his arrival in Rome, Pacetti attempted to find property for him—even as far away as an imperial palace in Naples!⁴ Eventually, in 1806, Luciano bought the Palazzo Nuñez on the Via Condotti;⁵ in 1804 he had also bought a country house, Villa Rufinella, in Frascati, where he would soon open excavations at the theater of Tuscolo.

While Pacetti was helping on the housing front, he “never missed an opportunity in these years to get himself recommended by Luciano, especially regarding any commission from the Vatican,” as observed recently by Rosella Carloni.⁶ Included among the commissions from the Pope was a sculpture of Saints Peter and Paul.⁷ Another was to restore an ancient statue of Mithras on a bull, now in the Hall of the Animals in the Vatican.

Pacetti was useful to Bonaparte because, among other reasons, he had good contacts with the aristocracy from whom Luciano preferred to buy paintings or statuary. These were the noble families—the Colonna, the Mattei, the Giustiniani—who tended to be perennially in economic straits that forced them to sell off their holdings.⁸ One of the most interesting attempts at an important purchase occurred when Luciano went to Pacetti’s studio in May 1804, shortly after his arrival in Rome, and tried to buy three sculptures formerly in the Barberini collection—busts of Marius and Sulla and the Barberini Faun—for 2000 scudi. Pacetti agreed to the offer, although he thought it low, but the deal was never consummated: The two busts went to the Vatican, while the sale of the Barberini Faun was challenged in a major legal battle and the piece eventually found its way to Munich.⁹

Meanwhile, Luciano himself gave Pacetti many commissions to make either marble or plaster sculptures for his various houses. In 1804, shortly after the move to the Palazzo Lancellotti, Pacetti brought to Luciano six paintings and three sculptures from the Giustiniani collection. Luciano immediately gave him the commission to make a plaster copy of the Giustiniani Minerva, the over-life-size statue now in the Vatican (fig. 2).¹⁰ A few months later, Luciano asked him to make two more copies of it, as well as plasters of the two other purchases from the Giustiniani.¹¹

Luciano Bonaparte liked to have original sculpture in one of his residences, with copies in whatever other houses he owned at the time. One of the Getty documents records that copies of the Giustiniani pieces—the Pallas Athena; a relief with the Nymph Amalthea, where baby Zeus is being fed the milk of the goat Amalthea; and a *puteal* (wellhead), usually referred to as “the Vase”—were sent in plaster to the Accademia di Carrara, obviously with the intention of having modern copies made in marble. Along with these items were packed up a portrait of Napoleon, and one of his (and Luciano’s) mother, sent there by Antonio Canova (1757–1822).¹²

Two years later, in May 1806, Pacetti came to Villa Rufinella in Frascati for two days, at which time Luciano gave him many orders for marble and plaster statues, among them twelve modern busts copied after the antique, and various restorations, including work on a Pallas Athena.¹³ It is interesting to note that a few months

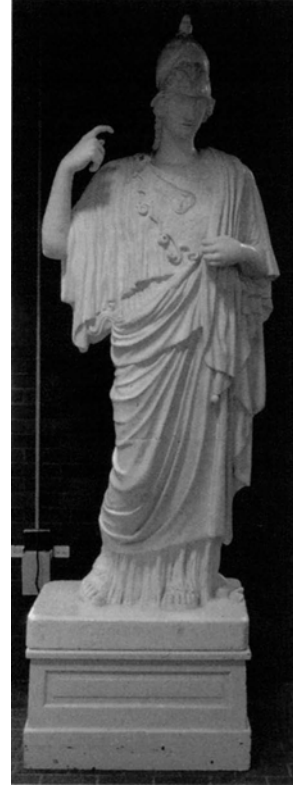


FIG. 2
Copy from c. 1890. of the Giustiniani
Minerva (Pallas Athena). Plaster, 11 2.25 m.
F. W. Crumb Library, State University of
New York, Potsdam, NY. Photo: Author.

later, Luciano personally visited Pacetti's studio in order to see what progress he was making on the restoration of that statue.¹⁴

Luciano's house must have been full of plaster casts—perhaps more plasters than marble statues. We get a hint of this from a list of casts placed on the ground floor of his palace, including extensive replicas of a relief from the Temple of Athena—twenty-nine panels around one part of the room, thirty in another—and plaster portraits of the senator himself and two of his children.¹⁵

Although we generally think of Pacetti as a marble sculptor and restorer, it is astonishing how much of his work seems to have revolved around plaster copies. A rough draft of a letter from Pacetti to Luciano discusses the marble restorations he has done and the plaster copies made. First, he acknowledges a letter from M. Boyer (Luciano's nephew through his first wife, Christine Boyer) asking him to make plaster copies of the Giustiniani pieces: the statue of Pallas Athena, the so-called Amalthea relief, and the Vase. Pacetti complains that he cannot get the plasters made without payment for the plaster modelers. He then explains (all translations are mine) that “after having had the plasters packed and crated, I had them transported from the palace [where they had been made from the marble originals] to my studio, and I reduced them with the point, as is done with marble restorations . . . remembering that Your Excellency wants the statues re-formed after having been restored . . . so as to make beautiful figures for your Excellency . . . and we had to make the two hands for [a] statue . . . and they came out most beautifully, and they look ancient.”¹⁶ This is an interesting comment on alterations made in plaster by the restorer.

Pacetti must have farmed out many of his commissions to other people. Evidence for how the trade functioned can be found in receipts where Pacetti paid for others' work. For instance, a modeler named Giuseppe Torrenti wrote a receipt for specific antique statues that he made in plaster: “I, the undersigned, have received from Mr. Vincenzo Pacetti, 500 scudi, which are on account for the price agreed for seven life-size plaster statues, specifically: The Venus of the Campidoglio, the famous Apollo Belvedere, the Dying Gladiator, the fighting Gladiator, the Laocoön without the boys, the Meleager of the Belvedere, and the Capitoline Antinous. . . . August 1794, Giuseppe Torrenti, Modeler.”¹⁷ Thus, Torrenti made plaster copies of these statues and sold them to Pacetti for a predetermined price.

One of the documents at the Getty is a copy of a list of items made by Pacetti for Luciano.¹⁸ It was written in another hand (with Pacetti's name misspelled “Paccetti”). Among the items listed are expenses for the following:

- *the purchase of the plaster of the Venus di Medici, handed over to me by Mr. Luigi Acquisti*
- *transport of the same to the studio of Pacetti*
- *the crate for the Crouching Venus in marble, made for transport to [Villa] Rufinella*
- *the plaster bust of the now-cleaned Pallas, and the encaustic [painting?] given as a gift by His Excellency to the Cardinal and Secretary of State Consalvi.*

Here, too, some of the work attributed to Pacetti was actually executed by someone else. Many examples can be cited to show that one sculptor was working for another.¹⁹

In 1808, after Luciano had initiated excavations at Tuscolo near Frascati, Pacetti records in his diary that he was called in to restore a statue of Tiberius found there and to make a copy of it in plaster.²⁰ After restoration, the marble statue was delivered to Luciano's Palazzo Nuñez in Rome. The other fragments that came out of the excavations at Frascati were eventually sent for restoration to Vincenzo's son, Giuseppe Pacetti. And three cases of plasters were sent to Carrara, presumably to be used as models to be copied in marble.²¹

Among his many roles, Pacetti also served as a kind of moving company, so that when Luciano needed to have his collection of 126 paintings and his ancient statues transferred from Rome to Villa Rufinella in Frascati, he called on Pacetti to accomplish the task. One of the Getty documents is entitled "Notes of the transport made of sculpture carried from the studio of Pacetti to the palace of Senator Luciano Bonaparte."²² Among the items transported (with prices in scudi) are the following:

Payment:

<i>For plaster copies of statues moved to the stairs and put in their respective niches</i>	3.45
<i>For the transport of an antique Vase in marble, requiring eight men and placed on top of its pedestal</i>	103.80
<i>For the transport of pictures and the time required [to move them]</i>	66
<i>For the transport of the statue of Pallas in marble requiring eight men, done with much hard work [con molta fatica]</i>	114.90

This latter is probably the same Giustiniani Pallas mentioned above in which Luciano had so much interest.

Conto delle spese per l'imbalsamazione fatta
di n.º 3 Caponi nel Palazzo di S. E. il Sig.
Sanatore Luciano Bonaparte per ordine
del Sig. Cavagliere Pacietti come segue
Addì 17 Gennaio 1809

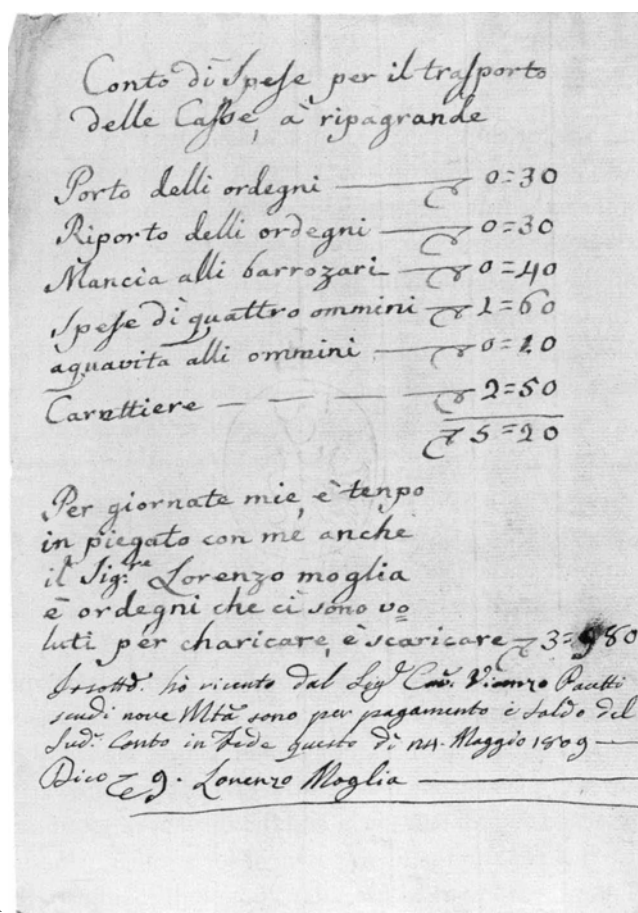
Per Canenaccio @. 25 al 30 la @.	7:50
Per Cordone libbre 43 al 15 la libbra	6:45
Per Corra libbre 8 al 12 la libbra	:96
Per Spago libbra una e mezza al 16	:24
Per Paglia fresco	2:80
Per Satura del imbalsamazione	4:50
Io Sott. ho visto dal detto Sig. Cav. Pacietti il tutto del presente Conto in fede questo 28 febbrajo 1809 Brioce 22. Carlo Antonio Pennati.	

FIG. 3
Bill signed by Carlo Antonio Pennati, 28 February 1809. Los Angeles, Research Library, Getty Research Institute no. 880034-2.

Some of the evidence points to assistants of greater or (especially) lesser education serving as assistants to Pacetti. On the lower end of the scale was Carlo Antonio Pennati, who wrote a receipt on 28 February 1809 (fig. 3), showing some of the humbler items Pacetti needed to buy for his work.²³ Dated 17 January (Gennaio) 1809, the “Bill of expenses for the packing of three chests in the palace of His Excellency, Sanatore [sic] Luciano Bonaparte by order of Cavagliere [sic] Pacietti [sic] as follows” gives prices in piasters for

dusters @ from 25 to 30?	7:50
43 pounds of cord at 15 the pound	6:45
8 pounds of cord at 12 the pound	:96
a pound and a half of twine up to 16	:24
expenses for straw	2:80
material for packing	4:50
	22:45

Another such receipt²⁴ is even more revealing of the kinds of expenses required: a bill of sale, dated 24 May 1809 and signed



by Lorenzo Moglia (who also appears numerous times in Pacetti's diaries), with prices in piasters, is full of misspellings (fig. 4):

*Expense account for the transport of cases to the Ripa Grande
[the shipping port on the Tiber River]:*

Carrying of tools	0=30
Carrying back of things	0=30
Tips for the cart drivers	0=40
Expenses for four men [ommini]	2=60
Aquavita for the men	0=10
Cart driver	2=50
	<u>5=20</u>

Note the interesting mention of the cost of liquor, presumably to keep the men happy. Humble receipts like these take us close to the workings of the sculptor and his assistants.

We have already seen that often the receipts are not for sculpture, but for services and foodstuffs. One such list is interesting for its mix of payments to people (apparently for wages) as well as for food products such as salami, for whole meals, and for payment

FIG. 4

Bill signed by Lorenzo Moglia, 24 May 1809.
Los Angeles, Research Library, Getty Research
Institute no. 880034-2.

and tips for shipping: the list includes wages for “the gang at Mr. Giuseppe Diversi,” the gardener, the spinsters, the boy, the mother, the little girl, the orchard keeper, the wall maker, the carver, the guard, the doorman, [the restorer] Mr. Cavaceppi . . . and the list continues on the very next line: for lamb, meat, sausage; a tip for Ferrari, that is, the foreman, for the delivery of the Hercules; and a tip for the boy for the delivery of the Leda and Bacchus. Then, someone named Giuseppe got paid for his turkeys. As for the cost of these items, the gang at Mr. Diversi got 4 scudi, the gardener 1. Where the boy and the little girl were paid 20 piastres, the mother got 50. For refreshment at the Osteria, the cost was 20 piastres. Mr. Cavaceppi got 6.30 scudi for six days’ work. The transport of the Hercules, plus tip for the boy, cost 7.15 scudi. Cavaceppi and Pacetti both received payment on another line of this receipt, but for what is not recorded.²⁵

A list of expenses paid by Pacetti records payment of 38.55 scudi for services by order of His Excellency the Senator Luciano Bonaparte for, among other things, the transport of three figures of plaster, one made at the French Academy, another at the Accademia di San Luca, and the third at the studio of Canova. Also included on the list is payment for a joiner, Maestro Nicola [Gallesi], who worked for a day and a half to adjust “the large vase”; for the transport of pictures; for a book published by Flaxman; for the plan of Rome by Nolli; and many other items.²⁶

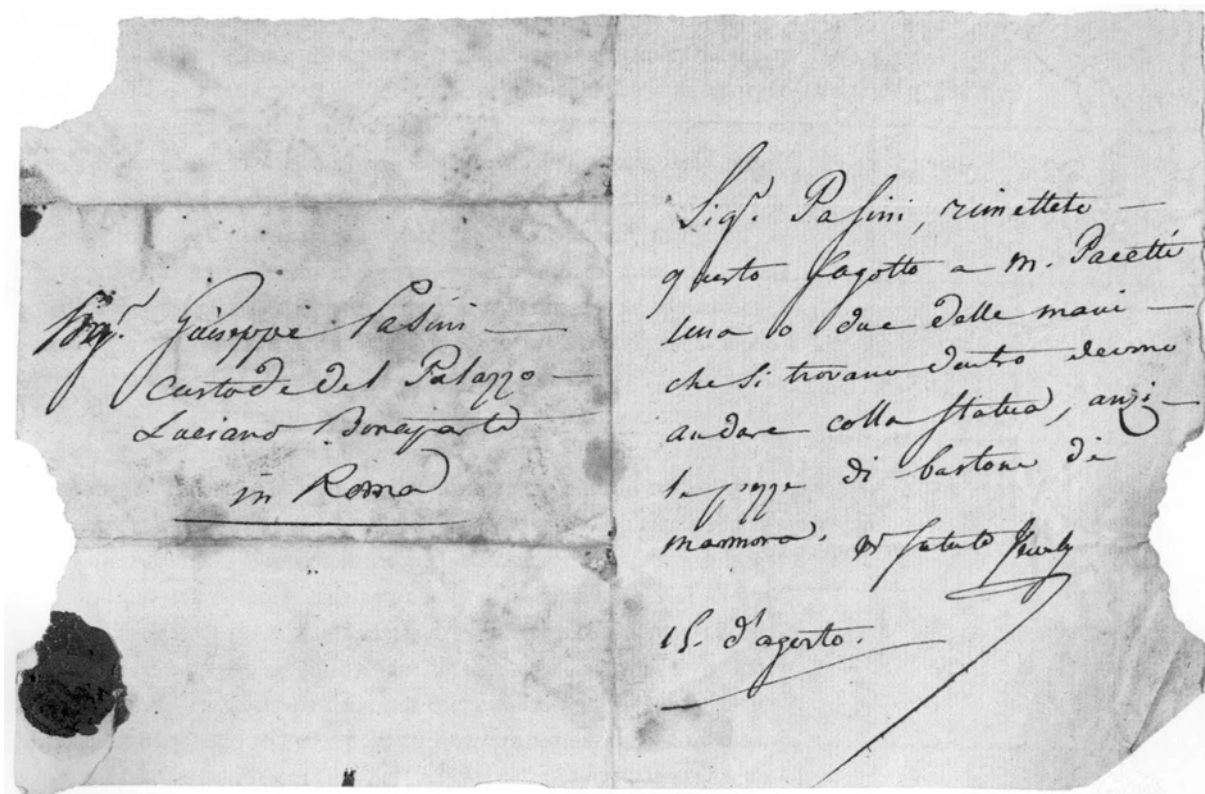
A Frenchman called Jervely, who worked for Luciano Bonaparte, wrote frequently to Pacetti on matters of business. In a letter from Canino, where Luciano had bought a house in the center of town that had previously been a Farnese palace, he writes:

*His Excellency, the Senator, would like to have a written note, and a simple sketch that we Frenchmen call croquis of all the pieces of sculpture, whether whole or broken, that belong to you and that are on deposit in your hands: the Tiberius and others. . . .*²⁷

In another of Jervely’s letters, we learn of damage to a statue in the unpacking:

Honored Sig. Pacetti,

Yesterday arrived from Ronciglione the statuette model of Tiberius that you restored. In spite of all possible care in the unpacking, we did not succeed in taking out the plaster without damage. Some fingers of the left hand and the head were separated from the trunk; but happily the whole has been stuck back together in such a manner that the model appears to be complete, and makes one understand perfectly the worthiness of the original



work. His Excellency has remained very satisfied by this work, judging that the restoration gives a good effect and is well executed, in accordance with what remains of the ancient parts of this statue. I believe that I will have pleased you to tell you of the favorable opinion of the Senator.²⁸

FIG. 5

Note signed by Mr. Jervely, 19 August (no year). Los Angeles, Research Library, Getty Research Institute no. 880034-5.

M. Boyer, the nephew of Luciano, wrote to ask Pacetti to come to Tusculum [Frascati] to discuss with "Monsieur Lucien" how a particular statue should be restored.²⁹ In another letter, he tells Pacetti that M. Lucien approves of the placement of some restored sculpture up against the columns in the palace. He goes on to say that a statue found at Canino must stay there, and therefore Bonaparte has engaged Mr. Jervely at Canino to take the measurements of the statue and to have it restored in place.³⁰ In yet another letter, he asks Pacetti [sic] for all the copper plates of his collections, both those that he has in hand and those that are still in the hands of the engravers; this must be in preparation for the publication of his collection by Giuseppe Antonio Guattani, the second edition of which was in the works.³¹ Boyer also asks him to send back the fragments of sculpture that he has already cleaned.³² Another time, Boyer wrote to say: "The statue has arrived in a good state, most respected Mr. Pacetti. But we did not find the hand in the box;

therefore would you be able to bring it to the chief at the palace, and send it immediately?"³³ Perhaps in response to this occasion, having repaired the kind of damage referred to in the previous letter, Jervely instructed the guard at Luciano Bonaparte's palace in Rome, one Giuseppe Pasini, to return a bundle of sculpture fragments, including hand fragments, to Pacetti³⁴ (fig. 5).

A certain Odoardo wrote to Pacetti from Villa Rufinella in Tuscolo, telling him that the Senator Luciano has directed the writer to indicate his intention to have the [plaster] Minerva brought to him; but it is necessary, he says, that you send it immediately, but taking great care so as not to remove the head. "Send it right away, but if you judge that it can't be done without removing the head, then take it off and send the statue with all possible dispatch."³⁵

Two months later, Odoardo complained that the senator was not satisfied with the gesso because it would not stand up straight, and asked Pacetti to fix it immediately—or else send another of the same size: "The plaster of the Minerva arrived yesterday, but the senator is not happy because it toppled over, and when it was put back on its feet, one could see that it was crooked. Therefore it will be necessary to send another plaster of this same statue, and to pay attention to put the pieces of plaster together in such a way that the figure stands straight up. You must send it as quickly as possible; if you can't find one, send another of any statue that is beautiful, of the same size as the Pallas, and just as high as the first."³⁶ This letter is especially interesting as it shows that the statues are valued for their decorative quality—their size and height—as much as for their individual beauty or power.

These letters and receipts give us a rare glimpse into the working life of Vincenzo Pacetti and some of his colleagues and subordinates; they help us understand the relationship of the restorer with his chief patron. They show Luciano to be a demanding client, requiring Pacetti to do his bidding and to do it fast when he wanted something. They indicate that Pacetti often had to rely on others, especially when the work involved plaster copies. And they show that a highly placed restorer, the director of the Accademia di San Luca, was doing many additional jobs, such as moving the senator's painting and antiquities collection or serving as his real estate agent, unrelated to restoration. It must have been useful for Pacetti to be serving someone so high on the social scale and with important political connections, one who could get him commissions from the Vatican or other well-placed clients. It seems to have been a highly productive relationship between restorer and patron, one that served the interests of each of them.

Notes

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Claire Lyons for first suggesting that I work on the Pacetti papers at the Getty Research Institute, and the Getty Research Institute for a grant to study this material as well as permission to publish and illustrate the documents discussed here. I also thank my student, Patrick Rodgers, who assisted me with my studies, and I am grateful to the National Endowment for the Humanities for supporting my participation in a Summer Seminar in 2001 that allowed me to continue this research in Rome.

Abbreviations

Getty Research Library, Getty Research Institute accession number

Natoli M. Natoli, ed., *Luciano Bonaparte: Le sue collezioni d'arte, le sue residenze a Roma, nel Lazio, in Italia, 1804-1840* (Rome, 1995)

- 1 On Alexandrine de Bleschamps and her marriage to Luciano Bonaparte, see A. Pietromarchi, *Luciano Bonaparte Principe Romano* (Reggio Emilia, 1980), pp. 185-90.
- 2 On his painting collection, see M. Gregori, "La collezione dei dipinti antichi," in Natoli, pp. 263-313.
- 3 For example, the handwritten diary of Francesco Fortunati, *Avvenimenti sotto li Pontif. di Pio Francesco Fortunati Parte Seconda VII. e Leone XII. dall'Anni 1800. al 1828*, especially pp. 460, 497-98, 512. Vatican manuscript: Cod. Vat. Lat. 10731.
- 4 R. Carloni, "Per una ricostruzione della collezione dei dipinti di Luciano: Acquisti, vendite e qualche nota sul mercato antiquario romano del primo Ottocento," in Natoli, p. 18; M. G. Picozzi, "I marmi della Galleria: L'arredo scultoreo dall'inizio del XVIII secolo," in *Galleria Colonna: Sculture* (Rome, 1990), pp. 26-34; idem, "La 'statua di Lucio Vero' nel Braccio Nuovo dei Musei Vaticani," *Xenia* 15 (1988): 99, 107, n. 11.
- 5 Fortunati diary (note 3 supra), p. 516.
- 6 Natoli, p. 18.
- 7 *Giornale di Vincenzo Pacetti*, vol. 2, letters I (9.11.1805) and C (10.11.1806), quoted in Natoli, p. 18, n. 81. Reference to these statues can be found in Pacetti's notes, Getty 880034-4.
- 8 See Picozzi, *I marmi della Galleria* (note 4 supra).
- 9 P. Liverani, "La collezione di antichità classiche e gli scavi di Tusculum e Musignano," in Natoli, p. 52, and Pacetti, *Giornale* B, 1 May 1804, f. 13. On the restoration of the Barberini Faun, see O. Rossi Pinelli, "Artisti, falsari o filologi? Da Cavaceppi a Canova, il restauro della scultura tra arte e scienza," *Ricerche di storia dell'Arte* 13-14 (1981): 45-56; and N. H. Ramage, "The Pacetti Papers and the Restoration of Ancient Sculpture in the 18th Century," in *Von der Schönheit weissen Marmors: Zum 200. Todestag Bartolomeo Cavaceppis*, ed. T. Weiss, exh. cat. (Mainz, 1999), pp. 79-80.
- 10 For a drawing from the Cassiano dal Pozzo collection, see Natoli, p. 51. For the illustration of the statue, see Natoli, p. 53.
- 11 Liverani (note 9 supra), p. 52.
- 12 Getty 880034-10; May 1809.
- 13 Liverani (note 9 supra), p. 57.
- 14 Ibid., p. 58.
- 15 Getty 880034-10.
- 16 Getty 880034-14.
- 17 Getty 880034-3; August 1794.
- 18 Getty 880034-1; 15 June 1806.
- 19 For example, in his diary Pacetti reports paying Mr. Felice for the work he had done for him on a Europa: see Pacetti's diary, "Giornale riguardante li principali affari e negozi del suo studio di scultura, ed altri suoi interessi particolari, incominciato dall'anno 1773 fino all'anno 1803," Biblioteca Alessandrina, Rome, Manuscript 321 (90365), p. 167.
- 20 Pacetti, *Giornale* B, 16 May 1808, f. 20, quoted by Liverani (note 9 supra), p. 60. For his excavations at Tuscolo, see A. Pasqualini, "Gli scavi di Luciano Bonaparte alla Rufinella e la scoperta dell'antica Tusculum," *Xenia Antiqua* 1 (1992): 164-86; and Liverani (note 9 supra), pp. 53-80.
- 21 Liverani (note 9 supra), pp. 60-62.
- 22 List of expenses for moving sculpture from Pacetti's studio to Luciano Bonaparte's palace: Getty 880034-1.
- 23 Getty 880034-2; 28 February 1809, signed by Carlo Antonio Pennati.
- 24 Getty 88004-2; 24 May 1809.
- 25 Getty 880034-5.

- 26 Getty 880034-10.
- 27 Getty 880034-7; Canino, 7 March 1809.
- 28 Getty 880034-7; 9 May 1809.
- 29 Getty 880034-8; Tusculum, 19 August 1809.
- 30 Getty 880034-8; 27 July 1809.
- 31 *Galleria del Senatore Luciano Bonaparte con il testo del Signor abate Guattani*, 2 vols. (1808; Rome, 1812).
- 32 Getty 880034-8; Tusculum, 19 October 1809.
- 33 Getty 880034-8; Tusculum, 22 September 1809.
- 34 Getty 880034-14; 19 August (no year).
- 35 Getty 880034-8; Tusculum, 5 April (no year).
- 36 Getty 880034-8; Tusculum, 3 June (no year).

“Secure for Eternity”

Assembly Techniques for Large Statuary in the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century

Brigitte Bourgeois

[E] così assicurarle per l'eternità, che è il fine della scoltura.

— ORFEO BOSELLI (1597–1667)¹

“Not a history but an autopsy.” With these words, Leonard Barkan recently analyzed the discovery of the broken body of ancient classical sculpture from the Italian Renaissance, “in which art itself appears to be born as a set of fragments.”² Such a fragmentation, open to question and reinterpretation, was destined to awaken an urge to reconstruct and to complete. From the 1520s to the middle of the nineteenth century, physical restoration focused on recreating the form—much to the neglect or even the loss of surface treatments—by means of reattaching the ancient fragments and replacing the missing parts with newly carved marble additions. For the sculptors commissioned to do the work, referred to by Giovanni Andrea Borboni as “surgeons” (*anatomisti*),³ one of the main challenges was therefore to master the techniques of assembly.

Although the traditional methods—massive metal armatures, either internal (pins) or external (clamps), to reinforce the assemblage—are, broadly speaking, well known, it does seem important to devote more research to the topic as the history of restoration techniques is still poorly established. The lack of written sources often makes it difficult to date and attribute to a known context (workshop, if not individual hand) the various phases in the history of the restoration of a monument. Thus it is important to search for technical and stylistic criteria to help characterize the various approaches taken. Can the study of the techniques of assembly provide at least some clues? The answer is yes, and the aim of this article is to demonstrate the point by addressing the various sources—texts and objects—through an interdisciplinary study.

The Italian theory

The first source of information is the technical literature, written mostly by Italian contributors since the second half of the sixteenth

century and presented in part in Simona Rinaldi's compilation.⁴ The three major contributions for our topic are, in chronological order:

1. *Il riposo*, a book published in Florence in 1584 by an erudite nobleman, Raffaello Borghini.⁵ In an imaginary dialogue among three participants (one of them a sculptor, Ridolfo Sirigatti), a short passage on the restoration of ancient marble sculpture concludes the chapter on the principles and techniques of sculpture.
2. *Osservazioni della scoltura antica*, Orfeo Boselli's treatise, written in Rome but never published.⁶ According to Livia Sparti, the well-known section on the restoration of ancient marble (Libro Quinto of the Biblioteca Corsiniana manuscript) was added later to the treatise and written by the Roman sculptor during the last years of his life, between 1664 and 1667.⁷
3. *Istruzioni elementare per gli studenti*, an academic handbook written one and a half centuries later by the sculptor Francesco Carradori (1747–1824) and published in Florence in 1802.⁸

When we compare the texts, the theories about the recomposition and structural work seem at first pretty standard. Each document refers to one proper method for the assembly of a fragmentary sculpture; the issue of surface treatment, however, allows a greater variety of techniques. For instance, Borghini refers to only one type of adhesive and one type of filling stucco, but gives three different recipes “to give color to the modern marble in order to imitate the ancient one.”⁹ Second, the basics of the assembly work seemingly change little over time, and from the late Cinquecento to Canova's time they remain identical, according to these texts.

The principles are very clear. First of all, the intervention must impart complete strength to the newly recreated structure, and in Boselli's writing the expression “secure for eternity” (*assicurare per l'eternità*) serves as a leitmotiv.¹⁰ In times when statues moved from hand to hand and from place to place, and when moving apparatuses were based on a rudimentary, if effective, technology, the stability of the work obviously was a major concern. Too often, accidents during transportation resulted in the rebreaking of the statue, and even the most precious and famous pieces were not guaranteed against such a misfortune: the treasured Medici Venus reached Florence from Rome in 1677, broken into nine pieces.¹¹ The second essential requirement was rooted in the theory that restoration should “accompany”¹² and imitate the antique, revealing as little of itself as possible. Thus, the assembly work had to be discreet, if not invisible.

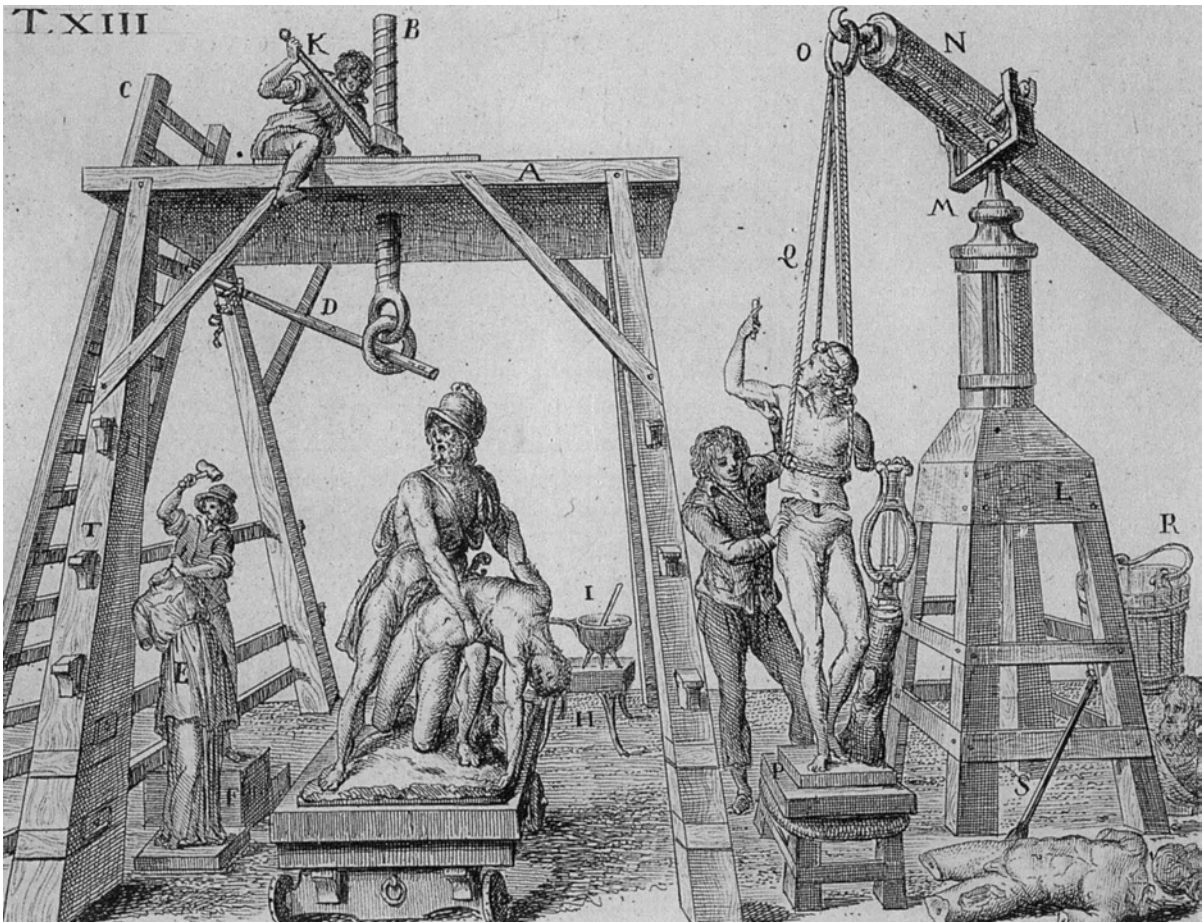


FIG. 1
Restorers of ancient sculptures at work.
From Carradori, *Istruzioni elementare*,
pl. XIII.

The standard technique consisted therefore in adjusting the fragments—either the ancient ones or the modern completions—so they would fit perfectly (*commettere*); drilling the cavities in which to insert the metal pins (*impernare*); heating up the marble pieces and joining them with a hot adhesive (*attaccare*, *incollare*); and then hiding the joins under a stucco layer (*stuccare*). In order to work in the most convenient way, the sculptor first had to insert into the statue or its main fragment (e.g., the torso) some iron armature rods (*verzelle*), which held it upright and allowed for the modeling of the missing elements. He then had to raise the piece up to a height that allowed the assembly work to be performed conveniently (*alzare*, with a type of lift Boselli calls *statera* or *arganello*). Plate XIII of Carradori's *Istruzioni* provides some useful illustrations of practitioners at work, drilling the holes, cutting the walls of the fractures, and adjusting the fragments (fig. 1).

The same type of adhesive was used over the centuries and was, according to Boselli, the keystone of marble restoration. Called “joining stucco” (*stucco d'appicare*) by Borghini and simply “mixture” (*mistura*) by the practitioners, it consisted of pine resin, yellow wax, and marble powder. The composition given by Borghini and Boselli is identical, whereas Carradori's instructions call for a mixture of pine resin and marble powder only. It should be noted

that none of the three authors mentions another type of adhesive, a lime-casein glue, which the English sculptor Nicholas Stone, Jr. (1586–1647) reported was also used by Roman marble restorers in the early seventeenth century.¹³ A similar slight chronological evolution in the materials composition is observed for the filling stucco used to cover up the joins. In the context of late sixteenth-century Florentine restoration, the “white stucco” was a hot mixture of some kind of mastic (*mastico per denti*), white beeswax, and very fine marble powder (Borghini). The recipe then evolved in the practice of Roman restoration during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the standard composition became a mixture of beeswax and marble powder (Boselli, Carradori). It should be stressed that the tradition of stucco remained firmly based in Italian practice; the material was valued for its stability, durability, and visual qualities that produced “a skin similar to marble.”¹⁴ Plaster was not the canonical fill material and was used only for specific operations.¹⁵

The literary sources diverge somewhat on which metal to choose for the armatures. The Florentine tradition definitely recommends copper or copper-alloy pins; iron is to be avoided, because the rust will cause the marble to deteriorate in the long term (Borghini, Filippo Baldinucci).¹⁶ On the other hand, the Roman Seicento theory speaks only of iron reinforcements, either internal pins or external clamps. At the very beginning of the nineteenth century, Carradori allows his Florentine pupils to choose among copper, brass, and tin- or copper-plated iron, “come più piace.”¹⁷

Theory and practice: Literature versus archival sources

Although the literature provides invaluable information, the extent to which the theoretical picture and the concrete, hands-on practice really concurred is open to question. To judge from Sparti’s remarkable study comparing the Bosellian theory against bills submitted by various restorers in seventeenth-century Rome, a fairly strict concordance exists between the two.¹⁸ The same operations are listed on the bills, with the ritual litany “adjusting, pinning, joining, filling” (*commettere, impernare, attaccare, stuccare*). Not only the Italians (Boselli father and son, Orfeo and Ercole; Francesco Fontana; Baldassare Mari) but also the Frenchman, Claude-Adam Brefort, record their work according to Boselli’s treatment phases, techniques, and terminology. Clearly, the teaching of the “restoration school” of the Accademia di San Luca was well established.

It should, however, be emphasized that, here and there, the bills also highlight some technical procedure or vocabulary so far unheard of in the literature: “dare il fuoco,” in one of Mari’s bills, seems to echo Boselli’s terms, explaining how to heat the marble

parts before joining them.¹⁹ But in fact it refers more precisely to consolidating or redoing a shaky assemblage of elements previously attached (most often with arms more or less raised up), by reheating the join and remaking the *mistura* bonding; it is in some way the equivalent of *fermare* or *rifermare con foco*.²⁰ To secure an assemblage that has already failed, Ercole follows his father's advice to attach the parts not only with pins but also with clamps.²¹ In fact, the restorers very often combined pins and clamps and sealed the armatures with melted lead, rather than with *mistura* only, to improve the structural strength of the object.²² Several bills point to the work of inserting a modern marble piece (*tassello*) into the ancient marble in order to fill some lacuna.²³ Orfeo Boselli curiously does not use the word either in his treatise, where he speaks only of "marble pieces" (*pezzi di marmo*), or in his bills, where he describes the pieces redone ("folds of drapery," for instance).²⁴

Written sources versus physical evidence of restorations

The study of historical restoration should not confine itself only to the written sources, however. The physical evidence still more or less preserved on the statues also has to be taken into account and compared to the theoretical concepts. What reality lies behind the words *commettere* and *impernare*? What do the mixture and the white stucco look like? Do some sculptures still offer a fairly intact, if weathered, illustration of a seventeenth-century "classical" Italian restoration? A corpus of information is slowly building up through some exemplary work such as that performed on the Ludovisi marbles.²⁵ Another case study illustrated here provides more precise technical information on a masterpiece of early seventeenth-century Roman restoration.

The 1611 restoration of the Gladiatore Borghese

The so-called Gladiatore Borghese, held in the department of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman antiquities at the Louvre, is an impressive life-size figure of a nude athletic warrior engaged in a violent fight with an enemy, probably an equestrian (fig. 2). He protects himself with a shield that was once on his raised left arm as he prepares to strike back with the weapon, probably a sword, in his right hand. Usually dated to the late Hellenistic period (c. 100 B.C.), the statue is signed by an Ephesian sculptor, Agasias, son of Dositheos.²⁶

The Gladiator has been one of the most celebrated antiques of Rome since its discovery in the ruins of Anzio shortly before 1611, and its history through modern times is consequently fairly well known, both during the Borghese period (1611–1807) and after its acquisition by Napoleon and subsequent transfer to Paris in 1808. Important information revealed by the Borghese archives



FIG. 2

The Gladiatore Borghese. c. 100 B.C. Pentelic marble, H 1.57 m (without the plinth). After the 1997 restoration by A. Pontabry. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 527. Photo: J.-M. Routhier.

of June 1611 confirms that the statue was then being restored in Rome; unfortunately, it does not name the restorer (Nicolas Cordier rather than Pietro Bernini?).²⁷ In addition, an anonymous drawing documents the condition of the statue as it was being recomposed, with the legs already joined to the torso, but no arms as yet.²⁸ The statue had been unearthed in approximately seventeen pieces, yet was in very good condition with the head still attached to the body; even the nose was intact. The plinth, legs, and left arm were broken but almost complete. Only the right arm and a few fragments (right ear, penis, part of the second toe of the right foot, little toe of the left foot) were missing.

Fortunately, the statue was never severely de-restored in Italy or France and, when a new conservation project was undertaken in 1996–1997 under the direction of Alain Pasquier, a thorough preliminary study proved that its present condition was still for the most part the direct product of the Baroque restoration (fig. 3).²⁹

How the statue was reconstructed, what motivated the technical choices made by the restorer, and how the intervention compares to the theory examined previously are some of the questions addressed here.



Commettere: To assemble or to cut

Modern judgment on early restoration often criticizes past restorers for their heavy recutting on the ancient material, and their work is often adjudged a drastic mutilation of the original sculpture. But the evidence brought forth by the Gladiatore Borghese contradicts this opinion to a large degree. Extraordinary technical skill and remarkable respect for the original stone have led to a masterly work of reconstruction. All the ancient fragments have been assembled without any recutting of the original fractured surfaces—quite an achievement for such a large, dynamic figure. The same moderation is shown by the very limited cleaning that has been performed, which has kept so much of the burial accretions on the marble surface.

This is not to say that no reworking was performed at all, and the figure exhibits some traces of modern tools in three cases:

1. The adjustment between an ancient part and a new marble prothesis (e.g., right ear, right arm) has been facilitated by recutting the ancient break in order to produce a straight, flat surface (see fig. 3).
2. A knot on the tree trunk, next to Agasias's signature, has been recut, and a square element was apparently chiseled away on

FIG. 3

The Gladiatore Borghese, figure 2, before the 1997 restoration. Photo: A. Chauvet.

the inner side of the left leg (plate XI). As the two features stand on the same level, it seems the restorer carved away broken parts of a strut that originally connected the rear leg to the adjacent support. Beyond the technical evidence, the *spirit* of the restoration is revealed: the main point was to emphasize the impetus and magnificent *robustezza*³⁰ of the fighting hero, visually transcribed by the long diagonal of the body thrown into space without any interference, even if that meant adding to the structural difficulties.

3. Finally, the sides of the ancient plinth have been partially reworked, probably in order to regularize its uneven aspect and facilitate its remounting on a new pedestal.

Impemare or sprangare: Inside or outside?

The Gladiator's skeleton has been studied via gamma-ray radiography (plate XII)³¹ and, given its fairly good condition, no major disassembly work has been undertaken in order to avoid putting new stress on the statue and to preserve as much of the Baroque restoration as possible. As a result, less evidence could be collected on the armatures themselves, but some important results were brought forth by this nondisruptive approach.

The seventeenth-century restorer obviously obeyed the rule, reiterated so many times in the literature, that the armatures should be hidden, and did a remarkable job. The reinforcements in the figure are internal pins, except for two clamps (one under the right buttock, the other under the right hip), to which we will return. The fragments of the plinth, on the other hand, have been fastened with solid iron clamps partially sealed with lead.

The metal skeleton is particularly impressive in the area where the body connects to the tree trunk (see plate XII). Here is the real strength of the reassembly: a combination of two internal armatures inserted into cavities perfectly drilled in the marble fragments. The most prominent is a long rod, sealed with lead, that runs vertically through the pelvic area and the upper half of the tree; it is bent in such a way as to attach the pieces firmly together. A smaller device, a twist drill (an old or broken tool, reused), reinforces the attachment of the torso to the tree and has not been sealed with melted lead. From some rust stain on the tree, it appears that iron was the metal used for the rod, in accordance with the seventeenth-century Roman practice attested to by Boselli's treatise. The same type of lead-sealed massive rods secure the assembly of the modern arm to the torso, as well as the original left arm, which had been broken in four fragments. Interestingly, the Borghese restorer chose not to reuse a clamp cavity present at the back of the right shoulder

and probably related to an ancient repair of the arm—one more sign that he favored internal armatures in order to integrate and conceal the surgical devices within the antique fabric.³²

Considering the consistency and elegance of such an *imper-natura*, one cannot but be struck by the presence of a huge clamp, approximately 37 cm long, on the right side of the pelvic area, that fastens together the thigh and buttocks. It is also made of iron, but is very little corroded, having been covered with lead in which the tool marks are beautifully preserved (plate XIII A). The device is so visible—even if it is located on a somewhat “secondary” side of the statue—that one hesitates to assign it to the initial restoration. Does it correspond to a later reinforcement because the first intervention proved too fragile? The Borghese archives mention a payment made in April 1621 to the sculptor Alessandro Rondone for some repair work done on the Gladiator, after the statue had been moved from the palazzo in town to the villa on the Pincio.³³ But there is no proof to connect the two events, and is it right to postulate, in conservation as in art history, that “coarser” work is necessarily by a later hand? As archival documents testify that pins and clamps could be combined in the case of a particularly risky assemblage, it seems impossible to answer the question for the moment.

What is certain, however, is that the fill covering the clamp did belong to a phase later than 1611; otherwise, it would have been integrated with white stucco, as with the rest of the *stuccatura* of the statue. Instead, it was covered by a thick layer of *mistura* (see fig. 3). Even in late eighteenth-century restorations, clamps were better hidden than this; for instance, on the Pugilist restored by Vincenzo Pacetti in 1781, a rectangular marble *tassello*, now half broken, was inlaid in a regularly cut cavity in order to cover the iron clamp joining modern legs to an ancient torso (plate XIII B).³⁴

Stuccare: Filling and modeling with white stucco

The yellow-brown adhesive present in the joins was analyzed and proved to correspond to the *mistura* (pine resin, wax, and marble powder) described by Borghini and Boselli. On top of this “gluing stucco” was a layer of white stucco that was also identical to the seventeenth-century recipe (white beeswax and marble powder). The *stucco bianco* was used consistently throughout the figure to cover up the joins and fill the cavities drilled for pouring the lead. In addition, it served to reintegrate some small lacunae in the carving, such as the nipple of the right breast (plate XIII C).

“Secure for eternity”?: The 1808 transport from Rome to Paris

During the refurbishment of the Villa Pinciana in the 1780s, no restoration work was carried out on the masterpiece of the antiquities

collection,³⁵ and the Gladiator remained in its seventeenth-century condition. Soon after, critical changes would affect the conservation of the statue, with the acquisition of the collection by Napoleon and its transfer to Paris. Thanks to the diary written by the two commissioners—Pierre-Adrien Pâris, an architect, and Etienne Lorimier, a painter—the operation was quite well documented. The French agents worried greatly that land transportation across the Alps might damage the old structural assemblages. The Gladiator's arms, particularly the left one held up in the air, were of particular concern to them, and the best preventive measure seemed to be to dismantle them and pack them separately. So on 13 March 1808 a tentative dismounting was attempted, but it succeeded only in separating the left hand. One should mention that the committee present on that day was uncertain whether there was a lead-sealed armature in the arms; enough time had passed for the seventeenth-century restoration to be partially forgotten.³⁶

But a more dramatic event was yet to happen. The crate was being loaded on a wagon when, according to Pâris, the *Pontarolo* (the Italian foreman) dropped the rope and the crate fell.³⁷ How much did the accident alter the statue? It is tempting to relate to it the break in the right ankle and maybe also the break in the left foot. These are the only breaks without any armature, as shown by the gammagraphy (see plate XII). The right ankle is the only part of the statue where the marble is severely cracked, with chips flaking off. If this area (among the most fragile) had already been broken in 1611, the restorer would certainly have reinforced it.

The nineteenth-century Louvre restoration

At the Louvre the statue received some new treatment before it was put back on exhibit in 1811. As no detailed record has been kept, one must again make inferences from the material evidence kept on the statue. The left hand was reattached, with a thin pin inserted in the wrist without lead; the join corresponding to this re-restoration was filled with white plaster and inpainted. Therefore, the treatment that can with certainty be attributed to the Louvre period bears the signature of a new environment, one that is technically different from the Roman tradition that had thus far shaped the restoration of the Gladiator. One can also conjecture that no major intervention was done; otherwise the Seicento features would to a large extent have disappeared, which speaks to the high quality of the work performed by the seventeenth-century restorer(s). Most probably, the insertion of a clamp under the right buttock (plate XIVA-B), acting as a reinforcement of the structure after the rough journey, also dates to the Louvre period. Here too the technical approach is different: plaster fill instead of white stucco or marble *tassello*,

and no lead seal on the iron clamp, allowing more corrosion to develop on the metal. It is interesting that although Roman marble workers (Mariano, a *tassellatore*, or Fulgoni, for instance) were on staff in the museum studio, directed by the French sculptor Bernard Lange (1754–1839),³⁸ the Italian manner does not seem to have imposed itself in the new cultural milieu.

Conclusion

The Gladiatore Borghese allows one to measure and appreciate the *maestria* of an early Seicento Roman restoration, closely related to the principles and techniques set out in the literature, and praised by true connoisseurs such as Orfeo Boselli himself.³⁹ It also testifies that, even then, an exceptional respect for the ancient sculpture could be part of the restorer's attitude: The sculptor to whom the Gladiator's resurrection was entrusted was careful not to strip the surface or recut the breaks of the ancient fragments.

Scientific study of the old restoration materials and techniques still exhibited on the statue, combined with the study of historical sources, allows one to clarify the conservation history of the piece, making it possible to distinguish the physiognomy of all the restoration phases with their different technical characteristics.

But caution is required here. This is but one case study; a larger enquiry would soon show that the practical work done by restorers is much more complicated and multifaceted than is traditionally thought. For instance, Borghini does not mention clay or stucco as possible alternative materials to complete missing members, when it is known that this practice was common in sixteenth-century restorations⁴⁰ and persisted for some while—even as late as 1806. Pacetti was ordered to re-restore with stucco, not marble, the missing elements of a relief belonging to Luciano Bonaparte.⁴¹ Contrary to the defined and univocal theory expressed by the literature, the hands-on techniques are more numerous and varied. As for the assembly work, a more in-depth analysis of the *com-messo* techniques—that is, the ways of setting the fragments together—might reveal more chronologically discriminant factors.

It is necessary, therefore, to pursue the investigations in order to better characterize the various "manners" exemplified by historical restorations, even if at first sight the results seem discouragingly confusing. By building, whenever possible, a corpus of precise evidence based on well-documented pieces, we can hope to be able to address on firmer ground the fundamental issues connected to the thinking and making of restoration.

Notes

Acknowledgments

This study has greatly benefitted from my stay at the Getty Research Institute, as a Guest Scholar invited by the Department of Antiquities Conservation, the J. Paul Getty Museum, and I want to express my gratitude to Jerry Podany, Marion True, Thomas Crow, and Jean-Pierre Mohen. I also wish to thank Linda Nolan, my Research Assistant, Carole Paul, Anthony Pontabry, Marie-Claire Waille at the Besançon Library, and above all Alain Pasquier, Head Curator of the Department of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Antiquities at the Louvre.

Abbreviation

Sparti D. L. Sparti, "Tecnica e teoria del restauro scultoreo a Roma nel Seicento, con una verifica sulla collezione di Flavio Chigi," *Storia dell'arte* 92 (1998): 60–131

- 1 O. Boselli, *Osservazioni della scoltura antica* (Rome, before 1667), book v, ch. 21.
- 2 L. Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven, 1999), p. 120.
- 3 G. A. Borboni, *Delle statue* (Rome, 1661), p. 119; P. Sénéchal, "Restaurations et remploi de sculptures antiques," *Revue de l'art* 79 (1988): 47–51.
- 4 S. Rinaldi, *Tecnica e restauro della scultura lapidea nelle fonti dal barocco al neoclassicismo: Antologia di testi 1650–1802* (Rome, 1996).
- 5 R. Borghini, *Il riposo di Raffaello Borghini in cui della pittura e della scultura si favella, de' più famose opere loro si fa menzione, e le cose principali appartenenti a detti arti s'insegnano* (1584), text published with essays, bibliography, and index by M. Rosci (Milan, 1967), cited as *Riposo*.
- 6 See the Corsini and Doria manuscripts, ed. P. Dent Weil (Florence, 1978), and the Florence and Ferrara manuscripts, ed. A. P. Torresi (Ferrara, 1994); also P. Dent Weil, "Contributions toward a History of Sculpture Techniques: 1. Orfeo Boselli on the Restoration of Antique Sculpture," *Studies in Conservation* 12.3 (1967): 81–101. Professor A. Colantuono, University of Maryland, is preparing a complete, annotated edition of *Osservazioni della scoltura antica* (note 1 supra) translated into English.
- 7 Sparti, pp. 64–66.
- 8 Also edited by G. C. Sciolla (Treviso, 1979), and see *Elementary Instructions for Students of Sculpture by Francesco Carradori*, M.K. Auvinen, trans. (Los Angeles, 2002).
- 9 That is, soot boiled with urine or vinegar, cinnamon or clove boiled in urine, and oil colors; *Riposo* (note 5 supra), pp. 157–58.
- 10 For instance, Boselli (note 1 supra), in ch. 15: "si assicura da ogni accidente per l'eternità"; ch. 16, "per assicurarli di perpetuità"; and the line from ch. 21 quoted at the beginning of this paper.
- 11 Reported by J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der edlen Bau-Bild und Mahlerey Künste*, vol. 2.2 (Nürnberg, 1675, Berlin, 1679), p. 86; G. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi, le sculture* (Rome, 1958), p. 69; for the famous transport of the Farnese bull (the "marble mountain") from Rome to Naples in 1788: A. González-Palacios, "Il trasporto delle statue farnesiane da Roma a Napoli," *Antologia di Belle Arti* (May 1978): 168–74; idem, *Il Toro Farnese: La "montagna di marmo" tra Roma e Napoli* (Naples, 1991), p. 51.
- 12 According to Boselli (note 1 supra), ch. 13: "e quello che più importa accompagnar la maniera antica, se alcuno si può promettere tanto."
- 13 Dent Weil, "Contributions" (note 6 supra), p. 98, n. 19. Stone's diary is dated 1640.
- 14 According to Alberti; see G. Baldissin Molli, "Una pelle come un marmo: La riscoperta della tecnica dello stucco nella trattatistica rinascimentale, con particolare riguardo all'area veneta," *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova* 78 (1989): 96.
- 15 For example, when problems occurred in remounting the base, or to secure some fragile modern complements (e.g., thin drapery folds) during the carving process, cf. Boselli (note 1 supra), ch. 21.
- 16 For Balducci's testimony in *Vocabolario toscano* (Florence, 1681), see Dent Weil, "Contributions" (note 6 supra), p. 97, n. 13; p. 98, n. 19.
- 17 F. Carradori, *Istruzioni elementare per gli studenti* (Florence, 1802), p. xxvii; note 8 supra.
- 18 Sparti, pp. 66–68, and app. 1, pp. 92–118.

- 19 Sparti, p. 112: "E più dato il fuoco ad un braccio di una Venere," in an account with Cardinal Chigi, 1669. Boselli (note 1 supra), ch. 21, uses the expression "porre il foco per scaldare."
- 20 Sparti, p. 94: Ercole Boselli's account with Cardinal Chigi, 1668: "Ad una figura di un faunetto lavato tutto dato il foco al braccio che alza . . .," and p. 95: "E più ad una figura di Apollo rifermatoli con il foco un braccio e la testa." Therefore, one should probably read, in another account of the same sculptor (p. 94), "dato il foco" rather than "il foro" in "E più ad una figura di Marco Aurelio Giovane dato il foro ad un braccio stucato lavato e dato il colore."
- 21 Sparti, p. 95, on the re-restoration of a statue of Venus in 1668: "E più ad una figura di Venere qual cade, rimessa insieme cioè inpernato e attaccato e sprangato il torso su le gambe," to compare with Boselli's precept in ch. 23, "how one should pin the pieces together": if a pin and a counter-pin are not enough to secure the assemblage, "non potendo far di meno, una sprangetta rimedia al tutto" (not being able to do less, a little clamp will remedy all).
- 22 Sparti: numerous examples in the bills presented by Baldassare Mari, e.g., p. 109, restoration of a Venus statue, 1662: "[F]ato il perno attaccato, e impiombato . . . incassate due spranghe alle suddette braccia della Venere impiombate. . ."
- 23 See several examples in Brefort's and Mari's bills.
- 24 Sparti, p. 97, restoration of a Flora statue.
- 25 A. Giuliano, ed., *La collezione Boncompagni Ludovisi: Algardi, Bernini e la fortuna dell'antico*, exh. cat. (Venice, 1992).
- 26 Louvre MA 527: M. Hamiaux, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques du Musée du Louvre*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1998), pp. 50–54 with bibl.; A. Pasquier, "Le Gladiateur Borghèse," in *D'après l'antique*, exh. cat. (Paris, 2000), pp. 276–77; L. Laugier, "La salle du Gladiateur à la Villa Borghèse," in *D'après l'antique* (op. cit.), pp. 144–63.
- 27 S. Pressouyre suggests Cordier: *Nicolas Cordier: Recherches sur la sculpture à Rome autour de 1600*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1984), p. 178, n. 88, p. 307, doc. 224; K. Kalveram, *Die Antikensammlung des Kardinals Scipione Borghese* (Worms, 1995), p. 113, suggested Cordier or Pietro Bernini.
- 28 Rome, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica FC 127308; see Kalveram (note 27 supra), p. 111 and fig. 110.
- 29 B. Bourgeois and A. Pasquier, *Le Gladiateur Borghèse et sa restauration* (Paris, 1997).
- 30 Boselli's term, praising the Gladiatore Borghese (Corsini MSS, f. 3v. [note 6 supra]).
- 31 B. Bourgeois and A. Pasquier, "Vers une nouvelle présentation du Gladiateur Borghèse," *RLouvre* 3 (1996): 8–9; on the method see B. Bourgeois, J.-L. Boutaine, and B. Rattoni, "Gammagraphie de marbres antiques des musées de France," in *Archéomatériaux: Marbres et autres roches. Actes de la 14^{ème} conférence internationale de l'Association pour l'Étude des Marbres et Autres Roches Utilisés dans l'Antiquité* (ASMOSIA), ed. M. Schvoerer (Bordeaux, 1999), pp. 209–17.
- 32 On the clamp and the ancient repair of the right arm, see also Pasquier (note 26 supra), p. 280.
- 33 Kalveram (note 27 supra), p. 209, n. 6.
- 34 Statue of a pugilist, Louvre MA 68; on its restoration by Pacetti, see A. González-Palacios, "La stanza del Gladiatore," *Studi sul neoclassicismo*, vol. 4 of *Antologia di belle arti*, n.s. 43–47 (1993): 21, 32; Laugier (note 26 supra), pp. 156–57, no. 10.
- 35 Already asserted by González-Palacios (note 34 supra), p. 13; see also, on the refurbishment of the villa, C. Paul, *Making a Prince's Museum: Drawings for the Late-eighteenth-century Redecoration of the Villa Borghese* (Malibu, 2000).
- 36 Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, Archives Pâris, MS 13, Journal, pp. 45–46.
- 37 B. Bourgeois, "L'envoi du Gladiateur Borghèse au Louvre," *ICOM Committee for Conservation, 12th Triennial Meeting*, vol. 1 (Lyons, 1999), pp. 155–60.
- 38 On Lange, see G. Bresc-Bautier in *Le corps en morceaux*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1990), p. 297. Giovanni Fulgoni is mentioned as "Custode de Magazzeni" in the Vatican Museum in 1816: see C. Pietrangeli, *I Musei Vaticani: Cinque secoli di storia* (Rome, 1985), p. 134.
- 39 "One can see good restorations from times past in the gardens or villas of the Medici, the Ludovisi, the Borghesi," writes the sculptor (Corsini MSS, f. 171v [note 6 supra]).
- 40 For Montorsoli's first restoration of Laocoön's arm in clay: B. Laschke, *Fra Giovan Angelo da Montorsoli: Ein Florentiner Bildhauer des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1993), p. 27; for an antique restored in clay and stucco by Primaticcio: S. Maggi, "Un Paride ritrovato: Il 'Mercurio' della casa di Giulio Romano a Mantova," *Quaderni di Palazzo Te* 8 (1988): 37–41.

- 41 In a letter dated 21 August 1806, sent from Tusculum by Odoardo (Luciano Bonaparte's secretary): "non metterete in marmo i pezzi che mancano al bassorilievo mà in stucco come vi erano prima." The letter is part of the Pacetti papers, kept at the Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Special Collections 880034-8; on the Pacetti archives see N. Ramage, "The Pacetti Papers and the Restoration of Ancient Sculpture in the 18th Century," in *Von der Schönheit weissen Marmors: Zum 200. Todestag Bartolomeo Cavaceppis*, ed. T. Weiss (Mainz, 1999), pp. 79–83; and eadem in this volume, pp. 137–48.



PLATES



PLATE 1 | TRUE
Statue of Leda and the Swan, de-restored.
Roman, A.D. 1–100. Marble, H 132.1 cm.
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum
70.AA.110. Cf. plate 11A–B.



PLATE IIA | TRUE
Statue of Leda and the Swan, plate 1, as restored today.

PLATE IIB | TRUE
Reconstruction for Leda and the Swan, plate 1. Drawing: Susan Lansing Maish.



PLATE IV | KANSTEINER

Torso des Dionysos. Im 2. Jh. n.Chr. angefertigte Umdeutung einer Statue des Apollon aus dem 4. Jh. v.Chr. Marmor, H 140 cm. Santa Barbara, The Austin Val Verde Foundation. Foto: Autor.

PLATE III | KANSTEINER

Dionysos. Aus Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, *Raccolta*, vol. 1, Taf. 17.

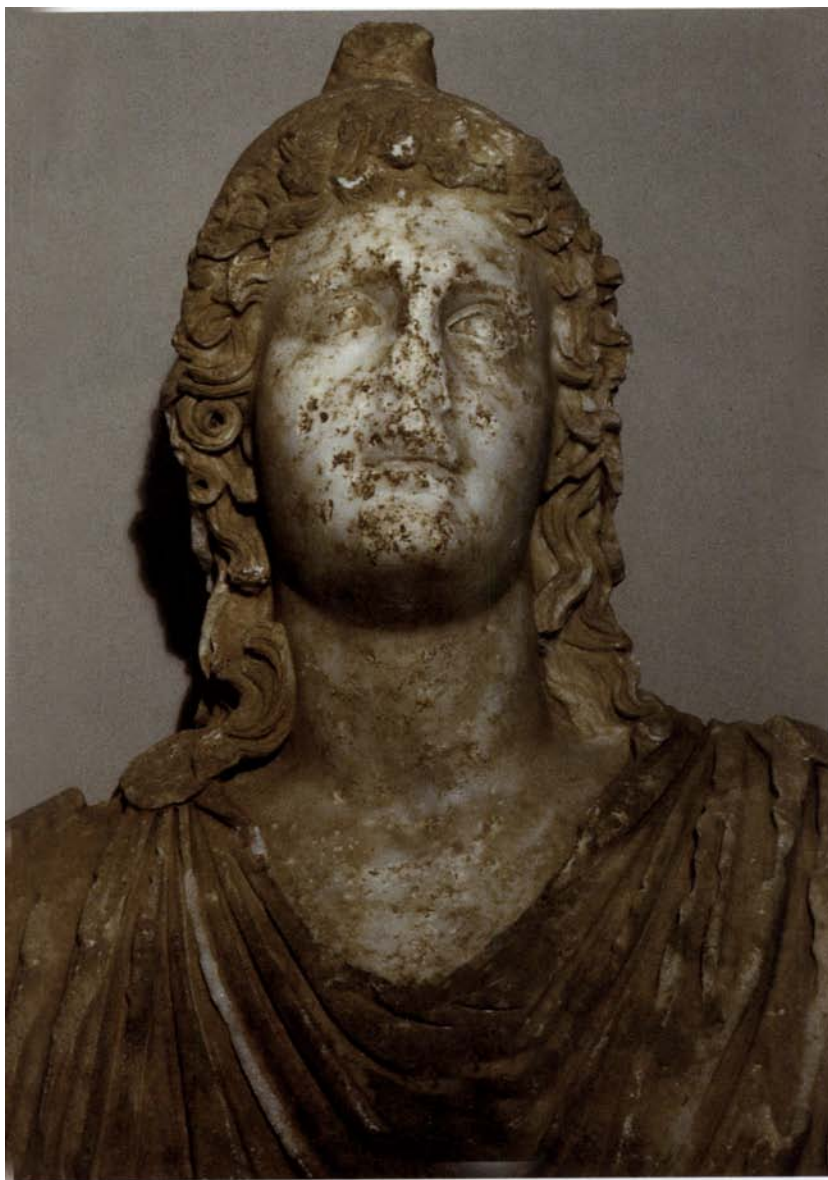


PLATE V | FEJFER

Bust of an Oriental. Marble. Copenhagen,
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1906. Photo: Mette
Moltesen.



PLATE VI | FEJFER

William Hogarth (1697–1764), *Marriage à la Mode: The Tête-à-Tête*, 1745. Oil on canvas, 69.9 × 90.8 cm. London, The National Gallery NG 114. © The National Gallery.



A



B

PLATE VIIA | SPORTUN

Dioskouros. Roman, second century A.D.
Marble, 80 × c. 140 cm. Ince 271. Liverpool,
Ince Blundell Hall. Photo: Author.

PLATE VIIB | SPORTUN

Dioskouros. Roman, second century A.D.
Marble, 80 × c. 140 cm. Ince 272. Liverpool,
Ince Blundell Hall. Photo: Author.

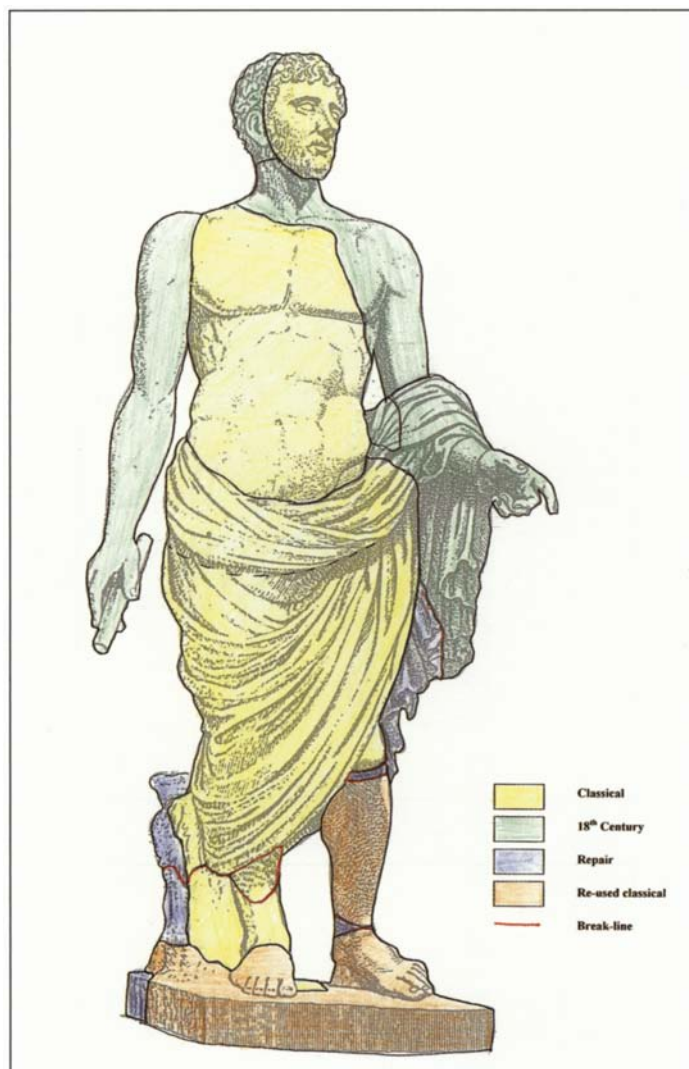


PLATE VIII | SPORTUN

Drawing of "Marcus Aurelius," figure 1, p. 128,
 based on an engraving by Bernard de Montfau-
 con (1655–1741), from H. Blundell, *Engravings
 and Etchings*, pl. 35. Drawing: Author.

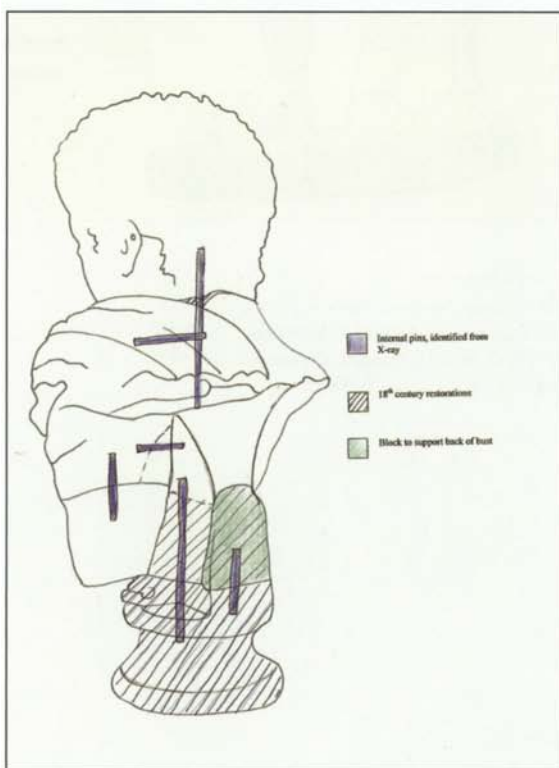




PLATE X | RAMAGE

Pietro Labruzzi (1738–1805), *Portrait of Vincenzo Pacetti*, c. 1790. Oil on canvas, 65 × 48.5 cm. Rome, Accademia di San Luca 776. Photo: Mauro Coen.

PLATE IXA | SPORTUN

Drawing of the bust of a young man, figure 2, p. 132, shows damage, eighteenth-century restorations, and pins revealed by X ray. Drawing: Author.

PLATE IXB | SPORTUN

Drawing of the back of the bust of a young man, figure 2, p. 132, shows damage, eighteenth-century restorations, pins revealed by X ray, and block support. Drawing: Author.



PLATE XI | BOURGEOIS
The Gladiatore Borghese, figure 2, p. 154,
showing the strut cut away on the left leg.
Photo: A. Chauvet.

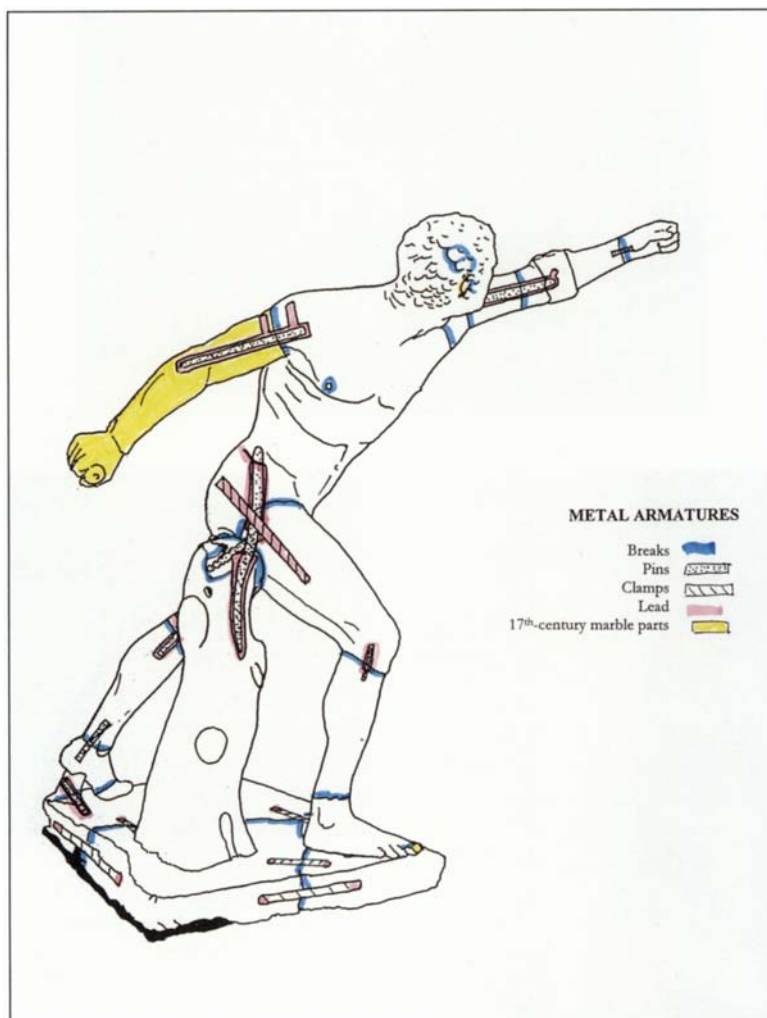


PLATE XII | BOURGEOIS

The Gladiatore Borghese, figure 2, p. 154.
Metal armatures revealed by gamma-ray
radiography.



PLATE XIII B | BOURGEOIS
Detail of the Pugilist. Roman, second century A.D. Marble, H 1.74 m. Pacetti's restoration, showing marble *tassello* hiding the iron clamp. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 68. Photo: A. Chauvet.



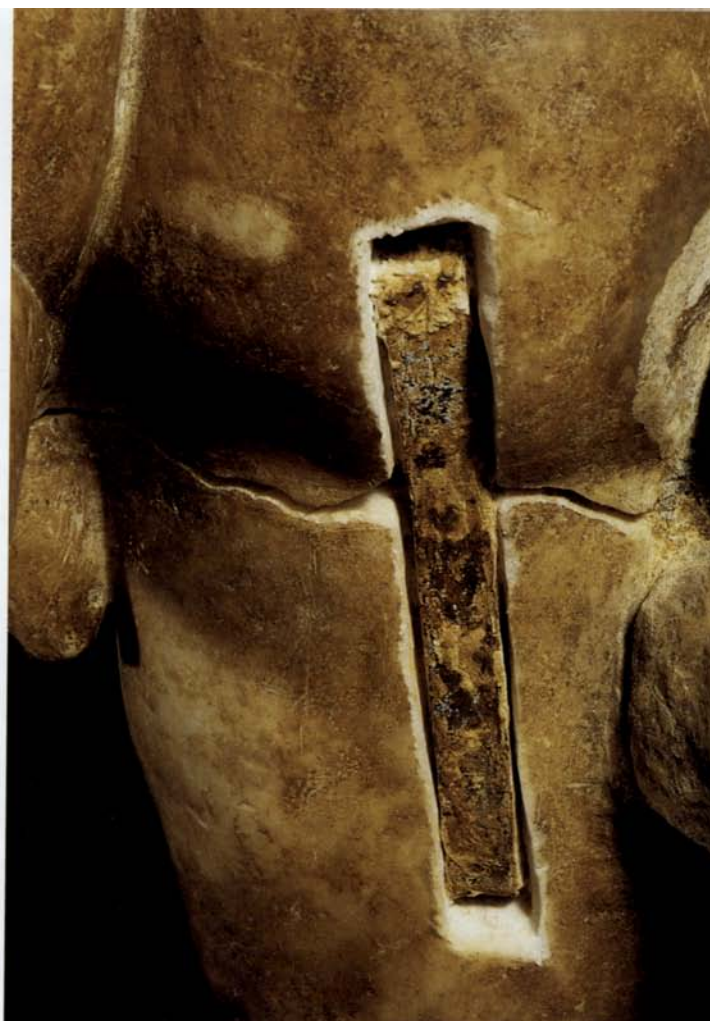
PLATE XIII A | BOURGEOIS
Detail of the lead-sealed iron clamp on the right thigh of the Gladiatore Borghese, figure 2, p. 154, with some of the *mistura* fill still on the marble surface. Photo: A. Chauvet.

PLATE XIII C | BOURGEOIS
The Gladiatore Borghese, figure 2, p. 154. 1611 restoration of the right nipple in white stucco. Photo: A. Chauvet.

B



A



B

PLATE XIVA | BOURGEOIS

The Gladiatore Borghese, figure 2, p. 154.
Plaster fill covering the clamp under the right
buttock. Photo: A. Chauvet.

PLATE XIVB | BOURGEOIS

The Gladiatore Borghese, figure 2, p. 154.
Iron clamp exposed after removal of the fill.
Photo: A. Chauvet.



PLATE XV | MOLTESEN
Statue of Demosthenes, figure 2, p. 209,
with three pairs of hands, from an exhibition
in 1980.

Reconstructive Restorations of Roman Sculptures

Three Case Studies

Giovanna Martellotti

Conservators who work on ancient sculpture often face works that have been profoundly transformed by extensive restoration.¹ In such cases, any treatment must acknowledge the state of the work as a whole; a fundamental task then is to collect all available evidence about the most probable original appearance of the work, the techniques used in restoration, and the underlying rationale so as to provide a key to understanding the sculpture in its present state. One such case is the treatment we carried out in 1987 on the Dying Gaul of the Capitoline Museums in Rome—an extraordinary example of antiquity revisited.²

What is known of the conservation history of the sculpture can be summarized as follows: It was probably excavated around 1620 and was documented in the 1623 inventory of the Ludovisi collection under the description “dying gladiator” (*gladiatore che muore*). Acquired by Clement XII in 1737 for the Capitoline Museums, it was ceded to the French in 1797 under article 13 of the Treaty of Tolentino. It remained in Paris in the Musée Centrale des Arts until 1815 when it was repatriated thanks to the intervention of Antonio Canova (1757–1822).³ The work as it appears today is the result of a careful restoration including extensive reconstruction work attributed to Ippolito Buzzi (1562–1634), a sculptor from Lombardy who worked on the restoration of the Ludovisi collection from 1621 to 1625.⁴

The sculpture is generally believed to be a second-century-A.D. Roman copy of a Hellenistic work dating from the end of the third century or beginning of the second century B.C. When originally excavated, it had not only suffered many losses but also was broken into several pieces.

The technical skill employed in the seventeenth-century treatment is demonstrated by the reassembly of the three fragments of the left leg. Pinning the pieces together was a highly complex task; the calf was a separate piece, but the foot and knee were attached to two different fragments of the base, which also had to be joined together. To join the elements, Buzzi removed a piece from the knee and inserted a pin from the knee down into the

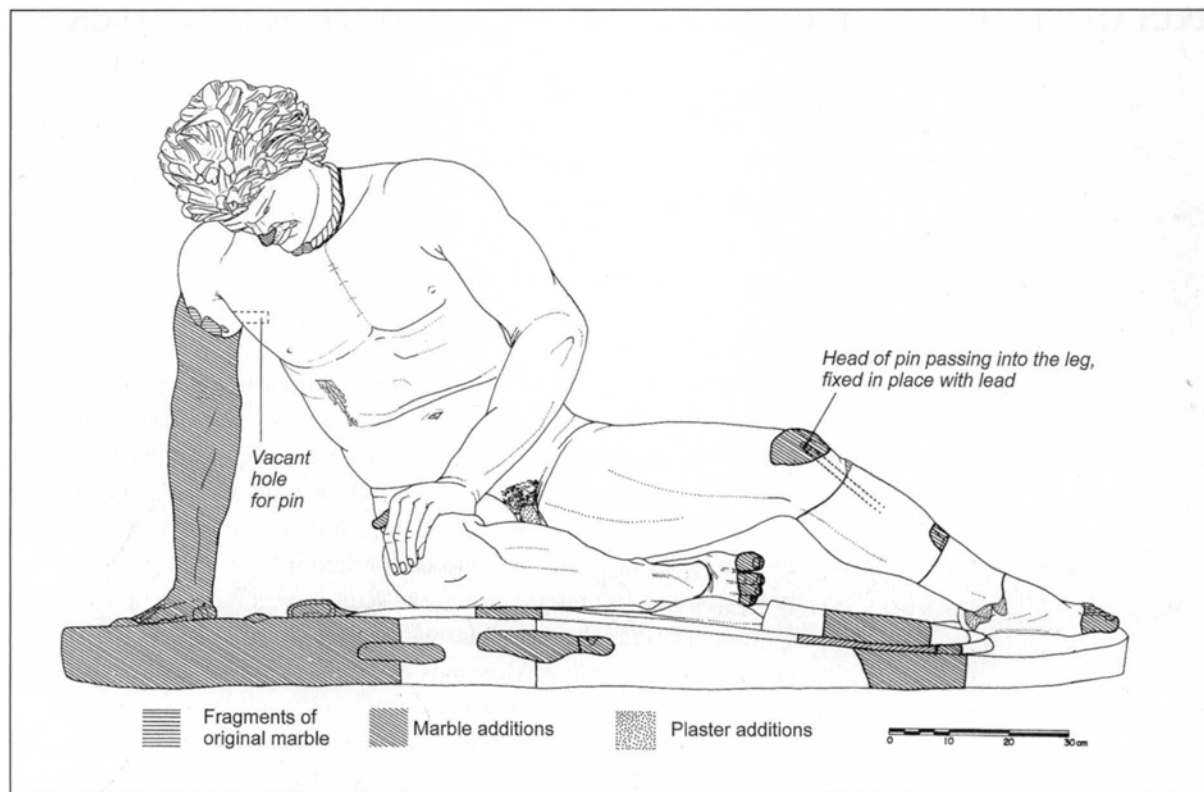


FIG. 1
Drawing of the statue of the Dying Gaul,
figure 2. Dotted lines representing the pin in
the left leg are only indicative as its length is
unknown. Drawing: P. Martellotti.

leg, an ingenious method that allowed joins to be created simultaneously between oblique elements (the pieces of the leg) and horizontal ones (the base). We found the head of the pin, set in lead, after removing the marble insert that both reconstructs the knee and acts as a cap to hide the pin (figs. 1–2).

Apart from joining the broken parts with pins and clamps, Buzzi also carried out other work aimed at giving the sculpture a visual unity. He used marble inserts to reconstruct missing parts or cover clamps, reattached loosened flakes and other fragments of stone, and reworked the stone in several areas. He would also certainly have given a finishing treatment to the surface as a whole, presumably polishing the marble. But let us look at how all this work affects our reading of the piece, starting with the appearance of the marble surface.

It is immediately clear that the stone has been polished, probably the final phase of Buzzi's treatment, thereby removing almost all traces of the original working of the surface. We cannot be sure, however, whether the surface we see now on the Dying Gaul is the result of Buzzi's treatment or of the later polishing of the entire Ludovisi collection under the supervision of Alessandro Algardi (1598–1654), using *acqua forte* (acid) and pumice.⁵



Another detail, the Dying Gaul's hair, offers a cautionary tale. Theories about its spiky appearance have generated rivers of ink. In reality, almost all the originally long locks have been broken over time, and its present appearance is a result of the splintered stumps having been reworked to give the sculpture a convincing, albeit fragmented, head of hair.⁶

However, the single most important influence on our interpretation of the figure is the reconstruction of the right arm. The arm, carved in white marble like Buzzi's other inserts, is an extremely fine work in its own right and was indeed long attributed to Michelangelo.⁷ There is, however, a slight disproportion between the lengths of the upper and lower parts of the arm, which as a whole is also 3–5 cm shorter than the left arm (fig. 3).

Careful examination led us to believe that the sculpture had undergone a later treatment, during which the seventeenth-century arm had been cut off at its upper join and then reattached. Part of the evidence for this is an empty hole for a pin in the figure's trunk and a slight difference in height between the arm and the original marble of the shoulder at the join, which only became visible after the removal of a large and certainly recent plaster filling (see figs. 1–2).

FIG. 2

The Dying Gaul shown during conservation; the plaster fillings and some of the smaller marble inserts have been removed. Second-century Roman copy of a Hellenistic original. Marble, 93 × 186 × 89.5 cm. Rome, Musei Capitolini MC 747. Photo: Barbara Malter.



FIG. 3

Rear view of the Dying Gaul, figure 2, after treatment. Photo: Barbara Malter.



FIG. 4
Detail of the seventeenth-century reconstruction of the hand and attached base of the Dying Gaul, figure 2. Photo: Barbara Malter.

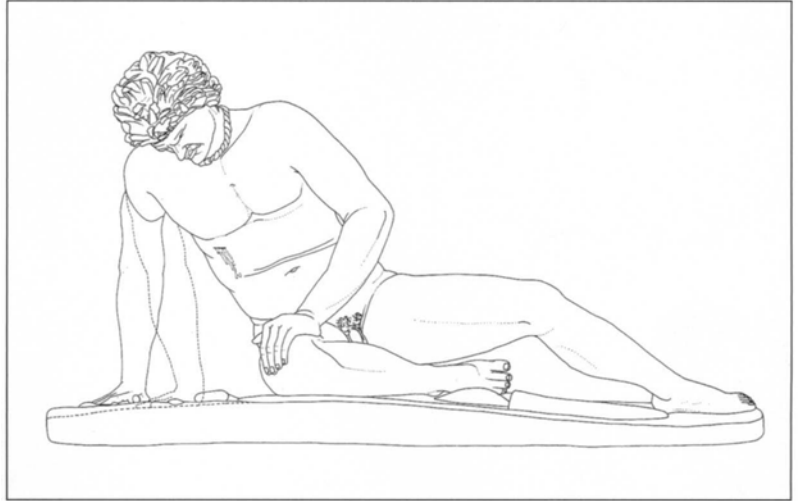


FIG. 5
Drawing of the statue of the Dying Gaul, figure 2. Dotted lines show the hypothetical reconstruction of the original position of the arm and shape of the base. Drawing: P. Martellotti.

There are also some oddities about the way the right hand is inserted into the base: The straight edge of the base attached to the hand awkwardly cuts through the hilt of the sword and runs under the thumb, while the thumb itself is not only broken but has had to be reattached several times, and the surface at the join between the two parts of the base has been reworked with a toothed chisel (fig. 4). Further, the rest of the reconstructed base, into which the hand has been inserted, is a grey, veined marble that has not been polished like the rest of the sculpture, and the attributes on its surface are quite crudely carved.

All these factors led naturally to the conclusion that the part of the base in grey marble was a later restoration, perhaps following a severe breakage of the original reconstruction of the base during one of the work's many moves, and coincided with a reinsertion of the seventeenth-century arm. We therefore suggest that the seventeenth-century arm was longer, nearer to the body, and thus necessarily more steeply angled, as can be seen in the reconstruction offered in figure 5. Buzzi's reconstruction will also have more closely resembled the position of the arm of the Roman original—a consequence too of the shape of the original base, which must have sloped down as much to the left as it does to the right. This alteration in the pose is by no means insignificant as the Roman original will have been in a position natural for a wounded man in the act of falling to the ground. This unfortunately undocumented later reconstruction of Buzzi's work (we do not know how deliberately), changes the interpretation of the figure, emphasizing the heroic aspect of a warrior who, despite his wounds, resists death.

There are other cases, however, where it is much more obvious that a sculptor-restorer made changes quite deliberately. The Clemency of the Emperor was a relief taken from a triumphal arch



erected to celebrate the victory of Marcus Aurelius over the German tribes. Together with two other panels (Victory and the Imperial Pietas) from the same source, it was found inserted in the walls of the church of Santa Martina. In 1515 the three reliefs were transported to the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the orders of Pope Leo X and inserted in the south wall of the courtyard. In 1572 the works were moved to the first floor of the main stair of the Palazzo, where they remain to this day. The works were restored in 1595 by the Lombard sculptor Ruggero Bescapè, to whom can be attributed no fewer than thirty-five marble inserts in the Clemency alone⁸ (fig. 6).

The sixteenth-century reconstructions of the emperor's right arm and leg project outside the plane of the frame, whereas originally they must have lain closer to the horse, as is evidenced by the remains of small marble bridges. The hand, which originally probably had its palm turned up in a sign of welcome and goodwill toward the barbarians, is now extended in a gesture imitating that of the bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, which had been moved to the Piazza del Campidoglio in 1538. Even the head of the horse, a reconstruction from the lower jaw upwards, is very similar to that of the statue of Marcus Aurelius. Compared to the Roman original, the sixteenth-century reconstructed muzzle stands out farther from the background and is turned outwards.

FIG. 6
Relief of the Clemency of Emperor Marcus Aurelius, after treatment. Roman, second century A.D. Marble, 350 × 238 cm. Rome, Musei Capitolini MC 809. Photo: P. Rizzi.



FIG. 7
Detail of the Ara Pacis Augustae (east front).
Figure of a child. Roman, first century B.C.
Marble. Photo: P. Rizzi.

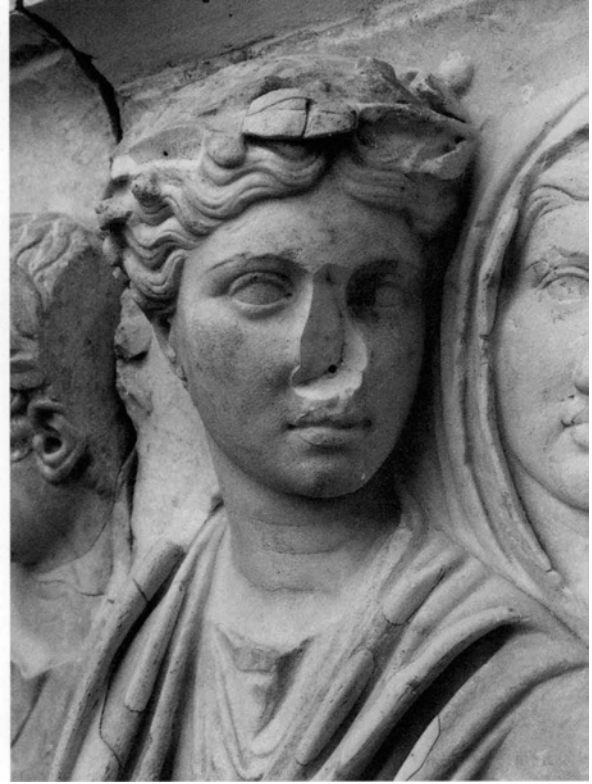
Even more obviously deliberate is the change in the position of the horse's right leg. In the Roman relief the leg was only slightly bent and not lifted in the air as in the current version. These are not mistakes, but deliberate changes: The traces of the marble bridges on both the left leg in the background and the base, which could easily have been interpreted by any sculptor, have actually been removed. All this shows that Bescapè was convinced he was improving on the ancient artwork, amplifying the gestures and giving a more heroic and solemn turn to the Roman original.

A much more complex issue is the correct interpretation of the traces of extensive integration work on the reliefs of the Ara Pacis Augustae, a monument CBC worked on in a series of treatments from 1982 to 1990.⁹ The current reconstruction is the result of work carried out by Giuseppe Moretti and Guglielmo Gatti in 1938 and amply documented by Moretti himself.¹⁰ Our treatment took as its starting point the present state of the monument and, apart from conservation measures, was limited to improving the general legibility of the work and acquiring as much information as possible on each of its individual elements.

The excavation history of the monument is rather complicated, involving casual finds in 1568 and 1859 and systematic excavations conducted in 1903 and 1937. The finds of 1568 occurred during consolidation work on the Palazzo Peretti-Fano in the Via in Lucina when nine large marble blocks came to light and were acquired by Cardinal Ricci on behalf of Cosimo I dei Medici. These blocks were weight-bearing units, about eighty centimeters thick, with figures in relief on their external faces and ox skulls and festoons on their internal faces. They comprised the two blocks of the Tellus relief and the right-hand part of the underlying acanthus decoration from the east front, and three adjacent blocks from each of the Processions on the north and south walls.

To make transporting the blocks easier, Cardinal Ricci had them sawn to reduce their thickness, thus obtaining eighteen separate slabs. The two slabs making up the Tellus were sent to Florence to demonstrate the high quality of the carving. The other slabs, kept in Rome on the orders of the Medici, were set into the walls of the Villa Medici, where they remained until at least 1780.¹¹

At a certain point, the two blocks that make up the Tellus relief underwent extensive reconstruction work—for example, the entire figure of the child, except his hand and right leg, is a reconstruction, as is the nearby hand of Tellus and the adjacent piece of drapery (fig. 7). Initially, we thought these reconstructions were the work of Francesco Carradori (1747–1824), a sculptor from Pistoia, who in 1784 restored the six Medici blocks showing the Processions. He gave an account of this treatment in his report of the



restoration (“*Relazione del restauro*”) now held in the archives of the Uffizi.¹² However, in the course of subsequent treatments we noticed substantial differences in the techniques and reasoning employed in the reconstructions on the Tellus compared to the Processions, convincing us that the work on the Tellus is by a different sculptor-restorer and probably from an earlier date.

If we examine the figure of Tellus after the temporary removal of the small inserts used to reconstruct the peaks of the folds in the drapery, a lock of hair, and the nose, it can be seen that the exposed surfaces were roughened with a small point chisel to improve the adhesion of the inserts, and that quite large holes had been drilled to house iron pins with diameters that are too large to fit the dimensions of the inserts (fig. 8). On the other hand, when the insert on the nose was removed from the face of the younger Antonia on the last block of the south Procession (which we know was restored by Carradori), it revealed a smooth and regular surface with sharp edges intended to maximize surface contact. The diameter of the exposed holes, and thus of the pins, is much smaller, and the pins themselves are brass and not iron (fig. 9). The technique used here is significantly more refined than that used on the Tellus, and is described perfectly in article XI in Carradori’s *Istruzione elementare* (1802), which deals with restoration: “A break

FIG. 8
Detail of the Ara Pacis Augustae (east front).
Tellus after removal of all but one marble
insert. Photo: P. Rizzi.

FIG. 9
Detail of the Ara Pacis Augustae (south wall).
The younger Antonia. Photo: P. Rizzi.

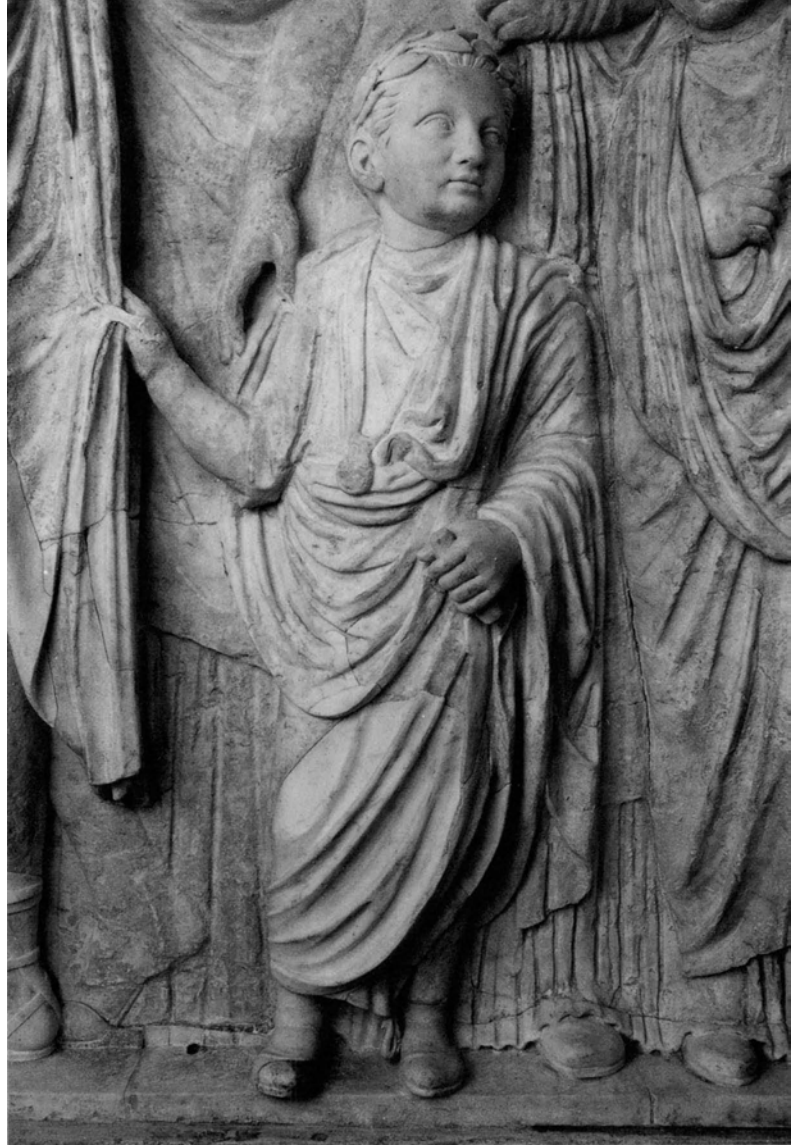


FIG. 10
Detail of the Ara Pacis Augustae (south wall).
Figure of a boy. Photo: P. Rizzi.

should first be evened out, and then a clay mold is shaped *in situ*. From this mold a plaster cast is made, and then, using the technique of pointing, a slightly larger copy is carved in marble. The copy is attached with a small pin and colophony mixed with marble dust and finally the excess marble is trimmed to size.”¹³

As we can see, the development of the technique of pointing in sculpture also changed the methods of making reconstructions in restoration as it allowed an extremely faithful copy to be made from a clay mold; in particular, it allowed the carving of almost perfect contact surfaces between an insert and the break on the original. Such a system was significantly more nearly precise than the earlier methods described in the middle of the seventeenth century by Orfeo Boselli (1597–1667) in his *Osservazioni della scoltura antica*.¹⁴ Boselli’s methods, on the other hand, perhaps more closely resemble those used by the restorer of the Tellus and indeed Bescapè in his work on the Marcus Aurelius relief discussed earlier.

To provide an idea of the extent of the eighteenth-century restorations, it is enough to say that in the three blocks of the south Procession (v, vi, vii) worked on by Carradori, there are 345 marble inserts: the base of the relief and all the feet, two entire heads, twenty-one noses, six hands, and an incredible number of folds are all reconstructions. In block vii, where there are no fewer than



154 inserts, the face of the boy is Neoclassical in style, as are his hand and much of his drapery (fig. 10). This block also suffered the most drastic cleaning treatment, at times amounting to a reworking of the marble—in his *Relazione del restauro* Carradori clearly stated that he had “reworked [the folds] and guided them in the right direction”¹⁵ for all the drapery of the smaller figures. As far as actual cleaning methods go, the *Istruzione elementare* is quite revealing, citing as possible materials (in order of aggressiveness) water, marble dust, sand, *acque forti* (acids), and chisels.¹⁶

To fully appreciate just how insidious such a reconstructive restoration can be—and the finer the reconstruction work, the more insidious it is—the block of the Flamines provides an illuminating example (fig. 11). The block was excavated in 1937 and has never been subject to reconstructive restoration work, but we can safely say that the broken noses and folds detract not a whit from our appreciation of the work. We can, though, be sure that in the past all these breaks would have been evened out and chiseled down to accommodate a marble reconstruction, as was done in the case of Drusus in block VII of the south wall (fig. 12).

An example of drapery from the north wall, seen after the removal of numerous small inserts (fig. 13), allows us to imagine how it looked prior to restoration, with breaks and corrosion of the



FIG. 11
Detail of the Ara Pacis Augustae (south wall).
Figures from the block of the Flamines.
Photo: P. Rizzi.

FIG. 12
Detail of the Ara Pacis Augustae (south wall).
Drusus. Rome. Photo: P. Rizzi.

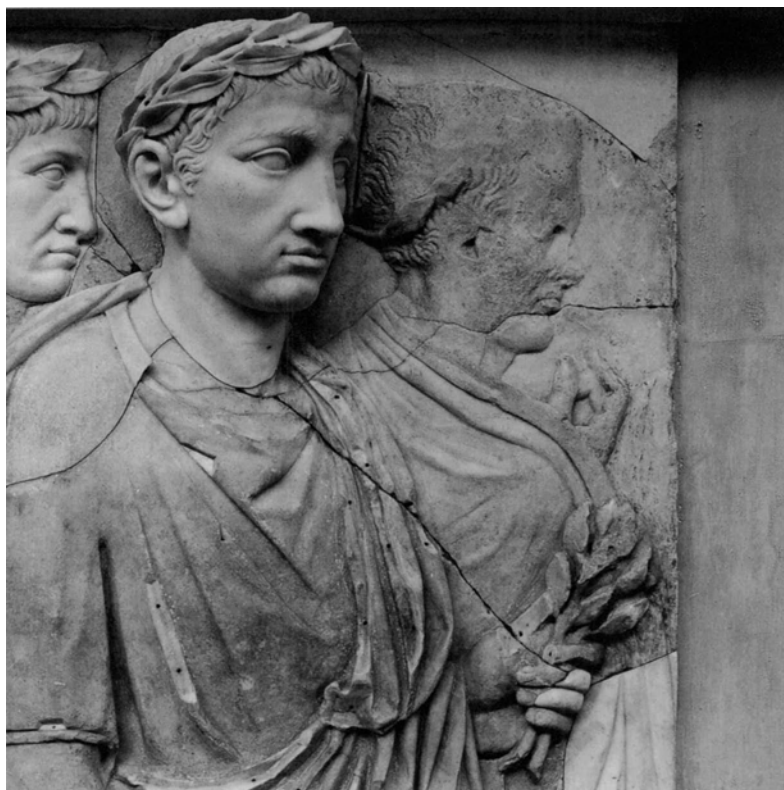


FIG. 13
Detail of the Ara Pacis Augustae. Figures
from the north wall. Photo: P. Rizzi.

stone a little worse than those seen in the Flamines block (see fig. 11), a level of damage that surely would not have affected our overall enjoyment of the work. Yet Carradori noted: “I had to completely remake all the outermost edges of the clothing and most of the folds as I found them all either with losses or in bad condition due to blows or corrosion.”¹⁷

Carradori’s treatment of the three blocks (III, IV, V) in the north Procession was even more extensive, not so much for the number of inserts (323) as for their importance. In fact, all the heads, apart from three in the background, are eighteenth-century reconstructions. Whoever looks at the Ara Pacis without taking into consideration the eighteenth-century restorations runs the risk of forming the significantly mistaken idea that Roman art in the Augustan era was strongly Neoclassical in nature.

Putting aside our criticism of the excessively free rein Carradori gave to stylistic interpretation, as a conservator I cannot but stress his extraordinary technical skill, if not outright virtuosity. His genius can also be seen in his work involving the join between the fourth and fifth blocks of the north Procession. It is the only join where the blocks fit perfectly together, and the sculptor believed it was a natural break. For ease of transport, he did not reattach the two blocks, postponing this job until a definitive location was



chosen for the monument. He did, however, carve the profile of a head for insertion in the monument at this point, but did not attach it and sent it separately “[S]o I would not have to divide it along the above-mentioned lines of the break. Thus, saving myself this effort, I will be able to insert it intact when the two pieces are joined together and thereby hide this part of the break”¹⁸ (fig. 14).

Although the conservation treatments undertaken by the CBC on the three works discussed in this paper did not remove or replace earlier restorations, they inevitably canceled some of the evidence of previous interventions. In any modern conservation work, it is thus indispensable that all aspects of the techniques used in earlier treatments be studied and documented, so that a “critical edition” of the work may be produced that aims not solely at presenting the original work in the best way but also at promoting a full understanding of its restorations.

FIG. 14
Detail of the Ara Pacis Augustae (north wall).
Figures from the join between two blocks; an
inserted head covers the join. Photo: P. Rizzi.

Notes

- 1 The three works discussed here were all subject to conservation treatment by the Conservazione Beni Culturali (CBC), a private conservation group to which the author belongs. The Works Directors for the treatments were respectively Dr. Marina Mattei (The Dying Gaul), Dr. Eugenio La Rocca (the Capitoline reliefs and the Ara Pacis), and Dr. Laura Cafiero (the Ara Pacis), all from the Sovrintendenza del Comune di Roma.
- 2 The treatment report, together with a historical discussion of the work, a discussion of previous treatments, and a comprehensive bibliography, can be found in M. Mattei, ed., *Il Galata Capitolino: Uno splendido dono di Attalo* (Rome, 1987).
- 3 At the time Canova was director of the Capitoline Museums. For an account of this well-known episode, see C. Pietrangeli, "La formazione delle raccolte capitoline," *Capitolium* 38 (1964): 216–19.
- 4 For the history of the sculpture in modern times, see B. Palma, *I Marmi Ludovisi: Storia della collezione* (Rome, 1983), pp. 19–38. For the attribution of the treatment to Buzzi and probable date, see Y. Bruand, "La restauration des sculptures antiques du Cardinal Ludovisi," *MÉFR* 66 (1956): 397–418.
- 5 Palma (note 4 supra), p. 30.
- 6 During our treatment we made a temporary Plastilina (Play-Doh) reconstruction of the original curls of hair using the traces of the small marble bridges that originally supported the ends of the locks and the stubs where the locks were broken off. From this we found the locks originally curled one on top of the other in an elegant display of stone carving.
- 7 See Mattei (note 2 supra), p. 10, for a number of these attributions in the nineteenth century.
- 8 For a discussion of treatments of this relief, past and present, see M. G. Chilosi and G. Martellotti, "Dati sulle tecniche esecutive: Manomissione, rilavorazione e restauri," in *Rilievi storici Capitolini: Il restauro dei pannelli di Adriano e di Marco Aurelio nel Palazzo dei Conservatori*, ed. E. La Rocca and CBC (Rome, 1986), pp. 46–52. A more general discussion of the working methods of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian restorers on these and similar reliefs can be found in G. Martellotti, "Tecniche e metodologie dei restauri del XVI e del XVII secolo sui rilievi Capitolini," in *Rilievi storici Capitolini* (op. cit.), pp. 61–67.
- 9 For a preliminary report and initial studies of the conservation history of the east face of the monument, see E. La Rocca and CBC, eds., *Ara Pacis Augustae: In occasione del restauro della fronte orientale* (Rome, 1983). However, some of the conclusions described in this text were subsequently modified following the later treatments and are reported in this paper. A complete report on the Ara Pacis has not yet been published.
- 10 G. Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Rome, 1948), pp. 135–208.
- 11 For an exhaustive history of the finds see Moretti (note 10 supra), pp. 11–109. A brief chronology is contained in V. Ruesch and B. Zannardi, "L'intervento di restauro della fronte orientale," in *Rilievi storici Capitolini* (note 8 supra), pp. 67–68.
- 12 The original manuscript, "Relazione del restauro fatto da me Francesco Carradori scultore, e da farsi nei noti bassirilievi già spediti per la volta di Livorno per condursi in Firenze," can be found in Florence, Archivio della Galleria degli Uffizi, anno 1784, filza XIV, carte 31; published by F. von Duhn in *Annali dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica* (Rome, 1881), p. 330, and republished in *Rilievi storici Capitolini* (note 8 supra), pp. 75–76. All references are to this last text.
- 13 F. Carradori, *Istruzione elementare per gli studiosi della scultura*, ed. G. C. Sciolla (1802; Treviso, 1979), pp. 27–30; see also idem, *Elementary Instructions for Students of Sculpture*, M. K. Auvinen, trans. (Los Angeles, 2002).
- 14 Boselli describes the use of clay models of the missing part merely as a visual aid for a free working of the stone reconstruction, and advocated extensive finishing work to be executed once the insert was attached to the sculpture. See O. Boselli, *Osservazione della scultura antica: Dai manoscritti Corsini e Doria e altri scritti*, ed. P. Dent Weil (Florence, 1978), pp. 175–76.
- 15 Carradori, "Relazione" (note 12 supra), p. 75 ("ricondotto e incamminato").
- 16 Carradori, *Istruzione* (note 13 supra), p. 27.
- 17 Carradori, "Relazione" (note 12 supra), p. 75 ("Tutti li estremi lembi de i panni e il più delle pieghe, li ho tutti di nuovo dovuti rifare, per averli trovati tutti o mancanti, o mal condotti dai colpi o corrosioni").
- 18 Carradori, "Relazione" (note 12 supra), p. 76 ("per non obbligarmi a dividerla come porta la predetta rottura, potendosi questa risparmiare, e situarsi intiera allor quando saranno uniti le due porzioni, e così nascondere la porzioni di questo taglio").

Restoration Techniques and Sources for the Statues of the Giustiniani Collection

Angela Gallottini

The Giustiniani collection of ancient sculptures was founded by Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani during the first thirty years of the seventeenth century.¹ Numerous literary sources report that it was considered extraordinary for its range and accessibility. A first inventory, prepared in 1638 soon after the death of the collection's founder, documents the presence of almost 1,900 pieces, among them statues, busts and heads, bas-reliefs, sarcophagi, and columns, distributed among the three residences in Rome: the main palace in the quarter of San Eustachio, in front of the Church of San Luigi dei Francesi; a villa outside the Porta del Popolo; and another villa close to San Giovanni in Laterano (referred to here as the Villa del Popolo and the Villa San Giovanni, respectively). Some statuary also was placed as decoration in the family castle and park at Bas-sano. Such abundance of ancient sculptures constituted a rich repertoire of figures and styles, which was accessible to artists and virtuosi both in person and via an edited selection of engravings published in two volumes by the Galleria Giustiniana.²

Except in rare cases the provenance of the works is not known. Some had been found by chance on the family's estates; more had probably been purchased on the antiquarian market. A great number of the sculptures, however, were shown to have been restored at the time of Marchese Vincenzo's death.

Documents I discovered recently in the city archives reveal the names of the restorers who worked at various times on the Giustiniani collection as well as the actual statues they worked on. Wherever possible, this report highlights restoration techniques, materials used, and the philosophy underlying the restoration.

An analysis of the vocabulary relating to restoration interventions (for instance, *restaurata*, *ritoccata*) found in the 1638 inventory enables us to estimate that at that time more than 55 percent of the statues and bas-reliefs preserved in the main palace had been restored in some form. This rises to 58 percent if the count includes contemporary busts with ancient heads.

In the Villa del Popolo, 145 of 1,042 pieces (about 14 percent) were declared restored, but of this total the ancient statues,

heads, and bas-reliefs numbered only 359; the remaining pieces include vases, pedestals, masques, urns, and columns. Counting only the statues, bas-reliefs, and heads, the total restored is about 40 percent.

The collection at the Villa San Giovanni was at that time rather small—only forty-five ancient pieces, of which only twenty-seven were statues or bas-reliefs. Here about 33 percent of the pieces were restored.

In the Bassano location many modern as well as ancient statues and vases decorated the estate, but approximately 49 percent of the ancient figurative works (statues, heads, and bas-reliefs) were restored.

These estimates do not reflect a final count. At the time of the marchese's death restorations were still in progress, as shown in the bills presented for payment to his heir, Principe Andrea Casano. The intent was to provide for the restoration of the entire collection. At the beginning the focus was primarily on restoring the statues located in the main salons and principal allées of the estates, and the heads were completed with busts and pedestals. It is also possible that some items had been acquired already restored—presumably mostly from other collectors. What can be inferred from the (alas rare) references to restorers named in the authorizations for payment (*mandati*) to the engravers of the Giustiniani collection suggests that sculptors also used to sell statues, but that these were restored after the purchase and before delivery.

Very little is known about the identity of the first restorers. Some names emerge from the *mandati*: the restoration of the Venus (fig. 1) is attributed to a "Giuliano,"³ who could possibly be identified as Giuliano Finelli (1601–1653). Marchese Vincenzo and the artist could have met either via the entourage of Pietro Bernini (1562–1629), or via François Duquesnoy (c. 1594–1643), who also was present at the Palace of San Eustachio and who worked at Santa Maria di Loreto between 1629 and 1633. A meeting may have taken place even earlier: During Finelli's first years in Rome he completed two putti for a funerary monument in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, which in the second half of the sixteenth century was under the care of a Giustiniani and after 1575 included a Giustiniani family chapel.

By 1635 the restoration of the Venus was complete, and the statue had been set in place. (This sculpture is currently in the Torlonia collection and not accessible.) The only available sources, therefore, remain the catalogues prepared by Pietro Ercole and Carlo Lodovico Visconti in the nineteenth century;⁴ however, these are not free of error and lack detail on the restorations. According to Frédéric De Clarac⁵ the restoration of the Venus had been limited

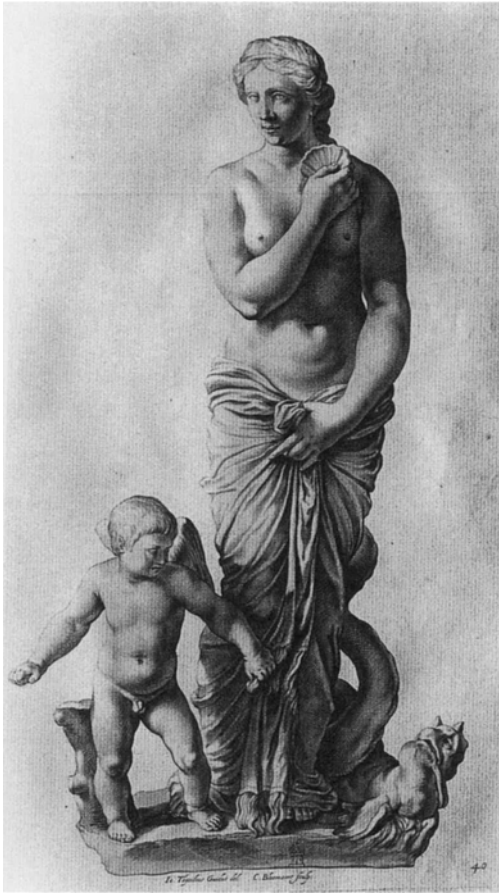


FIG. 1
Cornelis Bloemaert (1603–1684), *Venus with Amor and Dolphin*, 1635. Engraving, 40 × 23 cm. From *Galleria Giustiniana*, pl. 140.

to part of the left arm and some fingers, the knot of the dress, Amor's right forearm and nose, and the tip of the nose of the marine monster. In the marble, however, the head of the goddess, which De Clarac had declared original, appears different from the print mostly in the presence of the *krobylos*; the shell is absent and the right arm of Amor, rather than being bent at the elbow, is extended and lacks the object in its fist. The animal also appears not entirely similar, being closer to the body of Venus and more nearly erect. The entire iconography has no direct parallel in other ancient examples. I cannot find other examples of Venus showing the marine monster instead of the dolphin and with Amor's arm open rather than bent. Future direct examination of this statue may determine whether these differences are the result of Finelli's work, whose intervention would then appear more historically accurate.

Soncino (identified by Jennifer Montagu as Francesco Caporale⁶) in 1635 restored the Hygieia⁷ (fig. 2). In the engraving the statue appears complete, but the restoration work required to make it so must have been considerable. Analysis of the marble has determined that only the bottom part is original, while the head is ancient but not consistent.⁸ The goddess's legs, the pleating of the dress, the position of the feet, and the sandals find direct comparisons with other Hygieias, such as those in Venice⁹ and St.



FIG. 2
Cornelis Bloemaert (1603–1684), *Hygieia*,
1635. Engraving, 36 × 23 cm. From *Galleria
Giustiniana*, pl. 1.8.

Petersburg.¹⁰ The Giustiniani statue differs, however, in its larger size, the sleeveless chiton, the right arm raised in a commanding gesture, and the *infulae* that fall from the head. We cannot know the condition in which this statue arrived in Soncino's hands, but it is evident that its restoration must have required a considerable level of expertise. At the time Soncino worked on the statue, he was probably of mature age, as is suggested by documents in the archive of the *Corporazione dei Marmorari* (deposited in the *Accademia di San Luca*), which prove he was already active in Rome between 1599 and 1606. A sure sign of his intervention is the right arm, the position of which is similar to that in the other statue he worked on (fig. 3).

The statue of Hygieia was later reworked at various times and therefore today shows the hand of several artisans. In 1679¹¹ Girolamo Gramignoli repaired and strengthened the arms; reattached the patera, nose, left arm, and the buckles on the shoulders; added pleats to the dress; worked on the rocks; and stabilized the base with reinforcements. He also stuccoed and colored the entire statue. Just five years later, however, he had to do further work on the statue, intervening on the rocks that act as a seat.¹² In 1715 Gramignoli integrated a finger, reattached the head of the snake, and completed its tail.¹³ The restoration of Hygieia was not yet



complete, however: In 1757 Domenico De Angelis cleaned it up,¹⁴ rejoined the pieces that had become detached, strengthened the supports, and finally re-did part of the head.

In a *mandato* of 1635 Soncino is called “sculptor,” but he was also a dealer in antiquities. Marchese Vincenzo bought from him a statue¹⁵ (now lost) that can be identified as that shown in figure 3. The iconography revealed in the 1600 engraving, however, shows some incongruities. The dress is a chiton and peplos.¹⁶ The pleating gathered in the right hand, balancing the raised left arm that was supposed to hold the left edge of the mantle, is reminiscent of the Venus Genetrix type, although the dress is different, or the Niobid of the Uffizi, but with the figure differently inclined. Some analogy can also be found with the Muse of the Theater of Syracuse;¹⁷ it lacks part of the pleating that drapes from the left arm behind the shoulders, but it shows a baldric, normally associated with Diana as support for the quiver. The correct position of the strap (from the right shoulder to the left side) ensures that the engraver did not invert the image, and undoubtedly the statue does not depict Artemis pulling the arrow from the quiver. The raised left hand probably held a long spear, like Athena, but the other attributes do not support this interpretation.

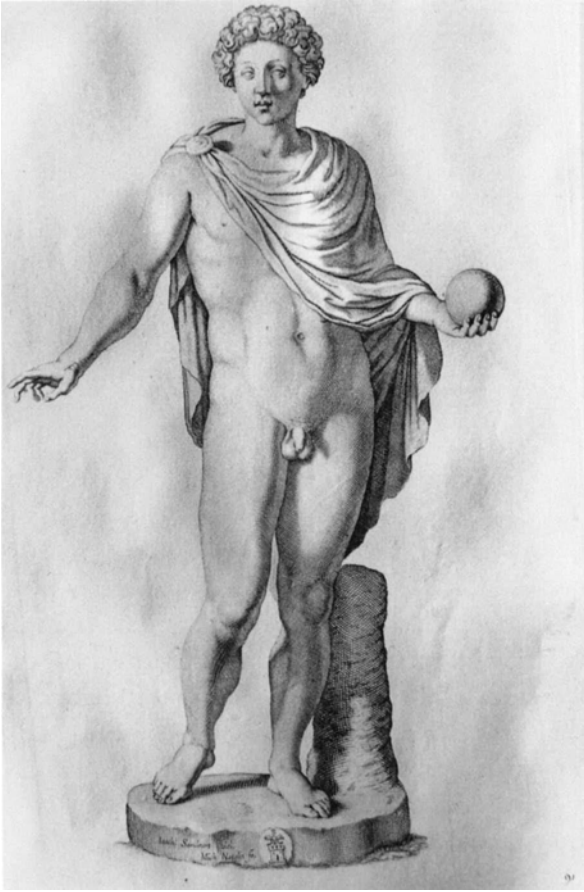
FIG. 3
Cornelis Bloemaert (1603–1684), *Empress*,
1635. Engraving, 36 × 22 cm. From *Galleria
Giustiniana*, pl. 1.148.

In the main the Hygieia shows a combination of miscellaneous parts, for which the restorer was perhaps responsible. This statue was purchased from Soncino, so it is possible he worked on it. He is known to have worked in 1608 on the Epafra Martyr for the facade of the Cappella Paolina in Santa Maria Maggiore, which shows significant analogies in the pleating of the right side. He also completed a bust of Antonio il Negrita, commissioned by Pope Paul v, whose baldric shows the same type of rippling as on our statue. Soncino therefore cannot be described as a simple marble worker; his intervention probably was not limited to simple repairs, but consisted of ampler and more creative restoration.

In the *mandati* paid by Principe Andrea as executor we find the names of two more restorers: Francesco Oliva and Arcangelo Gonnelli.¹⁸ Documents from the Accademia di San Luca show Oliva to have been active from 1614 to 1638, with his entry to the Academy in 1624 and his appointment as second consul in 1627. His will, which I found in the Archivio Capitolino,¹⁹ seems to have been prepared in something of a hurry on 22 January 1638 by the notary Agostino Theolus, not in his office but rather in Oliva's house (in the Via del Corso close to San Giacomo degli Incurabili) as Oliva was ill and bedridden. The sculptor died on 14 February 1638 leaving his wife, Caterina, as sole heir. Oliva had been in charge of the restoration of four Termini, but he died before he could collect his compensation of 43 scudi, including expenses, and Caterina collected the payment. Although this work does not appear noteworthy, and we know of no other works of his, this information helps reconstruct the environment of artisans employed by Marchese Vincenzo.

Gonnelli, who seems to have had a more substantial role, had a shop in the Via della Vittoria.²⁰ In the records of the Accademia di San Luca he was referred to as a sculptor, and in 1628 he was placed in charge of integrating, probably with stucco, the missing right leg of the famous Barberini Faun.²¹ In 1638 he was paid initially 50 scudi and then another 40 scudi for the restoration of a colossal statue of the emperor Justinian. When the marchese entrusted this project to him, his skill as a restorer had already been proven by years of work for Cardinal Barberini.²²

To gain some perspective on the total of 90 scudi paid for this restoration, we can compare amounts paid for other projects of the same period. From Marchese Vincenzo's *Discorso sopra la scultura antica*²³ we find that for a modern head the rate was 3 to 4 scudi, and more than 50 for an ancient one; however, a piece of unworked new marble was more expensive than ancient marble.²⁴ Duquesnoy was paid 300 scudi in 1633 for the 9-palmi-tall Madonna and Child sculpted in marble.²⁵ In 1665 Orfeo Boselli was



paid 80 scudi to complete a Flora with the head, one hand and part of the arm, the base, and ten pleats of the dress.²⁶ This amount also covered charges for the models, pinning of the parts, stucco work, and antiquing of the marble. In 1668 Ercole Boselli received 100 scudi to complete a torso with legs, head, neck, shoulders, and arms. However, in 1662 Baldassare Mari²⁷ received only 24 scudi for work of similar scope. The differences in the amounts paid may reflect the greater creative effort required in completing a bare torso rather than a more clearly delineated statue, however much mutilated. And in 1644 Gonnelli received 80 scudi (10 less than for the restoration of the ancient colossus) for the creation of two marble angels holding a curtain.²⁸

To return to the statue of the emperor Justinian, it is interesting to ask exactly which restorations were made. The fragments of the statue are still located in the garden of the Villa San Giovanni, but I could identify nothing more than a head, a foot, and an arm. Friedrich Matz and Friedrich von Duhn²⁹ had found the colossus still standing, and their description reminds us of the young Marcus Aurelius now in the Torlonia collection (fig. 4). The head, the shoulders, the lower portion of the left leg, the flying edge of the chlamys, the rudder, and the globe were all restored pieces. The entire body appeared composed of miscellaneous pieces, which should

FIG. 4
Michel Natalis (1610–1668), *Marcus Aurelius*, 1633. Engraving, 37 × 23 cm.
From *Galleria Giustiniana*, pl. 1.91.

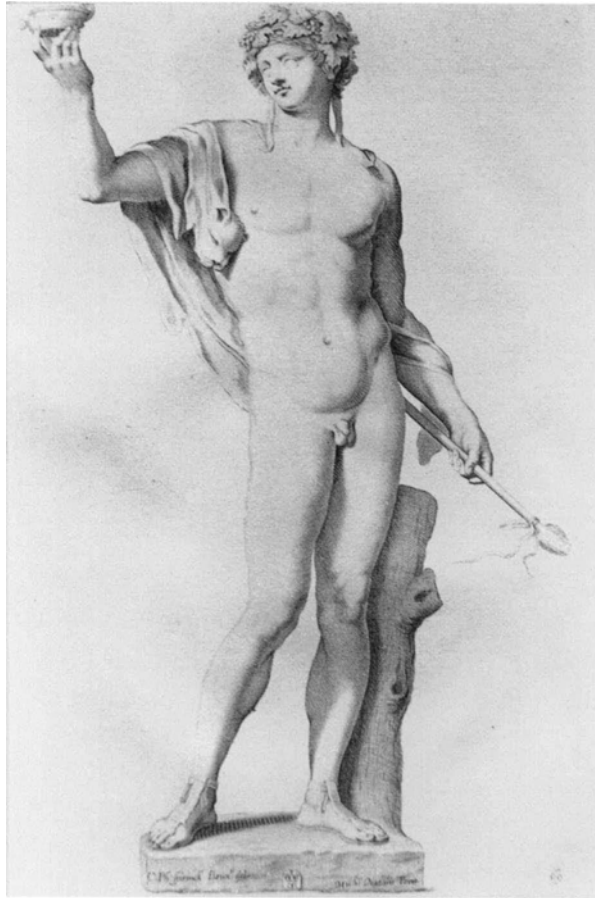


FIG. 5
Michel Natalis (1610–1668), *Bacchus*, 1635.
Engraving, 37 × 22 cm. From *Galleria Giustiniana*, pl. 169.

be considered normal given the large size of the statue and the number of times it had been moved.

This statue is not in the inventory of 1638 because it was at that time in Gonnelli's workshop for restoration. The first explicit reference to the statue is found in a receipt dated 1642³⁰ relating to payment for work involved in creating a pedestal, transporting the statue, and erecting it in the Villa del Popolo. This document indicates that the statue was composed of three pieces, and that two sections of scaffolding, one set on top of the other, had been necessary for its erection. Other documents I found recently support setting the date at 1716 for the beginning of the transfer of the antiquities from the Villa del Popolo to the Villa San Giovanni, a move made necessary because the Villa del Popolo had finally been rented, as it continued to be until about 1723. Because of the size of this statue (the inventory of 1793 indicates it was 18 *palmi* high³¹) it probably required more restoration before its final placement. The plaque cemented in 1742 into the wall of the casino of the Villa San Giovanni commemorates the completion of the restoration and the placement of the statue. The scope of this project is probably as wide-ranging and demanding as that completed by Gonnelli in the previous century. It is possible that Gramignoli, who was then working for Principe Vincenzo, had directed it.

Duquesnoy also figures among the artists consulted by the marchese. He was commissioned both to produce new statues and to restore ancient ones. In addition to the Madonna and Child referred to above, the Mercury and Eros,³² and the emblem,³³ we can probably also attribute to him the three sleeping putti in the round, similar to those in the Galleria Borghese,³⁴ which had already been hypothetically attributed to him by Filippo Aurelio Visconti.³⁵

Mandato no. 209 of 1635 indirectly confirms that “Il Fiammingo” (Duquesnoy) was completing the restoration of a Bacchus (fig. 5)—now part of the Torlonia collection, and thus it is impossible to check its condition. The Visconti catalogues³⁶ are silent as to its restoration. De Clarac³⁷ reports that only the right arm from the deltoid muscle but including the tiger skin was modern, and indicates other minor fractures and patches. Although the missing parts were apparently minor, Marchese Vincenzo chose to use the services of a famous sculptor rather than a simple marble worker because the integrations required skilled interpretation of the figure itself.

A similar challenge was resolved in a less traditional manner by another accomplished sculptor. *Mandato* no. 112 indicates that payment was made to Cornelis Bloemart to engrave a “*figura grande ignuda del Bernini*”³⁸ (fig. 6). The missing parts of the statue, now lost, are listed by Salomon Reinach as the head, the right arm from the shoulder downward, the left arm from the deltoid muscle, and the left leg from the thigh downward.³⁹ Whoever mentioned this statue always remarked on its likeness to Pietro Bernini’s son, Gian Lorenzo. Nicodemus Tessin⁴⁰ described it in 1688 as a modern and completely naked statue of the Knight Bernini, executed by his father when the son was still very young; Pietro Rossini⁴¹ and Jonathan Richardson⁴² confirmed this assessment. Had the face of the statue really been modeled after the visage of Gian Lorenzo, the youthful softness of the face would suggest that the son was probably in his early twenties at the time—in fact, his knighthood dates back to 1621–1623.

In this case the inspiration offered by the typology of the Westmacott Dionysos resulted in a torchbearer figure, a new image that further influenced (presumably around 1626) the first restoration completed by Alessandro Algardi for the Ludovisi family.⁴³ It seems to me, however, that the reported similarity of this statue to the Ludovisi torchbearer is not very convincing and more likely stems from the alleged competition over the antiquity of the two collections. The ancient portion of the Giustiniani statue was integrated with more consistency than that completed by Algardi, who seems to force the balance of the torso to fit a preconceived theme. If a comparison must be made, the solution proposed by

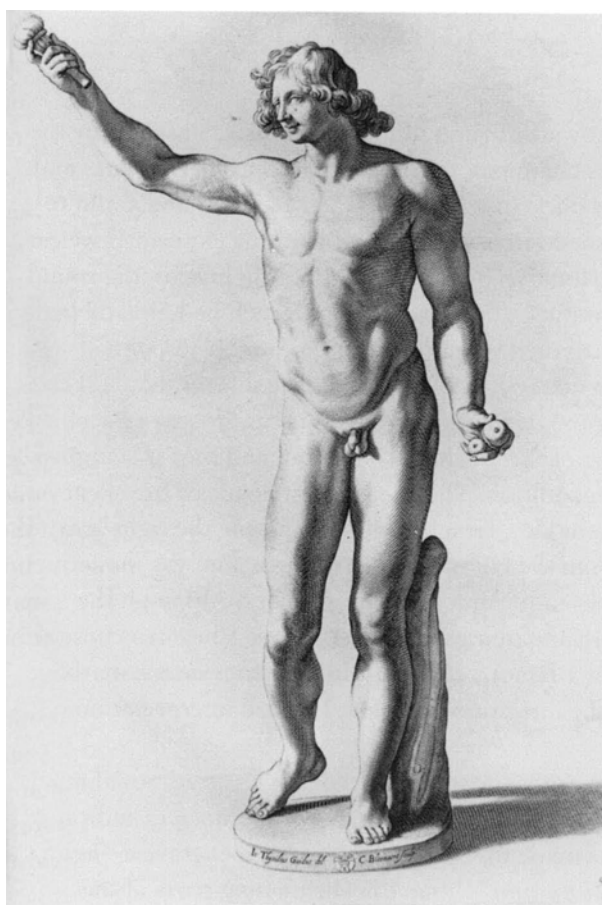


FIG. 6
Cornelis Bloemaert (1603–1684), *Bacchus*,
1634. Engraving, 37 × 23 cm. From *Galleria
Giustiniana*, pl. 158.

Duquesnoy may be better. It is more traditional than that previously proposed on a similar subject by Pietro Bernini, possibly with the assistance of his own son.

The attribution of various restorations to Bernini—again as opposed to Algardi—can be extended also to another ancient sculpture, the Doidalsa type Venus (fig. 7) of which the Giustiniani owned two examples.⁴⁴ Jacob Spon⁴⁵ names Bernini as the restorer of one of them, while Pietro Ercole Visconti⁴⁶ resolutely names Algardi as the author of the work performed on the arms, the addition of the little jar, the head of the goddess, and the swan, but there is no evidence to prove either attribution. Marchese Vincenzo chose to have engraved the restored rather than the unrestored version. Why? Probably because of the quality of the restoration, but also because it showed a more nearly complete and new iconography compared to any others, among which, once again, was one in the Ludovisi collection.⁴⁷

The same uncertainty of attribution between these two great seventeenth-century sculptors prevails in the case of another statue mentioned by all visitors to the Giustiniani palace: the goat.⁴⁸ In the inventory of 1793 Vincenzo Pacetti specifies that it was possibly restored in some part by Algardi's workshop, whereas in the inventory of 1811 Filippo Aurelio Visconti refers to neither the



attribution to the workshop nor its uncertainty. Pietro Ercole and Carlo Lodovico Visconti both recognized in the head of the goat signs of Bernini's hand.

In contrast to Marchese Vincenzo, who had entrusted the restoration of his collection of ancient statues to well-known sculptors, his heir, Principe Andrea, focused his efforts mostly on the remodeling and embellishment of the family's palaces and gardens. Such work required the relocation and reassembly of statues and bas-reliefs. The necessary small cleaning and restoration projects were carried out by the stonecutter Giacomo Pellicciari.

Principe Andrea's heir, Carlo Benedetto, continued the restoration work on the ancient sculptures. Gabriele Renzi was among the first restorers hired. He had completed in 1640 various sculptures in stucco and marbles for the sacristy of Santa Maria dell'Anima. Between 1647 and 1650 he was among the workers in Antonio Raggi's workshop in the Church of Santi Vincenzo and Anastasio; the following year he was, together with Carlo Spagna, involved in the creation of the cenotaph of Cardinal Girolamo Colonna in the collegiate Basilica of San Barnaba Apostolo in Marino. In 1658 he sculpted the funerary monument of Anna Colonna Barberini. From 1668 to 1670 he worked on the statues of the Sant'Angelo bridge. At the time he was hired by Carlo Benedetto, Renzi was advanced

FIG. 7
Charles Audran, 1594(?)–1674, *Venus of the Doidalsa type*, 1633. Engraving, 37 × 23 cm. From *Galleria Giustiniana*, pl. 1.38.

in age and experienced. His will, which I found in the Archivio Capitolino,⁴⁹ shows that at the time of death in 1679 he was 78 years old. He lived in Vico de Scanderbech and was buried in the Church of Santi Vincenzo and Anastasio.⁵⁰

Renzi's restoration work for the Giustiniani⁵¹ consisted of small, noncreative projects such as reattaching broken pieces, and from time to time he sculpted some fingers or noses to provide missing parts. The methods and materials used are those described by Boselli:⁵² *mistura a fuoco*, iron pins (although it was known that with rust they would cause the marble to deteriorate, unlike pins made of bronze or copper), stucco work, and antiquing of the surfaces.

About ten years later the restoration work was given to Gramignoli. Evidence shows that in 1678 he began the creation of three angels in stucco in the Church of Santi Ambrogio and Carlo al Corso; 1716 is the last year when we have proof of his activity.⁵³ Evidence of his work for the Giustiniani extends the time frame of his career to between 1677 and 1723, beginning with a series of restorations on statues and bas-reliefs in the courtyard and first floor of the palace at San Eustachio.⁵⁴

The methods and materials used by Gramignoli do not differ from normal maintenance: he reattached fallen pieces, integrated small parts in marble for the statues and in stucco for the bas-reliefs, placed fig leaves on the naked male figures, and cleaned some marbles with water and pumice. It is significant that the restorations were made on parts that had been previously restored, an indication that the previous work had not been long-lasting. This sculptor had to follow the directions of Pietro Giustiniani (chamberlain) and Ercole Ferrata, if at times grudgingly.⁵⁵ Incidentally, we observe that Ferrata never actually restored anything for the Giustiniani, but was called, according to custom, to audit the invoices presented for payment.

In the work of 1684 Gramignoli was given more latitude.⁵⁶ He intervened mainly on the bas-reliefs, integrating with stucco the missing parts to restore the complete image, and did not limit himself to strengthening the frames. Besides fixing the chipped parts, he also added clouds, putti, and backgrounds. He preferred to work in stucco, which he used to complete the four Termini and the three Angels of Santi Ambrogio and Carlo al Corso (1678–1679), the six Prophets in the Church of Gesù e Maria (1686), and the Sybils in San Silvestro in Capite (1681–1683). Only toward the end of the century did he start working in marble, with the San Sebastiano in the cathedral of Frascati; in 1702–1703 he completed in travertine the San Vito with the dog for the colonnade of St. Peter's, and

in 1705 he completed in marble the San Pietro Eremita in the collegiate of Santa Maria in Trevi.

Although Gramignoli's work was that of an artisan, not an artist, his contribution was well appreciated and he was called on in 1715⁵⁷ and then again in 1723⁵⁸ to complete similar restorations, when the ancient statues and bas-reliefs were moved from the Villa del Popolo to the Villa San Giovanni.

The Perini family also worked for the Giustiniani. An invoice of 1681 documents that cuts were made on bas-reliefs at the palace to straighten them out and put them in place.⁵⁹ This work was done by Ottavio and Lorenzo Perini, master stonecutters. By 1692 Ottavio had obtained a burial place in the Church of Santa Maria in Campo Carleo, as attested by the plaque he placed there himself where he describes himself as *lapicida*.⁶⁰ His will, which I found in the Archivio Capitolino, was opened on 17 September 1699 and provides a few biographical notes: Ottavio, son of Girolamo, was native to Lunano, in the state of Urbino.⁶¹ He left to his wife Silvia Mazzocchi his stucco shop with all his materials. He left to his nephew Francesco Maria and stepson Tommaso Cassini all the marble and stone in his workshops and other locations, suggesting the two should form a partnership to continue the activity. However, no mention of them is found thereafter in the Giustiniani invoices, while, starting in 1716, are mentioned a Michele Perini (as a porter) and a Francesco Lodovico, who seems to have taken over the family business. He was the son of Francesco (brother of Ottavio), and until 1731 chiseled modern objects as well as ancient artwork, but was limited to putting them in place.

One document⁶² of particular interest shows that Francesco Lodovico bought stones and pedestals and later added a column and a piece of oriental granite from the rejects of Villa del Popolo. In reality the Giustiniani family, because of the limitations contained in the trust established by the founder, Vincenzo, were not allowed to sell any of the ancient pieces, but could do so because of a special permit obtained from the pope and also because the pieces were much broken up and not important. Again in 1744 we find invoices paid by Principe Vincenzo (son of Carlo Benedetto) to the sons and heirs of Francesco Lodovico Perini.⁶³

A new restorer appears in 1756: Domenico De Angelis. Numerous documents in the Giustiniani papers attest to his restoration of ancient marbles as well as more prosaic interventions on trapdoors, windows, and doorsills. His records show the usual techniques: consolidation with pins and *mistura a fuoco*, but also *scaagliola* mix, application of patches, stucco work, surface antiquing, and considerable cleaning work with water and marble powder. He

often worked on the same items as his predecessors, further evidence that the restoration work had not been of a lasting nature.

After De Angelis's death in 1771, his work and the invoices went to his heirs until 1794,⁶⁴ but in 1788 the project of refitting the gallery had been entrusted to Pacetti, who was to inventory the gallery and restore the items as necessary. While cleaning certain statues, Pacetti observed that the tartar on them was so hard that it took several days to eliminate it. In a letter dated 1811 the prince recognized that several of his statues were "full of dirt" and innocently suggested that they should get "a good washing."⁶⁵

By now the process of degeneration had taken place. His precarious economic condition caused Principe Vincenzo to evaluate the collection in order to sell it and obtain funds. Two centuries separate Marchese Vincenzo's knowledge and love of ancient sculptures from the ignorance and speculation of the last prince, whose decisions caused the dispersion of the collection.

The age of the great restorations had concluded, however, with the death of the founder, Marchese Vincenzo. His successor Andrea had been interested in embellishing the family palaces to support his new exalted rank. As a consequence, some statues were indeed restored, but this work required neither any particular study or knowledge of the ancient models, nor any particular expression of expertise or art. The restorations had been honest montages of scattered pieces. Even when entrusted to known artists, they had lacked the passion and daring of the previous generation—the result not from the ignorance of the actual restorers, but from the intrinsic lack of interest of those who requested the work.

What had been a loving care for Marchese Vincenzo became a trifle and a bother to his successor who, as head of the family from 1693 to 1754, even assigned the responsibility to his own brother for a yearly compensation of 30 scudi. The antiquities, seen at that point only as decorations for palaces and gardens, were cared for by simple artisans such as Francesco Lodovico Perini, or stonecutters such as Domenico De Angelis, who operated with equal indifference on an ancient work of art or on trapdoors, doors, and windowsills. Restoration work, which had always been a source of economic support for the sculptors, became more a banal commission than a noble activity. Even when in the second half of the eighteenth century a scientific debate arose on restoration and new ideas pervaded the world of culture, nothing changed for the Giustiniani collection. The Golden Age had ended with the death of its own founder.

Notes

Abbreviations

- ASC Archivio Storico Capitolino, Archivio Urbano, Rome
- ASR Archivio di Stato, Fondo Giustiniani, Rome
- Gallottini A. Gallottini, *Le sculture della Collezione Giustiniani: 1. Documenti* (Rome, 1998)
- Sparti D. L. Sparti, "Tecnica e teoria del restauro scultoreo a Roma nel Seicento, con una verifica sulla collezione di Flavio Chigi," *Storia dell'arte* 92 (1998): 60–131

- 1 A. Gallottini, "La Galleria Giustiniana: Nascita e formazione," *RendLinc* 9.9 (1998): 233–70; Gallottini.
- 2 *Galleria Giustiniana del marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani* (Rome, s.d.).
- 3 Gallottini, p. 73, no. 177.
- 4 P. E. Visconti, *Catalogo del Museo Torlonia di sculture antiche* (Rome, 1876); C. L. Visconti, *I monumenti del Museo Torlonia riprodotti con la fototipia* (Rome, 1884/85).
- 5 F. De Clarac, *Musée de la Sculpture Antique et Moderne*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1841), no. 1364, pl. 615.
- 6 J. Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture* (New Haven, 1989), p. 199, no. 32.
- 7 Gallottini, p. 73, no. 189.
- 8 G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of the Greek Sculptures, The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 104, no. 202.
- 9 G. Traversari, *La statuaria ellenistica del Museo Archeologico di Venezia* (Rome, 1986), p. 146, no. 49.
- 10 O. Waldhauer, *Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1936), p. 35, no. 275.
- 11 Gallottini, p. 175, no. 13.
- 12 Gallottini, p. 180, no. 33.
- 13 Gallottini, p. 217, no. 42.
- 14 ASR, busta 184, no. 109.
- 15 Gallottini, p. 73, no. 197.
- 16 As defined in M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art* (New York, 1977), p. 23.
- 17 E. Langlotz and M. Hirme, *Die Kunst der Westgriechen in Sizilien und Unteritalien* (Munich, 1963), pl. 161.
- 18 Gallottini, p. 118, *Restauro* 1.
- 19 ASC, sec. 42, protocol 17.
- 20 Gallottini, p. 118.
- 21 J. Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art* (New Haven, 1989), p. 165, fig. 225.
- 22 M. A. Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art* (New York, 1975).
- 23 V. Giustiniani, "Discorso sopra la scultura antica," in *V. Giustiniani: Discorsi sulle arti e sui mestieri*, ed. A. Banti (Florence, 1981), pp. 63–75.
- 24 Sparti, p. 62.
- 25 ASR, busta 7.
- 26 Sparti, p. 93.
- 27 Sparti, p. 109.
- 28 M. di Macco, "Note su Antonio Mariani detto della Corgna: Pittore insigne nel copiare e stimatore delle pitture," in *Studi in onore di Giulio Carlo Argan* (Rome, 1994), p. 206, n. 44.
- 29 F. Matz and F. von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom: Mit Ausschluss der grösseren Sammlungen* (1881; Rome 1968), p. 301, no. 1052.
- 30 ASR, busta 10, fasc. 21.
- 31 Gallottini, p. 256, no. 409.
- 32 *Galleria Giustiniana*, pl. 184.
- 33 *Galleria Giustiniana*, pls. 1.1 and 1.2.
- 34 Gallottini, p. 250, no. 169 (Inventory 1793).
- 35 Gallottini, p. 266, no. 50 (Inventory 1811).
- 36 Note 4 supra.
- 37 De Clarac (note 5 supra), pl. 268A, no. 1595.
- 38 Gallottini, p. 70, no. 112.
- 39 S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* (Paris, 1897), p. 248, pl. 486, no. 951.
- 40 C. Strunck, "L'humor peccante di Vincenzo Giustiniani," in *Cara-vaggio e i Giustiniani*, exh. cat. (Rome, 2001), p. 109.
- 41 P. Rossini, *Il Mercurio errante delle grandezze di Roma: Tanto antiche che moderne* (Rome, 1693), p. 34: "il figliuolo del Cavaliere Bernino fatto dal detto cavaliere."

- 42 J. Richardson, *An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, etc., with Remarks*, vol. 3.1 (London, 1722), pp. 255–60.
- 43 A. A. Amadio, “Dadoforo,” in *La collezione Boncompagni Ludovisi: Algardi, Bernini e la fortuna dell'antico*, ed. A. Giuliano, exh. cat. (Venice, 1992), p. 182, no. 22.
- 44 C. L. Visconti (note 4 supra), nos. 170, 182.
- 45 J. Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant fait aux années 1675 & 1676* (Lyons, 1678).
- 46 P. E. Visconti (note 4 supra), p. 128, no. 182.
- 47 A. Costantini, “Afrodite accovacciata,” in *La collezione Boncompagni Ludovisi* (note 43 supra), p. 136, no. 13.
- 48 Gallottini, p. 90, no. 258; P. E. Visconti (note 4 supra), p. 176, no. 349.
- 49 ASC, sec. 33, protocol 50, notary Curiae Capitolinae Romulus Saracenus.
- 50 V. Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri*, vol. 9 (Rome, 1884), p. 275, no. 560.
- 51 Gallottini, p. 172, *Restauro* 5 and *Restauro* 6.
- 52 O. Boselli, *Osservazioni della scultura antica: Dai manoscritti Corsini e Doria e altri scritti*, ed. P. Dent Weil (Florence, 1978).
- 53 P. Santa Maria Mannino, “Giro-lamo Gramignoli,” in *Le statue berniniane del colonnato di San Pietro*, ed. V. Martinelli (Rome, 1987), p. 213.
- 54 Gallottini, p. 174, *Restauro* 7.
- 55 Gallottini, p. 174–76.
- 56 Gallottini, p. 178, *Restauro* 9.
- 57 Gallottini, p. 217, *Restauro* 10.
- 58 Gallottini, p. 218, *Restauro* 12.
- 59 Gallottini, p. 177, *Restauro* 8.
- 60 Forcella (note 50 supra), vol. 11, p. 431, no. 646.
- 61 ASC, sec. 28, protocol 36, notary Giovanni Giuseppe Novius.
- 62 ASR, busta 172.
- 63 ASR, busta 174, no. 164.
- 64 ASR, busta 209.
- 65 Gallottini, p. 265, *Vendita Torlonia* 1.

De-restoring and Re-restoring

Fifty Years of Restoration Work in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek

Mette Moltesen

In 1949 the Ny Carlsberg Foundation made a grant to the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek to repair the buildings and reinstall the collection of ancient sculpture. It seems it was at this time that work began to remove old restorations and to remount the sculptures, especially the Roman portraits. Unfortunately we cannot follow the conservator's work until 1954, when details were recorded in a ledger of sculptures taken in for conservation, restorations (particularly noses and busts) that had been removed, and remounted heads.

The postwar period saw the growth of modern architecture and taste. Danish design—straight lines, white walls, pale wood—became fashionable, and the old Glyptotek in its fin-de-siècle splendor was certainly not considered good taste in the 1950s and 1960s. In the upper halls of the building, the colored marble columns with gilded capitals were painted over in white, wall paintings were covered, and parquet floors were introduced. Had the economic situation been better, I am sure even greater damage would have been perpetrated, as happened in the 1960s to the Danish National Gallery in Copenhagen, where a monumental staircase was removed to make way for a modern elevator.

In 1966 the Etruscan collection in the basement of the Glyptotek reopened in its “modern” setting, with showcases in oak lined with sand-colored linen and oak parquet floors in a style in keeping with contemporary Danish architecture. This setting has served its purpose well and has been retained till today. In a project to restore and refurnish the buildings of the Glyptotek for its centenary in 2006, it has been decided to renew this part of the collections with a completely new arrangement of the objects from the Etruscan and Italic cultures.

De-restoring

The shift in style and interest is perhaps most visible in the way the marble sculptures are presented.

In the past, as in the present, the museum curators were classical archaeologists interested in the objects, not for their

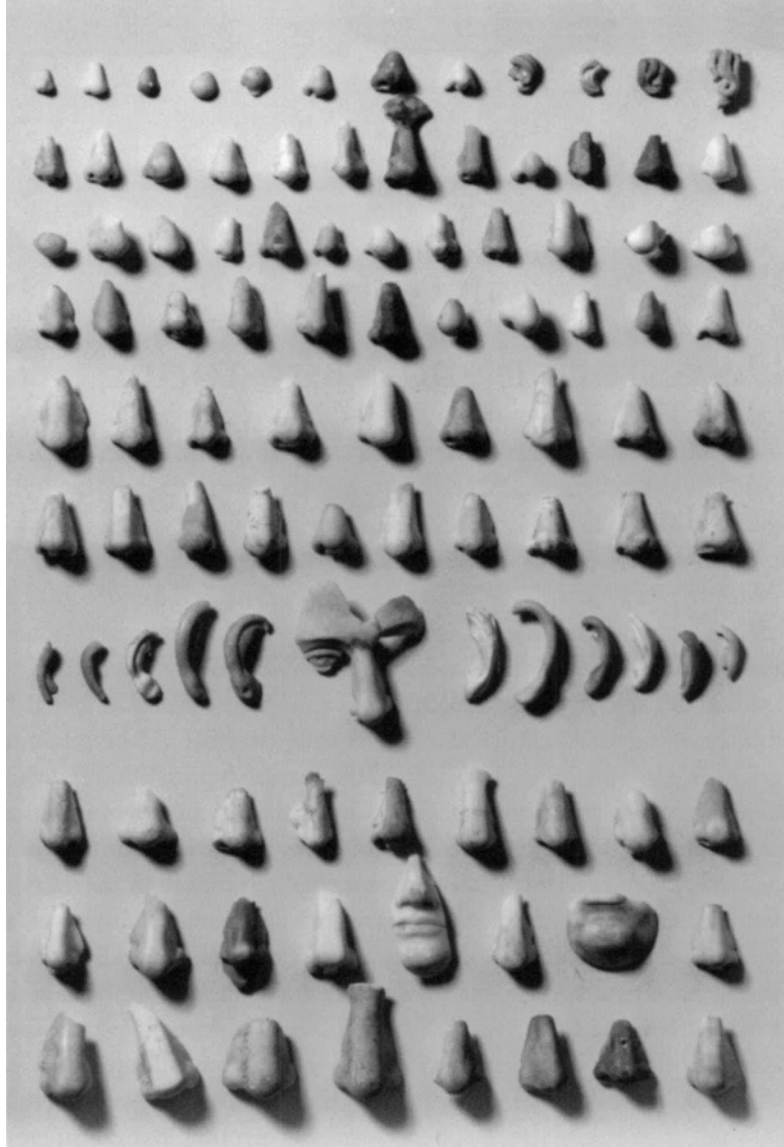


FIG. 1
The "Nasotek." Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg
Glyptotek.

aesthetic value and recent history, but primarily for their true ancient selves. The discipline of portrait studies, which has been the main area of scholarship of the first three directors of the Glyptotek, is based very much on detail—for instance, the pattern of the locks of hair is important for distinguishing the different types or series of portraits, and the profile view is essential as it can be compared to representations on coins. New noses are disturbing, so the restored noses have been taken off all the Roman portraits; the plaster noses often were discarded, whereas the marble ones are kept in our "nasotek" (fig. 1). The heads stand pure and in most cases very handsome, but some have come out in a condition in which they were never intended to be seen, with the harshly cut surfaces made for marble restorations now clearly visible. Many of the statues have profited from the rigidly enforced policy of removing restorations, others have suffered, some have become ruins, and still others have come out as very harmonious fragments.

Some examples will be given of the ways in which we at the Glyptotek have worked with the problems of old and new restorations. I am well aware that they are in no way unique and that other curators and conservators in collections of ancient sculpture have similar experiences, but these examples may serve as a basis for discussion of some important questions.

Demosthenes

From the very beginning, the conservators in the Glyptotek, as elsewhere in sculpture collections, were trained sculptors. Axel Theilmann was in charge of the department of conservation until 1981. He was trained in the classical tradition at the Royal Academy of Arts where the students were schooled in modeling, copying, making casts, and restoring. Later in life he himself taught at the Academy, especially the art of making plaster casts and constructing the iron skeletons on which to model in clay. So, although he was capable of modeling or reproducing the finest details, his daily work at the museum mostly engaged him in removing old restorations made by previous generations of sculptors. Only in a few cases did he have the opportunity of using his own sculptural skills.

As an example of a literary rather than artistic restoration we have the statue of the Athenian orator and statesman Demosthenes. This full-size marble statue was acquired for the Glyptotek in 1929.¹ It came from Knoke in England, for which it had been acquired through Thomas Jenkins by the third duke of Dorset around 1770.² It had stood previously in the Palazzo Columbrano in Naples, and is therefore believed to have a Campanian provenance. At the time of acquisition by the Glyptotek the statue was represented holding a book-scroll, a restoration that was probably made before the statue came to England (fig. 2).

Literary evidence of a bronze statue representing Demosthenes and placed in the Athenian Agora in 280 B.C. describes the orator as having his hands folded, information substantiated by an anecdote of money being hidden in his hands.³ As it was unanimously agreed that the Roman marble copies reproduce this statue, the restoration of the hands on the Copenhagen statue as well as on another copy in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican Museum were thought misleading.⁴

In 1903 Paul Hartwig published a pair of clasped hands that had been found in an excavation in the garden of the Palazzo Barberini in Rome and recognized them as rendering the motif expected for the Demosthenes statue.⁵ When in 1954 the statue of Demosthenes in the Glyptotek was stripped of its hands, a plaster cast of the hands from Rome was attached to the statue. The actual Roman hands were too large for our Demosthenes, as can be seen from the image made at the time (fig. 3). As the statue with its hands missing from the wrist looked as if it had experienced a very bad accident, it was decided to make a new pair of hands folded such as Plutarch records for us on the statue of Demosthenes in Athens. The conservator took as a model for the reconstruction the hands of the curator of the Department of Ancient Art in the Glyptotek, Mogens Gjødesen, and the result was very handsome (fig. 4).



FIG. 2
Statue of Demosthenes. Roman, first century A.D., with hands restored in the seventeenth century. Marble, H 202 cm. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2782.

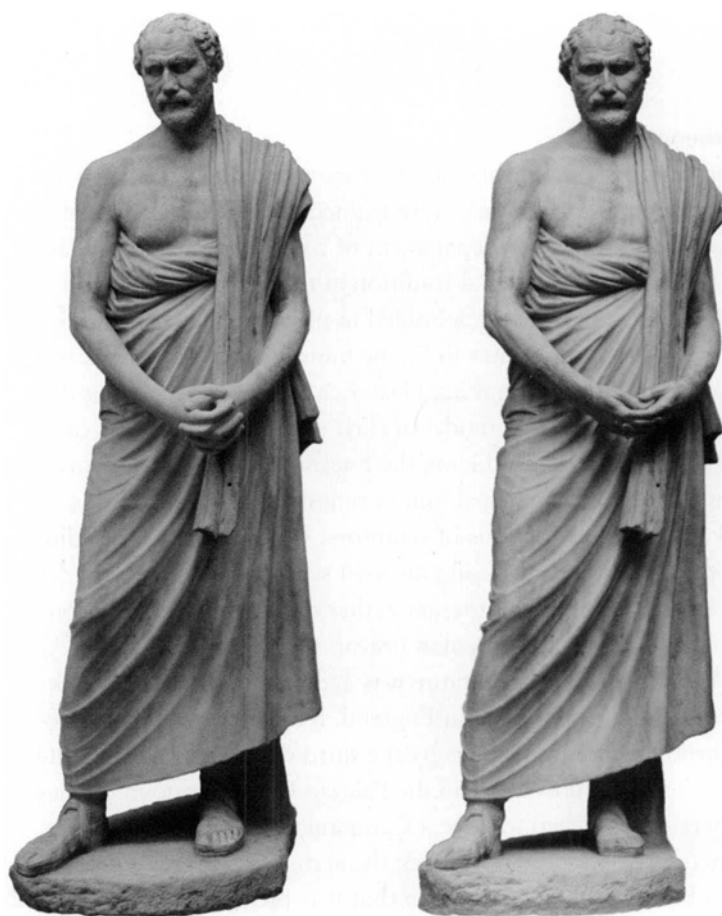


FIG. 3
Statue of Demosthenes, figure 2, with hands
copied from a marble pair found in Rome.

FIG. 4
Statue of Demosthenes, figure 2, with clasped
hands modeled by Axel Theilmann in 1954.

In 1980 we arranged an exhibition on “Restoration—then and now” where we could show the Demosthenes statue with the three different pairs of hands (plate xv). However, in 1983 we mounted an exhibition on the English country house collections as seen in photographs from the *Forschungsarchiv für römische Plastik* in Cologne. Here we included the sculptures in the *Glyptotek* that had a Grand Tour pedigree, and found that the old restoration of Demosthenes with the book-scroll was more relevant. As we do not know whether this particular copy of the type had its hands folded or not, the statue has since then been exhibited in the old condition with the scroll representing the history of the statue itself from the time when the duke of Dorset bought it for Knole (see fig. 2).

The Sciarra bronze

Ancient bronze statues are very rare, and the *Glyptotek* possesses only two.⁶ One is the so-called Sciarra bronze, the statue of a young boy dating to c. 470 B.C. Acquired in 1892 from the Palazzo Sciarra in Rome, the statue was dramatically kidnapped and brought out of Italy in a suitcase. It had had a long history in Rome and had been heavily restored in the seventeenth century while in the possession of the Barberini family, during which time it had been given new feet and arms, a large cornucopia in the left hand, and a skullcap



with a peculiar rendering of featherlike hair and a large hole at the back (fig. 5). From the finds made inside the statue—a letter and a dried insect—it became clear that it had served as a decorative lamp. The flame of the candle inside would flicker through the open eye sockets,⁷ which is how it was used in the Palazzo Barberini.

In 1963 the bronze was given a very thorough treatment as its surface was suffering from copper chloride. The many layers of wax, oil, lacquer, and so on, were removed; the statue was boiled out, then dried with lamps and coated inside and out with Bedacryl in a solution of Tolouen and Elastocram diluted in alcohol.

A very detailed study by the then director of the museum, Mogens Gjødesen, documented that the statue was not, as Winckelmann and others had believed, an Etruscan bronze, but rather a fine piece of South Italian sculpture of the Severe style. The statue itself was exhibited in its unrestored state (fig. 6), while a plaster cast was provided with the old restorations tinted in the color of the patinated statue and placed on its old stone base.

This was the first major scientific conservation carried out in our laboratory and marked the beginning of the new, more technical approach to conservation.

Already in the 1980 exhibition I had envisioned that we would in the future start re-restoring some of the sculptures. The

FIG. 5

The Sciarras bronze. Greek, 470–460 B.C., with seventeenth-century restorations. H 102 cm. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2235.

FIG. 6

The Sciarras bronze, figure 5, after de-restoration in 1970.



FIG. 7
The Sciarrra Amazon. Roman, c. 150 A.D.,
with restorations dating from before 1978.
Marble, H 197 cm. Copenhagen, Ny Carls-
berg Glyptotek 1568.

FIG. 8
The Sciarrra Amazon, figure 7, as shown
between 1978 and 1987.

story of the Sciarrra Amazon perhaps best epitomizes this development of restoration in the Glyptotek.

The Sciarrra Amazon

Also from the Sciarrra collection is the famous statue of an Amazon, which has given its name to the whole Amazon type. It is recognized as one of three fifth-century B.C. statues of wounded Amazons of which we have several marble copies. These have been connected with a competition among the most famous Greek sculptors of the fifth century B.C. mentioned by Pliny.⁸ The statue, which had been known in the Palazzo Barberini since the seventeenth century, was bought in 1897 and on arrival in Copenhagen was stripped of “some meaningless restorations made after the copy in the Vatican.”⁹ This may allude to the shield and quiver with which she was adorned in a drawing from Cassiano dal Pozzo. In the Glyptotek a new restoration was made following the Lansdowne copy in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹⁰ Here the right hand lying on the head is preserved, and the left elbow is supported on a pillar. In order to incorporate the pillar in the restoration the base had to be enlarged, and it was decided to reconstruct the left hand with a spear. Later a new left arm was made, this time with the hand



hanging limply down, as it is on the copy in Berlin and on a relief from the theater at Ephesos (fig. 7).¹¹

Inspired by an article by Martha Weber on the Amazon statues, the Glyptotek decided to de-restore the Sciarrra Amazon.¹² All modern parts were removed, the breaks in the legs were opened and corrected, the statue was fitted into a new plinth, and a metal support was fitted into the shoulder stump and waist on the left side (fig. 8). Purity reigned and we were very pleased with the result, but there arose a problem of aesthetics.

The Amazon, one of the most beautiful statues in the classical gallery, looked painfully amputated. The line of the break from the left arm was like a scar from a particularly nasty operation. In 1987 our conservator, Lars Henningsen, and I decided to help her. The statue and the remaining part of the plinth were placed on a base, the figure was turned slightly to the right to better position the feet, and a simpler metal support was placed at her side fastened only at the waist. After much consideration of the future implications of making a new restoration, a new shoulder ending just under the biceps was created. Modeled in clay and cast in polyester mixed with marble dust, it has the color of the marble statue but is still discernible as a restoration. The statue has now become more harmonious and pleasing to look at (fig. 9).

FIG. 9
The Sciarrra Amazon, figure 7, with a new
shoulder after 1987.

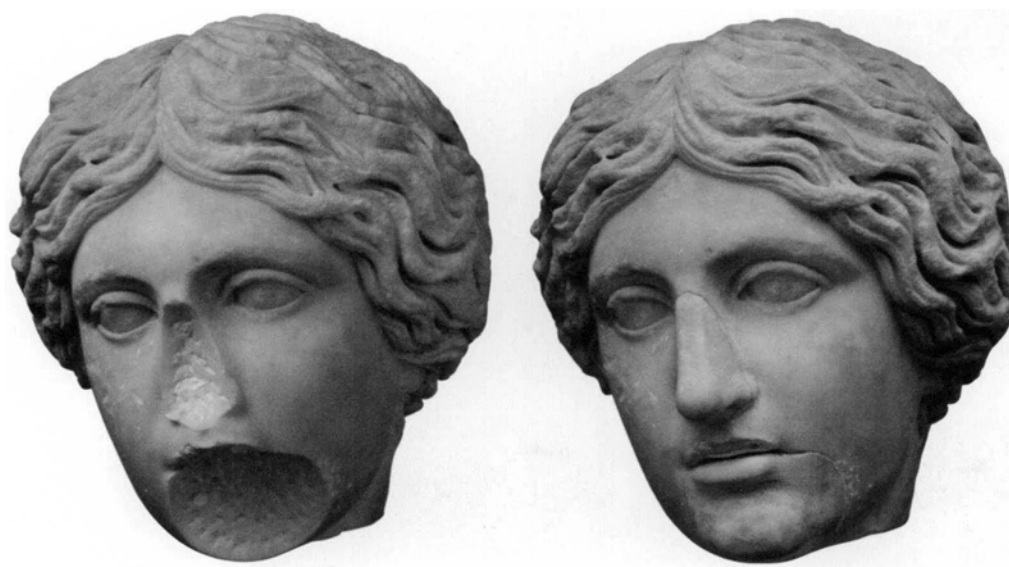


FIG. 10

Head of the Sosikles Amazon type, without the restored nose and chin. Roman, second century A.D. Marble, H 27 cm. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 545.

FIG. 11

Head of the Sosikles Amazon type, figure 10, with the old restorations remounted in 2001.

But what is it we have done? It is not a reconstruction either of the Roman statue or of one of its later restored conditions; it is, in fact, the creation of a new state. We have chosen to show the shoulder broken at the point at which we had preferred it to be broken. This is taking an aesthetic rather than an art-historical view of the sculpture; we could perhaps call it faking the fragment! Personally I find it a very successful solution, one we will use again.

Also from the Palazzo Sciarra is a head of the Sosikles Amazon type of very fine quality.¹³ The restorations (nose and chin) were removed, revealing only the pitted cuttings for the marble restorations (fig. 10). This made it impossible to exhibit the head although it is of high quality, evident especially in the coiffure as seen from the back. Recently we have remounted the marble restorations and decided she is better off with them than without. She is now placed together with her “sister” Amazon, and for teaching purposes constitutes a valuable comparison to her (fig. 11).

Hera Borghese

A particular problem for us has been the famous Hera Borghese.¹⁴ When she was acquired for the Glyptotek in 1891 she had stood for many years in a basement in the Villa Borghese. The plaster restorations were not particularly well made and were smeared over with



artificial patina (fig. 12). In 1976 all restorations—arms, feet, and repairs in the drapery—were removed and the statue was re-mounted on a new plinth. Only the parts essential for keeping the original together were filled out in plaster. The surface of the plaster was lowered by a few millimeters and kept very neutral. The statue looks quite battered but has gained in beauty of detail (fig. 13). The most extraordinary thing that happened was that the old Hera/Juno (so called from the restored staff in her right hand and the phiale in her left) has completely changed character. The angle of the neck is corrected; now she carries her head high and looks at us with a much younger countenance. Although very fragmented, the drapery is lively, and the wet look on her belly stands out more clearly. She is no longer a possible Hera/Juno: She is Aphrodite. Angelos Delivorrias has now, convincingly I think, suggested she is a copy of an Aphrodite Euploia by Polykleitos, which in the late fifth century B.C. was placed in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai, and which is represented on a decree-relief from Aegina.¹⁵ A new player in the old “copy and original” game!

But again, the statue's condition is the result of the very rigorous treatment in the 1970s; we are not satisfied with the integrations in the statue—for example, the “floating” right breast, the plaster surfaces, the attachment surface for the right arm. What

FIG. 12

The Hera Borghese, before removal of the restorations in 1976. Roman, second century A.D. Marble, H 206 cm. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 473.

FIG. 13

The Hera Borghese, figure 12, after removal of the restorations in 1976.



FIG. 14

Statue of Doryphoros/Pan, without restorations. Roman, second century A.D. Marble, 11201 cm. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1800.

FIG. 15

Statue of Doryphoros/Pan, figure 14, with the restorations from ca. 1550 made to be removed at will.

would be the correct thing to do: Model her body more naturalistically? Give her new arms? Or just smooth the surface with polyester and alabaster dust? In this example there is no doubt that the old restorations were not optimal, being made in plaster and not marble, and they were in a bad condition and should not be retained. But how much better is her new condition?

In the last fifteen to twenty years, interest in the history of restoration and of collecting has been growing, as seen for instance in the creation of the *Journal of the History of Collections* and the many seminars on the subject. This has naturally influenced the way we wish to present the statues coming from old collections. In some cases it is important to keep the old restorations because they may have a story to tell, and sometimes they are even more interesting than the original itself. This seems to be the case with the Glyptotek's statue of Pan.

Doryphoros/Pan

In its core, this is a Roman statue modeled on the Doryphoros by Polykleitos and given the attributes of the god Pan—a *nebris* around his shoulder and the Pan flute hanging on the tree-trunk support (fig. 14).¹⁶ In 1900 it was acquired fully restored from the Villa Martinori in Rome. Leading a shadowy existence in our

basement, the statue only came to the fore in 1990 when we were asked to lend it to the Antikenmuseum in Frankfurt for the great Polykleitos exhibition. For this event it was taken apart and cleaned. The restorations were studied, and we were obliged to decide whether we wished the statue to represent a copy of the Doryphoros or a statue of Pan.

The statue was known from a drawing by Maerten van Heemskerck in the 1530s, when it stood in the Casa Santacroce in Rome in an unrestored state.¹⁷ In the 1580s Vaccaria and others showed him fully restored with a caption saying that the statue, representing a shepherd, was placed in the Villa Giulia, the splendid suburban villa in Rome built (1550–1555) by Pope Julius III del Monte. We have not been able through our research to ascertain where exactly the statue was placed in the villa, but it was probably in one of the niches in the large courtyard for which we know that the pope bought ancient sculptures. The statue was therefore acquired and restored with head and arms for the setting in the Villa Giulia about 1555. Further, it is very probable that the artist in charge of the restoration was the Florentine sculptor Bartolomeo Ammanati (1511–1592), architect and master sculptor of the main courtyard. So far as we have been able to ascertain, this is the only surviving statue identified from the adornment of the large courtyard.

If we look at the head, we see a fine piece of Renaissance sculpture reminiscent of Michelangelo's David; the long, fleshy, feminine hands are also very characteristically Renaissance. In choosing whom this statue should represent, we have occupied the middle ground. The arms are fastened with loose metal pins, which can be taken out any time, and the head can be lifted out at will—from Doryphoros to Ammanati in a split second! And for teaching purposes it is interesting to discuss the differences in style between the core and the restorations (fig. 15).

Antinous as Dionysos

The most recent statue we have worked on is the Antinous, which has also been the test piece for our young conservator Rebecca Hast, who belongs to a new generation of conservators educated at the School of Conservation and trained also in classical archaeology.

The statue represents Antinous, the young friend and paramour of Emperor Hadrian (fig. 16). After his death by drowning in the Nile in A.D. 130, Antinous was deified by Hadrian and statues of him were set up all over the empire.¹⁸ The statue of Antinous has had a very prominent place in the central hall of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. In fact, when the museum opened its new building in 1906, Antinous took the most prominent place of all in front of the



FIG. 16
The Casali Antinous, before 2000. Roman,
A.D. 130–138, with restorations. Marble,
H 235 cm. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyp-
toteik 1960.

steps of the temple entrance. Until recently this was the only statue in the great hall that had not been cleaned and de-restored, so we decided to subject him to a very thorough examination. We wished to find out what the original statue looked like and to document the restorations made on the statue on one or several occasions. We also wanted to document the provenance and later history of the statue.

The statue was found c. 1700 in the grounds of the Villa Casali on the Caelian Hill in Rome. It was exhibited in a niche in the facade of the Villa Casali, and here Johann Joachim Winckelmann saw and admired the statue, which he regarded as the most beautiful representation of Antinous.

So it was a statue of great renown that the Casali family put on the market when their villa was torn down in 1884 to make way for a military hospital. In 1888 Antinous was owned by the art collector G. Scalambrini, from whom the Belgian collector Léon Somzée acquired it and brought it to Brussels. In 1903 Carl Jacobsen bought the statue for the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.¹⁹

The head has never been removed from the body, but many repaired breaks in the arms and legs show that the statue must have toppled over at some point. Both legs have been broken in several

places and repaired in plaster colored to match the marble patina. The left arm had been restored in a large-grained marble smeared over with a layer of brownish-yellow plaster, the fingers had been damaged, and the coarse marble had disintegrated. The goatskin *nebris* consisted of several marble fragments and lots of plaster filling; only the head of the goat seemed to be original. The pinecone top of the thyrsos was antique, as were two fragments of the staff, but the rest of the staff was modern.

The right arm had been broken just under the shoulder, at the elbow, and above the wrist; the parts had been fitted together with fine white marble repairs at the breaks. At the wrist the arm had been splintered into five pieces, and all five fingers had been restored.

The face is intact apart from a patch in fine-grained marble over the left eyebrow. The skullcap is distinguished by being made in a coarser-grained marble, and tool marks on the back of the neck stem from the adjustment of the skullcap. Probably there was originally a skullcap. The entire statue was steam cleaned, which removed the dirt but left the patina, old as well as more recent, intact.²⁰ All old plaster fillings were removed from the joins and new fillings made with Araldite 2020, a clear epoxy, mixed with powdered alabaster and a little pigment, which produces a very good translucency and is easy to work with.

The resin that held the skullcap was removed from along the edges of the skullcap and head. A cluster of berries molded after one of the original ones was made in epoxy mixed with alabaster powder, with the same technique used for the penis.

The right forearm was taken off and set in place with a new steel rod, and a restored marble piece was fitted better into the front of the elbow with epoxy. The greatest problem has been the position of the left arm and *nebris*. It was clear that something was wrong in the old restoration, which made it look as if there were two armpits. From the back it was evident that parts of the *nebris* had slid out of place and were only secured with plaster. When all the parts of the *nebris* were taken apart it was possible to move them back to their original setting. Although we tried the arm itself in different positions, we found it had never really fitted, and that only because the attachment could be hidden behind the *nebris* had it been possible to use the arm for the restoration at all. There was also an aesthetic advantage in omitting the arm (fig. 17). If we look at the arm stump, it seems obvious that the arm was not raised as if to hold the staff, but rather held at a lower angle. Thus the motif would be more like the Antinous in Delphi, which has his arm turned more outward than upward.²¹ In this way Antinous's glance

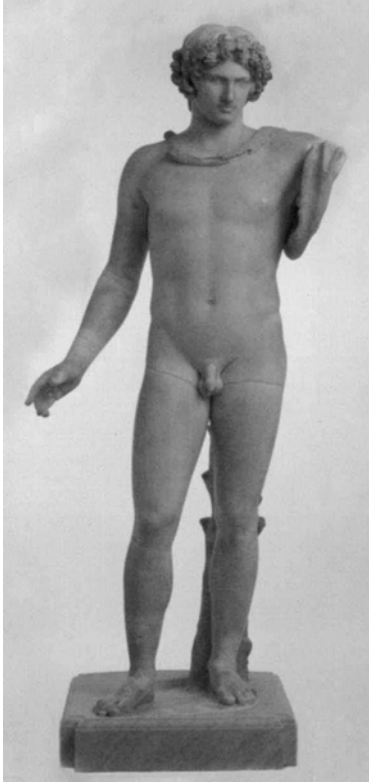


FIG. 17
The Casali Antinous, figure 16, without restorations, 2001.

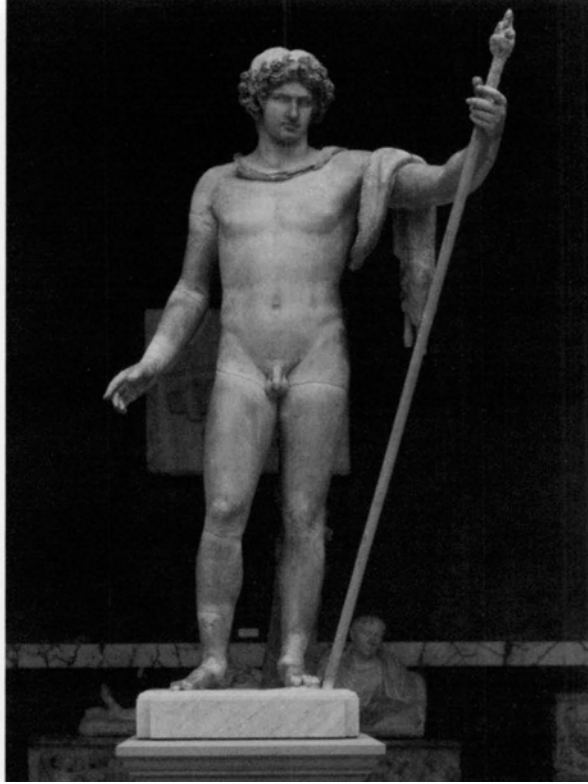


FIG. 18
The Casali Antinous, figure 16, remounted with restored left arm and thyrsos, 2002.

would be directed at the object he held out in his left hand, which could be a bunch of grapes, as can often be seen in the hand of a statue of Dionysos.

After much deliberation, however, we have decided that although the left arm was not original, the correct thing would be to recreate the statue, which had had such an important place in the museum. So now he has his thyrsos back, and the *nebris* is restored in plaster. A new profiled base has been cut in sandstone, and Antinous is back in his place in the central hall (fig. 18).

From our investigations it has become evident that the statue has been restored several times. For the interpretation of these restorations we have been greatly helped by the correspondence between Carl Jacobsen and Edward Perry Warren of Boston, who acted as an intermediary in the negotiations with the Somzée brothers at the time of acquisition.²² The conclusion must be that the first restoration, characterized by the use of iron dowels and resin as a fixative, must date from the time of discovery, c. 1700. To this belongs the skullcap, the integration of the greater part of the *nebris*, the repair of the statue's proper base, the fingers on the right hand, and the toes on both feet. The left arm, which may have come from another statue, was roughly cut to fit also at this time.



As the statue was allegedly found standing in its niche, it is possible that the breaks in the legs occurred later on. We have not taken them apart, so we cannot know for certain. But the information we have from Somzée tells us that the statue came to Brussels in pieces and was built up on the spot. Probably at that time the smaller integrations in fine-grained Carrara marble were made and the surface around the breaks abraded. The penis and the front legs of the goat in colored plaster must also have been restored before 1897, the year of the Somzée catalogue.²³ The last restoration was made on arrival in Copenhagen. The statue was placed on a new plinth, and a strong supporting brass bar was inserted into the tree support and fixed by a brass clamp in the buttocks of the statue with nut and bolt. Old iron dowels were drilled out and replaced with brass dowels. The *nebris* was fixed together in a haphazard manner with brass dowels and a lot of plaster, and the patches, which had previously been restored with fine marble, were filled in with plaster. The whole statue was smeared over with black and brown watercolor. Unfortunately no documentation of this restoration has been found in the archives of the Glyptotek.

An especially interesting novelty about this statue is that new excavations on the Caelian Hill have with great probability

FIG. 19
Statue of Dionysos. Roman, second century
A.D., restored in Rome in 1791. Marble,
H 150 cm. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1647.

identified the original findspot of the statue, in the triclinium of a large, late antique villa belonging to a man named Gaudentius. Thus we ascertain that this marvelous statue of the last pagan god, Antinous, had a place of honor in the villa of a Roman magistrate 200 years after it was created, in a period when Christianity was spreading in Rome. However, a pagan aristocracy still lived on the Caelian, among them Gaudentius.²⁴

This is one of those exceptional cases where new excavations have provided us with new information on an ancient statue from an old collection.

Several statues in our museum need the full treatment of having the old restorations removed, but there are also statues that must remain the way they are. The Sandal-tying Hermes from the Lansdowne collection, which was found at Hadrian's Villa and restored by Bartolomeo Cavaceppi in a patchwork of marble pieces, would come to nothing if taken apart,²⁵ and the amusing Dionysos from Ariccia, restored in 1791 by one Cremaschi, is more interesting in its present state with a dainty lapdog instead of the original panther (fig. 19).²⁶

Notes

Abbreviations

Amazones	R. Bol, <i>Amazones Volneratae</i> (Mainz, 1998)
NCG	Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inventory number
Poulsen 1951	F. Poulsen, <i>Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek</i> (Copenhagen, 1951)
Imperial Rome	<i>Imperial Rome II, Statues: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek</i> , ed. M. Moltesen (Copenhagen, 2002)

- 1 NCG 2782: Poulsen 1951, no. 436a; V. Poulsen, *Les portraits grecs* (Copenhagen, 1954), no. 27; F. Johansen, "Demosthenes," *MedKøb* 48 (1992): 60–81; *Greek Portraits: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, ed. F. Johansen (Copenhagen, 1992), pp. 84–87, no. 33, acquired in 1929 through Spink from Lord Sackville of Knole.
- 2 A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge, 1882), pp. 417–19.
- 3 Plut., *Demosthenes*, 30.5–31.1.
- 4 Vatican, Braccio Nuovo; Helbig⁴, vol. 1 (1963), no. 431, 1823 from Villa Aldobrandini (Mondragone) at Frascati, restored with a scroll that has been removed.
- 5 P. Hartwig, "Zur Statue des Demosthenes," *Jdl* 18 (1903): 25–33.
- 6 Bronze Hercules, NCG 456: Poulsen 1951, no. 261; *Imperial Rome*, no. 77; the Sciarra bronze, NCG 2235: Poulsen 1951, no. 28; *Campania, South Italy and Sicily: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, ed. T. Fischer-Hansen (Copenhagen, 1992), pp. 28–31, no. 3 (acquired in 1892 from Palazzo Sciarra in Rome, previously in the Palazzo Barberini; supposed to have been found on the Gianicolo in the seventeenth century); M. Bell III, "Il canto del choreutes: Un bronzo greco dal Gianicolo," in *Ianiculum, Gianicolo: Storia, topografia, monumenti, leggende dall'antichità al Rinascimento*, ed. E. M. Steinby (Rome, 1996), pp. 77–99.
- 7 M. Gjødesen, "Fyrst Sciaras Bronze," *MedKøb* 27 (1970): 11–73; recounts the history of acquisition, restoration, and de-restoring (in Danish, with French abstract).
- 8 For the Sciarra Amazon type: M. Weber, "Die Amazonen von Ephesos II," *Jdl* 99 (1984): 75–92; idem, *Die Amazonenstatuen, Festschrift für Jale Inan* (1989), pp. 32–34; R. Bol, "Die Amazone des Polyklet," in *Polyklet: Der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik*, ed. H. Beck, P. C. Bol, and M. Bückling (Mainz, 1990), pp. 213–39; H. von Steuben, "Die Amazone des Polyklet," in *Polykletforschungen*, ed. H. Beck and P. C. Bol (Berlin, 1993), pp. 73–87; *Amazones*, pp. 32–48.
- 9 NCG 1568: Poulsen 1951, no. 54; M. Moltesen, "En restaureringshistorie," *MedKøb* 36 (1979): 51–66 (in Danish, with English abstract); *Amazones*, pp. 175–76, 1A; *Imperial Rome*, pp. 197–201, no. 60 (when Poulsen wrote his catalogue he could not have known that it was probably the Vatican copy, known since 1709, that was restored after the Sciarra/Barberini copy known already in 1628).
- 10 G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture, The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 29–30, pls. 34–36; *Amazones*, pp. 174–75, 1.3.
- 11 Antikensammlung, Berlin Sk 7: B. Knittelmayer and W. D. Heilmeyer, *Die Antikensammlung Altes Museum: Pergamonmuseum* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 166–67, no. 95; *Amazones*, pp. 173–74, 1.2; Relief from Ephesos: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum I 811; *Amazones*, pp. 181, 1.13.
- 12 M. Weber, "Die Amazonen von Ephesos," *Jdl* 91 (1976): 28–96.
- 13 NCG 545: Poulsen 1951, no. 55; *Amazones; Imperial Rome*, pp. 202–3, no. 61.
- 14 NCG 473: Poulsen 1951, no. 247; *Imperial Rome*, no. 1.
- 15 A. Delivorrias, "Der statuarische Typus der sogenannten Hera Borghese," in *Polykletforschungen* (note 8 supra), pp. 221–52; idem, "Polykleitos and the Allure of Feminine Beauty," in *Polykleitos, Doryphoros, and Tradition*, ed. W. G. Moon (Madison, 1995), pp. 200–17.
- 16 NCG 1800: Poulsen 1951, no. 158; *Imperial Rome*, no. 57; D. Kreikenbom, *Bildwerke nach Polyklet: Kopienkritische Untersuchungen zu den männlichen statuarischen Typen nach Werken Polyklets* (Berlin, 1990), p. 167, pl. III, no. 16; *Polyklet: Der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik*, exh. cat. (Mainz, 1990), pp. 627–28, no. 157.
- 17 M. Moltesen, "A Doryphoros in Disguise," *Acta Hyperborea* 3 (1991): 379–401, for the history of the statue.
- 18 NCG 1960: Poulsen 1951, no. 548; C. W. Clairmont, *Die Bildnisse des Antinous* (Neuchâtel, 1966), p. 47, no. 26; H. Meyer, *Antinoos, die archäologischen Denkmäler unter Einbeziehung des numismatischen und epigraphischen Materials sowie der literarischen Nachrichten: Ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der hadrianisch-frühantoninischen Zeit* (Munich, 1991), pp. 47–48, cat. 1.24;

- M. Moltesen, "Casalifamiliens old-sager i Glyptoteket," *MedKob* 48 (1992): 87–94; *Roman Portraits II: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, ed. F. Johansen (Copenhagen, 1995), pp. 122–25, no. 46.
- 19 Moltesen (note 17 supra) for the history of acquisition.
- 20 M. Moltesen, "The Antinous Casali in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek," in *Marble in the Roman World, An International Conference on Roman Marble Studies, Boulder, Colorado, April 25–27, 2001*, ed. D. Conlin and D. Arya, *BAR Suppl.* (forthcoming): the restoration is treated in extenso.
- 21 Meyer (note 18 supra), pp. 36–38, cat. 1.15.
- 22 The correspondence between C. Jacobsen and E. P. Warren is in the archives of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.
- 23 A. Furtwängler, *Sammlung Somzée, Antike Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich, 1897), p. 44, pl. 28–29, no. 63.
- 24 G. Spinola, "Il dominus Gaudentius e l'Antinoo Casali: Alcuni aspetti della fine del paganesimo da una piccola domus sul Celio," *MÉFRA* 104.2 (1992): 953–79; A. Carignini, "Cent'anni dopo, antiche scoperte e nuove interpretazione degli scavi all'ospedale militare del Celio," *MÉFRA* 105.2 (1993): 707–46; C. Pavolini et al., "La topografia antica della sommità del Celio 1987–1992," *RM* 100 (1993): 443ff.; idem, "Celio: Ospedale militare, scavi 1987–1992," *BA* 13–15 (1992): 121–27.
- 25 Sandal-tying Hermes, NCG 2798: Poulsen, 1951, no. 273a; *Imperial Rome*, no. 54.
- 26 Dionysos, NCG 1647: Poulsen 1951, no. 160; *In the Sacred Grove of Diana: Finds from a Sanctuary at Nemi*, exh. cat. (1997), p. 137, no. 14; M. Moltesen, "Cardinal Despuig's Excavations at Vallericcia," in *Illuminismo e ilustración: Le antichità e i suoi protagonisti in Spagna e in Italia nel XVIII secolo. Atti del convegno 30 novembre–2 dicembre 2001*, ed. B. Palma et al. (forthcoming).

Possessions of Princes

The Ludovisi Collection

Miranda Marvin

In the early modern period, most of the great collections of ancient marbles were formed by wealthy aristocrats. It was an obvious choice. An interest in antiquity testified to intellectual interests, a taste for works of art to refined sensibilities, and the ability to collect monumental sculpture to a nobleman's income and leisure. There was also a quiet suggestion, in placing oneself against a backdrop of ancient statues, of long ancestry and venerable lineage.¹ A portrait that included a prized antiquity or two projected an enviable image; without ostentation or parade it placed the subject in the highest reaches of cultivation and wealth.

Most of these collectors seem to have treated their antiquities not as isolated, individual works of art, but as parts of a whole. Their marbles functioned as elements of design, used to complete and complement the country villas and city palaces where they entertained guests and transacted business.² Like their splendid furniture, plate, and landscaping, their antiquities were the props and scenery for the carefully scripted drama that was the princely life. As a corollary, moreover, owning a work of ancient art meant to these collectors possessing it much more completely than it does to most owners today. Early modern purchasers treated their sculptures more as modern owners treat historic and beautiful houses than as they now treat ancient marbles. The statues were there to be used; without reproach, therefore, they could be repaired, redecorated, or remodeled to serve the collector's needs, much as today's owners of castles install modern kitchens.

The evidence for this attitude lies in the restoration practices of the period. Some remain standard today, such as the cleaning and consolidation of separated parts, but others are distinctive to the era and betray their owners' frame of mind. The process can be particularly well seen in the marbles amassed by Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi and his heirs in papal Rome because that collection has had the good fortune of exemplary study and display.³

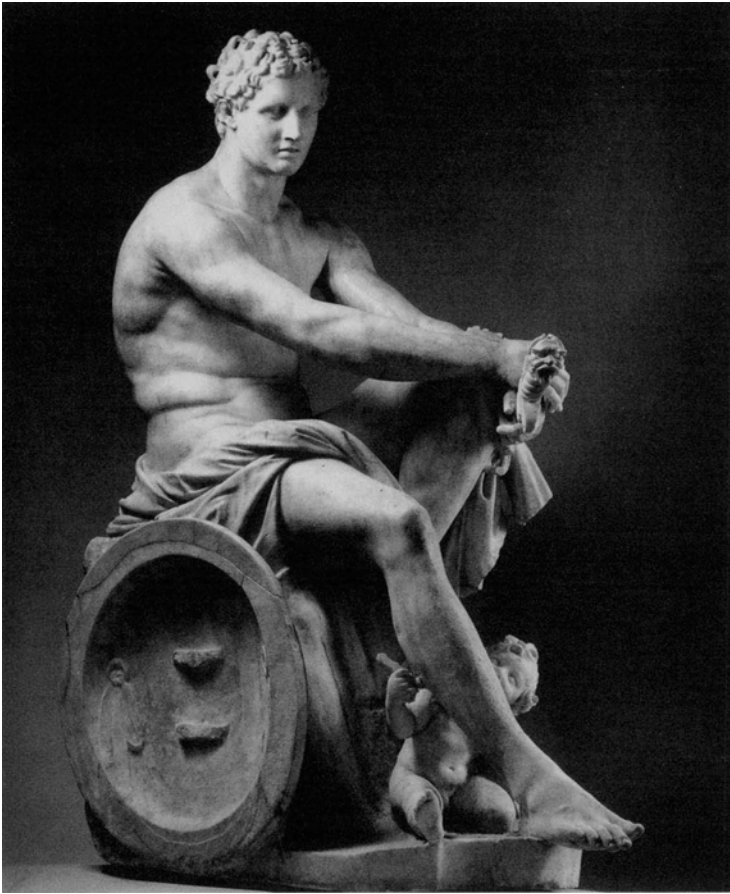
On 9 February 1621, Alessandro Ludovisi was elected pope as Gregory xv. Three days into his reign he made his 25-year-old

nephew, Ludovico, a cardinal. As early as 5 January 1622 Cardinal Ludovisi began to purchase property for a villa covering some nineteen hectares (c. forty-seven acres) by the Porta Pinciana in the region of the modern Via Veneto.⁴ Along with the land, the cardinal seems to have acquired many of the antiquities that already decorated the houses and gardens on it.⁵ Heavy, breakable, and frequently the focus of landscape and building design, ancient sculptures were often sold with the properties that housed them.⁶ The atmosphere of grandeur and devouring time that clung to the marbles no doubt contributed to the aura of the place for the purchaser.

As a new prince of the church, Cardinal Ludovisi wanted more, however, than just an atmospheric handful of antiquities. He had in mind a truly princely display, a collection modeled on that of Scipione Borghese (nephew of the previous pope).⁷ He bought whole collections—for example, he acquired from the heirs of Cardinal Cesi 102 sculptures, including twenty statues and fifty heads or busts, as well as torsos, reliefs, sarcophagi, bronzes, and “approximately fifty fragments of statues such as legs, arms, feet, pieces of heads, pieces of busts.”⁸ Cardinal Ludovisi’s ambition and willingness to spend whatever sums were necessary meant that by his death in 1633 he owned 460 sculptures both ancient and modern.⁹ His descendants acquired a few works and disposed of a few more, but retained the bulk of the sculpture collection: An 1880 catalogue of ancient works listed some 339 sculptures.¹⁰

The time and effort required to obtain the works were matched by the pains taken to make them worthy of exhibition. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, fragmentary ancient sculpture was bluntly described as broken and considered to be in need of repair. Exhibiting the work made whole again was not taking liberties with the past, but paying tribute to the intent of its original maker and owner. It was undoing the damage that time had wrought on a once complete work. In 1750, Pierre Mariette summed up the prevailing view: “It is seeking to present from a more satisfactory point of view an object, which, although beautiful in itself, would cause some discomfort if one were to see it in its ruined state.”¹¹

Cardinal Ludovisi arrived in Rome at a favorable moment for restoring sculpture. Commissions to restore antiquities gave young sculptors an opportunity to win the notice of major collectors,¹² and allowed artists who were not superstars to make a steady income.¹³ One of the latter, Ippolito Buzzi (1562–1634), restored almost all the works Ludovisi acquired before 1626, but was then replaced by Alessandro Algardi (1598–1654), whose career in Rome was just beginning.¹⁴ In 1622, while Buzzi was still chief restorer, the 24-year-old Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) was paid 60 scudi for restoring an “Adonis” (the work now known

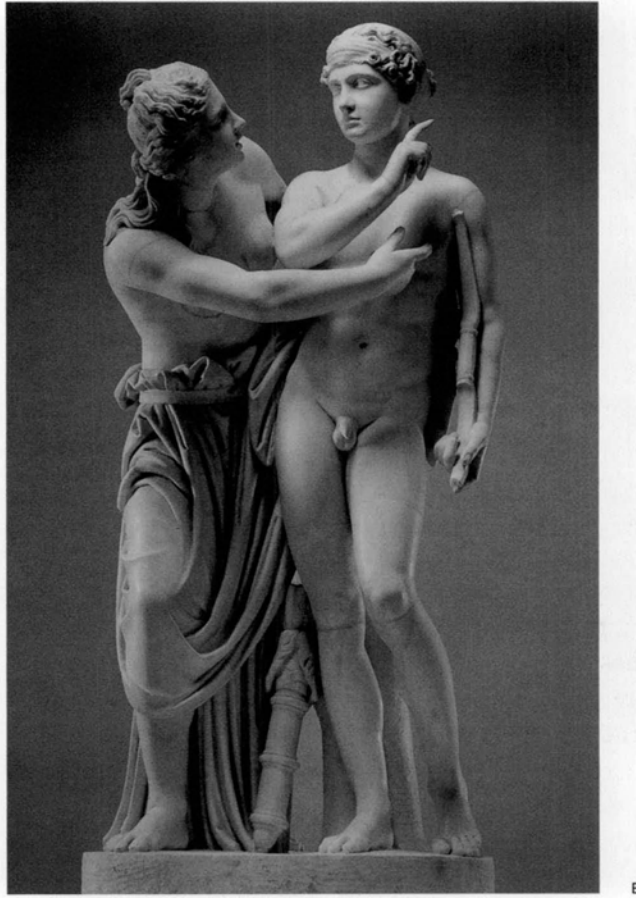


as the Ludovisi Ares, figs. 1A–B) and may have worked on other figures as well.¹⁵

The interventions of the restorers were not timid. Bernini was paid relatively little for his work on the Ares since the group was almost whole, needing only a foot and hand for the seated god, a head and arms for the putto by his side, and a new pommel for his sword. Bernini responded aggressively, however. In the same way that he added the sensuous, tactile, attention-getting mattress to the Borghese Sleeping Hermaphrodite,¹⁶ he gave the putto enough character to make him a scene-stealer, and the pommel a formal elaboration sufficient to make it the focus of the work when viewed head-on. Moreover, he completely resurfaced the group and smoothed away or recut around minor damage to give the whole a pleasing completeness. Despite the heavy reworking, indications remain that originally it may have been part of a larger composition, but the traces of the possible lost attachments are too fragmentary to indicate what might have been there.¹⁷ In designing the restorations Bernini chose to make the composition satisfactory as it is. The resulting work is neither wholly ancient nor wholly Bernini, but a collaboration, a joint product of sculptors a millennium and a half apart.

FIGS. 1A–B

The Ludovisi Ares. Restored by Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Marble, H 156 cm. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps 8602. Photo: Mimmo Jodice. Sketch: Peggy Sanders; modern portions shaded dark grey.



FIGS. 2A–B

Statue group of Salmacis and Hermaphroditos(?). Restored by Ippolito Buzzi(?). Marble, H 132 cm. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps 8567. Photo: Mimmo Jodice. Sketch: Peggy Sanders; modern portions shaded dark grey, ancient but unrelated areas light grey.

Whatever restrained the cardinal from having Bernini follow up the indications of attachments to the Ares, it was not a conscientious scruple about taking liberties with antiquity. The collection contains several works in which the modern partner is more than just a collaborator, but in which the ancient portion is in effect little more than raw material for the modern sculptor.¹⁸ Perhaps the most illuminating example may be the group now called “Eros and Psyche,” but known variously as “Venus and Cupid” or “Nymph and Eros,” that was (correctly, in Alessandra Constantini’s view) first identified in the inventory of 1623 as “Salmacis and Hermaphroditos”¹⁹ (figs. 2A–B; cf. Rockwell, figs. 7 and 8, pp. 82–83). Today it is a two-figure group of a woman bending forward to encircle a slightly smaller young man with her arms. He raises his right arm to fend her off, and in his left hand holds a bow by his side. The identification as Salmacis and Hermaphroditos comes from the etiological myth of the origin of hermaphrodites. As Ovid tells it, a nymph, Salmacis, was so much in love with a youth, Hermaphroditos, despite his coolness, that she prayed they might never be parted and the two were transformed into a hybrid creature, the hermaphrodite, with the breasts of a woman and the genitals of a man (*Metamorphoses* 4.285–388). The group should depict the nymph’s unsuccessful wooing.

Buzzi was probably the sculptor responsible for the group, and it is more appropriate to identify him as its creator than as its restorer. The ancient pieces from which it is made were four: two male torsos and two unrelated heads, one female and one uncertain. Buzzi added a head, breasts, and a draped female lower half to one male torso, making it Salmacis; and lower legs, arms, and a head to the other, making it Hermaphroditos. He then composed the figures as a group and attached them to a single base. Of the two heads, that of "Hermaphroditos" is unequivocally female, belonging to a well-known ideal portrait type sometimes known as Sappho.²⁰ The head of "Salmacis" is an equally familiar type, but of uncertain sex, used by Roman sculptors with many modifications for either the longhaired, youthful Apollo or for Venus.²¹ From a heap of unrelated body parts, a vivid narrative group has been created. The care taken to acquire those fifty-one miscellaneous limbs and "pieces" in the Cesi purchase becomes comprehensible. They were the raw materials of future sculptures. Similar stockpiles were regularly accumulated by prudent collectors and restorers, just as marble carvers hoard choice blocks of stone today.²²

In the Salmacis and Hermaphroditos group Constantini is of course right to see the Baroque love of metamorphosis, sexual ambiguity, and novel gender roles (urgent woman pursuing a reluctant man), and to suspect that the choice of subject affected the re-gendering of the fragments. It is not clear whether Buzzi recognized the gender bending in the choice of heads, but the transformation of a man's torso to a woman's was anything but accidental. If the 1623 inventory is correct and the group represents Salmacis and Hermaphroditos, it is a triumph of wit and conscious irony.

Still more significant is the transformation of all those pieces into one two-figure group. Even if the 1623 inventory is wrong and it is a Cupid and Psyche or Venus and Cupid—or even a Phaedra and Hippolytos—rather than a Salmacis and Hermaphroditos, the composition reflects no known ancient prototype. In the surviving fragments there was nothing to suggest the identity, poses, or grouping of the figures. The fragments were anonymous and mute, capable of becoming anything that the artist and patron desired. What they wanted in this case, clearly, was a two-figure erotic group. It is not hard to imagine why.

The inventories of his collection show that the cardinal rather specialized in groups (as Scipione Borghese had specialized in polychrome statuary).²³ The most famous and valuable ancient ones were the Barbarian Killing Himself and His Wife, and the group usually known today as Orestes and Electra.²⁴ These two, described in 1623 as a "Dead Woman and Her Father" and "Friendship" were displayed in the chief building on the property, the Palazzo



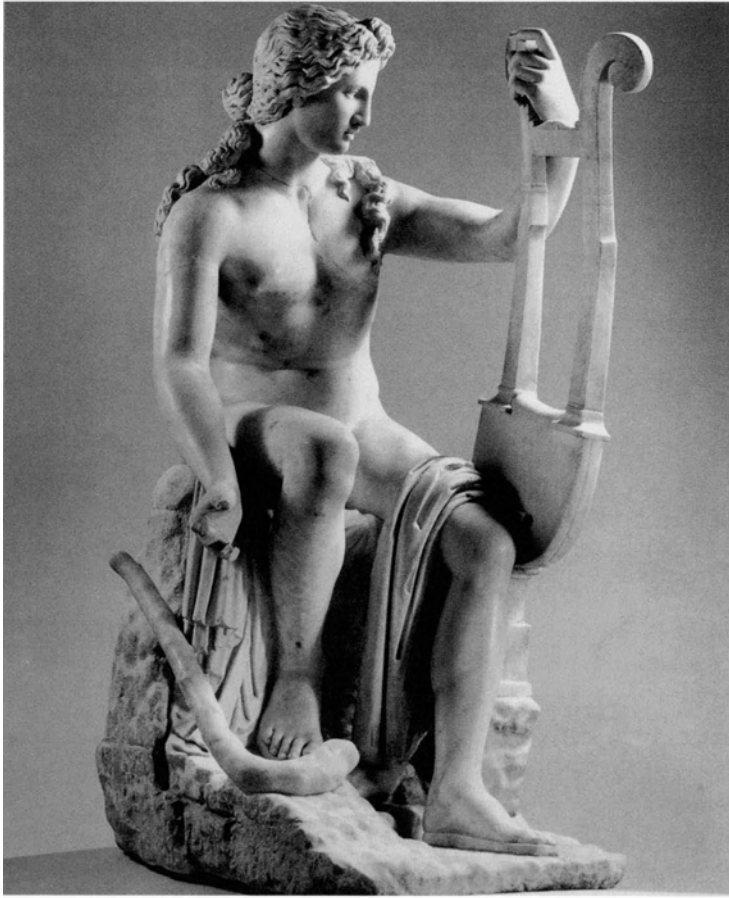
FIGS. 3A–B

Statue group of Nymph and Satyr. Marble, H 118 cm. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps 8576. Photo: Mimmo Jodice. Sketch: Peggy Sanders; modern portions shaded dark grey.

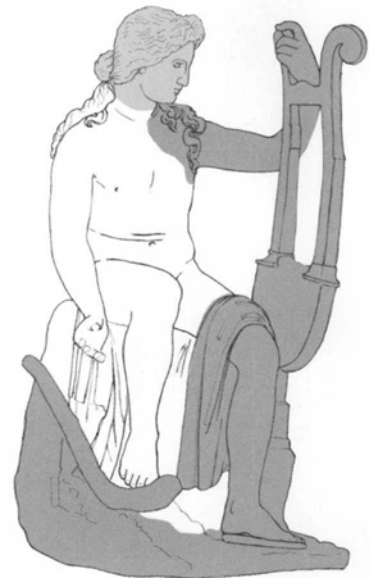


Grande, in a room described as the “Sala di Proserpina” after its most famous occupant, Bernini’s group of Pluto and Persephone.²⁵ Three other two-figure groups were housed in the adjacent room: Salmacis and Hermaphroditos, a symplegma of Nymph and Satyr (figs. 3A–B), and the so-called “Ildefonso pair” now in the Prado (called “Castor” Appolluccio” in 1623).²⁶

It is hard to imagine that the creation of Salmacis and Hermaphroditos was not inspired by a wish for another pair statue, this time of somewhat under-life-sized proportions like the Nymph and Satyr, rather than the grand scale of the works next door, and hard not to see the two erotic groups installed symmetrically to flank the Ildefonso youths.²⁷ Both share an anecdotal quality, sexual urgency, the theme of seduction and resistance, and strikingly similar compositions. The would-be seducer is on the viewer’s left and envelops the hesitant figure on the right, making both compositions move from left to right, with the taller and more vertical figure on the right. The Nymph and Satyr group was relatively complete, needing only heads and minor touching-up. Salmacis and Hermaphroditos can be seen as a conforming work, created to be displayed with its partner. The practice is attested for other collections of the era and exemplifies how completely these works were architectural decor.²⁸ They were complementary to the spaces where they were installed,



A



B

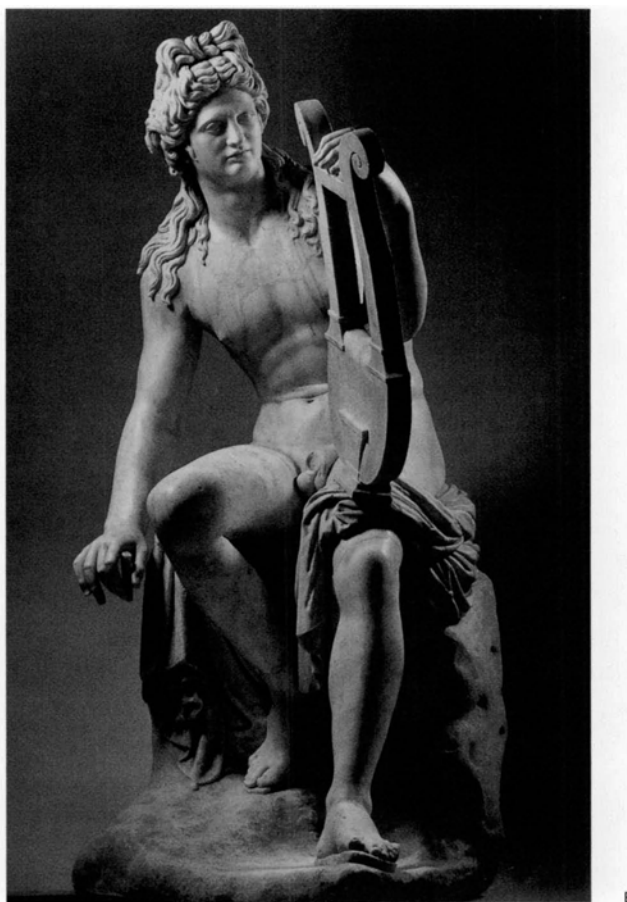
the individual work only one component of the much larger whole made up of the building, its grounds, and the contents of both.

The creation of the group, moreover, identifies a particular type of early modern product, a “restoration” that was not dictated by the surviving fragments.²⁹ Most sculptors repairing antiquities tried to recreate what they imagined might have been the original work.³⁰ Seymour Howard has demonstrated, for example, how torsos of the *Diskobolos* were restored as fallen or crouching warriors in desperate attempts to explain the contorted torso of the athlete hurling the discus.³¹ The restoration of Scipione Borghese’s replica of the *Dancing Faun* (best known from the version in the *Tribuna of the Uffizi*) as *Narcissus* startled by his own reflection is surprising but is clearly a good-faith effort to account for the stooping pose.³² This is not the case here. Almost nothing about the *Salmacis and Hermaphroditos* group was dictated by the fragments. Instead, this work seems to be a response to a felt need for a two-figure group, of a certain size, with a certain theme, in a certain composition. Moreover, it is not the only such creation in the collection.

It was through a similar process that Cardinal Ludovisi finally owned two seated figures of *Apollo Kitharodos* (figs. 4A–B, 5A–B). Displayed together in the first room of the *Palazzo Grande* and already identified as *Apollo* in the 1623 inventory, neither one

FIGS. 4A–B

Seated *Apollo Kitharodos*. Marble, H 187 cm. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps 8590. Photo: Mimmo Jodice. Sketch: Peggy Sanders; modern portions shaded dark grey, ancient but unrelated portions light grey.



FIGS. 5A–B
Seated Apollo Kitharodos. Marble, H 188
cm. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano:
Palazzo Altemps 8594. Photo: Mimmo
Jodice. Sketch: Peggy Sanders; modern
portions shaded dark grey.

had either an original head or an original lyre.³³ Neither one, therefore, necessarily began as Apollo. Whether they were purchased as a matched pair, or became one in the Cardinal's possession, is unclear.³⁴ What is undeniable is that the desire for such a set, as for a Salmacis and Hermaphroditos (or whatever might be the identity of that group) dictated the final product, not the ancient fragments themselves.

A preference for works with narrative, anecdotal qualities characterized the period. Most early antiquities collectors were looking for portraits of historical figures or illustrations of familiar myths. Educated in classical literature, they wanted to recognize stories they knew and give three-dimensional reality to their mental images of the ancient world. In a pinch, they could create one. A group bought from Cardinal Cesi that illustrated the myth of Leda and the Swan, for example, had originated as two separate ancient works, a Crouching Aphrodite and a Boy Strangling a Goose (fig. 6).³⁵

Individual statues underwent similar identity changes. A work restored by Algardi as Athena/Minerva with a serpent began as a fragmentary draped female torso, approximately neck to knees, that included a section of the tree trunk by her side with a snake

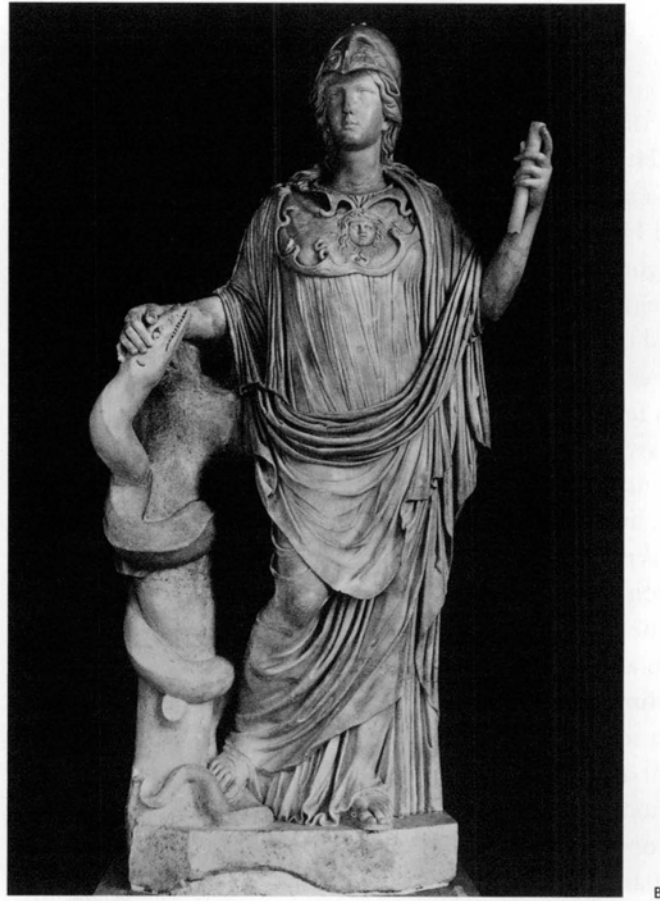
coiling up it (figs. 7A–B). The original subject, however, was not Athena but Hygieia, the daughter of Asklepios, with her traditional attribute of a snake (cf. True, figs. 4 and 6, pp. 4–5).³⁶ Algardi transformed Hygieia into Athena by adding a head in a Corinthian helmet and cutting an aegis into her breast. He then completed the work with legs and feet, and made the goddess pet the snake affectionately and the creature gaze at her with doglike good nature. The makeover appears unnecessary. Hygieia, known more often as Salus, was a familiar figure from the Renaissance onward and known to have a snake attribute. A Hygieia/Salus would have been an appropriate addition to the collection.³⁷ Adele Amadio has pointed out, however, that a discreet competition marked the great Roman collectors of the early seventeenth century, each eager to match the holdings of his rivals.³⁸ The marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani owned the most famous Athena of the time, also accompanied by a serpent, also wearing a Corinthian helmet. It was the pride of his collection, anthologized and universally admired.³⁹ The Hygieia/Athena seems to be Ludovisi's entry into the Athena stakes.

That a category of assembled antiques existed, and that they were modern creations, was known to Baroque Rome. In his "Discourse on Sculpture," Giustiniani described them clearly as works "that are made of several pieces, using fragments of ancient marble as best they can. . . ." ⁴⁰ He had great disdain for them and claimed that artists and patrons resorted to them only by necessity, when more complete antiquities could not be found. He sees them not as works created to fill a patron's needs, but as an excuse for modern sculptors to pass off their own works as antique. His sentence describing them concludes "with which sometimes sculptors sell as antique that which they have made themselves."⁴¹ Giustiniani did not recognize that, in collections such as Cardinal Ludovisi's, the patron was commissioning precisely the antique statuary he needed to furnish his houses and gardens with the pieces best suited to them. His purchases were carefully thought-out creations. Subject, style, size, material, formal disposition—everything was planned. Far from saving time and money, these works required skill, effort, and thought.

These works are neither restorations nor attempts to repair the damage of time so that a work's "ruined state" should not, in Mariette's words, "cause discomfort." Nor are they collaborations between an ancient and a modern artist, but come closest to the creations known in the twentieth century as assemblages, found objects, or ready-mades. In these, in William Seitz's words: "[T]heir constituent elements are preformed natural or manufactured material, objects, or fragments. . . ." ⁴² An original work of art is



FIG. 6
Pompeo Batoni (1708–1789), *Leda and the Swan*, 1730. Ink on paper, 42.6 × 28 cm. Windsor, Eton College Library. Photo: The Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. no. 702/44 (30A).



FIGS. 7A–B
Statue of Athena. Marble, H 231 cm. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano: Palazzo Altemps 8626. Sketch: Peggy Sanders; modern portions shaded dark grey; ancient but unrelated portions light grey.

created by combining or excerpting from existing items, sometimes modifying them extensively, sometimes not at all. The differences between these and the Baroque sculptures are enormous, of course. The technique is the same, but the ideas behind them are not. The twentieth-century works are described as quintessentially modern, reflecting a twentieth-century “ironic, perverse, anti-rational sensibility,” and often make pointed comments on the values of a consumerist society.⁴³ The attitude of the Baroque sculptors to the ancient fragments they incorporated into their works and the ancient statuary they emulated bears little resemblance to their modern successors. They were expressing neither anger nor revulsion, were not trying to “convert ugliness into beauty,” nor to contrast the original use of the constituent fragment with its re-creation as a work of art.⁴⁴ They were making art from art, using their pre-formed objects to create new works with which to rival the originals from which the ancient pieces had broken off.⁴⁵ They were trying to recapture not just the sculptural quality but the spirit of ancient sculptors. Their education had taught them that classical sculpture was the universal model of excellence, and from academic theorists to Bernini they believed it.⁴⁶

Their admiration, however, did not preclude bold interventions. Sometimes the goal was to use an ancient element as the best

expression of an ancient form, as in the portrait statue of Carlo Barberini that uses a real Roman cuirassed torso in a work that represents Barberini, General of the Holy Church, as a Roman hero.⁴⁷ In others the goal was a kind of transmutation, as when statues of saints and Madonnas were fitted with classical heads or bodies, turning pagan lead into Christian gold.⁴⁸ At other moments an ironic wit dominates, as in the Hermaphrodite group for Cardinal Ludovisi or Nicolas Cordier's "Gypsy" and "Moor" for Cardinal Borghese.⁴⁹ Undeniably there were practical advantages to the technique. The procedure could be efficient and economical, swiftly producing complete ancient works.⁵⁰

Salmacis and Hermaphroditos (or whatever the group may be) demonstrates, however, that arguments of convenience are insufficient. The time and trouble required to find ancient fragments of suitable size and marble, the labor of creating the remaining half of the group, and the skill needed to fit old and new into a satisfactory whole were not trifling. Only a modest amount of time and expense (if any) was saved by using the ancient fragments.⁵¹ Of the ancient pieces, moreover, only the heads have any distinctive character. The nude torsos, though ancient, are generic and distinguished only by the modern sex change.

A final work in the Ludovisi collection suggests a possible motive for the creation of such assembled sculptures. A Dionysos holding a wine cup and bunch of grapes falls into yet a third category of "created antiquity": neither a collaboration nor an assembled work but a synthetic antiquity (fig. 8). The date when it entered the collection is not clear. It is not identifiable with certainty before 1749, and may have been acquired by one of Ludovisi's successors rather than by the cardinal himself.⁵² Neatly broken at neck, knees, and biceps, it suggests an ancient torso with restored limbs. In fact, it is a wholly modern creation. It is probably a fake, a fraud perpetrated on the purchaser. As an early modern creation, however, it need not be. The purchaser may have known it was modern, may even have commissioned it.⁵³ Formally it resembles the notorious Bacchus of Michelangelo, and, even more strongly, a Dionysos in the Giustiniani collection and one in the Borghese collection.⁵⁴ It could be a work created to fill any one of a number of felt needs—competition with other collectors, a desire to complete a set of Dionysiac figures, or decoration for an allée or dining room, for example. What is noteworthy is that a modern work in the antique style was not adequate for the purpose. It had to be something that could pass for a genuine antiquity.

In the seventeenth century, contemporary usage often made little distinction between ancient works and works "after the antique."⁵⁵ Like most of his peers, Cardinal Ludovisi and his heirs

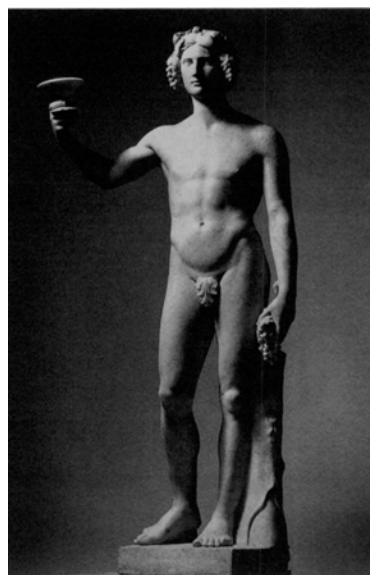


FIG. 8
Statue of Dionysos. Marble, H 163 cm.
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano: Palazzo
Altemps 8587. Photo: Mimmo Jodice.

collected modern art, ancient art, and modern reproductions of ancient art with equal enthusiasm. Among the Ludovisi holdings, for example, was a group of Susini bronze reductions of classical statues.⁵⁶ The creation of the Dionysos shows, however, that it would be a mistake to assume that the distinction between ancient and modern was not significant. There was, for one thing, a price differential. Works had prices dictated by the reputations of their sculptors, and unattributed ones were worth relatively little. Although defining a work as ancient did not make it as valuable as one by Bernini, if a vendor had none of those to offer, making a work ancient made it worth far more than most modern statuary.⁵⁷ It conferred on the work what was essentially an attribution to a highly distinguished workshop, a group of sculptors with a collective artistic personality and a reputation second to none. Ancient works might be anonymous, but they were not unattributed.

Their antiquity gave them far more than monetary value, however. Seitz speaks of one kind of assemblage in which the inclusion of “the unnamable artifacts of a people far away or long dead” lends a “magical aura” to the new work and “raises materials from the level of formal relations to a kind of associational poetry.”⁵⁸ The poetic echoes, the almost spiritual value of ancient fragments, resonated powerfully to the Baroque. “Silently expressing old mortality, the ruins of forgotten times,” ancient works of art brought with them the values which a classical education had taught the upper classes to associate with the ancient world—not least the realization of perfect beauty.⁵⁹ The ancient bits and pieces incorporated into an assembled sculpture were essential to its meaning; they conveyed a message of survival and rebirth that validated the labor of its makers and praised the euergetism of the owners who had sponsored new life for ancient ruins. These works may not have been genuine antiquities but neither were they fakes. Unlike the Dionysos, they should not be viewed as frauds. It is equally inappropriate to call them restorations. They are instead new works recycled from old ones, consciously evoking the “magical aura” that to the collectors of the early modern period surrounded ancient statuary and that they sought to incorporate into their palaces and gardens and hoped would shed its luster on the way they led their lives.

Notes

Acknowledgments

It is a pleasure to acknowledge my debts of gratitude to Rebekah Taube and Stephanie Walker for help with the text, and to Marion True and the whole Antiquities Department at the Getty Center for organizing the conference.

Abbreviations

- Collezione* A. Giuliano, ed., *La collezione Boncompagni Ludovisi* (Rome, 1992)
- Kalveram K. Kalveram, *Die Antikensammlung des Kardinals Scipione Borghese* (Worms am Rhein, 1995)
- MNR Museo Nazionale Romano: Palazzo Altemps inventory number
- Montagu J. Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture* (New Haven, 1989)
- Storia* B. Palma, *I marmi Ludovisi: Storia della collezione*, vol. 1.4 of *Museo Nazionale Romano: Le sculture*, ed. A. Giuliano (Rome, 1983)

- 1 See O. Boselli, *Osservazioni sulla scultura antica: I manoscritti di Firenze e di Ferrara*, ed. A. Torresi (Ferrara, 1994), p. 85, on the usefulness of sculpture to princes.
- 2 C. Franzoni, "‘Rimbranze d’infinito cose’: Le collezioni rinascimentali di antichità," in *Memoria dell’antico nell’arte italiana*, ed. S. Settis, vol. 1 (Turin, 1984), p. 338.
- 3 *Storia*; B. Palma and L. de Lachenal, *I marmi Ludovisi nel Museo Nazionale Romano*, vol. 1.5 of *Museo Nazionale Romano: Le sculture*, ed. A. Giuliano (Rome 1983); B. Palma, L. de Lachenal, and M. E. Micheli, *I marmi Ludovisi dispersi*, vol. 1.6 of *Museo Nazionale Romano* (op. cit.); *Collezione*.
- 4 *Storia*, p. 3. At its greatest extent, in 1858, the villa totaled thirty hectares.
- 5 Antiquities seem to have been included in the cardinal’s purchases of the *vigne* Orsini, Capponi, and Maffei, for example: *Storia*, p. 11.
- 6 Compare the 1576 purchase by Ferdinando de Medici from Cardinal Ricci of the future Villa Medici, collections and all: Franzoni (note 2 supra), p. 326; landowners sometimes rented out their land but retained rights to antiquities excavated from it: Montagu, p. 151.
- 7 Kalveram, p. 1 (I would like to thank Carole Paul for this reference and other generous help on the seventeenth century). L. de Lachenal, "La collezione di sculture antiche della famiglia Borghese," *Xenia* 4 (1982): 49–117.
- 8 *Storia*, doc. 5, p. 37. Compare Scipione Borghese’s purchases of the Ceuli and Della Porta collections: Kalveram, pp. 7–11.
- 9 *Storia*, p. 43.
- 10 *Collezione*, p. 14.
- 11 P. J. Mariette, *Traité des pierres gravées* (Paris, 1750), p. 98: "C’est chercher à présenter sous un point de vûe plus satisfaisant un objet, qui, quoique beau en lui-même, causeroit quelque peine, si on le considéroit dans son état de ruine."
- 12 Montagu, p. 151: "[R]estoration has always been one way in which a young sculptor could keep body and soul together. . . ."
- 13 Kalveram, p. 94; Montagu, p. 151.
- 14 *Collezione*, p. 12. Algardi arrived in Rome in 1625.
- 15 *Storia*, p. 22; Ares: MNR 8602: *Collezione*, pp. 74–83, no. 1. For a suggestion that Bernini worked on the Satyr and Nymph group (MNR 8576), see *Collezione*, p. 172, no. 20.
- 16 Compare this to the "antikisierende" rocky ground used in Buzzi’s restoration of Ludovico’s similar Hermaphrodite. B. Palma, *I marmi Ludovisi dispersi*, vol. 3.1 of *Museo Nazionale Romano: Le sculture*, ed. A. Giuliano (Rome, 1986), pp. 105–7; Kalveram, 121–22, fig. 118; Montagu, p. 161.
- 17 *Collezione*, fig. 76.
- 18 Cf. Montagu, p. 155.
- 19 MNR 8567: *Collezione*, pp. 144–51; *Storia*, pp. 68–69, no. 12.
- 20 She had many identities, for instance the "Hope Hygieia," L.A. County Museum of Art 50.33.23. Francis Croissant "Hygieia," *LIMC* 6 (Munich, 1990), p. 192, fig. 160, no. 160.
- 21 Among them the Apollo Belvedere and the Capitoline Aphrodite: F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven, 1981), fig. 77, no. 8; fig. 169, no. 84.
- 22 Scipione Borghese’s purchases from the Della Porta family included miscellaneous body parts and more than two hundred pieces and fragments of marble; Kalveram, p. 13.
- 23 Kalveram, p. 104.
- 24 MNR 8604: *Collezione*, pp. 176–80, no. 21.

- 25 *Storia*, p. 70, nos. 14, 15, 16.
- 26 Nymph and Satyr, MNR 8576: *Collezione*, pp. 168–75, figs. 168–75, no. 20; Ildefonso pair: B. Palma (note 16 supra), pp. 88–93; *Storia*, p. 68, no. 11.
- 27 Symmetry dominated in the display of the Borghese collection. See Kalveram on the Villa Pinciana, for example, pp. 51–62.
- 28 The purely formal correspondences may have been of greater significance than the subjects of the groups. The room with the Salmacis and Hermaphroditos, for example, also held a seated St. Jerome: *Storia*, p. 70. Kalveram points out the lack of an iconographic program in Scipione Borghese's display of his antiquities, even those placed in a room like the loggia of the Villa Pinciana where the frescoes were clearly programmatic: Kalveram, pp. 75–76.
- 29 See Montagu's analysis of Baroque restoration practices: Montagu, pp. 151–72.
- 30 O. Rossi Pinelli, "Chirurgia della memoria: Scultura antica e restauri storici," in *Memoria dell'antico* (note 2 supra), vol. 3, pp. 221–26, finds seventeenth-century restorations, especially those of the Ludovisi collection, arbitrary and unscholarly. Kalveram (p. 136) disagrees. I prefer a distinction—not between making more or less accurate guesses at a plausible original, but between making such guesses and not making them.
- 31 S. Howard, "Some Eighteenth-Century Restorations of Myron's Discobulus," in *Antiquity Restored* (Vienna, 1990), pp. 70–77 (originally published in *JWarb* 25 [1962], pp. 330–34).
- 32 Kalveram, pp. 115–17, figs. 112–14.
- 33 *Storia*, doc. 11, p. 68, nos. 1, 2.
- 34 MNR 8590: *Collezione*, p. 116, no. 9; MNR 8594: *Collezione*, p. 130, no. 12.
- 35 *Collezione*, p. 20, figs. on pp. 20, 21, 22, 46.
- 36 MNR 8626: *Collezione*, pp. 200–3.
- 37 Cf. P. J. Mariette (note 11 supra), pl. LVI.
- 38 *Collezione*, p. 200.
- 39 Haskell/Penny (note 21 supra), pp. 269–70, no. 63.
- 40 V. Giustiniani, *Discorsi sulle arti e sui mestieri*, ed. A. Banti (Florence, 1981), pp. 72–73: "che si fanno di più pezzi, adoperando rottami de'marmi antichi al meglio che si può. . . ."
- 41 Ibid., "con che tal volta qualche scultore vende per antico quello che ha lavorato con le sue mani. . . ."
- 42 W. C. Seitz, *The Art of Assemblage* (New York, 1961), p. 6; D. Waldman, *Collage, Assemblage and the Found Object* (New York, 1992) traces the history of the genre. I thank Pat Berman for her imprimatur.
- 43 Seitz (note 42 supra), p. 10.
- 44 Ibid., p. 76.
- 45 S. Pressouyre, *Nicolas Cordier: Recherches sur la sculpture à Rome autour de 1600*, 2 vols., *Collection de l'École Française de Rome* 73 (Rome 1984), p. 177.
- 46 P. Fréart de Chantelou, *Journal de Voyage du Cavalier Bernin en France*, ed. L. Lalanne and J. P. Guibert (Paris, 1981), p. 172 (Sept. 9).
- 47 The rest of the body was by Algardi, the head by Bernini: Montagu, p. 155, fig. 208.
- 48 Pressouyre (note 45 supra), p. 183, figs. 411–12; M. Guarducci, "La statua di 'Sant Ippolito' in Vaticano," *RendPontAcc* 47 (1974–1975): 163–90, discusses a presumably unintentionally ironic example.
- 49 Montagu, pp. 152–53; Kalveram, pp. 128–29, figs. 131, 133–34; Pressouyre (note 45 supra), pp. 413–17, figs. 190, 194–95, pp. 202–5.
- 50 See P. Rockwell, "The Creative Re-use of Antiquity," in this volume.
- 51 Peter Rockwell, personal communication.
- 52 MNR 8587: *Collezione*, pp. 158–60, no. 17.
- 53 See J. Fejfer, "Restoration and Display of Classical Sculpture in English Country Houses," in this volume.
- 54 *Collezione*, figs. on p. 158; Kalveram, no. 85, fig. on p. 202.
- 55 E. Paul, "Falsificazioni di antichità in Italia del Rinascimento alla fine del XVIII secolo," in *Memoria dell'antico* (note 2 supra), vol. 2, p. 438; C. Riebesell, "Die Antikensammlung Farnese zur Carracci-Zeit," in *Les Carrache et les décors profanes: Actes du colloque organisé par l'École Française de Rome (Rome, 2–4 octobre 1986)* (Rome, 1988), pp. 391–92, describes the Farnese Twelve Caesars as made up of a mixture of ancient and modern portraits.
- 56 G. Fusconi, "La Fortuna dei Marmi Ludovisi nel Cinquecento e Seicento," in *Collezione*, p. 31.
- 57 Giustiniani (note 40 supra), p. 72–73.
- 58 Seitz (note 42 supra), p. 84.
- 59 T. Browne, *Religio Medici, Hydriontaphia, and the Letter to a Friend*, ed. J. W. Willis Bund (1869; London, 1880). Retrieved 2002 from Renaissance Editions, <http://www.uoregon.edu/~rbear/browne/intro.html>.

The Ancient Sculptures in the Rotunda of the Altes Museum, Berlin

Their Appreciation, Presentation, and Restoration from 1830 to 2000

Andreas Scholl

The long history of the Antikensammlung in Berlin, the building of the first museum to house it, and its rapid development in the nineteenth century are complex topics that have not yet been sufficiently researched.¹ We first address here a significant aspect of this success story: The development over the last 170 years of the Rotunda with its changing sculpture display as the most prestigious room of the Altes Museum. To put this development into its proper historical context requires looking at the growth of the collections through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, touching briefly on the concept of its first purpose-built venue, the Altes Museum.

By the end of the seventeenth century some ancient sculpture had already found its way to Berlin, then a remote setting for antiquities of any kind. The oldest acquisitions we know of derive from the famous “Museum Bellorianum,”² which was assembled by the Roman art collector Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613–1696) and recorded in the monumental *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus Selectus*, compiled by Lorenz Beger and published between 1696 and 1701. Beger had already published the *Thesaurus Palatinus*, but the *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus* is the earliest catalogue of a German nobleman’s collection of antiquities and is generally regarded as the first important documentation of the monumental evidence before Winckelmann.

In 1703, under the supervision of Beger, the Antikenkabinett was installed as a department of the royal Kunstkammer on the fourth floor of the Prussian royal palace, the Stadtschloss, in the center of Berlin.³ This was the first coherent collection of classical antiquities open to a restricted public in northern Europe. It was unfortunate that from its already not very comprehensive array of sculptures thirty-six pieces were given to the court of Saxony at Dresden in 1726. The sad truth was that Friedrich Wilhelm I had no interest whatsoever in classical antiquities. It was only in 1742 with the fortunate acquisition of Cardinal Melchior de Polignac’s collection by Frederick the Great that the number of antiquities in Prussian palaces was increased significantly.⁴ These new additions, for the most part heavily reworked and restored pieces (for instance

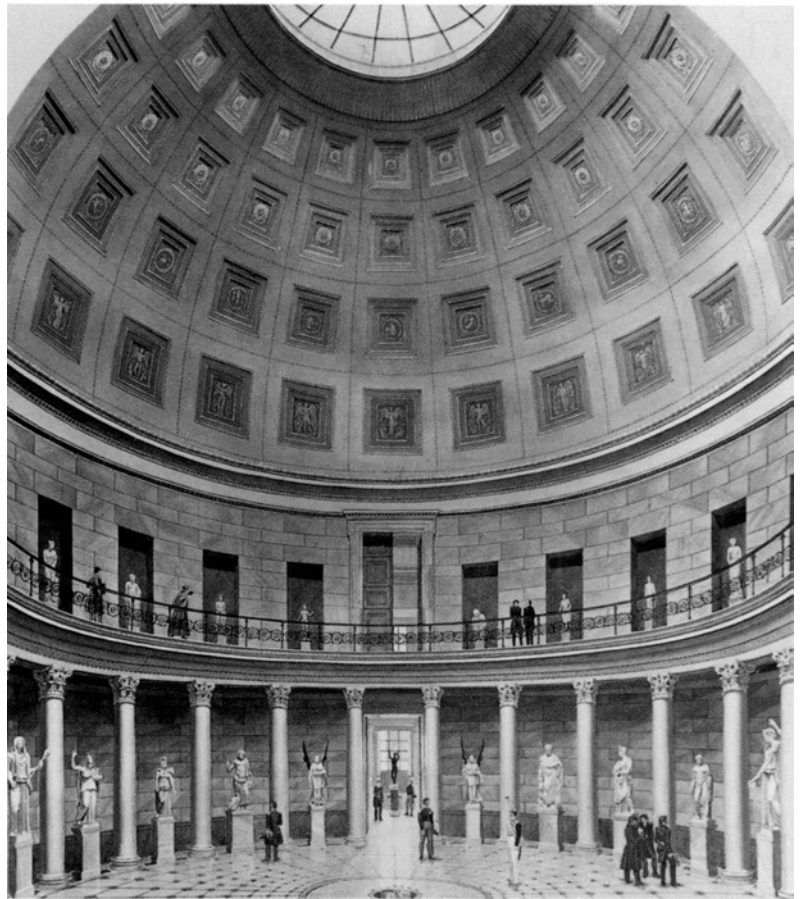


FIG. 1
Carl Emanuel Conrad (1810–1873),
*Rotunda of the Altes Museum, Berlin, to
the north*, 1831. Watercolor. Potsdam,
Stiftung Preußischer Schlösser und Gärten
Berlin-Brandenburg, Plankammer, Aquarell-
sammlung 3837a.

the so-called family of Lykomedes),⁵ were used to decorate the palaces of Charlottenburg, near Berlin, and Sanssouci, near Potsdam. These collections were not accessible to the general public and not displayed in anything resembling a museum setting.

The year 1747 saw the arrival of the first really substantial addition to the royal collection, the Praying Boy (*Der betende Knabe*).⁶ In 1758 Frederick the Great inherited from his sister, the duchess of Bayreuth, the collection she had assembled on her Italian tour.⁷ In 1767 Frederick acquired from the Paris collection of Jean-Baptiste de Julienne the famous portrait of Gaius Julius Caesar in green stone,⁸ which for a long time, together with the Praying Boy, formed the hallmark of the royal collection. Other agents helped Frederick collect in Italy, and in 1770 he was able to buy some appropriate statues from the workshop of Bartolomeo Cavaceppi.

With these Italian pieces the king decorated palace and garden at his favorite residence, Sanssouci—the picture gallery, the Jaspissaal of the Orangerie, and the Neues Palais—as well as the Charlottenburg palace. His most important step, to display some statues in a temple erected in 1770 for the sole purpose of housing antiquities⁹ and located in the beautiful park at Sanssouci, did not make the collection any more accessible to an interested public. This remote temple could be visited only with royal permission,

whereas other royal collectors in Germany had already arranged their collections of classical art in museumlike structures open to the public—for example, Kassel in 1779 and Dresden in 1786. However, Frederick the Great did have his collections published in comprehensive catalogues by his “Inspector” of the picture gallery at Sanssouci, Matthias Oesterreich, who in 1775 produced the first, if unillustrated, catalogue of all sculptures owned by the king of Prussia.¹⁰

Following the death of Frederick the Great in 1786, the architect Friedrich Wilhelm Baron von Erdmannsdorff presented to Frederick’s successor, the art-loving Friedrich Wilhelm II (1744–1797), a proposal to erect a new museum of classical antiquities in Berlin. But again, internal and external circumstances led to abandoning the plan to concentrate in one museum all antique objects and the collection of paintings then dispersed in several royal palaces.

It was only after the Napoleonic wars that the postponed plans were revisited in 1815, the year in which the Prussian king’s collection returned from its forced exile in Paris. In 1820 the art historian and archaeologist Aloys Hirt was entrusted with checking all royal antiquities with the aim of creating one systematic display. Together with the sculptor Christian Daniel Rauch (1777–1857), he produced a *Verzeichnis der antiken Skulpturen, welche vor der Aufstellung im Museum einer Ausbesserung bedürfen*—a list of all sculptures that needed to be restored before being installed in the projected museum. In 1825 Rauch’s workshop in Berlin began to restore the selected pieces, finishing the mammoth task as early as 1829. Christian Friedrich Tieck (1776–1851), the first director of the new Skulpturen-Gallerie and himself a well-trained sculptor, played an important role in the process. At the same time acquisitions were being made systematically in Rome.

Despite the year-long preparations, the sculpture display was not finished when the new royal museum was inaugurated on 3 August 1830, as can be seen from Tieck’s first list of the sculptures put on display in the new exhibition.¹¹ There is unfortunately no material to illustrate the sculpture display of 1830.¹² Only the appearance of the Rotunda is documented in a watercolor by Carl Emanuel Conrad (fig. 1), which gives a view from beneath the great cupola toward the doorway leading into the large north room, behind which the Praying Boy is visible. Conrad’s illustration corresponds clearly with the sculpture sequence given in Tieck’s first guide to the exhibition. According to that interesting source the north door on the main floor was framed by a pair of Nike statues between yellowish columns, the statues then being adorned with high wings in bronze. Further to the left followed (as the names

were recorded in 1830): Jupiter, Fortuna, Minerva with the little Erechthonios, Ceres, Apollo Musagetes, Bacchus, Venus and Amor; on either side of the southern entrance were reclining satyrs, Apollo Lycius, Silvanus, Diana, Juno, Mercury, Hygieia, and Asklepios. Conrad's watercolor shows a little more than the northern half of the room. At the extreme left and right were two maternal goddesses whose height emphasizes the transverse axis. The Nikai frame triumphantly the recently returned Praying Boy. To their sides two bearded male figures continue the symmetrical arrangement. Beside the statue of Asklepios (Sk 69) on the right-hand side appropriately follows Hygieia. Zeus (Sk 290) on the left has Fortuna to his right.

The main entrance from the south is framed by two Roman copies of the Praxitelean satyr. Some of the statues had been bought especially in Rome when it became evident that not enough large-scale sculptures were available for the Rotunda from the royal palaces around Berlin.

The architect of the Altes Museum, Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841), himself had indicated what he wanted the Rotunda to be. He thought of the space as the very center of the building—a room of contemplation and inspiration where visitors could prepare themselves properly for the experience of looking at classical sculpture and other objects of ancient art. The architectural idea of freely recreating the famous Hadrianic Pantheon in Rome, which gives the room its proportions and special atmosphere, also determined the choice of sculptures to be placed there—the most important gods and heroes of Greek and Roman mythology in ancient copies of varying artistic quality.

The room is no exhibition hall in the strict sense as the statues are integral to the architecture. They are intended to create the atmosphere and aura of a holy precinct, a temple of the muses; crossing it prepares visitors for their encounter with the antiquities as an educational experience. In this respect the Rotunda represents the culminating point of Schinkel's concept. When approaching the museum visitors pass first through the Lustgarten, a pleasant park in front of the enormous colonnaded facade. They then walk up the broad stairs leading through the colonnade onto a very deep staircase, only to be surprised by the vast space of the internal rotunda, which is undetectable from the outside. Schinkel was thus able to transform into masterly architecture his idea of preparing and uplifting the visitor.

The rectangular and almost flat niches at the back of the gallery that constitutes the upper floor of the Rotunda were used to accommodate small statuettes of gods, heroes, and genre figurines. Most of them did not at all match the quality of the large-scale

pieces in the colonnade of the main floor. Apart from a few sculptures of higher quality (the Spinario, for instance), they were definitely intended to be seen from a distance. Varying in height (81–154 cm) and sculptural quality, few achieved the monumental impression of the sculptures on the main floor. The height of the smaller statues does not correspond with the height of the niches, but most interesting is that Schinkel used these niches on the upper floor at all. Their use left enough space for visitors to the gallery to move around and made the small sculptures recede into the wall. This arrangement obviously followed purely decorative intentions. The smallest figures stood to the sides of both doors, the tallest ones in the niches of the transverse axis—a placement we have already observed on the main floor.

There is no obvious program behind the choice of sculptures for the gallery. Gods predominate, but beside them are allegorical representations, genre pieces, and subjects relating to Roman emperors. In a sequence from left to right, starting again beside the north door and using the original names, were displayed Trajan, one of the three Horae, Venus and Amor, Asklepios, Mercury, a genius of autumn, a satyr with wineskin, a matronly figure, Bacchus, Julia Pia as Ceres, Diana, Venus Victrix, Isis, Diana, Venus, a so-called Mars, a dressed Venus, and finally the Spinario. This gallery display of 1830 was not long left unchanged. Single pieces were removed to make room for new acquisitions, and in 1844 the niches were emptied. Gobelin tapestries (after designs by Raphael) were placed there and remind us that the complete upper story of the Altes Museum housed the royal collection of paintings until 1904. The statues on the main floor were left untouched until the great excavations organized by the Berlin State Museums in the later nineteenth century flooded the museum with Greek originals.

Soon after the excavations at Pergamon began in 1878 the first sculptures arrived in Berlin and were provisionally displayed in the Rotunda.¹³ To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the museum on 3 August 1880 the famous slabs from the great frieze portraying Zeus and Athena were shown for the very first time. As time went on, the best-preserved slabs were presented in the Rotunda. In 1888 everything was rearranged to demonstrate the original layout of the frieze along the four sides of the Pergamon altar. The complete east frieze now stood in the Rotunda; the other slabs were shown together with the Telephos frieze in a separate room of the Altes Museum, known as the Pergamenischer Saal.

A drawing by Max Lübke gives a good impression of the Rotunda at that time (fig. 2). The statues of the old main floor display have been pushed into the background, their view obstructed by the spectacular Hellenistic reliefs from Pergamon. Beside the

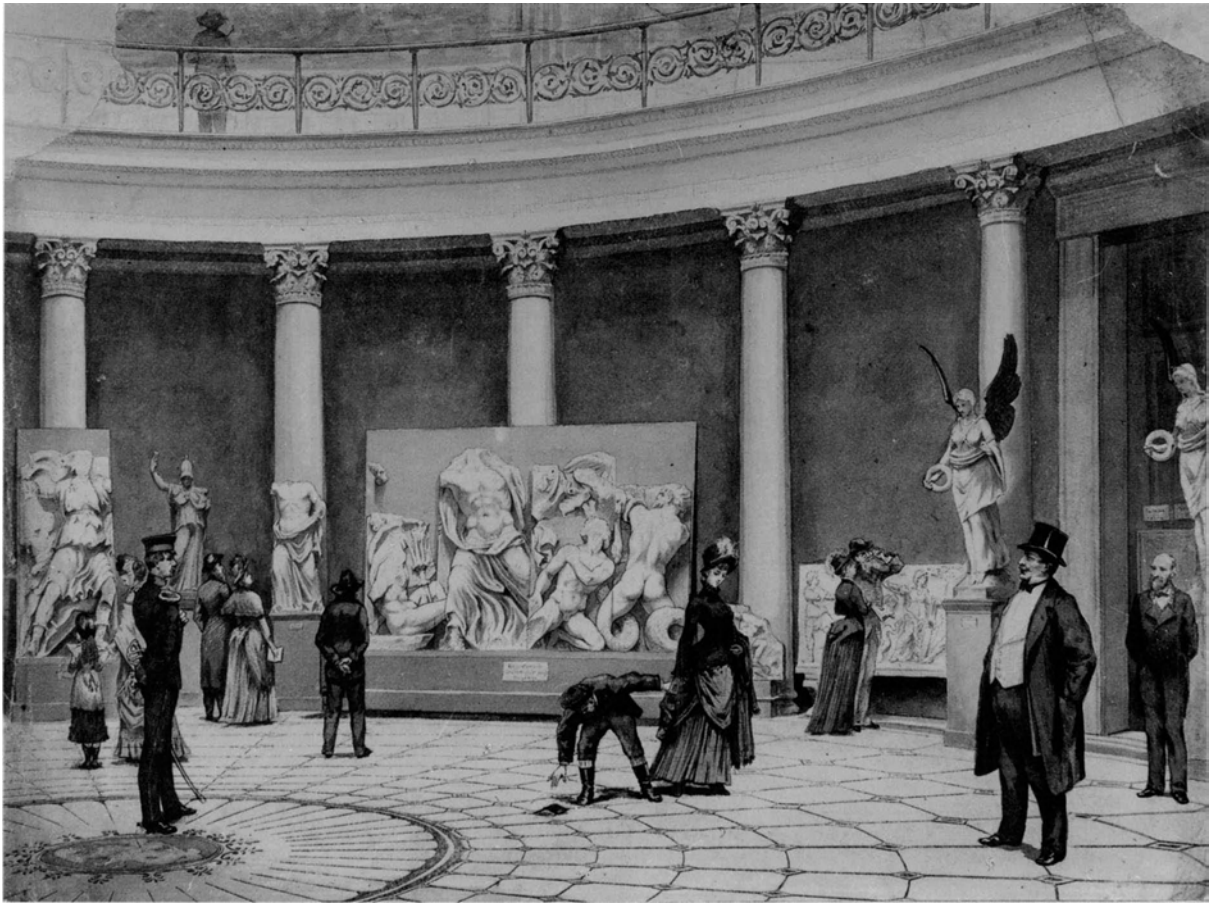


FIG. 2
Max Lübke, *Rotunda of the Altes Museum, Berlin, with fragments from the great frieze of the Pergamon altar*, 1884–1885. Pen-and-ink drawing. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek Hzl.303.7.

slab with the figure of Zeus one recognizes a cast of the Gigantomachy relief from the Mattei collection in the Vatican. Beside the slab with Athena a cast of the Laocoön group had already been placed in 1881 to illustrate the obvious stylistic relationship between the two images.

No other part of the museum seems to have demonstrated more clearly the arrival of the new era of systematic excavations. The old gods have been pushed aside by the sculptures from an hitherto almost unknown period of Greek art, which was so close to the neobaroque taste of the late nineteenth century.¹⁴

A turning point in the exhibition history of the Antikensammlung was marked by the opening in 1901 of the first Pergamon Museum (pulled down for various reasons in 1908) and that of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum (today's Bode-Museum) in 1904. Both floors of the Altes Museum were thus available for a thorough rearrangement of the by now vast collections. The new sculpture display was completed in 1906–1907, under the direction of Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz, and occupied the entire main floor and Rotunda of the Altes Museum. His arrangement represents the second attempt to integrate a convincing presentation into Schinkel's extremely dominating architecture (fig. 3), but this time with a much enriched collection consisting of many first-class Greek



FIG. 3
Altes Museum, Berlin. West hall of the main floor with the gallery of classical Greek sculpture, 1906–1907. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung, Photothek.

originals. The state and direction of archaeological research in the early twentieth century allowed, in fact demanded, the demonstration of stylistic development in Greek sculpture. To show the pieces without any modern additions, now regarded as wrong or outdated in their aesthetic appeal, the sculptures were therefore de-restored; most of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century restorations thus removed were kept in the storerooms.

The new display presented to the public is well documented, not only in contemporary articles and guidebooks, but also in good photographs. It reflected the enormously successful excavation activities and acquisition policy of the museum toward the end of the nineteenth century. At the same time full use was made of the impressive results classical archaeology had achieved in reconstructing the chronological and stylistic development of Greek sculpture.¹⁵ Some of the changes were significant: Now the Rotunda displayed those statues that did not fit into the chronological sequence but could be used to decorate the colonnade.

Thus the role of the Rotunda and its sculpture program was reversed. In 1830 it had been the focus of the whole idealistic concept of late German classicism. Now it was a prestigious repository for sculptures not needed elsewhere in the museum. The center of the room was occupied by a huge late Classical tomb lion, a

sculpture that was simply too big for the forest of columns in the exhibition halls surrounding the Rotunda.

Another change was even more programmatic in its attitude of radical purism. Kekulé had freed the sculptures of most of the early nineteenth-century restorations—sometimes in an almost brutal manner. Between the two World Wars the sculpture display remained almost untouched¹⁶ until all antiquities were evacuated at the outbreak of war in September 1939. After the almost complete destruction of the Altes Museum during the war, rebuilding was completed in 1966 with only the Rotunda regaining its original shape. On the occasion of Schinkel's bicentenary in 1981 most of the main floor sculptures moved in again.¹⁷ Others, but not the original ones, followed in 1987 to decorate the upper gallery. When a complete renovation of the building is undertaken they will be replaced by the small-scale statuary used in 1830.¹⁸ The Rotunda will then be the only ensemble preserved in the state it was in when the museum was inaugurated in 1830.

Notes

- 1 Fundamental to the history of the Altes Museum to its opening in 1830 is C. M. Vogtherr, *Das Königliche Museum zu Berlin: Planungen und Konzeption des ersten Berliner Kunstmuseums* (Berlin, 1997); for a short account compare G. Peschken, "Schinkels Museum am Berliner Lustgarten," in *Glyptothek München 1830–1980*, ed. K. Vierneisel and G. Leinz (Munich, 1980), pp. 360–71, pls. 1–9.
- 2 E. Borea and C. Gasparri, eds., *L'idea del bello: Viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*, 2 vols., exh. cat. (Rome, 2000).
- 3 L. von Ledebur, "Geschichte der Königlichen Kunstkammer in Berlin," in *Allgemeines Archiv für die Geschichtskunde des Preussischen Staates* 6 (1831): 3–57.
- 4 A. Dostert, "Die Antikensammlung des Kardinals Melchior de Polignac," in *Antikensammlungen des europäischen Adels im 18. Jahrhundert als Ausdruck einer europäischen Identität*, ed. D. Boschung and H. von Hesberg, *Monumenta Artis Romanae* 27 (Mainz, 2000), pp. 191–98, pls. 54, 55.
- 5 H. Heres and G. Heres, "Achill unter den Töchtern des Lykomedes: Zur Geschichte einer Statuengruppe," *FuB* 20/21 (1980): 105–46, figs. 1–35.
- 6 Berlin, Antikensammlung Sk 2: G. Zimmer and N. Hackländer, eds., *Der betende Knabe: Original und Experiment* (Frankfurt am Main, 1997).
- 7 G. A. Weber, *Die Antikensammlung der Wilhelmine von Bayreuth* (Munich, 1996).
- 8 Berlin, Antikensammlung Sk 342: C. Blümel, *Römische Bildnisse*, vol. 6 of *Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1933), p. 4ff, pl. 5, no. R9.
- 9 H. Nehls, "'Dieses schöne Stück': Das Reiterrelief Polignac im Antikentempel im Park von Potsdam-Sanssouci," *AntW* 33 (2002): 431–35, figs. 1–8.
- 10 M. Oesterreich, *Beschreibung und Erklärung der Gruppen, Statuen, ganzen und halben Brust-Stücke, Basreliefs, Urnen und Vasen von Marmor, Bronze und Blei, sowohl von antiker als moderner Arbeit, welche die Sammlung Sr. Majestät, des Königs von Preußen ausmachen* (Berlin, 1775).
- 11 F. Tieck, *Verzeichniß der antiken Bildhauerwerke des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin: Erste Abtheilung* (Berlin, 1830).
- 12 The following is based on H. Heres, "Archäologische Forschung und die Aufstellungen der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum 1830 und 1906," *FuB* 27 (1989): 243–56, pls. 1–12.
- 13 W. Radt, *Pergamon: Geschichte und Bauten einer antiken Metropole* (Darmstadt, 1999), pp. 11–15.
- 14 H.-J. Schalles, *Der Pergamonaltar: Zwischen Bewertung und Verwertbarkeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986).
- 15 R. Kekulé von Stradonitz, *Die griechische Skulptur, bearbeitet von B. Schröder, Handbücher der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 3rd ed. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1922).
- 16 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum*, 3rd ed. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1922).
- 17 H. Heres, "Die Aufstellung der antiken Skulpturen in der Rotunde im Alten Museum, 1980 und 1987: Ein Bericht," *FuB* 29/30 (1990): 117–28, pls. 1–10.
- 18 A. Lepik, ed., *Masterplan Museumsinsel Berlin: Ein europäisches Projekt* (Berlin, 2000), pp. 70–76.

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Restoring Restored Sculptures

The Statues of Zeus and Asklepios in the Rotunda of the Altes Museum in Berlin

Wolfgang Maßmann

Extensive restorations of the ancient marble sculptures from the Rotunda of the Altes Museum were carried out from 1998 through 2000. Of the thirty sculptures displayed there (sixteen from the ground floor and fourteen from the upper floor), all but two were found to require intensive conservation. This Herculean task could be taken on only by employing external teams of properly trained stone conservators. Four teams of two conservators each were chosen, provisional work sites prepared, and all relevant information regarding earlier interventions collected. It was obvious from the beginning that all traditional means of joining the marble fragments, such as the use of unprotected iron dowels and the application of colophony as an adhesive, had failed.

The natural aging process was accelerated by the many relocations of the sculptures before, during, and after the Second World War, which for the Berlin Antikensammlung had ended in almost complete catastrophe. All surviving objects were taken as war booty to the Soviet Union, which had entailed days-long travel in conventional goods trains, transport within the cities of Leningrad and Moscow, and a final return journey in 1958 when almost the entire collection of Greek and Roman antiquities was returned to East Berlin.

These movements had caused severe structural damage to most of the large-scale sculpture; some of the Rotunda statues were found close to complete collapse when they were properly checked in 1998. Conservation measures therefore had to aim at complete removal of all dowels and the colophony joins, which were often masked by plaster. Aesthetically convincing solutions had to be found. It was decided from the very beginning that the Rotunda was to be restored to its original appearance of the opening year, 1830; as far as possible, all previously removed parts of the relevant sculptures had to be reattached. Fortunately, most of the missing limbs, which had been removed under the direction of Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz in the early 1900s, were still preserved in the museum storerooms.



FIGS. 1A–B

Statue of Zeus. Roman, second century A.D.
Marble, 11 202 cm. Berlin, Antikensammlung
Sk 290. *a.* Before restoration in 1999. *b.* After
restoration. Photos: G. Kunze + S. Röhl/
Berlin.

To follow the restoration in some detail, we now take a closer look at two examples of sculptures from the Rotunda: a statue of Zeus (Sk 290) and a true Asklepios (Sk 69).

Zeus (figs. 1A–B) had in antiquity been an Asklepios of the so-called Campana type. As no Zeus was available when the sculpture display for the Rotunda was planned in the 1820s, it was decided to create one. A marble torso found near Benevento had first been restored by Vincenzo Pacetti (1746–1820). Only some years later (in 1826) was the statue bought for the Berlin collection from the Roman art dealer Ignazio Vescovali with the help of Freiherr von Bunsen, the Prussian ambassador in Rome. In that same year the German sculptor Emil Wolff (1802–1879), who lived and worked in Rome, began a second restoration. In a letter dated 6 June 1827 to Christian Daniel Rauch, whose workshop in Berlin was re-restoring most of the Rotunda sculptures for their first display, Wolff justifies his changes to the statue: “The statue of Jupiter was restored as an Asklepios when it was bought; the head was ancient, but did not belong, of bad workmanship and heavily restored. Both arms had been added in a rather clumsy way to hang down along the body, which gave the piece a rather dull appearance. As I have found a copy of the same type in the Capitoline Museum restored as Jupiter, I felt encouraged to proceed in the same way.”¹



FIGS. 2A–B
Statue of Asklepios. Roman, second century A.D. Marble, H 213 cm. Berlin, Antikensammlung Sk 69. a. Before restoration in 1999. b. After restoration. Photos: G. Kunze + S. Röhl/Berlin.

Of the earlier Pacetti restoration only the left arm with the patera is preserved; all other major additions such as the head (obviously inspired by the Otricoli Zeus in the Vatican), the right arm with the scepter, and the eagle with roughly a third of the plinth, were added by Wolff's workshop.

The second sculpture, the true Asklepios (figs. 2A–B), was acquired in Rome for the Neues Palais in 1768 by Ludovico Bianconi. To what degree and by whom the figure had already been restored is unfortunately not known. But we do know that in 1825/26 the statue was re-restored² in Rauch's workshop in Berlin. We know from Rauch's *Contobuch*,³ which contains accounts of money spent and brief descriptions of the restoration measures taken, that preparing the models and copying them in marble lasted from 16 July 1825 to 29 July 1826. According to the *Contobuch*, four people worked on the Asklepios, adding the fillet, neck, and tip of the nose to the ancient but unrelated head and otherwise restoring the right arm, stick, snake, and plinth with the legs up to the knees. Of course many minor details, such as folds and the marble cover of a huge clamp in the back, had to be added.

The static structure of the pseudo-Zeus turned out to be more than problematic. It was assumed that two very fine cracks in the plinth with the eagle had been caused by a heavily corroded

iron dowel. But during disassembly it became clear that when the ancient and modern parts of the plinth had been connected, a now-corroded iron clamp embedded in lead had been used. This had to be removed mechanically. A colophony-fixed dowel on one side of the plinth was loosened by injecting a one-to-one mixture of acetone and ethanol; the join could then be opened with wooden wedges. The gypsum-fixed dowels in the modern plinth were so heavily corroded that, despite all caution, the marble cracked. After cleaning all parts of the marble sculpture with water and a special glue made from cellulose, the fragments were reassembled using noncorroding V-4-A steel dowels. As glue for these weight-bearing connections epoxy resin was applied. All surfaces of dowel holes and joins were isolated with acrylic-based resin Paraloid B 72 in a solvent. A similar acrylic-based resin (Kalloplast R) was used to fix smaller fragments such as folds. Next, all joins were closed with a material made from an acrylic dispersion (Scopacryl D-340) and fine marble powder. The final coloring of the joins was done with a reversible binder in a painting technique that covers the surface with small dots.

The statue of Asklepios had been in a dramatically deteriorated state with wide open joins, a loosely attached head, and so on. Both examples show how urgently necessary the interventions were. In addition to the new structural stability, impressive aesthetic improvements were achieved and new insights into early nineteenth-century restorations gained—for example, Wolff was still using pure iron dowels when Rauch's workshop had already turned to brass and tin-covered iron dowels. A monograph documenting conservation measures undertaken to save the sculptures from the Rotunda, together with a full review of their archaeological significance and a history of the collection, is now in preparation.⁴

Notes

- 1 Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Rep. 137 II E 1, fol. 30.
- 2 In most cases the statues acquired during the eighteenth century had already undergone one or two phases of restoration before coming to Berlin. Also, many had on their arrival been displayed in the park at Potsdam and thus exposed to the rough Prussian climate, and serious damage had to be repaired, or re-restored, before the statues could be displayed in the Rotunda.
- 3 *Contobuch Rauch*: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Zentralarchiv, Signatur NL Rauch c 20.
- 4 W.-D. Heilmeyer, H. Heres, and W. Maßmann, *Schinkels Pantheon: Die Statuen der Rotunde im Alten Museum* (forthcoming).

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Early Restorations of Ancient Sculptures in the Casa de Pilatos, Seville

Sources and Evidence

Markus Trunk

E nel vero hanno molta più grazia queste anticaglie in questa maniera restaurate, che non hanno que' tronchi imperfetti, e le membra senza capo, o in altro modo difettose e manche.

—GIORGIO VASARI (1511–1574)¹

Whereas in some early collections in Rome torsos of antique sculptures sometimes had been valued,² the restoration of incomplete and damaged antique statues became more and more common during the course of the sixteenth century. The opening quotation from Giorgio Vasari is a significant testimony to the evaluation and appreciation of restored sculptures.³ A hitherto almost unknown collection of ancient sculptures in Spain, preserved in the so-called Casa de Pilatos in Seville,⁴ can contribute to a deeper understanding of the relationship between restoration and sculptural display as well as improve our knowledge of restoration techniques of this period.⁵

The importance of the collection in the Casa de Pilatos lies more in the collection's history than in the fact that it consists of many masterpieces. Further, it is fortunately partly preserved in its original state and in the original architectural context of its arrangement. The sculptures were assembled in the sixteenth century and installed in a Renaissance palace in Seville. This palace, built in the typical Andalusian Mudejar style, originates from the very end of the fifteenth century when the Ribera family became the owners of the land.⁶

The entrance to the Casa de Pilatos is formed by a magnificent gate, made by a workshop run by Italians from Genoa, and its inscription mentions the most important dates of the early history of the palace's construction:

NISI DOMINVS EDIFICAVERIT DO [MV M IN] VANVM LABORAVERVNT QVI
EDIFICANT EAM SVB VMBRA ALARVM TVARVM PROTEGE NOS
ESTA CASA MANDARON HAZER LOS YLLVSTRES SEÑORES D^O PEDRO ENRIQUEZ
ADELANTADO MAYOR DEL ANDALVZIA Y DOÑA CATALINA DERIBERA SV MVGER
Y ESTA PORTADA MANDO HAZER SV HIIO DON FADRIQUE ENRIQUEZ DERIBERA,
PRIMERO MARQVES DETARIFA ASSI MESMO ADELANTADO ASENTOSE AD 1533⁷



FIG. 1
The *patio grande* of the Casa de Pilatos, Seville. General view looking north. Sixteenth century. Photo: Peter Witte, DAI Madrid.

The pilgrimage of Don Fadrique to the sites of the Holy Land is crucial to the origin of the palace's title as "the house of Pilate," because the people of Seville believed the building to be an exact replica of Pilate's house in Jerusalem. The pilgrimage is mentioned three times on the upper part of the gate: 4 DIAS DE AGOSTO 1519 ENTRO EN IHERVSALEM ("On 4 August 1519 he entered Jerusalem"). After his return from the long journey, Don Fadrique led the construction of the major parts of the Casa de Pilatos, which, apart from some unimportant details, has conserved its general appearance to the present day.

The nucleus of the complex is formed by two courtyards (*patios*) that were constructed from c. 1530 to 1539. The first courtyard, the *patio del apeadero*, is where business was conducted; the second courtyard, the *patio grande* (fig. 1), constitutes the center of the private part of the palace. A great garden on the west of the complex, the *jardín grande*, was added later by Don Fadrique's nephew, Per Afán de Ribera.

The history of the collection of sculptures starts with this nephew, heir to his childless uncle. In 1554 Per Afán de Ribera was appointed viceroy of Catalonia by Philip II and just four years later, in 1558, viceroy of Naples, when he was created duke of Alcalá.

From 1559 until 1571, the year of his death, he performed his duties in Naples to everyone's satisfaction. In Italy he came into contact with important followers of Italian humanism and he discovered his enthusiasm for ancient sculptures. Different sources tell us of his feverish efforts to purchase antiquities in Naples,⁸ its surroundings, and Rome, where he had sent his agents, and in 1566 he also received a donation from Pope Pius v of some sculptures from the Vatican collections.

Meanwhile the first duke of Alcalá prepared his return to Seville, where he intended to spend his old age, surrounded by his classical sculptures. To this end he commissioned the Italian architect Benvenuto Tortello, a native of Brescia,⁹ to undertake modifications and amplifications of his ancestral seat, the Casa de Pilatos. The declared purpose was to integrate the sculptures collected in Italy into a suitable architectural frame. Meanwhile, the sculptures were sent by sea from Naples to Cartagena and Cádiz, and then by land to Seville.

After his arrival in Seville and in accordance with the wishes of the duke of Alcalá, Tortello ordered the arrangement of four great female sculptures in the corners of the *patio grande* and, first and foremost, the creation of niches in the rear walls of the surrounding halls to hold twenty-four portrait busts of famous personalities from antiquity (see fig. 1). The busts begin with a portrait of Romulus, the founder of Rome, and continue with statesmen and officers of the Roman Republic and a selection of Roman emperors, before culminating with a representation of the Spanish emperor Charles v. The most extensive project in this context was the building of the *jardín grande*. Here Tortello constructed two two-storied loggias and a small gallery to the west, the *cenador*, all of which had niches for sculptures.

It is decisive in any evaluation of the collection to know that the decline of the Casa de Pilatos and its contents began immediately following the death of the first duke of Alcalá.¹⁰ After the great plague of Seville in 1649, the owners moved to Madrid and the Casa de Pilatos was subdivided and let to different families and *solteros*, single men of very different financial circumstances. This decay continued to the nineteenth century, but from this time we have new information about several simple cleanings, repairs, and restorations.¹¹ Many travelers' reports from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries confirm the carelessness with which the whole complex had been treated.¹² The result is that in the Casa de Pilatos a complex of sculptures exists that can be precisely dated as to where they were collected—and restored—between 1559 and 1571. Between 1567 and 1571, an architectural framework was

made or modified exclusively for the installation and presentation of these sculptures, a framework that was subject to no noteworthy later modifications. Many of the sculptures have remained in their original positions, and most have retained their original sixteenth-century restorations. As already mentioned, none of the statues was placed in the Casa de Pilatos in an incomplete state: All had already been restored and completed.

We have several sources for these early restorations. It is known that a certain Maestro Giovanni Francese,¹³ the name under which he appears in some documents, installed a workshop in the viceroy's palace in Naples, where he made restorations on some sculptures. We know more about another Italian sculptor, Giuliano Menichini,¹⁴ who worked for Giovanni Francese before being sent to Seville in 1568 to organize the installation of the sculptures there. He was not paid; after the sudden and unexpected death of the duke of Alcalá in Naples he therefore had to take legal proceedings against the heirs. In the records of these proceedings he declared: "I searched for sculptures by order of the deceased Per Afán de Ribera, duke of Alcalá, viceroy of Naples, not only in the city of Rome but also in Capua, Basary[?], Naples, and other places. I brought them all to Naples, to the viceroy's palace, where I cleaned them, put them in order, and reconstructed them to their original conditions, even though they were very old, many of them from the times of the foundation of the mentioned cities, and because of this many of them were very deteriorated with missing limbs, almost without form, I, with much carefulness and many efforts, restored them to their original appearance [*a sus primeras figuras*]. And I served him [the duke of Alcalá] not only in Italy, but he sent me also to Spain, and so I came to Spain with all these sculptures and marbles, and I organized and arranged a large portion of them in the Casa de Pilatos [*las cassas de santisteban*]. So I fulfilled my duties and they owe me my payment for eight years, five years in Naples and three years in Spain."¹⁵

But surely not all the restorations in the Casa de Pilatos were made by the workshop in the viceroy's palace and Menichini himself. In his memoirs of 1594, Flaminio Vacca (1538–1605) tells another anecdote: "I remember that in the cemetery 'della consolazione' [in Rome] has been found the headless marble sculpture of a Roman consul [that is, a Roman dressed in a toga]. It was the common opinion that it was Caesar, and Mr. Ferrante de Torres, who at this time was the agent of the viceroy of Naples, Perafán de Ribera, purchased it and wanted me to make a head for the statue and it should be a portrait of Caesar. This sculpture was later transported to Sicily" (he probably meant Naples).¹⁶ It is not known

whether Vacca accepted the task, nor is it possible to identify the piece in the Casa de Pilatos, where there are preserved three male statues wearing a toga, two of them with added heads.

Beside these written sources the only pictorial sources that exist are some drawings of the early eighteenth century, published by Bernard de Montfaucon in *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*.¹⁷ They show some reliefs in the collection that were sent to Madrid a few decades later, in the middle of the century, in order to decorate the palace of the Medinaceli family, which had in the meantime, through marriages and legacies, inherited the Casa de Pilatos. For the rest of the collection, which remained in Seville, there is only one document that mentions restorations of sculptures in the Casa de Pilatos between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries—in 1705 an Italian sculptor, Domenico Lemico, resident in Seville, restored some pieces in the *jardín grande*.¹⁸

In the nineteenth century we have information about a restoration of the four great female sculptures in the *patio grande* and the cleaning of some portrait busts in the gallery. But it is clear that cheap materials were used for the busts. For example, a document from 1849 tells that the twenty-four busts have been cleaned and all the missing parts have been added in stucco and putty.¹⁹ All the pieces added in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, mostly broken noses (as can be seen in figs. 8–9), have been added in the same materials. We can thus assume that almost all the restorations carried out in marble must be original to the sixteenth century. Of greatest importance is that this hypothesis is valid for the sculptures in the *patio grande*, so I will restrict myself to some observations on these.

The four great female statues in the corners of the patio (see fig. 1) are two replicas of the Athena Medici, a draped female figure, and a statue of Ceres. All the portrait busts were provided with an identifying inscription at the time of their installation, and these four are identified on the front of each plinth as “PALLAS,” “PALLAS PACIFERA,” “CAPÆ SYRISCA,” and “CERES FRUCTIFERA.” These inscriptions were erased only some twenty years ago.

Ceres Fructifera, replaced in the course of the second half of the nineteenth century with a better preserved female statue, is now situated in the west gallery of the *jardín grande*. But the move is well documented, and thus the original installation is quite certain. The sculpture (fig. 2)²⁰ belongs to a type of statue often used for Roman portrait sculptures, where normally the head is covered by a mantle. The statue must have carried a portrait head *capite velato* in antiquity, but the restorer added an antique but ideal female head, one in the tradition of the Cnidian Venus—and moreover in a

FIG. 2

Statue of Ceres Fructifera. Second century A.D. Marble, H 191 cm. Seville, Casa de Pilatos. Photo: Peter Witte, DAI Madrid.

FIG. 3

Female statue. Roman, second century A.D., named and restored in the sixteenth century as “Caupæ Syrisca.” Marble, H 197 cm. Seville, Casa de Pilatos. Photo: Peter Witte, DAI Madrid.



FIG. 4

Head of the Caupæ Syrisca, figure 3. Chin to crown H 25 cm. Photo: Author.



different position. The face was damaged later, and the right forearm, also a sixteenth-century addition, is now lost.

In the west corner of the *patio grande* a strange draped female statue (fig. 3)²¹ is identified as “Caupæ Syrisca” in reference to an antique poem traditionally attributed to Virgil.²² In this poem a Syrian hostess tries to attract passersby and lead them into her tavern, where she dances for her guests to the sound of castanets. The restorer modified the antique statue, which is preserved with its unbroken head, by adding the right forearm with a tambourine (typical for a dancer) and the left hand; he also restored the nose and upper lip.

He also retouched the head—in this statue type the head is usually covered by a mantle, like a cape. The parts of the original garment on the back of the head are remodeled in a wreath of vine leaves (fig. 4), modifications that are clearly seen from the side. The identification of this sculpture as a dancer easily follows from this restoration.

The two statues of Athena or Minerva are replicas of the well-known Athena Medici.²³ In the east corner we find a statue of Athena named simply Pallas (fig. 5).²⁴ Only the torso is antique; the neck with the head and the helmet, both arms with shield and



FIG. 5

Statue of Pallas. Roman torso, second century A.D., with sixteenth-century additions. Marble, H 315 cm. Seville, Casa de Pilatos. Photo: Peter Witte, DAI Madrid.

FIG. 6

Statue of Pallas Pacifera, after removal of modern restorations. Roman, second century A.D. Marble, H 285 cm. Seville, Casa de Pilatos. Photo: Peter Witte, DAI Madrid.

spear, and both feet are restored. The restorer has left his signature, the monogram “F D” (or maybe “D F”) on the left part on the helmet; Ernst Langlotz suggested it was François Duquesnoy (1594–1643),²⁵ but Duquesnoy’s biography gives no hint that he ever was in Seville.²⁶ On the other hand it is very unlikely that the statue was placed at the Casa de Pilatos in an incomplete state, as a torso. That means that the Pallas must have been restored by 1571 at the latest.

In the north corner stands the second, identically sized replica of the Athena Medici, named Pallas Pacifera in the inscription (fig. 6).²⁷ Some ancient restorations were removed in the late 1950s: a large club, posed in the right arm, was a nineteenth-century addition, but the right arm, the left arm with a raised shield, and probably a monumental helmet (fig. 7)²⁸ were all completions of the sixteenth century. The helmet shows some stylistic characteristics identical to the helmet of the other Athena (see fig. 5), but shield and helmet still await analysis by a specialist.

In the north and east corners, the antithetically arranged colossal statues of Pallas Athena formed a first optical reference for every visitor to the *patio grande*; the symmetrical and contrapuntal arrangement of replicas of identical statue types is already evident in Roman contexts.²⁹ But the Athenas in the Casa de Pilatos are



FIG. 7

Marble helmet, formerly on the head of Pallas Pacifera, figure 6. Sixteenth century(?). Seville, Casa de Pilatos. Photo: Peter Witte, DAI Madrid.



FIG. 8
Portrait head identified in the sixteenth century as "Marcus Antonius." Roman, restored with a Renaissance bust. Marble, H 82 cm; head H 30.5 cm. Seville, Casa de Pilatos. Photo: Peter Witte, DAI Madrid.



FIG. 9
Portrait head of the emperor Titus. Roman, first century A.D., inserted in a sixteenth-century bust. Marble, H 123 cm; head H 43 cm. Seville, Casa de Pilatos. Photo: Peter Witte, DAI Madrid.

related on not only aesthetic but also thematic criteria: Whereas Pallas is characterized by martial attributes (helmet, spear, shield)—surely not casually selected in the modern restoration—her counterpart, Pallas Pacifera, was probably originally not armed with aggressive weapons and therefore could be seen as "peacebringing." Aesthetically the two statues form a pair, thematically characterized by their inscriptions and their attributes. They define an antithesis, expressing two aspects of the same goddess: Pallas (Athena) symbolizes flourishing handicraft and trade, which generate prosperity in times of peace but cannot grow without the profits of military science. The layout of this antithesis was obviously the motivation for the restoration of the two statues. The principal purpose was not an archaeologically correct reconstruction of the antique work of art—in which case both statues would have been restored with the same attributes—but a completion of torsos to agree with conceptual criteria.

The head of Pallas Pacifera is antique and belongs to the body (see fig. 6) but seems to be made of a different kind of marble. For the installation in the Casa de Pilatos the Renaissance restorer had to join the head to the body anew, which he did by means of a metal dowel.³⁰ Many examples in the Casa de Pilatos prove that this was the common way to connect heads and bodies or busts. Analysis of the twenty-four busts forming the portrait gallery in the *patio grande* has demonstrated that none of the busts themselves (that is, the chests and pedestals) is antique: all are modern works, probably made during the third quarter of the sixteenth century. Two alternatives were used to join heads and busts at the Casa de Pilatos: either the heads were prepared to be inserted with their neck in a cavity, or, if the neck is broken, the faces were straightened and joined with an attached piece of neck belonging to the modern bust. There are good examples for both, such as the portrait head of a Roman youth from the Antonine period, broken at the neck (fig. 8),³¹ and the entire head of the Flavian emperor Titus, inserted in the bust (fig. 9).³²

There is much left to be investigated at the Casa de Pilatos. Apart from the sculptures in the *patio grande* discussed here, there are many more ancient pieces in other parts of the palace. This collection of marbles is a magnificent object for future investigations and studies on sixteenth-century restoration.

Notes

Acknowledgments

All photographs are reproduced by courtesy of the Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, Seville.

Abbreviations

Trunk 2002 M. Trunk, *Die "Casa de Pilatos" in Sevilla: Studien zu Sammlung, Aufstellung und Rezeption antiker Skulpturen im Spanien des 16. Jhs., Madrider Beiträge* 28 (Mainz, 2002)

- 1 G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, vol. 4, ed. P. della Pergola, L. Grassi, and G. Previtali [1550, 1568; Florence, 1962–1966], pp. 247–48.
- 2 G. Schweikhart, "Der Torso im frühen 16. Jahrhundert: Verständnis, Studium, Aufstellung," in *Il cortile delle statue: Der Statuenhof des Belvedere im Vatikan. Congress Rome 1992* (Mainz, 1998), pp. 315–25.
- 3 Fundamental for restoration of ancient sculptures in the sixteenth century: M. Cagian de Azevedo, *Il gusto nel restauro delle opere d'arte antiche* (Rome, 1948); H. Ladendorf, *Antikenstudium und Antikenkopie* (Berlin, 1953), pp. 55–61; I. Gesche, "Bemerkungen zum Problem der Antikenergänzungen und seiner Bedeutung bei J. J. Winckelmann," in *Forschungen zur Villa Albani*, ed. H. Beck and P. C. Bol (Berlin, 1982), pp. 437–60 (with detailed bibl.).
- 4 With reference to the former investigation of the collection see E. Hübner, *Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid* (Berlin, 1862), pp. 320–27; P. Arndt and W. Amelung, eds., *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen*, vol. 7 (Munich, 1913), pp. 5–8, nos. 1825–47.
- 5 Permission to investigate and publish the sculptures was granted courtesy of the Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli. In 1997 the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) in Madrid undertook a photo-campaign in the Casa de Pilatos (Trunk 2002); see also M. Trunk, "La colección de esculturas antiguas del primer duque de Alcalá de la Casa de Pilatos en Sevilla," in *El coleccionismo de escultura clásica en España, Actas del simposio en el Museo del Prado* (Madrid, 2001), pp. 89–100.
- 6 Fundamental for the history of the building: V. Lleó Cañal, *La Casa de Pilatos* (Madrid, 1998).
- 7 "This house was erected by Don Pedro Enríquez and his wife, Doña Catalina de Ribera, and this gate was ordered by their son, Don Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, the first marquis of Tarifa, in 1533."
- 8 For the situation in Naples, compare C. Lyons, "The Neapolitan Context of Hamilton's Antiquities Collection," *Journal of the History of Collections* 9.2 (1997): 229–39.
- 9 V. Lleó Cañal, "La obra sevillana de Benvenuto Tortello," *Napoli Nobilissima* 23.5–6 (1984): 198–207.
- 10 The only interruption in the process of decay was during the time of Don Fernando Enríquez de Ribera, the third duke of Alcalá (1583–1637). For his biography and art collection, see J. Brown and R. L. Kagan, "The Duke of Alcalá: His Collection and its Evolution," *ArtB* 69.2 (1987): 231–55.
- 11 The relevant documents have been compiled by J. González Moreno, *La Casa de Pilatos en el siglo XIX* (Puente Genil, 1983).
- 12 The principal source is an inventory taken of the contents of the Casa de Pilatos in the middle of the eighteenth century: A. Engel, "Inventaire de la 'Casa de Pilatos' en 1752," *Bulletin hispanique* 5 (1903): 259–71.
- 13 Compare: U. Thieme and F. Becker, eds., *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, vol. 14 (Leipzig, 1921), p. 120, s.v. "Giovanni."
- 14 Lleó Cañal (note 6 supra), p. 45, n. 44.
- 15 "[Y]o se las [estatuas] busque por su [del exmo señor do Pedro afan de ribera duque de alcala viso rrey de napoles difunto] mandado y horden e procure ansi en la ciudad de Roma como en las ciudades de capua y en basary en napoles y otras partes y se las rrecogi todas en la ciudad de napoles en el palacio rreal adonde las aderece puli y ordene e rreduxe a su primer principio de tal manera que aunque heran antequisimas, muchas dellas (de la época) de la fundación de las dichas ciudades por lo qual muchas dellas estavan arruynadas perdidas casi sin figura con mi mucha diligencia e grandisimo trabajo las rrestituy a sus primeras figuras. e no solamente le servi en ytalía pero aun tambien me mando venir en españa e yo . . . vine a España con las dichas figuras y xaspes e lo encamine todo y he asentado mucha parte dellas en las cassas de santisteban y he fecho de mi parte todo lo questava obligado a facer como muy bien oficial en lo qual me he ocupado ocho años . . . de la estada de Napoles que fueron los dhos zinco años . . . y de la estada en españa que son tres años me deve el salario. . . ." Cited in C. López Martínez, *Desde Jerónimo Hernández hasta Martínez Montañés* (Seville, 1929), pp. 129–30.

- 16 F. Vacca, "Memorie di varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della città di Roma. Scritte . . . nell'anno 1594," in F. Nardini, *Roma antica*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1704), p. 4. Cited in R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1903), p. 206; Cagian de Azevedo (note 3 *supra*), pp. 23–24.
- 17 B. de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* (1719; Paris, 1722), reproduced in S. G. Szidat, *Teile eines historischen Frieses in der Casa de Pilatos in Sevilla* (Munich, 1997).
- 18 M. S. Caro Quesada, *Fuentes para la historia del arte andaluz*, vol. 3, *Noticias de escultura (1700–1720)* (Seville, 1992), pp. 118–19.
- 19 González Moreno (note 11 *supra*), pp. 162–64, 225–26.
- 20 Trunk 2002, cat. 21, pl. 28; for the statue type, see C. Donzelli, "Una statua muliebre panneggiata con attributi di Demetra/Cerere da Scolacium: Brevi considerazioni sull'uso e significato del tipo," *Xenia Antiqua* 7 (1998): 83–114.
- 21 Trunk 2002, cat. 50, pl. 62.
- 22 F. R. D. Goodyear, "The Copa: A Text and Commentary," *BICS* 24 (1977): 117–37.
- 23 B. Lundgreen, "The Athena Medici Reconsidered," *AnalRom* 24 (1997): 7–52.
- 24 Trunk 2002, cat. 49, pl. 61.
- 25 E. Langlotz, "Die Repliken der Athena Medici in Sevilla," *Madrider Mitteilungen* 1 (1960): 164–73, pl. 44–51, spec. 165, n. 2.
- 26 L. Hadermann-Misguich, "François Du Quesnoy, restaurateur d'antiques," *Annales d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie* 4 (1982): 27–42.
- 27 Trunk 2002, cat. 48, pls. 58–60.
- 28 Already in the nineteenth century the helmet had been removed once, as is proved in a photo by J. Laurent (ca. 1870–1872); see L. Fontanella and M. de los Santos García Felguera, *Fotografías en la Sevilla del siglo XIX* (Seville, 1994), pp. 126–27.
- 29 E. Bartmann, "Decor and Duplication: Pendants in Roman Sculptural Display," *AJA* 92 (1988): 211–25.
- 30 J. González Moreno, *La Casa de Pilatos: Historias y leyendas* (Seville, 2000), p. 50, shows a photo of the torso after the head was taken off (with the dowel well visible); the figure on p. 48 shows the state of the same statue before de-restoration.
- 31 Trunk 2002, cat. 31, pl. 41.
- 32 Trunk 2002, cat. 16, pl. 23.

Themes, Approaches, Issues, and Questions

Charles Rhyne

This symposium has been a more than worthy successor to previous symposia on marble and small bronze sculptures organized by the J. Paul Getty Museum, as well as symposia organized jointly with the Conservation Institute on the conservation of archaeological sites and of ancient and historical metals. I am delighted that these papers are here published in another symposium volume in what is already one of the distinguished series in the field. After such instructive papers and some of the most rewarding discussions I have heard at any professional conference, it is a pleasure to reflect on the diverse approaches and some of the recurring issues.

It has been refreshing to see such careful looking at objects, to see to what extent the history of restoration of individual objects can be reconstructed by careful, trained looking, as exemplified by many speakers, including Elizabeth Bartman and Samantha Sportun for works in the Ince Blundell collection and Giovanna Martellotti for three examples in Rome. As many of you were speaking, I desperately wished that my students, not to mention some of my colleagues, could have been here to witness what one can learn from such informed looking. I was particularly pleased to see photographs, especially the exemplary slides shown by Brigitte Bourgeois, that allowed us to see exactly what was being described. So often speakers show slides that serve only to identify the works of art about which they are speaking, but do not allow one to test what is being said against the visual evidence. One must either take what is being said on faith or suspend judgment. I have long espoused the importance of high-quality photographic images as evidence in professional publications, and was delighted to see so much of this as an integral part of these papers.

For those of us who are not professional conservators, it was a treat to see how, in the discussions, participants were able to stay with a technical subject until all that had been learned from examination of documents and objects had been shared. I am remembering for example our discussion of different types of artificial patination—wax, tree resin, tobacco leaves, coffee, and lampblack,

not to mention boiled urine—and Brigitte Bourgeois's and Peter Rockwell's investigations of the history of restoration techniques.

As an art historian, I was reassured to see the in-depth archival research conducted. Papers such as those of Angela Gallottini and Nancy Ramage drew not only on inventories, catalogues, correspondence, and diaries, but also on lists of expenses, invoices, receipts, and wills. These helped to disentangle relationships among artists, restorers, dealers, agents, collectors, and other actors in the marketplace, and to clarify more fully the role and functioning of workshops.

We heard from Angela Gallottini, Edmund Southworth, Markus Trunk, and others about the formation of important collections and their unique conservation histories. Andreas Scholl described the unique interplay of architecture, display, and restoration for the famous collection of ancient sculpture in the Rotunda of the Altes Museum.

I want now to attempt to extract from this rich series of papers and the stimulating discussions what have emerged as a few key issues, not only for the restoration of ancient stone sculpture but potentially for the conservation of all works of art. These issues could form the basis for a series of position papers, comparable perhaps to the useful Getty Kouros volume, but focused this time not on a specific work of art but on essential conservation issues. I regularly assign the Kouros volume in my classes; it has never failed to stimulate a most rewarding class discussion, forcing students to recognize the complexity of physical evidence, the validity of conflicting judgments even among leading scholars, and the option of suspended judgment. How wonderful it would be to have comparable volumes on the issues raised in this symposium.

Which of these issues might we choose for such a series? One, I should hope, would be the fascinating question that surfaced at various times during the symposium: of the relation of restoration practice to other aspects of culture. As Jerry Podany pointed out in his introduction, restorers are formed by ideas of their time. One aspect that appears especially promising to follow up is the idea, voiced by Peter Rockwell and others, that restorations have recognizable styles and that these might easily have been influenced by artistic styles at the time. I understand that Jane Fejfer is studying the role of artists in influencing restoration in antiquity. Elizabeth Bartman tells us that, in his restorations, Albacini responded to the extreme whiteness of Canova's marbles and their clean linearity. It was suggested that the stripped-down, minimalist character of the current Aegina pediment restoration was influenced by the post-Second World War German rejection of both nineteenth-century decoration and Nazi Neoclassical associations. In a sense, how

could this be otherwise, since restorers are part of the social fabric, just like the rest of us. Today, there can be no doubt that technological developments, also characteristic of contemporary art, are transforming many aspects of conservation. Likewise, the restoration of African and other indigenous art is being transformed by our increased understanding of and concern for cultural diversity.

This is all part of our much larger topic—the history of restoration. As a pioneer in the field, Seymour Howard provided us with a wide-ranging review of the entire history of ancient sculpture restoration, emphasizing the interplay of ideas and practice. In thinking of our own role in this history, we recognize ourselves as participants in an ongoing process and are beginning to wonder, as suggested by Orietta Rossi Pinelli and others, how we shall be seen one hundred years, perhaps twenty or even ten years, from now. Surely, among other things, later generations will see us as the first to engage in detailed documentation of our own conservation projects; among the first to organize into regional, national, and international professional associations; and the first to have available advanced forms of technical analysis and digital imaging. Maybe, if we are lucky, they will also see us as the first generation to give priority to preventive conservation, and, if we are very lucky, as the first to question not only our procedures but our motives, ourselves.

Perhaps also it will be recognized, as this symposium has so beautifully demonstrated, that art conservation and art history are beginning to find common ground. For it is not only the history of conservation that we need to study but what we might call “the physical history of objects.” For years I have been attempting to persuade curators to take out their object report forms, to find the section titled “Condition” (which they would turn over to their conservator to fill in), asking the curators to scratch out the word “Condition” and to write in “Physical history of the object” (which they could then fill in jointly with their conservator colleague). We need to know not only the work’s present condition, but as much as we can about its entire physical history from the moment the stone was quarried, and we need to think of its present condition as only one stage in this ongoing process.

The history of conservation is one of the most promising areas for future research as faculty, students, and others discover the wealth of unanswered questions and untapped resources for answering them. Witness Markus Trunk’s discovery and study of the amazing mid-sixteenth-century restoration time capsule at the Casa de Pilatos. Of course, most so-called “discoveries” are already known to some local inhabitants. It is the recognition of their uniqueness and significance that brings them to the attention of the world at large. Following Seymour Howard’s lead, we are beginning

to see doctoral theses on the history of conservation in art history departments, some written by established conservators who have gone back to universities to train themselves more thoroughly in the history of art. Correspondingly, at least one scholar with a doctorate in art history has completed a graduate program in conservation.

A number of speakers have pointed out, although I think largely in conversation, that it is now standard practice for them to confer with their colleagues: curators, conservators, and conservation scientists sharing expertise and ideas. Not too many years ago, when examining paintings with museum conservators, I would occasionally suggest that the relevant curator might be interested. Sometimes I felt as if I were introducing the two, in spite of both having been at the museum several years. Happily, this would now be a rare exception. Jerry Podany has even suggested that it is time for curators and conservators to publish as coauthors. In a few cases, we have already seen the rewards of such collaboration.

In this proposed series of position papers, we will certainly need a volume discussing terms. I am sure I have missed some but I've jotted down: original, collaboration, copy, pastiche, interpretation, falsification, conscious deception, fake, fragment, aggregation, assemblage, intervention, reintegration, reconstitution, reconstruction, repair, recarving, re-creation, conservation, restoration, partial restoration, de-restoration, re-restoration, reuse, and creative interpretation. We have all recognized the problems with these terms. Early in our symposium, Peter Rockwell urged that we need better definitions. Surely he is right, but I am not sure this is the central problem. Is not the essential problem the practice of putting treatments, even objects, into oversimplified categories, whereas most treatments are a combination of approaches that are cumulative over the years? We need to understand how the various physical changes in each sculpture have resulted from its own unique, complex history. Many speakers, including Miranda Marvin and Edmund Southworth, have provided model cases of how to do this.

I want to conclude by attempting to clarify one of the key terms in our discussions, a word with potent associations: authenticity. If we read through the critical literature on authenticity, we find that every definition is flawed by the confusion of authenticity with values. Every discussion incorporates in the concept of authenticity whatever the author values. I would like to suggest that we separate the two.

If we ask: "Is the Marcus Aurelius from the Pergamon museum authentic? Are the Lansdowne Herakles, the Los Angeles Apoxyomenos, the Gladiatore Borghese, the Aegina pediments, the Ince Diana and Bust of a Young Man, the reliefs of the Ara Pacis,

the Ny Carlsberg Antinous, the Laocoon, yes even the Ludovisi Eros and Psyche, authentic? Are any of these, in their present states, authentic?" The answer in every case is yes. Each is a sculpture, quarried at a certain time and place, carved by a certain artist and/or workshop. Each has gone through a variety of physical changes, some drastically changing the original form and meaning. These changes were made for many different reasons. This is what each object is. The key concept, the liberating concept, is that everything is an authentic something. Therefore, difficult as it may be for us to say it, a fake is an authentic fake. In separating the concept of authenticity from the concept of value, our first job is to reconstruct and describe as dispassionately as possible what the object is, in all its complexity, initially resisting our own judgments of value. Then, separately, we must identify what we choose to value and why. Note Elizabeth Bartman's comment about the Ince Diana, purchased as an ancient statue but probably an eighteenth-century composite of 127 ancient and modern fragments, its form unlike any work in antiquity: "Instead of demoting the statue . . . I celebrate it for its manifestation of virtuoso skill in sculpting and piecing marble. Technically the statue is a tour de force without contemporary parallel" (see p. 115).

Speakers at this symposium have described a wide variety of values determining the treatment of different works of art. In many cases the representation of certain content has been paramount, in others a complete, visually coherent form, or, alternately, the fragmentary nature of the sculpture. Sometimes the original material, some unique characteristic, or a work as it existed at a particular moment in history has been especially valued. Practical values having to do with structure and stability and, increasingly, concern for the sculpture's future care are important. We must clarify these choices for ourselves and record them for our professional colleagues.

Do we also have the responsibility of making this information available to the interested public? Exhibitions organized around the making of works of art, their physical histories and restorations, have been immensely popular, as is the exhibition that accompanied this symposium, displaying the restored Pergamon Marcus Aurelius with explanatory labels, diagrams, and video. But what of normal museum display of works of art? Do not viewers have a right to know what they are looking at? Are we not underestimating "the public" when we exclude such information not only from museum labels but also from museum publications except scholarly catalogues? Are we not failing to recognize the thousands of students and highly educated adults from all walks of life who visit museums? It is often said that providing the public with

information about the physical changes to works of art will call attention to the work of restorers instead of the original artist and will detract from the experience of the art. Perhaps so when changes are minor or do not significantly alter our experience of the art. But often they do. As Giovanna Martellotti writes: "Whoever looks at the Ara Pacis without taking into consideration the eighteenth-century restorations runs the risk of forming the significantly mistaken idea that Roman art in the Augustan era was strongly Neoclassical in nature" (see p. 188). Most viewers assume that the art at which they are looking appears much the same as did the original when created, but often this is not the case. Recognizing this, some museums are exploring ways to make such information available in their galleries, easily available to interested viewers without imposing on those who, quite justifiably, wish only to look.

These approaches, issues, and questions overlap and intermingle in ways specific to each situation. We cannot avoid the fact that some of these values are in conflict. Some are even mutually exclusive. In diagrams, lectures, and publications we may suggest alternative restorations, but with the work of art itself we can only have it one way at one time, and it is not usually practical or desirable to revisit a restoration often. It is incumbent on us to decide, through extensive consultation, the particular complex of values on which we are basing each treatment, and to document these carefully for future generations. Note for example Mette Moltesen's informative account of the rationale for the de-restoration and re-restoration of each of six ancient sculptures at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. The key is in clarifying our own motives and values whenever we treat a work of art. It has been a revelation at this symposium to see how well this can be done.

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