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EVOLUTION OF AUTHENTICITY: INVESTIGATING THE (DE)RESTORATION OF
ANCIENT SCULPTURE (DE)RESTORATIONS IN THE 1970s

by

Amelia Griese

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master Art in Art History and Visual Cultures
at
Lindenwood University

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EVOLUTION OF AUTHENTICITY: INVESTIGATING THE (DE)RESTORATION OF
ANCIENT SCULPTURE (DE)RESTORATIONS IN THE 1970s

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the School of Arts, Media, and Communications
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master in Fine Arts
at
Lindenwood University

By

Amelia Griese

Saint Charles, Missouri

December 2022

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: Evolution of Authenticity: Investigating the (De)Restoration of Ancient Sculpture (De)Restorations in the 1970s

Amelia Griese, Master of Fine Art, 2022

Thesis Directed by: Dr. Alexis Culotta

This thesis focuses on the period of de-restoration of ancient Greek and Roman sculptures in the 1970s. While three distinct periods of restoration history have been well-defined by scholars (17th to 19th century, the 1970s, and modern-day), the discussion of the motivations behind the focus on purism that led to de-restoration in the 1970s are lacking in the literature. The *Lansdowne Herakles* and the *Aegina Marbles* will be used in this analysis because of their illustration of the different periods of restoration history. While both the *Lansdowne Herakles* and the *Aegina Marbles* were de-restored in the 1970s, their fate in modern time diverges. The *Lansdowne Herakles* was once again restored in 1996, while the *Aegina Marbles* remain in their de-restored state. The different periods of restoration will be further explained using dominant authenticities: aesthetic, conceptual, material and historical. The addition of historical authenticity to discussions in previous literature is a critical part of understanding the modern take on restoration history. Using the legacies of the *Lansdowne Herakles* and the recovered pediment figures from Aegina, this study will use parallels to English historiography to explain the focus on hard facts and strict timelines of visual history that led to the de-restoration of many ancient sculptures in the 1970s.

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Introduction

Visitors walk into the Temple of Hercules at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, California and they are met with the imposing figure of the *Lansdowne Herakles*, standing proudly in a relaxed contrapposto at the center of the room (Figure 1). He has his club over one shoulder and his lion skin cloak at his side. When they gaze at this statue, they see a classic example of Greek sculpture, but they see nothing of its long and complicated history. If they read the placard, they learn that the sculpture is in fact a Roman copy of a Greek original, likely commissioned by the Roman emperor Hadrian. They would then see at the end of the description, almost as an afterthought, “[a]reas of restoration include the statue’s lower left leg and parts of both arms.”¹ This making whole of the sculpture via restoration recalls a complicated legacy that dates back to debates spurred in the Renaissance when strong aversions to fragmentary sculpture resulted in the development of an entire industry for restoring statues. Leonard Barkan, in his book *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*, calls the period from

¹ “Statue of Hercules (Lansdowne Herakles) (Getty Museum),” The J. Paul Getty in Los Angeles, accessed December 5, 2021, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/6549/unknown-maker-statue-of-hercules-lansdowne-herakles-roman-about-ad-125/>.

the 17th century to the early 19th century the “golden age of restoring antiquities.”² This trend waned during the late 19th century when there was an abrupt change of practice in the 20th century. By the 1970s, there was a push across many museums and conservation departments to remove the prior restorations and display only the original antiquity with no additions, however this only lasted a few decades.³ In the 21st century many institutions decided to re-restore these ancient sculptures and put the golden age restorations back in place since they are a part of the piece’s history. Such is the case for the *Lansdowne Herakles* as seen today.

While these three periods of restoration are well defined in the literature there is little information about why there was such an abrupt change to de-restoration in the 1970s. This study will fill the gap in the research using new historicism to analyze the written material from the 1970s and explain the change in policy to de-restoration using patterns in dominant authenticities: aesthetic, conceptual, material, and historical. While aesthetic, conceptual and material authenticity have been used in prior research by David Scott, historical authenticity has been added to this analysis to further contextualize the current era’s understanding of restoration theory. Historical authenticity is comprised of an understanding that the object has passed through time which has molded and changed it from what the original artist first produced. These additions are now viewed as something that adds to, rather than diminishes the object. Building on the foundations of reception theory, this thesis will assess the influence of these authenticities and how

² Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and the Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 187.

³ Seymour Howard, *The Lansdowne Herakles* (Malibu, Calif.: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1978), 3.

their shifting weight resulted in changing outlooks as to the merits of or detriments to the restoration of antique sculptures. At the center of this analysis will be the *Lansdowne Herakles* and *Aegina Marbles*, selected because they reflect divergent narratives of restoration. While both the *Lansdowne Herakles* and the *Aegina Marbles* were de-restored in the 1970s, the *Lansdowne Herakles* was once again restored in 1996 whilst the *Aegina Marbles* remain in their de-restored state. These divergent outcomes, perhaps influenced by transitions from private collections to public museum spaces, reveal the different attitudes on restoration and thus serve as an ideal springboard for this thesis' claims.

Case Studies

Lansdowne Herakles

The *Lansdowne Herakles* is currently a part of the J. Paul Getty Museum's permanent collection and got its name from its previous owner Lord Lansdowne. The statue is believed to be a Roman copy (125 CE) of a Greek original sculpture by Skopas, who worked during the 4th century BCE.⁴ As with many antiquities, the sculpture was lost and then rediscovered in the early 1790s at Emperor Hadrian's villa near Tivoli.⁵ The *Lansdowne Herakles* has a rich restoration history and was first restored when it was added to Lord Lansdowne's collection. Later in the 1970s when it became a part of the Getty's Roman art collection, the decision was made to de-

⁴ Jerry 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?*, ed. William A. Oddy (London: British Museum Press, 1994), 11.

⁵ Howard, *The Lansdowne Herakles*, 8.

restore the piece and remove these earlier restorations. In the late 1990s, this decision was reversed again and the sculpture was put back on display at the Getty with the 18th century restorations intact. This history fits well with the established periods of sculptural restoration practices and highlights not only the motivations during the 1970s to de-restore, but also shows one of the ways current museum officials are handling the complicated history of these ancient sculptures.

The *Lansdowne Herakles* was purchased by Lord Lansdowne with the help of Thomas Jenkins and Charles Townley. Thomas Jenkins was a well-known English art dealer in Rome who purchased the sculpture after its discovery. Charles Townley was another English collector whose collection ultimately became the foundation for the British Museum in 1792.⁶ Townley wrote to Lansdowne about two sculptures. One sculpture was the *Lansdowne Herakles* and the other was a statue holding a discus. Townley asked to keep the sculpture with a discus for himself. In a letter dated April 3, 1792, Townley notes that the *Lansdowne Herakles* “has its own head never broke from the body, both its hands and feet and wants nothing of consequence but the middle part of one of the legs.”⁷ The condition detailed by Townley is rather remarkable for antiquities discovered during this period, as they were usually fragmentary and had unidentifiable iconography. Despite the relatively good condition of the sculpture, in the next letter to Lord Lansdowne from Jenkins on April 30, 1792, he notes with little fanfare that the sculpture has been sent out for restoration prior to being shipped back to England.⁸ Lord Lansdowne paid £500 for the *Lansdowne Herakles*

⁶ Howard, 11.

⁷ Howard, 13.

⁸ Howard, 14.

and upon its arrival, it was immediately recognized as an excellent sculpture. Richard Knight, who studied early English antiquarianism, wrote in 1809 that it was “incomparably the finest male figure that has ever come into this country and one of the finest that has hitherto been discovered.”⁹

In Seymour Howard’s book on the *Lansdowne Herakles*, he concedes that the restoration and repairs to the *Lansdowne Herakles* were relatively modest compared to others being performed at that time. They were, however, not as insignificant as Jenkins and Townley made them out to be in their letters to Lord Lansdowne.¹⁰ Figure 2 shows the condition of the sculpture after all of the 18th century restorations were removed. The restorer who performed the 18th century restorations is unknown, but most scholars have ruled out Bartolomeo Cavaceppi. Cavaceppi was a master restorer during the 18th century who frequently worked with Jenkins. Due to the poor quality of the restoration, it is believed that the work may have been done by one of his students.¹¹

After Lord Lansdowne’s death in 1805, the sculpture passed through a few collections in England before being put up for auction at Christie’s in March of 1930. It was eventually acquired by J. Paul Getty in 1951.¹² In 1976, the conservation team at the Getty noticed the iron support rods internally housed in the *Lansdowne Herakles* were starting to rust and there was a fear that the marble would begin to split.¹³ A major conservation effort was undertaken to repair the

⁹ Howard, 17.

¹⁰ Howard, 18.

¹¹ Podany, “Restoring What Wasn’t There,” 11.

¹² Podany, 11.

¹³ Howard, *The Lansdowne Herakles*, 3.

Lansdowne Herakles. It was during this conservation effort that the 18th century restorations were removed and not reassembled.¹⁴ Antiquities conservator Zdravko Barov published a conservation report on the *Lansdowne Herakles* that “determined that only restorations necessary for support and aesthetic considerations would be made, while all other additions would be left off.”¹⁵ Jerry Podany, another conservator at the Getty detailed the de-restoration as follows:

The major marble restoration segments which were set aside and not replaced include:

- a large back part of the lion skin;
- tip of the nose;
- both extremities of the club;
- the right thumb;
- most of the little finger;
- the second joint of the left index finger.

The marble restorations which were set aside but replaced by modern segments were:

- the right forearm and wrist;
- a large chip from the right thigh;
- the whole left calf;
- small chips in the left wrist;
- the area above the right, rear elbow;
- the area behind the right knee;
- the center of the left arm including the elbow.¹⁶

The second set of additions noted by Podany were replaced with cast shells made of fiberglass and epoxy that were recessed below the original marble surface.¹⁷ These additions were considered

¹⁴ Howard, 3.

¹⁵ Howard, 3.

¹⁶ Podany, “Restoring What Wasn’t There,” 12.

¹⁷ Howard, *The Lansdowne Herakles*, 3.

necessary to preserve the aesthetic wholeness of the sculpture, but the recession was intended to allow viewers to identify the non-antique aspects.¹⁸ Barov concluded the conservation report by stating “the new restoration of the statue was made not only for technical reasons but also to show the original as much as possible free of alien additions. The emphasis is now on what is left of the original, with additions limited to those necessary to cover the technical joins.”¹⁹ Although all previous restorations were removed, consideration for the comprehensibility of the sculpture remained, as long as the additions clearly appeared non-ancient.

In 1996, the *Lansdowne Herakles* was once again placed under conservation treatment. The epoxy casts that had been added in the place of the 18th century restorations were becoming unstable and needed to be addressed.²⁰ A decision was made by Marion True, the former Curator of Antiquities at the Getty, and Jerry Podany, a conservator at the Getty, to reattach the 18th century restorations that had previously been removed during the 1970s de-restoration.²¹ The sculpture currently stands with these restorations in place. Podany concluded in an article on the de-restoration and re-restoration of the *Lansdowne Herakles* that “most actions by earlier restorers are, to all intents and purposes, permanent and irreversible. What is retrievable by de-restoration

¹⁸ Howard, 3.

¹⁹ Howard, 4.

²⁰ Howard, 4.

²¹ Marion True, “Changing Approaches to Conservation,” in *History of Restoration of Ancient Stone Sculptures: Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organized by the Department of Antiquities and Antiquities Conservation of the J. Paul Getty Museum and Held at the Museum 25-27 October 2001* (Los Angeles: J Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 7–8.

may be less valuable to the study of antiquity than the earlier restoration was to the study of a more recent century.”²² Here, Podany sheds light on the decision to reattach the 18th century restorations; in the modern era with the rise of historical authenticity, there is an understanding that changes made throughout history are a part of the sculpture and can no longer be undone without leaving more of an impact.

Aegina Marbles

The *Aegina Marbles* are sixteen statues that make up the pediments of the ancient Greek Temple of Aphaia on Aegina, which was built in 490-480 BCE (Figure 3).²³ The two pediments depict battles with soldiers in various positions of fighting and dying and Athena overseeing at the apex of both pediments. There is debate among scholars on what battles are depicted, but most likely they are scenes from the Trojan War.²⁴ Like the *Lansdowne Herakles*, these sculptures were extensively restored when they were added to a private collection. Later when the collection transitioned to a museum setting they were de-restored. Unlike the *Lansdowne Herakles*, the *Aegina Marbles* have not been re-restored and remain in the de-restored state from the 1970s. The *Aegina Marbles* case study once again highlights the motivations of the 1970s de-restoration but shows a different approach to how these sculptures were handled in the 21st century.

²² Podany, “Restoring What Wasn’t There,” 15.

²³ Louis A. Ruprecht, “Romantic Receptions or The Aeginetan Sculptures Long March to Munich,” in *Religious Convergence in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2019), 364.

²⁴ Judith M. Barringer, *The Art and Archaeology of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 199.

The sculptures were rediscovered in 1811 by four young artists who had sailed to the island of Aegina to sketch the ruins, while on their Grand Tour of Europe.²⁵ Once they discovered the fragmentary pediments, they took the pieces back to Athens where they attempted to put them back together. Since the group of young artists was split between British and Bavarian nationals, they could not decide where the sculptures should eventually end up so they decided to have a public auction in November of 1812.²⁶ Similar to the *Elgin Marbles* that had recently been acquired by the British Museum, it was a foregone conclusion that these treasures would not stay in Greece. There were several complications with the auction and moving the sculptures out of Greece, but in the end, a representative for the Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria succeeded in securing the pediment sculptures.²⁷ It was not until 1815 that the sculptures were collected by Johann Martin Wagner who was Ludwig's representative and a neoclassical painter. While Wagner had the sculptures in Rome, he arranged for them to be restored by a Danish sculptor, Bertel Thorvaldsen.²⁸ As part of his restorations, and in keeping with the practices of the time, Thorvaldsen extensively completed the sculptures from 1816 to 1818, leaving no delineation between what was original and reconstructed.²⁹ He also added metal weapons and other decorative elements to complete the

²⁵ Ruprecht, "Romantic Receptions," 368–69.

²⁶ Ruprecht, 370.

²⁷ Ruprecht, 371.

²⁸ Ruprecht, 371.

²⁹ William J. Diebold, "The Politics of Derestoration: The Aegina Pediments and the German Confrontation with the Past," *Art Journal* 54, no. 2 (1995): 60, <https://doi.org/10.2307/777463>.

statues (see Figure 4).³⁰ It is interesting to note that since these sculptures had been largely underground until their rediscovery, some of their original colors and paints were preserved. Very little is said about how Thorvaldsen handled these aspects, but modern science has used UV technology to map out the patterns originally on the sculptures.³¹

Ludwig was thrilled to have the sculptures since it fed his need to have an antiquity collection to rival all others, including those held by Napoleon's collection and the British Museum.³² He was so enamored with the sculptures and the start of his new collection that he sponsored a design competition for a new neoclassical museum to house these works.³³ This became the Glyptothek Museum when it was completed in 1830.³⁴ The site became part of Hitler's building project in Munich, during World War II. As a result, the museum suffered severe damage from Allied bombing. In light of the damage to the museum, director Dieter Ohly of the Glyptothek decided to de-restore the *Aegina Marbles* between 1962 and 1966. He argued that the museum had a "desire to elide temporal differences, enacting an artful but ultimately misleading blending of the past and the present in a weirdly hybrid, continuous whole."³⁵ Questions about the Thorvaldsen restorations began to surface as early as 1901 when Adolf Furtwangler, the director of the

³⁰ Ruprecht, "Romantic Receptions," 377.

³¹ Ruprecht, 377–78.

³² Ruprecht, 369.

³³ Ruprecht, 372.

³⁴ Diebold, "The Politics of Derestoration," 60.

³⁵ Ruprecht, "Romantic Receptions," 381.

Glyptothek at the time, excavated the original pediment bases.³⁶ One of the most notable errors this brought to light in the Thorvaldsen restoration was that Warrior O III was restored lying down, but the pediment bases that were recovered indicated he would have been standing.³⁷ The sculptures were put back on display in 1972 minus Thorvaldsen's restorations. Art Historian William Diebold commented that what was left on display "is a curious hybrid, brought about by a desire to display fragmentary originals in a pure but comprehensible way."³⁸ The very fragmentary sculpture is supported by metal rods and contains several marble casts of fragments that have since been excavated. The newly excavated fragments remain in Greece and the marble casts are displayed in their place at the Glyptothek, in an attempt to display only the originals while still giving the viewer an idea of what the whole pediment would have looked like.³⁹ In agreement with the belief in historical authenticity the statues remain in this de-restored state today. The decision to de-restore has been received with mixed reviews from the scholarly community. On one hand, scholars argue that the de-restoration helped to improve accuracy. The opposing side argues that this condition is no truer than before because the 19th century restorations and their removal have left irreparable changes to the sculptures. Unfortunately, we have now lost the 19th century restoration history as well.⁴⁰

Literature Review

³⁶ Diebold, "The Politics of Derestoration," 60.

³⁷ Diebold, 60.

³⁸ Diebold, 60.

³⁹ Diebold, 61.

⁴⁰ Diebold, 61.

When discussing the history of visual art, more often than not, the first analysis of the work is through the lens of formalism. Formalism is a critical theory that assesses the work solely based on its formal elements and considers the work in a vacuum. In “The Intentional Fallacy,” Wimsatt and Beardsley argue that the artist’s intention is not accessible or relevant when critically analyzing a work of literature or in this case sculpture.⁴¹ In alignment with formalism, they propose that the artist’s intention is not important, because the artist either succeeded with his intention or did not, therefore ultimately the judgment must be made on the work that was created alone.⁴² While this critical theory does allow the work to stand on its own, it knowingly ignores the historical context which is critical to the understanding of these ancient works especially in the present day with the focus on historical authenticity. Historical authenticity relies on the understanding that an object has passed through time which has molded and changed it but that this only adds to the object, not diminishes it.

There is significant formal analysis of the *Aegina Marbles* since they depict such a rapid evolution in the styles of Greek art, however, there is very little research on the restoration history. The West pediment that was completed in ca. 490 BCE shows rigid Archaic figures that are in frontal or profile views with no dynamic movement. The East pediment was completed around 480 BCE and it had transitioned into an Early Classical artistic style with twisting warriors who

⁴¹ W. K. Wimsatt and M. C. Beardsley, “The Intentional Fallacy,” *The Sewanee Review* 54, no. 3 (1946): 3.

⁴² Wimsatt and Beardsley, 4.

show emotion rather than the fake smile often seen in sculptures from the Archaic period.⁴³ Since the *Aegina Marbles* are a pedimental sculptural group, there are also discussions on the arrangement of some of the sculptures and how they should be reconstructed to fit within the triangular pediment.⁴⁴ The most significant point of contention in the placement of the figures within the central section of the East pediment. On either side of Athena there are a grouping of warriors whose positioning has been debated with several different propositions. Some scholars have suggested these warriors should include a prone dying warrior and then two upright warriors engaged in contest.⁴⁵ While other historians including Furtwangler proposed that there should only be two warriors on either side of Athena engaged with each other, one standing upright striking a blow at the other as he dynamically falls back (Figure 5). This proposal while mimicking positioning seen on Greek vases gives an off balanced feel to the composition.⁴⁶ These small changes make the difference in a more dynamic scene unfolding in real time on the pediment versus a battle that has reached its conclusion.

Turning to the *Lansdowne Herakles* and the relevant formal analysis, when first describing the statue of Herakles Howard describes him as such:

He stands easy and self-confident; his finely tuned body and mind are at the peak of their abilities, mature yet youthful. He combines grace and beauty with easy

⁴³ Barringer, *The Art and Archaeology of Ancient Greece*, 198–201.

⁴⁴ Duncan Mackenzie, “The East Pediment Sculptures of the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina,” *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 15 (1908): 274–75.

⁴⁵ Mackenzie, “The East Pediment Sculptures of the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina.”

⁴⁶ Mackenzie, 274.

attention and readiness. Here is truly the epitome of his ancient conception: the hero's hero, made during an age that deified heroes.⁴⁷

In this description Howard is using formal analysis to describe the impression the sculpture delivers based solely on the work itself. Unlike the *Aegina Marbles*, there is not a focus on the formal analysis of the *Lansdowne Herakles*. The attention is on iconography and the significant restoration history.

Outside of the two case studies discussed here, formalist theory has often been used in the study of Renaissance restorations to identify which aspects of the restorations fall outside of the original style of art. This would be where classical art was restored using contemporary elements within the Renaissance or Baroque periods.⁴⁸ Using this theory scholars have critiqued the work done by famous restorers and noted the faithfulness to the original work. Jennifer Montagu in her comprehensive book on Roman Baroque sculpture remarked on famous sculptor and restorer Gian Lorenzo Bernini's restoration of the *Ludovisi Ares* (Figure 6), "there is not the slightest pretense that this impish son of the baroque could be an original antique."⁴⁹ The *Ludovisi Ares* was part of the prominent Ludovisi collection curated by Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, nephew to Pope Gregory XV.⁵⁰ The statue depicts a relaxed seated Ares with a sword resting in his left hand and

⁴⁷ Howard, *The Lansdowne Herakles*, 7.

⁴⁸ Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art* (New Haven, N.Y.: Yale University Press, 1993).

⁴⁹ Montagu, 159.

⁵⁰ Miranda Marvin, "Possessions of the Princes: The Ludovisi Collection," in *History of Restoration of Ancient Stone Sculptures: Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organized by the Department of Antiquities and Antiquities Conservation of the J. Paul Getty Museum and Held at the Museum 25-27 October 2001* (Los Angeles: J Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 225–26.

Cupid sitting between his legs. The original antique was largely complete, and Bernini is recorded to have made restorations to the right foot, head of Cupid, and the left and right arm.⁵¹ The head of Cupid appears to be stylized after Bernini's own sculptures of children. Beatrice Palma has commented that the pommel has similarities with the commanders in the *Great Battle Sarcophagus* in the Ludovisi collection, but in that case, the pommel featured a lion's head whereas here, Bernini chose to use a human face positioned not unlike a gargoyle.⁵² From this analysis, Montagu has argued that Bernini was not committed to purely restoring antiquities per the conventions of the period established by Orefeo Boselli. Boselli was one of the only artists during the Italian Renaissance and Baroque periods to document the techniques of restoration in his treatise *Osseruationi della Scoltura Antica* (Restoration of Antique Sculpture) written in the 1650s.⁵³ The key aspects that made a "good restoration," according to Boselli, include a close study of the iconography to properly identify the subject of the sculpture, and then matching the proportions and antique style of the sculpture.⁵⁴ Instead, Bernini was adding to his own body of work with these baroque details.⁵⁵ This critical analysis can be useful for insights into restoration decisions in the Renaissance and the Baroque where restorers were comparing themselves to their ancient

⁵¹ Rudolph Wittkower and Pino Guidolotti, *Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, 4th edition (London: Phaidon Press, 1997), 179.

⁵² Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 159.

⁵³ Phoebe Dent Weil, "Contributions toward a History of Sculpture Techniques: 1. Orfeo Boselli on the Restoration of Antique Sculpture," *Studies in Conservation* 12, no. 3 (1967): 81–101, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1505332>.

⁵⁴ Weil, 86.

⁵⁵ Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 159.

counterparts. When looking at the transition to the de-restoration phase in the 1970s and then to the 21st century, formalist theory has less applicability as these restoration decisions were removing parts and knowingly sacrificing the formal elements with the goal of revealing a truer original work.

Another important part of art historical analysis is the identification and exploration of iconography. Iconography falls under the category of structuralism and semiotics in the larger context of literary theories. In art history and especially in ancient Greek and Roman works, iconography is often the key to understanding what is represented in a work of art. In Howard's book on the *Lansdowne Herakles*, he notes, "he carries the well-known signs of his power – the virile club and fur mantle of a lion."⁵⁶ Here, Howard is referencing two of the most common iconographic signs used to represent Herakles and how modern scholars can identify these works. Orfeo Boselli, a Baroque sculptor who documented the techniques of restoration at the time, opines that a key aspect of a good restoration includes a close study of the iconography to correctly identify the subject.⁵⁷ Even though Boselli highlights iconography as an important aspect of restoration, restoration artists in the Renaissance did not always follow this guidance. One example of this is the *Torchbearer* by Alessandro Algardi, which is believed to have been a fragmentary torso to which Algardi added iconography, invoking an ancient Greek god (Figure 7).⁵⁸ The figure

⁵⁶ Howard, *The Lansdowne Herakles*, 7.

⁵⁷ Weil, "Contributions toward a History of Sculpture Techniques," 8.

⁵⁸ Jennifer Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi*, 1st Edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 398.

is of a young man leaning against the base of a palm tree with his right arm raised over his head holding a torch and his left arm resting by his side holding apples. Algardi restored both arms and legs, and a portion of the head as well as the base of the palm tree.⁵⁹ Theodor Schreiber, a German art historian working in the 19th century, suggests that it might be a statue described in a 1622 inventory as having no arms, legs, or head.⁶⁰ In an inventory recorded in 1633, the statue is labeled as ‘Un Prometeo’ or a Prometheus, but in later inventories in 1644 and 1664, it is labeled as ‘il giorno’ or the day.⁶¹ Since the original antique sculpture seems to have been quite fragmentary with no identifying marks, all of the iconography used to invoke an ancient Greek god were Algardi’s own invention. While there were some modifications to iconography during the first period of restoration, from the Renaissance to the 19th century, the de-restoration of the *Lansdowne Herakles* and *Aegina Marbles* did not significantly affect the understanding of the sculptures through the lens of iconography.

One of the more prominent theories used to discuss the restoration of ancient sculpture is centered around the ideology of the society in which the restoration was created and how these restorations are viewed today. Most scholars who research and discuss restoration history focus on the social and historical aspects in relation to reception theory and the interpretation of these restorations in modern times. The major tenet of reception theory in a literary context is that “[s]ignificances vary throughout history, whereas meanings remain constant; authors put in

⁵⁹ Montagu, 401.

⁶⁰ Montagu, 401.

⁶¹ Montagu, 401.

meanings, whereas readers assign significances.”⁶² Reception theory is further explained as “the meaning of a literary work is never exhausted by the intentions of its author; as the work passes from one cultural or historical context to another, new meanings may be culled from it which were perhaps never anticipated by its author or contemporary audience.”⁶³ Scholars like Podany, True, and Scott, as well as many others, identify three main periods of restoration theory. These periods are the restoration in the Renaissance through the early 19th century, a period of de-restoration in the 1970s, and then the current era. The current era is the period after the de-restoration of the 1970s, where the focus has been on retaining the historical authenticity of the piece. These scholars also correlate these three periods and their differences in restoration techniques to the society when they were created.

From the Renaissance through the 19th century, restoration was commonplace and was a booming business in Europe. This practice was so prevalent that almost all Italian Renaissance and Baroque sculptors made part of their income through restoration commissions at some point in their careers.⁶⁴ Leonard Barkan says that the motivations during this golden age of restoring antiquities, “depended on a belief that progress in classical studies, combined with what we would call a neoclassical aesthetic, ought to express itself in rendering ancient objects precisely as they were when they were made.” When discussing this period, many scholars cite a passage from

⁶² Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, 3rd edition (Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press, 2008), 58.

⁶³ Eagleton, 61–62.

⁶⁴ Weil, “Contributions toward a History of Sculpture Techniques,” 83.

Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* where he applauds the completion of several fragmentary antiquities by Lorenzetto and goes on to call unrestored fragments "mutilated trunks."⁶⁵ Scholars such as Barkan use this passage to point out the social norms of the period. This is not the case with all antiquities discovered during this period, and the *Torso Belvedere* is a notable exception. The *Torso Belvedere* acquired much fame and acclaim in the Renaissance but was never restored. Barkan theorized that the *Torso* was left untouched because it was understood that there was an innate beauty to the fragmentary condition.⁶⁶ Michelangelo is said to have had a large influence on the decision to leave the *Torso Belvedere* unrestored, because of his admiration for it. There are reports that he even called it his greatest teacher.⁶⁷ Although Michelangelo intervened on behalf of the *Torso Belvedere*, the trend of restoration continued through the 19th century as many sculptors "saw it as their artistic prerogative to use the ancient material as both a model of inspiration and a source of raw material."⁶⁸ Peter Rockwell mentions in "The Creative Reuse of Antiquity" that Renaissance restorer Pietro Bracci created restorations that in essence were new sculptures, due to the amount of reconstruction he performed. Rockwell, however, notes that in

⁶⁵ Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Artists*, trans. Gaston du C. De Vere, vol. V (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1912), 57.

⁶⁶ Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and the Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*, 205.

⁶⁷ Barkan, 200; Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), 312.

⁶⁸ Jerry Podany, "Lessons from the Past," in *History of Restoration of Ancient Stone Sculptures: Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organized by the Department of Antiquities and Antiquities Conservation of the J. Paul Getty Museum and Held at the Museum 25-27 October 2001* (Los Angeles: J Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 15.

the period of Bracci, “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.”⁶⁹ During this period, there was a desire for classical sculpture since the nobility believed they were descendants of Rome and Greece and wanted to portray this through their collections. The restorers also felt these sculptures were their own heritage.⁷⁰ They often became cocreators with their ancient counterparts, believing it was their right.

Scholars point to many different triggers for the decline of restoration in the late 19th century leading to a shift to de-restoration in the 1970s, but this remains the least discussed period in restoration history. Many scholars have cited the decision to not restore the *Elgin Marbles* as a turning point for restoration.⁷¹ Although the *Elgin Marbles* are also part of a larger and more complicated discussion on cultural patrimony, sculptor Antonio Canova, who was held in high regard, “pronounced that it would be sacrilege for a modern hand to complete these fragments.”⁷² One possible reason for the adamancy to not restore the *Elgin Marbles* is brought up by scholar Orietta Rossi Pinelli. She notes the creation of public museums drove restoration theory from wholesale restoration to de-restoration as sculptures for the first time were looked at as more than

⁶⁹ Peter Rockwell, “The Creative Reuse of Antiquity,” in *History of Restoration of Ancient Stone Sculptures: Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organized by the Department of Antiquities and Antiquities Conservation of the J. Paul Getty Museum and Held at the Museum 25-27 October 2001* (Los Angeles: J Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 79.

⁷⁰ Rockwell, 79.

⁷¹ Weil, “Contributions toward a History of Sculpture Techniques,” 83.

⁷² Adolf Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, trans. Charles Augustus Maude Fennell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1882), 83.

purely decorative.⁷³ When these sculptures were displayed as part of museum collections instead of personal collections, a historical significance began to be associated with them not solely an aesthetic worth. With these sculptures' historical significance now represented, Haskell and Penny in their book *Taste and the Antique* point out Johann Joachim Winckelmann as another possible influence on the waning acceptance of restoration in the 19th century. Winckelmann is often cited as the father of art history for his seminal work *History of Ancient Art* published in 1763-1764, which was a chronological account of ancient art.⁷⁴ Haskell and Penny note that Winckelmann was not outwardly against the practice of restoration and was even friends with the popular restorer Bartolomeo Cavaceppi. Their friendship and Winckelmann's appreciation for the skill of Greek sculptors influenced the decline in restoration practice over the following decades.⁷⁵ Podany suggests that art critic Camillo Boito was a proponent of the 19th century resurgence of positivism as the turning point for restoration, noting that Boito was extremely vocal in his opinions of restorations and even suggesting that any prior restorations be thrown away.⁷⁶

⁷³ Orietta Rossi Pinelli, "From the Need for Completion to the Cult of the Fragment: How Tastes, Scholarship, and Museum Curators' Choices Changed Our View of Ancient Sculpture," in *History of Restoration of Ancient Stone Sculptures: Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organized by the Department of Antiquities and Antiquities Conservation of the J. Paul Getty Museum and Held at the Museum 25-27 October 2001* (Los Angeles: J Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 62.

⁷⁴ Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900*, 100.

⁷⁵ Haskell and Penny, 102.

⁷⁶ Podany, "Lessons from the Past," 14.

When looking at the de-restoration phase of restoration history, scholars cite a “cult of the fragment” and a desire for purism in the archaeological community.⁷⁷ Marion True even cites the de-restoration of the *Aegina Marbles* by Dieter Ohly as the start of this trend.⁷⁸ Giovanna Martellotti, a conservator at the Capitoline Museums in Rome, investigated the restorations of the *Dying Gaul* sculpture. Martellotti posited that certain alterations in the positioning of the arm in Renaissance restorations “changes the interpretation of the figure, emphasizing the heroic aspect of a warrior who, despite his wounds, resist death.”⁷⁹ Martellotti does not call for the de-restoration of the *Dying Gaul* because of these prior changes, but one could see how de-restoration might bring the piece closer to the original meaning and intention of the piece. Mette Moltesen, archeologist and curator at Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, asserts that “[i]n the past, as in the present, the museum curators were classical archaeologists interested in the objects, not for their aesthetic value and recent history, but primarily for their true ancient selves.”⁸⁰ Moltesen points out that this is still an issue that is found in museums today as they try to manage the original antique in terms

⁷⁷ David Lowenthal, “Authenticities Past and Present,” *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 5, no. 1 (2008): 13.

⁷⁸ True, “Changing Approaches to Conservation,” 6–7.

⁷⁹ Giovanna Martellotti, “Reconstructive Restoration of Roman Sculptures: Three Case Studies,” in *History of Restoration of Ancient Stone Sculptures: Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organized by the Department of Antiquities and Antiquities Conservation of the J. Paul Getty Museum and Held at the Museum 25-27 October 2001* (Los Angeles: J Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 182.

⁸⁰ Mette Moltesen, “De-Restoring and Re-Restoring: Fifty Years of Restoration Work in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek,” in *History of Restoration of Ancient Stone Sculptures: Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organized by the Department of Antiquities and Antiquities Conservation of the J. Paul Getty Museum and Held at the Museum 25-27 October 2001* (Los Angeles: J Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 207–8.

of its meaning in relation to the condition it is in from previous restorers. Although scholars cite a need for purism as the societal ideology at the time, there is not much discussion about what spurred the society of the 1970s toward this trend. This is the period that the present study will further investigate.

When discussing the third period of restoration as defined in this study, most scholars show a reluctance to make changes to the works outside of what is necessary to save the piece from degrading. As mentioned earlier, when discussing the restorations on the *Lansdowne Herakles*, Podany believes that previous restorations make a permanent change and any further modification of the piece will not provide any more insight into the antiquity.⁸¹ Similarly, Barkan notes that in the 20th century with additional knowledge and understanding, society began “to appreciate, in other words, the differing privileges of works that remain in their original pristine condition, or works that have a long and familiar history in some altered state, and of works that are technologically returned to some earlier condition that we can only guess at.”⁸² These attitudes toward restoration are in line with the current code of ethics of conservation. Across many conservation associations, they state that the main pillar of conservation is to not leave one’s own mark on the piece and only do what is absolutely necessary to preserve the work. Marion True also

⁸¹ Podany, “Restoring What Wasn’t There,” 15.

⁸² Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and the Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*, 187.

notes the questions brought up by these restorations and how best to explain the works to the public. She concludes that it must be clearly explained what is ancient and what is not.⁸³

When discussing the restoration history of the *Lansdowne Herakles* and the *Aegina Marbles*, there is more analysis of the restoration periods of the *Lansdowne Herakles*. Podany, True, and Howard, who worked for the Getty during their careers, wrote several articles and books on the subject. In the case of Podany and True, their focus has been on defending and explaining their decision to re-restore the *Lansdowne Herakles*.⁸⁴ Howard published a book on the de-restoration of the *Lansdowne Herakles* in the 1970s in conjunction with the conservation report.⁸⁵ While Howard's book does not analyze the motivations behind this decision, his book is critical to documenting and understanding the de-restoration that occurred. As discussed earlier, the literature on the *Aegina Marbles* is focused more on the discussion of the stylistic changes in Greek art. The most cited article on the restoration of the *Aegina Marbles* is by Diebold and gives a succinct history of the modifications to the work and the current attitudes.⁸⁶

Adding to the discussion of reception theory and ancient sculpture restoration, David Scott in his book *Art: Authenticity, Restoration, Forgery* proposes that there are three aspects of authenticity that can explain different periods of restoration. Scott questions the authenticity of ancient sculptures at different periods of history and how viewers interact with them, at one point

⁸³ True, "Changing Approaches to Conservation," 9.

⁸⁴ True, "Changing Approaches to Conservation"; Podany, "Lessons from the Past."

⁸⁵ Howard, *The Lansdowne Herakles*.

⁸⁶ Diebold, "The Politics of Derestoration."

chastising the modern viewer. Scott states that the authenticity “of the sculpture cannot be transformed in the 21st century just because an observer today does not like what happened in the 18th century.”⁸⁷ Scott uses conceptual, material, and aesthetic authenticity to categorize the societal ideologies during each given period in relation to restoration and authenticity.⁸⁸ While Scott identified three aspects of authenticity, this study will include historical authenticity as a main pillar of authenticity when discussing the restorations of ancient sculptures. Scott also delves into interesting aspects of ancient Greek and Roman sculptures, primarily that a significant portion of the “Greek” sculptures studied today are Roman copies of Greek originals and these cannot always be trusted to be faithful copies of the original sculpture.⁸⁹

Methodology

Elements of authenticity in conjunction with new historicism can explain how each period handled restoration and was affected by societal ideology. New historicism is a literary theory that is based on “the *parallel* reading of literary and non-literary texts, usually of the same historical period.”⁹⁰ Barry in his book on literary theories said that “[t]ypically, a new historical essay will

⁸⁷ David A. Scott, *Art: Authenticity, Restoration, Forgery* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2016), 193.

⁸⁸ Scott, 66–67.

⁸⁹ Scott, 188.

⁹⁰ Peter Barry, *Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory*, Third (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2009), 166.

place the literary text within the ‘frame’ of a non-literary text.”⁹¹ For this analysis, new historicism will be used to analyze the written material from the period around the 1970s de-restoration phase and identify the dominant authenticity. Unlike the leading previous scholarship, this study will not pass judgment on the restoration decisions of the past, but instead, look to understand the motivations.

The four elements of authenticity according to this study are aesthetic, conceptual, material, and historical. David Scott originally identified aesthetic, conceptual, and material authenticity to analyze works and restorations. Historical authenticity has been added to this study to aid in the discussion of the current attitudes and motivations of restoration in the 21st century. Aesthetic authenticity is defined as the appreciation of a whole and complete object that resembles its original state immediately following completion. Material authenticity is the original physical object and any “normal” wear or aging to it. Conceptual authenticity includes the meaning and iconography of the object. Finally, historical authenticity is comprised of an understanding that the object has passed through time which has molded and changed it from what the original artist first produced but that this only adds to the objects history, not diminishes it. Using these elements of authenticity and applying them to the two case studies in this analysis can illuminate why decisions were made to restore, de-restore, or how much restoration was required. When this methodology is applied to Greek and Roman statues that were restored during the golden age a pattern emerges identifying the dominant authenticity.

⁹¹ Barry, 167.

Beginning with the Renaissance, the focus was primarily on the completion of fragmentary sculptures that were being discovered throughout Italy and Greece. This aligns with a focus on aesthetic authenticity with little concern for anything else. When this practice is further explored it makes sense that restorers would focus on completing the fragmentary sculpture, since the upper class of the period intensely disliked fragmented sculptures. The focus on the aesthetic authenticity of works was primarily driven at this time by the wealthy patrons and their monetary support for restorers to fully repair broken sculptures. During this period, restorers were a business of selling art and restorers conformed to the tastes of their customers. The practice of full-scale restorations started to wane in the 19th century and then it completely changed in the 1960 to 1970s.

During the 1970s there was pressure to de-restore previous restorations to stay true to the original antiquity, focusing on material authenticity and only the original object. This interest for purism in the world of ancient sculptures and societal pressures would have created the focus on material authenticity. From the late 20th century to the present there are many examples of conservators restoring the restorations that were removed during the 1970s emphasizing the historical authenticity of the piece. There is a current understanding that once any work has been done to the sculpture it cannot be undone and we must live with and understand all that has happened to the piece over time.

Analysis

During the 1970s there was an unprecedented focus on purism in ancient Greek and Roman sculpture. This fixation on purism of sculpture heavily influenced the restoration practices of the period and resulted in dramatic changes to many ancient sculptures. Before discussing more of the

changes in restoration policy it is important to first fully define the term. Conservation and restoration are often two terms that are used interchangeably by the general public when discussing work performed in museums to maintain and protect pieces in their collections. However, the differences in the terms are not trivial. Conservation is focused on maintaining “the currently existing state of the artwork without the addition or subtraction of other parts or components.”⁹² Restoration, alternatively, “seeks to alter the current state of the work in the name of an aesthetic realization of an earlier desired condition, or a more visually understandable or metaphorically legible condition, seen as a legitimate and valorized alteration to the current state of the work.”⁹³ Based on the definitions given by Scott, restoration at its core is more susceptible to the current attitudes and opinions of the period in which the restoration occurs, unlike conservation which solely attempts to maintain current conditions.

Both case studies here saw dramatic de-restorations in the 1970s, shedding earlier restorations that were meant to complete sculptures. Just as the desires of the English gentleman collector in the 17th and 18th centuries influenced the restoration approach of Cavaceppi and others, the major individuals in the museum industry influenced the de-restoration of these sculptures in the 20th century. Scholars often cite a rationale of “logical positivism” or “mereological essentialism” as reasons for the focus on only the pure fragment and material authenticity.⁹⁴ It is

⁹² David A. Scott, “Ancient Marbles: Philosophical Reflections on the Restoration of Sculpture,” *Studies in Conservation*, March 22, 2022, 1–2, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00393630.2022.2049032>.

⁹³ Scott, 1–2.

⁹⁴ Scott, 8.

interesting to note, that these rationales did not seem to extend past the realm of marble sculpture during this period. Although, sculptures were being deconstructed and left as fragments all over the world, like the *Lansdowne Herakles* (Figure 2), other mediums such as paintings, furniture, and metal works did not experience the same trends in restoration, de-restoration, and then re-restoration.⁹⁵ While scholars highlight these trends in restoration, it seems that the root of these changes in philosophy are not well developed. To understand the conditions that created the environment of the 1970s de-restoration, this discussion will turn to another discipline with more literature on the attitude change in the 1970s.

Since there is little research on what precipitated the focus on purism in ancient sculpture restoration, the discussion center on changes in historiography in 1970s England. There are significant writings and analyses of changes in the approach to historical literature during this period that can be extrapolated to sculptural restoration theory. Scholar Michael Bentley in his exhaustive book on the changes in English historiography during this timeframe identifies the first seedlings of change as occurring in the years between the World Wars (1918 – 1939).⁹⁶ During this period, “Einstein’s two theories of relativity found their way by osmosis into a wider intellectual culture...In the humanities as in the visual arts, the result was a certain astringency: a rejection of all forms of metaphysics, a caustic view of religion, an insistence on hypothesis confirmed by proof.”⁹⁷ Through this shift towards adopting the principles of the “hard sciences”

⁹⁵ Scott, 15.

⁹⁶ Michael Bentley, *Modernizing England’s Past: English Historiography in the Age of Modernism, 1870–1970* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 197.

⁹⁷ Bentley, 197.

in the humanities there was waning approval for anything not based in pure facts. In the discussion of historical writing, this translated to “[t]he objective in this work lay in the ‘discovery’ of ‘facts’ that were taken to exist in the past: certainties that could prove a bedrock on which the discipline could rise assured of its foundations.”⁹⁸ Not only was this change in philosophy based on the scientific discoveries of the period, but also the apprehension felt around the world from back-to-back World Wars. As stated by Bentley, there was a desire to create a foundation steeped in truth to rebuild after a period of chaos. This understanding of changes in English historiography pairs well with the idea of purism in ancient sculpture restoration. With the *Lansdowne Herakles*, Barov in the conservation report explains the decision to leave off 18th century restorations by describing them as “alien additions” and in conflict with his desire to showcase the original.⁹⁹ Similarly, with the *Aegina Marbles*, Director Ohly defends his decision to de-restore based on a “misleading blending of the past and the present.”¹⁰⁰ Both of these reasons fit well within the framework established in English historiography for the period. The most compelling comparison between historiography during this period and restoration comes from the writings of Sir Herbert Butterfield:

The new technique of history concentrates almost entirely upon the delivery of what really happened in the past rather than upon the method of presenting and unfolding the story...It is the technique not of a man painting a picture on a blank canvas, but of a man correcting a picture already painted...The modern technique of history is essentially a negative thing, not only failing to create in the larger sense but actually

⁹⁸ Bentley, 198.

⁹⁹ Howard, *The Lansdowne Herakles*, 4.

¹⁰⁰ Ruprecht, “Romantic Receptions,” 381.

being a method of preventing oneself from being creative at all...It is a gigantic science of caution, a colossal elimination of one's self.¹⁰¹

This summarizes exactly what it appears Barov and Ohly are trying to accomplish with their de-restoration campaigns. They want to remove one's self from these sculptures and correct them back to the original antiques. The focus is entirely on the material authenticity of the piece and the original aspects from the past. Although the timing of the movement is seen slightly earlier in English historiography than in restoration history, it stands to reason that if the philosophy started in historiography it would have taken some time to disseminate to other disciplines, such as restoration. While those studying English historiography see a decline in this "positivist" or "empiricist" attitude around the 1970s, the approach was just becoming fully formed in the restoration community.¹⁰²

In addition to the importance of facts from the hard sciences and the unease from the World Wars, English historian G. M. Trevelyan identified rather bitterly, one last driver of the positivist ideals in the liberal arts. He states, "the professionalizing universities, places where the[y] felt need to make history a more rigorous discipline had advanced unwelcome tendencies."¹⁰³ In restoration history, universities are less of the driving force, and instead, it is museums that champion "truth" and "fact." When discussing the case studies for this analysis, both received de-restoration treatment as they went from private collections into public museums. Prior to entering museum collections they were part of private collections and were seen as decorations rather than parts of

¹⁰¹ Bentley, *Modernizing England's Past*, 201.

¹⁰² Bentley, 2–220.

¹⁰³ Bentley, 202.

history. The *Lansdowne Herakles* was a part of a well-known Lord's country home collection where "[t]heir houses and celebrated collections gave them recognition and status, and reputations of learned connoisseurs."¹⁰⁴ The restorers of the 17th and 18th centuries understood the value their clients placed on aesthetic authenticity and this is why there was such a robust business around restoration.¹⁰⁵ As many of these pieces, including the *Lansdowne Herakles* and *Aegina Marbles*, moved into museums, their function and perception changed. Eva Silvén-Garnert describes how some of the changes to these pieces were viewed, "With the Modern episteme the concept of time, historical context, and function entered museum collections. Material things were arranged by chronology, or temporal sequence, rather than according to hidden secret resemblances, or the relationship of visible features."¹⁰⁶ When viewing museum pieces in this way, the earlier Renaissance or 18th century restorations to ancient sculpture confused the clear chronology of the past. As these pieces moved into museum collections they were now a representation of history – valued for material authenticity and its status as an antiquity. In museums there was a very strict categorization of pieces, "the seeing of things was given priority over the reading of things. Thus, vast areas of semiological information were ignored; both meanings and those things which did not have a material identity were excluded from the classificatory table."¹⁰⁷ At this point, museums

¹⁰⁴ Catharine O'Shaughnessy, "Dionysus in Marble and on Paper: Looking at the Culture of Collecting and Changing Practices in Conservation," *Vides* 3 (2015): 21.

¹⁰⁵ O'Shaughnessy, 25.

¹⁰⁶ Eva Silvén-Garnert, "Objects in the World and Objects in Museums," *Nordisk Museologi*, no. 2 (1995): 124, <https://doi.org/10.5617/nm.3726>.

¹⁰⁷ Silvén-Garnert, 124.

had already developed an expectation from the public that as institutions of cultural preservation, they would uphold the timeline of visual history.¹⁰⁸ Some scholars have even argued that as pieces enter museum collections they take on a combined representation of the museum policy and their own histories and can no longer be viewed objectively.¹⁰⁹ The *Lansdowne Herakles* and *Aegina Marbles* likewise were no longer valued solely for their aesthetic authenticity and decorative properties. Instead, they entered museums where material authenticity reigned supreme. They took on the role of representing a part of the visual timeline museums were responsible to preserve.

While both the *Lansdowne Herakles* and the *Aegina Marbles* were de-restored in the 1970s, their fate in modern time diverges. The *Lansdowne Herakles* was once again restored in 1996, while the *Aegina Marbles* remain in their de-restored state. The differences in their current final state shows the hesitancy in the modern era to continue to inflict the ideals of the current period on the pieces. Where “re-restoration is an acknowledgement that previous modifications to works are permanent and that they reflect the ethos of the period in which they were done.”¹¹⁰ This idea led to the re-restoration of the *Lansdowne Herakles*, as the team at the Getty felt that more was gained from the full story and history of the sculpture than the fragmented state it was left in after the 1970s de-restoration. In the case of the *Aegina Marbles*, there is evidence that Thorvaldsen’s

¹⁰⁸ Amelia Griese, “Time’s Up: Artist’s Intentions and the Ethics of Preserving Ephemeral Art,” *Columbia Journal of Art History* 2, no. 1 (May 2020): 46.

¹⁰⁹ Patricia Davison, “Material Culture, Context and Meaning: A Critical Investigation of Museum Practice, with Particular Reference to the South African Museum,” 1991, sec. Abstract, <https://open.uct.ac.za/handle/11427/18276>.

¹¹⁰ O’Shaughnessy, “Dionysus in Marble and on Paper: Looking at the Culture of Collecting and Changing Practices in Conservation,” 27.

restoration is not accurate based on new archaeological evidence. Thus, the decision to leave the sculptures unrestored is logical so that there is less confusion in the understanding of the sculptures. The changes seen in restoration history, like the 1970s, was also foreshadowed by English historiography. When commenting on historians after the age of the 1970s purism, Bentley noted that the following generation distanced themselves from those before them because of their “inability to recognize the importance of audience.”¹¹¹ In the 1970s the pursuit of hard science and facts, issues like relatability and readability were left behind. Those who came after the 1970s were focused on “a fusion of professionalism with the wider project of reaching the public.”¹¹² After the 1970s there was a renewed concentration on the viewer and the public which is represented by the differing decisions made in both case studies. In both cases, the final state of the sculpture is intended to exhibit the most understanding of the piece and its history for the viewer. Now the dominant authenticity has shifted to historical authenticity. There is an awareness that these ancient sculptures have survived with a history and as they passed through time they were irreversibly changed. All that museums can do now is highlight and appreciate the history of these pieces.

Conclusions

Restoration history for ancient Greek and Roman sculptures has been long and complicated. Even now with a focus on visibility to the public, the restorations done to a sculpture are often minimized and the history not highlighted. This was identified in the introduction in the

¹¹¹ Bentley, *Modernizing England's Past*, 229.

¹¹² Bentley, 229.

case of the *Lansdowne Herakles*. The period of de-restoration in the 1970s represents a time that most modern scholars criticize as imposing too much of the restorer's views on the sculptures. Many museum professionals believe that the decisions to de-restore sculptures in the 1970s were against the best interests of the works and use negative language when discussing these choices. The goal of this thesis was not to judge the restoration decisions in the 1970s but to understand the drivers for purism and the dramatic shift to material authenticity. English historiography offers a compelling parallel to restoration history. After the World Wars, English historiography also had a significant deviation in analysis that was based on a quest for hard facts. This change in theory, was precipitated by discoveries in science and mathematics that bled into the humanities and shifted the focus to objective "facts." This was paired with institutions, such as universities, desire to make the humanities more rigorous. The departure in the English historiography approach was waning by the 1970s to one focused more on accessibility to the public. In restoration history, the ideas espoused in English historiography were just becoming prominent in the 1970s and manifested in the form of the de-restorations of many ancient sculptures. Instead of universities perpetuating the ideas, museums needed sculptures to conform to a strict timeline of visual history, which they felt was their obligation to protect. The previous restorations of sculptures like the *Lansdowne Herakles* and *Aegina Marbles* disrupted the classification and understanding of these pieces as ancient and prompted the de-restoration of them. Restoration history mirrors English historiography in the 1970s and can help explain the gap in understanding during a period of dramatic de-restoration.

The final aspect of this thesis involves the use of dominant authenticities to contextualize the decisions made in ancient sculptural restoration in each of the defined periods. Figure 8 gives

a visual representation of the discussion of how dominant authenticities transformed between the Golden Age, the 1970s and the current era. In the Golden Age, aesthetic authenticity matched the distaste for fragmentary sculpture that led Renaissance and Baroque restorers to complete ancient sculpture with their own invention. While aesthetic authenticity was the primary driver during this period there was also importance placed on conceptual authenticity in the form of iconography as defined in Boselli's treatise on restoration. During the 1970s, the influence of discoveries in science and math led to a focus on objectivity and a need for purism in sculpture. The decision to de-restore many sculptures aligns with material authenticity, where the attention was on the original antique fragments. There was hardly any consideration on maintaining aesthetic authenticity at this time and many sculptures have been criticized for the jarring nature of fragments held together with metal rods. Looking forward to now and the future, there is a focus on balancing all aspects of authenticity however, historical authenticity has been given more weight. Historical authenticity aligns with modern conservation practices and the understanding that these sculptures have gone through history and been changed by it. In the modern era, museums have started to prioritize transparency in restoration and show hesitancy in modifying works any further unless necessary for their preservation. As museums continue to understand more about the complicated histories of these ancient sculptures and their restorations, they will have to become more creative with their representation of this history to the viewer. Progress is already being made, for example, the Smithsonian American Art Museum has published on their website a fun, interactive slider that allows visitors to look closely at before and after images of restorations to paintings, sculptures, and photographs in their collection as well as explanations of

the treatment.¹¹³ Translated to ancient sculptural restoration, innovations like this one will allow candid conversations about the restoration history of these sculptures and the importance of understanding their past through the lens of historical authenticity going forward.

¹¹³ “Before and After Conservation Treatment | Smithsonian American Art Museum,” accessed December 5, 2022, <https://americanart.si.edu/art/conservation/before-after>.

Illustrations



Figure 1. *Lansdowne Herakles*, 125 CE, marble, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ “File:Lansdowne Herakles Getty Museum.Jpg,” in *Wikipedia*, February 13, 2021, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Lansdowne_Herakles_Getty_Museum.jpg&oldid=1006542784.



Figure 2. Lansdowne Herakles after removal of 18th-century restorations by Getty Museum¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Howard, *The Lansdowne Herakles*.



Figure 3. Pedimental Sculpture from Temple of Aphaia on Aegina, Munich, Glyptothek

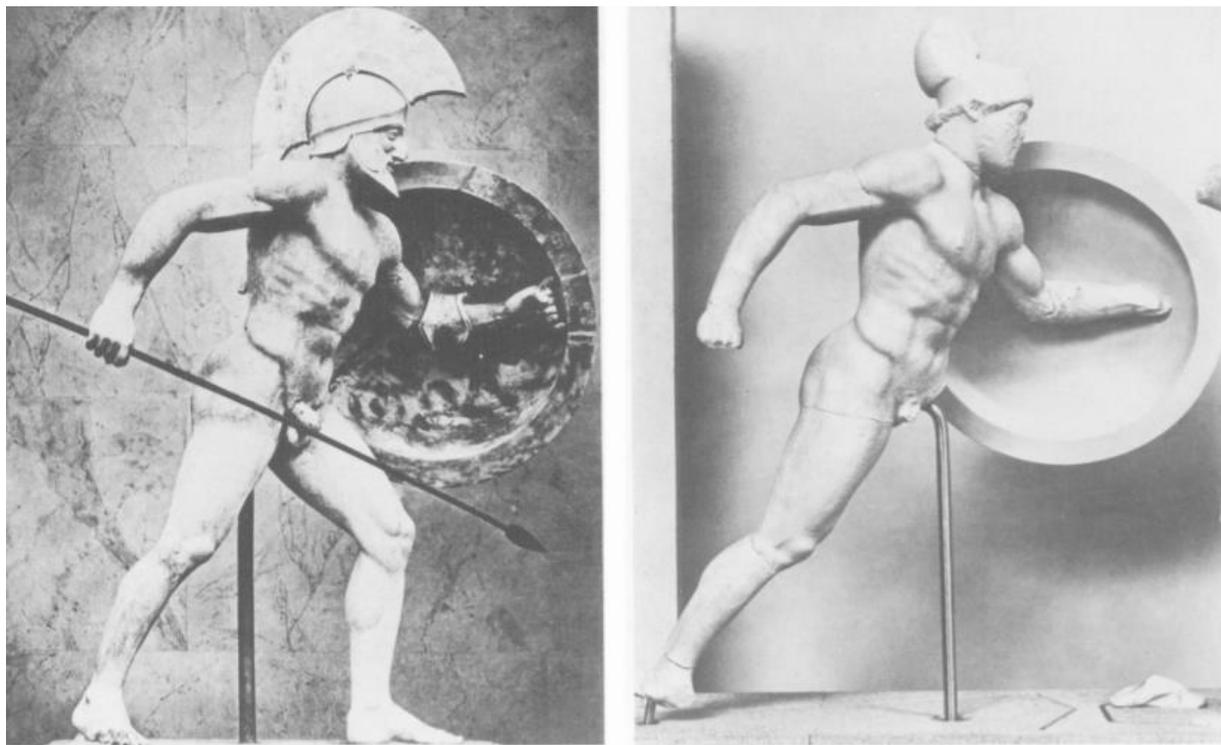
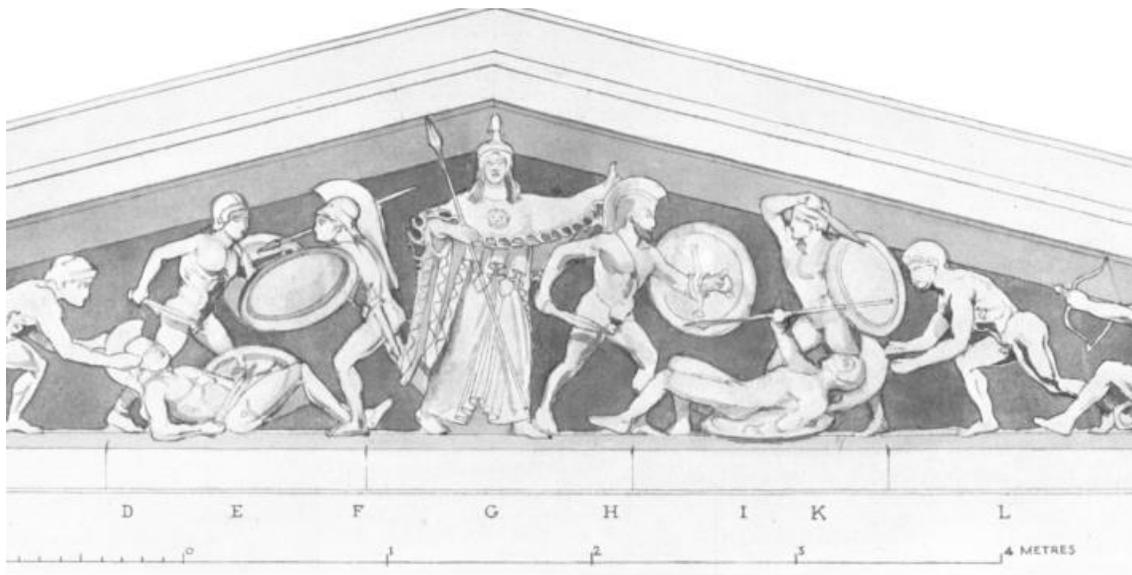
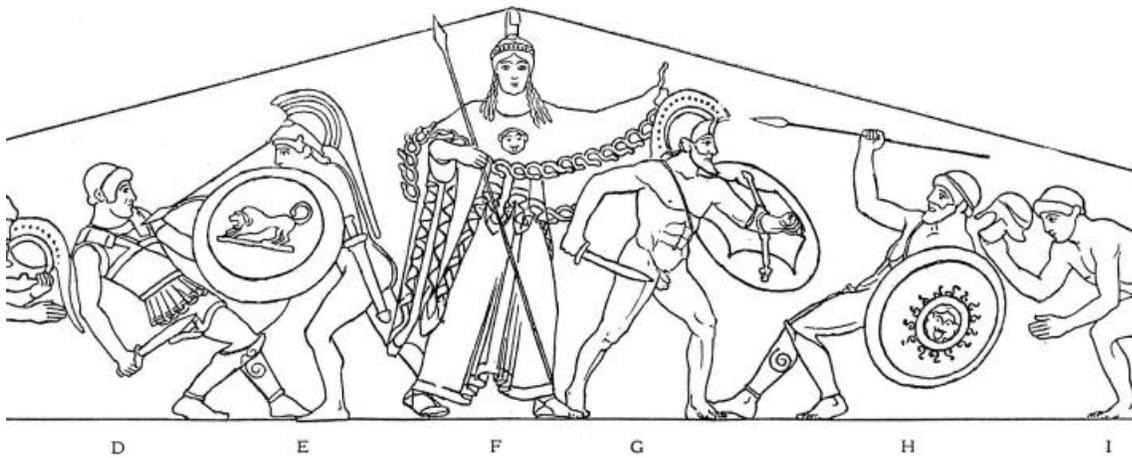


Figure 4. Warrior O II shown before and after de-restoration of the work done by Thorvaldsen¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Diebold, "The Politics of Derestoration," 61.



A. SUGGESTED RESTORATION OF THE E. PEDIMENT.



B. FURTWÄNGLER'S RESTORATION OF THE E. PEDIMENT.

THE EAST PEDIMENT SCULPTURES OF THE TEMPLE OF APHAIA AT AEGINA.

Figure 5. Temple of Aphaia East Pediment Proposals¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Mackenzie, "The East Pediment Sculptures of the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina."



Figure 6. *Ludovisi Ares*, 4th century BCE, marble, Rome, National Museum Terme, restored by Bernini¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ “Ludovisi Ares | Museum of Classical Archaeology Databases,” accessed December 5, 2022, <https://museum.classics.cam.ac.uk/collections/casts/ludovisi-ares>.



Figure 7. *Torchbearer*, Alessandro Algardi, 1626, marble, Rome, National Museum of Ancient Art¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Alessandro Algardi and Marie-Lan Nguyen, *English: Torchbearer. Creation by Alessandro Algardi after an Antique Torso.*, September 2009, Carrara marblemedium

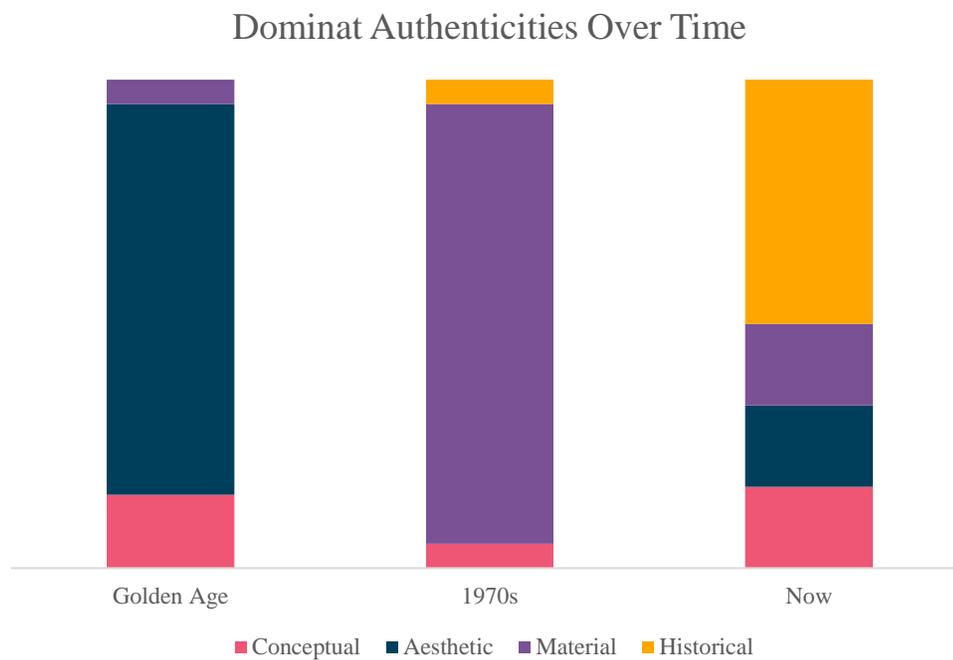


Figure 8. Dominant Authenticities over Time, shows the relative importance of each authenticity to restorations in the Golden Age, the 1970s, and today.¹²⁰

QS:P186,Q40088, September 2009, Museo nazionale romano di palazzo Altemps,
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Torchbearer_Ludovisi_Altemps_Inv8601.jpg.

¹²⁰ Designed by author

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