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FROM WALL TO MUSEUM: MATERIAL AND SYMBOLIC TRANSFORMATION OF PAINTINGS IN PARIS AROUND 1775, BY NOÉMIE ETIENNE

It has been noted by scholars that the Revolution era is deeply concerned about conservation and destruction issues: through the deleting of symbols, the repainting and the destruction of specific artworks and monuments, the Revolution aims to rewrite the History of France. Doing so, French people build a specific relation with their own past, quickly named the "*Ancien Régime*". This material reconstruction of Past and Present has already begun in the 18th Century. The conservation state of the objects is not the only topic of these discussions: different factors, depending on time and context, determine the selection of paintings to be manipulated, restored, conserved, detached or destroyed, and the choice of specific elements. In this perspective, this paper points out how distinguishing choices were made according to various values around 1775 in Paris and create "heritage", i.e. a corpus of objects united to have an impact in the future.

On-going debates on the social identity of art restorers, discussions about new restoration techniques, controversies surrounding several interventions, as well as frequent exhibition of restored paintings bring out the importance of conservation issues in Paris in the second half of the 18th Century.¹ It has been noted by scholars that the Revolution era is deeply concerned about conservation and destruction issues:² through the deleting of symbols, the repainting and the destruction of specific artworks and monuments, the Revolution aims to rewrite the History of France. Doing so, French people build a specific relation with their own past, quickly named the "*Ancien Régime*". This material reconstruction of Past and Present has already begun in the 18th Century. In 1773, a letter to the royal administration clearly emphasized the importance given to the selection of restored artworks: "Le choix

¹ ETIENNE, N., *La restauration des peintures à Paris, 1750-1815. Pratiques et discours sur la matérialité des œuvres d'art*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012.

² RÉAU, L., *Histoire du vandalisme : les monuments détruits de l'art français*, Paris, Hachette, 1959 ; POULOT, D., *Surveiller et s'instruire, la Révolution française et l'intelligence de l'héritage historique*, Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 1996.

des restaurations est très important."³ The conservation state of the objects was not the only topic of these discussions: different factors, depending on time and context, determined the selection of paintings to be manipulated, restored, conserved, detached or destroyed, and the choice of specific elements. In this perspective, this paper points out how distinguishing choices were made according to various values around 1775 in Paris and create "heritage", i.e. a corpus of objects united to have an impact in the future.

From a methodological perspective, this paper addresses the idea that artworks are subject to change and material transformation throughout their existence - and are actually "works in progress" rather than stable objects, as Igor Kopytoff, Arjun Appadurai and Alfred Gell have suggested.⁴ First, I would like to point out how the identity of a painting can change in a short period of time, according to its institutional and political context. Second, I wish to underline the role of technical and material manipulations in this process. And finally, I will argue that

these redefinitions are not permanent and may be reversible. All the case studies I will present describe the afterlife of wall paintings in the 18th century in Paris. I would like to begin by focusing on murals, and later on, I will also integrate other paintings that have less directly been incorporated in an architectural space. Indeed, many paintings from the 18th century - and before - were created for specific spaces and directly related to their environment, even if they were only partly - or even not at all - physically attached to the building.

Reframing Le Sueur

In France, at the end of the 1740s, the detachment of frescoes and murals paintings was a new technique allowing the removal of these objects. Invented in Italy, the technique was known in France around 1750 and used for

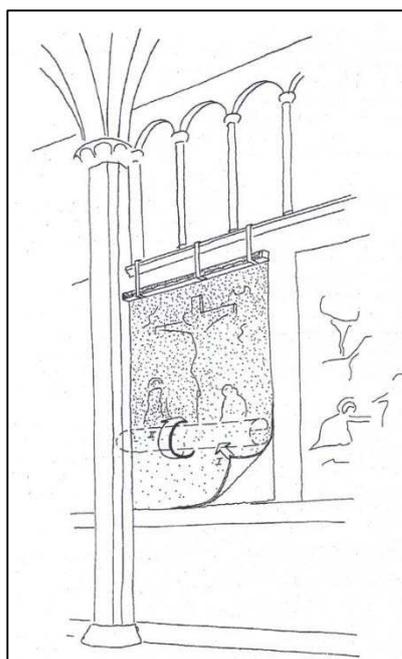


FIGURE 9 STRAPPO TECHNIQUE, IN MORA, P. AND L., PHILIPPOT, P. *LA CONSERVATION DES PEINTURES MURALES*, BOLOGNE, COMpositori, 1977, p. 296.

³ Paris, Archives Nationales (AN), O1 1912.2-99.

⁴ APPADURAI, A. (dir.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge, New York, 1988 ; GELL, A., *Art and Agency. An anthropological Theory*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998.

the first time by the French restorer Robert Picault (fig. 1). This material transformation involves two important stages: the detachment of the artwork, more or less invasive, depending on the context; and its rehabilitation and re-stabilization in a new space, sometimes involving a size transformation. Thus, this intervention is connected with other practices, such as cutting the border of the painting and updating it in many ways. In the first part, I would like to show how all these material transformations are also related to cultural ambitions and symbolic transformations.

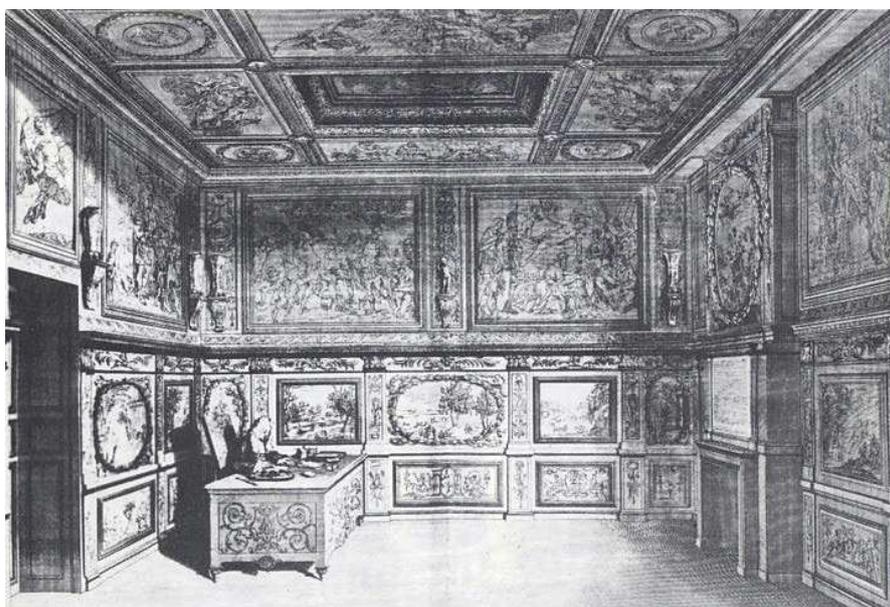


FIGURE 2 BERNARD PICART, « VUE DU CABINET DE L'AMOUR » IN *LES PEINTURES DE CHARLES LE BRUN ET D'EUSTACHE LE SUEUR QUI SONT DANS L'HOTEL DE CHATELET CI-DEVANT LA MAISON DU PRESIDENT LAMBERT, PARIS, 1740.*



FIGURE 3 EUSTACHE LE SUEUR, *PHAETON DEMANDE A CONDUIRE LE CHAR DE SON PERE*, 1646-1647, 278 x 360 cm, Inv. 8056, Paris, Musée du Louvre. © RMN.

During the 1770s, the number of detached and transported paintings significantly increased in Paris. Many paintings were transported from private houses to the Louvre. An interesting case study may be mentioned in this context. In 1776, the Hotel Lambert was for sale. Around 1650, the French painter Eustache Le Sueur had completed two series of paintings in this building, to decorate two “cabinets” (office rooms): the *Cabinet de l’Amour* and the *Cabinet des Muses* (fig. 2).⁵ Located on the second floor of the “hotel”, the *cabinet des Muses* had a ceiling painted on plaster, representing *Phaeton asking to drive the chariot of his father* (fig. 3). Originally, the cabinet was extended by a richly decorated alcove, in which Le Sueur had painted five wooden panels representing the nine Muses. The *Cabinet de l’Amour* was part of Nicolas Lambert’s apartment located at the first floor of the Hotel. Five panels depicting the mythological *History of Love* were incorporated into the ceiling carpentry, with other paintings hanged on the walls. In 1776, d’Angiviller decided to buy these paintings from the Hotel Lambert. All these elements were removed from their original locations and transported to the Louvre to be restored and framed. The institutional context may explain this situation. At the time, d’Angiviller was wishing to open a new museum, to replace the gallery opened in the Luxembourg Palace in 1750. Indeed, after the opening of this first public exhibition space in Paris, a second project attracts undivided attention: the project of a Museum intended for the Louvre.⁶ This venture never succeeded and only came true after the French Revolution. It is well known today as the Musée du Louvre. Contemporary artists were part of the expected public. The educational argument was essential: the exhibited and restored artworks had to be useful to young artists. In 1773, the painter Etienne Jaurat stated that the paintings should pose as examples for future students:

“D’où l’on conclut que les Tableaux du Roi doivent être placés dans un lieu où ils réunissent l’utilité à la magnificence. On doit d’autant plus

⁵ *Le Cabinet de l’Amour de l’Hôtel Lambert*, exhibition catalog (Musée du Louvre), Paris, RMN, 1972.

⁶ McCELLAN, A., *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-century Paris*, Cambridge, University Press, 1994.

s'occuper de l'utilité c'est-à-dire de l'étude des jeunes élèves que les Etrangers dépouillent successivement la France, et qu'il ne reste de Grands Modèles rassemblés que chez le Roi, et au Palais Royal."⁷

The exhibition and conservation of artworks had a goal: making the "famous examples" from the past available to contemporary artists. Around 1775, the need to acquire French paintings became decisive. Indeed, the ambition of the forthcoming institution in the Louvre was to provide a complete gathering of international artistic production, in which the French School was to occupy a prominent place. However, the King's collection was scarce in French paintings. In this context, the purchasing policy for the future museum, destined for the Grande Galerie of the Louvre, was essentially oriented towards the opportunity to fill in the gaps of the royal collection.⁸



FIGURE 4 EUSTACHE LE SUEUR, *L'AMOUR, RÉPRIMANDÉ PAR SA MÈRE, SE REFUGIE DANS LES BRAS DE CERES*, 1646-1647, HUILE SUR BOIS, 97 x 250 CM, RF 1988-47 PARIS, MUSEE DU LOUVRE. © RMN.

⁷ Cabinet des Tableaux du Roi à Paris et à Versailles, 16 septembre 1773, Paris, AN, O1 1912.2-99.

⁸ Paris, AN, O1 1914.2-249. See also *ibid* and GUIFFREY, J., "Lettres et documents sur l'acquisition des tableaux d'Eustache Le Sueur", *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, Paris, 1877, pp. 274-362 ; and MACCELLAN, A., "Nationalism and the Origins of the Museum in France", *Studies in the History of Art*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1996, pp. 29-39.

The paintings of Le Sueur still constitute today an important part of the French collection in the Musée du Louvre (fig. 4). As we can see on this picture, the decorative paintings transposed and inserted into the museum undergo a remarkable transformation in their aspect and function. It becomes clear from this example that the detaching, moving and framing of the object changes its function and purpose. This movement of deconstruction/reconstruction creates a new object with unique properties, and completes the transformation of paintings into *musealia*. The initial decorative value of these paintings tends to decrease, and their use is reformulated in the museum context, where they played a role in a historiographical construction. Integrated into the French section of the future institution, these paintings became elements of a patriotic rhetoric, and were meant to demonstrate equality – if not superiority – of the National School.

Poussin Uncutted

New manipulations made on paintings around 1775 – or, in the second case study, precisely the absence of manipulation – allows us to capture the various changes undergone by certain objects. If physical alterations transform them, their new functions and new identities also change the potential manipulation. After 1775, new norms can be observed in the work of artists and restorers. During this period, fewer cuts on paintings are documented. If more than a third of the King's paintings used to be cut, the process seems to stop in a very obvious and radical way at this time. One can observe this phenomenon quite precisely with a specific case-study. In 1778, le Comte d'Angiviller, the Director of the King's Buildings, proposed to change the dimensions of a painting by the French painter from the 17th Century Nicolas Poussin. The piece had been exposed in the Luxembourg Gallery and was to be returned to Versailles. Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre, the King's first Painter, wrote to d'Angiviller that, even if he had wanted to cut the painting, the manipulation seemed inappropriate to him and overall impossible. Traditionally, in the first half of the 18th century, the King of France's paintings were moved in various royal residences and apartments. During these relocations, shapes were often remodeled, cut and adapted to fit their new space. Poussin's painting was to be returned to

Versailles at the closing time of the Luxembourg Gallery, and Pierre agreed to cut it *a priori*. But, after being confronted to the painting, Pierre changed his mind. According to him: "La page est trop remplie pour permettre le moindre retranchement."⁹ The impossibility did not arise from a superior decision, from a theoretical idea or from a deontological order, but through confrontation with the object. Facing the canvas, Pierre felt unable to cut it: it seems as if the painting itself was guiding him.

In addition to this particular case, the number of painting cuts was dramatically decreasing, and in many cases this kind of transformation did not seem possible anymore. I argue that new paradigms can be underlined while studying this change. Indeed, this new difficulty to cut the painting is related to a paradigm shift, connected to the transformation of paintings in a museum's object: if the manipulations on the paintings transformed their identity, as we saw previously with *Le Sueur*, I also would like to suggest with this second example, that their new identity implies new manipulations and new conditions of possibility. By "paradigms", I do not mean a kind of theoretical frame given *a priori*, which determines or explains all manipulations. On the contrary, I have something much more fragile and complex in mind, which is constructed and perpetually renegotiated, verbally but also physically, especially during this kind of interventions and in the presence of the objects.¹⁰

Le Sueur in the Dark

The desire to preserve paintings in a public exhibition space, as it emerged around 1775, changed the status of paintings and transformed the conventions established for restoration: while these painting were adjustable to a location, as any architectural decoration, the museum prohibited certain transformations. This new status allowed and restricted certain transformations, changing "the condition of possibility" for an intervention, as I mentioned before with the example of Poussin. The perception of the object guides its manipulations and

⁹ O1 1914.2-121, Letter from Pierre to the Comte d'Angiviller, April 1778.

¹⁰ On this conception, see LATOUR, B., *Science in Action*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1987.

conservation treatments. But conservation is not only a form of reception: it also happens to be a form of recreation and requalification, with an active effect. In this perspective, restoration is part of a transformation process.

However, if we can observe significant levels like the respect gradually given to the original dimensions of the artwork, these changes do not amount to a linear evolution. The transformation of a private mural decorative painting in a musealia is indeed reversible, as shown by the example of the ceiling painted by Le Sueur for the *Cabinet of the Muses*. In 1845, this painting, originally taken from the *Cabinet des Muses* in the Hotel Lambert, later transported to the Louvre, was relocated into the apartments of the Duke de Nemours. It was thus to be returned to a private space and re-exhibited as a painted ceiling. In this context, it was to be adapted to its new location and enlarged. Four half-moons were added to form an oval adapted to the new location. In 1851, the curator of the Louvre, Frédéric Villot, deplored these manipulations:

"Tous ces tableaux ont fait constamment partie de la galerie jusqu'en 1845, époque à laquelle on les place dans les appartements qu'on disposait aux Tuileries pour M le duc de Nemour. Ils furent alors considérés comme de simples décorations (...) Le *Phaéton demandant à conduire le char du soleil*, par Le Sueur, fut placé dans le plafond du salon et on y ajouta des morceaux de chaque côté de manière à le rendre ovale du carré qu'il était. Enfin, les muses de Le Sueur, furent encastrées dans la muraille d'un petit cabinet obscur, sans fenêtre, éclairée par une lampe, et pour les fixer on perça dans la peinture exécutée sur panneau des trous que l'on y voit encore." ¹¹

The return of this painting in a private space implied new material transformations. But this new status was also constructed by various manipulations. Material transformation changes the symbolic identity of these paintings, as well as its legal condition - from private to public space, or, under the Old Regime, from the property of the Crown to the personal ownership of Monsieur, etc. These mutations are induced and simultaneously permitted by restorations. In that sense, the stage of

¹¹ Paris, AMN, P1, 1851, 23 juillet, note from Villot to Nieuwerberke.

the museum is both a consequence and an impulse that makes the paintings more than an adjustable ornamental element, but an independent object, mainly for public contemplation.

Rubens's Furniture



FIGURE 5 FRONT PAGE AND PORTRAIT OF RUBENS IN LA GALERIE DU PALAIS DU LUXEMBOURG PEINTE PAR RUBENS ET DESSINEE PAR NATTIER, PARIS, 1710, GENEVE, BIBLIOTHEQUE DE GENEVE. © N. ETIENNE.

Another exchange of letters may be interesting to understand how the identity of paintings changes around 1775: a correspondence between Cromot du Bourg, the Superintendent of Monsieur, the King's Brother, and d'Angiviller. Though it is not relevant to the detachment of frescoes but simply to the removal of Rubens paintings from the Palais du Luxembourg. These paintings were created by Rubens for Marie de Médicis around 1625, and, if not painted directly on the walls, were created for this specific space. In 1778, the Luxembourg Palace, including the Palace's furniture, was given by the King to "Monsieur". In May 1780, Cromot du Bourg wrote to d'Angiviller how utterly shocked he was to see that the Director would withdraw "the little goods and paintings which serve as furniture" from

the palace. D'Angiviller promptly responded that he was not removing the furniture from the Palace: the only objects he was taking were the Kings' paintings, as well as Rubens' pieces. The discussion then moved on to the status of these particular paintings. Were they part of the royal collection, ready to be exhibited in the Louvre, according to d'Angiviller's wish? Were they part of the palace's furniture, as Cromot

du Bourg argued, because they were especially painted for that place? What was their identity?

The answer to these questions is probably less important than the discussion itself. It clearly shows how material transformations or removals of a painting affect their identity, as well as their aesthetic, political and legal requalification. Legal conditions are crucial at this point: by giving the paintings to his brother, the King removes the paintings from the Crown's collection, and in a way, from the Old Regime public space. This discussion, and the will of d'Angiviller to remove Rubens's paintings and to expose them in the future exhibition space, points out the change of paradigm mentioned before. For d'Angiviller and the King, these paintings had to stay in the Crown's Collection, to be exhibited in the future museum and to be studied by contemporary painters to stimulate the French School.

In 1766, after the first restoration campaign of these paintings, Cochin suggested an intensification of the visits, previously restricted to two public days, to encourage the study of Rubens. His study of color was the touchstone of his reflection:

"Il serait sans doute extrêmement à souhaiter que nos élèves un peu avancés puissent faire quelques Etudes d'après les ouvrages d'un coloriste aussi célèbre que Rubens, d'autant plus que toutes les autres Ecoles accordent aussi à la nôtre la supériorité dans le dessin, mais elle lui conteste l'Excellence dans le coloris. Il est à croire que si, de Bonne heure, nos jeunes gens prenaient là quelque teintures d'un coloris vigoureux, cela aiderait à en former quelques-uns à cette partie brillante de l'art."¹²

The choice of restored works reflects the prerogatives of those who accomplish them. Indeed, the Rubens Gallery combined a pedagogical function expected from a public exhibition, with the specific role played by the Flemish master in contemporary art debates.¹³ A particular emphasis was put on the study of Rubens in the resurrection program

¹² Paris, AN, O1 1911. 1-167.

¹³ MAËS, G., "La réception de Rubens en France au 18e siècle : quelques jalons", in HECK, M.-C. (ed.), *Le rubénisme en Europe aux 17e et 18e siècles*, Turnhout, éd. Brepols, 2005, pp. 55-67.

of the French School. This may be related to certain *topoi* in 17th and 18th Centuries art criticism: the perfect color of Rubens, and the lack of competence from French painters in this specific area. In his *Dialogue sur le coloris* (1699), De Piles had already stated that the best advice he could give to artists who wanted to perfect the color of their art was to go every week in the Luxembourg to study the Rubens Gallery.¹⁴ In 1748, the author of the "Lettre sur la peinture, sculpture et l'architecture à M ***" formulated a series of proposals to improve the French School: he suggested that the royal collection be opened to the public and then underlined the necessity for young painters to study the color of paintings. The same year, an anonymous text reaffirmed the importance of Rubens for the young French painters.¹⁵ As a result, to improve the quality of the French School, the royal administration had to make these paintings accessible as well as visible.

Princes of Painters

As the examples below may suggest, the royal administration treated some paintings very carefully during the second half of the 18th Century. The paintings of Le Sueur were often manipulated around 1775. The only other artist whose works were equally restored and protected was Raphael. Together, their artworks represented two thirds of manipulated paintings between 1775 and 1780. During 1777, for instance, Hacquin transported 28 paintings of Le Sueur in the Louvre to restore them.¹⁶ This eagerness was part of the exhibition policy for the forthcoming museum, which aims to give a prominent place to the French School and to stimulate contemporary local production. Furthermore, Le Sueur was not a French painter like the others in this context: as he had never traveled to Italy, Le Sueur was the ideal

¹⁴ "Le meilleur conseil que j'aurais à donner aux peintres (...) ce serait de voir pendant un an, tous les huit jours une fois, la galerie du Luxembourg, de quitter toute chose et de ne rien épargner pour cela. Ce jour serait sans doute le plus utilement employé de la semaine. Rubens est ce me semble celui de tous les peintres qui a rendu le chemin qui conduit au coloris plus facile et plus débarrassé", DE PILES, R., *Dialogue sur le coloris*, Paris, 1699 (1673), p. 58.

¹⁵ *Observations sur les arts, Et sur quelques morceaux de Peinture & de sculpture, exposés au Louvre en 1748*, Leyde Chez Elias Luzac Junior, p. 48.

¹⁶ Paris, AN, O1 1922 A1-9.

example to demonstrate the excellence of French artists who never went to Rome.

Indeed, the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* undergoes a significant reformulation during the second half of the 18th Century. It became less of a time issue than a geographical one. Which is the best School? The Italian or the French one? The French writer Boyer d'Argens proposed a peaceful resolution of this question. In a book published in 1752, then corrected and expanded in 1768, the Marquis d'Argens depreciated the attractiveness of Italy and underlined the opportunity to study Raphael and Rubens in the royal collection in Paris. According to d'Argens, France was indeed able to produce gifted artists without the help of Italy: Le Sueur became an example.¹⁷ But the author wanted to be accommodating, arguing that French artists were just as good as Italian painters.¹⁸ He built his text on a series of comparisons and equivalences between French and Italian artists: Michelangelo vs. Le Brun, Tintoretto vs. Van Loo... The figure of Le Sueur was the first to be mentioned and was compared to Raphael. At that point, d'Argens brought up a familiar comparison in 18th Century art criticism and described Le Sueur as "le Raphael français."

Priority given to the paintings of Raphael, the "Prince of Painters", as well as those of Le Sueur, presented by the Marquis d'Argens Boyer as its French equivalent, was reinforced by the museum project that d'Angiviller wished to inaugurate before the Revolution. Likewise, the Rubens Gallery included a set of paintings of considerable importance: it was essential that they be well conserved and cleaned in order to be studied by painters. The double signification of the word "restoration" in French is here meaningful, describing the process of updating pictures as well as the idea of resurrection of the French School. This logic goes on after the Revolution. The term "regeneration" is then often used to describe the transformation of the whole French society, which must be purified - but also to describe the process of paintings transformation. Just as the French word "restoration", "regeneration"

¹⁷ "[N]os meilleurs artistes, à l'exception de deux ou trois, ne furent pas à Rome". (De Boyers d'Argens, Jean-Baptiste, *Examen critique des différentes écoles de peinture*, 1972 [1752], Genève, Minkoff Reprints, p. 28.

¹⁸ "La France ayant eu d'aussi grands peintres que l'Italie, et en aussi grand nombre", *ibid.*, p. 27.

implies a work done in the present on ancient pieces that have a connection to the future.

Material Art History

The history of conservation reflects social, political and esthetical choices and issues. These manipulations actively participate in the construction of a corpus of canonical works. Art history is not only written in the 18th century, but also constructed – by conservation techniques, material transformation, reconstruction and reconfiguration of objects. Indeed, around 1775, the historiographical or juridical issues are not only addressed in an abstract way, in contemporary writings about art and philosophy, but may be understood through specific examples, allowing to identify the negotiations surrounding certain objects. The function of a painting seems to be defined less by its intrinsic properties than by the way it changes, and by the way this change is perceived and evaluated. Movements, cuts, material transformations and change of legal status follow one another, and the object can assume different identities and qualities during its life. Its definition is the result of a process, temporary and reversible, which does not exhaust all its meanings and potential functions.¹⁹

The organic metaphor of the 19th century (John Ruskin), which suggest that the artwork lives, grows and dies as a living being – often mentioned in the discourses on restoration – proceeds not simply from a confusion related to an anthropomorphic understanding of the object, but rather allows us to understand that the artworks are subject to a process of physical and symbolic reconfiguration, non-linear as well as sometimes reversible. Consumption Studies and Anthropology have pointed out how the function of an object as a commodity may only

¹⁹ HEINICH, N., "Les objets-personnes: fétiches, reliques et œuvres d'art", *Sociologie de l'art*, n° 6, 1993, pp. 25-55 ; BONNOT, T., *La vie des objets*, Paris, Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2002 ; JULIEN M.-P. et ROSSELIN, C., *La culture matérielle*, Paris, La Découverte, 2005, "Les objets au musée", pp. 31-44.

embody a moment of its existence.²⁰ Taking advantage of a history of Consumption, where the impermanence of its object is conceived, one can address artworks as artifacts, whose existence and function are frequently renegotiated. If artworks are transformed through restoration and manipulation, and if the technical innovations in the field encourage a redefining of their function, these redefinitions remain only a step in the life of things.

While addressing the artwork as a *continuum*, i.e. as a material object undergoing perpetual transformations, this paper focused on the material existence of such objects in time rather than on the context in which they were created or on how they were interpreted. The history of restoration shows that paintings don't have a fixed identity, but rather that their function and status depends on a long series of manipulations and contexts. The identity of several paintings - such as the Rubens of the Luxembourg or the paintings of Le Sueur from the Hotel Lambert - is discussed and empirically questioned. Manipulations, such as moving or cutting, as well as controversies or debates related to these interventions; invite different actors, - restorers but also philosophers and polemicists - to discuss their identity. These debates, stimulated by a change in the materiality of artworks, allow us to approach the negotiations surrounding the definition of what a single object is, offering an interesting methodological approach to these broader questions. This focus on continuous modification allowed me to connect the distinction between the creation and the reception of artworks, while acknowledging the constant refashioning of these objects. Taking case-studies in the 18th Century in Paris, I demonstrated that restoration simultaneously reveals and creates a relation to the past: the way in which we would like to see a painting expresses, among other things, the relation we establish between the object and the past. Thus, by allowing to identify a corpus of objects that are updated to survive and to influence the present, restoration contributes to the creation of heritage.²¹

²⁰ APPADURAI, A., "INTRODUCTION: Commodities and the Politics of Value", dans APPADURAI, A. (dir.), *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in cultural Perspective*, 1989, pp. 3-63.

²¹ KIRSCHENBLATT-GIMBLETT, B., *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1998.

