# Monuments devoted to artists in public spaces around museums:

# A nineteenth-century strategy to enhance the urban space of art districts

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# Abstract

Monuments to kings or military heroes have always been positioned in main squares and avenues, whilst those erected to famous cultural figures were a novelty introduced in the Enlightenment and Romanticism, placing busts or sitting monuments to writers or musicians in secluded gardens and in the surroundings of libraries, theatres, etc. During the nineteenth century, monuments to artists became also a common feature in many cities, where a most likely emplacement for them was in front of some art museum. In a way, they were a complement to the ornaments of such building, usually decorated with portraits and inscriptions glorifying great artists; but the monument to Murillo erected in 1863 by public subscription in Seville's Plaza del Museo was also an urban milestone, catching the attention of promenading public passing along a lateral street. Later, the monuments erected in the piazzas around the Prado Museum in Madrid, or in gardens outside the Louvre, became a popular prototype, emulated in many other cities up to the early 20th century. Their role as interfaces between public spaces and museum sites would thereafter be taken over by other kinds of artistic landmarks: not monuments to artists, but monumental artworks, often owned by the museum itself, thus bringing part of its collection outside, as a welcome starter to prospective cultural consumers.

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#### Introduction

[1] Museums and monuments have a lot in common: they emerged as affirmations of collective memory. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the edifices of art museums, both newly built or remodeled, were often decorated as 'temples of art', with allegories of the arts or with portraits of artists. Yet, while there is a growing bibliography regarding statues and murals dedicated to artists in art institutions,<sup>1</sup> very few

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Inscriptions, murals and sculpture decorations in academies or art schools, museums, galleries and other art-related buildings constitute an essential iconographic source for the study of the image of artists disseminated by official taste in the nineteenth century: cf. Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art. Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*, London, Phaidon, 1976; Paul Hetherington, "Pantheons in the Mouseion. An aspect of the history of taste," in: *Art History*, vol 1, no. 2 (1978), 214-228; Catherine Chevillot, "Le décor sculpté des musées: ornement ou symbole," in: Chantal Georgel (dir.), *La jeunesse des musées. Les musées de France au XIXe siècle*, Paris, Musée d'Orsay, 1994, 167-180. The favourite places inside these institutions were usually the lobby, stairs and main halls, such as the *Grande Galerie* of the Louvre, decorated from 1802 to 1888 with busts of renowned artists from different periods and countries,

publications focus on monuments of celebrated artists decorating squares and streets adjoining museums. This is probably due to the fact that, save for a few exceptions such as the piazzas in front of the Museo del Prado in Madrid, the most prominent instances of that nineteenth-century usage have disappeared. Many were gradually replaced in the twentieth century by other art ornaments in museum neighbourhoods. It is now time we assert their historical relevance from the point of view of the interaction between museums and public spaces. Such statues constituted fundamental milestones inasmuch as they were free-standing urban monuments detached from the walls of the institutions, usually uninvolved in their commission, which would originate from initiatives often paid by public subscription carried out by national or local authorities.

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#### Antecedents in the cultural context of the Enlightenment and Romanticism

- [2] Voltaire had claimed that the true heroes deserving commemoration should no longer be the generals who annexed territories but people who excelled in science and culture.<sup>2</sup> This enlightened idea prompted not only a new 'cultural history' which gradually replaced traditional military and court chronicles, but also the appearance of new protagonists honoured in the public space. While statues formerly erected in squares and streets used to exalt monarchs, war heroes and saints, consonant with traditional moral hierarchies, little by little scientists and artists were also honoured by means of stone or bronze effigies placed in some public areas. Even Voltaire, Montesquieu, Newton, Goethe and many other intellectuals at the time were immediately put forward for monument exaltation as 'public men'.<sup>3</sup> These initiatives, however, often remained nothing more than projects or, after debate and changes of mind about where they ought to be best placed, the statues were located in semi-public spaces or inside buildings linked to the cultural legacy of the man in question.
- [3] A social, urban and iconographic hierarchy somehow lived on. Squares and principal avenues continued to be the preferred stage for leaders to display images of themselves

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images. Art and the Interpretation of the Past*, New Haven-London, Yale Univ. Press, 1993, 201-206.

<sup>3</sup> For these and other examples see the relevant chapters in Gaehtgens and Wedekind (eds.), *Le culte des grands hommes, 1750-1850*.

just as large libraries were habitually decorated with the busts of sages from various historical and geographical backgrounds: cf. Christopher Drew Amstrong, "Des 'Hommes illustres' aux 'Artistes célèbres'. La Grande Galerie du Louvre au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: une histoire parlante de l'art," in: Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Gregor Wedekind (eds.), *Le culte des grands hommes*, *1750-1850*, Paris, Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2009, 505-534. Outdoors, this iconography served to decorate access steps, main entrances and to crown façades, a topic with abundant bibliography reviewed in Jesús-Pedro Lorente, "Pintura y escultura de Historia: Los grandes artistas a las puertas de los museos," in: M.C Lacarra and C. Giménez (coords), *Historia y política a través de la escultura pública, 1820-1920,* Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Católico, 2003, 145-174; see also the references quoted by Arnaud Bertinet, "Le décor sculpté des musées français: Quelques figures d'artistes," in: Alain Bonnet (ed.), *L'artiste en répresentation: Images des artistes dans l'art du XIXe siècle*, Lyon, Fage editions, 2012, 173-177. Here, however, I do not take into account these sort of considerations and this article will focus instead on monuments to artists erected in streets or squares in front of museums.

in grandiloguent poses before present or future citizens and visitors. The portraits of eminent men from the world of culture, however, usually showed greater restraint and sobriety even in the locations chosen to place them, usually in areas of less public prominence or in semi-public zones. The busts of distinguished characters were in fact a recurring adornment in private gardens open to visitors and served as the inspiration for sculptures to be placed in some 'amusement parks' which enlivened large cities throughout Europe. One of the earlier instances was Vauxhall Park in London. It was a private enclosure where paying visitors could enjoy all sorts of recreational activities, especially dances and music concerts. As Handel's music was particularly popular, the sculptor François Roubiliac received a commission to erect a seated statue of the musician in 1738.<sup>4</sup> This was not an isolated case, though it certainly was one of the most successful, and perhaps this was the type of sculpture Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld had in mind when, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, he published an essay on art within gardens. According to him, private gardens open to the public were the most appropriate settings for monuments to philosophers, writers and artists; a protocol often complemented by a second rule of decorum, according to which busts were more appropriate for philosophers, writers or artists – whose minds had produced outstanding achievements – while equestrian or upright statues ought to be reserved for portraying kings, military heroes, religious persons, orators or any other person who had played a leading role through the force of his arms and his entire body, as philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer argued in a text written in 1837.<sup>5</sup>

[4] However, there is an exception to every rule and some monumental projects in the eighteenth century seem to contradict these two protocols. This was the case of the renowned sculpture *Parnasse françois*, created by Louis Garnier in 1708-18 under commission from Titon du Tillet to immortalize Louis XIV as Apollo surrounded by his principal poets and musicians. It consists of a group of full-length statues originally designed to decorate the gardens of Versailles or a square in Paris, though none of these

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> David Bindman, "Roubiliac's statue of Händel and the keeping of order in Vauxhall Gardens in the early eighteenth century," in: *Sculpture Journal*, vol. I (1997) 22-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Both texts could exemplify rules of decorum in force well into the nineteenth century, as Gaehtgens and Wedekind argue in the introduction to their book where many cases are analysed. For instance, an exedra built in 1734-35 in the gardens of Stowe House, Buckinghamshire, where sixteen niches decorated with the busts of prominent British figures paid homage to kings and other historical heroes as well as to some scientists, philosophers, writers and one architect. Or the aforementioned monument to Handel in London, so successful that in the middle of the eighteenth century it was moved from its original location - amidst bushes in a discreet piazza near the concert area - to the busiest spot in Vauxhall, the centre of a purpose-built square, while in 1786 it was placed behind the orchestra and soon afterwards in a niche inside the restaurant hall. Where the sitting statues of Voltaire made by Houdon and Pigalle should be placed was also the subject of hesitation. Pigalle's statue, despite having been paid for by public subscription, was not placed in a public square. The same occurred in German cities with the monuments to Lessing, Goethe or Schiller. Conversely, the grandest public space in Padua, the Prato della Valle, accommodated the standing statues of contemporary eminent figures, such as the standing portrait of scientist Giovanni Poleni made in 1779-80 by Canova. Cf Gaehtgens and Wedekind (eds.), Le culte des grands hommes, 1750-1850, 5.

two destinations materialized. Daniel Villeneuve had an even more complex scheme. In his essay *Le voyageur philosophe dans un pays inconnu aux habitants de la Terre*, published in 1761 with the pen name Mr. de Listonai, he envisaged a square with the figure of the ruling monarch, complemented in secondary squares by the statues of other eminent men, placing side by side warriors, sages and artists.<sup>6</sup> The planned monuments to Leibniz, Sulzer and Lambert which Frederick II agreed to erect in a new square in Berlin in front of the newly built library never came to fruition either, whereas modest monuments to poets placed in private gardens open to the public flourished in Germany to the point that they have been considered an emblem of the sensitivity – *Empfindsamkeit* – developed during the Enlightenment.<sup>7</sup>

[5] This pre-Romantic sensitivity was also shared by the famed Jardin Elysée in Paris, designed by Alexandre Lenoir in the gardens of the Musée des Monuments Français towards 1799. It was intended as an area for reflection whose grandiose name alluded to the mythical Elysian Fields conjured up by a beautiful mixture of rural woodland with funerary and commemorative monuments to great men from the past, among which men of letters such as Descartes or Molière figured prominently.<sup>8</sup> There was no shortage of other monumental gardens, inspired by woodland areas surrounding ancient temples or around other 'pantheons' more metaphorical than funerary such as the Romantic park of Villa Puccini in Sconio, near Pistoia, decorated in 1827-34 with terracotta busts of prominent men such as Rafael and Canova.

[6] Within cities, the next step consisted of neo-classical monuments to honour the memory of great writers whose most natural locations were primarily green areas beside libraries. Later, in the Romantic period, monuments to writers were common throughout Europe and stood amidst flower beds or in little piazzas outside academies, libraries, theatres and other such urban sites. Some were even placed in main squares, as in many Italian cities in the *Risorgimento* period, where statues erected to Dante were full of political significance, since 'the father of the Italian language' had by then reached the status of a patriotic icon<sup>9</sup>. Given that almost all nationalist movements were so centred on the

<sup>9</sup> In Rome, Florence and many other Italian cities, monuments to Dante were erected in politically relevant locations, as pointed out by Giovanni C.F. Villa, "L'identità scolpita: appunti per la

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> It is one of Dominique Poulot's favourite examples. He also mentions the case of Lubersac de Livron, another essayist who envisaged in 1783 an alteration of Paris including a square near the Tuileries for public festivals and a square near the Arc du Carrousel equally adorned with monuments. Cf. Dominique Poulot, "Pantheons in eighteenth-century France: temple, museums, pyramid," in: Richard Wrigley and Mathew Craske (eds.), *Pantheons. Transformations of a Monumental Idea*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2004, 124-145 (see specially, p. 125).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Roland Kanz, "Dichterporträts an Gartendenkmälern der Empfindsamkeit," in: *Die Gartenkunst*, no. 5, 1993, 126-134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> This garden of memory was an open-air display accessible during museum visiting hours complementing, in many ways, the very different display of historic monuments found in the church and cloister of the Petits-Agustins. Cf. Dominique Poulot, "L'Élysée du Musée des monuments français: un jardin de la mémoire sous le Premier Empire," in: *Dalhousie French Studies*, vol 29 (1994), 159-168; Roland Recht, "L'Élysée d'Alexandre Lenoir: nature, art et histoire", *Revue germanique internationale*, vol. 7 (1997), 47-57.

exaltation of their respective national language, it can hardly be surprising that statues to writers were given such prominence in public zones.

[7] But artists also became national icons, especially in countries where there was no unity of language. Already in Belgium by 1827, even before independence from the Netherlands, the possibility of erecting a monument to Rubens in Antwerp was contemplated in order to commemorate the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the painter, although the project did not materialize until a few years later, in the centre of Groenplaats, a historical site next to the cathedral, where some of the artist's masterpieces are housed.<sup>10</sup> Likewise, other nationalist strategies resulted in what nowadays is considered the first monument in honour of an artist erected in a public space: the sculpture of Dürer by Christian Daniel Rauch under commission from Louis I of Bavaria in 1828 in Nuremberg, the city where the painter had been born. It is particularly relevant to remark here that this instance constituted a cardinal point in the symbolic social appropriation of this type of monument because the king would have preferred to place it within the court building, known as Burgfreiung, an open air patio of the imperial castle overlooking the city. The author, however, insisted that the city centre, not far from the artist's place of birth, was more appropriate. The square formerly called the Old Milk Market was finally chosen and became known as the Dürer-Platz. The monument's inaugural stone was laid to the sound of trumpets on 7 April 1828, the day of the threehundredth anniversary of the death of the painter. It was celebrated with a massive pan-Germanic festival attracting artists and scholars from many German cities, though the final bronze sculpture was not inaugurated until 21 May 1840. Commemoration coins were even minted at the time depicting this statue of Dürer standing on a pedestal with paintbrushes in his right hand, looking straight ahead as he does in his self-portraits, with a typically German florid beard and long hair over his fur jacket.<sup>11</sup> The exaltation of Dürer as a national paradigm was so successful that twelve years later the Germanisches National Museum was founded in a former monastery of Nuremberg. Its collection,

monumentalità dantesca," in: Eugenia Querci (ed.), *Dante Vittorioso. Il mito di Dante nell'Ottocento*, Turin, Umberto Allemandi, 2011, 135-147. It is significant that those portraits of the writer overshadowed or delayed Romantic projects of sculptures to Giotto, Rafael or Michelangelo. The piazzale Michelangelo overlooking Florence from a hillock also dates from 1865, though the monument to the artist was not erected until 1873.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The 1827 proposal had been put forward by a painter from Antwerp: Matthieu Van Bree. The bronze monument inaugurated in 1840 was made by sculptor W. Geerfs, the author of other Romantic monuments in Liège and Brussels dedicated to great 'Belgians': a new national identity which retrospectively adopted Rubens as an historical icon – despite the fact that he had been born in Germany – because his subscription to Catholic baroque taste and his political-diplomatic career differentiated him from Dutch culture, as was also the case of his disciple Van Dyck and other Flemish painters whose artistic idiom, unlike the language they spoke, bore no affinity to the Dutch. Cf. Bart Stroobants, "L'école flamande en pierre et bronze," in: Paul Verbraeken (curator), *Après et d'après Van Dyck, La récuperation romantique au XIXe siècle*, Antwerp, 1999, 25-33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Dürer personified the German prototype both physically and in his artwork. In the nineteenth century he also attracted the interest of supporters of unification as a symbol of concord beyond denominational divisions, because while he had worked for the German Holy Roman Empire and did not renounce Catholicism, he maintained good relations with the Lutherans.

mainly centred on the period of the eminent Renaissance artist, was a further typical Romantic nationalist endeavour. However, in Dürer's hometown, the monument and the museum extolling his patriotic significance were located far apart; reversely, in Colmar, birth-town of Martin Schongauer, the monument erected to him, a fountain with the standing portrait of the artist carved in stone in 1860 by Auguste Bartholdi, was placed in the garden of the cloister inside Unterlinden's Museum. Combinations of these two forms of cultural remembrance, monument and museum, put together as public landmarks of art districts would be further developments typical of a later urban stage.

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#### The monument to Murillo in the museum square of Seville and its impact

In Spain, nineteenth-century nationalism extolled the memory of the so-called Siglo de [8] Oro, a designation originally referring to the great momentum reached by the Spanish language from Nebrija to Calderón, including great authors such as Cervantes, Lope de Vega or Quevedo; though visual artists from that period also gained increasing public prominence, even in terms of monuments in public zones. A very special case was that of Murillo, the Spanish painter most acclaimed by the Romantic generation internationally.<sup>12</sup> It was hardly a coincidence that already by 1838 the idea of paying tribute to him by means of a public sculpture originated in Seville, his home town. Velázquez was less appreciated at the time and, from a local point of view, his career seemed less linked to Andalucia than to the Court in Madrid, whereas Murillo had spent most of his life in his birth-town. The first proposal came from the *Liceo* and was then adopted by Seville's Academy of Fine Arts and by the City Hall, though the final step towards its realization came from another cultural association, the Sociedad Sevillana de Emulación y Fomento, which in 1855 appointed a civic committee for the construction of a monument to Murillo. With the collaboration of its central office in Madrid the Sociedad Española de Emulación y Fomento managed to raise a total of 139,492 reales by national public subscription, headed by the local corporation and members of the Royalty, though the most part -115,418 reales – was raised through a raffle of art works donated by artists and collectors. Nonetheless, despite sufficient funding and ample social support, the project was delayed by bureaucratic wrangling and the lack of agreement on where to locate the monument.<sup>13</sup> The initial option was to place it in the Plaza de Santa Cruz, at the heart of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> María de los Santos García Felguera, *La fortuna de Murillo (1682-1900)*, Seville, Diputación Provincial, 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> After the faux pas of a first local competition for the sculpture, for which five projects were submitted though none was selected, the Fine Arts Academy of Madrid organized in 1858 another nation-wide competition which was won by Madrid sculptor Sabino Medina, a member of the Academy and former fellow in Rome. The design of the pedestal took even longer because after several competitions and awards the commission was given to architect Demetrio de los Ríos, who had to endure endless administrative obstacles between his patrons in Madrid and his promoters in Seville. Cf. Julián Gállego, "Sevilla y el monumento a Murillo 1834-1868," in: *Goya*, no. 169-171 (1982), 44-51; Pierre Géal, *La naissance des musées d'art en Espagne (XVIIIe-XIXe siècles)*, Madrid, Casa de Velásquez, 2005, 298-301.

the popular neighbourhood of the same name where the painter had resided. The small size of the square and the complicated layout of this part of the city were not optimal to guarantee the social exposure sought for the display of the monument and consequently a larger venue close to the City Hall was chosen in what was then known as the Plaza de la Infanta Isabel. But in the meantime the site that was intended for the monument was chosen in 1861 by the Municipality of Seville to locate a statue in honour of King Saint Fernando, on the occasion of the visit of Isabel II to the city the following year. It was thus decided that the Plaza del Museo, where some of the most famous paintings by Murillo are housed, would be the most suitable location. Finally, in 1863 the bronze portrait of the painter was erected there on a raised pedestal in the middle of this garden square. It was solemnly unveiled on 1 January of the following year, on the anniversary of his birth.



Fig. 1 Monument to Murillo by Sabino de Medina at Seville's Plaza del Museo, with its figure sideways (1a), and looking towards passer-by walkers coming from a lateral street (1b). (Photographs by the author)

[9] A comment must be made about the interesting design of the statue of Murillo. Firstly because the creator, Madrilenian sculptor Sabino de Medina, portrayed a peculiar iconographic ensemble. The bust is inspired by self-portraits of the artist though the figure does not hold paintbrushes and barely rests his left hand on a shelf where his palette and a sketch of the Virgin Mary are placed. His general body posture recalls the most famous devotional images painted by Murillo, the right hand over the chest, one leg forward in contrapposto, staring into the sky: this is precisely the new iconography of the Immaculata fashioned by Murillo as opposed to the traditional image with her hands joined together in the act of praying while looking down. Though used here in the portrait of the artist himself it highlights his fervent inspiration; exalting his devotion over his manual dexterity with his hand over his heart and his ecstatic gaze. That was the idea of

Murillo which prevailed in Romantic Spain.<sup>14</sup> While foreign collectors preferred his genre pictures portraying scoundrels, his homeland valued above all his religious paintings, many of which are treasured precisely at the Museo de Bellas Artes of Seville. It was therefore a coherent option to place this portrait of Murillo, so inspired by his own Catholic iconography, in the square in front of the main entrance to the former convent of La Merced, where Masses for his soul were offered after his death. However, these religious connotations were now supplemented by the practical need to indicate that an art museum was operating in this old building, whose baroque façade had not been redecorated with civic ornaments related to the arts (Fig. 1a). From this point of view, it was a consistent decision to place the statue of the artist side-on to the museum entrance and facing the numerous passers-by walking along the street which is now known as calle Alfonso XII, which links the centre of Seville to the Guadalquivir river (Fig. 1b). It brings to public attention a building whose side entrance might otherwise go unnoticed.

[10] In this manner, – the same as in front of libraries, theatres and concert halls where monuments to novelists, playwrights and composers seemed appropriate – a prototype of the monument to an artist in squares in front of museums was fortuitously created. Given that many museums were placed in old religious or aristocratic buildings or in purpose-built constructions whose architecture emulated cathedrals and palaces, it was also coherent to imitate their urban setting. Since the squares in front of churches were adorned with crosses or statues of saints, while public spaces adjoining parliaments, town halls or other seats of political power usually honoured patriotic heroes, sometimes public areas in front of art institutions would have portraits of artists. This was a modern derivation from ancestral ante portas monuments though they never fully ousted the statues dedicated to political grandees or similar personages, because museums were also a favourite showcase for the powerful, whose monumental portraits often continued to play a leading role in nearby urban areas, where they would be dignified as the founders of the respective institution or as generous patrons of the arts.<sup>15</sup> However, while the portraits of the mighty often presided over the hectic life of main squares and great avenues, initially those dedicated to artists were more likely relegated to quieter areas. In this context, their erection in landscaped public spaces in front of art academies and museums marked the spread of their social standing in the public realm. Seville's statue of Murillo in the garden square in front of the fine arts museum constituted a major

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> María de los Santos García Felguera, "Imágenes de un pintor: La iconografía de Murillo en el siglo XIX," in: *Cuadernos de Arte e Iconografía*, t. 2, n. 4 (1989).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Some eloquent instances are the statue of the Landgrave Friedrich II von Hessen-Kassel, which stands in front of the Museum Fridericianum of Kassel built by him in 1770, or the statue erected in 1864 to the tycoon William Dargan in front of the National Gallery of Ireland founded thanks to him, or the equestrian monument of 1886 to Frederick William IV of Prussia in front of the Nationalgalerie of Berlin he had founded, or the enormous sculpture erected two years later to Empress Maria Theresa of Austria in the square of the Kunsthistorisches Museum and the Naturhistorisches Museum of Vienna.

innovation in the interaction between museums and their urban background. Traditionally the visual elements used to lure passers-by into a 'temple of the arts' had been allegories of the arts or the names and effigies of artists adorning the building with murals, reliefs or free-standing sculptures decorating the edifice. That ornamental habit did not disappear, though in the second half of the nineteenth century a new strategy gradually spread giving more prominence to images of artists in urban areas around art museums. It would be far-fetched to pretend that this practice haphazardly introduced in Seville by Murillo's monument set an international vogue, though its replica in a garden square near the Museo del Prado might have elicited transnational repercussions.



Fig. 2 Monument to Murillo by Sabino de Medina in Madrid, with its figure side-on to the museum South entrance (2a) and facing the numerous passers-by walking along the Paseo del Prado (2b). (Photographs by the author)

[11] Circumstances surrounding this public monument in Madrid were also quite fortuitous and imprecise. The initiative appears to have come from the sculptor Sabino de Medina. On 13 April 1861 he wrote an application to the mayor of Madrid informing that the statue of Murillo he had been commissioned to create for Seville was about to be cast in bronze in Paris by Eyck and Durand, who could make a second copy for a little extra cost should Madrid, 'where most of the painter's admirable artworks were housed', wished to pay tribute to him.<sup>16</sup> The sculptor made sure to add that the statue would look well in any street or square chosen by the City Hall though his indirect allusion to museum collections did not go unnoticed by the Corporation, who soon after informing the artist that his proposal had been accepted, sought permission from the Royal Heritage to place the statue in front of the Museo Real de Pinturas, whose façade already boasted the effigies of many other artists.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> María Socorro Salvador, "Sabino Medina y el monumento a Murillo en Madrid,"in: *Archivo Español de Arte*, no. 253, (1991), 97-101 (see especially page 99).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The main façade of the Museo del Prado had been decorated in 1830-31 with sixteen medallions with the heads of celebrated Spanish artists. They were the work of the royal sculptor Ramón Barba to mark the new artistic use of the building which had originally been conceived as a museum of natural science. But this series of portraits did not necessarily act as an advertisement to pedestrians of the artists represented in the art collection displayed inside. This apparent

[12] However, in order to avoid giving Murillo excessive prominence in El Prado, on 14 November 1864 the Works Committee of the City Hall suggested commissioning Sabino Medina to create a sculpture dedicated to Velázquez for the same purpose. The Fine Arts Academy of Madrid not only backed this idea but they also requested a third statue to be erected in front of El Prado dedicated to the architect of the building, Juan de Villanueva – though for the latter the City Hall chose to commission it from another sculptor, José Piquer. This sculpture agenda involved relegating Murillo to a small lateral piazza and reserving the main entrance for Velázquez, whose statue had been completed in bronze by Medina in 1868.<sup>18</sup> But the revolution that year ousted the Bourbons and the project was put on hold. Eventually, in 1871 the monument to Murillo was unveiled in the square between the Botanic Gardens and one of the entrances to the museum. Emulating the location of its counterpart in Seville it was also decided here that the portrait of Murillo should not gaze upon the museum itself but at passers-by along the promenade of the Prado (Fig. 2).

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#### Setting a trend: the first monuments to artists in public spaces around the Louvre

[13] In Paris, ever since the National Convention had been housed at the Tuileries Palace, its gardens had increasingly become a public stage of all sorts of monuments and standing statues of great men – including some artists – had adorned the façade of the Louvre in Cour Napoleon since the middle of the nineteenth century: by then, this was a common international procedure of architectural decoration.<sup>19</sup> But no monuments to artists had

inconsequence was usual in the mural decoration of many museum buildings. For instance, the Kunsthalle of Hamburg owns no works by Bramante, Leonardo and Michelangelo, but they feature in the medallions decorating it; similarly, the Museum of Antwerp dedicates busts to Velázquez, Michelangelo or Rafael; the Museum of Lille displays the portraits of Titian and Velázquez, and on the façades of the museums of Marseille and Grenoble many of those invoked in script or in medallions do not figure amongst their respective collections. Thus, that 'pantheon' of acclaimed artists served above all as a prestigious decoration to give an illustrious air on art museums, all the more useful as an element of validation the more modest and provincial the museum concerned was. Lacking works by the most acclaimed artists within, their effigies were placed outside, as tutelary saints for the institutions. Even museums of contemporary art, devoted to artists who had not yet become established in posterity, were anxious to surround themselves with this aura of already consecrated effigies. This was the case of the busts of David, Gros, Rude, Prud'hon, Ingres, Delacroix and other masters from the early nineteenth century placed in the orangerie of the Luxembourg Park in Paris when the so-called *Musée des Artistes Vivants* was opened there in 1886, despite the fact that those artists had already died and their works were by then displayed at the Louvre.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The biography of Sabino Medina in a dictionary of artists originally published in 1868 ends this way: 'Ultimamente ha ejecutado en bronce la estatua de Velázquez para ser colocada delante de la fachada del Museo del Prado'. Cf. Manuel Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de artistas españoles del siglo XIX*. Madrid, Ed. Giner, 1975, 39 (facsimile edition).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> There are many free standing statues of artists flanking the main entrance to some nineteenth century museums throughout Europe, but they are not monuments placed in the city landscape but sculptures used for the decoration of the museum building. Even some cases of free standing effigies which are not physically attached to the façade but close to it, should be considered part of their architectural ornament: for instance, the two statues of Rafael and Michelangelo placed in 1877 at both sides of the access steps to the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool, because the sculptor John Warrington Wood was commissioned to do the work along with an allegory of the city of Liverpool which crowns the entrance, all being part of the construction and decoration of this

been erected in Parisian urban public spaces around museums – strictly speaking we may not consider as such the statue of Delacroix ornamenting since 1890 the Jardin du Luxembourg, since it was placed near the Senate building, not at all in the vicinity of the Museum of Living Artists.<sup>20</sup> This makes extremely rare the grand project to erect a monument to Velázquez in the Jardin de l'Infante, opposite the Flora Pavilion. His large equestrian portrait made by Emmanuel Frémiet has always raised comments about the uncharacteristic portrayal of a painter riding a horse, in the manner of a *condottiero*, though it would have actually been strange not to find an animal depicted in a work by this animalist sculptor, known nowadays mainly for the equestrian portrait of Joan of Arc in golden bronze placed in another square in Paris. What seems truly intriguing in this case is the idea for this monument in a landscaped public space opposite the Louvre; and the fact that it was the most famous Spanish painter could perhaps be quite telling of where its inspiration originated.

[14] Indeed, the Spanish connection is apparent also in the urban setting selected: the Jardin de l'Infante, opposite the Flora Pavilion of the Louvre. Created in 1722 for the Spanish Infanta María Ana Victoria, betrothed to Louis XV, this garden was surrounded by golden fences, that kept it separated from the hustle and bustle of city life, preserving its intimacy: this is how Claude Monet chose to represent it in an 1867 picture (Allen Memorial Art Museum of Oberlin, Ohio) where only a couple of lovers and some other solitary visitor stand inside, while modern traffic of carriages and crowds roars outside. This enclosed garden seemed secure enough to be considered, soon after the inauguration of the Louvre a 'natural' enlargement outside the museum, whose expanding collections could not be contained indoors; but subsequent projects to install sculptures there had faded.<sup>21</sup> Yet, when the Ministry of Education's Director of Fine Arts Antonin Proust talked in 1890 with sculptor Frémiet about his Velásquez, at that time triumphing in the Salon in a plaster version, they both agreed that it should become a

municipal museum. Indeed, most of the statues flanking the entrances to museums are but an extraordinarily protuberant part of the decoration of the building. For instance, the sitting statues of Poussin and Michel Anguier, signed by Hiolle in 1884, placed on each side of the front stairs of the Rouen Art Museum, or the standing portraits of Berruguete and Velázquez, flanking the entrance to the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid – a building by Francisco Jareño de Alarcón inaugurated in 1895 as Palacio de Biblioteca y Museos Nacionales, because it housed not only an archaeological museum but also several art museums.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The 1885 monument of Delacroix by Jules Dalou, was installed five years later in the *Allée des Platanes* of the Luxembourg Park, a location ceded by the Senate, seeking proximity to this palace, whose library had been decorated by the Romantic painter, rather than placing the statue close to the *Musée des Artistes Vivants*. Nonetheless, the existence of this monument to Delacroix from 1890 in a park so full of monuments of illustrious characters must have been a reference for the introduction there of new monuments to artists, such as the one dedicated to Watteau, by Henri Désiré Gauquié, commissioned in 1896, also located too far from the Museum of Living Artists.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Cf. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Anne Pingeot and Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, *Sculptures des jardins du Louvre, du Carrousel et des Tuileries*, Paris, Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1986, 1st. vol., 73.

public monument in bronze and in the conversation it occurred to them that this garden by the Louvre could be a very appropriate location.<sup>22</sup>

- Serendipity, not premeditated decisions, had guided the creation of this equestrian [15] monument from the beginning. It seems that the figure was inspired by the *alquacil* leading the parade of bullfighters in a corrida the sculptor had attended in Paris towards the time of the Universal Exhibition of 1889 and when he sent the plaster to the 1890 Salon des Artistes Français he cunningly identified the rider as Velázquez, with the hope that someone would turn it into a monument, either in Paris, Madrid or even in America.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, after some administrative delays, the French State commissioned the next year a cast in bronze, which was legally ascribed to the national museums collections in 1893, but according to the Louvre's regulations the sculpture could not be exhibited in that gallery of great old masters, because the author was still alive: thus, following the suggestions of the sculptor, it was installed in early November 1893 at the Jardin de l'Infante. A spiritually uplifting green space, adjacent to the museum, which would be for more than forty years a most suitable setting for this statue honouring a famous historical figure (Fig. 3a and 3b). It was somehow understood as a monument to the noble condition of artists, since Velázquez is not represented as a painter but as a knight or *caballero*; moreover, it also epitomized the high status reached then in France by a historic master considered as the ancestor of the Impressionists and the muse of many other contemporary artists.<sup>24</sup>
- [16] Almost at the same time, the Infanta's Garden was decorated with another monument by Emmanuel Frémiet also devoted to an artist, Auguste Raffet, the celebrated Romantic painter and lithographer whose most famous works at the Louvre Museum depicted military themes. A committee created in 1891 to commemorate him with a public monument had chosen to give the commission to Frémiet, who designed an equestrian statue inspired by a riding cuirassier featured in one of the works by Raffet. But the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Cf. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Anne Pingeot and Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, *Sculptures des jardins du Louvre, du Carrousel et des Tuileries*, 2nd. vol., 205-6 (no. 168 cat). It is also documented in that book (in a footnote on page 151 of the first volume) that some critics raised nationalist objections, for example Alphonse de Calonne, a right-wing cultural journalist who aired on the 18th of June 1894 in *Le Soleil* his regrets stating "on n'eut pas dû commencer par Velásquez" – he would have preferred starting with Watteau – and consequently he wanted only monuments to French artists henceforth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The intense political and cultural relations between Spain and France at that time were embodied by this statue according to Alisa Luxenberg, who also stresses the symbolism of its location at the Infanta's Garden; but she has documented as well how Frémiet was prepared to change the identity of the portrayed should the monument be dedicated to anybody else. Cf Alisa Luxenberg, "Regenerating Velázquez in Spain and France in the 1890s," in: *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, vol. XVII, n. 35 (1999), 125-149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> In 1928 the French government inaugurated in Madrid that hall of residence for artists and scholars known as "Casa de Velázquez", and five years later the Spanish Republic asked for permission to make a reproduction of this equestrian statue to decorate its surroundings with a monument to the eponymous painter. Instead, the French Government decided to send the original bronze, which was installed in the gardens of the square in front of its main entrance – there is now a replica in its place because the original bronze was destroyed during the Spanish Civil War.

money raised was scarce, and even with the subvention by the Ministry of Public Works obtained by the sculptor the project had to be more modest: a bust portrait of the painter on top of a Corinthian column decorated with the bronze figure – after Raffet's lithography Le Réveil des morts - of a Grenadier drummer calling to battle with his tambour, surrounded by military trophies of past French glories (Fig. 4). For political reasons, this homage to a French painter would be given greater priority and public honors while the equestrian portrait of the Spaniard was slowed and materialized with lower profile celebrations: the sources refer to a mere official report of emplacement signed on 6 November 1893 regarding the protracted Velázquez statue, while the monument to Raffet had been unveiled in an official ceremony held three days before although they had to use the plaster version of the bust; only later on was the portrait in marble installed on top of the column. It subsequently became one of the most popular attractions in the Louvre complex, as can be evidenced by the abundance of postcards devoted to it still to be found today at the stalls of *bouquinistes* on the Seine. Apparently, it was a best-selling icon for customers nostalgic of the Grande Armée, with its bronze ornaments of combative iconography stirring French sentiments of revenge after the 1871 defeat in the war with Prussia: they were all removed under Nazi occupation, and only the stone sculpture and column remained afterwards for more than two decades.<sup>25</sup>

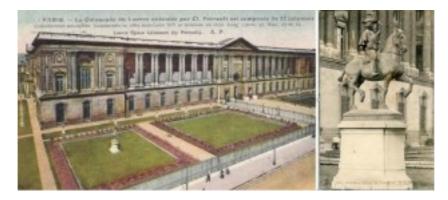


Fig. 3 Monument to Velázquez by Frémiet in the Louvre's Jardin de l'Infante: coloured postcard c. 1890 (3a) and postcard c. 1925 (3b). (Vintage postcards)



Fig. 4 Early 20th-century postcards of Frémiet's monument to Raffet, at the Louvre gardens. (Vintage postcards)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The bronze drummer and military ornaments were melted by the Vichy Government, while the rest of the monument was removed by order of Malraux in 1966.

It is curious to compare the ambitious artistic conception of the Velásquez statue with the [17] rather conventional monument to Raffet, not to mention its different political connotations. The latter matched more the composition and symbolism of the obelisk which had been erected in the middle of the Cour Napoleon on 14 July 1888 in memory of a bellicose politician deceased four years earlier, Léon Gambetta, whose statue was commissioned from Jean-Paul Aubé, a sculptor from the Lorraine region – a territory lost in the Franco-Prussian War. Aubé was also the author of a famous sitting portrait of François Boucher whose plaster version had gained acclaim in the 1888 Salon, which led to a State commission in 1890 to produce the marble statue. It was ascribed to the Louvre in 1892, but could not join the museum display due to the internal regulations forbidding works by living artists, thus it was intended for its surrounding gardens, which according to declarations in 1893 by Jules Comte, Directeur des bâtiments civils, were to be transformed into "une sorte de Panthéon de tous les maîtres de l'art dont les oeuvres sont la richesse de notre grand musée".<sup>26</sup> However, only in 1894 was this portrait of Boucher installed at the Jardin de l'Infante: it can be spotted in turn-of the centurypostcards featuring in the foreground Raffet's monument. Other vintage postcards focus on this sitting portrait of the Rococo painter, holding an oval-shaped canvas and paintbrushes close to a big palette offered by Cupido, contrasting with the large equestrian portrait of Velázquez in the background (Fig. 5a). But often such images wrongly identified the statue as a monument to Watteau (Fig. 5b), perhaps because it lacked a clear inscription and in the public imagination the setting was then associated with the most popular Rococo artist, celebrated by Symbolist poet Albert Samain in his 1893 book Au Jardin de l'Infante. It would remain there for long.<sup>27</sup>

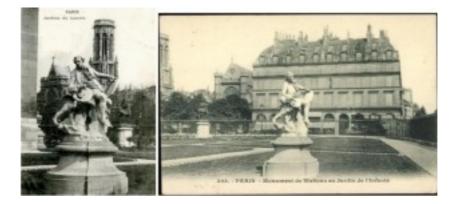


Fig. 5 Early 20th-century postcards of Aubé's monument to Boucher in front of the Louvre, with the equestrian portrait of Velázquez in the background to the right (5a) and to the left (5b, postcard wrongly identified as Monument to Watteau).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Cf. Bresc-Bautier, Pingeot, Le Normand-Romain, *Sculptures des jardins du Louvre, du Carrousel et des Tuileries*, 1st. vol., 145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> François Boucher's statue by Jean-Paul Aubé was retired from the Louvre gardens in 1966 and ten years later it was attributed to the *Musée National d'Art Moderne*, who deposited it in 1981 at the Municipal Museum of Longwy, the Lorrenaise birth-town of the author.

The fourth monument in this Parnassian garden arrived just a year later, after some [18] administrative delays. A committee had been formed soon after the death of Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier in 1891, to raise funds for the erection of a monument in his honour combining public subscription with a subvention from the Ministry of Education and generous donations from the family of the painter. They chose the sculptor Antonin Mercié, who first proposed a neobaroque portrait with allegorical figures; but he was advised to accommodate stylistically to the pre-existing statues in the coveted location, the Jardin de l'Infante. Thus he produced a sitting figure like that of Boucher, represented also in pensive attitude, as if looking for inspiration: a thinking pose fitting the social conventions of decorum appropriate for intimate gardens adorned with portraits of people distinguished by their thought and creativity. But Meissonier had been famous for his patriotic military topics, thus his statue was accompanied by martial emblems at his feet, similar to those at the bottom of Raffet's monument (Fig. 6a). The inauguration took place on 26 October 1895 and a few days later some changes in the iconography had to be made, eliminating the hat of Napoleon originally accompanying the national flag. Perhaps this assured these military ornaments more endurance, contrasting with the fatal destiny of those at the bottom of Raffet's bust portrait, apart from the fact that the monument to Meissonier was all made in marble.<sup>28</sup>



Fig. 6 Mercié's monument to Meissonier at the Louvre's Jardin de L'Infante (6a) and Monument to Gérôme at the Louvre's Jardin de L'Oratoire (6b), combining a full-length portrait of him made by his sonin-law Aimé Morot with Gérôme's original bronze of a combat between gladiators donated by the family. (Vintage postcards)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Removed by order of Minister André Malraux in 1966, the marble portrait of Jean-Louis Ernest Meissonnier was held for some time in unclear status, as it had never been ascribed to the Louvre. This was done in 1980 so that the national museum could sent it in deposit to the city of Poissy, of which the painter had been major in 1878, installed in the municipal park bearing his name, to replace the Meissonier monument in bronze, founded in 1942. Cf. Bresc-Bautier, Pingeot, Le Normand-Romain, *Sculptures des jardins du Louvre, du Carrousel et des Tuileries*, 2nd. vol., 337-339.

- Curiously, most artists honoured at the Jardin de l'Infante had in common a taste for [19] martial topics. It is thus not extraordinary that another monument was proposed there in 1898 to the glory of the Vernet dynasty of painters, so famous for their pictures of port citadels and Napoleonic battles.<sup>29</sup> In any case, the next statue made for this modern Parnassus would be of a fighting gladiator, whose monumental dimensions overwhelmed the small-sized portrait of the artist represented. Pompier painter and sculptor Jean-Léon Gérôme died in 1904, and the following year the Académie des Beaux-Arts commissioned a monument to his memory, backed by Étienne Dujardin-Beaumetz, Undersecretary of State for the Fine Arts, who promised a place for it at the Jardin de l'Infante. However, that garden was already overcrowded with statues according to the architect in charge of the Louvre, who proposed instead the Jardin de l'Oratoire, symmetrically situated on the other side of the museum, facing Rue Rivoli. So, it was there that the new monument was inaugurated on 8 July 1909: a full-length portrait of Gérôme made by his son-in-law Aimé Morot combined with the original bronze of a combat between gladiators signed by Gérôme in 1878 and donated by the family (Fig. 6b). Interestingly, media coverage of the inaugural ceremony focused more on the fighters' figures by Gérôme, disregarding his portrait by Morot.<sup>30</sup>
- [20] The innovative dual conception of the monument passed rather unnoticed; indeed, this strange novelty could have been another reason justifying a new urban setting, together with the iconographic peculiarity of the portrait which, in contrast with the aforementioned nineteenth-century predilection for self-absorbed artists, depicts Gérôme engaged in manual labour, dynamically involved in sculpting one of his most famous statues. In any case, the group of gladiators by Gérôme and the addition of his standing portrait was well received much to the chagrin of sculptor Frémiet, who had intended to place in that location his monument to sculptor François Rude, which ended at the façade of the Dijon School of Fine Arts -; but the scarcity of postcards featuring it indicates that it remained quite unnoticed despite its endurance in situ for many decades.<sup>31</sup> Even less fortunate were the following projects of monuments for the Jardin de l'Observatoire, a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The project of a Vernet monument was commented in the article, "Nos grands hommes", *Le Petit Parisien*, 29 March 1898, prompting the following comments: "Les manifestations patriotiques sont rares aujourd'hui dans la statuaire, pour Paris du moins, qui a fini d'édifier les monuments dus à ses morts. Par contre, on continue à marmoriser ou à couler en bronze nombre de personnalités littéraires et artistiques. Le Jardin de l'Infante et le Jardin du Luxembourg se peuplent de bustes entourés de poétiques allégories. Un culte nouveau est rendu aux rimeurs et aux peintres, aux princes de la bohème et de la littérature facile. On pourrait mieux faire et nous comptons dans notre Panthéon d'autres dieux que Watteau, Boucher, Murger, Verlaine, Meissonier ou l'Espagnol Velásquez."

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> D. De Font-Réaux, L. Des Cars, E. Papet (dir.), *Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904), l'histoire en spectacle*. Paris, Gallimard, 2010, 308 (cat. exp. Musée d'Orsay, Paris – The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles – Musseo Thyssen Bornemisza, Madrid).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Escaping various melting menaces during the Nazi occupation, the bronze monument to Gérôme remained in this garden of the Louvre in front of the Protestant Oratory until 1967, when it was placed in storage and deposited from 1971 to 1980 within the military fort of Mont-Valérien. Restored in 1971, it was attributed to the Musée d'Orsay, where it is on display nowadays.

statue portraying the painter Antoine Vollon and another in memory of the painter Alexandre Cabanel. Both were to be paid by public subscriptions launched by the respective committees created on purpose; but the money came too slowly and the Great War aborted these initiatives.<sup>32</sup>

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#### Further monuments in front of the Prado in Madrid and other international cases

The statue of Velázquez in front of the Louvre no doubt stirred the old plan to erect a [21] monument to him by the main entrance of the National Museum in Madrid. By then Medina's statue had probably been lost or forgotten. Thus a competition was organized in 1893 by the Círculo de Bellas Artes, a cultural association who lead a public subscription to pay for the cast in bronze, raising funds from Spanish artists. The winner, the sculptor Aniceto Marinas, offered to work with no remuneration, yet it was not until 1899 that his monument to Velázquez came to fruition. That was the year of the three hundredth anniversary of his birth and the unveiling was a top level political event, in the presence of Queen Regent María Cristina and her son, the future King Alfonso XIII. Once again, the statue represents the great master as a gentleman in elegant attire and otiose attitude, but here holding his tools in his hands – maulstick, paintbrush and palette –, key elements prevalent in portraits of painters as the iconic attributes of saints in religious statues (Fig. 7). However Velázquez is not working with them and, like Boucher or Meissonier at the Infanta's Garden, he too is seated, as if he had paused to reflect while his paintbrush remains suspended.<sup>33</sup> Same as those Parisian precedents, this statue gives its back to the museum, used as photographic background for postcards and tourists' souvenirs and, contrary to the Murillo monument, the painter looks downwards, absorbed in a engrossed attitude, contrasting with the more active poses and commanding gazes typical of statues portraying politicians and soldiers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Cf. Bresc-Bautier, Pingeot, Le Normand-Romain, *Sculptures des jardins du Louvre, du Carrousel et des Tuileries*, 2nd. vol., p. 174-5, no. 138 and p. 474, no. 420 cat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> This gesture is taken from the self-portrait in *Las Meninas*, as Carlos Reyero rightly spotted. Prof. Reyero has repeatedly echoed the criticisms Marinas received for portraying the painter sitting down, something which 'may not be conceived in any way' as Balsa de la Vega wrote in *El Liberal* when the author presented the plaster cast at the National Exhibition of 1899, being awarded the gold medal: cf. Carlos Reyero, "La imagen del artista en la escultura monumental española (1864-1905)," in: *Boletín del Museo-Instituto Camón Aznar*, no. LXIV (1996), 21-44 (see especially p. 32); Carlos Reyero, *Escultura, museo y Estado en la España del siglo XIX*. *Historia, significado y catálogo de la colección nacional de escultura moderna, 1856-1906*, Alicante, Fundación Eduardo Capa, 2002, 250. Prof. Reyero also considers this stance a historical incongruence or an attempt at presenting an artist from the seventeenth century working in the manner of a nineteenth century middle-class painter. This is not the case, because he is not working while sitting on an armchair, but resting and meditating, somehow stressing Leonardo's argument that painting *è cosa mentale* – which was appropriate for Velázquez to recall in order to be appointed a knight of the Order of Santiago, whose cross is displayed on his chest.



Fig. 7 Monument to Velázquez by Aniceto Marinas in Madrid, with its sitting figure facing the Paseo del Prado in front of the museum main entrance. (Photograph by the author)

[22] Similarly, the next monument erected in front of the Museo del Prado was also a sitting statue of a pensive artist, placed with his back to the museum building. Its author, José Llaneces, had enjoyed for many years great commercial success in the French capital with his genre paintings. Upon returning to Spain, he presented this portrait of Goya, in homage to his most admired painter.<sup>34</sup> It was then cast in bronze by Masriera and Campins in Barcelona and located on the new steps to the northern entrance of the National Museum of Art in 1904, where it remained for more than two decades, becoming a popular photo backdrop for photos and postcards (Fig. 8). In this case it was neither in a garden or square at street level, nor on the top of the stairs, ornamenting the entrance, but placed in a middle public space, like the sitting statues of two famous scholars, Isidore of Seville and Alphonse the Wise, by the façade of the Spanish National Library, where they both seem to be welcoming approaching visitors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> José Llaneces made his name first as a painter, above all in Paris, where he lived splendidly for fourteen years exploiting the market of costumbrismo with paintings of bulls, greatcoat scenes or other Goyaesque fantasies. But at the turn of the century, under the patronage of Queen María Cristina, he was even more successful in Madrid as a sculptor, for he is actually remembered above all by the monuments he was commissioned to do in Madrid and Buenos Aires. The pivotal point in his career was precisely the sitting statue of Goya he presented to the State as a tribute to the inspirer of his genre paintings. Its iconography is based on the celebrated portrait of elderly and sour-faced Goya painted by Vicente López. There are contradictory reports about the chronology of this statue. Leticia Azcúe, curator of sculpture and decorative arts in the Prado, has recently documented the exhibition of its plaster version at the Paris Salon in 1900 and the registration of it bronze version by the Prado Museum in 1901: Leticia Azcúe Brea, "El ornato exterior del Museo del Prado. Un programa escultórico inacabado," in: Boletín del Museo del Prado, vol. XXX, no. 48 (2012), 98-126 (see note 150 in page 125). But she has maintained the date of its conception in 1890, as dated by María Socorro Salvador, La escultura monumental en Madrid. Calles, plazas y jardines públicos (1875-1936). Madrid, Ed. Alpuerto 1990, 115. The dating of its first draft would be crucial to ascertain whether it could have had an influence on the peculiar sitting position of the monument to Velázquez by Aniceto Marinas or vice versa.



Fig. 8 Monument to Goya by José Llaneces in its original site by the North entrance of the Museo del Prado prior to 1925. (Vintage postcards)

- [23] In the meantime, given that cultural policies and trends in the French capital were at the time followed in the rest of the world, emulations emerged in other countries as well. Sometimes reformulating classical monumental iconographies: for instance, a bronze sculpture by Robert Fabri, initially placed in 1896 in one of the sides of the steps to the main entrance of the Fine Art Museum in Antwerp as *Fame crowning the Genius*, became a proper monument to Van Dyck, when this heroic nude portrait of the great Flemish painter and the accompanying allegory were placed in 1899 at the rear of the museum with the inscription: "AAN ANTOON VAN DIJCK" (Fig. 9a) on a free-standing pedestal which is now the only part left.<sup>35</sup>
- [24] On the other hand, Victorian artists were also represented in the elegant frock coat typical of bourgeois dignitaries, but holding the symbols of their job: their statues standing in front of art institutions were like milestones publicly marking cultural districts. In London, the posthumous monument to John Everet Millais, a bronze sculpture by Thomas Brock portraying the painter before a studio stool, with his palette and a paint brush in his hands, was paid by public subscription at the initiative of a memorial committee chaired by the Prince of Wales and Edward Poynter Millais' successor as President of the Royal Academy –, who decided that the most appropriate location would be the gardens of Millbank, by the Tate Gallery, whose founder had been a good friend of the painters and sought his advice in building that museum. Thus the art gallery housing some of Millais' best works became the symbolic background for his monument, placed in front of the main entrance in November 1905 (Fig. 9b), though it has now been relegated to John Islip Street, at the rear entrance to Tate Britain.<sup>36</sup> A similar story, with different

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> The face of the genius is unquestionably Van Dyck's based on early self-portraits by the painter, but the statue was removed in 2011 during renovation works at the museum leaving only the pedestal in the gardens of Plaatsnijdersstraat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Given that by the middle of the twentieth century, public esteem towards Millais and his contemporaries was at its lowest, the management of the museum put forward several requests for the relocation of the monument. In the 1960s the Director of the Tate, Norman Reid, tried to negotiate with the Ministry of Works the exchange of Brock's statue for *John the Baptist* by Rodin. After the State transferred the property of this sculpture to the Tate, in November 2000, it was moved to the rear gardens, next to a side door.

ending, is that of the statue of William Etty in York, his city of birth: a standing portrait carved in stone by local sculptor George Milburn and thoughtfully placed not by the former house of the Victorian painter, but in the middle of Exhibition Square in front of the city art gallery (Fig. 9c), looking across to Bootham Bar and the city walls, whose demolition he had successfully campaigned to avoid. The inauguration was a major event, attended by local elites and crowds of people on 20 February 1911, the centenary of which has been proudly commemorated a few years ago.<sup>37</sup>



Fig. 9a Robert Fabri's Glory of Van Dyck formerly situated at the back of the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Antwerp. Fig. 9b Thomas Brock's monument to John Everet Millais in its original setting, at the entrance to the Tate Millbank. Fig. 9c Statue of William Etty by George Milburn in front of York City Art Gallery. (Photograph by the author)

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#### The apex of a monumental vogue in Paris and its subsequent dismantling

[25] At the turn of the century, the erection of monuments to artists in public spaces reached momentum around the Louvre Museum. At the request of the painter Étienne Dujardin-Beaumetz, Undersecretary of State for the Fine Arts from 1905 to 1912, a new ensemble of sculptures in memory of some great French artists was set up in the gardens of the Cour Napoleon. He significantly designated a square in front of the Arc du Carrousel between the great monuments to Gambetta and La Fayette for this patriotic exaltation of French Art, commissioning allegorical statues for its centre and main axes, to be completed around by ten portraits of historic national architects, sculptors and painters. He called this ensemble 'Campo Santo' and indeed it had many parallelisms with cemeteries, memorials and shrines glorifying deceased heroes. In fact, only the first monument, installed in 1908 (Fig. 10a and b), would represent the artist honoured in a lively attitude: the bronze statue featuring architect Jules Hardouin Mansart in a dynamic contrapposto, consulting a plan stretched on his left knee. It was originally intended to be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> York City Art Gallery organized in 2011 an exhibition entitled *William Etty: Art and Controversy*, and now some websites feature images of the statue in the middle of Exhibition Square, cultural hub of York social history. Several times its removal has been considered, but the city had always refused because this statue is an icon of York, although its fragile stone has required several restorations and could eventually jeopardize its permanence in situ.

a bust, but its author, Ernest Dubois, appealed to Dujardin-Beaumetz for a more generous commission, arguing that a full-length figure would be a greater official backing to his career as a sculptor. After this precedent, others followed suit, rendering portraits in full-length figure, as the sitting statues of the architect Pierre de Montereau and the painter Nicolas Poussin, respectively signed by Henri Bouchard and Constant Roux, erected in 1909 and 1911 in the Western side of the square. They were both made in stone, a material not suitable for dynamic arm gestures, and the only hint of the outstanding activities of the two characters were the resting tools of their profession, following funerary traditions; but the bronze figure of sculptor Michel de Colombe by Jean Boucher also lacked movement and even any iconographic props identifying his job, which provoked criticisms when it was installed in 1909: Henry Havard, Inspecteur des Beaux-Arts, prescribed that a mass and chisel should be added somewhere as attributes of his trade. Yet, this demand was never accomplished by the author, who never used himself mass or chisel, relaying physical work on his *practiciens* – a regular procedure also at many other successful ateliers of sculpture of that time. Furthermore, it seems that the statue of François Rude commissioned for this Campo Santo in 1911 would have also represented the great Romantic sculptor resting quietly in reflexive stance, according to the plasters produced by François Sicard, who took too long to deliver the final statue, a project discontinued at the outbreak of World War I.



Fig. 10a Louvre's Cour Napoleon with the monument to the Genius of Art in the middle and the statue of Mansart behind. Fig. 10b Dubois' Mansart, now at the Esplanade des Invalides. Fig. 10c Campo Santo with the monuments to Corot and Watteau flanking the Allegory of Painting. (Vintage postcards and photograph by the author)

[26] Sicard was quicker in the production of his other work for this ensemble, the monument to Pierre Puget, commissioned in 1907 and installed in 1910, which shares a common structure with those devoted to Watteau, Houdon and Corot commissioned in 1907, 1908 and 1909 from Henry Lombard, Paul Gasq and Raoul Larche respectively – all installed in 1908-1909 –, or with the monument designed by the latter in memory of Chardin – commissioned in 1911, but abandoned when Larche died the following year. These five examples endorsed again the glorification of the artist as intellectual, but abiding by the original guidelines of Étienne Dujardin-Beaumetz who had suggested a twofold structure consisting in each case of a bust portrait – the head being the outmost physiognomic evidence for character and mental creativity - on top of a pedestal decorated with revering full-length allegorical figures, that would didactically remind educated citizens some of the most popular masterworks by the honoured artist. This dual structure was then very common in France, concomitantly propagated by some of the public statues in the Luxembourg gardens like the monument to Delacroix by Jules Dalou erected in 1890, that of Watteau by Henri Désiré Gauquié in 1896, Chopin's effigy by Georges Dubois in 1900 or the bust of Paul Verlaine by Rodo in 1911; but it was specially appropriate for public monuments to artists in front of museums, as in the aforementioned statue of Raffet at the Jardin de l'Infante, where the allegories accompanying the bust portrait didactically evoked his most famous composition, held inside the Louvre. Now, in the case of Pierre Puget, who had excelled both as architect and sculptor, his bust rested on one of the celebrated atlantes of his Toulon city-hall, but the main character was a strong nude man half seated, evoking his great sculptures of Hercules, from the Louvre collection. Similarly, the bust of Houdon was towering over a neoclassical plinth accompanied by a standing female nude figure inspired in his Diana chasseresse, also at the Louvre, whereas Chardin, Watteau, and Corot would be accompanied by characters from their famous pictures inside the museum: La Pourvoyeuse, Fête Champêtre and *Plaisir du Soir*. Such picturesque iconographies suited the graciousness supposedly prototypical of national French art and even the artists' portraits, all made in stone, were more animated in these five monuments, somehow approaching *art nouveau* style.

[27] If everything went as planned, the eight finished monuments to artists erected in a circle interspersed with allegories of the fine arts would have been supplemented by the projected statues of Chardin and Rude commissioned for a contiguous square, together with sculptural homages to poets and musicians, also evoked by bust portraits, all matching the official taste for eighteenth-century gallantries or its romantic sequels, according to Geneviève Bresc-Bautier and Anna Pingeot, who have studied in detail the history and fortune of sculptures at the Louvre and Tuileries gardens.<sup>38</sup> But strangely this project promoted by Dujardin-Beaumetz had very little impact in the public sphere: no specific postcard seems to have been devoted to any of these monuments to artists; only one, indeed a rare commercial image featuring part of the Campo Santo, has been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Cf. Bresc-Bautier, Pingeot, Le Normand-Romain, *Sculptures des jardins du Louvre, du Carrousel et des Tuileries*, 2nd. vol., 42-407 (no. 35, 36, 137, 174, 215, 235, 349, 354 cat.). However, they have not documented the reasons for the sudden crisis of this Campo Santo, which they vaguely justify by a social decline of the *statuomania*, arguing as proof of this change in taste that the city council of Paris had prohibited in January 1910 new statues at the Monceau Park and the Champs-Elysées (1st. vol., 149); but this municipal veto could not affect monuments planned by State officials for the gardens surrounding national monuments.

documented so far (Fig. 10c). If such visual sources should be admitted as historical evidence of publicity success, it could be argued that, as the twentieth century advanced, new monuments to artists in front of the Louvre received a low profile marketing, with mean ceremonies, scarce press coverage, no postcards printed.



Fig. 11a Portrait of Bernard Palissy by Louis-Ernest Barrias in front of the Musée National de Céramique de Sèvres. Fig. 11b Paul Richer's statue of *The First Artist* next to the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris; Fig. 11c Henri Greber's Monument to Frémiet in front of the same museum. (Photographs by the author)

[28] In the same way, other portraits of artists were installed in front of French museums, but also with somehow declining public impact. In the courtyard by the Pincé Museum of Fine Arts in Angers a monument to local painter Jules Eugène Lenepveu – copy of an 1878 bust portrait by Jean-Antoine Injalbert - was erected in 1900, two years after his death, and it would not last long, but it was documented by some rare postcards. Also the bronze statue of Bernard Palissy erected in Sèvres next to the entrance of the Musée National de Céramique (Fig. 11a) – a 1902 replica of the monument by Louis-Ernest Barrias in Boulogne –, proudly featured in some postcards. In Paris, photo souvenirs of the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle had highlighted the 1890 statue by Paul Richer representing Le Premier Artiste, installed in the gardens of the Galerie d'Anatomie Comparée et de Paleontologie (Fig. 11b), but the monument to Frémiet by Henri Greber, put up in 1913 just in front of the entrance to that gallery (Fig. 11c) would pass rather unnoticed.<sup>39</sup> Likewise, in 1929 a very controversial monument to Cézanne faint-heartedly erected in the Tuileries gardens, seems not to have ever featured in postcards; indeed, it had been commissioned by a public subscription of artists and admirers for his hometown, Aix-en-Province, where it was refused in 1925, which led indirectly to its

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Frémiet had been since 1892 professor of animal iconography at the Natural History Museum of Paris, which commissioned from him some popular statues, like his *Man fighting with a Bear*, at the gardens of the zoological menagerie. In fact, Greber's monument portrayed Frémiet at work on this sculpture, standing at his modelling bench, while the pedestal was didactically decorated with images of his *Bear cub thief* and his famous equestrian monument to Joan of Arc. Nowadays we can spot beautiful photos of this important monument in Flickr; but my research has not found any single postcard devoted to it, while there are plenty of such commercial images of Fremiet's Parisian monuments.

installation in Paris by the stairs to the Musée Monet at the Tuileries Orangerie, a discrete choice raising resistance from the Comité des Monuments.<sup>40</sup> It is not clear whether they were opposing a monument to the notorious post-impressionist painter or its innovative monumental conception, which merely featured a bathing female figure inspired by his paintings.<sup>41</sup> The author, Aristide Maillol might had derived it from the prior combination in many monuments to artists of both their portraits and didactic evocations of their most famous works, still employed in 1909-10 by Emile-Antoine Bourdelle in a couple of sculptures in honour of Carpeaux and Rodin – respectively kept at the Musée de Lyon and the Musée Rodin. Auguste Rodin himself had lead the way with his proposed monument to Whistler, commissioned in 1905 by the International Society of Painters, Sculptors and Gravers, to be erected in front of their London premises. He would never finish his design, a naked Muse, but from the start he had refused to render a posthumous portrait of his friend, declaring such kind of monument obsolete. This criticism must have affected Dujardin-Beaumetz and his successors in the art administration, always eager to please Rodin, because of his growing influence amongst high-ranking politicians, specially his friend Georges Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France in 1906-1909 and 1917-1920.<sup>42</sup>

[29] Nevertheless, it is one thing to timidly cool down the proliferation of new monuments to artists, and another to dispose of the existing ones. The latter constituted a radical turn in cultural politics taken by the French national government in 1933, when the request by the Spanish Republic of a copy of the equestrian portrait of Velasquez was generously answered with the transfer of the original sculpture to Madrid, whereas all monuments to artists of the Louvre's Campo Santo were also taken away the same year - with the exception of Poussin's, which was removed in 1934 -, being subsequently disseminated to distant sites. More than a change in taste, this could arguably reflect the political diplomacies of republican statesmen dealing with other territorial authorities: as the national art purchases and collections were partly distributed to cities in the provinces, some monuments hitherto accumulated in the gardens of the Louvre were now dispersed, often sent to the hometowns of the great men honoured. Anyhow, the existence of these monuments to architects, painters and sculptors in art districts was still not totally questioned, because most times the new locations chosen were public gardens in neighbourhoods somehow related to their respective masterworks. Thus, as a side effect of the removal of some monuments to artists from the Louvre gardens, their presence in public spaces around museums was exported to other cities of France. In Tours, Marseilles and Valenciennes the locations selected for the statues arrived from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Katharina Krings, *Aristide Maillol – Monument à Cézanne*, Munich, GRIN Verlag GmbH, 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> A close precedent was set in Rome, next to the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, where a monument to the memory of Thorvaldsen was donated by the municipality of Copenhagen in 1925; but they just erected a monumental replica of his *Jason*, with no portrait of the Danish sculptor alongside.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Jeanne Laurent, *Arts et pouvoirs en France de 1793 à 1981*, Saint-Etienne, CIEREC, 1982, 103.

Paris were precisely in the surroundings of art museums: the two latter instances still remain in those art districts (Fig. 12a and b).<sup>43</sup> Yet even more significant is the case of Tours, where Jean Boucher's monument to Michel Colombe was installed in a public garden by the fine arts museum, where it stayed for nine years, until it was melted in 1942 during Nazi occupation. After the Liberation it was replaced by a stone portrait of Colombe commissioned from Pierre Dandelot in 1945. However, even if the destruction of patriotic monuments during the war did not deal the final blow, this typology of monument gradually became outfashioned in France and almost everywhere else.



Fig. 12a François-Léon Sicard's Monument to Pierre Puget, formerly outside the Louvre, now in a roundabout near the Musée de Beaux-Arts de Marseille. Fig. 12b Henry-Edouard Lombard's Monument to Watteau, now in front of the Musée de Valenciennes. (Photograph by the author and from http://www.monnuage.fr/photos/point-dinteret/106472/461072)

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# Closing remarks: the waning of a nineteenth-century monumental pattern

[30] If the *statuomania* of the nineteenth century had reached its zenith around World War I, it was decidedly obsolete in the aftermath of the Second World War, save some political

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> In July 1933 the monument to Pierre Puget was taken to Marseilles, his hometown, where another monument to him already existed in the city centre, so this new statue was placed in a landscaped area of the Boulevard Montricher, opposite the Art Museum. The portrait of Michel Colombe was moved in September 1933 to Tours, where he had created his best sculptures to decorate the cathedral, although his bust was located next to the Art Museum, where it was cast during Nazi occupation and replaced after the war with a stone statue made by François Sicard. The monument to Watteau was also removed in 1933, but it took some time to find its destination and only in 1937 it was sent to Valenciennes, birth town of the painter, where a monument in his honour already adorned the main square, so this new monument was placed in a landscaped square before the entrance to the art museum. The statue of Corot was also in a store from mid-1933 awaiting for a new location and not before 1935 was it sent to Avray, where the painter used to own a cottage; but they already had a monument there, and his statue was moved to the square in front of the church. The same happened with the monument to Houdon, sent to Lisieux in 1935, and placed in the Jardin Publique. Similarly removed in 1933, the monument dedicated to Pierre de Montereau was dispatched by the end of 1935 to the gardens surrounding the basilica of Saint-Denis, where that medieval sculptor worked for long. Also removed in 1933, the portrait of Mansart was eventually placed in front of Les Invalides, the most famous building created by this architect. The statue of Poussin was the last to quit the Campo Santo in July 1934, and it was sent afterwards to Andelys, the hometown of the painter.

revivals during the Cold War.<sup>44</sup> New statues of art celebrities became particularly rare, since their traditional promoters, other artists and their supporters, were now alien to such public tributes. Above all Pablo Picasso, who had been commissioned in 1928 a monument to his deceased friend Guillaume Apollinaire and, instead of portraying him, always insisted on delivering poetic metaphors, which were first rejected but eventually materialized in 1959.<sup>45</sup> Likewise allegoric sculptures in honour of the arts continued to adorn gardens or piazzas next to art museums, which still remained occasional locations for statues of their political sponsors or generous art patrons; but in the case of artists it seemed now preferable to exalt their works, rather than their human likeness. And it was not only around the national museums in France that the sculptural portraits of artists were in crisis. In Madrid Goya's sitting monument donated by José Llaneces had become in 1925 property of the City Council, that transferred it to the Casa de la Villa: the landscaped square in front of the northern entrance to the museum looked then quite empty.<sup>46</sup> It was eventually filled in 1945 with the famous walking portrait of Goya made in 1902 by sculptor Mariano Benlliure; indeed, it had 'walked' around different areas of the capital prior to its definitive position there, facing the Prado Museum. But it was placed very high, on top of a new plinth on a hill, thus giving central focus, for visitors' gazes and photographs alike, to the art nouveau pedestal featuring popular works by Goya, like the Naked Maja, one of his most recognizable paintings in the Prado Museum (Fig. 13a).<sup>47</sup>

[31] This combination of an artist's portrait with didactic evocations of his masterworks highlighted the dual iconography of public monuments to artists fashioned in nineteenthcentury France, particularly appropriate for the environs of museums, where they would act as an artistic 'appetizer' preceding the cultural feast served indoors. But then, obviously more attractive than offering sculptural remakes of masterworks, was to place original pieces by eminent sculptors in the surroundings of museums. Sometimes, this modern practice would be combined with outmoded typologies of monumental portraits of artists, as it happened for example in front of the garden of the Fine Arts Museum in Bilbao, where the new building opened in 1945, the year the painter Ignacio Zuloaga

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Sergiusz Michalski, *Public Monuments. Art in Political Bondage, 1870-1997*, London, Reaktion Books, 1998, p. 158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Michael C. Fitzgerald, "La Matérialisation d'un héritage littéraire: le monument à Apollinaire," in: *Que Vlo-ve Bulletin international des études sur Apollinaire*, 2nd series, no. 25 (Jan.-March 1989), 14-21.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 46}$  Since 1986 this sitting statue of Goya is in the Glorieta of San Antonio de la Florida, by the chapel where the painter is buried.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Though Benlliure was also inspired by the seated portrait of Goya painted by Vicente López, this time the figure is standing on a high pedestal profusely decorated with some characters taken from his paintings and from *Los Caprichos*. They are not neatly carved for close-up observation because the original project, which did not materialize, had planned for the sculpture and its pedestal to stand in the middle of an ornamental fountain. The monument before the chapel of San Antonio de la Florida did not come to pass either and it was placed in 1902 in the Paseo de Coches of Parque del Retiro, where it stood for three years, and later located in calle de Goya until finally in 1945 it was transferred to the small square on the northern façade of the Prado, recently remodelled by the architect Pedro Muguruza.

died. Thus, a bust of him made by his friend, the sculptor Julio Beobide, was placed in 1947 before the museum on a lawn amidst flower beds (Fig. 13b); not far from Francisco Durrio's allegorical monument to the composer Arriaga – a 'musical' fountain inaugurated in 1933 – and other pieces of an expanding sculpture garden.



Fig. 13a Present position of Monument to Goya by Mariano Benlliure in the piazza at the North entrance of the Museo del Prado, Madrid.
Fig. 13b Bust portrait of Ignacio Zuloaga by Julio Beobide, entrance of the Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao. Fig. 13c Monument to Epifanio Garay, replica of a sculpture by Silvano Guéllar, in front of the Museo Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá. (Photographs by the author)

- [32] A late instance of this policy is the monument to Epifanio Garay, erected in front of the National Museum of Colombia (Fig. 13c): in 1948 this historic institution had moved into a former prison and, in order to make more evident the new cultural use of such an impressive building, in 1953 the municipality of Bogotá transferred to its front gardens the sculpted portrait of the eminent nineteenth-century Colombian painter, a stone bust originally installed in 1922 in Ayacucho Square.<sup>48</sup> But it is very revealing that they had to use an old statue by a sculptor of a bygone era, Silvano Guéllar (1873-1938), while twentieth-century artists were to be differently represented with many modern works both in the sculpture gardens of the Museo Nacional and in open spaces around the Museo Nacional de Arte Moderno.
- [33] All over the world, the environs of art museums would become crucial settings of a significant change in enhancing art districts with other kind of sculptures, often 'monumental' in size, but not any longer conceived as representational monuments. These would continue to work as an interface between urban areas and museum space; though with a radically different function and symbolism. When abstract art was hailed by Cold War cultural politics against Socialist Realism, the new landmarks of art districts would no longer be figurative portraits, but recognizable as signature pieces of modern art. In fact, many nineteenth-century monuments were taken out of public spaces by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> It was on the occasion of a great exhibition paying homage to Epifanio Garay at the National Museum that this bust was moved to this new location, but it remained there afterwards. For conservation reasons, in 2005 it was replaced by a copy, and the original stone sculpture is now kept inside the museum. Laura Pombo y Margarita Mariño (eds.), *Bogotá, un museo a cielo abierto: Guía de esculturas y monumentos conmemorativos en el espacio público*, Bogotá, Alcaldía Mayor, 2008, 73-75.

cultural authorities during that period and, significantly, the last remaining statues portraying artists around the Louvre were removed in the 1960s by order of André Malraux, then minister of culture. Probably, the famous author of an essay about museums without walls was not very keen on such open-air heritage. Made by worthy sculptors, they had no labels identifying their authors and complementary information, and thus were hardly perceived as works of art in themselves.

That was the prevailing public opinion in the heyday of Modernism all over the Western [34] world, and it took some time before heritage conservationists and art historians started in the US campaigning for the reappraisal of official Victorian statues.<sup>49</sup> In Europe, a turning point regarding monuments to artists was the erection in 1991 outside Unterlinden Museum in Colmar, in front of the former chapel, of Martin Schongauer's sandstone statue, part of the monumental fountain which had been dismantled thirtythree years before (the dismembered sculptures were kept at the Bartholdi Museum). With the change of the millennium, public art in cultural quarters has resumed, with postmodern irony, nineteenth-century monumental policies: the bronze statue of Curro González by the entrance of the Andalusian Centre for Contemporary Art in Seville is a derisory revival, unconsciously returning to the origins of statues portraying artists in museum surroundings.<sup>50</sup> However, nowadays the sculptures or art interventions in the vicinity of museums are usually owned/promoted by the institution itself and symbolize an opening to the outside world using a small part of its collection. Just the opposite of most typical nineteenth-century usages, when the museum was a passive protagonist of an encompassing gesture made by the public realm to embrace art galleries with these statues from the outside, since those monuments to great artists were placed there by the local authorities or by public initiatives alien to the museum. Meanwhile, the concept of 'art district' itself has changed, and it is no longer identified with monumental attractions featuring in pictures, postcards, or films, but with booming art markets and urban revitalization. Nevertheless, it is the role of art historians to retrieve them from oblivion, in order to connect the past with our present culture and vice versa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Donald Martin Reynolds (ed.), *Remove Not the Ancient Landmark: Public Monuments and Moral Values,* Amsterdam, Overseas Publishers Association, 1996, 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> The sculpture *Como un monumento al artista*, erected in 2010 by local artist Curro González in the public gardens in front of the Centro Andaluz de Arte Contemporáneo, is a self-portrait in polychrome bronze placed on top of a podium complemented by two interactive elements: a fanfare of horns is set off when a visitor crosses the threshold, and his/her image is recorded by a camera and then projected in the lobby of the CAAC. It is an ironic self-questioning of the public image of an artist today, ridiculously depicted as a one-man band with his palette, computer, recording camera and many other gadgets or details. It seems that neither him nor the director of the museum who commissioned this work were aware of the pioneering role of Seville's monument to Murillo in this history. Cf. J. Pedro Lorente, "Museos y espacio público: Controversias sobre monumentos en el entorno urbano de los museos," in: *Errata: Revista de Artes Visuales de la Fundación Gilberto Alzate Avendaño*, no. 6, 2013, p. 47-74 (see specially pages 51-53).

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