Neoclassical Cultural Districts Marked by Antiquities

The Zenith and Decay of Their Display between Museum Space and City Space

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Abstract   Neoclassicism still determines our idea of museums, especially with regard to their architecture; but the policies implemented at the time concerning the display of antiquities in the vicinity of museums were also to be very influential in the long term. During the Enlightenment, the first museums of art and archaeology were often preceded by public displays of classical monuments assembled in porticoes and courtyards, sculpture gardens more or less accessible to visitors and other spaces of intermediation surrounding art institutions. As the nineteenth century advanced, that tradition was reinterpreted in such open-air environments, substituting ancient sculptures by new statues made in classical materials and attitudes. Recently, some postmodern practices have returned to the installation of ancient art works in front of museums.

Non si trattava soltanto di un ideale letterario: questo ritrovamento della antichità, e anzi superamento di essa, fu anche, sin del primo momento, il progetto di una nuova immagine del mondo, l'idea che per più decenni guidò gli architetti ed i loro committenti – fossero, questi, signori privati, o sovrani, o repubbliche – verso una realtà nella quale oggi dobbiamo forse commemorare l'estrema metamorfosi della città europea [Assunto 1973, p. 51].

1 Preface

Neoclassicism made a lasting impression on the notion of museums. Thenceforth the rhetoric of sumptuous domes, monumental pediments, high flights of steps and other classical architectural elements became conspicuous and, to a great extent, endures even nowadays around the 'temples of the muses'. In the stratified society of the Enlightenment cultural offer was socio-spatially graduated. Many royal or aristocratic galleries were made accessible to lay citizens; but visiting them was still understood as a concession emanating from the top and often revoked unpredictably or regulated by very limited opening times and conditions of visit.[1] It also continued to be very common for cultural institutions to congregate in the stately epicentre of large capitals. Only with the passing of time, some museums were located at growing distances from regal palaces and courtly patronage though they continued to be associated with academies and libraries or even shared the same building with them, as they sought a similar audience, a custom that lived on for most of the nineteenth century (Bonaretti 2002).

The impact of Neoclassicism was less lasting in terms of another strategy of visibility initially used by many art museums and gradually lost later on: the public display of classical statues marking the transition from urban spaces to the museum space. This particularly applied to places of intersection between the social and private spheres, such as royal parks, palace patios, porticoes or other courtly areas whose access was gradually opened during the Enlightened Despotism, subject to protocol filters or other psycho-environmental barriers. The first museums of art and archaeology played a crucial role in the greater opening of stately heritage to citizens; but also the adjoining patios, gardens, squares, fountains or ponds often decorated with ancient art works, shaping a 'paramuseal' urban network

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1   It is worth remembering that visits to the first museums during the Enlightenment were limited to a few and surrounded by strict etiquette, regulated timetables and terms, admission always at the lords' discretion. Drunkards, prostitutes, people in rags or anyone suspicious looking were vetoed as were children, who were seen as a potential hazard or nuisance (Bjurström 1993). Universal access was a revolutionary conquest comparable to universal suffrage in politics, to be gained later on and always regulated by some protocols of disciplinary control implemented in modern democracies (Hooper-Greenhill 1992; Bennett 1995).

in some capitals which propitiated unexpected encounters and exchanges amongst all sorts of people. Some 'talking statues', traditionally adopted both by popular culture and by sardonic pundits to stamp their slogans in graffiti or posters stuck on them, continued to enhance the urban stage for lively social interaction in the public space. But monumental sculptures delimiting the surroundings of cultural districts generally served as a political reference beyond their purely aesthetic value: multifarious urban life bustled by with a flow of diverse onlookers along with crisscrossing trends in public opinion.[2] Thus, alongside these landmarks of highbrow culture, a vast offering of street art blossomed, ranging throughout the entire social spectrum. Sellers of prints and books, buskers, puppeteers or acrobats, public festivals and open air art exhibitions constituted a cultural substratum which enlivened urban epicentres too, quite often at the very door of the first museums.[3] From then on, a modern art system would arise which prompted fertile synergies between public art and museums in some culture capitals as the nineteenth century moved on.

2 Public display of antiquities in front of museums in the epicentre of cities under the Enlightenment

The architecture of Ancien Régime palaces or churches marked no drastic separation between heritage treasures guarded within and those displayed outside, inasmuch as some pieces usually kept indoors were used in open-air ceremonials, while boundary crosses or statues of saints and rulers marked approaching roads. In sociological terms the cultural network gradually woven between such public statues and the enclosures where art collections concentrated may not have been so obvious. Sculpture collections, unlike paintings or other delicate items, could endure the weather and used to play a leading role at the front of museums or in nearby gardens. It was not always clear, however, whether these sculptures were considered urban decoration or an extension of the collection colonising external areas. They probably fulfilled both functions at the same time, with greater or lesser relevance of each role based on whether the monumental purpose was met by the original or a copy of ancient statues placed on the walls of the palace or in a nearby public location.

During the Enlightenment visual and haptic access to spheres of power was gradual and part of hierarchical relationships with subjects.[4] Boundaries were delimited by the spatial and visual protocol, with intermediate intersection zones inside and outside noble mansions. And while access was socially segregated – some could merely catch a glimpse from the outside while others could actually go inside – the visit itself indoors was also socially filtered. Visitors would typically have to follow, as part of a group, the rapid pace and explanations of a guide who would expect a tip in return. Only special visitors, such as scholars or artists, could enjoy the privilege of viewing for themselves, though permission was needed to take notes or to sketch, which was specifically prohibited in some palace galleries.[5] One would walk around as a guest in someone else's house, at the gracious concession of the owners who would only occasionally turn up to welcome a distinguished visitor, but whose portraits and those of their ancestors were permanently and symbolically present in effigies, heraldry and other ornaments inside and outside of such complex semiosphere (Eco, Pezzini 2014). Stunning panoramas and the pleasure of momentarily enjoying

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[2] To some extent, they could be considered the plastic art equivalent to the reading aloud and open discussion of newspapers and magazines in cafés, clubs or parlours in London and Paris analysed by Jürgen Habermas as the ferment of the modern 'public sphere' in the Age of Enlightenment and in the forthcoming bourgeois society (Rottenberg 2002; Carrier 2006, p. 210; Barrett 2011, p. 84).

[3] Though the powerful tried their best to move them further and further away confining fairs and other busy events to the outskirts of cities (Crow 1985; Bennett 1995).

[4] Neoclassical urban planning gave new emphasis to the new civic spaces marked by celebrative milestones like triumphal arches or monumental gates and classical temples or pantheons interrelated with the opening of museums, that also were epiphanies of power (Lorente 2003, pp. 26-31). Many parallelisms could be traced, both in spatial and social terms, between promenading inside and outside museums in the Enlightenment (Loir, Turcot 2011).

[5] In Paris, when the French Royal gallery was opened to the public in 1750 at the Palace of Luxembourg general visits were only allowed for three hours on the two designated days a week; artists enjoyed preferential treatment as they had access on other days and times though for security reasons painting was strictly prohibited as splashes of paint could spoil the artworks or an original could be replaced with one of its copies (McClellan 1984).

Fig. 1. Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius in the middle of Piazza Campidoglio, in front of the Capitoline Museum, Rome. Photo by Mónica Vázquez.

Fig. 2. Antiquities displayed at the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, a public area preceding the access to the Capitoline Museum, Rome. Photo by Mónica Vázquez.

the stately halls undoubtedly added to the allure of the gallery for social *parvenus*. Nonetheless, most commoners had to be content with being allowed access to the gardens, courtyards and other areas on the ground floors peopled by servants.

This segregation of visual perspectives and cultural uses was at times marked out by the installation in open spaces of antiquities of high symbolic value considered as a collective heritage. In fact, some historical monuments did also arouse feelings of collective identity: this was well noted by Pope Sixtus IV in 1471 when he «made restitution» (*sic*) to the people of Rome of four celebrated bronze statues – amongst them *The Capitoline Wolf* – up until then kept at his Lateran Palace – as a political symbol that the papacy was the heir to Imperial Rome – and had them transferred to the Capitol, their original location, to which they were returned.[6] They were placed in a square redesigned by Michelangelo, situating in the middle of it the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius – for centuries considered to be a portrait of the first Christian Emperor, Constantine – accompanied by other ancient art works (Fig. 1). Thus, when the Capitoline Museum opened in 1734, it was preceded by a pre-museal heritage whose centre was that riding figure, flanked by the large sculptures of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, on

both sides of the access steps, while the portrait of a sitting Minerva as *Dea Roma* closed the axial perspective. Other ancient sculptures complemented such monumental decoration, some of them sheltered under the inner porticoes and courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. These included the head, foot and hand of a colossal statue of Constantine – depicted in Füssli's celebrated drawing (Kunsthaus Zürich) and still one of Rome's favourite icons in tourist photographs (Fig. 2). After Clement XIII's acquisition of the Albani collection many more ancient art works were displayed at the Palazzo Nuovo (Fiorio 2011, p. 16), some sheltered indoors and others marking the transition to urban areas (La Rocca, Parisi-Presicce 2010). About one hundred pieces located in the atrium, the courtyard and other public areas on the ground floor were readily and unrestrictedly accessible to the public – only at night or on certain occasions were they enclosed behind the iron railing at the entrance from which they could at least be glimpsed – whereas a timetable and more restricted conditions applied to the upper floors, inside the museum, where the masterpieces of the papal collection were on display for the expert eyes of artists, scholars and travellers.

A 1759 drawing by Charles-Joseph Natoire attests to the public fascination aroused by antiquities lo-

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6   At the memorial stone of the transfer, which is preserved inside the museum, Sixtus IV is praised for his *immensam benignitatem*, but the Latin word used is not donation, but restitution (Fiorio 2011, p. 16; Sommella 2006). Placed there, these antiquities took on new political symbolism, whereas in their previous urban location they were popularly perceived as magic totems of the ancient world, almost legendary idols (Vitale 1990, p. 334).

Fig. 3. Hubert Robert, *A Draftman in the Capitoline Museum*, Valence, Musée de Valence. Photo from Paul 2012, p. 29.

cated at the doors of museums. Natoire, then director of the French Academy in Rome, portrayed a curious variety of people in the *cortile* of the museum: it resembles those scenarios propitiating fortuitous encounters and exchanges referred to by Habermas as the birthplace of modern public sphere due to the visual relevance given in this sketch to the renowned Marforio fountain, one of Rome's 'talking statues' (Giovannini 1997, pp. 55-57). A woman is depicted next to it taking water with her pitcher while some undisturbed elegant connoisseurs stare admiringly, two of them examining the ancient statues while another is captivated by the drawings of archaeological pieces an artist is outlining – possibly he was there to sell his work to rich travellers on their *Grand Tour*. A similar figure sketching on a piece of paper was the central character of a later drawing by Hubert Robert entitled *A Draftsman in the Capitoline Gallery* (c. 1763, Musée de Valence). The figure is surrounded by pensive scholars, a wet nurse with a baby and even a scraggy dog: they all look towards the artist (Fig. 3). Those casual confluences between high and popular culture were less viable upstairs, as inside the museum children and animals were not admitted, and only women of high status would dare coming in, conveniently accompanied by people of similar social status.[7]

A comparable urban epicentre, both in terms of historical importance and historic heritage, was the Piazza della Signoria in Florence, with its accumulated assortments of famous statues, which were also considered prestigious cultural relics and served as public-political iconographic ornaments. There as well, some of these sculptures found shelter in an atrium, the *Loggia dei Lanzi*, a Gothic portico originally built in Florence's main square to hold citizen assemblies, which gained new political symbolism when the Republic was suppressed and Cosimo I de Medici turned its upper part into a terrace where the ducal family could stand to preside over public performances or other events taking place in the piazza, while he installed under this porch some of his most precious sculptures of his collection: *Perseus with the Head of Medusa* by Benvenuto Cellini and *The Rape of Sabine Women* by Giambologna. Both in terms of function and architecture this portico worked as an extension of the famous Galleria degli Uffizi and the Vasari Corridor built by order of Cosimo I as annexes to the Palazzo Vecchio. Yet, as a public space for socialization and housing important monuments, this porch was also a continuation of the main city square, decorated with famous monumental sculptures, among which soon featured a large equestrian portrait of Duke Cosimo himself. It

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7 Inside the Capitoline Museum eighteenth-century tourists were monitored depending on their rank by the *custode* himself – the first was Marquis Alessandro Gregorio Capponi, succeeded by Marquis Lucatelli – or *sottocustode* Pietro Forier, or by his son, Gasparo Forier (Paul 2012, p. 40).

Fig. 4. Carlo Canella, *Loggia della Signoria*, 1847. Collection Cassa di Risparmio Firenze. Photo from Barletti 2009.

is not surprising that his successors also used the *loggia* as a socio-spatial intersection in the public display of the art treasuries of the dynasty: they made of it a preamble to the Uffizi while it also constituted a continuation of the main citizen square.

When the gallery of the Uffizi was opened to the public in 1769 its visual dominance and elitism further enhanced its attraction for refined audiences.[8] Inside, the palace overflowed with the amount of heritage treasured there, so copious that the new existence of the museum institution did not prevent the further growth in number of Medici statues under the Loggia dei Lanzi (Fig. 4): a polite deference of an enlightened court which counted its glory on their inherited cultural riches, some of which they wished to share with all citizens, even with those who were not too interested in visiting art museums. In 1789, when Great Duke Peter Leopold had some ancient sculptures brought from Villa Medici in Rome to the *loggia* in Florence, some indignant voices were raised in the

Papal State against that cultural *spolium*. But this only made these antiques all the more valued by Tuscan people who highly appreciated them because they represented the Marzocco – the heraldic lion that is a symbol of Florence – and six graceful matrons – these were five Sabines which had already been displayed in the Giardino delle Statue of Cardinal della Valle in Rome before being purchased and installed in the Pincio arcades, and another statue of a Germanic woman identified as Thusnelda, whose fate remained forever linked to the others. Some years later more sculptures were added[9] which rounded off the glamour of a portico forever propitiating heteroclite reunions. Many might have frequented the place simply to see or be seen or engage in casual conversations frequently pictured in *vedutisti* paintings and prints or by photographers later on.[10] It never ceased to be a space for encounters and continued to have a 'paramuseal' use – in the dual sense of the term since the portico is within the perimeter of the Uffizi and is

8 Under age visitors were not easily accepted during the eighteenth century into the Galleria degli Uffizi, and access to some rooms with nudes was restricted for ladies and youngsters (Roettgen 2010; specific rules did not exist and it was only in 1784 that a ticket system was put in place for public access arranged in groups at the agreed times without paying a tip, according to Findlen 2012, p. 104).

9 From 1838 onwards, an ancient statue of Menelaus with the body of Patroclus, which had formerly stood next to Ponte Vecchio, was displayed under the Loggia della Signoria (Capecchi 1975). Pio Fedi's sculpture *The Rape of Polyxena* (1865) finally completed the artwork display of this portico (Vossilla 1995).

10 Eighteenth-century *vedute* by Bernardo Bellotto, Thomas Patch or Giuseppe Zocchi could be compared to the abundant Romantic interpretations of this urban landscape portrayed by Giuseppe Gherardi or brothers Giuseppe and Carlo Cannela as visual evidence of the gradual increase of the sculpture collection displayed under the portico and its constant use as a social point for encounters and dialogues (Barletti 2009).

almost like a museum – as all the original statues are preserved *in situ* under the arches of this Florentine *stoa*, while most of the monuments in the *piazza* have been replaced by copies.

A third similar case study could be considered in Venice, another cultural capital where the heart of the city was intended during the Enlightenment to show antiquities on display in an area of open-air intersection between public space and the art treasures inside the Statuario Pubblico. Open since 1596 before the Biblioteca Marciana, next to Piazza San Marco, this museum had always been highly frequented by lovers of Greek sculptures, which had been the main speciality of its ever-expanding collection. In the year 1795, the hall was full to bursting with antiquities. Curator Jacopo Morelli and his sculptor friend Antonio Canova then proposed to take some of the marble statues outside. The latter produced a couple of designs imagining some statues on the entrance steps and in the open air; but none of this was ever to reach completion as Napoleon's troops entered the city in 1797 and sacked the collection.[11]

Another close project, not only in terms of geographic proximity, was the Museo Lapidario of Verona, created with the collections of antiquities from the Accademia Filarmonica on the initiative of its eminent member Marquis Scipione Maffei, who had them installed in a peristyle patio in 1738. He was determined to offer to the public a «museo per poveri» and a «scuola all'aperto» (Franzoni 1982, pp. 50-52). Indeed, admission was free to anyone wishing to admire the antiquities at will. Laypeople, however, would hardly appreciate this permanent exhibition lacking either oral or written explanations. From an urban planning viewpoint, this building featured three main differences. Firstly, this portico was no longer a public space in the threshold of an historic palace but a colonnade attached to a newly built construction created by the academy for its Teatro Filarmonico: this theatre had been inaugurated six years before the museum and had burnt

down in 1749 – its reconstruction, and the massive flow of spectators, was delayed for years. Secondly, it cannot properly be considered another instance of museum located in the urban core because the centre of Verona had traditionally been Piazza dei Signori; it would rather be a case of one of the initiatives promoting the expansion of the city towards its renowned Roman amphitheatre, an area which had become a favourite spot for promenading, whose development reached its climax in 1782 with the inauguration of Piazza Bra, the new symbolic epicentre of Verona ever since. The third peculiarity of this project, perhaps archetypal of any peri-urban space, was that the ancient marbles had to be matched by a landscaped botanic garden, which took many years to recover after the Napoleonic sacking, although it eventually became a highly successful combination of antiquities and nature.[12]

This combination, and the urban separateness was even more striking in the British Museum, opened to the public in 1759 by the Parliament of London in Montagu House, a suburban house in the West End of the city, whose garden was initially modestly decorated with an acroterion and the statue of a gladiator. Yet that national museum was not born as a popular attraction, but as an elitist enclave, almost exclusively the domain of a few pundits and patricians where access to other citizens was arduous despite being the first 'public museum' from an administrative point of view. Originally it was open to everyone without payment or tipping, though access was only allowed through prior booking approximately fifteen days in advance. Trailing behind a fast walking and fast talking guide in groups of five, visitors were not allowed to stop individually for closer inspection of any item which might had caught their attention. Outside, however, the national ownership of the museum was more apparent in practices and symbols: anyone could freely walk around the garden where, by the turn of the century, grew over six hundred different botanic species brought from all over the nation (Caygill

11 The Renaissance *cortile* at the entrance to the museum in Piazzetta San Marco was finally opened to the public in 2013. Large classical statues welcome visitors, though some of the pieces sent to the Louvre were never returned (Favaretto 1997).

12 The palm trees in the garden and higher part of the inner courtyard of Teatro Filarmonico would rise over the façade – whose original walls were quite low – and look onto the square, as attested to by some nineteenth-century visual documents (cf. etchings and photographs illustrating Franzoni's article, 1982). But the height of the building was raised during the fascist period and remained closed for most of the twentieth century due to war damage and subsequent reconstruction. The Museo Lapidario is currently one of the tourist attractions included in the Verona Card; a free glimpse of it can be enjoyed from the open gate in Piazza Bra where tickets are sold.

1981). But when the Parthenon marbles arrived and were installed in that (e)state's garden in 1817, a temporary outbuilding was erected, to protect them from ice and rains.

This leads us to the introduction of two elements unmentioned so far: weather and stately parks, both of them crucial in the musealization of open-air displays of ancient heritage. Harsh winters in northern Europe and the scarcity of classical antiquities – the most treasured artworks by cultural elites during Neoclassicism – prevented them from being displayed in the open air even at the door of the new temples of the muses. This was the case of the encyclopaedic Museum Fridericianum of Cassel, whose classical architecture attempted to be a modern materialization of the ideal Greek *mouseion* – the statues of the muses crowned its façade. It was not, however, on a hill but built in 1768-1779 next to the residence of the Landgraves of Hesse by court architect Simon Louis du Ry, who also designed Friedrichsplatz, the new focus of polite social life; yet that square was only ornamented with a new statue of Friedrich II because it seemed out of question to put outdoors some of his collection of antiquities housed inside the museum (Sheehan 1994, p. 172). On the other hand, valuable antiquities and sculptures decorating the manicured parks opened in some courtly quarters often had to be sheltered under a roof against the inclemency of the weather and vandalism. In fact, gradual accessibility to cultural heritage, which became a pattern in new relations between authorities and subjects at the beginning of the nineteenth century, usually started with these stately parks and was later followed by the inauguration of museums. Empress Maria Theresa of Austria had allowed entrance to Belvedere Park in Vienna, decorated with sculptures and fountains, two years before the grand opening in 1781 of the imperial art collection – arranged in schools following the plans of the erudite Christian von Mechel – inside the upper palace, Oberes Belvedere. A similar instance would take place in the case of the regal park and art treasures of Sanssouci in Potsdam, on the western periphery of the Prussian court. Likewise Stockholm, a capital which had expanded around the port, but at that change of the century its citizens regained access to the heart of the old town, the island of Stadsholmen, where the royals had established their home. The surroundings of the palace, adorned with parks and sculptures, were accessible to public promenade before the Royal Museum was opened in 1794 in one wing of the building. Only the most motivated visitors would gain access upstairs to the collection of paintings, always accompanied by a warder; but what attracted most curiosity was the gallery of ancient sculptures on the ground floor whose most celebrated piece, *Sleeping Endymion*, was placed in the centre while the statues of nine muses, also imported from Rome, lined a wall facing the large windows on the opposite side overlooking the green Logården (Bjurström 1993). In many other cities, the opening of museums germinating near these heritage parks constituted a further step towards public access.

3 The monumental use of antiquities in the environs of the Louvre after the French Revolution

This narrative comes now to its climax, which was market in the city of Paris, the emergent cultural capital of Europe by the turn of the century. At the end of the Ancient Regime and the dawn of modern bourgeois society much debate and attention regarding heritage policies focused on the central Louvre complex whose buildings and parks shaped a public agora and lively art cluster.[13] But the royal administration never came to implement the deferred plans for the opening of the museum, which only came to fruition after the fall of the monarchy. While uncontrolled revolutionary vandalism all over France was carried out against some architecture, sculpture and urban ornaments in honour of kings and saints, authorities remained always vigilant of public monuments in this district. After all, the Tuileries Palace held the headquarters of the Constituent Assembly, the National Convention later and of other Republican institutions until it eventually became Napoleon's official residence.

No wonder that such a political axis of the capital became also the main focus of innovative cultural provision. Public art extolling the new regime and

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13 The old palace, abandoned by the French royalty after settling in Versailles, did not only host artists or craftsmen *pensionnaires du roi* and meetings of the various academies, but also the Salon, the official painting exhibition periodically displayed at the Salon Carrée and the Grande Galerie – with free admission to everybody – as well as print dealers who often set up their stalls in the peristyles of Cour Carrée, while all sorts of shops sheltered under colourful awnings (Singer-Lecocq 1986, p. 261, p. 339).

its ideology was what zealots demanded; they did not look kindly on a museum located inside a grand royal palace, a gallery filled with enemy icons of religious or monarchic piety and large gold framed paintings (Poulot 1997, p. 224).[14] On the other hand, not only was the royal collection within the Louvre nationalized but also the collection which had been partially opened to the public outdoors in the nearby Tuileries garden, one of the many court parks adorned with historical sculptures. During the Republic some Baroque effigies of unequivocal monarchic iconography were removed, while more classical statues from Versailles and other royal domains were brought to this garden to make them accessible to the people of Paris. Prevalence was given to ancient statues or historical copies of Greco-Roman sculptures such as the *Arrotino* or the *Dying Gladiator* brought from Marly, the *Borghese Gladiator* from Fontainebleau, *Capitoline Urania* from Sceaux or other venerable classical vestiges, much to the delight of many Neoclassical authors of guides describing the new attractions of the French capital. But not just well-travelled and learned visitors could enjoy these artworks: the gardens were open to the general public and became a new focal point enlivened by attractive cafés, concerts or games under close police surveillance. A penalty of two years imprisonment was decreed for anyone damaging or mutilating the masterpieces displayed at this location turned into an 'open air museum', access to which was permitted to anyone, no matter his or her dress, although is was a requisite that visitors should wear the tricolour rosette (Bresc-Bautier, Pingeot 1986, vol. 1, pp. 72-73). Thus, these courtly antiquities and sculptures would now only be admired by patriots boasting their unconditional support for the new regime, inasmuch as only they could interpret the artworks in tune with the predominant ideology.

Meanwhile, nobody objected to displaying in the open air any monument from the Ancien Régime lacking clear political meaning. For instance Michelangelo's *Slaves*, historically placed in niches on either side of one of the entrances to the courtyard at Écouen Castle and in a portico when they were part of the Richelieu collection; as soon as they were incorporated into the national heritage in August 1794 it was decided to place immediately one on each side of the entrance to the museum (Cantarel-Bresson 1981, vol. 1, p. 83). This followed old court traditions, for the presence of sculptures in that garden had been regular in the Ancien Régime.[15] Conversely, they hesitated on whether to install there other monumental pieces removed from the streets of Paris ultimately deciding to hide them from public gaze: the management of the museum refused to install in a public area near the Louvre some of the remains of the monument to Henry IV by Giambologna and Pietro Tacca which had been demolished in the Place Dauphine, in particular four *Slaves* made in bronze for the pedestal by Renaissance sculptor Pierre Francqueville. The republican administration of culture had suggested placing at the Jardin de l'Infante these bronzes and other monumental pieces taken from the plazas of Paris or from aristocratic mansions. According to these instructions, the four bronze slaves and two copies of Roman statues of *Amazone and Antinous* are represented on plinths in front of the museum entrance in a visionary picture by Hubert Robert (Paris, private collection; Fig. 5). Nonetheless, on 20 October 1794 the members of the commission of curators decided to select the most deserving pieces and put them into storage, arguing that other monuments coming from Fontainebleau were to be installed in that garden.[16] Then a project for a sculpture garden for the museum entrance was presented in November, designing a hemicycle of statues around a medieval fountain from Saint-Denis.[17] But this enormous

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14 To avoid upsetting them some of Rubens' paintings of Henry IV were removed and it was generally preferred that artworks extolling the monarchy should not be displayed.

15 Perhaps an added reason for this tradition was to make these vestiges visible there to the Louvre's in-house artists most of whose studios and dwellings faced this green area along the Seine (Hautecoeur 1928, pp. 82-83).

16 Those Fontainebleau bronzes never made it there. However, projects to turn the Infanta's Garden into an open-air sculpture annex continued to be produced: by 23 November 1794 a project for the garden was already presented including the proposed location of some sculptures (Cantarel-Bresson 1981, vol. 1, p. 115; Bresc-Bautier, Pingeot 1986, vol. 1, p. 73). After many vicissitudes the old bronze copies by Primaticcio of masterpieces from the Vatican collection such as *Sleeping Diana*, *Apollo Belvedere*, *Aphrodite of Cnidus*, *Hercules* and *Laocoon* were eventually brought from Fontainebleau; but they were installed at the Tuileries (Bresc-Bautier, Pingeot 1986, vol. 2, pp. 376-381).

17 According to a plan kept at the National Library of France, three bronze figures were to be placed on either side of the central

Fig. 5. Hubert Robert, *Entry to the MusÈe Napoleon*, particular collection. Photo from Bresc 1989, p. 175.

Fig. 6. Hubert Robert, *Infanta's Garden*. Louvre, Paris, Musée Marmottan. Photo from Bresc-Bautier, Pingeot 1986, vol. 2, p. 455.

gate, with two facing groups of sculptures: *Arria and Paetus* (from Marly) opposite *Laocoon* (from Fontainebleau or Marly). A long list of statues were to line the garden on the Seine side: *Amazone and Antinous* (by Valadier), *Venus de Medicis*, *Apollo* (by Valladier, perhaps from Fontainebleau?), *Venus* (from Marly or from Fontainebleau), *Diana* (from Marly or Fontainebleau), *Commodus Dressed as Hercules* (from Fontainebleau). On the easternmost point, a medieval group may have been displayed in the centre of a hemicycle (the fountain from Saint-Denis), flanked by *Cleopatra* (from Fontainebleau) and an *Arrotino* (from Fontainebleau or from Marly?), plus a *gladiator* in the background (from Fontainebleau?) flanked by *The Boy with Thorn* (from Fontainebleau) and *Atalante* (from Marly). On a symmetrical line Adrien de Vries's *Mercury and Psyche* (from Marly) would have stood (Bresc-Bautier, Pingeot 1986, vol. 1, p. 73).

round medieval carved stone with scenes of classical mythology remained at the Jardin de l'Infante, until it was vandalised despite the watchful eye of the police.[18] The disregard of lay people for old heritage seems to be the topic evoked in a painting by Hubert Robert dated to this period (Paris, Musée Marmottan), which portrays some children playing with a dog on that medieval fountain while other kids push the antiquities surrounding it; some ancient statues are seen lying on the ground while a lady unconcernedly walks past (Fig. 6).

Some of this troubled heritage was successfully claimed by the Museum of French Monuments, a shelter to save national heritage from vandalism, which was accessible to the public from 1795 to 1816 in the former monastery of the Discalced Augustinians. Its curator, Alexandre Lenoir, created a historical circuit inside the building, arranged in chronological order, to be followed by visitors; they were however allowed to stroll at ease around the courtyard and the garden, where statues and monuments were distributed in the open air amongst trees in an evocative Romantic taste. Lenoir, however, for security reasons was not in favour of installing the collections outdoors in public spaces and successfully reclaimed for his museum some masterpieces stored out around the Louvre, especially those with Christian or royal iconography.

Different was the case of bronzes or marbles with classical motifs and most particularly if they were, or seemed to be, venerable copies of ancient statues. At that time Roman antiquities were particularly appreciated and in Paris this taste was loaded with added political symbolism. For a regime inspired by the Roman republic and which would soon result in Caesarism, the best pieces from Roman art belonged to the Louvre Museum, and when there was no more place for them indoors they had to be displayed at its entrance. This was confirmed in August 1795 when a solemn decision was taken, declaring that it was one of the museum's functions to decorate its access with statues, ceramic artworks and other large objects in the open air to give its surroundings «une décoration analogue et digne des chefs d'œuvre qu'il renferme» (Cantarel-Bresson 1981, vol. 1, p. 214). Thus the vestibule, halls and corridors became the improvised storehouse of artworks and antiquities as long as they were weather-proof. The overwhelming growth of the museum collection was the main reason for this, but a 'territorial battle' between the museum and other public institutions was also in progress.[19]

This use of the external surroundings of the museum for storing statues was also illustrated by Hubert Robert in his 1801 picture *Artist Drawing Antiquities before the Petite Galerie du Louvre* (Paris, Musée du Louvre) where two groups of women, a dog and an absorbed artist contemplate a jumble of classical vestiges amongst which is a version of the renowned *Capitoline Furietti Centaur*, an ancient Italian copy seized from the Count d'Orsay alongside other sculptures from his palace in Rue Varenne, notably a fragmented version of *Capitoline Antinous* or a historical bronze replica of *Apollo Belvedere*. The muddled heaping of artworks is possibly the painter's exaggeration. But, as a matter of fact, when the Museum of Antiquities was inaugurated at the beginning of the century, pieces from Napoleon's pillaging were accumulated in the courtyard of the Sphinx, which overlooked a lobby decorated with new reliefs alluding to the history of world culture (Hautecoeur 1928, p. 81). Museum officials seemingly were so overwhelmed with artworks they had no chance to execute some of the previous projects to build a portico outside the museum to house the external statues. Two idealized drawings illustrate these plans, though it is unknown whether they depicted an actual project or a mere fantasy (Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques).[20]

Such a monumental atrium was never built but great masterpieces of ancient Italian sculpture soon

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18 On 27 Floréal an IV (16 May 1796) a police order warned visitors to the garden not to touch the statues or the circular fountain located at the centre. Nonetheless, some of its parts were damaged.

19 In May 1795, the Committee for Public Health had resolved to transfer the Stock Exchange to the garden in front of the Galerie d'Apollon much to the irritation of the museum management. One and a half months after this 'invasion', the garden began to be used by the museum to install ancient art works whose great bulk and weight prevented them from being displayed inside. In October-November that year new bronze, stone and marble pieces were incorporated and placed on pedestals in the garden, courtyard, peristyle, entrance and steps until the Stock Exchange moved elsewhere in January 1796 (Cantarel-Bresson 1981, vol. 1, p. 214).

20 They are practically identical so both must be the work of the same author, although one has been catalogued as a creation by Charles de Wailly while the other, with coloured touches, is attributed to Hubert Robert, who at the time was one of the five members of the commission of museum curators.

adorned the garden leading to the Louvre. Some of the antiquities from Italy were displayed at the museum door, notably the four bronze horses brought in the summer of 1798 from Saint Mark's basilica in Venice which remained at the Jardin de l'Infante up until 1802. In 1799 a Roman marble sculpture from the Mazarin collection was also installed in that garden. The statue had been removed during the Republic from the Marly gardens to Versailles: up until then it was known as *Agrippina in the Bath* but a more suitable identification was found for the new location in front of the museum, where it would be known as *Mnemósine, Mother of the Muses*[21] (Fig. 7). This was a particularly appropriate name to lead the way towards the Museum of Antiquities and the 'open air museum' of the Tuileries, in whose gardens were also installed the nine classical statues of the Muses from Marly.

Such recurrent use of classical statuary in monumental proposals for the artistic epicentre of Paris was in tune with political propaganda praising the French capital as a new Rome, the head of a vast military and cultural empire. Another site which also gained new relevance was the large esplanade between the Louvre and the Tuileries, which had been the favourite stage for many Republican ceremonies (Poulot 2004, p 125). The ambitious and highly symbolic project of a monumental fountain never came to fruition. The plan was to reuse the Lion of the Piazetta San Marco brought from Venice as its base, crowned by elements from historical French statuary; but the horses from Saint Mark were relocated there from 1802 to 1807 on tall plinths (Fig. 8).[22] The Musée Napoleon and its surrounding urban space had thus become an emblematic public setting at the service of Bonaparte's cult. But blatant propaganda had also to be met by public ornamental iconography outdoors mixed with Roman antiquities,

Fig. 7. Roman statue called *Mnemosyne* which used to be in the gardens by the entrance of the Louvre Museum, nowadays in the Park of Compiègne Palace. Photo by J. Pedro Lorente.

at times inlaid with new monuments to the glory of the imperial regime.[23] Those plans intertwining

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21 According to Bresc-Bautier and Pingeot around 1800 this *Mnemósine* was moved to the Tuileries nearby the nine statues of the muses, also taken there from Marly, while they date to 1801 the erection in front of the doors of the Louvre, in the Jardin de l'Infante, of two copies in bronze of the *Diana and Apollo Belvedere* coming respectively from Fontainebleau and the collection of count Grimond d'Orsay (Bresc-Bautier, Pingeot 1986, vol. 2, pp. 375, 420 & 430).

22 The Venetian horses had enjoyed remarkable significance ever since their arrival to the French capital. They featured prominently in a public performance organized in July 1798 when Italy's plundered treasures were displayed in a triumphal procession through the streets of Paris to the sound of music. People in the streets felt disappointed as most of the art collections were transported inside protective cases (Gould 1965, p. 65). The starting point of the parade at Champ de Mars was represented in a famous engraving by Pierre-Gabriel Berthault entitled *Entrée triomphale des objets de sciences et d'art en France*, yet the final climax was the open-air party organized later in the courtyard of the Louvre, where artists toasted the *Apollo of Belvedere* and other Italian sculptures, revelling and dancing until the early hours (Poulot 1997, p. 223).

23 In 1809 a competition to design the plan of monuments for the courtyard between the Tuileries and the Louvre received 47 proposals of all kinds, all of them laden with flattering political allegories. Some involved incorporating ancient statues amongst
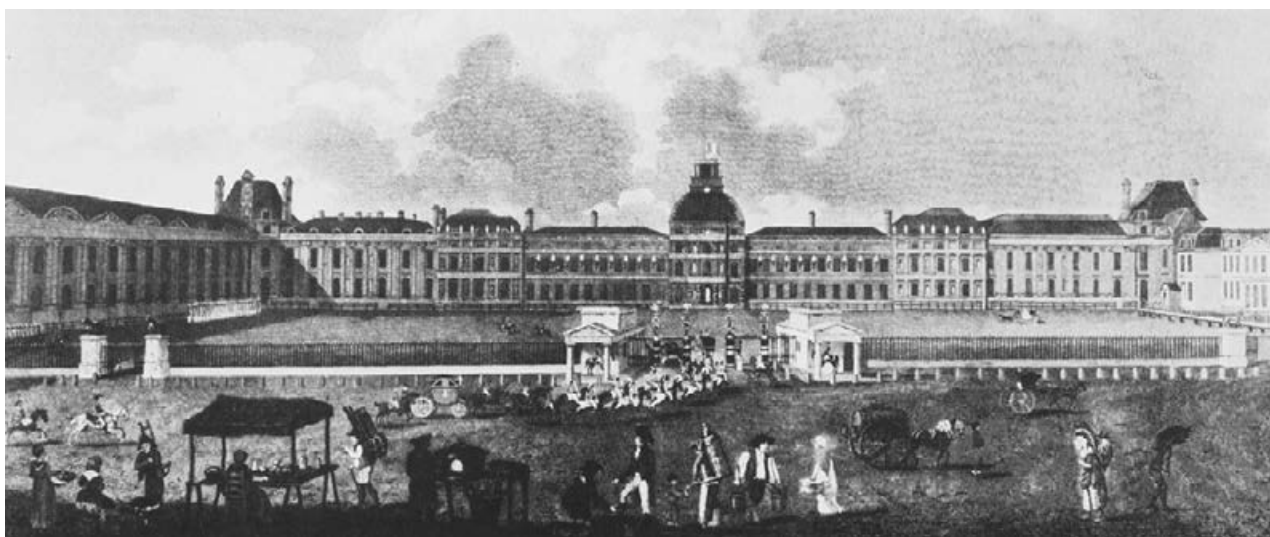

Fig. 8. Place du Carrousel between 1802 and 1807, when the Venice horses where on four pedestals along the fence separating the Louvre and the Tuileries gardens. Anonymous English print. Photo from Bresc-Bautier, Pingeot 1986, vol. 2, p. 432.

historical and new monuments culminated in the same plaza between 1807 and 1815 when Percier and Fontaine presented Saint Mark's horses above the Arc du Triomphe du Carrousel[24]. Napoleon had made true the fears of erudite Quatremère de Quincy, for whom the ultimate public heritage policy model was the city of Rome, an ideal museum in and of herself.[25]

4 Neoclassical museums in the nineteenth century, placed in more distant districts with no antiquities collections displayed at their doors

After the Congress of Vienna and the battle of Waterloo there were apparently no major setbacks in the cultural policies regarding the public provision of antique sculptures in parks and the environs of

museums; each monarchy followed the trend already set in during the Enlightenment and made sculpture gardens and porches gradually more accessible to their subjects by also installing new statues for public enjoyment. Many museums all over Europe continued to regularly display antiquities and sculptures outdoors in courtyards, cloisters and gardens. In Paris, the Bourbons pursued the precedents set around the Louvre and at the Tuileries gardens, whose collection of sculptures continued to be on display for public enjoyment. Significant changes were made, however, in the management of the Louvre Museum, not considered national property under the Restoration, but it remained open to the general public and in 1827 Charles X created an extension bearing his name for the display of antiquities. All the statues from the Louvre gardens and the Tuileries were then registered in the inventory of the museum (Bresc-Bautier, Pingeot 1985, p. 40).

Yet, the new museums which were erected in

neoclassical sculptures and purpose-built architectural structures; none of them, however, ever came to fruition (Bresc-Bautier, Pingeot 1986, vol. 2, pp. 473-474).

24 The horses from Saint Mark were relocated there on tall plinths from 1802 to 1807 and then transferred to the crown of the recently built Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel. Allegories of History, France, War and Victory were commissioned to occupy the four vacated plinths which were located in the square (Bresc-Bautier, Pingeot 1986, vol. 2, pp. 220, 365-366, 432-433, 456).

25 Antoine Quatremère de Quincy, in his *Lettres à Miranda* of 1796, in newspaper articles and in his essay *Les Considérations morales sur la destination des ouvrages de l'art* – written in 1806, published in 1815 – declared himself in favour of keeping artworks in the streets, churches and other locations in Rome, where scholars from all over the world could study them *in situ*. But the Republican culture policy's answer to this had been to define the Louvre as a universal collection of the common heritage of democrats to be equitably enjoyed in a free society (Déotte 1995; McClellan 2008, p. 244).

the course of the nineteenth century, and which remained loyal to the Neoclassical taste in terms of architecture for many decades, started gradually to disregard the classical tradition of placing ancient statues at their entrance. Porticoes and peristyles adorned their façades but it was no longer common to place old items from their collections outdoors; even less so if these included valuable antiquities. This was perhaps due to the fact that new museums were not built in the highly protected vicinity of palaces and historical plazas but in expansion areas out of the limits of urban civility where protective measures against vandalism had to be taken. Nineteenth-century cultural policies tended thus to put antiquities inside the new museums.[26]

Significantly, a turning point in this sense was marked in Naples, despite its Mediterranean climate and the abundance of ancient heritage, which might have justified the continuity of the classical monumental tradition in its streets. In the capital of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Charles of Bourbon had created in his palace the Museo Farnesiano and in Portici the Herculanense Museum, but then decided to centralize the royal library along with some of the antiquities from the gardens of Caserta, the art collections from the palace of Capodimonte and the archaeological collections from Pompei and Herculaneum gathering them in the old baroque palace of the viceroy, at the time used for university studies: an urban location diametrically opposed to the city epicentre of that time, called Largo di Palazzo or Forum Reggio, named today Piazza Plebiscito. A solemn procession of statues being carried to the museum through the streets of Naples was depicted in a famous image by Louis-Jean Desprez published to illustrate the *Voyage pittoresque à Naples et en Sicile* written by Jean-Claude Richard de Saint Non, whose five volumes were published in Paris from 1781 to 1786; but it was again one of the artistic fantasies in fashion at the time, since the transfer was made in a discreet and professional way, using closed boxes sent much later and bit by bit (Haskell, Penny 1981, p. 76). Not one archaeological item was placed on the façade when, after many vicissitudes, this Bourbon Museum was finally inaugurated in 1816 by Ferdinand I (Fig. 9).

Fig. 9. Stairs and terrace at the main entrance of the National Museum of Archaeology, Naples, where it was decided not to place anything from the collection. Photo by J. Pedro Lorente.

Even longer was the delay in the realisation of the museum project conceived by the same Charles of Bourbon in Madrid, once crowned as king of Spain. Instead of housing it in his new Royal Palace, which would have been the easiest and most regal option, he chose to place it on a meadow at the far end of the city, next to the Buen Retiro gardens. These he had had opened to the public on condition that visitors came clean and properly dressed. Located on a suburban hill – like mount Akademos in Athens –, Charles III promoted there the creation of the Astronomical Observatory, the Botanic Garden and what was originally intended to be the Museum and Academy of Natural Science. This neoclassical triangle formed a 'Hill of the Sciences' bizarrely removed from the seats of political, religious and university power (Vega 2010). However, the Prado was opened by Fernando VII in 1819 as the Royal Museum of Painting and Sculpture, with its façades appropriately decorated as a 'temple of the arts'; yet none of the valuable ancient statues owned by the king were placed then outdoors, which was a sensible decision given that children repeatedly threw stones to the plaster sculptures provisionally installed in 1833 to decorate the façade on the occasion of Infanta Isabel's swearing the oath as heiress to the throne in a nearby church.[27] Neoclassical

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26 Or in enclosed patios, cloisters or gardens, as it happened for instance at the Museo Lapidario Estense of Modena, created inside the cloister of Neoclassical Albergo delle Arti, which came to be called Palazzo dei Musei, housing antiquities and epigraphy of the Roman Civilization, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance on the ground flour of a eighteenth-century palace (Giordani 2003).

Fig. 10. Romantic view with antique ruins in front of the Munich Glytothek, where they never existed. Anonymous German print, private collection. Photo by J. Pedro Lorente.

statues and fountains decorated the surrounding Salón del Prado, but it was never contemplated to put some antiquities from the museum collection outdoors.

The same decision was taken in another Neoclassical museum often compared to the Prado because it was also accessed from the ground level, with no stairs: the Glyptothek in Munich. It was built on commission from Louis I of Bavaria between 1816 and 1830 in the new Königsplatz, an area of urban expansion planned by architect Leo von Klenze, who was also the designer of the Museum of Antiquities, opposite the Glyptothek, and of a monument later erected to preside over the ensemble, the Propylaea, a triumphal gate commemorating the enthronement in Greece of one of Louis I's sons.[28] Neither the king nor his architect wished any ancient statues to be placed in the centre of the square or in the façades; instead they did agree on decorating the sculpture museum with eighteen niches for which they com-missioned statues portraying deities, royals and ancient artists following the precedent of Sanssouci and other palace museums (Plagemann 1970, p. 17; Sheehan 2000, pp. 66-69) (Fig. 10). Similarly, the Altes Museum of Berlin was also the property of the king. This museum was the flagship of an ambitious urban expansion project in the Lustgarten – Recreation Garden – where the Museumsinsel gradually took shape concentrating most museums of the Prussian capital. It was built between 1823 and 1830 by Karl Friedrich Schinkel with hardly any external decoration. Sculptor Friedrich Tieck was commissioned to design the two figures crowning the building, the *Dioscuri Taming Their Horses*: these statues were more energetic than those devoted to the same heroes flanking access to the Roman Piazza Campidoglio; but here the Neoclassical architect chose not to place in front of the museum entrance any sculptures, let alone any ancient ones (Sheehan 2000, pp. 78-79).[29]

27 In order to accelerate the decoration some sculptures from the Royal Collection were used to fill gaps, especially two statues of kings – from a series commissioned in the mid eighteenth century for the new Royal Palace – which were placed between the columns of the main portico in 1833, and two stone vases brought from the royal Palace of La Granja, installed around 1854 in some empty niches. Financial constrictions delayed the rest of the sculpture decoration of the building, which remained unfinished until the second half of the century (Azcue 2012, pp. 105 and 110).

28 Athenian references abound in this architectural ensemble designed by Leo von Klenze, who also planned in 1836 the Pantechnion, a building to be erected in Athens to house the archaeological collections, an art gallery and an art school. On the other hand, Ludwig I admired the Florentine Loggia della Signoria so much that he commissioned a replica, built east of Munich Hofgarten, called Feldherrnhalle.

29 Romantic equestrian sculptures added afterwards may not be properly considered decorations to the building as they are detached from the architect's project and separate from the rest of the façade. The *Amazon Fighting a Panther* by August Kiss,

Fig. 11. Antiquities from Sebastopol's war booty on public display by the Orangerie des Tuileries, Paris. Anonymous illustration published at the journal *L'Ami de la Maison* on 3rd July 1856. Photo from Bresc-Bautier, Pingeot 1986, vol. 2, p. 473.

In London, this trend reached its momentum around the British Museum, which became the focal point from which the Grecian revival would spread across a burgeoning maritime metropolis then branded as «the new Athens» (Jenkins 1992). The marble pieces from the Parthenon had an immediate aesthetic influence on new monumental buildings in the urban district of Bloomsbury, where the emulation of Greece had an impact on the pastiche of the Erechtheum with the caryatides before the façade of St Pancras New Church, built in 1819-1822 in Neo-Greek style, as well as on the friezes of University College or the columns of Russell Institution. Eventually, the apex was marked there by the grandiose neo-Grecian building for the new headquarters of the national museum and library commissioned from Robert Smirke, but he made no plans to install sculptures in the surrounding gardens. Some antiquities were provisionally stored in the portico, though professionally sheltered in boxes, unexposed to weather or vandalism.

Romantic cultural policies would no longer consider it appropriate for art institutions to take ancient pieces of their collection onto the streets and gardens surrounding the premises. However, their nineteenth-century substitutes would be new monuments of similar classicizing motifs and style, marking the vicinity of cultural venues, libraries, schools, museums, theatres or other prestigious facilities. A remarkable exchange did at times occur in this sense. For instance, in the case of Paris under the reign of Louis Philippe, some of the decaying historical copies of ancient statues and sculptures brought by the Directorate from the castle of Sceaux or other royal properties were gradually removed from the Luxembourg gardens.[30] Following the *juste milieu* policy, they were replaced by new statues of Romantic content while in keeping with the classical look: monumental effigies of queens, saints and other historical French women were commissioned to be created by some of the best contemporary artists. Some of these artworks did not endure the elements and after a few years had to be sheltered under the

erected in 1842 next to the steps, and Albert Wolff's *Lion Hunter*, added symmetrically to the other side in 1861, could perhaps more appropriately be considered the first public monuments on the 'Museum Island'. This was a cultural district where many other statues, sometimes owned by the Nationalgalerie, would be erected on pedestals during the Second Reich (Gaehtgens 1987, p. 74).

30   In the early nineteenth century these gardens were adorned with some historical versions of Venus of Medici, Venus Callipyge, Hunting Diana, the Fighters, Flora, Amphitrite, Silenus or Bacchus, etc. (as specified in a book about the Luxembourg palace and gardens published in 1818 by the Vincelle CMG, who based his explanation on a 1807 guide entitled *Antiquités gauloises et romaines, recueillies dans les jardins du Sénat*). Other guides published subsequently also mention an old effigy of biblical king David (dated to the sixteenth century) and a Mercury (the work of Pigalle in 1743); but they gradually disappeared or are not mentioned any longer in this kind of literature (for example in Alphonse de Gisors' *Le Palais du Luxembourg*, published in Paris in 1847).

Fig. 12. Antiques placed as decorative background to the bust of archaeologist Gabriel Bulliot, founder of the Museum Rollin in Autun (France). Anonymous photo dated during World War I (vintage postcard).

vestibule of the nearby Museum of Living Artists.[31] This dominant trend had obviously some exceptions and setbacks, notably in the case of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, always so eager to emulate Napoleon's era. The spoils brought from Sebastopol could only partially be housed at the Louvre and were therefore displayed from 1856 to 1857 at the Orangerie des Tuileries, whose entrance was then decorated with five antique sculptures of the Muses[32] (Fig. 11).

In the early twentieth century venerable classical antiquities continued to be placed at the door of some art institutions and collections only exceptionally.[33] Interestingly not even Alois Riegl, who had been curator of museums in Vienna for many years, noticed this fact when writing about the modern cult of monuments, as this practice had become obsolete in the environs of the modern temples of the muses. It somehow survived in the form of open-air warehouses near the façades of archaeological mu-

seums, like the Museum Rollin in Autun (France), documented in some early twentieth-century postcards portraying an outdoor fenced garden next to where stood the bust of the museum founder, Gabriel Bulliot, framed by a collection of antiquities (Fig. 12). These were displayed there as symbolic complement to the monument to the founder and were thus placed behind the figure of the eminent archaeologist as a decorative background.[34] Similar staging strategies would eventually re-emerge, with a sarcastic tone, in front of the façade of some museums in the post-modern period.[35] But the more common trend nowadays is removing ancient statues from the urban space in order to keep them protected inside the nearest museum, perhaps replacing the originals by the corresponding copies. Such was the case of the equestrian sculpture of Marcus Aurelius, sheltered since 1996 under a purpose-built exedra inside the Capitoline Museum

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31 There was a classical hint in the serene composure and the material chosen – white marble – for the twenty statues 2.30 m to 3.80 m high which Louis Philippe commissioned for the Luxembourg garden to be created by various sculptors. The statue dedicated to Gaul priestess *Veleda*, carved in marble by Étienne-Hippolyte Maindron in 1847, turned out to be so fragile that by 1869 it was badly damaged and was replaced by a replica. The original sculpture was placed in a corner on the steps of the side entrance to the Musée du Luxembourg (Bresc-Bautier, Pingeot 1986, vol. 2, p. 307).

32 These were in worse condition than those brought from Marly and installed from 1800 onwards on the terrace of the Jeu de Paume (in fact the state of preservation of the statues from Sebastopol was such that by the end of the nineteenth century their remains were buried or destroyed while the sphinxes were placed at the Tuileries gardens. Cf. Bresc-Bautier, Pingeot 1986, vol. 2, pp. 470-473).

33 Including Rodin, who installed his collection of ancient statues in the gardens around Biron palace, although after his death they were put into storage when it opened as Rodin Museum.

34 Some later examples are coloured by interesting local anecdotes. One such is the Archaeological Museum of Seville, opened in 1946 at its current location and remodelled in the seventies, which still displays under the entrance portico an ancient Roman pedestal, which had been later reused as a counterweight for an oil press, but still keeping a Latin inscription alluding to the patrons who donated statues for a public portal.

35 At the Römisch-Germanisches Museum (Roman Germanic Museum) of Cologne, inaugurated in 1974, some items are displayed in the open air or can be observed from the street behind the glass wall after the remodelling of 1999 (Wolff 2003, pp. 14-17, 138).

while an exact replica is displayed at the door of the museum. This represents a further sign of continuity of nineteenth-century cultural policies today, after the shift concerning the installation of ancient heritage outdoors established as part of the historical developments of Neoclassicism.

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