



ALMAS DE PEDRA

ESCULTURA TUMULAR: DA CRIAÇÃO À MUSEALIZAÇÃO

Giulia Rossi Vairo
Joana Ramôa Melo
Maria João Vilhena de Carvalho
eds.

281 - 291

ALMAS DE PEDRA

ESCULTURA TUMULAR: DA CRIAÇÃO À MUSEALIZAÇÃO

SOULS OF STONE

FUNERARY SCULPTURE: FROM CREATION TO MUSEALIZATION

IEM - Instituto de Estudos Medievais

Coleção estudos 20

ALMAS DE PEDRA

ESCULTURA TUMULAR: DA CRIAÇÃO À MUSEALIZAÇÃO

SOULS OF STONE

FUNERARY SCULPTURE: FROM CREATION TO MUSEALIZATION

GIULIA ROSSI VAIRO

JOANA RAMÔA MELO

MARIA JOÃO VILHENA DE CARVALHO

Editoras

Lisboa, 2019

FICHA TÉCNICA

Título

Almas de Pedra. Escultura Tumular: da Criação à Musealização
Souls of Stone. Funerary Sculpture: from Creation to Musealization

Editoras

Giulia Rossi Vairo, Joana Ramôa Melo, Maria João Vilhena de Carvalho

Edição

Instituto de Estudos Medievais

Coleção

Estudos 20

Design e paginação

Alessandra Perluigi

Impressão

Tipografia Priscos, Lda.

Referência da imagem da capa

Alcobaça, Mosteiro de Santa Maria, Túmulo de D. Inês de Castro, pormenor

Depósito Legal

461113/19

ISBN

978-989-54529-1-0

Tiragem

200 exemplares

Apoios

Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, Fundação Millennium BCP, Instituto de Estudos Medievais - NOVA FCSH, Instituto de História da Arte - NOVA FCSH, Centro de Investigação e Estudos em Belas-Artes - Universidade de Lisboa, Câmara Municipal de Odivelas

Obra financiada pelos Fundos Nacionais através da Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia no âmbito do Programa Fundo de Apoio à Comunidade Científica e do Projecto Estratégico do Instituto de Estudos Medievais com a referência UID/HIS/00749/2019.

FICHA TÉCNICA

Título

Almas de Pedra. Escultura Tumular: da Criação à Musealização
Souls of Stone. Funerary Sculpture: from Creation to Musealization

Editoras

Giulia Rossi Vairo, Joana Ramôa Melo, Maria João Vilhena de Carvalho

Edição

Instituto de Estudos Medievais

Coleção

Estudos 20

Design e paginação

Alessandra Perluigi

Impressão

Tipografia Priscos, Lda.

Referência da imagem da capa

Alcobaça, Mosteiro de Santa Maria, Túmulo de D. Inês de Castro, pormenor

Depósito Legal

461113/19

ISBN

978-989-54529-1-0

Tiragem

200 exemplares

Apoios

Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, Fundação Millennium BCP, Instituto de Estudos Medievais - NOVA FCSH, Instituto de História da Arte - NOVA FCSH, Centro de Investigação e Estudos em Belas-Artes - Universidade de Lisboa, Câmara Municipal de Odivelas

Obra financiada pelos Fundos Nacionais através da Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia no âmbito do Programa Fundo de Apoio à Comunidade Científica e do Projecto Estratégico do Instituto de Estudos Medievais com a referência UID/HIS/00749/2019.

ÍNDICE

ALMAS DE PEDRA. ESCULTURA TUMULAR: DA CRIAÇÃO À MUSEALIZAÇÃO. REFLEXÕES PRELIMINARES

Prefácio3

Monumenti funerari italiani del primo Trecento: ricostruzione e musealizzazione. Problemi di metodo e casi di studio

Clario Di Fabio (Università degli Studi di Genova) 11

PARTE I

A CRIAÇÃO: DA ENCOMENDA E CONCEÇÃO À REALIZAÇÃO

La production d'art funéraire a Amiens a la fin du Moyen Âge: acteurs et modèles

Marie Quillent (Université de Picardie Jules Verne) 29

La scultura funeraria nell'isola di Sardegna tra XII e XIV secolo, rapporti e interazioni con la cultura figurativa del Mediterraneo occidentale

Andrea Pala (Università degli Studi di Cagliari), 41

A microarquitectura nos túmulos de D. Pedro e D. Inês de Castro: 'dos cadernos de modelos' à <i>mise en abyme</i>	
Francisco Teixeira (Universidade do Algarve)	53
Os túmulos góticos do Panteão dos Almeida em Abrantes. Estratégias de significação	
Francisco Henriques (Universidade de Lisboa, CIEBA)	65
Les tombeaux des conseillers du roi de France vers 1300: piété et politique sous les derniers Capétiens directs	
Sabine Berger (Université Paris-Sorbonne, Centre André Chastel)	79
Enquanto o mundo durar: tempo, espaço e memória a partir de três estudos de caso	
Lúcia Rosas, Ana Cristina Sousa (Universidade do Porto)	91
La vittoria sulla morte. Osservazioni intorno all'arca di re Ladislao d'Angiò-Durazzo in San Giovanni a Carbonara a Napoli	
Francesca Tota (Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte)	105
Il soldato, il calligrafo e il sepolcro. La tomba di Antonio Rido in Santa Maria Nova a Roma	
Maurizio Ficari (La Sapienza Università di Roma)	119
<i>Una sepultura de alabastro convenyble a mi persona. El sepulcro de Doña Aldonza de Mendoza, domus aeterna para la memoria y la salvación</i>	
Sonia Morales Cano (Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha)	131

PARTE II

A COMUNICAÇÃO: O TÚMULO E A PALAVRA

Les éloges funèbres dans l'art funéraire de Terre Sainte et de Chypre à l'époque des croisades	
Pierre-Vincent Claverie (Centre de recherche scientifique de Chypre) ...	145

A microarquitectura nos túmulos de D. Pedro e D. Inês de Castro: 'dos cadernos de modelos' à mise en abyme

Francisco Teixeira (Universidade do Algarve)53

Os túmulos góticos do Panteão dos Almeida em Abrantes. Estratégias de significação

Francisco Henriques (Universidade de Lisboa, CIEBA)65

Les tombeaux des conseillers du roi de France vers 1300: piété et politique sous les derniers Capétiens directs

Sabine Berger (Université Paris-Sorbonne, Centre André Chastel)79

Enquanto o mundo durar: tempo, espaço e memória a partir de três estudos de caso

Lúcia Rosas, Ana Cristina Sousa (Universidade do Porto)91

La vittoria sulla morte. Osservazioni intorno all'arca di re Ladislao d'Angiò-Durazzo in San Giovanni a Carbonara a Napoli

Francesca Tota (Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte) 105

Il soldato, il calligrafo e il sepolcro. La tomba di Antonio Rido in Santa Maria Nova a Roma

Maurizio Ficari (La Sapienza Università di Roma) 119

Una sepultura de alabastro convenyble a mi persona. El sepulcro de Doña Aldonza de Mendoza, domus aeterna para la memoria y la salvación

Sonia Morales Cano (Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha) 131

PARTE II

A COMUNICAÇÃO: O TÚMULO E A PALAVRA

Les éloges funèbres dans l'art funéraire de Terre Sainte et de Chypre à l'époque des croisades

Pierre-Vincent Claverie (Centre de recherche scientifique de Chypre) ... 145

Le parole dei nobili. Epigrafi pseudo-parlanti e tombe nobiliari nella Napoli aragonese tra modelli culturali, propaganda politica e celebrazione familiare

Luigi Tufano (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, CESURA) 159

PARTE III

RECEPÇÃO E MANIPULAÇÃO: INTERVENÇÕES, MOVIMENTAÇÕES, DESCONTEXTUALIZAÇÕES

Il Monumento Bossi già nella chiesa di San Marco a Milano: vicende critiche e proposte attributive

Elisa Eccher (Università degli Studi di Trento) 179

O Património como preservação ou construção da memória: a trasladação dos túmulos de D. Pedro I e D. Inês

Jorge Prata (Universidade de Coimbra) 191

From *Imitazione* to Musealization: the Afterlife of Michelangelo's *Pietà* in the 16th-18th centuries

Lisa Rafanelli (Manhattanville College) 205

Les tombes comme 'preuves' historiques dans les travaux d'érudition du XVII^e siècle: l'*Histoire de tous les cardinaux françois de naissance* de François Duchesne

Haude Morvan (Université de Bordeaux Montaigne, UMS Ausonius) 217

PARTE IV

PRESERVAR A MEMÓRIA: AÇÕES PARA CONSERVAÇÃO, VALORIZAÇÃO E MUSEALIZAÇÃO

Conjuntos sepulcrales en el Museo Nacional de Escultura: de Bigarny a Leoni. Exhibición, problemática y reflexiones

Manuel Arias (Museo Nacional de Escultura de Valladolid) 233

Testimonianze medievali nel Seicento romano. Dal collezionismo privato all'allestimento delle memorie funerarie in San Giovanni in Laterano

Jacopo Curzi etti, Valeria Danesi (Sapienza Università di Roma) 251

Le tombeau de Philippe Pot: l'histoire matérielle de l'œuvre au service de sa conservation

Sophie Jugie (Musée du Louvre) 267

Cemeteries as museums, museums as cemeteries: exhibiting funerary sculpture in Spain, ca. 1880 to the present

Chloe Sharpe (University of York) 281

PARTE V

PROJECTOS DE INVESTIGAÇÃO

Royal epiphanies. The king's body as image and its *mise-en-scène* in the kingdom of Sicily (1130-1266)

Mirko Vagnoni (Université de Friburg) 295

***Ad futuram Regis memoriam*: para um projeto de recuperação, valorização e musealização do túmulo do rei D. Dinis**

Giulia Rossi Vairo (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, IEM) 311

Desvendando as cores medievais. Um estudo de caso: a Capela do Fundador em Santa Maria da Vitória, na Batalha

António Candeias, Sara Valadas (Universidade de Évora, Laboratório Hercules), Joana Ramôa Melo (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, IHA) 319

Escultura de *Cristo jacente*. Dificuldades de intervenção de restauro

Fernando Costa (Instituto Politécnico de Tomar), M^a Júlia Fonseca (Mosteiro de Santa Clara-a-Velha) 335

Tipologias e o património artístico no Cemitério Consolação em São Paulo

Viviane Comunale (Universidade Estadual Paulista Júlio de Mesquita Filho) 345

Testimonianze medievali nel Seicento romano. Dal collezionismo privato all'allestimento delle memorie funerarie in San Giovanni in Laterano

Jacopo Curziotti, Valeria Danesi (Sapienza Università di Roma) 251

Le tombeau de Philippe Pot: l'histoire matérielle de l'œuvre au service de sa conservation

Sophie Jugie (Musée du Louvre) 267

Cemeteries as museums, museums as cemeteries: exhibiting funerary sculpture in Spain, ca. 1880 to the present

Chloe Sharpe (University of York) 281

PARTE V

PROJECTOS DE INVESTIGAÇÃO

Royal epiphanies. The king's body as image and its *mise-en-scène* in the kingdom of Sicily (1130-1266)

Mirko Vagnoni (Université de Friburg) 295

***Ad futuram Regis memoriam*: para um projeto de recuperação, valorização e musealização do túmulo do rei D. Dinis**

Giulia Rossi Vairo (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, IEM) 311

Desvendando as cores medievais. Um estudo de caso: a Capela do Fundador em Santa Maria da Vitória, na Batalha

António Candeias, Sara Valadas (Universidade de Évora, Laboratório Hercules), Joana Ramôa Melo (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, IHA) 319

Escultura de *Cristo jacente*. Dificuldades de intervenção de restauro

Fernando Costa (Instituto Politécnico de Tomar), M^a Júlia Fonseca (Mosteiro de Santa Clara-a-Velha) 335

Tipologias e o património artístico no Cemitério Consolação em São Paulo

Viviane Comunale (Universidade Estadual Paulista Júlio de Mesquita Filho) 345

The Salu Company in Laken: an unique funerary plaster collection

Tom Verhofstadt (Bruxelles, Epitaaf vzw) 355

ALMAS DE PEDRA. ESCULTURA TUMULAR: DA CRIAÇÃO À MUSEALIZAÇÃO... À CRIAÇÃO!

A (im)permanência do gesto

Manuel Botelho (Universidade de Lisboa) 369

GALERIA DE IMAGENS..... 395

**Cemeteries as museums, museums as cemeteries:
exhibiting funerary sculpture in Spain, ca. 1880 to the present**

Chloe Sharpe (University of York)

Abstract

The nineteenth-century idea that cemeteries are 'museums of sculpture' has, today, become a cliché, and is often used as a way of packaging a visitor experience which is otherwise difficult to classify or sell. This paper critically examines some of the interrelations and differences between these two institutions – cemetery and museum – as spaces for the exhibition of figurative sculpture in Spain, focusing on the powerful fact that cemeteries are repositories not only of sculpted bodies, but of dead ones. I discuss how funerary sculpture was adapted and re-worked for exhibition in conventional art spaces, and consider the corresponding shifts in meaning. I also examine examples of highly 'mobile' works of funerary sculpture, which have been repeatedly de-contextualised and re-contextualised as they have moved between cemeteries, museums and art exhibitions, gaining or losing real bodies in the process.

Keywords

Museum, cemetery, Spain, monument

Cemeteries as museums

Cemeteries, as opposed to churchyards, are purposely designated burial grounds which are unattached to places of worship, and are usually (though not exclusively) owned by secular authorities¹. Expressly designed as hygienic and practical replacements for traditional burial around, and inside, churches – and located outside urban centres for the same reasons – cemeteries did not become the standard place for internment until the nineteenth century². In Spain, in the second half of the century, urban cemetery expansion and construction took place on a large scale, catering for a growing bourgeoisie whose ‘conspicuous consumption’ often included the commissioning of grand, monumental tombs³.

The idea that monument-filled cemeteries are museums has become something of a cliché. Currently embraced by scholars, tour-guides and cemetery authorities, it is sometimes a way of attractively packaging a visitor experience which is otherwise difficult to classify or sell. In Spain, as in other Catholic-majority countries in Europe and Latin America, it is common to find nineteenth-century cemeteries presented as «museums». Examples include the «open air museum» of Masnou⁴, and the «museum of silence» in Valencia (the city’s Cementerio General)⁵; while, in Peru, Lima’s Presbitero Maestro cemetery has gone further by officially re-branding itself a ‘museum’. While we might assume that it is temporal distance from the dead that has facilitated this cultural-touristic mode of viewing, cemetery tourism has, in fact, co-existed and overlapped with cemetery mourning from the start⁶. Two strands to this mode may be distinguished: a historical focus and an artistic one.

¹ For a critical discussion of the nature of cemeteries, see RUGG, Julie, «Defining the Place of Burial: What makes a Cemetery a Cemetery?», *Mortality: Promoting the Interdisciplinary Study of Death and Dying*, 5/3, 2000, pp. 259-276.

² For a history of the transition from church and churchyard burial to cemetery burial in Spain, see SAGUAR, Carlos, «Carlos III y el Restablecimiento de los Cementerios Fuera del Poblado», *Fragmentos*, 12-14, 1988, pp. 241-259; RODRIGUEZ, Francisco Javier and SUAREZ, José Manuel, *Los Cementerios en la Sevilla del Siglo XIX*, Seville, 1990; PONTE CHAMORRO, Federico, «Aportación a la Historia Social de Madrid: La Transformación de los Enterramientos en el Siglo XIX», *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños*, 22, 1985, pp. 494-495.

³ Social commentators at the time were explicit about this link between cemetery monuments and bourgeois consumption. See, for example, ALFONSO, Luis, «La Escultura en Barcelona», *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, 30 August 1880, pp. 115-118; P. del O., «Crónica Mortuoria», *Esquella de la Torratxa*, 29 October 1897, p. 674.

⁴ RICO VAZQUEZ, Miquel and ROIG LERONES, Marta, *El Cementiri del Masnou, Un Museu a L'Aire Lliure: Segles XVIII- XXI*, Masnou, 2008.

⁵ «El Museo del Silencio: Cementerio General de Valencia», <http://museodelsilencio.com/>, accessed 20 March 2018. This and all subsequent translations are my own.

⁶ See RUGG, «Defining the Place of Burial: What makes a Cemetery a Cemetery?», cit., p. 272.

Cemeteries as museums

Cemeteries, as opposed to churchyards, are purposely designated burial grounds which are unattached to places of worship, and are usually (though not exclusively) owned by secular authorities¹. Expressly designed as hygienic and practical replacements for traditional burial around, and inside, churches – and located outside urban centres for the same reasons – cemeteries did not become the standard place for internment until the nineteenth century². In Spain, in the second half of the century, urban cemetery expansion and construction took place on a large scale, catering for a growing bourgeoisie whose ‘conspicuous consumption’ often included the commissioning of grand, monumental tombs³.

The idea that monument-filled cemeteries are museums has become something of a cliché. Currently embraced by scholars, tour-guides and cemetery authorities, it is sometimes a way of attractively packaging a visitor experience which is otherwise difficult to classify or sell. In Spain, as in other Catholic-majority countries in Europe and Latin America, it is common to find nineteenth-century cemeteries presented as «museums». Examples include the «open air museum» of Masnou⁴, and the «museum of silence» in Valencia (the city’s Cementerio General)⁵; while, in Peru, Lima’s Presbitero Maestro cemetery has gone further by officially re-branding itself a ‘museum’. While we might assume that it is temporal distance from the dead that has facilitated this cultural-touristic mode of viewing, cemetery tourism has, in fact, co-existed and overlapped with cemetery mourning from the start⁶. Two strands to this mode may be distinguished: a historical focus and an artistic one.

¹ For a critical discussion of the nature of cemeteries, see RUGG, Julie, «Defining the Place of Burial: What makes a Cemetery a Cemetery?», *Mortality: Promoting the Interdisciplinary Study of Death and Dying*, 5/3, 2000, pp. 259-276.

² For a history of the transition from church and churchyard burial to cemetery burial in Spain, see SAGUAR, Carlos, «Carlos III y el Restablecimiento de los Cementerios Fuera del Poblado», *Fragmentos*, 12-14, 1988, pp. 241-259; RODRIGUEZ, Francisco Javier and SUAREZ, José Manuel, *Los Cementerios en la Sevilla del Siglo XIX*, Seville, 1990; PONTE CHAMORRO, Federico, «Aportación a la Historia Social de Madrid: La Transformación de los Enterramientos en el Siglo XIX», *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños*, 22, 1985, pp. 494-495.

³ Social commentators at the time were explicit about this link between cemetery monuments and bourgeois consumption. See, for example, ALFONSO, Luis, «La Escultura en Barcelona», *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, 30 August 1880, pp. 115-118; P. del O., «Crónica Mortuoria», *Esquella de la Torratxa*, 29 October 1897, p. 674.

⁴ RICO VAZQUEZ, Miquel and ROIG LERONES, Marta, *El Cementiri del Masnou, Un Museo a L'Aire Lliure: Segles XVIII- XXI*, Masnou, 2008.

⁵ «El Museo del Silencio: Cementerio General de Valencia», <http://museodelsilencio.com/>, accessed 20 March 2018. This and all subsequent translations are my own.

⁶ See RUGG, «Defining the Place of Burial: What makes a Cemetery a Cemetery?», cit., p. 272.

Cemeteries: museums of history?

The first of these strands conceptualises the cemetery as a ‘museum’ of history; or, more precisely, as a showcase of ‘illustrious men’ considered to have shaped the history of a nation or, sometimes, of a region. The focus is upon the identity of the dead person. The first book devoted to Spain’s cemetery monuments, published in 1898, adopted this approach. Entitled *The tombs of illustrious men in the cemeteries of Madrid*, Manuel Mesonero Romanos’s book aimed to be «useful and patriotic»⁷. The author identified and described the tombs of important national figures in order to encourage veneration and gratitude, and to «keep alive the cult of our glories»⁸. As scholars have pointed out, the monuments discussed in this mode of viewing overlap, in many ways, with public monuments erected in city squares and parks in honour of ‘great men’⁹.

Some early city guide books reflected this approach, in which the identity of the famous dead prevailed. The *Guía LOP of Barcelona* (ca. 1910), for instance, included a long entry on Montjuïc cemetery, which is replete with sculptural and architectural monuments, but the only tomb which was reproduced was the relatively plain grave of the celebrated poet Jacint Verdaguer (1845-1902)¹⁰.

Cemeteries: museums of art?

The other strand presented the cemetery as a museum of art. In this case, the focus was not on the identity of the commemorated person – who was wealthy but not necessarily famous, and often still alive at the moment of commission – but on the sculptor or architect behind the funerary monument. It was specifically in relation to sculpture that the term ‘museum’ was used early on. For example, after visiting Staglieno cemetery (Genoa) in the early 1880s, Spanish writers Manuel Ibo Alfaro and Ángel Pulido each published works which described it as a «museum of sculpture»¹¹.

The approach was soon extended to the cemeteries of Spain, which were filling up with sculptural and architectural tombs at precisely this period. Only a year after Mesoneros had published on the tombs of illustrious men in Madrid, cemetery

⁷ MESONERO ROMANOS, Manuel, *Las Sepulturas de los Hombres Ilustres en los Cementerios de Madrid*, Madrid, 1898, p. 5.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

⁹ See, in particular MICHONNEAU, Stéphane, *Barcelona: Memòria i Identitat: Monuments, Commemoracions i Mites*, Eumo, Vic, 2002, pp. 391-394; LE NORMAND-ROMAIN, Antoinette, «En Hommage aux Opposants Politiques: Monument Funéraire ou Public?», *Revue de l'Art*, 94, 1991, pp. 74-80.

¹⁰ *La Ciudad de Barcelona: Itinerarios Prácticos: Guía LOP*, Barcelona, ca. 1910.

¹¹ IBO ALFARO, Manuel, «El Cementerio de Capuchinos de Roma», *La Ilustración* (Barcelona), 29 October 1882, p. 498; PULIDO, Ángel, *De la Medicina y los Médicos*, Valencia, 1883, p. 539.

architect Enrique Repullés produced a lavishly-illustrated book (1899) also on the capital's funerary monuments, but, in this case, based on the idea that «Christian cemeteries, considered solely from the artistic point of view, become museums in which masterpieces of the three fine arts can be admired»¹². In around 1900, a comparable publication appeared in Barcelona: Juan Bautista Pons' collection of photographs, with commentaries, of some of the city's artistically-noteworthy tombs, which, like Repullés's book, named the artists and artisans who had created them¹³. Pons explicitly dedicated his book to art lovers, in a multilingual *Preface* which suggests he had European tourists in mind.

Sculptors, unsurprisingly, were among those who enthusiastically embraced the idea that the resting places of the dead could be museums of contemporary sculpture. Thus, in 1903, Mariano Benlliure (1862-1947) predicted that the newly-created Pantheon of Illustrious Men in Madrid, for which he created several funerary monuments, would «in time [...] become the true Contemporary Sculpture Museum»¹⁴.

This dual cultural approach – that is, focusing on illustrious characters of history on the one hand, and artistic interest on the other – has survived into the present. For example, Barcelona's city council and cemetery authorities recently devised two engaging itineraries around Montjuïc cemetery, one historic and the other artistic¹⁵, and other cemeteries, such as Torrero cemetery in Zaragoza, have followed suit. The monuments picked out from the rest, and featured on these itineraries, are numbered on a map in the order that they can be encountered along the path, and each have a text panel which identifies and/or interprets them.

Cemeteries versus museums

These itineraries are a useful starting point for thinking about the fundamental differences between cemeteries and museums as places for exhibiting sculpture. Cemeteries occupy a singular position between the public and the private, for they are publically-accessible spaces whose monumentalisation was, and remains, in the

¹² REPULLES Y VARGAS, Enrique María, *Panteones y Sepulcros en los Cementerios de Madrid*, Madrid, 1899, n. p.

¹³ PONS, Juan Bautista, *Monumentos Funerarios Coleccionados por Juan Bautista Pons*, Barcelona, ca. 1900.

¹⁴ Letter from Mariano Benlliure to José Benlliure, Madrid, 26 August 1903, Archivo Casa Museo Benlliure, Valencia, C33BEN039, cited in ENSEÑAT BENLLIURE, Lucrecia, «El quehacer artístico de Mariano Benlliure», in *Mariano Benlliure: El Dominio de la Materia*, catálogo de exposición, Valencia, 2013, p. 85.

¹⁵ MARTI LOPEZ, Elisa, CATALA BOVER, Lúdia and MARIN SILVESTRE, María Isabel, *Un Paseo por el Cementerio de Poblenou*, 2nd ed., Ajuntament de Barcelona / Cementeris de Barcelona, Barcelona, 2007; MARTI LOPEZ, Elisa, MARIN SILVESTRE, María Isabel and CATALA BOVER, Lúdia, *El Cementerio de Montjuïc: Sueños de Barcelona*, Barcelona, 2008.

architect Enrique Repullés produced a lavishly-illustrated book (1899) also on the capital's funerary monuments, but, in this case, based on the idea that «Christian cemeteries, considered solely from the artistic point of view, become museums in which masterpieces of the three fine arts can be admired»¹². In around 1900, a comparable publication appeared in Barcelona: Juan Bautista Pons' collection of photographs, with commentaries, of some of the city's artistically-noteworthy tombs, which, like Repullés's book, named the artists and artisans who had created them¹³. Pons explicitly dedicated his book to art lovers, in a multilingual *Preface* which suggests he had European tourists in mind.

Sculptors, unsurprisingly, were among those who enthusiastically embraced the idea that the resting places of the dead could be museums of contemporary sculpture. Thus, in 1903, Mariano Benlliure (1862-1947) predicted that the newly-created Pantheon of Illustrious Men in Madrid, for which he created several funerary monuments, would «in time [...] become the true Contemporary Sculpture Museum»¹⁴.

This dual cultural approach – that is, focusing on illustrious characters of history on the one hand, and artistic interest on the other – has survived into the present. For example, Barcelona's city council and cemetery authorities recently devised two engaging itineraries around Montjuïc cemetery, one historic and the other artistic¹⁵, and other cemeteries, such as Torrero cemetery in Zaragoza, have followed suit. The monuments picked out from the rest, and featured on these itineraries, are numbered on a map in the order that they can be encountered along the path, and each have a text panel which identifies and/or interprets them.

Cemeteries versus museums

These itineraries are a useful starting point for thinking about the fundamental differences between cemeteries and museums as places for exhibiting sculpture. Cemeteries occupy a singular position between the public and the private, for they are publically-accessible spaces whose monumentalisation was, and remains, in the

¹² REPULLES Y VARGAS, Enrique María, *Panteones y Sepulcros en los Cementerios de Madrid*, Madrid, 1899, n. p.

¹³ PONS, Juan Bautista, *Monumentos Funerarios Coleccionados por Juan Bautista Pons*, Barcelona, ca. 1900.

¹⁴ Letter from Mariano Benlliure to José Benlliure, Madrid, 26 August 1903, Archivo Casa Museo Benlliure, Valencia, C33BEN039, cited in ENSEÑAT BENLLIURE, Lucrecia, «El quehacer artístico de Mariano Benlliure», in *Mariano Benlliure: El Dominio de la Materia*, catálogo de exposición, Valencia, 2013, p. 85.

¹⁵ MARTI LOPEZ, Elisa, CATALA BOVER, Lúdia and MARIN SILVESTRE, María Isabel, *Un Paseo por el Cementerio de Poblenou*, 2nd ed., Ajuntament de Barcelona / Cementeris de Barcelona, Barcelona, 2007; MARTI LOPEZ, Elisa, MARIN SILVESTRE, María Isabel and CATALA BOVER, Lúdia, *El Cementerio de Montjuïc: Sueños de Barcelona*, Barcelona, 2008.

private hands of large numbers of individuals working independently of one another. Unlike museums, cemeteries are monumentalised in a cumulative, uniquely 'non-selective' and haphazard manner, in the sense that individual plot owners decide what their plots contain, who makes the monument or where it will be bought, and how much will be spent on it. There is no authority which chooses or arranges the sculpture according to theme, chronology, style or any other criteria; and this, in a sense, is what cemetery itineraries 'remedy' through their selective approach.

The singular absence of a qualitative filter in the cemetery, compared with museums and other exhibition spaces, has impacted negatively on the appreciation of cemetery sculpture as a genre, which has – at least in the Spanish context – consistently been discussed in terms of an inverse relationship between quantity and quality¹⁶.

This issue is bound up with the question of who made cemetery sculpture, and the problematic boundary between artists and artisans. Although regulations required cemetery committees to approve the compulsory architectural plans for large monuments, this appears to have been primarily for sanitary and structural, rather than aesthetic, reasons. Indeed, when debating whether or not to allow sculptors to sign these plans, a committee in Bilbao in 1906 specifically stated that no favouritism should be shown to some makers over others. They defined the four kinds of sculptural workers as follows:

«Among those dedicated to sculpture, there are *artist sculptors*, who compose their works and execute them; there are also *makers who only execute what others have conceived*; afterwards come the *carvers*, who are principally dedicated to ornamentation in different materials; and finally we must take into account the *marble masons* [*marmolistas*], whose works are especially important in this case.¹⁷»

Furthermore, cemetery sculpture anticipates a very different kind of visitor behaviour to that of an art museum. Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century funerary sculpture frequently reflects – or models – ideal mourning behaviour, through statues of mournful young widows touching, embracing and adorning with

¹⁶ SERRANO FATIGATI, Enrique, *Escultura en Madrid desde mediados del siglo XVI hasta nuestros días*, Madrid, 1912, p. 48; DE ORUETA, Ricardo, *La Escultura Funeraria de España: Provincias de Ciudad Real, Cuenca, Guadalajara*, Madrid, 1919.

¹⁷ File regarding a proposal to reform the regulations of Vista Alegre cemetery, 1906, Archivo Municipal de Bilbao-Bilboko Udal Artxiboa, Bilbao Primera 0498/001. The italics are mine.

flowers the graves which they mark. Prints, drawings and photographs from the same period show real mourners behaving in a similar manner: prostrating themselves on tombs, touching the sculptures, and leaving offerings of flowers or other emotionally significant objects on the sculptures themselves¹⁸. Of course, the reason for this intimate physical interaction, and what distinguishes funerary sculpture from other genres, is the presence of the invisible corpse(s): funerary sculpture, by definition, accompanies the corpse. And while sculpture has a place in the art museum, the corpse does not.

Cemetery sculpture in museums and exhibitions: the 'fragment'

What happens, then, when funerary sculpture – detached or disassociated from its corpse(s) – enters museums and art exhibition spaces?

First of all, it is important to point out that such crossovers or transitions were common. Cemeteries themselves existed on the margins of towns; but cemetery sculpture, contrary to what Erwin Panofsky famously implied¹⁹, was not a marginal genre, at least in the Spanish context. 'Artist sculptors', to use the term we have just encountered, regularly made concerted and imaginative efforts to showcase their funerary work outside the cemetery, in bourgeois, urban, conventional art spaces, in which their artistic ability could shine without the distraction, or auratic power, of the corpse. National and regional art exhibitions and worlds' fairs were the main arena for this activity. Often, state- and region-led mechanisms ensured or facilitated the purchase of prizewinning artworks for national or regional museums, such as the now-extinct Museo de Arte Moderno (M.A.M.) in Madrid.²⁰

The most common strategy for exhibiting cemetery sculpture outside cemeteries was in the form of the 'fragment': usually a separate object which replicated or imitated part of the original sculpture, often in a different medium. It is well known, for example, that Catalan sculptor Josep Llimona (1864-1934) isolated the figure of a prostrate, clothed mourner from the funerary monument he had designed for the Vilanova family (ca. 1903), in Montjuïc cemetery, and re-worked it into an ideal female nude, which he sent to exhibitions in Barcelona,

¹⁸ See, for example, *El Gran Dolor*, a drawing by T. Sala, published in *La Esquella de la Torratxa*, 30 October 1903.

¹⁹ PANOFSKY, Erwin, *Tomb Sculpture: Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, London, 1964, p. 96. Panofsky argued that «he who attempts to write the history of eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century art must look for his material outside the churches and outside the cemeteries».

²⁰ The M.A.M. collection is now divided between the Museo del Prado and the Museo Centro de Arte Reina Sofía.

flowers the graves which they mark. Prints, drawings and photographs from the same period show real mourners behaving in a similar manner: prostrating themselves on tombs, touching the sculptures, and leaving offerings of flowers or other emotionally significant objects on the sculptures themselves¹⁸. Of course, the reason for this intimate physical interaction, and what distinguishes funerary sculpture from other genres, is the presence of the invisible corpse(s): funerary sculpture, by definition, accompanies the corpse. And while sculpture has a place in the art museum, the corpse does not.

Cemetery sculpture in museums and exhibitions: the 'fragment'

What happens, then, when funerary sculpture – detached or disassociated from its corpse(s) – enters museums and art exhibition spaces?

First of all, it is important to point out that such crossovers or transitions were common. Cemeteries themselves existed on the margins of towns; but cemetery sculpture, contrary to what Erwin Panofsky famously implied¹⁹, was not a marginal genre, at least in the Spanish context. 'Artist sculptors', to use the term we have just encountered, regularly made concerted and imaginative efforts to showcase their funerary work outside the cemetery, in bourgeois, urban, conventional art spaces, in which their artistic ability could shine without the distraction, or auratic power, of the corpse. National and regional art exhibitions and worlds' fairs were the main arena for this activity. Often, state- and region-led mechanisms ensured or facilitated the purchase of prizewinning artworks for national or regional museums, such as the now-extinct Museo de Arte Moderno (M.A.M.) in Madrid.²⁰

The most common strategy for exhibiting cemetery sculpture outside cemeteries was in the form of the 'fragment': usually a separate object which replicated or imitated part of the original sculpture, often in a different medium. It is well known, for example, that Catalan sculptor Josep Llimona (1864-1934) isolated the figure of a prostrate, clothed mourner from the funerary monument he had designed for the Vilanova family (ca. 1903), in Montjuïc cemetery, and re-worked it into an ideal female nude, which he sent to exhibitions in Barcelona,

¹⁸ See, for example, *El Gran Dolor*, a drawing by T. Sala, published in *La Esquella de la Torratxa*, 30 October 1903.

¹⁹ PANOFSKY, Erwin, *Tomb Sculpture: Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, London, 1964, p. 96. Panofsky argued that «he who attempts to write the history of eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century art must look for his material outside the churches and outside the cemeteries».

²⁰ The M.A.M. collection is now divided between the Museo del Prado and the Museo Centro de Arte Reina Sofía.

Zaragoza and Brussels, between 1907 and 1910²¹. Following its exhibition successes, versions were purchased for the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, and for the M.A.M., while others passed to private collections. Re-titling the work *Desolation (Desconsuelo)* gave it autonomy from the funerary monument, and made the museum version more poetic, universal and mysterious than the cemetery original. The nude was also more appropriate to an exhibition and museum context than to the cemetery, which remained a religious, conservative space.

The M.A.M. had several other funerary 'fragments' in its collection. These included two large plaster reliefs which had won a second class medal at the National Exhibition of Fine Arts in Madrid in 1908, where they were exhibited together under the title *Fragment of the mausoleum of the Marquis and Marchioness of Linares (Fragmento del mausoleo de los Marqueses de Linares)*. The reliefs, by Lorenzo Coullaut Valera (1876-1932), corresponded to the sculpted side panels of the marble and bronze sarcophagus of the aristocrats' double tomb, and featured angels, allegorical figures and realist scenes which alluded to the couple's charity and philanthropy. Tellingly, however, the exhibition maquette (fig. 89) omitted the effigies of the dead couple which topped the sarcophagus, perhaps because they were deemed too deathly for show outside the burial crypt.²²

It was simply under the title *Fragment (Fragmento)* that sculptor Victorio Macho (1887-1966) exhibited a detail of his sculpture for the tomb of the bacteriologist Vicente Llorente, at an exhibition in Paris in 1919. Bought by the State for the M.A.M. in 1922²³, the fragment isolated the languid head and torso of the central figure, with the clasped hands of Death grasping his chest, and presented it as though emerging from the block of stone. Decontextualised from the cemetery, it is no longer obvious that the head belongs to a dying man, and the fragment becomes a mysterious, quintessentially symbolist object.

The same is true of the sculpture suggestively entitled *Night (Noche)*, which sculptor Juan Cristóbal (1897-1961)²⁴ sent to the National Art Exhibition of 1922, and which was subsequently bought for the national museum. Carved from porphyry, the object represents a stylised female mourner, curled over in grief and with her flowing hair covering her face. For this work, the sculptor isolated one of

²¹ For more on this sculpture, see AZCUE BREA, Leticia, «Joseph Llimona. Desconsuelo», in José Luis DIEZ and Javier BARON (eds.), *El siglo XIX en el Prado*, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 2007, pp. 423-426; ESQUINAS, Natàlia, «Desconsuelo, de Josep Llimona. Réplicas y Variantes. La Imagen del Dolor en la Escultura del XIX-XX», in *Copia e Invención*, Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid, 2013, pp. 379-388.

²² This crypt was not in a cemetery, but beneath the chapel of the hospital which the marquis and marchioness had founded in the town of Linares (Jaen), built between 1904 and 1917.

²³ BRASAS EGIDO, José Carlos, *Victorio Macho: Vida, Arte, Obra*, Palencia, 1987, p. 156.

²⁴ The artist's full name was Juan Cristóbal González Quesada.

the figures from the corners of the sarcophagus of the double tomb of army auditor Rafael Fernández and his wife, María de la Concepción Díaz, in the cemetery of the Sacramental de San Justo, in Madrid. On top of the sarcophagus was the stark effigy of the emaciated dead Christ, who looked, as Carlos Saguar has pointed out²⁵, like a corpse in a morgue; once again, however, this direct representation of death did not make it into either the art exhibition or the museum.

Occasionally, the sculptor erased all traces of the funerary origins of exhibition pieces. This is the case of a series of polychrome wooden busts of St. Veronica, St. Peter and St. John the Evangelist, which Basque sculptor Quintín de Torre Berastegui (1877-1966) exhibited at a solo show at the headquarters of the Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte, in Madrid.²⁶ The busts reproduced the features of some of the full-length marble figures who appeared in an elaborate sculptural tableau (ca. 1909-1915) which Torre had created for the family tomb of Basque businessman Pedro Maiz Arsuaga, in the cemetery of Vista Alegre, near Bilbao (fig. 90).

Yet, disassociated from the cemetery monument, which Madrid critics apparently did not know about, it is deeply ironic that these busts were praised among the show's religious works for being «unconnected to commissions and separate from the bourgeois model»²⁷. In this case, the busts achieved a new level of autonomy from the cemetery, facilitating their reproduction, sale, and incorporation in distinct private collections.

From the exhibition to the cemetery: Enric Clarasó's *Memento Homo*

This versatility and adaptability of the sculptural object – which is characteristic of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sculpture in general – could work both ways, as the following case reveals.

At the Universal Exhibition held in Paris in 1900, Catalan sculptor Enric Clarasó (1857-1941) exhibited a plaster sculpture of a near-nude man, raising a pick-axe above his head as though about to strike the ground²⁸. Conceived with the exhibition specifically in mind²⁹, the sculptor titled the piece *Memento Homo*, Latin for

²⁵ SAGUAR QUER, Carlos, «Arquitectura y Escultura en el Cementerio de la Sacramental de Santa María», *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños*, 37, 1997, p. 110.

²⁶ ÁNGEL VEGUE Y GOLDONI, «El Escultor Imaginero Quintín de Torre», *El Imparcial*, 18 November 1923, n.p.; *El Imparcial*, «Exposición de Quintín de Torre», 11 November 1923, n. p.

²⁷ VEGUE Y GOLDONI «El Escultor Imaginero Quintín de Torre», cit., n. p.

²⁸ For more on this sculpture, see COLL MIRABENT, Isabel, *Enric Clarasó, Ramón Casas i Santiago Rusiñol, com a nucli de la renovació de l'escultura i la pintura a Barcelona, en el trànsit del segle XIX al segle XX*, Ph.D. diss, Universitat de Barcelona, 1984, pp. 246-273.

²⁹ OPISSO, Alfredo, «Arte y Artistas Catalanes. Enrique Clarasó», *La Vanguardia*, 14 April 1899, p. 4.

the figures from the corners of the sarcophagus of the double tomb of army auditor Rafael Fernández and his wife, María de la Concepción Díaz, in the cemetery of the Sacramental de San Justo, in Madrid. On top of the sarcophagus was the stark effigy of the emaciated dead Christ, who looked, as Carlos Saguar has pointed out²⁵, like a corpse in a morgue; once again, however, this direct representation of death did not make it into either the art exhibition or the museum.

Occasionally, the sculptor erased all traces of the funerary origins of exhibition pieces. This is the case of a series of polychrome wooden busts of St. Veronica, St. Peter and St. John the Evangelist, which Basque sculptor Quintín de Torre Berastegui (1877-1966) exhibited at a solo show at the headquarters of the Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte, in Madrid.²⁶ The busts reproduced the features of some of the full-length marble figures who appeared in an elaborate sculptural tableau (ca. 1909-1915) which Torre had created for the family tomb of Basque businessman Pedro Maiz Arsuaga, in the cemetery of Vista Alegre, near Bilbao (fig. 90).

Yet, disassociated from the cemetery monument, which Madrid critics apparently did not know about, it is deeply ironic that these busts were praised among the show's religious works for being «unconnected to commissions and separate from the bourgeois model»²⁷. In this case, the busts achieved a new level of autonomy from the cemetery, facilitating their reproduction, sale, and incorporation in distinct private collections.

From the exhibition to the cemetery: Enric Clarasó's *Memento Homo*

This versatility and adaptability of the sculptural object – which is characteristic of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sculpture in general – could work both ways, as the following case reveals.

At the Universal Exhibition held in Paris in 1900, Catalan sculptor Enric Clarasó (1857-1941) exhibited a plaster sculpture of a near-nude man, raising a pick-axe above his head as though about to strike the ground²⁸. Conceived with the exhibition specifically in mind²⁹, the sculptor titled the piece *Memento Homo*, Latin for

²⁵ SAGUAR QUER, Carlos, «Arquitectura y Escultura en el Cementerio de la Sacramental de Santa María», *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños*, 37, 1997, p. 110.

²⁶ ÁNGEL VEGUE Y GOLDONI, «El Escultor Imaginero Quintín de Torre», *El Imparcial*, 18 November 1923, n.p.; *El Imparcial*, «Exposición de Quintín de Torre», 11 November 1923, n. p.

²⁷ VEGUE Y GOLDONI «El Escultor Imaginero Quintín de Torre», cit., n. p.

²⁸ For more on this sculpture, see COLL MIRABENT, Isabel, *Enric Clarasó, Ramón Casas i Santiago Rusiñol com a nucli de la renovació de l'escultura i la pintura a Barcelona, en el trànsit del segle XIX al segle XX*, PhD. diss, Universitat de Barcelona, 1984, pp. 246-273.

²⁹ OPISSO, Alfredo, «Arte y Artistas Catalanes. Enrique Clarasó», *La Vanguardia*, 14 April 1899, p. 4.

«remember man». The phrase, as the sculptor himself later indicated³⁰, alluded to the episode of Genesis, in the Bible, which related God's judgment on Mankind upon discovering the disobedience of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. The full text reads:

«Cursed is the ground because of you; through painful toil you will eat food from it, all the days of your life. It will produce thorns and thistles for you, and you will eat the plants of the field. By the sweat of your brow you will eat your food, until you return to the ground, since from it you were taken; for dust you are and to dust you will return»³¹.

In this context, I suggest that visitors to the exhibition were likely to have interpreted the sculpture as a representation of Adam, or Everyman, toiling the land to produce or find food. The theme of the agricultural labourer, and of the muscular working man in general, was a popular one in European sculpture at this time, as several scholars have pointed out³². Awarded a gold medal at the exhibition, Clarasó may initially have hoped that his powerful, anatomically-accurate version of this fashionable theme would be commissioned, in marble, by the Spanish state, for the M.A.M.

However, the sculpture's subsequent trajectory soon ruled out agricultural readings, replacing them with funerary ones. No state commission followed, and Clarasó chose to use *Memento Homo* for two cemetery commissions – the tombs of Juan Vial, in Barcelona (ca. 1901), and Alberto Aladrén, in Zaragoza (1903) – and set about re-contextualising the object to make it allude, unmistakably, to death.

Thus, from this time onwards, he explained that the sculpted man represented the «Eternal gravedigger» digging his own grave, or that of humanity³³; alluding to the Genesis episode but honing in specifically on the idea of «returning to the ground» – that is, burial – rather than agriculture. To reinforce this interpretation, he invented the device of the cemetery-within-the cemetery, integrating the marble man in carefully-planted, pseudo-natural surroundings, to suggest that he was a

³⁰ CLARASO, Enric, *Notes Viscudes*, 2nd ed, Barcelona, 1934, p. 80.

³¹ Genesis 3:17-19 (New International Version).

³² Carlos Reyero proposes Alfred Boucher's *À la Terre* (1890) as a point of reference. See REYERO, Carlos, «El Realismo en la escultura pública. Vivos y muertos para la eternidad», in Ramón MONTES RUIZ (ed.), *Matteo Inurria y la Escultura de su Tiempo*, Córdoba, 2011, p. 302.

³³ CLARASO, *Notes Viscudes*, cit., p. 80; File regarding Alberto Aladrén's acquisition of a funerary plot and the erection of a monument in Torrero Cemetery, Fomento: Cementerio, box 1248, folder 494/1903, Archivo Municipal de Zaragoza.

gravedigger digging simple graves marked by rustic crosses (fig. 91). In this reworking of meaning, in order to adapt an exhibition piece to the cemetery context, the space symbolically occupied by cultivated food was literally replaced by interred corpses.

A tomb in a museum: Julio Antonio's funerary sculpture for Alberto Lemonier

While *Memento Homo* was a work of ideal sculpture which subsequently acquired bodies, the final object I address is a funerary sculpture which has never been attached to the corpse it was designed to commemorate. The definitive monument to Alberto Lemonier – as opposed to a derivative fragment – is now permanently on show at the Museu d'Art Modern of Tarragona (fig. 92)³⁴.

After Lemonier died aged between 11 and 13³⁵, his mother commissioned sculptor Julio Antonio (1889-1919)³⁶ to create a funerary monument in his memory. The finished work showed the dead boy with his head on the lap of his grieving mother, in a composition which drew obvious parallels with the *Pietà*. It was revealed to the public in an innovative and singular manner via a one-work exhibition at the Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte in 1919.

In complete contrast to the distancing mechanisms frequently used when displaying funerary 'fragments' at collective art exhibitions, this show invited visitors to imagine that they were participants at the wake of the dead boy. The object was placed at waist height on a black, velvet-covered plinth at the centre of the room, whose walls were covered by black drapery, and a single source of illumination in the low ceiling cast a cold, dim light over the sculpture and gave the space a crypt-like appearance³⁷. Photographs were even taken of the royal family, dressed in what looks like mourning attire, lined up gravely in front of the object as though paying respectful homage to a real corpse. The actual corpse, of course, was not there, but in a cemetery³⁸.

³⁴ For more on this sculpture, see SALCEDO MILJANI, Antonio, *Julio Antonio Escultor 1889-1919*, Barcelona, 1997, pp. 161-166.

³⁵ Different ages are given in the bibliography on the tomb. See GARCIA DE CARPI, Lucía Elena, *Julio Antonio. Monumentos y Proyectos*, Madrid, 1985, p. 15; LOZANO, Julián, «Julio Antonio, Mi Maestro», *Goya*, 209, 1989, p. 264.

³⁶ The sculptor's full name was Antonio Julio Rodríguez Hernández, but he was known as Julio Antonio. See SANTOS TORROELLA, Rafael, *Julio Antonio, 1889-1919*, Madrid, 1970, p. 6.

³⁷ The display was described in detail in the press. See, for example, LAGO, Silvio, «Un suceso artístico: la estatua yacente de Lemonier», *Esfera*, 15 February 1919, p. 13; FRANCES, José, «Los Tres Silencios», *Nuevo Mundo*, 28 February 1919, p. 28; PEREZ DE AYALA, Ramón, «La Última Obra de Julio Antonio», *Arte Español*, first trimester, 1919, p. 234; ALCANTARA, Francisco, «En el salón de los Amigos del Arte. Un grupo escultórico de Julio Antonio», *Sol*, 28 January 1919, p. 2.

³⁸ I have been unable to ascertain the cemetery in which the Lemonier grave is located.

gravedigger digging simple graves marked by rustic crosses (fig. 91). In this re-working of meaning, in order to adapt an exhibition piece to the cemetery context, the space symbolically occupied by cultivated food was literally replaced by interred corpses.

A tomb in a museum: Julio Antonio's funerary sculpture for Alberto Lemonier

While *Memento Homo* was a work of ideal sculpture which subsequently acquired bodies, the final object I address is a funerary sculpture which has never been attached to the corpse it was designed to commemorate. The definitive monument to Alberto Lemonier – as opposed to a derivative fragment – is now permanently on show at the Museu d'Art Modern of Tarragona (fig. 92)³⁴.

After Lemonier died aged between 11 and 13³⁵, his mother commissioned sculptor Julio Antonio (1889-1919)³⁶ to create a funerary monument in his memory. The finished work showed the dead boy with his head on the lap of his grieving mother, in a composition which drew obvious parallels with the *Pietà*. It was revealed to the public in an innovative and singular manner via a one-work exhibition at the Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte in 1919.

In complete contrast to the distancing mechanisms frequently used when displaying funerary 'fragments' at collective art exhibitions, this show invited visitors to imagine that they were participants at the wake of the dead boy. The object was placed at waist height on a black, velvet-covered plinth at the centre of the room, whose walls were covered by black drapery, and a single source of illumination in the low ceiling cast a cold, dim light over the sculpture and gave the space a crypt-like appearance³⁷. Photographs were even taken of the royal family, dressed in what looks like mourning attire, lined up gravely in front of the object as though paying respectful homage to a real corpse. The actual corpse, of course, was not there, but in a cemetery³⁸.

³⁴ For more on this sculpture, see SALCEDO MILIANI, Antonio, *Julio Antonio Escultor 1889-1919*, Barcelona, 1997, pp. 161-166.

³⁵ Different ages are given in the bibliography on the tomb. See GARCIA DE CARPI, Lucía Elena, *Julio Antonio. Monumentos y Proyectos*, Madrid, 1985, p. 15; LOZANO, Julián, «Julio Antonio, Mi Maestro», *Goya*, 209, 1989, p. 264.

³⁶ The sculptor's full name was Antonio Julio Rodríguez Hernández, but he was known as Julio Antonio. See SANTOS TORROELLA, Rafael, *Julio Antonio, 1889-1919*, Madrid, 1970, p. 6.

³⁷ The display was described in detail in the press. See, for example, LAGO, Silvio, «Un suceso artístico: la estatua yacente de Lemonier», *Esfera*, 15 February 1919, p. 13; FRANCES, José, «Los Tres Silencios», *Nuevo Mundo*, 28 February 1919, p. 28; PEREZ DE AYALA, Ramón, «La Última Obra de Julio Antonio», *Arte Español*, first trimester, 1919, p. 234; ALCANTARA, Francisco, «En el salón de los Amigos del Arte. Un grupo escultórico de Julio Antonio», *Sol*, 28 January 1919, p. 2.

³⁸ I have been unable to ascertain the cemetery in which the Lemonier grave is located.

For reasons I do not have scope to address here, the sculpture was never installed at the boy's grave, but was placed in the custody of a number of museums before being bought for the Museu d'Art Modern of Tarragona in 1966³⁹. When the museum was refurbished in the 1990s, another new, unexpected, spatial context was devised for the sculpture. The Lemonier 'tomb' became a central object in a permanent monographic display which centred on the person of the artist, and the place where the boy's remains were originally destined to be positioned, under the sculpture, were now occupied by a pool of water. Perhaps aiming at a symbolic meaning linking the flowing of water to the transience of life, the decision was taken to place the sculpted marble corpse on metal posts and to make it the centrepiece of a new monument: a fountain.

Conclusion: the ethics and authenticity of 'musealising' cemetery sculpture

The unusual trajectory and display history of the Lemonier tomb raise important questions regarding the authenticity and ethics of 'musealising' cemetery sculpture. Given the adaptability of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sculpture, and its frequent de-contextualising and re-contextualising in distinct exhibition spaces, how can we define an authentic display? More crucially still, how do we determine whether to prioritise the dead or the artist (who, by now, is also likely to be dead)? As we have seen, while conventional art display spaces and museums have traditionally focused on the achievement of the sculptor, sculpture in the cemetery has consistently elicited a dual approach. Yet the tension between the commemorator and commemorated is potentially more powerful in funerary sculpture than in any other commemorative sculptural genre, because it is only in tombs that sculpted bodies accompany real ones.

³⁹ SUAREZ BARRAL, Marisa, «Adquisició de l'obra del llegat de Julio Antonio» in Ramón OTEO, Rosa M. RICOMA and Antonio SALCEDO (eds.), *Actes del Col·loqui sobre Julio Antonio*, Tarragona, 1999, p. 161.