

Images

01. Aerial view of the Rijksmuseum & the Museumplein

02. Picture of the plan by J. G. van Niftrik dating 1866

03. A. Picture of the passageway by Cuypers showing the urban nature of it. 1885.

B. Interior of passageway with its ceramic finishing, decorated with carpets, curtains and flowers, photography dating 1935.

04. Drawing carried out by Pierre J.H. Cuypers of the northern façade, cross-section showing the passageway, the covered, illuminated courtyard and the entrances to the museum of the northern façade covered by a canopy. It includes the image of the tramway passing through the passageway, 1885.

05. Proposals for the extensions on the southern side: A) Site plan of the museum within the plot and its surrounding by Cuypers 1876. Cuypers understands the continuation of the passageway as a boulevard. B) Site plan of the International Exhibition's Pavilion for the Trade and Exportation of the Colonies Fair dating 1883 and its relationship with the Rijksmuseum floor plan facing the entrance. The surroundings become a large garden, with very clear limits. It is close to a suburban villa. C) Proposal for a square carried out by Cuypers and Akersmit 1891. D) Proposal for the park developed by H. P. Berlage 1895-96.

06. J.F. Staal, winning proposal for the competition for the opera house building. To the north, the Rijksmuseum, to the south, the concert hall and to the west the Stedelijk museum, 1925-1928

07. Citizen mobilization during the mid-70's in the central avenue of the Museumplein "Stop kindermoord"

08. Floor plan of the new buildings shaded light violet around the Museumplein, suggested by Cruz and Ortiz. Rehabilitation of the Rijks Museum 2013

09. A The Amsterdam Marathon crossing the passageway of Rijksmuseum 2016.

B A view from the passageway towards the great hall.

C A view from the hall of the Rijksmuseum and at the back of the image, the passageway.

08

... Let us take an excursion around the world! Monument and copy as curatorial practice in the international exhibitions and their museums of collections, 1854-1929*

Carolina B. García-Estévez

In December 2018, the Victoria & Albert Museum reopened Cast Court after a period of intensive rehabilitation. Its collection of plaster casts of the principal monuments and works of art is one of the very few that is still held in the original place for which they were designed. The impact of this encyclopaedic, exhaustive and universal collection on visitors to what was then London's South Kensington Museum was summarized as "an excursion around the world", in a spirit close to that which lit up the Great Exhibition of 1851. Originally, the dual function of museums as teaching workshops and catalysts of the general public's critical culture placed collections of full-scale architectural reproductions in the ambiguous terrain between the academy and the market. Architecture in the museums took on board the risks of defining the value of the copy, its pedagogic purpose and its circulation as manifesto. This article concentrates on two reproductions of Spain's architectural heritage that allow us to reconstruct this journey: from the Court of the Alhambra to the Pórtico de la Gloria.



FROM THE EXHIBITION GALLERY TO THE MUSEUM: NAILING DOWN THE EPHEMERAL AND TRANSITORY, 1854-1873

1.1 The Crystal Palace at Sydenham

On October 11, 1851, the Great Exhibition of Works of Industry of All Nations closed its doors in Hyde Park after being visited by over six million people. Its success and the problem of what to do with most of the collections on exhibit soon aroused in English society a desire to give continuity to the effort involved in constructing the Crystal Palace.

Taken down in 1852, it could then be rebuilt somewhere else. Just two years later, on June 10, 1854, the second Crystal Palace, built at Sydenham, was opened by Queen Victoria. Considerably larger than the original, the new building also differed in its exhibition intentions: the commercial impulse behind the 1851 Exhibition gave way to a general pedagogic project in 1854. This was a purpose shaped by Owen Jones and Matthew Digby Wyatt in their well-known *Fine Art Courts*.

The sequence of courts was designed to show, through full-scale plaster reproductions and replicas, the general principles of a universal history of art: from the Egyptian, Greek and Roman courts, with special emphasis on the Niniveh Court, the Pompeii House and the Alhambra Court, through to Byzantine, medieval and Renaissance architecture. The effect on the visitor can be summarized in the words of exhortation in this article's title, an all-embracing panorama of the history of architecture to our times². The immense and infinite gallery of the new Crystal Palace, through the initiative of Henry Cole, brought together in one visit a premonitory *Strada Novissima* of the history of architecture in Sydenham's new Noah's Ark (fig. 02).

Booklets describing the spaces were published about each of the courts. Jones, along with others, was responsible for the *Alhambra Court*³. His introduction provides very important information about the procedures and techniques used to reproduce the fragments of the original monument. Science and art combine forces, both in his well-known plates *Plans, elevations, sections, and details of the Alhambra* and when, on his second trip to Granada, in 1837, he made plaster-casts and tested the printing of his plates. A team of artists and industrial craftsmen made this possible, integrating the historical technique of ornamentation into the teaching of architecture of the time. The *Alhambra Court* had two rectangular areas joined to each other: the Court of the Lions, connected to the sequence of the Justice Hall, the Hall of the Abencerrages and, at the end, the Cast Room (fig. 03).

A team of artisans completed the Sydenham museum project, with outstanding pieces from the workshop of Rafael Contreras⁴ produced in Sevilla and Granada. These pieces found a final home in the permanent collections of the South Kensington Museum⁵:

"The Crystal Palace at Sydenham represents a number of key paradigms in Victorian culture: the emphasis upon visibility as a means of acquiring and conveying knowledge, the use of display as a vehicle of both education and entertainment, the desire to construct unifying historical narratives, and the emphasis upon rational recreation⁶.

The past as invention and rediscovery is one of the constants guiding the spirit of the Western tradition. The first collections of plaster casts reproducing art works stemmed originally from royal initiatives. Francis I of France (1530) and Philip IV of Spain (1640) fixed their eyes on a Rome to be evoked by reproductions of monuments and statues. In addition, the taste of the aristocracy of the time added to the fashion of exhibiting some of these pieces as fragments of their private collections. At the other extreme, architects like John Soane in London or the painter Johann Raphael Mengs in Dresden accumulated large private collections for teaching purposes. The revolution brought about by archaeology and the enlightened discoveries of many monuments of the past shaped an entire society, which finally made its own the ideal of J.J. Winckelmann who placed sculpture and moulding as the highest of artistic and academic practices.

If, in Aby Warburg's words, "every age has the Antiquity it deserves"⁷, the past as invention and copy guides the steps of these first full-scale architecture collections. The Museums of Art Reproductions for the first time do not reflect a previous life, but embrace the success of the utopia of encyclopaedic universalism and its successful expressions in the Universal Exhibitions. Among the pioneers was the *Gipsformerei*, founded in 1819 in Berlin by King Frederick William III with the aim of bringing together the work of major XIXth century sculptors⁸. The huge head of the goddess Juno dominating the *Junozimmer* in the *Goethes Wohnhaus* (1782-1832), set alongside the anachronism of a clock, predicts that what was an exquisite preserve of the elites would soon be assimilated by the new culture of masses and spectacle (fig. 04).

1.2 The 1867 Convention

The growing success and acceptance of the international exhibitions in Paris in 1855 and London in 1862 encouraged Henry Cole to formulate a framework agreement for the reproduction and marketing of works of art: "*The knowledge of such monuments is necessary to the progress of Art, and the reproductions of them would be of a high value to all Museums for public instruction*"⁹ (fig. 05). Though signed by Great Britain and Ireland, Prussia, Hesse, Saxony, France, Belgium, Russia, Sweden and Norway, Italy, Austria and Denmark, Spain remained outside the agreement, though it was a source of reproduction industries, as the agreement affirmed:

"the commencement of a system of reproducing Works of Art has been made by the South Kensington Museum, and illustrations of it are now exhibited in the British Section of the Paris Exhibition, where may be seen specimens of French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Swiss, Russian, Hindoo, Celtic and English Art"¹⁰.

Some of the reproductions promoted by Cole's Convention reflected England's colonial power in Africa and South-east Asia. There were several industries and workshops engaged in reproducing monuments, among them that of Domenico Brucciani¹¹, at the *Galleria delle Belle Arti*, 40 Russell Street, Covent Garden, where he was active from 1864 in working for English institutions such as the British Museum and the Royal Architectural Museum.

The Paris International Exhibition of 1867 accepted the Convention and the architecture of the Alhambra then travelled there. Part of it was the collection of plaster casts from the Rafael Contreras workshop, whose pieces were placed in *Group 1 - Section 40f* of architectural drawings and models with "models and reductions of the most interesting architectural fragments from the Arab Palace of the Alhambra"¹². These models were included in a Renaissance pavilion in a neo-Plateresque style constructed by the architect Alejandro de Gándara, alongside the reduced-scale reproductions of the same monument by N. Pérez, the arabesques of J. Pelly from Seville, and the collection of engravings sent by the Commission for Architectural Monuments, represented by Narciso Pascual Colomer, Director of the School of Architecture of Madrid.

1.3 The Cast Court in the South Kensington Museum

As a direct consequence of the 1867 Convention, the South Kensington Museum opened *The Cast Court* on July 10, 1873. Its collection of plaster casts of the main monuments and works of art is one of the only ones still located in the original place for which they were intended. The Weston Cast Court (46B) holds the Italian collection; the Ruddock Family Cast Court (46A) exhibits Trajan's column and a great many plaster fragments of works from England, Spain, Germany, France and Scandinavia; and between the two stands the Central Gallery (46) (fig. 06).

The energy and optimism of the curators to reconstruct a virtual history of European architecture was concentrated in one space. This history was encyclopaedic and universal, *outside time*, like the longings for an excursion around the world¹³ of the American writer Moncure Daniel Conway on entering the museum space. From the creation in 1837 of the first collection of Gothic plasters in London's Somerset House, to the subsequent donation of architectural models by the Royal Architectural Museum on George Gilbert Scott's initiative, the collections of the South Kensington Museum (1857-1866) steadily increased its holdings, as photograph albums such as Bedford Lemere's *Specimens in the Royal Architectural Museum*, Westminster (London), testify. As well as donations, a number of trips were undertaken through Europe in search of buyers or reproductions for the collection. Among these trips, John Charles Robinson, the museum's first curator, visited Santiago de Compostela in 1865, which had a profound impression on him¹⁴. Example of the

unsettled art that has characterized Spain's architectural heritage, the Cathedral of Santiago wrote the full stop to an architecture in motion from the Central-European routes of devotional Romanesque art.

The Pórtico had been commissioned from the sculptor and architect Maestro Mateo at the end of the XIIth century under the rule of Ferdinand II of Leon¹⁵. A structure of three arches, with a central tympanum that shows the visions of the Apocalypse of St. John and the throne of a Christ in majesty¹⁶, in a setting similar in intensity, according to Robinson, to the roof of Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel: "I consider it incomparably the most important monument of sculpture and ornament detail of its epoch, the 12th century, I have ever seen or heard of"¹⁷.

Cole at once commissioned a replica from the workshop of Domenico Brucciani. In November 1865, Brucciani travelled to Santiago to draw the plans for the mouldings of the monument (fig. 07). On July 2 1866, he left London for Spain with a team of artisans. To protect the original polychromy of the portico, the casting process was supervised by Juan José Cancela, painter and professor at the San Fernando Fine Arts Academy¹⁸. This work took nearly two months. The size of the portico meant that its copies could only be exhibited in sections until, on July 10 1873, the Cast Court was opened with the portico as its main piece¹⁹. It would leave no-one indifferent, awaking in visitors "impressions that can scarcely be effaced, seeing the Cast Court for the first time seems a first glimpse of Mont Blanc"²⁰. The peak of a horizon, whose sinuous profile opened the way to so many other museums yet to exist: from the *Musée des Monuments Français* (1882) of E. E. Viollet-le-Duc in Paris to the *Hall of Architecture and Sculpture* in the *Carnegie Museum of Art*, Pittsburgh (1907)²¹.

2. FROM THE MUSEUM TO THE EXHIBITIONS GALLERY: ARCHITECTURE IN MOVEMENT, 1873-1929

2.1 The Centennial International Exhibition, Philadelphia 1876

In journeys in reverse, many of the architectural copies that were once conceived to occupy the halls of Museums and Academies would soon return to the place where they were first imagined and consumed by the masses. Whether through their circulation as loans or as new reproductions, the Alhambra Court and the Pórtico de la Gloria were sent on new tours that enable us to reconstruct the polemics and manifestos concerning XIXth-century architectural styles by which the debate of the time was defined: the invention of Romanesque through *fin-de-siècle Art nouveau* culture.

Part of the collection of full-scale replicas at the recently opened Barcelona School of Architecture travelled to the Philadelphia International Exhibition in 1876²² in the guise of two opposed monumental recreations. Their presence was recorded in *La Llu-manera de Nova York*²³, a Catalan illustrated magazine published by the writer Arturo Cuyás Armengol and the illustrator Felip Cusachs. Those pages that accompany the Spanish section attest to the fate of the Arabesque and its replicas as well as the neo-classical architecture that was part of the exhibition's museum project.

Together with these recreations, part of the collection of architectural monuments sent from Spain ended up as deposits in Pennsylvania's Fine Arts Museum and in the holdings of the Industrial Arts school, which also received the plaster models of Arabic architecture²⁴. A year later, in 1877, following the success of the above exhibition, the Museum of Artistic Reproductions was set up in Madrid on the initiative of the President of the Government, Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, under the direction of the scholar Juan Facundo Riaño²⁵. This was situated in what was then the Casón del Buen Retiro²⁶. Its catalogue shows the close commercial relationships with London, particularly some architectural fragments from the Parthenon that "have been made by the *formatore* of the British Museum, D. Brucciani"²⁷. This is just one example, but one showing that commercial circulation was its true *raison d'être*.

2.2 International Exhibition for Electrical Industries, Barcelona 1929

At the other extreme, and the end-point of our survey, the huge exhibition *El Arte en España* imagined for the interior halls of the National Palace for the International Exhibition for Electrical Industries aimed to bring together for the first time, as if it were a Natural History Museum, the 4,840 items, both original pieces and reproductions, that were going to be shown in the 47 halls available²⁸. Josep Puig i Cadafalch led the enormous project of arranging this iconographic inventory under the attentive gaze of the historian Manuel Gómez-Moreno²⁹. Again, this time as loans and to Barcelona, the Pórtico de la Gloria continues its travel, along with the reproduction of Santa María de Sangüesa (Navarra), the main altarpiece (dedicated to St. Peter) of Vic Cathedral, by Pedro Oller, 1420, and the reproduction of the Sepulchre of Charles the Noble of Navarre and his wife, Leonor de Castilla, in Pamplona Cathedral (work of Janín Lome de Tournai, 1416)³⁰ (figs. 08 and 09).

Some of the pieces came from the Museum of Artistic Reproductions and the San Fernando Royal Academy of Fine Arts and were finally acquired by the V&A in its 1926 exchange programme. The main pieces are the reliefs of the New Testament from Santo Domingo de Silos (1100)³¹ and the Capital / Pilaster of the Holy Chamber of Oviedo Cathedral (1175-1200)³². Together, the Arch from inside Santa María la Blanca, Toledo (1250-1300), and the corner of the cloister of the San Juan de los Reyes Monastery, Toledo, by Juan Guas (1477-1504)³³, both acquired by Riaño in 1871. Unsettled architecture, from Mozarabic to central Gothic that embraces a commitment to ornament as origin. In the essay "El Guix" (Plaster) published in the journal *Arts i Belles Oficis* on occasion of the International Exhibition, Joan Sacs presented the casting technique as an art ranging between the two extremes that we have explored in our explanation: Romanesque architecture and Islam³⁴, claiming for the manual technique the inclusion of lost polychromy. Among the masters, of the stature of the legacy of Rafael Contreras's workshop, were Pere Sunyer Olivella and his son Pere Sunyer i Julià³⁵ with their pieces and their teaching in the Workers' Athenaeum in Barcelona's Montcada street. Their works and replicas found a home in the city's Municipal Archaeological Museum (fig. 10).

"There is nothing to say on whether these reconstructions in plaster could also be useful in Archaeology. You can see, however, in the attached print, the convincing result of the collaboration with the architect César Martinell in the theoretical reconstitution of the basin in the Poblet cloister, which was the subject of so much talk a couple of years ago. Given this result and others confirmed here by the photographic reproductions, it really makes you think –if only the architects who sabotaged Gothic Barcelona when they opened up the via Laietana had sought from this Pere Sunyer good physical reproductions of the numerous mediaeval houses and mansions that they were about to destroy!"³⁶.

We stand in the eternal contradiction between concealing time and conserving its form, something that W.G. Sebald warned us of in *Austerlitz*: "The new building of the Bibliothèque Nationale [...] was almost, Austerlitz said, the official manifestation of the need that declared itself ever more insistently of finishing with everything that still had a life in the past"³⁷. Yet, despite this, recent initiatives³⁸ remind us that, in the new age of digital reproduction, the plaster models of our monuments are now unique.

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* English text by Michael Eade. This research was supported by the competitive project "The Spanish Architecture in the International Media: Publications, Exhibitions, Congresses" (HAR2017-85205-P), funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitively and the European Regional Development Fund from the European Union (FEDER).

Notes

01. CONWAY, Moncure Daniel, *Travels in South Kensington with Notes on Decorative Art and Architecture in England*, 1882.

02. With this I refer to the recent article *Strada Novissima* on the 1980 Venice Biennial: SZACKA, Léa-Catherine, *Exhibiting the Postmodern: The 1980 Venice Architecture Biennale*, Marsilio Editori, Venice, 2016. For this purpose Charles Jencks' article, "The Presence of the Past" (*Domus* n° 610, October 1980), is still essential.

03. *The Alhambra Court in the Crystal Palace, erected and described by Owen Jones*, Crystal Palace Library and Bradbury & Evans, London, 1854. Along with: *Description of the Egyptian Court erected in the Crystal Palace by Owen Jones, Architect, and Joseph Bonomi, Sculptor, with an Historical Notice of the Monuments of Egypt and The Greek Court erected in the Crystal Palace*.

04. GÓNZALEZ PÉREZ, Asunción, "Rafael Contreras y sus

maquetas de La Alhambra: de proyectos de restauración a objetos comerciales", *Las maquetas de la Alhambra en el siglo XIX: una fuente de difusión y de información acerca del conjunto Nazari*, doctoral thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2017, pp. 240-281. On line: <http://hdl.handle.net/10486/679834>. Many of these pieces finally returned to their place of origin in the exhibition "Owen Jones y la Alhambra. El diseño islámico: descubrimiento y visión", organized by the Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife and the Victoria and Albert Museum in Charles V's palace in 2011.

05. SANDHAM, Henry, *Catalogue of the Collection Illustrating Construction and Building Materials in the South Kensington Museum*, London, 1862, p. 156. For further information, see: RAQUEJO, Tonia, "La Alhambra en el Museo Victoria and Albert. Un catálogo de piezas de la Alhambra y de algunas obras neozarías", *Cuadernos de Arte e Iconografía*, Tomo I-1, 1988, pp. 201-244, on line: <http://hdl.handle.net/10514/88>

06. HELMREICH, Anne, "On the Opening of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, 1854", *BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History*. Ed. Dino Franco Felluga, *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net* [05/02/2019].

07. WARBURG, Aby, "Conferencia sobre Rembrandt", *Atlas Mnemosyne*, Akal, Madrid, 2010, pp. 173-178.

08. We refer to sculptors such as Christian Daniel Rauch, Ludwig Wilhelm Wichmann and Christian Friedrich Tieck. In 1830 the museum merged with the Royal Prussian Museum, today the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. For the collection and its fate, see: HELFRICH, Miguel, *Masterpieces of the Gipsformerei. Art manufactory of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin since 1819*, University of Chicago Press, 2012.

09. *Convention for promoting universally reproductions of works of art for the benefit of museums of all countries*, A. Lainé and J. Havard, Paris, 1867.

10. Ibid.

11. WADE, Rebecca, *Domenico Brucciani and the Formatori of 19th-Century Britain*, Bloomsbury Visual Arts, London, 2018.

12. Comisión Regia de España, Catálogo general de la sección española para la Exposición Universal de 1867, Madrid, 1867.

13. CONWAY, Moncure Daniel, *Travels in South Kensington with Notes on Decorative Art and Architecture in England*, 1882.

14. "A Glory to the Museum: the casting of the Pórtico de la Gloria", V&A Album, n. 1, 1982, pp. 101-108.

15. LABORDE, Ana; PRADO, Francisco, "La restauración del Pórtico de la Gloria de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela", *Concha Cirujano*, n. 6, 2012, pp. 183-195.

16. "La culminación de la catedral románica: el Maestro Mateo y la escenografía de la Gloria y el Reino", Valle Pérez (ed.) 2013, pp. 989-1018.

17. V&A Archive, MA/3/16. Robinson'sreports Box, pp. 17,19.

18. *El Pórtico de la Gloria en la Inglaterra victoriana: la invención de una obra maestra*, Ministerio de Cultura, Santiago de Compostela, 1991, p. 94.

19. At present this is exhibited in the Ruddock Family Cast Court, Room 46^a, Repto:1886-50, V&A Museum.

20. *The Builder*, 1873.

21. The fortune of many of these can be followed through the web page of the *International Association for the Conservation and the Promotion of Plaster Cast Collections*: <<http://www.plastercastcollection.org/en/index.php>>

22. Some of the stocktaking of these objects is being conducted as part of research by the author: "Monuments in Motion. Exhibiting the Full Scale Replicas from the Barcelona School Collection (1817-1929)", *Frascati Symposium IV: The Secret Lives of Architectural Drawings and Models: From Translating to Archiving, to Collecting and Displaying*, Kingston School of Art, London. Department of Architecture and Landscape, June 27-28, 2019.

23. Some of its moments are caught in the numbers: n. 14 year III, New York, June 1876; n. 15 year III, New York, July 1876; and n. 17 year III, New York, October 1876.

24. LASHERAS PEÑA, Ana Belén, *España en París. La imagen nacional en las Exposiciones Universales, 1855-1900*, Universidad de Cantabria, Santander, 2009, p. 60. Along with these, the list of official exhibitors summarizes the architectural contribution in: Departamento II. Educación y Ciencia. Clase 302. 117/ Escuela de Bellas Artes de Barcelona, programa (82); Clase 310. 346/ Real Academia de Ciencia y Arte (96); "Ingenieros, Arquitectura, mapas y representaciones gráficas"; Clase 330. 404/ Miquel Garriga i Roca, Barcelona (103); Departamento IV. Arte. "Dibujos industriales y de arquitectura, modelos y decoraciones"; Clase 441. 112/ José Oriol Mestres, Barcelona. Modelo arquitectónico; 113/ Federico Soler, Barcelona. Proyecto Arquitectónico; 115/ Miquel Garriga i Roca, Barcelona. Planos y proyectos de arquitectura;

116/ Ramón Tenas, Barcelona. Seis cuadros que componen proyecto de iglesia; 117/ Antonio Rovira y Rabassa, Barcelona. Proyecto de monumento". In: *Exposición Internacional de Filadelfia de 1876. Comisión General Española. Lista de Expositores*, Imprenta de T. Fortanet, Madrid, 1876. *Expediente general sobre la Exposición Universal de Filadelfia celebrada en 1876*. Archivo Histórico Nacional, ULTRAMAR 100, Exp.2.

25. TRUSTED, Marjorie, "In all cases of difference adopt Signor Riaño's view: Collecting Spanish decorative arts at South Kensington in the late nineteenth century", *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 8, n. 2, 2006, pp. 225-236, DOI: 10.1093/jhc/fhl013

26. BOLAÑOS, María, "Bellezas prestadas: La colección nacional de reproducciones artísticas", *Culture & History Digital Journal*, n. 2, 2013, e025, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/chdj.2013.025>

27. Red. *Catálogo del Museo de Reproducciones Artísticas*, Madrid, 1881, p. 54. Among the pieces in the current collection are reliefs of the extreme south of the east pediment of the Parthenon that were prepared by Domenico Brucciani, "Formatore (Moulder) & Modeller to the Science and Art Department" of the British Museum and the Royal Academy of Arts, one of the most renowned copiers of the end of the XIXth century, based on the originals held in the British Museum. He used a complex system of Italian-style moulding in parts, CRO0006.

28. For further information, see: Macari Golferichs Losada, "Exposición de Barcelona. Palacio Central. Planta Piso Principal", n. 3213, H3; Macari Golferichs Losada, *Comissió Especial Municipal del Parc i Palau de Montjuïc*, núm. d'expediente 107/47191, 5-00-H-8-00-C-47191. Archivo Municipal Contemporáneo de Barcelona, AMCB.

29. PUIG I CADAFALCH, Josep, "L'exhibició de l'Art d'Espanya a l'Exposició de Barcelona", *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, 1927-1931, volum VIII, 1936; Red., *El Arte en España: guía del Museo del Palacio Nacional*, reviewed by Dr. Manuel Gómez-

Moreno, Imprenta de Eugenio Subirana, Barcelona, 1929.

30. Both of these are seen in items [4629] and [4630] of *El Arte en España: guía del Museo del Palacio Nacional*, reviewed by Dr. Manuel Gómez Moreno, Imprenta de Eugenio Subirana, Barcelona, 1929.

31. V&A, Museum Repro.A.1926-14&17.

32. V&A, Museum Repro.A.1926-10&12.

33. Both executed by José de Trilles y Badenes (1871), Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. V&A, Museum n. Repro. 1871-60 y 1872-261.

34. "If we bear in mind that much of the sculpture in plaster produced in the Middle Ages (and also before the Middle Ages) was not sculpture moulded in plaster, i.e. a mechanical reproduction of sculpture in another material, but rather was sculpture carved in the plaster mass itself, just as today some artists sculpt plaster with stylus or chisel, as if they were cutting stone or wood. And it is well-known that in Muslim architecture, plaster, which was the main construction material, particularly in the Islamic sculpture of Spain and North Africa, was cut in the mass when the aim was to produce *ataurique*, *lazo* or high-quality epigraphy". SACS, Joan, "El Guix", *Revista Arts i Bells Oficis*, March 1929, p. 46.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

37. SEBALD, W.B. *Austerlitz*, Anagrama, Barcelona, 2010, p. 284.

38. 150 years later, motivated by the Cole Convention, the V&A Museum launched the project *Reproduction of Art and Cultural Heritage* (ReACH, 2017), with the aim of conserving archaeological sites at risk. A year earlier, the 15th Venice Architecture Biennial, *Reporting from the Front* (2016), evoked in its exhibition *A World of Fragile Parts* the tremors felt before time as destruction, the denial of history and its concealment in its replicas.

Images

01. *El Arte en España*, Room X: reproduction of the Pórtico de la Gloria (V&A Museum) and Santa María de Sangüesa (Museum of Artistic Reproductions, Madrid), Barcelona, National Palace, 1929. © Archivo Fotográfico de Barcelona, AFB C.110.355.

02. Ground-plan of the Fine Art Courts in the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, 1854, *The Illustrated London News*, June 17, 1854.

03. "International Electric Exhibition at the Crystal Palace: Great Chandelier in Alhambra Court".

04. *Goethes Wohnhaus, Junozimmer*, 1782.

05. *Convention for promoting universally reproductions of works of art for the benefit of museums of all countries*, by A. Lainé and J. Havard, Paris, 1867.

06. Work in the Cast Court, 1873, V&A Reports; *South Kensington General Guide to the Collection*, 1914, V&A.

07. Left, John Charles Robinson, drawing of the Pórtico de la Gloria, 1865, V&A Reports M/A/3/16.

08. *El Arte en España*, Room X: reproduction of the Pórtico de la Gloria (V&A Museum) and Santa María de Sangüesa (Museum of Artistic Reproductions, Madrid), Barcelona, National Palace, 1929. Archivo Fotográfico de Barcelona, C.110.381. Right, *El Arte en España*, Room XXI: reproduction of the altarpiece of St. Peter, Vic Cathedral, in front of the reproduction of the Sepulchre of Carlos the Noble of Navarra and his wife, Leonor de Castilla, in Pamplona Cathedral. Barcelona, National Palace, 1929. Archivo Fotográfico de Barcelona, C6.465.17.

09. *El Arte en España*, ground-plan of the National Palace of Arts and the museum project of its 47 rooms, Barcelona, 1929. Redrawing by the author.

10. Joan Sacs, El Guix, *Revista Arts i Bells Oficis*, March 1929, pp. 46-51.