

**The Symbolic, the Lithic and the Legible:
Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux and Mid-Nineteenth-Century Architectural
Eclecticism**

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Abstract

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This dissertation traces the career of Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux (1801-1871), an important, yet little-studied, architect and educator who played a central role in mid-nineteenth-century architectural culture and pedagogy in France. In his writings, his designs, and his teachings at the École des Beaux-Arts and in the private *atelier* established in 1836, Constant-Dufeux presented architecture as a discipline primarily concerned with symbolic expression and communication. Constant-Dufeux played a key role in determining what would later be called, the Néo-Grec façade. Moreover, his influential teachings on the unity of the arts, his attention to the burgeoning field of aesthetics, and his interest in ornamental design, left a lasting imprint on the subsequent generation of architects and decorative artists.

The dissertation is organized in two parts. Structured as an intellectual history, the first part charts the discourse on symbolic representation as developed by philologists, philosophers, archeologists and architects in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Here, I explore two parallel developments that were consequential in the way the symbol was understood by Constant-Dufeux: the migration of German Romantic theories of the symbol into France, and the emergence of a “symbolic interpretation” of origins in the architectural discourse of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that challenged neoclassical accounts based on imitation.

The second part traces the social, political and aesthetic philosophy of Constant-Dufeux from his early formation in the administration of the Ponts et Chaussée and in the

atelier of François Debret at the École des Beaux-Arts, through his decisive experience in Italy as a recipient of the *Grand Prix* in 1829, to his professional career in Paris. I provide close readings of the architect's chief works: the fifth-year *envoi* from Rome for a Chamber of Deputies, the façade for the École Gratuite de Dessin de Paris on the rue Racine, the design of a medal for the Société Centrale des Architectes, and his most ambitious and multi-layered work: the tomb for the rear-admiral Dumont d'Urville in the Montparnasse Cemetery. In addition, I assess more fully the architect's larger vision and theory in light of the reigning eclecticism of the epoch. The architect's eclecticism is read through the lens of Ludovic Vitet, César Daly and Victor Cousin, and I demonstrate that far from being a undirected *mélange* of competing historical styles, it was intended as a purposeful, even utopian strategy of provoking a yet unseen modern architectural form.

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Introduction

Depictions of Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux by his students, friends and colleagues are surprisingly consistent in the way they present his main contribution to architectural theory. They are frequently accompanied by a constellation of symbolic diagrams, emblems and inscriptions that help convey Constant-Dufeux's persona. One such illustration was included in a letter addressed to Constant-Dufeux by his friend Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc.¹ [figure 0.1] While the drawing is clearly a portrayal of the architect (the short trimmed beard, wide eyes, and the central parting of the hair, are unmistakable traits), Viollet-le-Duc presented it as a sketch of a statuette, purportedly unearthed on an unnamed French archeological site. "Depuis que je suis arrivé dans l'ancienne capitale des anciens peuples dite *français*," Viollet-le-Duc explained, "j'ai découvert un grand nombre d'objets intéressants, entre autres, une statuette . . . de la plus haute antiquité."² No sooner had Viollet-le-Duc presented the drawing, than its meaning was opened to interpretation. Was it, he wondered, the likeness of some great and ancient god of architecture as the compass in the figure's left hand suggested? Or was it rather some yet unknown divinity devoted to fire as the little emblematic flames seemed to indicate? Viollet-le-Duc offered other clues: a street sign with the words "rue Brodeurs" (in 1845, the year the letter was penned, no. 4 rue des Brodeurs—today rue Vanneau in the seventh arrondissement—was Constant-Dufeux's home address

¹ Viollet-le-Duc's letter and adjoining sketch were originally drafted in 1845 and later reproduced on the occasion of the forty-fifth annual dinner in honour of Constant-Dufeux. The annual dinners outlasted the *maître d'atelier* they celebrated. Charles Lucas, "45^e diner annuel des anciens élèves de Constant-Dufeux," *Semaine des constructeurs*, 2^e série, 5^e année, no. 32 (1891): 380-81.

² "Since my arrival in the ancient capital of the ancient people known as the *French*, I have discovered a great number of interesting objects, among which, a statuette . . . of the highest antiquity." Lucas, "45^e diner annuel des anciens élèves de Constant-Dufeux," 380.

and humble *atelier*)³ and peculiar ornamental medals emblazoned on the figure's coat (the motifs taken from Constant-Dufeux's Neo-Gothic renovation of the church of Saint-Laurent).⁴

Like many of his former colleagues at the École des Beaux-Arts in the eighteenth and thirties, architects such as Félix Duban, Henri Labrouste and Léon Vaudoyer, Constant-Dufeux opposed the doctrine at the school and sought to develop a modern architecture rooted in nineteenth-century social and cultural ideals. More so than his colleagues, however, he paid special attention to the minutia of architectural practice; emblems, signs, and figures: in other words, forms of symbolic representation that focused architectural meaning and attempted to convey its message instantaneously. In his writings, his works, and his teachings at the École des Beaux-Arts (he held the chair of perspective from 1845 to 1863) and in the private *atelier* established in 1836, Constant-Dufeux elaborated a theory of architecture as a discipline concerned with symbolic expression and communication. His contemporaries considered this to be his main contribution. Architects such as Charles Lucas and Jean-Baptiste Lassus described what they saw as the “symbolisme élevé” of his works, and the tendency for each element to express “un sens mystique et

³ The *atelier* quarters moved several times over its span of thirty-five years, from the rue des Brodeurs and the rue St-Dominique in the seventh arrondissement, to the rue d'Ulm in the fifth arrondissement.

⁴ One finds the same propensity for symbolic imagery in numerous works and drawings by Constant-Dufeux. Fragmentary pieces of paper collected amongst drawings for the renovation of the Panthéon in the early 1850s (before Constant-Dufeux was asked by the government of the Second Empire to transform the building into a church) contain sketches by the architect of what he envisioned would be the his personal coat of arms.⁵ [figure 0.2] The right shield in this double escutcheon design features a little log fire much like the one found in Viollet-le-Duc's caricature, a flower, a compass and fruit while the field of the shield is dotted with stars. The shield on the left is divided into four subfields blazoned with trees and birds, its center occupied by a smaller shield carrying indecipherable elements. The whole is capped with a coronet, and the scroll at its base is inscribed with the motto “Semper Recte.” Constant-Dufeux redrew the emblem as an architectural element integrated below the round arch vousoirs of the Panthéon. [figure 0.3] See: Archives Nationales, Cartes et Plans, 56/AJ/13.

profond.”⁵ In the twentieth century, Louis Hauteœur echoed this characterization, arguing that Constant-Dufeux “prétendait donner à toutes les formes . . . un sens symbolique.”⁶ Like many of his contemporaries who sought to operate according to reasoned principles—Gilbert, Hauteœur claimed, devised rational building programs and organization; Labrouste adapted forms to the specific properties of materials—for Constant-Dufeux this entailed recognizing “l’autorité de l’idée et par l’idée il entendait le symbole.”⁷

This study began with a fascination with the work of four French Romantic architects (Félix Duban, Henri Labrouste, Léon Vaudoyer and Louis Duc), an interest that developed from the studies of some of the important scholars in the field who have mentored me over the past decade. Beyond the “band of four,” as the architects were sometimes called, were a host of isolated, peculiar figures whose work was resolutely difficult to grapple with, and often abstruse. One of these was Constant-Dufeux, whose vision, I thought, offered a possibility of opening new avenues of interpretation on Romantic architecture as a whole. However significant in his time, Constant-Dufeux has received very little attention, save for an account of his project for the Chamber of Deputies by David Van Zanten, and an examination of the architect’s late work on the Pantheon by Barry Bergdoll.⁸ Part of the blame for this rests no doubt on the fact that Constant-Dufeux produced comparatively little work during his long career. He designed no national monuments. His *oeuvre* consists of relatively small projects: an addition to the École de Dessin in Paris, renovations and small

⁵ Lucas, “45^e Diner annuel des élèves de Constant-Dufeux,” 381.

⁶ Louis Hauteœur, *Histoire de l’architecture classique en France, La fin de l’architecture classique: 1848-1900*, vol. VII (Paris: Edition A. et J. Picard et Cie. 1957), 251.

⁷ Louis Hauteœur, *Histoire de l’architecture classique en France*, 252.

⁸ See: David Van Zanten, *Designing Paris: The Architecture of Duban, Labrouste, Duc, and Vaudoyer* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987), 36-43, and Barry Bergdoll, “Le Panthéon/Sainte-Geneviève au XIX^e siècle. La monumentalité à l’épreuve des révolutions idéologiques (1806-1885),” in *Le Panthéon symbole des révolutions de l’église de la Nation au temple des grands hommes* (Paris: Picard, 1989), 175-233.

interventions on the Pantheon and of other governmental buildings, a façade for the church of St-Laurent, and tombs, lots of tombs.

Another reason for the lacuna lies in the dearth of archival material. Few of his original drawings had surfaced at the time I began this project (although some were reproduced in a large album prepared after his death), and almost no first-hand documents relating to his *atelier* and his teaching at the École des Beaux-Arts were known. Much has been found since. While consulting the archives of Constant-Dufeux's students, Victor Ruprich-Robert, I discovered sets of drawings at the Musée d'Orsay and at the Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine from the architect's *Grand Prix* stay in Rome. Furthermore, a few years ago, the Musée d'Orsay came upon a new set of drawings also dated to the architect's time in Rome. A few other important discoveries, some due to the generosity of colleagues and friends, have since helped to provide a richer picture of Constant-Dufeux's life and works.

I began this study with Neil Levine's lasting interpretation of Henri Labrouste's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in mind. In his dissertation on the subject, and in subsequent articles, Levine elaborated a persuasive interpretation of Labrouste's building which foregrounded the architect's use of what Levine termed "signs," architectural details and ornamental motifs that punctuate the library's surfaces. Labrouste, Levine maintained, designed the library as a reply to the chapter "Ceci tuera cela" in Victor Hugo's novel *Notre-Dame de Paris* in which the author argued that architecture's capacity to convey meaning had waned since the fifteenth century. According to Hugo, the invention of the printing press, and its ability to mass-produce the written word, eclipsed architecture's ancient role as prime communicative agent of society. Before the proliferation of printed media, architecture

represented “le grand livre de l’humanité, l’expression principale de l’homme.”⁹ By the fifteenth century, the printing press had co-opted this role; “l’imprimerie tuera l’architecture,” declared Hugo.¹⁰

Labrouste, Levine claimed, acknowledged the challenge that the printing press presented to his discipline and designed the library as a response to Hugo’s dire prediction. For Levine that meant a new approach to the treatment of the façade, which Labrouste devised as a “form of packaging” in which “deliberately applied” signs pointed directly to the building’s interior function.¹¹ Like the binding of a book that announced its internal content, the architectural signs affixed to the façade declared in a frank and unambiguous way the library’s interior structure, materiality and program. Here, for Levine, was a new form of architectural expression, one that departed from the “rhetorical form of classical architecture” and was partly inspired by the descriptive and verifiable principles of Positivism.

My own interpretation of the Néo-Grec, a term which was employed *ex post facto* to describe the French mid-nineteenth-century architecture of Labrouste, Constant-Dufeux and architects under their sway, borrows a great deal from Levine’s interpretation. It recognizes the innovative quality of the Néo-Grec, and the apparent disjunction between the symbols affixed to the building and the otherwise denuded surfaces. Here, most certainly, was a new approach to architectural legibility, one that was signalled in the many *envois* of the *Grand Prix pensionnaires* in the eighteen twenties, as Barry Bergdoll, Robin Middleton, David van Zanten and Martin Bressani have demonstrated in subsequent works on the

⁹ Victor Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris* (Paris: Hachette, 1858), 168.

¹⁰ Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, 168.

¹¹ Neil Levine, “The Book and the Building: Hugo’s Theory of Architecture and Labrouste’s Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève,” in *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture*, ed. Robin Middleton (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982), 156.

subject. This dissertation attempts to clarify the question of symbolic representation in the Néo-Grec by examining the content of the symbols that populate the architect's designs, and by looking more closely at theories of the symbol developed in the early nineteenth century. My focus on the work of Constant-Dufeux aims also to provide new paths for understanding Labrouste's own enigmatic use of symbols. Indeed, the two architects shared a lot in common. As fin-de-siècle architect Lucien Magne observed, Constant-Dufeux's proclivity for symbolic representation was comparable to Labrouste's own guarded semantic universe. These two men, in Magne's opinion, were artists "épris de symbolisme."¹²

The dissertation is organized into two parts. The first part is structured as an intellectual history of the discourse on symbolic representation as developed by philologists, philosophers, archeologists and architects in the early nineteenth century. Here I explore two parallel developments that were consequential in the way the symbol was understood by Constant-Dufeux: the acceptance of German Romantic theories of the symbol in France, theories which Marguerite Iknayan has characterized as marking the shift from imitation to expression, and the emergence of a "symbolic interpretation" of origins in the architectural discourse of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that challenged neoclassical accounts based on imitation.¹³ The first development was materialized in Constant-Dufeux's work through the ideas of Victor Cousin, whose notion of immediate abstraction ("abstraction immédiate") sought to describe the instantaneity of symbolic revelation and its necessary formal abstraction. The second development influenced the architect primarily through the teachings of Jean-Nicolas Huyot, the professor of history at the École des

¹² Lucien Magne, *L'Art dans l'architecture et dans les industrie diverses* (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1899), 8.

¹³ See: Marguerite Iknayan, *The Concave Mirror: From Imitation to Expression in French Esthetic Theory, 1800-1830*, Stanford French and Italian Studies, vol. 30 (Saratoga, CA: ANMA Libri, 1983).

Beaux-Arts beginning in 1822, and whose focus on monolithic ritual stones represented a culmination of the “symbolic interpretation” of architectural origins.

The second and more sizable part of the dissertation turns to the life, theories and designs of Constant-Dufeux, an important, though understudied, figure in mid-nineteenth century architectural culture in France. It traces the social, political and aesthetic philosophy of Constant-Dufeux from his early formation in the administration of the Ponts et Chaussée and in the *atelier* of François Debret at the École des Beaux-Arts, through his decisive experience in Italy as a recipient of the *Grand Prix* in 1829, to his professional career as an architect and educator in Paris.

The architect’s fifth-year *envoi* from Rome in 1835, the design of a Chamber of Deputies for the lower house of the French legislature, is examined in the second chapter of Part II as a focal work, one that solidified ideals regarding architecture’s capacity to reflect the changing mores and values of society. The project is read in part as a thinly veiled endorsement of Republican values and a challenge to the politics of the newly instated July Monarchy. I examine key elements of the project that demonstrate Constant-Dufeux’s willingness to have it function as a register of current activity and as a record of the present becoming past, in other words, as a marker of the very process by which history is made and concretized. With this project, I claim, Constant-Dufeux explicitly took up the concerns of *pensionnaires* such as Labrouste and Duban, and produced a surface treatment that entailed a conceptual and partially physical separation between surface and symbol.

The following two chapters address Constant-Dufeux’s first works in the early eighteen forties, his most prolific decade. Chapter three, “Surface and Symbol,” focuses on the additions to the École Gratuite Royale de Dessin (1841-1855) whose design expanded on ideas developed in his fifth-year *envoi*. Of particular concern here is the enigmatic little

façade designed by the architect on the rue Racine in Paris's sixth arrondissement. Again one observes a disjunction between the interpenetrating planes of the surface and the symbols that decorate it. More curious, though, for my analysis is the lack of connection between the façade and the structure of the addition, which sets the project apart from similar and contemporaneous buildings by Vaudoyer and Labrouste. I argue that this aspect of the project was in keeping with Constant-Dufeux's larger goal of seeing the surface as a signpost of the institution, much like he had done with the Chamber of Deputies project. Finally, I claim that here one sees the essential elements of what would later be termed the Néo-Grec, façade experiments that are prevalent in quarters of Paris built in the eighteen fifties and sixties.

The fourth chapter focuses more narrowly on the nature of the symbolism at play in Constant-Dufeux's work, specifically in his design for a medal for the Société Centrale des Architectes (1845-1847). The medal was an effective medium for Constant-Dufeux to execute his aim of creating concentrated symbols that could convey messages in an immediate and effective way. Cousin, I argue, loomed large as an influence on Constant-Dufeux's approach to symbolic representation. The philosopher's attempted reconciliation of three facets of human production, *le vrai, le beau, le bien*, was reconfigured by Constant-Dufeux into *le beau, le vrai, l'utile* and integrated as watchwords on the medal. For Cousin, as for Constant-Dufeux, the proper alignment of these three different facets of human activity was paramount, for it afforded a unified expression to works. In my analysis of the medal I also highlight the pivotal influence of French archeologist Charles Lenormant, whose interpretation of the myth of Cybèle, an ancient goddess from Asia Minor, was seen by contemporaries as further validation of the symbolic origins of architecture. Cybèle, as presented by Lenormant, was the foremost model of ancient pantheistic thought and represented the reconciliation of diversity within unity. Constant-Dufeux's representation of

Cybèle on the obverse face of the medal reiterated the broader goal of the design: to employ symbols that summarized the larger scope and purpose of architecture with the use of concentrated images. A larger point here needs some emphasis: symbols were employed by Néo-Grec architects not as empty signifiers, rather as keys whose proper meaning prompted a wholesale reevaluation of architecture's purpose and aims.

In the fifth chapter I turn to Constant-Dufeux's role as professor of perspective at the École des Beaux-Arts and assess more fully the architect's larger vision and theory. I outline three main themes in the architect's approach to architecture. First, unity in the arts, a notion articulated in Constant-Dufeux's teachings in the *atelier* and at the École des Beaux-Arts, in his political activity during the Republican revolution of 1848, and in his attentiveness to ornamental design. Second, I provide an account of the architect's interpretation of the history of architecture in order to revisit the broader question of mid-nineteenth-century eclecticism. The architect's eclecticism is read through the lens of Ludovic Vitet, César Daly and Cousin, and I demonstrate that far from being a undirected *mélange* of competing historical styles, it was intended as a purposeful, utopian strategy of provoking a modern architectural form. Finally, I conclude by drawing attention to a diagram by the architect that sought to summarize his architectural doctrine and which proposed that architecture be seen as a composite discipline, a product of extrinsic proficiencies whose reconciliation was paramount.

The final chapter concludes with what was considered by many of Constant-Dufeux's contemporaries as his finest and most synoptic project, the tomb for the admiral Dumont d'Urville (1843-1844). Its unusual parabolic profile, and the bright polychromy of its surface, made it something of an archetype for the generation. Furthermore, the complex interweaving of narratives in its symbolic decoration reflected the intricacies of Constant-

Dufeux's own thoughts on architecture. For example, it revealed the full extent of his eclecticism by employing a hybrid merger of distinct forms adjusted and united in a single arrangement. The combination articulated a historical proposition that pointed to the ascendancy of the structural sciences, while suggesting a return to originary and archaic burial mounds and conical funerary architecture. Moreover, the tomb's parabolic profile was devised as a powerful symbol that reverberated at a number of levels: mathematical, historical and aesthetic. The tomb, I argue, marked a shift from attempts at generating expression primarily through surface legibility to one in which abstract qualities of geometry, line and form were also employed to convey specific and deliberate attitudes and emotions.

I conclude by turning my attention to a student of Constant-Dufeux, Victor Ruprich-Robert, whose designs and writings embodied the architect's vision and adapted it to the priorities of next generation. Ruprich-Robert exerted considerable influence on late nineteenth-century architectural culture. As a practicing architect, he developed a number of his mentor's central preoccupations, the most prominent being the fascination for ornament as a form of symbolic communication and expression. Here, I pay special attention to Ruprich-Robert's major work on ornament, *Flore ornementale* (1866-1876).¹⁴ Among the most widely read and admired books on the subject in its time, *Flore ornementale* was the result of three decades of teaching at l'École de Dessin de Paris, a training school for aspiring decorative artists and craftsmen. Ruprich-Robert reworked two central aspects of his *maître d'atelier's* theories and adapted them to the composition of ornament. First, he located the origins of architecture in the primitive worship of nature, following lines introduced by eighteenth-century antiquarians that disputed the neoclassical emphasis on imitation.

¹⁴ Victor Ruprich-Robert, *Flore ornementale: essai sur la composition de l'ornement, éléments tirés de la nature, et principes de leur application* (Paris: Dunod, 1876).

Ruprich-Robert's ornamental reproductions of nature sought to activate the vitalist pulse coursing through the flesh of visible forms. Second, Ruprich-Robert employed the contour line as a powerfully resonant form through which to communicate specific ideas and to elicit forceful emotions. More explicitly than his mentor, Ruprich-Robert believed this dimension of his work turned Hugo's argument for the effectiveness of writing on its head, for it made a persuasive case that a properly ornamented building could speak far more poignantly than words. This approach, I would suggest, was one that would inspire a next generation of architects and decorative artists.

Part 1 Architecture and Symbolic Origins (1785-1830)

Chapter 1

The Double Nature of the Symbol in French Romanticism

“Le Fond et la Forme”

The early nineteenth century was abound with theories on the symbol. This “mania,” as we shall see in the following chapter, began in the mid-eighteenth century with antiquarian research on the origins of language and worship to penetrate nearly every sphere of inquiry from philosophy to history by the nineteenth century. If Diderot and d’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie* devoted a scant few lines to the definition of the term “symbole” in the mid-eighteenth century (the entry was mainly a long list of numismatic figures), by the eighteenth thirties, the philosopher and political economist Pierre Leroux characterized the term in its definition in the *Encyclopédie nouvelle* as “le principe unique de l’art.”¹

The term “symbole,” as Leroux’s entry suggests, had two principal meanings by this time. First, borrowing from its usage in German, it was a near synonym of the term “religion.” It is in this way that German philologist and archeologist Georg Friedrich Creuzer used the word in his groundbreaking study on primitive myth titled *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen*, published between 1810 and 1812. This particular meaning of “symbolic” carried over from the German with the subsequent translation and

¹ In short, Diderot and d’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie* defines the word as such: “SYMBOLE, (Gramm.) signe ou représentation d’une chose morale par les images ou propriétés des choses naturelles.”

“SYMBOLE (Gramm.) sign or representation of something moral by images or properties of real objects.” Author unknown, *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.*, eds. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d’Alembert. University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Spring 2011 Edition), Robert Morrissey (ed), <http://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu/>.

In the long index of authors at the end of each volume of the *Encyclopédie Nouvelle*, the entry “symbole” is missing. But it seems quite clear reading the entry that it was penned by Leroux himself. The many other entries the reader is directed to in “symbole” are written by Leroux and the way he frames the discussion is consistent with his other writings on the subject.

augmentation of this key work by Joseph-Daniel Guigniaut, published in ten volumes between 1825 and 1841.² The second meaning, according to Leroux and Léonce Reynaud's *Encyclopédie Nouvelle*, dealt with the way that the arts (including architecture) functioned metaphorically with the goal of representing "l'invisible par le visible."³ For Leroux these two otherwise distinct definitions of the term needed to be seen in connection with one another. As a fundamental mode of expression, the symbol, Leroux argued, was both primitive and contemporary, esoteric and dealing with pressing artistic issues: "[c]'est la porte, pour ainsi dire, de l'histoire de la religion et de l'histoire de l'art, de la mythologie et de l'esthétique."⁴

With Guigniaut's French translation, which involved a significant rewriting of Creuzer's original and received a new title: *Religions de l'antiquité considérées principalement dans leurs formes symboliques et mythologiques*, the term "symbole" acquired new coloring in France. *La Symbolique*, as the work was known, did two things that were particularly ambitious. First, it rearranged the fragmentary and erudite scholarship on primitive cultures

² Leroux remarks on this phenomenon: "Dans ces derniers temps, il est vrai, quelques écrivains allemands ont désigné sous le nom de *Symbolique*, pris substantivement, l'histoire des religions; et les traducteurs ont commencé à faire passer dans notre langue ce mot employé dans cette signification. Mais il nous semble que, le terme *Mythologie* ayant été usité de tout temps pour exprimer ce que l'on veut désigner par ce terme nouveau de *Symbolique*, il n'y a pas lieu de changer notre langue à cet égard, et qu'il faut au contraire conserver le terme de *Mythologie*." "In recent times, indeed, some German authors have designated under the name *Symbolic* the history of religions; and translators have begun to introduce this term in our own language with this meaning in mind. But seeing that the term *Mythology*, having been used throughout time to express that which is meant by the new term *Symbolic*, there is no need to change our language in this regard, and that we must preserve the term *Mythology*." Unfortunately, the entries *Mythe* and *Mythologie* were never completed. Pierre Leroux, "Symbole," in *Encyclopédie nouvelle*, Tome VIII, ed. Pierre Leroux and Jean Reynaud (Paris: Libraire de Charles Gosselin, 1841), 543.

³ "l'art, sous toutes ses formes, poésie, peinture, sculpture, architecture, musique, etc., en y comprenant même langage, est essentiellement fondé sur cet emploi métaphorique d'une chose au lieu d'une autre, dans le but de représenter l'invisible par le visible." "Art, in all of its forms, poetry, painting, sculpture, architecture, music etc., by comprising of the same language, is essentially founded on the metaphorical usage of one thing instead of another, with the goal of representing the invisible with the visible." Leroux, "Symbole," 543.

⁴ "It is the doorway, so to speak, of the history of religions and the history of art, of myth and aesthetics." Leroux, "Symbole," 544.

into a forceful historical and geographical narrative that explained the emergence of civilization. Creuzer and Guigniaut's analysis moved geographically and chronologically from east to west; from ancient India, Persia and Egypt to the Levant, Asia Minor, Greece and Etruria and culminated with a brief examination of early Christianity. Creuzer claimed that the religions adopted by these civilizations were transitory phenomena that moved progressively towards the revelation of eternal and universal truths.⁵ Second, unlike eighteenth-century antiquarians, Creuzer and Guigniaut thematized the question of the symbol, installing it at the very crux of their scholarly undertaking and argued that one could best approach a complete definition of the term by tracing its history.

According to Creuzer and Guigniaut, the true brilliance of the ancients resided in the invention and use of the symbol as a tool for the disclosure of the highest societal mores and values. Primitive religions, they maintained, were preoccupied with the act of creating and explaining symbolic images and figures. As a tool for didactic instruction, the symbol was particularly effective. As Creuzer and Guigniaut explained, it demanded "qu'un coup d'œil pour que l'idée qu'il représente nous saisisse sur-le-champ et s'empare de toutes les forces de notre âme."⁶ Moreover, its "extrême brièveté" and "concision rapide" assured its penetration directly to the soul where it seared its lesson into the core of primitive man's being. As with Schelling before them, the instantaneity of symbolic revelation was very important to Creuzer and Guigniaut's account and they compared it to the sudden illumination caused by a lightening flash: "comme une apparition soudaine, ou comme un éclair qui tout à coup

⁵ Jérôme, Peignot, *Pierre Leroux: inventeur du socialisme* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1988), 34.

⁶ "the blink of an eye for the idea represented to seize on the spot and grab hold of all of the forces of the soul." Friedrich Creuzer, and J. D. Guigniaut. *Religions de l'antiquité, considérées principalement dans leurs formes symboliques et mythologiques*. tome 1, part 1 (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1825), 30.

brille dans une nuit profonde, et laisse entrevoir à nos regards un horizon sans bornes.”⁷ By contrast, allegory and myth, they maintained, disclosed meaning much more slowly and in successive advance and therefore needed explication and interpretation for their truths to be fully disclosed. As such, allegory and myth were akin to “une plante vigoureuse” whose numerous shoots spread and developed sequentially outward over time, while the symbol, much like a flower, was the highest and most evolved form of representational figuration.⁸

The instantaneity of symbolic revelation was a novel characterization in France and it would go on to be an important inspiration for two influential figures: Pierre Leroux and Victor Cousin. As we shall see, the symbol as defined by Creuzer and Guigniaut had powerful aesthetic consequences and provided the attentive artist and architect a means of expressing complex thoughts with concise “figures expressives” and “images chargées de sens”⁹ Even more to the point, the symbol was effective because it acted as a link, as a cohesive bond summoning a number of diverse qualities under one unitary image—what Creuzer and Guigniaut’s Romantic contemporaries would describe as the “unity in diversity.”

⁷ Creuzer and Guigniaut, *Religions de l'antiquité*, 24. As Tzvetan Todorov points out, Creuzer’s characterization of the immediacy of the symbol and the imagery of the lightening bolt closely resembles Schelling’s description in *Philosophie de l’art*: “Dans le poème lyrique, de même que dans la tragédie, la métaphore n’agit souvent qu’à la manière d’un éclair qui illumine soudain un lieu obscur, et qui est de nouveau englouti par la nuit.” “In the lyrical poem, as in tragique poetry, the metaphor often operates like a lightening bolt which instantly illuminates the darkness, and which in turn is engulfed by the night.” Tzvetan Todorov, *Théories du symbole* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1977), 254.

⁸ “Jusqu’ici nous avons considéré le symbole comme la racine et la souche de toute expression, de toute représentation figurée, dont il est, en même temps, le plus haut développement, et pour ainsi dire, la fleur.” Creuzer and Guigniaut, *Religions de l’antiquité*, 28. “L’allégorie est une plante vigoureuse, qui étale avec complaisance le luxe des ses nombreux rameaux.” “Up until this point, we have considered the symbol to be like the root and the base of all expression, of all figurative representation, of which it is, at the same time, the highest development, in other words, the flower.” Creuzer and Guigniaut, *Religions de l’antiquité*, 31.

⁹ Peignot, *Pierre Leroux*, 34.

These qualities of the symbol were but one side of what Creuzer described as the symbol's "double nature."¹⁰ The symbol's inherent character lay in its elusiveness, its ability to oscillate between concealment and disclosure, between idea and sensation, between *la forme et l'Être*. Creuzer and Guigniaut explained:

Et en effet, c'est cette double nature que nous allons reconnaître dans les propriétés essentielles du symbole. . . . Son trait le plus distinctif est ce vague même, cette sorte d'indécision entre la forme et l'Être. En lui repose une grande idée qui échappe et s'évanouit aux regards dès qu'on veut la saisir. Le rayon divin, en se réfléchissant dans le symbole, n'y luit plus à nos yeux que d'une lumière douteuse, comme l'arc en ciel au sein de la nue où le soleil vient briser ses feux. Ce sens profond, qui excite si vivement notre âme, n'a pas d'autre cause, en effet, que l'opposition même et, si on peut le dire, l'immense disproportion de l'Être et de la forme, de l'idée et de son expression.¹¹

Creuzer and Guigniaut proceeded to explain that the symbol's intrinsic duality, its capacity to veil and reveal, was ultimately what lent it such forcefulness and what kept it within the domain of the ancient priestly classes.¹² In effect, Creuzer and Guigniaut's understanding of the symbol as *idea turned form* provided a welcome historical and primitivist explanation to a problem that lay at the crux of early nineteenth-century aesthetic debates, namely, the irreconcilability between what poets and artists in the nineteenth century termed *le fond* and *la forme*. For Creuzer and Guigniaut, the power of the symbol lay in its capacity to give

¹⁰ Creuzer and Guigniaut, *Religions de l'antiquité*, 23

¹¹ "In effect, this double nature that we shall recognize in the essential property of the symbole. . . . Its most distinctive trait is its indeterminacy, a sort of indecision between form and Being. In it rests a great idea that escapes and collapses with a gaze as soon as one tries to seize it. The divine ray, by reflecting itself in the symbol, shines in our eyes with a hesitant light, like a rainbow in the midst of a fog that the sun has just pierced. This profound sense that excites so vigorously our soul, has no other cause than opposition itself, and, if we can say, the immense disproportion of Being and form, of the idea and of its expression." Creuzer and Guigniaut, *Religions de l'antiquité*, 23-24.

¹² For Creuzer, as for Ballanche and a number of Romantics, the symbol has the function of concealing the priestly secrets and mysteries from profane curiosity.

visible and tangible form to otherwise fleeting and ethereal ideas: “Le symbole est l'idée même, rendu sensible.”¹³

Guigniaut's translation and augmentation was one of the principal vehicles of German Romantic thinking into France. It was reviewed by Pierre Leroux in the Saint-Simonian publication *Le Globe* almost immediately after its publication. Leroux understood the importance of Creuzer and Guigniaut's work especially with regards to their new interpretation of the symbol. No longer a sign whose attributes *evoked* an idea or thought, the symbol as recast by Creuzer was an *expression* and as such was part and parcel of that thought. In other words, the symbol was not a mnemonic device nor a surrogate for an object or image residing elsewhere, but carried something of that which it symbolized. Leroux explained:

Un symbole est un signe, mais un signe qui non seulement rappelle, indique une pensée, c'est encore un signe qui l'*exprime* et la *contient* autant que ce qui est sensible peut exprimer et contenir ce qui ne l'est pas. Or c'est précisément le grand dogme de l'école actuelle, que la nature est le reflet ou, pour mieux dire, la forme vivante de la pensée de son auteur.¹⁴

¹³ “The symbol is the idea itself rendered tangible.” Creuzer and Guigniaut, *Religions de l'antiquité*, 30.

¹⁴ “A symbol is a sign, but a sign that doesn't simply cause one to remember, or denote a thought, but a sign that *expresses* and *contains*, as much as something that is tangible can express and contain something that isn't. It is precisely the great dogma of the current school that nature is the reflection, or better said, the living form of the thought of its author.” While the review was authored anonymously, Brian Juden attributes it to Pierre Leroux. See Brian Juden, *Traditions Orphiques et tendances mystiques dans le romantisme français (1800-1855)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971), 321. Pierre Leroux, “Compte rendu: Religions de l'antiquité, Frédéric Creuzer, refendu en partie, complété et développée par M. Guigniaut.” *Le Globe* (August 27, 1825), 775.

The new interpretation of the symbol represented a transformative shift in early nineteenth-century aesthetics, one from a theory of imitation to one of expression.¹⁵ Creuzer's notion of the symbol rested on a belief in the primitive union of word and image.¹⁶ The view was shared by a large number of Romantics, most notably Pierre-Simon Ballanche whose work on the ancient myth of Orpheus sought to uncover an ancient poetic language of pure presence.¹⁷ Creuzer's pantheistic notion of a primitive correspondence between man and nature (all religions originate, Creuzer tells us, from "la personification des forces productrices de la nature") was transformed into a contemporary theory of symbolic correspondance by Leroux.

Art, according to Leroux, was nature's work continued and perfected by man. It made no sense, he argued, to think of the artist's work as creation ("l'homme ne crée rien," he stated), rather, the artist seized upon and appropriated existing forms in the world and transformed them into powerful symbols: "Il n'a donc pas d'autre moyen de réaliser le produit de sa vie intérieure que de l'incarner dans ce qui existe déjà. De là il suit que le principe

¹⁵ A number of books deal specifically with this issue: Harold A. Needham, *Le Développement de l'esthétique sociologique en France et en Angleterre au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1926); Meyer Howard Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953); Marguerite Iknayan, *The Concave Mirror: From Imitation to Expression in French Esthetic Theory, 1800-1830*, Stanford French and Italian Studies 30 (Saratoga, CA: ANMA Libri, 1983).

¹⁶ "C'est que, dans cet âge de l'esprit humain, l'image et la parole, la peinture et le discours ne sont point encore distingués l'un de l'autre; tout au contraire, ils se soutiennent et de pénètrent d'une mutuelle lumière. Presque toutes les langues surtout les anciennes, ont conservé des traces de cette confusion, ou, si l'ont veu, de cette simplicité originelle." "In this age of the human spirit, image and speech, painting and discourse are not distinct from one another, on the contrary, they support and penetrate each other with a mutual light. Almost all languages, especially the ancient ones, have safeguarded traces of this confusion, or, if we like, of this original simplicity." Creuzer and Guigniaut, *Religions de l'antiquité*, 14.

¹⁷ Pierre-Simon Ballanche, *Essais de palingénésie sociale. Orphée*. vol. 2 (Paris: J. Didot aîné 1829).

unique de l'art est le *symbole*.”¹⁸ The idea suggested an underlying harmony or correspondence between man and the world, an invisible web of connections that allowed objects to present themselves as symbols of interior life.¹⁹ Importantly, Leroux's most involved discussion of the symbol relied on architectural examples steeped in the ruminations of archeologists. This appeared in Leroux's article “De la poésie de notre époque” published in the *Revue encyclopédique*:

Vouloir refaire la montagne serait insensé; l'imiter en petit, comme les Chinois, est une absurdité puérile; la dessiner, la peindre pour elle-même, pour en retracer les formes, les proportions, les couleurs, c'est de l'habileté graphique, ce n'est pas de l'art. . . . Mais tirer de la vue des forêts et des montagnes une inspiration créatrice, donner à l'habitation où les hommes se réunissent pour adorer le Dieu infini quelque chose de l'aspect de ces sublimes montagnes, et élever des temples qui s'harmonisent avec nos grands végétaux comme les petits temples de la Grèce s'harmonisaient avec les lentisques et les orangers, voilà l'*art*. C'est la montagne et la forêt changés en temple par l'homme, et reproduits par lui comme il lui convient de les reproduire. La forêt, la montagne, étaient des monumens de la nature: le temple, inspiré par elles, est un monument de l'homme. Et alors s'établit dans le monde une nouvelle harmonie: l'homme ne peut plus voir les colonnades des forêts et les autels des montagnes, sans que l'idée d'un temple à l'Éternel lui revienne en mémoire. C'est ainsi que le monde

¹⁸ “In an absolute sense, man creates nothing. He has no other means of fashioning the product of his interior life than by incarnating it in that which already exists. From there it follows that the unique principle of art is the *symbol*.” Pierre Leroux, “De la poésie de notre époque,” *Revue encyclopédique ou analyse raisonnée* 51 (1831): 407.

¹⁹ An outstanding overview of theories of harmony in the early nineteenth-century can be found in the third part, first chapter (“Harmony and Aesthetics”) of Xavier Costa's dissertation “Mercurial Markers: Interpretations of Architectural Monuments in Early Nineteenth Century France” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1990).

tout entier, en y comprenant l'art, qui en fait partie au même titre que les monuments naturels auxquels il s'ajoute, devient *symbolique*.²⁰

The process of symbolization takes a very interesting series of turns here in Leroux's account. The process begins with mankind being inspired by the view of natural phenomena and landscape (the forests and mountains mentioned above). In creating his own monuments, his own temples, man specifically transforms the mountains and forests "comme il lui convient de les reproduire." In other words, there is no prescribed or general theory of the process by which natural inspiration leads to artistic expression—an implicit criticism of the historical attempts from Aristotle to Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy at isolating an 'imitative' essence in mankind.²¹ While Leroux does not here mention what the parameters or procedures might be for the transformation from the natural landscape to the resultant artistic form, there is a contradiction between the notion that the resultant forms are "reproductions" of nature and the emphasis on the individuality of the act ("comme il lui

²⁰ "Wishing to remake the mountain would be ludicrous; imitating it in miniature, as do the Chinese, is a puerile absurdity; drawing it, painting it for itself in order to retrace its forms, proportions, colours, is simply the result of graphic ability, it is not art. . . . But extracting from the view of the forest and mountains a creative inspiration, bestowing on the habitation where men gather in the worship of the infinite God something of the quality of the sublime mountains, and erecting temples that harmonize with our great vegetation like small temples in Greece harmonize with the lentisk and the orange tree, this is *art*. It is the mountain and the forest transformed into the temple for man, and reproduced by him as he sees fit to reproduce. The forest, the mountain were monuments of nature: the temple, inspired by them, is a monument of man. And so institutes in the world a new harmony: man no longer can look at the colonnade of forests and the altars of mountains without the idea of the eternal temple triggering the memory. This is how the entire world, including art which takes its place alongside natural monuments, become *symbolic*." Pierre Leroux, "De la poésie de notre époque," 404.

²¹ Evoking Aristotle, Quatremère claimed that man's essence lay in his ability to imitate: "La faculté imitative est réellement caractéristique de l'homme; elle se mêle à tous ses actes, elle entre dans tous ses ouvrages; elle lui appartient tellement, et à lui seul entre tous les êtres, qu'on pourroit le définir par cette propriété, en le nommant *l'être imitateur*." "The imitative faculty is truly characteristic of man; it combines with all his actions, it invades all of his works; so much does it belong to him, and to him alone among all beings, that we can define man by this characteristic, calling him an *imitative being*." Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, *Essai sur la nature, le but et les moyens de l'imitation dans les beaux-arts* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1823), 2.

convient de les reproduire”). The incongruity points to a recurring tension in Leroux’s work: the artist creates by appropriating, he creates by naming, by singling out the landscape in such a way as to, at one and the same time, affirm his own act and deny it; a facet of Leroux’s work that elsewhere is articulated as a tension between *le moi* and the *non-moi*. Therefore, the temple can be seen as both a created form and as a sublimation of the landscape, its essence oscillating between the one and the other. As Leroux makes clear in the excerpt above, in the last analysis it is not solely the temple that is of symbolic value, but also the landscape from which it is produced and within which it is perceived. Here again we see the same underlying assumptions that informed the work of Creuzer and Guigniaut resurfacing in Leroux’s thought. The symbol was not a mnemonic device that simply recalled (“seulement rappelle”) thoughts and experiences outside of itself; rather, the symbol partook in the very experience of producing meaning and thus irrevocably altered the perception of the objects and experiences that it set out to symbolize.

In the place of the prevailing theories based on imitation, Leroux proposed an aesthetics based on the productive association of internal psychological states with external phenomena.²² The symbol, therefore, was a kind of link, a coupling of distant sensations, ideas and objects in the overall semantic constellation of the artist’s vision and life. The artist creates a web of associations in which harmonious accordances can take place. Leroux described this phenomena in relation to poetry:

La poésie est cette aile mystérieuse qui plane à volonté dans le monde entier de l’âme, dans cette sphère infinie dont une partie est couleurs, une autre sons, une autre

²² “L’art n’est donc ni la reproduction, ni l’imitation de la nature . . . les absurdes théories qui ont pris pour base l’imitation de la nature, même en indiquant pour but l’aspect du beau, ne méritent pas qu’on s’y arrête.” “Therefore, art is neither a reproduction, nor is it an imitation of nature . . . the absurd theories that have taken as fundamental the imitation of nature, even as they note that the beautiful is their goal, do not merit out attention.” Pierre Leroux, “De la poésie de notre époque,” 408–409.

mouvements, une autre jugemens, etc., mais qui toutes vibrent en même tems suivant certaines lois, en sortes qu'une vibration dans une région se communique à une autre région, et que le privilège de l'art est de sentir et d'exprimer ces rapports, profondément cachés dans une unité même de la vie. Car de ces vibrations harmoniques des diverses régions de l'âme il résulte un accord, et cet accord c'est la vie; et quand cet accord est exprimée, c'est l'art; or, cet accord exprimé, c'est le symbole.²³

While Leroux's understanding of harmonious correspondences was admittedly more psychological and less spiritual,²⁴ it is tempting to see the two above quotations from Leroux as anticipating Charles Baudelaire's equally primitivist evocation of architectonic monuments in the first verse of the poem *Correspondances* published in *Les Fleurs du Mal* in 1857:

La nature est un temple où de vivants piliers
Laissent parfois sortir de confuses paroles;
L'homme y passe à travers des forêts de symboles

²³ "Poetry is a mysterious wing that glides willingly into the vast world of the soul, in this infinite sphere regions of which are comprised of colours, others of sound, others of movement, others of jugemens, etc., but all vibrate at once according to certain laws, so that one vibration in one region communicates with another region, and the benefit of art is to sense and express these connections, deeply hidden in the very unity of life. Because from these harmonic vibrations of the diverse regions of the soul are produced a harmony, and this harmony is life, and when this harmony is expressed it is art, and, this harmony expressed is the symbol." Pierre Leroux, "De la poésie de notre époque," 407-408.

²⁴ Neil McWilliam argues against the prevailing tide of comparisons between Leroux's "harmonious accordance" and a Swedenborgian notion of *correspondances* later popularized in France by Baudelaire. McWilliam's argument, I think, overstates the idea that, unlike Swedenborg and Baudelaire, Leroux's web of accordances is internal and emerges in a "unified psychological makeup . . . conceived as a seamless and coherent spectrum of thoughts and feelings." Leroux's notion of the symbol does not, it seems to me, remain a purely mental construct, but as for Creuzer, become manifest in the world as existing phenomena. Neil McWilliam, *Dreams of Happiness: Social Art and the French Left, 1830-1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 180.

Qui l'observent avec des regards familiers.²⁵

As with Leroux, the natural landscape in Baudelaire's poem become symbolic by virtue of their association with architectonic monuments, and not the other way around. Art and architecture are not imitative of nature, but rather a transformation of it which in turn impart nature with the ability to appear as symbolic. Leroux believed that symbolic creation was a primitive and originative act that did not emerge as a willful translation from nature. The artist or the architect does not begin with natural form and translate its forms, proportions and colours into another medium; rather, he is struck by the ineffable and sublime quality of the view: in other words, he is affected and inspired by sensations of the infinite and the eternal, these feelings compel him to create monuments that reiterate those qualities and thus harmonize with their surroundings.

From Imitation to Abstraction

In the analysis by the ideas of the three figures explored here the recurring motif of the symbol as an instantaneous revelation of otherwise invisible and intangible qualities predominates. For all three, the symbol was the point of intersection of the idea and its sensual form; it was less a thing than a *moment*, a unifying bond that mediated between intangible, invisible ideas and real-world objects and sensations. The notion was very much

²⁵ "Nature is a temple in which living pillars
Sometimes emit confused words;
Man crosses it through forests of symbols
That observe him with familiar glances."

Henri Dorra points to the similarities between Leroux and Baudelaire in *Symbolist Art Theories* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 8-11. The English translation of the excerpt from Baudelaire's poem is taken from this book. Charles Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal* (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, libraires-éditeurs, 1857), 19.

in line with the more mainstream Spiritualist theories developed by Victor Cousin, Théodore Jouffroy and others that sought to reconcile concrete, visible and empirical reality with ineffable, invisible and ultimately spiritual ideals.²⁶ And notwithstanding the public disagreements between Leroux and Cousin, their work shared a common source in the writings of Creuzer and Guigniaut and a common profundity in the meditation on the role of the symbol in artistic creation.

Cousin's often bad reputation as a conservative of the July Monarchy has overshadowed his deeper, more enigmatic tendency. In fact, he was much more prophetic a thinker, and if we are to believe his first biographer Paul Janet, he was seen by his contemporaries as mystic and "une sorte d'hiérophante venant d'un monde invisible annoncer des choses inconnues."²⁷ Moreover, Cousin was one of a few French authors after Madame de Stael intimately knowledgeable of philosophical currents in Germany and was responsible for popularizing in France the writings of Romantics such as Friedrich W. J. Schelling and the Schlegel brothers as well as the provocative new thinker George Wilhelm Hegel, a close friend and confidant of the young Cousin. But perhaps the most decisive connection to German intellectual trends was Cousin's friendship with Friedrich Creuzer. Cousin met Creuzer in 1817 in Heidelberg at a time when both young thinkers were captivated by *naturphilosophie*. Soon followed an interest in neo-Platonic thought: Creuzer translated the works of Plotinus while Cousin, upon Creuzer's prompting, translated Plato and the works of

²⁶ Before becoming one of Victor Cousin's harshest critics (and penning the famous *Réfutation de l'éclectisme* of 1841), Leroux was among Cousin's most sincere admirers. There are several reasons for Leroux's gradual disenchantment with Cousin but perhaps the most important was political and having to do with the latter's sudden solidarity with the government of the July monarchy. Despite Leroux's subsequent disavowal of Cousin's theory, there are a great many similarities in the philosophical aims of both men. See: Pierre Leroux, *Réfutation de l'éclectisme où se trouve exposée la vraie définition de la philosophie, et où l'on explique le sens, la suite, et l'enchaînement des divers philosophes depuis Descartes* (Paris: Librairie de Charles Gosselin, 1841).

²⁷ Paul Janet, *Victor Cousin et son oeuvre*, 3rd edition, (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1893), 57.

Proclus.²⁸ Cousin also befriended Guigniaut, who dedicated the *Symbolique* to him, and credited Cousin with importing German erudition to France. And while Cousin's focus and audience was quite different from Creuzer's and Guigniaut's, we shall see that his thought can be read through the lens of the primitivist discourse elaborated by Creuzer and others.

Cousin's work at the beginning of his career was marked by a number of important philosophical and artistic debates in the early-nineteenth century. One of the quarrels of great consequence was waged between a defender of eighteenth-century neoclassical idealism, Antoine-Chrysosthôme Quatremère de Quincy and an advocate of Romantic realism, Toussaint-Bernard Émeric-David. Quatremère is remembered for his dogmatism as *Secrétaire-Perpétuel* of the Académie des Beaux-arts between 1816 and 1839, a post that, as the title implies, was intended to be as permanent as the Restoration monarchy which instated it. Imitation was at the heart of Quatremère's theory of the arts. In "Sur l'idéal dans les arts du dessin," published in the journal *Archives littéraires de l'Europe* of 1805, Quatremère remarked that of the three possible paths for imitation elaborated in Aristotle's *Poesis*, only the first; that an artist paint the human figure more beautiful than it is, held sway in Greek art.²⁹ Quatremère argued that contrary to the opinions of his contemporaries (and particularly to those of Émeric-David whose article on the subject this was a direct response), Greek artists did not seek to represent nature and the world in a naturalistic or realistic fashion (the second of Aristotle's three possibilities for imitation) but strove for the ideality of the subject. Likewise, contemporary artistic practice ought to involve two distinct processes according to Quatremère: the imitation of the sensual and material object and the contemplation of a more intellectual, and moral idea. Romantic artists (*les anti-systématique* as

²⁸ Jules Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire, *M. Victor Cousin, sa vie et sa correspondance*, 1895.

²⁹ Antoine-Chrysosthôme Quatremère de Quincy, "Sur l'idéal dans les arts du dessin." *Archives littéraires de l'Europe*, tome 6 (1805): 385-405; tome 7, (1805): 3-37, 289-337.

he was to call them) had strayed from the latter principle and veered exclusively, both in subject matter and manner of depiction, toward the former, leading to an individuating and myopic attention to detail and fact. The artist, Quatremère, believed should instead abstract and generalize from material reality and submit the work to a reflection on its place within a larger system of tradition and type going as far back as the Greeks.³⁰ The ultimate success of a work, he claimed, depended on the extent to which the artwork, whether it be a drawing, sculptural piece or building, departed from the strict visual or external resemblance of a model and conveyed an intelligible idea expressing its essence or utmost potential.³¹

Romanticism, with its penchant for realism and its battle cry “imitate nature!” seemed a frightening prospect for Quatremère.³² At the core of his dispute with the early Romantics was the question of the relationship of man to nature. While the Romantics

³⁰ Contrasting both positions—the *systématique* (*Classique*) and the *anti-systématique* (*Romantique*)—Quatremère states: “Ce que j’appelle principe d’imitation abstraité et généralisée, c’est, à proprement parler, l’imitation réduite en système; l’autre s’appelle improprement principe, puisque l’imitation de ce genre marche sans règle fixe, et à-peu-près sans méthode.

La première, en tant que systématique, fut le produit des observations de plusieurs siècles, transmises par la tradition des maîtres au disciples, fixées par des théories méthodiques, et fixées encore par des ouvrages devenue *règle*; la seconde, comme anti-systématique, a presque toujours dépendu du talent personnel de l’artiste, qui, toujours, procéda de lui-même, renouvelant à lui seul les recherches, et toujours recommençant l’art pour lui seul.” “What I call the abstracted or generalized principle of abstraction is, to speak more precisely, imitation reduced to a system. The other is improperly named since the imitation that is proposed functions without a fixed rule and nearly without methodology.

The first, as systematic, is the product of observations established over centuries, transmitted by the tradition of masters in the disciple, fixed by methodical theories, and fixed again but works that have become *rules*; the second, as anti-systematic, has almost always depended on the personal talent of the artist, who always proceeds from his authority alone, renewing his research for him alone, and always beginning the artistic work for him alone.” Quatremère de Quincy, “Sur l’idéal dans les arts du dessin,” tome 7, 10. For a detailed account of the quarrel between Émeric-David and Quatremère de Quincy, see Helen T. Garret, “The Imitation of the Ideal: Polemic of a Dying Classicism,” in *PMLA*, vol. 62, no. 3 (Sep., 1947), 735-44.

³¹ This process, described as one of abstraction or generalization, sought to purge the subject of its individual and inessential attributes in order to disclose what Quatremère referred to as *un type élémentaire*; a kind of fundamental nature having both genealogical (related to a primitive type) and idealist connotations.

³² Garret, 736.

believed in the underlying sympathy between the two (no doubt inspired by the German *Naturphilosophie* of Schelling and the Schlegel brothers), Quatremère saw them as distinct; in fact, his aesthetic philosophy depended on their mutual separation. “La nature n’imite pas; c’est elle que l’on imite” he stated in the opening passage of *De l’Imitation* and arguing some pages further:

La nature et l’art dans la formation de leurs ouvrages, n’ont presque aucun point de rapprochement. En effet, la nature a mille fins diverse, quand l’art n’en a qu’une. Même inégalité dans leur moyens. C’est une grande méprise à l’imitateur de croire que parce qu’il s’approprie une des parties de la nature, il puisse en revêtir tous les rôles et prétendre à la remplacer.³³

For Quatremère, art was restrained artifice. Accordingly, the organic metaphor often employed by Romantics was seen to confuse the agency of man with nature. As explained in the citation above, Quatremère saw nature as having the capacity to act in infinitely diverse ways that lay in total and absolute unity and simultaneity. However, the works of man, being made not in one spurt but composed in a series of steps, relied both in their making and in their reception on a succession of impressions which needed to be kept separate and distinct; hence Quatremère’s obsessive attempts at keeping all art forms disconnected and his

³³ “In the production of their works nature and art have almost no points in common. In effect, nature has a thousand diverse ends, when art has only one. The same incomparability exists with the means they employ. It is a contemptuous to think that because man appropriates one of the parts of nature, he can profess to take over all of its roles and to replace it.” Quatremère de Quincy, *De l’imitation*, 205.

emphasis on medium specificity.³⁴ The quarrel around polychromy in ancient architecture that would surface in the eighteen twenties and thirties was but one example of his reaction against the collusion of various art forms (in that case, architecture and painting). He criticized Romantic poets for their use of vivid scenes that appealed to the sense of sight (thereby using the tools of the painter) and denounced them for literary details that adhered too closely to the laws of the external world.³⁵

Victor Cousin employed the term *Éclectisme*, which he derived from ancient Greek to describe his philosophical method, believed that the proper road for philosophy lay in pitting opposed philosophical outlooks against each other. The complementary truths of each philosophical system, he believed, would emerge out of this forced struggle. His groundbreaking work *Du vrai, du beau et du bien* of 1836, developed from lectures delivered

³⁴ Quatremère contrasted what he called the *réunion* of arts to the Romantic *mixtion* of arts: “Dans la réunion, chaque art reste lui-même, et sa portion de travail est distincte. Dans la mixtion de genres d’art, chacun se neutralise, et sa part d’ouvrage se décompose. Dans la réunion, l’âme peut jouir du travail de chaque art, l’un après l’autre, par l’effet d’une transition plus ou moins rapide, et elle peut rapprocher en un tout, ce qu’elle a vu séparément. Dans la mixtion, et chaque partie et le tout lui échappent.” “In the reunion of art, every art remains itself, and its contribution to the work remains distinct. In the mixing of the arts, each neutralize each other, and its contribution to the work decomposes. In the reunion, the soul can gain pleasure from the contribution of each art, each after each, by the effect of a transition more or less rapid, and it can bring together the parts into a whole which earlier it considered separately. In mixture, each part and the whole escapes it.” Quatremère de Quincy, *De l’imitation*, 59.

³⁵ Quatremère writes: “La poésie et le genre appelé romantique, ont une toute autre prétention, L’écrivain, dans sa manie pittoresque, semble aspirer à la copie immédiate et presque graphique des objets de la matière. Il s’efforce de s’attacher à leur réalité comme s’il pouvoit s’en prendre à l’organe visuel. Comme si l’idée de peinture appliquée à la poésie, n’étoit pas une simple fiction du langage, il emprunte les yeux du peintre pour considérer la nature, et l’imagination remplie de formes, de teintes, d’accidents de lumière, et autres effets physiques, il se croit devant une toile, il rêve qu’il a des crayons ou le pinceau en main, et se figure que des mots et des phrases vont faire sur l’auditeur l’impression que la nature destine au spectateur. Il n’y a là moins que la méprise d’un de nos sens contre un autre.” “Poetry and the genre labeled Romantic, have completely separate aspirations. The writer, in his picturesque frenzy, seems to aspire to the direct and almost graphic copy of material objects. He strives to bind himself to their reality as though they could bind themselves to his visual organs. As though the idea of painting adhering to poetry were not a simple fiction of language, he borrows the eyes of the painter in order to consider nature, and his imagination filled with forms, tints, accidents of vision, and other physical effects, he thinks himself before a canvas, he dreams he holds a pencil or a brush, and imagines that words and phrases can communicate to the spectator in the same way as nature. Here we find nothing but the contempt of one of our senses against another.” Quatremère de Quincy, *De l’Imitation*, 81.

nearly two decades earlier, argued that the empiricism of Locke and Condillac and the idealism of Emmanuel Kant and the Scottish philosopher Thomas Reid were reconcilable.³⁶ In his view both sensations and reason were essential. Contrary to contemporaneous attempts at reconciling divergent philosophies, Cousin did not envision his project as a Hegelian summation of the historical project. His aim did not lie in the deference of philosophy to theology (as was the case with Louis-Gabriel-Ambroise, viscount de Bonald and the early work of Hugues-Félicité Robert de Lamennais); nor was it based on the conceit of erecting a new positive science on the ruins of philosophy.

Cousin envisioned the unity of the real and the ideal as a fusion of form and thought in the arts.³⁷ Evoking the public dispute between Quatremère and Émeric-David, he wrote:

Mais les partisans exclusifs du réel nient l'existence de l'idéal, ou disent qu'il ne consiste qu'à rassembler ou à choisir, ce qui équivaut à la négation de l'idéal. L'école opposée à celle-ci n'admet, au contraire, que l'idéal, en fait complètement abstraction des modèles de la nature; il y a des artistes qui travaillent de tête: c'est leur expression. La première école, qui ne veut voir dans l'art que l'imitation du réel, oublie que tout ce qu'on rencontre dans la nature n'a qu'une beauté imparfaite et que le beau se cache sous le réel. La seconde, qui ne s'attache qu'à l'idéal, tombe dans l'excès opposé et produit des oeuvres qui sont inaccessible à nos sens. . . . L'idéal sans le réel manque de vie, mais le réel sans l'idéal manque de beauté pure. L'un et l'autre doivent se réunir; les

³⁶ The edition published in the 1836 was assembled by Adolphe Garnier and had the full title: *Cours de philosophie, professé à la faculté des lettres pendant l'année 1818, par M. V. Cousin, sur le fondement des idées absolues du vrai, du beau et du bien* (Paris: Librairie classique et élémentaire de L. Hachette, 1836).

³⁷ It is worth remembering that Kantian aesthetics divorced the form of a thing from its ultimate meaning or content. For Kant, the height of aesthetic appreciation occurs in those arts which are non-functional. His enumeration of these arts has some interesting inclusions. While music is the abstract art *par excellence* for Kant, he also identifies the same kind of aesthetic engagement with the free volutes and curlicues found in ornamental motifs (particularly those found on picture frames). In this light, Cousin's famous statement "La forme ne peut être une forme toute seule, elle doit être la forme de quelque chose" highlighting his search for unity between form and content seems like an explicit repudiation of the Kantian aesthetic ideal.

deux écoles doivent se donner la main et faire alliance: les chefs-d'oeuvres sont à ce prix.³⁸

For Cousin, both the partisans for the ideal and those of the real missed the mark. His sought-after model of unity would, at one and the same time, express a moral, a physical and an intellectual beauty and its form would simultaneously evoke an idea—or as he put it “la forme nous saisira comme un symbole de la pensée.”³⁹ Whereas abstraction for Quatremère involved a gradual process of moving away from the real or particular in order to embrace the ideal or general (which, for Quatremère, necessitated a complicated series of constraints ranging from constructional type to proportional and aesthetic rules), for Cousin, “l’abstraction immédiate”, the term he coined to describe this process, rested on the simultaneity of experiencing the real or natural object of imitation and the ideal, or the physical with the supra-sensuous realm. In such a work of art, material form and thought (the idea) would unify to such an extent that the physical beauty perceived would act as a symbol of the moral beauty. Moral beauty, as both the ultimate aim of art (“la fin de l’art”) and its thrust (“sa puissance”), could only be made manifest by bringing the other two—the physical (form) and the intellectual (thought/idea)—beauties into direct junction. In Cousin’s aesthetic theory, there is no Kantian aesthetic category; there is no form that is devoid of representational value or moral significance. “La forme ne peut être une forme toute seul”

³⁸ “But the partisans of the real deny the existence of the ideal, or say that it consists of simple reassembly or choice, which is equivalent to the negation of the ideal. The school opposed to this one do not admit that the ideal achieves a complete abstraction of nature; there are artists that operate from their mind: that is their prerogative. The first school, which wants to see in art only the imitation of the real, forget that all that we encounter in nature has but an imperfect beauty and that beauty hides beneath the real. The second, which believes only in the ideal, moves to an opposite extreme and produces works that are inaccessible to our senses. . . . The ideal without the real lack life, but the real without the ideal lacks pure beauty. The one and the other must reunite; the two schools must shake hands and form an alliance: masterpieces are worth the price.” Victor Cousin, *Du vrai, du beau et du bien* (Paris: Didier, 1836), 189.

³⁹ Victor Cousin, *Du vrai, du beau et du bien* (Paris: Didier, 1854), 166.

writes Cousin, and concludes: “elle doit être la forme de quelque chose.”⁴⁰ Also rejected by Cousin is Kant’s assertion of the absolute discontinuity between the world of the senses and the supra-sensuous realm of the thing in-itself. For Cousin, the imminent and the transcendental, the real and the ideal are intimately connected, not by an Aristotelian scale of gradations, but by immediate correspondence – reality is completely pervaded by the realm of ideas and morals, the one being a kind of *symbolic revelation* of the other.

The artist was granted a privileged position in Cousin’s philosophical system. Despite the universal resonance between physical form and thought, according to Cousin the natural or real world was defective and, left to its own device, could not raise the ideas rooted in its fabric to the level of expression.⁴¹ By virtue of bringing order and measure to nature, the artist rectified its deficiencies and translated its forms and in turn released the physical beauty of the object of contemplation allowing it to evoke and express intellectual and moral beauty. In other words, the artist brought unity to the great variety of nature’s impressions and in so doing disclosed the “symbol” hidden behind a panoply of imperfections. “Dans la nature” wrote Cousin, “ce symbole est souvent obscure: l’art en l’éclaircissant atteint des effets que la nature ne produit pas toujours.”⁴² He then elaborated on this principle:

La beauté moral est le fond de toute vraie beauté. Ce fond est un peu couvert et voilé dans la nature. L’art le dégage, et lui donne des formes plus transparentes. C’est par cet

⁴⁰ “Form can not be form alone, it must be the form of something.” Cousin, *Du vrai, du beau et du bien*, 1854 ed., 170.

⁴¹ Cousin writes: “Tout objet naturel, si beau qu’il soit, est défectueux par quelque côté. Tout ce qui est réel est imparfait. Ici, l’horrible et le hideux s’unissent au sublime; là, l’élégance et la grâce sont séparées de la grandeur et de la force. Les traits de la beauté sont épars et divisés.” Cousin, *Du vrai, du beau et du Bien*, 1854 ed., 176.

⁴² “In nature this symbol is often ill-defined: art by bringing it clarity achieves results that nature does not always produce.” Cousin, *Du vrai, du beau et du bien*, 1854 ed., 177.

endroit que l'art, quand il connaît bien sa puissance et ses ressources, institue avec la nature une lutte où il peut avoir l'avantage.⁴³

Interestingly, not all objects needed much work in order to bring clarity to their otherwise distorted forms. For example, Cousin claimed that flowers required little or no adjustment to their overall form, for the geometrical perfection of their outward expression resonated at an intellectual and moral level. Like the deity, who, according to Cousin, was the paramount model of the concordance of unity and diversity, the flower manifested a near perfect agreement of color, detail and nuance with proportion, symmetry and reason; a true symbol of movement and life. He explained:

Voyez une belle fleur. Sans doute l'unité, l'ordre, la proportion, la symétrie même, y sont : car sans ces qualités la raison en serait absente, et toutes choses sont faites avec une merveilleuse raison. Mais en même temps que la diversité! Combien de nuances dans la couleur, quelles richesses dans les moindres détails! Même en mathématiques, ce qui est beau ce n'est pas un principe abstrait, c'est ce principe trainant avec soi toute une longue chaîne de conséquences. Il n'y a pas de beauté sans la vie; et la vie, c'est le mouvement, c'est la diversité . . . la grande loi de la beauté, comme la vérité, est l'unité aussi bien que la variété. Tout est un et tout est divers.⁴⁴

⁴³ "Moral beauty is the foundation of all true beauty. This basis is somewhat concealed and veiled in nature. Art brings clarity and gives it a more transparent form. In this way art, when it knows well its power and understands its resources, institutes with nature a struggle in which it can have the upper hand." Cousin, *Du vrai, du beau et du bien*, 1854 ed., 177.

⁴⁴ "Here is a beautiful flower. No doubt unity, order, proportion, symmetry are there, for without these qualities reason would remain absent, and all things are made with marvelous reason. But at the same time, what diversity! How many subtle distinctions in the colour, what richness in the smallest detail! Even in mathematics, what is beautiful is not an abstract principle, it is the principle that carries with it a whole chain of consequences. There is not beauty without life; and life is movement, it is diversity . . . the great law of beauty, like truth, is unity as much as variety. All is one and all is diverse." Cousin, *Du vrai, du beau et du bien*, 1854 ed., 159-62.

The beauty of a flower, like that of the mathematical axiom, could not be divorced from its “chain of consequences,” from the disposition and arrangement of its parts which together brought this beauty about. For Cousin, the real-life traits and qualities of an object needed to be composed and aligned in such a way as to reverberate with the ideal. His recommendation for the student of drawing was to study nature but not to imitate it “too scrupulously,” to use both the memory and the imagination, and to train to draw using the real human figure (“mettre les élèves à la vrai école de la nature”) while not losing sight of one’s idea. Art bridged the gap between the real and the ideal; it was, as Cousin described it, “la realization de l’idée.” This is what Cousin meant by the word “expression;” external form was no longer seen as an obstacle but rather as “the supreme, the inflexible, the unique means” by which art reached the ideal.

Accused of being “panthéiste” by Hippolyte Taine, Cousin’s philosophy promised the kind of reconciliation of philosophical ideals that the new archeology had witnessed in the origins of civilizations. In other words, what Creuzer did for the history of allegorical and symbolic representation, Cousin attempted to do for the history of philosophy. For Cousin, *fond et forme* were reconciled through the symbol, and, as for Creuzer, Guigniaut and Leroux, the correspondence was instantaneous. Furthermore, in line with the symbolic interpretation elaborated by his predecessors and contemporaries, the role Cousin set out for the artist was not one of creation *ex nihilo*; everything in Cousin’s universe was potentially symbolic and one’s artistry resided in the capacity to “correct” nature and bring out the unity of its design thus liberating its potential for further symbolic correspondence. But unlike the others, when it came to architecture, Cousin was somewhat more trepidatious in proposing architectonic examples of this kind of correspondence. His architectural tastes were somewhat

anachronistic and he bemoaned the vulgarity of recent architecture.⁴⁵ He admired seventeenth-century French buildings such as Jules Hardouin-Mansart's Invalides and the palace of Versailles, the Sorbonne by Lemercier, the coupole of the Val-de-Grâce by La Muet and the Arc de Triomphe of the Porte St-Denis by François Blondel. One can only wonder what kind of monuments could emerge out of the conjunction of the realist attention to detail and the idealist search for transcendent form.

Despite Cousin's conservative architectural tastes, the conjoining of realist and idealist philosophies in his work had a persuasive appeal for a young generation of architects accustomed to seeing them as mutually separate. While his work lost its momentum with the introduction of positivistic thought in the arts,⁴⁶ his philosophy of *Éclectisme* was the overarching conceptual paradigm during the Restoration and the two decades of the July

⁴⁵ On the architecture of his time, Cousin had few positive remarks to share with his readers. He writes: "Depuis, qu'est devenue l'architecture française? Une fois sortie de la tradition et du caractère national, elle erre d'imitation en imitation, et sans comprendre le génie de l'antiquité elle en reproduit maladroitement les formes. Cette architecture bâtarde, à la fois lourde et maniérée, se substitue peu à peu à la belle architecture de siècle précédent et efface partout les vestiges de l'esprit français." "What has become of architecture since? Once retired from tradition and from the national character, it falters from imitation to imitation, and without understanding the genius of antiquity she [architecture] awkwardly reproduced its forms. This bastard architecture, at once heavy and mannered, is slowly replacing the beautiful architecture of preceding centuries and effaces everywhere the vestiges of the French spirit." Cousin, *Du vrai, du beau et du bien*, 1854 ed., 250.

⁴⁶ The main protagonist of this movement being Hippolyte Taine, whose book *Philosophes classiques du XIXe siècle en France* (1868) lambasted Cousin as a pantheist and a political opportunist. I found Taine's caricature of the main philosophical currents of the nineteenth century as humorous as it is revelatory. Using the common cornflower to make his point, he writes: "Selon les panthéistes, le bluet idéal, c'est dieu. Selon les matérialistes, il n'y a pas de bluet idéal, il n'y a que des bluets particuliers. Selon les déistes, il n'y a pas de bluet idéal, mais un ouvrier intelligent et puissant qui fabrique tous les bluets particuliers. Selon les positivistes, on ne peut connaître que les bluets particuliers, il ne faut pas s'occuper du bluet idéal." "According to the pantheists, the ideal cornflower, is god. According to the materialists, there is not ideal cornflower, there are only specific cornflowers. According to the deists, there is no ideal cornflower, but an clever and powerful workman that produces all of the specific cornflowers. According to the positivists, we can only know specific cornflowers, we should not concern ourselves with ideal cornflowers." Hippolyte Taine, *Les philosophes classiques du XIXe siècle en France*, 3rd edition, (Paris: Hachette, 1868), 137.

Monarchy.⁴⁷ Cousin's notion of the unity of intellectual, formal and moral beauty as well as his specific caution against the contrived or forced unity of the three institutions, *la patrie*, *l'art et la religion*, fascinated architects in search of forms of expression that could give voice to the burgeoning public sphere and its post-revolutionary ideals. Such architects took Cousin's call for liberty in the arts to heart and developed an inclusive view of history seeing their task as akin to Cousin's artist: to celebrate the great variety of architectural epochs and styles, and yet to see these local and contingent expressions as the bearers of immutable unifying principles forming one continuous historical arc. César Daly campaign for liberty in the arts was but one instance of Cousin's influence, but as Daly would later write, *l'Éclectisme* was so pervasive an outlook by the mid-nineteenth century that it permeated all walks of life:

Une atmosphère éclectique enveloppe complètement le monde moderne, tous les poumons la respirent, et, mêlée à notre sang, elle agit sur le coeur et le cerveau de chacun de nous, teignant de sa couleur particulière nos sentiments et nos idées, l'art et la science, la religion, la philosophie et la politique. Or l'atmosphère sociale exerce sur l'art autant d'influence que l'atmosphère physique en exerce sur toute la vie organique, végétale et animale, qu'elle enveloppe et contient.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ For a good summary of the institutionalization of Cousin's thought during the July Monarchy, see David Van Zanten, "The École, the Academy, and the French Government Services," in June Hargrove, ed., *The French Academy: Classicism and its Antagonists* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990), 196-205.

⁴⁸ "An atmosphere of eclecticism completely envelops the modern world, all lungs breathe it, and, mixed in with our blood, it acts on the heart and the brain of each of us, coloring our thoughts and ideas, our art and our science, our philosophy and our politics with its particular tint. The social atmosphere exerts on art as much of an influence as the physical one exerts on all organic life, whether vegetal or animal, which it envelops and contains." César Daly, "Introduction," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics*, no. 35 (1878), 6.

Chapter 2

The Symbolic Interpretation in Architectural Discourse and Pedagogy

“Un livre pierreux”

The previous chapter outlined the interpretation of the term “symbole” in Romantic thought in France in the early nineteenth-century writings of Georg Friedrich Creuzer and Joseph-Daniel Guigniaut, Pierre Leroux and finally, and most influentially for architects such as Constant-Dufeux, in the work of Victor Cousin. While precipitated in part by Romantic thought, the term “symbole” also appeared in architecture culture in the nineteenth century through separate, albeit connected channels that had their roots in the eighteenth-century examination of pre-classical forms of worship. This chapter examines the trajectory of this inquiry, which initially developed from eighteenth-century antiquarianism, was introduced into the discourse on architecture by Jean-Louis Viel de Saint-Maux (1736- ?) and Jean-Antoine Coussin, and finally integrated into the official architectural pedagogy at the École des Beaux-Arts by Jean-Nicolas Huyot.

Symbolism and allegory were important objects of historical interpretation in the eighteenth century. Antiquarians, philologists and amateur scholars, many of them clergymen, approached the vast regalia of figures inscribed on temple walls, coins and tombstones with a growing sense that their decipherment would lead to a clearer understanding of human origins. This lively culture of historical inquiry was the basis for the *Lettres sur l'architecture des anciens et celles des modernes* of 1787.¹ Its author, Jean-Louis Viel de

¹ Jean-Louis Viel de Saint-Maux, *Lettres sur l'architecture des anciens, et celle des modernes, dans lesquelles se trouve développé le génie symbolique qui présida aux monumens de l'antiquité* (Paris: 1787).

Saint-Maux, was an architect, lawyer (*avocat au Parlement*) and painter.² Likely due to his more influential older brother, Charles-François Viel, Jean-Louis traveled in circles that included Étienne-Louis Boullée, Charles de Wailly and the young Antoine Vaudoyer.³ Member of the Académie de Marseille, member also of the freemason lodges La Minerve and Les Neufs Soeurs, and author of a curiously eclectic set of books including one proclaiming to hold an antidote to being cuckolded—Viel was a polemicist in the best tradition of the eighteenth century.⁴ No author was sacrosanct, no theory beyond criticism or reproach in the *Lettres*. Vitruvius, he attacked, for depending on “la stupidité perpétuelles des hommes,” and his ten books, for having halted the progress of the arts and of being useful only on “l’île de Robinson.”⁵ Villalpando and Philibert Delorme were ridiculed for their search for divine proportions—the first for basing columnar modulation on the body of Christ (he wryly describes the attempt as “un anachronisme”) and the second for extending proportional measurements “jusqu’aux cheminées des appartemens.” Alberti’s *Ten Books*, Viel

² Jean-Louis Viel de Saint-Maux has long been confused with the architect Charles-François Viel de Saint-Maux. The record was finally set straight by Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos in “Charles-François Viel, architecte de l’hôpital général et Jean-Louis Viel de Saint-Maux, architecte, peintre, et avocat au parlement de Paris,” *Bulletin de la société de l’histoire de l’art français* (1966): 257-69. Other noteworthy studies of Viel de Saint-Maux include: Jean-Rémi Mantion, “La Solution symbolique: les Lettres sur l’architecture de Viel de Saint-Maux,” *Urbi* 9 (1984): XLVI-LIX; Anthony Vidler, *Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1987); Daniela Galligani, “Allégorisme et symbolisme chez Court de Gébelin et Jean-Louis Viel de Saint-Maux,” in *Curiosità Letterarie. Sguardi Sulla Cultura Francese Tra Settecento E Novecento* (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2008): 91-108; Ramla Benaissa, “Erudite Laughter: The Persiflage of Viel de Saint-Maux,” in *Chora Five*, ed. Alberto Perez-Gomez and Stephen Parcell (Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007): 51-80.

³ Anthony Vidler, “The Idea of Type: The Transformation of the Academic Idea, 1750-1830,” *Oppositions* 8 (1977): 102. Viel de Saint-Maux’s influence likely shaped many of Vaudoyer’s project including his *Projet d’un temple à l’immortalité*. C.P. Landon notes the similarities between Viel de Saint-Maux’s writings and Vaudoyer’s architectural work in “A.T.L. Vaudoyer. Projet d’un temple à l’immortalité,” *Annales du musée et de l’école moderne des beaux-arts* (Paris: l’imprimerie de Migneret, 1802), 102-106.

⁴ Published anonymously but attributed to Jean-Louis Viel de Saint-Maux, *Antidote contre les cocus ou dissertation sur les cornes antiques et modernes, ouvrage philosophique dédié à MM. les savants, antiquaires, gens de lettres, poètes, avocats, censeurs . . .* (Paris, 1786).

⁵ Viel de Saint-Maux, *Lettres sur l’architecture*, première lettre, 14.

de Saint-Maux complained, carried a dizzying number of desultory thoughts and recommendations: “il enseigne à se saluer quand on se rencontre dans un corridor, cite le cas où l’on a besoin d’une chaise percée, calcule le nombre des chiens & des mouches qui pouvoient entrer au Palais” and concludes: “son Traité est plutôt une piece de Carnaval, qu’un livre d’Architecture.”⁶

While Viel de Saint-Maux did not mention the abbé Marc-Antoine Laugier by name, the *Lettres* pointedly challenged his theory of architecture, based as it was on the dual principles of imitation and necessity. Where Laugier had presented a *hypothetical* theory of the origins of architecture, and produced a practical allegory based on an elementary rustic hut to illustrate the main precepts, Viel de Saint-Maux returned to the fragmentary remains of primitive societies, discovered in archeological digs on the Mediterranean coast and supported his theories on the work of leading authorities on the subject: the Comte de Caylus, Bernard de Montfaucon, the abbé Pluche, Antoine Court de Gébelin, and Richard Pococke. In the place of the mimetic and shelter-based interpretations of the origins of architecture—and here Viel de Saint-Maux had in mind not only the Abbé Laugier, but the entire Vitruvian tradition—he proposed what Jean-Remi Manton has aptly called “une solution symbolique.”⁷ The earliest and most primitive architectonic elements, Viel de Saint-Maux argued, were not imitations of pre-existent forms, nor were they early experiments in the “art de bâtir;” they were, rather, the results of a process of mediation between a wholly captivating and immersive natural world and the human imagination. The “génie

⁶ “he teaches to salute when coming upon someone in a corridor, cites the situations when a perforated chair may be needed, calculates the number of dogs and flies that can enter a palace . . . his treatise is better read as a work for the carnival than as a book on architecture.” Viel de Saint-Maux, *Lettres sur l’architecture*, deuxième lettre, 23.

⁷ Manton, “La Solution symbolique,” xlv-lx.

symbolique” of the ancients lay in the capacity to erect forms that were a reflection, not of outer appearances, but of deeply held beliefs and superstitions.

The theogonic universe described by Viel de Saint-Maux was based on the worship of vital and fecund forces of the earth. Following the Abbé Pluche’s emphasis in the *Histoire du Ciel* of 1739 on the defining role of agriculture in primitive cultures, Viel de Saint-Maux brought this argument one step further, presenting agriculture as the sole origin of architecture:⁸ “Sa sublime origine, au grand étonnement de ceux qui se prétendent les plus habiles en ce genre, est l’Agriculture elle-même, & le culte qui en fut la suite; il en est le *Poëme parlant*.”⁹ The origin of architecture did not lie in the mimicry of natural models nor did it rest on the self-preservation instinct for shelter; rather, architecture arose as a votive response to the sustaining forces of nature out of which, Viel de Saint-Maux argued, entire religions and cosmologies emerged. The entire social order of primitive peoples described by Viel de Saint-Maux—their “culte” *and* their “culture”—was related to the desire to express the forces of vegetation. Pointing to contemporary examples of this worship, Viel argued that the strictly vegetarian diet and highly decorative dress of indigenous cultures in India, Africa,

⁸ For more on the abbé Noël Pluche and the interpretation of primitive agricultural monuments in the eighteenth-century see Xavier Costa, “Mercurial Markers: Interpretations of Architectural Monuments in Early Nineteenth Century France” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1990), 118-31.

⁹ “Its sublime origins, to the great astonishment of those that claim to be most knowledgable in this field, is agriculture itself, and the religion out of which it emerged; it [architecture] is the spoken poem.” Viel de Saint-Maux, *Lettres sur l’architecture*, première lettre, 16.

Asia and Persia revealed their indebtedness to the forces of the natural world and were the last vestiges of the worship of this lost “premier monde.”¹⁰ Viel de Saint-Maux explained:

L'Agriculture est en si grande vénération parmi eux, qu'ils se peignent les jambes & les bras en forme de feuillages, ils ornent les environs de leurs temples de sapins & de bambous, comme étant toujours verts; les Poètes chantent ces ombrages. Ils sèment au devant de leur habitation des plantes vivaces sur des pierres poreuses pour exprimer la force de la végétation; ils reçoivent dans leurs demeures paisibles, comme une marque de félicité, les branchage qui atteignent à leurs fenêtres, ils en louent le bienfaiteur. Culte & culture ne sont pour eux qu'une même chose. Jugez, Monsieur, si les monumens d'Architecture, parmi ces Peuples, doivent être symboliques, & s'ils doivent exprimer l'Agriculture.¹¹

The primitive celebration of nature was performed in a variety of ways. At times it involved direct mimicry such as tattooing tribesmen's arms with foliage, and other times it was more

¹⁰ “Oui, Monsieur, en Afrique, en Arabie, en Perse, & dans les Grandes Indes, on voit des Peuples, & même des Empires, encore agricole, & qui vivent comme les premiers habitans de la terre. . . . Leur régime diététique n'est composé que de végétaux, afin de maintenir leurs faculté mémoratives, ainsi que la force de leurs constitutions politiques et religieuses: ils se gardent d'y faire des innovations; ils possèdent les connoissances du premier monde.” “Yes, sir, in Africa, in Arabia, in Persia, and in the Great Indies we see the peoples and even the empires are still agricultural and living like the first inhabitants of the earth. . . . Their diet is composed solely of vegetables in order to maintain their faculties of memory and the strength of their political and religious constitution: they are wary of innovations; they possess the knowledge of the primal world.” Viel de Saint-Maux, *Lettres sur l'architecture*, troisième lettre, p. 5

¹¹ “Agriculture is of such great veneration among them that they paint their arms and legs in the form of leafage; they adorn their temples with pines and bamboos so as to keep them always green; the Poets sing their praises. They sow in front of their dwellings lively plants on porous stones in order to express the strength of vegetation; like a sign of joyfulness, they receive in their peaceful homes the branches that reach to their windows; they praise the creator. Cult and culture are for them but the same thing. Judge, sir, if these monuments of architecture among these peoples are not symbolic, and do not express agriculture.” Viel de Saint-Maux, *Lettres sur l'architecture*, troisième lettre, 6. These words and the countless others in the third *lettre* that draw a direct connection between the natural world and primitive culture, were a politically expedient strategy to gain the favour of its recipient, the renown French naturalist, the Comte de Buffon (1707-1788). According to Pérouse de Montclos, Viel de Saint-Maux was likely the architect of the “Monument consacré à l'Histoire Naturelle,” built in 1776 and dedicated to Buffon. It is tempting, therefore, to see Viel's appeal to Buffon as an early example of what would prove to be a long kinship between architecture and the natural sciences, one that would hit its high mark in the mid-nineteenth century.

notional and reflective, taking the form of poetry and song. What was important for Viel de Saint-Maux was that the commemoration of nature was symbolic and expressive of its forces and not mimetic of its forms.

Following his reading of the symbolic logic and mindset of primitive culture, Viel de Saint-Maux recast the origins of architecture as beginning with simple raised or erect stones (“*pierre élevées*”) that, he argued, were the earliest architectonic monuments. The argument against the prevailing narratives of architectural origins had never been so direct, and Viel de Saint-Maux acknowledged that his explanation might indeed be “bien dangereuse pour les modernes.” Despite the great range of functions these stones fulfilled (some were sign-posts inscribed with public rules and instructions; others, markers indicating property rights; while others still, altars for primitive rites) all were worshipped as deified representations of the living forces giving rise to agriculture: the earth, the sun, the moon etc., they were “des poèmes élevés à la fécondance” as Viel called them.¹²

Viel’s attention to raised stones, like so many of his insights in the *Lettres*, was part of a larger renewal of interest in pre-historical artifacts in Europe. Recently rediscovered, Druidic stones and primitive lithic monuments indigenous to England and France began to gain the attention of scholars and antiquarians by the end of the eighteenth century. These forms were not traditionally seen as holding lessons for architects, let alone the rest of the informed public. Inigo Jones’ (1573-1652) study of Stonehenge for King James I epitomized the pre-eighteenth-century perspective. He concluded that the circular grouping of stones were the work of Romans celebrating the cult of the sky god Coelus and not of ancient

¹² “Poems raised to fecundity.” Viel de Saint-Maux, *Lettres sur l’architecture*, quatrième lettre, 11.

Britons as had been popularly held.¹³ The monument was but an eroded and deteriorated version of the Tuscan order, Jones maintained. Viennese Baroque architect Joseph Emanuel Fischer Von Erlach (1693-1742) initiated the reassessment of primitive monuments with the inclusion of Stonehenge in his book of 1721, *Entwurf Einer Historischen Architektur*, the first book to order architectural monuments thematically along historical and trans-national lines. Forty years later in France, the Comte de Caylus drew attention to raised stones although he supplied very little conclusive opinion on their origin, erection or purpose. “On admire, mais on ignore,” he wrote in the fourth volume of *Recueil d’antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines, et gauloises*, and elsewhere tepidly suggested that they may have been erected to memorialize great men.¹⁴

As a counterpart to the rediscovery of Druidic monuments, antiquarians such as the Baron d’Hancarville in France were shedding light on the presence of raised stones and early lithic monuments across the ancient Indo-European world. While d’Hancarville’s *Recherches sur l’origine, l’esprit et les progrès des arts de la Grèce*, published in 1785, focused mainly on ancient motifs and inscriptions, the book opened with some very important observations on

¹³ Jones’ notes were assembled and published posthumously under the title: Inigo Jones, *The Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain, Vulgarly called Stone-Heng on Salisbury Plain* (London, 1655).

¹⁴ “leur objet n’est pas plus facile à déterminer que leur date; mais je dirai que le peuple qui a élevé ces édifices, étoit animé d’un désir d’immortaliser sa mémoire, comparable à celui des Egyptiens; qu’il avoit réfléchi sur les moyens de durée, en évitant l’assemblage des matériaux pour la bâtisse. Quoi qu’il en soit, l’amas raisonné de ces pierres énormes, présentera aussi long-tems que les pyramides, une preuve de la grandeur des idées et des moyens d’exécution. L’un et l’autre de ces véritables monumens élèvent l’esprit; mais ne peuvent satisfaire aucune curiosité: on admire, mais on ignore.” “their purpose is no easier to determine than their date; but I would say that the civilization that raised these edifices were animated by a desire to immortalize their memory comparable to that of the Egyptians, who had reflected on the means for durability by avoiding assembling diverse materials in their buildings. Whatever might be the case, the rational piling of these enormous stones, will present as long as the pyramids the evidence of the greatness of the intentions and of the means of execution. Both these monuments lift the soul but are unable to satiate our curiosity: we admire them but we also remain unknowing.” Anne Claude de Tubières-Grimoard de Pestels Leveux de Lévis, comte de Caylus, *Recueil d’antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises*, t. 4 (Paris: N.M. Tilliard, libraire, 1761), 372.

the phenomena of raised stones. D'Hancarville noted that raised stones and lithic monuments were often of immense proportion, their size being closely related to the greatness of the divinity that was represented. Conical, pyramidal or *obéliscales* in form, their existence, he maintained, was nearly universal in primitive cultures throughout the globe. Basing his argument on an abundance of ancient coins with depictions of raised stones, d'Hancarville maintained that there was a direct genealogical connection to be drawn between the emergence of these stones as stand-ins and idols for divinities and the erection of larger sanctuaries and temples that would populate the Greek landscape centuries later. These primitive forms were “les principes ou les germes” that put in motion the “marche lente des formes” eventually leading to more substantial and perfected buildings and statues.¹⁵

Viel de Saint-Maux transformed d'Hancarville's claim that the raised stone anticipated the temple into a veritable assault on the Vitruvian tradition. Unlike Laugier's tree-formed hut, these stones were not just elements to be assembled into buildings, they were the buildings themselves: raised stones were the first complete temples. Over the centuries, these stones were slowly refined to become isolated votive columns in the round and eventually combined to form entire buildings, every element of which would be symbolic of a unique deity or natural force. Where Laugier advanced a little rustic hut as the first rational model for architecture, Viel de Saint-Maux proposed a “Panthéon rustique” of lithic forms, an overtly cultic and mysterious configuration of elements based on the sacred beliefs and rituals of the first peoples. He explained:

¹⁵ D'Hancarville reminds us that the ancients, despite the steady refinement of their monument building, always revered the older and more crude stones, preferring to depict them on their coinage even when finer monuments were more readily available. Pierre-Franç-Hugues d'Hancarville, *Recherches sur l'origine, l'esprit et les progrès des arts de la Grèce; sur leur connexion avec les arts et la religion des plus anciens peuples connus; sur les monumens antiques de l'Inde, de la Perse, du reste de l'Asie, de l'Europe et de l'Égypte*, tome 1 (London: B. Applayard, 1785), ix.

ce sont enfin ces même pierres, taillées en colonnes mystérieuses, si vantées dans l'antiquité, qui, par la suite, servirent comme de support, & suggèrent l'idée des Temples d'une nouvelle structure . . . la colonne n'eut jamais d'autre origine que les simulacres ou types agricoles.¹⁶

For Viel de Saint-Maux, the raised stones—and not the tree, or the human body—were the first columns, and they were columns not due to their structural or constructive logic but rather because they brought all knowledge together into one unified and monumental form. As he explained, soon after their appearance, stones began to be carved and covered with hieroglyphic markings and abstract signs, essentially transforming them into the first mediums for language and painting. As complete cultural forms, these stones provided a physical forum for signs, painted allegories, emblems, and inscriptions of all types; they were the cultural pillars of early agricultural societies, bringing together the common ideals and knowledge (“réunir toutes les connaissances”) of a people. And it was through these monuments that primitive peoples first established themselves self-consciously and historically as civilizations; with these monuments, Viel tells us, “les anciens s’introduisoient

¹⁶ “these same stones, hewn into mysterious columns so coveted during antiquity, that, as a result, served as supports, and suggested the idea of temples with a new structure . . . the column never had any other origins but the simulacra or agricultural types.” Viel de Saint-Maux, *Lettres sur l'architecture*, deuxième lettre, 10-11.

comme dans un livre.”¹⁷ In short, if these stones were the first buildings, they were also the first books.¹⁸

Comparisons between architecture and the book abound in Viel de Saint-Maux’s letters. Describing architecture alternately as “un livre pierreux,” and as “un poëme parlant,” Viel de Saint-Maux’s characterization of architecture as a civilization’s prime communicative organ anticipates the rhetoric by which the architects of the eighteenth twenties and thirties, many of whom inspired by Saint-Simonian doctrine, would describe their encounters with

¹⁷ “Sa sublime origine, au grand étonnement de ceux qui se prétendent les plus habiles en ce genre, est l’Agriculture elle-même, & le culte qui en fut la suite; il en est le Poëme parlant : c’est dans son ensemble que les anciens s’introduisoient comme dans un livre, non seulement de la théogonie primitive, mais encore des combinaisons de leur cosmogonie; en un mot, c’est dans son complément que venoient se réunir toutes les connoissances, & qu’elle se peignoient par des allégories ingénieuses, & des emblèmes auxquels on ne pouvoit se méprendre; ce n’étoient pas simplement une base ou un chapiteau de tant de modules, qu’ils appercevoient dans cette espèce de Monument, mais autant d’objets relatifs au génie Agricole, dont la colonne démontroit à leurs yeux, l’intéressante origine.” “Its sublime origins, to the great astonishment of those that claim to be most knowledgable in this field, is agriculture itself, and the religion out of which it emerged; it [architecture] is the spoken poem: through it the ancients introduced themselves as though in a book, not only their primitive theogony, but also the combinations of their theogony; in one word, it is within its [architecture’s] purview that all knowledge became reunited and that ingenious allegories became illustrated, and emblems which are impossible to misunderstand; it was not simply a base or a capital with so many modules that they perceived in this type of Monument, but as many objects relating to the genius of Agriculture, in which the column demonstrated to their eyes, the interesting origin.” Viel de Saint-Maux, *Lettres sur l’architecture*, première lettre, 16.

¹⁸ Pluche makes a similar point: “Dans ces temps reculés on n’avait que le secours des pierres et du marbre pour instruire les hommes. Tous ce que servoit à éclairer la Nation, étoit gravé sur des monuments de cette espèce, et exposé aux yeux du public pour l’avantage de tous . . . les temples sont le vrai point de réunion. . . . C’est là qu’on les instruisait de tout ce qui avait rapport aux divers jours de l’année, de son commencement, de sa fin, des nouvelles lunes, des mois et des saisons, des jours de travail et des jours de repos, du lever et du coucher des étoiles directrices des travaux.” “In these ancient times one had but the help of stones and marble in order to instruct men. All that served to enlighten the Nation, was engraved on monuments of this sort, and presented to the eyes of the public for the benefit of all . . . temples are the true juncture for unification. . . . There they were schooled about the year’s many days, its beginning, its end, the new moons, the months and seasons, the days of work and the days of rest, the rising and the setting of stars guiding our duties.” Noël Antoine Pluche, *Histoire du ciel, ou l’on recherche l’origine de l’idolatrie, et les méprises de la philosophie, sur la formation, & sur les influences des corps célestes* (La Haye: Jean Neaulme, 1742).

the ancient architecture of Italy and Greece.¹⁹ But more than this, Viel de Saint-Maux's comparison between books and buildings was undoubtedly a precedent for what is perhaps the most famous nineteenth-century piece of architectural polemics in France: the chapter in Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1831) titled "Ceci tuera cela."

Hugo argued his claim that "the book will kill the edifice" from a number of angles. There is the explanation concerning the future of religion: the impending democratization promised by the printed word would forever defeat religious worship and faith ("la presse tuera l'église"). There is the argument which today is all too familiar, that new technologies make old ones redundant: the new technology of printing would vanquish the old technology of building ("printing will kill architecture"). A more interesting corollary to this thought was Hugo's insight that: "la pensée humaine en changeant de forme allait changer de mode d'expression."²⁰ A belief that would become something of a battle cry for the young Romantic architects challenging the Académie des Beaux-Arts in the eighteen twenties and thirties. But the argument given the fullest deliberation was historical in nature and dealt directly with the emergence of architectonic form from primitive lithic monuments. Hugo wrote:

Les premiers monuments furent de simples quartiers de roche *que le fer n'avait pas touchés*, dit Moïse. L'architecture commença comme toute écriture. Elle fut d'abord alphabet. On plantait une pierre debout, et c'était une lettre, et chaque lettre était un hiéroglyphe, et sur chaque hiéroglyphe reposait un groupe d'idées comme le chapiteau

¹⁹ Described as the "Montesquieu of architecture," Viel de Saint-Maux's architectural theory was perhaps the first to launch an attack on the placeless and characterless nature of neoclassical architecture. Several excerpts from the *Lettres* sound rather similar to Émile Barrault's famous denunciation: "Otez de quelques unes des églises modernes la croix qui la surmonte, vous en ferez indifféremment un palais, une salle de spectacle, ou une bourse." "detach the crosses from certain modern churches and you would produce, without differentiation, a palace, a theater, or a stock market." Émile Barrault, *Aux artistes. Du passé et de l'avenir des beaux-arts. Doctrine de Saint-Simon* (Paris: Alexandre Mesnier, 1830), 19.

²⁰ Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, 208.

sur la colonne. Ainsi firent les premières races, partout, au même moment, sur la surface du monde entier. On retrouve la *pierre levée* des celtes dans la Sibérie d'Asie, dans les pampas d'Amérique. Plus tard on fit des mots. On superposa la pierre à la pierre, on accoupla ces syllabes de granit, le verbe essaya quelques combinaisons. Le dolmen et le cromlech celtes, le tumulus étrusque, le galgal hébreu, sont des mots. Quelque-uns, le tumulus surtout, sont des noms propres. Quelques fois même, quand on avait beaucoup de pierre et une vaste plage, on écrivait une phrase. L'immense entassement de Karnac est déjà une formule tout entière.

Enfin on fit des livres. Les traditions avaient enfanté des symboles, sous lesquelles elles disparaissaient comme le tronc de l'arbre sous son feuillage; tous ces symboles, auxquelles l'humanité avaient foi, allaient croissant, se multipliant, se croisant, se compliquant de plus en plus; les premiers monuments ne suffisaient plus à les contenir; ils en étaient débordés de toutes parts; à peine ces monuments exprimaient-ils encore la tradition primitive, comme eux simple, nue et gisante sur le sol. Le symbole avait besoin de s'épanouir dans l'édifice.²¹

Thus architecture became the true bearer of symbolic form taking the place of primitive lithic monuments. And, in Hugo's narrative, it would remain so for thousands of years until the fateful invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century, the impact of which is already present in the plot of *Notre-Dame de Paris*. Discouraged by the weakness of the popular

²¹ "The first monuments were simple pieces of stone *that no piece of iron had touched*, said Moses. Architecture began like all writing. It began first as an alphabet. A stone was planted upright, and it was a letter, and each letter was a hieroglyph, and on each hieroglyph rested a set of ideas like a capital on a column. The first races did this everywhere, and at the same time, across the surface of the entire world. We can come across the *raised stone* of the Celts in Asiatic Siberia, in the Pampas of America. Later, they formed words. By superimposing stone on stone, syllables of granite were joined up, the verb provided for multiple combinations. The dolmen and the Celtic cromlech, the Etruscan tumulus, the Hebrew galgal, are words. Some, especially the tumulus, are proper nouns. At times, when stone was in abundance and the terrain was vast, they wrote a phrase. The immense stockpile of Karnac is already an entire formulation. Finally, they made books. Traditions had given birth to symbols, under which these traditions disappeared like the trunk of a tree under its leafage; all of these symbols, to which humanity were devoted, mounted up, multiplied, melded together, became increasingly complex such that the first monuments no longer could contain them; they overflowed from all sides; these monuments were barely able to express the original tradition in its simplicity, naked and sprawled on the ground. The symbol needed to open and unfold in the building." Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, 208-209.

symbolic imagination, the anti-hero of Hugo's novel, the archdeacon Frolo, regards his mission as repairing the historical forgetfulness of ancient symbolic wisdom.

If the alphabet predated architecture for Hugo (he suggests that, from the very beginning, primitive lithic monuments were seen through the lens of writing), for Viel de Saint-Maux it was the other way around: primitive stones emerged first, only to become placeholders for words and symbols later. The debate on the primacy of word or monument was a lively one in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and if antiquarians and archeologists focused their energies on first monuments, a comparable amount of philologists and modern day prophets such as Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin and Pierre Simon Ballanche looked at poetry for clues to original wisdom.²² But what is clear is that for Hugo and Viel de Saint-Maux the printed word and the monument co-existed harmoniously (Mosaic tablets recur as a powerful image in the work of both these authors) until the invention of the printing press.

Hugo's suggestion here comes very close to Viel de Saint-Maux argument in the *Lettres*:

Cependant quelques personnes, avant de connoître ces preuves, prétendoient qu'en suivant nos assertions, on pourroit dire dans deux mille ans, que nos ouvrages & nos constructions étoient pour nous Symboliques. Leur imagination n'a pû se prêter à cette juste réflexion, que l'antiquité n'a pû penser ni agir à la moderne, & que depuis

²² As Neil McWilliams explains, "thinkers such as [Louis-Claude de] Saint-Martin and [Pierre Simon] Ballanche traced the poet's genealogy back to primitive religion and to the foundation of human society around the Orphic bard, whose inspired utterance drew on a language of pure presence, uncorrupted by the contingency of meaning which succeeded the Fall." McWilliam, *Dreams of Happiness*, 24.

l'invention de l'Imprimerie, il est impossible de se méprendre entre le Symbolique & le littéral.²³

Viel de Saint-Maux and Hugo located the origins of architecture's demise with the invention of the printing press. What's more, they both interpreted the demise as a crisis of communication: the ubiquity of the printed word had, over the three centuries since Johannes Gutenberg, weakened the symbolic and visual imagination that characterized ancient wisdom. Hugo greeted the new paradigm ushered in by the printed word with more ambivalence than generally recognized. While he welcomed the possibilities of mass dissemination afforded by printing, he lamented the disappearance of powerful and enigmatic symbolic imagery. Hugo's poetry, after all, was particularly innovative in its use of vivid imagery (*la poésie pour les yeux*, as one critic called it),²⁴ a dimension that led French philosopher and political economist Pierre Leroux to champion it as a new "style symbolique."²⁵ With this in mind, it is perhaps worth considering that if the printed word

²³ "Therefore certain persons, before understanding the evidence, contended that by following our assertions, one could argue in two millennia, that our works and our buildings were symbolic for us. Their imaginations have not lent themselves to proper reflection; antiquity never thought nor acted in a modern way, and since the invention of the printing press, it has become impossible to mistaken the symbolic for the literal." Viel de Saint-Maux, *Lettres sur l'architecture*, introduction, ix.

²⁴ Brian Juden, *Traditions orphiques et tendances mystiques dans le Romantisme français (1800-1855)*(Paris: Klincksieck, 1971), 320.

²⁵ According to Pierre Leroux, Hugo's true innovation as poet was based on his use of vivid imagery. Writing about *Les Deux Îles*, Hugo's poem describing Napoleon's exile, Leroux explained: "le poète ne développe pas l'idée de la grandeur de Napoléon, mais il passe tout de suite à l'image; il n'y a même pas de comparaison, le mot d'aigle n'est seulement pas prononcé; et cependant rien n'est plus clair que cette pensée en images. Voilà le symbole." "the poet doesn't develop the idea of the greatness of Napoleon, but rather he passes directly to the image; he doesn't even use comparisons, the word eagle is not even uttered; and yet nothing is more clear than this thought-image. This is the symbol." Pierre Leroux, "Du Style symbolique" *Le Globe*, (April 8, 1829). Reprinted in T.R. Davies, *French Romanticism and the Press. The Globe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906), 134-138.

did indeed kill architecture as Hugo claimed, it may have done so by co-opting, rather than eradicating, its propensity for visual and symbolic imagery.²⁶

Viel de Saint-Maux's *Lettres*, on the other hand, stated that for architecture to move beyond its present impasse, architects needed to regain the capacity for symbolic thinking. Viel's aim was not scholarly erudition, but a theory that he claimed would directly affect the modern architect by revealing the two millennia long obfuscation of the architecture's cultic secrets. What had been called "symbolique" by the ancients, Viel explained, later writers had disparagingly termed *fable*.²⁷ Architectonic elements, ornament and decorative motifs were not "arbitraire" and "des objets de caprices," but rather evocative signs that demanded decipherment. The crisis of modernity for Viel de Saint-Maux was very much a crisis of the symbol. The reader therefore needed to regain the capacity to read visual imagery, to unlock the hidden meanings of original wisdom if one had any chance of reviving the work of the moderns.

"Les monolithes"

The symbolic exegesis of architectural origins that emerged in the late eighteenth century made a significant mark on succeeding generations and provided young architects in the eighteen twenties and thirties an argument against the academic orthodoxy of the governing architectural institutions. In this direction, the autodidact architect and *Prix de Rome* recipient (1797) Jean-Antoine Coussin was one of the first to popularize the antiquarian

²⁶ It is worth noting that Quatremère despised the Romantic "mixture of genre d'art" that Hugo's poetry exemplified. See: Quatremère de Quincy, *De l'Imitation*, 81.

²⁷ "Tous ce qui a été donné par eux [the ancients] de symbolique, a été nommé [by the moderns] fables." "All that has been produced by the ancients as symbolic, has been re-interpreted by the moderns as fable." Viel de Saint-Maux, *Lettres sur l'architecture*, deuxième lettre, 4.

interpretation of the origins of architecture in his book *Du génie de l'architecture* of 1822.²⁸

Opening the book are two illustrations describing the origins of architecture. [figures 1.2.1 and 1.2.2] The first, titled “Premiers débuts du génie en général vu par un besoin purement matériel et selon les situations présumées des premières peuplades” depicts three separate primitive and archetypal buildings: the cave, the hut and the tent. Each building is coupled with an animal habitat: the ant’s burrowed tunnels matched with the cave, the beaver’s dam with the hut, and the bird’s nest with the tent. As Coussin explained, these modest habitations were the result of simple material needs and tended towards isolated and utilitarian goals. Their resemblance to Quatremère de Quincy’s more famous original types was of course unmistakable.

The second illustration, Coussin explained, was of a totally different nature and origin, one that coincided with humanity’s first moral and spiritual ruminations. Titled “Le génie de l’architecture a l’utilité morale,” the image pictures a street lined with ancient monuments receding into a distant mountain range on which sits a circular cluster of raised cultic stones. From this first lithic monument (and perhaps one can read the great mountain on which the raised stones are nestled as the most primordial of monuments here) emerges a long succession of historically related forms: pyramids, herms, upright columns, an Egyptian obelisk, a triumphal arch, choragic monuments and Roman and Greek temples. In the list of influential authors, Coussin cited Viel de Saint-Meaux [*sic*] and his *Lettres sur l’origine de*

²⁸ Jean Antoine Coussin, *Du génie de l'architecture. Ouvrage ayant pour but de rendre cet art accessible au sentiment commun, en le rappelant à son origine, à ses propriétés, à son génie; et contenant une doctrine générale puisée dans des faits, dans d'innombrables exemples, les uns sont simplement décrits, les autres sont expliqués plus particulièrement, et représentés dans 60 tableaux dessinés et gravés avec soin* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1822).

Coussin’s many comparisons between books and buildings has led at least one writer, Marc Saboya, to argue that Victor Hugo received his key themes for *Ceci tuera cela* from Coussin. See: Marc Saboya, “Du symbolisme dans l’architecture,” in *Massoneria e Architettura: Convegno di Firenze 1988*, ed. Carlo Cresti (Foggia: Bastogi, 1989), 231-42. On Coussin and the publication of *Du Génie*, see: Jean-Philippe Garric, “Du génie de l’architecture de Jean-Antoine Coussin (1822),” in *Recueils d’Italie. Les modèles italiens dans les livres d’architecture français* (Sprimont, Belgium: Mardaga, 2004), 190-92.

l'architecture [sic]. Coussin adopted the same oppositional thinking as Viel de Saint-Maux, pitting as it were, the spiritual, ineffable and symbolic against the tangible, constructive and material. Simple raised stones were not only the first buildings, but they gave birth to a new genealogy in architecture that was symbolic and spiritual in nature and qualitatively different from the materialist and utilitarian lineage. Coussin explained that architecture began with:

des idées de cosmogonie, comme la pierre du serment, la pierre votive ou de sacrifice, les dieux ronds des anciens; (ces premiers prismes chargés d'exprimer symboliquement l'unité, l'immutabilité, l'incompréhensibilité de la nature, la divinité même), et dans tant d'autres signes, formant entre eux, des corps de temples pour instruire, de la statistique, de l'astronomie, de l'agriculture, des arts et des sciences en général.²⁹

Another illustration depicting raised stones as part of a larger family of monuments that included pyramids, obelisks and triumphal columns was published by Académie Celtique member Jacques Cambry in his *Monuments celtiques ou recherches sur le culte des pierres* of 1805. [figure 1.2.3] Coussin's illustration, however, was the first example of this alternate historical progression entering the mainstream architectural historiography in France.³⁰

These ideas about lithic monuments and architectural origins percolated to the École des Beaux-Arts in large part through the teachings of a highly significant, if understudied, figure in early nineteenth-century French architectural culture, Jean-Nicolas Huyot. Huyot

²⁹ “from cosmogonic ideas, like stone from the sermon, the votive stone or from sacrifice, the rounded gods of the ancients (these first prisms charges with symbolically expressing unity, immutability, incomprehension on of nature, divinity itself), and in so many other symbols, forming among themselves temples for instruction, statistics, astronomy, agriculture, arts and sciences.” Coussin, *Du génie de l'architecture*, 4.

³⁰ Jacques Cambry, *Monuments Celtiques ou recherches sur le culte des pierres* (Paris: Johanneau, 1805). For a brilliant analysis of the Académie Celtique with special attention on François Dulaure, See Christina Contandriopoulos, “Retour au monolithique: Jacques-Antoine Dulaure (1755-1835) et la territorialisation de l'architecture primitive” (PhD diss., McGill University, 2010).

studied painting under the great neoclassical painter Jacques-Louis David, trained at l'École Royale Gratuite de Dessin in Paris and finally at the École des Beaux-Arts where he entered the *atelier* of Antoine-François Peyre.³¹ Huyot obtained the *premier grand prix* for a project titled “Un palais pour l'éducation des princes” and completed an ambitious final-year *envoi* restoration of the temple of Fortuna in ancient Praeneste.³² Huyot's project was the first such *Grand Prix* work to engage in extensive archeological work at an urban scale, for ancient

³¹ On Huyot's life and career, see: Paul Dufournet, “Jean-Nicolas Huyot, 1780-1840, ou la carrière exemplaire d'un architecte et archéologue,” in *Les archéologues et l'archéologie* (Tours, Centre de recherches A. Piganiol, 1993), 48-69; Katherine Fischer Taylor, “The Palais de Justice of Paris: Modernization, Historical Self-Consciousness, and their Prehistory in French Institutional Architecture (1835-1869)” (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 1989), ch. 6. Désiré-Raoul Rochette provides a useful biography of Huyot's life and works: “Funérailles de M. Huyot” (Paris, Didot, 1840). See also: Charles Lenormant, “Huyot,” *Bibliographie universelle ancienne et moderne* 20 (1858), 231-233; Adolphe Lance, “Notice sur Huyot,” *Annuaire de l'architecte*, 1 (1864), 89-110.

³² “Un palais pour l'éducation des princes” of 1807, Huyot's *deuxième grand prix* project of 1805 for “un établissement pour six familles” on a very difficult rectangular site, and a *prix d'émulation* project for a “pavillon de bains” of 1807 were published in Louis-Pierre Baltard and A.L.T. Vaudoyer, *Grands prix d'architecture: projets couronnés par l'Académie royale des beaux arts de France* (Paris: published privately, 1818), pl. 31-34; 60; 67-69.

Praeneste was buried deep under modern day Palestrina.³³ The *envoi* announced themes that would be central to Huyot's work over the next three decades of his life.³⁴

After returning to Paris from Rome, Huyot's interest in archeology led him four years later to take a trip to the orient that would define his career. Between 1817 and 1822, Huyot travelled through Asia-Minor, Egypt, Greece and Italy, witnessing cultures, landscapes and monuments that few École des Beaux-Arts trained architects had seen.³⁵ His notebooks of travels contain a wealth of observations on everything from recipes for the local pigments

³³ Pierre Pinon tells us that Désiré-Raoul Rochette, future Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts (replacing Quatremère de Quincy in 1838) suggested to Huyot that he study Praeneste. See Pierre Pinon and François Xavier Amprimoz, *Les Envois De Rome (1778-1968)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1988), 79. The best description of Huyot's study of Praeneste can be found in a translation of a report by Jean-François Heurtier, Charles Percier and Léon Dufourny, "Report Made by Messrs. Heurtier, Percier, and Dufourny, to the Class of Fine Arts of the French Institute, of the Labours of the French Architects at Rome During the Years 1812 and 1813," *The Philosophical Magazine and Journal* 47 (1816): 187-203. On Huyot's *envoi*, see also: David Van Zanten, "The Harmony of Landscape, Architecture and Community: Schinkel's Encounter with Huyot, 1826," *Karl Friedrich Schinkel, 1781-1841: The Drama of Architecture*, ed. J. Zukowsky (Tübingen, Germany: Wasmuth, 1994), 84-96. Huyot's drawings (6 in all) and notes for Praeneste are at the Service de Collections of the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts de Paris.

³⁴ Charles Lenormant saw Huyot as the first in a long line of French architects to bring the knowledge of archeologists and antiquarians to the profession. "L'histoire de l'architecture forme une branche particulière de l'archéologie, cultivée avec succès dans ce siècle. Des artistes habiles ont reconnu l'avantage qu'il y avait à joindre l'expérience de l'antiquaire aux connaissances indispensables à leur profession; en tête de ces artistes, il faut placer les Cockerell, les Stieglitz, les Donaldson, les Semper, les Hittorff; n'oublions pas non plus les beaux travaux des pensionnaires de l'Académie de France à Rome, entre lesquels on doit citer ceux des Huyot, des Duban, des deux frères Labrouste." "The history of architecture is a specific branch of archeology, developed with success over the centuries. Able architects have recognized the advantage of joining the antiquarian indispensable knowledge acquired through experience to the profession. At the forefront one must mention Cockerell, Stieglitz, Donaldson, Semper, Hittorff; let us not forget the beautiful work of students at the Académie de France à Rome, among them we must cite Huyot, Duban and the Labrouste brothers." Charles Lenormant, "Archéologie, son objet et ses conditions," *Beaux-Arts et voyages* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1861): 454.

³⁵ The best source on Huyot's trip to the Orient is Pierre Pinon's "L'Orient de Jean-Nicolas Huyot: le voyage en Asie-Mineure, en Egypte et en Grèce (1817-1821)," *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 73-74 (1994): 35-55.

used for his own lively watercolors, to detailed descriptions of local dress and customs.³⁶ Even before his return to Paris, Huyot was appointed to the newly created professorship in the history of architecture at the École in 1819 after having narrowly lost the competition for professor of theory to Louis-Pierre Baltard a year earlier.³⁷ Huyot would remain abroad for another three years before starting to teach at the start of the school year in the fall of 1822. Many of the notes from Huyot's courses are still in existence, although there is some ambiguity as to their correct dating. But it would seem from references made in the text that the first set of course notes date back to the inaugural year of his teaching.³⁸

It is clear from the course notes was that Huyot's prime interest lay in retracing western civilization back to its furthest roots in the orient. "Un voile impénétrable semble cacher l'enfance de la race humaine," he stated in the opening remarks.³⁹ Only through a kind of speculative reasoning could one hope to glimpse at the distant "lueur de vérité" of that far removed past. Evoking the catastrophist theories of Cuvier as detailed in the preliminary discourse of *Recherches sur les ossements fossiles de quadrupèdes* of 1812, Huyot believed that contemporary civilization emerged from a singular place in the desert of the orient, what he

³⁶ Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, NAF 5080-5081, Albums des voyages de J.-N. HUYOT à Smyrne et en Asie mineure, à Constantinople, en Égypte et en Grèce. (1817-1821). Papier. 377 et 28 feuillets. Montés grand in-folio. Demi-reliure. A microfiche reproduction of the album was viewed by the author.

³⁷ Huyot's appointment was a result of the help of his supporter Quatremère de Quincy. See: Pierre Pinon, "L'orient de Jean-Nicolas Huyot," 43-44.

³⁸ Huyot's course notes are housed at the Institut National d'Histoire de L'Art in the Fond Doucet (MS15). They are separated into four boxes each containing the notes for a year long course. There are many notes in the margins and inserted on separate pieces of paper throughout the notes which suggests that they were used for more than a single year's lecture. The first box contains notes that in part derive from the original 1822 lecture. The second box contains notes from the lectures in 1830. The last two box seem to have been written sometime between 1831 and 1840, the year of Huyot's death.

³⁹ "un voile impénétrable semble cacher l'enfance de la race humaine et ce n'est qu'à l'aide de rapprochement et de conjectures, qu'on peut espérer d'entrevoir quelques lueurs de vérité." "An impenetrable veil seems to conceal the infancy of the human race and it is only through conjecture and similarities that we may hope to glimpse at some fragmentary truths." t. 1, 7.

called, “la patrie primitive des hommes.”⁴⁰ Despite the dispersal and migration of these original peoples, and their subsequent adaptation to new geographies and environments, Huyot argued that one could still see traces of the common origin in the language, institutions and most of all in the architecture of modern peoples across the globe.⁴¹ But the *differences* between civilizations that emerged after the great dispersal were more important for Huyot, whose approach and method regarding history can be seen as challenging the ruling assumptions at the École. In spite of the key role played by Quatremère de Quincy in securing Huyot the professorship at the École, he took aim at Quatremère de Quincy’s well known account of the origins of architecture. Architecture, Huyot explained, was not the result of a universal human instinct for shelter, for otherwise it would be invariable like the swallow’s nest or the beaver’s hut.⁴² Rather, architecture had the “obligation” to adapt to the site, to the climate and the available materials and to be shaped by the laws, the religion, and

⁴⁰ “Mais ce qui a toujours occupé et qui occupera encore longtemps le philosophe, c’est de savoir quelle est la patrie primitive des hommes, des plantes, des animaux.” “But what has always preoccupied and will always preoccupy the philosopher, is the knowledge that is the primitive homeland of men, plants and animals.” Jean-Nicolas Huyot, *Cours d’histoire de l’architecture*, t. 1, 22. The “Preliminary Discourse” was reworked and expanded by Cuvier as a stand-alone book: Georges Cuvier, *Discours sur les révolutions de la surface du globe et sur le changement qu’elles ont produits dans le règne animal* (Paris: G. Dufour et Ed. d’Ocagne, 1825).

⁴¹ Huyot referred to this common relationship between cultures as “la chaîne par laquelle toutes les connaissances humaines se trouvent liées entre elles.” *Cours d’histoire de l’architecture*, t. 1, 35.

⁴² “Si nous considérons l’architecture seulement comme le résultat d’un instinct qui porte les hommes à se construire une retraite, il est facile de se figurer que l’habitation devraient être semblable dans tous les pays, et n’avoir pas plus de variété que le nid de l’hirondelle, la cabane du castor et en général, le repaire des diverses espèces d’animaux.” “If we consider architecture solely as the result of an instinct that leads men to build a shelter, it is easy to imagine that habitation would be similar across all nations, and that it would exhibit no more variety than the nest of a swallow, the hut of a beaver and more generally, the dwelling of various species of animals.” *Cours d’histoire de l’architecture*, t. 1, 19.

the institutions of a given civilization.⁴³ “Ont pourrait faire autant d’histoire d’architecture,” Huyot explained, “qu’il y aurait de ces premiers établissements auxquels la variété des contrées, des climats, forma un caractère différent.”⁴⁴

One could characterize Huyot’s method regarding the history of architecture as one alternating between the universal and the particular, the stable and the contingent. Architecture held traces of its universal commonality in a single origin while at the same time displaying the specificities of individual civilizations.⁴⁵ Huyot’s account repudiated the neoclassical narrative espoused by Winkelmann and Quatremère that posited separate origins for separate civilizations. In his essay *De l’architecture Égyptienne, considérée dans son origine, ses principes et son goût, et comparée sous les mêmes rapports à l’architecture Grecque*, written for a competition hosted by the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* in 1785, Quatremère claimed that Egyptian civilization was historically distinct from that of the Greeks, judging Greek architecture to be worthier in all respects. Quatremère’s view on the arts was very much a product of the Enlightenment belief in reason as a universal basis underlying the

⁴³ “Alors l’architecture serait universelle, c’est à dire, commune à tous les hommes, elle serait uniforme et invariable.” but nature “avait imposé en même temps l’obligation de se soumettre au site, au climat des pays, où ils purent se transporter, où ils formèrent enfin des sociétés, des lois, des religions, des institutions différentes qui caractérisent les peuples divers. . . . Les institutions de la société, le genre de vie des particuliers et les matériaux d’un pays ayant donné un caractère spécial aux différentes architecture locales.” “So architecture would be universal, that is, common to all men; it would be uniform and invariable.” But nature “had, at the same time, produced the obligation for it to comply with the site, with the climate of the land, where they migrated, where they established societies, laws, religions, and institutions that characterize the diverse peoples. . . . The institutions of society, the lifestyle of particular peoples and the materials indigenous to the land have given the various local architectures their special character.” Jean-Nicolas Huyot, *Cours d’histoire de l’architecture*, t. 1, 19.

⁴⁴ Jean-Nicolas Huyot, *Cours d’histoire de l’architecture*, t. 1, 35.

⁴⁵ “C’est dans cet espace que des peuple sortis d’une même origine, ont successivement parcouru des pays, des sites, des climats différents, qui modifièrent leurs institutions, leurs usages, leurs lois, leurs religions, leurs langage primitifs et sans altérer toutefois leur caractère originel, les laissèrent enfin arriver jusqu’à nous ainsi modifiées.” “It is in this space that peoples having emerged from one single origin, subsequently travelled to different countries, sites, and climates, which modified their institutions, their functions, their laws, their religions, their primitive languages while not altering their original character, which have arrived so modified all the way to us today.” Jean-Nicolas Huyot, *Cours d’histoire de l’architecture*, t. 1, 35.

motivations of all civilizations. Civilizations could therefore be historically distinct while connected by this one basic human attribute. Huyot, on the other hand, was clearly guided by the historical word view that was sweeping through the disciplines in the early nineteenth century and his narrative privileged cultural migrations over innate human faculties and instincts. Huyot's courses at the École began with ancient Egypt, and, according to César Daly, never ventured much further. "Chaque année," Daly was to write soon after Huyot's death, "il recommençait son cours."⁴⁶ And the claim is borne out in the notes. Year after year he insisted on returning back to the most primitive origins of architecture as he saw them. This fascination for primitive and pre-classical civilization, and for transitional epochs circumscribing the crowning historical moments promulgated by the Académie would be infectious for the young architectural students that attended his course.⁴⁷

Huyot's courses brought new focus to theories developed by an earlier generation of architects, antiquarians and archeologists investigating the primitive origins of architectonic form and challenging the doctrine of imitation that lay at the heart of the academic system in France. Accordingly, Huyot foregrounded the symbolic and religious provenance of primitive architectonic forms. Instead of huts, caves and tents, Huyot, like the generation before him, argued that the first monuments were raised stones made from single blocks of rock ("d'un

⁴⁶ "Every year, he restarted his course." César Daly, "Vacance de la chaire d'histoire de l'architecture." *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 1, no. 8 (1840): 487.

⁴⁷ Daly criticized Huyot for never venturing into the Middle Ages and all but ignoring the history of Christian art. But he would also issue a challenge to those with the opposite myopia, neo-Gothic architects such as Viollet-le-Duc and Lassus. Perhaps as a nod to Huyot, Daly exclaimed, "les époque de transition qui forment ce qu'on appelle dans l'histoire des arts les époques de décadence, sont d'un prix inestimable pour l'étude, car c'est pendant ces périodes que s'élaborent les germes encore informes de l'art nouveau, destiné à se développer à son tour." "The transitional eras that form, what we call in art history, the epochs of decadence, are of invaluable worth to study, for during such periods are matured those unformed seeds of the new art, which itself will develop in turn." Daly also tells us a little about the reception of Huyot's courses at the École. According to him, Huyot frequently cancelled his classes and that the lectures lacked enthusiasm. This led to poor attendance despite the novelty of Huyot's ideas.

seul bloc”) and used in cultic practice. Huyot termed them “monolithes,” a category which for him comprised a long list of monuments found in cultures across the globe: Greek and Roman cippes, termes, hermes and stelae, Egyptian obelisks (which Huyot often referred to as stèles), and raised stones from Brittany.⁴⁸ Huyot’s description of these stones repeated much of what was said by Viel de Saint-Maux, Court de Gébélín and others: these stones demonstrated the innate need amongst early peoples for memorable inscriptions that could educate the public; they were the antecedent to the column; and they were used as territorial stones and funeral markers. According to Huyot, the origin of these stones lay in Egypt where they slowly took on the form of the most worshipped and symbolic element in the cultic practices of early Egyptians, the lotus. Huyot explained:

Comme tout était symbolique dans les édifices sacré, les piliers, les murs couverts de figures et de peintures ayant rapport à la divinité ou au culte, il devint indispensable que les stèles prissent aussi une forme symbolique . . . enfin la stèle devint à son tour le symbole du lotus; alors elle eut une diminution et une forme naturelle à cette plante, et elle en portait à son sommet la fleur et les feuilles, ou alla même jusqu’à imiter la tige, sa diminution vers la racine, ses côtes, enfin au sommet le bouton, avant que la fleur fût épanouie.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ The discussion appears in a part of the course notes titled “Monolithes.” Jean-Nicolas Huyot, *Cours d’histoire de l’architecture*, t. 1, 213-230.

⁴⁹ “Since everything was symbolic in sacred buildings—the columns and the walls covered with figures and paintings related to the divinity or the cult—it was necessary for stelae also to take on a symbolic form . . . thus, the stela became in its turn the symbol of the lotus. Consequently, it took on a tapered profile and a form that was proper to the plant, and at its summit, it integrated flowers and leaves. The stela went as far as to imitate the stem of the lotus, its narrowing towards the roots, its sides, and finally, it incorporated at its summit a bud, rendered at the moment just before its blossoming.” Jean-Nicolas Huyot, *Cours d’histoire de l’architecture*, t. 1, 249-50.

The Egyptian stelae, Huyot remarked, were the first unified and monolithic constructions and they were highly symbolic and ritualistic in function.⁵⁰ The Egyptians brought on their migrational routes this newly developed architectonic form, first to Rhodes and then to the Argolids in mainland Greece, where they taught the Pelasgian tribes “à bâtir des temples d’une construction régulière à la manière des Egyptiens.”⁵¹ In Huyot’s account, the doric column was not based on the human form as it had been for Vitruvius, nor on the tree trunk as in Laugier and Quatremère’s narrative, but rather, it was a direct descendant of the Egyptian solid block stelae. The emphasis on the monolithic nature of primitive construction—whether buildings made out of a single stone, or made using a number of stones cut in a regular manner—points to a concern articulated by many in the early nineteenth century. The origins of architecture as opposed to simple building, for Huyot, lay in the understanding of construction as a unifying practice. Huyot was very familiar with Pelasgian building techniques having been charged by the antiquarian Louis-Charles Petit-Radel to draw up Pelasgian remains during his long trip through the ancient Greece, Asia Minor and the Orient. He knew first hand the Pelasgian building technique involving rough-cut and multi-faceted stones assembled together without mortar. While he acknowledged the impressive grandeur and scale of Pelasgian constructions, Huyot nonetheless saw architecture as motivated by higher and more moral inclinations. The unity in construction was an indicator of architecture’s fundamental origins which, for Huyot, lay in social cohesion. Huyot explained:

⁵⁰ “Dans les édifices Égyptien, tout est allégorique ou symbolique” Huyot reiterated. Jean-Nicolas Huyot, *Cours d’histoire de l’architecture*, t. 1, 252.

⁵¹ Huyot knew the architectural constructions of Pelasgian tribes well as he had been recruited by the archeologist Louis-François Petit-Radel to draw up such constructions during his trip to the orient. Jean-Nicolas Huyot, *Cours d’histoire de l’architecture*, t. 1, 254.

Je démontre que le principe qui donna naissance aux premières sociétés est le même que celui de l'architecture; principe qui émane de cet instinct social inné chez les hommes, auquel il faut attribuer les premières institutions religieuses et politiques, d'où naquit l'architecture. C'est à cet amour social qu'on doit l'érection des temples, et des édifices de l'Égypte; on lui doit encore l'origine de ces deux arts inséparable de l'architecture, la sculpture et la peinture qui ont pour objet essentiel de transmettre à la postérité le souvenir des Dieux, des héros, des victoires et des conquêtes des peuples. Rien n'imité moins les cabanes que ces immenses constructions.⁵²

That Huyot located architecture's origins in social cohesion was not especially novel; after all, the notion was current at least until the late Renaissance, as Cesare Cesariano's depiction of the Vitruvian mythical fire giving birth to civilization demonstrates. But architectural origins based in social cohesion were certainly not part of typical neoclassical doctrine which emphasized the role of individual reason over and above social communion. And of course, there was something decidedly un-Vitruvian in Huyot's characterization of social unity as an innate social instinct and in his targeted attack on the primitive hut as architecture's origin.

Huyot's argument was very much a product of early nineteenth-century, sharing some of the same motivations that led Charles Fourier to divine a law of passionate attraction in society or Saint-Simon's vision of global communication. And like these two social utopians (to use Marx and Engels' term), Huyot saw "l'amour social" as a historical principle; its rise led to architectural excellence, while its decline into periods of individuality and personal

⁵² "I demonstrated that the principle that gave birth to the first societies is the same as that which formed architecture, a principle that emanates from this social instinct innate to men, to which we must attribute the first religious and political institutions, from which emerged architecture. It is due to this social affection that we owe the erection of temples, of the buildings in Egypt; we owe to it also the origin of the two arts that are inseparable to architecture, sculpture and painting, that have as primary aim the transferral to posterity the memory of the Gods, the heroes, victoires and the conquest of civilizations. Nothing imitates less the rustic huts than these immense constructions." Jean-Nicolas Huyot, *Cours d'histoire de l'architecture*, t. 2, 3-4.

interest led to architectural caprice and decadence. Huyot described this process in this manner:

Mais, si cette cause première de la civilisation porta les arts à leur plus haut degré de perfection, ce fut l'intérêt personnel, qui agissant en sens inverse sur le but que se propose les arts, amena la décadence de l'architecture; et ces palais somptueux construits pour de simples particuliers dans les derniers temps des grands empire, attestent assez que les arts, en prostituant pour ainsi dire, leurs oeuvres à la mode et aux caprices de la fortune, périrent eux-mêmes avec les institutions aux quelles ils devaient leur origine.⁵³

Huyot's bias against private interest was unmistakable; according to him individuals and the empires that they ruled had "prostituted" their artistic ambitions for the sake of passing "fashions and the whims of fortune." Judging from the work produced by many of the architects attending Huyot's lectures, his emphasis on social cohesion certainly struck a cord. Whether one looks at Labrouste's fourth year *Prix de Rome* restoration of the temples at Paestum, his Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève or Constant-Dufeux's fifth year *envoi* for a Chamber of Deputies (and his later appeal that the assembly hall be seen as holding the seeds for a new architecture), the belief that social forces could be the generators of a new architecture was in evidence in the work of the following generation. In this, the "école dite *symbolique*," as the French archeologist Charles Lenormant would characterize the loose contingent of scholars clarifying the primitive origins of architecture, was wholly successful.⁵⁴

⁵³ "But, if this first cause of civilization raised the arts nearest to perfection, it was personal gain, which acting in an inverse way to the goal proposed by the arts, brought decadence to architecture; and the sumptuous palaces built for simple individuals in the final days of the great empires demonstrate that the arts, by prostituting, so to speak, their works to the fashions and caprices of fortune, perished with the institutions that brought them into existence." Huyot, *Cours d'histoire de l'architecture*, t. 2, 4.

⁵⁴ Charles Lenormant, "Études de la religion Phrygienne de Cybèle," in *Nouvelles annales, publiées par la section Française de l'institut archéologique* (Paris: Bourgeois-Maze, 1836): 216.

Part 2 Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux

Chapter 1

Constant-Dufeux's Student Work

Architecture Before Education

Born in Paris on the 5th of January 1801, into a family with little means, Simon-Claude Constant *dit* Constant-Dufeux nonetheless had ancestors of some status.¹ Simon Dufeux, his maternal grandfather, and whose name he would inherit, was a celebrated stone mason working on some of the most structurally daring projects of the day, including the architect and structural engineer Jean-Rodolphe Perronet's low elliptical-arched bridge in Neuilly. What sealed his reputation as *maitre-appareilleur*, however, was his role in the building of Jacques-Germain Soufflot's church of Sainte-Geneviève. An essay in eighteenth-century architectural *légèreté*, Soufflot's church suffered severe structural setbacks, the most important of which were first discovered by the young Simon Dufeux who initially mistook the hairline cracks for cobwebs. Dufeux described Soufflot's devastation after being shown the damage: "Après avoir visité et examiné chacun des piliers où les mêmes désordres se manifestaient," Dufeux explained, "j'entendis M. Soufflot qui disait à plusieurs reprises, en se frappant le front: "Je suis un homme perdu!"² But bad fortune turned into good, and as reward for his discovery, Dufeux would eventually be given the concession for a quarry supplying the newly renamed Panthéon with building stone, thereby providing his grandson Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux a childhood of modest but sufficient means.

¹ Constant-Dufeux was the son of Louis Constant and Pierre-Élizabeth Dufeux.

² "After having visited and examined all the column that exhibited similar problems, I heard Mr. Soufflot repeating while pounding his forehead: "I am a ruined man!" J.B.P.H. Féraud, "Constant-Dufeux," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 29 (1872): 81.

As recounted by Pierre-Honoré Féraud, Constant-Dufeux's former pupil and biographer, two spheres of influence affected the young Constant-Dufeux: his grandfather's love for architecture and the military ambitions of his maternal uncle, a commander in the *grenadiers de Lefèvre*. Constant-Dufeux's parents struck a compromise between the competing career ambitions of his elders and placed him at a preparatory school for the École Polytechnique, most likely the Lycée Napoléon (as the Lycée Henri-IV was known during the Napoleonic years). It was there that Constant-Dufeux met Prosper Mérimée, two and a half years his junior, and with whom he would share a lifelong friendship. Constant-Dufeux would be indebted to Mérimée for his eventual nomination as architect for the Commission des Monuments Historiques. At the Lycée Napoléon, Constant-Dufeux likely met other figures of note such as future Saint-Simonians Prosper Enfantin and Olinde Rodrigues (who taught mathematics at the Lycée), as well as future archeologist (and close friend of Mérimée) Charles Lenormant.³ The collapse of the Napoleonic Empire led not only to personal chagrin—like most adolescents at the time, Constant-Dufeux was completely drawn into the frenetic energy and exhilaration of Napoleonic conquest—but also to the family's suffering dire economic consequences. With the family's military ambitions dashed, Constant-Dufeux was allowed to pursue his own aspirations and to focus uncompromisingly on a career as architect.

His first employment in this direction came in 1815 for the architect Delèpine, friend of Simon Dufeux and professor at the École Royale Gratuite de Dessin de Paris. Constant-Dufeux worked in *le père Delèpine's* office while also attending courses at the École de Dessin. By 1817, Constant-Dufeux entered the administration of the Ponts et Chaussées as

³ See: Prosper Mérimée, "Charles Lenormant," in *Portraits Historiques et littéraires*, ed. Pierre Jourda (Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, 1928), 317.

conducteur non embrigadé, working on large water navigation projects in and around Paris.⁴

The most important of these was under the direction of *polytechnicien* and former Napoleonic engineer in the *campagne d'Égypte*, René-Édouard de Villiers du Terrage, whose family tomb Constant-Dufeux would later design. [figure 2.1.1] This project, which involved the completion of the canals of Saint-Denis and Saint-Martin and the design of many of the locks and sluices, was published in large format under the title *Description du Canal Saint-Martin*; engravings were drawn by Constant-Dufeux.⁵ [figure 2.1.2] In addition, Féraud cites two other projects done while Constant-Dufeux was at the Ponts et Chaussées and on which he would leave his modest mark. The first was directed by Villiers du Terrage's close friend and companion in Egypt, Jean-Baptiste Jollois, and involved infrastructural work in a northern arrondissement (Constant-Dufeux designed the Jollois family tomb as well [figure 2.1.3]). The second involved work for the state navigation service and was directed by the renowned French engineer and physicist Claude-Louis Navier, remembered for making the general theory of elasticity mathematically useful to the field of construction. Beyond employment with Navier, Constant-Dufeux attended some of his courses at the École Polytechnique during these years.⁶ The close collaboration with these and other engineers from the Ponts et Chaussées on projects that pushed the limits of structural and

⁴ Constant-Dufeux worked for the Ponts and Chaussées as *conducteur non embrigadé* until 1825. The Ponts et Chaussées was organized along strictly hierarchical lines. Each engineer had a number of *conducteurs* working under him. Conducteurs were ordered in two classes: *embrigadé*, or full-time members of the *corps* and *non-embrigadé*, who had the same responsibilities but were considered temporary workers and therefore had no salary deductions (*retenue*) and also no right to a retirement fund (*retraite*). See: Alexandre-Edouard Baudrimont, et al., *Dictionnaire de l'industrie manufacturière, commerciale et agricole*, Tome 4 (Brussels: Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1840), 166.

⁵ René-Édouard de Villiers, *Description du Canal Saint-Martin* (Paris: Carillan-Gœury, 1826).

⁶ Constant-Dufeux mentioned that he studied “sous la direction de M. Navier prof. d'analyse à l'École Polytechnique,” in a letter to the president of the École des Beaux-Arts in 1845 asking to be considered for the position of professor of perspective at the school. Simon-Claude Constant Dufeux, “Nomination de Constant Dufeux au cours de perspective à l'École des Beaux-Arts,” dated: 17 janvier 1845, Archives Nationales, AJ / 52 / 456.

mathematical calculability would be significant for Constant-Dufeux's later theoretical concerns. Had Navier's theory of elasticity been developed at the time of Soufflot's construction of the church of Sainte-Geneviève, the forces that so devastated the central columns would, of course, have been properly predicted.

Grand Prix

On the 31st of October 1819, while still employed at the Ponts et Chaussées, and just a week after his marriage to Louise Rambert, Constant-Dufeux entered the École des Beaux-Arts. As a result of his acute timidity, he would remain without a *maître-d'atelier* for nearly two years until a colleague presented him to François Debret, former student of the Napoleonic architects Charles Percier and Pierre François Léonard Fontaine, and freemason with ties to the loge Le Point Parfait.⁷ By December 1821, Constant-Dufeux was promoted to *première classe*, which was now open to an unlimited number of students due to the reforms affecting

⁷ Debret was *Expert* du Suprême Conseil des Rites du Grand Orient de France. As such, he directed and designed some of the rituals for the lodge.

Debret's long career could be the subject of dissertation in its own right. Debret began his architectural education in Paris in 1793, soon after the forced dissolution of the Académie d'Architecture on August 8th of the same year. Classes were held at a provisional and unauthorized school spearheaded by A.L.T. Vaudoyer and David Leroy and in the vestibule de l'Infante at the Louvre. The school was eventually transformed into the École des Beaux-Arts and installed in the palais des Petits Augustins in 1816. Of the many buildings designed and built during his more than fifty year run as an architect, the most important include the early design scheme for the École des Beaux-Arts buildings and grounds (work began in 1822 on Debret's design for the Bâtiment des loges but the larger project was taken over in 1832 by Debret's brother-in-law and former student, Félix Duban), the restoration of the Basilique de St-Denis in 1813 (for which he was severely criticized for misunderstanding Gothic construction), and the hasty, yet celebrated design for the Opéra le Peletier from 1820-1821 and its adjoining Passage de l'opéra, built the following year. Along with Louis-Hippolyte Lebas, Debret published *Oeuvres Complètes de Vignole* (Paris: Didot, 1815).

the École that year.⁸ Constant-Dufeux's drawings from the era, many of which are presently kept at the Musée d'Orsay,⁹ are largely the quick *esquisses* drawn on the *demi-grand-aigle* sheets required for such exercises. They were begun *en loge* within the confines of the École des Beaux-Arts, and later rendered at the *atelier* where, following an eighteenth-century tradition begun by Jean-Laurent Legeay, they were shaped into watercolored *tableaux* that integrated the buildings into lush, scenic landscapes. Prepared for the regular *concours d'émulation* (students were required to fulfill at least two of these competitions per year), the subjects for the competitions were set by the professor of architectural theory which from 1819 to 1846 was Louis-Pierre Baltard. The subjects were small enough in size and scope to permit the student to design and render them in the short time allotted, which usually ranged from twelve hours to a couple of weeks.

Constant-Dufeux's student drawings are of public buildings that were typically chosen as subjects for the *concours d'émulation*: monumental fountains, pavilions, commemorative columns, markets, an observatory, and a garden café.¹⁰ The entries show a clear debt to Debret (and to Debret's teachers, Percier and Fontaine) in the frequent employment of a Pompeian inflected Renaissance décor and in the inclusion of archeological details culled, perhaps, from Debret's own extensive collection of drawings of ancient Roman and Grecian

⁸ The workings of the École des Beaux-Arts are admirably detailed in Richard Chafee, "The Teaching of Architecture at the École des Beaux-Arts," in *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*, ed. Arthur Drexler (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977), 61-110. See also: Annie Jacques, "The Programmes of the Architectural Section of the École des Beaux-Arts, 1819-1914," in *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture*, ed. Robin Middleton (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982), 58-65.

⁹ The drawings, which are unrestored and contained in one very large roll, are presently kept at the Musée d'Orsay in Paris and waiting for a yet to be determined destination. According to Alice Thomine-Berrada, curator at the museum, the owner of the drawings is seeking to sell them to an art or architectural institution. The Musée d'Orsay does not seem interested in their purchase as the drawings do not fall within the epoch (approximately 1850 to fin-de-siècle) of the museum's collection.

¹⁰ For a complete list of the pre-Rome drawings presently held at the Musée d'Orsay, see Appendix A.

monuments. [figures 2.1.4 and 2.1.5] As a result of his concurrent work with the Ponts et Chaussées, the projects also demonstrate a willingness to treat the architectural programs as infrastructural transformations of the landscape. A garden fountain prepared for a *concours* in early November 1824, for instance, employed the difficult slope of the site in creating a 120 meter stream of water that fed separate waterfall jets for each of the 32 allegorical statues. [figure 2.1.6] The most significant drawing in the series, however, is a qualifying drawing for the *concours annuel de Grand Prix* of 1825 which had as program an *Hôtel de ville pour Paris*. [figure 2.1.7] Comparing it to Louis Duc's successful entry of the same year with its grand forecourt, double-story interior *grande salle*, and rich French Renaissance belfry porch detailed in a manner reminiscent of Philibert de l'Orme's chateau d'Anet, the project was modest. [figure 2.1.8] From the lack of columnated orders and the minimal detailing around the building's fenestration, to the shallow roofline of terracotta tiles with its under-scaled belfry, it can be seen as an exercise in architectural understatement. And the forms used, which were reminiscent of the vernacular architecture of the Italian countryside, seemed more suitable for the following year's *concours* to design a French academy in Rome than for a Parisian city hall. Perhaps the clearest expression of Constant-Dufeux's intent appeared on the central face of the building. Employing the forms of the Roman basilica, Constant-Dufeux articulated the entrance with a thickset arcaded portico, a device he would repeat a few years later in his fifth year *envoi* for a Chamber of Deputies. [figure 2.1.9] The historical allusion was fitting: it evoked the classical origins of civic assembly while drawing attention to later Christian appropriations of the form. To underline the point, and in a compositional decision that must have befuddled the jurors, Constant-Dufeux placed the main sacred space of the complex, marked on the drawings as *chapelle*, directly behind the portico and its central altar in line with the main axis of the project.

By the late eighteenth century, Constant-Dufeux was well experienced not only as a draftsman but also as a builder. Having left the Ponts et Chaussées in 1825, and while still enrolled at the École des Beaux-Arts, he found employment with an accomplished set of architects: Louis Visconti, for whom he was said to have drawn the celebrated Fontaine de Gaillon near what is now the Opéra Garnier, and Amédée Billaud, with whom he designed the Galerie Colbert near the Palais Royal.¹¹ [figures 2.1.10 and 2.1.11] Féraud's claim that Constant-Dufeux left a strong imprint on these projects is borne out when looking at the projects more closely. This is especially true of the arcade. Unlike the adjoining Galerie Marchoux (designed by François Jean Delannoy and renamed the Galerie Vivienne at the end of the century) which, in typical fashion of the day, was a classical rendition of the eastern bazaar, the Galerie Colbert, like Constant-Dufeux's *Grand Prix* project for an hôtel de ville of the previous year, picked up the forms of the Roman basilica.¹² This is clearest in the passageway accessed through the portico on the rue des Petits Champs. [figure 2.1.12] Its long rows of engaged Corinthian columns supporting a continuous set of arches are deceptively transformed by the darkened glass into full columns and adjacent aisles. Above the arcade were a corresponding set of corbeled pediments whose general form Constant-Dufeux would later use as the pediment for the tomb for the Billaud family.¹³ The success of the Galerie Colbert was unprecedented. Writing an obituary of Constant-Dufeux in the *Moniteur des architectes*, Franck Carlowicz claimed that the Galerie project was responsible for

¹¹ Françoise Hamon takes issue with Féraud's claim that the Fontaine de Gaillon was designed primarily by Constant-Dufeux. See: Françoise Hamon and Charles MacCallum, ed., *Louis Visconti 1791-1853* (Paris: Delegation à l'action artistique de la Ville de Paris, 1991), 80.

¹² See: Johann Friedrich Geist, *Arcades: the History of a Building Type* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983), 489-503.

¹³ Henry Sirodot noticed the similarity between the arcade motif and the tomb for the Billaud family in a review of the tomb. See: "Tombeau de la famille Alc. Billaud," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 13 (1855): 353-59, pl. 39-45.

eight million francs of commissions awarded to Constant-Dufeux, but which he declined in order to focus his energies on winning the *Grand Prix de Rome*.¹⁴

In 1828, Constant-Dufeux competed unsuccessfully for the *Grand Prix* which had as its program a public library. We know the project from a large folio edition containing lithographs of Constant-Dufeux's work and published posthumously by his colleagues and former students.¹⁵ The project employed the pin wheel form of a panopticon prison and the panels were uncharacteristically inscribed with a musical score and lyrics that played on the visual similarity between the wheel form and the radiating glow of the sun. The rhyme ended with an autobiographical line: "faut du feux pour un soleil." Perhaps he intended to win that year's *Grand Prix* in music as well! [figure 2.1.13] The following year's competition was for a quarantine hospital in the south of France, which was to be set off from the coast and connected by bridge.¹⁶ Alongside the administrative buildings, the program stipulated the division of the vast complex into three parts: the first for contagious patients, the second for those suspected of being contagious, and the third for those with non-communicable diseases. Constant-Dufeux employed a Greek cross plan inscribed within a larger artificial landmass. [figures 2.1.14 to 2.1.18] The scheme bore a strong resemblance to Alphonse de

¹⁴ Franck Carlowicz, "M. Constant-Dufeux," *Le moniteur des architectes*, t. 5 (1870-1871): 252-56.

¹⁵ Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux, *Croquis, études, relevés, édifices projetés ou exécutés* (Paris: Imprimerie A. Jailly, 1873).

¹⁶ The original drawings of the project reside at l'École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. There are four drawings in total. 1 *esquisse*: PRAe 71. Five final drawings mounted on three separate pieces of blue backing paper: Elevation: PRA 189-3-a and PRA 189-3-b; Site Plan: PRA 189-1-a and PRA 189-1-b; Plan of Building: PRA 189-2. Illustrations of the project were published in the Jailly portfolio prepared by Constant-Dufeux's students. Images of the project were published in the following books: Louis-Pierre Baltard and A.L.T. Vaudoyer, *Grands Prix d'architecture*, pl. 110-112; Pierre-Honoré Féraud, "Constant-Dufeux," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 29 (1872): 85; and more recently in Louis Hauteceœur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France. La fin de l'architecture classique: 1848-1900*, vol. VII (Paris: A. et J. Picard et Cie., 1957), 249; and in David Van Zanten, "Architectural Composition at the École des Beaux-Arts from Charles Percier to Charles Garnier," in *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*, ed. Arthur Drexler (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977), 153.

Gisors' 1823 *Grand Prix* entry for an *Hôtel des douanes et de l'octroi*.¹⁷ [figure 2.1.19] Both projects took advantage of the programmatic requirements to build new landmasses in open water and used unorthodox geometries to emphasize the differences between buildings, land and water forms. Gisors and Constant-Dufeux employed the octagon (Constant-Dufeux had used this same form for the library project a year earlier), and they used it as one would a fortification plan: to heighten the symbolic effect of the form while providing a shape that was highly faceted and visually separate from its surroundings. But Constant-Dufeux went much further than Gisors in defining the spatial and processional possibilities imbedded in such a form, employing elongated hexagonal pools of water as negative spaces in order to break up the compactness of the landmass, and defining each part in careful relation to the circular chapel at the center of the scheme.

The jury, which included Constant-Dufeux's own *atelier* master, François Debret (who had designed a Lazaret project square in plan and with a circular chapel at its center for a *concours d'émulation* in 1804), commended the project for the strength of its plan and the great unity with which the disparate functions were assembled.¹⁸ Debret's former teacher Charles Percier was so taken by the drawings that he asked Constant-Dufeux to give him

¹⁷ Constant-Dufeux's project also bore resemblance to Pierre-Joseph Garrez's second prize entry that same year. Garrez's *lazaret* was hexagonal in form and sited on a roughly circular pre-existent land mass. Like Constant-Dufeux, Garrez carved away three sections of the larger form in order to create protect harbors for visiting ships. The resultant form was highly geometrical and austere, a fact reinforced by the tall fortification walls, slender windows and overarching lighthouses that surrounded the complex. Both projects, as well as Debret's Lazaret, were redrawn and published in Louis-Pierre Baltard and A.L.T. Vaudoyer's *Grands Prix d'architecture: projets couronnés par l'Académie royale des beaux arts de France* of 1834.

¹⁸ The notes from the meeting are as follows: "Les motifs de la section dans ce jugement préparatoire sont que le numéro 2 [projects were numbered and presented anonymously as to preserve the impartiality of the decision] présente un fort bon plan, et beaucoup d'unité dans son ensemble par la position de trois bassins bien en rapport avec les division des divers bâtiments ; qu'il est simple de marche et sagement distribué." Béatrice Bouvier and François Fossier, *Procès-Verbaux de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts: 1826-1829*, ed. Jean-Michel Leniaud, vol. 4 (Paris: École des Chartes, 2005), 222.

one.¹⁹ What truly must have struck the jury reviewing Constant-Dufieux's proposed *Lazaret* was the way that it married the demands for a rational solution to the problem of disease control with the necessity for honorific and symbolic display. As with the architecture of social reform of fellow *Grand Prix* winners Jacques Émile Narcisse Gilbert and Guillaume-Abel Blouet (note especially Gilbert's pentagonal Prison Mazas, built between 1845-1850), the *Lazaret* resolved a difficult set of programmatic requirements including the demand for hospital administration buildings, an infirmary, a pharmacy, laundry services, a bakery, dormitories for healthy soldiers and sailors, and docks with adjoining warehouses for the storage of provisions. The clear and geometrically stark outline of the complex no doubt conveyed the sense that it was—to use eighteenth-century hospital reformer Jean-Baptiste Le Roy's expression—a “machine à guérir.”²⁰ The idea of the *building as instrument* was reiterated in the way that it functioned as a panoptic prison, substituting the watch tower for a circular chapel intended to be seen from all four pavilions at once. Even isolation chambers were included in the plan, following on some of the most recent remedies for illness, madness and crime.²¹

Constant-Dufieux's design managed to satisfy these difficult and conflicting demands with an almost obsessive adherence to geometrical form. It is significant that while images of the project were published quite widely in the nineteenth century (by Louis-Pierre Baltard

¹⁹ Féraud, “Constant-Dufieux,” 86.

²⁰ For Le Roy's ideas on hospitals, see: Jean-Baptiste Le Roy, *Précis d'un ouvrage sur les hôpitaux* (Paris, n.d.). See also: Robin Middleton, “Sickness, Madness and Crime as the Grounds of Form,” *AA Files* 25 (Summer 1993): 14-29.

²¹ Just a couple of years after Constant-Dufieux had designed his *Lazaret*, Alphonse Esquirol read an influential paper titled “Mémoire sur l'isolement des aliénés,” extolling the benefits of isolation for the treatment of madness. The notion of “isolement” was very important at the time. Pinon describes it as the flip-side of the “traitement moral.” Whereas moral treatment was geared toward social unity, isolation was geared toward providing the patient with a “liberté apparente.” See Pierre Pinon, *L'Hospice de Charenton: temple de la raison ou folie de l'archéologie* (Paris: Mardaga, 1989).

and A.L.T Vaudoyer, by Féraud, and in the folio of drawings prepared by Constant-Dufeux's former students) and in the twentieth century (Hautecoeur, Van Zanten), the plan is often the only image used. It functioned both as the programmatic generator for the scheme and as an emblem or eidetic diagram of it. The Greek cross with radiating hexagonal arms set within an octagon would become something of a personal insignia for Constant-Dufeux; likewise it would come to be used as such in representations of the architect.

Etruscomanie

Constant-Dufeux left for Rome during the winter of 1830, before the three-day July Revolution that toppled the much despised restoration government of Charles X.²²

Constant-Dufeux was more prepared for what awaited him in Italy than his friends and predecessors, Félix Duban, Henri Labrouste, Louis Duc and Léon Vaudoyer. For one, his former *atelier* colleague Duban had returned to Paris the previous year with drawings, sketch books and watercolor reconstructions of ancient Roman domestic scenes for the promising *Grand Prix* nominee to consult. In fact, Duban actively coached Constant-Dufeux to help him secure the *Grand Prix*, suggesting, for example, that he add what was clearly the most incongruously historicist detail in the *Lazaret* project: two diagonal strips of road dotted with funerary sepulchers and monuments that would be more at home on the *Via Appia* than in a

²² According to a letter by Le Bourdonnais, Ministère de l'Intérieur, Direction des belles-lettres, sciences et Beaux-Arts, to Horace Vernet, directeur de l'Académie de France à Rome, the *pensionnaires* were officially meant to arrive in Rome by January 1, 1830, and a stipend of 600 f. was dispensed for their travels. Féraud notes in his biography of Constant-Dufeux that the young student altered his travel plans once in Lyon and headed through Nîmes, Arles, Avignon, Marseille and Toulon where he boarded a pontifical steam boat called the *Tevere*. He intended to head straight to Rome from there but for an unknown reason stopped in Nice for two days and headed on land through the *cornice* to Genoa, Livorno, Florence and finally to Rome. The exact date of his arrival is not known. See Horace Vernet, "Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome Au XIXe siècle, 1829-1834," ed. François Fossier <http://www.bibliotheque-institutdefrance.fr/> (accessed 2009), 49.

modern hospital complex in the south of France. [figure 2.1.15] Second, the challenges posed by the *pensionnaires* to the orthodox interpretation of the history of architecture had caused ripples inside and out of the hallowed walls of the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris during the mid-eighteen twenties, and Constant-Dufeux had certainly heard about the official and public *rapports* that commented (at times quite harshly) on the work coming out of the Villa Medici. He would have been well aware, for example, of the famous Paestum controversy that erupted upon receipt by the Académie in Paris of Henri Labrouste's drawings for ancient Greek settlement on Italian soil.²³

The reconstructions proposed by Labrouste were motivated by the new approach to history that had caught hold of the Parisian imagination during the final years of the Bourbon Restoration.²⁴ It seems appropriate that a regime so fixated on preserving the pre-revolutionary order and resisting the forward march of time would provoke widespread reflection on the nature of history and temporal change. The inquiry into the mechanisms of temporal transformation took place in nearly all branches of learning from the natural sciences to philosophy and literature. But it was the historians who most tested the political sensitivities of the ruling government, and it was from them that Labrouste's most contentious historical assumptions underlying the Paestum restoration were drawn.

Labrouste transposed arguments that had been made by liberal historians François Guizot

²³ The Paestum controversy is the subject of Neil Levine's groundbreaking essay, "The Romantic Idea of Architectural Legibility: Henri Labrouste and the Néo-Grec," in Arthur Drexler, ed., *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977), 324-416; More recently, Martin Bressani has revisited Labrouste's project and the surrounding debates. See: Martin Bressani, "The Hybrid: Labrouste's Paestum," in *Chora 5: Intervals in the Philosophy of Architecture*, ed. Alberto Pérez-Gómez and Stephen Parcell (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 81-126.

²⁴ Labrouste's fourth year *envoi* was published by the French government in 1877. The publication contains the accompanying text but the drawings are black-and-white engravings of the polychrome originals. See: Henri Labrouste, *Les Temples de Paestum: restauration exécutée en 1829 par Henri Labrouste* (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1877). Along with most other fourth-year *envois* from Rome, the original drawings are housed at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris.

and Augustin Thierry regarding the emergence of the French citizenry onto the origins of the ancient temples at Paestum. Guizot's and Thierry's accounts of the history of France proposed continual mixing and strife between two peoples, the Franks and the Gauls; likewise Labrousse presented the origins of Paestum's civilization as emerging from a conflict between the colonizing (the Greek *Troezens*) and the colonized (an indigenous population previously on the Mediterranean site). History, both Labrousse and the liberal historians seemed to say, was fueled by the struggle between opposing principles. Social conflict and mixing had beneficial effects on societies and acted as catalysts propelling societies progressively forward.²⁵ To the more attentive listener, which included the members of the architecture section of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, the stakes for the present moment were very clear. France was a divided nation in the final years of the Bourbon Restoration, and any historical narrative that drew attention to pre-existing tensions and emphasized the transitional and precarious nature of the country's situation was regarded with suspicion. Guizot's course at the Sorbonne had been banned by the restoration government from 1822 to 1828 for making similar claims.

Labrousse argued that internal conflict in the burgeoning Greek colony made a deep imprint on the resultant architecture for it corroded the "pureté primitive" by which the population built its former temples and produced, what the architect termed, *une architecture*

²⁵ See Ceri Crossley, *French Historians and Romanticism: Thierry, Guizot, the Saint-Simonians, Quinet, Michelet* (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), and Jacques Barzun, "Romantic Historiography as a Political Force in France," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 2, no. 3 (1941).

autre; a new architecture appropriate to its time and place.²⁶ As Martin Bressani has observed, the hybridity was very clearly visible in Labrouste's careful restorations of two buildings at Paestum; the temple of Ceres and the *Portique*, even at the scale of the stones used ("un mélange de pierre dures et de pierre tendre"), these projects drove home the provocative claim that architecture needed to be a response to the specific contextual parameters out of which it emerged.²⁷ For all of the *pensionnaires* during the mid- to late twenties, this became somewhat of a battle cry. Architecture, they argued, needed to be seen as emerging out of specific cultures, with their distinct rituals, beliefs and ideals; for specific institutions with their special needs regarding expression and monumentality; built in particular climates and geographies (a Roman temple form, like say, Pierre-Alexandre Vignon and Jacques-Marie Huvé's church of Sainte-Marie-Madelaine, may not be appropriate for Paris's cold and rainy climate); and constructed of local or contemporary materials and techniques.

While the generation of *pensionnaires* in the late twenties promoted these significant historicist lessons, they did not originate them. Many of the assumptions guiding the work of the *pensionnaires* were central to an earlier generation of architects, antiquarians and archeologists investigating the primitive origins of architectonic form and challenging the doctrine of imitation that lay at the heart of the academic system in France. As described in

²⁶ Labrouste was clearly attacking the universalizing tendency at the Beaux-Arts when he wrote the following paragraph describing the "Portique" and the "Temple de Cérès": "Ces deux monuments sont, en effet, d'une architecture autre. Tous deux sont construits de la même manière; et cette manière consiste dans l'emploi de matériaux différents, dans le mélange de pierre dures et de pierre tendre qui annonce, sinon un perfectionnement, du moins une plus ample connaissance des matériaux fournis par le pays, et ce mélange de pierre, différentes de nature et même de couleurs, a nécessité, dès l'origine, l'emploi d'un stuc. L'architecture des ces deux monuments est la même quant aux formes, mais ces formes n'ont pas la pureté primitive qu'on remarque dans le temple de Neptune." Labrouste, *Les temples de Paestum*, 13.

²⁷ The question of the hybridity of the monuments at Paestum is the central theme of Bressani's fascinating essay, "The Hybrid: Labrouste's Paestum."

the first part of the dissertation, these ideas percolated to the École in large part through the teachings of Jean-Nicolas Huyot, whose lectures on the history of architecture from the Egyptians to the early Christians were attended by Labrouste and Constant-Dufeux. Huyot's method of looking at architecture historically as a process of continual transformation and adaptation, based on migratory exchanges and cross-cultural communication, was evident in Labrouste's narrative for the Paestum restoration, as was the attention given to the social motivations underlying architectural form. The themes as set forth by Huyot, as well as the knowledge of the trials and experiences of his predecessors at the Villa Medici, also guided Constant-Dufeux during his travels through Italy. The itinerary for the three first years of his sojourn in Italy was planned in order to follow the historical progression of antique orders, from the Doric to the Corinthian.²⁸

Constant-Dufeux's travels in Italy traced the footsteps of his immediate predecessors, Duban, Labrouste, Duc and Vaudoyer. Like them, Constant-Dufeux broke from the more common itinerary of years past and investigated the remains of civilizations beyond those of late Republican and early Imperial Rome. It is not surprising that Paestum was one of the first archeological sites that he chose to see. Since Labrouste's visit in 1828 to this town of ancient Magna Graecia, new excavations had been commissioned on the site by the king of Naples. Just months before Constant-Dufeux's arrival in Paestum, a Roman temple dating back to the second century B.C. had been discovered.²⁹ The discovery was particularly fortuitous as the building demonstrated, perhaps even more than the Labrouste's *Portique*, the very active communication between cultures in the ancient world. Named *Temple de Paix*, the

²⁸ Féraud remarked on the chronological logic of Constant-Dufeux's itinerary. Féraud, "Constant-Dufeux," 87. See Appendix B for a listing of the official drawings completed by Constant-Dufeux during his *Grand Prix* stay.

²⁹ Charles Ernest Beulé, "L'Architecture au siècle de Pisistrate," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 16 (1858): 14.

building displayed a curious amalgamation of Greek and Etruscan building techniques and decorative elements within a raised Roman templar form. The fluted columns, which had Composite capitals, for example, supported an entablature with a Greek Doric frieze of triglyphs and sculpted metopes.³⁰ [figure 2.1.20] Likewise, the sculptural details in the capitals and the entablature were not Roman but distinctly Etruscan. Constant-Dufeux reproduced a number of these significant details and included a plan of the recently excavated base of the building.³¹ [figures 2.1.21 and 2.1.22] He also drew up the *Temple de Neptune* and, perhaps as a way to demonstrate further Labrousse's claim that this temple was the first, and most authentically Greek contribution of the newly arrived colonists in Paestum, Constant-Dufeux juxtaposed a plan of the building next to a very similar plan of the Greek temple at Segesta in Sicily, the subject of one of his first-year *envois*.³² [figure 2.1.23]

Constant-Dufeux's frequent letters to his family in Paris provide an important view into his thinking during these years.³³ We know, for example, that he sought out the most

³⁰ John W. Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples: The Republic to the Middle Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 47.

³¹ There are six drawings of the *Temple de Paix* in a folio of original drawings by Constant-Dufeux dated between 1825-1833. The folio is titled *Record Drawings of Ancient Monuments 1825-1833* and is housed in the Getty Special Collections, call number: 890252*.

³² While in Paestum, Constant-Dufeux focused his attention on the Temple of Neptune, and reproduced its forms in a number of plans, sections and elevations. These drawings are scattered in four separate collections. There is a very interesting drawing of the interior columns of the temple that demonstrates the way the columns were superimposed one above the other. While this constructive detail was suspected to have existed in other temples, it was preserved alone in the Temple of Neptune. The drawing appears in the same folio at the Getty. The École des Beaux-Arts in Paris has stored most of Constant-Dufeux's *envois* from Rome including two drawings of Temple of Neptune and one drawing of the Temple of Ségeste (no. 1959, 1963, 1958). Additionally, there are two drawings, one detail of the exterior Doric order of the Temple of Neptune and a plan, that are part of the collection of drawings being temporarily housed at the Musée d'Orsay (see footnote no. 12). Finally, three copies by Ruprich-Robert of drawings by Constant-Dufeux for the Temple of Neptune are in the *Collection Ruprich-Robert* at the Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine in Paris, côte: 80/114/2001.

³³ Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux, "Lettres écrites d'Italie de 1830-1835," *Semaine des constructeurs 2e série*, 6e année, no. 7; 8; 9; 10 (1891): 75-76, 83-84, 96, 108.

current discoveries and tried hard to implicate himself in the numerous archeological questions and controversies of the time. He followed on the heels of Lucien Bonaparte's excavations of Etruscan sites in 1828-1829. Bonaparte, an ardent republican whose allegiance to his older brother Napoleon waned during the early years of the Empire, was named Prince de Canino by Pope Pius VII upon his self-imposed exile and bequeathed the territory of Canino in the province of Viterbo north of Rome. In early 1828, Etruscan vases were discovered in an underground grotto in Canino. The discovery led to large-scale excavations directed by Bonaparte in and around the site, motivated by the belief that the ancient Etruscan capital city of Vitulonia might lie underneath. The suspicion was given credence with the discovery of an antique vase inscribed with the word VITHLON and depicting an aged Bacchus-like figure thought to represent the patriarch bringing the first vineyard to the Italian peninsula.³⁴ Constant-Dufeux visited the site and identified it with the ancient name "Vitulonia" on his drawings.³⁵ In addition, he drew Etruscan remains in the neighboring towns of Viterbo and at Corneto (ancient Tarquinia), where earlier Duban and Labrousse had focused on the well preserved rock-cut tomb displaying elaborate painted funereal scenes.³⁶ [figures 2.1.24 and 2.1.25]

The discovery of Etruscan remains in and around Canino led to a boom in archeological research on ancient Etruria during the eighteen thirties (referred to by some as

³⁴ Lucien Bonaparte, *Muséum étrusque de Lucien Bonaparte, Prince de Canino, fouilles de 1828 à 1829* (Viterbe: Camille Tosoni, 1829), 15.

³⁵ The drawing is of the famous Ponte dell' Abbadia, near Canino and was drawn in October 1832. The drawing appears in the folio published after Constant-Dufeux's death.

³⁶ Louis Duc's drawings of the Etruscan rock-cut tomb at Corneto are among the most vivid and detailed examples. See *Album de dessins d'architecture effectués par Félix Duban pendant son pensionnat à la Villa Medici, entre 1823 et 1828*, Institut National d'histoire de l'art, cote: NUM PC 40425 (3)

an *etrusco manie*), as well as a rapid increase in the trade of Etruscan artifacts.³⁷ For Bonaparte, the discoveries proved the existence of an ancient Etruria that predated Greek and Roman civilizations and that had its source in Pelasgic culture in the east.³⁸ This conclusion was very much in line with the accounts of Pelasgian and Etruscan contributions by Huyot. Huyot was the first architect to render the irregular and multi-faceted stone foundations that were the tell-tale signs of Pelasgic civilization in an *envoi* from Rome, the 1811 restoration of the temple of Fortuna in ancient Praeneste. As his course notes for the École des Beaux-Arts of 1830 reveal, Huyot conceived of the Etruscans as the missing link between the Pelasgians and the Romans. Even as they continued to employ Pelasgian stonework, the Etruscans, Huyot claimed, were the first to introduce orthogonal construction into the Italian peninsula. In his account, the combination of orthogonal and polygonal stonework gave rise to the arch, an early example of which could be seen in the Porta Saracena, an ancient gate at Segni.³⁹ The gate, which was drawn by many of the *pensionnaires* including Labrouste, Léon Vaudoyer and Constant-Dufeux, was an important piece in the historical chain linking the Pelasgians to the Romans. [figure 2.1.26] For the many historians,

³⁷ Henri Wallon used the term *etrusco manie* in his obituary of the archeologist Charles Lenormant. See: "Notice historique sur la vie et les travaux de M. Charles Lenormant, membre de l'Académie," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 22e année, no. 4 (1878): 284. George Dennis provides a good description of the trade in Etruscan artifacts that followed the discoveries by Lucien Bonaparte. Unfortunately, the rising prices for Etruscan artifacts of value resulted in the great destruction of everyday objects deemed to have little worth. Dennis describes this as follows: "Coarse pottery of unfigured, unvarnished ware, and a variety of small vases in black clay, were its [the archeological dig in Canino] only produce; and as they drew them forth, the laborers crushed them beneath their feet as things "cheaper than seaweed." George Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (London: John Murray, 1888), 450.

³⁸ Lucien Bonaparte pointed to the reigning confusion between the Hellenistic Greeks and the Pelasgians; the latter he claimed had populated both ancient Greece and Italy before Hellenistic Greek and Italian Roman civilizations. Etruscans, in Bonaparte's opinion, were the contingent of Pelasgian tribes that settled the Italian peninsula in the "époque étrusco-pélasge."

³⁹ Discussion of the Pelasgian contribution to Etruscan civilization appears in Huyot, *Cours d'histoire de l'architecture*, t. 2, 134-48.

philologists and archeologists interested in such questions, such as Friedrich Creuzer and Louis-Charles Petit-Radel, the Etruscans were seen to provide an invaluable perspective into the most ancient Pelasgic myths and customs, and into a moment of cultural and social unity preceding biblical dispersal and discord.⁴⁰ Moreover, Etruscan remains pointed towards future development as well. Huyot was not alone in suggesting that the merging of polygonal and orthogonal stonework by Etruscans led to the development of the round arch; others took the argument further seeing the imprint of Etruscan constructional forms and techniques well into the Gothic.

“la pensée simple que présente un cône”

The new archeology emerging out of Italy in the eighteen thirties was publicized by the Institut de Correspondance Archéologique, a body composed of European researchers, many of whom were centered in Rome. At its founding on April 21, 1829, the association included important French architects and archeologists such as Guigniaut, Huyot, Hittorff, Gau, Lenormant, Quatremère de Quincy, Raoul-Rochette, Petit-Radel; Lucien Bonaparte was an honorary member. Representing Germany were Creuzer and many of his disciples, as well as August Wilhelm Schlegel, Karl Bötticher and a number of prominent architects including Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Alois Hirt and Leo von Klenze. In 1831, Albert Lenoir, Constant-Dufeux’s friend and classmate in François Debret’s *atelier*, joined the institute and began writing for its journal.

In two articles published in the 1832 edition of the *Annales de l’institut de correspondance archéologique*, Lenoir focused attention on the specific type of the conical

⁴⁰ See Bressani, “The Hybrid: Labrouste’s Paestum,” 94.

Etruscan tomb, a form that had already become a recurring motif in the work of the French *pensionnaires*.⁴¹ [figure 2.1.27] What Huyot and others had said about the Etruscan and Pelasgian contributions to the development of the concave form of the arch, Lenoir observed, in inverted form of course, in the convexity of Etruscan funereal tumuli and tombs. The general form of a bottom heavy monument rising up to a point, according to Lenoir, was ubiquitous and universal enough to be found in civilizations across the globe, from India and Assyria in the east to Scandinavia and Mexico in the west. However, Lenoir drew a line between two similar but distinct variants of the form. While the pyramidal form he saw as a specifically Oriental (he cites India, Assyria and Egypt), the conical variant was decidedly Occidental, emerging in Asia Minor and extending to Eastern and Northern Europe. For Lenoir, Etruscan tombs registered the gradual process of development from the nascent forms of Asia Minor and the Orient to a wholly singular and national type which was, he claimed, “indépendant de l’influence d’un peuple étranger.”⁴² Other Etruscan artifacts, Lenoir explained, displayed clear physiognomic similarities with those of cultures from the east (he points, for instance, to the delicate lines on Etruscan statues that are reminiscent of Egyptian art), although the conical tombs were distinct enough to bring about an entirely new architectural order, the Tuscan.⁴³

In the long list of primitive lithic monuments at the beginning of “Ceci tuera cela,” published just a year prior to Lenoir’s articles, Victor Hugo had drawn special attention to Etruscan conical tombs, singling them out among other lithic words as the “noms propres” of

⁴¹ Albert Lenoir, “Monumens sépulcraux de l’Étrurie moyenne,” *Annales de l’institut de correspondance archéologique* 4 (1832): 254-279; Albert Lenoir, “Tombeaux de Norchia,” *Annales de l’institut de correspondance archéologique* 4 (1832): 289-95.

⁴² Lenoir, “Monumens sépulcraux de l’Étrurie moyenne,” 270.

⁴³ Like Viel de Saint-Maux, Lenoir proposed a clear connection between the development of the tomb and that of the column. Lenoir, “Monumens sépulcraux de l’Étrurie moyenne,” 269.

architectural expression.⁴⁴ But why were these forms important and what were they meant to represent? For Lenoir, the cone presented a simple and straightforward idea (“la pensée simple que présente un cône”), although he gave the reader few clues on how to interpret symbolically these monuments. What Lenoir did provide was a brief discussion of these tombs in which he claimed them to be the most apt form for commemoration (“forme conservatrice”) and suggested that their convexity had its origins in the mounds of combustible detritus assembled for funerary pyres.⁴⁵ He saw evidence for such an interpretation in the little stone cones that often capped conical monuments, arguing that these represented both the flame from the burning pyre and the soul of the deceased.

Beyond this account of the possible physical origins for the forms, a more complete interpretation was provided in an article in the *Annales* by Théodore Panofka, one of the three original founders of the Institut de Correspondance Archéologique. The short article followed a review by the duc d’Albert de Luynes of a proposed reconstruction by Quatremère de Quincy of the tomb of Lars Porsenna (Pursenas), an Etruscan king remembered for his war against Rome in the 5th century BC.⁴⁶ In an accompanying volume of plates, le duc de Luynes published his own perspective drawing of the reconstruction alongside Quatremère de Quincy’s; both imagined the monument as a towering set of narrow conical forms at the

⁴⁴ Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, 208-209.

⁴⁵ Lenoir remarked: “[la] configuration de tombeaux qui put être une imitation des autels ou plus encore de bûchers où l’on brûlait les corps, couronnés comme ils l’étaient d’une pomme de pin ou d’un petit cône en pierre . . . n’était-ce pas l’expression de la flamme qui avait dévoré les restes mortels du héros sur le bûcher, ou celle de son âme toujours présent au sommet de sa sépulture.” “The configuration of tombs that might have been imitations of altars, or even more, of wood logs where they incinerated bodies, crowned as they were with a pine cone or a small cone made of stone . . . was this not the representation of the flame that had devoured the human remains of heroes that rested on logs, or that of the hero’s soul always present at the summit of the sepulcher.” See: Albert Lenoir, “Monument sépulcraux de l’Étrurie moyenne,” 275.

⁴⁶ Honoré Théodore Paul Joseph d’Albert duc de Luynes, “Sur la restitution du Tombeau de Porsenna par M. Quatremère de Quincy,” *Annales de l’institut de correspondance archéologique pour l’an 1829* cahiers I, II (1829): 304-09.

scale of the great pyramids at Giza.⁴⁷ [figure 2.1.28] Although he sidestepped the issue concerning the accuracy of the reconstructions, Panofka sought to explain the essential origins and symbolic purpose of conical funerary monuments. He saw their commemorative origins as critical, and he pointed to the prevalence of “*noms propres*” (his italics) on the tombs. The Greek migration to Etrurian lands (by which he presumably meant the Pelasgic migration) helped shape the Etruscan tumuli into upright conical “stèles,” such as proposed for the tomb of Lars Pursenas. To prove the point, Panofka cited the etymological connection between the terms “stèles” and “stylos” and to the formal similarities between conical monuments and the Greek instrument for writing. But beyond their funerary and commemorative functions, these conical monuments, he argued, were phallic monuments connected to Bacchic worship. Echoing Viel de Saint-Maux, Panofka reminded the reader that such monuments were symbolic expressions of generation and fertility.

As Martin Bressani has outlined in an article on Henri Labrouste’s competition entry for the design of Napoleon’s tomb, the conical form appears repeatedly in the architect’s Italian sketchbooks and was a recurring motif in his later work, especially in designs for tombs.⁴⁸ Constant-Dufeux’s own fascination with such forms was clearly evident from his unofficial drawings from Italy, from the choice of monuments he would employ for his course on perspective at the École des Beaux-Arts, and from his design for the tomb of Dumont d’Urville, discussed later in this dissertation. Along with the famous tumulus at Corneto, with

⁴⁷ James Fergusson, the noted Scottish architect and archeologist, wrote an interesting refutation of le Duc de Luynes and Quatremère de Quincy’s reconstructions of the tomb of Porsenna, and supplied his own curious pyramidal scheme. See James Fergusson, “The Tomb of Porsenna,” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 6 (1885): 207-32.

⁴⁸ Apart from Labrouste’s competition design for Napoleon’s tomb at the Invalides, an unbuilt tomb design drawn near the end of Labrouste’s life for the remains of his close friend Félix Duban demonstrates the way that the conical form was seen by Romantics as expressing growth, generation and expansion. Martin Bressani, “Projet de Labrouste pour le tombeau de l’empereur Napoléon. Essai d’interprétation symbolique de l’architecture romantique,” *Revue de l’Art* 125 (1999): 54-63.

its underground rock-cut chambers, Constant-Dufeux's drawings from Italy portray a number of conical Etruscan tombs including the ruins of the Tomb of the Horatii and Curiatii, a tomb at Volterra reconstructed with its missing conical cap and the tomb to Cecilia Metella. There is also a sketch of a cone-shaped altar at Ostia, which is juxtaposed to drawings of similarly shaped menhirs from the French Jura region site at Dôle. [figures 2.1.29 to 2.1.32]

Constant-Dufeux's attention to archeological questions led to a severe rebuke by the architecture section of the Académie royale des Beaux-Arts, which had been issuing statements and instituting new travel restrictions to guard against the trend since Labrousse's Paestum controversy.⁴⁹ The Académie blamed the discovery of Etruscan burial sites in and around Rome for many of the "abuses" affecting the *pensionnaires'* architectural restorations. The newly discovered Etruscan forms, they explained, had unduly influenced the "imagination active des jeunes architectes" and was affecting the way they interpreted antique monuments, even those with no direct or discernible Etruscan lineage.⁵⁰ In the official *jugements* on the previous year's projects from Rome, the Académie singled out Théodore Labrousse's fourth-year restoration project of 1831 for the Temples at Cori as an example of the inappropriate transfer of Etruscan burial artifacts and motifs onto celebrated classical

⁴⁹ The report was read out loud by M. Guénepin during the session held on September 28, 1833 and was signed by the members of the architecture section of the Académie des Beaux-Arts which, in 1833, included Percier, Huyot, Vaudoyer, Debret, Lebas and Achille Leclère; it was certified by the secrétaire perpétuel, Quatremère de Quincy. See Horace Vernet, *Horace Vernet, 1829-1834*, edited by François Fossier, Isabelle Chave and Jacques Kuhnle, vol. 5, *Correspondance des directeurs de l'académie de France à Rome (Saint-Haon-le-Vieux: Le Puits aux Livres, 2010)*, 394-395.

⁵⁰ "Les importantes découvertes faites dans les nécropoles des Étrusques aux environs de Rome, en donnant des idées toutes nouvelles sur l'état des arts de ce peuple, devaient aussi avoir de l'influence sur l'imagination active des jeunes architectes et, dès lors, ils recueillirent ce qui leur sembla de plus intéressant sous le rapport de leur art. . . . Il était facile de prévoir ce qui pouvait en résulter, c'est-à-dire qu'on arriverait à faire abus d'une décoration neuve et originale, sous bien de rapports, mais qui ne peut convenir à la décoration des grands monuments." Vernet, *Horace Vernet, 1829-1834*, 387.

temples. The formal integrity of Labrouste's Temples at Cori, the Académie indicated, "est tellement confondue avec des détails d'armures, de boucliers, de meubles et d'ustensiles de toutes espèce, qu'il est difficile de juger du rapport des lignes et de la proportion des ordres."⁵¹ The practice was, of course, purposeful; the young architects wished to demonstrate that classical monuments were contingent on historical transformations and civilizational exchange. In 1833, in part as a reaction to some of the more archeologically speculative projects by Constant-Dufeux, such as the reconstructions of the *Portique du Forum Triangulaire* in Pompeii in a Greek idiom (which included a bright polychrome cornice and roof cresting), the Académie opened the yearly session assessing the projects from the Villa Medici by again criticizing the practice. [figures 2.1.33 and 2.1.34] The purpose of the *pensionnaires'* time in Rome was not, they explained, "de s'y livrer, avec une ardeur exagérée, à l'archéologie pour y devenir des antiquaires," but rather for the study of "des bons modèles."⁵² What particularly bothered the members of the Académie was the attempt by the *pensionnaires* to extend the scope of the restorations beyond architectural volumes, proportions and details, crowding them instead with physical traces of the civilizations from which the buildings emerged. For the Académie, the ancient ruins were there for the French architect to appropriate and borrow freely from, and it would seem that the *pensionnaires'* practice of depicting these ruins as inextricably tied to the usages of ancient civilizations complicated this pursuit. By 1834, the members of the Académie directed their comments at Constant-Dufeux, citing, among other projects, his restoration of the *Temple de Paix* at Paestum as an example of the new mindset affecting the students. The *pensionnaires*, the

⁵¹ "is so confused with the inclusion of weaponry, of shields, of furniture and utensils of all types, that it is difficult to judge the combination of lines and the proportions of the orders." Vernet, *Horace Vernet, 1829-1834*, 387.

⁵² "to commit, with an exaggerated sense of ardor, to archeology in order to become antiquarians." Vernet, *Horace Vernet, 1829-1834*, 394.

Académie explained, “s’attache très souvent à rechercher des usages plutôt qu’à observer les belles productions des anciens.” They elaborated:

Un temple couvert d’ex-votos, de guirlandes autour des colonnes déguisant l’édifice et empêchant de bien juger de ses proportions; il résulterait de ce désir de rendre compte de tout que si l’on pensait qu’il fût nécessaire d’indiquer les draperies encore en usage pour certaines cérémonies religieuses on finirait par cacher entièrement l’édifice pour ne plus montrer que des tapisseries.⁵³

The Temple of Concord

Constant-Dufeux was in the Académie’s sights not only for the way that he interpreted the antique ruins but also for what seems to have been a real issue with following procedure and completing projects on time. The problems were addressed in the Académie’s official comments as well as in the report made by Horace Vernet, the director of the French Academy in Rome between 1829-1834, which accompanied each year’s projects to Paris. While Constant-Dufeux’s first-year projects were mildly criticized by the Académie for not adhering to the proper scale, his second-year ones were reproached for focusing on details without attending to the larger *ensemble* of the depicted monuments. The Académie concluded by “inviting” the young student “à s’occuper de ses études d’une manière plus sérieuse.”⁵⁴ Constant-Dufeux’s third-year project was devoted to the Corinthian Temple of Jupiter Stator that had been recently reinterpreted by the Italian archeologist Antonio Nibby

⁵³ “[the *pensionnaires*] very often try to determine the various uses rather than observing the beautiful products of the ancients. A temple covered in ex-votos, in garlands around the columns disguising the building and preventing one from judging its proportions. It is the result of the desire to take account of everything, but if it were necessary to include the draperies still in use for certain religious ceremonies, one would end up concealing the entire building in order to show nothing but tapestries.” The description calls to mind Théodore Labrousse’s restoration of the Temple of Hercules at Cora. Vernet, *Horace Vernet, 1829-1834*, 403.

⁵⁴ François Naud, ed., *Procès-verbaux de l’Académie des Beaux-Arts: 1830-1834*, ed. Jean-Michel Leniaud, vol. 5. (Paris: École de Chartres, 2004), 375.

to be the *Graecostasis*, an antique stage on Capitoline Hill from which foreign ambassadors observed the speeches on the Roman rostra.⁵⁵ [figures 2.1.35 to 2.1.39] The project was left unfinished despite the extensive surveys carried out on the site. The problems with Constant-Dufeux's performance became more acute by the fourth-year project, which required the drawings for a restoration of an antique monument of the *pensionnaire's* choice. His ambitious decision to draw the restorations of the entire set of monuments on Capitoline Hill in central Rome gave way to the more manageable plan of restoring the Temple of Concord, which he had begun surveying two years earlier. [figures 2.1.40 and 2.1.41] Issues with permits and access made the completion of the project difficult. Vernet's message to the Académie dismissed this excuse and suggested that a large share of the blame was Constant-Dufeux's.⁵⁶ Consequently,

⁵⁵ The project was not well received; in fact, according to an unnamed critic writing for the daily journal *La Propriété*, the premise for its reconstruction was based on an archeological misunderstanding. See: "Envois de Rome - Architecture, Peinture et Sculpture," *La Propriété, journal d'architecture civile et rurale, des Beaux-Arts et d'Économie sociale* 38 (1834): 3.

⁵⁶ Vernet's harsh treatment of Constant-Dufeux was perhaps motivated by the fact that Vernet himself was under attack by the Académie members in Paris and especially by its Secrétaire perpétuel, Quatremère de Quincy for his defense of Henri Labrouste during the quarrel of the architect's fourth-year *envoi*. Quatremère de Quincy made clear his resentment towards Vernet in a letter addressed to Adolph Thiers, ministre de l'Intérieur in the July Monarchy dated August 16, 1834: "M. Horace Vernet, dès son arrivée au directorat de Rome, forma le projet, non seulement de se rendre tout à fait sans rapports avec l'Académie, quant au régime des études, mais encore de se mettre en opposition avec elle, sur certains points, en prenant le parti des élèves contre leur maîtres. Bientôt toute relation de correspondance cessa entre l'École de Rome et l'Académie de Paris, et bientôt surgirent des abus, dont on n'eut ici aucune connaissance." The letter is quoted in full in Henry Lapauze, *Histoire de l'Académie de France à Rome (1802-1910)*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1924), 219.

Vernet, who would have his tombstone designed by Constant-Dufeux, withheld the *pensionnaire's* stipend until the project was submitted, which of course never happened.⁵⁷

Despite the incompleteness of the project, the fragmentary drawings and the descriptive passages added to the margins provide us with a relatively clear idea of what such restorations might have produced.⁵⁸ These documents demonstrate that Constant-Dufeux was very much informed about the findings of the recent excavations on the site. As he explained, excavations in 1817 at the foot of the Tabularium, the enormous ancient building that delimited the west side of Capitoline Hill, had uncovered the sill of a doorway that was judged to belong to the temple of Concord. This was the first clue of such a temple on the site. Additional excavations that took place at the site between 1828 to 1830 revealed the definitive location of the building. In 1831, a year after Constant-Dufeux embarked on research on the site, the exact location of the peristyle was discovered. Beyond this information derived from recent digs, Constant-Dufeux supported his conclusions by

⁵⁷ In a comment accompanying the Rome projects to Paris, Vernet wrote the Académie about Constant-Dufeux's missing restoration drawings: "M. Constant n'a rien fourni de ses travaux obligatoires, alléguant pour motif qu'après avoir commencé sa restauration (celle du temple reconnu maintenant pour être le véritable temple de la Concorde), de nouvelles fouilles ayant eu lieu, il devait attendre qu'elles fussent terminées pour continuer son travail. N'appréciant pas comme lui ce motif, j'ai cru devoir saisir sa retenue. Je joins à ce tableau le certificat qu'il produit. M. le ministre décidera si les réclamations qu'il présentera peuvent être admises." "M. Constant has provided none of the required work, alleging that after having begun the restoration (of the temple known now to be the veritable Temple of Concord), new digs had started and that he needed to wait until these were finished in order to continue his work. Not appreciating his justification, I believed it necessary to withhold his stipend. I am attaching to this document the certificat that he has given me. M. the minister will decide whether the adjuration he will present will be approved." *Horace Vernet, 1829-1834*, 399.

⁵⁸ There are three known drawings of the site of the Temple de la Concorde by Constant-Dufeux. The first two are nearly identical surveys of the site and are part of the set of drawings temporarily housed at the Musée d'Orsay. The third known drawing is included in the copies of study drawings traced by *pensionnaires* and sent to the Académie in Paris. Once received, these drawings were bound in yearly portfolios. Constant-Dufeux's drawing of the site of the Temple de la Concorde is included in the portfolio for the year 1831. The drawing does not appear on an online search of Constant-Dufeux's holdings at the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts. It is marked by the number I5 on the bottom right hand side of the drawing. I have transcribed the descriptive passage found in the margins of this drawing and included as Appendix B.

quoting from descriptions by ancient authors. From Pliny, for example, he reported that the interiors of the cella were completely covered with murals by some of the most famed Greek painters. Finally, Constant-Dufeux gleaned additional details by transcribing various inscriptions he had witnessed on fragments at the site. These corroborated the conclusions while also providing an important chronology of the many reconstructions of the building over the few centuries of its existence.

But what likely attracted Constant-Dufeux to the temple of Concord was the ancient lore as recounted by Ovid, Livy and other Roman authors that saw it built as a means of ending the long civic discord between Patricians and Plebeians. The final act of the statesman Marcus Furius Camillus, the temple was dedicated to the goddess of harmony and agreement; at the height of the Roman Republic it was eventually transformed into an assembly hall housing the Roman Senate. Constant-Dufeux explained that archeologists had revealed evidence of this latter function by comparing the archeological findings to the image on a medal found nearby. The presence of windows along the entire perimeter of the cella confirmed the temple's function as a meeting hall rather than as a sanctuary for divinities. In many ways, Constant-Dufeux's ambitious project paralleled Henri Labrousse's contentious restoration of the *Portique* at Paestum. Here too was proof that architecture could adapt to new social functions and new civic usage. And here again was a building that participated in resolving conflict and struggle between two inherently differentiated populations. While it is difficult to know how Constant-Dufeux would have fully resolved the restoration of the building, the interest in tracing the architectural origins of democratic assembly demonstrated here would come to inform his final-year *envoi* for a Chamber of Deputies for France.

Chapter 2

“Un art nouveau complet”: The Chamber of Deputies *Envoi*

One Monarchy to Another

The new themes informing Constant-Dufeux’s work and ideas became more pointedly militant with his final fifth-year *envoi* from Rome. Beyond Constant-Dufeux’s focus on social usage and his difficulties with meeting deadlines, the Académie would have difficulties with the political undertones of his final fifth-year project. Constant-Dufeux’s deep sympathy for the revolution in Paris is evident from the letters to his parents written during his stay in Italy. Despite his continued admiration for Napoleon Bonaparte (while visiting an important site of Napoleonic conquest in Italy, for instance, Constant-Dufeux exclaimed that “maintenant tout le pays va devenir pour moi plein des souvenirs du grand homme”), he made clear in a letter written two months after the July Revolution his adherence to constitutional values and his desire to be part of the revolutionary activities. “Nous avons pensé qu’à la nouvelle de la dernière révolution,” he confessed, snidely commenting that “[d]ans les Champs-Élysées, nous ne vîmes ni Alexandre, ni César, pas même Napoléon . . . ils se sont cachés dans leurs tombeaux, effrayés des maximes constitutionnelles.”¹ More so than was the case with previous *Grand Prix* laureates, Constant-Dufeux’s political ideals would overtly color his fifth-year *envoi* project. The opportunity was certainly there for the taking, since the fifth-year assignment as envisioned by the Académie was to be a building or structure designed from ground up and students were given free rein in choosing both a program and a site for their architectural proposal. In deciding to design a Chamber of

¹ “Now, the entire country shall be for me filled with memories of the great man. . . . We thought only of the news of the last revolution . . . on the Elysian fields, we spotted neither Alexander, nor Cesar and not even Napoleon . . . they were hiding in their tombs, afraid of the constitutional maxims.” Constant-Dufeux, “Lettres écrites d’Italie de 1830-1835,” 76.

Deputies for the lower house of the French parliament, Constant-Dufeux was no doubt weighing in on issues of great political sensitivity.

As a governmental body, the Chamber of Deputies was a recent innovation. The bicameral legislature was created with the passage of the Charter of 1814 that gave the French a constitution modeled after the English system of constitutional monarchy. The Charter established the upper house known as the Chamber of Peers (*Chambre des Pairs*), an appointed body that met at the Palais de Luxembourg (akin to the English House of Lords), and the lower house Chamber of Deputies (*Chambre des Députés*), which had limited powers and whose members were elected (though, only about one percent of the population could vote).² Beyond the legislative limits placed on the Chamber of Deputies, there were also a number of obstacles, such as the necessity to pay over one thousand francs in taxes if elected, that barred all but the wealthy and well connected to compete for election.³ By March 1830, the rise of Liberal deputies in the Chamber presented difficulties for the monarch Charles X who in response altered the Charter of 1814 and dissolved the Chamber on July 25th. The decree provoked what is known as *Les Trois Glorieuses*, the subsequent three-day revolution that would unseat the king and replace him with a distant cousin, Louis-Philippe, duc d'Orléans, who was hand picked by members of the Chamber of Deputies.

The brief power vacuum that emerged after the abdication of Charles X (and after the twenty-minute reign of his elder son, Louis Antoine, duc d'Angoulême) exposed the full spectrum of visions for the new structure of government. The two momentary centers of power were the Hôtel de Ville and the Palais Bourbon. The group assembled at the former

² François Furet, *Revolutionary France, 1770-1880*, translated by Antonia Nevill (Oxford, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1995), 272.

³ See: Peter Campbell, *French Electoral Systems and Elections since 1789* (London: Faber & Faber, 1958), 57-58.

location held Republican convictions and was led by the Marquis de Lafayette, the prominent military officer who served as major-general in the American war of independence. Lafayette had returned to France to become commander of the National Guard during the early years of the 1789 revolution, eventually becoming member of the Chamber of Deputies at the time of its creation. In contrast, the group assembled at the Palais Bourbon was made up of factions supporting varying degrees of monarchical rule. Proponents of Louis-Philippe stationed there (which included the notable deputies Adolphe Thiers and Jacques Laffitte) cunningly emphasized the duke's family's Republican pedigree (Louis-Philippe's father, known as *Philippe Égalité*, supported the revolution until his death on the Jacobin guillotine in 1793), issuing a declaration on July 30th that spoke of the duc d'Orléans' devotion to the cause of the revolution.⁴ Thus, Louis-Philippe was presented as a compromise candidate who would protect France from the possibility of attack from neighboring European nations fearful of Republican rule, while also satisfying the demands of the lower classes who had fought on the barricades to assure the success of the revolution.

The seat of the Chamber of Deputies since the Chamber's creation in 1814, the Palais Bourbon, was at the center of France's political activity for over two centuries. The Palais Bourbon was confiscated soon after the revolution from the *émigré* Prince de Condé, grandson of the duchess of Bourbon and the original owner of the early eighteenth-century

⁴ The declaration reads: "Charles X ne peut plus rentrer dans Paris; il a fait couler le sang du peuple. La république nous exposerait à d'affreuses divisions; elle nous brouillerait avec l'Europe. Le duc d'Orléans est un prince dévoué à la cause de la Révolution. Le duc de d'Orléans ne s'est jamais battu contre nous. Le duc d'Orléans était à Jemmapes. Le duc de d'Orléans a porté au feu les couleurs tricolores, Le duc de d'Orléans peut seul les porter encore; nous n'en voulons pas d'autres." "Charles X can no longer enter Paris; he has caused the blood of the people to be shed. The republic shall expose us to terrible divisions; it will complicate our place in Europe. The duke d'Orléans is a prince devoted to the cause of the revolution. The duke d'Orléans never fought against us. The duke d'Orléans was at Jemmapes. The duke d'Orléans wore in battle the tricolor, the duc d'Orléans alone can wear them again; we do not want another." See: Michael Marrinan, "Resistance, Revolution and the July Monarchy: Images to Inspire the Chamber of Deputies," *Oxford Art Journal* 3, no. 2 (1980): 26.

palace. It began housing legislative bodies in 1798, with the inauguration of a new assembly hall designed by the architects Jacques Pierre Gisors and Emmanuel-Chérubin Leconte for the *Conseil des Cinq cents*, one of the two assemblies under the revolutionary *Directoire*.⁵ In 1793, the architects had designed a provisional semi-circular auditorium for the revolutionary legislature within the *salle des Machines*, a long rectangular hall at the Tuileries Palace across the Seine from the Palais Bourbon. The form of the hemicycle, which had been employed to the great admiration of critics two decades earlier by the architect Jacques Gondoin for the main dissecting theatre of the *École de Chirurgie*, would prove persistent for the design of legislative assembly spaces in France. Gisors and Leconte reused the hemicycle form for the assembly hall of the *Conseil des Cinq cents* at the Palais Bourbon. The building served as legislative assembly during the Napoleon's reign and, despite its severe dilapidation, during most of the Restoration monarchy. As a result of the recent governmental purchase of the Palais Bourbon from the Prince de Condé (who had reclaimed the property in 1814 and rented it to the government), the government decided in 1827 to embark on a comprehensive renovation of the buildings, which included the plan to rebuild the assembly hall now housing the Chamber of Deputies.

Despite arguments that the new assembly hall should mimic the English House of Commons and employ a square plan, partisans for the adoption of the hemicycle, a form

⁵ Michel Mopin, "L'Assemblée Nationale et le Palais Bourbon d'hier à aujourd'hui," *Assemblée nationale*, <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/connaissance/collection/10.asp>.

irrevocably associated with democratic assembly in France, won out.⁶ In arriving at this decision, Jules de Joly, the architect charged with the new project, prepared five schemes. Three commissions were created to evaluate different elements of the projects. The first commission, composed of architects and headed by Héricart de Thury, argued for the historical relevance of the semi-circular form, citing its prevalence in ancient and modern building. The second commission made up of scientists and headed by the natural historian Georges Cuvier also supported unanimously the hemicycle form, emphasizing the great advantages of the semi-circular form “sous le rapport de la commodité et de la sonorité.”⁷ Finally, the third commission, made up of members of the Chamber itself, upheld the decision of the two other commissions.⁸ [figure 2.2.1] In preparation for the new building, Joly built a provisional building in hemicycle form in the *jardin des Quatre colonnes* on the grounds of the Palais Bourbon. It was in this provisional building that on the 9th of August 1830, Louis-Philippe was proclaimed king and swore allegiance to the new Charter.

⁶ The anonymous author of an article in Édouard Charton's *Le Magasin pittoresque* harshly criticized the choice of the hemicycle form for the French Chamber of Deputies, arguing that the origins of the hemicycle lay in the form of the theatre and therefore did not adequately meet to the expectations of democratic activity. For the author, the French should have taken better notice of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin and Charles Barry's concurrent construction of the Houses of Parliament in London. “Les Anglais qui assistent aux séances de notre Chambre des députés,” he explained, “sont frappés de cette apparence théâtrale qu'elle empruntent précisément de la forme même de la salle. L'orateur placé à la tribune ne ressemble-t-il pas réellement à un acteur s'adressant à un public payant, et ces galeries réservées au public ne paraissent-elles pas plutôt destinées à recevoir des femmes venant faire parade de leurs élégantes toilettes, que des auditeurs sérieux, intéressés aux débats des affaires d'une grande nation?” “The English that attend meetings in our Chamber of Deputies are struck by the theatrical appearance conveyed by the form of the room. Does the orator positioned on the tribune not resemble an actor addressing himself to a paying public, and these galleries reserved for the public, do they not seem better designed to accommodate women having come to parade their elegant fashion, than serious auditors interested in the debates and the affairs of a great nation?” See: “Palais de la Chambre des députés,” *Le Magasin pittoresque* 11 (1843): 100-101.

⁷ “Palais de la Chambre de députés,” 100.

⁸ “Palais de la Chambre de députés,” 100.

Soon after the coronation of Louis-Philippe, whose official title “King of the French” (as opposed to his predecessors’ title “King of France”) reflected the populist image his supporters had worked hard to propagate, the new king instituted a renovation of the official iconography. As Michael Marrinan has noted, among the first projects to be funded was the new decorative scheme for the Chamber of Deputies.⁹ Acting at the behest of the new government, François Guizot launched a competition to solicit preparatory drawings for three large paintings to be installed on the flat wall behind the tribune in the Chamber. The central painting was to represent the coronation of Louis-Philippe and his oath to uphold the new charter. In line with the desire to portray the new king as the inheritor of the 1789 revolutionary ethos, the solicitations for the two paintings to flank the coronation called for representations of events during the revolutionary years.¹⁰ The subject matter for the first painting concerned the Tennis Court Oath, which took place at Versailles upon the collapse of the meeting of the Estates-General in June 1789 (the events were immortalized in a famous drawing by Jacques-Louis David). For the last painting in the chamber, the subject matter concerned an important episode during the difficult year of 1795 in which the president of the Convention François Antoine de Boissy d’Anglas’s level-headed comportment helped quell a bread riot that threatened to devolve into mass rebellion. The

⁹ Marrinan, “Resistance, Revolution and the July Monarchy,” 27. Two other sources provided detailed analyses of this important competition: Léon Rosenthal, *Du Romantisme au Réalisme* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1914) and Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Phaidon, 1971).

¹⁰ Marrinan quotes Guizot’s proposal of September 25, 1831 which makes this clear: “J’ai pensé devoir me renfermer exclusivement dans notre histoire législative pendant la révolution française. C’est là que les députés doivent chercher des exemples, et la France, qui se presse pour les écouter, des motifs d’attachement aux institutions constitutionnelles.” “I believed it necessary to rely exclusively on the legislative history during the French Revolution. It is here that deputies must search for models, and so too must France, which hastens to hear them, find motifs relevant to the constitutional institutions.” Marrinan, “Resistance, Revolution and the July Monarchy,” 32-33.

two subject matters prescribed for the paintings captured the “juste milieu”¹¹ of the July Monarchy and, despite evocations of the French revolution of 1789, demonstrated as clear an aversion to despotism as to the *sans-culottes*’ attempts at popular revolt.¹²

But the desire to evoke the revolutionary and Republican past in the portrayal of the July Monarchy did not last very long into its reign. With deep dissatisfaction and the growing threat of mass uprisings by Republicans and the lower classes (three significant riots occurred in France between 1831 and 1834), as well as repeated assassination attempts on the life of the king, the July Monarchy rebranded itself, purging the revolutionary iconography it had initially celebrated. In May 1834, a departmental memo questioned the wisdom of hanging paintings commemorating revolutionary events.¹³ By September 1836, the decision was announced that only the central painting depicting the coronation and oath of Louis-Philippe would be hung.¹⁴ [figure 2.2.2] The sole remaining decorative element with revolutionary content, one of only two artefacts salvaged from Gisors and Leconte’s assembly hall for the *Conseil des Cinq cents* on the same site, was the white marble tribune by eighteenth-century French sculptor François-Frédéric Lemot. The tribune represented the figure of History writing the word “République” on a tablet, and the figure of Fame

¹¹ The expression “juste milieu” was first uttered by Louis-Philippe on January 1831, during an address to a deputation from the town of Gaillac. Louis-Philippe exclaimed: “Nous ne devons pas seulement chérir la paix, nous devons encore éviter tout ce qui pourrait provoquer la guerre. Quant à la politique intérieure, nous chercherons à nous tenir dans un juste milieu.” “We must not only cherish the peace, we must also avoid all that might provoke war. With regards to our internal politics, we shall strive to conduct ourselves according to just middle-ground.” Quoted in: David S. Kerr, *Caricature and French Political Culture 1830–1848: Charles Philipon and the Illustrated Press* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 70.

¹² Guizot described this middle ground: “La résistance au despotisme et la résistance à la sédition déterminent les limites des devoirs d’un député.” “Resistance to despotism and resistance to sedition determining the limits of a deputy’s duties.” Marrinan, “Resistance, Revolution and the July Monarchy,” 33.

¹³ Marrinan, “Resistance, Revolution and the July Monarchy,” 36.

¹⁴ Marrinan, “Resistance, Revolution and the July Monarchy,” 36.

publicizing the recent events by blowing into a trumpet. Between the figures the bust of “Liberté” was raised on a Janus-headed pedestal, a symbol of knowledge of the past and premonition of the future.¹⁵

A New Spatial Configuration

Constant-Dufeux’s project for a Chamber of Deputies was prepared in 1834, sent to Paris to be judged by the Académie, and then returned to Rome and displayed there the following year. It is not clear how much of the news of recent Parisian developments had reached him in Rome, although it can be assumed that, with the yearly arrival of new Prix de Rome laureates and the regular visits from dignitaries, artists and other guests from the French capital, he was well informed of the debates surrounding the design and decoration of the new French Chamber of Deputies.¹⁶ The newly found original drawings of the project, unknowingly mixed into a large folder holding the drawings of one of his former students, bear this out.¹⁷ [figures 2.2.3 to 2.2.7] As the drawings show, many of the design decisions appear as direct repudiations of both Joly’s plan and the modifications prescribed for the building by the July Monarchy. What is certain is that much like the initial plan of the July Monarchy, Constant-Dufeux’s project was intended to redefine the political symbolism of the institution. It was, however, even more overt in its employment of symbols of the 1789

¹⁵ “Description de l’ancienne salle du Conseil des Cinq cent,” *Revue universelle des arts* 21 (1865): 323.

¹⁶ And he might have been aware of the recent threats by the Chamber of Deputies in Paris of cutting the financing of the Prix de Rome program altogether. The question of the Chambre’s support of the Prix de Rome is brought up in: Lapauze, *Histoire de l’Académie de France à Rome*, vol. 2, 224.

¹⁷ The drawings are made up of four panels mounted on blue pasteboard. Inscribed at the bottom right of the panel on the extreme right is the number 80062. No other identifying marks appear on the drawings. The drawings are at the Médiathèque de l’Architecture et du Patrimoine in Paris in the Collection Ruprich-Robert: dessins de l’École des Beaux-Arts.

Revolution and many of its decorative details were but thinly veiled attempts at evoking the ideals and the spirit of a Republic.

The Chamber of Deputies in Paris, as renovated by Joly, was entered through two separate monumental portals, one facing the Seine and bearing a colonnaded temple front designed by Napoleonic architect Bernard Poyet, and the other incorporating the forecourt of the seventeenth-century Palais Bourbon. Constant-Dufeux retained this key circulatory feature of the buildings. But while the existing Chamber of Deputies welcomed the king at one end of the building and deputies at another, the project by Constant-Dufeux, despite being designed for a Constitutional Monarchy, subverted the existing sequence in a number of fundamental ways. First, it replaced the king's entrance with an "entrée du peuple" facing a vast public square. In fact, Constant-Dufeux provided no "Salon du Roi" as had been provided in Joly's plan and no sign whatsoever of the king's presence in the buildings. Second, it reserved the monumental porch and doorway on the opposite end of the building for solemn occasions and channelled deputies to an opening beneath the grand staircase. The legislators' entrance permitted easy access for carriages and provided shelter from the elements. Third, underscoring the limits that Constant-Dufeux envisioned should be placed on executive power, the president was provided an uncharacteristically modest doorway on one of the lateral façades of the scheme; this opening lined up with a block of buildings across the street that Constant-Dufeux marked out as the housing the private residence of the president. In the brief description of the project, Constant-Dufeux explained these variances in functional terms although the political symbolism of such decisions was undoubtedly not lost on the members of the Académie. In total, these alterations pointed to Constant-Dufeux's larger attempt at demonstrating the prominence of the public voice and of emphasizing the representative function of government.

The title that Constant-Dufeux provided for the project, *Un Palais pour la Chambre des Députés*, pointed to the formalities and necessary conventions appropriate for such stately institutions. The passage for deputies in the project involved moving through a highly choreographed sequence of spaces that prepared the representatives of the people for their important duties ahead. It began in the forecourt which was recessed from the street and faced a tree-lined triangular plaza centered on a fountain. On either side of the protuberant façade extended one-story arcades poised on stout full-round Doric columns and behind which were inserted rooms for the sentinel and lodgings for the porters. Above these arcuated colonnades, the outstretched arms of the scheme, were inscribed maxims (“L’IMPARTIALITÉ DES JUGES” appears on one drawing) reminding the visitor of the democratic ideals underlying governmental activity.

These ideals were reiterated on the façade of the entrance hall which featured four Gallic roosters, an ancient symbol of France resurrected during the 1789 Revolution in order to evoke Gallic origins of French citizens (in contrast with the non-Gallic origins of much of its aristocracy). The symbol itself had been newly recuperated by the government of the July Monarchy after its substitution by the imperial eagle during the Napoleon’s reign and its subsequent proscription by the Restoration monarchy. Along each side of the main doors, Constant-Dufeux added a long band of statues representing important figures of the 1789 Revolution, their names inscribed below the niches they each occupied.

The façade of this entrance consisted of a perplexing combination of elements from various epochs, and its surfaces abounded with structural and decorative redundancies. Constant-Dufeux’s biographer Féraud was undoubtedly referring to this aspect of the project when he claimed that here the architect triumphantly affirmed “la liberté de son

éclectisme.”¹⁸ The tall and slender round-arch windows evoked the Romanesque, while the band of statues recessed within rectangular aedicules brought to mind a westfront gallery of kings (if intended, it was an ironic suggestion since revolutionaries, mobilized against the monarchy, had decapitated the figures lining the gallery of kings at Notre-Dame cathedral). Upon entering the building, whether through the grand doors or through the “*entrée ordinaire*” beneath the stairs, one arrived at the *Salle de Garde*, a monumental vestibule which, at the existing Chambre des Députés, fed directly into the hemicycle *Salle de Séance*, but here was but the first room in a long narrative sequence of spaces. As part of this sequence, the entrant was greeted with an immense mural depicting the storming of the Bastille, the pivotal event that set the Revolution of 1789 in motion. The murals in subsequent rooms described later revolutionary scenes: the raising of Palloy’s column at the site of the Bastille and the funerary processions at the Panthéon. The other murals in the building, which were painted with watercolors directly on the drawings in a rough (and at times vague) way, represent what appear to be scenes from pre-Imperial Napoleonic conquest: the campaign into Egypt and the invasion of Rome. Constant-Dufeux meant the program for the building’s murals to be a didactic lesson of France’s revolutionary history. After moving through the *Galerie des Distribution* for the collection of mail, the entrant would await the opening of the legislative session in the *Salle des Conférences*, an oblong rectangular hall second only to the *Salle des Séance* in size, and which doubled as a formal meeting space for special occasions. Its long walls were faced with a continuous sequence of murals and topped with clerestory windows, while in breadth the walls reproduced the motif of arches and ceremonial doorways that characterized the façade of the deputy entrance. If the chamber was not in session, deputies could wander around the two interior courtyards and avail

¹⁸ Féraud, “Constant-Dufeux,” 90.

themselves of the resources at the archives and the library. They could also meet in smaller groups in the nine *Bureaux* that Constant-Dufeux designed for this purpose, or, if they belonged to a governmental commission, in the ten rooms next to the president's entrance that served this function.

The focus of the scheme was undoubtedly the *Salle des Séances*, the legislative assembly hall that in Paris was completely concealed behind the Palais Bourbon and Poyet's neoclassical portico. In contrast to the existing disposition, Constant-Dufeux projected the chamber block out onto the broad public plaza and lifted it up from the ground so as to allow the public to move around the entire base of the volume. This feature prompted the positive observation by a critic for the *Journal des artistes* that the project presented “des combinaisons ingénieuses dans l'agencement des diverses parties.”¹⁹ The layout was highly practical since the partial disconnection between the chamber and the larger palace allowed for much more efficient access by the greater public. Access through the so-called “entrée du peuple” was attained by two circular staircases at the base of the chamber that directed citizens and journalists up to the third floor and onto an arcuated gallery that wrapped around three sides of the assembly hall. The scheme made it possible for the public to witness proceedings of the chamber without ever entering the larger palace and thereby averting the crowding and security issues that remained a real problem at the Chambre des Députés in Paris. Furthermore, the separation between the chamber and the rest of the palace made it possible for the chamber to be lit by a continuous band of arched clerestory windows. As the tallest element in the scheme, the chamber volume acted as a sort of beacon on the exterior, especially during evening sessions when light would presumably stream out of the entire perimeter of clerestories.

¹⁹ F. “Envois des pensionnaires de Rome,” 151.

Beyond the utilitarian advantages provided by the layout, the decision to separate the chamber from the rest of the palace volume proved an effective means of foregrounding the representative principals of the new political system. The symbolism of Constant-Dufeux's plan was hard to miss: the chamber (and its deputies) was, quite figuratively, projected out into the people's square. Like a promontory surrounded by sea, the spatial configuration reminded the viewer just how beholden were deputies to the crowds they were sworn to represent. There could be no better expression of the restlessness of the democratic process, no better exhibition of Thierry's and Guizot's contention that a nation's history was created through social struggle and political strife. And like the Temple of Concorde that had captivated Constant-Dufeux the year before, the configuration of the chamber in relation to the rest of the palace brought to mind the struggle between Plebeians and Patricians and the role of architecture in achieving necessary political reconciliation.

The symbolism of the gesture continued on the interior of the volume where Constant-Dufeux employed the semicircular layout for the seating of the deputies. Whether knowingly or not, the decision weighed in on the side of those in Paris that sought to safeguard the historical connection of the institution to antique precedent and to the revolutionary origins of the form. The hemicycle contained seats and small desks for the 450 deputies Constant-Dufeux stipulated would make up the chamber. Again following the precedent laid out in the revolutionary legislative chambers, a tribune was designed for the center of the hall and raised on a series of steps. The interior of the chamber was brightly polychromed and across the three walls enclosing the hemicycle, Constant-Dufeux added a continuous curtain of loosely hung drapery, a motif he had seen reproduced in wall paintings in Pompeii. [figure 2.2.8] The motif was also reminiscent of the provisional assembly hall built in the gardens of the Palais Bourbon which had adopted a similar use of drapery along the

perimeter of the chamber. The temporary assembly's décor was reproduced in the countless paintings and illustrations commemorating Louis-Philippe's oath to the Charter of 1830, such as Joseph Désiré Court's "Le Serment de Louis-Philippe." [figure 2.2.9]

The innovations in spatial organization, which were the true hallmark of the project, extended below the chamber and around its base. Here, Constant-Dufeux transformed the stepped substructure of the chamber into a vast visual display of the names of deputies of the three Revolutionary legislatures of France: the Constituent Assembly (from July 1789 to September 1791), the Legislative Assembly (from 1 October 1791 to September 1792) and the Convention (from 20 September 1792 to 26 October 1795). [figure 2.2.10] In what might have produced a new processional public custom, visitors were encouraged to circumambulate around the entire perimeter of the chamber as though it were some freestanding commemorative monument. The forecourt facing the public entrance reiterated this idea and was scattered with tombs and victory monuments from epochs of all kind: a Napoleonic elephant, a Greek tumulus, steles and equestrian and figurative statues. In addition, there were two prominent monuments at each end: a large column "à la mémoire des victimes de la révolution" commemorating the very recent events of July 1830, and the Luxor obelisk recently given to France by the Khedive of Egypt. [figure 2.2.11]

A Monumental Archive

Besides the original spatial arrangement, Constant-Dufeux affixed an equally inventive decorative program to the building. On the polychrome façade facing the people's plaza, he repeated the practice of providing a monumental catalogue, this time in the form of fifteen golden tablets on which were inscribed the laws enshrined in the "Charte Constitutionnelle"

of the newly minted democratic government. [figure 2.2.12] The charter, however, was represented in a way that broke from the customary manner (from the Revolution of 1778 to the Restoration) of evoking paired and roundheaded Mosaic tablets.²⁰ Constant-Dufeux's portrayal of the tablets, their tops reaching a triangular point, made them appear like banderols hung from poles or leaflets pinned to a wall. The motif was repeated across the façades of the building, a false, gabled lintel added above many of its windows. Coupled with the lists of names of the revolutionary assemblies just below, the façade of the public entrance of the scheme appeared as a relentless repetition of writing and produced an effect of immediacy or self-evidence that few figurative symbols could have achieved. Writing again appeared on the single-story arcades that extended out from the chamber volume and around the open public square. The long "Tabularium" (as Constant-Dufeux labeled it on the drawings), contained inscribed lists of unknown content. Constant-Dufeux had prepared drawings of the capital and architrave of the Roman Tabularium on Capitoline hill as part of his second-year *envoi*.²¹ The building, which sat directly behind the Temple of Concord, operated as an archive in late Republican Rome, safeguarding the large bronze *tabulae* on which were inscribed the laws and official decrees of the Roman state. [figure 2.2.13] The site configuration of Constant-Dufeux's project, in fact, produced a relationship similar to that of the Tabularium and the Temple of Concord. Like the Tabularium, it is assumed that the continuous rows of tablets facing the interior walls of the arcades in Constant-Dufeux's scheme would act similarly as registers of rules and laws governing the nascent democratic French state.

²⁰ For more on the use of mosaic imagery during from the Revolution to the Restoration Monarchy, see: Jonathan P. Ribner, *Broken Tablets: The Cult of the Law in French Art from David to Delacroix* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993).

²¹ L'École Nationale Supérieure Beaux-arts de Paris, Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux, Calques des Envois de Rome : vol. 4 1831. Env. calque 29, Notice n° 1962.

Unlike the starkly modest programs of some of the recent *pensionnaires*' fifth-year *envois*, Constant-Dufieux's choice of a Chamber of Deputies ought to have pleased the Académie. Here, after all, was a program of great contemporary relevance, and with considerable potential for evoking the kind of monumentality and grandeur witnessed in Rome. But that was not the case. The *procès-verbaux* that document the Académie's discussion of the project, were unduly harsh. "Malheureusement," the Académie declared, "M. Constant paraît avoir méconnu les beauté du programme qu'il s'est donné et les ressources qu'il pouvait tirer des cinq années d'études faites à Rome."²² Constant-Dufieux, the Académie charged, had discovered "l'ensemble et les détails dans son imagination" and had produced an overall effect that conveyed an uncertain style ("un style incertain").²³ The popular artistic press, which was in the habit of reviewing the yearly exhibitions of projects from the Villa Medici, were equally critical. A writer for the journal *Archéologie: Mémoires de la Société archéologique du midi et de la France* echoed the Académie's sentiment in calling for "plus de style, plus de grandeur dans l'extérieur."²⁴ A critic from the *Journal des artistes* writing under the pseudonyme F. also wondered about the very strange expression conveyed by the exterior form. "[C]e qui frappe au premier coup," he explained, "c'est un aspect extérieur qui annonce toute autre chose qu'une Chambre des Députés."²⁵ F. mused about the possible building programs the project might prompt: "certaines parties ressemblent à des murs de forteresse,

²² Béatrice Bouvier and Dominique Massounie, eds., *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts: 1835-1839*, ed. Jean-Michel Leniaud, vol. 6 (Paris: École de Chartres, 2003), 402.

²³ Bouvier and Massounie, *Procès-verbaux*, 402.

²⁴ "Exposition des envois des pensionnaires de l'École de France à Rome," *Archéologie. Mémoires de la Société archéologique du midi de la France*, t. 2, no. 10 (1835): 156.

²⁵ F. "Envois des pensionnaires de Rome." *Journal des artistes. Revue pittoresque consacrée aux artistes et aux gens du monde* 2, no. 10 (1836): 151. The same critic had reviewed Constant-Dufieux's winning entry for the *Grand Prix* competition in 1828. See: F. "Architecture. Exposition des ouvrages de concours pour le grand prix." *Journal des artistes et des amateurs*, 2e année, no. 12 (1828): 177-79.

d'autres à des serres, à des orangeries, à des pavillons de plaisance," in other words, building façades with unremitting repetition that produced little wall relief or monumental expression.²⁶

A New Public Ritual

The severity and reserve of the external appearance was not entirely unfamiliar for a project coming out of the Villa Medici in these years. As David Van Zanten has noted, Constant-Dufeux's project for a Chamber of Deputies shared the simple planimetry and boxy appearance of both Labrouste's representation of the *Portique* at Paestum and Félix Duban's fifth-year *envoi* for a Protestant temple.²⁷ [figures 2.2.14 and 2.2.15] These three projects demonstrate a deliberate refusal to present architecture as a positive end in itself. In addition to similarities in their appearance, these projects also introduced a spatial arrangement that implied a circumambulatory movement similar to the assembly hall block in Constant-Dufeux's project. In the case of Labrouste's *Portique* this movement was suggested by the central spine of columns, while in Duban's project it was implied in much the same way as Constant-Dufeux's project: by producing an object in the round ringed on all sides by a one-storey portico. These two defining qualities of the Chamber of Deputies project; the reserve of its appearance and the implied circumambulating movement around the assembly hall, can be seen as integral to Constant-Dufeux's overall intention for the scheme.

Beyond this, Van Zanten draws attention to the fact that these three projects were intended as public assembly halls and were motivated by the common desire to determine a

²⁶ F. "Envois des pensionnaires de Rome." 151.

²⁷ Van Zanten, *Designing Paris: the Architecture of Duban, Labrouste, Duc, and Vaudoyer*, 42.

new architectural form of democratic assembly appropriate for France.²⁸ In this aim, Constant-Dufeux's project was certainly the most direct of the three. Years later, in an article assessing the École des Beaux Arts' choice of a Chamber of Deputies as the design program for the *Grand Prix* competition of 1847, he highlighted the still present need for a new architectural configuration for democratic assembly. Of all the possible programs for a *Grand Prix* competition, he explained, "il n'en était pas de plus important et qui présentât un intérêt plus actuel que celui d'une Chambre des députés."²⁹ According to Constant-Dufeux, history supplied few answers as to the form a future democratic assembly hall might take. The Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans, he believed, had merged their political spaces with those of their religions. Despite early promise, Christianity too had not developed properly democratic forms of assembly; their temples and churches eventually giving way to the palaces of kings: "l'architecture passe du service des églises à celui *des palais*," Constant-Dufeux declared.³⁰ Sadly, the revolution and subsequent periods of democratic rule had equally missed the opportunity of developing a democratic organization of assembly appropriate to the new political circumstances. "Croyons-nous que la grande question des *salles d'assemblées* ait été résolue dans le palais Médicis du Luxembourg [which housed the

²⁸ Constant-Dufeux was not alone in this ambition, although he certainly was the first to state it so directly. In fact, the aspiration of determining the new architectural form of democratic assembly can be seen pervading the work of many architects during the nineteenth century. Certainly, one can interpret Labrousse's great reading rooms at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève and, years later, at the Bibliothèque nationale, as particularly successful attempts at divining such a form. But so too can one see the great assembly halls designed by Auguste Boileau, Viollet-le-Duc and later by Anatole de Baudot, Victor Horta and Hector Guimard.

²⁹ "none was more important, or was more immediately relevant, than a chamber of deputies." Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux, "Grand Prix de l'institut. Concours d'architecture," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 7 (1847): 297.

³⁰ Constant-Dufeux, "Grand Prix de l'institut," 297.

Chamber of Peers], ou dans celui des Condé [the Palais Bourbon]?” he asked rhetorically.³¹

In its modern, secular and representative form, the program of the assembly hall, Constant-Dufeux contended, had the potential of giving rise to a fundamentally new architecture.

“[P]ourquoi ne cherche-t-on pas là le motif d’une nouvelle architecture? He pondered,

“Pourquoi ne fait-on pas de ces édifices un objet particulier d’études et de recherches, pour constituer un type nouveau . . . ?”³²

Despite the call for a new “type” to develop out of research on assembly halls, the design that Constant-Dufeux produced in 1834 was very much inflected by history. The façade of the people’s entrance, criticized for being too heteroclitic in nature, introduced distinct attributes from the Early Christian basilica. Previously, Constant-Dufeux had employed the basilican form in a failed entry for the *Grand Prix* for an Hôtel de ville in Paris in 1825 and again for the design for the Galerie Colbert near the Palais Royale. Here, the basilican form appeared more abstractly, its semblance prompted by a combination of elements that made up the assembly hall block: the arcuated portico ringing its perimeter, the two-story galleries that protruded like aisles on either side and the row of arched clerestory windows crowning the volume. Together, these elements produced the unmistakable likeness of an Early Christian basilica as Constant-Dufeux might have seen in depictions of old St. Peter’s or, more likely, in the many engravings of the Papal Basilica of St. Paul Outside the

³¹ “Do we believe that the great question of assembly halls has been solved by the Palace of Luxembourg, or by the Condé?” Constant-Dufeux, “Grand Prix de l’institut,” 297.

³² “Why not search here for a motif for a new architecture? Why not make these buildings an object of special study and research in order to develop a new type. . . ?” Constant-Dufeux, “Grand Prix de l’institut,” 297.

Walls that circulated since its partial destruction by fire in 1823.³³ [figure 2.2.16] The essential idea that Constant-Dufeux proposed here, as Léon Vaudoyer would confirm some years later, was to return to a hinge-point, or transitional moment of history and use that moment as a springboard for the development of the future form of architecture.³⁴ To this end, his use of the basilican type was especially evocative since it recalled the form for democratic assembly in the Roman Republic while also connoting the spiritual unity of the early church.³⁵ Just as the early Christians had transformed the form of civic and judicial assembly, so too, Constant-Dufeux's project seemed to suggest, could contemporary architects develop a new form for democratic assembly.

Perhaps the most unusual detail of the entire scheme was the station for the measurement of legislators that Constant-Dufeux incorporated beside the grand stair leading up to the entrance facing the Seine. [figure 2.2.17] So as not to cause confusion over the strange podium-like addition to the building's façade, the inscription "Étalon des Poids et Mesures" was placed above the station and the captions "Mètre" and "Kilogramme" added

³³ Richard Wittman presented an enlightening paper on the circulation of images of St. Paul Outside the Walls at the 65th Annual Conference of SAH in 2012. See: "The Informational Economies of San Paolo fuori le mura in 19th-century Rome," (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, Detroit, Michigan, April 18-22, 2012).

³⁴ While David Van Zanten does not remark on the formal similarity between the public façade of Constant-Dufeux's Chamber of Deputies and the Early Christian basilica, he draws attention to the entry "Basilique" in the second volume of *Encyclopédie Nouvelle* which was written by Léon Vaudoyer and published in 1840. Here, Vaudoyer outlines the significance of the basilican form for architects of that generation. Vaudoyer writes: "La basilique proprement dite ne saurais convenir aux moeurs de nos jours; mais il nous semble que les habitudes d'un gouvernement fondé sur la représentation nationale, sur la discussion publique de certaines question et l'élection des magistrats, donneront lieu à la création d'un édifice nouveau dont l'emploi pourrait avoir quelque rapport avec celui de la basilique antique." Pierre Leroux and Jean Reynaud, "Basilique," *Encyclopédie nouvelle*, edited by Pierre Leroux and Jean Reynaud, vol. 2 (Paris: Libraire de Charles Gosselin, 1840), 470. For a detailed analysis of Léon Vaudoyer's important contribution to architectural historiography, see: Barry Bergdoll, *Léon Vaudoyer: Historicism in the Age of Industry* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994).

³⁵ It is notable, of course, that Constant-Dufeux avoided using the forms of the Temple of Concord for this building, regardless of the fact that it too had functioned as a site of democratic assembly.

directly on the devices used to weigh and measure the legislators upon their arrival. Constant-Dufeux's curious invention brought to mind the creation of the "mètre" and the "kilogramme des archives," as universal standards of measure introduced by the French Republic in the late 1790s. Constant-Dufeux's precise motivation for adding this station is not clear. Was it an attempt at suggesting a proportional standard as, much later, Le Corbusier would endeavor with his creation of the Modulor?³⁶ Or was it prompted, rather, by a willingness to conflate the "impartiality" of the law with the "impartiality" of universal measure?

Seen through the lens of the entire project, the device can be read as another example of Constant-Dufeux's relentless manner of seeing the building as a register, as a monumental archive whose expression would be derived, in part at least, from the records and chronicles of the immediate present. More importantly, however, Constant-Dufeux's project presents an conscious synchrony between the commemoration of the past which is enacted on the exterior of the assembly hall block and the democratic legislative activity within its walls. One can say perhaps that the assembly sessions within the building themselves produce the decorative surface of the building through the records of their legislative activity. In this light, the circumambulatory movement around the great volume of the assembly hall appears not simply as a commemoration of the past but also as an observance of the very process of the present becoming history.

Jean-Baptiste Antoine Lassus, a student of Labrouste turned neo-Gothic crusader, would address the central motivation for the Chamber of Deputies project a couple of decades later. Directing his remarks at Constant-Dufeux and an unmentioned few, Lassus

³⁶ The comparison to Le Corbusier's Modulor was made by Robin Middleton in a conversation about this strange inclusion in Constant-Dufeux's project.

denounced what he termed “l'école du rationalisme éclectique et mystique” and its attempt at creating “un art nouveau complet” in which “chaque forme représente un sens mystique et profond.”³⁷ Criticism of the impenetrable nature of Constant-Dufeux’s symbolism would be a continual refrain in assessments of his work throughout the years. Lassus interpreted the project for a Chamber of Deputies as a failed attempt at generating a new political symbolism for the institution. This endeavor, Lassus argued, had proven futile given subsequent political developments. Symbolic representations, Lassus seemed to say, could not be invented anew.

Inventing political symbols was precisely Constant-Dufeux’s aim with the Chamber of Deputies project of 1834. The building became the marker of a new public ritual that involved the continued addition and gradual accretion of the names of recent legislators, the placement of new decrees and laws, and the periodic festooning of the long and austere faces of the building which was equipped with stone pegs in order to receive garlands and other ceremonial adornments. But the building, while surprising its critics by the novelty of its expression, was quite certainly envisioned by Constant-Dufeux as a kind of archetypal image that evoked architecture’s most distant origins. Taking into consideration the architect’s later work, and especially his design for the tomb of Dumont d’Urville (examined later in the dissertation), it is hard to miss the resemblance between the block of the assembly hall in Constant-Dufeux’s project and the freestanding commemorative and funerary monuments dotting the public forecourt of the complex. Like the primitive raised stones that so fascinated the previous generation of philologists and antiquarians, and that captivated Constant-Dufeux himself during his time in Italy, the assembly hall presented itself as a

³⁷ Jean-Baptiste Lassus, *Album de Villard de Honnecourt, architecte du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1858), 34.

comprehensive expression of the civilization it represented, incorporating painting, sculpture, writing (and, at times, more ephemeral accessories) onto its surfaces.

In effect, Lassus's observations about the Chamber of Deputies project totally missed the mark, for he could not recognize the kind of poetry of the surface at work in Constant-Dufeux's architecture. Where he saw a new and permanent monument, unchanging in relation to the social and epochal parameters circumscribing it, Constant-Dufeux and his generation distinguished the visually denuded and detached assembly block form from its multiple surface accretions (including the portico wrapping around its base), seeing the first as a more permanent and archetypal form, and the second as its more recent and transitory incarnation.

Chapter 3

Surface and Symbol: Constant-Dufieux's Addition to the The École Royale Gratuite de Dessin

Maître d'Atelier

In early 1836, soon after his return to France, Constant-Dufieux founded an *atelier* to prepare students for the yearly competitions at the École des Beaux-Arts.¹ Pierre-Honoré Féraud, one of the architect's first students, recounted that Constant-Dufieux's originality and independence were readily transformed into pedagogical objectives. The student work produced in the *atelier*, like the *maître d'atelier's* own projects, “portait ce caractère de liberté,” often integrating architectonic forms culled from pre-classical civilizations and from styles deemed *bâtard* by more orthodox classicists. Indeed, many projects that came out of the *atelier* incorporated elements from Islamic traditions and the near-East, while others made use and prominent display of new building materials such as iron. Like no other in its time, Constant-Dufieux's *atelier* introduced into architectural practice concerns that would test the disciplinary and geographic boundaries of the field, and many of his former pupils such as Jules Bourgoïn, Victor Ruprich-Robert and Charles Chipiez moved on to produce important works on ornament, archeology and aesthetics.²

¹ Constant-Dufieux's first student was Joseph-Eugène Lacroix, who became a pupil while the architect was still at the Villa Médici in Rome, and before the *atelier* was officially opened. In a letter dated January 17, 1845 announcing his candidacy to the chair of perspective at the École des Beaux-Arts, Constant-Dufieux described Lacroix as “un élève que j'avais formé et associé à mes voyages et à mes études” in Rome. See: Constant-Dufieux, “Nomination de Constant Dufieux au cours de perspective à l'école des beaux-arts,” AN AJ/52/456. The second student to join the *atelier* was Victor Ruprich-Robert in 1836 (though Delaire wrongly indicates the date as 1838). The third student was Jean-Baptist-Pierre-Honoré Féraud in 1837. See: Charles Lucas, “Parole prononcées par M. Charles Lucas, architecte à l'inauguration du tombeau de J.B.P.H. Féraud,” *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 13, 4ième série (1886): 27, fn. 4.

² A list of students in Constant-Dufieux's *atelier* is included in Appendix D.

The *atelier's* tendency for experimentation, while welcomed by some, elicited derision from members of the Académie des Beaux-Arts and the École, many of whom served on the jury of the *concours d'émulation* in which the students regularly participated.³ As a result, and with the loss of Charles Percier in 1838 (the architect had greatly championed the merits of Constant-Dufeux's *Grand Prix* entry for a quarantine hospital in 1829), Constant-Dufeux's *atelier* quickly fell out of grace with the Académie. His students gained the reputation as "romantiques outrés," and, while they expended great effort at combatting these aspersions, the *atelier* was nonetheless subject to complete ostracism in its first years.⁴

Despite these difficulties, and despite the common impression that the yearly *Grand Prix* was beyond its members' reach, the *atelier* quickly rose in popularity. Even with

³ Féraud, "Constant-Dufeux," 132.

⁴ Féraud described the ostracism of Constant-Dufeux's *atelier* in great detail. He wrote: "Les compositions qui en résultaient auraient pu trouver grâce devant le jury: c'est ce qui arriva quelque-fois pendant que Percier vivait; mais, après sa mort, l'atelier Constant fut confondu avec ceux que l'on appelait romantiques outrés, et, pendant plusieurs années, malgré les efforts des élèves devenus peu à peu très-nombreux, il fut longtemps frappé, bien plus que les autres ateliers dissidents, d'un rigoureux ostracisme. Le parti-pris contre cet atelier paraissait d'autant plus exister, qu'il obtenait presque toujours des succès dans les concours de construction. Le bon professeur, attristé et même découragé par cet état de choses, engagea plusieurs fois ses élèves à entrer dans des ateliers favorisés; mais ils se révoltaient à cette proposition et à l'idée de l'abandonner. Ils lui répondaient que s'il était satisfait d'eux, c'était leur plus belle récompense. Tels étaient alors l'esprit qui animait les jeunes écoles, et le sentiment d'affection qui unissait les élèves à leur maître. Cet esprit fut toujours le même dans l'atelier Constant." "The resultant compositions might have been favored by the jury: this was the case on a few occasions while Percier was still alive; but, after his death, the *atelier* Constant was troubled with those that were called radical romantics, and, for a number of years, despite the efforts of the students, whose numbers gradually grew during these years, the *atelier* was, more than other dissident *ateliers*, the subject of rigorous ostracism. The prejudice against the *atelier* seemed all the more present given that the students almost always received awards in the concours for construction. The good professor, saddened and even discouraged by this state of affairs, implored his students on many occasions to enter some of the more favored *ateliers*, but students rejected this suggestion and the idea that they should abandon their professor. They retorted that if he was satisfied with them, that itself was their most cherished reward. Thus was the kind of spirit that animated the young schools, and the sense of affection that united students with their master. This spirit would forever be the same in the *atelier* Constant." Féraud, "Constant-Dufeux," 133-34.

Constant-Dufeux's repeated appeals to students to enroll in the more favored *ateliers* of his colleagues. By the first year of the Second Empire, it was ranked fourth in the quantity of students it furnished the École, after the *ateliers* of Blouet, Lebas and Labrousse.⁵ Moreover, the École des Beaux-Arts' disapprobation became something of a badge of honor for students in the early years of the *atelier* on rue des Brodeurs. On its walls, whitened by the repeated layers of glue, students scrawled in large black letters a maxim that captured the defiant attitude of those years: "Poursuivre les succès à l'École, C'est compromettre son avenir."⁶

The obstacles that Constant-Dufeux faced with his *atelier* were also present in the architect's professional career in the late eighteen thirties. Members of the government responsible for granting building projects, greeted the architect's repeated requests with what Féraud described as "une froideur marquée."⁷ Part of the hostility was due to the enduring resentment over his unfinished fourth-year *envoi* and the controversial fifth-year project for a Chamber of Deputies. Even as he endeavored to launch his professional career in Paris, Constant-Dufeux unsuccessfully petitioned the government to return to Rome in order to complete the restoration of the Roman Capitol and thus fulfill his obligations for the *Grand Prix*.⁸

Still, the source of Constant-Dufeux's ostracism by the government did not lie solely in the architect's own prior failings. Féraud speculated that it may have been the result of a brusque exchange with a well placed functionary. "Ce fonctionnaire," he explained, "agit

⁵ César Daly, "École des Beaux-Arts. Note statistique sur la section d'architecture," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 10 (1852): 301-03.

⁶ "To pursue success at the École is to compromise one's future." Charles Lucas, "42^e diner annuel des élèves de l'atelier Constant-Dufeux," *La Semaine des constructeurs*, 2e série, 2e année, no. 31 (1888): 369-70.

⁷ Féraud, "Constant-Dufeux," 132.

⁸ Féraud, "Constant-Dufeux," 132.

depuis comme s'il avait fait serment de lui fermer la porte de l'administration tant qu'il y serait."⁹ Beginning on June 1, 1836, Constant-Dufeux sent three separate letters to the Ministre de l'Intérieur and the Ministre des Travaux Publics requesting a nomination as *inspecteur* on a government project, to which he received three letters of rejection.¹⁰ The situation changed once Constant-Dufeux circumvented the troublesome functionary and met directly with the Ministre de l'Intérieur, Jean Vatout.¹¹ By 1838, the architect was appointed as *inspecteur* for the festivities surrounding the *Fête de Juillet* and as *second inspecteur* on Émile Gilbert's *hospice d'aliénés* in Charenton (Théodore Labrouste was named *premier inspecteur*). In addition, he was made *auditeur* to the Conseils des Bâtiments Civils.

L'École Royale Gratuite du Dessin

The real breakthrough in Constant-Dufeux's professional career occurred three years later with the commission to build an addition to the École Royale Gratuite du Dessin and to reconfigure its existing quarters. A letter sent from one of his students to another captured the sense of exhilaration prompted by the news: "Oui mon cher, le patron est dans le gouvernement."¹² The commission represented the architect's first appointment as *architecte du gouvernement*. Constant-Dufeux replaced the architect François Duquesnay after vigorous

⁹ Féraud, "Constant-Dufeux," 132.

¹⁰ The correspondence leading up to Constant-Dufeux's nomination as *second inspecteur* are at the Archives Nationales F/21/2019 in a folder titled "M. Constant." Two letters were also sent by supporters, the first letter has an illegible signature, the second is signed by le Cte de Duchesne.

¹¹ Féraud, "Constant-Dufeux," 134.

¹² Letter from Victor Ruprich-Robert (in St-Martory) to Jean-Jacques Latour (in Tarbes), November 13, 1842. Private collection of Vincent Ruprich-Robert, Paris.

debate over the form and scope of the project drew the attention of the Minister de l'Intérieur.¹³

Established in 1766 as a government school providing students with free education, the *Petite École*, as it was commonly known, trained disenfranchised youths (and some adult artisans) for employment in artistic industries. Courses offered at the the school varied from the highly technical (such as those in descriptive geometry, mathematics and stereotomy) to the more pointedly artistic (such as drawing courses encouraging the copy of engravings).¹⁴ The École de Dessin was founded in 1766 by Jean-Jacques Bachelier, a decorative artist at

¹³ The circumstances that led to Constant-Dufeux securing the commission are vague; due to a lost set of meeting notes from the École de Dessin's Conseil d'Administration. As government architect of the École de Dessin in the eighteen thirties, Alphonse de Gisors was asked to draft a new proposal for the renovation and expansion of the institution on January 30, 1838 (he had already prepared a plan for the school's expansion in 1832). Inexplicably, by July 4th 1838, de Gisors was replaced by Duquesnay. Duquesnay was asked by the Ministre des Travaux Publics to prepare two proposals for the project. The administration at the École de Dessin was dissatisfied with the architect's plans, and the director, Jean-Hilaire Belloc was perturbed by the political meddling of the Ministre des travaux publics and of Achille Leclère, member of the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils and professor at the École de Dessin. According to Féraud, Constant-Dufeux was made government architect of the École de Dessin in 1841. I have not been able to find evidence to confirm this date, although it does seem accurate given the timeline of events. The documents that detail the sequence of events leading up to the construction of the project are housed at the Archives Nationales under the archival numbers: AJ/53/3, AJ/53/4, AJ/53/105. Also important are the reports issued by the members of the Conseil des Bâtiments Civiles which are also housed at the Archives Nationales under the archival numbers: F21*2536, dossier n° 83, pages 57-58 (Dec. 12, 1840), and F21*2536, dossier n° 139, page 112 (Feb. 6, 1841).

¹⁴ The École de Dessin has been examined by a number of scholars. See: Ulrich Leben, *Object Design in the Age of Enlightenment: The History of the Royal Free Drawing School in Paris* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004); Rossella Froissart-Pezone, "The École Nationale des Arts Décoratifs in Paris Adapts to Meet the Twentieth Century," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 7, no. 1 (1999-2000): 2-32; Stéphane Laurent, *L'Art utile: les écoles de dessin sous le Second Empire et la Troisième République* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998); Frédéric Ballon, "Teaching the Decorative Arts in the Nineteenth Century: The École Gratuite de Dessin, Paris," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 3, no. 2 (1996): 77-106; Anne Middleton Wagner, "Workers and Artists," in *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux: Sculptor of the Second Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986); Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, "Lecoq de Boisbaudran and Memory Drawing: A Teaching Course between Idealism and Naturalism," in *The European Realist Tradition*, edited by Gabriel P. Weisberg (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 242-89.

the porcelain factory at Sèvres, and was significantly reshaped under the directorship of Jean-Hilaire Belloc starting in 1831. Belloc was chiefly responsible for the introduction of reforms that were intended to provide a good balance between artistic education and training for industry, although they eventually steered the trade school towards the fine arts. Among the many additions to the curriculum established during Belloc's tenure were courses in the sculpture of ornament (instituted in 1832 and taught by the sculptor Georges Jacquot), in the history and composition of ornament (instituted in 1834 and initially taught by Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc and then by Constant-Dufeux's former student, Victor Ruprich-Robert), courses on drawing of the human figure and live botanical plants, and Horace Lecoq de Boisbaudran's innovative course on drawing from memory. Furthermore, Belloc sought to enlarge the school's collection of wood reliefs and plaster casts to provide students with a greater diversity of models from which to draw and sculpt. The artistic bent of the school encouraged young and underprivileged students to make use of it as a springboard for further studies at the *École des Beaux-Arts*,¹⁵ which would raise questions during the following decades as to the *École de Dessin's* fundamental objectives.¹⁶

The size of the student population grew steadily during the eighteen thirties, in part due to Belloc's reforms and also as a result of the increasing interest in the industrial

¹⁵ Charles Garnier was perhaps the most prominent architect to have been a student at the *École de Dessin* reaching success at the *École des Beaux-Arts* and beyond. The architects Gabriel Davioud, Hécator Guimard and Charles Genuys, the painter Thomas Couture, and the sculptor Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux all followed similar trajectories.

¹⁶ The introduction of live drawing was particularly divisive an issue at the *École de Dessin* for, more than other reforms during Belloc's tenure, it blurred the line between a trade school and a school of fine art. Similar debates about the role of life drawing in Britain occurred when the Schools of Design were created by the British government in 1837. At the *École de Dessin*, the issue erupted again upon the death of Belloc in 1866. Critics argued that the school had become a training ground for future *Beaux-Arts* students and was no longer living up to its original mandate of supplying fresh talent to the industrial arts.

manufacture of artistic wares.¹⁷ The first discussions regarding the need to increase the size of the premises were recorded in the meeting notes of the *École de Dessin's* Conseil d'Administration in January 1835. Additional space was sought for Jacquot's new sculpture course, for the storage of the growing collection of plaster and wood models, and for night courses for adults. Belloc recommended that an addition be built on a narrow plot adjacent to the existing buildings that extended through the depth of the block to the rue Racine.¹⁸ More so than the previous plans put forward by Duquesnay, which provided very little additional space and left the plot of land on the rue Racine vacant, Constant-Dufeux, himself a former student of the *École de Dessin*, fully responded to Belloc's wishes for the project. The project was allocated a budget of 60,000 francs.¹⁹ Some of these funds were drawn from a generous donation left by Charles Percier after his death.²⁰

Constant-Dufeux's additions to the school went well beyond previous proposals. In 1832, Alphonse de Gisors, the architect in charge of the *École de Dessin* before Duquesnay, had put forward a modest plan that added very little space for teaching, although it did include a long rectangular room with an exedra for students awaiting the beginning of classes. [figure 2.3.1] Following his appointment, Duquesnay produced two plans; the first

¹⁷ Eleven thousand students registered from 1830–1840. Archives Nationales, AJ 53 / 3, n.p.

¹⁸ An important discussion on the *École de Dessin's* expansion plans took place on September 10, 1838. Participants in the discussion, which included Belloc and most of the teaching faculty, stressed the urgency of the needed work. Among the many issues demanded by the Conseil d'Administration were the creation of additional spaces for adult night courses, the storage of models and plaster casts, and a space for the fabrication of new models. Furthermore, the members of the committee sought further space for a teachers' room. They stressed that these elements be housed in a new addition built on the plot of land extending to the rue Racine. Archives Nationales, AJ/53/3, September 10, 1838, n.p.

¹⁹ This number appears in a letter from Victor Ruprich-Robert (in St-Martory) to Jean-Jacques Latour (in Tarbes), November 13, 1842. Private collection of Vincent Ruprich-Robert, Paris.

²⁰ Percier's donation to the *École de Dessin* totaled 98,862 francs. See Archives Nationales, AJ/53/3, July 4, 1838, n.p.

dealt mostly with the renovation of existing quarters, and the second was projected for an entirely different site. [figure 2.3.2] The unsatisfactory nature of previous proposals was due to the very compact configuration of buildings and to the awkward proportions of the unbuilt areas on the property. Hemmed in by private properties on the eastern side and by the réfectoire des Cordeliers on the southern end, there was little room for expansion apart from the very narrow rectangular wedge that extended to the rue Racine.

The site was previously occupied by a surgical school and arranged around a central courtyard. From the entrance gate on the rue de l'École-de-Médecine, the building to the right was an anatomical theater with oval spectator seating built by the architect Charles Joubert in the late seventeenth century (his son Louis Joubert also contributed to the design, as did Le Camus de Mézières a century later), and the building on the left had once served as an assembly room for the Confrérie des Chirurgiens de Paris.²¹ [figures 2.3.3 to 2.3.5] In 1776, the premises were abandoned by the Confrérie who relocated to Jacques Gondoin's École de Chirurgie across the street. That same year, the property was given by the king of France to the newly formed École Gratuite Royale de Dessin, which moved from its temporary location in the collège d'Autun on the rue Saint-André-des-Arts nearby. [figure 2.3.6] Apart from the renovation of the building on the left into a residence for the director of the École de Dessin and his family, and the arcuated façade built in the late eighteenth century opposite the entrance gate, hardly any work was executed on the premises until Constant-Dufeux's interventions.

²¹ A number of authors have traced the history of the buildings on the site. See: Pierre-Louis Laget, "L'Amphithéâtre d'anatomie de la communauté des chirurgiens de Paris sis rue des Cordeliers," *Bulletin Monumental* 156, no. 4 (1998): 369-84, Paul Vitry, "L'Amphithéâtre de chirurgie et l'École des arts décoratifs," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1920): 197-210, "École nationale de dessin, de mathématiques et de sculpture d'ornement," *L'Illustration, journal universel* 11, no. 287 (1848): 387-89.

There was little on the site that Constant-Dufeux's work didn't affect over the span of fifteen years that it took to complete the project.²² [figure 2.3.7] Construction began with an addition on the plot of land extending to the rue Racine that Belloc wished to be reclaimed. On April 30, 1844, some three years after Constant-Dufeux had been assigned the project, the École de Dessin celebrated the opening of its first room, a new classroom for the teaching of sculpture of ornament. [figure 2.3.8] Two weeks later, two more classrooms were ready: a storage room for models and a school archive.²³ A fourth room was inaugurated a few months later which functioned as studio for drawing from live plant specimens, a truly innovative practice that blurred the line between a trade school and a school of fine art. [figure 2.3.9] Constant-Dufeux then moved on to the buildings surrounding the courtyard, renovating the arcuated façade and adding a loggia above it from which students could look down onto the open court while awaiting the start of their classes.²⁴ [figures 2.3.10 to 2.3.13] In addition, he reconfigured the two rooms behind the arcade. The one on the left was transformed into a classroom that was used alternatively for courses in mathematics and for courses in the history and composition of ornament. The one on the right was transformed into an amphitheater and named after Louis Destouche, an architect who donated a large

²² Descriptions of Constant-Dufeux's project for the École de Dessin can be found in the following articles: Vitry "L'Amphithéâtre de chirurgie et l'École des arts décoratifs," 208-209, Féraud, "Constant-Dufeux," 134; Pierre-Honoré Féraud, "École nationale spéciale de dessin," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 30 (1873): 8,9; pl. 6, 7; and Carlowicz, "M. Constant-Dufeux," 253.

²³ AJ/53/105, 12 mai 1844, n.p.

²⁴ The renovation of the arcuated façade seems to have been the last completed element. On July 13, 1855, Belloc sent an angry letter to Constant-Dufeux demanding that he finish the renovation before the annual ceremony for the distribution of prizes. Archives Nationales, AJ/53/105.

collection of models and plaster casts to the school.²⁵ Furthermore, Constant-Dufeux divided the anatomical theater into two by adding a new floor at the springing point of the dome.²⁶ The upper room was converted into a *loge* for students preparing for competition exercises. The room below was kept as the main auditorium of the school and outfitted with wooden drawing tables that aided seated students in reproducing illustrations placed on integrated vertical easels. [figures 2.3.14 to 2.3.16] All of the rooms that he designed were decorated with an abundance of models and plaster casts; some of them were hung from moldings and others were affixed directly onto the walls (several of these more permanent additions still remain at the premises). Following on his research into ancient polychromy during his stay in Italy, Constant-Dufeux ordered that many of the models, reliefs and sculptures be touched up with bright colored paint so as to serve as examples of polychromy for the students.²⁷ The walls and ceilings of the classrooms were similarly painted in saturated hues of greens, gold and crimson.

The Façade on the Rue Racine

Undoubtedly the most fascinating element of the project was the façade of the addition on the rue Racine, a street that was created in 1836 and named after the French playwright Jean Racine due to its proximity to the Odéon theater. It was the first element of the project to be

²⁵ On August 1, 1851, the Ministre de l'Intérieur informed the members of the Comité d'Enseignement at the École de Dessin of the decision to create a new room commemorating Destouche's gift to the school. Constant-Dufeux was charged with the design of the room a month later. See: Archives Nationales, AJ/53/4, 1 août, 1851, n.p.

²⁶ Vitry, "L'amphithéâtre de chirurgie et l'École des arts décoratifs," 208.

²⁷ The architect's ideas on polychromy are discussed in Part 2, Chapter 5. Féraud, "École nationale spéciale de dessin," 10.

erected. Finished in 1842, the façade of the École de Dessin must have been at the time of its completion a solitary presence on this newly pierced street. [figures 2.3.17 to 3.19]

The façade was divided into three sections. The base, which accommodated a storage space for models and plaster casts inside, was thickset and protruded slightly beyond the upper storey. Nearly featureless, it was circumscribed on the bottom by slender moldings and on the top by a cornice and punctuated by square windows and an undersized doorway. Like a plinth supporting an antique monument, the base was reminiscent of the ancient Greek funerary marker in Agrigento commonly known as the Tombeau de Théron. The tomb had captivated the attention of *pensionnaires* from Labrouste and Vaudoyer to Constant-Dufeux owing to its mixture of a Doric base and frieze with Ionic engaged columns at the corners. [figure 2.3.20] More importantly, the gentle tapering of its overall profile and of the blank doors on its faces indicated the presence of a pyramidal or conic protuberance on its summit which was reported to have been destroyed by lightning.²⁸ One of Constant-Dufeux's students, Louis-Clément Bruyère (1831-1887) produced a highly speculative drawing of the tomb with the conical peak restored some years later.²⁹ [figure 2.3.21] Like the tombs of Lars Porsenna, Horatii and Curiatii and Cecilia Metella that so intrigued the *pensionnaires*, here was a rare example of a Grecian monolith on Italian soil. Furthermore, the tomb must have also drawn interest as the doors that were depicted on its faces were but false reliefs sculpted

²⁸ The belief that the tomb culminated in a pyramidal form at its top derives from a brief remark by Diodorus of Sicily in *Bibliotheca historica*. Many in the early nineteenth century believed this to be the case. See: Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, "Agrigente," in *Dictionnaire historique d'architecture comprenant dans son plan les notions historiques, descriptives, archéologiques, biographiques, théoriques, didactiques et pratiques de cet art* (Paris: Librairie d'Adrien le Clère, 1832), 13-14.

²⁹ The drawing, which is undated (although it was likely produced around 1850), is held at the Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine in the Collection Louis-Clément Bruyère, 80/116/205.

into the stone which demonstrated the readiness of ancient Greeks to treat the surface of their monuments as a monolithic and symbolic layer.

As many contemporaries remarked, the whole of the façade on the rue Racine appeared decidedly Grecian in its delicate proportions and details. Vergelé stone, a soft limestone with a yellowish tint, was employed; this contributed to its antique appearance, as did the three large windows which tapered towards the top mimicking those on the Tombeau de Théron. Furthermore, the stone cornices were copied from examples of Greek monuments so as not to require metal flashing (the cornice on the base has kept its original appearance, although the uppermost ones were outfitted with metal flashing some years later). [figures 2.3.22, 2.3.23] But besides the many elements culled from ancient Greek architecture, Constant-Dufeux incorporated features from monuments of other civilizations that he had witnessed while in Italy. The little windows below the bands resembled similar apertures that he had observed in Pompei. [figure 2.3.24] In addition, the façade was surmounted by an Etruscan attic storey that functioned as a parapet. Finally, the four pilasters that spanned the height of the façade's midsection and divided it into into three equal segments looked decidedly Renaissance in style (one can think of Michaelangelo's Palazzo dei Conservatori, its pilasters similarly extending down beyond the windows). The judicious combination of elements from diverse civilizations (as we shall see further in dissertation) was not accidental but rather the product of a teleological form of inquiry and a calculated effort at projecting an alternate trajectory to history.

The geometry of the site was a major consideration in the design of the addition on the rue Racine. The exiguity of the plot, which met the street at a thirty degree angle, left Constant-Dufeux with two likely solutions. The more conventional approach might have been to terminate the addition at the meeting point with its neighboring building, the

réfectoire des Cordeliers, thus forming a right angle and leaving the small patch adjacent to the street as a shallow forecourt. Instead, Constant-Dufeux chose to project the building directly onto the street, forming a rather inconvenient wedge-shaped prolongation, which from the left side revealed to passersby the implausible narrowness of the addition. [figure 2.3.25] The treatment of the corner, which jutted out from the unadorned oblique wall adjoining it, accentuated the slenderness of the façade. [figure 2.3.26] Here, Constant-Dufeux was undeniably thinking of his fifth-year *envoi* for the Chamber of Deputies. Like it, the façade was rendered into something of a signpost, protruding out to meet the street as though it were eagerly broadcasting the presence of the institution behind it.

In fact, the façade on the rue Racine shared a lot with Constant-Dufeux's earlier project for the Chamber of Deputies. It too rose from a protruding and monolithic plinth that established a kind baseline for the upper stories. Also like the architect's fifth-year *envoi*, its windows were raised far above the floor of the drawing studio inside, which protected the young artists from the harsh glare of the south-east exposure. Additionally, the façade exhibited a similar use of written words, in this case, they described the activities within the school in a literal and immediate way. The uniform frieze below the attic story, for example, was marked with large block capitals "ÉCOLE ROYALE SPECIALE DE DESSIN" in polychrome letters alternating between red and blue. While one would expect that the name of the institution to be added to the face of the building, the size of letters, the sans-serif type and the use of bright polychrome paint were certainly unconventional details and made it appear as though the words had been provisionally painted directly onto the flat stone rather than more permanently sculpted into it. Text was also added to the long bands below the windows, which were inscribed (and again painted in red and blue) with the names of the three categories of study offered at the school: FIGURE and ANIMAUX, GEOMETRIE and

ARCHITECTURE, and FLEURS and ORNEMENT. Finally, below the bands, little windows for ventilation were added alongside a series of rectangular tablets that appeared ready to be engraved, like the tabularium on the Chamber of Deputies, with more recent testaments of this steadily growing institution.

Accompanying these surface elements were a series of ornamental and symbolic figures that further exhibited the activities of the school. As Constant-Dufeux had done with the interiors of the classrooms, here he added a number of decorative models to the façade which, despite being sculpted out of the same block of stone as the rest of the surface, seemed as though they had been affixed *ex post facto* to it. Rotund sculpted flowers were added to the lintels of the large windows, and small rosettes incorporated on their sides. Moreover, two naturalistic lion heads were integrated at each end of the frieze, and the attic story was interrupted by larger, more compressed rosettes. Closer inspection revealed that, like the plaster casts and models used by students for their drawing exercises, each of the rosettes were drawn from distinct floral species. Like the project for a Chamber of Deputies, which suggested that changing political regimes and festive appropriation of the building would doubtlessly leave an imprint on its otherwise denuded surfaces, these last-mentioned details of the façade of the *École de Dessin* also implied that they were surface accretions, added as a symbolic and expressive layer that might be subsequently adapted or refashioned in the years to come.

A decade later, Constant-Dufeux built another façade for the *École de Dessin*, this one on the interior of the courtyard leading to the *rue de l'École-de-Médecine*. [figures 2.3.10 to 2.3.13] He renovated the existing arcuated wall surmounting it with an Etruscan attic story much like the one on the façade on the *rue Racine*, but here it framed an open loggia. Again the design recalled elements from his earlier project for a Chamber of Deputies. Much like

the tabularium that extended along the interior walls of the winged arcades on the people's plaza, the arcuated portico on the courtyard façade incorporated framed surfaces that could be used to register the institution's daily activities. On the two surfaces at each end of the arcade the architect added writing boards to be used for institutional announcements, while the surface in the middle was reserved for placards to indicate the day, time and classroom of the semester's courses.

The new façade on the rue Racine was his real masterwork as an architect, although over the years he referred to it rather modestly as "mon caillou," perhaps due to the monolithic construction methods he employed.³⁰ Indeed, Constant-Dufeux's byname for the building sheds some light on what can be seen as a kind of tectonic agnosticism. One observes, for instance, that the pilasters were not built in such a way as to function as a structural frame with the infill between them formed out of separate blocks of stone. Rather, the entire façade, pilasters, wall and decorative elements, was sculpted out of same stone blocks. Like the project for a Chamber of Deputies (which included a number of structural inconsistencies such as the lack of alignment between the arched windows and the tablets, and, on the façade of the entrance hall, the false pitched lintels), the architect exhibited here a willingness to treat the surface of the building as a two-dimensional layer closer to, perhaps, the logic of a bas-relief than the structural frame of a building.

The street façade presented an odd departure from the structural clarity and rationalism that can best be seen, for example, in Vaudoier's Aile Neuve addition to the Conservatoire des Arts at Métier built between 1848 to 1850. As Barry Bergdoll has noted, the façades of Vaudoier's building expressed the notion of a structural frame with infill walls and communicated in an unambiguous way the presence of interior elements and members.

³⁰ Féraud, "École nationale spéciale de dessin," 10.

[figure 2.3.27] The buttresses on the exterior of the façade continued through the wall and appeared as shallow arcuated niches within.³¹ [figure 2.3.28] The situation was not as clear with Constant-Dufeux's façade. Although the exterior announced something of the interior use of building, it did so in terms of the program of the institution and not in relation to its structural and constructional composition; in other words, the expression was largely a symbolic appliqué. The section through the façade shows this clearly. [figure 2.3.17] The pitched roof behind the façade landed at the right angle meeting point of the réfectoire des Cordelier and the rue Racine, and here Constant-Dufeux added a large beam to support the weight of the roof and channel the forces down to the foundations. [figure 2.3.29] The triangular section extending to the rue Racine, therefore, was freed from carrying a heavy load. The result was that, save the presence of the windows, the façade produced no articulation on its interior wall surface; it did not even register the existence of a partition wall between the middle and right side windows that ran orthogonally from the façade and which created a separate triangular room.

The slenderness of the façade and its disjunction from the interiors were curious qualities that surely puzzled some of Constant-Dufeux's more staunchly classicist fellow architects. The surfaces were unrelentingly flat (even the rounded engaged columns on the Tombeau de Théron had been reduced to shallow pilasters), and they presented none of the monumentality that classical orders would have afforded. This was particularly the case in the midsection of the façade. With a mere few inches, Constant-Dufeux produced the impression of remarkable depth by transforming the surface into a complex interpenetration of planes. The pilasters were the elements that protruded furthest, behind which stone bands seemed to slide tightly past. The play of depth was particularly striking around the windows.

³¹ Bergdoll, *Léon Vaudoyer: Historicism in the Age of Industry*, 168.

The moldings surrounding the large windows, for example, were sculpted as a series of narrow planes which flared out progressively from the surface of the wall and appeared less shallow (they were a little over an inch deep) than they truly were. Similarly, the smaller windows, which were set four inches into the façade, appeared more cavernous due to their canted sills which telescoped out to meet the protruding stone bands.

The façade appeared as something of a stageset, deceptively producing a false sense of depth and presenting a calculated representation of the institution to the street. In this respect Constant-Dufeux was surely influenced by Duban's recent work on the grounds of the École des Beaux-Arts. Like the project for the École de Dessin, Duban's work was encumbered by a number of existing elements on the site, which previously served as the setting for Alexandre Lenoir's Musée des Monuments Français. As David Van Zanten has noted, Duban sought to retain a number of architectural fragments from the defunct museum, including the Arc de Gaillon, a sixteen-century façade from the Château de Gaillon in Ambroise.³² The architect fought against the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils to preserve the fragment on the site, through which one would view his addition, the Palais des Études.

[figure 2.3.30] In one telling defense of the proposal, Duban explained his reasoning:

la façade de l'édifice du fond [the Palais des Études] a été conçu de manière à être non pas masquée, mais précédé de cet Élégant portique, de cet Enseigne (si j'ose dire ainsi) de l'Établissement qu'il avait à restaurer, que la saillie de ses différents détails a été combinée pour former de toutes ces parties un ensemble agréable à la vue, pittoresque sans désordre, à faire ressortir par le contraste des formes du bâtiment du fond, l'élégante légèreté de ce portique découpé à jour qui masque l'Édifice comme l'arc de triomphe du Carrousel des Tuilleries, comme l'aiguette de Luxor la chambre des

³² See: Van Zanten, *Designing Paris: The Architecture of Duban, Labrouste, Duc, and Vaudoyer*. See also: David Van Zanten, "Félix Duban and the Building of the École des Beaux-Arts, 1832-1840," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 37, no. 3 (1978): 161-74.

députés, comme toutes les basiliques étaient masquées par les portiques à jour qui les précédaient, comme les Temples des Egyptiens par les Pylons, comme tous les les Édifices de tous les temps, dont la beauté s'est toujours accrue de l'agglomération pittoresque des Édifices qui les précédaient ou qui les accompagnaient.³³

Like Constant-Dufeux and other *pensionnaires* in the late eighteen twenties and early thirties, Duban wished to develop a contemporary approach that was understood in relation to the historical development of architecture. He argued that previous civilizations recognized the need for historical layering in the way that they arranged their monumental buildings. In preserving the arc de Gaillon in front of the Palais des Études, Duban sought to mount a spatial *mise en scène* that generated the impression of depth and spatial distance while also functioning as a temporal and historical interval.³⁴ Constant-Dufeux treated the forecourt for his fifth-year *envoi* in a similar way, incorporating an obelisk, a commemorative column and number of funerary monuments through which to view the public façade of his Chamber of Deputies. As Bergdoll observes, Duban's reference to the Arc de Gaillon as a sign ("cet Enseigne") underlined the way that some of the former *pensionnaires* treated the public façades of their buildings in the eighteen forties.³⁵ Vaudoyer, he notes, also designed the entrance gate to the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers as a "sign" of the institution. The façade on the rue Racine demonstrated that Constant-Dufeux too believed in the importance of making a sign and an architectonic representation of the institution. Indeed, the façade did not even function as an entrance to the premises but provided only periodic access to the store room beyond its door. Its role was almost purely representational. It is equally tempting

³³ Quoted in Bergdoll, *Léon Vaudoyer: Historicism in the Age of Industry*, 158.

³⁴ Bergdoll, *Léon Vaudoyer: Historicism in the Age of Industry*, 157.

³⁵ Bergdoll, *Léon Vaudoyer: Historicism in the Age of Industry*, 158.

to see in Constant-Dufeux's treatment of the midsection of the surface, and the play of depth that it occasioned, a kind of historical foreshortening, one that juxtaposed and merged elements from diverse epochs into one completed whole.

The Néo-Grec Surface

The façade on the rue Racine was one of the first built examples of treating the surface of building as a communicative layer that employed discreet, concentrated symbols—ones that were not related to the classical orders—to express the institution's values and convey architecture's broader purpose and historical role. In 1847, Constant-Dufeux discussed his opinions on symbolic representation while weighing in on developments in the project for the tomb to Napoleon. The quarrel was over ten relief panels that had been recently commissioned for the crypt surrounding Napoleon's tomb at the Invalides by the Beaux-Arts trained sculptor and professor Pierre-Charles Simart. [figure 2.3.31] The two men had met in Rome during their *Grand Prix* stay at the Villa Medici. Controversy had erupted upon Simart's securing of the commission, the state having earlier promised to distribute the work, and thus share the commission money, among ten different sculptors.³⁶ Constant-Dufeux supported the government's volte-face arguing that the work needed the “grande unité de pensée” that only one artist could provide.

Moreover, Constant-Dufeux urged that Simart refrain from copying the human form too directly in the reliefs he was preparing, the preliminary plaster casts of which Constant-Dufeux had just seen. Only by avoiding vivid representation could one produce “des

³⁶ Michael Paul Driskel, *As Befits a Legend: Building a Tomb for Napoleon, 1840-1861* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 1993), 154-55.

monuments parlants et tout napoléoniens,” he insisted.³⁷ When conceiving of a monument, Constant-Dufeux added, one should always anticipate its eventual decay and destruction, designing it in such a way that even as ensuing ruins, the leftover fragments could be read by future civilizations as symbolically expressive of the whole. Towards this end, he recommended that Simart consider designing the reliefs more explicitly as backdrops to the tomb and employ the motif of drapery finely bestrewn with ornamental motifs. Through this apparent veil, Constant-Dufeux suggested, one would then read a long list of Napoleonic battles and conquests.³⁸ The intended message would thus be better served by a symbolic and ornamental sculptural program in relief than by overly figurative displays dramatizing the important episodes in Napoleon’s career.³⁹

While Constant-Dufeux may have wished for a sculptural program that weighed more heavily on symbolic elements and inscriptions, for some of his critics, such as the editor of the journal *L’Artiste* Arsène Houssaye, the few allegorical emblems and icons that Simart had incorporated into the reliefs were already far too many. Houssaye criticized Simart’s reliefs, describing them as “hieroglyphs” and exclaiming: “public opinion does not wish a

³⁷ Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux, “Tombeau de Napoléon,” *Revue générale de l’architecture et des travaux publics* 7 (1847): 301.

³⁸ Constant-Dufeux described the play of surface and depth that he envisioned for the monument as follows: “Il serait possible d’en faire des monuments parlants et tout napoléoniens; des monuments qui, réduits dans les temps à venir à l’état de fragments, seraient encore expressifs. Il suffirait de couvrir les draperies de legers ornements à travers lesquels seraient écrits tous les noms des batailles et combats.” “It would be possible to produce monuments that are at once legible and completely Napoleonic; monuments that, reduced to mere fragments in the future, would nonetheless be expressive. It would suffice to cover the drapery with light monuments through which would be inscribed all of the names of the battles and clashes.” Constant-Dufeux, “Tombeau de Napoléon,” 301.

³⁹ As noted by Driskel, Simart’s bas-reliefs did incorporate symbolic objects and elements; although they were too few for Constant-Dufeux, they were too many for other critics. See: Driskel, *As Befits a Legend*, 155.

tomb covered with superannuated allegories.”⁴⁰ In reaction to such comments Constant-Dufeux penned what were perhaps his most memorable lines regarding the need for symbolic expression in architecture:

Non, nous ne comprenons pas qu'on raye tout d'un coup la poésie de l'architecture; qu'on lui interdise les expressions générales qu'elle ne peut obtenir que par les allégories et les symboles. Non! nous ne comprenons pas qu'on veuille la réduire aux expressions matérielles qu'elle serait bien souvent impuissante à rendre. Dans les longues pages d'une histoire on peut tout dire et tous raconter. Dans le champ restreint d'un point d'appui, d'un mur, il faut des expressions concentrées résumant mille faits dans un seul signe.⁴¹

While the context of the quote made it clear that Constant-Dufeux was responding directly to the dispute in which the sculptors of Napoleon's tomb were embroiled, the short piece titled “Le Tombeau de Napoléon” quite inexplicably ended with a digression on another Parisian building nearing completion, this one situated in the Latin quarter opposite the Pantheon. The unnamed “bibliothèque” referred to in the brief's concluding passage was undoubtedly Henri Labrouste's Ste-Geneviève library, the construction site which he, along

⁴⁰ As quoted and translated in Driskel, *As Befits a Legend*, 155.

⁴¹ “No, we cannot accept that poetry is struck quite suddenly from architecture; that we prohibit general expressions that can be obtained only through allegory and the use of symbols. No! we do not accept to reduce it to material expressions that it may very often fail to produce. In the long pages of a story, one can say and recount everything. In the narrow field of a support, or of a wall, one requires concentrated expressions summarizing a thousand ideas into one single sign.” Constant-Dufeux, “Tombeau de Napoléon,” 301.

with the architects César Daly and Émile Gilbert, had just visited.⁴² Though he refrained from passing judgement on the building, Constant-Dufeux seemed ready to combat those, like Arsène Houssaye, who would see in its decorative program, unfinished at that moment, yet another tendentious attempt at symbolic expression.⁴³

Constant-Dufeux's endorsement of the use of symbols, and his guarded defense of the library were not surprising considering Labrouste's own debt to his building on the rue Racine. Robin Middleton has drawn attention to the similarity between the façades of the library and that of Constant-Dufeux's addition to the École de Dessin.⁴⁴ No doubt the library's exterior surfaces, which were completed from 1848 to 1850, borrowed a great deal from Constant-Dufeux's more modest project. [figure 2.3.32] Like it, the midsection of the library façade consisted of a number of intersecting planes that were punctuated at each bay by uniform pilasters. The pilasters protruded slightly beyond the horizontal stone bands which in turn appeared to slide past them. Additionally, the little window and tablet configuration on the façade of the library was nearly identical to the façade on rue Racine. It

⁴² According to Henri Labrouste's detailed *Journal de travaux*, Constant-Dufeux, along with César Daly and Émile Gilbert, visited Labrouste's uncompleted library of Sainte-Geneviève on December 11, 1847. The document is kept at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 3910. Constant-Dufeux's visit to the library took place a few months before workers had completed the decorative surfaces of the exterior of the building. As the *Journal des travaux* indicates, the lists of names below the windows was not engraved until the summer of 1848, and the red paint did not begin to be applied to the grooves formed by the letters until August of the same year. However, the spaces reserved for the list of names must have demanded an explanation and it is probable that Labrouste mentioned his plans for the surface of the building during the visit.

⁴³ Neil Levine first drew attention to these important lines in his groundbreaking essay on Labrouste's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. My reading of the passage departs from his in seeing Constant-Dufeux's comments as supporting the anticipated decorative program of Labrouste's library. See: Levine, "The Book and the Building: Hugo's Theory of Architecture and Labrouste's Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève," 138–73.

⁴⁴ Robin Middleton, "Vive L'École," in "The Beaux-Arts," ed. Robin Middleton, special issue, *A.D. Profiles* 17 (1979): 44–46.

too presented the viewer with a prominent display of inscribed tablets, with each of its letters picked out in bright paint (in the case of the library, Labrouste used deep red). Also like Constant-Dufeux's addition, Labrouste's building emphasized the idea of architecture as a register of present activity by concluding the long chronological roster with the name of a chemist deceased just weeks before the engraving of the tablets had begun and by leaving the following tablets blank.⁴⁵

Moreover, there were a number of subtle refinements that Labrouste most certainly noticed in Constant-Dufeux's building, and which he reworked in his own building in a way that would have great impact on the design of façades for at least two decades. One of these concerned the way that Constant-Dufeux treated decorative moldings by truncating them abruptly, a mere fraction an inch before they met a turn in the surface. This was most evident around the squat doorway. [figure 2.3.33] The moldings here revealed their full profile as though these had been drawn directly onto the surface. Another such example can be seen on the horizontal bands in the midsection of the façade. Here, around the names of the categories of study offered at the school, he added small ornamental arabesques abstracted from plant motifs that curled around their central flower. [figure 2.3.34] The composition, which was incised directly into the stone and painted red and blue, appeared strangely

⁴⁵ Labrouste's library also seems to have derived many of its spatial cues from Constant-Dufeux's fifth-year envoi for a Chamber of Deputies. Early drawings of the library's design indicate that the architect worked hard to detach the building from the existing fabric of the site, splitting off the administration spaces into separate blocks and creating a small alley on its west side. The overall effect was comparable to what Constant-Dufeux had achieved with the assembly hall volume. The library was presented as an isolated monument that, at least in principle, encouraged movement around three of its sides. Not surprisingly, some of Labrouste's contemporaries remarked on the visual similarity between his building and freestanding funerary monuments. The idea was underscored by a continuous garland that stretched across three of the building's sides and by the chronological ordering that the architect employed for the register of author names, which, like the names of legislators on the substructure of Constant-Dufeux's assembly hall block, encouraged continuous circumambulation around the volume as one read the visual display of its inscribed surface.

flattened and, like the treatment of the moldings, also gave the impression of being drawn or painted directly onto the surface. Constant-Dufeux employed and developed these two innovative techniques in subsequent works, including in the tomb for the Billaud family, built in the Cimetière du Nord (now the cimetière Montmartre) in 1847 and in the luxurious bronze doors that he designed for the Panthéon a year later.⁴⁶ Above the entranceway to the tomb for the Billaud family, for example, he modified the technique by having the incised motif emerge gradually into a raised relief arabesque. Here too, the profile of the crest was accentuated by folding it subtly out from the surface of the stone.⁴⁷ [figures 2.3.35 to 2.3.39]

These refinements, and especially their subsequent appearance on Labrouste's library, were imitated widely, eventually becoming the main elements of what would later be called,

⁴⁶ Barry Bergdoll has examined the doorway and some of the other important renovations planned for the Panthéon (renamed the Église Sainte-Geneviève while Constant-Dufeux was the *architecte du gouvernement* for the building). See: Bergdoll, "Le Panthéon/Sainte-Geneviève au XIXe siècle," 175-233.

⁴⁷ There are a number of intriguing details in the design of the Tombeau de la famille Billaud that deserve further attention. The exterior and interior of the tomb were polychrome (one can still see the white under-layer on much of the tomb, while curiously, the crest above its entrance has preserved much of the original red, blue and gold paint). Constant-Dufeux incorporated little vertical windows much like the ones on the façade on the rue Racine on the sides of the tomb. [figure 2.3.39] Above these he inscribed the frieze with a uninterrupted garland motif. Similarly, the tomb was outfitted with stone pegs along its entire perimeter to facilitate the hanging of a continuous ring of garlands during memorial services. Might Labrouste have seen these details before conceiving of the garlands that decorate the library's façade? Henry Sirodot provided a good description of the tomb in the *Revue générale*. See: Sirodot, "Tombeau de la famille Alc. Billaud."

the Néo-Grec.⁴⁸ Jules Amoudru, a former student in Labrouste's *atelier*, produced some of the most stunning façades of this kind on the newly pierced Boulevard de Strasbourg in the mid-eighteen fifties, including those of the adjoining Passage du Désir.⁴⁹ [figures 2.3.40 to 2.3.42] The Néo-Grec treatment of façades, which can be observed throughout Paris predominating on streets created in the eighteen fifties and sixties, typically employed a similar interpenetration of planes and eschewed classical orders.⁵⁰ The ornamental motifs applied to the surfaces alternated between two distinct genres: fine arabesques abstracted from plant forms that captured the underlying vitalist forces of organic specimens, and raised reliefs, which were often highly naturalistic. As with Constant-Dufeux's Tombeau de la famille Billaud, engraved motifs often expanded into raised reliefs, sometimes giving birth to corpulent flowers or garlands. As art historian Jacques de Caso has noted, ornamental motifs were applied as isolated and detached punctuations of the surface (de Caso termed this

⁴⁸ As David Brownlee and Neil Levine have shown, the term "Néo-Grec" was originally employed in the eighteen thirties as a synonym for the Byzantine. It was first used to designate the works of architects such as Labrouste and Vaudoyer in an article titled "Greek Lines" by the American architect Henry van Brunt in 1861. The term is notoriously imprecise. I use it here, for lack of a better designation, to connote not only the "structural rationalist" works by Labrouste and Vaudoyer, but also to include the many façades built in the eighteen fifties and sixties (many of them designed by students and admirers of the work of Romantic *pensionnaires*) that exhibit no clear articulation of a building's structure or materiality. Charles Garnier used the term in a similar way. I discuss his use of Néo-Grec later in this chapter. See: Henry Van Brunt, "Greek Lines," in *Greek Lines and Other Architectural Essays* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1893), 86. This essay was first published in *Atlantic Monthly* 7, no. 44, Part 1 (June 1861): 654-67; Part 2 (July 1861): 76-88. For detailed examinations of the term, see: David B. Brownlee, "Neugriechisch/Néo-Grec: The German Vocabulary of French Romantic Architecture," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 50, no. 1 (1991): 18-21. Neil Levine, "The Romantic Idea of Architectural Legibility: Henri Labrouste and the Néo-Grec," in *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*, ed. Arthur Drexler (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 325-416.

⁴⁹ I was first alerted to the presence of the buildings by Jules Amoudru on the Boulevard de Strasbourg by French architectural historian Marc Le Coeur. I am greatly indebted to his interpretation of these façades here.

⁵⁰ Néo-Grec décor can also be seen in ornamental pattern books of the epoch. See for instance, Michel Joseph Napoléon Liénard, *Spécimens de la décoration et de l'ornementation au XIXe siècle par Liénard* (Liège and Leipzig: Charles Claesen, 1866).

phenomenon “ornement en motif détaché”).⁵¹ In addition, Néo-Grec design accentuated the contours of elements, often producing outlines that could be read simultaneously as negative and positive forms. Structural members and molding were also often truncated in an abrupt way in order to reveal their profiles. A building by Francis Equer from 1857 in the tenth arrondissement demonstrates this latter tendency well in the corbelling below the balconies.⁵² [figure 2.3.43]

Unlike the work of Labrouste and Vaudoyer, and more in line with Constant-Dufeux’s addition on the rue Racine, these later Néo-Grec façades did not express the underlying structure of the buildings and were unrelated to the materiality of the construction. Amoudru provided a clear example of this tendency in the design of the Passage du Désir. While its main façade on the Boulevard de Strasbourg was built out of stone, Amourdu built another façade on the opposite end of the passage that opened on to the rue du Faubourg Saint-Martin. That secondary façade, while identical to the first, was built out of mixture of plaster and cement and painted white, and demonstrated the clear disjunction between the surface of the building and its internal construction.⁵³

As de Caso has also observed, Néo-Grec façades demonstrated a clear relationship to drawing.⁵⁴ Further examination of the impact of new methodologies of drawing on architecture is certainly required to get a better understanding of this momentary episode in

⁵¹ Jacques De Caso, “Le décor en motif détaché dans l’ornement d’architecture et les arts décoratifs en France, 1840-1870,” Paper presented at the XXIIe congrès international d’histoire de l’art, Budapest, 1969 (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1969), 293-301.

⁵² The building is located at 39 rue du Faubourg Poissonnière.

⁵³ One may speculate that the relative flatness of Néo-Grec façades and their lack of connection from the structure and materiality of the buildings made them all the more attractive to real-estate speculators and developers wanting to cash in on new and popular styles while also seeking as few obstacles as possible to construction of the buildings.

⁵⁴ De Caso, “Le décor en motif détaché,” 297.

architectural design, but what is clear is the growing belief in the mid-nineteenth century that drawing represented a universal language that could express thoughts and attitudes in an immediate way.⁵⁵ In 1841, in a preamble to his discussion of the yearly Salon entries, César Daly emphasized the important role that drawing played in architectural composition: “Le dessin est le plus puissant auxiliaire de l’architecte; il lui est indispensable pour arrêter et fixer sa pensée, il est le beau idéal de la mémoire.”⁵⁶ The emphasis on drawing and furthermore, the insistence that its expression was more immediate than that of writing, was particularly pronounced at the École de Dessin. In the ceremony for the distribution of prizes in 1832, for example, Belloc described drawing as “une expression simple et rapides des formes,” it was, he argues, “une langue qui est à l’oeil ce que le son est à l’oreille, une écriture naturelle par laquelle les choses perceptibles sont mieux représentées que par des mots.”⁵⁷

The issue no doubt relates to what Neil Levine has described as penchant for legibility in the work of Romantic architects. In his groundbreaking essay, “The Book and the Building: Hugo’s Theory of Architecture and Labrouste’s Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève,” Levine presented the library in the context of Victor Hugo’s novel *Notre-Dame de Paris*. As Levine discovered, Hugo consulted Labrouste in the writing of the chapter “Ceci tuera cela.”⁵⁸ He was therefore intimately familiar with the potential threat that the printing press

⁵⁵ For a good examination of drawing pedagogy in the late-eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, see: Renaud d’Enfert, *L’Enseignement du dessin en France figure humaine et dessin géométrique 1750-1850, Histoire de l’éducation* (Paris: Belin, 2003).

⁵⁶ “Drawing is the architect’s most powerful tool; it is indispensable to capture his thoughts and make them permanent. it is the ideal beauty of memory.” César Daly, “Salon de 1841,” *Revue générale de l’architecture et des travaux publics* 2 (1841): 185.

⁵⁷ “a simple and rapid expression of forms . . . a language that is to the eye what sound is to the ear: a natural form of writing by which perceptible things are better represented than by words.” Archives Nationales, AJ/53/3, Séance du 9 décembre 1832, n.p.

⁵⁸ Levine, “The Book and the Building,” 145-146.

presented to the disciple, and he sought to handle the design of the library accordingly. For Levine that meant a radically new approach to the treatment of the façade which Labrouste devised as a “form of packaging” to which were affixed multiple “signs” that pointed directly to the building’s interior function.⁵⁹ The façade could thus be “read” like binding of a book so as to anticipate its internal content, materiality and disposition. The Ste-Geneviève library was the culmination of Labrouste’s search for architectural legibility, one that motivated his work and that of many of his fellow *pensionnaires*.⁶⁰ Like the bits of graffiti that Labrouste’s added to the walls of the *Portique* in Paestum, here too these “signs” were affixed to the façade of the library in order to communicate the building’s contemporary values and its entrenchment in the nineteenth-century public sphere. [figure 2.3.44]

The symbolic content of these elements went beyond their quality as functional signifiers. While Levine’s argument that the surface accretions on the library façade had a direct relationship to the functional, structural and material content of the building are undoubtedly accurate, Labrouste’s debt to Constant-Dufeux’s façade on the rue Racine, which exhibited none of these functional correlations, demonstrates that the use of symbols on Néo-Grec façades had value beyond their usage as functional signifiers. Other Néo-Grec façades built during the Second Empire also bear this out as students and admirers of Labrouste felt it appropriate to relinquish the functional relationships established by these surface accretions.

As Constant-Dufeux’s statement regarding symbolic expression cited above makes clear, signs and symbols (these terms were used interchangeably in Constant-Dufeux’s other writings) were essential elements in architectural design. It was not sufficient, he argued, to

⁵⁹ Levine, “The Book and the Building,” 156.

⁶⁰ Levine, “The Romantic Idea of Architectural Legibility,” 325-416.

believe that material expression alone could fulfill architecture's communicative role. What one needed were concentrated expressions ('des expressions concentrées') summarizing multiple ideas into distinct signs. Constant-Dufeux's implicit comparison between the reading of a book and the visual survey of a façade inverted Hugo's lament about recent architecture's communicative value by positing architectural signs as the more immediate in their effect. Reading the "longues pages d'une histoire" was a protracted endeavor not suitable to the vagaries of the street. Signs and symbols, Constant-Dufeux seemed to imply, were immediate and communicated to the onlooker directly, without mediation.

What is clear is that Néo-Grec experimentation was short-lived, lasting not much longer than two decades. In 1869, Charles Garnier reflected on the movement's rapid emergence and its equally swift decline in *A travers les Arts*. Garnier saw real promise in the work of Labrouste, Duban, Duc, Vaudoyer, Baltard and others, whose buildings represented a tendency towards honesty ("une grande tendance à la vérité") and frank expression.⁶¹ For Garnier, these architects had captured the true essence of ancient Greek art ("l'essence intime d'un art puissant a été comprise") which resided in the specificity and abstraction of ornamental motifs and profiles.⁶² But Garnier distinguish their work from what he labelled the Néo-Grec, an unnamed group of architects that had transformed the once hopeful ideals into "clichés."⁶³ Garnier was probably thinking of, among others, Amoudru and Equer, although the conspicuous absence of Constant-Dufeux in his long list of mid-nineteenth-century architects deserving merit might have raised some eyebrows. Garnier concluded his discussion of the Néo-Grec episode with a sharp dismissal of it:

⁶¹ Charles Garnier, "Le style actuel," *A travers les Arts, Causerie et Mélanges* (Paris: L. Hachette et Cie. 1869), 84.

⁶² Garnier, *A travers les Arts*, 85.

⁶³ Garnier, *A travers les Arts*, 90.

C'est alors que se créa le style soi-disant néo-grec, qui n'avait que du grec que le nom. Pour être distingué on faisait mesquin, pour être pur on faisait sec et roide, pour ne pas être lourd on gravait les ornements en donnant ainsi aux pierres l'aspect d'empreinte antediluvienne. Mais cette période de transition et de recherche, cette exagération qui a failli en instant compromettre l'art s'est effacée peu à peu; de véritables artistes ont surgi, en indiquant plus franchement les principes du beau; les dissidences ont disparu, l'équilibre s'est affermi et du prétendu néo-grec il ne reste qu'un souvenir.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ "It was then that the so-called néo-grec was created; a style which was Greek in name only. In order to be appear distinguished, [these architects] produced works that were subdued; in order to appear pure, they made buildings that were dry and stiff; in order not to appear too heavy, they engraved the ornamentation into the stone as though fossilized imprints. But this period of transition and research, this overstatement that nearly compromised art, disappeared little by little and true artists have emerged who exhibit the principles of beauty more frankly. Dissidences have disappeared, equilibrium has been established, and of the so-called néo-grec all that is left is a recollection." Charles Garnier, "Le style actuel," 85-86.

Chapter 4

Concentrated Symbols: The Medal for the Société Centrale des Architectes

“Un signe palpable”

Constant-Dufeux was perhaps thinking of the newly minted commemorative medal he had recently designed when he argued in the pages of the *Revue générale* in 1847 that architecture was in need of concentrated symbols that could convey messages instantaneously. [figures 2.4.1 to 2.4.3] With a diameter a mere two-inches, the medal required the kind of symbolic concision that the architect had advocated. A veritable manifesto of architecture’s capacity for symbolic expression, the medal celebrated the inauguration in 1843 of the Société Centrale des Architectes, the first official corporation representing the profession and licensing architectural practice in France. Spearheaded by Huyot (who would pass away just before its inauguration), Constant-Dufeux (serving as treasurer for the organization), Vaudoier, Lenoir and other prominent architects, the founding of the Société was a response to popular perceptions that the profession was in disarray, its reputation tarnished by fraudulent speculators with poor taste.¹ The founding texts cited the necessity to unite architects and provide them with a “centre commun” to resolve what was generally seen to be a state of “anarchie complète” afflicting the profession.² While calling for unity, the provisional members who drafted the introductory text in the *Revue générale* announcing the society’s

¹ The members that made up the provisional society before its official authorization by the Minister of the Interior on May 27, 1843, were as follows: Louis-Pierre Baltard, Abel Blouet, François-Alexis Cendrier, André-Marie Châtillon, Constant-Dufeux, Jean-Charles-Léon Danjoy, Jules de Joly, Louis Duc, Antoine Garnaud, Émile Gilbert, Charles Gourlier, Edme-Jean-Louis Grillon, Albert Lenoir, Renié (first name unknown) and Léon Vaudoier.

² One or more of the provisional members of the society penned the brief introduction to the newly established statutes, although no name is provided. See: Membres de la Commission pour la formation de la Société des architectes, “De la Société des architectes,” *Revue générale de l’architecture et des travaux publics* 2 (1841): 85-92.

creation, highlighted the necessity of abolishing the system of patents that were perceived as limiting artistic freedom and diversity.³ Furthermore, the founders cited the regretful circumstances that had led to the relinquishing of architecture's unifying role among the arts.⁴

Constant-Dufeux's design for the medal responded to the widespread sense of disorder in the profession namely by advancing a vision of architecture that lay in its unity of purpose and practice. At the same time, the message summarized Constant-Dufeux's own theoretical doctrines on architecture, ideas that he had expounded in his *atelier* since its creation 1836, and in the course on perspective that he taught at the École des Beaux-Arts from 1845 until the reforms affecting the institution in 1863. His teachings, the contours of which can be grasped from the architect's many articles for the *Revue générale* and from discussions of the course on perspective in the popular press, present him as a consilient thinker, with a desire to bring the multiple dimensions of architecture into cohesive accord. They point to his larger ambition of developing a truly unitary theory in which architecture's constituent parts, the skills required for its realization, and the forms of knowledge necessary for its apprehension were seamlessly integrated.

Following a decision by the governing members of the Société to produce a bronze medal and a coin commemorating the founding of the institution, Constant-Dufeux

³ Membres de la Commission pour la formation de la Société des architectes, "Société centrale des architectes," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 4 (1843): 167. Constant-Dufeux mentioned this aspect in a letter to the president of the École des Beaux-Arts two years later asking to be considered for the position of professor of perspective at the school. In the letter, Constant-Dufeux claimed to have been "l'un des plus ardents créateurs de l'association des architectes," and highlighted the central role he played in obtaining from the Chamber of Deputies "la reconnaissance de la libéralité de notre art par la suppression de la patente imposé autrefois aux architectes." Simon-Claude Constant Dufeux, "Nomination de Constant Dufeux au cours de perspective à l'école des beaux-arts," January 17, 1845, Archives Nationales, AJ / 52 / 456.

⁴ Membres de la Commission pour la formation de la Société des architectes, "Société centrale des architectes," 167.

submitted a written proposal detailing his design.⁵ The *mémoire explicatif* sent to the Société demonstrated the architect's intimate knowledge of numismatic history while at the same time revealing his adeptness at producing powerful new symbols fit for the times.⁶ In the document, Constant-Dufeux implored the members of the Société to uphold the mission of the institution that architecture be seen as an artistic practice, a principle supported by all at the time of its foundation. Furthermore, Constant-Dufeux warned the members not to treat the design of the medal merely as a typographical or ornamental exercise.⁷ Here was the Société's "premier travail d'art," he explained, and, as all works of art, it should communicate a clear intent and perform as "un signe palpable" of the Société's key aims.⁸

For Constant-Dufeux, this meant that the medal needed to make use of all of the forms of artistic expression available to it, simultaneously employing figures, emblems and inscriptions on its faces. The architect proposed that rather than detracting from one another, the different artistic modes could serve to supplement and intensify each other. "[D]ans le champ restreint d'une médaille," Constant-Dufeux explained, "il sera toujours raisonnable de réunir les figures écrites aux figures figuratifs, pour que les uns servent à expliquer, développer

⁵ The medal and the coin were engraved by Eugène André Oudiné, recipient of the *Prix de Rome* in 1831 and a former colleague of Constant-Dufeux at the Villa Medici.

⁶ My sincere gratitude to Estelle Thibault for uncovering this precious document. See: Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux, "Société centrale des architectes. Mémoire explicatif. Projet de médaille et de jeton présenté par M. Constant-Dufeux." Académie d'Architecture, 1845, Fonds Henri Labrousse, Académie d'Architecture, boîte 3/2.

⁷ Constant-Dufeux expressed it in these words: "La société qui s'est formé pour revendiquer ses droits à la considération comme art, débiterait-elle par une oeuvre typographique, ou simplement ornementale?" "Should a society which was formed to demand that architecture be considered an art be launched using a typographic work, or using a work that is simply ornamental?" Constant-Dufeux, "Société centrale des architectes. Mémoire explicatif du projet," 1845, 3.

⁸ "Ce mot art," Constant-Dufeux continued, "referme tout le programme [of the Société Centrale des Architectes]," and in the design of its medal "il doit dominer toute la question." "This word . . . summarizes the entire program . . . it must dominate the entire question." Constant-Dufeux, "Société centrale des architectes. Mémoire explicatif," 4.

et amplifier les autres.”⁹ He pointed to historic precedents of such mixing of artistic forms in the numismatic arts of ancient Greece and argued for its continued relevance in the nineteenth century: “Ce principe . . . est encore aujourd’hui aussi vrai qu’aux temps antiques,” he concluded.¹⁰

The obverse face of the medal illustrated Constant-Dufeux’s aim of creating a mutually beneficial dialogue and correspondance between art forms. At its center, he incorporated a seated muse of architecture dressed in ancient Greek garb accompanied by a host of symbolic figures highlighting the discipline’s many virtues. In the muse’s left hand was a compass and at her feet a bookshelf containing manuscript scrolls, on top of which was placed a lit oil lamp. Together, Constant-Dufeux explained, these three emblems representing measure, study and science comprised three facets of the *Theory* of architecture. Below the muse’s seat was the group designating architectural *Practice* which included a square, a level and a ruler denoting stability and equilibrium. In representing the figure of architecture and her attendant emblems, Constant-Dufeux employed an iconographic language that was intentionally conventional, for, as the architect remarked, these signs needed to be universally understood and to explain the discipline in the most general way. The other emblems spoke more specifically about the means by which architecture was produced (“les moyens”), and its ultimate goal (“le but”).

The means of architectural production were represented by three upright figures carried effortlessly on the muse’s right hand that represented what Constant-Dufeux described as “l’architecture bâtissant, l’architecture sculptant et l’architecture peignant,” and

⁹ “It is always reasonable to unite written signs with figures in order for them to explain, develop and amplify each other.” Constant-Dufeux, “Société centrale des architectes. Mémoire explicatif,” 4.

¹⁰ “This principle is as true today as it was in ancient times.” Constant-Dufeux, “Société centrale des architectes. Mémoire explicatif,” 4.

elsewhere as “la Construction, la Forme, et la Coloration.” The figures were equipped with the tools of their trade: the first held a trowel and a ruler, the second a hammer and a chisel, and the last an easel and a brush. The inclusion of these three figures served as reminder to the public of what the founding members of the Société’s described as architecture’s “encyclopédique” role among the arts and its imperative to bring all of the arts under its purview. Here was an very early pronouncement of what, by the turn of the century, would be known as the “unity of the arts.” The notion had been an implicit part of Romantic doctrine in Germany and France, and, as discussed in the first part of this dissertation, was one of the key points of disagreements between neoclassicists such as Quatremère de Quincy and the younger generation of artists and poets.

In the *mémoire* and elsewhere, Constant-Dufeux clarified his intentions on the role of painting and sculpture in architecture. Returning to ideas that we first encountered in the writings of eighteenth-century antiquarians, he suggested that, as separate artistic disciplines and as independent art forms, painting and sculpture were but later manifestations of practices that had originally been fully integrated into built form.¹¹ Architecture, Constant-Dufeux explained, had originally functioned as “la mère de toutes les industries et de tous [les] arts,” and its “plastique” and polychrome surfaces had been integral to the overall expression of a work.¹² Here, as also in Constant-Dufeux’s built projects, the image of architecture as a unified artistic practice served as something of an archetype, for it was based

¹¹ Constant-Dufeux explained the idea in the following way: “laissé en dehors [de l’architecture], l’art spéciale du statuaire, et du peintre d’histoire, qui, quoique descendant du grand art [de l’architecture], sont cependant indépendant et libres quand ils se détachent du murs, soit pour se placer sur un pédestal, soit pour user de toutes les ressources de l’illusion en se renfermant et s’isolant dans un cadre.” “Left outside of architecture, the special art of statuary and history painting, while being original descendants of architecture, once they detached from the walls were now independent and free being either placed on pedestals or, in order to employ all of the resources of illusion, enclosing themselves and isolating themselves within a frame.” Constant-Dufeux, “Société centrale des architectes. Mémoire explicatif,” 7.

¹² Constant-Dufeux, “Société centrale des architectes. Mémoire explicatif,” 4.

on a primitive, originary moment that the architect proposed as a model for the concerns of his own day. Architecture, he repeated during his yearly opening lectures to the course on perspective at the École des Beaux-Arts, “est un art qui prédominent les autres,” and the architect was the “maître de l’oeuvre.”¹³ Constant-Dufeux suggested that in the commission of a building not only were the other arts under the purview of the architect but that the architect could justifiably perform all of the duties required to bring a building to fruition. The veritable architect, he explained, “peut aussi bien se passer du décorateur, que de l’inspecteur de chantier. Il est les deux.”¹⁴

“Le Beau, le vrai, l’utile”

A key source for Constant-Dufeux’s thinking was the work of Victor Cousin, whose lectures of 1818 had been published by Adolphe Garnier in 1836 with the words “DU VRAI, DU BEAU ET DU BIEN” capitalized prominently on the title page.¹⁵ Sometime around the publication of Cousin’s lectures, Constant-Dufeux transformed the scholar’s philosophy of *Éclectisme* into an architectural theory, subtly changing the third term “le bien” into “l’utile” and reconfiguring the sequence to begin with “le beau.”

Constant-Dufeux’s choice of the term “l’utile” as a substitute for “le bien” was misleading given that Cousin, who was very direct in emphasizing the disinterested quality of the beautiful, minimized justifications of art based on utilitarian standards. It was clear from

¹³ Notes by Paul-Henri-Eugène Marchandier of Constant-Dufeux’s *cours de perspective* at l’École des Beaux-Arts, 1862 or 1863, Premier Entretien, Deuxième partie, “L’Architecte.”

¹⁴ Notes by Paul-Henri-Eugène Marchandier of Constant-Dufeux’s *cours de perspective* at l’École des Beaux-Arts, 1862 or 1863, Premier Entretien, Deuxième partie, “L’Architecte”

¹⁵ Victor Cousin, *Cours de philosophie sur le fondement des idées absolues du vrai, du beau et du bien*, Adolphe Garnier, ed. (Paris: Librairie classique et élémentaire de L. Hachette, 1836).

many of Constant-Dufeux's remarks on the subject, however, that "l'utile," closely resembled Cousin's "le bien." For the architect, the term suggested that architecture needed to be socially and morally beneficial, while also seeking to satisfy material needs. Utilitarian gain, therefore, was only one facet of "l'utile's" larger contribution, which encompassed architecture's capacity to shape social forces by more effectively communicating its ideals. "Par l'utilité, nous n'entendons pas seulement la satisfaction des besoins matériels," Constant-Dufeux explained in 1844, during the inauguration ceremonies for his tomb for the French explorer Dumont d'Urville, "mais aussi la satisfaction de besoins d'un ordre plus élevé, je veux dire ceux de l'intelligence; et enfin l'*utilité* prise dans le sens élevé que je donne à ce mot, et qui conduit à la grandeur morale et au beau."¹⁶

Constant-Dufeux's interpretation of Eclecticism was markedly different from the way that the term would be understood by the European modernists of early twentieth-century. That latter definition, which is largely our own today, was primarily the product of a campaign waged by neo-Gothic architects that challenged what Jean-Baptiste Lassus described as the "accouplement monstrueux" produced by architects under its spell.¹⁷ It suggested that the broad-based merger of elements that typified many buildings in the

¹⁶ Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux, "Inauguration du monument érigé par la Société de géographie à la mémoire du contre-amiral Dumont d'Urville au cimetière du Sud, à Paris. Discours prononcé par M. Constant Dufeux," *Bulletin de la Société de géographie* 3, no. 2 (1844): 221.

¹⁷ Lassus, a former student of Henri Labrouste, repeatedly attacked the hybridity in style of buildings by his contemporaries. The entire passage reads: "Vouloir amalgamer les plus belles formes des arts qui nous ont précédés, c'est ne pas comprendre que la beauté d'une forme dépend presque toujours de celle qui l'avosine, qu'elle découle de celle qui la précède, et amène celle qui la suit; c'est ignorer enfin qu'ont ne peut s'isoler ni la mêler à d'autres formes étrangères, sans qu'il y ait là un de ces accouplements *monstrueux*, parce qu'il sont hors des lois de la nature." "To amalgamate the most beautiful forms of art of the past, is to misunderstand that the beauty of a form almost always depends on the one that neighbors it, that it develops from the one that preceded it, and brings forth that which succeeds it. It is to ignore that we cannot isolate nor meld forms that are alien to each other without producing one of these monstrous couplings, since they are outside of the laws of nature." Jean-Baptiste Lassus, *Réaction de l'Académie des beaux-arts contre l'art gothique* (Paris: Librairie Archéologique de Victor Didron, 1846), 11.

nineteenth century amounted to little more than aesthetic tastes gone awry (“hors des lois de la nature” Lassus explained). In contrast to Lassus’ characterization, Constant-Dufeux adhered closely to Cousin’s denotation of the term, believing that beneath the apparent dissimilarity of certain forms and practices lay a realm of concordance. It was the architect’s responsibility, Constant-Dufeux maintained, to demonstrate this underlying harmony beyond the visible world. As Adolphe Lance, a contemporary of Constant-Dufeux explained it, the architect sought to reveal “une sorte de réalité invisible prédominant la réalité visible.”¹⁸

Constant-Dufeux incorporated the *devise trinitaire*, “le beau, le vrai, l’utile,” into his design of the medal, beneath the figure of architecture.¹⁹ Multiple emblems illustrated these important architectural goals, qualities that Constant-Dufeux noted were the “triple aspiration de architecture.”²⁰ Constant-Dufeux indicated the compass, the level and the lamp as figures representing precision and truth, while the grouping of flowers and the cluster of fruit represented beauty and utility respectively. Important for him was not simply the presence of beauty, truth and usefulness, but their perfect fusion and alignment in a unitary architectural work. The tripartite structure here was not coincidental, for it suggested the same consubstantiality of distinct qualities proffered in Christian doctrine. “La réunion de ces

¹⁸ Lance, “Constant-Dufeux,” 156.

¹⁹ In the *mémoire* to the Société centrale, Constant-Dufeux employed a slight variation on the tripartite theme: *le beau, le bon, l’utile*. The middle term was changed to *le vrai* in the final execution of the medal. Although he seemed to have abandoned this particular interpretation later in his career, in the early eighteen-forties, Constant-Dufeux understood these terms as philosophical correlates to the Vitruvian triad which he cited as *Delectatio* (a synonym of the original term, *Venustas*), *Firmitas*, *Commoditas*. See: Constant-Dufeux, “Mémoire explicatif du projet de Médaille et de Jeton proposé par M. Constant-Dufeux,” 6.

²⁰ Simon-Claude Constant Dufeux, “Jeton et médaille de la Société centrale des architectes,” *Revue générale de l’architecture et des travaux publics* 8 (1849): 151.

trois qualités,” Constant-Dufeux explained, was architecture’s highest goal, its “but suprême.”²¹

More broadly, the integration of the multiple within the one was a chief element of Cousinian Eclecticism, and, as Féraud reported, the catchphrase summing up this notion, “la variété dans l’unité,” was frequently invoked by Constant-Dufeux in his teaching.²² The expression of unity in variety was the underlying motivation behind the numerous groupings in the medal but it was illustrated most clearly by the two plant forms on each side of the muse of architecture. Each of these plants bore implausible flora, the one on the right yielding bunches of dissimilar fruit (an apple, a plum, a cluster of grapes and berries), and the plant on the left producing a disparate assortment of flowers. Diversity and variation were encouraged not as ends in themselves, but rather as means towards an ever more comprehensive and perfected whole. And for Constant-Dufeux, the dictum encompassed the internal dynamic of architecture’s relationship to its constituent parts as much as its external connection to history and to science.

Typology and Cimentation

Constant-Dufeux’s belief in the architect’s unifying role and purpose was emphasized by the inclusion of a few unconventional details in the design of the medal. Féraud drew attention to one such figure in his obituary of the architect, a trowel placed below the muse’s chair that, he

²¹ Constant-Dufeux, “Société centrale des architectes. Mémoire explicatif,” 5

²² The idea was not exclusive to Cousinian philosophy, and like much of Cousin’s work, had its origins in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century German thought. According to Féraud, the expression “la variété dans l’unité” was used by Constant-Dufeux as a frequent refrain in his classes. Féraud, “Constant-Dufeux,” 134.

explained, represented the idea of “cimentation.”²³ The figure, newly invented and without prior symbolism, was described in Constant-Dufeux’s *mémoire* as an expression of “agrégation,” thus reiterating the notion that, as a discipline, architecture produced and combined several dissimilar elements.²⁴ The second figure emblemizing architecture’s unifying function appeared atop the head of the seated muse as a crown in the image of a city. Here, Constant-Dufeux incorporated religious monuments that represented three different historical “types,” the Greek, the Latin and the Gothic. The first was illustrated by a peripteral temple raised on a stepped plinth, the second by an early Christian Basilica, and the third by the cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris, chosen, Constant-Dufeux insisted, in order to indicate the home city of the Société Centrale des Architectes. If the trowel had represented a vision of unity that dealt with architecture’s material and constructive basis, the crown, its ring defining a perimeter wall within which monuments from disparate eras were gathered, proposed unity in the discipline’s history.

The crown in the image of the city summed up Constant-Dufeux and his generation’s new approach to architectural typology. Unlike some of the older and more dogmatic members of the Académie, many of whom understood typology in essentially a-historical terms, the younger generation at the École believed that architectural types were momentary crystallizations that not only captured transcendental principles but also transformed these into forms adapted to the era’s spirit. This approach was heavily marked by the teaching of

²³ Féraud explained: “La représentation du grand art y est exprimée d’une manière aussi complète et aussi noble par la pensée que par la forme. On y voit, pour la première fois, figurer, avec les emblèmes de la stabilité et de la mesure, celui de la cimentation.” “The representation of the great art is expressed in a manner that by thought and form is complete and noble. One notes, for the first time, alongside the emblems of stability and measure, that of cimentation.” Féraud, “Constant Dufeux,” 251.

²⁴ Constant-Dufeux described the inclusion of the figure of a trowel in the *mémoire*: “La truelle y sera jointe pour exprimer la Solidité par la cimentation en l’agrégation.” “The trowel will be added in order to express Solidity by cimentation in aggregation.” Constant-Dufeux, “Société centrale des architectes. Mémoire explicatif,” 5.

Jean-Nicolas Huyot and his way of looking at architecture historically as a process of continual transformation and adaptation based on migratory exchanges and cross-cultural communication. In one critic's opinion, the design of the medal and the message it communicated, seemed to be clearly intended as an homage to Huyot.²⁵

Constant-Dufeux expressed this approach to history and type best in a passage providing advice to the recently announced *Grand Prix* laureate, Louis-Jules André. The architect counseled the future *pensionnaire* to travel beyond Italy and Greece (the latter country had become a regular part of the *pensionnaire* circuit by the mid-eighteen forties) and on to Egypt. "Aller aussi au Caire et à Thèbes!" Constant-Dufeux exclaimed, for, in the most primitive of buildings, he contended, one could discover "des principes qui chez elles se montrent souvent à nu."²⁶ The exposure and familiarity with the sources of architecture would provide the French *pensionnaire* the proper tools to understand the architecture in his own country:

Alors il comprendra mieux les beauté qui se trouvent dans l'architecture du moyen âge, et qui abondent aussi dans ces contrées. De retour en France, nos beaux monuments se montreront à lui sous un jour tout nouveau, et il les appréciera ce qu'ils valent. Il y retrouvera les mêmes grands principes qui leurs sont commun avec ce que l'antiquité païenne et chrétienne a crée de plus beau.²⁷

²⁵ See: Gustave Meurant, "Rapport lu par M. Meurant sur la Société centrale. Seance du 8 novembre 1869," *Société des architectes du département du Nord* 2 (1869-1870), 3.

²⁶ Constant-Dufeux, "Grand prix de l'institut. Concours d'architecture," 299.

²⁷ "Therefore, he will better understand the beauties that are present in the architecture of the Middle Ages which abound in our lands as well. Upon his return to France, our beautiful monuments will appear in a new light, and he will appreciate their value. Here, he will rediscover the same great principles that are shared by the most beautiful monuments of pagan and Christian antiquity." Constant-Dufeux, "Grand Prix de l'institut. Concours d'architecture," 299.

Constant-Dufeux concluded the passage by recasting the conflict between *le fond et la forme* in historicist terms, observing: “ces principes gouvernent le fond, et non la forme qui se modifiera sans cesse dans l’avenir.”²⁸

While the presence of the temple and basilica would have been welcomed by the Société, the inclusion of a Gothic cathedral and its placement at the front of the crown might have caused some confusion, if not outright controversy among the mostly classicist members of the organization. In the *mémoire*, Constant-Dufeux reminded the members of his adherence to Grecian values, while also making a point of resisting the partisanship that was often coupled with such convictions. “Je ne suis pas partisan de l’application de la forme grecque,” he assured his readers. Nonetheless, Constant-Dufeux confessed his affinity to Greek wisdom in the arts and in philosophy and of the preeminent role of the Grecian spirit in historical development of architecture in the West: “les principes Grecs envisagés dans leur ensemble, et pris dans le sens philosophique le plus élevé ont toujours été l’âme des arts et de la philosophie,” he remarked.²⁹ The three historical monuments depicted, therefore, were by no means a random sampling of buildings, but, as outcroppings emerging from the head of the Grecian muse, they were genealogically related to ancient Greek wisdom from which they derived their unity. “[N]ous n’avons pas craint de la couronner par tous les monuments dont cette vierge grecque est la véritable mère,” he explained, and continued,

²⁸ Constant-Dufeux, “Grand Prix de l’institut. Concours d’architecture,” 299.

²⁹ “the Greek principles seen in total, and taken according to their most elevated philosophical sense, have always been the soul of the arts of philosophy.” Constant-Dufeux, “Société centrale des architectes. Mémoire explicatif,” 9.

“Nous n’avons pas craint d’unir au temple Grec, le temple Latin, et d’y joindre aussi celui Gothique.”³⁰ Constant-Dufeux saw the Greek as a historical origin and a unifying ideal.

Beyond the popular interest in ancient Greek architecture that was characteristic of the eighteen forties in France, with legacy of active French involvement in the Greek war of Independence and the creation of the *École Française d’Athènes* in 1846, Constant-Dufeux was particularly motivated by the belief that ancient Greek architecture provided a common base that was broad and general enough to accommodate a diverse set of approaches. In essence, Greek thinking, for Constant-Dufeux, was an archetypal or root form that had produced great stylistic diversity across the ages. The Greek mindset, he explained, permitted “l’emploi de signes symboliques pris dans l’architecture de tous les âges.”³¹

Numismatic Histories

As is clear from what follows here, Constant-Dufeux’s stated interest in ancient Greece was at once real and also something of a cover for tendencies that he knew well pre-dated classical Hellenic art and architecture. In the same way that, as a *pensionnaire* at the *Académie de France à Rome*, he had sought out the pre-classical roots of Roman architecture in the fragmentary ruins of Etruscan civilization, he approached ancient Greece by emphasizing its continuity with pre-Hellenic cultures from Asia Minor. His design for the medal for the *Société Centrale des Architectes* demonstrates this belief well, for its central

³⁰ “We did not fear to crown her with all of the monuments which this Greek virgin is the veritable mother. . . . We did not fear to unite the Greek temple, the Latin temple and to join also that of the Gothic.” Constant-Dufeux, “*Société centrale des architectes. Mémoire explicatif*,” 10.

³¹ “the use of symbolic signes taken from the architecture of all ages.” Constant-Dufeux, “*Société centrale des architectes. Mémoire explicatif*,” 9.

figure, the muse of architecture described earlier, was clearly intended to evoke the ancient Phrygian goddess Cybèle, with her hallmark crown in the form of a city.

The myth of Cybèle was the subject of an important piece of scholarship written a few years earlier by the French archaeologist, critic and historian Charles Lenormant.³² Prosper Mérimée was a close confidant of Lenormant, whom, like Constant-Dufeux, Mérimée had probably met as a student at the *lycée Napoléon* in 1811.³³ Lenormant's knowledge of ancient civilizations was considerable. Early in his career, and a few years following Jean-François Champollion's deciphering of the hieroglyphs on the Rosetta Stone, he accompanied the famed archeologist on an important expedition to Egypt. Galvanized by this experience, Lenormant spent much of his future effort interpreting and deciphering figures and symbols on ancient coins, ceramics and medals in order to piece together the complex constellations of ancient religious worship. With his appointment as *conservateur adjoint* at the Cabinet des médailles of the Bibliothèque royale in 1832, Lenormant began to employ the profusion of numismatic artifacts at his disposal in an effort to uncover the sources of Hellenic myth. As Mérimée explained in the obituary of the archeologist, short of adopting the principle of the "division de travail" used in the industrial arts, the breadth and immense variety of elements and objects involved in the research made it nearly impossible

³² As his biographers indicated, Lenormant was equally concerned with the contemporary state of the arts, frequently publishing reviews and essays on the painting, music and theatre of his time in journals as diverse as *la Revue générale de l'architecture*, *Le Moniteurs des arts* and Arcisse de Caumont's *Bulletin monumental*. Describing the temperament of this multitalented figure, Henri Wallon summed up the man this way: "Lenormant était un savant greffé sur un artiste." "Lenormant was a scientist grafted onto an artist." Wallon, "Notice historique sur la vie et les travaux de M. Charles Lenormant," 279.

³³ Mérimée, "Charles Lenormant," 317.

for one person to handle alone.³⁴ Earlier attempts by others had uncovered a fragmentary landscape of assorted myths that provided few clues of the commonalities between them.³⁵

Given the difficulty of the enterprise and the grandness of the narrative proposed, Lenormant's article on the myth of Cybèle was received as something of a breakthrough when it appeared in 1836. Published by the French section of the Institut de Correspondance Archéologique, the essay "Études de la religion phrygienne de Cybèle" was but the first of two parts (although complete, the second part remained unpublished even after the archeologist's death).³⁶ Lenormant opened the essay by recognizing the important role played by the "école dite *symbolique*," the previous generation of antiquarians, philologists and archeologists (discussed in the first part of this dissertation), and its foregrounding of religious doctrine as a way of effectively elucidating the form and thought of ancient civilizations. Despite such worthy efforts, the Phrygian religion that emerged around the

³⁴ The complete passage reads: "Des études si nombreuses et si variées semblent dépasser les forces d'un seul homme, et l'on serait tenté d'appliquer dans le domaine de la science archéologique le principe de la division du travail, aussi bien que dans le domaine des arts industriels." "Such numerous and varied studies seem to surpass the capabilities of one man, and we would be tempted to apply in the discipline of scientific archeology, the principle of the division of labor as found in the industrial arts." Mérimée, "Charles Lenormant," 222.

³⁵ Foisset described the state of research on primitive myths before the publication of Lenormant's essay on Cybèle: "Vainement des esprits supérieurs se sont-ils attachés à circonscrire les variétés innombrables des religions antiques distinguant, pour ainsi dire, autant de systèmes différents qu'on rencontre de dénominations et d'épithètes religieuses dans les anciens auteurs. Ces efforts qui, après tout, n'ont produits que des résultats d'une inexprimable confusion, semblaient à M. Lenormant tout à fait contraires par leurs direction au progrès de la véritable science." "Vainly superior spirits attempted to circumscribe the innumerable variety of ancient religions, distinguishing, so to speak, as many different systems as one encounters names and religious epithets in the works of ancient authors. These efforts, which, after all, produced but inexpressible confusion, seemed to Lenormant to run against the grain of progress in a veritable science." M. Foisset, "Notice sur M. Lenormant," in Charles Lenormant, *Beaux-Arts et voyages*, t. 1 (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1861), xxxi.

³⁶ According to Mérimée, the second part of the essay was to be published largely as a commentary on two of Plato's dialogues, *Cratylus* and *Euthyphro*. Mérimée read excerpts of this second part and suggested it to be "le système le plus ingénieux et le mieux déduit pour l'interprétation de la symbolique grecque." "The most ingenious system and the one that best deduced the interpretation of Greek symbolism." Mérimée, "Charles Lenormant," 224. See also: Lenormant, "Études de la religion phrygienne de Cybèle," 215-272.

goddess Cybèle had received little attention, a fact Lenormant attributed to the extreme “monstruosité” of its rites and the recoiling of “la raison chrétienne” in the face of such horrors.³⁷ In contrast to this neglect, and against the pervasive manner of dividing up and separating out religious worship, Lenormant proposed that the myth of Cybèle was the key unifying belief linking the seemingly unconnected tapestry (“une broderie légère et changeante”) of local cults across Asia Minor, Greece, the Italian peninsula and beyond to ancient Gaul.³⁸ The religion of Cybèle was so tightly connected to other ancient beliefs, Lenormant insisted, that it resembled “du ciment romain uni à la pierre,” this cimentation being so unyielding that “on briserait plutôt la pierre qu'on n'en séparerait le ciment.”³⁹

According to Lenormant, the immense variety of ancient beliefs were reducible to “un certain nombre de proposition abstraites.”⁴⁰ What made Cybèle such a pervasive cult, one with influence from Asia Minor to Western Europe, was its greater ability to distill and abstract its religious ideals to such a degree that they captured the essence of the pantheist mindset. For Lenormant, pantheistic societies were concerned with the worship of nature, which at its core, he explained, was seen as conflict between the one and the many. Symbols of unity, cohesion, and linkage (“le lien”) emerged as dominant religious emblems for such

³⁷ Lenormant, “Études de la religion phrygienne de Cybèle,” 216.

³⁸ Lenormant, “Études de la religion phrygienne de Cybèle,” 215.

³⁹ Lenormant also compared the myth of Cybèle to a spider’s web: “comme l’araignée qui, du fond de sa retraite, tient ses fils tendus dans toutes les directions . . . toutes les contrées où le polythéisme antique a régné; toutes les croyances religieuses s’éclaireront par les mythes ou le culte de Cybèle.” “Like the spider, which, from the depth of its hiding, grasps threads that extend in all directions . . . all of the lands where ancient polytheism reigned, all religious beliefs will be illuminated by the myths and the cult of Cybèle.” Lenormant, “Études de la religion phrygienne de Cybèle,” 217.

⁴⁰ Lenormant, “Études de la religion phrygienne de Cybèle,” 230.

societies for they expressed the necessity of exerting control over the otherwise irreconcilable conflict at the heart of the nature world.⁴¹ Lenormant explained:

La pensée que j'ai rencontrée partout dans la religion païenne, est celle du *panthéisme*, c'est-à-dire l'adoration de la nature entière sous une forme plus ou moins une ou complexe. L'essence d'une *divinité panthée*, c'est d'être à la fois *une* et *plusieurs*. Comment se concilient ces deux caractères opposés, l'*unité* et la *pluralité*? par la *cohésion*, par le *lien*. Aussi le lien est-il le symbole le plus éminemment religieux de l'antiquité.⁴²

Lenormant delighted in the onomatopoeic quality of the many ancient words used to denote Cybèle. Likewise, one can see something of a visual onomatopoeia at work in his description of the way that the religion of Cybèle was represented and expressed. Among pantheistic societies, Lenormant explained, stone itself, regardless of its representational or figurative quality, was used as a symbolic material that expressed the sought-after sense of cohesion and unity that characterized the cult of Cybèle.⁴³ “[Q]u’elle image plus naturelle de la *cohésion élémentaire* qu’une *Pierre, réunion solide et résistante d’éléments ailleurs séparés*?” he wondered.⁴⁴ Stone was an appropriate symbol since it did not simply represent cohesion and unity, but, as a material, it embodied it: “[T]outes pierre, par sa composition solide et la

⁴¹ Martin Bressani sheds some light on the origins of the concept of the bond (le lien) in his forthcoming book on Viollet-le-Duc. He writes: “It was a highly philosophical study, inspired by Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling’s arcane concept of the bond (lien), which held that all entities in the world are the product of “a law of cohesion” maintained “by the force and the persistence of a bond.” See: *Architecture and the Historical Imagination: Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, 1814–1879* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 73.

⁴² “The thinking that I encountered everywhere in pagan religion, and that of *pantheism*, is the adoration of the whole of nature under a form more or less complex. The essence of the *pantheist divinity* is to be at once *one* and *many*. How shall we reconcile these two opposing characteristics, *unity* and *plurality*? by *cohesion*, by the *bond*. The bond is the symbol that is most eminently religious in antiquity.” Lenormant, “Études de la religion phrygienne de Cybèle,” 230.

⁴³ Lenormant, “Études de la religion phrygienne de Cybèle,” 228.

⁴⁴ “What image can be more natural than the *elementary cohesion of a stone, reunion of the solid and resistant elements that elsewhere are separated*.” Lenormant, “Études de la religion phrygienne de Cybèle,” 229.

cohésion de molécules semblables qui la caractérisent *est un symbole convenable de cette cohésion vitale qui forme l'attribut le plus religieux de la divinité.*⁴⁵

For Lenormant, primitive upright stones were the clearest examples of pantheistic thought attempting to reconcile the schism at the heart of the natural world.⁴⁶ These unadorned stones, Lenormant argued, were employed as a monumental form of worship for Cybèle.⁴⁷ Lenormant further explained that in order to express the special importance of Cybèle, crude stones from meteorite falls were frequently used as stand-ins for the goddess.⁴⁸ But despite the extreme abstraction that characterized the monumental worship of Cybèle, depictions of the deity in sculpture and on various artifacts such as coins, medals or vases,

⁴⁵ “All stone, by its solid composition and the cohesion of similar molecules that characterize it, *is a appropriate symbol of this vital cohesion that forms the most religious quality of the divinity.*” Lenormant, “Études de la religion phrygienne de Cybèle,” 233.

⁴⁶ Lenormant explained: “Effectivement, nous trouvons que, partout, une pierre ou brute, ou grossièrement taillée, a été la première figure de la divinité.” “Effectively, we find that everywhere, a stone, either course or roughly hewn, was the first figure of the divinity.” Lenormant, “Études de la religion phrygienne de Cybèle,” 233.

⁴⁷ Earlier, Viel de Saint-Maux and d’Hancarville has characterized raised stones as expressions of the natural fecundity of the earth and had described them as the first complete buildings. Lenormant shared these assessments, but gave them a Romantic gloss by drawing attention to both the internal conflict in the natural world, and the ultimate role of primitive, pantheistic beings in attempting to resolve this conflict. For the pantheistic mindset, Lenormant explained, opposites melded into each other and formed new identities: life and death, the temple and the tomb, the altar and the tumulus were rendered indistinguishable from each other. Lenormant explained this phenomenon in the following manner: “pour la religion panthéistique, une conséquence frappante: ce grand tout qu’on adore, c’est la vie et la mort réunies, c’est à la fois l’être actif et la matière passive; le temple et le tombeau, l’autel et le tumulus ne se distinguent pas.” “For the pantheist religion, a shocking consequence: the great everything that one adores, is life and death reunited, it is at once the active being and the passive material; the temple and the tomb, the altar and the tumulus are no longer distinguished.” Lenormant, “Études de la religion phrygienne de Cybèle,” 254.

⁴⁸ Lenormant, “Études de la religion phrygienne de Cybèle,” 234-238.

adopted a more conventional iconography,⁴⁹ the most frequent being the image of the goddess, her head surmounted by a crown in the form of the city.⁵⁰ [figure 2.4.4]

The inclusion of similar iconography in the medal for the Société, and the parallel choice of terms (“cimentation,” “agrégation”) used to describe it, suggest a secondary and more comprehensive reading of Contant-Dufieux’s design. For if, according to Lenormant, the main achievement of the cult of Cybèle was to condense and intensify pantheistic thought into a message of unity in plurality, this too was the central lesson of Constant-Dufieux’s composition. That message was present everywhere in the medal. Cement, the binding agent keeping the disparate elements of an edifice together, and the city, a bonded conglomeration of diverse peoples and buildings, were employed as two architectonic symbols expressing this notion.⁵¹ “Le besoin de se clôturer est fort ancien,” Constant-Dufieux often

⁴⁹ According to Lenormant, the cult of Cybèle was expressed in the materiality of stone regardless of the shape that the stone might take. He concluded from this fact that the mere presence of stone as a material in artifacts and monuments of primitive societies pointed to the pervasiveness of the cult of Cybèle across large parts of the globe. Not only did the “pierres superstitieuses” such as the raised stones and phallic monuments dotting the landscape across Europe and beyond evoke the cult of Cybèle, but, so did the the stones sculpted into the anthropomorphic and representational figures (“les pierres animées,” as he referred to them). Lenormant explained: “la pierre a d'abord été dieu, non seulement parce qu'elle imitait grossièrement une figure humaine, mais à cause de cela encore qu'elle était une *pierre*.” “The stone was first god, not only because it roughly imitated the human figure, but also because of the fact that it was a *stone*.” Lenormant, “Études de la religion phrygienne de Cybèle,” 233-34. In an interesting passage, Lenormant described the way that sculpture continued to express the notion of cohesion and unity once it adopted anthropomorphic form. Many of the conventional markers to represent the idea of cohesion in figurative sculptures appear in Constant-Dufieux medal, including a bracelet and a necklace. See: Lenormant, “Études de la religion phrygienne de Cybèle,” 245.

⁵⁰ In 1850, Lenormant launched the first volume of *Trésor de numismatique et de glyphique*, a publication series presenting illustrations of important metal and stone artifacts to aid scholarship on ancient cults and religions. The illustrations were drawn by Paul Delaroche and employed a new engraving methods developed by Achille Collas. Lenormand dedicated a significant part of the volume to representations of the myth of Cybèle. The iconography closely resembles that of Constant-Dufieux’s design of the medal for the *Société centrale*. See: Charles Lenormant, *Trésor de numismatique et de glyphique, ou recueil général de médailles, monnaies, pierres gravées, bas-reliefs, etc.* (Paris: Goupil et Vibert, 1850), plate 3.

⁵¹ As Lenormant explained, the attribute expressed the three reigning ideas represented by the goddess: “les idées de *mère*, de *ville*, et de *peuple*.” Each of these ideas, of course, reiterated the essence of pantheism, the notion of unity in plurality, that characterized the cult of Cybèle. Lenormant, “Études de la religion phrygienne de Cybèle,” 242.

explained in his cours lectures, “on voit des murs construits au temps des Pélasges.”⁵² He further reworked the ancient iconography of Cybèle, transforming the cornucopia traditionally found in ancient depiction of the goddess into two vegetal sprouts framing the central figure.

As the *mémoire explicatif* submitted to the Société indicates, beyond the design of the medal, Constant-Dufeux was also responsible for conceiving the initial design of the smaller *jeton de présence*, which incorporated a magnification of the head of the muse on its obverse face.⁵³ Henri Labrouste would eventually be charged with designing the final composition of the coin, which deviated only slightly from Constant-Dufeux’s original scheme. [figure 2.4.5] But the discrepancies were significant. Like Constant-Dufeux’s design of the medal, Labrouste’s reworking incorporated three monumental buildings from distinct epochs to reinforce the idea that there existed common principles underlying historical change in architectural form. But in Labrouste’s composition, the crown surmounting the head of the muse was reproduced much more explicitly as a city wall, which is seen spiraling up along the inclined terrain.⁵⁴

⁵² “The need to wall oneself is very ancient . . . one can see it in the walls built in the time of the Pelasgians.” Notes by Paul-Henri-Eugène Marchandier of Constant-Dufeux’s *cours de perspective* at l’École des Beaux-Arts, 1862 or 1863, 2ème Entretien, 1ère partie, “Les murs.”

⁵³ In Constant-Dufeux’s plan for the new iconography of the institution, he advised that the coin to be designed as “le résumé ou l’extrait” of the larger medal. The full citation reads: “A l’égard du Jeton, il me semble qu’il doit avoir comme la médaille le caractère honorifique et qu’il serait bien qu’il la rappelle et par la forme, et par les signes symboliques analogue, qu’il soient cela qu’on y retrouve pour aussi dire le résumé ou l’extrait de ceux de la grande médaille.” “With regard to the coin, it seems to me that it must have, like the medal, an honorific character, and that it would be good for it to recall the medal by both the form and by the use of similar symbolic signs, so as to be both the summary and provide a detail of the bigger medal.” Constant-Dufeux, “Société centrale des architectes. Mémoire explicatif,” 2.

⁵⁴ Martin Bressani’s numerous articles on the discourse of archeology and myth in the work of Henri Labrouste were especially important to my own interpretation here. See: Martin Bressani, “Le discours sur le mythe dans la pensée architecturale romantique en France,” in *L’Architecture, les sciences et la culture de l’histoire au XIXe siècle* (Saint-Étienne: Publication de l’Université de Saint-Étienne, 2001).

In the medal design for the Société, Constant-Dufeux sought to reproduce intentions that archeologists and antiquarians had long claimed were encapsulated in pre-classical, pantheistic monuments: the search for a total, unifying architectonic image in which word, color and form were one. These motivations was best embodied in Lenormant's theories of the myth of Cybèle which Constant-Dufeux repeatedly alluded to in descriptions of the medal. Furthermore, Constant-Dufeux made clear his pursuit of an originary and unified architectonic form in the introduction to the *mémoire explicatif* sent to the Société. There, he stressed the importance of reuniting written word and symbolic image, and he realized these intentions in his design, going as far as inscribing the ancient Greek word ΚΑΔΟΚΑΓΑΘΩΝ on the bookshelf, a term connecting the idea of the good with the moral.⁵⁵

In the eighteen fifties, Constant-Dufeux transformed his design for the medal into an insignia for his *atelier*.⁵⁶ [figure 2.4.6] The new motif preserved the lamp, the square, and the level as well as the two plants bearing dissimilar fruit and flowers, but replaced the figure of Cybèle with a stele, unadorned save for a garland serendipitously ensnaring a flower within its swag. The substitution reiterated the centrality of the discourse on primitive myth in Constant-Dufeux's approach to symbolic representation, for here the discipline of architecture was represented by what generations of antiquarians and archeologists had insisted was its humble origin, the raised stone. But the simplicity of the image was deceptive. Constant-Dufeux had called for concentrated images that could summarize "mille

⁵⁵ Along the edge of the book shelf is inscribed the Greek word ΚΑΔΟΚΑΓΑΘΩΝ, a term connecting the idea of the good with the moral. KALONKAGATHON conjoins two separate words: KALON meaning the good, and AGATHON meaning the moral or the ethical, the implication being that to be good in something also necessitates having a higher moral or ethical purpose. Interestingly, the term is the equivalent of Cousin's term "le bien," dropped by Constant-Dufeux in favour of "l'utile" as noted above.

⁵⁶ The *timbre de l'atelier libre* can be found stamped in the notebook of Constant-Dufeux's student, Albert Monneron. See: Albert Monneron, Sketchbook, c.1848-1863, The Winterthur Library, doc. 1320,.

faits dans un seul signe” and the unassuming little stone did just that.⁵⁷ It captured its substitute, the figure of Cybèle, but no longer through an allegorical display of the muse with her attributes, but in what he must have conceived as an instantaneous symbol which, as preceding authors from Viel de Saint-Maux to Creuzer had emphasized, could be grasped “comme une apparition soudaine.”⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Constant Dufeux, “Tombeau de Napoléon,” 301.

⁵⁸ It may be helpful to remind the reader of Creuzer and Guigniaut’s distinction between allegory and symbol, the former is akin to “une plante vigoureuse” whose numerous shoots spread and developed sequentially outward over time, while the latter, much like a flower, is the highest and most evolved form of representational figuration. Creuzer and Guigniaut, *Religions de l’antiquité*, 24.

Chapter 5

Constant-Dufeux's Theory of Architecture

Chair de Perspective

Almost a decade after the opening of his *atelier* in 1836, Constant-Dufeux was appointed as *Chaire de perspective* at the École des Beaux-Arts. His appointment to the École was somewhat surprising given the previous difficulties he had experienced at the hands of the Académie. The likelihood of securing the position was made all the more doubtful following a series of scathing articles in the press that began in mid-November 1844 by attacking his newly completed tomb for Dumont d'Urville, and continued by impugning his capacity as a teacher after news of his candidacy for the position broke the following month.¹ Despite these obstacles, Constant-Dufeux had a great many factors working in his favor. As he explained in the letter announcing his candidacy, his training at the École des Beaux-Arts had prepared him well for the demands of the position.² He reminded the jury of his studies in mathematics under Jean-Baptiste-Omer Lavit, and those in perspective under Pierre Henri de Valenciennes and, after Valenciennes' death in 1819, under Jean-Thomas Thibault. The medal of perspective that Constant-Dufeux was awarded in 1821 must have particularly impressed the jury since the course was required only for painters and sculptors until the

¹ The author of these harsh criticisms was André-Hippolyte Delaunay. The controversy that erupted in the pages of the *Journal des artistes* around Constant-Dufeux's tomb will be discussed later in the dissertation.

² It should be noted that this was Constant-Dufeux's second attempt at entering the ranks of the École. Two years earlier, Constant-Dufeux announced his candidacy to replace Antoine-Marie Peyre as member of the jury of architecture. See: Constant-Dufeux, "Demande de M. Constant-Dufeux," Archives Nationales AJ/52/456, March 24, 1843.

reforms of 1824.³ However, many of the other applicants shared some, if not all, of these achievements.⁴ What distinguished Constant-Dufeux's candidacy over and above the others, and what he stressed in the application letter, was his continued passion for teaching (he described his engagement with his *atelier* as "la plus chère de mes occupation," and spoke about his "dévouement à l'enseignement"), his association with painters and sculptors ("j'ai vécu en confraternité avec les artistes Peintres, Sculpteurs, Architectes," he explained) and most of all, his early involvement with the Ponts et Chaussée and the École Polytechnique, working on the great technological and infrastructural projects of the early century.

Constant-Dufeux was nominated to the *Chaire de perspective* on January 29, 1845 and his appointment was confirmed by the king on February 6.⁵ He replaced Louis-Joseph Girard, a former student of Gaspard Monge and a professor of mathematics at the École Polytechnique, who had passed away in late November 1844. The position was so greatly sought after that the school began receiving applications even before Girard had died. Constant-Dufeux beat out a number of impressive candidates including Théodore Labrousse, recipient of the Prix de Rome in 1827, and Jean-Pierre Thénot, an accomplished landscape

³ As Alice Thomine explains, the reforms of 1824 expanded the role of perspective at the École des Beaux-Arts by providing it with greater autonomy and creating a chair of its own (*la Chaire de Perspective*). See: Alice Thomine, "Perspective savante ou perspective pittoresque?" *Les cahiers de la recherche architecturale et urbaine* 17 (2005): 129-38. The article was recently translated in English and republished. See: Alice Thomine-Berrada, "Pictorial Versus Intellectual Representation: Teaching Perspective to Architectural Students at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris (1824-1900)," in *Perspective, Projections and Design: Technologies of Architectural Representation*, edited by Mario Carpo and Frédérique Lemerle (New York; London: Routledge, 2008), 141-50.

⁴ Thomine speculates that Constant-Dufeux's nomination was the result of two distinguishing elements in his profile: he was recipient of the *Grand Prix* and was also, at the time of his nomination, employed as *architecte du gouvernement* for the additions to the École de Dessin. None of the other applicants had been bestowed such important honors. See: Thomine, "Perspective savante ou perspective pittoresque?" 134.

⁵ A list of new professors from 1829-1862 at the École de Beaux-Arts is in: Archives Nationales AJ/52/38.

painter who had competed unsuccessfully for the position in 1823 and had gone on to publish a number of books on perspective.⁶

The competition for Girard's replacement brought to the surface conflicts between architecture and the two other arts of painting and sculpture that had long existed at the École des Beaux-Arts.⁷ The difficulty resided in the vastly different kinds of expertise required to teach architects and artists, the one needing to learn perspective from the standpoint of descriptive geometry and mathematics, and the other from art and the desire to portray qualities of the picturesque.⁸ What was needed, as one critic explained, were two separate chairs, a fact arrived at by the former professor Girard who split the course into two

⁶ Additionally, Etienne-Théodore Dommey (architect), Paul Laurent (painter and architect, professor at l'École de Nancy), Adolphe Forestier (professor of perspective at the Écoles de Dessin de Paris), Thomas-Charles Naudet (landscape painter), Légor-Larbouillat (decorator), Gendré (an unknown painter) and Sézé (unknown) competed for the position. Jean-Pierre Thénot published a number of helpful guides on landscape painting and perspective, including: *Cours de perspective pratique: pour rectifier ses compositions et dessiner d'après nature* (Paris, F. Didot, 1829) and *Traité de perspective pratique, pour dessiner d'après nature* (Liège: D. Avanzo et Cie, 1845).

⁷ For an in depth discussion of the conflicts involved in the teaching of perspective at the École des Beaux-Arts, see: Thomine, "Perspective savante ou perspective pittoresque?"

⁸ The conflict over whether to appoint an architect or an artist for the newly vacant chair of perspective became very heated in the days leading up to the decision. On December 22, 1844, Delaunay's published an article in the *Journal des artistes* in which he called for an artist to be nominated. His reasoning was based on the fact that painters and sculptors far outnumbered architects at the École and also on the notion that architects understood only the science of perspective. "La perspective pour les architectes est purement et simplement une science," he charged, "pour l'artiste, c'est une science et un art." Furthermore, following the very harsh criticisms of Constant-Dufeux's recently inaugurated tomb for Dumont d'Urville, Delaunay targeted the architect directly in his article. Delaunay's criticisms were countered in a letter by the architect Paul-Eugène Lequeux published in the following issue of the journal. Lequeux explained: "Le professeur de perspective ne doit-il pas être à l'École des Beaux-Arts pour les peintres le révélateur des belles lignes architecturales? . . . C'est donc un architecte initié aux belles formes de l'architecture antique que sera le meilleur professeurs de perspective." See: André-Hippolyte Delaunay, "Nomination de M. Constant Dufeux," *Journal des artistes et bulletin de l'ami des arts*, 2e série, tome 2, 5e livraison (Dec. 22, 1845): 437-439, and André-Hippolyte Delaunay, "De la perspective et de la Chaire de perspective à l'École des Beaux-Arts," *Journal des artistes et bulletin de l'ami des arts*, 2e série, tome 2, 1re livraison (1845): 6-8.

sections, one for architects and the other for painters and sculptors.⁹ The members of the jury initially expressed the wish to appoint an architect for the position, but, as André-Hippolyte Delaunay indicated in the *Journal des Artistes* just weeks before the final decision, their opinions changed, and the majority of voices supported a painter for the post. For unknown reasons, however, Constant-Dufeux prevailed, and was the first of a series of architects to teach perspective at the school.¹⁰ But Constant-Dufeux preserved the custom Girard had instituted at the school and taught separate sections for architects and artists.

The opening lecture for the course of perspective took place in early 1845, soon after Constant-Dufeux's appointment.¹¹ Inaugural lectures at the École were important events, but this one was all the more significant given Constant-Dufeux was the first of his generation of Romantics (and at one time, recusant) architects to be elevated to such a prominent academic position. And if other former *pensionnaires* had largely put the controversies behind them, Constant-Dufeux had very recently stoked the flames of public debate with his design for the tomb to Dumont d'Urville. As the reviews of the event attest, attendance was high and included a large contingent of young and established architects such as Louis-Hippolyte

⁹ Delaunay explained: "il n'a qu'une seule chaire là où il en faudrait deux; l'une pour les architectes, l'autre pour les peintres." Delaunay, "Nomination de M. Constant Dufeux," 44.

¹⁰ The two professors to follow Constant-Dufeux as chair of perspective were August Chevillard and Félix Julien. Both were architects. Féraud related an interesting story about the the vote for the new chair. It seems that Louis-Pierre Baltard, Constant-Dufeux's former professor of theory (and father of his colleague, the architect Victor Baltard), went out of his way to attend the vote in order to secure Constant-Dufeux's nomination. Given the extreme physical pain that Baltard was experiencing at the time, it seems unlikely that, as Féraud relates, he would have postponed his operation to attend the vote if Constant-Dufeux's nomination was already secure. More likely is that the vote was divided and Baltard's presence was indispensable. See: Féraud, "Constant-Dufeux," 136.

¹¹ The opening lecture was typically held in mid-January. Constant-Dufeux's appointment was confirmed on February 6, 1845. In the letter announcing his candidacy for the position, he noted that he would be prepared to submit an outline for the course given the very short lead time to the opening. Furthermore, the first drawing assignment for the course is dated March 18th, 1845. This suggests that the opening lecture was held sometime in February or March of the same year. The first review of the opening lecture was not published until the summer of 1845.

Lebas, Émile Gilbert (for whose asylum complex at Charenton, Constant-Dufeux was acting as *second inspecteur* since 1838), Pierre-Joseph Garrez (his friend and former colleague at the Villa Médici), Joseph Nicolle, and Victor Baltard (whose father had just succumbed to illness). Descriptions of the event also noted the presence of a number of important artists including the Flandrin brothers. César Daly, who was also in attendance, remarked on the significance of the opening course both as a ceremonial event and a pedagogical tool to help set the agenda for the year ahead: “La première séance d’un cours,” Daly observed, “est comme l’ouverture d’un opéra: elle fait pressentir les diverses mélodies que l’auditoire rencontrera dans la composition.”¹²

Unity of the Arts

Constant-Dufeux’s opening lecture, which brought together both sections of the course, did not disappoint his audience. He addressed the conflict between artists and architects that his nomination had revived, and made the issue of reuniting the three arts, painting, sculpture and architecture, the central theme of his course. And while this was a longstanding interest of Constant-Dufeux (earlier projects such as the medal for the Société Centrale des Architectes demonstrate this well, as does the Chamber of Deputies project with its extravagant use of polychromy, painted murals and sculptures), here, he emphasized perspective drawing as the common base of these three “arts du dessin.” Perspective, he reminded the audience, was the sole course at the École des Beaux-Arts that was commonly taken by painters, sculptors and architects. Furthermore, he challenged the notion, advanced

¹² “The first session of a course is like opening night at the opera: one senses the diverse melodies that the audience will encounter in the composition.” César Daly, “École des Beaux Arts de Paris. Ouverture des cours de M. Constant-Dufeux et de M. Lebas,” *Revue générale de l’architecture et des travaux publics* 6 (1845-46): 177-79.

by Delaunay and others, that each art needed its own form of perspective drawing, freehand or picturesque perspective for painters and sculptors, and geometrically precise perspective. “La perspective,” he explained, “est le lien entre l’art du dessin libre et la science du dessin précis ou géométrique.”¹³

As Daly recounted, “Il a voulu établir un trait d’union entre tous les artistes de son auditoire, architectes, peintres et sculpteurs.”¹⁴ For the young painters in the room, he evoked the Renaissance to remind them of their forefathers’ concern for both “le dessin mathématique” and architecture. He addressed the architects, exhorting them to employ “le dessin libre” in order to facilitate architectural composition. And he turned his attention to the young sculptors in attendance, and argued that they see their art as a kind of hybrid field, incorporating elements of architecture and painting. As Féraud indicated, “il voulait, comme aux plus belles époques de l’art, que les architectes fussent un peu plus peintres et sculpteurs qu’ils ne sont, et que les peintres et les sculpteurs fussent un peu plus architectes.”¹⁵ He urged the audience to see the practice of perspective as the common link between the arts and unveiled a large drawing of a tree that represented the arts thus unified, with each of its branches dedicated to one of the three arts. Perspective, he explained to the audience (and to

¹³ “Perspective is the link between the art of freehand drawing and the science of precise or geometric drawing.” Anonymous, “Cours de perspective de Constant-Dufeux,” *l’Artiste* (1845): 141.

¹⁴ “He wished to establish a hyphen between all of the artists in the audience: architects, painters and sculptors.” César Daly, “École des Beaux-Arts (Paris),” *Revue générale de l’architecture et des travaux publics* 7 (1847): 408.

¹⁵ “He wished that, as with the most beautiful epochs in the history of art, architects would have been more like painters and sculptors than they currently are, and that painters and sculptors would have been a little more like architects.” Féraud, “Constant-Dufeux,” 177.

students normally accustomed to this course being rather dull), was like the rising sap of a tree, vivifying and fertile as it moved from limb to limb.¹⁶

Constant-Dufeux's campaign to draw the three disciplines taught at the *École des Beaux-Arts* together extended beyond his specific efforts in the course on perspective. At the periodic faculty meetings of the *École*, Constant-Dufeux frequently urged his colleagues to build connections between the three disciplines at the school into the curriculum in order to strengthen the "grande communauté d'idées et d'études" between students.¹⁷ He echoed this demand in the yearly opening lectures during which he called for changes in the curriculum of the institution in order to contribute to reuniting the three arts. One such demand involved the creation of a course on aesthetics, which Constant-Dufeux argued would, in part, help strengthen consideration on the purpose and direction of the arts in the face of the *École des Beaux-Arts'* fragmentary and disconnected curriculum. "Il n'y a pas . . . de chaire constituée pour l'enseignement de la philosophie générale de l'art," he observed. "Dès lors," he continued, "chaque professeur se trouve dans le cas d'exposer, au commencement de son

¹⁶ Daly described this moment from the lecture in the following way: "Il a fait éclore sous les regards des spectateurs le magnifique arbre de l'art avec ses diverses branches, puis il a montré la perspective comme une sève naissante, passant de rameau à rameau pour redoubler leurs puissance et leur fécondité. C'était donner à la perspective un aspect nouveau et attrayant, c'était faire désirer vivement un enseignement qui, d'ordinaire, n'offre que de l'ennui aux jeunes gens." "Under the watchful gaze of the audience, he unveiled a magnificent tree of art with its various branches, and he characterized perspective as the rising sap, moving from limb to limb in order to redouble the limbs' strength and fecundity. The demonstration portrayed perspective in a new and attractive light, and created new excitement around a course that was ordinarily seen to instill nothing but boredom in young students." Daly, "*École des Beaux-Arts (Paris)*," 409.

¹⁷ In fact, Féraud notes that, at faculty meeting at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, Constant-Dufeux frequently urged his colleagues to strengthen the interconnections among the disciplines at the school. Féraud explained: "Dans le Conseil des professeurs de l'École, il a toujours demandé qu'il y eût de plus grand rapports et une grande communauté d'idées et d'études entre les élèves." "At faculty meetings at the school, he continuously called for more connections and a greater community of ideas and courses between students." See: Féraud, "Constant-Dufeux," 177.

cours, quelles sont les relations de son enseignement particulier avec l'art en général."¹⁸ The creation of a course on aesthetics, therefore, would generate reflection on the multiple interconnections between each discipline and art in general, and would thus promote a more unified and cohesive artistic education.¹⁹

Constant-Dufeux's attempts at building bridges between the various arts reached their peak during the short-lived Republican government following the February Revolution in 1848. On March 2, he, along with his close friend and ally, César Daly, convened meetings to facilitate dialogue between artists in the Salle Valentino, an immense public hall near the Place Vendôme.²⁰ The gatherings resulted from their awareness that the previous government of the July Monarchy had dominated artists through a policy of divide and conquer.²¹ Over two thousand people gathered in this hall (according to one observer, "the hall, the passages, and even the sidewalks outside were crowded with interested artists"),

¹⁸ Daly, "Ecole des Beaux Arts de Paris. Ouverture des cours de M. Constant-Dufeux et de M. Lebas," 178.

¹⁹ According to Daly, Constant-Dufeux returned to the issue of creating a chair focussed on the philosophy of art in his third-year opening lecture. Again, the issue of uniting the fragmentary character of the curriculum at the École, and of increasing collaboration between the artistic discipline was front and center. Daly described Constant-Dufeux's remarks: "M. Constant-Dufeux avait raison de dire que la création d'une chaire de philosophie de l'art était devenue indispensable. Il faut en effet que la lumière se fasse dans le dédale des enseignements fragmentaires qui ne sauraient être trop tôt et trop bien rattachés les uns aux autres." "Constant-Dufeux was right to argue that the creation of a chair in the philosophy of art has become indispensable. It is necessary for light to shine on the maze of fragmentary teachings that have little connections to each other." Daly, "École des Beaux-Arts (Paris)," 409.

²⁰ The goal of these meetings, according to Delaunay, who reported on the various attempts on the part of artists to align their goals with the newly constituted government, was "de faire fraterniser ensemble les peintres, les sculpteurs, les architectes, les graveurs, les dessinateurs, les écrivains, les acteurs; en un mot, tout ce monde qui ne vit que pour l'art." "to foster a sense of fraternity between painters, sculptors, architects, engravers, illustrators, writers, actors; in a word, everyone that lives solely for art." See: André-Hippolyte Delaunay, "A tous les artistes," *Journal des artistes et bulletin de l'ami des arts* 3e série, 1re partie, 11e livraison (1848): 77-79.

²¹ As Delaunay remarked: "Le pouvoir de juillet avait adopté pour principe vis-à-vis des artistes que le moyen de les dominer était de les isoler, de les diviser. Ils se sont laissé isoler et diviser." "The July Monarchy had chosen a tactic in regards to artist that the way to dominate them was to isolate and divide them." Delaunay, "A tous les artistes," 77.

which had very recently hosted revolutionaries such as Louis Blanc and utopian thinkers such as the Fourierists, who commemorated their deceased leader's seventy-fifth birthday there.²² And while these meetings did not achieve their desired goal of reconciling difference and unifying the diverse artistic factions, they demonstrate how Constant-Dufeux's concern for cooperation and concordance between the arts was readily transformed into a political cause.²³ Like many of the social reformers of the era, he believed that *association* (a term frequently employed by Fourierists and Saint-Simonians) between the members of the artistic community was the first step towards a more perfect union of the arts. He would have no doubt agreed with the socialist Catholic reformer Claude-Anthime Corbon's assessment that "L'association est le grand principe de notre siècle."²⁴

²² The event was described by Marcel Daly, the son of César, to an anonymous author who recalled the story in the pages of *The American Architect and Building News* some years later. Daly described how the meeting quickly devolved into quarrel and discord, blaming mainly the painters and sculptors for the disagreements: "Unfortunately for themselves, men of genius are not always gifted with great good sense or moderation, and the assemblage had hardly been called to order before quarrels began in the midst of it. The painters and sculptors distinguished themselves particularly by demanding that the poets should be expelled from the meeting, saying that they were not artists and had no right to vote on matters affecting the interests of art." Echoing the thoughts of his father, and also, no doubt those of Constant-Dufeux who co-organized the meeting, Marcel Daly concluded that architects were particularly well fit to lead the various arts. He explained: "While their sympathy with all forms of art is usually both intimate and intelligent, they are free from the prejudices of cliques, and their experience in responsible administration, together with their judicial habits of thought, make them, as M. Daly says, the "natural cement" of an association of artists for business purposes." See: anon., "Artists as Legislators in France," *The American Architect and Building News* XVIII, no. 513 (1885): 193.

²³ Elected captain of the Guard Nationale (capitaine en premier de la 7^e compagnie du 2^e bataillon de la 10^e légion) soon after the February Revolution, Constant-Dufeux continued to champion the importance of the arts, petitioning the newly elected government, which he feared had de-prioritized the arts in favour of other more pressing concerns, to bring support to the Fourierist painter Dominique Papety in his expedition to Greece. "Il n'y a pas que les conquêtes de l'épée qui soient profitable à la gloire nationale," he wrote the admiral Turpin, whose fleet had facilitated Papety's travel to Mount Athos, "celles des arts et des sciences ne sont pas moins honorables, ne durent pas moins et constituent le bien le plus précieux de l'humanité." "Conquests by the sword are not alone in being valuable to national glory . . . those of art and science are no less honorable, endure for no shorter amount of time, and constitute the most precious good of humanity." Féraud, "Constant-Dufeux," 179.

²⁴ Quoted in Maria Ivens, *Le peuple-artiste, cet être monstrueux: La Communauté des pairs face à la communauté des génies* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002), 47.

Constant-Dufeux's attention to ornament was another way in which the architect sought to reunite artistic fields. Ornament, its study and its composition, was understood by Constant-Dufeux as an intermediary practice, common to all three of the disciplines at the École des Beaux-Arts.²⁵ As a model for study and depiction, ornament was seen as the form that best focused a student's drawing abilities. By the mid-century, consensus was forming that ornament ought to be made, as Charles Ernest Clerget suggested in 1841, "un objet d'une étude spéciale" for architects, sculptors and painters, who would benefit from the complex "disposition de lignes . . . en dehors toutes application immédiate."²⁶ Constant-Dufeux promoted the practice of ornament at the École by helping orchestrate the creation of the Prix Rougevin in 1857, a yearly contest for the composition of ornament that was open to students in the architecture section. Louis Clémentin Bruyère, a student in Constant-Dufeux's *atelier*, was awarded the prize the year of its creation. [figure 2.5.1]

Constant-Dufeux's interest in ornament emerged early in his career. While a student in François Debret's *atelier*, he had produced several drawings for the various *concours d'émulation* that demonstrated a proclivity for Pompeian inflected ornamentation.²⁷ The bright polychrome decors, replete with motifs of hung textiles, slender columns and elegant arabesque, had their source in the work of Debret's former *maître d'atelier* Charles Percier. [figure 2.1.4] Perhaps due to the similarities in the trajectory of their early lives and education (both architects came from modest means and began their studies at the École Gratuite de

²⁵ Féraud explained that Constant-Dufeux's goal of reuniting the various arts lay behind his interest in ornament and figure drawing. He noted: "C'est dans ce but qu'il à été le principale promoteur de l'étude de l'ornement et de la figure, soit dans les épreuves d'admission, soit dans les concours spéciaux." Féraud, "Constant-Dufeux," 177.

²⁶ Charles Ernest Clerget, "Lettre sur l'ornement à M. le Directeur de la Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 2 (1841): 212.

²⁷ The Galerie Colbert designed by Constant-Dufeux and Amédée Billaud also incorporated Pompeian elements in its décor. See: Geist, *Arcades: the History of a Building Type*, 489-503.

Dessin de Paris), Percier became something of a mentor to the young Constant-Dufeux, championing his *Grand Prix* competition entry for a Lazaret, and, despite the ostracism he faced upon his return from Rome, supporting him until the elder architect's death in 1838.²⁸

The École de Dessin was pivotal in bringing attention to the necessity of drawing in artistic education. Constant-Dufeux stressed the pedagogical quality of ornament in his own teaching and practice. While a *pensionnaire* at the Académie de France à Rome, he produced a number of intricate watercolored drawings of ornamental motifs (such as those of *pates en verres* incrustations from Pompeii and of mosaics from the tomb of Pope Adrian V) which he transformed into what he titled a “musée de [*sic*] études,” a series of loose pages with antique fragments and decorative motifs which he distributed to students in his *atelier* as a learning tool. [figures 2.5.2 to 2.5.4] Similarly, in the additions to and renovations of the buildings at the École de Dessin de Paris in the early eighteen forties, he procured small decorative stone fragments from the school's vast collection of models and hung some and embedded others directly into the walls, pillars and cornices as didactic tools to encourage drawing outside of class time. [figures 2.3.8 to 2.3.13, 2.5.5]

²⁸ Constant-Dufeux's debt to Percier was described by Féraud, who explained that the senior architect was alone among members of the Académie to extend a hand of friendship upon the former students' return from Rome. “Percier fut à peu près le seul qui lui témoigna, à cette époque, de la bienveillance; il lui montra même de l'amitié. Aussi, Constant eut-il toujours pour lui un très-grand respect et comme une tendresse filiale: il l'appelait d'habitude le *bon Percier*.” “Percier was nearly alone, during these years, to show him any kindness; he even displayed friendship. Constant-Dufeux too always held him in high esteem and exhibited filial affections, referring to him as le *bon Percier*.” Féraud, “Constant-Dufeux,” 132.

Liberty in the Arts

Beyond the issue of unifying the various artistic disciplines at the École des Beaux-Arts, Constant-Dufeux used his platform as *Chaire de perspective* to champion an inclusive approach to history. As Adolphe Lance recounted, his approach to history provided an unprecedented complement to the curriculum of the venerable institution, and, for the first time, the Gothic was treated as a legitimate period worthy of study.²⁹ As Daly remarked, Constant-Dufeux's approach was in stark contrast to the noted "exclusivisme" with which Louis-Hippolyte Lebas, successor to Huyot as the *Chaire d'histoire de l'architecture* at the École, treated the history of architecture.³⁰ In addition, while Constant-Dufeux counseled students to draw and study Gothic architecture, many in his *atelier* went further, designing new buildings that followed Gothic principles, if not Gothic forms. Despite the reservations Constant-Dufeux expressed on the Gothic (he warned that admiration for its forms should

²⁹ In 1857, Adolphe Lance described Constant-Dufeux's treatment of the Middle-Ages in an article published in *Encyclopédie d'architecture*. He recalled: "Arrivé au moyen âge, M. Constant-Dufeux, tout en faisant des réserves bien naturelles, a eu la hardiesse de rendre publiquement hommage aux magnifiques édifices de notre architecture nationale, hommage que les échos de l'École répétaient certainement pour la première fois." "Having arrived at the Middle Ages, and while stating his reservations against the epoch, he had the courage to publicly pay homage to the magnificent buildings of our national architecture, tributes that were voiced at the school for what was most certainly the very first time." Adolphe Lance, "École Impériale des Beaux-Arts. Cours de M. Constant-Dufeux," *Encyclopédie d'architecture et des arts qui s'y rattachent* (1857): 17-18.

³⁰ Mindful of the glaring omission of the Gothic in his year-long lectures on the history of architecture, Lebas appointed Albert Lenoir in 1856 as *suppléant* to cover the period.

not lead “jusqu’au fanatisme”),³¹ his interest in it was probably one of the reasons for his friendship with its chief advocate, Viollet-le-Duc (their common friendship with Prosper Mérimée was also decisive).³² The neo-Gothic architect was instrumental in providing Constant-Dufeux’s students with prestigious opportunities, including employing Ruprich-Robert as the *suppléant* for his course on the history and composition of ornament at the École de Dessin, and appointing Féraud architect for the diocese of Algiers.³³

Constant-Dufeux’s teaching epitomized the important role that history played in the work of mid-nineteenth-century architects. In the eighteen forties, he began providing students in his *atelier* with lessons on the history of architecture. His lectures employed large

³¹ “Toutefois l’admiration de M. Constant-Dufeux, et nous l’en félicitons, ne va pas jusqu’au fanatisme. Il permet, comme professeur, qu’on étudie l’art du moyen âge, il le conseille même, mais il ne veut pas qu’on ait pour productions un amour sans bornes et qu’on copie servilement aujourd’hui l’architecture de ce temps-là.” “Nonetheless, Constant-Dufeux’s admiration—and we congratulate him for it—does not tend toward fanaticism. As professor, he permits that one studies the Middle Ages, he even recommends it, but he does not wish us to develop a boundless love for it so as to copy in a servile way the architecture of that epoch today.” Lance, “École Impériale des Beaux-Arts. Cours de M. Constant-Dufeux,” 18. In a short speech given on the inauguration of his former *atelier* colleague Féraud, Victor Ruprich-Robert confirmed how important the study of the Gothic was to Constant-Dufeux. He explained: “Féraud n’a jamais été partisan de reproduire, telles quelles, les oeuvres de cette époque, il n’en a pas moins, et d’après les conseils de notre regretté maître Constant-Dufeux, étudié et dessiné plusieurs édifices de ce temps, et qu’il n’a cessé de reconnaître la beauté des principes que contient cet art; il le *sut*, cet art, et le défendit sans confondre les principes avec la forme.”

“Féraud was never a partisan of reproducing, as such, the works of this epoch. However, according to the recommendations of our dearly departed *maître* Constant-Dufeux, he nonetheless studied and drew many buildings from this time, and never ceased to recognize the beauty of the principles contained in this art. He *knew* this art, and defended it without confusing principles with form.” See: Victor Marie Charles Ruprich-Robert, “Parole prononcées par M. Victor Ruprich-Robert, architecte à l’inauguration du tombeau de J.B.P.H. Féraud,” *Revue générale de l’architecture et des travaux publics* 13, no. Quatrième série (1886): 30-32.

³² The friendship seems to have ended with the introduction of reforms to the École des Beaux-Arts, reforms that stripped Constant-Dufeux of his course on perspective and granted the architect one of three official *ateliers*. The latter decision led to a dramatic decrease in membership of Constant-Dufeux’s private *atelier* on the rue d’Ulm, and thus a decrease in tuition from the private *atelier*. As the official *atelier* paid very little, these reforms led to Constant-Dufeux’s financial impoverishment.

³³ As architect for the diocese of Algiers, Féraud restored and designed an addition to the cathedral of Algiers, a mosque that had been recently been converted. See: Lucas, “Parole prononcées par M. Charles Lucas, architecte à l’inauguration du tombeau de J.B.P.H. Féraud,” 29.

drawings to facilitate the comparative analysis of monuments and artifacts from diverse epochs.³⁴ Recently, a set of notes from these *atelier* lectures have surfaced.³⁵ These notes, which are rather succinct (one imagines that the architect must have spoken extemporaneously on each of the points outlined in the notes) were recorded by Paul-Henri-Eugène Marchandier, who joined Constant-Dufeux's official *atelier* in 1864, a year after the 1863 reforms which granted three architects (Charles Laisné, Alexis Paccard and Constant-Dufeux), *ateliers* inside the school.³⁶ The notes demonstrate the centrality of history in Constant-Dufeux's thinking and teaching and show that the insights gleaned from his archeological studies in Italy in the early eighteen thirties had matured into a more conclusive understanding of the source and historical trajectory of architecture. Like his teacher Huyot, the sequence of historical events began in Egypt and culminated in the present day. As part of the historical sequence, Constant-Dufeux examined the familiar epochs of Greece, Rome, and the Renaissance, as well as the more controversial era of "Ogivale" architecture. In addition, he also addressed the work of civilizations that had fascinated him and the generation of *Grand Prix pensionnaires* during the eighteen twenties and early thirties, such as the Etruscan, the Early Christian era (which he named the *Latine*), the Byzantine and the Romanesque. Beyond these, Constant-Dufeux covered civilizations

³⁴ Féraud, "Constant-Dufeux," 177.

³⁵ My gratitude to Martin Bressani for finding and sharing photos of some of these notes with me. I have not been able to consult the full set of notes as these are in the process of being digitalized (and have been for a few years now), and are therefore unavailable to the public.

³⁶ Excerpts from the course notes were included in a letter by Marchandier that was addressed to Viollet-le-Duc and dated October 28, 1872. The date of the course notes is uncertain although they clearly were transcribed sometime between 1864 and Constant-Dufeux's death on July 27th, 1871. Viollet-le-Duc responded to Marchandier's request to provide his opinion on Constant-Dufeux's lecture by pasting bits of paper directly on to the pages. These precursors to the modern post-it note included long annotations on the corresponding points in the lecture notes. The letter is in Viollet-le-Duc's Private papers at the Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine, "Correspondance, rapports, etc. 1872-1875," volume 11.

that were rarely mentioned in the context of architectural studies in France such as the so-called “Hindoue,” the Assyrian and the Persian.

As with his teaching in the *atelier*, Constant-Dufeux wove instruction on the history of architecture directly into his course on perspective at the École des Beaux-Arts. The multiple programs for the bi-yearly *concours de perspective* show this well. Assignments predating his tenure rarely presented historical monuments for students to transform into perspective drawings, and when they did, as with a *concours* in 1841 to draw the *Fontaine des Innocents* in Paris, they were always from the Renaissance. In fact, most of the programs given by Constant-Dufeux’s predecessor Girard and his successor Auguste Chevillard were vague neoclassical buildings and monuments, which the students were to transform. One such example was Girard’s program for the *concours* in May 1837 which proposed that students draw up a perspective view of “une galerie composée de trois travées voûtées en pendentifs soutenues par des colonnes d’ordre Corinthien d’après les proportions de Palladio.”³⁷ [figure 2.5.6]

The assignments changed dramatically upon Constant-Dufeux’s arrival. Just weeks after securing the nomination for the professorship he assigned the painting and sculpture section to draw a perspective of an Etruscan conical tomb that the architect had encountered while a *pensionnaire* in Italy. [figure 2.5.7] The assignment brief provided students with one of Constant-Dufeux’s old sketches of tomb remnants alongside an elevation drawing of the restored monument. Similarly, for the first *concours de perspective* of the architecture section,

³⁷ Girard’s program was assigned to the architecture section of the course. The assignments for the multiple *concours de perspective* are held at the Archives Nationales. The *concours* for the architecture section are titled: *École des Beaux-Arts, Architecture, 2e classe, concours de perspective 1837-1890*. AJ/52/139. The *concours* for the painting and sculpture section are titled: *École nationale des Beaux-Arts, Section de Peinture et Sculpture. Concours de Perspective et Concours Supérieur de Perspective (Prix Fortin d’Ivoire) Programmes de 1821-1900*. AJ/52/69.

the assignment requested that students transform the tomb known as the *Tombeau de Théron* in Agrigento. [figure 2.5.8] The monument was a particularly apt choice given that the four engaged columns marking its corners were slightly canted, illustrating, as Constant-Dufeux noted, the suggestion by Vitruvius that such canting was necessary “pour produire un meilleur effet optique.”³⁸ This demonstrated the teacher’s keen awareness that perspective was not simply a tool for depicting the world, but that it also provided real lessons on how to better calibrate the form of an object in connection with its visual reception.

Constant-Dufeux’s pluralist approach to the history of architecture profoundly colored the programs of the *cours de perspective*.³⁹ Between March 18, 1845, the date of the first *concours*, and, the end of Constant-Dufeux’s tenure as *Chair de perspective*, April 15, 1863, marking the date of the last *concours*, the programs covered the buildings and monuments of civilizations as distant as Persia (the tomb of Cyrus in Isfahan) and Egypt (the little temple at El-Kab) and as close as Southern France (the Flavian Bridge across the river Touloubre), and, even Paris (the Pont Neuf spanning the Seine).⁴⁰ [figures 2.5.9 to 2.5.12] The programs often included brief history lessons on the proposed monument (the program to draw the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates near the Acropolis, for example, included a description

³⁸ Constant-Dufeux, Concours Program for “la mise en perspective du monument antique connu sous le nom de Tombeau de Théron,” June 20, 1845, *École des Beaux-Arts, Architecture, 2e classe, concours de perspective 1837-1890*. AJ/52/139.

³⁹ Alice Thomine has drawn attention to Constant-Dufeux’s pluralist agenda for programs of the *cours de perspective*. See: Thomine, “Perspective savante ou perspective pittoresque?” 135.

⁴⁰ There were 33 *concours* for the painting and sculpture section (on average 2 per year) and 19 for the architecture section (one per year) during Constant-Dufeux’s chairmanship of perspective. The subjects for the *concours* for both sections are listed in Appendix E.

from Stuart and Revett).⁴¹ While students in the *cours d'histoire de l'architecture* at the École were getting an exclusive array of monuments from a highly selective set of civilizations, paradoxically, they received a more comprehensive view of history in this course on perspective. This was, no doubt, Constant-Dufeux's intention: to see perspective not as an specialized form of expertise, but rather as another means to gain a unified understanding of architecture, its forms, traditions,—its very plurality.

Despite the creation of two separate sections for the course of perspective, the *concours* for these two sections were nearly identical for the first decade of Constant-Dufeux's tenure. By the late eighteen fifties, however, although the painting and sculpture section remained almost exclusively historical in nature, the programs for the architecture section gradually began to involve complex a-historical subjects that tested the students' grasp of descriptive geometry; these involved the use of water reflections, mirrors, anamorphosis, and complex shadows cast from one object onto another. [figures 2.5.13 to 2.5.14] One can only speculate on this divergence, but it is likely that, while Constant-Dufeux hoped to have the curriculum of the two sections be as similar as possible, the increasingly complex use of skiagraphic projection necessitated more advanced training for architects.

Even as he presented an inclusive approach to history, Constant-Dufeux battled against the increasing partisan uses of historical form. Already in the *atelier* in the late eighteen thirties, he had begun to develop a third path for architecture that repudiated the prevailing opposition between the rigid classicism advocated by the Académie and the

⁴¹ Sometimes, the topics for the *concours* involved objects that reflected on the culture of the École. On November 26, 1849, for instance, the architect had his students in the painting and sculpture sections prepare a perspective drawing of “une charette.” [figure 2.4.15] Multiple objects and monuments from the Villa Medici in Rome were also assigned in the *concours*. *École nationale des Beaux-Arts, Section de Peinture et Sculpture. Concours de Perspective et Concours Supérieur de Perspective (Prix Fortin d'Ivry) Programmes de 1821-1900*. AJ/52/69.

fledgling Gothic revival, typified by such advocates as Adolphe-Napoléon Didron, Lassus, and Viollet-le-Duc. Constant-Dufeux's emphasis on individual creativity and his continued reminder to students to learn from the past without copying directly from it, was soon echoed by César Daly in the pages of the *Revue générale*. The views of these two architects were very much aligned on this and many other issues facing the discipline in the mid-nineteenth century.

Ten years younger than Constant-Dufeux, Daly entered the *atelier* of the architect's close friend Félix Duban's in 1831.⁴² He quickly discovered his penchant for architectural criticism, and, while still a student, he authored articles on the recent *envois* from Rome in the Republican journal *Le Glaneur*.⁴³ In the early eighteen thirties, Daly befriended Victor Considerant, a disciple of the influential utopian thinker Charles Fourier.⁴⁴ Daly was soon publishing articles in the Fourierist journal *La Phalange* on issues as diverse as Robert Owen's social system and the inauguration of Louis Duc's Monument de Juillet at the old site of the Bastille. Fourier's approach left an indelible mark on Daly. The philosopher's belief that social behavior could be rationally understood and productively tapped for the good of the community was fundamental in shaping Daly's lifelong optimism. For Fourier and Considerant, the success of their utopian vision depended on architecture, for the spatial

⁴² Recent secondary sources on César Daly include: Richard John Becherer, "Between Science and Sentiment: César Daly and the Formulation of Modern Architectural Theory" (PhD Diss., Cornell University, 1980); Hélène Lipstadt, "César Daly: Revolutionary Architect?" *AD Profiles* 17 (1978): 18-29; Hélène Lipstadt, "Housing the Bourgeoisie: César Daly and the Ideal Home," *Oppositions* 8 (1977): 33-47; Marc Saboya, *Presse et architecture au XIXe siècle : César Daly et la Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* (Paris: Picard, 1991); Ann Lorenz van Zanten, "Cesar Daly and the *Revue générale de l'architecture*." (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 1981); Ann Lorenz Van Zanten, "Form and Society: César Daly and the *Revue générale de l'Architecture*," *Oppositions* 8 (1977): 135-45.

⁴³ César Daly, "Des envois de l'École française à Rome, et considérations générales sur l'architecture," *Le Glaneur: journal d'Eure-et-Loir* VII, no. 36 (8 September 1836). 444-445; César Daly, "Des envois de l'École française à Rome, et considérations générales sur l'architecture, deuxième partie" VII, no. 36 (29 December 1836). 641.

⁴⁴ Van Zanten, "Form and Society," 137.

configuration and symbolic identity of buildings were pivotal in shaping the behaviors and values of the new society. Daly elevated this into architecture's chief objective: to divine the contours of a new, modern architecture by understanding the epoch's formative forces, be they societal, scientific or technological.

Daly perceived the new orthodoxy with regard to the past, and the partisan landscape it had generated, to be the prime obstacle to the future development of architecture. In issues published during its first decade, the *Revue générale* functioned as a mouthpiece for the architect to combat partisan disputes and to advocate for a radically open historical landscape from which to draw inspiration. Daly publicized this position under the banner of “la liberté dans l’art.” The term evoked Victor Cousin’s own call for liberty in the arts and the politics of the “juste milieu” that characterized the government architectural services during the July Monarchy.⁴⁵

Daly’s challenge to the doctrinaire uses of history, and his call to expand the repertoire of historical form was evident from the first issue of the *Revue générale*. In an extended review of Louis Duc’s column commemorating the July Revolution, Daly introduced his approach to historical eclecticism.⁴⁶ Duc’s true genius, Daly noted, lay in his ability to draw inspiration from numerous epochs and traditions. In the monument, Daly discerned elements from the

⁴⁵ See: Van Zanten, “The École, the Academy, and the French Government Services.”

⁴⁶ Louis Duc’s fifth-year *envoi* from Rome was of a triumphal column honoring the victims of the July revolution that had taken place just months earlier. Although the drawings are lost, Katherine Fischer Taylor reconstructed some aspects of its appearance in her doctoral dissertation. Taylor described how this column design caused serious controversy upon its presentation in Paris due to the inexplicable origins of its forms. She quotes a review published in the journal *l’Artiste*, that reported that its “profiles ont la prétention d’être grecs et ne sont que bizarres,” concluding the forms to be Etruscan. The column’s capital similarly befuddled its critics. Its overblown proportions and lack of precedent in the architecture of ancient Greece and Rome was interpreted as a clear criticism of the Greco-Roman ideal cherished by the École. But the most controversial facet of Duc’s design was the choice of program. As Taylor points out, the decision to commemorate the July revolution in his final project was a clear statement by Duc that he considered Quatremère’s days at the École des Beaux-Arts to be numbered. See: Taylor, “The Palais de Justice of Paris.”

Etruscans, from Periclean Greece, from the reign of Henri II and even from the “decadent” era of Louis XV. The mix was in perfect keeping with the historical epoch, an age he termed “une époque critique.” He explained:

Mais il ne faut pas oublier que l’art moderne est arrive à son *époque critique*, et, par le fait seul qu’aucun style d’art nouveau n’est encore définitivement constitué, qu’il n’y a pas raison pour adopter un des styles du passé de preference à tous les autres, ces reminiscences sont non seulement inévitables, mais jusqu’à un certain point justifiables.⁴⁷

For Daly, the stylistic variety in Louis Duc’s column was in perfect keeping with the Saint-Simonian idea of a critical epoch. Beyond the influence of Fourier and Considerant, Daly’s thinking, like that of many in his generation, was informed by a host of philosophers, social theorists and utopian thinkers. Following the Saint-Simonian historical narrative, Daly believed that the most effective way of bringing about the new style, and therefore the new “organic” epoch, was to allow for a rich diversity of styles to be explored. Only through a temporary chaos, or a temporary “revolution” of styles and ideas, could a cohesive, united new style and epoch come about.

In 1847, Daly’s position was publicly vindicated when then *Inspécteur général des monuments historique* Ludovic Vitet delivered a speech in support of his call. Presented at the Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, a body founded by the influential archeologist Arcisse de Caumont, Vitet praised recent attempts at safeguarding French Gothic monuments from ruin and demolition, and then called for a new scientific approach to archeological research

⁴⁷ “But we should not forget that modern art has arrived at its *critical epoch*, and, by the simple fact that no style of a new art has yet been constituted, there is no reason to adopt one past style over all others. These reminiscences are not only inevitable, but, to a certain point, they are justifiable.” César Daly, “Monument de Juillet élevé sur la place de la Bastille,” *Revue générale de l’architecture et des travaux publics* 1 (1840): 758. See Van Zanten, “Form and Society,” for a more detailed analysis of the multiple utopian currents in Daly’s thinking.

and restoration.⁴⁸ “C'est une science que nous voulons fonder,” he declared.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, Vitet denounced neo-Gothic architects, criticisms that were all the more effective given Vitet's own reputation for pioneering research on the Gothic.⁵⁰ “Jamais, dans ce monde,” he explained, “l'art ne s'est produit deux fois sous la même forme.”⁵¹ He proceeded to condemn the excessive zeal that these architects demonstrated in transforming archeological facts into contemporary buildings: “Quelle reste archéologie,” he implored, “c'est-à-dire, étrangère au monde d'aujourd'hui.”⁵² What was needed, Vitet argued, was “une architecture nouvelle . . . une architecture qui sait s'accommoder aux besoins de son temps.”⁵³

Emboldened by the *inspecteur général*, Daly produced an open letter in support of Vitet's ideas, which he published, along with Vitet's own speech, under the title “De la liberté dans l'art” in the *Revue générale* in 1847. Daly's letter, however, went beyond Vitet's tepid plan, which, while calling for a new architecture, provided few means by which to achieve it. The nineteenth-century had produced, in Daly's estimation, “une individualité trop marquée pour la cacher sous les formes d'un autre temps.” This new type, the nineteenth-century individual, he stated:

⁴⁸ Victor Hugo was among the first to draw attention to the widespread destruction of France's Gothic monuments in an pioneering essay first published in *La Revue de Paris* in 1829, and enlarged in in 1832 in *Revue des deux mondes*. See: Victor Hugo, “Guerre aux démolisseurs.” *Revue des deux mondes* Période Initiale, t. 5 (1832): 607-22.

⁴⁹ Ludovic Vitet, “De la liberté dans l'art. Discours de M.Ludovic Vitet,” *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 7 (1847): 405.

⁵⁰ The most influential idea advanced by Vitet was the claim, published in the *Revue française* in 1830, that the Gothic emerged from Lombardic architecture. See: Ludovic Vitet, “De l'architecture lombarde,” *Revue française* XV (1830): 151-73, republished in *Études sur les beaux arts et sur la littérature*, (Paris: Charpentier, 1846), 1-25. Barry Bergdoll has examined Vitet's ideas on Lombardic architecture. See: Bergdoll, *Léon Vaudoyer: Historicism in the Age of Industry*, 125.

⁵¹ Vitet, “De la liberté dans l'art,” 406.

⁵² Vitet, “De la liberté dans l'art,” 407.

⁵³ Vitet, “De la liberté dans l'art,” 406.

croit au progrès, il respecte le passé, il veut la liberté. Il se recueille pour calculer ses ressources et combiner ses mouvements. Calme comme la force, et libéral comme l'affection, il ne rejette aucun des renseignements de l'expérience, il interroge, au contraire, toutes les époques; il accueille tous les efforts qui ont le progrès pour objet, et la cohorte archéologique a sa tâche marquée dans le travail collectif. Elle est chargée de rechercher et d'enregistrer les richesses créées par les sociétés qui nous ont précédé, afin que les artistes et les savants puissent en retirer tout ce qui peut encore nous servir: le reste sera abandonné.⁵⁴

“L'Art Nouveau”

Daly's inclusive view of history was illustrated by Constant-Dufeux's pupil, Victor Ruprich-Robert as a large centerfold plate in the 1849 issue of the *Revue générale*.⁵⁵ [figure 2.5.16] The cartoon, which, following Daly's previous article, was titled “*La liberté dans le présent, la foi dans l'avenir, le respect pour le passé,*” depicted three clearly differentiated epochs: the Classical, the Gothic and the impending era of “l'art nouveau.” The Gothic and Classical eras were set on a slope strewn with rubble and on which a blindfolded and hunchbacked horde clumsily made its way upward to the present. In the background were the temple of Marcellus and the Pantheon followed by the cathedrals of Reims and Chartres with the words of caution inscribed above: “ne pas copier, mais imiter.” To the right of these “artistes d'outre-tombe,” as Daly had called them, and on a flat and unobstructed terrain, Ruprich-Robert reproduced

⁵⁴ “he believes in progress, he respects the past, he wants liberty. He collects himself in order to assess his resources and to calculate his movements. Calm with strength and liberal with affection, he does not reject the contributions of experience; rather, he interrogates all epochs, he welcomes all efforts that have progress as their objective. The archeological cohort has its task marked by collective labor. It is charged with researching and recording the riches created by preceding societies so that the artists and scientists may draw from these all that may still serve us. The rest will be abandoned.” César Daly, “De la liberté dans l'art. À Monsieur Ludovic Vitet,” *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 7 (1847): 397.

⁵⁵ Ruprich-Robert's illustration was accompanied by a description written by Daly: “L'Art contemporain (caricature par Ruprich-Robert),” *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 8 (1849): 164-66, pl. 18.

Constant-Dufeux's design for the medal to the Société Centrale des Architectes, though he seated its muse with her attendant symbols on a locomotive. The wheels of the locomotive were inscribed with the three words, "LE BEAU, LE VRAI, L'UTILE."

The contrast between the left and right side of the bas-relief could not have been starker. The crescent moon hanging over the miserable scene on the left was matched with an enormous sun on the right, and towards which the heroic train branded "Le Progrès" was headed. Likewise, below the scene on the left, the words "Marcellus, Pantheon, Marcellus, Panthéon" and "Reims, Chartres, Reims, Chartres" were inscribed in sequence in order to make light of the tedium of imitation. Alternatively, beneath the scene on the right were horizontal geological strata broken up by vertical fissures each inscribed with the names of ancient civilizations that Daly, Constant-Dufeux and Ruprich-Robert deemed critical for architecture's future success.⁵⁶ The new art, these rich alluvial layers seemed to indicate, would spring from a great variety of epochs and styles, from the familiar civilizations of Athens and Rome, to those of Egypt, Persia, India, Pelasgia, Gaul, Byzantium, the Americas and other cultures outside of the academic frame of reference. The cartoon evoked Daly's rhetorical question in the previous issue: "Comment former la langue artistique de notre temps avec quelques-unes des lettres seulement qui doivent composer son alphabet?"⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Daly described the geological layers below the locomotive: "Le terre est libre devant elle: c'est la terre de la conciliation. Ses couches se composent de toutes les alluvions qui l'ont successivement élevée vers le ciel; et aux voix qui murmurent: *Respect au passé*, d'autre voix, se mariant harmonieusement, répètent: *Liberté dans le présent, Foi dans l'avenir*." "The terrain is open beyond it: it is the earth of conciliation. Its layers are composed of all of the alluvium that have successively raised it to the skies; and the voices murmur: *Respect for the past*, other voices harmoniously join in, repeating: *Liberty in the present, Faith in the future*." Daly, "L'Art contemporain," 165.

⁵⁷ "How to form the artistic language of our time with but a few of the letters that must constitute its alphabet?" Daly, "De la liberté dans l'art." 397

The cartoon exemplified the faith in the progress of architecture that Daly, Constant-Dufeux and Ruprich-Robert shared.⁵⁸ Unlike the previous generation of academically trained architects, Constant-Dufeux understood architectural type as more fluid than fixed, and more susceptible to innovation than the old guard could accept. “Les sujets n’étant pas épuisés,” Constant-Dufeux explained, “le champ reste encore ouvert pour l’avenir.”⁵⁹ In 1834, in his final *Grand Prix* project for a chamber of deputies, Constant-Dufeux had attempted to develop a new building type for democratic assembly. He had done so by moving away from stylistic uniformity (the Académie had characterized the project as having “un style incertain”), which he believed stifled more thoroughgoing explorations of the spatial configuration, construction techniques, programmatic requirements and contextual appropriateness of the design.⁶⁰ Just months before the February revolution of 1848, he reiterated his desire to see architects develop “un type nouveau” that conformed to the ascendancy of representative government in the West. “Pourquoi ne cherche-t-on pas là le motif d’une nouvelle architecture?” he implored.⁶¹ As with his early project for a Chamber of

⁵⁸ It should be noted that in late 1847, in the third opening lecture to the course on perspective, Constant-Dufeux made public his adherence to Vitet’s recent call for liberty of artistic expression, citing passages from the yet-unpublished lecture delivered in Normandy.

⁵⁹ Constant-Dufeux, “Grand Prix de l’institut,” 298.

⁶⁰ Féraud argued that Constant-Dufeux’s approach to architecture had its source in the chamber of deputies project of 1834. He explained: “C’est dans cette composition que Constant-Dufeux affirma ses principes rationalistes et la liberté de son éclectisme. En outre de la simplicité du plan, on y remarque une grande variété et liberté dans les formes et les proportions des divers éléments de l’architecture, motivée par les fonctions vraies ou simulées qu’il remplissent. En un mot, sans entrer dans les détails du style, on peut dire que l’architecte y a exprimé, avec un grand art, les principes qu’il a professés toute sa vie. Nouveau, hardis et contestés à cette époque, ils sont reconnus et acceptés aujourd’hui par tous les gens de goût.”

“In this composition Constant-Dufeux affirmed his rationalist principles and the liberty of his eclecticism. Beyond the simplicity of the plan, one notices a great variety and liberty in the forms and proportions of the diverse elements of architecture, motivated by the true and simulated functions they perform. In a word, without entering into particularities of style, one can say that the architect expressed, with a great artistry, the principles which he professed his entire life. New, brave and controversial at that time, they are recognized and accepted today by all peoples of taste.” Féraud, “Constant-Dufeux,” 90.

⁶¹ Constant-Dufeux, “Grand Prix de l’institut,” 297.

Deputies in Paris, Constant-Dufeux recommended that architects devoted to producing the new type for social assembly suspend questions on style and instead focus on the more immediate parameters informing the program. He wrote:

Pensons que pour arriver à faire de bonne [*sic*] architecture, il faut d'abord imaginer les distributions des espaces et les moyens de construction, sans aucune préoccupation de style, et n'avoir en vue que de satisfaire aux besoins matériels et moraux, aussi largement que le permet une sage économie des moyens mis à notre disposition.⁶²

Ruprich-Robert's illustration also expressed the open-ended nature of the very process by which architect's sought out the future of their discipline. As Constant-Dufeux conceded a couple of years earlier, "Certes, en procédant ainsi, nous ne savons pas au juste où nous allons."⁶³ But the deferral of the ultimate goal, and the suspension of stylistic uniformity were central to the workings of Constant-Dufeux's method. "C'est précisément ce qu'il y a de bien dans ce système qui nous conduit à la recherche de l'inconnu," he reminded his readers, observing that "nous entrevoyons le but, mais nous ignorons quelle sera la topographie du lieu vers lequel nous nous dirigeons."⁶⁴

For Constant-Dufeux, the rejection of a uniform style did not mean the elimination of history or historical form; nor did it entail the renouncing of formal unity in architecture. It suggested, rather, a new acceptance of history as a process of continuity and change,

⁶² "In order to be able to make good architecture, we must first imagine the distribution of spaces and the means of construction without any preconception of style. We must have in our view only the satisfaction of material and moral needs, as permitted by the sensible economy of means at our disposal." Constant-Dufeux, "Grand Prix de l'institut," 297.

⁶³ Constant-Dufeux, "Grand Prix de l'institut," 298.

⁶⁴ "To be sure, by preceding thus, we do not know quite where we are headed. That is precisely what is good in this system, which leads us to seek out the unknown. We have a sense of the goal, but we know not the topography of the landscape that we must traverse to get there." Constant-Dufeux, "Grand Prix de l'institut," 298.

requiring the architect to discern in the development of architecture the persistence of certain fundamental ideals (le “fond,” as Constant-Dufeux termed it), regardless of the episodic changes in form. While Constant-Dufeux advocated pluralism, he also emphasized the need for judicious selection of sources (the need to “choisir,” as he stated) according to one’s interpretation of history’s trajectory. As Adolphe Lance remarked, “On le voit, M. Constant-Dufeux est éclectique. il veut que la pensée de l’artiste reste libre, afin que le goût propre de celui-ci puisse se manifester librement et *choisir*.”⁶⁵

In his approach to history, Constant-Dufeux’s debt to Victor Cousin was undeniable. Cousin understood his innovative theory of *éclectisme* as a method more than a doctrine for it demanded an active engagement with the past that could not be fixed or prescribed. Essentially, Cousin’s *éclectisme* entailed pitting divergent philosophical viewpoints against each other so as to liberate the underlying points of commonality. Similarly, Constant-

⁶⁵ The full passage merits quotation, for in it, Lance warns against the pitfalls he envisioned if Constant-Dufeux’s doctrine was translated into architectural pedagogy. Inexperienced students, he warns, may not be able to grasp properly the true depth (“le fond”) and principles at work in history, and instead simply follow individual caprice and taste. He writes: “On le voit, M. Constant-Dufeux est éclectique, il veut que la pensée de l’artiste reste libre, afin que le goût propre de celui-ci puisse se manifester librement et choisir. C’est là certes une doctrine très libérale, surtout quand elle est proclamée dans une des chaires de l’Académie des Beaux-Arts; mais, que l’honorable professeur nous permette de le lui dire, c’est une doctrine qui a ses dangers. Nous croyons qu’en fait d’art la liberté ne peut être permise et profitable qu’avec le talent, sans lequel il est impossible d’émanciper avant l’heure de jeunes intelligence déjà trop disposées à s’affranchir de tout joug et de toute règle. Choisir. . . . M. Constant-Dufeux le peut bien, lui qui possède à la fois le savoir et le goût qui sont les seuls guides en pareil cas; mais n’est-il pas à craindre que l’élève inexpérimenté, ne consultant que son caprice, sacrifie étourdiment à la forme qu’il aura choisie, le fond même des choses, c’est-à-dire le principal?” “One can see, Constant-Dufeux is eclectic, he wishes for the artist’s thinking to remain free, in order for the individual taste of the artist can be made manifest through freedom and choice. Surely this is a truly liberal doctrine, mostly when proclaimed from one of the chairs of the Académie des Beaux-Arts. But, may the honorable professor permit us to mention that it is a doctrine that has its dangers. We believe that in artistic matters, liberty can only be permitted and profitable for those with talent, without which it is impossible to release before due time young minds already too disposed to break from all rules and limits. Constant-Dufeux is capable of making these choices for himself for he possesses both the know-how and the taste that are one’s only guides; but should we fear that an inexperienced student, following nothing but his own inclination, might lose sight of the profundity and principle of things in confusedly choosing the form.” Lance, “École Impériale des Beaux-Arts. Cours de M. Constant-Dufeux,” 17-19.

Dufeux's approach to history emphasized the search for a plane of higher union in which the seeming discord of forms were reconciled. This envisioned union between competing positions was imagined not as a cessation of dispute and dissension, but as its perpetuation into what he termed, "des luttes pacifiques" whose ultimate goal was the betterment of the discipline ("avec la beauté et la grandeur comme point de mire," as Constant-Dufeux explained it).⁶⁶ In speaking about Constant-Dufeux's approach to history, Mérimée described it as "un éclectisme réfléchi."⁶⁷ The pluralistic approach to architecture championed by Constant-Dufeux therefore, was less an end in itself than a strategy devised to provoke yet unseen, future possibilities for architecture. The reconfiguration of historical sources had the purpose of achieving new unity beyond the sectarian uniformity of styles advocated by many of his contemporaries. But, following the utopian streak underwriting the generation's thinking, that unity was somewhat elusive and future-oriented.

Despite the *Revue générale's* multiple endorsements, the popular press had published some very unfavorable reviews of Constant-Dufeux's first and second opening lectures. In the *Journal des artistes*, André-Hippolyte Delaunay, a tireless critic of the recently appointed professor, was unsparing in his criticisms. Delaunay was armed with intimate details of the first few months of Constant-Dufeux's teaching as witnessed by Adolphe Forestier, a professor of perspective at the *École de Dessin* in Paris, and one of the unsuccessful candidates for the position. According to Forestier, the architect's poor performance made it painful to watch ("Nous avons couvert notre tête," Forestier recalled); his hand trembling from nervousness, Constant-Dufeux repeatedly broke the point of his pencil as he leaned in to illustrate a thought. Forestier noted that the architect was often short on words, muttering

⁶⁶ André-Hippolyte Delaunay. "Cours de M. Constant Dufeux à l'École des Beaux-Arts," *Journal des artistes et bulletin de l'ami des arts* 21e année, no. 24 livraison (1847): 196.

⁶⁷ Prosper Mérimée, "Tombeau de l'amiral Dumont d'Urville," *Le Constitutionnel* 317 (1844): 3.

half-finished sentences and, out of desperation, concluding his classes well before their scheduled end. Constant-Dufeux's instruction was not only insufficient, Forestier concluded, "mais à peu près nul."⁶⁸ In the self-congratulatory tone that Delaunay often summoned in scathing articles like this, he encouraged students to attend special private perspective courses that Forestier would be holding on the rue des Beaux-Arts, just across the street from the École.

By the third year's opening lecture in late 1847, Constant-Dufeux had won over even his harshest critics. Delaunay, who attended the lecture with low expectations, experienced a complete change of heart, ("une conversion complète," as he called it), publishing a *mea culpa* some weeks later (in it, Delaunay gushed: "[À] l'école des Beaux-Arts, on n'est pas habitué à un langage aussi élevé que le sien").⁶⁹ Daly, for his part, had long praised Constant-Dufeux's performance in the opening lectures. Although he admitted that "[l]e caractère un peu métaphysique," of the first lecture seemed to surprise the audience, by the second year of the course he declared: "M. Constant-Dufeux a réellement la fibre sacrée; il s'émeut devant les grandes questions d'art comme la corde qui vibre et parle sous le souffle du vent."⁷⁰

Doctrine and Diagram

Due in part to the fact that he built little during his lifetime, the description of Constant-Dufeux as both a visionary and a fantasist was hard to shake. As his biographer Féraud

⁶⁸ André-Hippolyte Delaunay, "Cours de M. Forestier, M. Constant Dufeux," *Journal des artistes et bulletin de l'ami des arts* 2e série, tome 2, 29e livraison (1845): 244.

⁶⁹ Delaunay, "Cours de M. Constant Dufeux à l'École des Beaux-Arts," 195.

⁷⁰ "Constant-Dufeux truly possess the sacred fiber; he rhapsodizes over the great questions of art like the line that vibrates and speaks in the blowing wind." Daly, "Ecole des Beaux Arts de Paris. Ouverture des cours de M. Constant-Dufeux et de M. Lebas," 177.

remarked, his reputation as “un penseur” and the impression that “son esprit travaillait plus que sa main” originated during his studies in Rome.⁷¹ His fellow *pensionnaires* made light of his temperament, and, when observed deep in thought they often quipped that “*il se rendait compte, qu’il travaillait de tête.*”⁷² Adolphe Lance elaborated on this tendency in an entry on the architect in *Dictionnaire des architectes français* published in 1872. Constant-Dufeux, he claimed, had produced a systematic doctrine that he summarized in compact figures and formulas that captured the crux of his outlook. But the architect, Lance lamented, was more rhetorician than builder, and his doctrines more admissible as philosophy than as art. In the final analysis, Lance cautioned, architects must build “non seulement avec des idée, mais avec des pierres.”⁷³

Constant-Dufeux’ enigmatic style and his use of coded language resulted in students greeting their professor’s ideas with some bewilderment. Early on in his career, Constant-Dufeux’s inscrutable nature was made the subject of a cartoon sketched by his pupil Victor Ruprich-Robert.⁷⁴ [figure 2.5.17] Drawn as though a bas-relief carved out of stone, it depicts a long procession of devotees, dressed in historical garb from diverse epochs, and paying homage to the architect. Constant-Dufeux’s bust is seen perched on a monumental pedestal, his arms stretched forward as though some modern-day sphinx. Highlighting the architect’s proclivity for symbolic imagery, on the base were carved a number of figures including a star and chalice, a log fire and a plan of the architect’s winning entry for the *Grand Prix de Rome*.

⁷¹ Féraud, “Constant-Dufeux,” 87.

⁷² Féraud, “Constant-Dufeux,” 87.

⁷³ Adolphe Lance, “Constant-Dufeux,” in *Dictionnaire des architectes français*, vol. 1 (Paris: Vve A. Morel, 1872), 156.

⁷⁴ The illustration is part of the collection of drawings by Victor-Marie-Charles Ruprich-Robert bequeathed to the Musée d’Orsay in 1981 by the descendants of the architect. The illustration described here did not have a visible archival number.

Between the figures was inscribed the term “RATIOCINIO.” “C’était son mot,” Féraud indicated in his obituary of the architect, adding that, regardless of the great diversity of approaches pursued at the *atelier*, Constant-Dufeux’s repeatedly reminded students that “leur base était la raison.”⁷⁵

Constant-Dufeux fixation on unifying the otherwise diverse, and often divergent, elements of the discipline was most evident in a compact little diagram that the architect included in a letter to Adolphe Lance in March of 1857.⁷⁶ Now lost, the diagram was described in detail in Lance’s dictionary entry on Constant-Dufeux. It was comprised of two concentric circles with the word ART at their common center. [figure 2.5.18] Within the smaller of the two circles were inset in a triangular arrangement three groups of words as follows: ARTISTE, AIMER, SENTIR; SAVANT, SAVOIR, CONNAÎTRE and PHILOSOPHE, JUGER, CHOISIR. In the space between the outer and inner circles was inscribed a further set of words: ASSOCIER, LIER, HARMONIER.

The prominence of the central term pointed to the unity of the three artistic disciplines that Constant-Dufeux’s was emphasizing in his lectures at the École des Beaux-Arts, while also evoking architecture’s supreme role as “l’art-mère,” an objective that was given more attention in the *atelier*. Moreover, the presence of ART at the center of the cosmology pointed to the idealism of Constant-Dufeux’s vision. Everything in the diagram, and in Constant-Dufeux’s own intellectual orbit, tended towards this term. As he had explained some years earlier in the *mémoire explicatif* to the members of the Société, art was

⁷⁵ Féraud, “Constant-Dufeux,” 133.

⁷⁶ The letter was dated March 5, 1857. For a detailed description of the diagram, See: Lance, “Constant-Dufeux,” 157.

architecture's most important aspiration, its central objective; "À ce mot art, je m'arrête" he insisted, "car ce mot seul renferme tout le programme, il doit dominer toute la question."⁷⁷

What appeared at first glance as a relatively concise and straightforward figure summarizing Constant-Dufieux's vision, revealed, upon closer inspection, a complex matrix of relations and distinctions between the terms. The first word of each set, for instance, represented the disciplinary traditions that Constant-Dufieux deemed necessary for architectural practice. Read in this way, the diagram proposed that the architect be at once an artist, a scientist, and a philosopher. The second terms in the sets, all verbs in the infinitive form, represented the various ways in which the architect related to architectural work: to love or care (AIMER), to know (SAVOIR), and to judge (JUGER).⁷⁸ Finally, the third terms of each set, again infinitive verbs, corresponded to distinct human faculties that were advantageous for the architect to possess: to sense or to feel (SENTIR), to know (CONNAÎTRE), and to choose (CHOISIR).

⁷⁷ "On this word, I halt, for this word contains all of the program, it must dominate the entire question." Constant-Dufieux's diagram was an early example of the practice of graphically summarizing architectural theory and practice that would become more common by the early twentieth century. One can perhaps compare it to the drawings of Bauhaus pedagogy produced during that school's time in Weimar. The Bauhaus curriculum, informed by direct experimentation with material, culminated in the BAU, building considered as the sum total and fusion of disparate craft production. The choice of the term BAU carried with it an implicit rejection of fine art practices and suggested a predilection for a materialist view of architectural. The diagram proposed by Constant-Dufieux, while also suggesting a reuniting of art practices, made it clear its tendency towards idealism. Constant-Dufieux, "Société centrale des architectes. Mémoire explicatif," 3.

⁷⁸ As he mentioned during the cours de perspective: "Il y a dans un véritable architecte trois qualités: *aimer, connaître et juger*. Pour que l'inspiration guide l'architecte, il faut qu'il soit amoureux de son art, qu'il y pense, qu'il vive en lui. Il est nécessaire pour qu'il fasse une bonne oeuvre d'architecture que ses connaissances soient variées. Enfin le jugement viendra lui faire discerner ce qui est bon de ce qui est mauvais." "In a true architect there are three qualities: *love, knowledge and judgement*. For inspiration to guide the architect, he must be in love with his art, he must think about it, it must live within him. For an architect to produce good work of architecture, it is necessary that his knowledge be varied. Finally, judgment will allow him to discern what is good and what is not." See: Marchandier, "Letter to Viollet-le-Duc," 5.

The diagram proposed to evaluate architecture along lines that were far more abstract and philosophical than architects in mid-century France were accustomed to. As many artists and critics at the time had pointed out, the French, unlike the Germans, had not yet produced a rigorous discourse on art. Daly himself had called attention to this lacuna in an article on the opening lecture for the second year of the course on perspective, writing, “jamais plus qu'aujourd'hui on n'eut besoin d'une théorie fixe pour régulariser sa marche incertaine.”⁷⁹ At this early moment in Constant-Dufeux's career, Daly seemed unsatisfied with the professor's remarks on philosophy, however, explaining that his “idées abstraites veulent être méditées mûrement,” and suggesting the architect lay out his ideas on architecture, perspective and aesthetics in written form.⁸⁰ According to an auction catalogue listing the books in Constant-Dufeux's library, he may indeed have taken Daly's advice, for the same year, he published a book that is now lost titled *Cours de perspective, professé à l'École des Beaux-Arts, par M. Constant-Dufeux*.⁸¹ By the mid-eighteen-fifties, Constant-Dufeux's doctrine on art had matured and expanded, lengthening the opening session of the course on perspective to three full lectures.⁸² Constant-Dufeux's diagram, what he called “ma Trilogie,”

⁷⁹ “Never more than today have we needed a fixed theory in order to straighten architecture's uncertain progress.” Daly, “École Royale des Beaux-Arts de Paris,” 518.

⁸⁰ Daly, “École Royale des Beaux-Arts de Paris,” 522.

⁸¹ The book has not been located. Mention of the book appears in the auction catalogue prepared soon after the passing of Constant-Dufeux. The catalogue is housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale. See: Hôtel des commissaires-priseurs, *Vente après décès de M. Constant-Dufeux de livre d'architecture* (Paris: Delaroque Ainé, 1871). Constant-Dufeux's book on perspective is identified with the following citation: *Cours de perspective, professé à l'École des Beaux-Arts, par M. Constant-Dufeux*, 1 vol. in-fol., demi-reliure, 1846. Nevertheless, one can obtain a fairly good idea of what such a book would have discussed through the many other sources such as Constant-Dufeux's many articles for the *Revue générale*, accounts of the course on perspective in the popular press, and rare synopsis of the lectures that appear in a letter from Constant-Dufeux's former student Paul-Henri-Eugène Marchandier to Viollet-le-Duc.

⁸² As Lance remarked: “[c]haque années, à l'ouverture de son cours de perspective, il ne manquait jamais d'exposer sa doctrine à son jeune auditoire, et cela ne remplissait pas moins de trois leçons.” See: Lance, “Constant-Dufeux,” 156.

emerged around this time. While it might have helped some make sense of the professor's ideas, it no doubt left others perplexed.

Victor Cousin's influence, here again, loomed large as the tripartite arrangement that was so important to the philosopher's work came to structure Constant-Dufeux's diagram. Each of the three word sets undoubtedly corresponded to Cousin's three qualities of beauty, truth, and moral good (which Constant-Dufeux saw as synonymous with utility). As Constant-Dufeux had explained to his students, "le but suprême de l'art," and the architect's highest duty was to produce works that fused these three qualities.⁸³ An effective work of architecture, in other words, was as much the product of artistic sensibility and intuition, as it was the result of scientific verity and philosophical judgement.

According to Constant-Dufeux's scheme, architecture was a composite discipline, a product of extrinsic proficiencies. If there was an intrinsic quality that exemplified the architect's role, it was suggested in three words contained in the final ring encircling the triangular array of words: LIER, ASSOCIER and HARMONIER. Of the three words circumscribing the diagram, we have already encountered the first term. *Lier*, a notion central to Charles Lenormant's myth of Cybèle (and, earlier, to German Romantic theory), pointed to the generation's interest in pre-classical origins and primitive myth. Constant-Dufeux had condensed the idea by incorporating Cybèle's hallmark symbol, the figure of a walled city,

⁸³ The complete description of this part of Constant-Dufeux's opening lecture in 1856 merits quotation: "En terminant sa leçon, le professeur a rappelé aux jeunes artistes que le but vers lequel ils doivent toujours diriger leur attention, le *but suprême* de l'art, c'est d'arriver au vrai par la double voie du beaux et de l'utile; et le *moyen*, l'association, ou, pour mieux dire, la combinaison harmonique de trois facultés de l'homme: *aimer, savoir, juger*. Ce qui revient à dire que, pour être véritablement artiste, il faut *sentir, connaître, choisir*." "Concluding his class, the professor reminded the young artists that the goal towards which they must all aim, the *supreme goal* of art, is to arrive at truth by the double track of the beautiful and the useful. And the means, association, or, to say it better, the harmonic combination of three human faculties: *love, knowledge, judgement*. That is to say, in order to be a true artist, one must *sense, comprehend, choose*." Daly, "Enseignement à l'école des Beaux-Arts," 386.

into the design for the medal of the Société Centrales de Architectes in the early eighteenthies. The symbol suggested that architecture's origins lay in its capacity to unify the manifold elements that constituted its material composition. The two additional terms encircling the diagram brought to mind the ideal vision of utopian thinkers such as Charles Fourier and Saint-Simon. *Associer*, was no doubt a ubiquitous term among social reformers, who often used it interchangeably with the idea of "solidarité."⁸⁴ For Constant-Dufeux, the word encapsulated his efforts at conjoining the diverse ways in which the architect related to architectural work. *Harmonier* was more overtly Fourierist in origin, and there is cause to believe that, like his close friend César Daly, Constant-Dufeux too had strong sympathies for the visionary thinker.⁸⁵ Indeed, the harmony envisioned by Fourier was grounded in the belief that diversity in the social body was beneficial if properly directed and ordered. Likewise, Constant-Dufeux's diagram demonstrated that the architect too needed to channel a variety of competing impulses and distinct human faculties in order to produce a truly unified work.

Adolphe Lance viewed Constant-Dufeux's doctrine with both admiration and a sense of disdain. Like many of Constant-Dufeux's contemporaries, he reproached the architect for speaking in a coded language. "On le voit, cela ressemble à ces devises énigmatiques du temps passé," he remarked, adding: "lesquelles n'avaient de sens que pour ceux à qui elles appartenaient."⁸⁶ Fortuitously, the architect's often wild imagination was reined back, Lance

⁸⁴ César Daly too used these two terms interchangeably in the *Revue générale*.

⁸⁵ One project in particular leads one to suspect Constant-Dufeux's Fourierist leanings. On September 25th, 1849, Constant-Dufeux completed a detailed design for a central Paris treatment center for municipal invalids ["Projet d'hôtel pour les invalides civiles"] that picked up the spatial configuration of Fourier's phalanstery and incorporated a continuous "galerie vitrée de promenoir" along the interior court that mimicked its long gas-lit arcades.

⁸⁶ "One can see, it resembles the old enigmatic axioms from past times, which had little sense except for those to whom they belonged." Lance, "Constant-Dufeux," 157.

explained, and, “maintenu par les attaches de l'école,” he was prevented from staying “très-loin dans le pays de l'impossible.”⁸⁷ In the final analysis, however, Lance was scathing, claiming that the architect's lack of success in gaining prestigious commissions was the result, not of governmental ostracism, but of the architect's own shortcomings and his obsessive desire to “subordonner le sens et l'expérience à la raison et aux idées.”⁸⁸ The diagram that Constant-Dufeux had shared with Lance was, for the critic, a paramount example of the architect's deficiencies. Lance continued: “on regrettait d'autant plus que ce petit grain qu'il appelait sa Trilogie ait pu pénétrer, par je ne sais quelle fissure, dans son cerveau.”⁸⁹ He concluded: “Mais, on le sait, l'homme n'est pas parfait.”⁹⁰

Notwithstanding Lance's criticisms, Constant-Dufeux's Trilogie and the doctrine it described, was indeed consistent with the architect's work and teaching. Unlike many of his compatriots from Rome, Constant-Dufeux sketched the contours of a unified and original approach to architecture that negotiated the difficult new demands on the discipline, whether they be scientific, aesthetic, or related to social usefulness.

⁸⁷ Lance, “Constant-Dufeux,” 156.

⁸⁸ Lance, “Constant-Dufeux,” 155.

⁸⁹ Lance, “Constant-Dufeux,” 155.

⁹⁰ “It is regrettable that this little seed that he termed his Trilogy would have penetrated, who knows by which fissure, his brain. But, we know, man is not perfect.” Lance, “Constant-Dufeux,” 157.

Chapter 6

The Tomb for the admiral Dumont d'Urville

The Commission

Few funerary monuments have garnered the kind of passions expressed for Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux's tomb for the admiral Dumont d'Urville.¹ [figure 2.6.1] What for some critics was a "bizarre" and "pain inducing" monument, for those architects and artists with knowledge of Constant-Dufeux's independent spirit, the tomb appeared to resonate with many of the aspirations of his generation. Indeed, the form of the monument was decidedly unconventional; like an oversized street bollard, the square base of the project gave way to an immense conical capstone hewn out of a single rock. As even its admirers remarked, the tomb was audacious and the product of "un homme qui a *le commun* en horreur."² Mérimée's analysis of the work in *Le constitutionnel* shortly after its inauguration in 1844, prepared readers for "l'effet" that it would doubtlessly produce, and for the lively public interest and curiosity that would assuredly result upon visitation to the monument.³

The commission was awarded to Constant-Dufeux as the result of an unfortunate series of coincidences. On May 8, 1842, the architect and an old friend and fellow *pensionnaire* from Rome, Pierre-Joseph Garrez, were returning from Versailles on the late

¹ The tomb has been fleetingly discussed in the twentieth century by the following authors: Louis Hauteceœur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France*, tome vi (Paris: Edition A. et J. Picard et Cie, 1955), 249- 53; Philippe Sorel, "Le monument funéraire de Dumont d'Urville (1790-1842)," *Les appels d'Orphée* 3 (1991), 15-18; Richard Etlin, "Landscapes of Eternity: Funerary Architecture and the Cemetery, 1793-1881," *Oppositions* 8 (1977), 25-28; Antoinette le Normand-Romain, "Tombeaux d'artistes," *Revue de l'art* 74 (1986), 55-63; Van Zanten, *Designing Paris: The Architecture of Duban, Labrousse, Duc, and Vaudoyer*, 208-10.

² Mérimée, "Tombeau de l'amiral Dumont d'Urville," 3.

³ Mérimée, "Tombeau de l'amiral Dumont d'Urville," 3

afternoon train to Paris, after attending festivities celebrating Louis-Philippe's birthday at the gardens of the palace. Midway to Paris, on the outskirts of the town of Meudon, an iron component in the first of the two locomotives experienced what would later be known as metal fatigue, precipitating the train and its seventeen carriages into a collision of monumental proportions.⁴ [figure 2.6.2] Ignited by the coke projected from the exploding engines, the first few carriages, which were reserved for first-class travel, were burned up in minutes, and the shrieks emanating from these were heard some kilometers away. The disaster was the first of its kind in France and, due to the dramatic piling of the carriages above the locomotives and to the fiery explosions which prolonged into the early evening, it was the first modern transport disaster to captivate the attention of the newly globalized world.⁵ Articles appeared over the next few days in newspapers as far as the Americas and Australia ("On of the most frightful events . . . in modern times," was how the *Australasian Chronicle* of Sydney characterized the spectacle), with intimate eyewitness accounts of the catastrophe and its aftermath.⁶

Constant-Dufeux and his colleague survived the accident without injury, reportedly bouncing into action after the initial shock to help rescue the victims still trapped in carriages engulfed in flames. The architect returned the following day to aid in the clearing of the

⁴ The *Revue générale* covered the momentous disaster as well as some of the proposed reforms relating to railway safety. See: anon., "Catastrophe du chemin de fer de Versailles," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 3 (1842): 133-35.

⁵ The event, and the role it played in the newly mediatized world has been discussed by many recent authors. See: Wolfgang Schivelbusch, "The Accident," in *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 129-32.

⁶ The train accident complicated the reception of modern industry and technology in France and significantly affected the characterization of the railway in poetry and literature in the subsequent decades. Before Émile Zola's *La Bête Humaine* of 1890, Alfred de Vigny published a poem titled "La Maison du berger," which depicts the railway and its attendant industries as demonic forces of speed, power and greed. See: Alfred de Vigny, "La maison du berger," *Revue des Deux Mondes* (July 15, 1844): 302-13.

wreckage and to treat the wounded. Among the fifty-nine dead (numbers as high as two hundred were reported in the days following the accident), was the train's most renowned passenger, the French marine officer and explorer Jules Sébastien César Dumont d'Urville. Seated in one of the first-class carriages at the head of the train, Dumont d'Urville, his wife and son were burned up beyond recognition. Phrenological casts that were recently made of the explorer's skull were used to identify the corpse.⁷

D'Urville was an indisputable hero in France at the time of his death. His many achievements included the acquisition of the statue of Venus de Milo on behalf of the nation, the recovery of the remains of the famed eighteenth-century explorer Jean François de Galaup, comte de Lapérouse in the South Pacific (coincidentally, the discovery occurred while travelling on a ship renamed the *Astrolabe* after one of Lapérouse's own lost vessels), the discovery of countless botanical, faunal and entomological species (which were delivered to the Musée de l'Histoire Naturelle, then under the sway of Georges Cuvier) and finally, the discovery of the South Magnetic Pole in late January 1840.⁸ Upon his return to France from this last trip, Dumont d'Urville was promoted to the rank of *contre amiral* and appointed president of the Société de Géographie. During the final two years of his life, he prepared the manuscript for *Voyage au Pôle Sud et dans l'Océanie*, published in ten volumes from 1841 to

⁷ Dumont d'Urville demonstrated an interest in race theory, recruiting the famed phrenologist Pierre-Marie Dumoutier for his second expedition to the South Seas. According to Marc Rochette, during a particularly trying episode in the expedition, Dumont d'Urville steadied his head for Dumoutier "who will prepare it and preserve it as a subject for phrenological study." While d'Urville survived the expedition, Dumoutier made a plaster cast of his head soon after their return to France. See: Marc Rochette, "Dumont d'Urville's Phrenologist: Dumoutier and the Aesthetics of Races," *The Journal of Pacific History* 38, no. 2 (2003): 251-68.

⁸ Dumont d'Urville never reached the South Magnetic Pole, but he and his team were the first to calculate its location while stationed on the coast. Dumont d'Urville claimed that coast and the triangular wedge extending to the South Magnetic Pole for France (naming it Terre Adélie, after his wife) during this expedition. For a detailed account of Dumont d'Urville's life and travels, see: Helen Rosenman, *An Account in Two Volumes of Two Voyages to the South Seas by Captain (Later Rear-Admiral) Jules S-C Dumont d'Urville . . .* (Brunswick, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1987).

1846. D'Urville's biographers remarked on the unfortunate irony that, having circumnavigated the globe three times in an antiquated wooden ship, the explorer would perish in what was the most advanced technology of transport to date.⁹

The sequence of events surrounding the appointment of Constant-Dufeux for the design of the tomb for Dumont d'Urville are fairly well documented. On May 13, just six days after the fateful accident, the members of the Société de Géographie arranged an urgent meeting in order to launch a campaign to recruit funds for the building of a tomb for the deceased explorer and his family. A week later, solicitations were made by three architects to design the tomb: German-French architect Franz Christian Gau, who offered his design services free of charge, Garrez and Constant-Dufeux.¹⁰ On September 2, 1842, the special commission charged with erecting the tomb for the explorer, chose Gau as architect for the tomb with Antoine Laurent Dantan, *dit* ainé as sculptor for a bust of Dumont d'Urville to be integrated into the design.¹¹ Both artists waived their commissions. Two weeks later it was reported that the architect and sculptor were already at work on the design, and by mid-December, the foundations and burial vaults were nearly complete.¹² Inexplicably, the commission announced on September 16, 1843, that it had recently returned to two other

⁹ See: M.S. Bertelot, "Éloge du contre-amiral Dumont d'Urville, prononcé dans l'Assemblée générale du 12 mai 1843," in *Bulletin de la Société de géographie* 19, 2e série (1843): 361-89.

¹⁰ Société de géographie, "Extrait des procès-verbaux des séances," in *Bulletin de la Société de géographie* 17, 2e série (1842): 343-46.

¹¹ Société de géographie, "Extrait des procès-verbaux des séances," in *Bulletin de la Société de géographie* 18, 2e série (1842): 240.

¹² Société de géographie, "Extrait des procès-verbaux des séances," in *Bulletin de la Société de géographie* 18, 2e série (1842): 606. The burial vaults were completed in late January 1843. The remains of the deceased were interred on February 8. See: Société de géographie, "Extrait des procès-verbaux des séances," in *Bulletin de la Société de géographie* 19, 2e série (1843): 174.

projects for the tomb, those of Garrez and Constant-Dufeux, and awarded the design to Constant-Dufeux.¹³ No further mention was made of the design by Gau.

Féraud related a slightly different sequence of events which excluded Gau from the account. According to him, soon after the death of the explorer, the Société de Géographie charged the two architects who had survived the disaster with the task of designing the tomb. The two projects, Féraud explained, were dramatically different in form and configuration. Garrez produced a simple cubic stone that, in its severity, “rappelait les monuments pélasgiques,” while Constant-Dufeux produced the tomb we have today, which, as Féraud explained, seemed to emerge from the mind of the architect “d’un seul jet.”¹⁴ Initially it seemed that the Société had wanted the two designs to be combined into one project, but Garrez generously bowed out in order to enable Constant-Dufeux’s design to be realized unchanged.

The dramatically distinctive responses to the demands of the project pointed to a more fundamental difference of opinion on the historical lineage of the form and on the function that it should seek to fulfill. The brief description of Garrez’s austere gravestone suggests that its inspiration lay in the raised stones of Asia Minor, understood as the primitive origins of the modern tomb. Constant-Dufeux’s design also evoked the pre-classical funereal markers, but melded the type of a tomb with that of the monument, producing what the architect termed “un parti mixte.”¹⁵ “Fallait-il faire un sarcophage destiné à recevoir les restes mortels?” Constant-Dufeux wondered, or would it be more appropriate to “élever un

¹³ It is conceivable that Dantan lobbied behind the scenes for Constant-Dufeux and Garrez to be given the opportunity to design the tomb as they were good friends of the sculptor, all three having been *pensionnaires* at the Villa Médici in Rome for in the early 1830s. Société de géographie, “Extrait des procès-verbaux des séances,” in *Bulletin de la Société de géographie* 20, 2e série (1843): 212.

¹⁴ Féraud, “Constant-Dufeux,” 135.

¹⁵ Constant-Dufeux, “Inauguration du monument,” 212.

monument à la gloire de l'amiral?"¹⁶ The proper solution, the architect concluded, was to "réunir le caractère funéraire au caractère héroïque."¹⁷ At issue, Constant-Dufeux insisted, was the very real need for the tomb to function as a didactic source of instruction, communicating, as best it could, the events that shaped the explorer's life.

"Un parti mixte"

Much of what we know of the reception of the tomb of Dumont d'Urville comes from the solemn ceremonies that accompanied its inauguration in the cimetière du Sud (today the cimetière Montparnasse) on November 1, 1844. The monument stood at the center of a large crowd of government officials, dignitaries, members of the Société de Géographie, artistes, architects and local inhabitants. It was enveloped in a long white shroud and surrounded by golden lances strung up with garlands made of laurel and yellow everlastings. The unveiling must have provoked some surprise for the polychromy of the monument was more vivid than the pageantry that adorned it, and especially so given the grey mid-autumn drizzle that accompanied the celebrations.¹⁸ Saturated greens, pinks and ochres colored the base, with details tinted in dozens of colors, specified with precision by the architect. The bust of the

¹⁶ "Was it necessary to produce a sarcophagus in order to receive the human remains" or to "erect a monument to the glory of the admiral?" Constant-Dufeux, "Inauguration du monument," 212.

¹⁷ "to reunite the funerary character with the heroic character." Constant-Dufeux, "Inauguration du monument," 212.

¹⁸ The sharpest criticism of tomb's bright polychromy came from Delaunay who wrote: "On ne peut discuter des goûts ni des couleurs; mais que l'inconvenance des bigarrures, la crudité des tons, qui ne portent rien moins qu'au recueillement, l'enluminure du portrait de l'amiral, et surtout l'élévation de ce cône disgracieux sur un soubassement plus sépulchral, ne l'aient pas choqué comme nous, nous ne le concevons pas." "It is futile to speak of tastes and colors. However, the inappropriate variety of colors, the crudely applied tones which leads to nothing but revulsion, the coloring of the portrait of the admiral, and most of all, the erection of this disgraceful cone above the sepulchral base, that these things might not have been shocking as they were to us is difficult to imagine." André-Hippolyte Delaunay, "Tombeau de l'amiral Dumont d'Urville," *Journal des artistes* 1, 2e série, 34e livraison (1844): 389.

Dumont d'Urville by Dantan alone incorporated six different colors; even the explorer's chest hair were picked out in browns and golds.¹⁹ Towering above the crowd, the conical protuberance capping the monument was painted in deep "Roman" red, "comme une robe triomphale," Constant-Dufaux remarked.²⁰ [figure 2.6.3]

The first words at the inauguration were spoken by Constant-Dufaux, who officially presented the monument to the Société de Géographie. The importance given to the architect on such an occasion was certainly unusual, and Constant-Dufaux no doubt took advantage of the attention by delivering a prolonged address that explained every last element of the monument's design. Some years later, the speech was republished by César Daly in the *Revue générale* along with a series of carefully redrawn engravings of the monument. "Votre discours," Daly gushed, "appartient à l'histoire contemporaine de l'architecture française."²¹ The reception of the speech matched an equally effusive reception of the monument. Horace Vernet, who was in attendance as a representative for the garde nationale of Paris, was reported as waving signs of approbation as Constant-Dufaux read his remarks. As one of the members of the Société de Géographie concluded: "Adieu, d'Urville! En présence du monument élevé à ta gloire, la France se souvient et admire; l'Europe applaudit."²²

¹⁹ The decision to paint the bust was Constant-Dufaux's. Delaunay reported that on the day of the inauguration of the monument, Dantan ainé could barely recognize his own creation: "Le buste de Dumont-d'Urville est tellement défiguré par des couches de diverses couleurs, que M. Dantan ainé, son auteur, n'a jamais pu le reconnaître le jour de l'inauguration." "The bust of Dumont d'Urville has been so disfigured by the layers of various colors that Dantan ainé, its author, could scarcely recognize it at the inauguration." Delaunay, "Tombeau de l'amiral Dumont d'Urville," 388.

²⁰ "like a triumphal robe." Constant-Dufaux, "Inauguration du monument," 217.

²¹ "Your speech belongs to the contemporary history of French architecture." César Daly, "Mausolée de Dumont d'Urville," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 8 (1849): 439.

²² "Farewell d'Urville! In the presence of this monument raised to your glory, France remembers and admires; Europe applauds." Cited in Féraud, "Constant-Dufaux," 136.

Constant-Dufeux's remarks demonstrate that, although the architect was only at the mid-point of his career in 1844, the tomb was both a summation of all he believed architecture to be, and also presaged the doctrine he developed a decade later. Here, the architect attempted to display and resolve ideas that had first emerged in Rome, that had matured over the years in his *atelier*, and were simultaneously being disclosed in his design for the medal of the Société Centrale des Architectes. The ideas, as we have seen, were based on deep meditation on the nature of architectural origins and historical development, on the contention that architecture should encompass painting and sculpture, as it had for primitive civilizations, and on the belief that architecture was a truly unitary discipline in which its constituent parts, the skills required for its realization, and the forms of knowledge necessary for its apprehension were seamlessly integrated.

The configuration of the tomb was, like the architect's fifth-year *envoi* for a Chamber of Deputies ten years earlier, a hybrid combination of distinct forms adjusted and united into a single arrangement. According to Constant-Dufeux, the first of three articulated elements, the square base of the monument, designated the funereal portion of the design. The slightly canted base, nearly two meters in diameter and inscribed with the names of those interred below (which included Dumont d'Urville's wife and teenage son, as well as his second son who died shortly after his birth in 1832), was superimposed on the front of the tomb with the protuberant outline of a Greek sarcophagus. In what seemed to some to be a somewhat unorthodox juxtaposition, a motif reproducing the naval ram of an ancient Greek ship was affixed directly on the sarcophagus and painted a bright medley of saturated blues, reds and

greens in order to visually wrest it from its background.²³ Constant-Dufeux justified the strange inclusion as pertaining to Dumont d'Urville's oceanic journeys, though the evocation of civilizational exchange and migratory expansion of ancient peoples (no doubt d'Urville's voyages proved that global exchange was equally relevant in the modern world) quite clearly was also intended.²⁴ Indeed, as the architect's inaugural speech made clear, Constant-Dufeux subscribed to the utopian belief, advanced by the Saint-Simonians and others, that modern forms of communication and transport were bringing about a new era of peace and prosperity. Dumont d'Urville's voyages, therefore, seemed to foreshadow the arrival of a world in which global fraternity and unity would predominate. "Des malheurs inévitables, quelque tristes qu'ils soient," the architect explained, "ne peuvent nous empêcher d'admirer une invention qui, en unissant les peuples par les lieux de l'intérêt et par ceux d'une affection fraternelle, réalisera le but de la morale évangélique et développera les principes de l'humanité."²⁵

²³ The motif used by Constant-Dufeux for the naval ram was copied from the three altars from the Port of Antium housed in the Museum of the Capitoline in Rome. The polychromy, however, was an embellishment purely from the architect's imagination. After Mérimée expressed criticisms on the subject, Constant-Dufeux acknowledged his difficulty in determining this element of the tomb. See: César Daly, "Tombeau de l'amiral Dumont d'Urville," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 8 (1849): 447, note 1.

²⁴ The three altars were reproduced by Henri Labrouste in a number of drawings, one of which integrates the altars into vivid reconstructions of the ancient Antium port. [figure 2.6.4] While not explicit, it seems that Labrouste was attracted to these fragments, which he explained were dedicated to "[le] calme, à Neptune, et aux vents," because they further corroborated an argument he had advanced with his reconstruction of the temples at Paestum: that migrational expansion was central to the formation of cities. For more on the drawing reconstructing the Port of Antium, see: Barry Bergdoll, "... en général de très honnêtes rebelles." Fragmentary Notes on a Newly Discovered Album of French Romantic Architectural Compositions," in *Fragments: Architecture and the Unfinished. Essays Presented to Robin Middleton*, ed. Barry Bergdoll and Werner Oechslin (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), 209-30.

²⁵ "Inevitable tragedies, however sorrowful they may be, cannot stop us from admiring an invention that, by unifying peoples drawn to places of interest and to a sense of fraternal affection, will fulfill the goal of the evangelical morality and develop the principles of humanity." Constant-Dufeux, "Inauguration du monument érigé par la Société de géographie," 221.

The second of the “trois zones,” as Constant-Dufieux referred to them, was a slightly canted cylindrical midsection that stood just above the eye-level of viewers. [figure 2.6.5] The bust of the rear admiral, an addition no doubt requested by the Société de Géographie and realized by Dantan, was perched above a vertical pillar engraved with the branch of a palm tinted in gold and made to appear as though an ancient herm protruding from the face of the tomb. Associated with Hermes, the Greek god of boundaries and fertility, ancient stone herms, which often incorporated a phallus in their lower portion, served as a boundary markers, signposts, and milestones. Here, the simple pillar punctuated an otherwise continuous sequence of bas-reliefs which, in image, word and colour, detailed the life and achievements of the deceased explorer. Moving counter-clockwise from the herm, the chronological sequence began with the explorer’s journey to the Aegean Sea in 1820 aboard *la Chevrette*. The bas-relief illustrated the statue of Venus de Milo, which Dumont d’Urville had acquired on that trip. Next in the sequence was the explorer’s first trip around the globe which was characterized by the discovery of a vast number of unknown species of flora and fauna. Beside an image of *La Coquille*, the ship used for the expedition, Constant-Dufieux portrayed a butterfly, a flower, leaves, a bird and several distinct fish. The second circumnavigation of the globe was marked by reproducing the peculiar little monument erected in honor of La Pérouse on the island of Vanikoro in the South Pacific. The sequence concluded with the explorer’s third trip around the globe which culminated in setting foot on the Antarctic continent, and claiming for France a portion of the continent (which he named *Terre Adélie* after his wife) that stretched from the newly discovered coast to the South Magnetic Pole. The episode was portrayed by *Adélie* penguins (which the explorer discovered, and also named after his wife), instruments for calculating the location of the

magnetic pole and the image of the two ships with which the expedition was undertaken, La Zélée and l’Astrolabe.

Beyond the use of images to illustrate the life of Dumont d’Urville, Constant-Dufeux employed text (“des signes écrits”) of varying sizes and typographic styles. Two bands, across the top and bottom of the illustrated strip, listed in large, bold letters the branches of knowledge to which the explorer had contributed (NAVIGATION, GEOGRAPHIE, HISTOIRE-NATURELLE, PHILOGIE), and the name of the institution that had funded the building of the tomb. In addition, Constant-Dufeux titled the explorer’s four journeys, below which he enumerated with short phrases Dumont d’Urville’s multiple discoveries. Finally, the architect labeled the many figures that illustrated the continuous sequence with simple words: “MILO,” “VANIKORO,” “POLE SUD,” and “L’ASTROLABE.” The combination of words and symbolic figures produced a dizzying display which was all the more overwrought given the bright and varied polychromy of the panel. The result recalled the busy wall-scape of the *quartier latin* in the mid-century, with posters, graffiti and pasted placards competing for the attention of passersby. Paradoxically, the modern cemetery had historically emerged as a refuge from the profane street life of the burgeoning modern metropolis evoked by the tomb.²⁶ The disquieting jumble was subject to criticisms from allies and adversaries alike. Léonce Reynaud, who otherwise lauded the remarkable “sévérité” of the monumental tomb form, criticized its excessive “multiplicité des images et des symboles” and the unrestrained proliferation of markings on the monument. Delaunay, who just weeks later would embark on a campaign to torpedo Constant-Dufeux’s application to become the Chair de perspective at the École des Beaux-Arts, wrote a scathing review of the monument in the *Journal de*

²⁶ For a history of the modern cemetery, see: Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death: Transformation of the Cemetery in Eighteenth Century Paris* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984).

l'artiste, comparing the tomb to the tactless signs at a busy market. “M. Constant-Dufeux,” Delaunay railed, “ait confondu l’idée d’un monument funèbre avec celle d’une enseigne de saltimbanque.”²⁷ Constant-Dufeux seemed to provoke the sentiment in the way that he inscribed the surface of the tomb with words and figures that looked deliberately applied (“à la manière des hiéroglyphes”) as though graffiti on an ancient lithic monument.

The way in which one encountered and moved around the monument reinforced the idea of a signpost. Like the spatial configuration of Constant-Dufeux’s design of the Chamber of Deputies, which prompted visitors to revolve around the assembly hall block, reading the names of past legislators on its stepped substructure, here too the tomb suggested a new ritual of circumambulation in order to read the important events of the deceased explorer’s life that were vividly chronicled, in image and text, on its surface. In the design of the tomb, however, Constant-Dufeux further dramatized the relationship between viewer and monument by orienting the tomb along the axis of the cemetery, while positioning the visual sequence of the explorer’s life along the true cardinal points of the earth. The architect noted the divergence in his speech, pointing out that the episode illustrating the explorer’s expedition to the south pole aligned with the true magnetic south. Like the compass used for oceanic navigation, the tomb oriented the viewer, creating a palpable awareness of one’s location with respect to that of the globe. The clever discrepancy between cemetery axis and cardinal orientation, between the local disposition of the monument, and the global orientation of its illustrated sequence, no doubt emerged from Constant-Dufeux’s interest in reuniting beauty and sensation with scientific truth. Here the architect attempted to unite scientific accuracy with experiential and aesthetic experience in order to bring abstract truth

²⁷ “Mr. Constant-Dufeux has confused the idea of a funerary monument with that of a signboard of a market charlatan.” Delaunay, “Tombeau de l’amiral Dumont d’Urville,” 388.

into the realm of sensation and beauty. As one encircled the monument, visually and legibly reading surface, the visitor reenacted, in motion and experience, the explorer's own famed circumnavigations of the earth.²⁸

The final "zone" topping the project, intended by Constant-Dufeux as a "glorification" of the life of the deceased and forming what the architect termed his "apothéose," was undoubtedly the most distinct element of the tomb. Designed as a bold and towering cone, it emerged from a cylindrical base divided into two distinct segments. The bottom was adorned with a complex Greek meander pattern whose centers alternated between stars and checkerboards. Above it, the cylinder tapered to adjust to the narrower capstone, acquiring a rounded profile incised with an intricate and innovative arabesque painted black and red (one more suited to wrought iron gates, perhaps) which culminated in pink and blue flower motifs. The cylindrical base, its visual intensity heightened by the use of complementary colors, was separated from the uncharacteristically sober cone by a simple chamfer marking the joint between the two separate stones. [figure 2.6.6] The three-meter cone was inscribed with a the brief line: "À LA MÉMOIRE DU CONTRE-ADMIRAL DUMONT D'URVILLE" and the dates and locations of his birth and death. Above, Constant-Dufeux used a sunk-relief technique to emboss a figure of the deceased explorer, his wife and son, rising up above a locomotive consumed by flames.

²⁸ Constant-Dufeux addressed the correspondence between the motion of the viewer and the explorer's circumnavigation of the globe in his inaugural speech: "Nous avons adopté la forme d'un piédestal circulaire, parce qu'elle nous donnait la possibilité de représenter dans un bas-relief continu toute la vie de l'amiral. Nous espérons aussi qu'on y verrait une allusion symbolique aux mémorables voyages qui ont illustré le navigateur auquel ce monument est consacré." "We have adopted the circular form for the pedestal as it afforded us the possibility of representing in a continuous bas-relief the entire life of the admiral. We had hoped one would perceive [in this layout] the symbolic allusion to the memorable journeys that exemplify the explorer to whom this monument is dedicated." Constant-Dufeux, "Inauguration du monument érigé par la Société de géographie," 213.

For the uppermost element of the tomb Constant-Dufeux returned to a form that had roused the curiosity of generations of antiquarian, archeologists and architects alike: the raised stone. As discussed in the first part of this dissertation, interpretations of raised stones, while varying from author to author, nonetheless shared some important principles. The attention to these enigmatic monuments emerged in the eighteenth century in the works of the Comte de Caylus, the Court de Gébelin and the Baron d'Hancarville, who understood these stones as the most ancient forms of human religious expression. Some years later, Viel de Saint-Maux, the first architect to be interested in the phenomenon, mounted a challenge to the neoclassical account of the origins of architecture, based as it was on imitation and necessity. Viel de Saint-Maux cited the great ubiquity of such stones in primitive civilizations as evidence of what he termed a “symbolic” interpretation of architectural origins. These stones, which emerged as “poems to fecundity” from these largely agrarian civilizations, he argued, were intimately connected to the religious worship and worldview of ancient peoples.²⁹ The ideas eventually percolated to the architectural pedagogy at the École des Beaux-Arts through Jean-Nicolas Huyot, who, as noted earlier, had a significant influence on the thinking of Constant-Dufeux and his generation. For Huyot, these stones belonged to a larger taxonomy of monuments that he named “les monolithes” and which he claimed had originally emerged in Egypt out of the cultic worship of the lotus plant. The family of

²⁹ As described in the first part of this dissertation, many of the antiquarians and archeologists interested in the phenomena of primitive raised stones related these to the ancient worship of the phallus. The English scholar and archeologist Richard Payne Knight explored this interpretation more thoroughly than most, although similar interpretations can be seen in the works of Court de Gébelin, and later in Huyot and numerous archeologists working with the Institut de Correspondance Archéologique. Unsurprisingly, the form of the Constant-Dufeux's tomb to Dumont d'Urville also suggested to some the connection to phallic monuments. Delaunay, for instance, compared the form of the tomb to Paris' “red light” district, strewn as it was with fetish objects of all types. For the design of the tomb, Constant-Dufeux, Delaunay charged, had “chercher, pour sa forme, ses inspirations dans la rue des Lombards, si on appelle cela du progrès, nous ne nous entendons plus.” “sought out inspiration for the form of the tomb on the rue des Lombards. If one calls this progress, clearly, we don't agree.” Delaunay, “De la perspective et de la chaire de perspective à l'école des beaux-arts,” 8.

“monolithes” included the obelisk (the abstract result of the worship of the lotus), Greek and Roman cippes, termes, hermes and stelas, as well as ancient raised stones from Brittany. For Huyot, a distinguishing facets of these forms was that they were made from a single block of stone (“d’un seul bloc”).

In his opening address at the dedication of the tomb to Dumont d’Urville, Constant-Dufeux summarized much of the preceding thinking related to raised stones and monoliths. Conceding that the form he had employed to crown the tomb appeared “un peu exceptionnelles pour nous et pour notre temps,” he assured the crowd gathered at the inauguration that its use was nearly ubiquitous in history. “[Elles] sont bien loin d’être nouvelle,” he explained, and continued:

elles étaient communes à toute l’antiquité. L’Égypte avait ses pyramides et ses obélisques; la Grèce ses stèles; l’Étrurie, les Romains de la république et de l’empire avaient aussi leurs tombeaux coniques, pareils à celui-ci; la Sardaigne a ses nurhags; et jusqu’à notre vieille Gaule, qui dans ses nombreux monuments, appelés menhirs, a consacré aussi cette forme conoïde qui défie les siècles. Témoin les grandes pierres levées, si nombreuse en Bretagne, comme celle de Locmariaker, et comme le menhir du camp Dolent, encore debout près de Dol.³⁰

By the time Constant-Dufeux travelled to Italy and witnessed some of these primitive lithic forms himself, the country was teeming with researchers interested in very similar phenomena, many of them connected to the Institut de Correspondance Archéologique in Rome. Conical monuments were of prime interest to this group, for while they shared

³⁰ “somewhat exceptional for us and our time. . . . They are far from being novel, they were pervasive in all antiquity. Egypt had its pyramids and its obelisks; Greece its steles; Etruria and the Romans of the Republic and the Empire also had their conical tombs identical to this one; Sardinia its nurhags; all the way to our old Gaul, its numerous monuments, named menhirs, also employed the conical form which defies time. Witness the large raised stones, so numerous in Brittany, like those of Locmariaker, and like the menhir of the camp Dolent, still standing near Dol.” Constant-Dufeux, “Inauguration du monument érigé par la Société de géographie,” 218.

specific traits that associated them with more distant monoliths, they also were very particular to Etruscan civilization. The governing interpretation of these built forms was that they were the most elemental representations of the phenomena of piling without the use of mortar, the general form of a bottom heavy monument rising up to a point. As drawings of such tombs demonstrated, they were built out of smaller series of stones, cut and assembled to create the conical outline. [figure 2.1.27] These forms, some members suggested, had their origins in Pelasgian civilization for they employed similar techniques as those of the Pelasgian walls and archways whose archeological remnants could still be found at the base of ancient cities and fortifications. If the Pelasgians, using their dry, dressed stone building techniques, had produced the first arches, then the Etruscans inverted the form and constructional logic of the arch to create the inverse of it: the solid conical form. In essence, these scholars and architects believed that the Etruscan conical tombs were important transitional monuments, bridging the ancient constructional knowledge of the east with the eventual development of the Roman arch in the west.

As Constant-Dufeux explained, the uppermost element of the tomb of Dumont d'Urville was meant to evoke a very distinct variety of the ancient monolithic type, the Etruscan conical tomb. In the design for the project, the architect seemed to echo much of the thinking on Etruscan funerary monuments advanced by the members of the Institut de Correspondance Archéologique. Nonetheless, there was a paradox in Constant-Dufeux's decision to employ one large stone rather than an aggregation of smaller stones for the culminating element of the structure. If he meant the stone to represent and embody the phenomena of piling ("Quoi de plus stable que la pyramid ou le cône ?" Constant-Dufeux asked rhetorically in the speech), why would he not have had it also be built that way?³¹

³¹ Constant-Dufeux, "Inauguration du monument érigé par la Société de géographie," 218.

In the intervening years between the height of the Institut de Correspondance Archéologique's work in Rome in the early eighteen thirties and the construction of the tomb for Dumont d'Urville, Charles Lenormant provided a compelling solution to the question that Lenoir had so eloquently expressed with the words: "la pensée simple que présente un cône." Lenormant's account of the primitive myth of Cybèle (as discussed in the third chapter of Part 2 of this dissertation) explained the near ubiquity of raised stones and primitive lithic monuments in regions as distant as Asia Minor and ancient Gaul by drawing attention to the equally pervasive cult of Cybèle. According to Lenormant, the ancient goddess was represented by unadorned upright stones that exemplified the momentary control and cohesion over the pantheistic conflict between the one and the many, unity with diversity. Lenormant's ideas also seemed to confirm Huyot's early suspicions that what linked the diverse lithic forms together was their monolithic composition; in other words, that there was symbolism in the use of monolithic stone beyond the particular form into which it was shaped.

Constant-Dufeux emphasized the monolithic quality of the cone, specifying that he had procured the largest single stone possible with the available sums for this third zone of the monument. "Aussi avons-nous fait venir un monolithe aussi volumineux que les sommes mises à notre disposition le permettaient," he then explained that great care had been taken in order to preserve the unified quality of the stone:

Pour conserver son caractère d'unité, nous avons donné la forme la plus simple, le contour le plus continu que nous avons trouvé, en évitant les lignes décoratives horizontales qui auraient pu servir à dissimuler des joints, ou qui auraient fait

souçonner leur existence. Enfin, pour compléter l'expression d'unité que nous voulions accuser, nous l'avons peint d'un seul ton rouge plein et fort.³²

Along with his reference to the universality of raised stones in primitive times, Constant-Dufeux's emphasis on the monolithic character and expressive unity of the cone leaves little doubt of the impact of Lenormant's account of the myth of Cybèle on the architect's practice. Furthermore, these aspects of the tomb demonstrate the way in which the architect coordinated the design of multiple details in order to intensify meaning around a very specific readings of the tomb. As Mérimée noted soon after the tomb's completion, "ont voit en lui une pensée sérieuse, un emploi calculé des ressources de l'art, une attention singulière à faire tendre tous les détails au même but."³³

Polychromy

One of the resources that Constant-Dufeux employed in determining the expression of the tomb was color. Richly polychromed murals had been incorporated into the symbolic programs of several buildings in the early nineteenth century (Louis-Hippolyte Lebas' church of Notre-Dame-de-Lorette being the most significant), but as Daly remarked, neither the durability of such painting, nor the public reactions to its use, had been tested in the case

³² "Also, we have procured a monolith that is as large as the sums at our disposal could permit. In order to retain its character of unity, we have given it as simple a form as possible and the most continuous contour that we could conceive, while avoiding horizontal decorative lines that would have masked the joints, or that would have alerted the viewer of their existence. Finally, in order to complete the expression of unity that we were seeking, we have painted it with a single color, a bold and deep red." Constant-Dufeux, "Inauguration du monument érigé par la Société de géographie," 217.

³³ "One sees in him serious thought, a calculated use of the resources of art, a singular concern to align all of the details towards the same goal." Mérimée, "Tombeau de l'amiral Dumont d'Urville," 3.

of the exterior of monuments.³⁴ Moreover, none had dared to apply paint so unreservedly as Constant-Dufeux, nor to apply it directly to figurative sculpture, as was the case with Dantan's bust of the explorer. These new artistic forays made the tomb to Dumont d'Urville legendary for succeeding generations, and it would be painted and repainted several times over the century.³⁵ Paul Sédille, an architect whose use of vivid ceramics would have a profound impact on the architecture of universal expositions, lauded Constant-Dufeux's pioneering efforts, while Lawrence Harvey saw in fin-de-siècle architect Léon Bonnenfant's spectacular multicolored maison Gilardoni (built for the ceramic tile manufacturer Xavier Gilardoni), the clear imprint of Constant-Dufeux's teachings on polychromy.³⁶

As with so many of the architect's concerns, his interest in polychromy was derived from his time as a *pensionnaire* at the Villa Médici in the early eighteen-thirties. Constant-Dufeux was certainly not alone in documenting the remnants of applied color while in Italy; Jacques Ignace Hittorff and Désiré Raoul-Rochette were early pioneers (although the latter architect consigned the use of polychromy to the so-called "decadent" epochs), as was Louis Duc, who discovered extensive evidence of the use of red paint on the coliseum, and Labrouste, who witnessed the presence of color on a number of the remnants at Paestum. Whether they found evidence for the use of polychromy in architecture or not, the

³⁴ Daly noted that "[l]e tombeau de Dumont d'Urville est le premier exemple que je connaisse en France de l'application franche et complète de la couleur à l'extérieur d'un monument moderne." "The tomb of Dumont d'Urville is the first example of the frank and complete application of color on the exterior of a modern monument that I know of in France." Daly, "Mausolée de Dumont d'Urville," 438.

³⁵ The first repainting took place soon after the tomb's completion. The second repainting of the monument took place in 1891 and was initiated by former students of the architect (Dainville and Bouvard) some years after his passing. Funds were secured for the restoration of the monument after some lobbying from César Daly, Charles Garnier and Antoine-Nicolas Bailly. See: Lucas, "45^e Diner annuel des élèves de Constant-Dufeux," 381.

³⁶ See: Paul Sédille, "Étude sur la renaissance de la polychromie monumentale en France," *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (1886-87): 5-16; Lawrence Harvey, "Architecture polychrome," *La Construction moderne* (May 30, 1896), 414.

generation of *pensionnaires* certainly believed its use was pervasive, incorporating vivid painted murals and color in their sketches and watercolors, and, in a more limited way, in some of the mandated drawings they produced in Rome.³⁷ By the time that Constant-Dufeux arrived in Rome, the issue was less explosive than it had been some years earlier. Nonetheless, the German architect Gottfried Semper was embroiled in a quarrel over the polychromy of the Trajan Column in Rome with Constant-Dufeux's colleague at the Villa Medici, the architect Prosper Morey. Seeking to settle the dispute, Constant-Dufeux was hoisted up to examine the column in detail the following year (in 1834) and testified seeing "the evident and incontestable" presence of red and green paint, and the probable existence of yellow.³⁸ Furthermore, he confirmed the presence of *circumilitio*, a resinous and brittle layer onto which the paint was applied. The findings followed recent discoveries of polychromy on building and monuments in Egypt, Greece and Sicily, and for Constant-Dufeux, these provided conclusive evidence that color was applied widely in ancient times.³⁹

³⁷ David Van Zanten has examined the question of polychromy in nineteenth-century France in detail in a dissertation completed in 1970 at Harvard University. The thesis was subsequently published in book form. See: David Van Zanten, *The Architectural Polychromy of the 1830's*, Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977). See also: David Van Zanten, "Architectural Polychromy: Life in Architecture," in *The Beaux-Art and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture*, edited by Robin Middleton (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982), 196-215 and Robin Middleton, "Hittorff's Polychrome Campaign," in *The Beaux-Art and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture*, ed. Robin Middleton (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982), 174-95.

³⁸ Hittorff provided an account of the dispute involving Semper, Morey and Constant-Dufeux in chapter 11 of *Restitution du temple d'Empédocle à Sélinonte, ou l'architecture polychrome chez les Grecs* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1851), 119-154. Although the architect's confirmation of the polychromy on the Trajan Column was relatively minor compared to some of the more important discoveries in Egypt and Greece, Semper mentioned his research in *Der Stijl*. See: Gottfried Semper, *Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts; or, Practical Aesthetics* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004), 412.

³⁹ "Les découvertes faites en Égypte, en Sicile et en Grèce," Constant-Dufeux explained, "ne laissent plus maintenant aucun doute pour ceux qui touche à la coloration polychrome des monuments d'art de ces contrées." "The discoveries made in Egypt, Sicily and Greece no longer leave any doubt of the presence of polychrome coloration on artistic monuments in these lands." Constant-Dufeux, "Inauguration du monument érigé par la Société de géographie," 219.

By the late eighteen-twenties, Hittorff had begun to reconfigure the collected scientific research and archeological evidence into more salient arguments regarding the use of polychromy in ancient architecture. This research, along with a set of chromolithographic plates reconstructing the polychrome scheme of a temple in Selinunte, Sicily was transformed into the first methodical examination of the question of polychromy in ancient Greek architecture. Published in 1851, the study was titled *Restitution du temple d'Empédocle à Sélinonte, ou l'architecture polychrome chez les Grecs*. Hittorff proposed that the use of color was neither capricious, nor was its application arbitrary; rather, he claimed to discover in the ancient use of color what he termed “un système de coloration.” Polychromy, he further alleged, was a universal practice from ancient Egypt to the Gothic period and even, if less often, in the modern era of Christian church architecture (his own church of Saint-Vincent de Paul, built in Paris between 1830-1846, incorporated bright, polychrome elements, including a painted frieze by Hippolyte Flandrin and colored enamel panels by Pierre-Jules Jollivet).⁴⁰ In addition, he argued that polychromy was absolutely essential to the overall character of the building or monument (“un des moyens les plus proper à ajouter au caractère”), more so even than the orders, which he claimed had only a minor role in ancient Greece.⁴¹ And while he saw polychromy as a means of preserving the stone—making it more durable with the application of stucco and paint—he also believed that it offered the architecture a means of establishing a rapport with the environing natural setting.

⁴⁰ Jollivet studied architecture and, in 1822 turned to painting, enrolling at the École des Beaux-Arts. He was particularly concerned with developing new techniques that would allow for durable polychromy. The panels that he designed for the external portico of the church of Saint-Vincent de Paul in Paris employed a new enamel technique that baked color directly into material. Jollivet also wrote on innovative painting techniques. See: Pierre-Jules Jollivet “De la Peinture à la cire et de la peinture à l'huile appliquées à la décoration des édifices,” *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 8, no. 4 (1849): 194-99.

⁴¹ Hittorff, *Restitution du temple d'Empédocle*, 12.

Polychromy, Hittorff explained, “offrait seul le moyen de mettre l’œuvre de l’art en harmonie avec la richesse de la nature.”⁴²

Many of Hittorff’s justifications for the use of polychromy were repeated by Constant-Dufeux at the inaugural address for the tomb to Dumont d’Urville.⁴³ He argued, for instance, that the use of color amplified the character and expression of the monument (“augmenter le caractère et l’expression”); that it helped achieve greater harmony between the architect’s work and its natural surroundings (by tonal contrast, but also by “revêtant les édifices d’une robe de jeunesse,” thereby mimicking nature’s ephemerality); and that it would help protect and preserve the stone “contre les ravages du temps.”⁴⁴ What is clear is that the polychrome layer was absolutely essential to the tomb’s reading. In other projects such as the proposal for a Chamber of Deputies, Constant-Dufeux had shown an interest in the ability for the surface of architecture to function symbolically and, in architecture’s capacity to

⁴² “Polychromy offered the sole means of putting the work of art in harmony with the richness of nature.” Hittorff, *Restitution du temple d’Empédocle*, 13.

⁴³ According to the architect, the decision to paint the monument was initially sparked by the faulty application of an acidic solution intended to whiten the stone. The solution stained the stone in an unpleasant way, requiring urgent action on the architect’s part. The account may indeed be an accurate reflection of the circumstances surrounding the addition of polychromy to the monument, although, given Constant-Dufeux strong advocacy of polychromy, it might also have been a convenient ruse on the architect’s part.

⁴⁴ Perhaps fearing criticism for the polychromy, Constant-Dufeux framed these three justifications for the use of color on the monument around the issue of utility. The architect understood “l’utilité” not simply as satisfying material needs, but also as a moral and social imperative. He explained: “En posant ici ce principe de l’UTILITÉ comme le souverain principe de l’architecture, on ne nous accusera pas d’être en dehors des idées du jour: car c’est l’*utilité* qui gouverne le monde. . . . Mais hâtons-nous, messieurs, d’expliquer notre pensée, et de dire que, par l’*utilité*, nous n’entendons pas seulement la satisfaction des besoins matériels, mais aussi la satisfaction de besoins d’un ordre plus élevé, je veux dire ceux de l’intelligence; et enfin l’*utilité* prise dans le sens élevé que je donne à ce mot, et qui conduit à la grandeur morale et au beau.” “By raising here the principle of UTILITY as the sovereign principle of architecture, one would not accuse us of being out of touch today, for it is *utility* that governs the world. . . . But let us hastened to explain our thinking, Sirs, and to state that, by *utility*, we mean not only the satisfaction of material needs, but also the satisfaction of needs of a higher order, I mean those of intelligence. Finally, *utility* is taken in its the higher sense I impart to the word, and which leads to moral grandeur and beauty.” Constant-Dufeux, “Inauguration du monument érigé par la Société de géographie,” 220-221.

materialize temporal change and transformation directly onto the building's outward appearance. Here, he intended the polychromy of the tomb to Dumont d'Urville to act in a similar fashion. Paint, after all, was as surface-thin an element as one could add to a monument, and its physical insubstantiality contrasted dramatically with the effect that it produced. Like the accretions to the façade of the Chamber of Deputies, the polychrome layer on the tomb made clear its relative impermanence and suggested that it could be easily altered to adjust to changing ideals. Indeed, the tomb was repainted twice in the nineteenth century, and during the first repainting Constant-Dufeux made minor adjustments to the polychromy in response to criticisms by some of his contemporaries.⁴⁵

Many remarked on the peculiar singularity of the tomb, noting especially the uncanny quality of the explorer's painted bust, which, according to Mérimée, appeared so full and real that it resembled a wax figure.⁴⁶ This combination of figuration with the bright polychromy of its surface seemed to give the monument a quality of being between two worlds at once, the material world of modern Paris and the ancient world, when a freshly painted tomb might not have been uncommon. It is not surprising, therefore, that Mérimée compared it to Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres' anachronistic painting of Italian-French composer Luigi Chérubini, which situated (rather clumsily) the composer in modern garb inside an ancient

⁴⁵ Hittorff discussed the relative impermanence and variability of polychromy with respect to the more immobile architecture on which it was applied. It is probable that Constant-Dufeux understood polychromy in a similar way. Hittorff explained: "Pour expliquer la riche décoration, au moyen de couleurs, des temples supportés par des colonnes et des entablements doriques, je faisais observer qu'avec l'emploi presque général de cet ordre les couleurs offraient le moyen le plus facile de varier la richesse et l'aspect des sanctuaires, et d'arriver à des modifications très sensibles, selon le caractère des divinités." "In order to explain the rich polychrome decoration of temples with Doric columns and entablatures, I observed that with the normative use of this order, colors provided the simplest means of varying the richness and appearance of sanctuaries, and of performing sensible modifications according to the character of divinities (found therein)." Hittorff, *Restitution du temple d'Empédocle*, 16.

⁴⁶ Mérimée, "Tombeau de l'amiral Dumont d'Urville," 3.

Greek history painting.⁴⁷ [figure 2.6.7] In the case of Constant-Dufeux's tomb, of course, the situation was reversed, for here the tomb seemed torn from the saturated hues of the canvas and inserted into the grayish-brown scenery of an autumnal cemetery.⁴⁸

Among Hittorff's most important justifications for the use of polychromy in architecture was that it helped achieve, in conjunction with sculpture and architecture, the ancient goal at arriving at an "l'alliance des trois arts."⁴⁹ For Hittorff, the union of the three arts, and the impact produced by the simultaneous sensory bombardments ("l'impression simultanée doit frapper l'homme" Hittorff explained), produced an effect akin to the sublime.⁵⁰ Perhaps Constant-Dufeux thought of his own design for the tomb to Dumont d'Urville in this way, for its crowded and painted surfaces unquestionably produced the kind of visual and sensorial saturation described by Hittorff. In his subsequent teaching, Constant-

⁴⁷ Part of the strangeness of Ingres' painting, *Luigi Chérubini et la muse de la poésie lyrique* (1842), stems no doubt from the fact that Cherubini's painted head was cut out of a previous portrait by Ingres and sewn into the new painting. See: Gary Tinterow, "Maria Luigi Carlo Zanobio Salvatore Cherubini," in *Portraits by Ingres: Image of an Epoch*, edited by Gary Tinterow and Philip Conisbee (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 378-85.

⁴⁸ This, of course, was a Romantic pictorial trope used by some of Constant-Dufeux's other colleagues to great effect. Centered on a semi-nude figure in the midst of distributing laurel wreaths, the mural in Duban's hemicycle at the École des Beaux-Arts (painted by Paul Delaroche), for instance, conflated the pictorial space of painting with the real space of the hall. One finds similar elisions between real and painted space some years later in Labrousse's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève with the addition of a replica of Raphael's School of Athens and the tapestry at the entrance to the reading room. On Duban's hemicycle see: David van Zanten, "Félix Duban and the Building of the École des Beaux-Arts, 1832-1840," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 37, no. 3 (1978): 161-74; Stephen Bann, *Paul Delaroche: History Painted* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 200-27.

⁴⁹ Hittorff, *Restitution du temple d'Empédocle*, 13.

⁵⁰ Hittorff explained: "les plus parfaites productions architectoniques des anciens tiraient leurs puissant effet de l'alliance des trois arts, dont les ouvrages, pris isolément, peuvent s'élever jusqu'au sublime, mais dont l'impression simultanée doit frapper l'homme par tout ce que son génie peut produire de plus attrayant et de plus imposant à la fois." "The most perfect architectonic works of the ancients drew their powerful effects from the alliance of the three arts, the products of which, taken in isolation, can be elevated to the level of the sublime. But the simultaneous effect [of these three combined art forms] must have struck men from all that genius can produce that is at once most attractive and most imposing." Hittorff, *Restitution du temple d'Empédocle*, 13.

Dufeux stressed the pedagogical and political importance of reuniting the three arts; here, he sought to embody this ambition in architectonic form.

The Parabola as Constructive and Symbolic Form

In addition to the primitivist allusions evoked by the conical stone capping the tomb for Dumont d'Urville, Constant-Dufeux intended to conjure an entirely different sphere of reference, one that reflected the scientific and technological proficiency of the modern world. As explained earlier in this chapter, Constant-Dufeux justified the use of the Etruscan conical form by appealing to the constructive self-evidence that had initially brought it into being. "Quoi de plus stable que la pyramid ou le cône?" he asked in his introductory speech at the inauguration of the monument. While the particular shape of the funerary marker had differed according to time and place, the general principal of the bottom heavy form had remained largely unchanged as it lent itself well to monuments primarily concerned with durability. But for primitive civilizations, the phenomenon of piling was employed in an intuitive way, uninformed by the kind of predictive science that was in the midst of transforming architecture in the nineteenth century.

In deciding on the exact shape of the cone, Constant-Dufeux adopted the paraboloid, a form generated by the rotation of a parabola around its axis of symmetry. He described the thinking behind his decision: "Nous avons adopté pour le contour du monolithe la parabole; cette courbe si belle, que décrit le projectile lancé dans les airs, et qui nous a paru être celle que l'oeil suit avec le plus de plaisir."⁵¹ [figure 2.6.8] The choice was peculiar, for the parabola

⁵¹ "For the contour of the monolith, we have adopted the parabola, this beautiful curve captured by a projectile thrown in the air, and which seemed to us to provide the eye with the most pleasure." Constant-Dufeux, "Inauguration du monument érigé par la Société de géographie," 217.

was not the optimal form to capture the imagined forces bearing down on the monument from its own weight (in fact, the conical and pyramidal form were closer approximations to the correct geometry). Furthermore, Constant-Dufeux's explanation for its use cited the form's source as that of a projectile thrown in the air, an origin that seemingly would have had little relation to the constructive durability of the tomb. Finally, according to Huyot and Lenoir and others, the conical Etruscan tomb had prompted the development of the Roman arch. It could be assumed therefore that the solid form of the cone, and the profile it charted, also implied the negative space below an archway. But again, the parabola did not represent the scientifically optimal form for an arch. While paradox reigned in Constant-Dufeux's decision to employ the paraboloid, certain historical and biographical details shed some light on the architect's motivations.

As is well known, Galileo Galilei first discovered that the trajectory of projectiles followed a parabolic curve in the early seventeenth century, publishing his findings in 1638 in *Dialogues of the Two New Sciences*. The Italian scientist, however, famously dithered on whether the parabola also produced the optimal form for an arch resisting the weight of vertical forces. English polymath Robert Hooke discovered the definitive solution to this problem, revealing that a catenary, the shape assumed by a hanging chain with a curve very similar to that of the parabola, was the prime form for an arch of equal weight. Hooke would inform the architect Christopher Wren of his findings; the interior dome of St-Paul's in London was designed in this way. The exact mathematical nature of the catenary was determined some years later by the Swiss Bernoulli brothers.

The discoveries quickly affected building practices in France. Jacques-Gabriel Soufflot, and after his death, Jean-Baptiste Rondelet, designed structural elements of the Panthéon using catenary arches after having experimented with a number of forms including

paraboloids and extended elliptical arches.⁵² In *Traité théorique et pratique de l'art de bâtir*, Rondelet assessed the structural effectiveness of various conical forms and concluded that, although unpleasant in appearance and requiring concealment, the catenary was the form best suited for spanning large areas. But the parabolic shape and the trajectory of projectiles would continue to be important for architects despite the ascendancy of the catenary in structural design. Witness, for instance, François Blondel's little book *L'art de jeter des bombes*, published in 1685,⁵³ which provided a number of ideal trajectories for bombing adversaries, all of which were parabolic in form—or much later, Gottfried Semper's study *On Lead Slingshots Projectiles*.⁵⁴

The question over which of the two forms, the catenary and the parabolic, was most advantageous for modern structural design reemerged in the early nineteenth century with the development of suspension bridge technology. Claude-Louis Navier, who had employed the young Constant-Dufeux during his large public infrastructure projects in Paris in the mid-twenties, provided the definitive solution to the problem. Unlike stone arches, the arc formed by the cables or chains in suspension bridges were weighted at periodic junctures along their run, and the resultant form proved to be parabolic. Navier's results were widely published and they were the basis of the two-part article "Théorie des ponts extensibles" featured in the first volume of César Daly's *Revue générale*.⁵⁵

⁵² See: Robin Middleton and Marie-Nöelle Baudouin-Matuszek, *Jean Rondelet: The Architect as Technician* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

⁵³ I owe this observation to my friend and colleague Cesare Birignani. See: François Blondel, *L'art de jeter les bombes* (La Haye, A. Leers, 1685).

⁵⁴ Gottfried Semper, *Über die bleiernen Schleudergeschosse der Alten und über zweckmässige Gestaltung der Wurfkörper im Allgemeinen: Ein Verruch die dynamische Entstehung gewisser Formen in der Natur und in der Kunst nachzuweisen* (Frankfurt: Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1859).

⁵⁵ A. A. Boudsot, "Théorie des ponts suspendus," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 1 (1840): 20-27, 76-91.

It is tempting to see in Constant-Dufeux's choice to adopt the parabolic profile for the conical element of his tomb design, something of a personal imprint of his own life path. "Apposer son cachet" was the architect's catchphrase for the well recognized tendency for the idiosyncratic and autobiographical in his work.⁵⁶ Could the choice of employing a parabola have been a way acknowledging his own lineal trajectory as grandson of Soufflot's *maitre-appareilleur* and employee of Navier? More certain is that the choice of the parabola provided the opportunity to register the historical ascendancy of the predictive nature of the structural sciences, but it is imaginable that, for Constant-Dufeux, the biographical and the historical were intertwined in his decision to employ the form.

In much the same way as the naval ram affixed to the front of the tomb highlighted both ancient civilizational exchange and the utopian dream of global speed and communication, the conical profile simultaneously evoked forms from the dawn of civilization and those from its very apogee. Fusing of the archaic with the scientific was not unusual for Constant-Dufeux and his generation, immersed as they were in the Romantic and utopian counter-cultures of the epoch. Indeed, the utopian aspirations of many of the prophets of the nineteenth century (one could count Pierre-Simon Ballanche and Charles Fourier among them) were largely based on the presumption that science was another way of returning to an originary form of wisdom. Science itself was understood as akin to a historical return, revealing truths that were sensed and intuited by primitive civilizations, truths that could finally and triumphantly be revealed with exactitude in the modern world.

⁵⁶ In an obituary published in the *Moniteur des architectes*, Franck Carlowicz remembered Constant-Dufeux's "merveilleuse aptitude à s'incarner pour ainsi dire dans le sujet proposé. . . . C'est ce qu'il appelait, avec raison, "apposer son cachet." "Constant-Dufeux's marvelous ability to incarnate himself, so to speak, in the proposed subject. . . . It is what he justifiably termed, stamping one's seal." Carlowicz, "M. Constant-Dufeux," 252.

No work designed or built by Constant-Dufeux embodied as closely as did the tomb for Dumont d'Urville the architect's goal of achieving unity between the three central poles governing architecture, "le beau, le vrai, l'utile." Again, one can interpret the monument through Cousin's thought and writing. For Cousin, the artist's charge was to find the hidden geometries in nature and make them transparent, overt. "[Le] fond est un peu couvert et voilé dans la nature." Cousin explained, "L'art le dégage, et lui donne des formes plus transparentes."⁵⁷ The symbol for him was a particular kind of disclosure that allowed for correspondences between art, science and spirit to be made manifest. Constant-Dufeux's close friend César Daly reiterated much the same message in an article titled "La Science et l'industrie, sont-elles les ennemies de l'art?" Architecture needed to correspond "à l'utile, au beau et au vrai, qui sont aussi trois aspects de l'unité universelle," he reminded his readers.⁵⁸ Daly explained that architecture was in essence mathematical and the architect's imaginative license "s'exerce toujours et nécessairement en parfait accord avec les mathématiques."⁵⁹ The parabolic profile of Constant-Dufeux's tomb was chosen precisely because of its mathematical exactitude, and in order for that mathematical precision to be made manifest to the senses and experienced as beautiful and pleasing form. The goal here was to give palpable, experiential, sensational form to scientific truth, or conversely, to bring *le vrai* into the realm of beauty and sensation.

An often overlooked facet of the nineteenth-century architect's concern with scientific rigor is the extent to which it was folded back into a symbolic and idealist logic. The

⁵⁷ "The fundament is somewhat covered and veiled in nature. . . . Art clarifies it, and provides it with more transparent forms." Cousin, *Du vrai, du beau, et du bien*, 177

⁵⁸ César Daly. "La science et l'industrie, sont-elles les ennemies de l'art?" *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 6 (1845): 54.

⁵⁹ Daly. "La science et l'industrie, sont-elles les ennemies de l'art?" 54.

parabolic profile of the tomb to Dumont d'Urville was but one instance in which the rationalism and "brute facts" of mathematical form were instilled with historical, aesthetic and moral resonance. Constant-Dufeux's monument was celebrated throughout the nineteenth century as one of the early statements in stone confronting the neoclassical orthodoxy of the epoch. The parabolic arch would continue to be an evocative symbol of the nineteenth-century's reconciliation of art, science and spirit in the work of Constant-Dufeux's students. In the pages of the *Revue générale*, Daly published two student competition projects for a parish church in which parabolic arches replaced the pointed arches of the Gothic. Designed by François Dainville, the second of the two was particularly bold for the year of publication, 1847, as it was designed entirely of iron. [figure 2.6.9] In addition, Victor Ruprich-Robert designed a great many parabolic arched monuments while in Constant-Dufeux's *atelier*.⁶⁰ The reasoning behind Constant-Dufeux's choice of the parabolic curve undoubtedly underpinned the pervasiveness of such forms in the work of successive generations of architects and engineers. Parabolic arches were frequent in the work of fin-de-siècle architects and popular well into the twentieth century with such structures as the hangars d'Orly by French engineer Eugène Freyssinet, Easton and Robertson's New Royal Horticultural Hall, and of course, the flattened catenary (which approximated a

⁶⁰ Another of Constant-Dufeux's students, Eugène Lacroix, designed an innovative Protestant church (un "temple luthérien") that employed elliptical arches. The drawings were exhibited at the Salon in 1846 and are now lost. In his review of the student work at the Salon, Daly provided a glimpse into this fascinating project: "Quant à la construction nouvelle, c'est un projet de temple luthérien qui mériterait de notre part un long examen; car on y voit des essais de formes nouvelles dans une disposition de voûtes, donnant lieu à des arcs elliptiques, que l'artiste a hardiment accusés dans la décoration latérale extérieure. Cette particularité de formes nous intéresse d'autant plus, que l'ellipse, il y a longtemps que nous en sommes persuadé, est une courbe dont on a négligé, ou plutôt, dont on a trop ignoré les grandes ressources architectoniques; mais nous aurons l'occasion d'y revenir. M. Lacroix est un ancien élève de M. Constant Dufeux, et plusieurs fois déjà nous avons remarqué la même disposition dans les projets sortant de l'atelier de M. Constant Dufeux, et exposés aux concours à l'école des Beaux-Arts." César Daly, "Salon de 1856 [*sic*]," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 8 (1845): 374- 375.

parabola) of Eero Saarinen's Gateway Arch in Saint-Louis.⁶¹ And it is important to consider that there too they were used with symbolic purpose and as forms that best expressed the ideals of their time. In the early 1940s, Art Deco architect and streamlining advocate Walter Dorwin Teague voiced the modern attitude to the parabolic curve clearly. "We have the resources of line and color and form," Teague explained, "but we have no ornament." The parabolic curve with its "long backward sweep" would, he proclaimed, be the form that best conveyed the temperament of our age: "we are a primitive age, a dynamic people, and we respond only to the expressions of tensions, of vigor, or energy."⁶²

Hugo's Detractors

The attention accorded to the tomb in the nineteenth century was greatly disproportional to its size. Sédille described how Constant-Dufeux's tomb for Dumont D'Urville and the sepulcher for his old colleague Alcide Billaud, "firent sensation sur la jeune génération."⁶³ Its prominence was not derived from any one aspect of the tomb, however innovative some of these were, but rather because it evoked what had become something of an archetype for Constant-Dufeux's generation: the raised stone as the first legible pillar of civilization. As Albert Lenoir explained in a speech at Constant-Dufeux's funeral, the tomb for Dumont

⁶¹ Louis-Auguste Boileau employed parabolic arches in some of his experimental designs for cathedrals. Likewise, Gaudi employed parabolic arches in an unrealized project for a Grand Hotel in New York City.

⁶² Walter Dorwin Teague, "Plastics and Design," *The Architectural Forum* 72 (Feb. 1940), 93-94. Quoted in Jeffrey L. Meikle, *Twentieth century limited: industrial design in America, 1925-1939* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press: 2001), 183.

⁶³ Sédille, "Étude sur la renaissance," 414.

d'Urville "s'élève dans ce cimetière . . . comme un précieux type digne d'être conservé et transmis aux artistes."⁶⁴

The most prominent, albeit polemical, discussion of raised stones appeared in Victor Hugo's widely read chapter "This will Kill that" in *Notre-Dame de Paris*, published in 1831. These stones were described by Victor Hugo as the progenitors of the classical templar form, and as a complete architectonic form giving birth to the two arts of painting and sculpture. Hugo's conclusions, however, did not sit well with architects of his generation. Essentially, the novelist claimed that with the invention of the printing press in the mid-fifteenth century, books had supplanted buildings as the true communicating mediums of society. Implicit in Hugo's famously digressive chapter was the suggestion that architecture was but mute and inert material, and, left to its own means of expression, was no longer able to render socially relevant ideals. The author's account opened with a brief history of the development of architecture, which he claimed began with primitive raised stone as the first legible pillars of society. Etruscan tumuli, the same forms evoked by the uppermost portion of Constant-Dufeux's tomb for Dumont d'Urville, were particularly important for Hugo, who designated them as "des noms propres" among the universal lithic expressions of ancient peoples. Informed by his generation of archeologists, and most likely by Viel de Saint-Maux's own writings, Hugo proposed that these first stones "débordés de toutes parts" with hieroglyphic text and symbols. Having overcrowded primitive monuments, these symbols would eventually flower into buildings ("Le symbole avait besoin de s'épanouir dans l'édifice," Hugo explained).

⁶⁴ "rises in the cemetery . . . like a precious type worthy of conservation and of being transmitted to others." Albert Lenoir, Eugène Godeboeuf, and Léopold Cernesson, "Nécrologie. Discours de M. Albert Lenoir. Discours de M. Godeboeuf. Discours de M. L. Cernesson," *Bulletin Mensuel de la Société centrale des architectes* (1871): 60.

Returning to the very form that, in Hugo's account, had given rise to architecture, Constant-Dufeux's tomb design can be seen as proposing an alternate path for architecture's emergence, one that incorporated within its own genealogical make up, the seeds to bypass architecture's demise in the fifteenth century. Constant-Dufeux's thoughts on Hugo's challenging historical interpretation were never recorded; however, both Daly and Constant-Dufeux's protégé Ruprich-Robert, countered the novelist's assumptions in their own writing. Daly, for instance, opened an article on recent work at the cathedral in Cologne by disputing Hugo's prediction. He explained:

Ceci tuera cela, écrivait-il y a vingt-cinq ans l'auteur de *Notre-Dame de Paris*, rapportant une prophétie vieille de près de trois siècles, qui annonçait que l'imprimerie devait remplacer le plus grand de tous les arts, l'architecture. Il semble cependant que la prédiction de l'archidiacre Frolo s'est assez mal accomplie.⁶⁵

By the mid-century, Daly had developed a working theory of architecture's mode of symbolic representation that implicitly refuted Hugo's claim by locating meaning in a substratum of regulating lines and geometrical forms. In his 1847 article titled "Du symbolisme dans l'architecture," Daly argued that like the illiterate guildsmen of the middle ages, a period that had, in his opinion, developed a complete "grammaire du symbolisme," the nineteenth-century artist and architect needed to put the expressive potential of the line to use and employ it to convey specific and deliberate attitudes and emotions. Using pantomime as an analogy, Daly explained:

⁶⁵ "This will kill that, wrote the author of *Notre-Dame de Paris* twenty years ago, recalling a three century old prophecy announcing that the printing press would replace the greatest of all arts, architecture. It seems however that the archdeacon Frolo's prediction has not been fulfilled." César Daly, "Achèvement de la cathédrale de Cologne," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publique*, no. 14 (1856), 92.

N'y a-t-il pas une langue mimique, et n'est-elle pas plus universellement comprise que n'importe quelle langue parlée? . . . On pourrait dire que [la langue mimique et la langue des arts plastiques] ont la même syntaxe; car les combinaisons de lignes qui correspondent aux mouvements par lesquels le mime exprime le sentiment qui le domine, se retrouvent dans les arts plastiques comme symboliques de ce même sentiment.⁶⁶

Daly, like a number of philosophers, art critics and architects, believed that France was lacking in a clear, philosophical understanding of artistic expression. The sentiment, widespread in the mid-nineteenth century, prompted art critic Charles Blanc, in the eighteen sixties, to urge his fellow scholars to learn from the German field of aesthetics and develop a coherent theory and science of art for themselves. The French, as the argument went, had a superior artistic culture and yet no significant philosophical attention to its basic virtues.⁶⁷ Daly himself would argue, albeit quite late in his career, that the central question confronting architects was “esthétique.”⁶⁸ What was needed, as the philosopher Charles Lévêque would realize, was a “science du beau.”⁶⁹

Constant-Dufeux shared many of these concerns. As recounted in the fourth chapter in Part 2 of this dissertation, as Chaire de Perspective Constant-Dufeux campaigned for the

⁶⁶ “Is there not a mimetic language, and would it not be more universally understood than any spoken language? . . . We can say that [the mimetic language and the language of the plastic arts] have the same syntax, for the combination of lines that correspond to those movements by which the mime expresses the emotion that takes hold of him, can be found in the plastic arts as symbolic of this same emotion.” César Daly, “Du symbolisme dans l'architecture. L'Antiquité et le moyen age,” *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publique*, no. 7 (1847), 60.

⁶⁷ See the introduction to Charles Blanc, *Grammaire des arts du dessin, architecture, sculpture, peinture, jardins, gravure et pierres fines . . .*, 2e ed. (Paris: J. Renouart, 1867).

⁶⁸ César Daly, “Introduction,” *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 37 (1880): 1-6.

⁶⁹ See: Charles Lévêque, *La science du beau, étudiée dans ses principes, dans ses applications et dans son histoire* (Paris: A. Durand, 1861). See also, Estelle Thibault, *La Géométrie des émotions. Les esthétiques scientifiques de l'architecture en France, 1860-1950* (Wavre, Belgium: Mardaga, 2010).

creation of a chair in aesthetics at the *École des Beaux-Arts* in order to provide “l’enseignement de la philosophie générale de l’art.”⁷⁰ Moreover, he frequently described historical styles as reducible to a set of abstract regulating lines. In the lecture marking the beginning of the 1856 academic year, for instance, Constant-Dufeux reviewed the history of architecture from the Egyptians to the Renaissance, identifying “le trait distinctif” that characterized each epoch, and associating these abstract lines with each society’s religious outlook and worldview. The “invariable” and “fixed” attitude of Egyptian institutions, he explained, was translated into the horizontal line which distinguished the Egyptian templar form. Likewise, the creation of free institutions in ancient Greece led to the breaking of horizontal line, and introduced the triangular pediment into its religious architecture. Republican Rome elongated the proportions of the Greek templar form while keeping its overall elements intact. As a result of its ascendancy as “maîtresse du monde,” Imperial Rome introduced the curvilinear line, an unprecedented innovation that first materialized in the form of arches employed in the construction of sewer systems, and later developed into vaulting systems which dominated its bath houses and other cultural monuments.

A central turning point in the history of architecture occurred with the introduction of “un nouveau principe social” embodied by Christianity, which, according to Constant-Dufeux, simultaneously gave birth to three distinct branches. The most feeble of the three produced Latin architecture, which extended no further than the Italian peninsula. A secondary branch moved east, bringing forth the domed architecture of the Byzantine Empire. The third and most vigorous branch extended westward towards Germany, France and England and produced the Romanesque. This latter mode, following on the tendency

⁷⁰ The position would indeed be created with the reforms at the *École des Beaux-Arts* in 1863, and briefly occupied by Viollet-le-Duc. Daly, “Ecole des Beaux Arts de Paris. Ouverture des cours de M. Constant-Dufeux et de M. Lebas,” 178.

toward an ever-rising roofline established from Egypt to Rome, reached new heights in the Gothic, which projected an overall vertical character to its architecture. The final stage in the historical development of architecture was achieved in the Renaissance which abandoned the religious zealotry of its predecessors for the royal authority of its monarchs, and established its most significant architectural innovations with the construction of palaces. The Louvre, Constant-Dufeux maintained, was the most remarkable product and culmination of the long and gradual historical development, and reconciled the competing impulses by reuniting the straight line with the curved.

Constant-Dufeux's analysis of history, and the manner in which abstract regulating lines were seen to summarize complex civilizational ideals, was largely informed by the work of French historian and politician Hippolyte Fortoul, who exerted tremendous influence on mid-century architectural culture. As Barry Bergdoll has noted, Fortoul developed a friendship with a number of important architects (including Vaudoyer, Duc, Duban and Labrousse), and also counted Constant-Dufeux among his acquaintances.⁷¹ Constant-Dufeux's schematic historical survey repeated Fortoul's bifurcation of architecture into two systems, the rectilinear and the curvilinear.⁷² But one can equally distinguish the influence of Thierry and Guizot and the Saint-Simonians, as channelled by Vaudoyer and Lenoir in their writings on the history of French architecture.⁷³

Constant-Dufeux's choice to employ a curve as distinctive as the parabola for the tomb to Dumont d'Urville undoubtedly reflected a set of historical assumptions and aspired

⁷¹ Barry Bergdoll, *Léon Vaudoyer: Historicism in the Age of Industry*, 119.

⁷² See: Hippolyte Fortoul, "De l'architecture curviligne," in *De l'art en Allemagne* (Paris: Jules Labitte, 1842), 313-33.

⁷³ Léon Vaudoyer and Albert Lenoir, "Études d'architecture en France," *Magasin pittoresque* 7-20 (1839-1852).

to convey a precise and comprehensive sense of the tomb's overall meaning. As Richard Etlin has noted, the design of tombs underwent considerable change in the nineteenth century, developing from the abstract, geometric and often platonic forms that characterized tomb design at the genesis of the modern cemetery in the late eighteenth century into highly individualized and idiosyncratic monuments by the mid-nineteenth century.⁷⁴ César Daly was among the most outspoken advocates for this latter approach. "*Le tombeau*," Daly exclaimed, "*est l'oeuvre architecturale la plus individuelle qui existe.*"⁷⁵ In *Architecture funéraire contemporaine*, Daly summarized his earlier thinking on the need for architects to employ forceful and emblematic lines in order to impart architecture with a meaningful and emotion-triggering form. "Trouver l'expression, marquer le caractère," he advised his readers, "parler avec la pierre et le métal un langage intelligible et tout animé du frémissement de l'émotion humaine."⁷⁶ The architect, he counseled, ought to learn to "exprimer par des combinaisons de lignes et de couleurs—de lignes surtout—les deux grands caractères essentiels de la sensibilité humaine."⁷⁷

Constant-Dufeux's tomb to Dumont d'Urville predated Daly's arguments regarding the design of tombs and the rhetoric regarding the aesthetic potential of lines, but it would be seen retrospectively as among the first monuments to validate such a theory. Constant-Dufeux's way of employing what was an otherwise abstract and value-free mathematical line

⁷⁴ See: Etlin, "Landscapes of Eternity," 25-8.

⁷⁵ "The tomb is the most individualized architectural work that there is." César Daly, *Architecture funéraire contemporaine* (Paris: Ducher et Cie., 1871), 11.

⁷⁶ "Find the expression, mark the character, speak with stone and metal an intelligible language, one animated by the vibrations of human emotion." Daly, *Architecture funéraire contemporaine*, 2.

⁷⁷ "Express by the combination of lines and colors—mostly by lines—the two great essential qualities of human sensibility." Some years earlier, Ludovic Vitet, a student of the aesthetic philosopher Théodore Jouffroy, had embraced the notion that architecture produced meaning through its specific "combinaisons de lignes." Daly formulation undoubtedly pointed to Vitet's suggestion, as it did to Fortoul's ideas in "De l'architecture curviligne." Daly, *Architecture funéraire contemporaine*, 1.

and rendering it powerfully resonant impressed, for instance, the American architect Henry Van Brunt who read in the rise and fall of its curve “a symbolic expression of human life, death and immortality.”⁷⁸ Echoing Daly, Van Brunt concluded his essay “Greek Lines” by arguing that “like the gestures of pantomime,” the abstract lines found in projects such as Constant-Dufeux’s tomb constituted “an instinctive and universal language” that were “restoring to architecture its highest capacity of conveying thought in a monumental manner.”⁷⁹

If Constant-Dufeux’s tomb design contributed to the discussion of the expression of abstract lines in Daly and Van Brunt, it equally informed Daly’s own prophetic statements regarding the historical evolution of form. Daly’s writings were typically rife with concerns regarding the present and “transitional” state of architecture and its future direction.⁸⁰ His approach to architectural progress from the eighteen-forties to the late fifties was characterized by the contention that by allowing broad artistic liberty to reign, new combinations of influences and forms could provide an opening for the discipline’s future direction. This eclecticism would give way to Daly’s hesitant belief in the eighteen-sixties that he had divined a tentative future course. That future hinged, Daly believed, on the creation of a new symbolism based on the dominant use of a new regulating line that could surmount in effect and expression those of the great civilizations of the past.

⁷⁸ Henry Van Brunt, “Greek Lines,” in *Greek Lines and Other Architectural Essays*, 86.

⁷⁹ Van Brunt, “Greek Lines,” 87.

⁸⁰ Here, one of many similar passages bemoaning the transitional nature of the epoch, Daly explained: “Nous n'avons pas un style d'architecture fondé sur l'emploi dominant d'une forme géométrique particulière—ligne droite, arc de cercle, ogive, etc.,—devenue, en vertu d'une sympathie générale spontanée et d'une conviction raisonnée, le principe *constructif et esthétique* universellement adopté par les architectes et aimé des populations. Pourquoi?” Daly, *Architecture funéraire contemporaine*, 3.

Much like Constant-Dufeux, Daly charted the historical development of monumental form over the millennia from the triangular pediment of the Greeks, through the prominence of the circular arc in the works of the Romans, and onto ogival forms, first present, he maintained, in the Romanesque and the Byzantine, and finally in the Gothic.⁸¹ But, Daly wondered: “on se demandera donc quelle est la courbe qui occupe, dans la hiérarchie géométrique, la place immédiatement au-dessus du cercle.”⁸² For Daly, the solution was as rational as it was historically evident: “c'est l'ellipse,” he exclaimed, arguing that its form had been ascendant for over four hundred years in the works of architects and engineers. Daly explained: “Les formes elliptiques,” and their close cousins, the parabolic and the catenary, “joueront un rôle capital dans le futur style évolutif de notre art, destiné à symboliser par ses lignes savantes riches, douces et variées d'effet, une société instruite, industrielle et amie de la paix.”⁸³

The rise of parabolic arches in the more radical architectural circles of the time, all of which stemmed from Constant-Dufeux's innovative use of the form in the tomb for Dumont d'Urville, would be a contributing element in César Daly's historical analysis of form. For Daly, elliptical forms resolved the historically dialectical impasse that had dogged previous generations. They reunited both the constructive (“constructif”) and the aesthetic

⁸¹ Daly explained: “Le triangle surmontant le quadrilatère, qui caractérise la généralité des édifices grecs, a eu pour précurseur l'obélisque & peut-être aussi les édicules monolithes égyptiens; l'arc de cercle est enfermé par les Romains dans le système rectiligne des ordres grecs; l'ogive se voit dans les édifices romans & byzantins avant de devenir la base d'un style évolutif, & l'ellipse a jalonné des courbes de sa famille la série des constructions élevées depuis la décadence gothique.” César Daly, “De l'architecture de l'avenir. A propos de la renaissance Française,” *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 27 (1869): 67.

⁸² “We ought to wonder what is the curve which occupies, in the geometrical hierarchy, the place immediately following the circle.” Daly, “De l'architecture de l'avenir,” 67. For a detailed account of Daly's thinking regarding history and form, see: Van Zanten, “Form and Society,” 135-45.

⁸³ “Elliptical forms will play a capital role in the future evolutionary style of our art, destined to symbolize through rich and wise lines, soft and varied in effect, a knowledgeable society, industrious and friend of peace.” Daly, “De l'architecture de l'avenir.” 68.

(“esthétique”) principles of the age, while also synthesizing “tous les éléments géométriques des styles antérieurs, qui les contient en elle, où ils revivront transfigurés, élevés de caractère, plus utiles et plus beaux.”⁸⁴ Elliptical forms, Daly argued, best expressed the spirit of modernity and would come to to dominate the architecture of the future.

In the tomb for Dumont d’Urville, Constant-Dufeux too employed the parabola in such a way as to emphasize it as the culminating element. It is tempting to see in Constant-Dufeux’s use of the form a historical argument, as it rose from the two supporting sections below: the squat, square base superimposed on the front of the tomb with the pedimented outline of a Greek sarcophagus, and the circular mid-section that summarized, in word and image, the achievements of Dumont d’Urville. These three forms, the straight line, the circle and the parabola, corresponded to the forms representing the three fundamental historical geometries that Daly described in a chart that accompanied “De l’architecture de l’avenir.” [figure 2.6.10]

The parabolic line in Constant-Dufeux’s project was used as a powerful symbolic device that reverberated at a number of levels: mathematical, historical and aesthetic. In the minds of architects of the generation—and this was certainly the case for Daly’s own thinking—the possibility that abstract, regulating lines could be employed in such a way as to render architecture immediately communicative, that architecture could be made to convey, in a condensed and deliberate manner, a comprehensive and meaningful proposition, seemed the most effective challenge to Victor Hugo’s charge that architectural expression had succumbed to the more rapid dissemination of knowledge provided by the book. The instantaneity of the symbolic image, a principle that underpinned antiquarian insight on primitive cultures, and which had matured in the works of archeologist such as Friedrich

⁸⁴ Daly, “De l’architecture de l’avenir.” 70.

Creuzer and Joseph-Daniel Guigniaut, and finally emerged as a prominent notion in the Romantic philosophy of authors such as Pierre Leroux and Victor Cousin, here was reconfigured by architects as a challenge to concision and poignancy of the printed word. As Mérimée exclaimed upon scrutinizing Constant-Dufeux's tomb for the admiral Dumont d'Urville: "C'est de l'épigraphie pittoresque."⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Mérimée, "Tombeau de l'amiral Dumont d'Urville," 3.

Conclusion

The Final Decades

The final decades of Constant-Dufeux's life were marked by his close relationship with the government of the Second Empire, one that was likely forged through his first atelier student, Joseph-Eugène Lacroix. The son of a caretaker in Hortense Eugénie Cécile Bonaparte's entourage, Lacroix became a pupil while the architect was still at the Villa Médici in Rome, and before the atelier was officially opened.¹ [figures 3.1] During the Second Empire, Constant-Dufeux was awarded a number of prestigious commissions including the transformation of the Panthéon into the church of Sainte-Genève (he had already designed and built bronze side doors for the building), the restoration of the church of Saint-Laurent in Paris (between 1861-1866, he replaced the Jesuit style façade dating back to 1621 with a neo-Gothic one, in keeping with the rest of the building), and charged with the interior decoration of some of the once opulent rooms of the eighteenth-century Hôtel Garde-Meuble housing the Ministère de la Marine on the Place de la Concorde.² During

¹ Hortense Bonaparte, stepdaughter of Napoléon Bonaparte through the Emperor's first wife, Joséphine de Beauharnais, later became the wife of Napoléon Bonaparte's brother, Louis Bonaparte. While the circumstances leading up to Lacroix's association with Constant-Dufeux are unclear, it is possible that the two met during the architect's numerous visits to Louis Bonaparte's Etruscan archeological sites around Viterbo. The son of Louis and Hortense, Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, would eventually become Napoléon III, the second Emperor of France. History was therefore particularly fortuitous to Lacroix, his rank quickly rising with the emergence of the Second Empire for which he designed a number of very important building commissions. In 1850, soon after the Louis Napoléon's rise to power, Lacroix was appointed Architecte du Palais de l'Élysée, a post he held until 1870. In 1851, he was further awarded the restoration of the church of Saint-Leu, which housed the tombs of Napoléon Bonaparte's father. A number of other Imperial commissions followed. One might also note that Lacroix's sister, Hortense Lacroix (named after the Napoléon's stepdaughter), married the painter Sébastien Cornu while the family was stationed in Rome attending to the imperial family's needs. Cornu drew what is certainly the most captivating portrait of Constant-Dufeux. [figure 3.2]

² See: Bergdoll, "Le Panthéon/Sainte-Genève au XIXe siècle, 175-233.

the Second Empire, Constant-Dufeux was appointed *architecte en chef de la couronne* for the Château de Vincennes, made a member of the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils and a member of the jury for the competition for the new Paris Opera, and succeeded de Gisors as architecte of the Palais du Luxembourg.

The architect's position at the École des Beaux-Arts also rose meteorically in those years: in 1859, he was appointed vice-president of the institution, and, although it was largely a ceremonial position, he was made president the following year. This, no doubt, had an effect on Constant-Dufeux's behavior with his colleagues at the school. Normally seen as soft-spoken and introverted, the architect reportedly became ferocious in his defense of the atelier and in his challenges against his fellow colleagues at the École de Beaux-Arts. Lawrence Harvey, an English student enrolled at the École, and a close friend to Constant-Dufeux's student Léon Bonnenfant, described the architect's reputation at the school in the early eighteen sixties: "Toutes les barbes grises se rappellent encore avec quelle désinvolture Dufeux traitait l'École des Beaux-Arts."³ Harvey described the bullish architect's temperament: "Constant-Dufeux était un lion," Harvey explained, adding: "[l]e monde mange volontier du moutons, mais se souvient des lions."⁴

If the beginning of Constant-Dufeux's career in the mid-eighteen thirties was characterized by the École des Beaux-Arts' disapprobation of his works and teachings, by the

³ "All of the grey beards remember with what impertinence Constant-Dufeux treated the École des Beaux-Arts. . . . Constant-Dufeux was a lion, the world gladly eats sheep, but remembers its lions." Harvey, "Architecture polychrome," 414.

⁴ Harvey described Constant-Dufeux as a Protestant, a charge that had been leveled at his compatriots in the eighteen twenties due to their willingness to employ historical form in innovative ways. "Je ne sais à quelle religion appartenait Constant-Dufeux, mais en architecture c'était un Protestant," Harvey remarked, "c'est à dire, un homme qui cherche dans les traditions du passé que des raison de faire à sa guise sans se soumettre à l'autorité de qui que ce soit." "I do not know to what religion Constant-Dufeux belonged, but in architecture he was a Protestant, that is to say, a man who searches in the traditions of the past solely for reasons that suit him, without submitting to the authority of others." See: Harvey, "Architecture Polychrome," 414.

end of his life the architect faced a new kind of ostracism, one that was orchestrated by individuals that he had once perceived as allies. In this instance, his connections to the Second Empire, and his acquaintance with Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte (the Emperor sought out Constant-Dufeux's personal advice on some governmental projects), were not significant enough to protect him from having the chair of perspective withdrawn from him during the reforms to the École des Beaux-Arts in 1863 which were undertaken by the Comte de Nieuwerkerke in consultation with Viollet-le-Duc and Mérimée (who had their own close ties with the Empire).⁵ As a consolation, Constant-Dufeux was granted one of three official ateliers created by the reforms. But what originally seemed a reward, ended up seriously compromising that area of teaching he most cherished, his private atelier. "Ce fut un rude choque pour l'atelier de Constant-Dufeux," Daly recounted upon the architect's death on July 29, 1870, for the private atelier could not compete with the official atelier that the architect

⁵ The *Revue générale* published the two founding documents on the reforms at the École des Beaux-Arts: a report on the proposed changes produced by the Comte de Nieuwerkerke, and the *décret* itself, issued on November 13, 1863 by the Emperor and the Maréchal de France, Jean Baptiste Philibert Vaillant. See: Comte de Nieuwerkerke, Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, and Jean Baptiste Philibert Vaillant, "Réorganisation de l'École des Beaux-Arts," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 21 (1863): 290-99. Much has been written about the 1863 reforms affecting the École des Beaux-Arts. See: Albert Boime, "The Teaching Reform of 1863 and the Origins of Modernism in France," *Art Quarterly* n.s. i (1977): 1-39 and Alain Bonnet, *L'Enseignement des arts au XIXe siècle: La réforme de l'École des Beaux-Arts de 1863 à la fin du modèle académique* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2006).

had been awarded at the École.⁶ The situation compromised what little earnings Constant-Dufeux had been receiving from the private atelier, and, like his colleague Félix Duban, the architect died in utter poverty.⁷

Throughout Constant-Dufeux's career, the private atelier which he founded in the mid-eighteen thirties, and which he maintained until his death in 1870, remained the prime focus of his life and the chief vehicle for the dissemination of his ideas. Despite the eventual impoverishment of his private atelier, the fervor of his students both old and new was, in its time, unparalleled at the École des Beaux-Arts. As a testament to the poignancy of Constant-Dufeux's teachings, former pupils commemorated their departed mentor in yearly dinners that continued into the early twentieth century, singing the "chanson d'atelier" composed by Pierre-Honoré Féraud at these events.⁸ For each dinner, a former student was

⁶ César Daly, "Nécrologie: Constant-Dufeux," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 28 (1870-1871): 187-90. In his speech at the funeral of Constant-Dufeux, Eugène Godeboeuf described a similar set of circumstances that led to Constant-Dufeux's disenchantment with the École des Beaux-Arts: "Pour ceux qui l'ont suivi de près, il est un évènement qui paraît avoir fortement troublé l'existence de M. Constant-Dufeux comme il a touché bon nombre d'entre vous. Il fut, en effet, vivement affecté des modifications profondes qu'il vit se produire, il y a quelques années, dans l'ordre des études de l'École des Beaux-Arts. . . . C'est donc dès 1863 que Constant-Dufeux recherche l'isolement, qu'il évite les réunions et qu'il ne paraît qu'à de rares intervalles à la Société centrale des architectes. Sa santé s'altérait sérieusement." "For those who followed his career, there was one event that seemed to have profoundly troubled him, just as it touched a great number of you. He was, in effect, seriously affected by the important modifications that we witnessed taking place, a few years ago, in the curriculum of the École des Beaux-Arts. . . . It was in 1863, therefore, that Constant-Dufeux sought seclusion, that he avoided meetings and appeared only rarely at the Société Centrale des Architectes. His health suffered tremendously." See: Albert Lenoir, Antoine-Isidore-Eugène Godeboeuf, and Léopold Cernesson, "Nécrologie. Discours de M. Albert Lenoir. Discours de M. Godeboeuf. Discours de M. L. Cernesson," *Bulletin Mensuel de la Société centrale des architectes* (1871): 58-63.

⁷ Daly, "Nécrologie: Constant-Dufeux," 189.

⁸ Yearly dinners began in 1846 and were customarily held at the restaurant Lapérouse in Paris. The last mention of a yearly dinner that I was able to locate was in *La Construction moderne* in 1905. For the lyrics to Féraud's "chanson d'atelier," see: Charles Lucas, "Parole prononcées par M. Charles Lucas, architecte à l'inauguration du tombeau de J.B.P.H. Féraud," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 13 (1886): 27.

charged with the design of the menu, which incorporated elements from the *maitre d'atelier's* work and prominently displayed his *devise trinitaire*: “le beau, le vrai, l'utile.” [figures 3.3 to 3.5]

However influential were Constant-Dufeux's teachings, it is not clear that the atelier ever engendered a systematic school of thought or gave rise, in the works of most of its former students, to a distinct set of architectonic forms. The reasons for this are multiple. For one, Constant-Dufeux's approach stressed the kind of individual creativity and idiosyncratic talent that defied the stylistic strictures and doctrinal focus of some of the more entrenched architectural factions in the nineteenth century. It would have gone against the grain, therefore, for his students to produce a unified style or advocate an exclusive direction as did trainees of Viollet-le-Duc, for instance. Secondly, Constant-Dufeux's philosophical bent and the idealism that pervaded his approach to architecture were difficult to reconcile with the prosaic exigencies of the discipline. Finally, many of the definable themes that typify Constant-Dufeux's approach were shared in part by his allies and collaborators. This is not to say that Constant-Dufeux's work was derivative, but rather that there was a relative vagueness as to the source and development of certain ideas, many of which the architect clearly shared with such friends as César Daly, Henri Labrouste, and Félix Duban.

However, one finds in the artistic focus of many of the nearly one hundred students that passed through the private and official ateliers, certain tendencies that suggest the continuity of Constant-Dufeux's influence on succeeding generations. One clear path pursued by students followed on the radical inclusiveness of Constant-Dufeux's historical views. Former student Charles Chipiez, for example, published important books on the ancient architecture of Asia Minor, Persia and the Middle East, while Christophe Edouard Mauss, who entered the atelier in 1850, was implicated in important archeological study and restoration work in the Levant, including in Palestine where he unearthed the Pool of

Bethesda and rebuilt the dome of the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Many more former students worked at the edges of France's Imperial sphere: Féraud, Jean-Eugène Fromageau and Jean-Théodore Joulet in Algeria, Jules Bourgoïn in Egypt, Joseph-Antoine Bouvard in Istanbul, Raimon-Rodrigue Arangoiti in Mexico, while many more centered their practice in French localities with distinct regional forms and traditions.

Victor Ruprich-Robert

But if there was one student that encapsulated so many of the teachings of Constant-Dufeux, it was the second entrant into the *atelier*, Victor Ruprich-Robert.⁹ Ruprich-Robert eventually replaced Constant-Dufeux at the helm of the private *atelier* (Julien Guadet was appointed to lead the official *atelier*),¹⁰ and, upon his teacher's death, was recognized by his former *atelier* colleagues as "le digne continuateur des doctrines et de l'enseignement de Constant-

⁹ Born in Paris on February 18, 1820, like Charles Percier, Constant-Dufeux and later, Charles Garnier, Ruprich-Robert came from humble origins. His father, Michel Ruprich, was an employee in the government post service and passed away while Ruprich-Robert was an adolescent. His mother, Françoise Adélaïde Duclos, was originally from a town near Calvados in Normandy and was employed as a housemaid in Paris in the service of the de Berghes and de Broglie family. According to Xavier Gille, a descendant of Ruprich-Robert, Adélaïde Duclos's family had forged a close connection to the de Broglie family, a noble family from her home town of Broglie, and became the housemaid of Victorine de Broglie and her husband le duc Alphonse de Berghes Saint-Vinoch upon the couple's move to the rue St-Dominique in the seventh arrondissement in Paris. Ruprich-Robert grew up alongside Eugène de Berghes, the son of the duchesse and duke de Berghes, and Eugène and other members of the de Broglie and de Berges clan would use their considerable influence repeatedly over the course of Ruprich-Robert's life to help the architect attain success. See: Xavier Gille, *Victor Ruprich-Robert, architecte (1820-1887)*, (self-published work, 2013), accessed May 30, 2014. <http://www.calameo.com/books/0020125393fe6d8c3bd42>, 5-7.

¹⁰ *Le Moniteur des architectes* announced the news on October 15, 1871. In the obituary of Constant-Dufeux published in the *Revue générale*, Daly indicated the address of the *atelier* as 5 rue Carnot. Very little is known about the workings of the private *atelier* under Ruprich-Robert. According to one of Ruprich-Robert's descendants, there were only three students registered in the *atelier*, Louis Caddau and two of Ruprich-Robert's sons (Gabriel and Edmond). Ruprich-Robert also replaced Constant-Dufeux as treasurer of the Société Centrale des Architectes. See: Gille, *Victor Ruprich-Robert, architecte (1820-1887)*, 72.

Dufeux.”¹¹ No doubt this was the case, for in the work of Ruprich-Robert developed two of the central considerations that most preoccupied his former *maître d’atelier*: a dedication to expanding the historical scope of architecture through archeological research, and the fascination for ornament as a form of symbolic communication and expression.

Ruprich-Robert entered the *atelier* in 1836 at the age of sixteen. In 1838, he was admitted to the *École des Beaux-Arts* and, in 1841, ascended to the *première classe* which permitted entry into a competition for the *Grand Prix*.¹² Probably due to the contentious reputation of the *atelier*, he was never granted the prestigious award.¹³ While studying at the *École des Beaux-Arts* (he concluded his studies sometime in 1846 or 1847), Ruprich-Robert exhibited great interest in French archeological study and restoration work, especially for sites connected to his maternal lineage in Normandy. Along with the drawings for the *concours d’émulations* produced at the *École*, and in addition to the many reproductions of his *maître d’atelier’s* drawings from Italy, Ruprich-Robert drew a number of significant French buildings which he visited and measured during these years. Many of these drawings were the product of his new collaboration with the Commission des Monument Historique in 1844. Some of these were submitted and exhibited at the yearly Salons.¹⁴ The majority of the buildings were

¹¹ The remark was made in a speech by Constant-Dufeux’s former students, Léopold Cernesson and published in: César Daly, “Monument funéraire élevé à l’honneur de Constant-Dufeux,” *Revue générale de l’architecture et des travaux publics*, no. 35 (1874), 18.

¹² The program for the *Grand Prix* competition in 1841 was for “Un palais destiné à l’ambassadeur de France auprès d’une grande puissance de l’Orient” to be based in Constantinople. Ruprich-Robert’s drawings are held at Médiathèque de l’Architecture et du Patrimoine in the Fond Ruprich-Robert.

¹³ Juste Lisch, “Notice sur la vie et les oeuvres de M. Ruprich-Robert,” *Architecture* 1 (June 10, 1888), 280.

¹⁴ Ruprich-Robert’s drawing of the existing state of the church des Templiers de Montsaunès, in Saint-Gaudens (Haute Garonne), was exhibited in the Salon of 1844. His drawings for the western face of the cathedral at Sées in the Orne region of Normandy were exhibited in the Salon of 1849. For details on the second project see: César Daly, “Salon de 1849,” *Revue générale de l’architecture et des travaux publics* 9 (1849): 216-20.

from Normandy, although a large share documented the southern, Italian and Moorish inflected architecture near the Pyrenees.¹⁵

Ruprich-Robert's interest in the architecture of Normandy was motivated by the desire to produce for French architectural history what the previous generation had attempted for the history of Roman architecture: a new account of its roots, both indigenous and the result of migration, and a more complex understanding of its grounded relationship to French landscape, culture and history. In this sense, Ruprich-Robert followed closely in the footsteps of his *maître d'atelier*, who frequently described this northern region of France as "l'Etrurie de la France."¹⁶ Similar to the previous generation's interest in Pelasgian and Etruscan civilizations, the Normans of the eleventh and twelfth centuries provided a glimpse into an *ur*-moment of France's architectural legacy leading to later developments in the Gothic and beyond. The Normans, Ruprich-Robert later claimed, channeled the heterogenous influences informing their culture, sources from the north (the Saxons), and

¹⁵ Ruprich-Robert began producing measured drawings of buildings in Normandy early on in his architectural education. His frequent trips to Normandy may have been a result of his close friendship with the de Broglie family who were based there, and lived, among other places, in the Chateau de Rânes, in Orne. But it was, perhaps, also a result of his familial connections to his mother's birthplace. Whatever the reason, Ruprich-Robert began documenting Normand architecture in 1838 with a drawing of the crypt of the church of St. Gervois in Rouen. Over the next ten years he produced dozens of measured drawings of buildings including the Abbaye aux Hommes (St. Étienne) in Caen (he would be charged with the restoration of this building 1870); the cathedral in Sées; churches in Argentan, Mortain, Alençon, Bretteville; and private houses in Verneuil. Ruprich-Robert also produced a number of drawings during his five-month stay in the southern France, including drawings of the Maison Carrée in Nimes, the Roman amphitheater in Arles, a Bernardine monastery in Bonnefond, and churches in St-Martory, St-Bertrand, St-Giron, St-Lizier, Toulouse, and Montsaunes. Ruprich-Robert travelled briefly in Northern Spain where he drew up buildings in Barcelona and in the nearby countryside. A number of the drawings from this time have been preserved at the Musée d'Orsay, part of the collection of drawings by Victor Ruprich-Robert bequeathed to the Musée d'Orsay in 1981 by the descendants of the architect. The collection also contains a list of drawings produced by Ruprich-Robert between 1838-1851.

¹⁶ "The Etruria of France." Victor Ruprich-Robert, *L'Architecture normande aux XIe et XIIIe siècles en Normandie et en Angleterre* (Paris: Librairie des imprimeries réunies, 1889), v.

also from the south and the Orient, into a unified culture that merged its political institutions with its religious ones.¹⁷

Ruprich-Robert's research into Norman architecture developed over many years, and matured with a series of important restorations in the region, from his first restoration, the Cathédrale de Bayeux (1849-1855), to his last, the Cathédrale de Reims (1879-1884).¹⁸ He also built a considerable number of neo-Romanesque churches in Normandy, the most impressive being the church of Saint-Jean-Baptiste in Flers (1858-1864) and the Chapelle de l'Immaculée Conception au Petit Séminaire in Sées (1854).¹⁹

Beyond his substantial archeological and restoration work,²⁰ Ruprich-Robert exhibited remarkable interest in ornament while studying at the École, a facet of Constant-

¹⁷ On Ruprich-Robert's archeological work related to Normandy, see: Simona Talenti, "The Scientific Studies of an architect-historian: *L'Architecture normande* by Victor Ruprich-Robert," in *Imag(in)ing architecture: iconography in nineteenth-century architectural historical publications*, eds. Zsuzsanna Böröcz and Luc Verpoest (Leuven: Acco, 2008), 93-110 and Aude de Rouffignac, "Victor et Gabriel Ruprich-Robert et l'évolution du goût pour les architectures régionales," (masters thesis, Sorbonne-Paris-IV, 1993).

¹⁸ Beyond work on the cathedrals at Bayeux and Reims, Ruprich-Robert was charged with the restoration of the l'Église de La Trinité ou Abbaye-aux-Dames in Caen (1854-1868), l'Église d'Autheuil in Orne (1863-1881), the château de Falaise (1864-1870), l'Église Saint-Étienne (Abbaye-aux-Hommes) in Caen (1867-1883), the maître-autel of the church of Val-de-Grâce in Paris (1868-1870), the tower of the château d'Oudon (1870-1886), the la salle des États du château d'Amboise (1873-1879), l'Église Saint-Martin in Argentan (1874), l'Église d'Ouistreham in Calvados (1876-1878). See Quillier de Saint-Phalle, Sophie (de), "Ruprich-Robert, Victor [biographie]," INHA, accessed May 30, 2014, <http://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/ruprich-robert-victor.html>

¹⁹ See: Henry Sirodot, "Église de Flers (Orne), par M. Ruprich-Robert," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 28 (1870-71): 117-29, pl. 31-40, and Victor Ruprich-Robert and César Daly, "Chapelle du petit séminaire de Sées (Orne)," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 20 (1862): 98-101, pl. 26-35.

²⁰ Ruprich-Robert kept busy during his studies at the École des Beaux-Arts. From 1843 until 1848, he was named *premier sous-inspecteur* for continuing work on Jules de Joly's renovation and addition to the Chambre des Députés in Paris. See: L. R., "Nécrologie de V. Ruprich-Robert," *Encyclopédie d'architecture et des arts qui s'y rattachent* (1887): 105-06.

Dufeux's teaching that also shaped the work of Jules Bourgoïn.²¹ Ruprich-Robert's drawing skills, and his attention to ornament and decor attracted the attention of Viollet-le-Duc, who hired the student as a teaching assistant (*suppléant*) for a course on the history and composition of ornament at the École Royale Gratuite du Dessin in 1843.²² The course had been taught unassisted by Viollet-le-Duc since 1834, but with increasing demands on the architect (and especially with the commission to restore the Cathédrale de Notre-Dame in Paris in 1845), he began to neglect his duties at the École de Dessin.²³ By 1850, Viollet-le-Duc formally resigned from the position, and on August 19, 1850, Ruprich-Robert was made professeur de composition d'ornement by order of the Ministère de l'Intérieur, Pierre Jules Baroche.²⁴

²¹ The drawings for the numerous *concours d'émulations* demonstrate Ruprich-Robert's proclivity for ornament and interior decor. The drawings are held at Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine in the Fond Ruprich-Robert. See also: Maryse Bideault, Estelle Thibault et Mercedes Volait, eds., *Jules Bourgoïn (1838-1908): Architecture, mathématiques, ornement* (Paris: Picard, 2014).

²² The École de Dessin changed names with the every régime. During the Second Republic it was designated the École Nationale et Spéciale de Dessin, under the Second Empire, the École Impériale de Dessin, and in 1877, the École Nationale des Arts Décoratifs). Although it is unclear what precipitated Ruprich-Robert's involvement with the École de Dessin, there were certainly many connections between the school and his *maître atelier*. For one, Constant-Dufeux had attended the school before pursuing studies in architecture. Secondly, the École de Dessin was in the midst of a large scale construction project designed by Constant-Dufeux. According to a letter from Ruprich-Robert to Jean-Jacques Latour dated November 13, 1842, Ruprich-Robert unofficially replaced the *inspecteur* on Constant-Dufeux's project for the École de Dessin. He may have met Jean-Hilaire Belloc and some of the faculty during his many visits to the job site. Finally, a letter from H. Potier to Ruprich-Robert dated January 21, 1843 suggested that Constant-Dufeux was himself responsible for his student's appointment. It reads in part: "J'oubliais, mon cher Victor, de vous dire que Mme votre mère m'avait certifié que M. Constant vous gardait pour votre arrivée une place à l'école de Dessin ; cette place ne vous prendrait pas grand temps à ce qu'il paraît ; il me semble qu'il ne faut pas laisser cela, c'est toujours bon en passant." The letters are now in the private collection of Victor Ruprich-Robert's descendant, Vincent Ruprich-Robert, Paris.

²³ The *procès verbaux* of the administrative council at the École de Dessin indicate that by the mid-eighteen forties Viollet-le-Duc had all but left the École. The archives of the École de Dessin are held at the Archives Nationales, now in Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, under the côte: AJ/53. See: "Conseil d'Administration. Procès Verbaux juillet 1824, mai 1842." A.N, 1824-1842. AJ/53/3 and "Comité d'Enseignement. Procès Verbaux du 4 janvier 1844 au 12 décembre 185," AJ/53/4.

²⁴ Letter from the ministère de l'intérieur, Pierre Jules Baroche, to the directeur de l'École Nationale, Spéciale de Dessin, Jean-Hilaire Belloc, dated August 19, 1850. Archives Nationales, AJ/53/105.

Viollet-le-Duc had joined the École de Dessin in 1834 during the first years of the directorship of Jean-Hilaire Belloc and in the midst of the director's implementation of important reforms. These curricular reforms and the new progressive tenor of the institution attracted the attention of multiple government officials and international dignitaries (including representatives from the British Government Schools of Design), who visited the school repeatedly over the next several decades. The reforms were seen to be pioneering well into the eighteen sixties. Reflecting on the school's curriculum just months before the reforms of 1863 were instituted at the École des Beaux-Arts, Viollet-le-Duc declared in the pages of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, "l'École impériale de dessin . . . est, quant à l'instruction de la jeunesse, d'un siècle en avance de l'École des beaux-arts."²⁵ No doubt Viollet-le-Duc was exhibiting a sense of satisfaction for his own important contributions to the school some decades earlier, but, judging from the success of many of its former students, the institution's reputation for innovation was certainly well deserved.

Viollet-le-Duc's course on the history and composition of ornament at the École de Dessin was created to counter the growing tendency towards the thoughtless imitation of past styles and the practice of producing ornamentation that was often inappropriately adapted to the final material and context. Viollet-le-Duc's scheme of coupling lessons on the history of ornament with practice-oriented instruction on the composition of ornament was

²⁵ Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, "L'Enseignement des arts, il y a quelque chose à faire," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 12 (1862): 399.

thus aimed at providing a proper knowledge-base from which to develop and criticize ornamental composition.²⁶

The lectures on the history of ornament were also significant for this was the first official pedagogical venue to include the history of the Gothic style in its curriculum. The broad scope and generous historical span of Viollet-le-Duc's lectures were certainly of the type to make many academically-trained architects shudder. According to the *procès verbaux* of the Comité d'Enseignement at the École, there were adverse reactions to some of Viollet-le-Duc's teaching content and methods. Despite the frictions, by the mid-eighteen forties, Viollet-le-Duc began prioritizing lessons on the Gothic, insisting that it be privileged over and above the forms of other periods given the growing number of restorations involving Gothic buildings, and based on its indigenous character as "l'art primitif national."²⁷ [figures 3.6 to 3.7]

Ruprich-Robert kept the essential structure of the course intact once he succeeded Viollet-le-Duc, although the changes he did introduce revealed the areas of disagreement with the neo-Gothic tendencies. First, and in keeping with Constant-Dufeux's inclusive

²⁶ Belloc recognized this aspect of the course. The introduction of history into the course, in Belloc's estimation, would provide students the tools to create ornament that more fully expressed the ethos of their epoch. Just months after the establishment of the course at the school, Belloc addressed its innovative character in a speech at the annual ceremony for the distribution of prizes in December 1834: "L'ornement, plus que les autres parties des arts, laisse à la postérité l'expression des moeurs d'une époque. Dans ce moment, il semble réduit à l'imitation des styles de tous les temps. . . . Pour obvier à ce grave inconvénient, un cours d'histoire de l'ornement, qui dans aucun temps, n'a été fait nulle part, vient d'être établi à l'École Royale. Le Professeur parle et dessine d'abondance. Il fait suivre à son auditoire la marche de l'aptitude humain dans l'ornement chez les grands peuple, depuis les temps primitifs jusqu'aujourd'hui." "More so than other artistic elements, ornament leaves to posterity the expression of the mores of an epoch. At this time, it seems reduced to the imitation of past styles. . . . To correct this grave problem, a course on the history of ornament has been instituted at the École Royale. Prior to its establishment, this type of course was seen nowhere. The professor lectures and draws abundantly. He leads his audience into the development of man's treatment of ornament in the great civilizations from primitive times until today." See: Archives Nationales, AJ/53/3, "Séance du 21 décembre 1834," n.p.

²⁷ Archives Nationales AJ/53/4, "Séance du 26 août 1849," n.p.

approach to history, the young architect returned to the course the historical balance that it had lately been deprived of. In the first part of the course, Ruprich-Robert covered the history of ornament beginning with the Egyptians, then the Greeks and Etruscans (these eras he designated as having reached the “apogée de l’art”), and followed by the Romans, the Byzantine, the Gothic, the Renaissance and the more recent neoclassicism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

More importantly, Ruprich-Robert introduced an entirely new component to the teaching which he titled “Elements de la botanique.” This part of the course was drawn in front of the audience using black charcoal and white chalk applied directly to large grey sheets of paper. Here, the architect instructed students on the significant botanical organs and their functions and introduced them to a myriad of species that were not traditionally employed in ornamental composition. Ruprich-Robert described the necessity of paying close attention to vegetal form in a note destined for his colleagues at the École de Dessin: “On développe le goût dans l’ornementation par l’étude de la nature, du regne végétal surtout.”²⁸ This aspect of Ruprich-Robert’s teachings, which followed on Belloc’s creation in 1832 of a sculpture course based on live plant form taught by George Jacquot, aimed at expanding the repertoire of ornamental motifs by employing new, or seldom used forms culled from nature.

Significantly, Ruprich-Robert focused his students’ attention on the flower, which he argued, was not sufficiently employed by ornamentalists. “Dans un cours de composition d’ornement,” he reminded his audience, “l’étude de la *fleur* doit donc être une des

²⁸ Ruprich-Robert, “Note sur les objets donnés à l’école Impériale de Dessin et faisant partie de l’enseignement de l’art de l’ornementation en Angleterre,” undated (c. 1856), Archives Nationales, AJ/53/105.

premières.”²⁹ Some years later, Art Nouveau architect Hector Guimard, who began his education at l'École de Dessin in 1882 (which by 1877, was renamed l'École Nationale des Arts Décoratifs), reflected on Ruprich-Robert's influence on fin-de-siècle design. As opposed to currents inspired by Viollet-le-Duc that had taken the stem as the starting point for ornamental motifs (here, he cited Victor Horta), Guimard remarked that those under the sway of Ruprich-Robert had produced a unique approach based “on the interpretation of the elements of the flower.”³⁰ The observation was indeed apt, for Ruprich-Robert's campaign for the use of the flower in ornamentation was an expression of sympathy towards idealism that was somewhat at odds with the neo-Gothic outlook.

Flore ornementale

In the mid-eighteen sixties, Ruprich-Robert transformed his teachings at the École de Dessin into a comprehensive volume on ornamental design titled *Flore ornementale*.³¹ Few works of ornamental theory commanded the interest and attention of architects and decorative artists more than this book. Published in an abridged edition in 1866 and then in its complete form in 1876, *Flore* conjoined two genres that traditionally had been seen as belonging to separate disciplinary spheres: the botanical atlas and the ornament pattern book. In the long explanatory text that opened the volume, Ruprich-Robert's expressed his intention to depart from the historicist tendencies of his period and to develop instead a new

²⁹ Victor Ruprich-Robert, “Cours de composition d'ornement à l'école impériale et spéciale de dessin.” *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 11 (1853): 388.

³⁰ Hector Guimard, “An Architect's Opinion of Art Nouveau,” *The Architectural Record* 12, no. 2 (1902): 127.

³¹ Victor Ruprich-Robert, *Flore ornementale: essai sur la composition de l'ornement, éléments tirés de la nature, et principes de leur application* (Paris: Dunod, 1876). An abridged edition of the 1866 publication of the *Flore* was translated into English. See: Victor Ruprich-Robert, *Ornamental Flora* (London: J. Weale, 1866).

comprehensive “grammar” of form based on an extensive range of natural plant species. In the plates to *Flore* one finds the celery stalk, the papaya plant, the absinthe flower, and the poppy seed, to name but a few of the five hundred species represented and transformed into ornamental compositions. [figures 3.8 to 3.13]

Ruprich-Robert sought to revive architecture by renewing its ornamental expression. The desire for a modern form of ornamental representation was widespread in the mid-nineteenth century, and many imagined, as Ruprich-Robert surely did, that botanical form provided the architect and ornamentalist the means of achieving this end. French author and critic Théophile Gautier, for instance, published an impassioned plea in the Romantic journal *L'Artiste* soon after the short-lived revolution of 1848 in which he argued that “Tout les anciens mythes sont à refaire. Les vieux emblèmes ne signifie plus rien. . . . Il faut créer de toutes pièces un vaste symbolisme qui réponde aux idées et aux besoin du temps.”³² Gautier appealed to artists and ornamentalists to collectively transform “la nudité des édifices de Paris,” and envelop them with resplendent garments made up of decorative murals and surface ornamentation.³³ To achieve this luxuriant vision of a polychrome city, Gautier advised artists to steer clear of accustomed iconography, and to delve instead into the forms of nature “inconnue jusqu’à présent . . . [par] Richardson, Gravelot César Ripa et les auteurs d’iconographie.”³⁴

César Daly also expressed the need to renovate architecture’s ornamental language. Like Gautier, Daly understood nature-form as a corollary to modern scientific culture and

³² “All of the myths need redoing. The old emblems are now empty of meaning. . . . We need to create a vast symbolism invented to answer the new needs and ideas of our time.” Théophile Gautier, “L’Art en 1848,” *l’Artiste* 1, série 5 (1848): 114

³³ “The nudity of our Parisian buildings.” Gautier, “L’Art en 1848,” 115.

³⁴ “unknown until now . . . to Richardson, Gravelot, César Ripa and iconographic artists.” Gautier, “L’Art en 1848,” 115.

suggested that future ornament be drawn from local flora.³⁵ But while these writers advanced the cause of a progressive architecture revived by its ornamental surface, and although they called for the creation of original motifs drawn from natural specimens, the task would be left to others to determine the outlines of this new, modern ornamentation. The ornamentalists that took heed of Gautier and Daly's call, and sought to ground ornament in the ever-expanding multitude of natural forms, were faced with an important question: how to reconcile new experimentation with vegetal form with ornament's historical role as a communicative element? The rigorous attention to new species, some with no traditional symbolic relevance, meant that architects had to search for a meaning of ornament beyond the historical import of its forms.

Ruprich-Robert was at the forefront of this new approach, and Daly considered him to be one of his closest allies in the struggle for a forward-looking architectural theory, recruiting him to write over two dozen pieces for the *Revue générale* and continually publishing his recent work and theories. Ruprich-Robert framed his ambitions explicitly as an attempt to develop a new symbolic repertory of form that could replace the traditional iconography rendered ineffective by the rise of industrial culture. He believed, however, that industrialism and the positivist mindset that it had engendered had produced two equally problematic currents in the arts: the mechanical reproduction of self-same elements (British inventor Thomas Jordon's carving machine was a particularly successful example of such a technology affecting the decorative arts) and Realism, as seen, for instance, in the paintings lining the walls of the Salon des Refusés in Paris. [figure 3.14] Photography "ne remplacera jamais, en définitive, selon nous, la peinture," Ruprich-Robert exclaimed in the introductory

³⁵ César Daly, "Introduction," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 14 (1856): 7-8.

text to the *Flore*. Challenging Victor Hugo's dire predictions in the novel *Notre-Dame de Paris*, he added: "pas plus que l'imprimerie, quoiqu'on l'ait dit, ne remplacera l'architecture."³⁶

The reaction to Positivism and to what Ruprich-Robert termed, the "vérite brutale" of modern Realism, set the architect apart from the widespread endorsement of industry's role in the manufacture of artistic products.³⁷ Here, he followed closely on Constant-Dufeux's footsteps, who had cautioned against the trend and argued for a more comprehensive understanding of utility (*l'utile*, as he termed it).³⁸ Like his mentor, Ruprich-Robert challenged both the strict idealism of neoclassicists, and the equally restrictive realism emerging in the arts. While Ruprich-Robert was intent on creating a new iconography of the natural world, informed, as it was, by recent theories in the natural sciences and a host of

³⁶ "[Photography] shall never replace painting, nor too shall the printing press, regardless what has been said of it, replace architecture." Ruprich-Robert, *Flore ornementale*, 123. Gautier and Daly also made reference to Hugo's polemical claim. Gautier agreed with Hugo and added the corollary that printing had also replaced the medieval illuminator's ornamented marginalia. This reinforced Gautier's larger point that ornament was in need of a dramatic renewal. For his part, Daly challenged Hugo's judgement, arguing not merely that Hugo's predictions had seemed "not to have come about," but that the situation was entirely the reverse. No doubt thinking of the effect of his own publication on the state of architecture in France, Daly proposed that the printing press had helped spawn a renewed interest in architecture and, as a result, it had helped save many of history's important monuments. See: Théophile Gautier, "l'Imitation de Jésus-Christ," *l'Artiste*, nouvelle série, t. 3 (1858): 139, and César Daly, "Achèvement de la cathédrale de Cologne," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 14 (1856): 92.

³⁷ Ruprich-Robert, *Flore ornementale*, 121.

³⁸ "ce qu'il y a de plus pénible . . . c'est de voir qu'il n'est pas question que du travail de l'industrie, que l'on ne cesse de glorifier pour complaire à ce que l'on appelle les masses, et que, parmi tous ces discoureurs, d'ailleurs honnêtes gens, il n'en est pas us seul qui ait dit un mot sur les arts et les artistes. Ils ne devraient pas oublier cependant que c'est à l'art, au travail des artistes, que les produits de notre industrie empruntent ce cachet de goût et d'élégance qui les fait rechercher par toutes les autres nations. Ils ne comprennent pas le vrai sens du mot utilité qu'ils prononcent si souvent; ils ne l'appliquent qu'aux choses matérielles et vulgaires." "What is most painful . . . is to observe that it is not simply a question of the work of industry, which we ceaselessly glorify in order to appeal to, what we call, the masses, and that, among all of these rhetoricians, trustworthy men no doubt, there is not one who has uttered a word about art and artists. They should not forget however that it is to art, to the work of artists, that industrial products borrow their cachet of taste and elegance and which makes them so desirable to other nations. They do not understand the true sense of the word utility which they utter so often and which they apply solely to material and vulgar things." Féraud, "Constant-Dufeux," 178.

other fields, he charted a middle ground that sought to recuperate nature by abstracting the environing world into motifs that disclosed nature's inner essence.

The theories of Victor Cousin were pivotal starting points for Ruprich-Robert, as they had been for Constant-Dufeux before him. For Cousin, the artist's role lay in his capacity to reconcile the real with the ideal by transforming nature's configurations into forms with symbolic resonance. "Dans la nature" Cousin explained, "[le] symbole est souvent obscure: l'art en l'éclaircissant atteint des effets que la nature ne produit pas toujours."³⁹ Cousin's philosophy was an implicit challenge to the neoclassical idealization of form, which encouraged artists to "generalize" from the real to the ideal, the latter eclipsing the former. Similarly, his approach opposed Realist practices that foregrounded direct imitation from nature. For the philosopher, the imminent and the transcendental, the real and the ideal were intimately connected through an immediate and instantaneous correspondence. Art, for him, was completely pervaded by the realm of ideas, as it was grounded by its basis in reality. The role of the artist, according to Cousin, lay in his capacity to produce symbols that triggered a state of instantaneous correspondance between these two realms.

Following on a path charted by Constant-Dufeux in the design of the tomb for Dumont d'Urville, Ruprich-Robert picked up on his mentor's manner of employing the contour line as a powerfully symbolic form through which to communicate specific ideas and to elicit forceful emotions. Beginning around the mid-century, the debate about architectural legibility that had been pivotal for the previous generation of architects in conflict with the orthodoxies of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, was recast as one involving the new science of

³⁹ "In nature this symbol is often ill-defined: art by bringing it clarity achieves results that nature does not always produce." Cousin, *Du vrai, du beau et du bien* (1854), 177.

aesthetics.⁴⁰ Aesthetic theorists scrutinized the most muted and non-pictorial artistic forms in order to distill and decipher their expressive and suggestive content. Due to its inherent abstraction, ornament understandably became a prime testing ground for the communicability of the pure line. Already by the mid-eighteen thirties, Cousin's student Théodore Jouffroy had a working theory of symbolic representation in which the expressive quality of the line was discussed as though it was an abstract sign of emotional content.⁴¹ But the key figure that elaborated on the signification of the pure line in France was the art critic Charles Blanc, who eventually held the Chair d'Esthétique at the Collège de France.⁴² "Au premier abord," Blanc remarked in "L'Esthétique des lignes," published in the *Revue des cours littéraires* of 1869, "rien ne semble plus abstrait qu'une simple ligne, ni plus insignifiant."⁴³ "Mais," he continued, "quand on y regarde de près, on s'aperçoit que ces abstractions ne sont pas étrangères à nos sentiments, qu'elle peuvent être expressives, que souvent même elle sont éloquentes."⁴⁴ Blanc's argument reversed the assumptions of the eighteenth-century theories of character by beginning with the expressive content of the abstract line and working that analysis back into specific art forms. His vision was an x-ray of sorts, perceiving a hidden matrix of lines and geometries behind multifarious appearances. Ornament was especially

⁴⁰ Levine, "The Romantic Idea of Architectural Legibility," 325-416. Estelle Thibault provides a fascinating account of the rise of the science of aesthetics in France. See: Thibault, *La géométrie des émotions: Les esthétiques scientifiques de l'architecture en France, 1880-1950*. See also: Needham, *Le développement de l'esthétique sociologique en France et en Angleterre au XIXe siècle*.

⁴¹ The theory was outlined in the posthumous publication in 1843. See: Théodore Jouffroy, *Cours d'esthétique, suivi de la thèse sur le sentiment du beau et de deux fragments inédits*, edited by Philibert Damiron (Paris: Hachette, 1843).

⁴² For a detailed account of Charles Blanc's theories on the expression of lines, see: Claire Barbillion, "L'Esthétique des lignes ou Charles Blanc lecteur d'Humbert de Superville," *Revue de l'art* 146 (2004): 35-42.

⁴³ "At first glance nothing seems more abstract than a simple line, nor more insignificant." Charles Blanc, "L'Esthétique des lignes," *Revue des cours littéraires de la France et de l'étranger* 39, 6ième année (1869): 610.

⁴⁴ "However, under scrutiny, we recognize that these abstractions are not alien to our emotions, and that they can be expressive, not to say eloquent." Blanc, "L'Esthétique des lignes," 610.

interesting to Blanc, who believed that the decorative patterns of Arab and Persian cultures were remarkable for their ability to transmit emotional and aesthetic ideas while remaining completely abstract and non-mimetic. It was, as he saw it, an “algèbre de nos idées of our ideas, . . . la pensée elle-même.”⁴⁵

Critical for Ruprich-Robert’s theory of ornament was the notion that forms could be expressive beyond their representational value. This interest led to a fascination with the work of Rodolphe Töpffer, a Swiss graphic artist whose ambitions of being a painter were forestalled by problems with his vision. Famous today as the creator of the comic strip, stringing cartoon images into story lines, Töpffer’s ideas on art were influential for an impressive list of artists and writers: Goethe, Theodore Vischer, Gautier, Alfred Jarry, Tolstoy and even the young Charles-Edouard Jeanneret (later Le Corbusier), who wished to write a doctoral thesis on him.⁴⁶ In his short book of 1845 titled *Essai de physiognomonie*, Töpffer claimed that the mind’s eye immediately conferred on a figure, a line or a sketch, “par le seul fait qu’elle a été tracée,” a sense and significance that would elicit instantaneous recognition from the viewer. Töpffer demonstrated his theory by drawing a series of quick and rough contour sketches of human faces and challenging the viewer to deny the presence of “une expression quelconque parfaitement déterminée” in the unwitting grimaces of the resulting forms.⁴⁷ [figure 3.15] In his book *Réflexions et menus propos d’un peintre Genèveois*, published posthumously in 1858, Töpffer elaborated on his earlier observations. Like Blanc, Töpffer challenged eighteenth-century theories of physiognomy and character by positing as a

⁴⁵ “an algebra of our ideas, . . . thought itself.” Blanc, “L’Esthétique des lignes,” 614.

⁴⁶ Stanislaus von Moos, “Voyage en Zigzag,” in *Le Corbusier before Le Corbusier: Applied Arts, Architecture, Painting, Photography, 1907-1922*, edited by Stanislaus von Moos and Arthur Ruëgg (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 26.

⁴⁷ “by the mere fact of being drawn, a clear and determined expression.” Rodolphe Töpffer, *Essai de physiognomonie* (Genève: Schmidt, 1845), 11.

starting point the semantic quality of abstract lines over and above their imitative value. According to Töpffer, lines resembled a written or spoken language in their notational relationship to the object of imitation. The inherent variance between graphic lines and corresponding objects of imitation that characterized Töpffer's theory of drawing has led at least one contemporary critic to portray him as a visual semiotician *avant la lettre*.⁴⁸

The theories advanced by Cousin, Blanc and Töpffer were important contributions to what Tzvetan Todorov has described as “the shift of attention from imitation to production” that occurred in the nineteenth century whereby works were no longer determined by their reference to the world.⁴⁹ The ideas advanced by these forerunners provided the groundwork for Ruprich-Robert to break from a classical theory of imitation that involved a gradual and “generalized” abstraction from the model, and to propose what can be best described as a theory based on expression. This latter approach rests on the *simultaneous* correspondence between the work and its referent. This is what was meant by Cousin when he explained that forms were “revelations” or a “symbols” of ideas.

In developing his compositions for *Flore*, Ruprich-Robert proceeded in much the same way as Cousin and Töpffer had proposed. Rather than using natural forms as though borrowing from a fund of historical meanings and received ideas, Ruprich-Robert explained that the artist would have to revisit nature with a fresh eye for lines and contours that evoked determined expressions. Like the undeniable grimaces in Töpffer's sketches, he encouraged artists to discover in individual plants “une expression, un langage qui leur appartient véritablement.”⁵⁰ In the footnotes of *Flore*, Ruprich-Robert urged the reader to consult a pair

⁴⁸ Philippe Junod, “Actualité de Rodolphe Toepffer: Un précurseur de la sémiotique visuelle?” *Études de lettre* 4 (1983): 75-84.

⁴⁹ Todorov, *Theories of the Symbol*, 286.

⁵⁰ “an expression, a language that belongs uniquely to them.” Ruprich-Robert, *Flore ornementale*, 3.

of curious little books: Charlotte de la Tour's *Le Langage des fleurs* and Pierre Zaccone's *Le Nouveau langage des fleurs*. These pocket guides provided the reader with short descriptions of flowers, matching each with its corresponding thought or emotional content. Along these same lines, Ruprich-Robert described the ancient Arabic practice of *Sélam* in which bouquets of flowers were composed in such a way as to express whole phrases and nuanced sets of emotions.

The passages from Töpffer's work that Ruprich-Robert chose to cite in *Flore* demonstrate that what interested the architect most in the Swiss cartoonist's writings was the idea that, if used effectively, the contour line could illicit in the viewer specific emotional states and ideas. Ruprich-Robert reshaped this belief with the catchphrase "le dessin est la pensée elle-même."⁵¹ Ruprich-Robert's attention to drawing followed a larger trend in the mid-nineteenth-century that called for its promotion in schools and saw its popularization across all walks of life. In a governmental report on the subject, Romantic critic Achille Hermant proposed that "dans un avenir très-rapproché, on sentira la nécessité d'apprendre à dessiner comme l'on a compris la nécessité d'apprendre à lire et à écrire." "Dessiner," Hermant continued, "c'est écrire dans toutes les langues, c'est écrire pour tous les yeux."⁵² Many artists, academics and critics maintained that France needed to provide universal training in drawing as it had done with writing after the 1789 Revolution. Töpffer had made similar observations decades earlier, even arguing that the immediacy, universality and "extrême concision" of drawing made it far more effective at communicating ideas than written text. For Ruprich-Robert, these new theories of drawing and the visual reception of form turned Hugo's

⁵¹ "drawing is thought itself." Ruprich-Robert, *Flore ornementale*, 103.

⁵² "in the near future, we shall sense the need to learn to draw as we have learned the need to read and write. . . . Drawing is writing in all languages, it is writing for the eyes." Cited by Ernest Lemaitre, "Rapport sur l'application des arts à l'industrie par M. le Comte de Laborde," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 15 (1857), 209.

argument for the primacy of writing on its head for they made a persuasive case that a properly ornamented building could speak far more poignantly than words.

Ruprich-Robert's ornamental work followed on another path charted by Constant-Dufeux in the way that he interpreted the origins of architecture along symbolic lines. Ruprich-Robert made this intention clear in a concluding plate to *Flore* titled "Monument to Agriculture." The illustration depicts the sacred buildings of an unknown agrarian civilization, whereupon every detail portrays the veneration of nature's fecund forces. [figure 3.16] One discerns, for instance, a distant temple whose entrance is marked by the statue of a bull, a figure seen by the baron d'Hancarville, Richard Payne Knight and other prominent late-eighteenth-century antiquarians as the paramount symbol of generation. The iconography of the temple was comprised of other fertility symbols including swarms of bees, sheaves of wheat, and budding cannabis stalks.

Antiquarian discourse was no doubt the source of Ruprich-Robert's ambition to search for new symbolic identity in ornament. Architecture and ornament were symbolic, for him, in that they *expressed* nature's forces, and not because they may (or may not) mimic some of its forms. Like Constant-Dufeux, whose conic tomb conveyed the fertility of nature by updating the appearance of Etruscan phallic monuments, Ruprich-Robert's reproductions of nature sought to activate the vitalist pulse coursing through the flesh of visible forms. In *Flore*, he detailed the animistic character of ancient and indigenous cultures and urged his readers to observe the striking resemblances in the plant kingdom to animal and human life. He cited the ability for plants to breathe, eat, sleep, compete, to be sick, and to have emotional responses. Appealing to the authority of several natural scientists, some well known, such as Carl Linnaeus and le Comte de Buffon, and others more esoteric, such as Arnold Boscowitz and Camille Leynadier (these latter two writers subscribed to the belief in

plant souls), Ruprich-Robert advanced the idea that plants had a certain level of self-consciousness and freedom and that these attributes pointed to their possession of “une *force animée*.”⁵³ [figure 3.17]

Ruprich-Robert’s interest in revealing nature’s animating forces and his attention to aesthetic theories produced ornamental compositions that often moved from surface tracery into three-dimensional, rounded depth. The design for a bas-relief decoration published in *Flore* and based on the exotic Andean *Calceolaria* plant demonstrates this approach well. [figure 3.18] Compositions such as this one transformed the great profusion of plant specimens illustrated in the first part of *Flore* by recombining and reshaping their parts. Ruprich-Robert reworked the specimens in two distinct ways: he abstracted the complex plant structure into spry lines and contours, which were often incised directly into the receiving medium, whether stone or wood; alternately, he inflated the flesh of specimen and produced exaggerated, corpulent forms that generated a panoply of grotesque and often erotic expressions. A plate assembling four variations (in four distinct materials) of a column capital illustrates this latter strategy clearly. [figure 3.19] In this, Ruprich-Robert’s ornamental approach shared much with the Néo-Grec decorative tendencies during the Second Empire, and the building surfaces of Haussmann’s Boulevards frequently incorporated similarly flattened ornament in conjunction with what Jacques de Caso has termed, “ornement à motif détaché.”⁵⁴

⁵³ Ruprich-Robert, *Flore ornementale*, 76. See Arnold Boscowitz, *L'Âme de la plante* (Paris: P. Ducrocq, 1867).

⁵⁴ De Caso, “Le décor en *motif détaché* dans l’ornement d’architecture et les arts décoratifs en France, 1840-1870),” 293-301.

A Tomb

Ruprich-Robert's approach to ornament found its most suggestive expression in the tomb that he completed in 1874 for Constant-Dufeux, his deceased mentor. [figures 3.20 to 3.22] Described as a modern menhir for its allusions to the ancient stones indigenous to the French landscape, the tomb seemed at home in the surrounding greenery of Montparnasse cemetery, which, to one observer speaking at the inauguration ceremonies, appeared almost like "[des] vieilles forêts druidiques" in its presence.⁵⁵

Ruprich-Robert's design employed an ancient Grecian contour that was abstract enough to find echoes in the funerary monuments of a diverse set of civilizations. On the back of the tomb, the architect reproduced Constant-Dufeux's nearby tomb for Dumont d'Urville in sculptural relief, as though to suggest the historical ubiquity of monolithic stones and, perhaps, to draw attention to the vitalist interpretation of such funerary forms.⁵⁶

The tomb's entire articulation spoke about the life it was intended to memorialize. Judging from comments at the event marking the tomb's inauguration, there was some debate surrounding the design. Many of its benefactors had urged the architect ensure that Constant-Dufeux's likeness figured into the monument. Ruprich-Robert approach, however, was in keeping with his former mentor's own beliefs on the subject. Here, Constant-Dufeux's life was rendered symbolically by employing a vigorous plant stalk enveloped by acanthus leaves and coiled tendrils, which climbed the entire height of the tomb. From its branches hung carvings of the works of the deceased architect. Emerging from an opening at the base of the tomb as though springing from the remains buried below, the vegetal growth curled around and onto the surface of the sarcophagus. It was divided into three central stems that

⁵⁵ Daly, "Monument funéraire élevé en l'honneur de Constant Dufeux," 17.

⁵⁶ Daly, "Monument funéraire élevé en l'honneur de Constant Dufeux," 16.

culminated at the top of the stele-shaped headstone with Constant-Dufieux's most famous decorative motif, the fleur de Ste-Geneviève, which he had designed for the bronze doors to the Pantheon in 1848. "La vie de Constant-Dufieux est ici représentée par une plante d'une végétation riche et luxuriante," Daly explained, "jetant de droite et de gauche de puissants rameaux qui portent de nombreuses fleurs et des fruits étranges et exquis."⁵⁷ He continued:

Le tronc de cette plante symbolique sort de la tombe à son pied, rampe le long du sarcophage et monte jusqu'au sommet de la stèle. Les feuilles sont celles de l'acanthus grecque, aimée du maître; les fleurs sont celle qu'on rencontre dans ses oeuvres et qui furent composées par lui; les fruits sont ses monuments eux-mêmes. Ici tout parle. C'est comme une voix sortant du sein de la mort pour raconter ce que fut l'existence et quels furent les travaux de celui que nous honorons aujourd'hui.⁵⁸

More so than other works, the tomb demonstrated the affinity of these two men's approach to architecture. At the center of the stele was sculpted a reproduction of the medal that Constant-Dufieux had designed for the Société Centrale des Architectes. Its tripartite maxim, *le beau, le vrai, l'utile* was echoed by the three parallel plant stems, and its message of unity in diversity was illustrated in the display of the rich panoply of works, which, the tomb seemed to announce, were the product of Constant-Dufieux's unified vision. The tomb thus rejected "la ressemblance physique" in favour of "une forme emblématique ou symbolique" and, in so doing, revealed exactly the share that Ruprich-Robert had acquired from his

⁵⁷ Daly, "Monument funéraire élevé en l'honneur de Constant Dufieux," 21.

⁵⁸ "The life of Constant-Dufieux is here represented by a plant of rich and luxurious vegetation, casting to the right and the left its powerful shoots which carry a number of strange and exquisite flowers and fruit. The trunk of the symbolic plant emerges from the tomb at its base; it crawls along the surface of the sarcophagus and rises up to the summit of the stele. The leaves are from the Greek acanthus plant, beloved by the master; the flowers are those that we encounter in his works and which were designed by him; the fruit are his monuments themselves. Here, everything speaks. It is as though a voice emerging from death in order to recount what was the life and what were the works of the man we are honoring today." Daly, "Monument funéraire élevé en l'honneur de Constant Dufieux," 21.

mentor.⁵⁹ As one of the speaker exclaimed: “l’ensemble atteste comment [Constant-Dufaux] enseignait.”⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Daly, “Monument funéraire élevé en l’honneur de Constant Dufaux,” 17.

⁶⁰ Daly, “Monument funéraire élevé en l’honneur de Constant Dufaux,” 19.

Biographical Sketch of Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux

- 1801 January 4. Simon-Claude Constant *dit* Constant-Dufeux born in Paris.
- 1814 Constant-Dufeux attends a preparatory school (most likely the Lycée Napoléon) until 1814. He studies mathematics in the hopes of entering the École Polytechnique. (Féraud)
- 1815-1819 Constant-Dufeux works for *le père* Delépine, an architect and friend of his grandfather Simon Dufeux. Constant-Dufeux is also said to have studied with Delépine at the École de dessin. (Féraud)
- 1817-1825 Constant-Dufeux enters the administration of the Ponts et Chaussées as *conducteur non embrigadé*, working on large water navigation projects in and around Paris.
- 1859 October 31. Enters the École des Beaux-Arts. Remain without a *maître-d'atelier* for nearly two years.
- 1821 Enters François Debret's atelier. Befriends Félix Duban and Albert Lenoir. Promoted to *première classe* on December 29.
- 1825-1830 Prolific moment in Constant-Dufeux's parallel career as a builder. Designs and builds "un magasin de thè" on the rue Vivienne, multiple private buildings in Paris and Neuilly, a private house in Doric ordonnance, and with a porte cochère on rue de la Victoire. He nicknamed this building "son petit péché. (Féraud)
- 1826 Publication of René-Édouard de Villiers' *Description du Canal Saint-Martin* with engravings drawn by Constant-Dufeux.

Premier inspecteur of M. Billaud on the passage and galerie Colbert. [figure 2.1.11 and 2.1.12]
- 1827 May 5. Admitted to compete for the *Grand Prix de Rome*.
- 1828 Constant-Dufeux works for Louis Visconti. According to Féraud, his mark is clearly recognizable in the design of the Fontaine de Gaillon. [figure 2.1.10]

Constant-Dufeux awarded second medal for the *Grand Prix* competition for the design of a public library. [figure 2.1.13]
- 1829 May 9. Constant-Dufeux awarded the *Grand Prix de Rome* for the design of a Lazaret pour une ville méridionale de France. [figures 2.1.14 to 2.1.18]
- 1830 Constant-Dufeux travels to Rome in January to begin his *Grand Prix* sojourn.

- 1834 Fifth-year *envoi* from Rome for “Une Chambre des députés pour la France.” [figures 2.2.3 to 2.2.7]
- 1836 Constant-Dufeux returns to Paris. He remained in Rome 2 years past “l’expiration du délai réglementaire.... ne pouvant s’arracher aux merveilles de l’Italie.” (Carlowicz)
- Constant-Dufeux founds his atelier at no. 4 rue des Brodeurs (today rue Vanneau) in the seventh arrondissement in Paris. He recruited his first student, Eugène Lacroix, while in Rome. His second student, Victor Ruprich-Robert, joins the atelier in 1836.
- 1838 Constant-Dufeux appointed *second inspecteur* on Émile Gilbert’s hospice d’aliénés in Charenton. Théodore Labrouste named *premier inspecteur*.
- Appointed as *inspecteur* for the festivities of the Fête de Juillet.
- Appointed as *auditeur* to the Conseils des Bâtiments Civils.
- 1840 Sent on a mission by the Ministre de l’Intérieur to complete the colonne de Boulogne and the Palais de justice in Tours. (Carlowicz)
- 1841-1866 Appointed as *architecte du gouvernement* for the École Royale Gratuite du Dessin. [figures 2.3.7 to 2.3.16]
- 1842 Completion of the façade of the École Royale Gratuite du Dessin. [figures 2.3.17 to 2.3.19]
- May 8. Train accident on the outskirts of the town of Meudon. Constant-Dufeux and his friend Pierre-Joseph Garrez emerge unscathed. The admiral Dumont d’Urville is killed in the crash.
- Constant-Dufeux designs a tomb for Jean-Baptiste Jollois and his family in the cimetière du Nord (today, the cimetière Montmartre). [figure 2.1.3]
- 1843 Inauguration of the Société Centrale des Architectes. Constant-Dufeux is co-founder of the Société and serves as its treasurer.
- 1844 April 30. Inauguration of the first rooms at the École Royale Gratuite du Dessin.
- November 1. Inauguration of the tomb of the admiral Dumont d’Urville in the cimetière du Sud (today, the cimetière Montparnasse). [figures 2.6.1, 2.6.5, 2.6.6]
- 1845 Constant-Dufeux designs the medal of the Société Centrale des Architectes. The medal is minted sometime between 1846 and 1849. [figures 2.4.1 to 2.4.3]
- 1845-1863 February 6. Appointed *Chaire de perspective* at the École des Beaux-Arts.
- 1847 December 11. Constant-Dufeux, along with César Daly, and Émile Gilbert, visit Henri Labrouste’s uncompleted library of Sainte-Geneviève.

- 1848 Inauguration of Constant-Dufeux's Tombeau de la famille Alc. Billaud in the cimetière du Nord (today, the cimetière Montmartre). [figures 2.3.36 to 2.3.39]
Salon, Médaille 2e classe for drawings of the church of Germigny-des-Près, in the Loiret.
Charged by the government to design a project for an Hôtel pour les Invalides Civiles.
Named *inspecteur* for work to maintain and repair the Louvre and the Tuileries.
August 25. Constant-Dufeux gets an honorable mention by the new government of the Second Republic for his involvement "comme capitaine en premier de la 7e compagnie du 2e bataillon de la 10e légion" during the June days. (Carlowicz)
- 1850 Constant-Dufeux named chief architect of the Panthéon.
Named *architecte des monuments historiques du Midi*. Involved in the restoration of the Temple d'Auguste et de Livie, in Vienne.
- 1851 Inauguration of the side doors to the Panthéon. [figures 2.3.35]
Constant-Dufeux's atelier has 29 students, as compared to Abel Blouet with 63, Henri Labrouste with 59, Louis-Hippolyte Lebas with 54.
- 1852 January 21. Constant-Dufeux named *Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur*.
Constant-Dufeux charged by the Ministre des Travaux Publics to study plans for an Hôtel pour les Invalides Civils dans l'ancien parc de Montrouge.
Constant-Dufeux residence is at no. 4 rue de l'Oratoire.
- 1853 March 2. Death of Constant-Dufeux's first wife, Marie de Tschudy.
Constant-Dufeux named *architecte en chef de la couronne* for the Château de Vincennes in Dourdan. He designs a number of villas on site between 1858-1859.
- 1854 Constant-Dufeux charged with the decoration of the grands appartements of the Ministère de la Marine on Place de la Concorde.
- 1855 Design of the sepulcher of René-Édouard de Villiers du Terrage in the cimetière Père Lachaise. [figure 2.1.1]
- 1858 Design of a Statue of Crillon le Brave in Vaucluse.
- 1859 July 23, 1859. Constant-Dufeux and Louise Rambert give birth to a daughter, Marie Louise Victorine Constant-Dufeux.
December 24. Marriage to Louise Rambert in Montmartre.

- Constant-Dufeux is elected vice president of the École des Beaux-Arts.
- 1860 Constant-Dufeux is elected president of the École des Beaux-Arts.
He is commissioned to design the statue of the amiral de Brueys, in Uzés.
December 24. Promoted to the rank of *Officier de la Légion d'honneur*.
- 1861 Constant-Dufeux lives at no. 1 rue de Seine.
Nominated to the jury responsible for selecting the Charles Garnier as architect of the new Paris opera. The jury is presided by M. le comte Walewski.
- 1861-1866 Constant-Dufeux restores and partially rebuilds the church of St-Laurent in Paris.
- 1862-1864 Constant-Dufeux joins the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils.
- 1863 Reforms at the École des Beaux-Arts. Constant-Dufeux charged with directing on of three “official” ateliers; the other two are run by Ch. J. Laisne and A. Paccard.
- 1865 Inauguration of the tombe of Horace Vernet in the cimetièrre du Nord (today, the cimetièrre Montmartre).
- 1866 Named “architecte du Sénat” in charge of the Palais de Luxembourg. Replaces de Gisors.
- 1867 Joins the Service des Monuments Historiques.
- 1868 Residential address noted as being at the École des Mines.
- 1871 July 29. Death of Constant-Dufeux. He is survived by his second wife, Louise Rambert (1827-1872), and daughter, Marie Louise Victorine Constant-Dufeux.
July 31. Funeral of Constant-Dufeux at his parish church of Saint-Sulpice.
October. Announced in *Le Moniteur des architectes*: Ruprich-Robert takes over Constant-Dufeux’s atelier. New atelier located at no. 5 rue Carnot.

précédée d'un perron que l'on franchit sous un auvent à double pente, en bois apparent, et dans lequel l'idée d'abri se trouve vigoureusement accusée.

La première pièce qui s'offre au visiteur (voy. le plan de rez-de-chaussée figuré dans le haut de la planche) est le porche F, éclairé par une large fenêtre cintrée et qui donne accès à la fois au hall ou vestibule E et à la salle d'attente D.

Ce hall occupe la hauteur de deux étages, comme on le voit sur la coupe figurée page 000, et renferme l'escalier avec rampe en bois et galerie avec balustrade au premier étage.

De là on accède au salon-billard, pourvu d'un bow-window communiquant avec la salle à manger par une large baie, de sorte que l'ensemble peut constituer, au besoin, une vaste salle de réception.

Attenant à la salle à manger est l'office G, avec une sortie spéciale sur le jardin. La cuisine est en sous-sol.

Le premier étage est réservé à l'habitation proprement dite.

F. M.

JURISPRUDENCE

DU BATIMENT

Travaux neufs. — Réfection nécessaire. — Responsabilité.

QUESTION. — L., commerçant, a chargé T., maçon, de conduire des eaux ménagères de la cour de son habitation à l'égout de la rue.

T. propose d'installer une conduite en fonte, sur l'observation de L., désirant un moyen moins coûteux, T. fait une conduite en poterie du pays suspendue à la voûte de la cave.

A peine achevé le tuyau perd son eau à peu près dans toute la longueur. T. a essayé un enduit en ciment autour des tuyaux. Il n'a servi à rien. Enfin on va remplacer la poterie par la fonte.

L. consent à payer la conduite en fonte, mais il se refuse à payer la conduite en poterie.

En a-t-il le droit ?

RÉPONSE. — Tout dépend des termes du contrat primitif et des certaines circonstances de détail.

Pourquoi la conduite en poterie n'a-t-elle pu durer ?

a). Est-ce parce que la situation des lieux, la position des tuyaux ne le comportait pas ?

T. a fait ce travail par ordre. Il n'est pas architecte, c'est un ouvrier. S'il n'a pas fait de fausses manœuvres, de mal-façons, il a fait son métier, en un mot, il n'est pas responsable.

b). Est-ce parce que la poterie employée est de mauvaise qualité ?

Dans ce cas, il reste à savoir si le propriétaire lui a désigné ou non les maté-

*Extrait d'une lettre insérée dans le cours universelle
le 27 Juin 1845.*

Mon cher ami

Depuis que je suis arrivé dans l'ancienne capitale des
anciens peuples d'été français par quelques ans. J'ai découvert
un grand nombre d'objets intéressants,

entre autres, une statuette en bois
sanguin fort bien conservée, et de la
plus haute antiquité. Elle est d'un
beau travail, qui indique une belle
époque de l'art. C'est ce que je
peux te dire sur ce petit chef-
-d'œuvre, n'en dis rien auprès de
l'impression que l'on éprouve en
le voyant. Quelle attitude !! quel
teint !!! J'en ai fait une copie
que je joins à cette lettre; elle t'en
donnera une faible idée.

Mon compagnon de
voyage prétend que cette
figurine représente le
Dieu de l'Architecture.
Son opinion s'appuie
sur ce qu'il tient en
croupe à la main gauche.
Mais je sais qu'il se trompe,
un signe sur la base indique des
flammeaux, ce qui pourrait faire croire
que c'est un Dieu du feu, je penserais
volontiers l'objet qu'il tient à la
main pour un pair de pinnettes, et
je croie mon opinion fondée. Tu t'en
autre se fac semble d'un morceau
d'inscription trouvée près de cette charmante
figurine.

Jusqu'à présent la réputation
française nous est toujours
parfaitement inconnue. Nous
n'avons pas, mon plan, que
trouver la signification de
l'ornement qui se trouve au
dessus du bras. Mon ami
prétend que c'est une main
d'arme. Je pense moi que
c'est un signe distinctif de
la Diomède.



PROTRAIT-CHARGE DE CONSTANT DUFEUX

PAR VIOLLET-LE-DUC, EN 1815

0.1 Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, letter dated June 27, 1845 with a caricature of S.-C. Constant-Dufeux; reproduced in *Semaine des constructeurs*, 2e série, 5e année, no. 32 (1891), 380.



0.2 S.-C. Constant-Dufeuix, sketch of the architect's personal coat of arms, undated (circa 1848-1850). [Archives Nationales, Cartes et Plans, 56/AJ/13, no. 408]



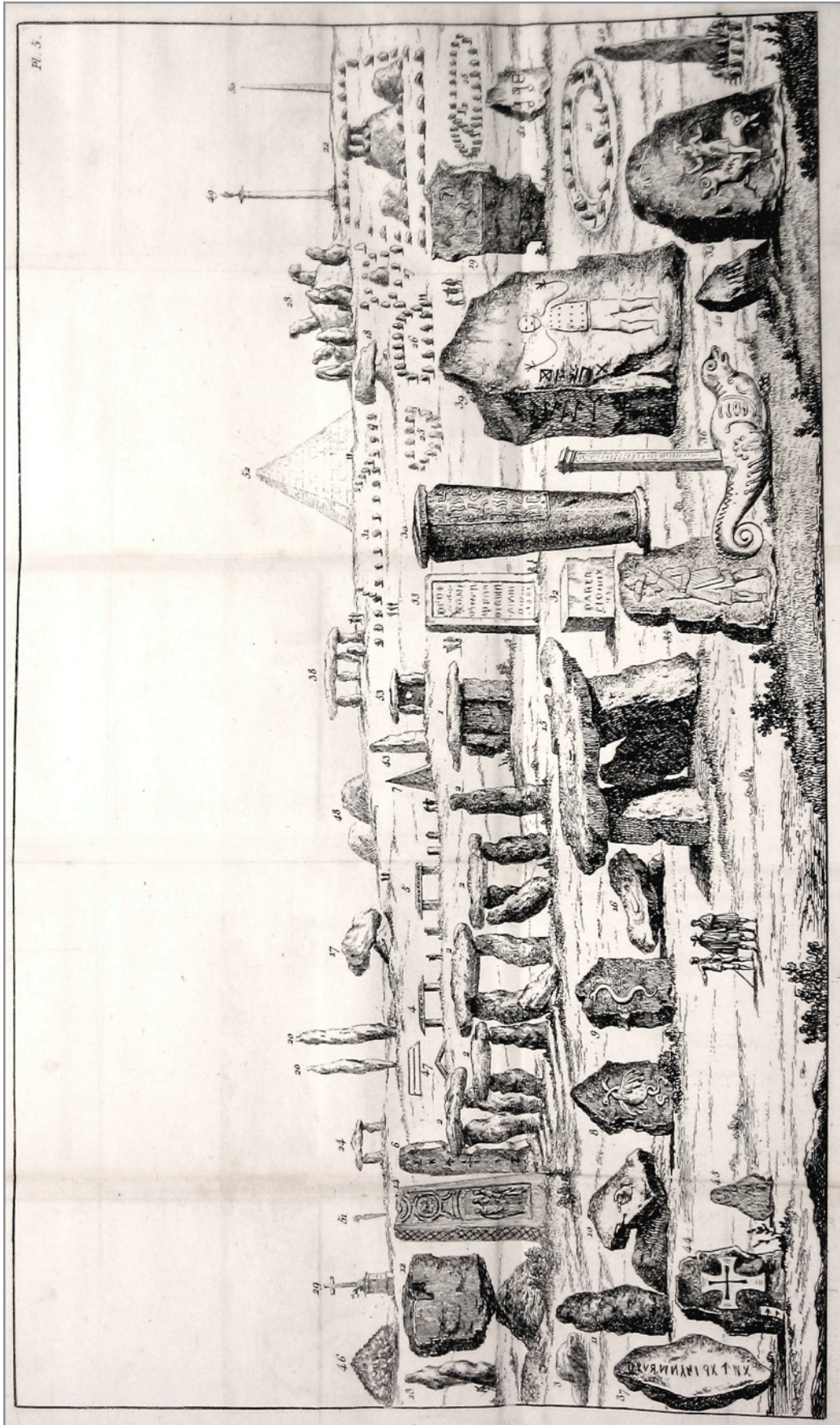
0.3 S.-C. Constant-Dufieux, sketch of the architect's personal coat of arms integrated below the round-arch voussoirs of the Panthéon, undated (circa 1848-1850). [Archives Nationales, Cartes et Plans, 56/AJ/13, no. 409]



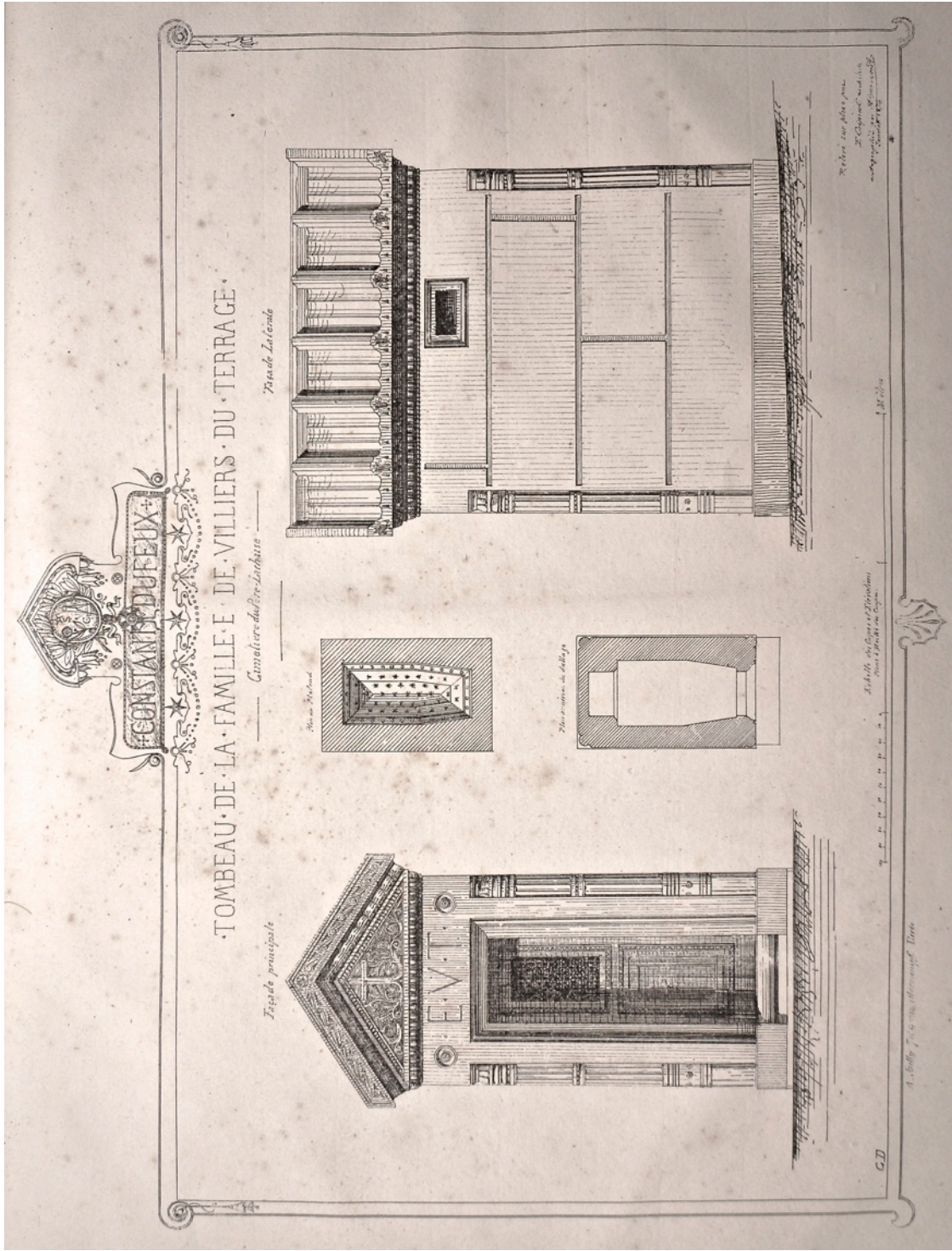
1.2.1 Jean Antoine Coussin, "Premiers débuts du génie en général"; from *Du génie de l'architecture*, 1822, pl. 1. [National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.] rchives Nationales, Cartes et Plans, 56/A/13, no. 409]



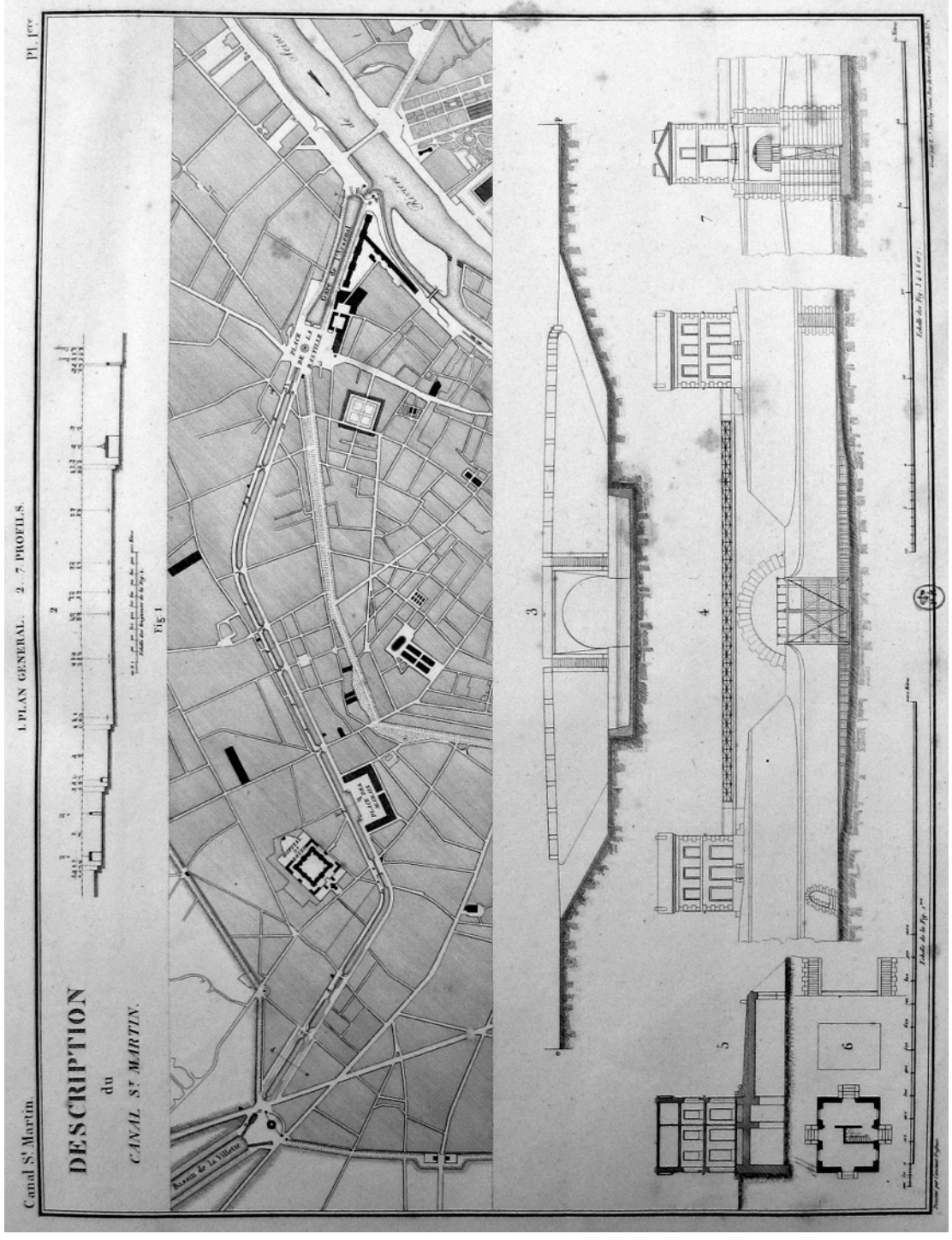
1.2.2 Jean Antoine Coussin, "Le génie de l'architecture à l'utilité morale"; from *Du génie de l'architecture*, 1822, pl. 3. [National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.]



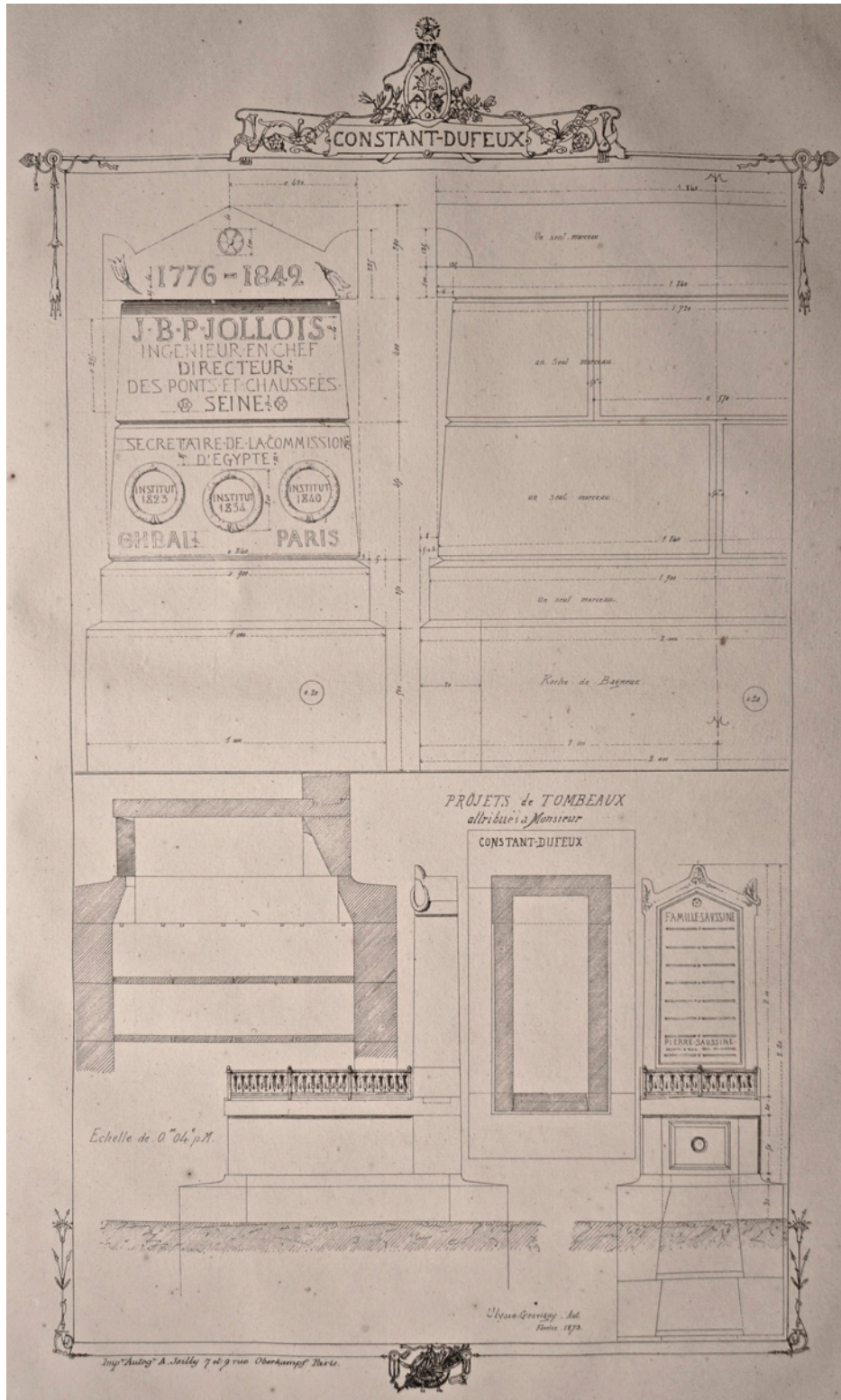
1.2.3 Jacques Cambry, Illustration from *Monuments Celtiques ou recherches sur le culte des pierres* 1805, pl. 5. [National Library of Congress]



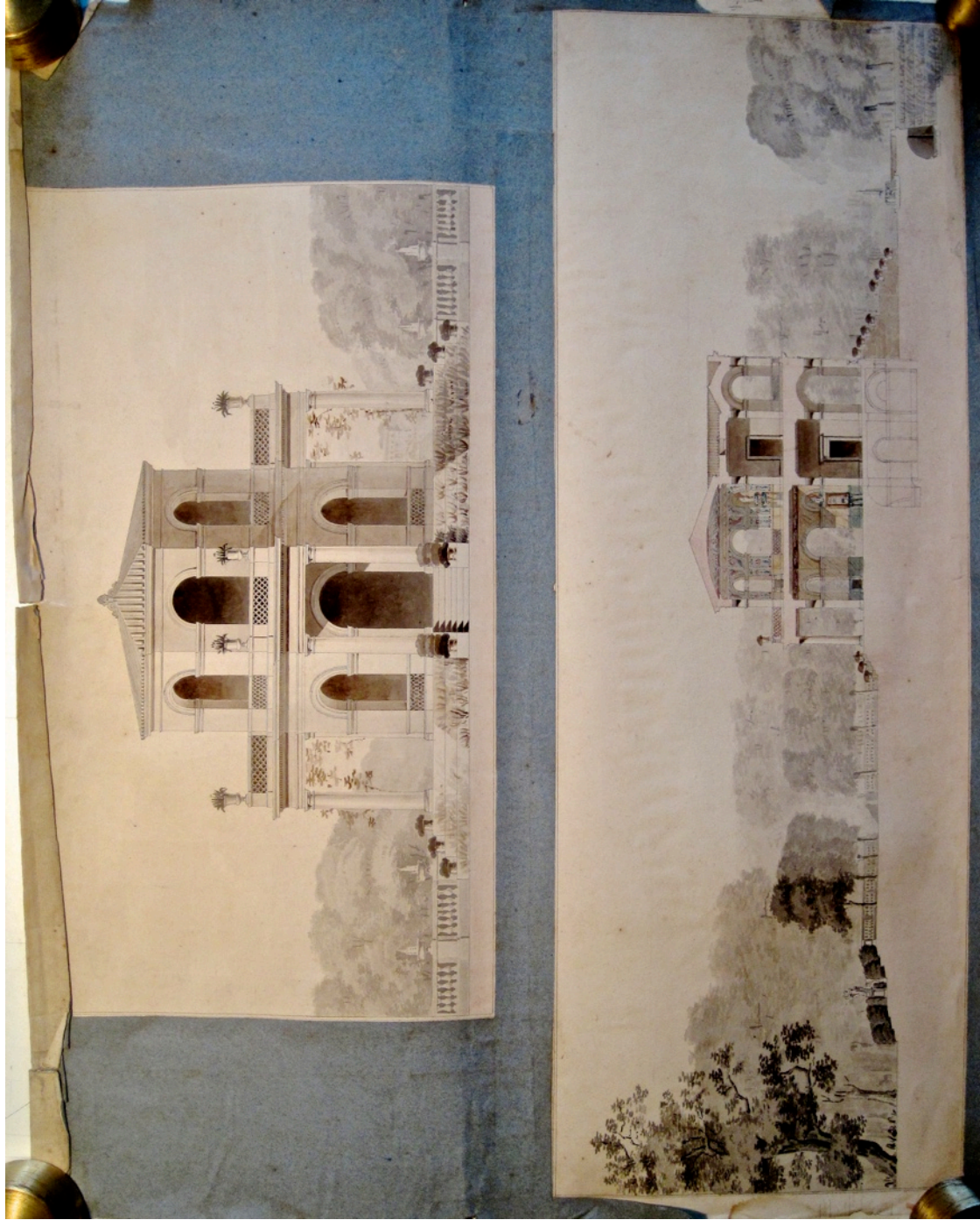
2.1.1 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, "Tombeau de la Famille de Villiers du Terrage," undated; from Constant-Dufeux, *Croquis, études, relevés, édifices projetés ou exécutés*, n.p. [Avery Library]



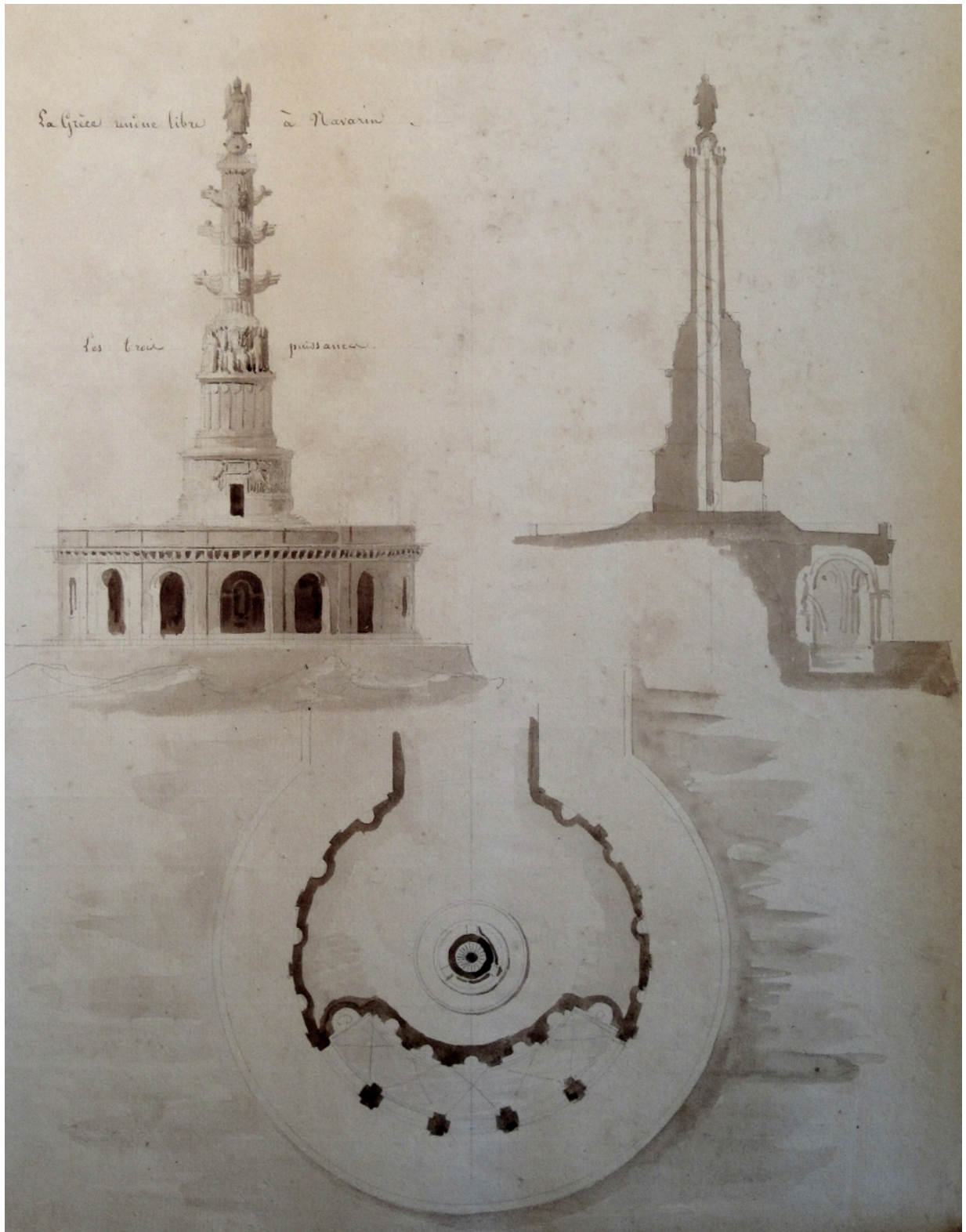
2.1.2 S.-C. Constant-Dufaux, Drawing of the Canal St. Martin, 1826; from Villiers, *Description du Canal Saint-Martin*, pl. 1. [Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Richelieu, Estampes et photographie]



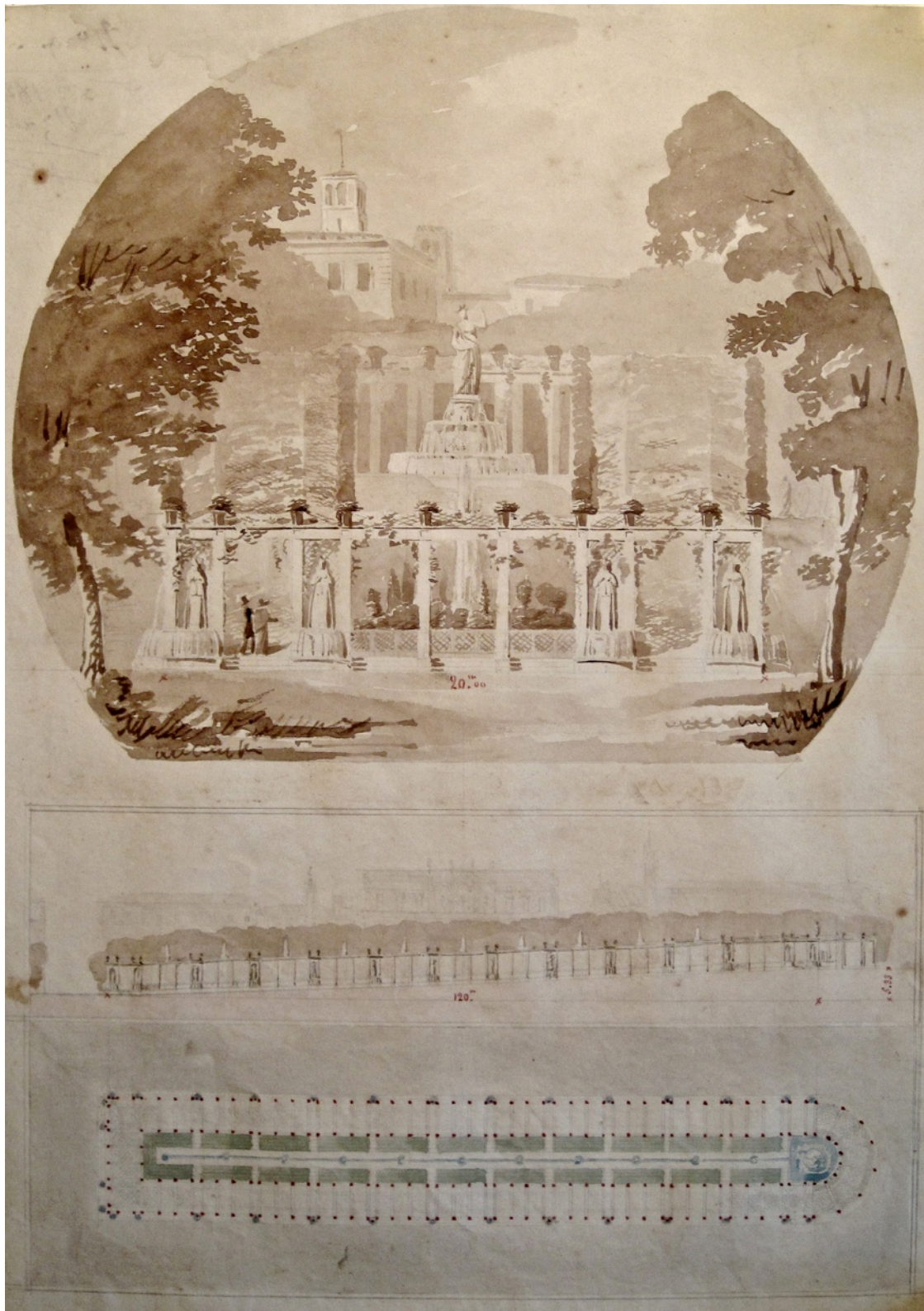
2.1.3 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, “Tombeau de J.B.P. Jollois,” c. 1842; from Constant-Dufeux, *Croquis, études, relevés, édifices projetés ou exécutés*, n.p. [Avery Library]



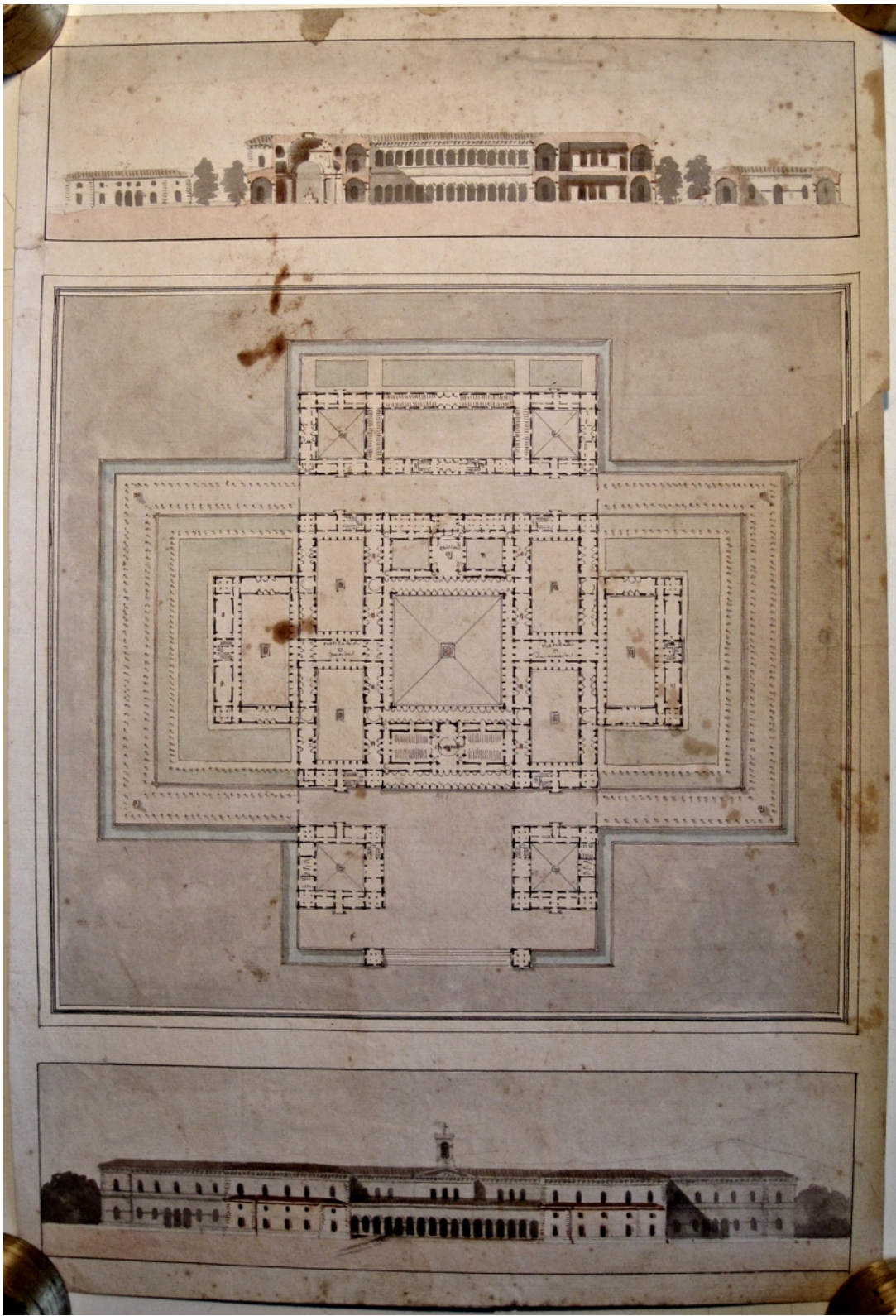
2.1.4 S.-C. Constant-DuFeux, Elevation and section of octagonal garden pavilion, concours d'émulation, 1822. [Musée d'Orsay, temporary holding]



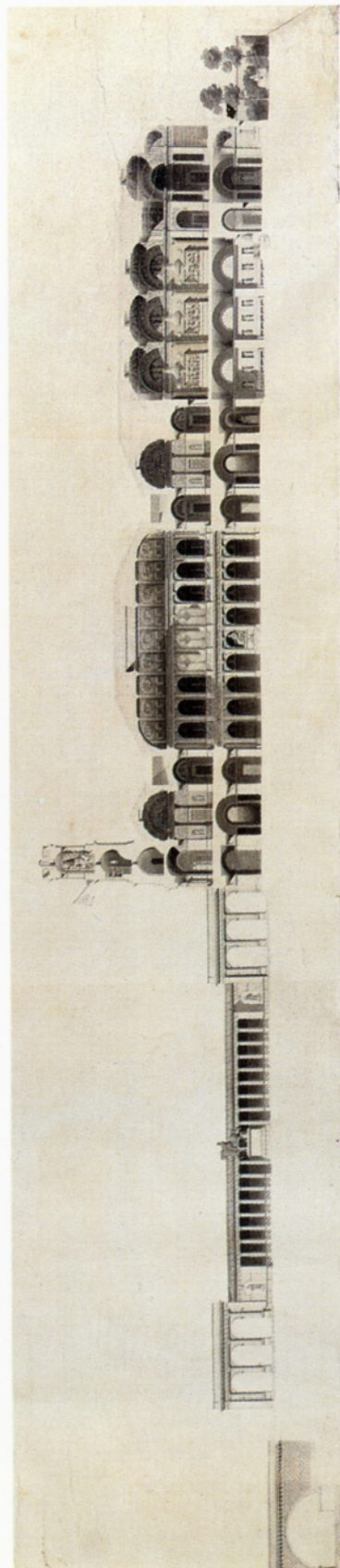
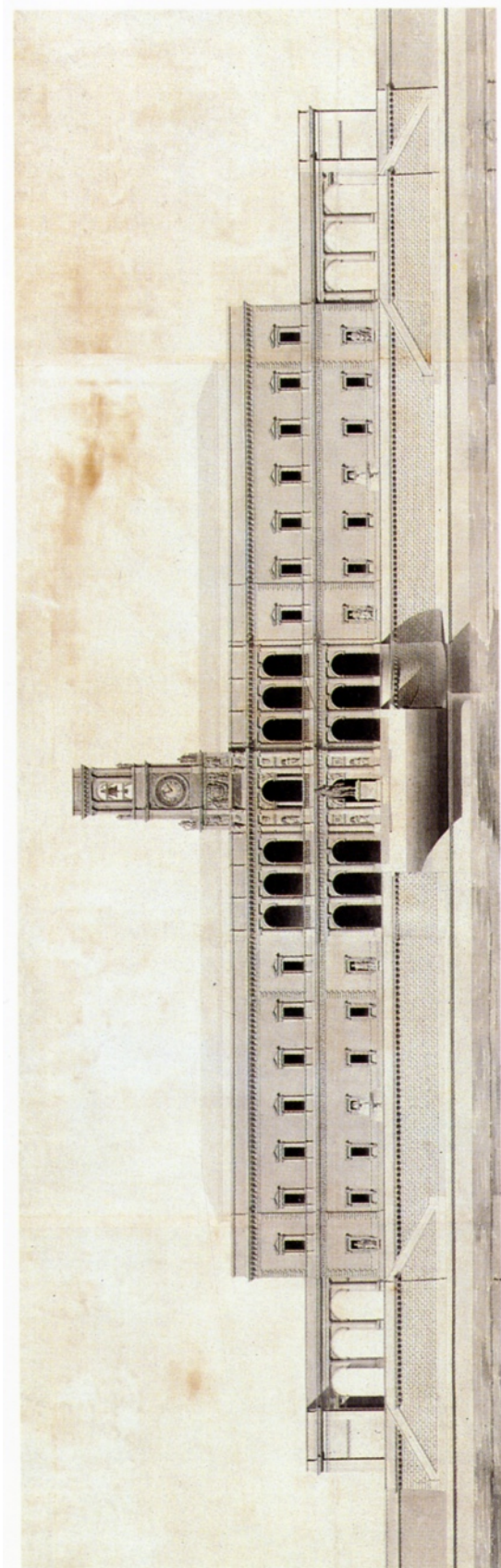
2.1.5 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Commemorative Column Celebrating Greek triumph at Navarino, concours d'émulation, 1828. [Musée d'Orsay, temporary holding]



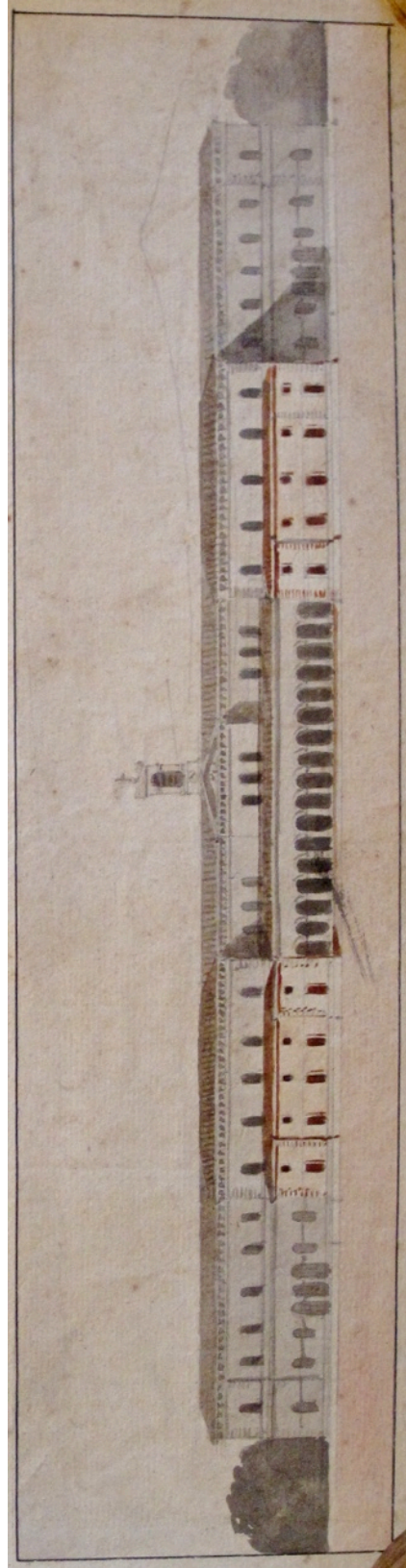
2.1.6 S.-C. Constant-DuFaux, Garden fountain, concours d'émulation, 1824.
[Musée d'Orsay, temporary holding]



2.1.7 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Garden fountain, concours d'émulation, 1824.
[Musée d'Orsay, temporary holding]



2.1.8 Louis Duc, "Un Hôtel de Ville pour Paris," concours annuel de *Grand Prix*, 1825; from Van Zanten, "Architectural Composition at the École des Beaux-Arts from Charles Percier to Charles Garnier," 40.



2.1.9 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Elevation, "Hôtel de Ville pour Paris, "concours annuel de *Grand Prix*, 1825. [Musée d'Orsay, temporary holding]



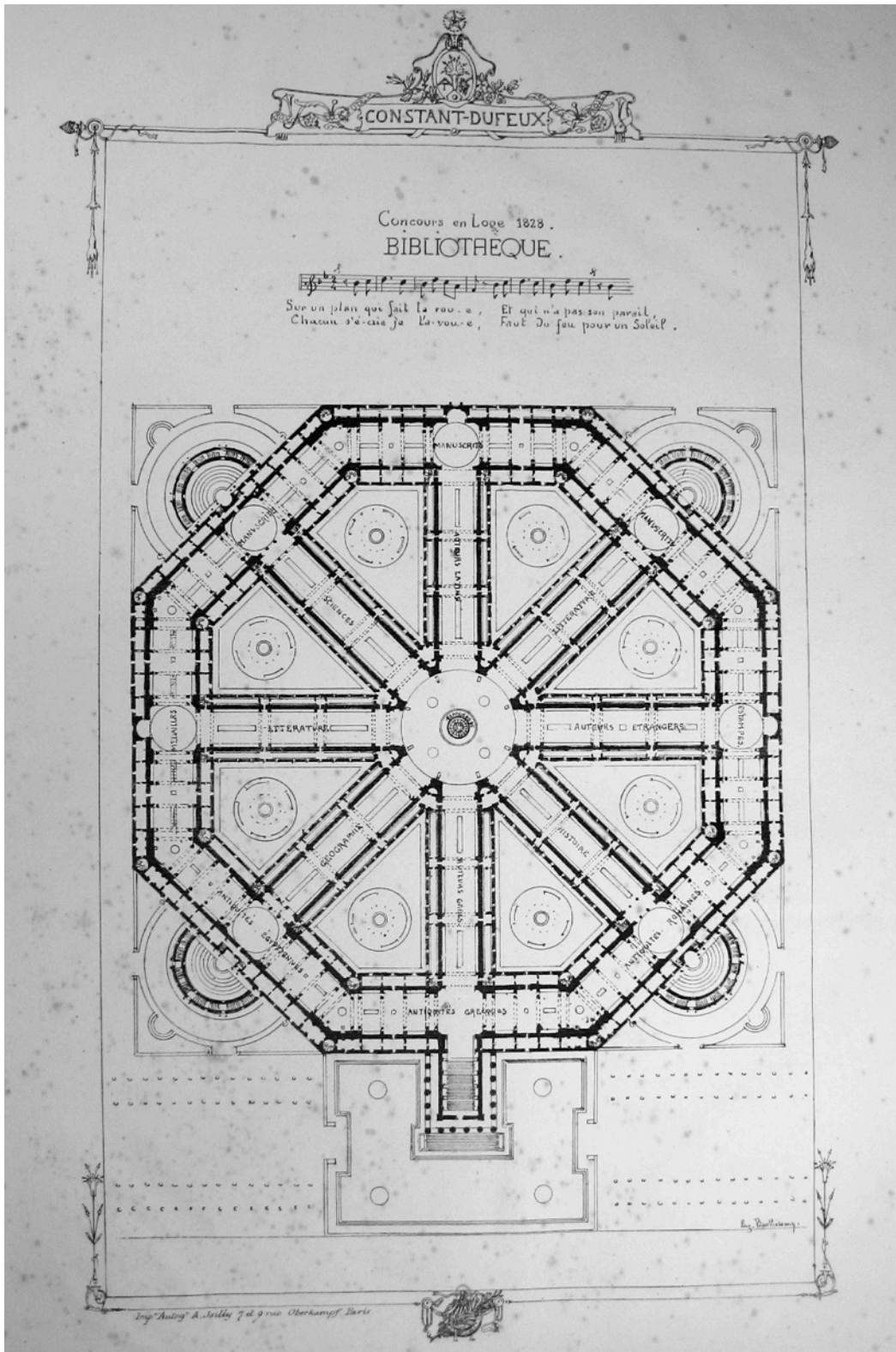
2.1.10 Louis Visconti, Drawing of the Fontaine Gaillon, 1828; from Hamon, "Visconti et le décor urbain: les fontaines parisiennes," 80.



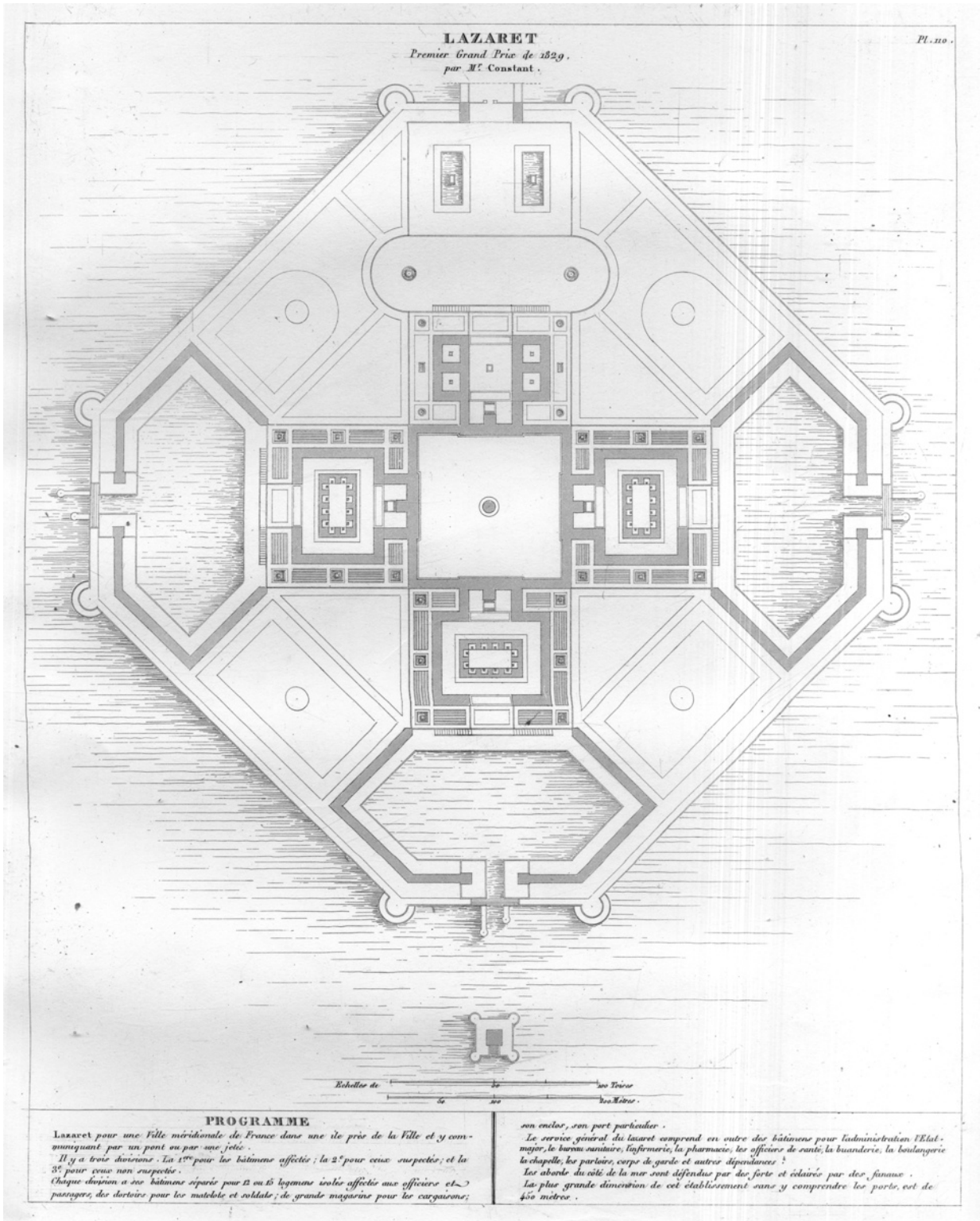
2.1.11 Amédée Billaud, Galerie Colbert, rotunda, 1826; from Geist, *Arcades: The History of a Building Type*, 501.



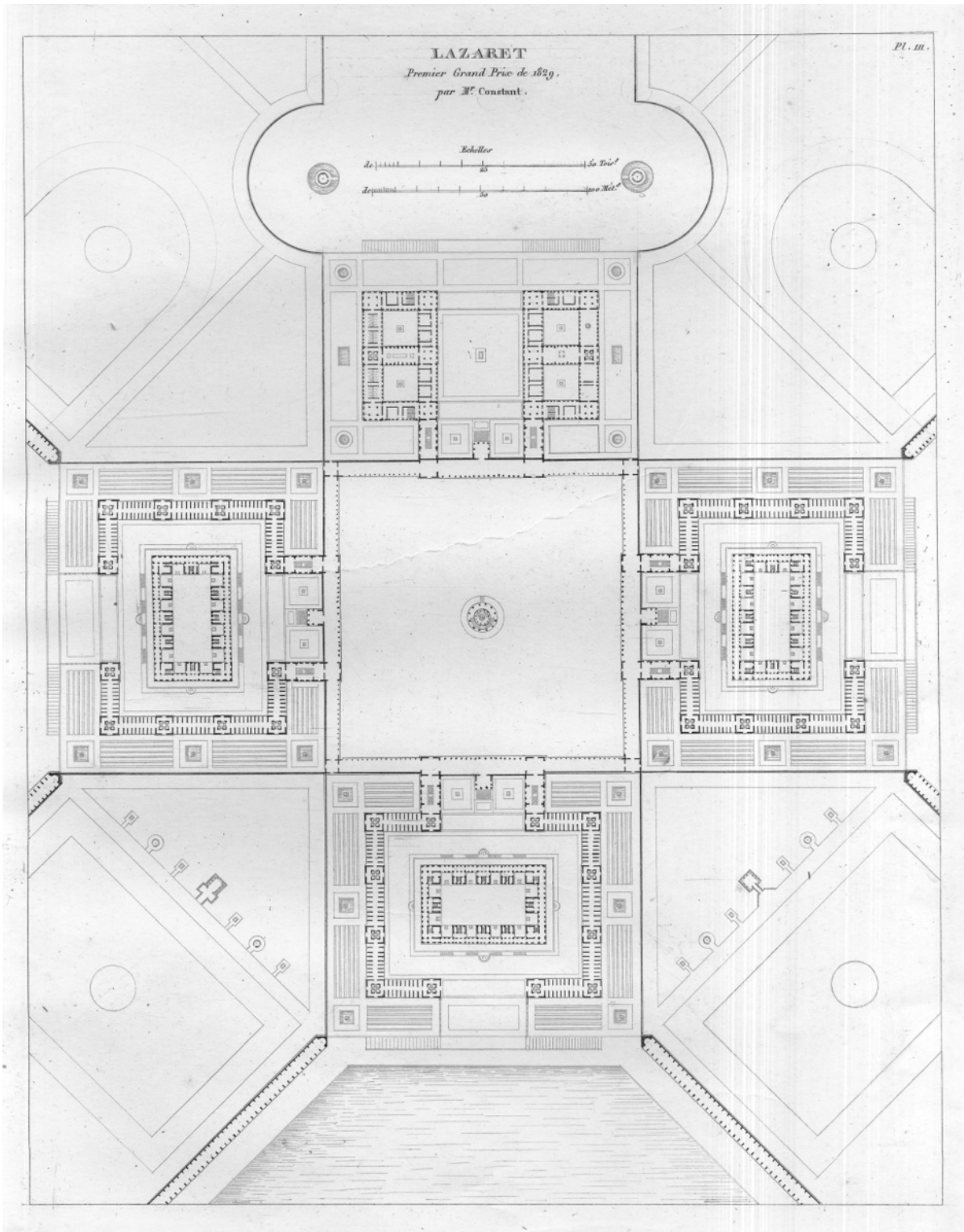
2.1.12 Amédée Billaud, Galerie Colbert, 1826; from Geist, *Arcades: The History of a Building Type*, 500.



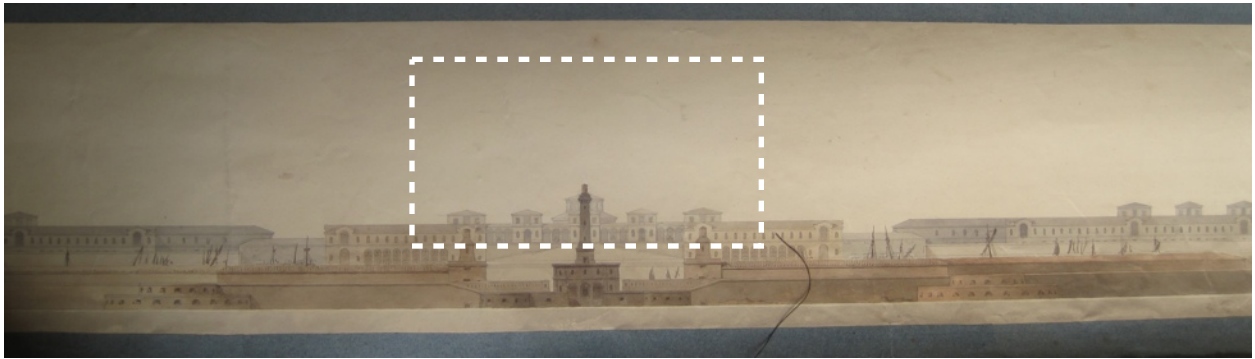
2.1.13 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, "Bibliothèque," deuxième *Grand Prix*, 1828; from Constant-Dufeux, *Croquis, études, relevés, édifices projetés ou exécutés*, n.p. [Avery Library]



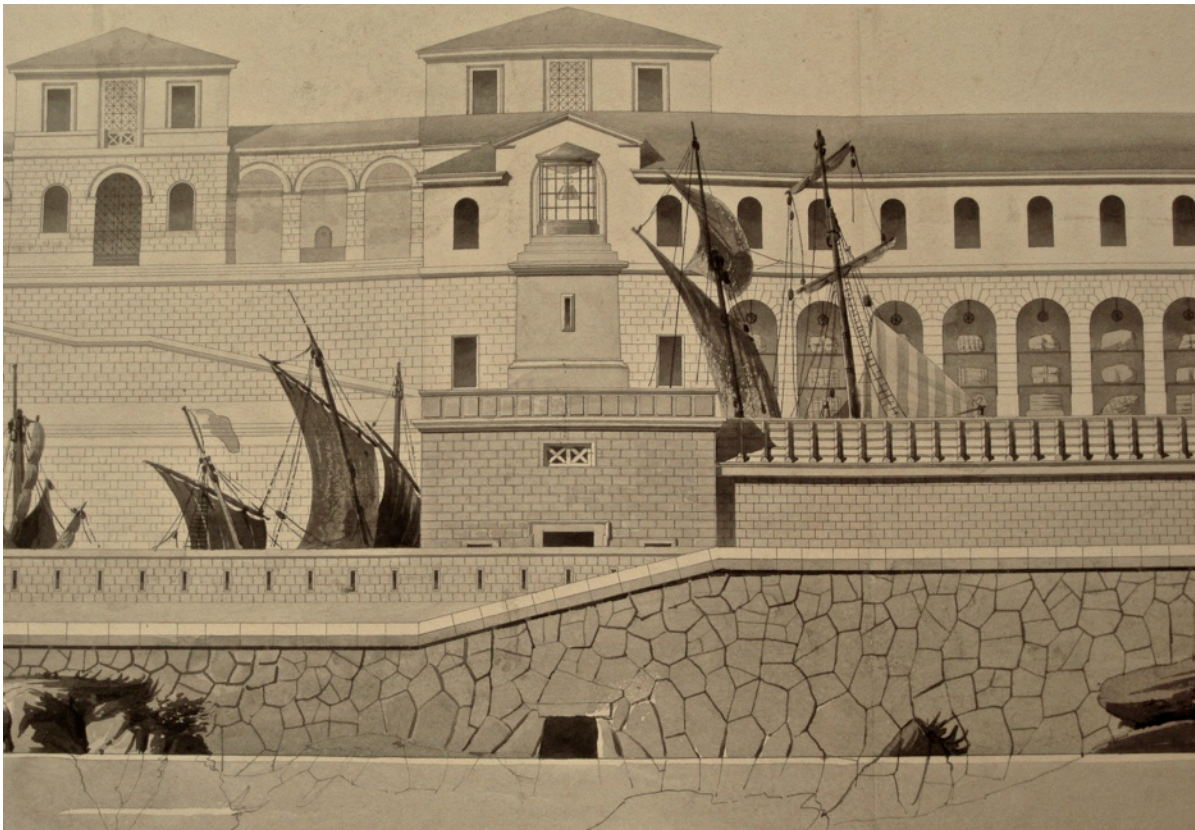
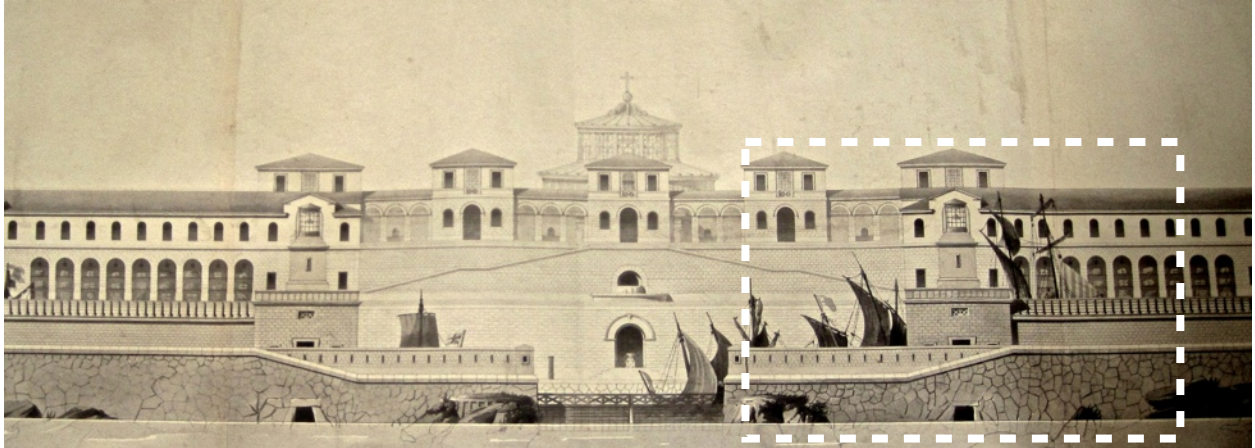
2.1.14 S.-C. Constant-Dufaux, "Lazaret pour une ville méridionale de France," site plan, 1829; from Baltard and Vaudoyer, *Grands prix d'architecture: projets couronnés par l'Académie royale des beaux arts de France*, pl. 110. [Avery Library]



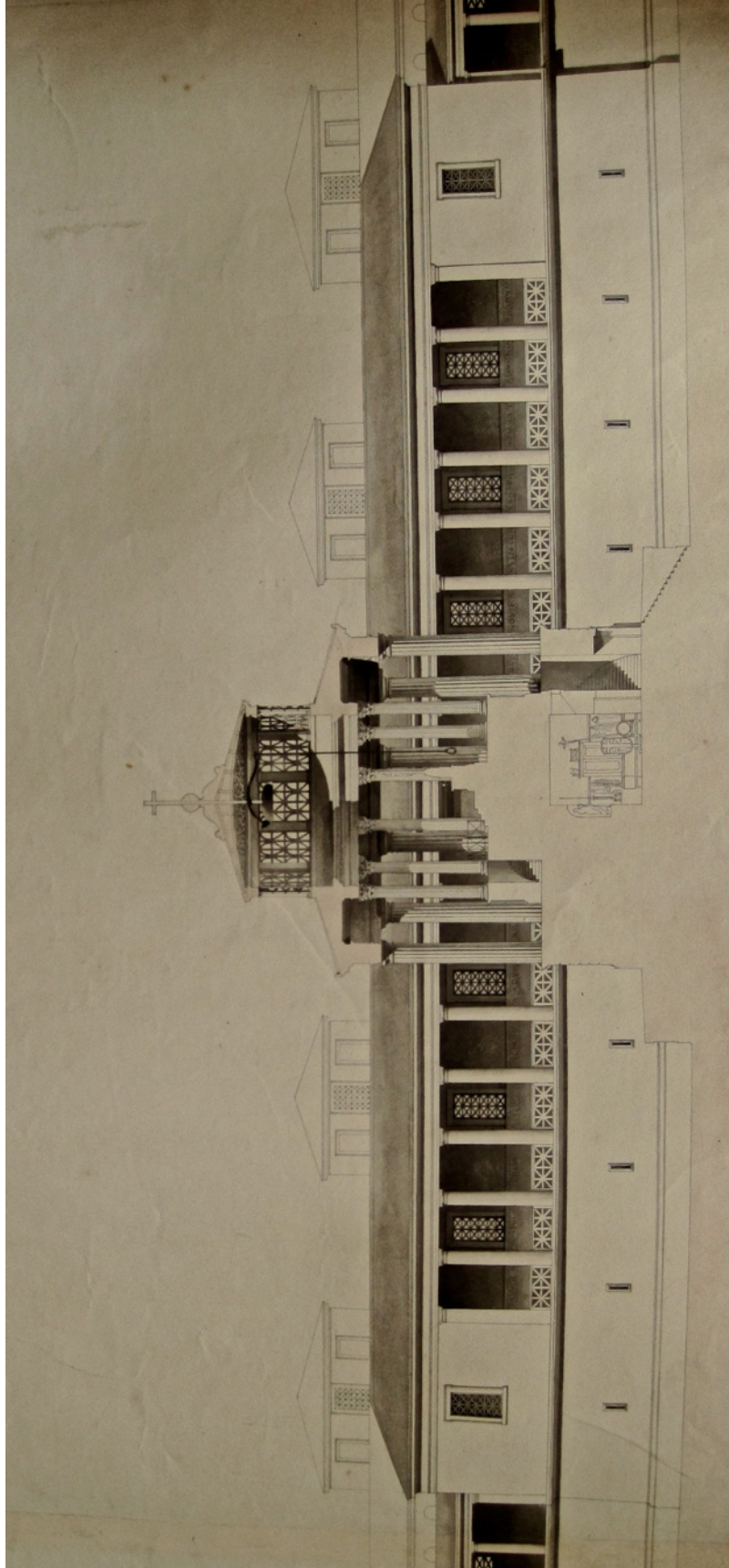
2.1.15 S.-C. Constant-Dufaux, "Lazaret pour une ville méridionale de France," plan, 1829; from Baltard and Vaudoyer, *Grands prix d'architecture: projets couronnés par l'Académie royale des beaux arts de France*, pl. 111. [Avery Library]



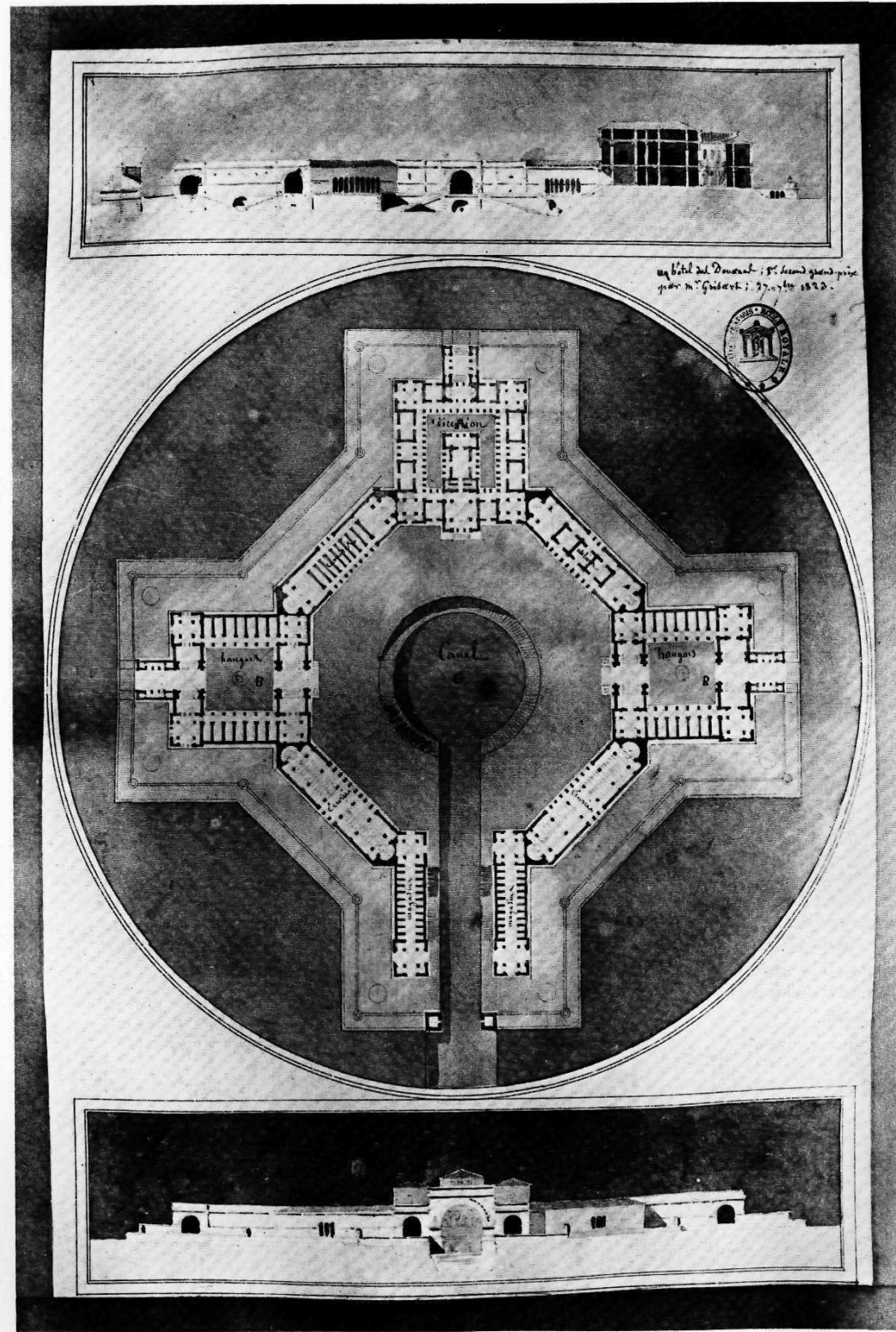
2.1.16 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, "Lazaret pour une ville méridionale de France," south elevation with lighthouse in the foreground, 1829. [École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts]



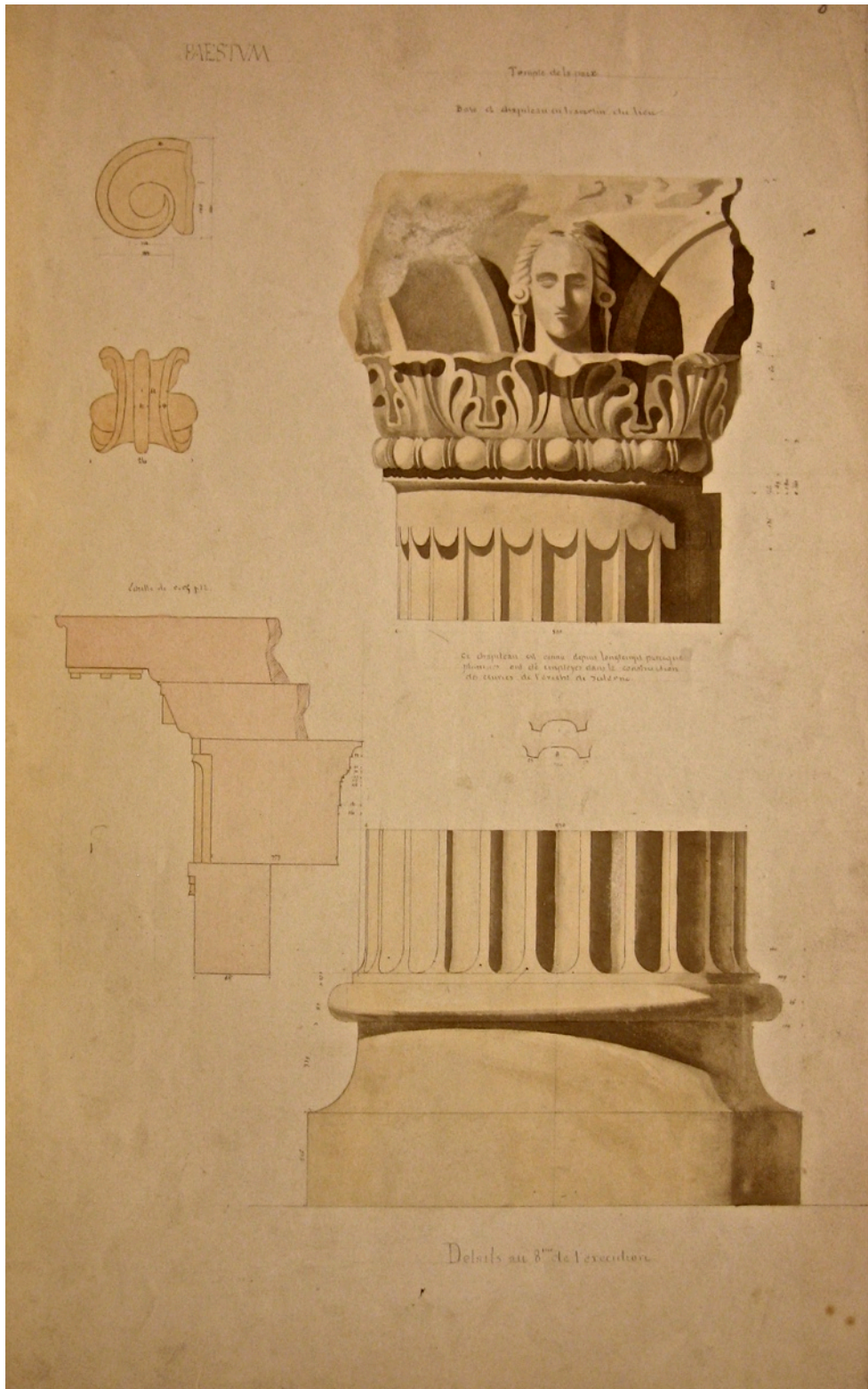
2.1.17 S.-C. Constant-Dufaux, "Lazaret pour une ville méridionale de France," south elevation, 1829. [École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts]



2.1.18 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, "Lazaret pour une ville méridionale de France," east-west section through central chapel, 1829. [École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts]



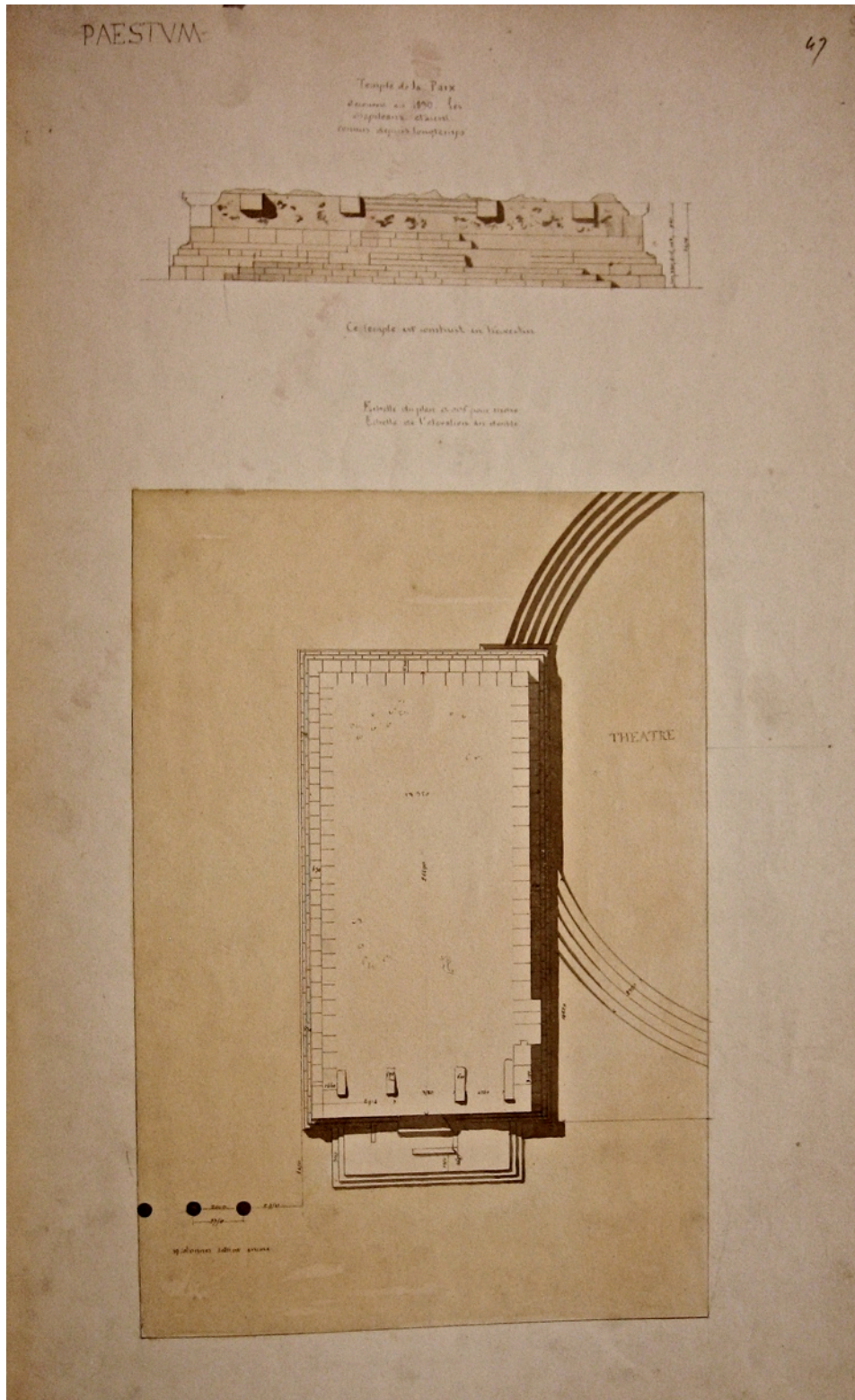
2.1.19 Alphonse de Gisors, "Hôtel des douanes et de l'octroi," esquisse for the *Grand Prix*, 1823; from Van Zanten, "Architectural Composition at the École des Beaux-Arts from Charles Percier to Charles Garnier," 149.



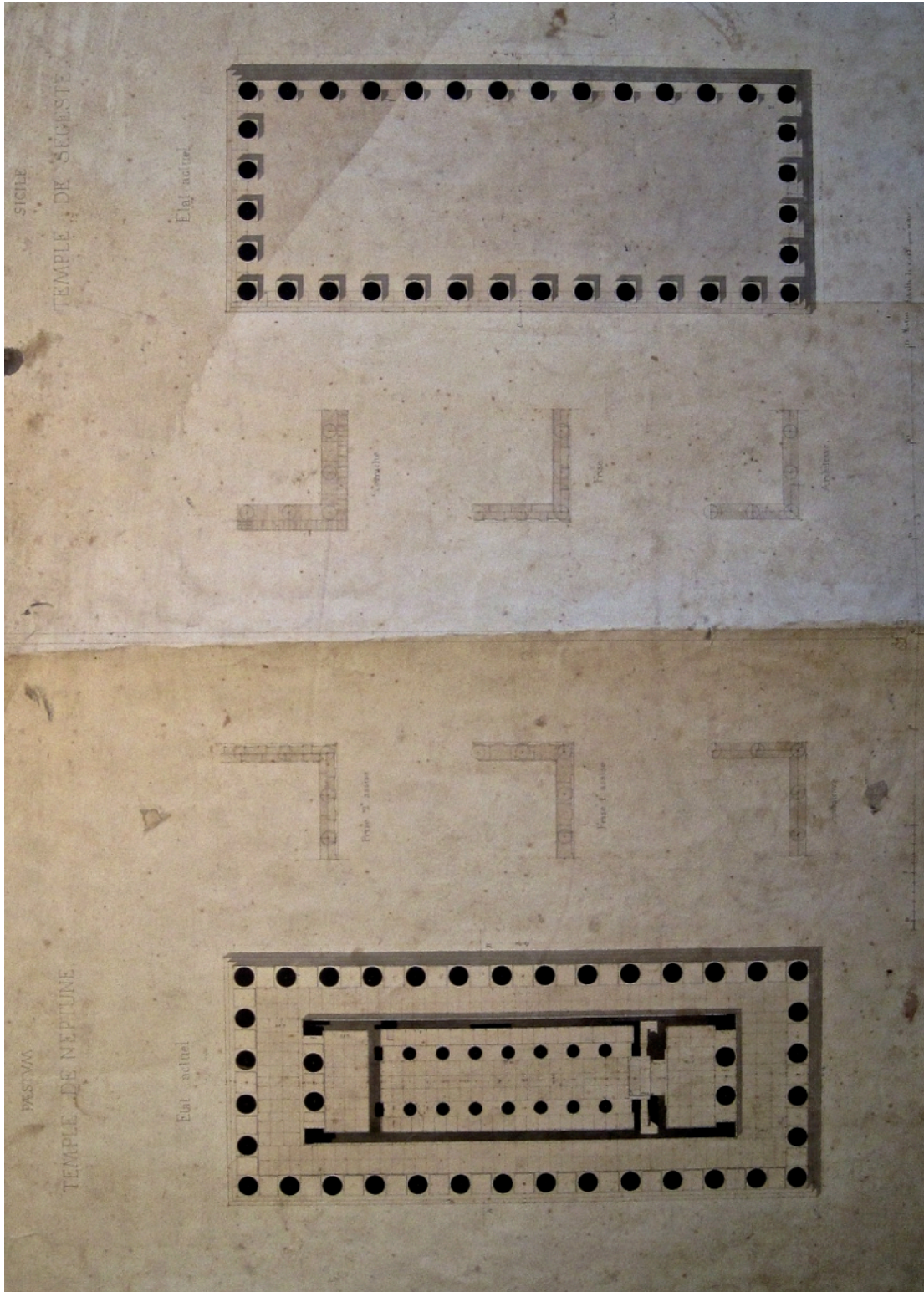
2.1.20 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, "Temple de la Paix," Base and Capital, 1830; from Constant-Dufeux, *Record drawings of ancient monuments*, 1825-1833. [Getty Center Library]



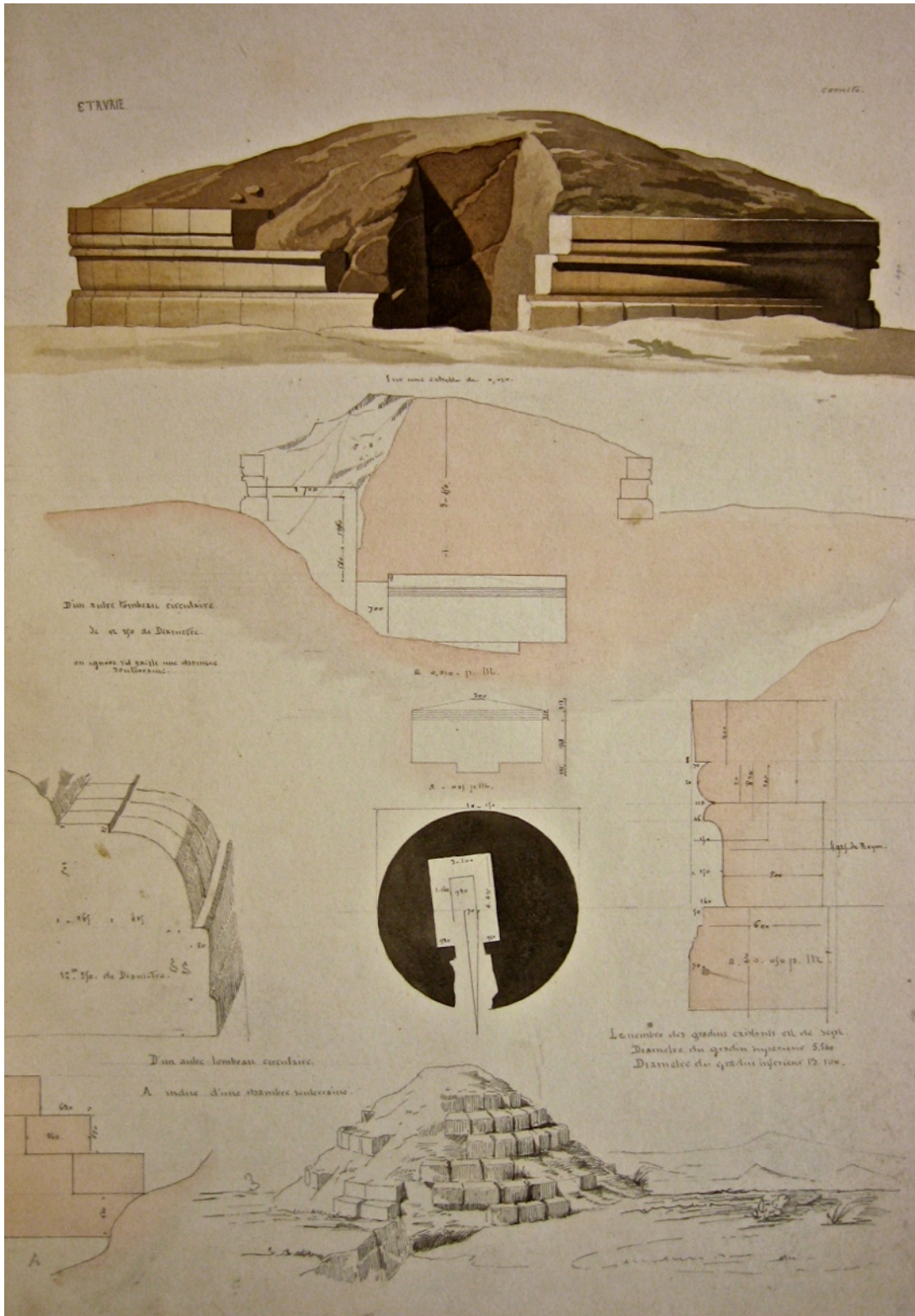
2.1.21 S.-C. Constant-Dufaux, "Temple de la Paix," entablature, 1830; from Constant-Dufaux, *Record drawings of ancient monuments*, 1825-1833. [Getty Center Library]



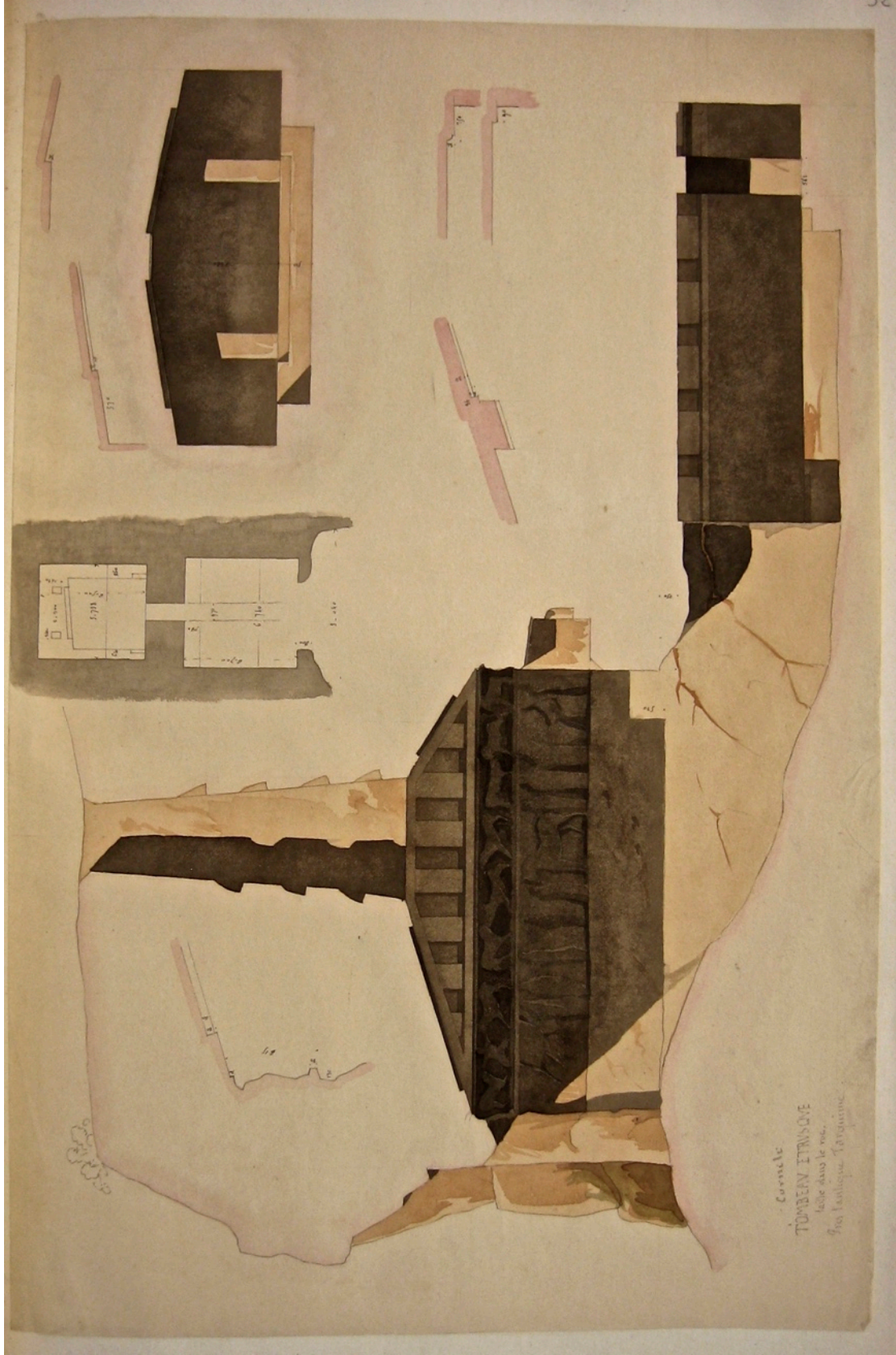
2.1.22 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, “Temple de la Paix,” plan, 1830; from Constant-Dufeux, *Record drawings of ancient monuments*, 1825–1833. [Getty Center Library]



2.1.23 S.-C. Constant-DuFeux, Drawing comparing the reconstructed plans of the Temple of Neptune in Paestum with the Temple of Segesta in Sicily, 1830. [Musée d'Orsay, temporary holding]



2.1.24 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Underground Etruscan tomb in Corneto; from Constant-Dufeux, *Record drawings of ancient monuments*, 1825-1833. [Getty Center Library]

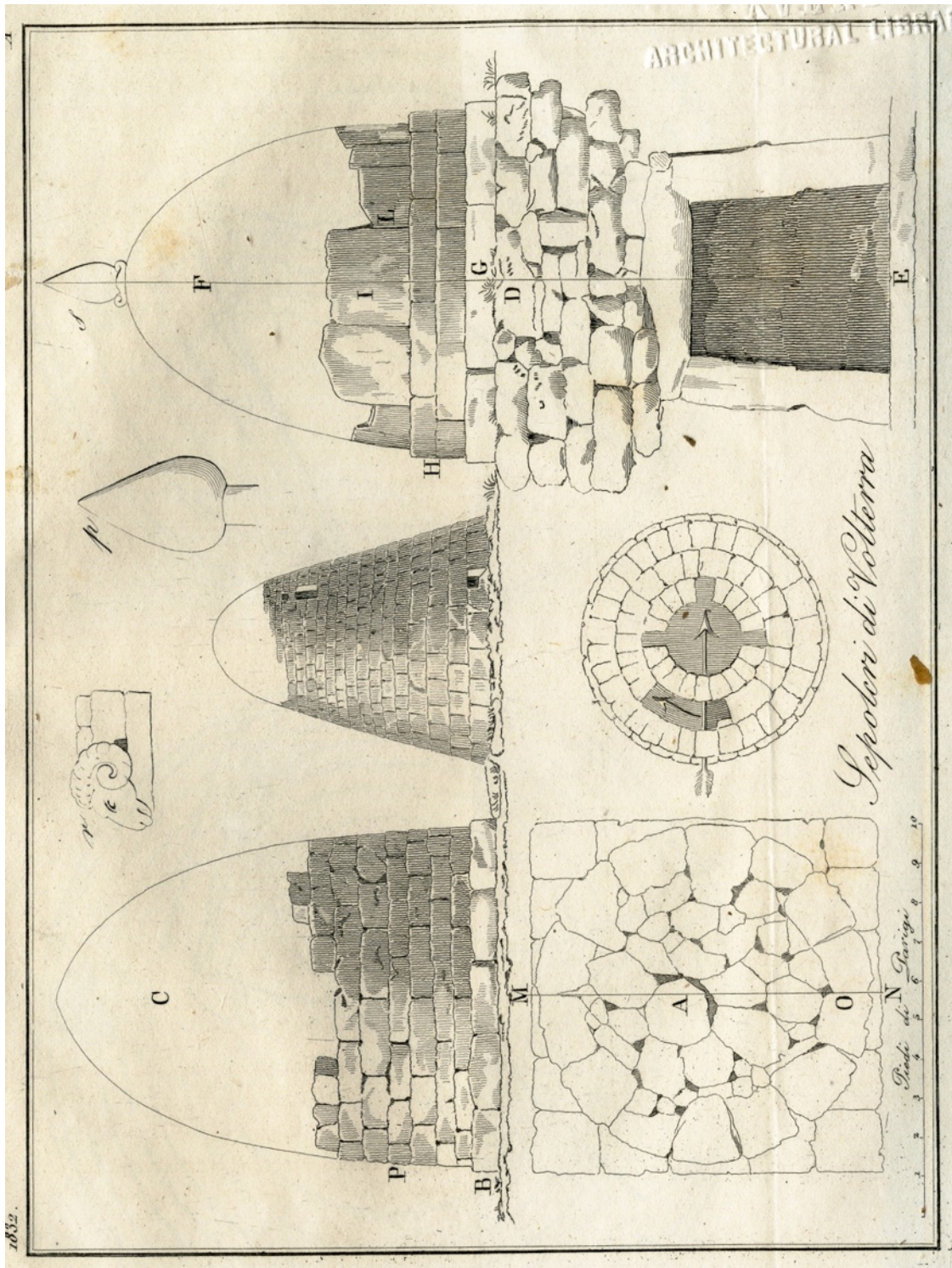


Corniche
TOMBEN ETrusQUE
faite dans le roc.
Par l'architecte DUFFEUX.

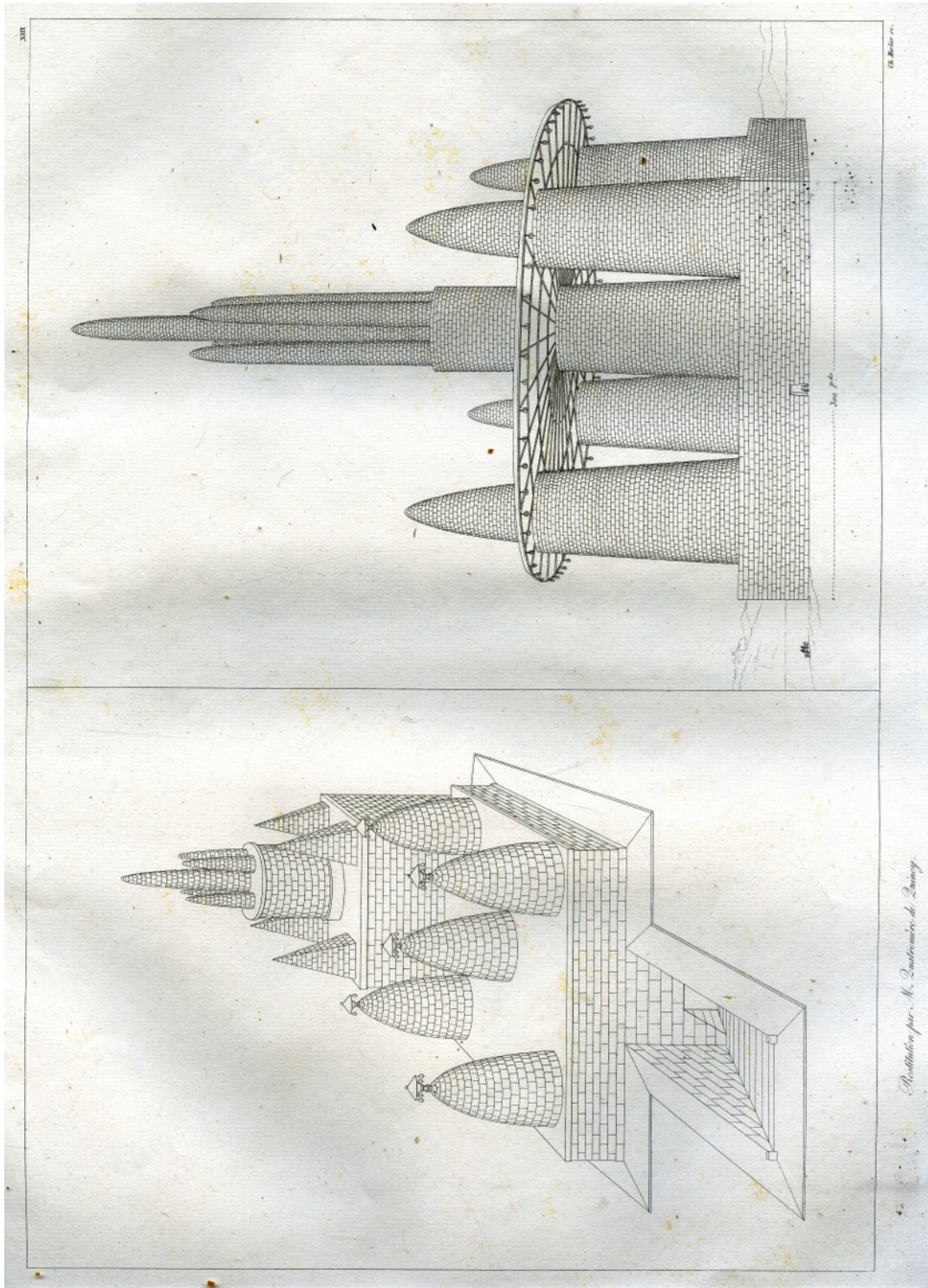
2.1.25 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, rock-cut Etruscan tomb in Corneto; from Constant-Dufeux, *Record drawings of ancient monuments, 1825-1833*. [Getty Center Library]



2.1.26 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Porta Saracena, Segni; from Constant-Dufeux, *Record drawings of ancient monuments, 1825-1833*. [Getty Center Library]



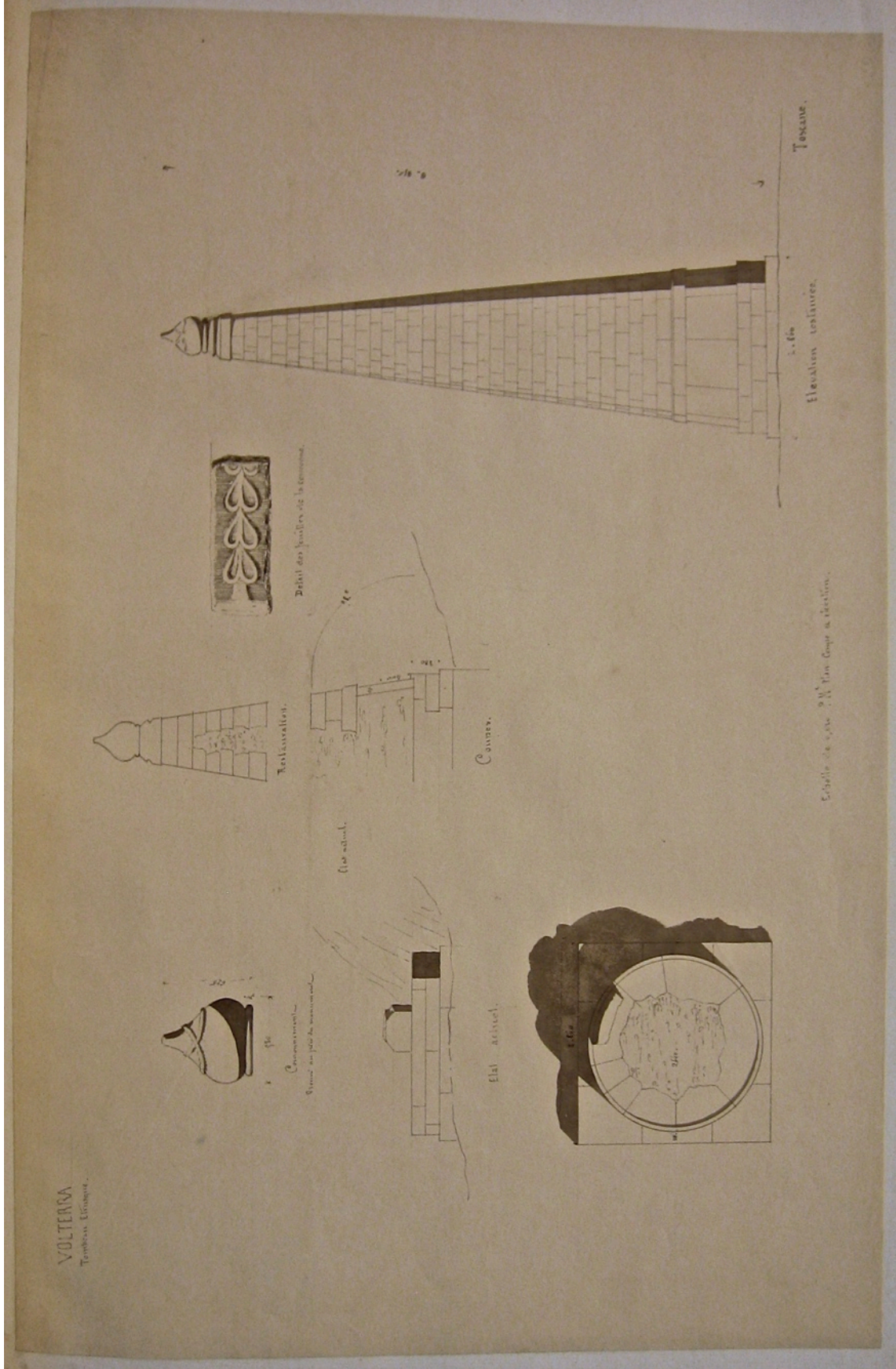
2.1.27 "Sepolcri di Volterra," Illustration depicting Etruscan conical tumuli in Volterra, Italy; from Francesco Inghirami, "Di Alcuni Toli Sepolcrali," *Annales de l'institut de correspondance archéologique* 4 (1832), pl. A.



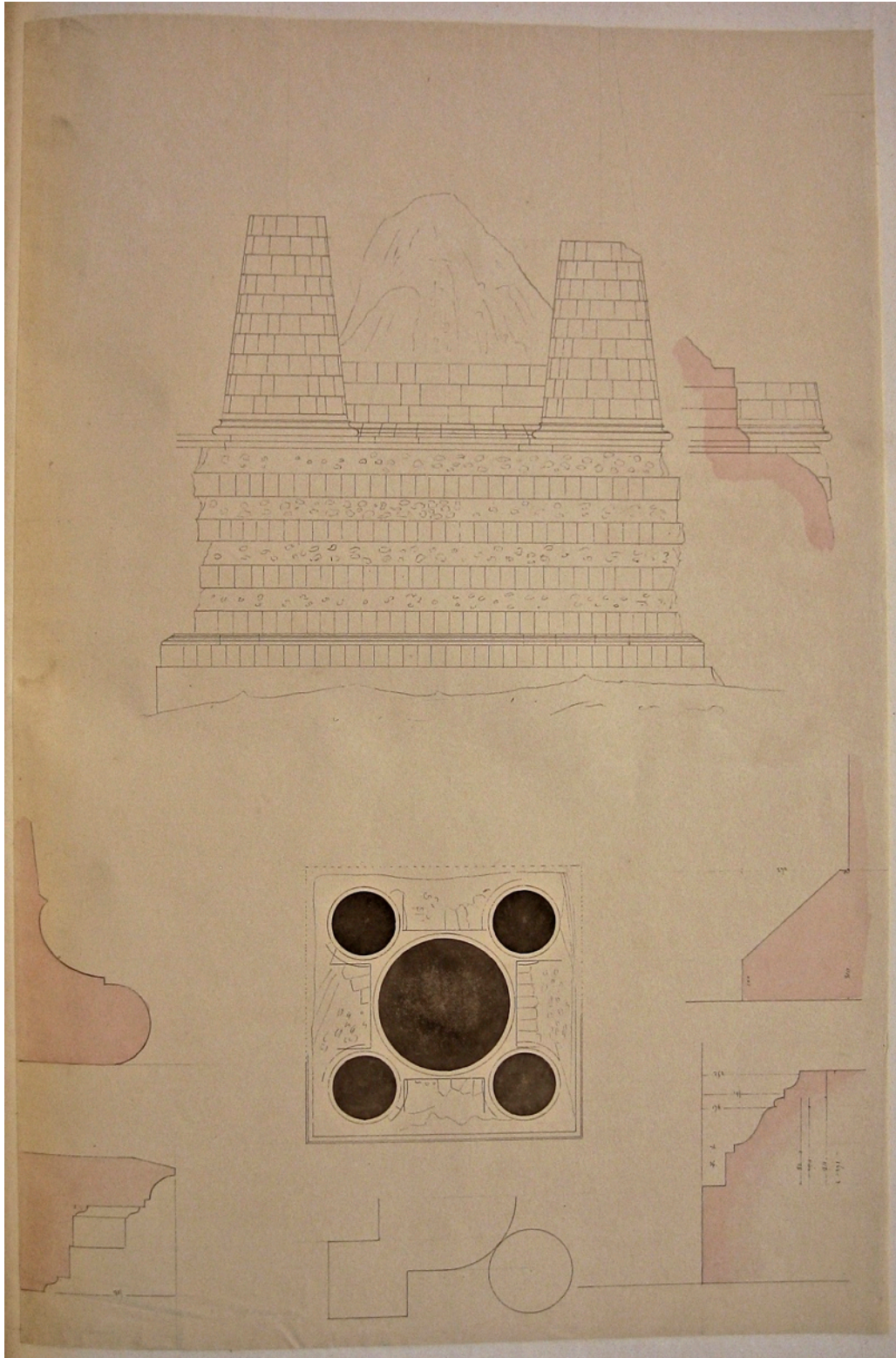
2.1.28 Tomb of Porsenna Reconstructions by Quatremère de Quincy (left) and le duc de Luynes (right), from Panofka, "Sur la restitution du Tombeau de Porsenna par M. Quatremère de Quincy," *Annales de l'institut de correspondance archéologique*, cahiers I, II (1829), pl. 13.



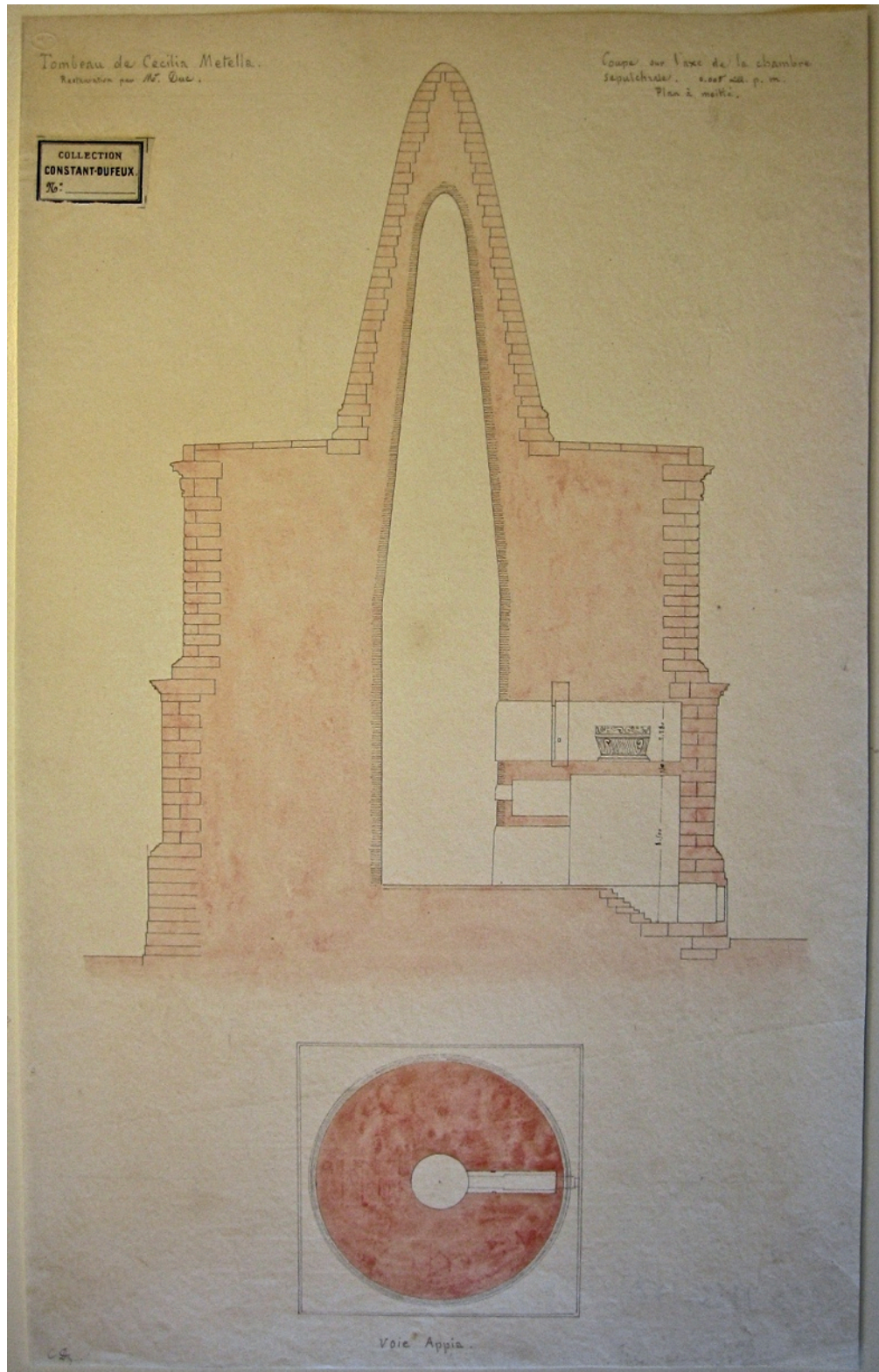
2.1.29 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Drawings of pre-classical lithic monuments, 1830; from Constant-Dufeux, *Croquis, études, relevés, édifices projetés ou exécutés*. n.p. [Avery Library]



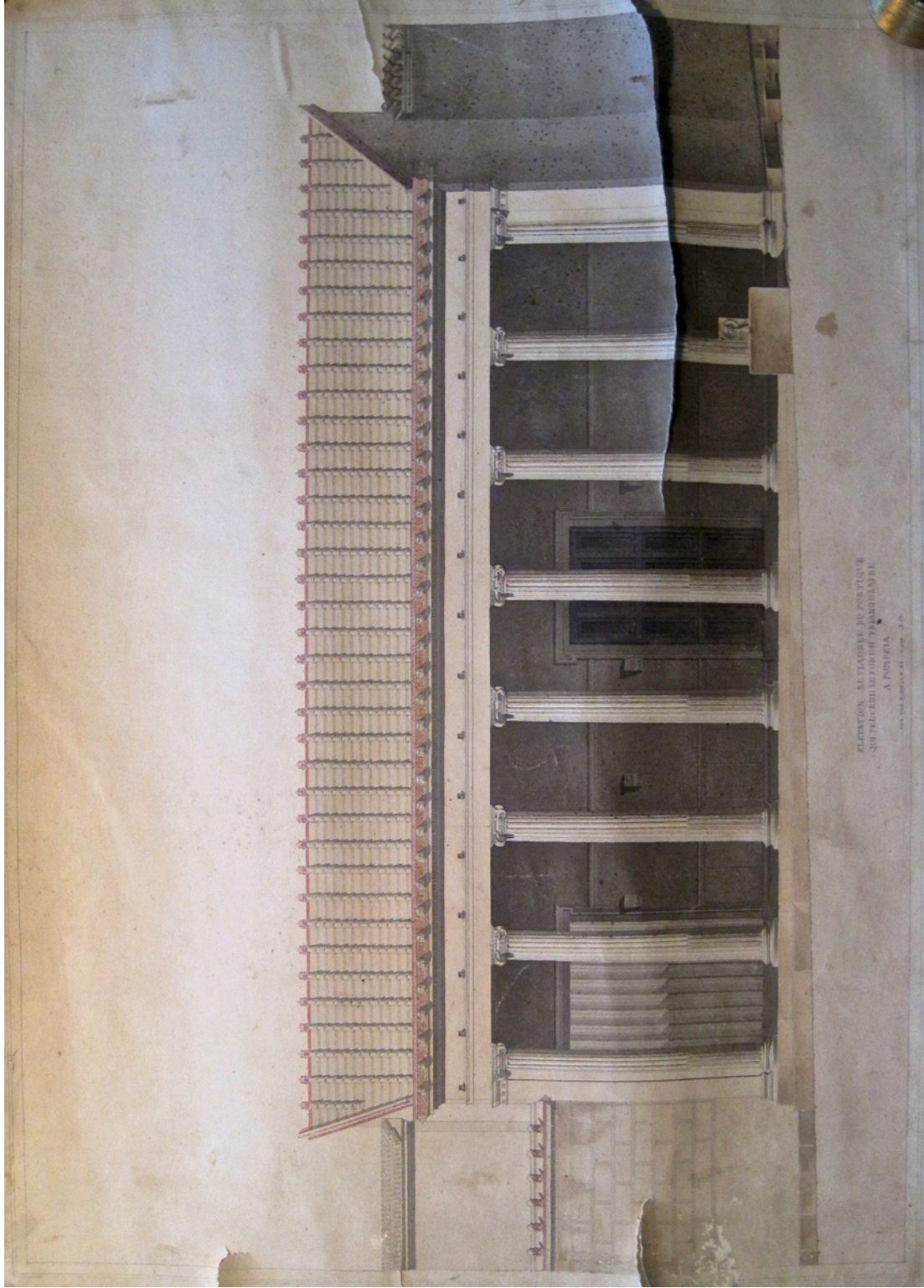
2.1.30 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Etruscan tomb at Volterra; undated; from Constant-Dufeux, *Record drawings of ancient monuments, 1825-1833*. [Getty Center Library]



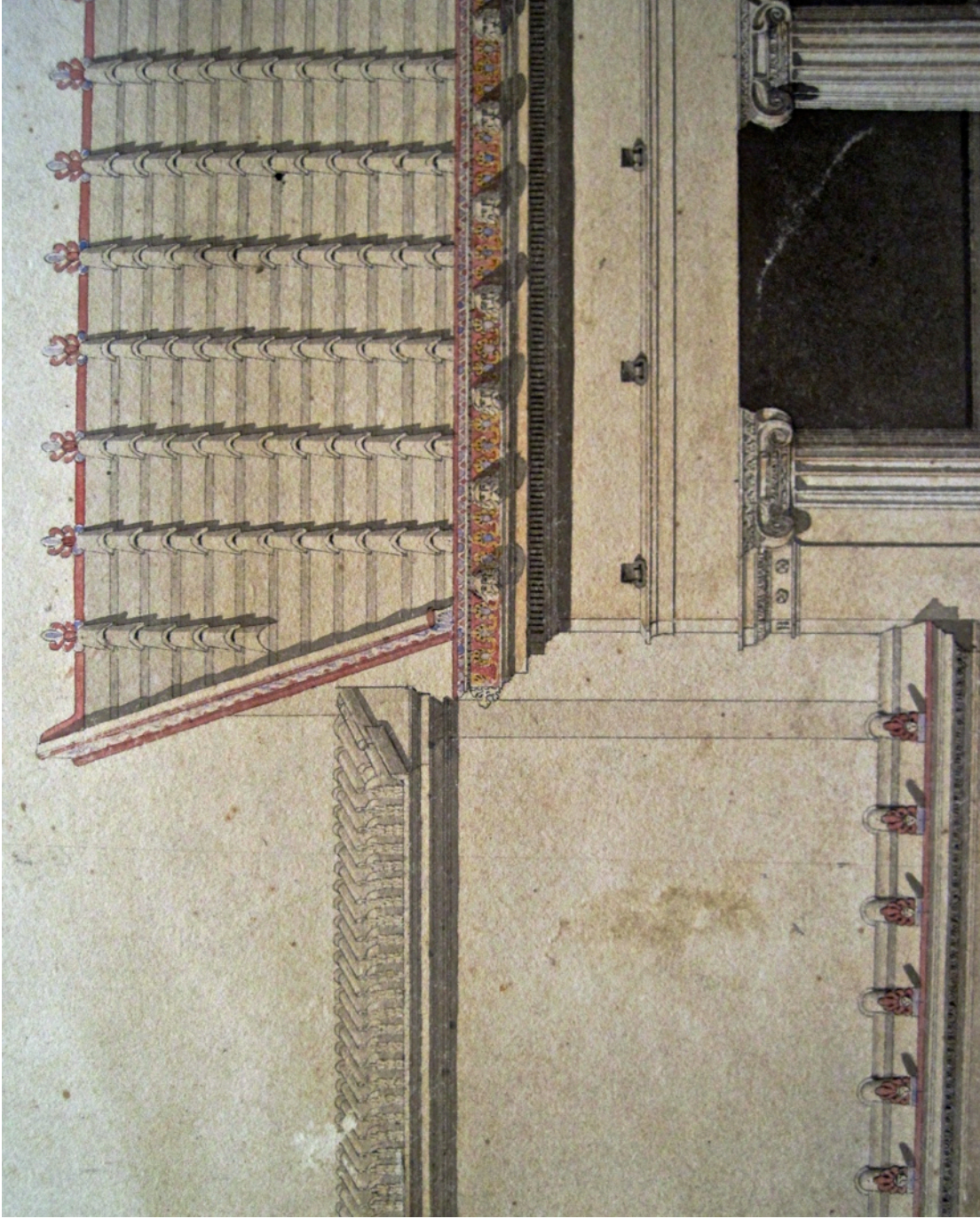
2.1.31 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Tomb of the Horatii and Curiatii; undated; from Constant-Dufeux, *Record drawings of ancient monuments*, 1825-1833. [Getty Center Library]



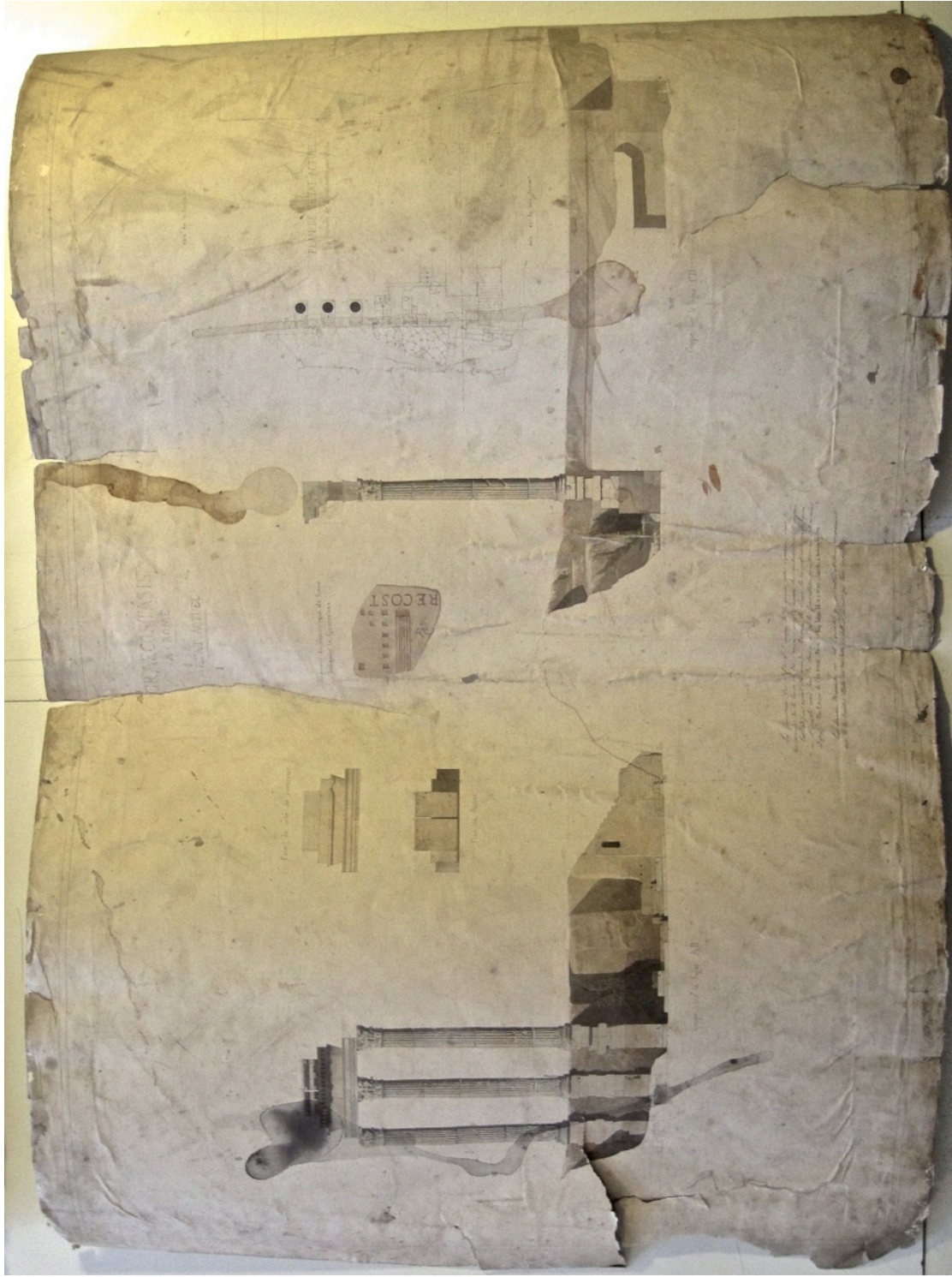
2.1.32 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Copy of a drawing by Louis Duc for the restoration of the Tomb of Cecilia Metella, undated. [Musée d'Orsay, ARO1985-170]



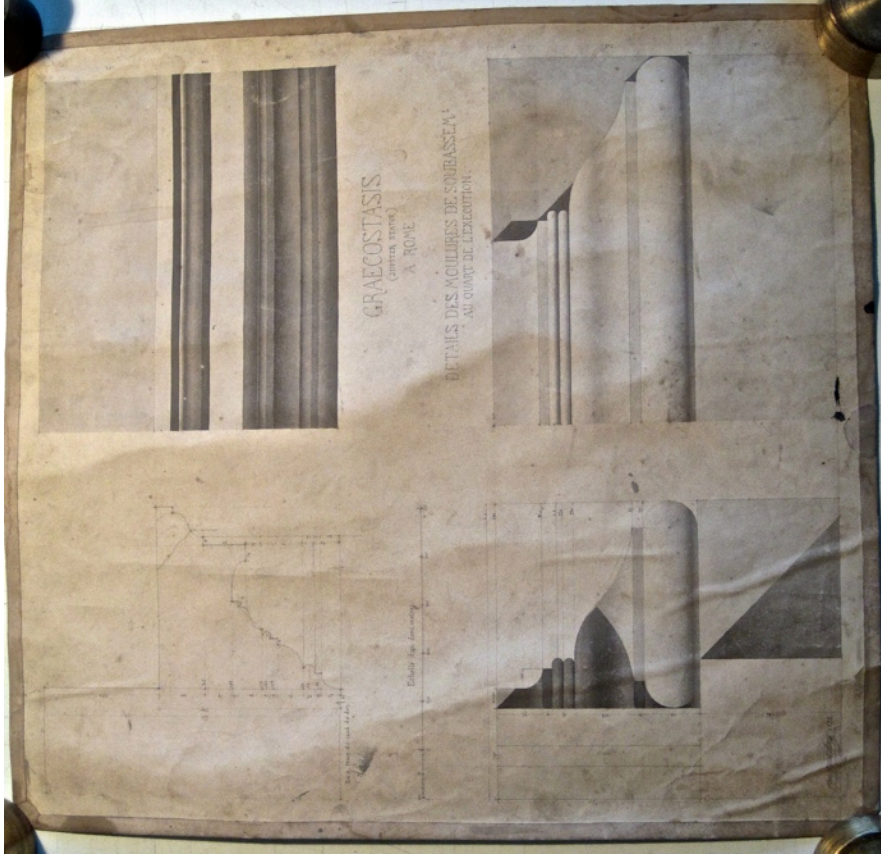
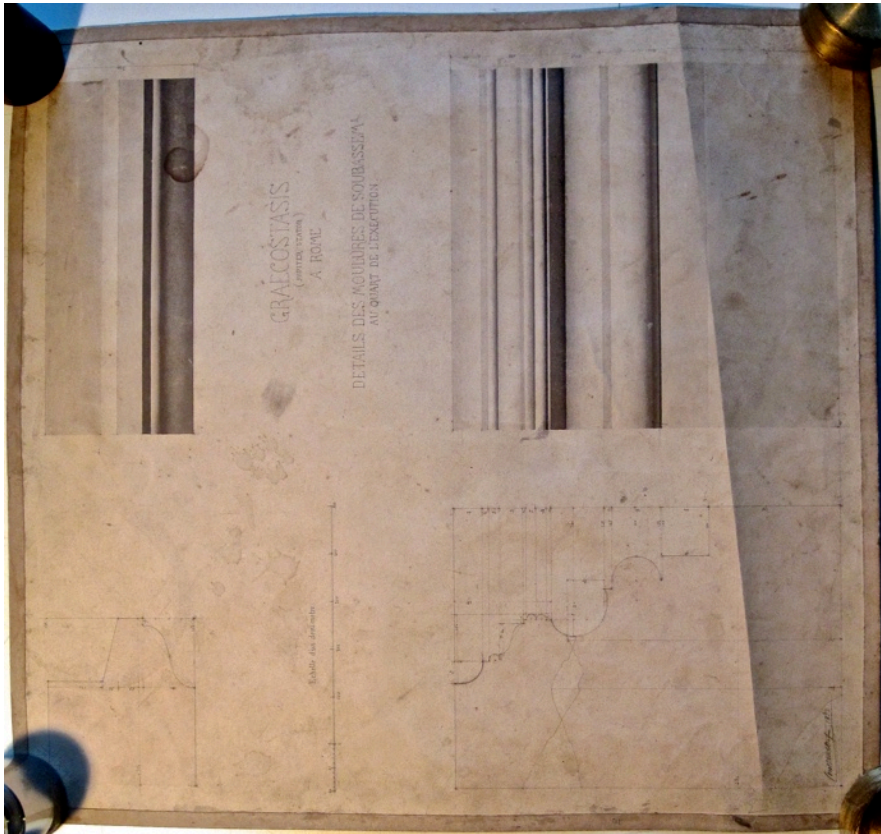
2.1.33 S.-C. Constant-Dufoix, Elevation of the restoration of the portico fronting the Triangular Forum in Pompeii, 1833. [Musée d'Orsay, temporary holding]



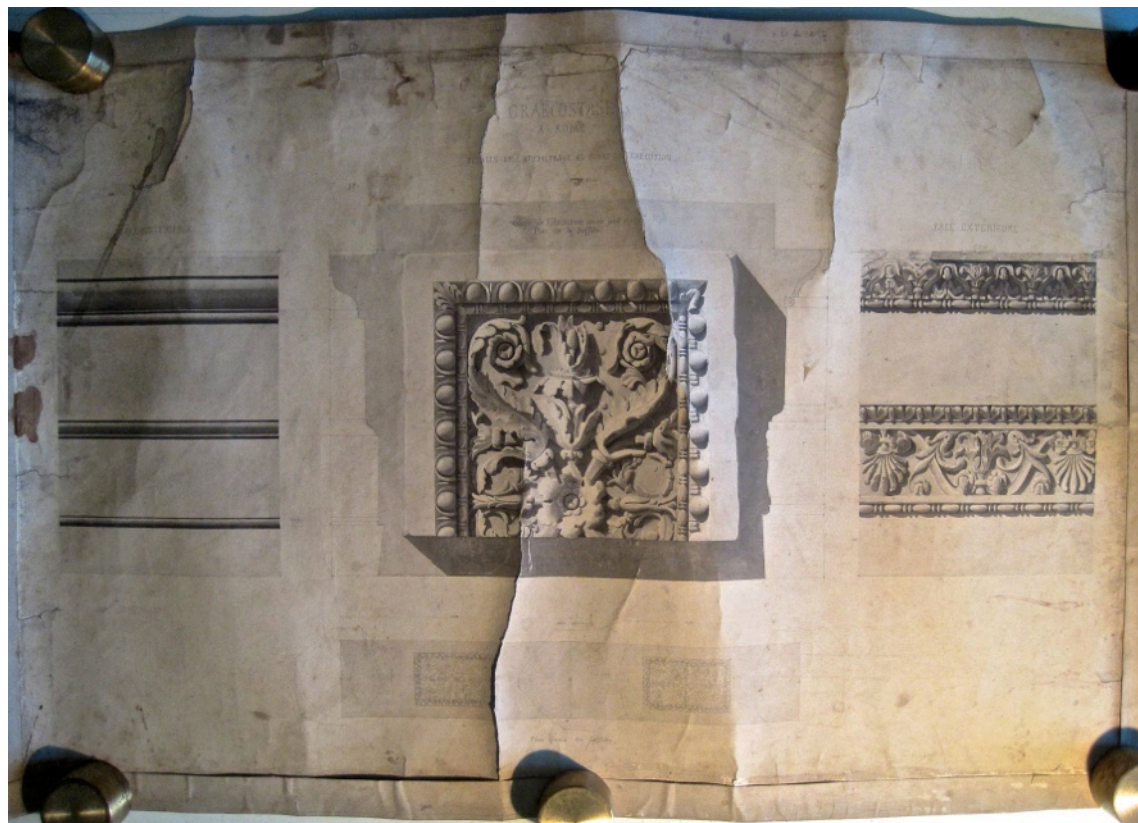
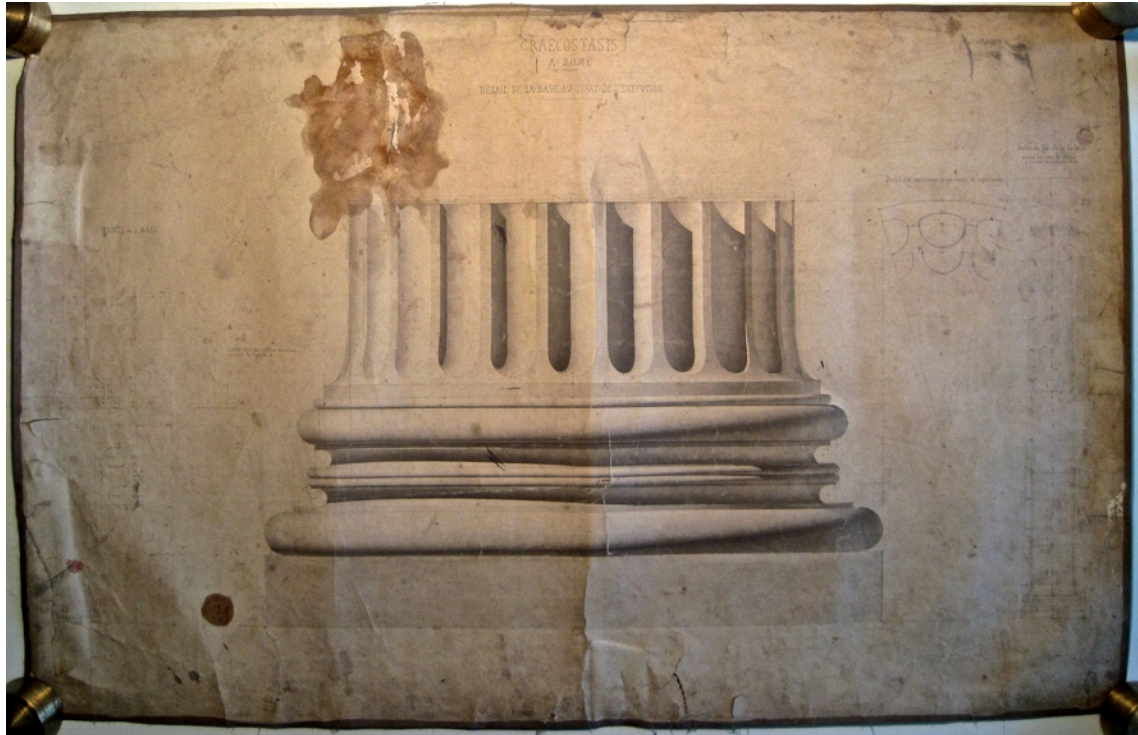
2.1.34 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, detail from elevation of restoration of the portico fronting the Triangular Forum in Pompeii, 1833. [Musée d'Orsay, temporary holding]



2.1.35 S.-C. Constant-Dufoix, Elevation of remains of the Graccostasis (Jupiter Stator) in Rome, 1832. [Musée d'Orsay, temporary holding]



2.1.36, 2.1.37 S.-C. Constant-Dufoix, Detail of the moldings from the plinth of the Graecostasis (Jupiter Stator) in Rome, 1832. [Musée d'Orsay, temporary holding]



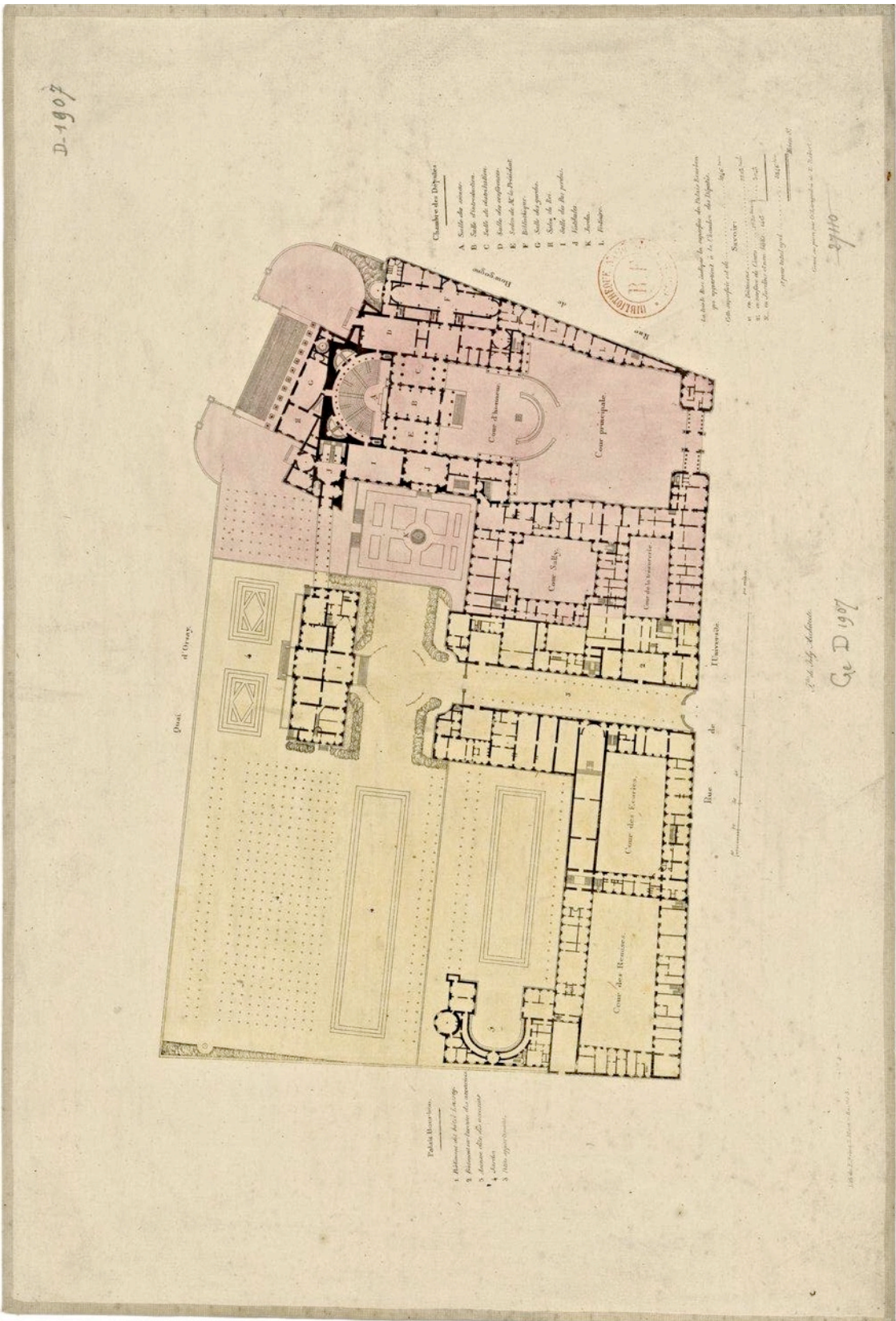
2.1.38, 2.1.39 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Detail of the column base (top), Detail of the architrave (bottom), Graecostasis (Jupiter Stator) in Rome, 1832. [Musée d'Orsay, temporary holding]



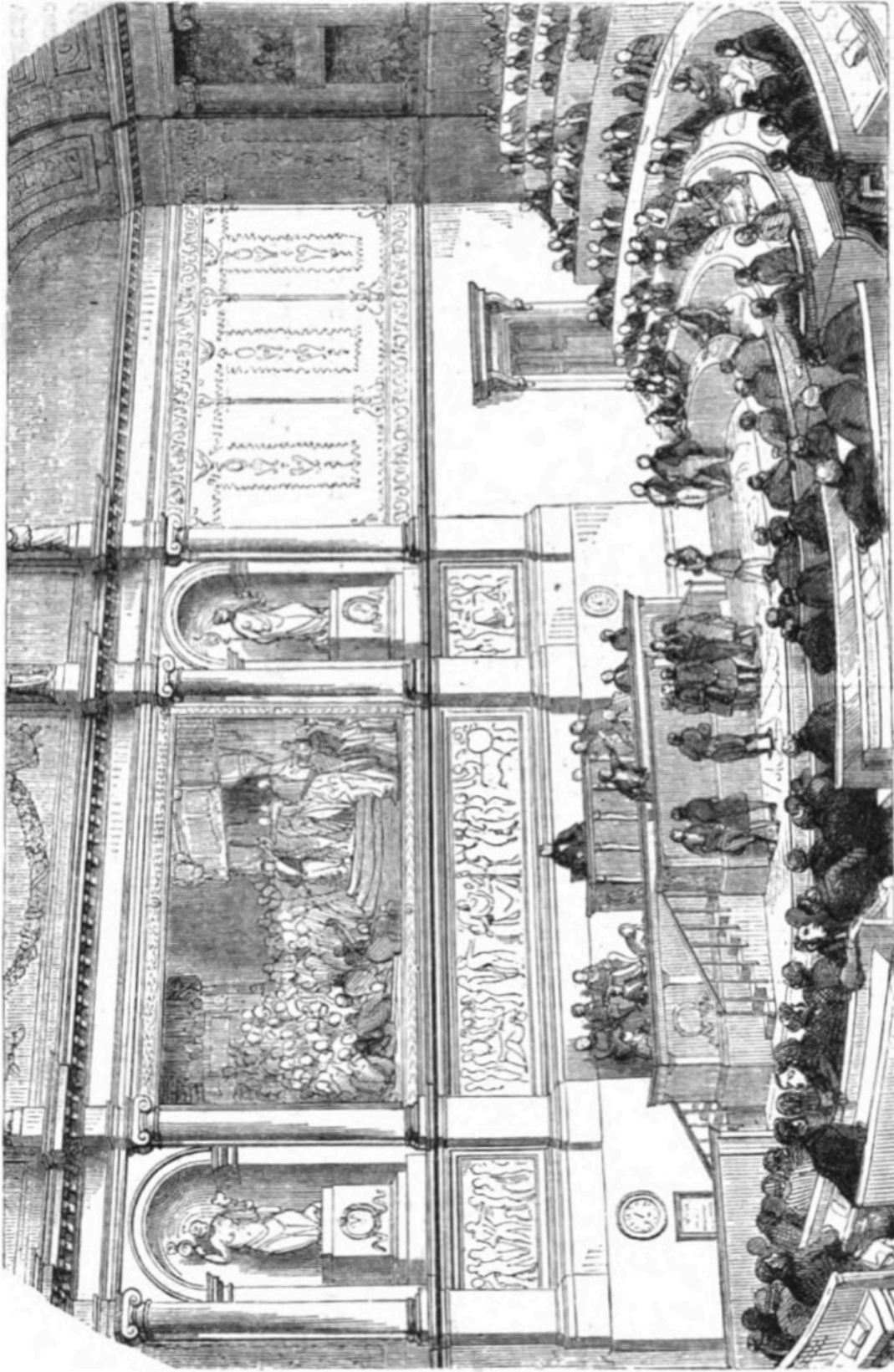
2.1.40 S.-C. Constant-Dufoix, Plan of existing conditions on Capitoline Hill, Rome, with remains of Tabularium (right), Temple of Vespasian (three columns top center), Arch of Septimius Severus (left) and Temple of Concorde (center), 1830. [Musée d'Orsay, temporary holding]



2.1.41 S.-C. Constant-Dufaux, Plan of existing conditions on Capitoline Hill, Rome, undated but likely 1833-1834. [École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts]



2.2.1 Jules de Joly, Chambre des députés, site plan, 1870. [Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Richelieu, Cartes et Plans]



2.2.2 Eugène Lamy, The Chamber of Deputies with the painting of the coronation of Louis Philippe above the tribune; from anon., "Palais de la Chambre des députés," *Le Magasin pittoresque* 11 (1843), 101.

2.2.3-2.2.7.

S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, "Une Chambre des députés pour la France," fifth-year *envoi*, Rome, 1834. [Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine, Fonds Ruprich-Robert]

2.2.3

(top left) Detail of portico with *Tabularium*.

(top center) Plan of the assembly hall.

(top right) Detail of the mosaic and gilded ornament at the top of the façade facing the public square, detail of the stepped substructure of the assembly hall with names of revolutionary legislators.

(Bottom) Façade facing the public square.

2.2.4

(top) Section through longitudinal axis.

(bottom) Elevation of lateral façade showing the president's entrance.

2.2.5

(top) Section through transverse axis.

(bottom) Façade of legislators' entrance.

2.2.6

(left) Detail of the façade of the Legislators' Entrance.

(right) Site plan of the complex.

2.2.7

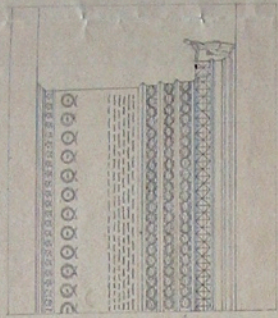
(left) Detailed plan of the complex.

(right) Program.

COURONNEMENT DE LA GRANDE SALLE



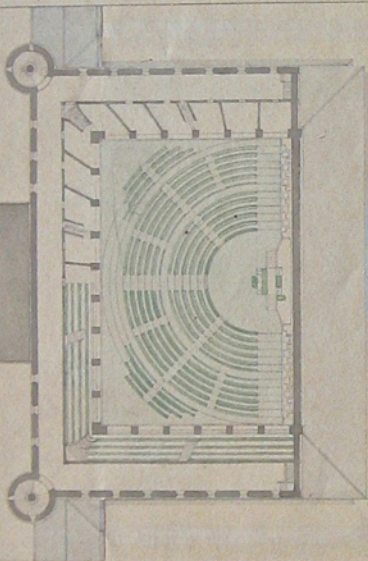
Châssis en relief sur
l'entablement de la grande
salle. (Coulonnes)



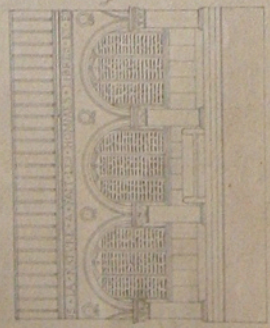
Châssis
des
basses
colonnades

Le dôme est posé sur les
colonnes des

JOUR DE SOUBASSEMENT DE LA GRANDE SALLE (voir le coup. au p. 10)
sur le grand vestibule (voir coup. au p. 10)

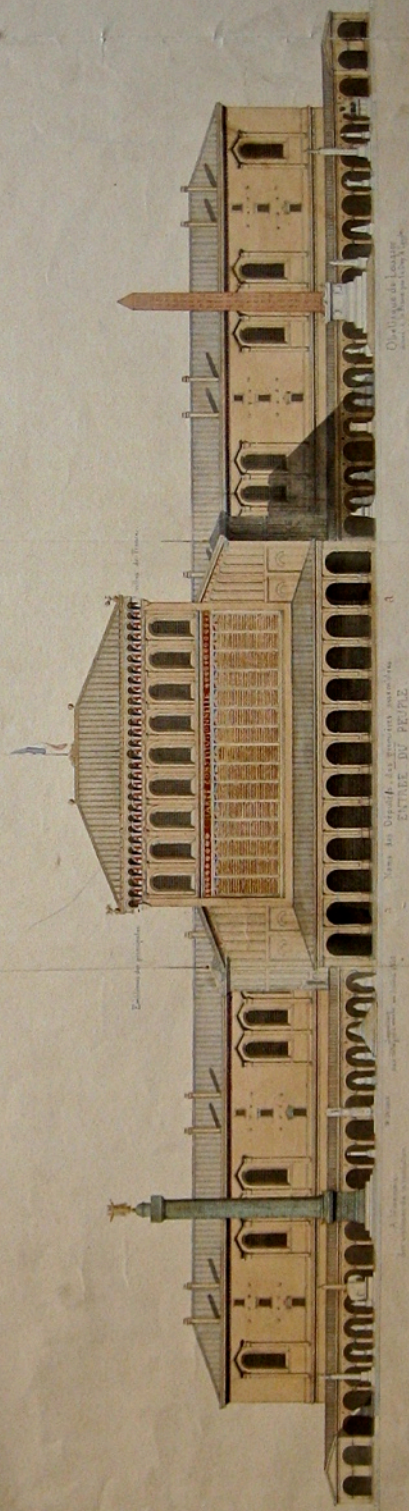


PLAN A LA HAUTEUR DES TRIBUNES



PORTIQUE AVEC TRIBUNAUX

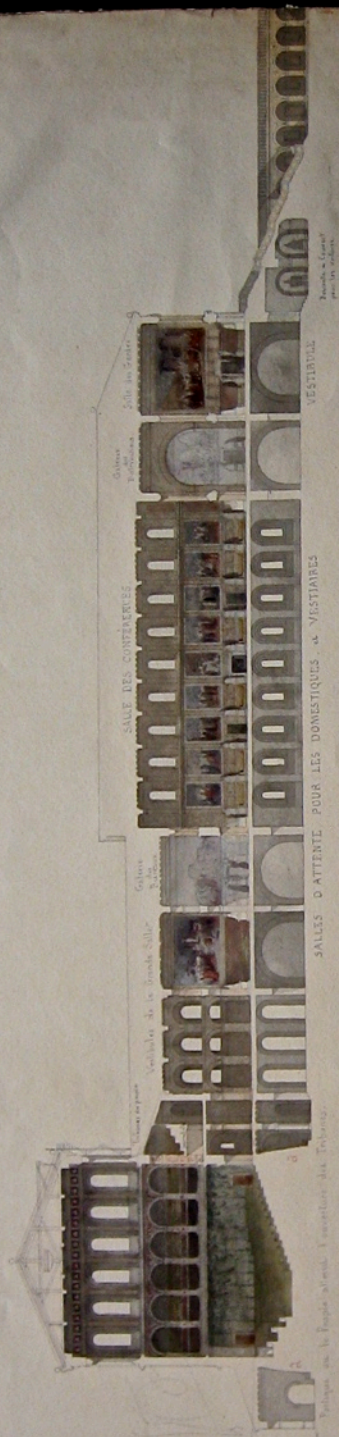
FACADE DU CÔTE DE LA PLACE PUBLIQUE



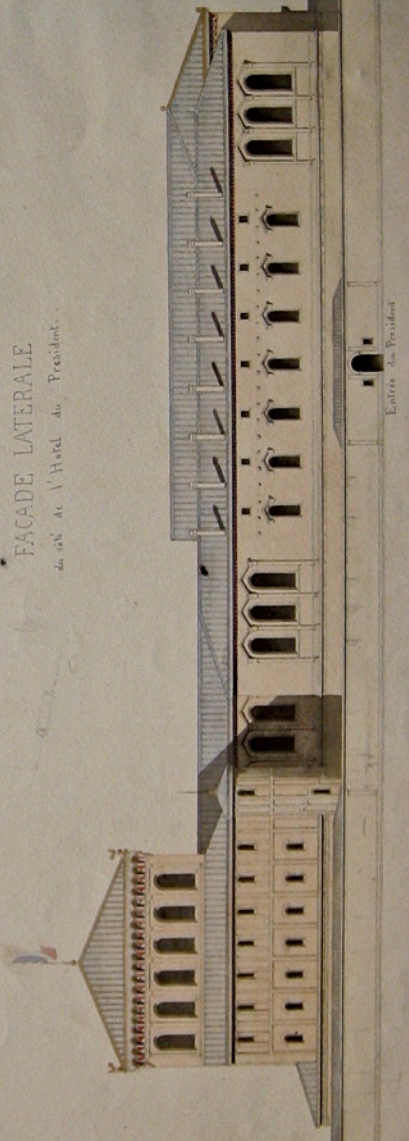
Obélisque de Louvre
sur le grand vestibule

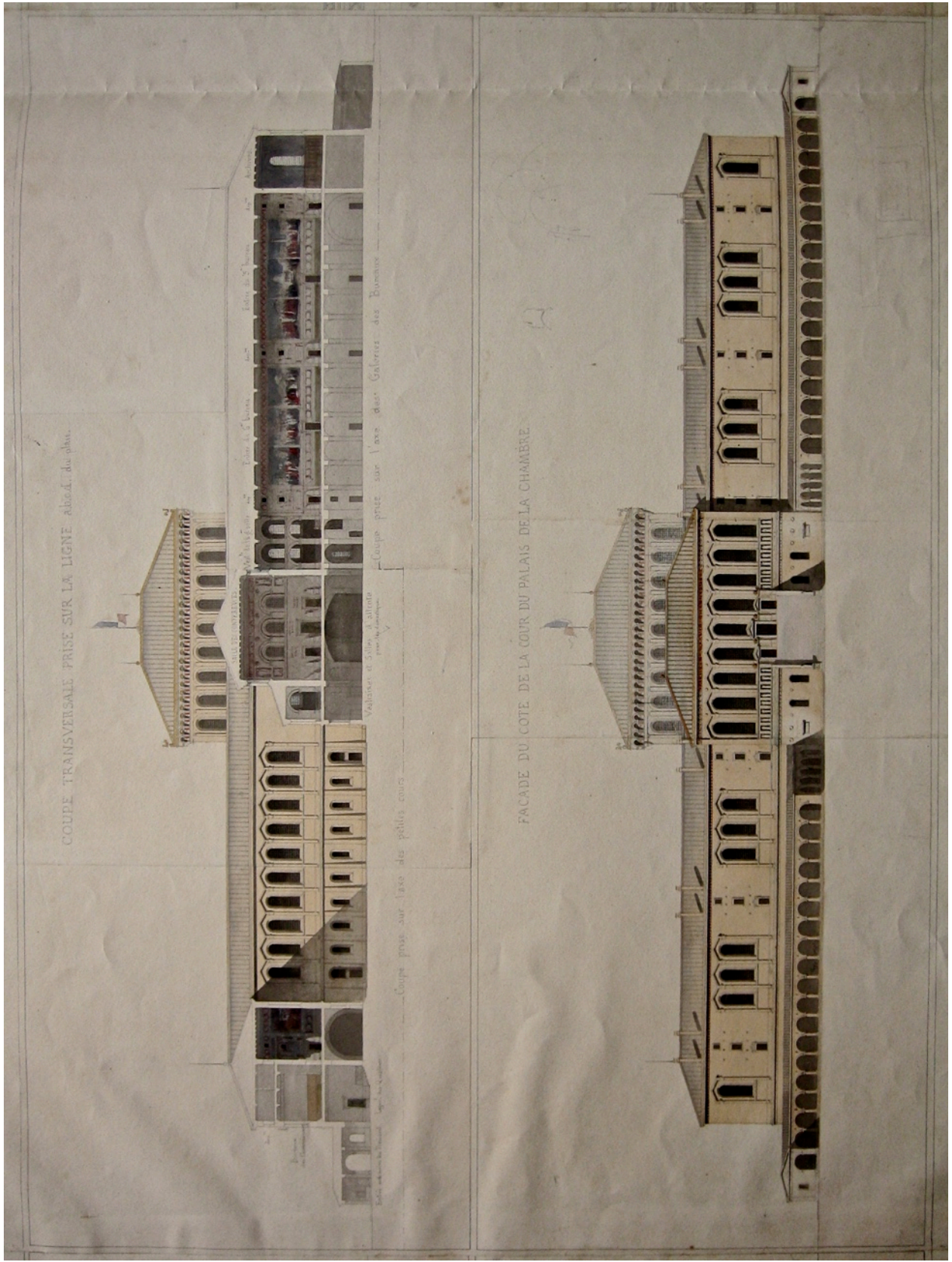
Vue du Grand Vestibule par le
ENTRÉE DU PEUPLE

COUPE PRISE SUR L'AXE



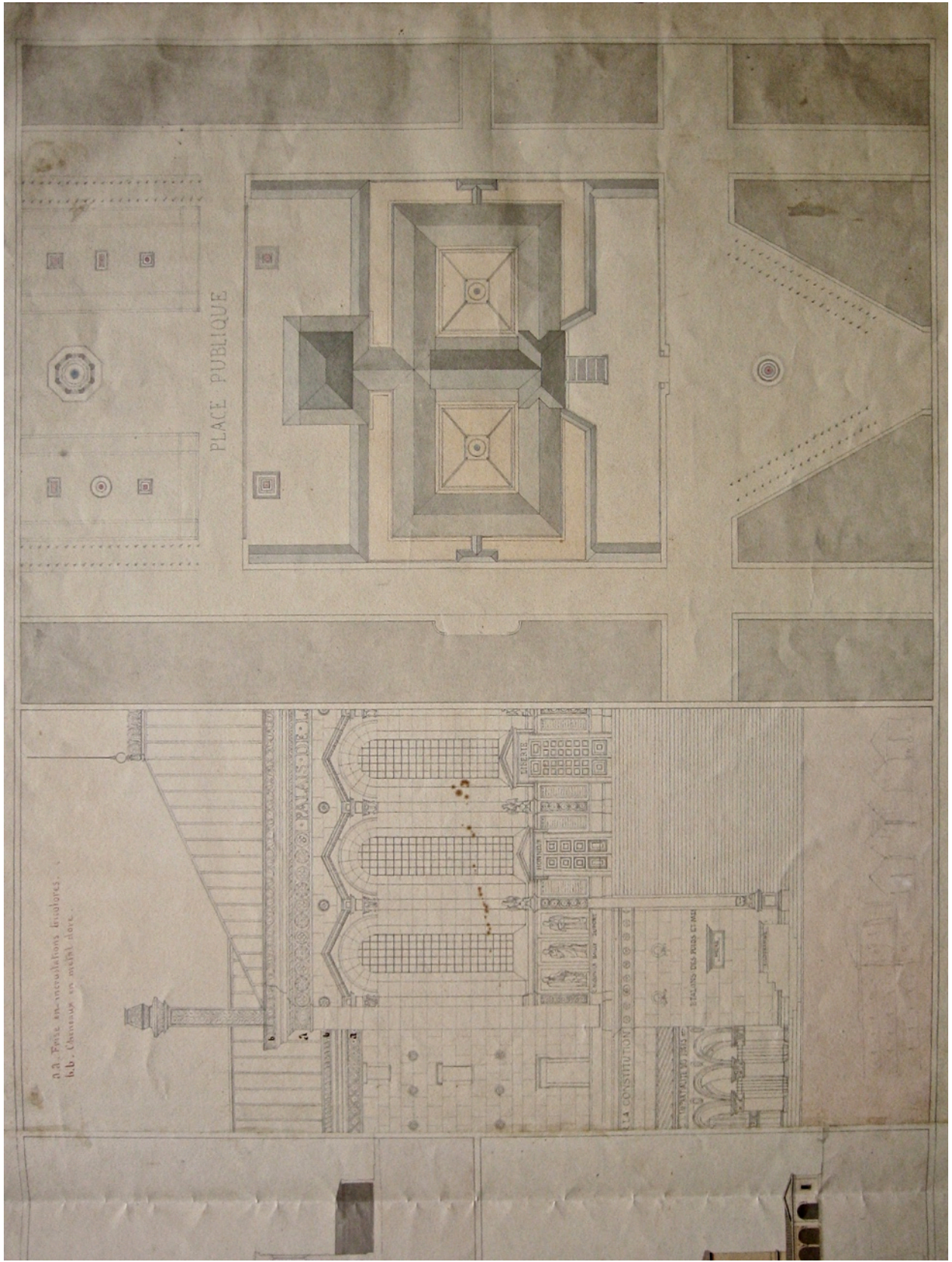
FACADE LATÉRALE
du côté de l'Hotel du Président





COUPE TRANSVERSALE PRISE SUR LA LIGNE abcd. de plan.

FACADE DU COTE DE LA COUR DU PALAIS DE LA CHAMBRE.



a.a. Fente en-rouleaux en bois.
b.b. Châssis en métal doré.

1840-1845

PALAIS DE LA CONSTITUTION

Programme

Une nouvelle loi de finances pour la France... Le Chapitre de l'art. 1er de la loi de finances...

Le Chapitre de l'art. 2 de la loi de finances... Le Chapitre de l'art. 3 de la loi de finances...

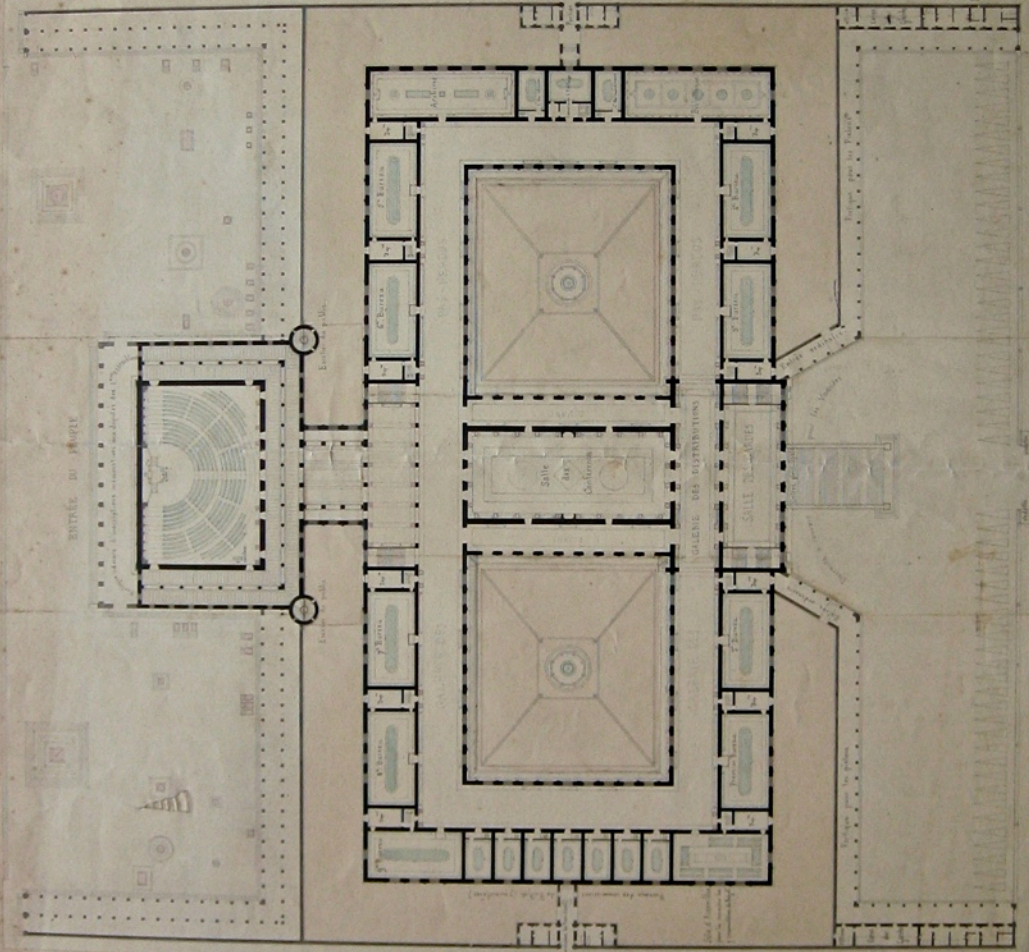
Le Chapitre de l'art. 4 de la loi de finances... Le Chapitre de l'art. 5 de la loi de finances...

Le Chapitre de l'art. 6 de la loi de finances... Le Chapitre de l'art. 7 de la loi de finances...

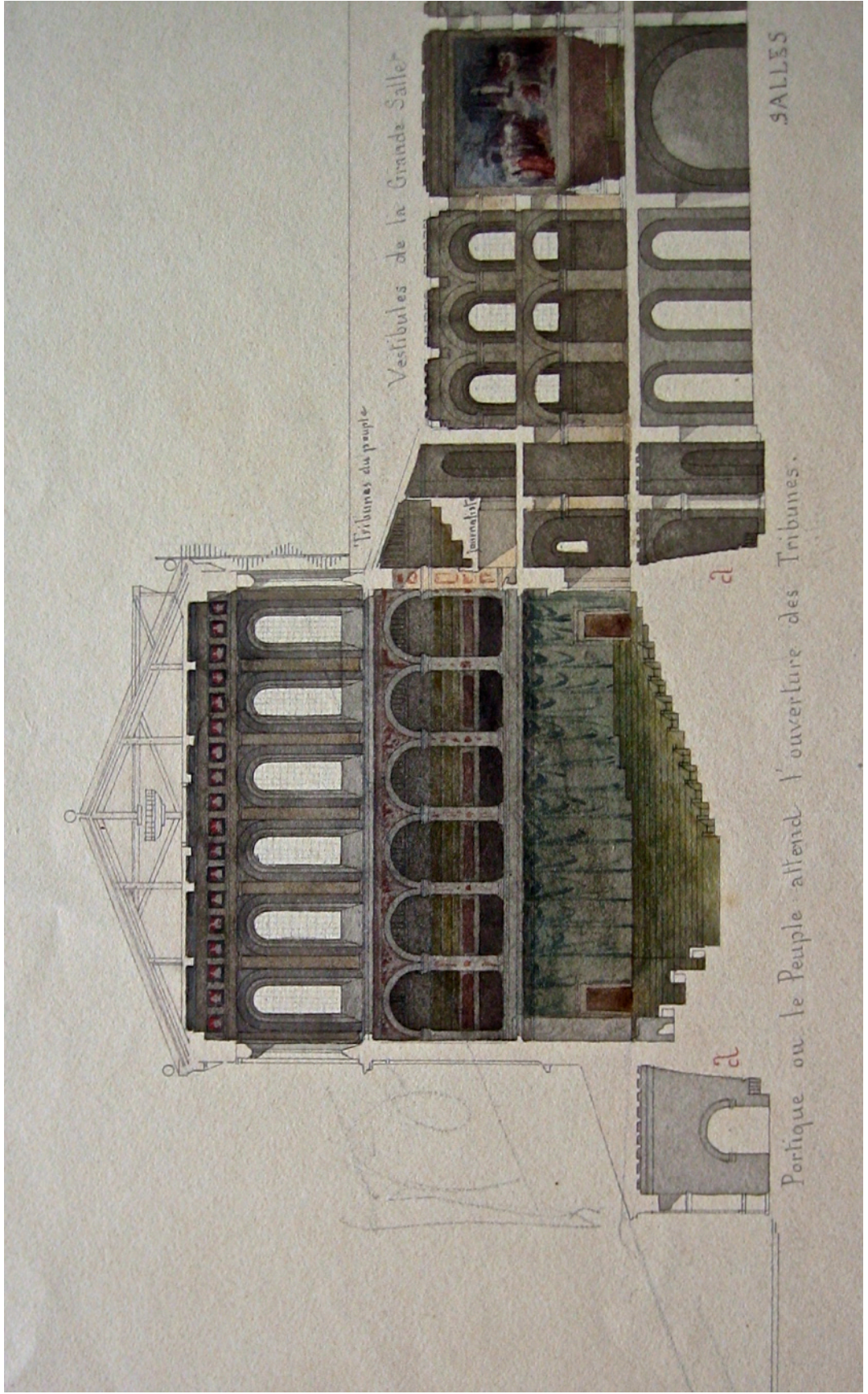
Le Chapitre de l'art. 8 de la loi de finances... Le Chapitre de l'art. 9 de la loi de finances...

Le Chapitre de l'art. 10 de la loi de finances... Le Chapitre de l'art. 11 de la loi de finances...

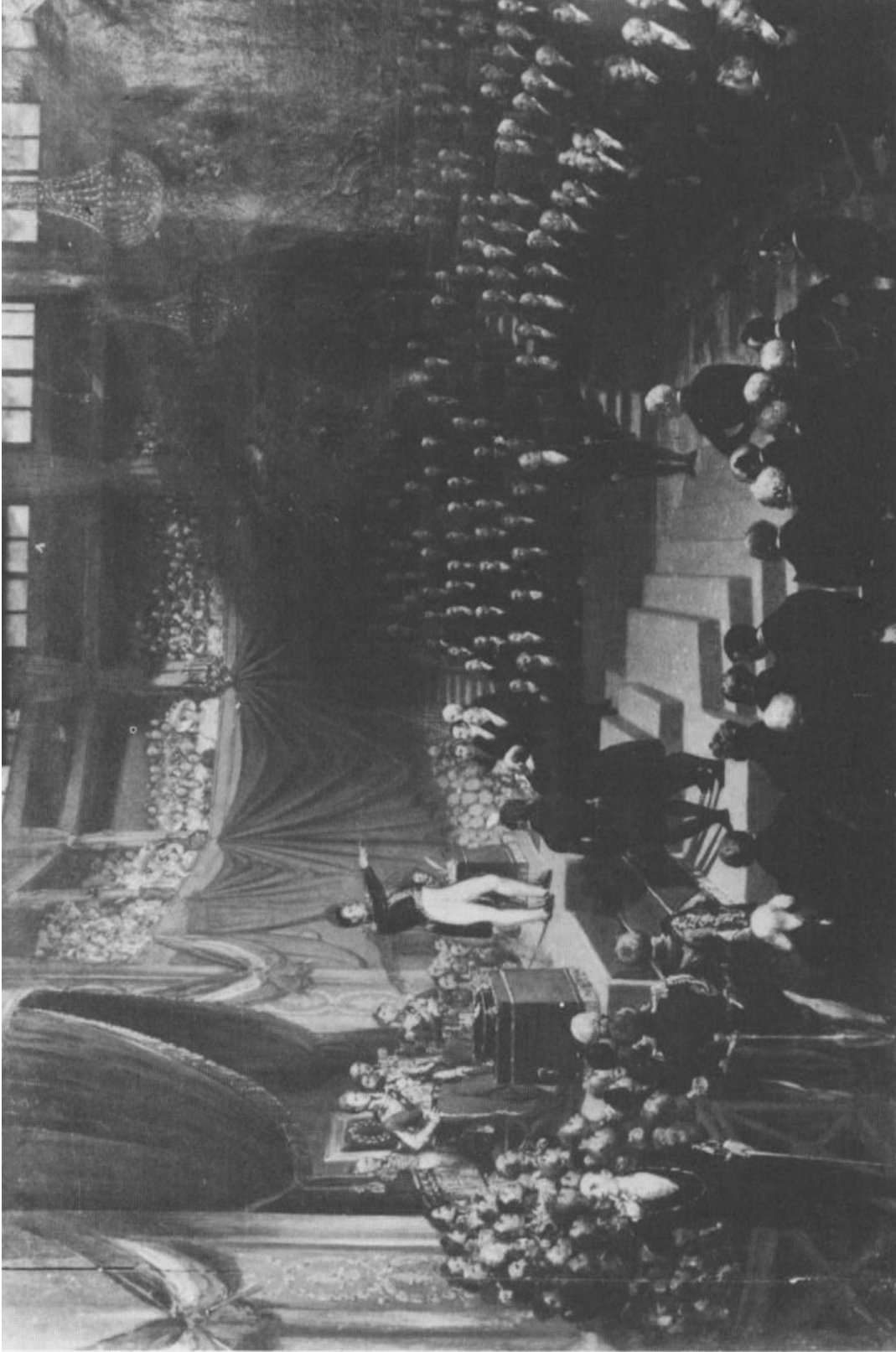
PLACE PUBLIQUE



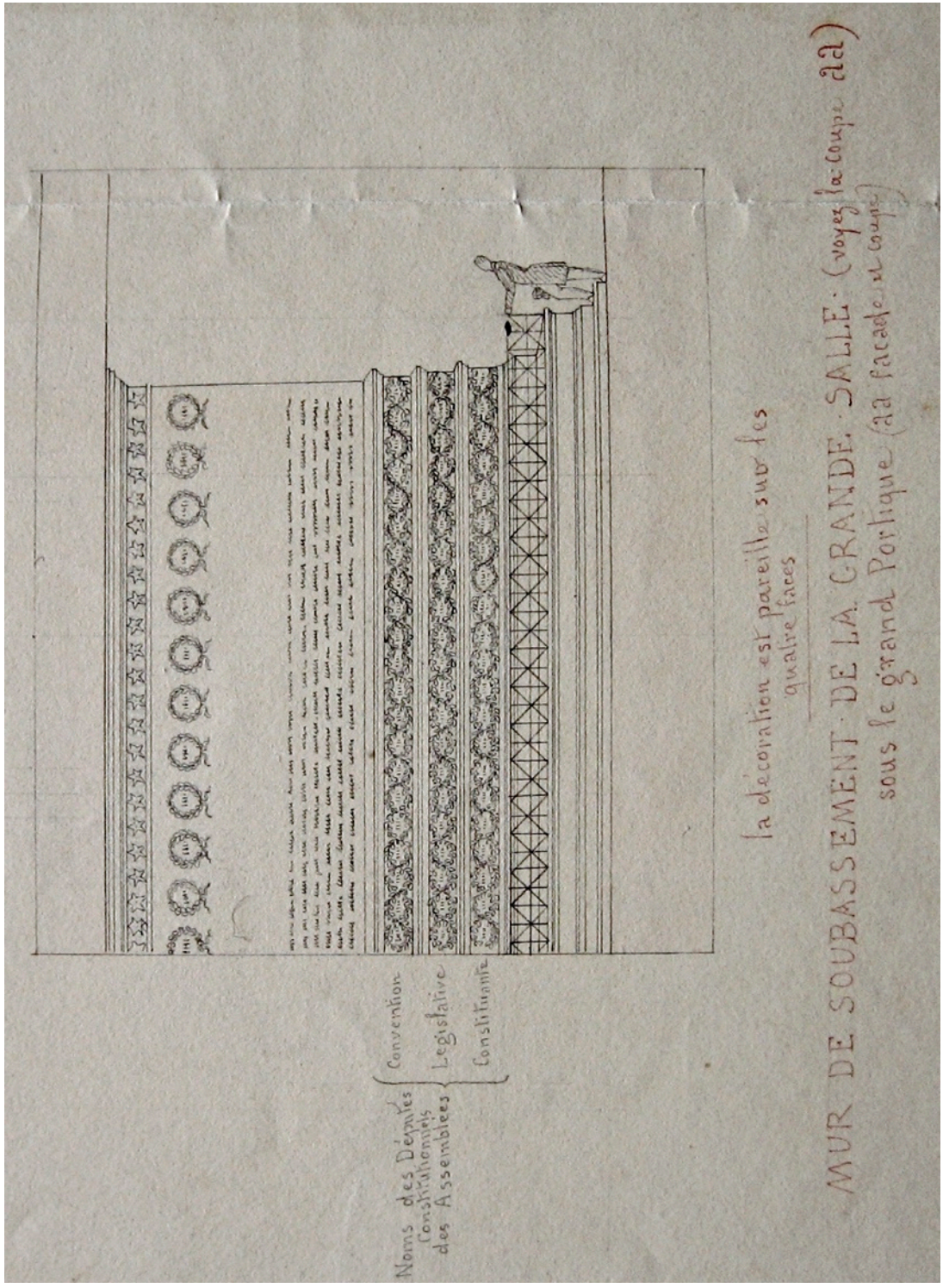
PRESIDENT DE LA CHAMBRE



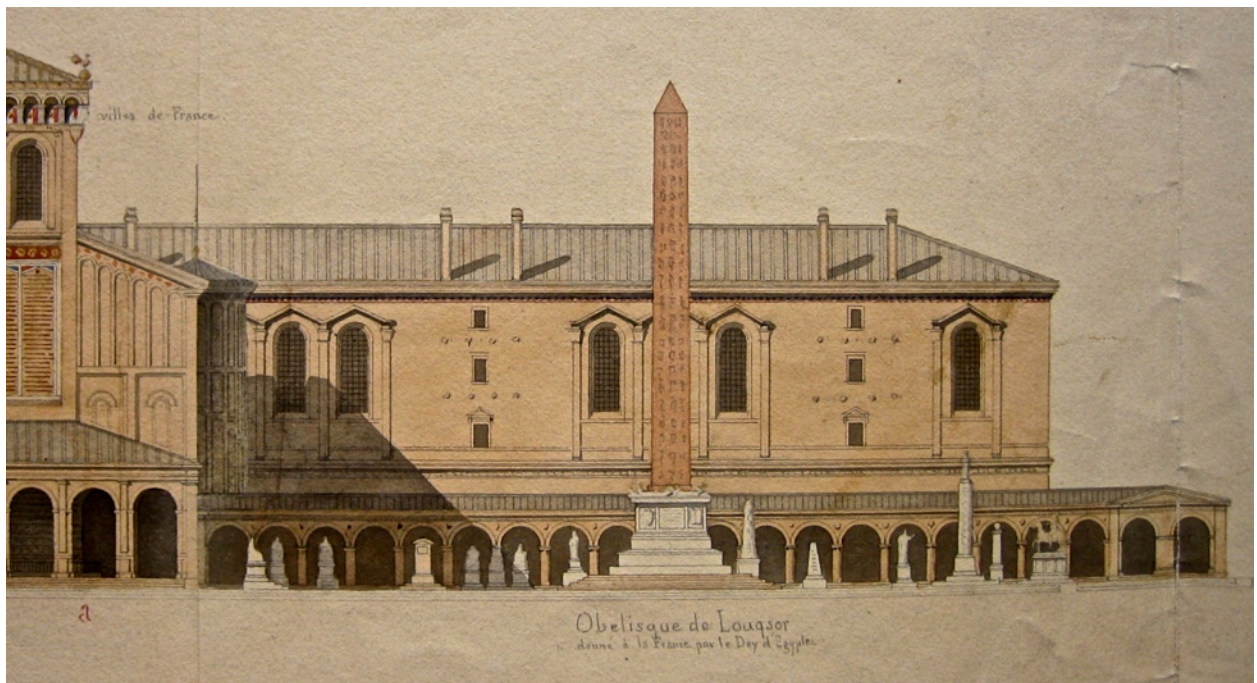
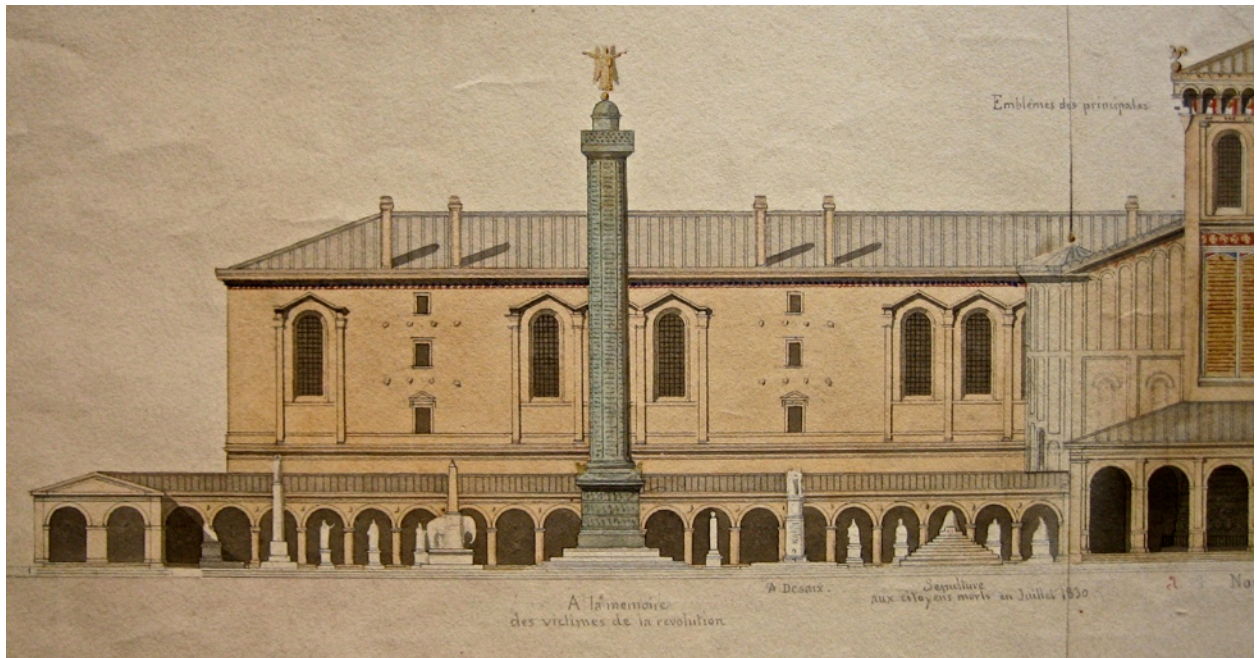
2.2.8 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Section through the assembly hall of the Chamber of Deputies, fifth-year *envoi*, Rome, 1834. [Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine, Fonds Ruprich-Robert]



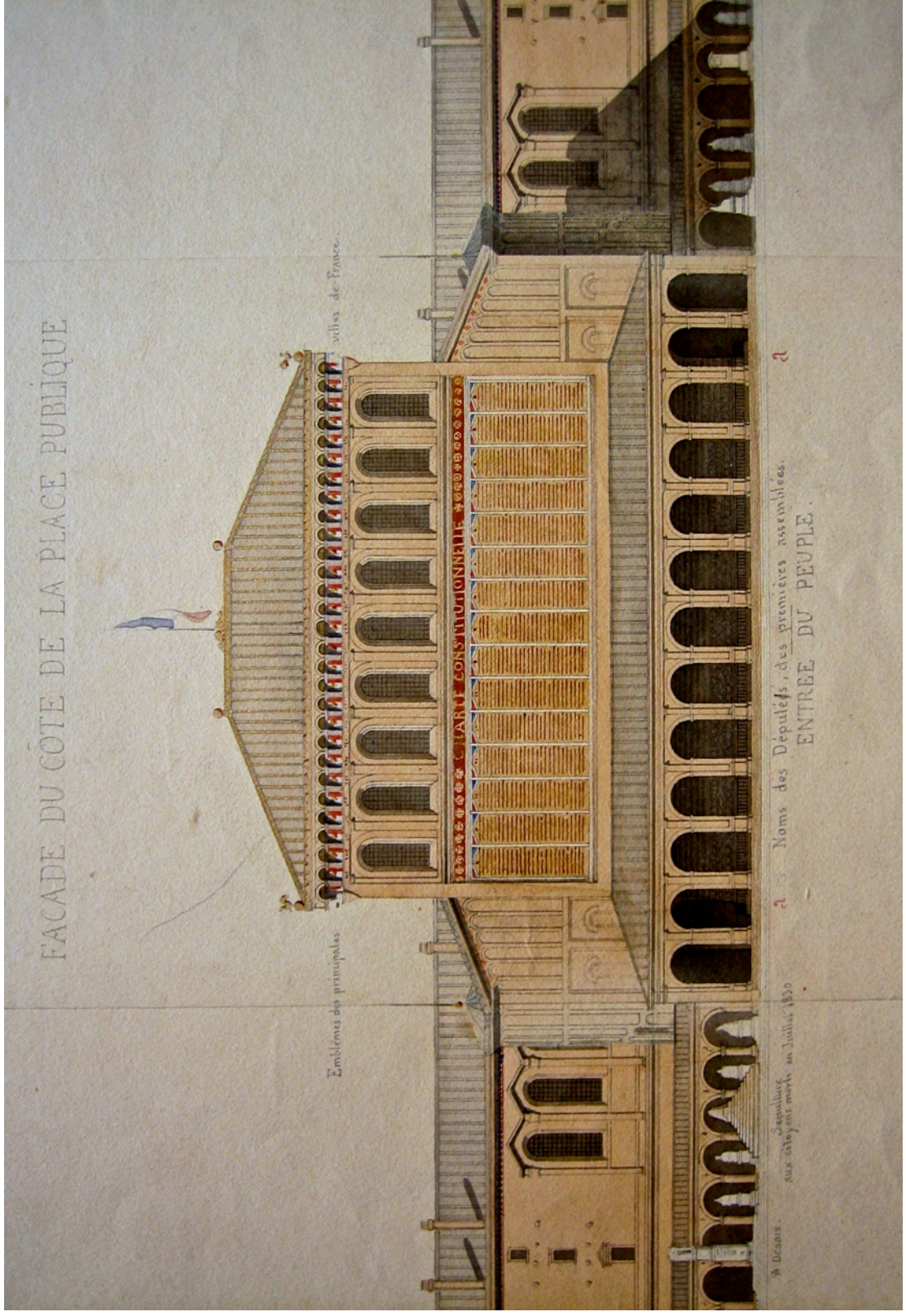
2.2.9 Joseph-Désiré Court, "Le Serment de Louis-Philippe," 1830; from Marrinan "Resistance, Revolution and the July Monarchy: Images to Inspire the Chamber of Deputies," *Oxford Art Journal* 3, no. 2 (1980), 27.



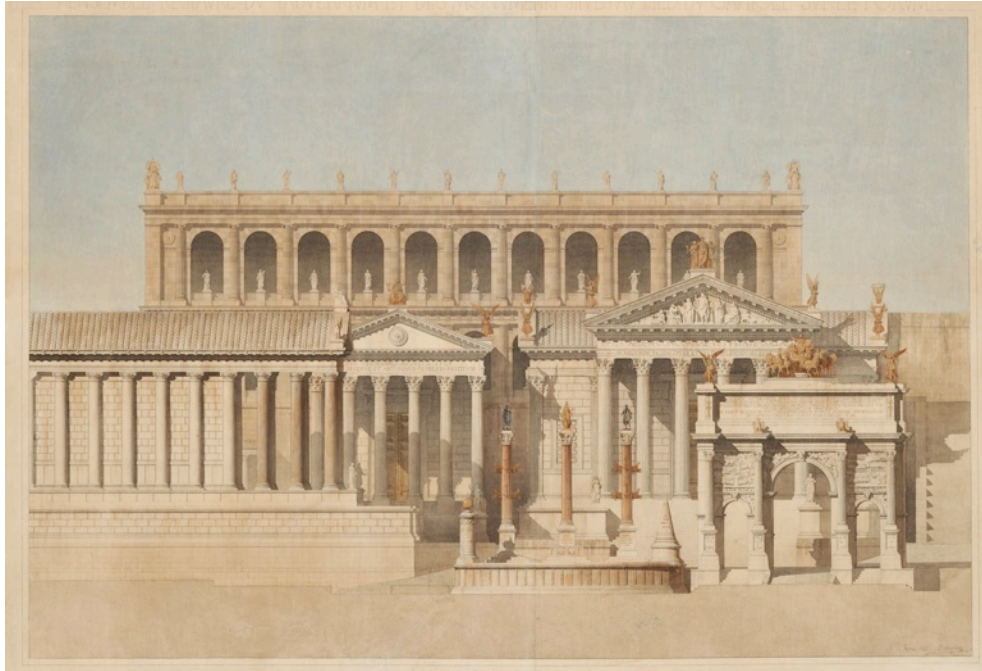
2.2.10 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Detail of the stepped substructure of the assembly hall, "Une Chambre des députés pour la France," first panel, fifth-year *envoi*, Rome, 1834. [Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine, Fonds Ruprich-Robert]



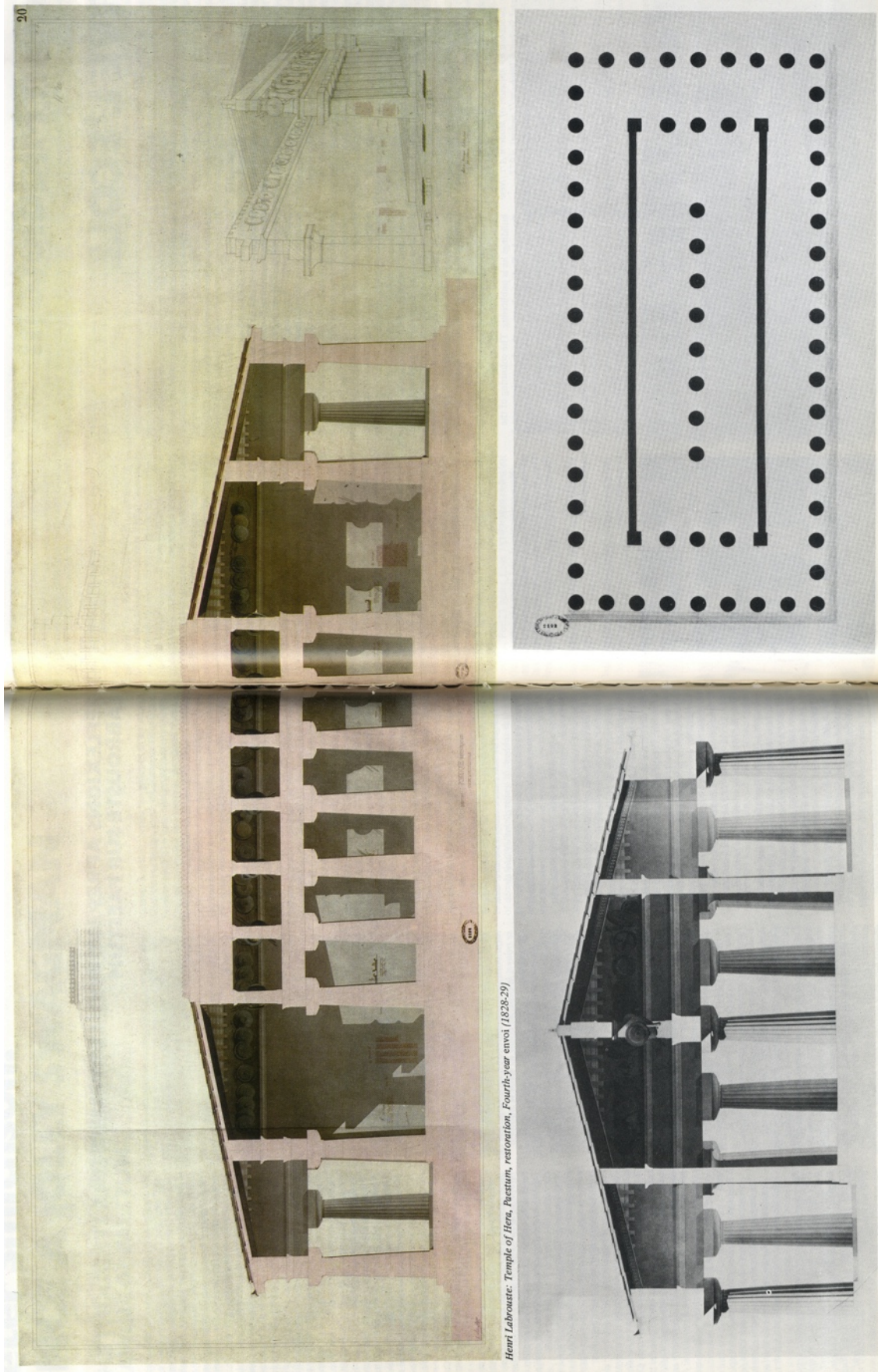
2.2.11 S.-C. Constant-Dufaux, Detail of the façade facing the public square with commemorative monuments, “Une Chambre des députés pour la France,” first panel, fifth-year *envoi*, Rome, 1834. [Médiathèque de l’Architecture et du Patrimoine, Fonds Ruprich-Robert]



2.2.12 S.-C. Constant-DuFeux, Detail of the façade facing the public square, “Une Chambre des députés pour la France,” first panel, fifth-year *envoi*, Rome, 1834. [Médiathèque de l’Architecture et du Patrimoine, Fonds Ruprich-Robert]



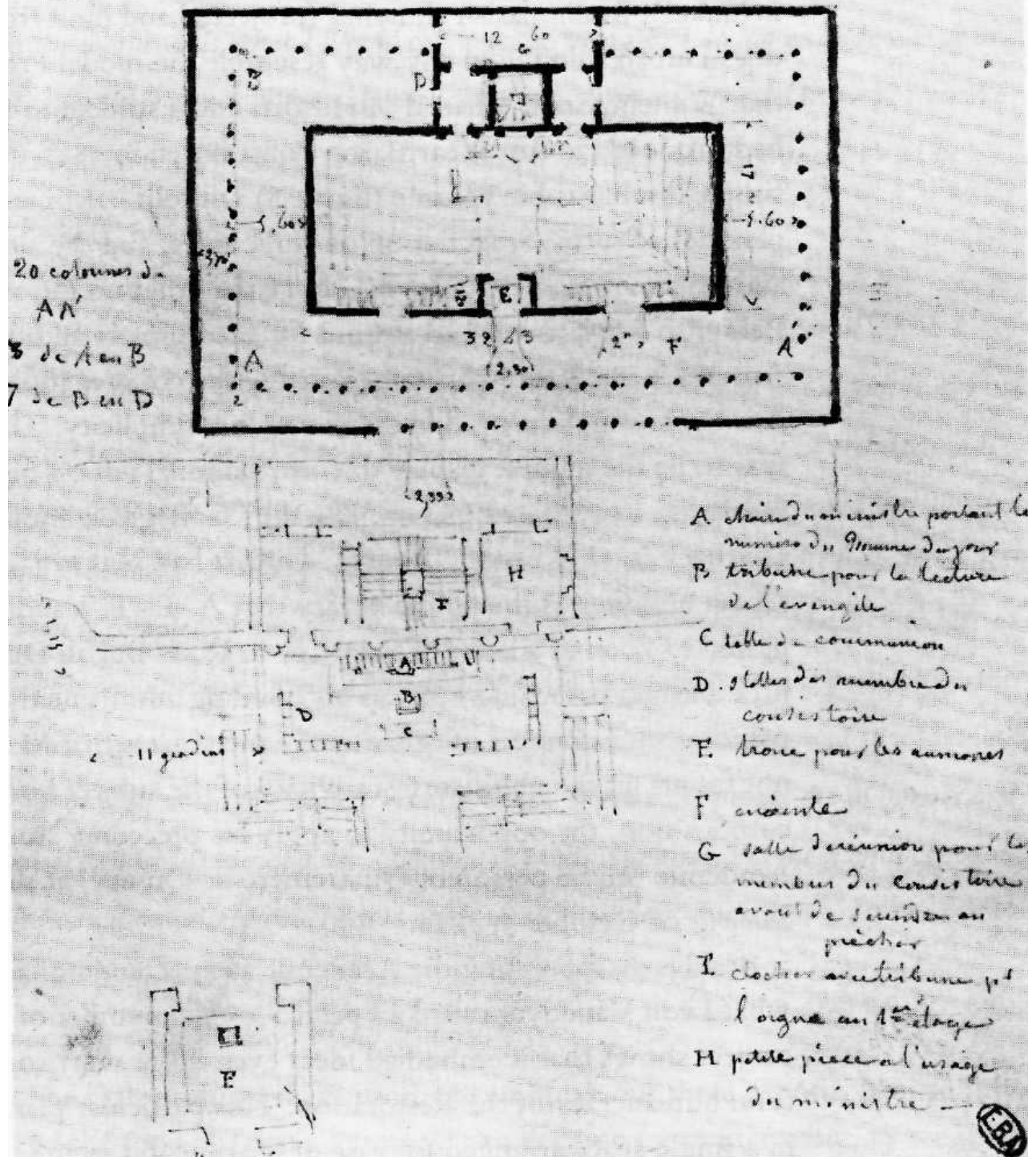
2.2.13 Constant Moyaux, (top) restoration of the Capitoline Hill with Tabularium in the background, (bottom) Section through the Tabularium showing the bronze tabulae adorning the interior portico, 1865. [École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Env 54-04]



Henri Labrousse: Temple of Hera, Paestum, restoration, Fourth-year envoi (1828-29)

2.2.14 Henri Labrousse, Restoration of the Portique in Paestum, fourth-year envoi, 1828-1829; from Middleton, *The Beaux-Arts*, 20

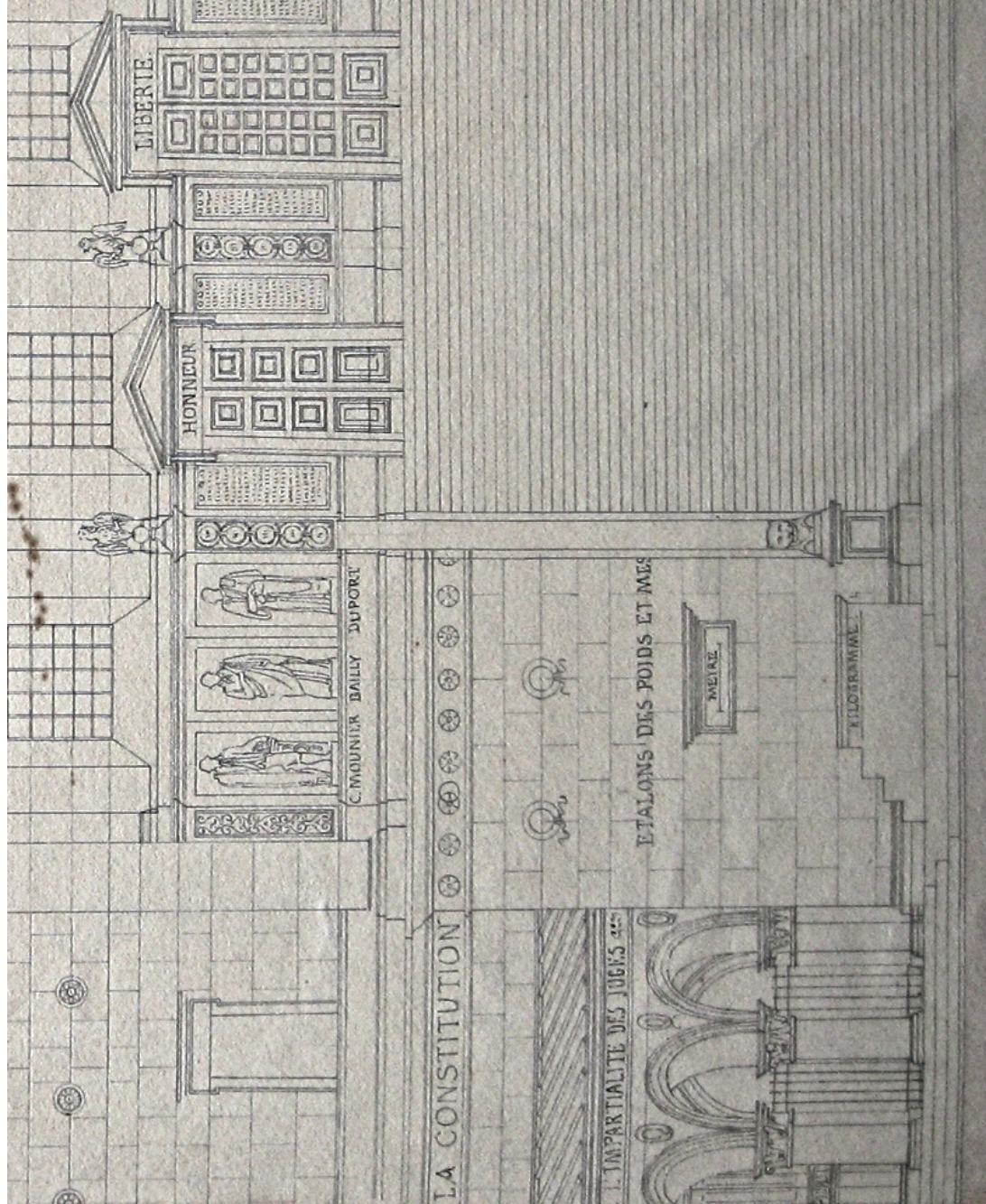
Temple protestant d'après Duban.



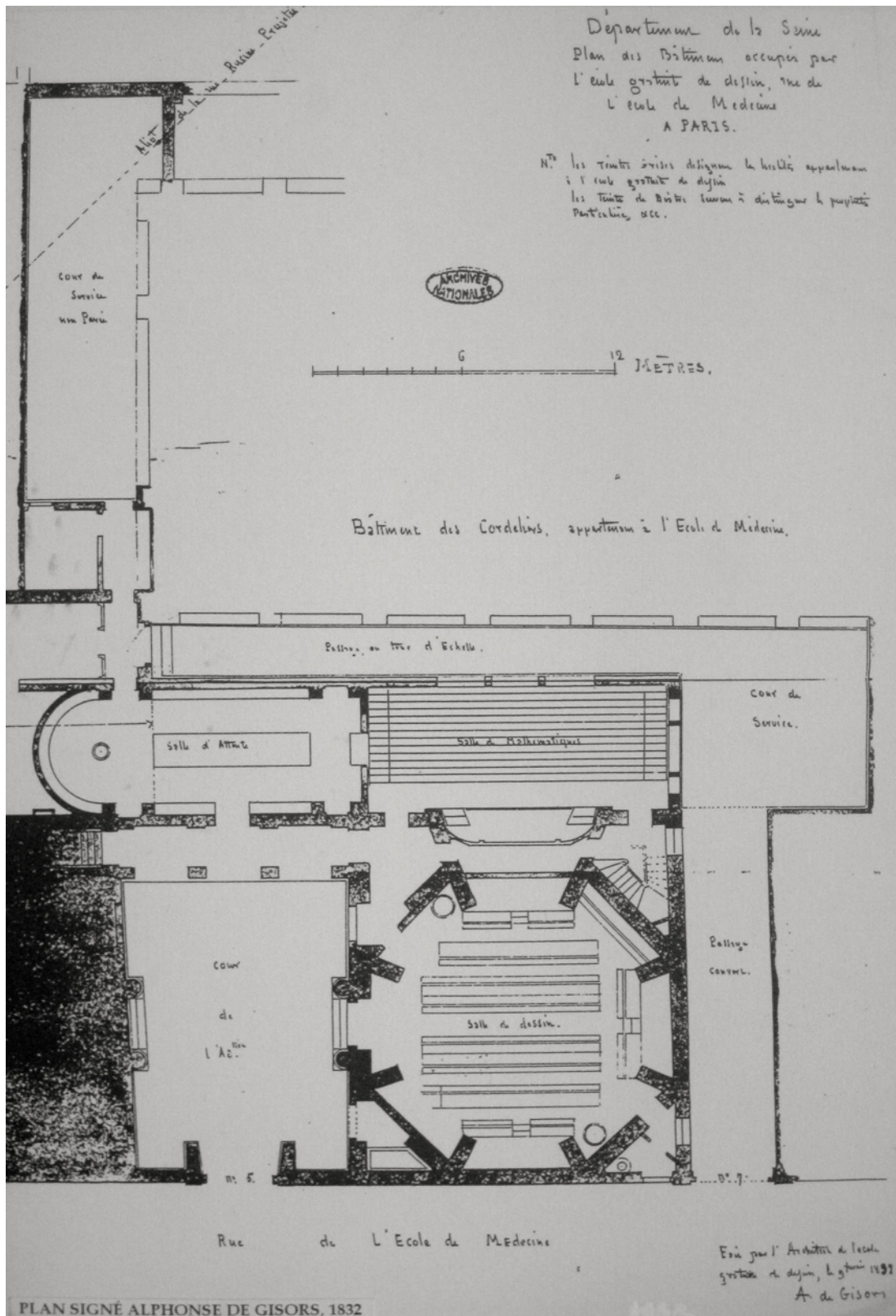
2.2.15 Félix Duban, Temple Protestant, plan, fifth-year *envoi*, 1828-1829. Sketch by J.-F.-J. Lecoq; from Van Zanten, *Designing Paris: The Architecture of Duban, Labrousse, Duc and Vaudoyer*, 20.



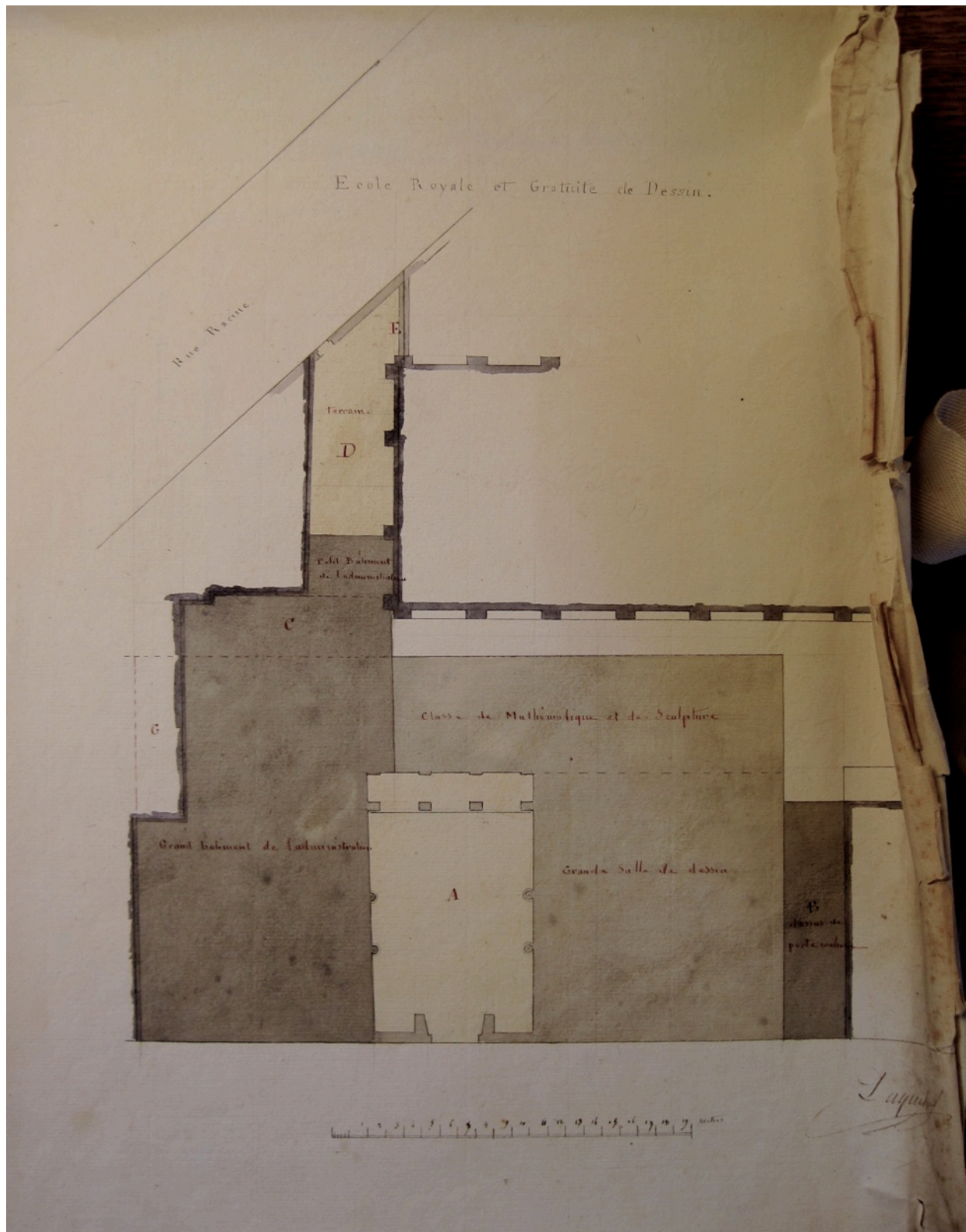
2.2.16 Filippo Palmucci, Engraving the Basilica of St. Paul Outside the Walls, undated; from "Collezione d'incisioni rappresentanti l'antica Basilica di S. Paolo prima dell'incendio avvenuto l'anno 1823."



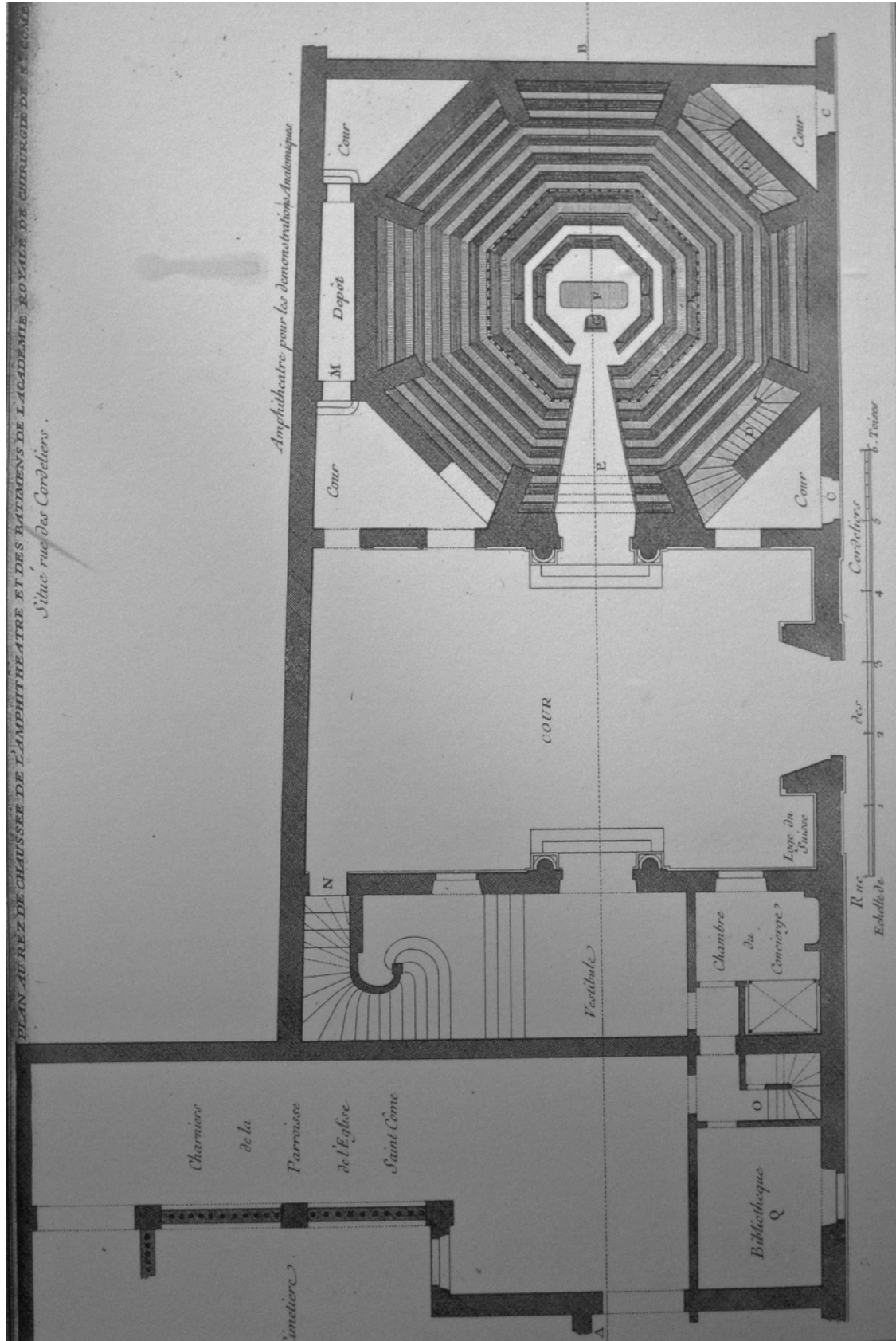
2.2.17 S.-C. Constant-Dufeu, Detail of the façade of the legislators' entrance with podium for "weights and measures," "Une Chambre des députés pour la France," fourth panel, fifth-year *envoi*, Rome, 1834. [Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine, Fonds



2.3.1 Alphonse de Gisors, Renovation plan for the École Gratuite Royale de Dessin, 1832. [Archives Nationales, document number unknown]



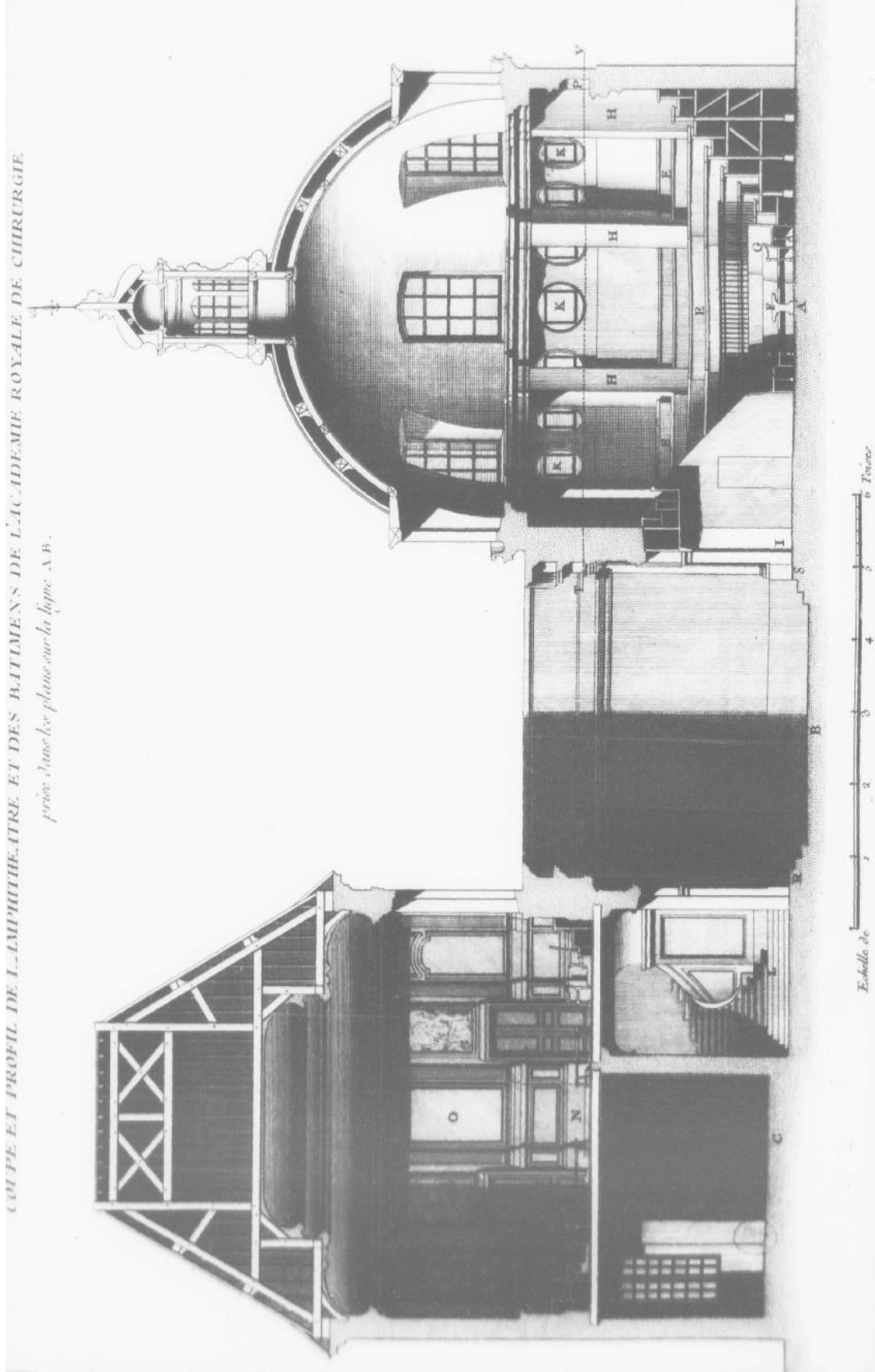
2.3.2 François Duquesnay, Proposal for the renovation of the École Gratuite Royale de Dessin. [Archives Nationales, AJ/53/99]



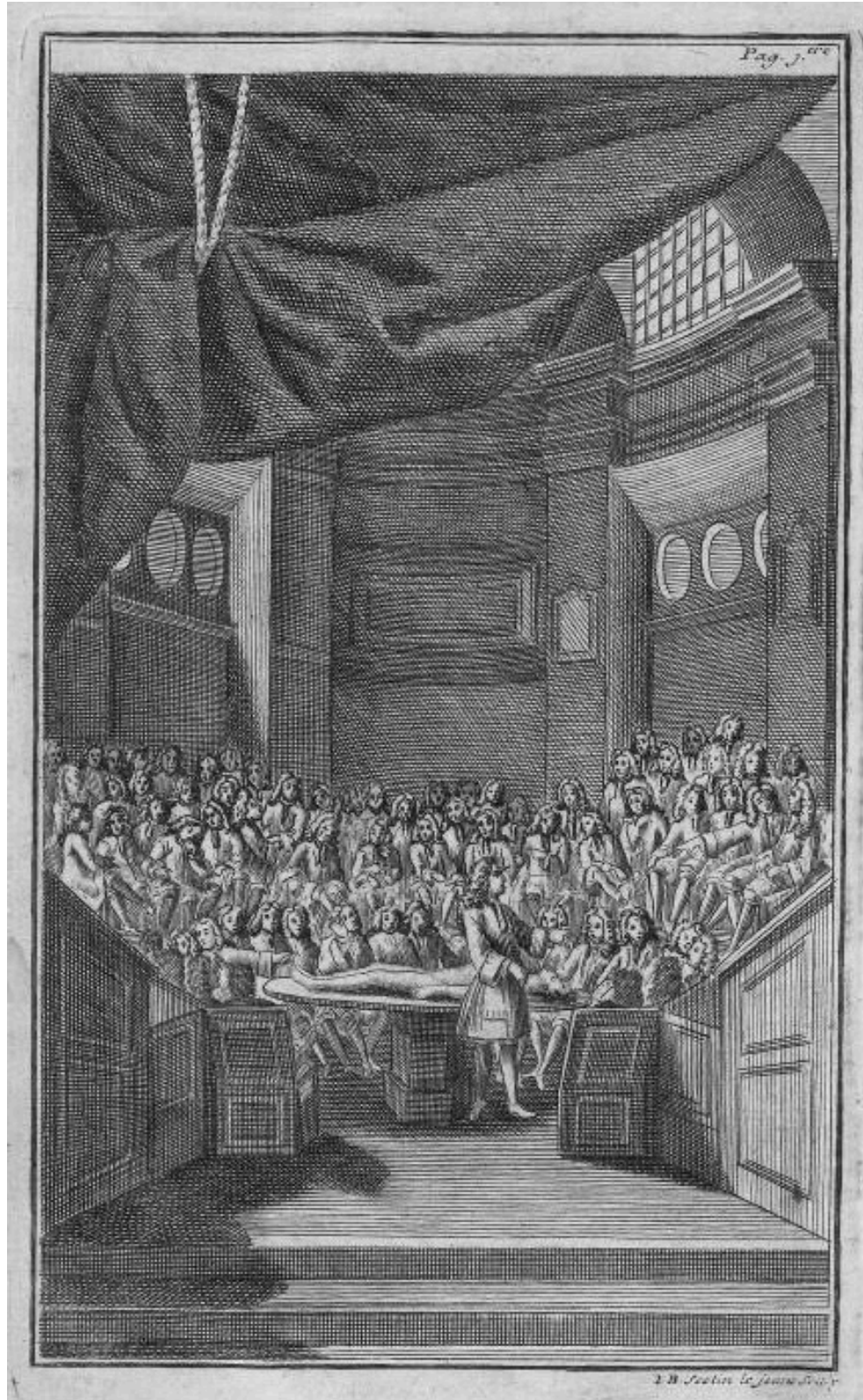
2.3.3 Jacques-François Blondel, Plan au rez de chaussée l'amphithéâtre et des bâtiments de l'Académie royale de chirurgie; from *Architecture française*, t. 2, 1752-1756. [Gallica]

COUPE ET PROFIL DE L'AMPHITHÉÂTRE ET DES BÂTIMENS DE L'ACADÉMIE ROYALE DE CHIRURGIE

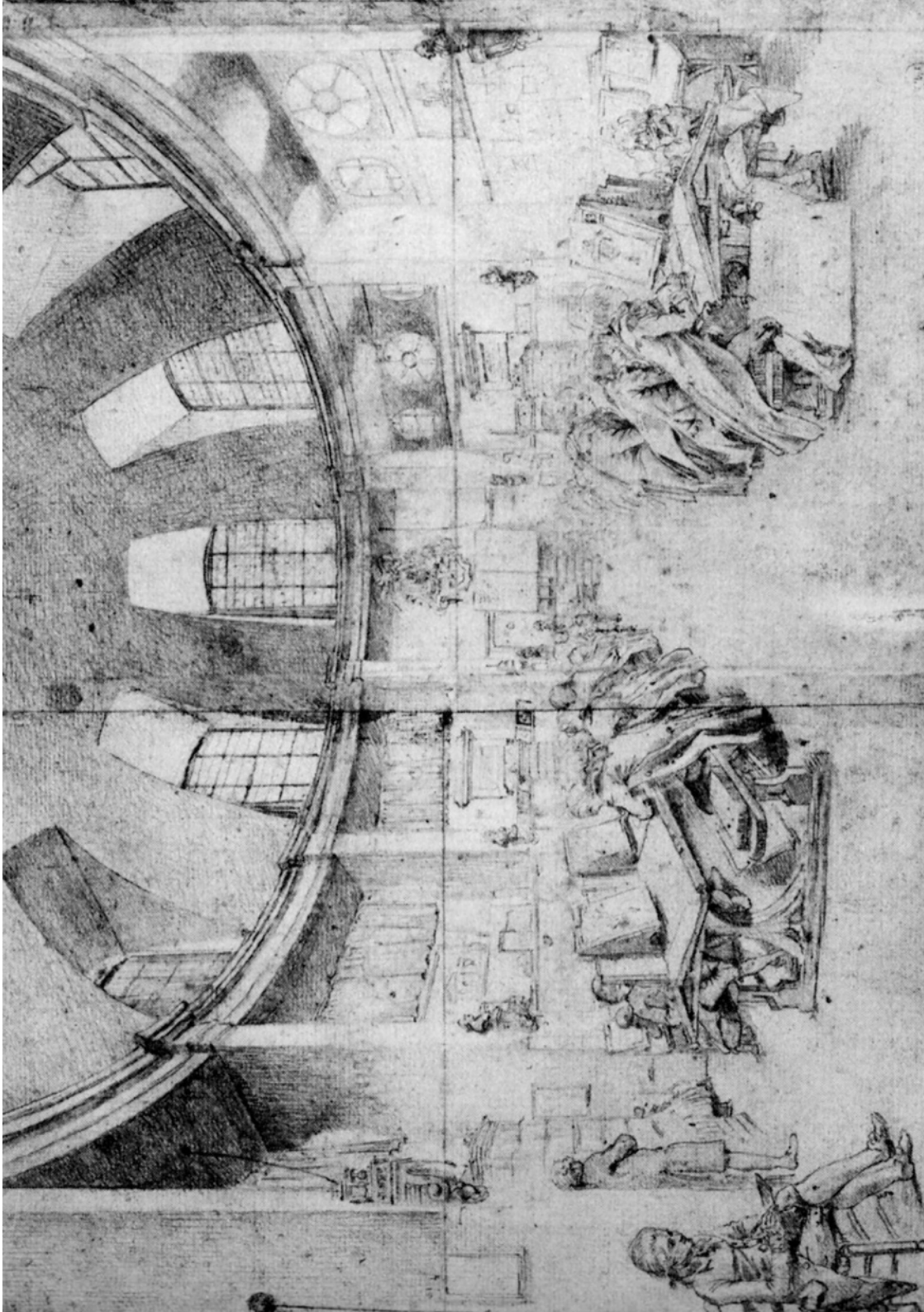
pris dans les plans sur la ligne A B.



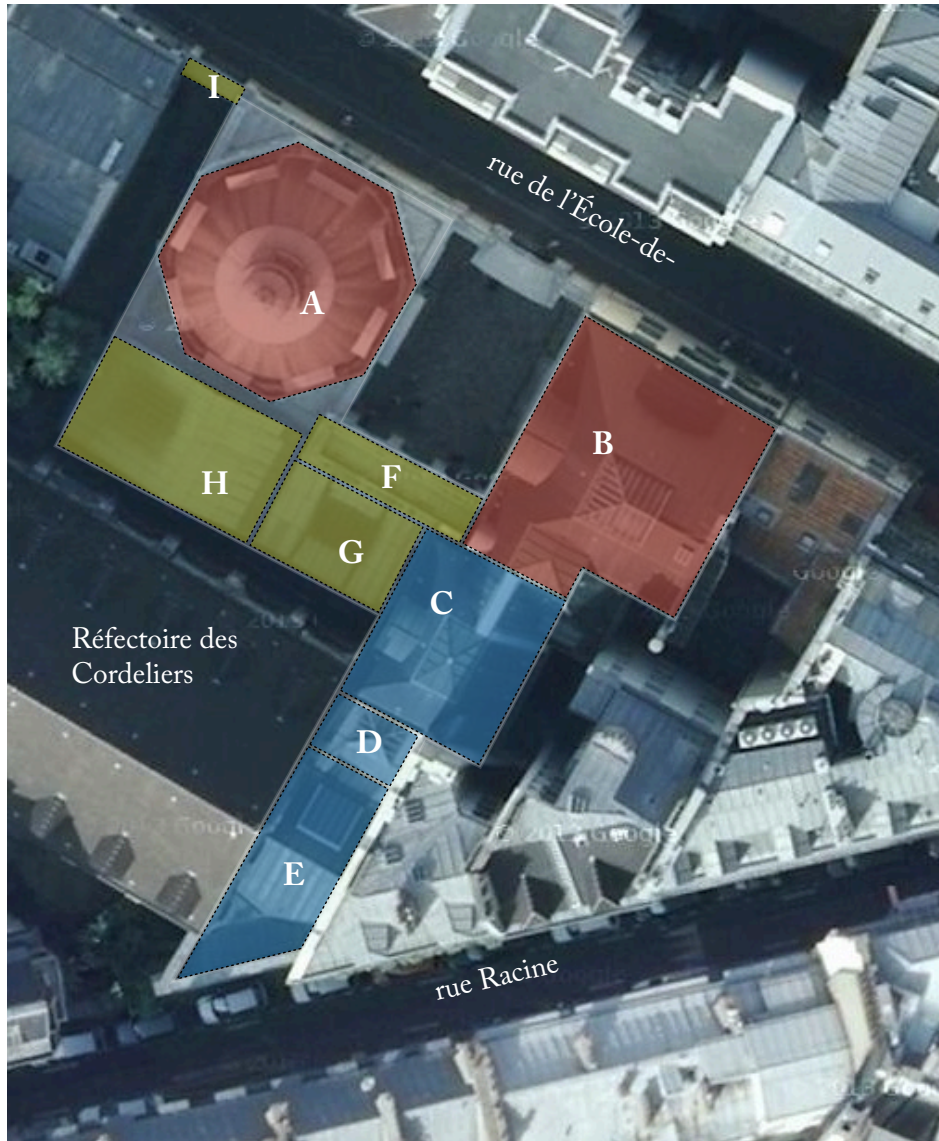
2.3.4 Jacques-François Blondel, Coupe et profil de l'amphithéâtre et des bâtimens de l'Académie royale de chirurgie; from *Architecture française*, v. 2, 1752-1756. [Gallica]



2.3.5 François Duquesnay, Engraving showing an interior view of the amphitheater during an anatomy course; from Pierre Dionis, *Cours d'operations de chirurgie, démontrées au Jardin royal*, 1757, v. 1, pl. 1.



2.3.6 Drawing of the large amphitheater at the École Gratuite de Dessin, 1770; from Galison and Daston, *Objectivity*, 101. [Musée Carnavalet]



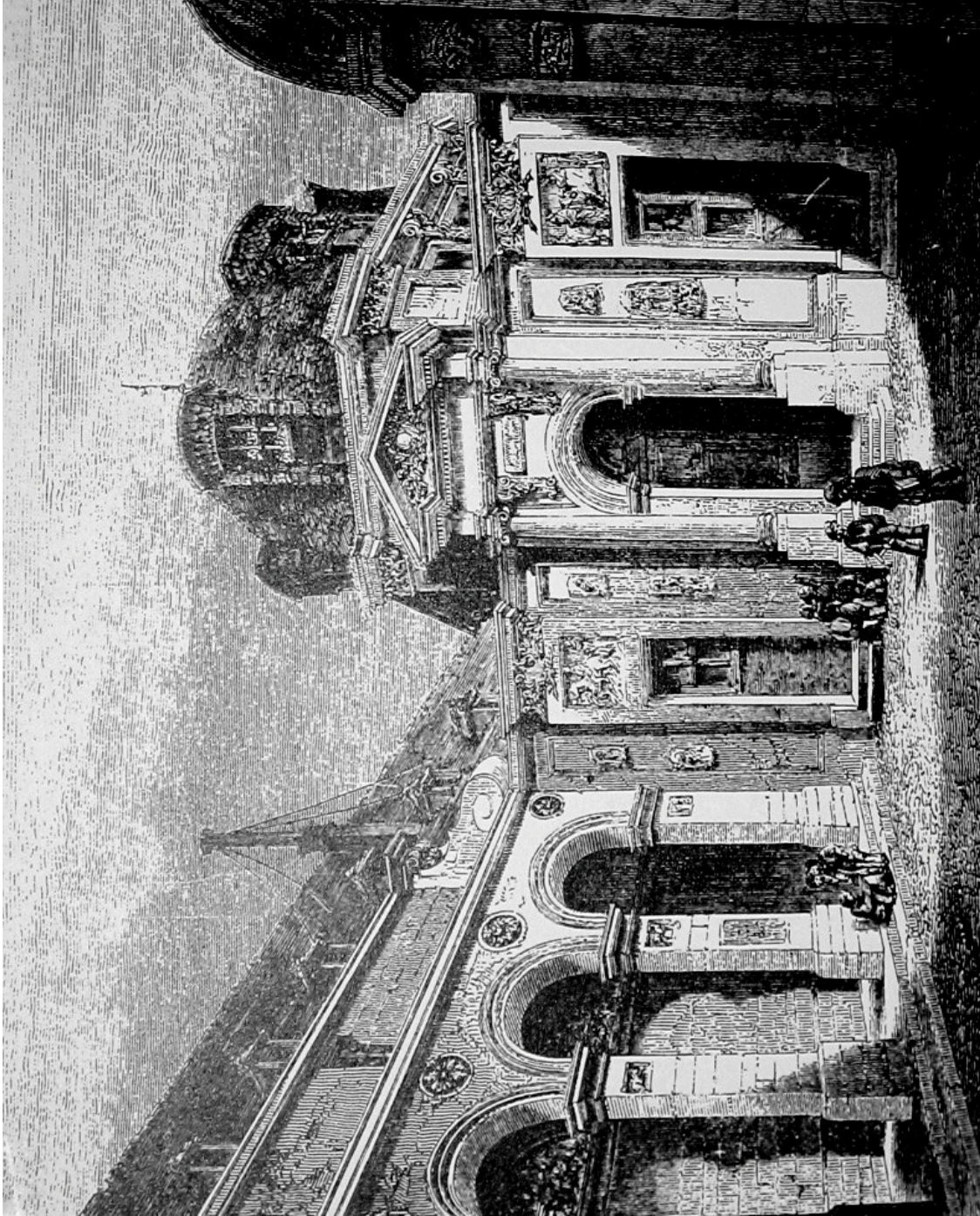
- 2.3.7 Satellite view of the premises of the École de Dessin from Google Maps. Overlaid areas denoting S.-C. Constant-Dufieux’s interventions are as follows: (A) the large amphitheater, (B) the administration building with the director’s residence, (C) a three-story addition with a “salle dite des gradins” on the ground floor, a classroom for the teaching of sculpture from ornament on the second floor, and an institutional archive in the attic, (D) a stairwell providing access to parts C and E, (E) a two-story addition with a storage room for models and plaster casts on the ground floor, and a studio for drawing from live plants on the top floor, (F) the arcuated façade within the courtyard (G) a classroom that used for courses in mathematics and for courses in the history and composition of ornament, (H) the small auditorium named the “Salle Destouche,” (I) a supplemental gate designed by Constant-Dufieux providing access to the École de Dessin premises.



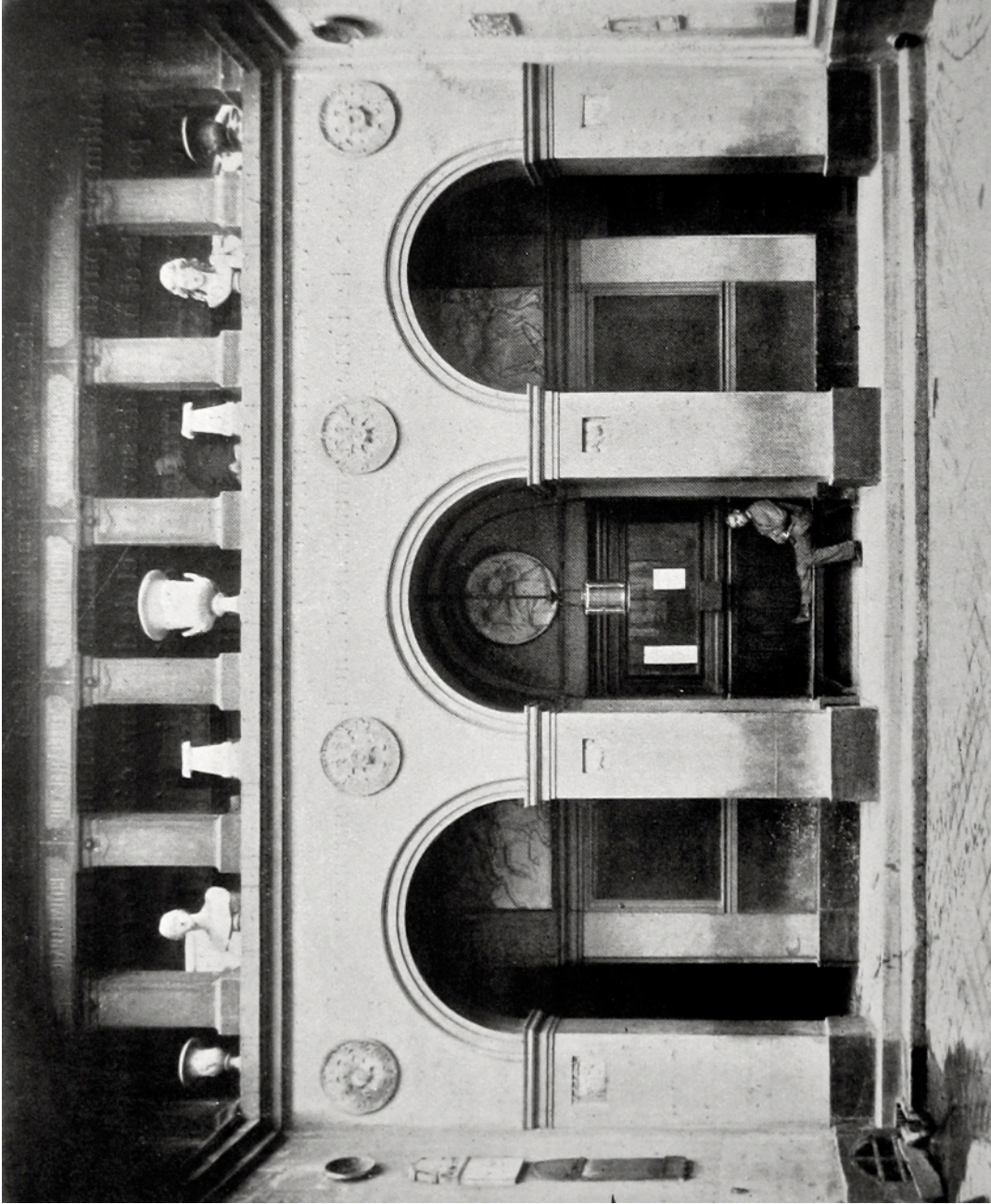
2.3.8 Illustration of the classroom for the teaching of sculpture of ornament designed by S.-C. Constant-Dufeux; from *L'Illustration, journal universel*, v. 9, no. 287 (August 26, 1848),



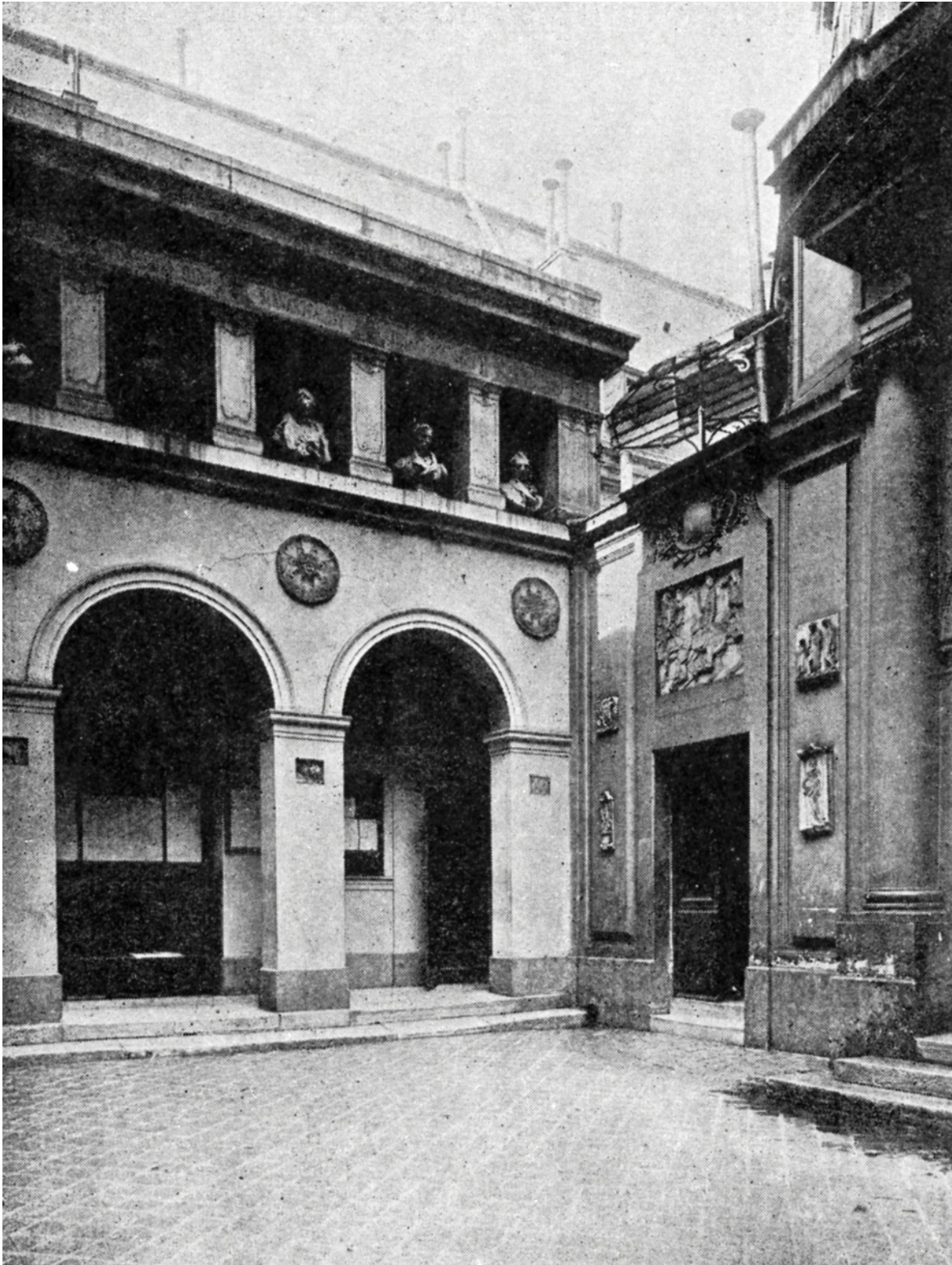
2.3.9 Illustration of the studio for drawing from live plant specimens designed by S.-C. Constant-Dufeux; from *L'Illustration, journal universel*, v. 9, no. 287 (August 26, 1848), 389.



2.3.10 Illustration of the unfinished courtyard façade of the École de Dessin, c. 1850; from *Magasin pittoresque*, 18e année, (1850), 97.



2.3.12 Photograph of the courtyard façade of the École de dessin, c. 1911; from Testard, “L’École Nationale des arts décoratifs de Paris, ancien collège des Chirugiens du roi Louis XV,” *L’Art décoratif* (January, 1911), 15. Louis XV,” 15.



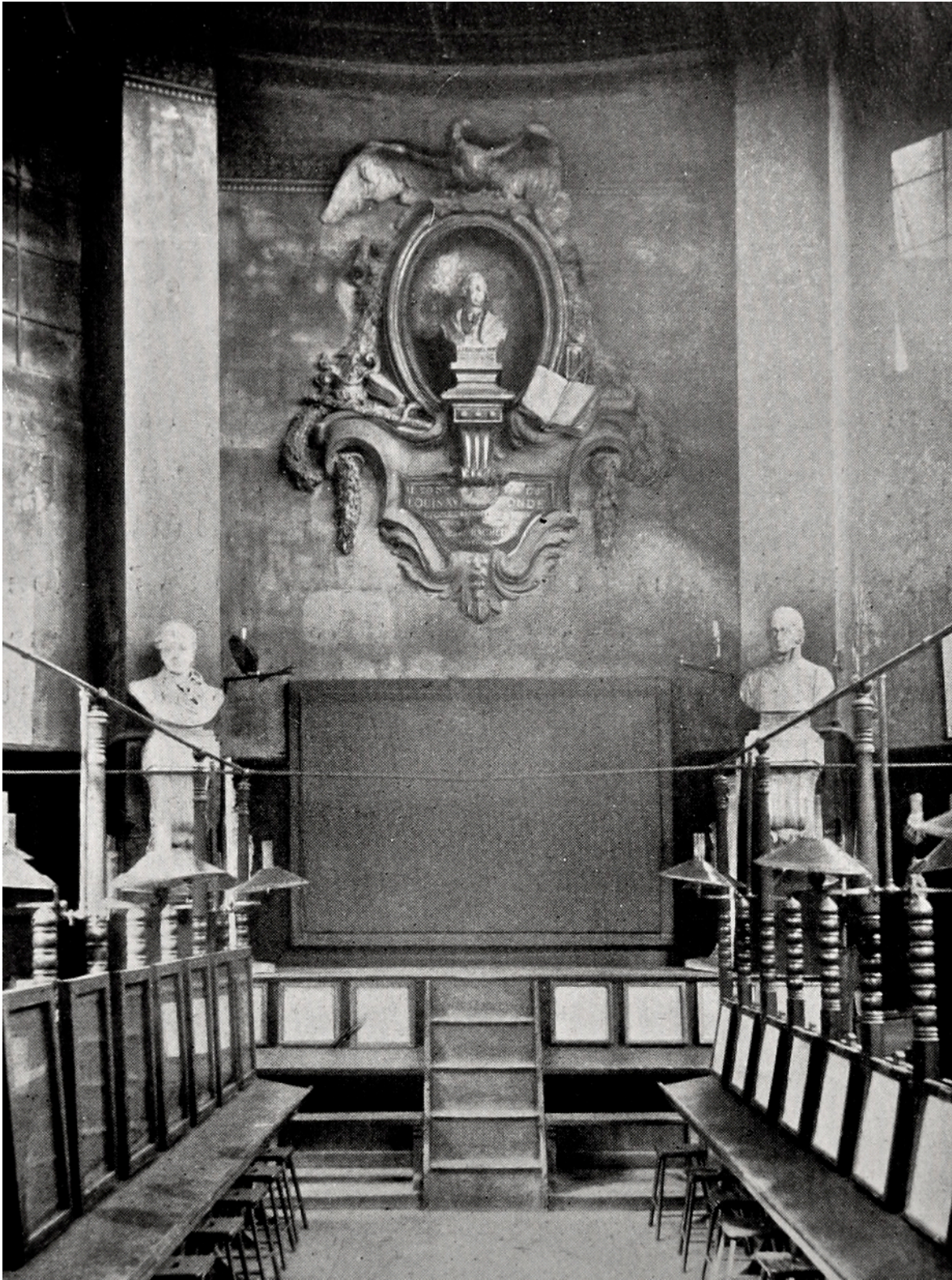
2.3.13 Photograph of the courtyard façade of the École de dessin, c. 1920;
from Vitry, “L’Amphithéâtre de chirurgie et l’école des arts décoratifs,”
Gazette des Beaux-Arts (March/April 1920), 206.



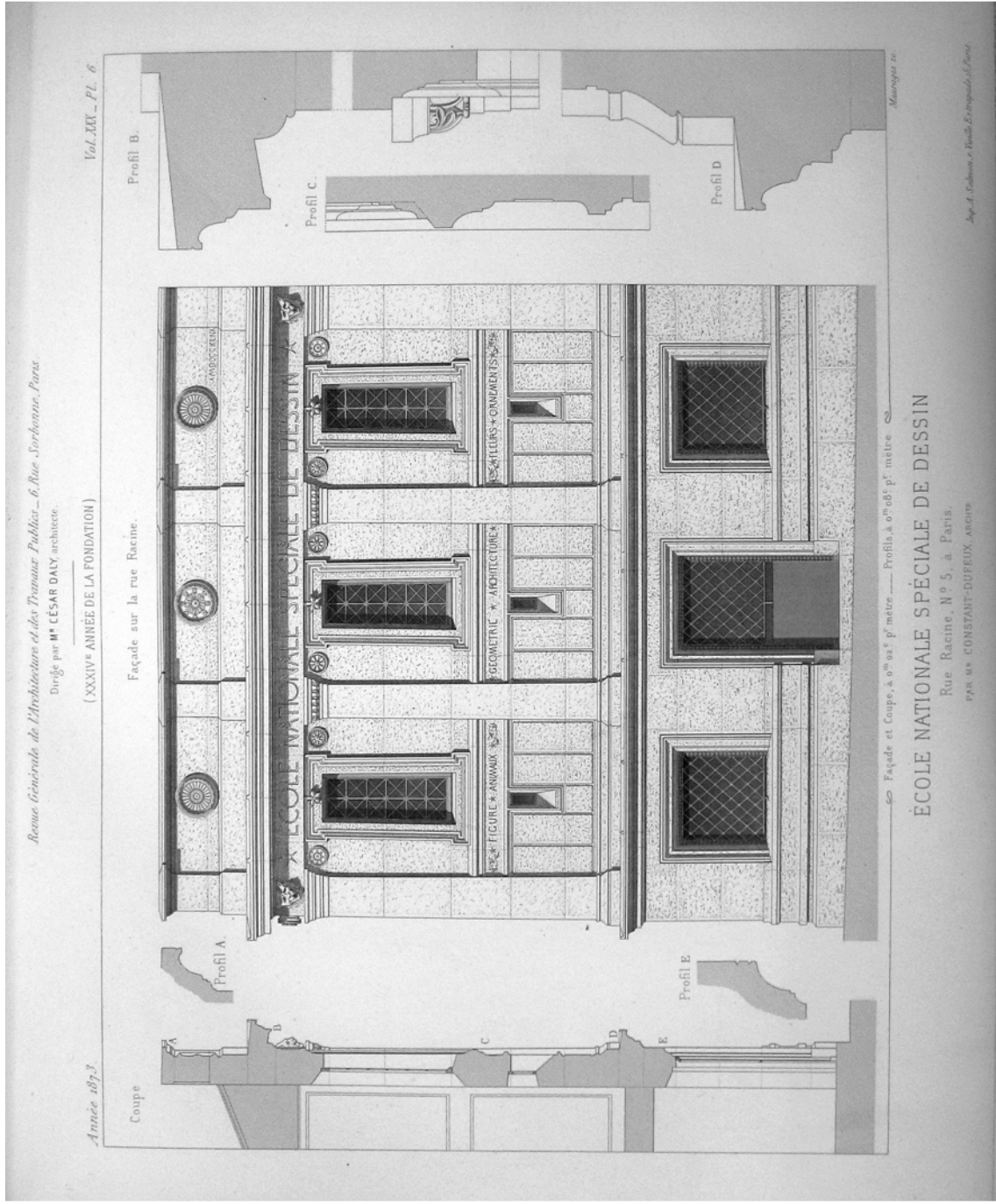
2.3.14 Illustration of exterior of the large amphitheater at the École de Dessin; from *L'Illustration*, journal universel, v. 9, no. 287 (August 26, 1848),



2.3.15 Illustration of the interior of the large amphitheater at the École de Dessin; from *L'Illustration*, journal universel, v. 9, no. 287 (August 26, 1848), 388.



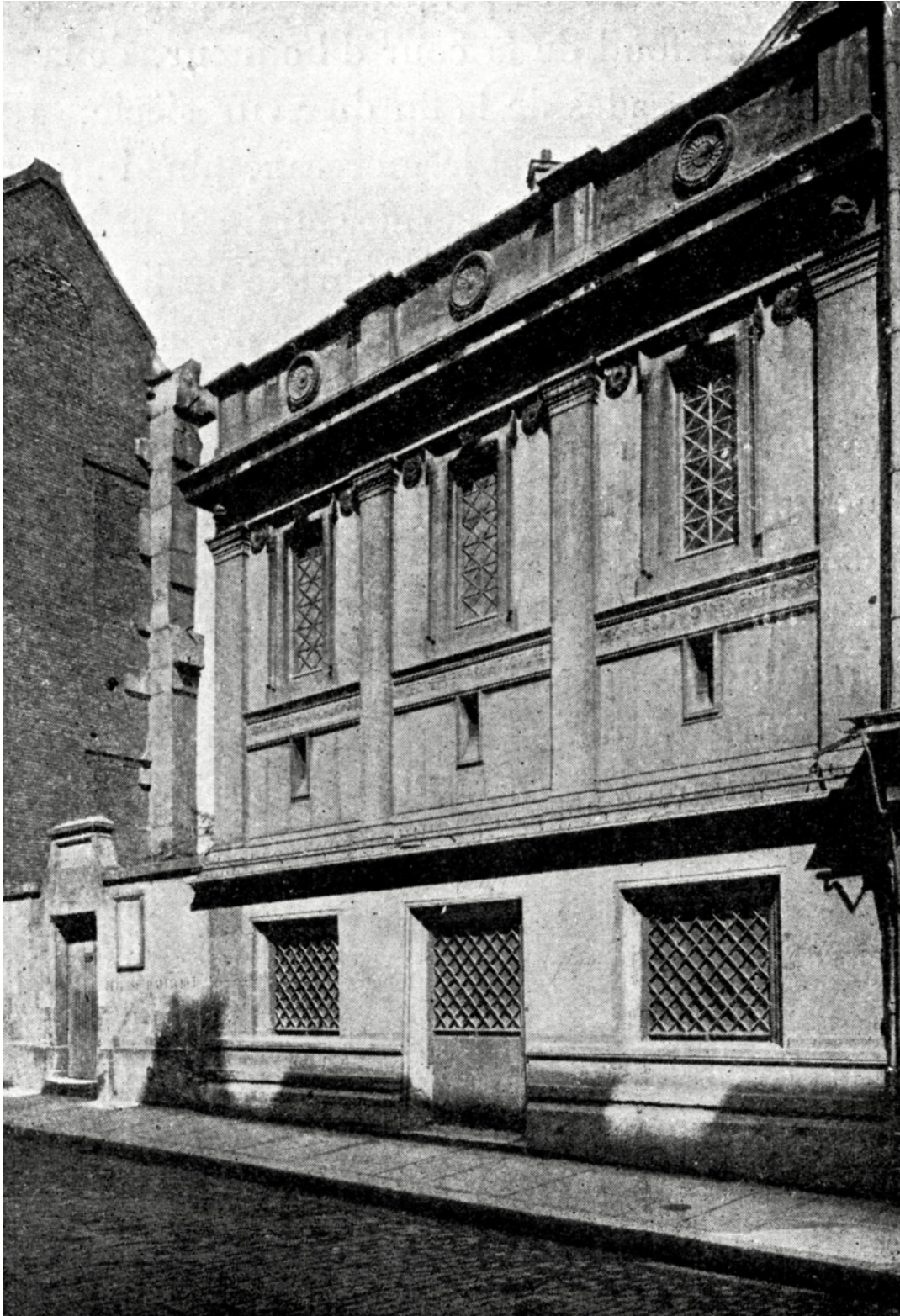
2.3.16 Photograph of the interior of the large amphitheater, c. 1911; from Testard, "L'École Nationale des arts décoratifs de Paris, ancien collège des Chirurgiens du roi Louis XV," *L'Art décoratif* (January, 1911), 12.



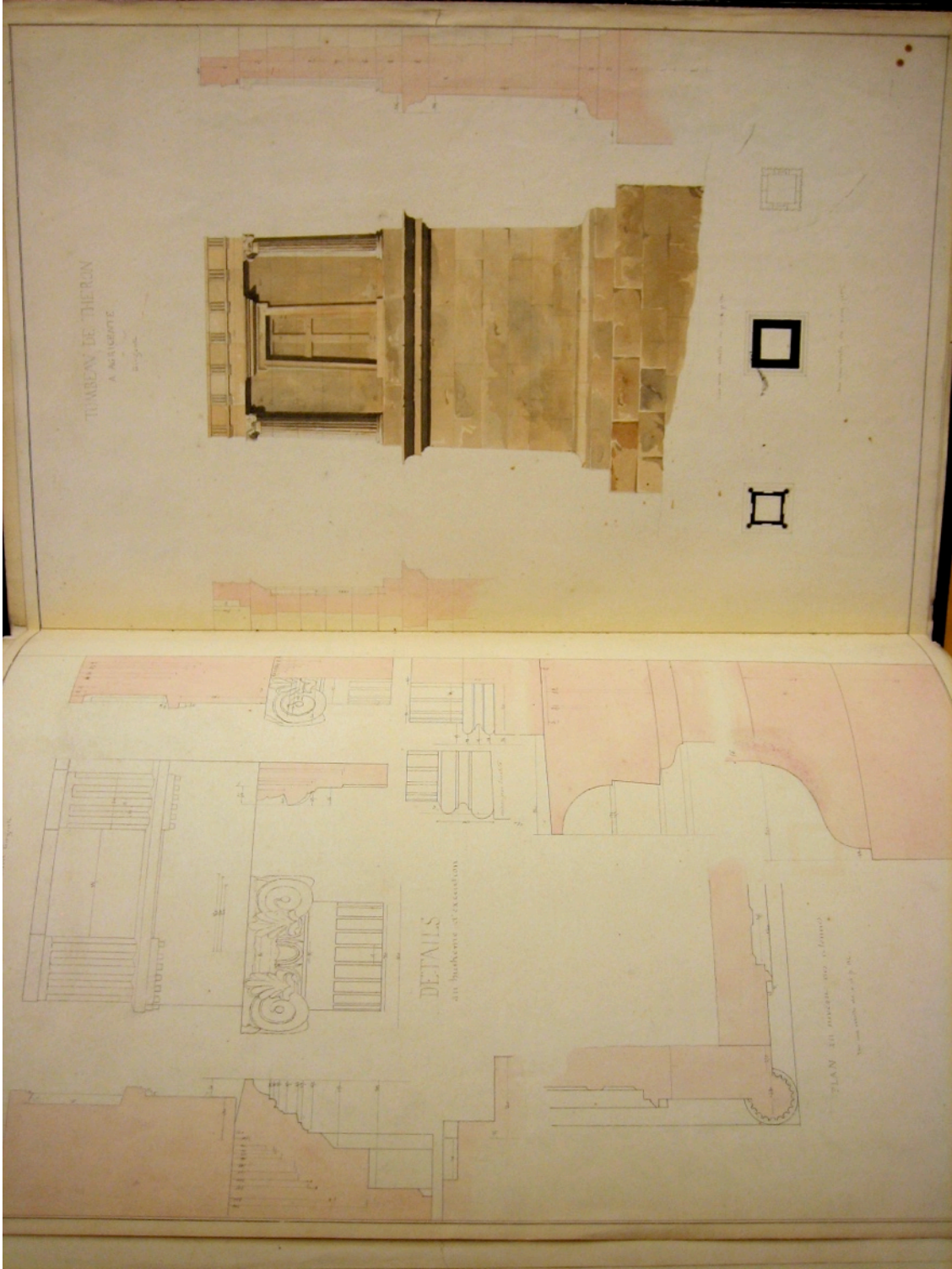
2.3.17 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Elevation drawing of the façade on the rue Racine; from *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 30 (1873), plate 6.



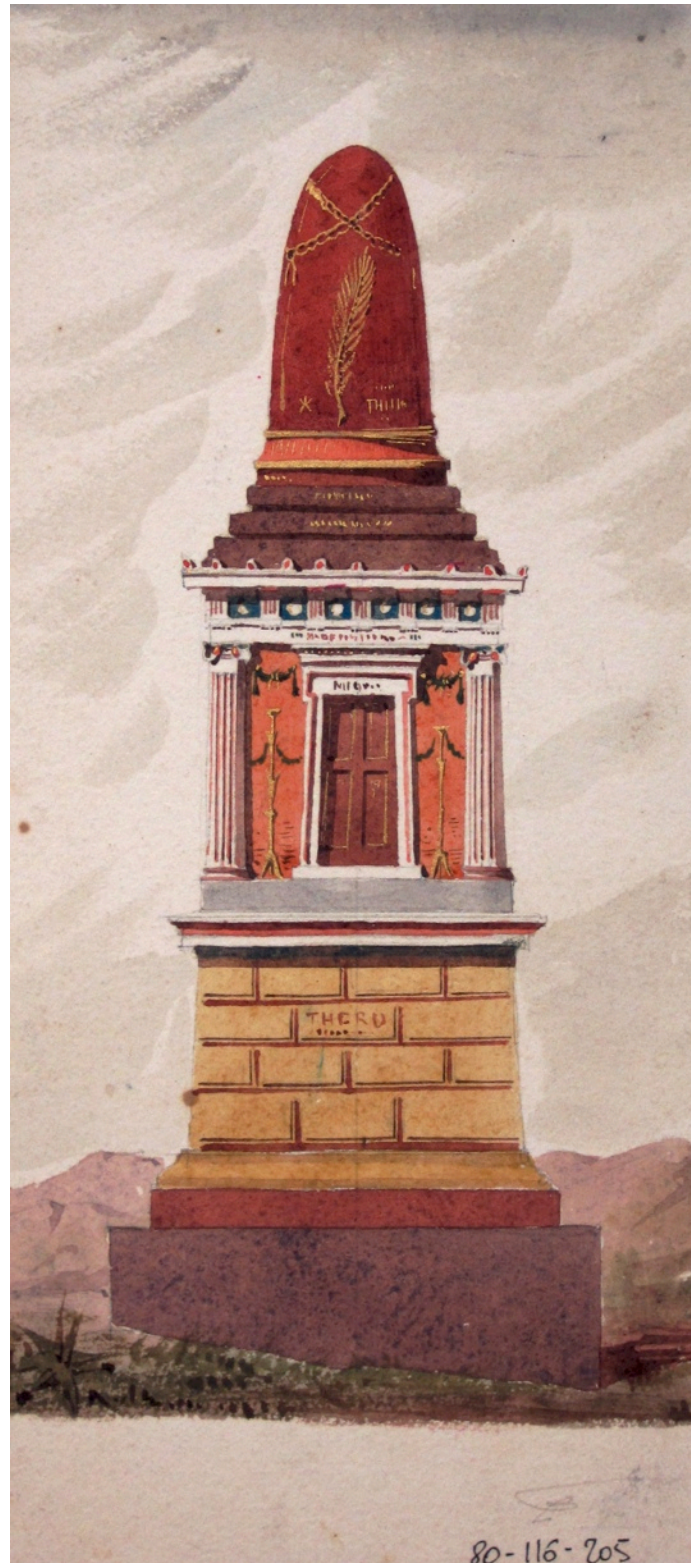
2.3.18 Photograph of the façade on the rue Racine c. 1911; from Testard, "L'École Nationale des arts décoratifs de Paris, ancien collège des Chirurgiens du roi Louis XV," *L'Art décoratif* (January, 1911), 16.



2.3.19 Photograph of the façade on the rue Racine, c. 1920; from Vitry, “L’amphithéâtre de chirurgie et l’école des arts décoratifs,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (March/April 1920), 207.



2.3.20 S.-C. Constant-Dufoix, Tombeau de Théron; from Constant-Dufoix, *Record drawings of ancient monuments, 1825-1833*. [Getty Center Library]



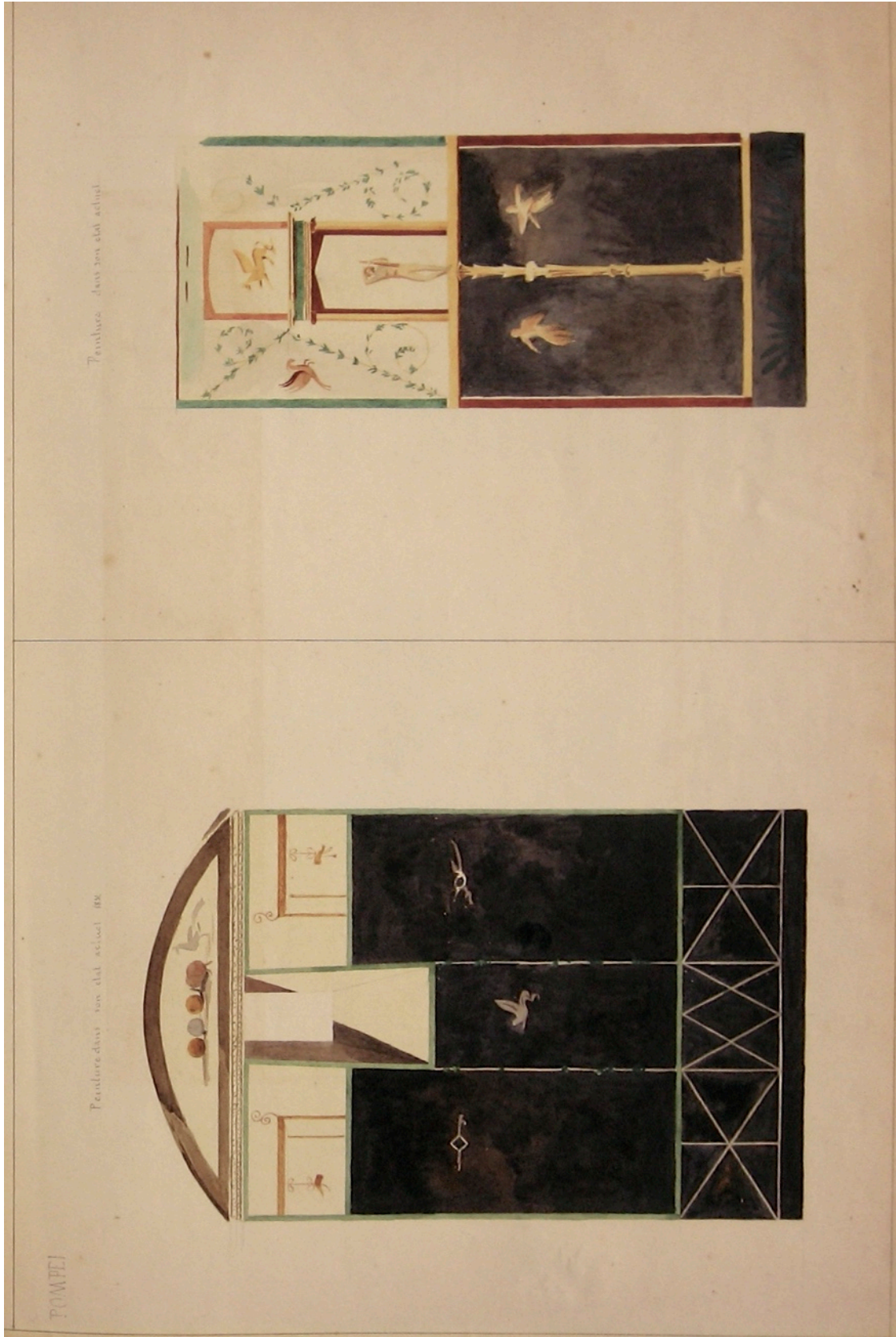
2.3.21 Louis-Clément Bruyère, Reconstruction of the Tombeau de Théron, c. 1850. [Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine, Collection Louis-Clément Bruyère, 80/116/205]



2.3.22 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, l'École de Dessin, façade on the rue Racine; photograph by Ralph Ghoche.



2.3.23 S.-C. Constant-Dufoix, l'École de Dessin, detail of façade on the rue Racine; photograph by Ralph Ghoche.



2.3.24 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Pompeian wall paintings, 1832; from Constant-Dufeux, *Record drawings of ancient monuments, 1825-1833*. [Getty Center Library]



2.3.25 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, l'École de Dessin, façade on the rue Racine; photograph by Ralph Ghoche.



2.3.26 S.-C. Constant-Dufaux, l'École de Dessin, façade on the rue Racine; photograph by Ralph Ghoche.



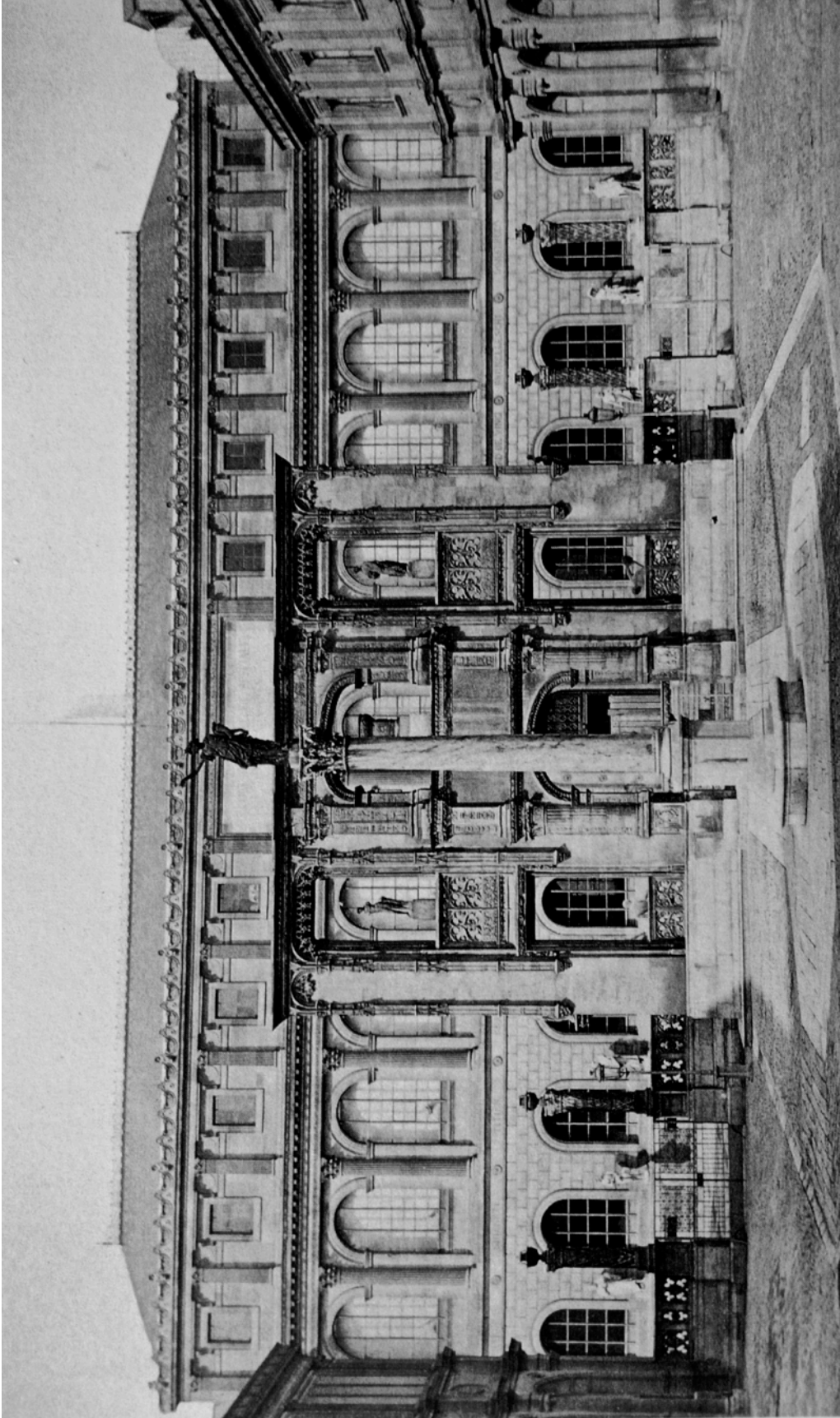
2.3.27 Léon Vaudoyer, Buttresses of the Aile Neuve of the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers; from Bergdoll, *Léon Vaudoyer, Historicism in the Age of Industry*, 170.



2.3.28 Léon Vaudoyer, Detail of the interior of the Aile Neuve; from Bergdoll, *Léon Vaudoyer, Historicism in the Age of Industry*, 170.



2.3.29 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Interior view looking towards the back of the façade on the rue Racine; photograph by Ralph Ghoche.



2.3.30 Félix Duban, École des Beaux-Arts forecourt with the Arc de Gaillon; from Bergdoll, *Leon Vaudoyer, Historicism in the Age of Industry*, 170.



2.3.31 Pierre Charles Simart, *La Centralisation Administrative*, Tombeau de Napoléon, Hotel des Invalides, Paris (1847–1852); photograph from the Courtauld Institute of Art, reproduced at: <http://www.artandarchitecture.org.uk/images/conway/d0c469cf.html>



2.3.32 Henri Labrouste, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève; photograph by Ralph Ghoche.



2.3.33 S.-C. Constant-Dufaux, Detail of stone moldings around the doorway on the rue Racine; photograph by Ralph Ghoche.



2.3.34 S.-C. Constant-Dufoix, l'École de Dessin, detail of façade on the rue Racine; photograph by Ralph Ghoche.



2.3.35 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Bronze side doors to the Panthéon, 1848-1850; photograph by Ralph Ghoche



2.3.36 S.-C. Constant-Dufieux, Tombeau de la famille Billaud, 1847; photograph by Ralph Ghoche.



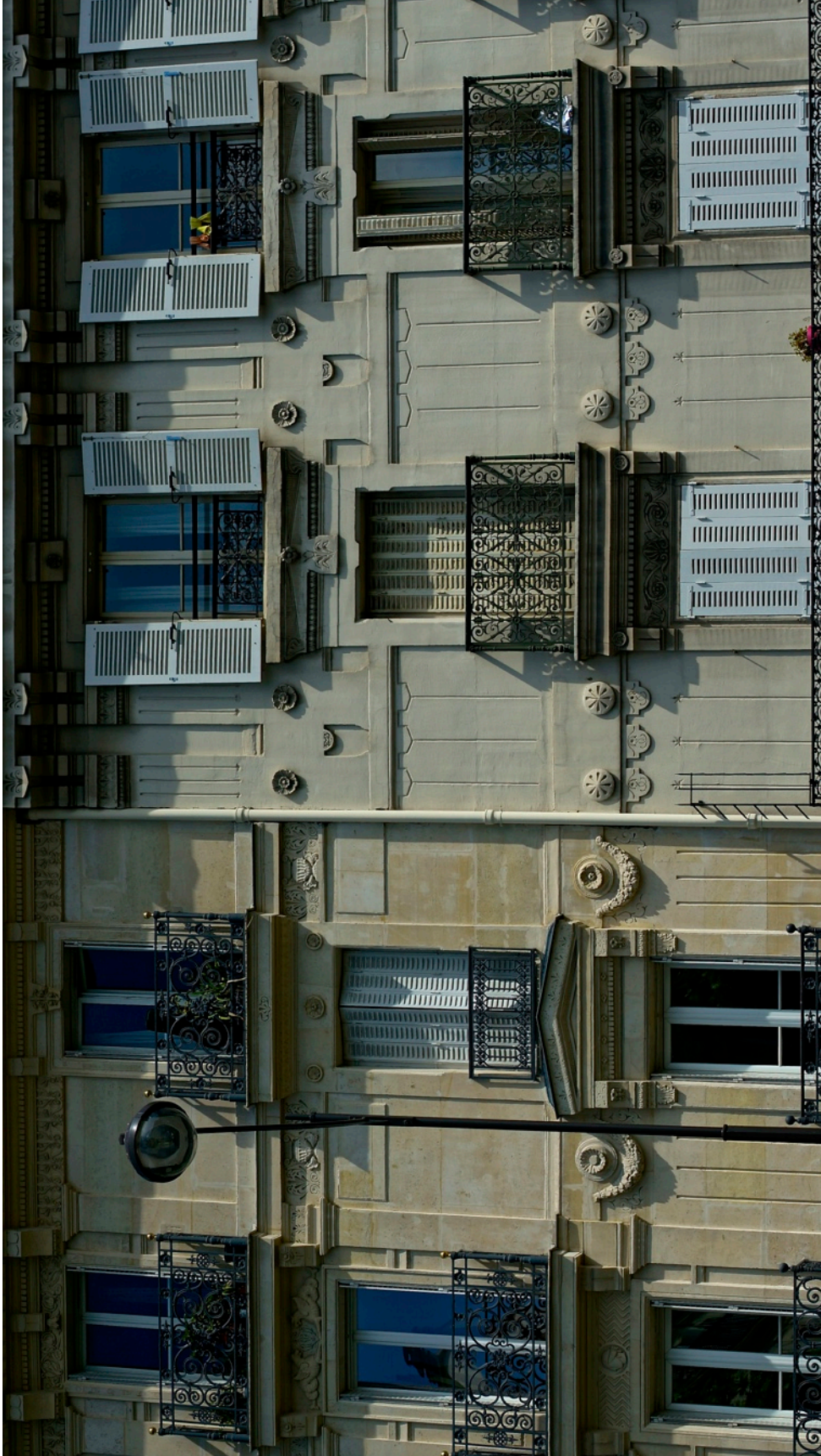
2.3.37 S.-C. Constant-Dufoix, Detail of the Tombeau de la famille Billaud, 1847; photograph by Ralph Ghoche.



2.3.38 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, View of the rear face of the Tombeau de la famille Billaud, 1847; photograph by Ralph Ghoche.



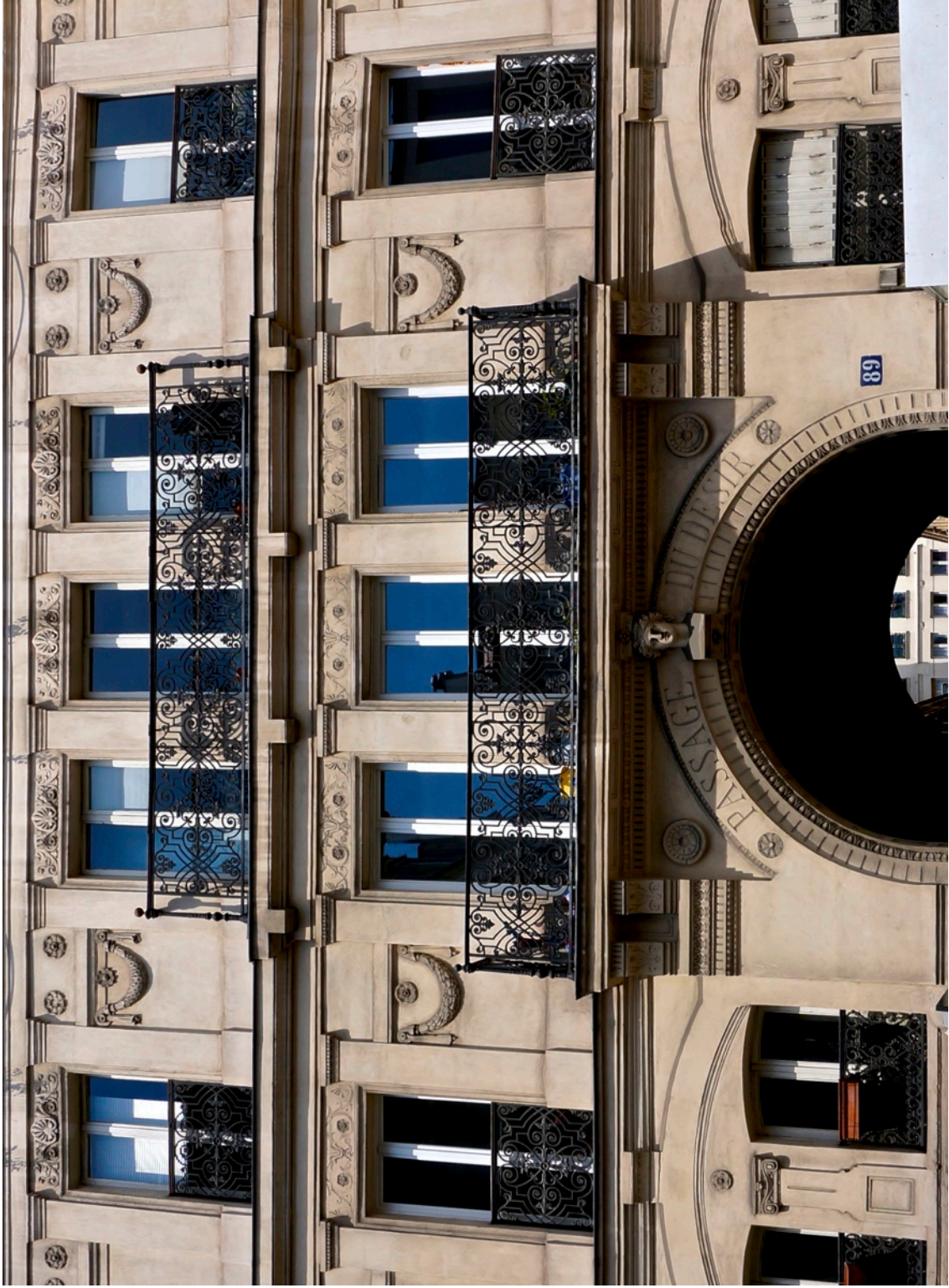
2.3.39 S.-C. Constant-Dufieux, Detail of the Tombeau de la famille Billaud, 1847; photograph by Ralph Ghoche.



2.3.40 Jules Amoudru, Façades on the Boulevard de Strasbourg (no. 58 on the left, no. 60 on the right), 1858; photograph by Ralph Ghoche.



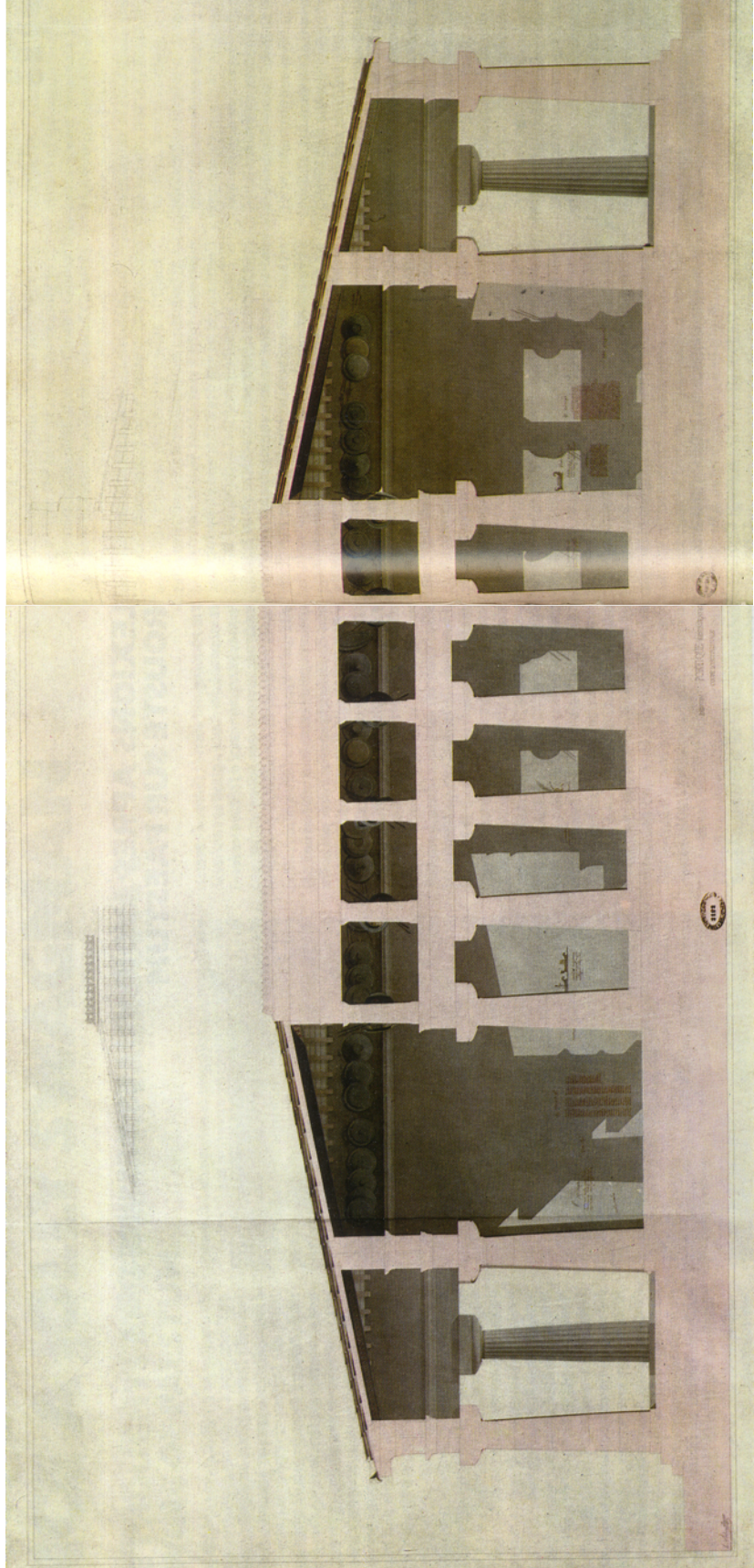
2.3.41 Jules Amoudru, Façade on the Boulevard de Strasbourg (no. 64), 1858; photograph by Ralph Ghoche.



2.3.42 Jules Amoudru, Passage du Désire, façade on the rue du Faubourg Saint-Martin (no. 89), 1858; photograph by Ralph Ghoche.



2.3.43 Francis Equer, Façade on the rue du Faubourg Poissonnière (no. 39), 1857; photograph by Ralph Ghoche.



2.3.44 Henri Labrouste, *Temple of Hera (Porrrique)*, Paestum, restoration, fourth-year envoi (1828-1829); from Middleton, "The Beaux-Arts," 36-37.

JETON DE PRÉSENCE.

(Grandeur d'exécution).

Composé par M^r Henry Labrouste et exécuté par M^r Oudiné.



MÉDAILLE

(Grandeur d'exécution)

Composée par M^r Constant-Dufeux et exécutée par M^r Oudiné.



Cette Médaille est frappée en Bronze.

et donnée à chacun des membres de la Société centrale des Architectes Français.

Le nom et la date d'admission sont gravés sur le revers.

MÉDAILLE ET JETON

DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CENTRALE DES ARCHITECTES.

2.4.1 Henri Labrouste, design for the “jeton de presence” (top); S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, design for the “médaille” (bottom); from *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 8 (1849), plate 17.



2.4.2 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Obverse face of the medal for the Société centrale des architectes, (c. 1843-1849); private collection of Marc Le Coeur.



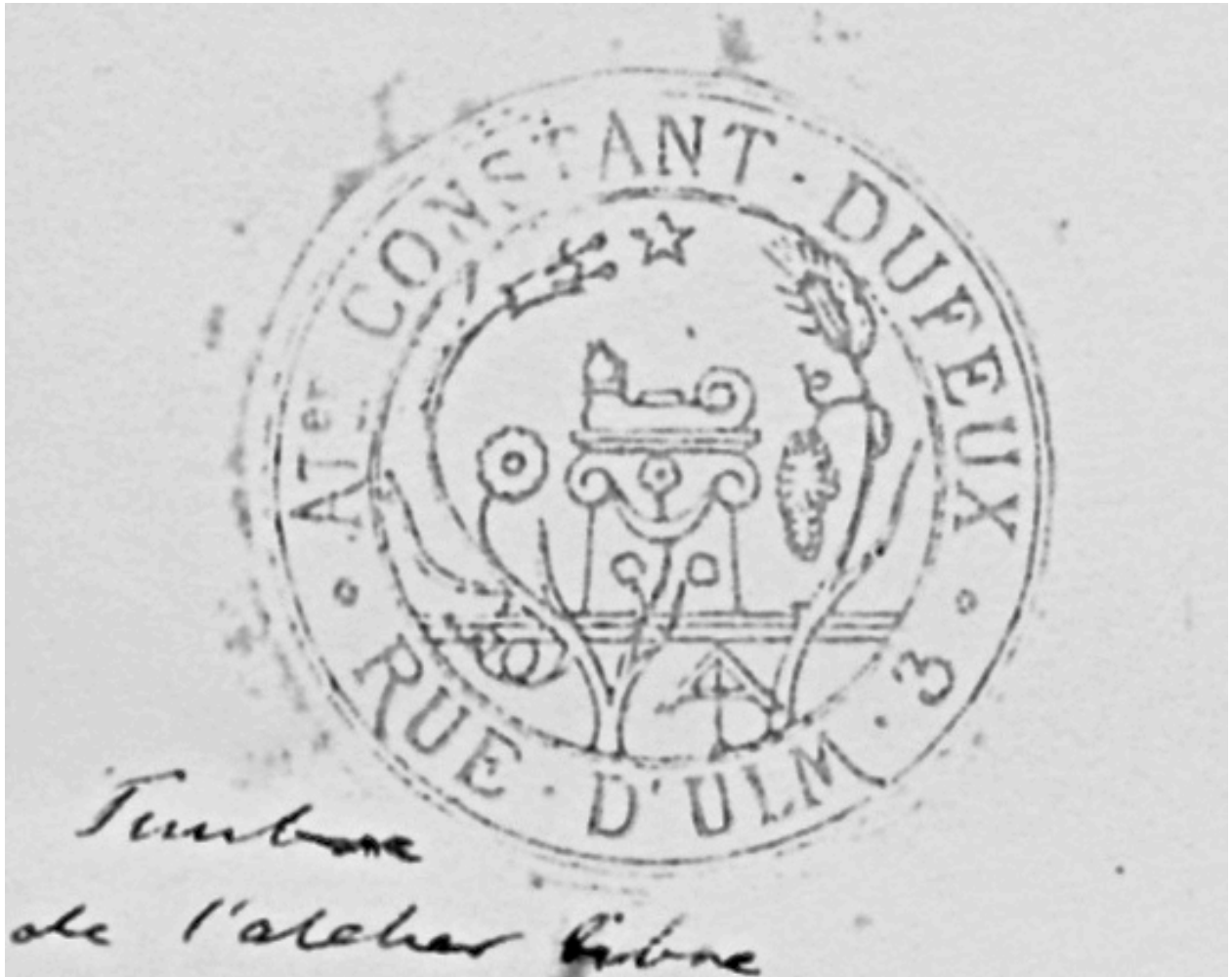
2.4.3 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, Reverse face of the medal for the Société centrale des architectes, (c. 1843-1849); private collection of Marc Le Coeur.



2.4.4 Paul Delaroche, reproduction of the obverse face of the “Médaille de Smyrne, tête couronné de tours crénelées”; from Charles Lenormant, *Trésor de numismatique et de glyphique*, 1850, plate III [Google Books]



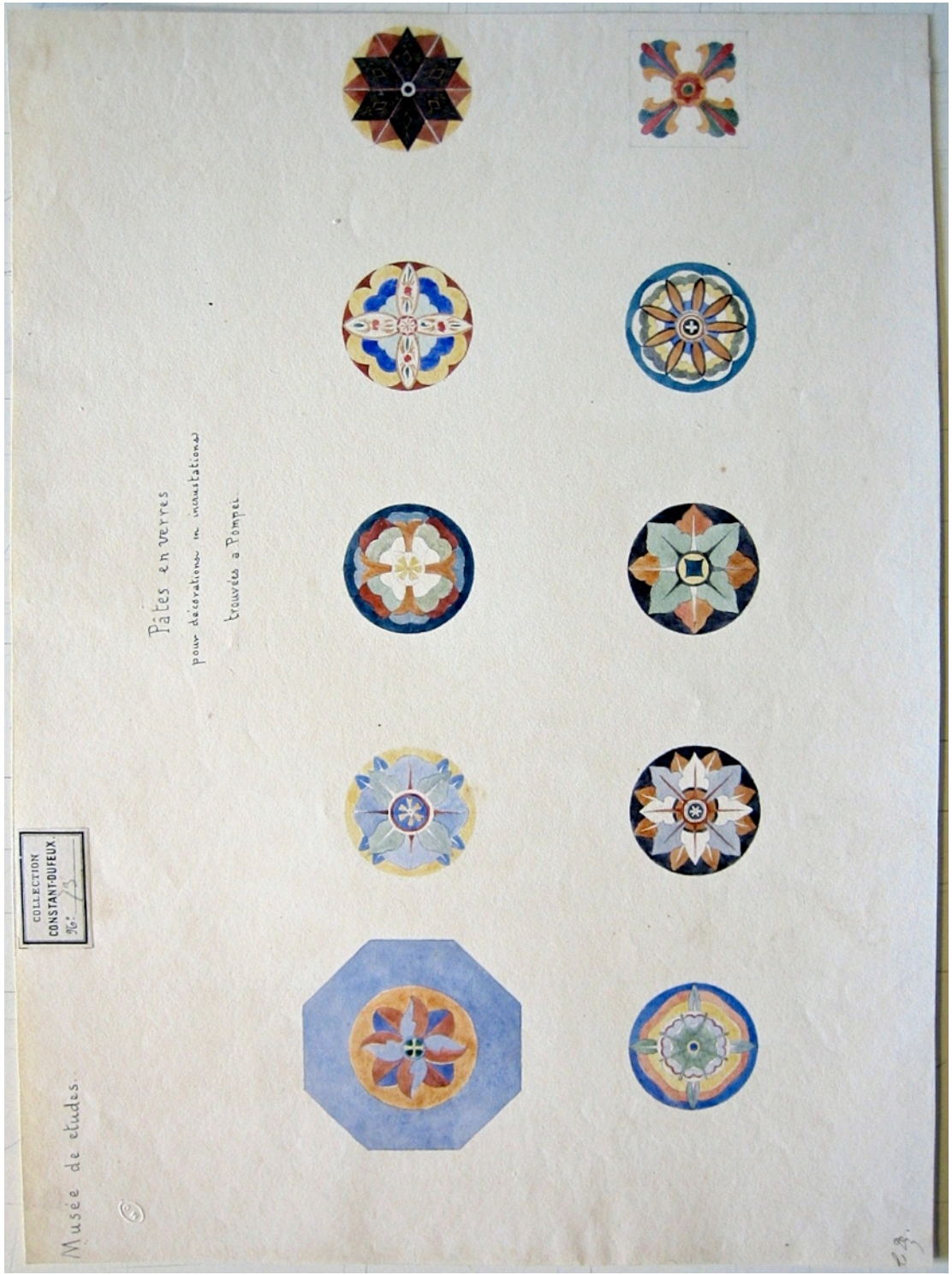
2.4.5 Henri Labrouste, design for the “jeton de presence”; from *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 8 (1849), plate 17.



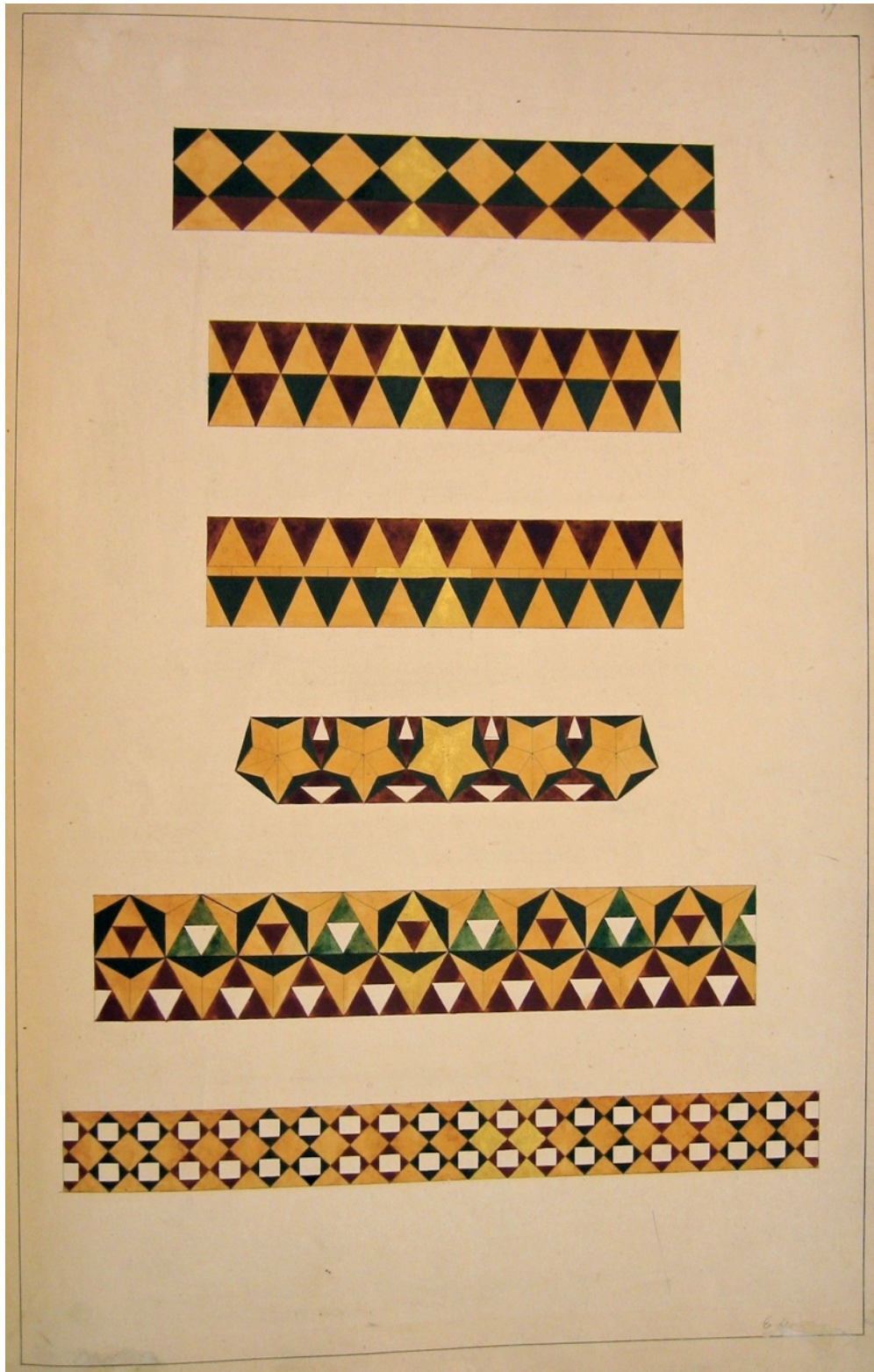
2.4.6 S.-C. Constant-Dufex, "Timbre de l'atelier libre," undated (c. 1845-1863). [Winterthur Library, Doc. 1320]



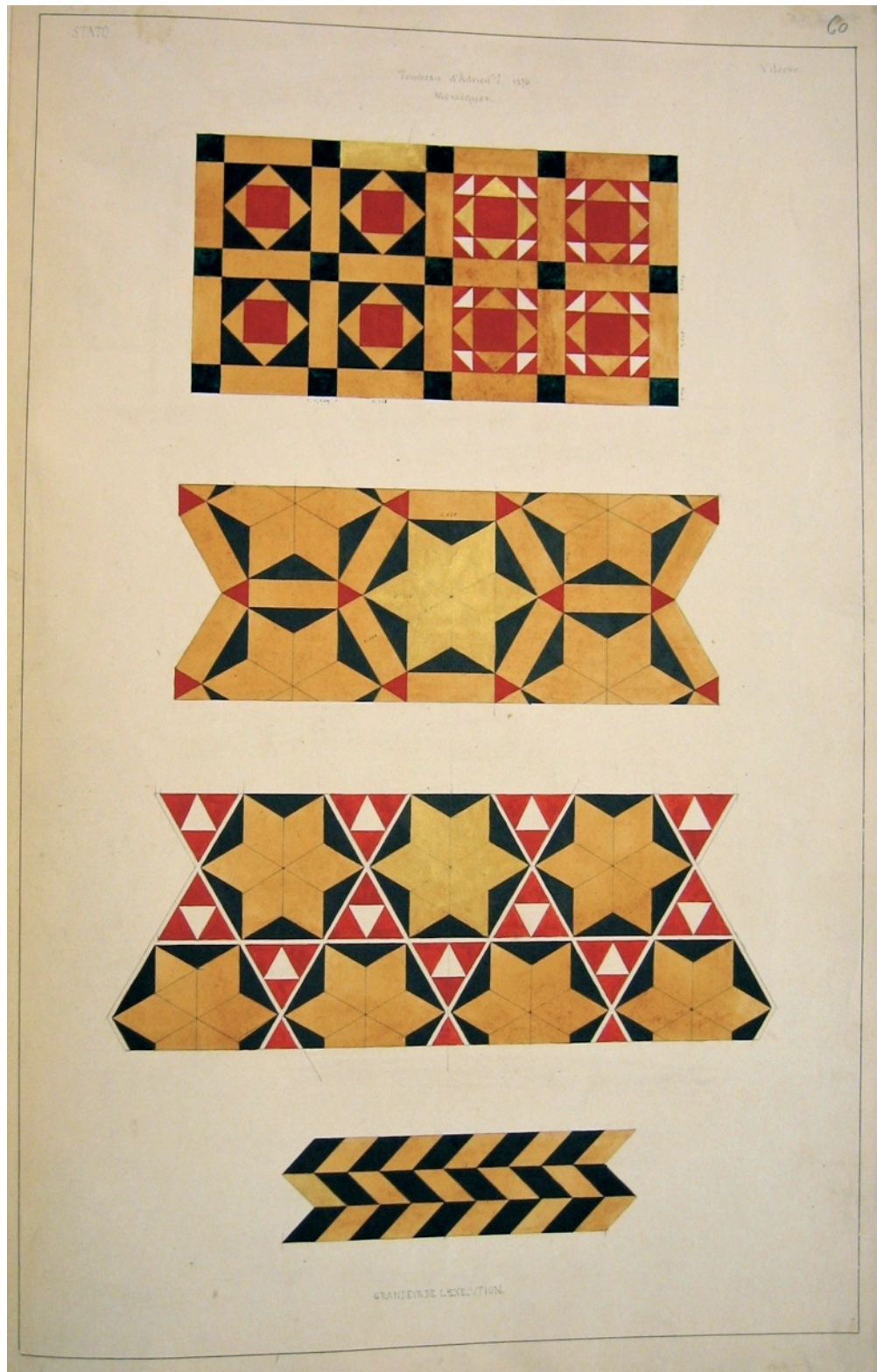
2.5.1 Louis Clémentin Bruyère, Winning entry, Concours de composition d'ornement et d'ajustement, Prix Rougevin, 1857. [École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts]



2.5.2 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, "Musée de études. Pâtes en verres pour décorations en incrustation trouvées à Pompéi," undated (c. 1830-1835). [Musée d'Orsay, ARO 1985



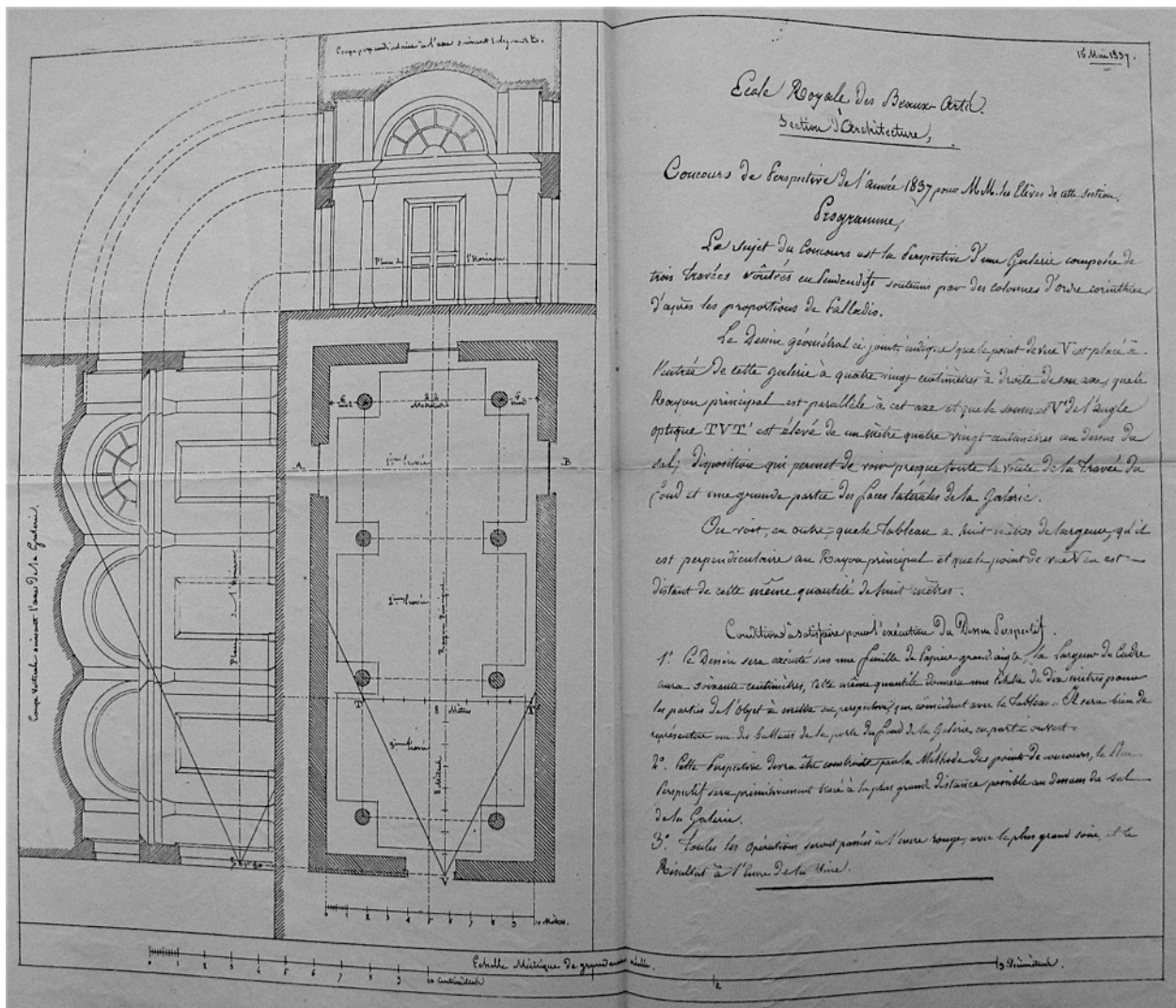
2.5.3 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, untitled, undated (c. 1830-1835); from Constant-Dufeux, *Record drawings of ancient monuments, 1825-1833*. [Getty Center Library]



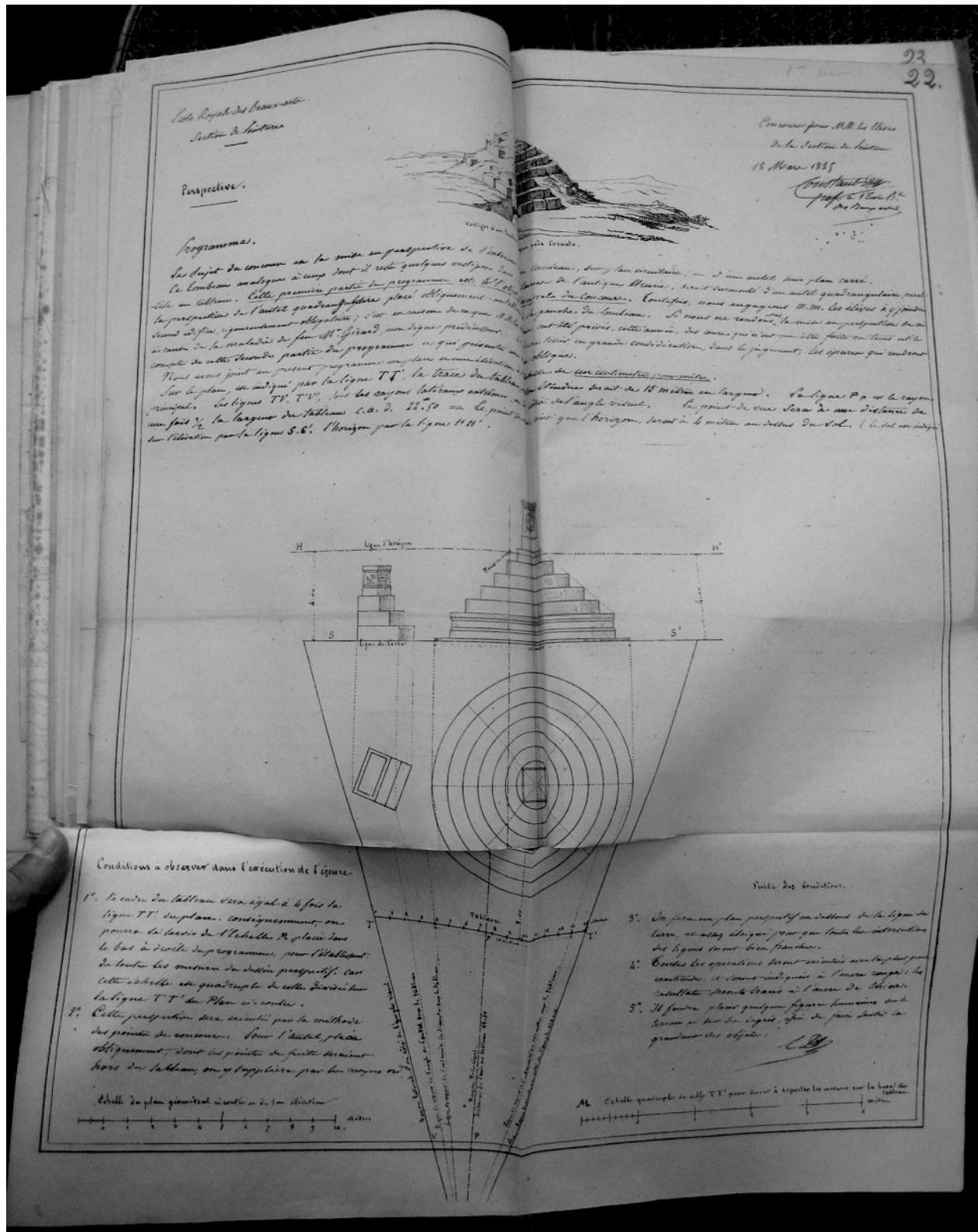
2.5.4 S.-C. Constant-Dufaux, “Tombeau d’Adrian V,” undated (c. 1830-1835); from Constant-Dufaux, *Record drawings of ancient monuments, 1825-1833*. [Getty Center Library]



2.5.5 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, l'École de Dessin, detail of ornamental fragment embedded into an exterior wall, 1844-1855; photograph by Ralph Ghoche.



2.5.6 Louis-Joseph Girard, "Une galerie composée de trois travées voûtées," May 15, 1837; from *Concours de perspective, Section Architecture*. [Archives Nationales, AJ/52/139]



2.5.7 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, "Tombeau étrusque près de Corneto," March 18, 1845; from *Concours de perspective, Section Peinture et Sculpture*. [Archives Nationales, AJ/52/69]

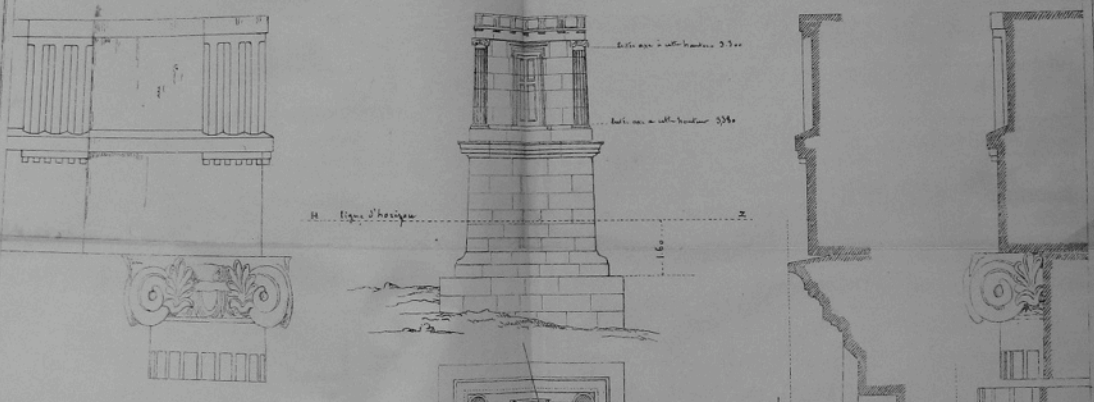
École Royale des beaux arts
Section d'architecture.
Perspective.

Concours pour A.M. les élèves
de la Section d'architecture
20 Juin 1849.

Constant-Dufaux
chef à l'école No. 1 des beaux arts.

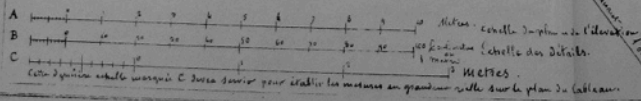
Programme.

On fera un croquis de la mise en perspective du monument antique connu sous le nom de Tombeau de Théron.
Cet croquis sera en un point de vue de l'architecture, et à peu de distance du plan, en l'un des côtés
desquels on reconnaît l'observation de première scène par le plan, et qui établit qu'il faut indiquer à une des colonnes extérieures
vers l'intérieur de la construction, tout pour leur donner plus de relief que pour produire un meilleur effet optique.
Pour deux autres, on dessinera les ordres formés que de tout à respecter. Sur le plan une ligne T, T', indiquera l'aplomb et
l'étendue du tableau. On aura 10 m. de largeur, et parait de tout de 8.00 en avant de l'angle des perspectives du monument. Les
lignes T, T', T', T' indiquent les rayons latéraux de l'angle vertical. La ligne P, P', est le rayon principal. Le point de vue sera à 1/2 m.
la largeur du tableau, c. à d. 5.00 et le plan horizontal passant par l'œil sera à 1.60 au-dessus du plan de base du monument 4.00. La
ligne H, H' de l'horizon.

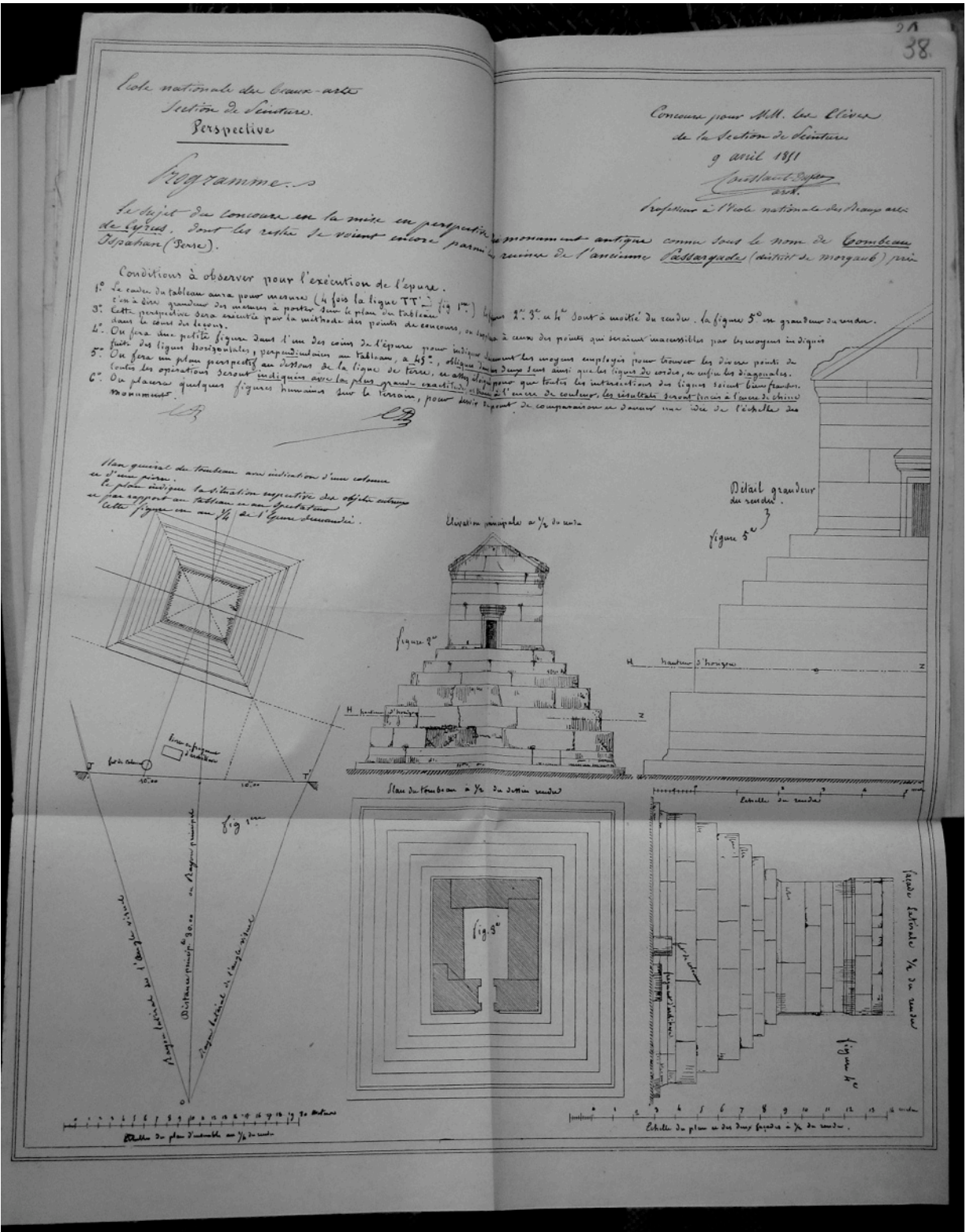


Conditions à observer dans l'exécution
de l'épreuve.

- 1° Le ratio du tableau sera égal à 2 fois la ligne T, T' du plan.
- 2° L'échelle des ordres horizontaux et verticaux sera triple de l'échelle marquée A, et servira à porter les grandeurs réelles sur le plan du tableau au-dessus de la ligne H, H'.
- 3° Cette perspective sera exécutée par la méthode des points, de manière à ce que les lignes de fuite soient parallèles à l'horizon, et que les points qui servent de centres de perspective soient dans le plan des ordres, et sur la ligne de terre, et ainsi de suite pour toutes les constructions des lignes de fuite.
- 4° Toutes les opérations seront indiquées avec la plus grande exactitude, et placées à l'encre rouge. Les résultats seront placés à l'encre de chine.
- 5° On pourra placer quelques figures humaines sur le terrain, et sur le 1/2 degré de l'élévation.



2.5.8 S.-C. Constant-Dufaux, "Tombeau de Théron," Agrigento, June 20, 1849; from *Concours de perspective, Section Architecture*. [Archives Nationales, AJ/52/139]



2.5.9 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, "Tombeau de Cyrus," Isfahan, April 9, 1851; from *Concours de perspective, Section Peinture et Sculpture*. [Archives Nationales, AJ/52/69]

École Royale des Beaux-arts
Section d'Architecture
Perspective.

Concours pour No. No. des élèves
de la section d'Architecture
13 avril 1846

Miloud Dufaux

Insérée à l'École Royale des Beaux-arts

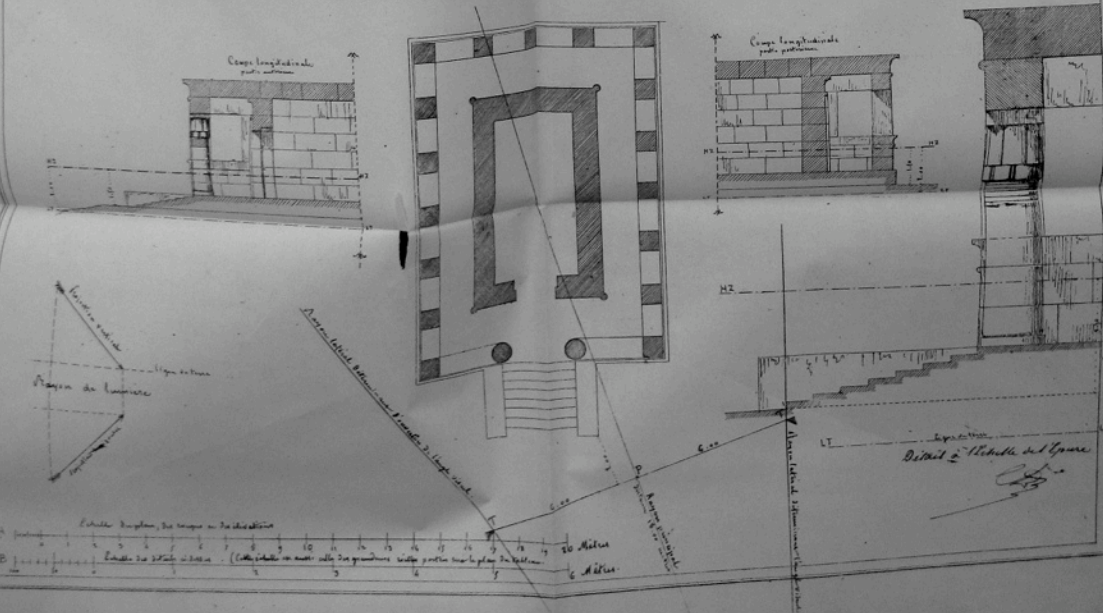
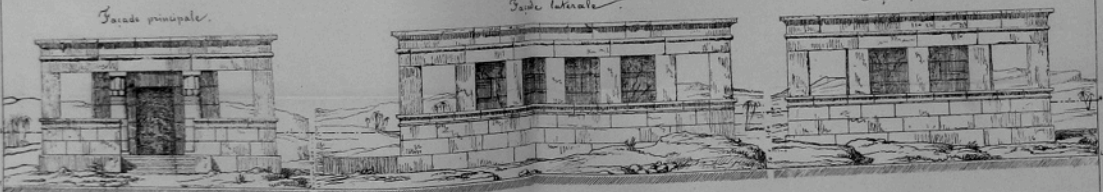
Programme

Le sujet du concours est la mise en perspective du monument antique égyptien, connu sous le nom de Petit Temple d'EL-KAB.
 Cet édifice fait partie des ruines de l'antique ELETHYIA ville, dans la Haute Egypte au delà de Chébs, à deux lieues environ au S-O de EDFOU et sur la rive gauche du Nil près du village moderne d'EL-KAB.
 Nous avons indiqué ci-dessous les diverses formes que le temple a reçues. Sur le plan une ligne T.T. indique la place et l'étendue du tableau. Il en sera de même de la ligne P.P. en l'air. La ligne P.P. est le rayon principal. Le point de vue sera à 1/2 la largeur du tableau, c'est-à-dire à 18 mètres. Le plan horizontal passant par l'œil du spectateur sera à 2.00 au-dessus de la ligne de terre, et à 1.50 au-dessus de la ligne inférieure du monument, la ou l'ensemble sera au-dessus du person. Voyez la ligne H.H. les-les coignes et élévations ci-dessous.
 Nous avons donné une fois cette distance pour que les points de concours soient facilement accessibles. Il n'y a pas d'ailleurs d'inconvénient dans le cas présent puisque le monument n'occupera pas toute la largeur du tableau. Il faut se rappeler que, quelques exceptions, les distances à prendre doivent être de 2 fois ou 3 fois la plus grande dimension du tableau.

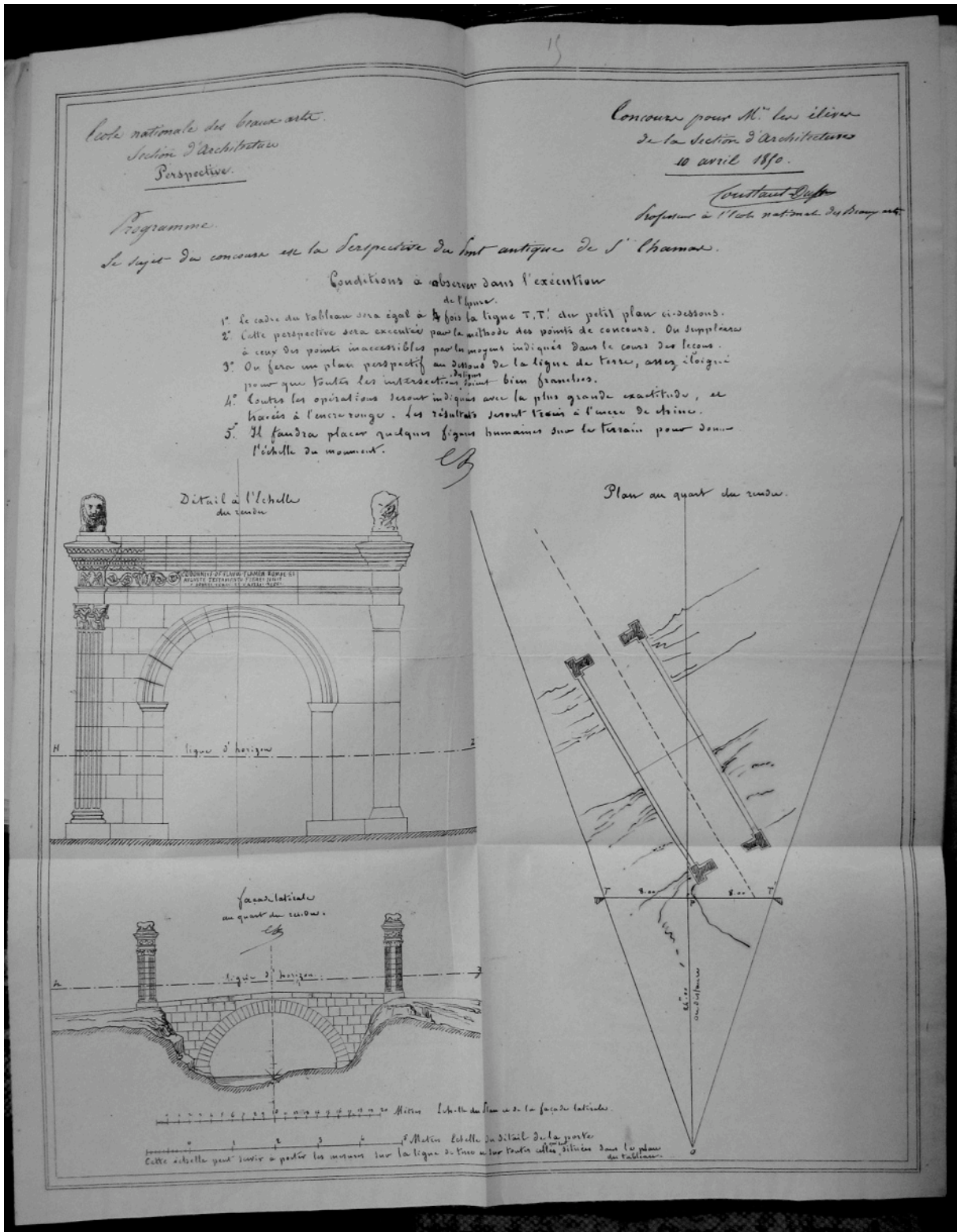
Conditions à observer dans l'exécution de l'épreuve demandée.

1. La ligne du tableau sera perpendiculaire à celle de la ligne T.T. L'échelle B sera à l'établissement des mesures sur l'épreuve demandée.
2. Les mesures horizontales et verticales prises sur le plan du tableau seront triples de celles données ici aux crochets et dessous, et égales à celles du grand tableau C.
3. Cette perspective sera exécutée par la méthode des points de concours. On suppléera de deux points qui seraient inaccessibles par les moyens indiqués dans le cours de leçon.
4. On fera un plan perspectif au-dessus de la ligne de terre, ainsi qu'il est indiqué sur le plan horizontal pour que les lignes soient des intersections bien franches.
5. Toutes les opérations seront indiquées sur le plan grande échelle, au-dessus de l'axe de vision. Les résultats seront tracés à l'échelle de l'épreuve.
6. Il faudra placer quelques figures humaines sur le terrain à sur les degrés de l'édifice pour faciliter l'échelle du monument.

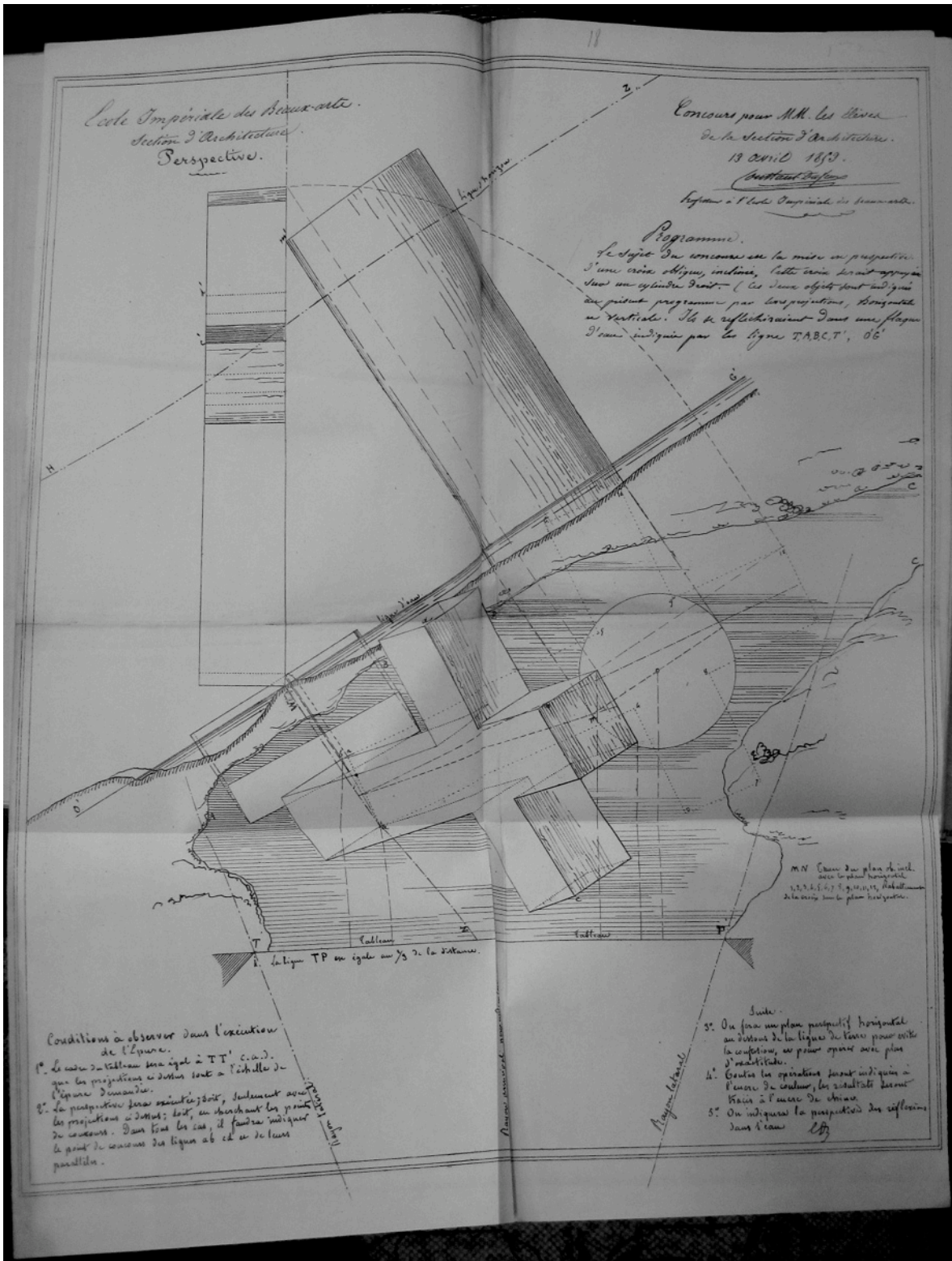
Il faut bien s'indiquer avec une exactitude différente, en lieu par exemple, les quêtes géométriques qui ont pour but de trouver les points de concours.



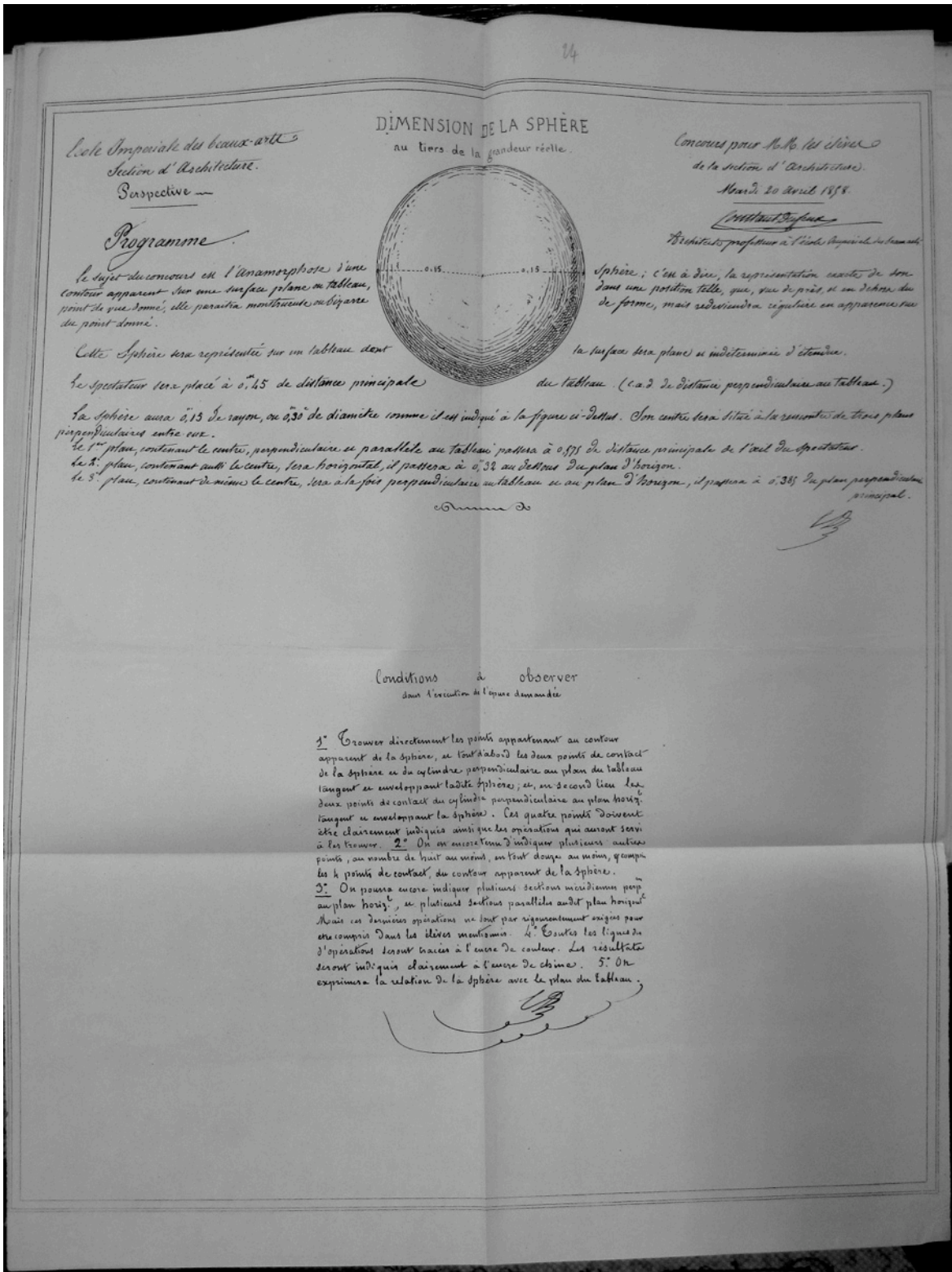
2.5.10 S.-C. Constant-Dufaux, "Le petit temple d'El-Kab," Egypt, April 13, 1846; from *Concours de perspective, Section Architecture*. [Archives Nationales, AJ/52/139]



2.5.12 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, "Pont antique de Chamard," southern France, April 10, 1850; from *Concours de perspective, Section Architecture*. [Archives Nationales, AJ/52/139]



2.5.13 S.-C. Constant-Dufaux, "Une croix oblique et inclinée sur un cylindre verticale," April 14, 1852; from *Concours de perspective, Section Architecture*. [Archives Nationales, AJ/52/139]



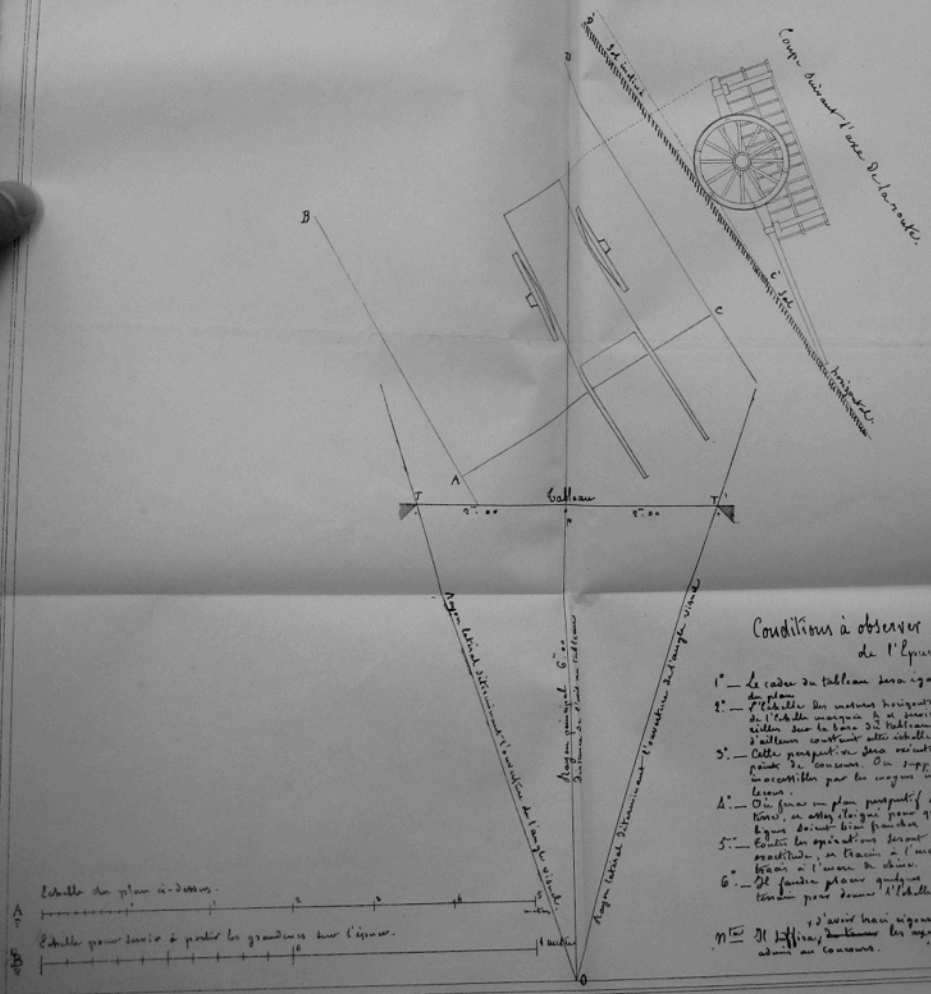
2.5.14 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, "l'anamorphose d'une sphère," April 21, 1858; from *Concours de perspective, Section Architecture*. [Archives Nationales, AJ/52/139]

Ecole nationale des beaux-arts
Section de Peinture
Perspectives

Programme.

Le sujet du concours est la mise en perspective d'un tableau incliné à l'horizon de 5 pour cent, d'une charrette des ateliers, arrêtée sur une route oblique au point de vue. On remarquera que la partie comprise entre la ligne A.C. et la table est horizontale.

Concours pour MM. les élèves
de la Section de Peinture
26 novembre 1859
Constant Dufaux
Prof à l'Ecole nationale des beaux-arts



Conditions à observer dans l'exécution de l'Esquisse.

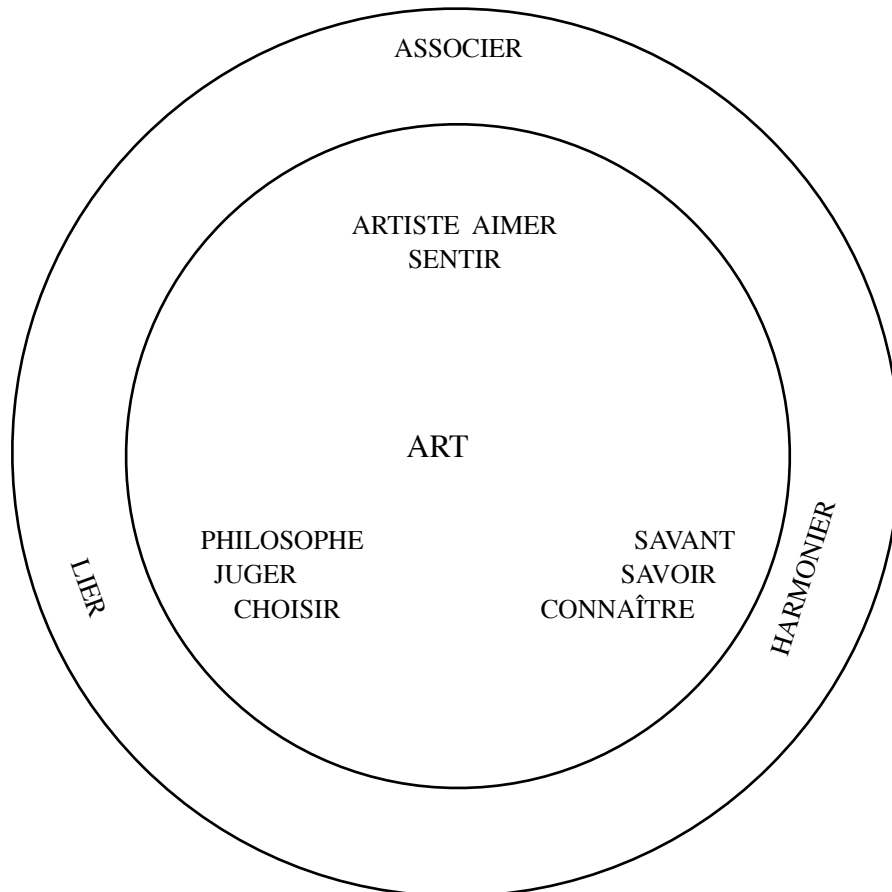
- 1° Le cadre du tableau sera égal à 3 fois la ligne T.T. du plan.
 - 2° L'échelle des mesures horizontales et verticales sera triple de l'échelle indiquée, et servira à porter les grandeurs sur le cadre du tableau et sur les côtés. Nous avons d'ailleurs construit cette échelle en 3.
 - 3° Cette perspective sera exécutée par la méthode des points de concours. On suppléera à ce que des points inaccessibles par les lignes indiquées dans le cours des leçons.
 - 4° On fera un plan perspectif au-dessus de l'échelle de base, et sera l'origine pour que toutes les constructions des lignes soient bien faites.
 - 5° Toutes les opérations seront indiquées avec la plus grande exactitude, et tracées à l'encre rouge, des résultats devant être tracés à l'encre de chine.
 - 6° Il faudra placer quelques figures d'architecture sur le terrain pour donner l'échelle.
- M. Dufaux
Il s'agit bien rigoureusement de donner les axes du regard pour être admis au concours.

Echelle du plan ci-dessus.
Echelle pour servir à porter les grandeurs sur l'esquisse.

2.5.15 S.-C. Constant-Dufaux, "Une charette des atelier," April 10, 1850; Concours de perspective, Section Peinture et Sculpture. [Archives Nationales, AJ/52/69]



2.5.17 Victor Ruprich-Robert, Cartoon depicting a procession of Constant-Dufeux's students paying homage to a bust of the architect, undated. [Musée d'Orsay, ARO 1981 870]



2.5.18 S.-C. Constant-Dufaux, Diagram drawn by Ralph Ghoche according to a description from Adolphe Lance, "Constant-Dufaux," in *Dictionnaire des architectes français*, 1872.



Constant-Dufeux arch. Dantan aîné sculpt.

J. Huguenot grav.

Couleurs du Paraboloïde.

Le Fond est rouge Pompeï.
La Couronne, le Groupe, le Vagon
embrasé, les Étoiles et les Inscrip-
tions, sont dorés.

TOMBEAU
DU CONTRE AMIRAL DUMONT D'URVILLE.
(Le Monument est peint)
Cimetière du Sud. Paris.

Couleurs des Sarcophages.

Le fond est pierre apparente légè-
ment teintée de rouge.
Les Fillets sont noir et rouge.
Le Talon et le Discus sont gros-vert.

Nota: Les couleurs de la Proue, du Cîppe, du Piedestal, circulaire et de la base du Paraboloïde sont indiquées à la Pl. des détails.

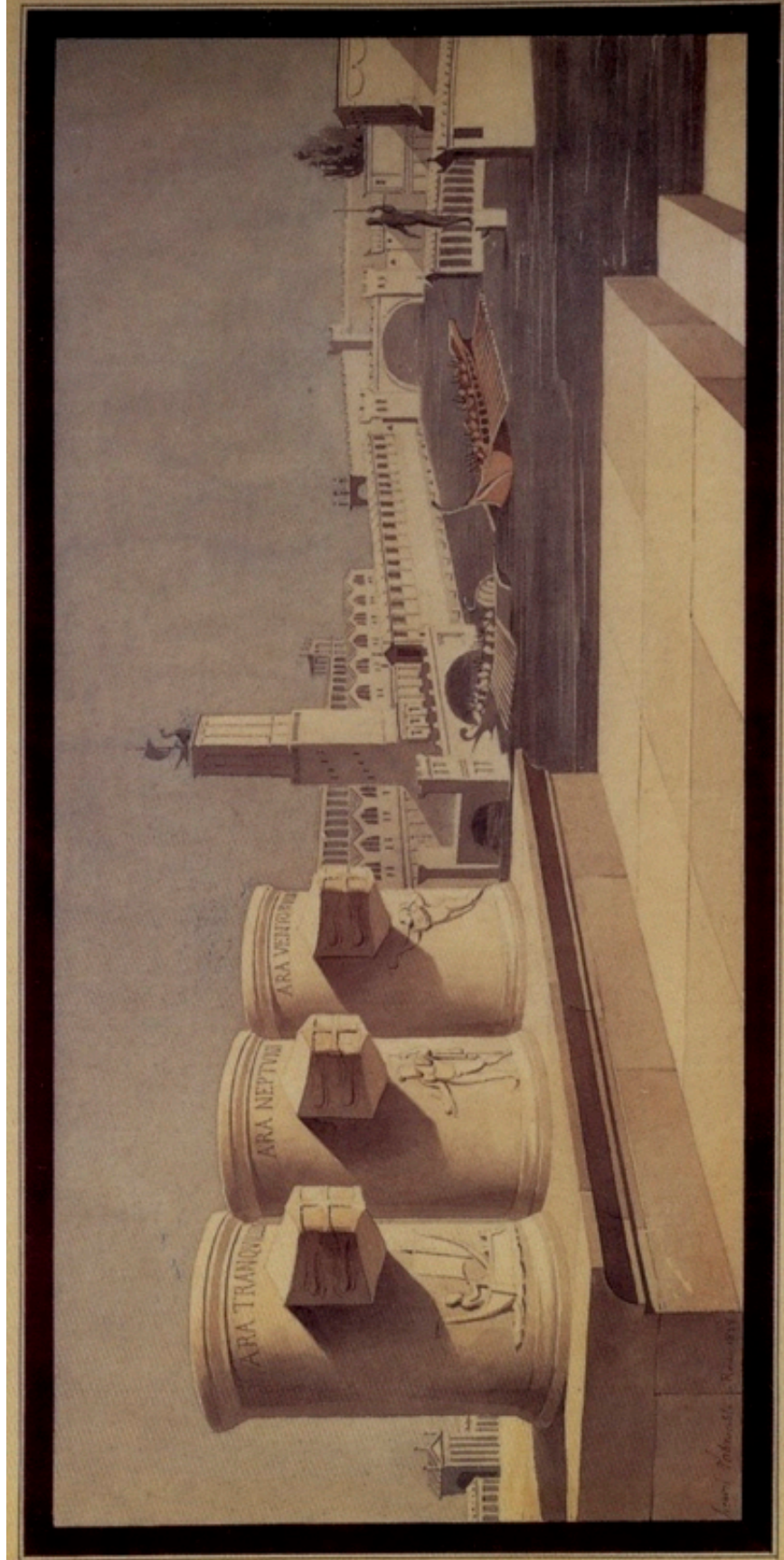
2.6.1 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, *Tombeau du Contre Amiral Dumont d'Urville*; from *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 8 (1849), pl. 45.



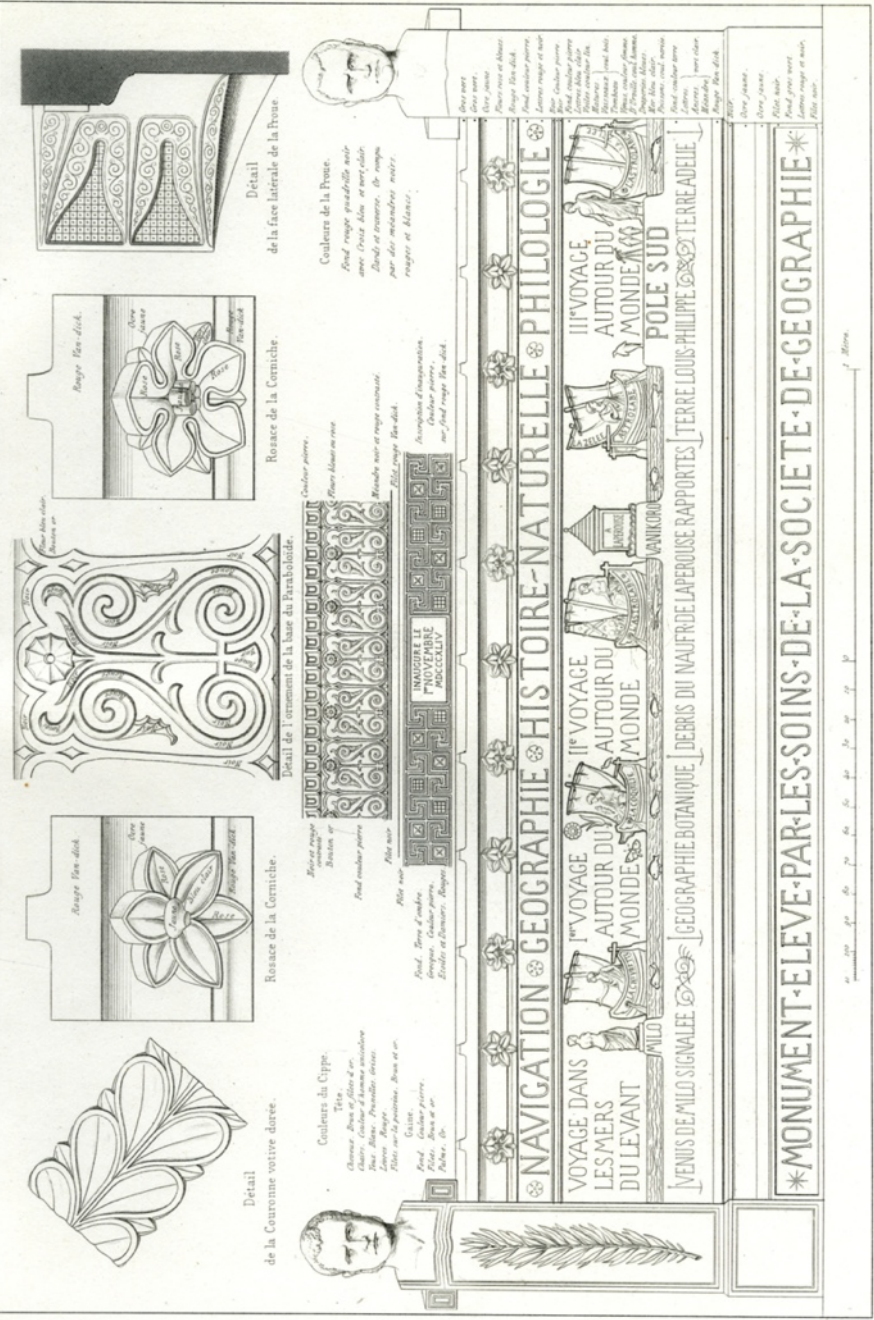
2.6.2 A. Prevest, *Catastrophe ferroviaire entre Versailles et Bellevue le 8 mai 1842*, undated.
[Château de Sceaux, Musée de l'Ile-de-France, Wikimedia Commons]



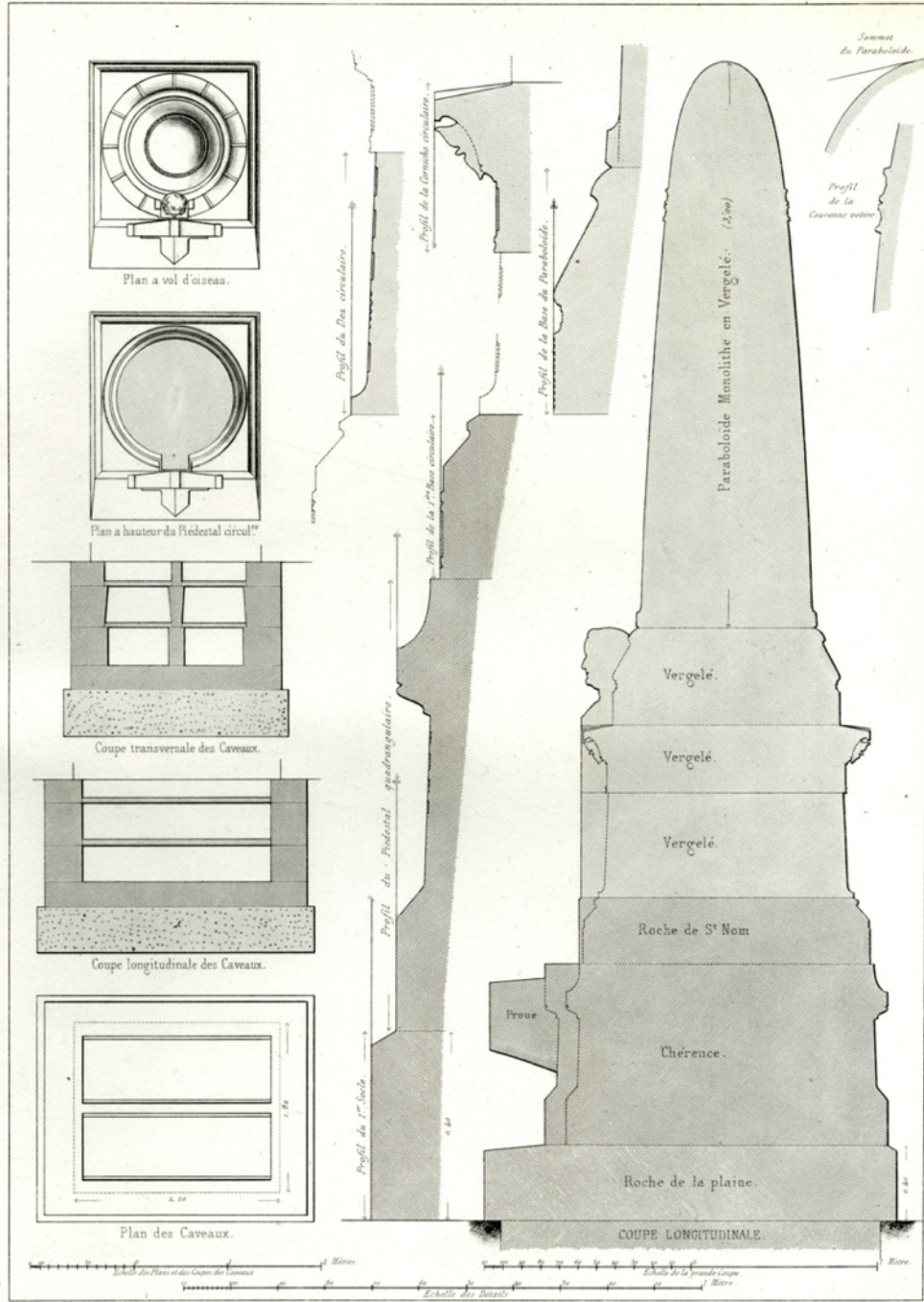
2.6.3 Léon Leymonnerye, Watercolored drawing of the tomb for Dumont d'Urville, undated, (photograph by Alice Thomine-Berrada). [Cabinet des estampes du Musée Carnavalet]



2.6.4 Henri Labrouste, *Fragments antiques*, 1828; from Bergdoll, “. . . en général de très honnêtes rebelles.” Fragmentary Notes on a Newly Discovered Album of French Romantic Architectural Compositions,” in *Fragments: Architecture and the Unfinished*, Essays Presented to Robin Middleton, 220.



2.6.5 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, *Tombeau du Contre-Amiral Dumont d'Urville*; from *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 8 (1849), pl. 47.

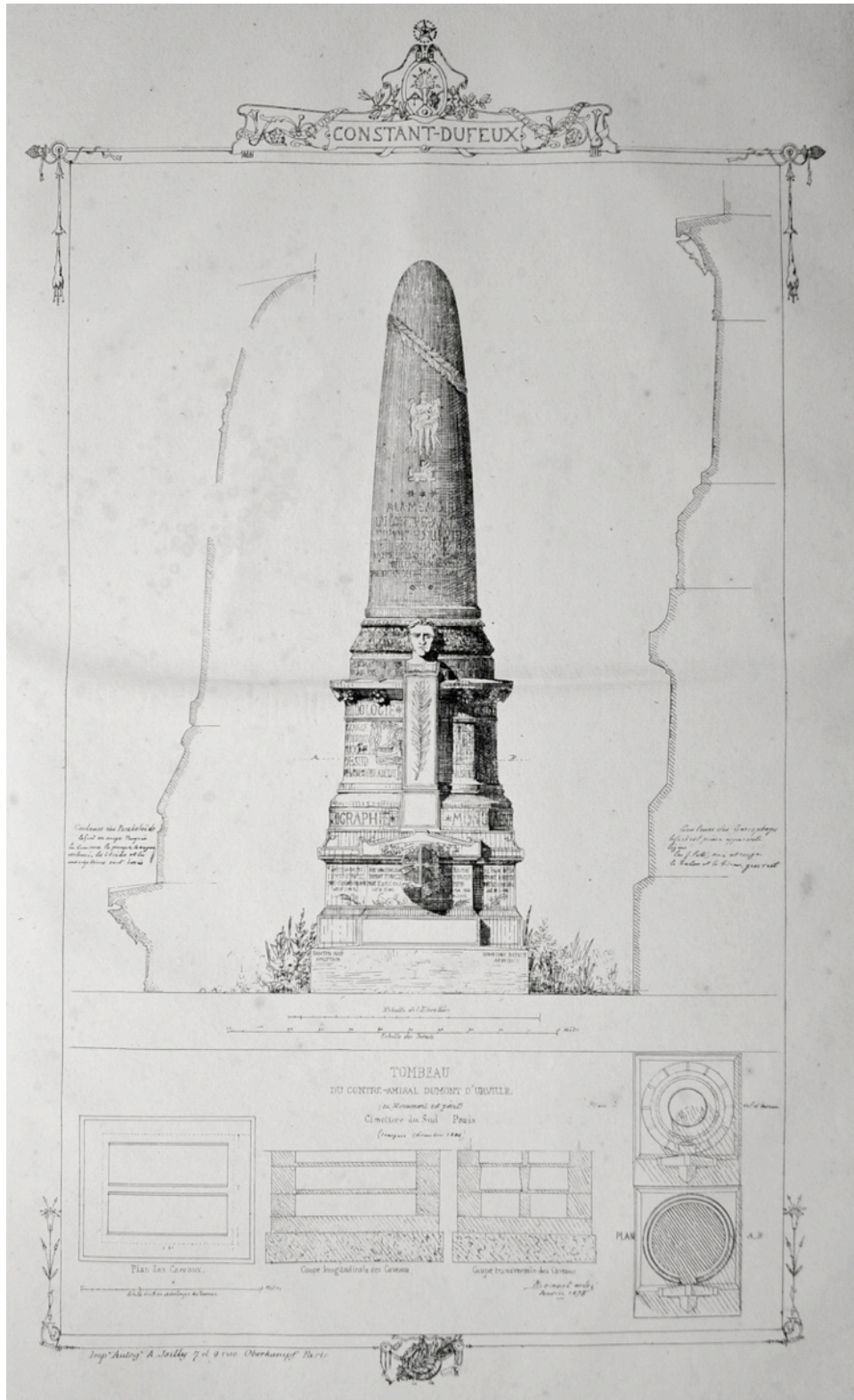


TOMBEAU
DU CONTRE-AMIRAL DUMONT-D'URVILLE.
(Ce Monument est peints)
Cimetière du Sud. Paris.

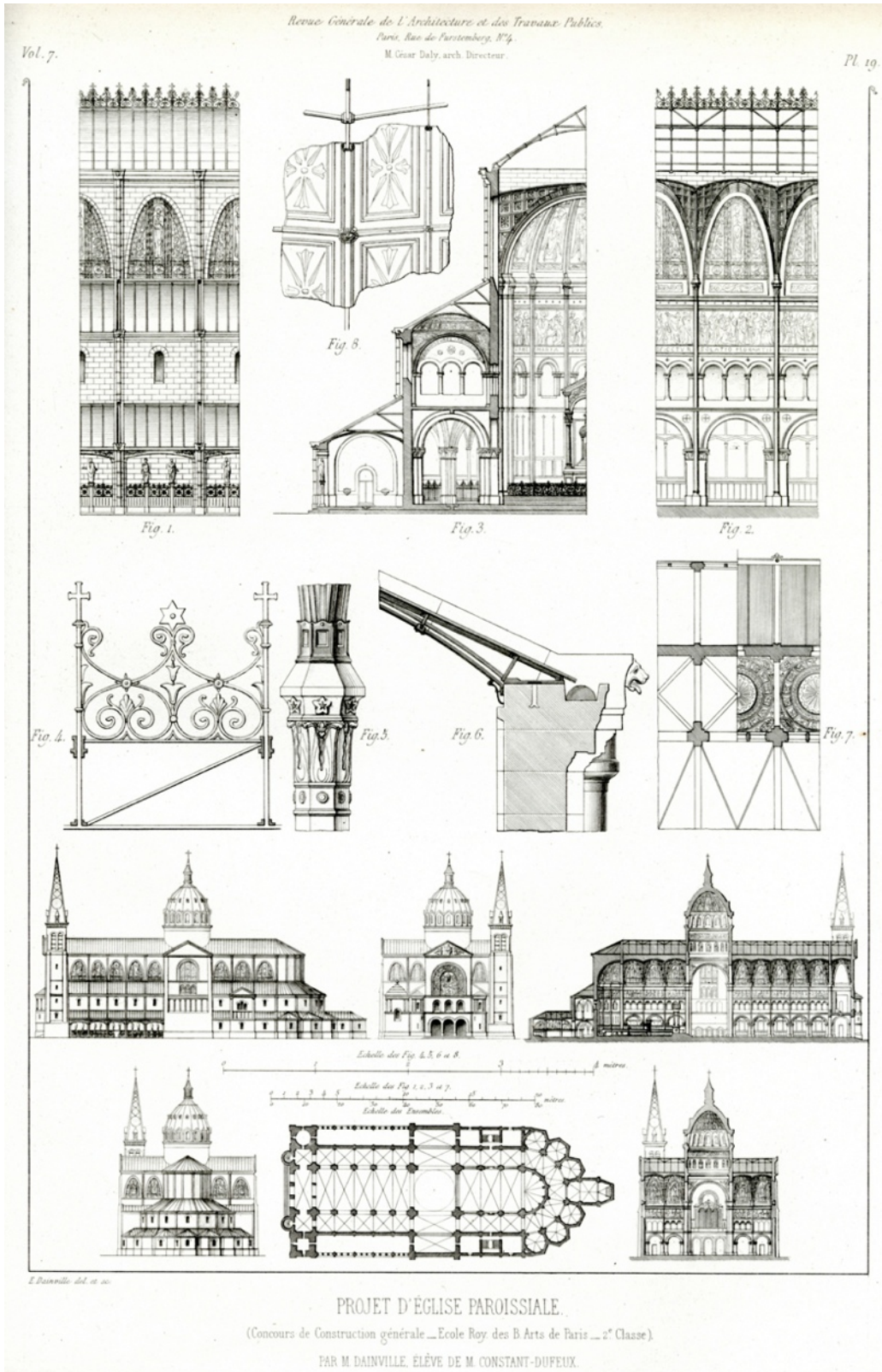
2.6.6 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, *Tombeau du Contre Amiral Dumont d'Urville*; from *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 8 (1849), pl. 46.



2.6.7 Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Luigi Chérubini et la muse de la poésie lyrique*, 1842; from Gary Tinterow, "Maria Luigi Carlo Zanolio Salvatore Cherubini."



2.6.8 S.-C. Constant-Dufeux, *Tombeau du Contre Amiral Dumont d'Urville*; from Constant-Dufeux, *Croquis, études, relevés, édifices projetés ou exécutés*, n.p. [Avery Library]



2.6.9 François Dainville, “Projet d’Église Paroissiale”; from *Revue générale de l’architecture et des travaux publics* 7 (1847), pl. 19.

TABLEAU
DE LA GÉNÉRATION GÉOMÉTRIQUE ET SUCCESSIVE
DES STYLES-TYPES D'ARCHITECTURE¹.

	STYLES.	MOUVEMENT <i>Géométrique des Styles.</i>	SYSTEME DES IDÉES SOCIALES				
			Religion.	Politique.	Droit.	Etc.	Etc.
STYLES PRIMITIIFS. LIGNE DROITE. <small>Base géométrique, con- La ligne droite & ses structive & esthétique. combinaisons. Elevations² : Surfaces planes³.</small>	1° L'ÉGYPTIEN.	Évolution rectiligne de premier degré.	Polythéisme. ⁵	Unité puissante, Liberté nulle. Etc., &c., &c.	»	»	»
	2° LE GREC.	Évolution rectiligne de deuxième degré.		Liberté puissante, Unité nulle. Etc., &c., &c.	»	»	»
	MIXTE. LE ROMAIN.	Transition des styles rectilignes aux styles curvilignes.		Mixte.	»		
STYLES SECONDAIRES. ARC DE CERCLE. <small>Base géométrique, con- L'Arc de cercle & ses structive & esthétique. composés. Elevations : Surfaces planes, cylin- driques ; Dômes.</small>	1° LE BYZANTIN (en Orient). LE ROMAN (en Occident).	Évolutions curvilignes simples, du premier degré.	Monothéisme.	L'Ordre par l'Autorité compressive.			
	2° L'OGIVAL (en Orient). L'OGIVAL (en Occident).	Évolutions curvilignes simples, du deuxième degré.					
	MIXTE. LE MODERNE (depuis la Renaissance jusqu'à nos jours).	Transition des styles curvilignes simples aux styles curvilignes supérieurs.					
STYLES TERTIAIRES. ELLIPSE. <small>Base géométrique, con- Les Arcs elliptiques & structive & esthétique. leurs composés. Elevations : Surfaces planes, cylindri- ques ; Dômes ; Sec. 4.</small>	1° L'ELLIPTIQUE (?)	Évolution curviligne supérieure, du premier degré.		L'Ordre par la Liberté.			
	2° (?)					

(Voir les notes à la page ci-contre.)

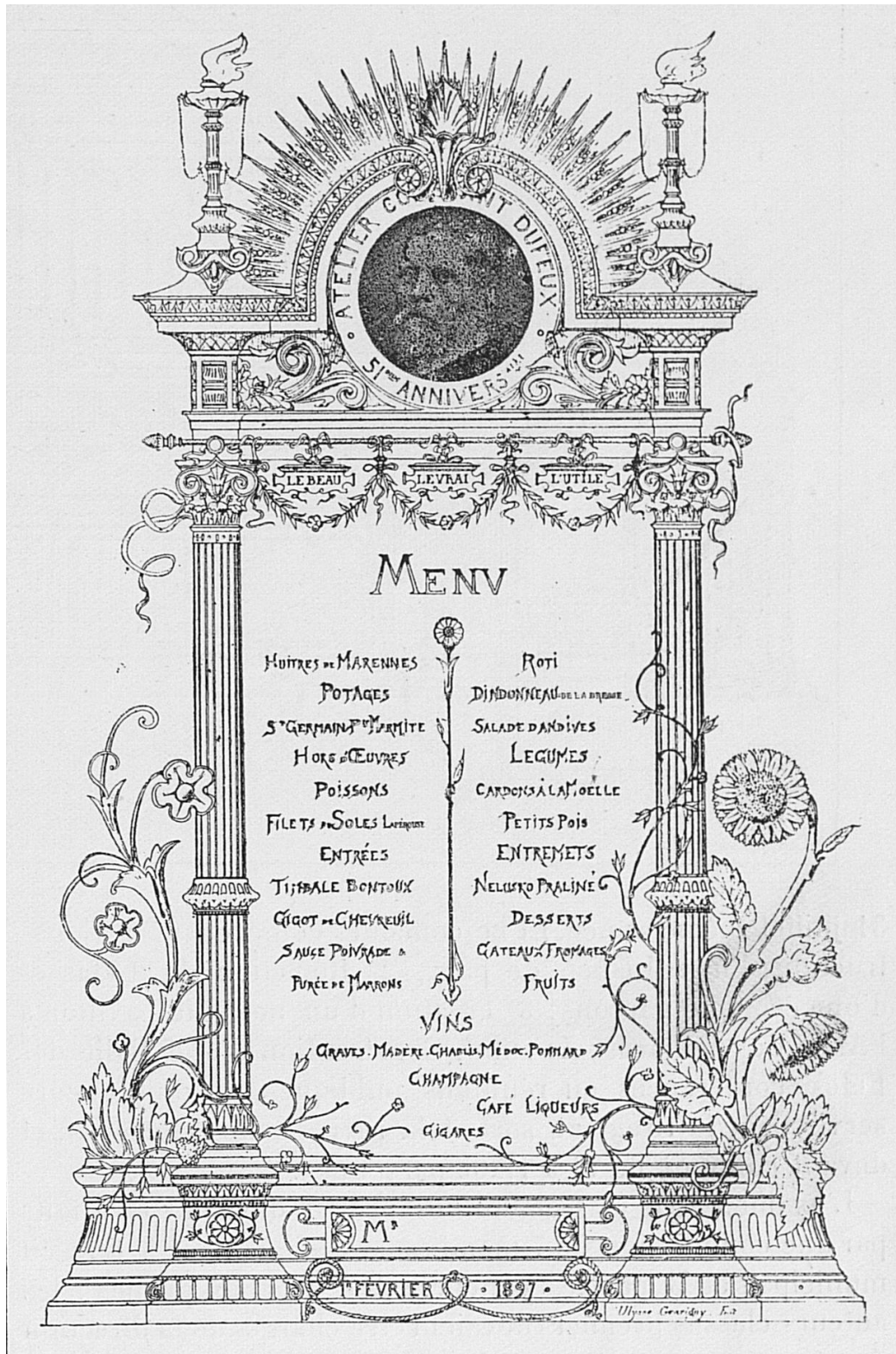
2.6.10 César Daly, Tableau de la génération géométrique et successive des style-types d'architecture; from *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 27 (1869): 38.



3.1 Joseph-Eugène Lacroix, *A Studio in the Villa Medici, Rome (1835)*; from Rewald, *Rooms with a View: The Open Window in the 19th Century*, 167.



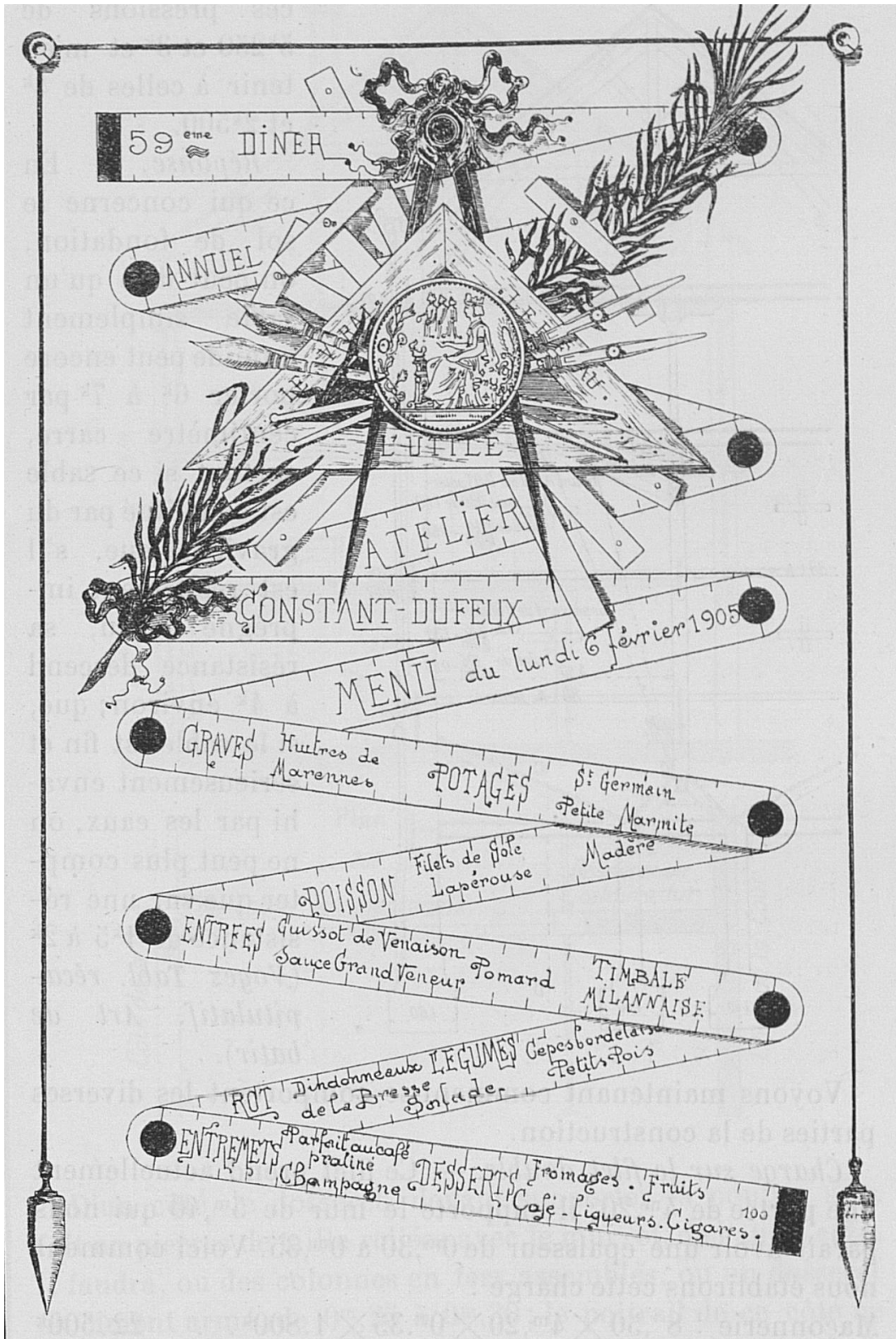
3.2 Auguste-Paul-Gustave Cornu, Portrait of S.-C. Constant-Dufeux in Rome, undated (circa 1834-1835). [original held at le Chateau Compiègne, image acquired through Réunion des musée nationaux, agence photographique]



3.3 Ulysse Gravigny, "Menu pour le cinquante-unième diner des anciens élèves de l'Atelier Constant-Dufeux"; from "Souvenir a Constant-Dufeux," *La Construction moderne* (February 13, 1897), 233.



3.4 Paul Noël, “Menu pour le cinquante-troisième diner des anciens élèves de l’Atelier Constant-Dufeux;” from “53e Diner annuel de l’Atelier Constant-Dufeux,” *La Construction moderne* (February 11, 1899), 240.



3.5 Raymond Février, "Menu pour le cinquante-neuvième dîner des anciens élèves de l'Atelier Constant-Dufeux;" from "Dîner Constant-Dufeux," *La Construction moderne* (February 25, 1905), 261.



3.6 Émile Saulnier, Student drawing from Viollet-le-Duc's Cours d'histoire et de composition de l'ornement at the École de Dessin, 1844-1845. [INHA, 15/2 000 F]



3.7 Émile Saulnier, Student drawing from Viollet-le-Duc's Cours d'histoire et de composition de l'ornement at the École de Dessin, 1844-1845. [INHA, 15/2 000 F]



3.8 Victor Ruprich-Robert, Frontispiece; from *Flore ornementale*, 1866. [Avery Library]



3.9 Victor Ruprich-Robert, Illustration of a leaf from the cannabis saliva plant, 1876; from *Flore ornementale*, pl. 24. [Avery Library]



3.10 Victor Ruprich-Robert, Illustration of a branch of an ash tree with fasciation, 1876; from *Flore ornementale*, pl. 67. [Avery Library]

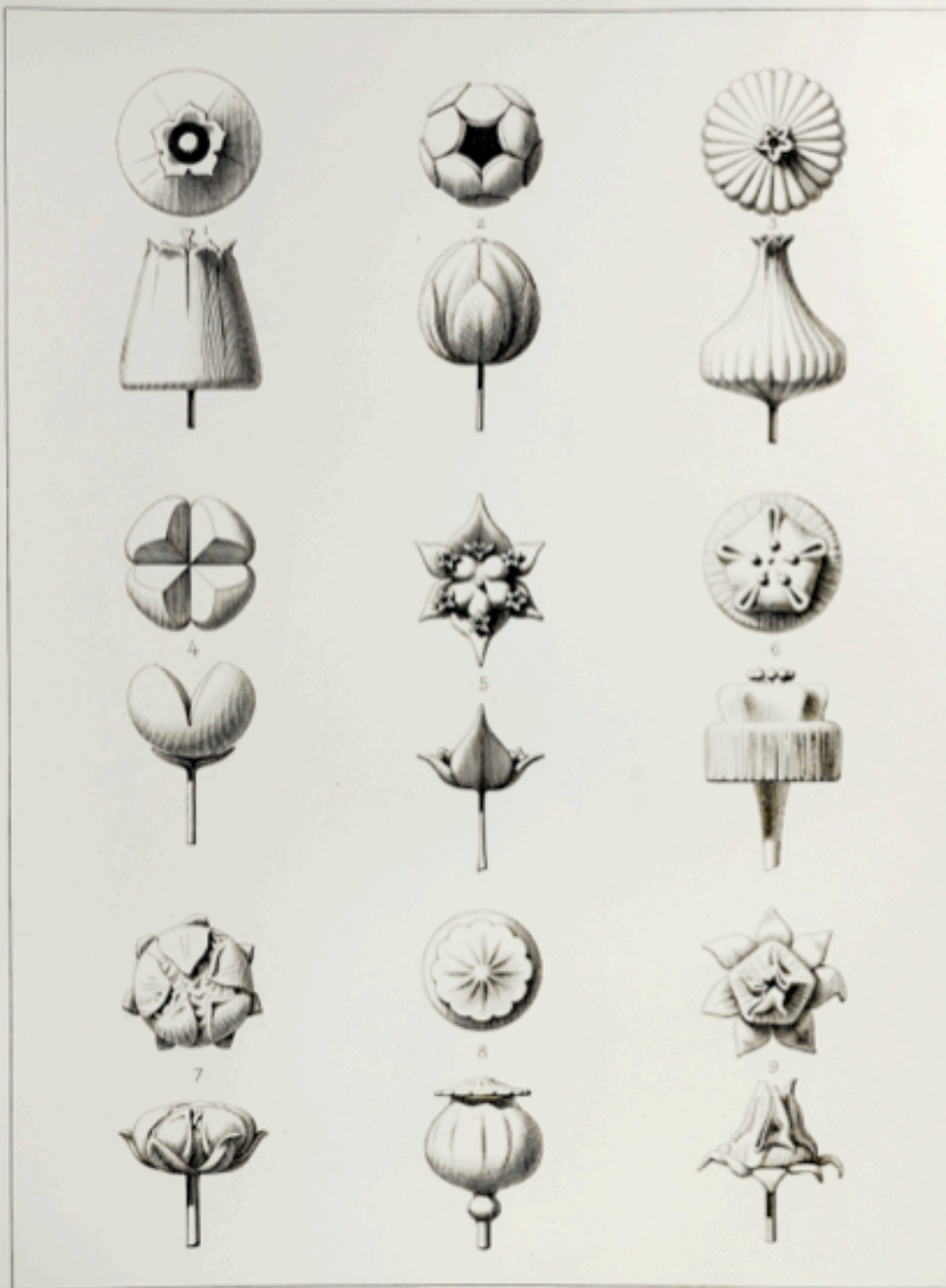


3.11 Victor Ruprich-Robert, "Cultivated Celery and Goutweed," 1876; from *Flore ornementale*, pl. 66. [Avery Library]

FLORE ORNEMENTALE.

BOUTONS, GRAINES, etc.

Pl. 102.



Figures Robert inv. et del.

G. Drouot sculp.

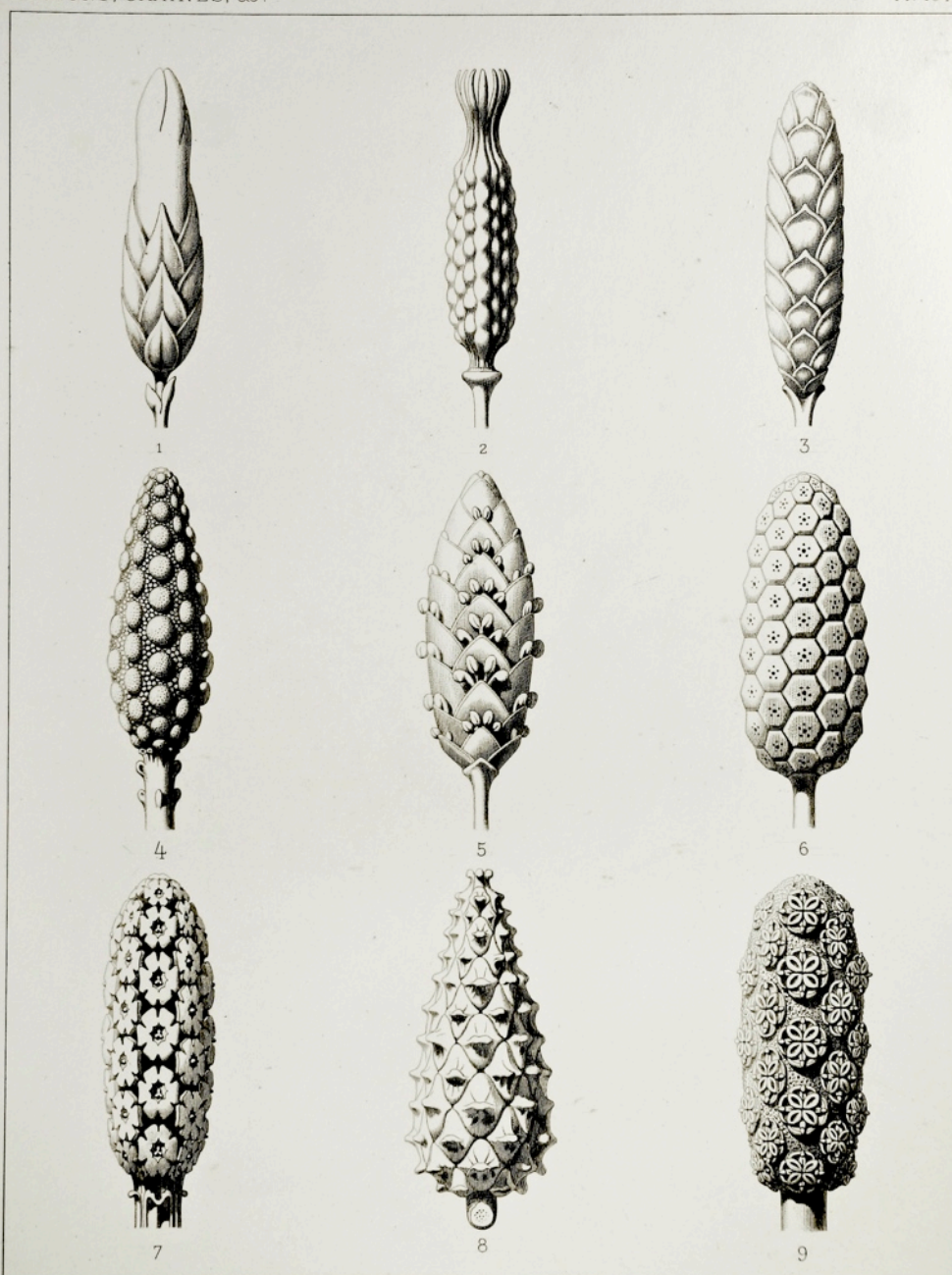
- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>Primula sinensis</i> ... Primrose de la Chine (Calice) | 6. <i>Messenbryanthemum pomeridianum</i> ... Pivoine de l'apennin (Graines) |
| 2. <i>Cassia floribunda</i> ... Cassia de Herbat (Bouton) | 7. <i>Alicea rosea</i> ... Alicea rosea (Bouton) |
| 3. <i>Sonchus arvensis</i> ... Laituca commune (Bouton) | 8. <i>Papaver somniferum</i> ... Pavot scabelline (Capsule) |
| 4. <i>Ruta graveolens</i> ... Rue d'Inde (Graine) | 9. <i>Alicea rosea</i> ... Alicea rosea (Graine non encore à maturité) |
| 5. <i>Leycesteria formosa</i> ... Leycesteria elegant (Graine) | |

3.12 Victor Ruprich-Robert, Illustrations of buds and seeds, 1876; from *Flore ornementale*, pl. 102. [Avery Library]

FLORE ORNEMENTALE.

BOUTONS, GRAINES, &c.

Pl. 104.

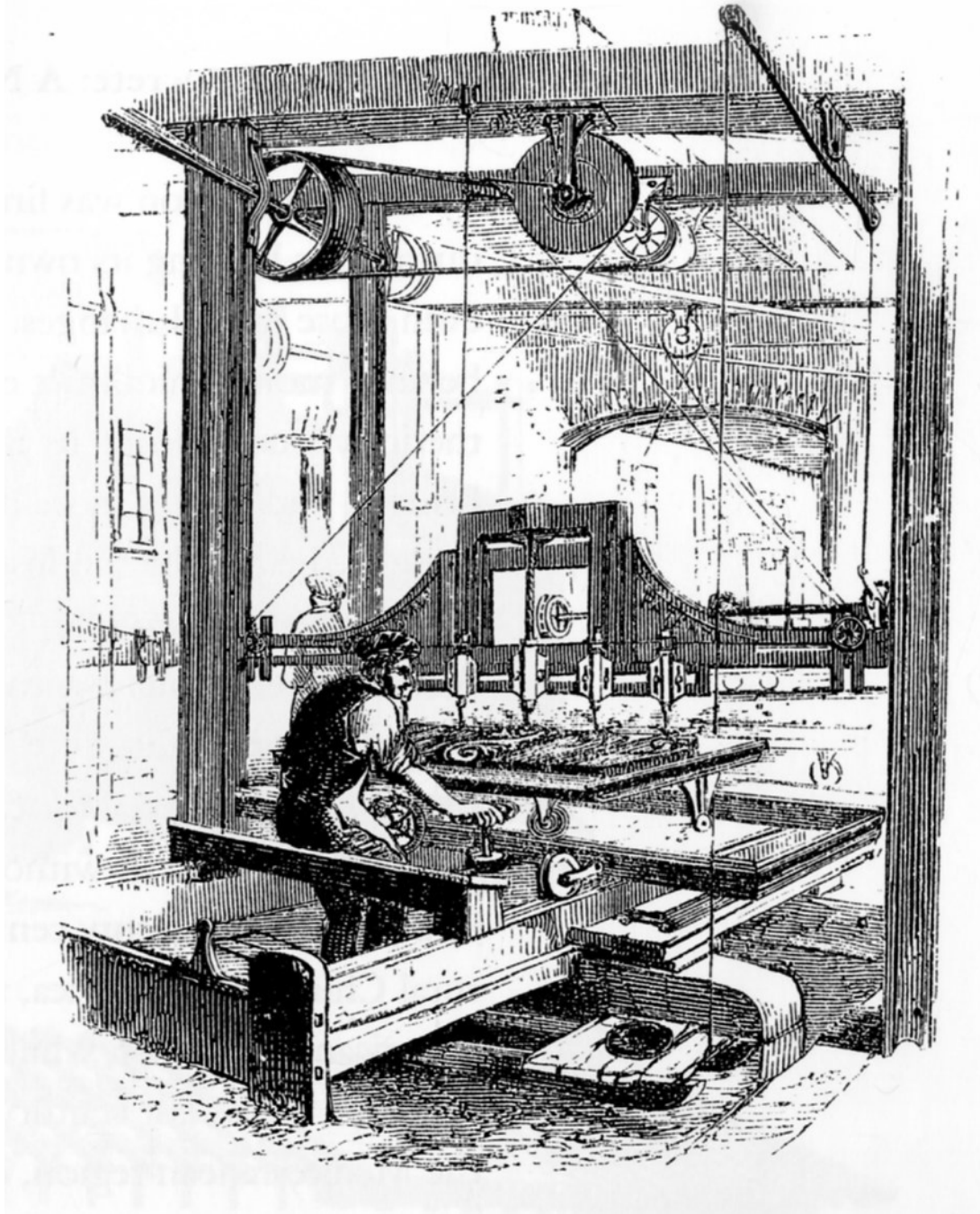


Ruprich-Robert inv. et del.

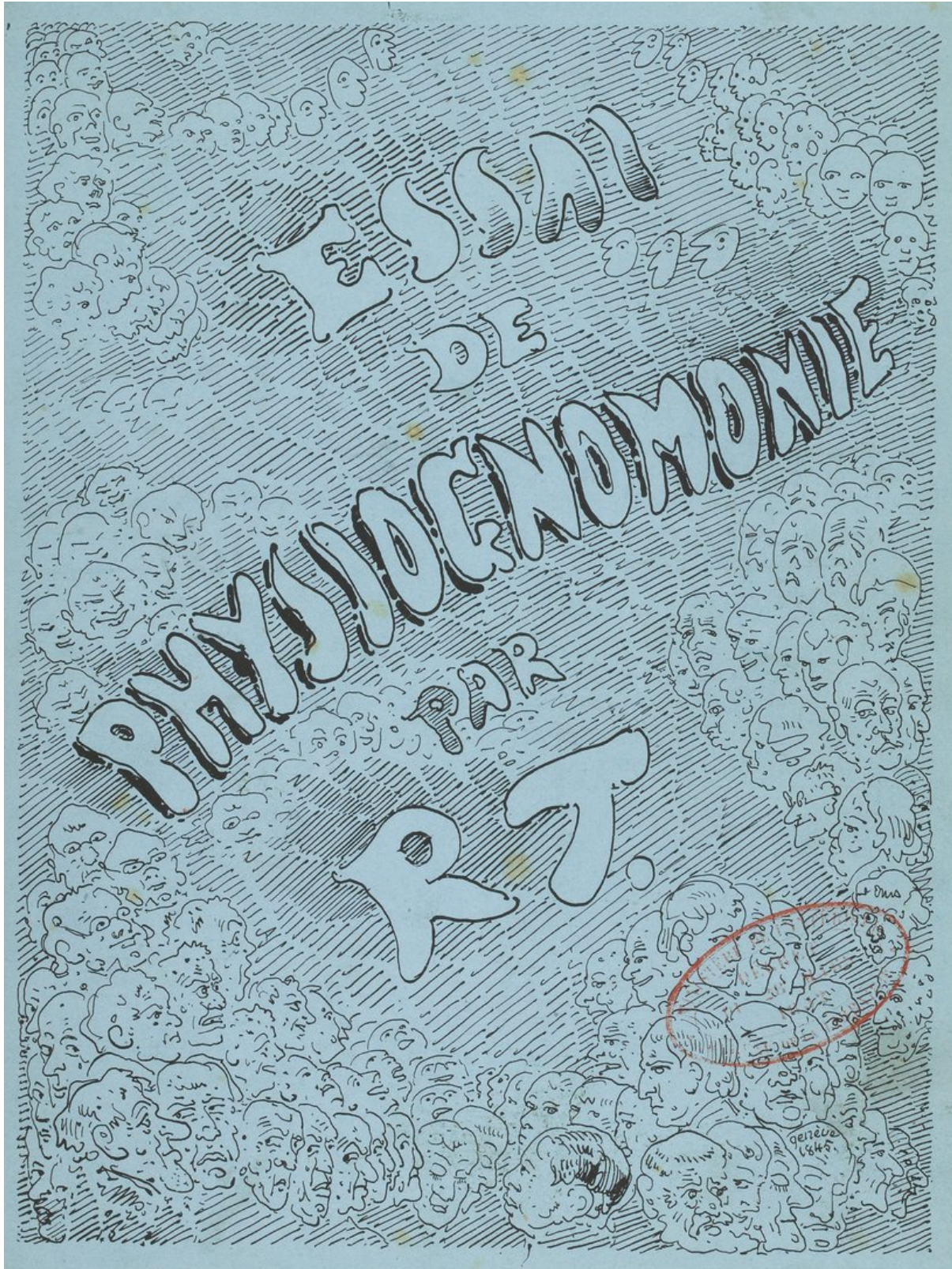
Cl. Sauvageot sc.

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| 1. <i>Epacris</i> — <i>Epacride</i> . (Bouton) | 4. <i>Zamia montana</i> . <i>Zamia des montagnes</i> . (Chaton) | 7. <i>Rhodea Japonica</i> . <i>Rhodes du Japon</i> . (Epi fleuri) |
| 2. <i>Platystemon</i> — <i>Platystémon</i> . (Carpelles) | 5. <i>Batis maritima</i> . <i>Batis maritime</i> . (Chaton) | 8. <i>Pinus sylvestris</i> . <i>Pinus Sylvestre</i> . (Cône mar) |
| 3. <i>Myrica gale</i> — <i>Myrica</i> . (Epi) | 6. <i>Pendanus utilis</i> . <i>Vaquois des Indes</i> . (Spadice) | 9. <i>Carludovica latifolia</i> . <i>Carludovica à grandes feuilles</i> . (Spadice) |

3.13 Victor Ruprich-Robert, Illustrations of buds and seeds, 1876; from *Flore ornementale*, pl. 104. [Avery Library]



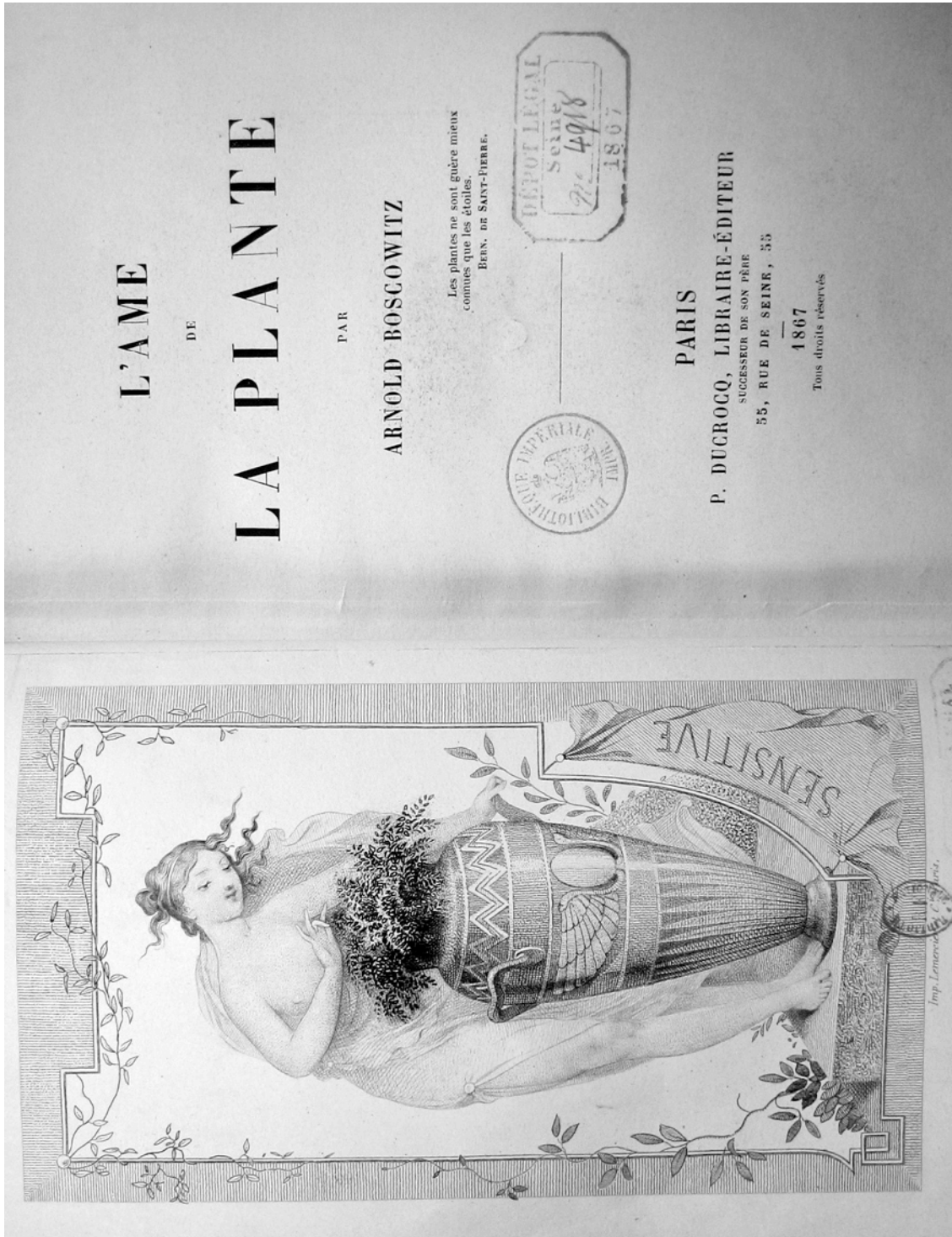
3.14 Thomas Jordan's Carving Machine, 1852; from Peters, *Building the Nineteenth Century*.



3.15 Rodolphe Töpffer, Cover page; from *Essai de physiognomonie*, 1845
[Gallica]



3.16 Victor Ruprich-Robert, "Monument to Agriculture," 1876; from *Flore ornementale*, pl. 150. [Avery Library]



3.17 Arnold Boscowitz. Frontispiece; from *L'Âme de la plante*, 1867. [Bibliothèque Nationale]



Ruprich-Robert inv. et del.

Cl. Sauvageot sc.

BAS-RELIEF.

(Semis de Calcéolaires).

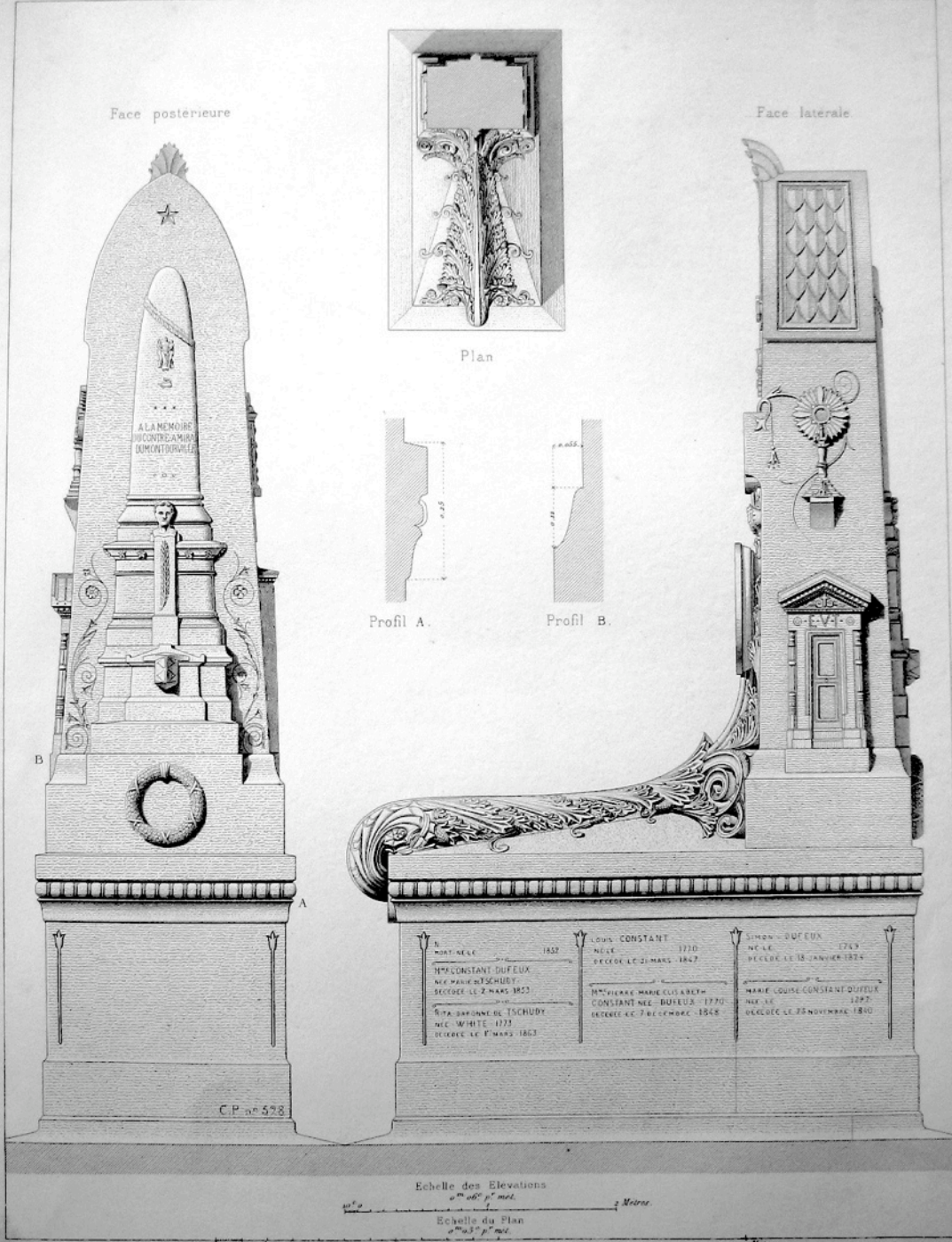
3.18 Victor Ruprich-Robert, “Bas-Relief” with a motif drawn from the Andean Calceolaria plant, 1876; from *Flore ornementale*, pl. 128. [Avery Library]



3.19 Victor Ruprich-Robert, "Capital," 1876; from *Flore ornementale*, pl. 145. [Avery Library]



3.20 Victor Ruprich-Robert, Tomb of Constant-Dufeux, 1874; from *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 31, pl. 9.



TOMBEAU DE CONSTANT DUFEUX

au Cimetière du Sud, à Paris.

PAR M^r RUPRICH-ROBERT, ARCHITECTE.

Exp. A. Salmon - Hôtel Estranade, Paris.

3.21 Victor Ruprich-Robert, Tomb of Constant-Dufeux, 1874; from *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* 31, pl. 10.



3.22 Victor Ruprich-Robert, Tomb of Constant-Dufeux, 1874, Montparnasse cemetery, Paris. [Académie d'Architecture]

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- 850.171 Photograph of the tomb of Constant-Dufeux by Victor Ruprich-Robert, Feb. 1, 1874.
- S.C. 134 Recueil de photographie d'architectes admis à la Société Centrale des Architectes entre 1840 et 1847. Includes only known photograph of Constant-Dufeux.

Académie de France à Rome

- n/a Painting of Constant-Dufeux. Inscribed: S. Constant Gd. prix d'architecture de 1829.

Archives Nationales

- AJ/52/69 Concours de perspective. Section peinture et sculpture, 1821-1900.
- AJ/52/139 Concours de perspective. Section architecture, 1837-1890.
- AJ/52/451 Employee summary file on Constant-Dufeux at the École des Beaux-Arts.
- AJ/52/456 Correspondance related to the nomination of Constant-Dufeux to the chair of perspective at the École des Beaux-Arts, 1845.
- AJ/53/3, AJ/53/4,
AJ/53/104, AJ/53/105 Correspondance related to the École Gratuite de Dessin
- AJ/53/99 Drawings and correspondance related to Duquesnay's proposed alterations to the École gratuite de Dessin, c. 1839.
- AJ/56/36 Correspondances related to the design and fabrication of the bronze doors of the Panthéon, 1851-1859.
- AJ/56/46 Correspondances and drawings related to the Bois de Vincennes. Bâtiment de la ferme impériale, 1859-1861.
- F/21/845 Drawings and correspondance related to the interior renovation of the church of Sainte-Geneviève, 1851-1869.
- F/21/2019 Correspondance relating to Constant-Dufeux's nomination as *second inspecteur* for Émile Gilbert's asylum at Charenton.

- F21*2536, n° 83, pp. 57-58 The Conseil des Bâtiments Civils report on Duquesnay's proposed alterations to the École Gratuite de Dessin, Dec. 12, 1840.
- F21*2536, n° 139, p. 112 The Conseil des Bâtiments Civils report on Duquesnay's proposed alterations to the École Gratuite de Dessin, Feb. 6, 1841.

Archives Nationales, Cartes et Plans

- 56AJ/12 8 drawings related to the interior renovation of the church Sainte-Geneviève, 1851-1852.
- 56AJ/13 10 drawings related to the interior renovation of the church Sainte-Geneviève, 1851-1852. Also includes approx. 30 drawings related to the restoration of the church of Saint-Laurent.

The Getty Center

- 890252* Record Drawings of Ancient Monuments 1825-1833. Getty Special Collections.

Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine

- 80/114/2001 Collection Victor Ruprich-Robert. The collection contains a number of drawings by Constant-Dufeux. These include: the fifth-year *envoi* for a Chamber of Deputies, a tomb for Louis Hersent, a tomb for Charles Jacquemin-Belisle and a restoration drawing of the Temple of Hercules at Cora. The collection also includes a number of copies by Ruprich-Robert of drawings from Constant-Dufeux's time *Grand Prix* stay.
- 80/116 Collection Louis-Clémentin Bruyère. The collection the following drawings by Constant-Dufeux: Plan and section of the church of St. Miniato, 1834;
- 82/45/2008 Gémigny-des-Près. Includes the following drawings by Constant-Dufeux: Transversal and longitudinal sections, and a perspective drawing of the Église de Gémigny, in the Loiret department, undated. Drawings relating to work on the Roman "Aiguille" and Roman Forum in Vienne in the department of l'Isère, 1852.

Musée d'Orsay

n/a	Set of drawings from Constant-Dufeux time in François Debret's atelier and from his <i>Grand Prix</i> travels. Drawings are part of a private collection that is temporarily held at the Musée d'Orsay. See Appendix A for a list of the pre-Rome drawings in this set, and Appendix B for a complete list of drawings prepared by Constant-Dufeux during his <i>Grand Prix</i> stay.
MEDOR 995 2	Eugène-André Oudiné and Constant-Dufeux, Medal of the Société Centrale des Architectes. A number of drawings by Constant-Dufeux are contained in the Fonds Victor Ruprich-Robert ARO 1985. The specific drawings are listed below:
ARO 1985	
206, 203	Tomb of C. P. Bibulus, Rome, c. 1830-34.
193, 194, 195, 196, 197	Cathedral of Orvieto, c. 1830-34.
170	Tomb of Caecilia Metella, Rome, c. 1830-34.
205	Drawing of decorative marble paving. c. 1830-34.
204	Decorative motifs in "pâte de verre," Pompei, c. 1830-34.
184	Church of Santa Giuliana, Perugia, c. 1830-34.
182	Rock-cut tomb in Castel d'Asso, c. 1830-34.
180	Church of San Claudio, Ispello, c. 1830-34.
870	Ruprich-Robert, Caricature of the atelier Constant Dufeux, c. 1836-1847.
 École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts	
MU 7879	Eugène-André Oudiné, Portrait de Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux
Rou 1	Concours Rougevin, 1857. Tribune législative. Winning entry by Louis-Clémentin Bruyère.
X341	Constant-Dufeux, <i>Lettre écrites d'Italie</i> , 1830-1835. Paris: André Daly fils et cie., 1891.
00341X0000	Constant-Dufeux, <i>Lettres écrites d'Italie</i> , 1830-35.

PRAe 71, PRA 189-1-a, Lazaret pour une ville méridionale de France, 1829.
PRA 189-1-b, PRA 189-2,
PRA 189-3-a, PRA 189-3-b.

See Appendix B for complete list of Constant-Dufieux's drawings during his *Grand Prix* stay in Rome.

Canadian Center for Architecture

IDM; ID: 86-A96 Drawings and correspondance related to the project for the Bois de Vincennes.

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Richelieu

Société de Géographie

SG PORTRAIT-10080 Illustration by E. Ollivier of the tomb of Dumont d'Urville.

SG Colis no. 21 Letters related to construction of the tomb of Dumont d'Urville.

SG Colis no. ter, 1516 Letters and drawings related to construction of the tomb of Dumont d'Urville. Contains a printed booklet: *Inauguration du monument érigé par la Société de géographie à la mémoire du contre-amiral Dumont d'Urville*.

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- . "Exposition des envois des pensionnaires de l'École de France à Rome." *Archéologie. Mémoires de la société archéologique du midi de la France* 2, no. 10 (1835): 152-57.
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Appendix A

Drawings presently held at the Musée d'Orsay

- 1 sheet. Drawings: plan, section, elevation. Program: garden café. Date 30/07/?. Jury ranking: no. 12. Jury signature: illegible.
- 2 sheets bonded to 1 blue backing paper. Drawings: section, elevation. Program: unknown. neoclassical building overlooking the sea. unmarked. n.d.
- 2 sheets bonded to blue backing paper. Drawings: section, elevation. Program: octagonal pavilion or house with polychrome pompeian interior décor. unmarked. n.d.
- 1 sheet. Drawings: elevation. Program: undetermined. Rustic Italianate building. Unmarked. n.d.
- 1 sheet. Drawings: site plan, plan, elevation. Program: monumental column and fountain sited at the place de la Concorde. Date: illegible. Jury ranking: illegible. Jury signature: Baltard. n.d.
- 1 sheet. Drawings: plan, section, elevation. Program: undetermined. The scale of the project and the form of the buildings (for example, the presence of a belfry) suggest that this was likely an Hôtel de Ville, the official program for the concours annuel de *Grand Prix* of 1825. Unmarked. n.d.
- 1 sheet. Drawings: plan, section, elevation. Program: market with fountain. Date: 29/07/1820. Jury ranking: no. 29. Jury signature: Baltard
- 1 sheet. Drawings: plan, section, elevation. Program: octagonal garden pavilion. Date: 02/04.1822. Jury ranking: no. 35. Jury signature: illegible.
- 1 sheet. Drawings: plan and elevation. Program: river pavilion with statue of a water nymph (?). Date: 17/06/1823. Jury ranking: no. 31. Jury signature: illegible
- 1 sheet. Drawings: plan, section, elevation. Program: observatory. Date: 05/08/1824. Jury ranking: no. 9. Jury signature: Baltard.
- 1 sheet. Drawings: plan, elevation. Program: garden fountain. Date: 07/10/1824. Jury ranking: no. 9. Jury signature: Baltard.
- 1 sheet. Drawings: plan, elevation. Program: circular garden pavilion with statue of Diana. Date: 05/1825. Jury ranking: 18. Jury signature: n/a.
- 1 sheet. Drawings: plan, section, elevation. Program: garden pavilion. Date: 06/06/1826. Jury ranking: no. 17. Jury signature: Baltard.
- 1 sheet. Drawings: plan, section, elevation. Program: Muséum d'histoire naturelle (Concours annuel de *Grand Prix*). Date: 12/05/1827. Jury ranking: no. 6. Jury signature: Baltard.

- 1 sheet. Drawings: plan, section, elevation. Program: commemorative column marked: “La Grèce rendue libre à Navarin” and “les trois puissance.” Date: 04/03/1828. Jury ranking: no. 20. Jury signature: Baltard.

Appendix B

Official drawings prepared during the *Grand Prix de Rome*

First year (1830)

- Study of the Doric order, théâtre de Marcellus, Rome, (2 drawings: three arcades of the two exterior orders, detail of the Doric order: copy at l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Env calque 28).
- Study of the Doric order, temple de Neptune, Paestum (3 drawings: plan, elevation and detail of the entablature: Originals presently held at the Musée d'Orsay, private collection; copy at l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Env calque 26).
- Study of the Doric order, temple d'Hercule, Cori (1 drawing: elevation: original in Collection Victor Ruprich-Robert, Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine, 80/114/1002; copy at l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Env calque 27).
- Study of the Doric order, temple de Ségeste, Sicile (2 drawings: elevation and plan: 1 original drawing presently held at the Musée d'Orsay, private collection; copy at l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Env calque 25).

Second year (1831)

- Study of Ionic order, Propylées du temple de Neptune, Pompeii (1 drawing: copy held at École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Env calque 30).
- Study of Ionic order, Portique qui précède le forum triangulaire, Pompeii (1 drawing: the original drawing of the Portique is presently held at the Musée d'Orsay, private collection; copy held at l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Env calque 31).
- Study of the Ionic order, chapiteau antique conservé au musée du Vatican, (1 drawing: copy at l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Env calque 32).
- Study of the Doric order, Tabularium, Rome, (1 drawing: copy at l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Env calque 29).

Third year (1832)

- Étude de la *Graecostasis* connue sous le nom de temple de Jupiter Stator, Rome, (5 drawings: originals presently held at the Musée d'Orsay, private collection; copy at l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Env calque 39).

Fourth year (1833)

- Uncompleted project to restore the Capitoline Hill, including the temple de la Concorde, Rome.

Fifth year (1834)

- Projet d'une Chambre de députées (8 drawings on two sheets: originals in Collection Victor Ruprich-Robert, Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine, 80/114/1002).

Appendix C

“Description of the Temple of Concorde” (1831)

Dans les fouilles faites au pied du TABULARIUM en 1817, on trouva de nombreux fragments de marbre d'un travail très précieux, et le seuil d'une porte que l'on jugea devoir appartenir au temple de la Concorde.

Les nouvelles fouilles entreprises en 1828, 1829, et 1830 on déterminé d'une manière très positive la place de ce monument dont la disposition à l'intérieur se rapporte parfaitement avec celle d'une médailles du temple de la concorde du temps d'Auguste. Cette médaille nous fait voir que ce temple était de ceux que VITRUVÉ appelle PROSTYLE et SYSTYÉ, et que son intérieur était éclairé par des fenêtres placées autour de la cella. La nécessité de ces fenêtres s'explique assez [indéchiffrable] qu'on sait qu'il servait aussi aux assemblées du SENAT pour y traiter des affaires importantes.

D'après ce que dit DYON, ce temple devait être effectivement celui de la Concorde, qui selon lui avait son entrée tournée vers le FORUM et les corniches ce retrouvait situé près la prison TRAVERTINE et le temple de JUPITER TONNANT (Dyon liv. LVIII, Page 720).

Il fut d'abord élevé par CAMILLE du temps de la république, plus tard refait par AUGUSTE et dédié par TIBERE l'an 764 de ROME (IIième de l'ère vulgaire) (Dyon Liv. LXI, page 671).

Il dut être consumé par l'incendie, qui arriva sous VITELLIVS et réparé par les VESPASIEN. CONSTANTIN y fit aussi quelques restaurations aussi que l'indique une inscription (1).

PLINE nous apprend aussi que son intérieur était rempli des chefs-d'oeuvres les de plus célèbres artistes grecs. (PLINE Liv. XXXIV C. VIII).

En 1831 on vient de découvrir en grande partie (voyez la fouille A dans le plan état actuel) la place de la fondation des colonnes du PERYSTYLE.

Ce qui vient d'être assuré que c'était bien en effet celui de la CONCORDE bati d'abord par CAMILLE, refait plus tard par TIBERE, et non celui d'ordre IONIQUE dont il reste aujourd'hui que le portique de 6 colonnes.

AU RESTE la position de ce dernier s'accorde si peut avec celle que les auteurs anciens assignent au temple de la Concorde, qu'il ne peut y avoir aucun doute à cet égard.

Il a été déposé dans le portique du TABULARIUM des fragments de la Corniche, et de l'Architrave de l'ordre extérieur, aussi que des futs de colonnes de marbre de différentes dimensions, et cannelés qui servirent probablement à la décoration intérieure, mais dans ces fragments et dans ceux exposés encores dans le FORUM, on ne retrouve aucun restes des colonnes ni de la brin de l'ordre extérieur.

C'est d'après ces données et les recherches sur les monuments de la même époque, que l'on n a essayé de donner une idée de ce que devait être le monument.

Appendix D

Students in S.-C. Constant-Dufaux's *ateliers*

The list was produced using Edmond Augustin Delaire, *Les architectes élèves de l'École des beaux arts: 1783-1907* (Paris: Librairie de la construction moderne, 1907).*

- | | |
|--|--|
| Allain, François-Albert (1861) | Cousin, Philippe-Vincent (1843) |
| Arangoiti, Raimon-Rodrigue (1858) | Couvrechef, Louis-August-Léodar (1848) |
| Artur, Charles (1862) | Cramer, Ernest-François (1862) |
| Aubertin, Élie-François-Alexandre-Émile (1857) | Crivelli, Louis Gabriel (1863) |
| Bémont, Adrien-Laurent-Alphonse (1858) | Dagne, Léon-Auguste (1851) |
| Besson, Alphonse (1863) | Dainville, François-Édouard-Louis (1843) |
| Bibard, Auguste (1845) | Delaroche, Jacques-Jean-Georges (1859) |
| Blavette, Victor-Auguste (1869) | Delarocque, Anthime-Marin (1859) |
| Blanchard, Jacques (1848) | Deleiderrier, Marc-Jules (1849) |
| Bonnenfant, Léon (1867); | Delorme, Aimable (1848) |
| Borget, Émile-Jean (1853) | Deturck, Jules-César (1869) |
| Boudin, François-Amédée (1863) | Dieterle, Georges-Pierre (1863) |
| Boulanger, Alfred-Constant-Joseph (1860) | Dubois, Alphonse (1857) |
| Boulanger, Edmond-Théodore (1863) | Féraud, Jean-Baptist-Pierre-Honoré (1837) |
| Bourgoin, Jules (1859) | Février, Pierre-Barthélemy-Victor-Jules (1862) |
| Bousquet, Marie-Bruno-Jules (1859) | Fournez, Théodore-Alexandre (1859) |
| Bousquet, Achille-Marie-Edmond (1863) | Fournier, Frédéric-Ephège (1865) |
| Bouvard, Joseph-Antoine (1864) | François, Désiré-Frédéric (1847) |
| Bruyère, Louis Clément (1850) | Fromageau, Jean-Eugène (1842) |
| Cernesson, Léopold-Camille (1856) | Gaffenried, François-Louis-Rodophe-Arnold (1864) |
| Charpentier, Eugène-Joseph (1862) | Garros, Michel-Louis (1855) |
| Chemin, Charles-Édouard (1853) | George, Léopold-Auguste-Marie (1863) |
| Chipiez, Charles (1856) | Gravigny, Jean-Baptiste-Ulysse (1865) |
| Claës, Josse-Camille-Joseph (1867) | Goit, Paul-Émile-Antoine (1869) |
| Colard, Charles-Jean-Baptiste (1859) | |

Harriot, Louis-Émile (1865)
 Harvey, William (1861)
 Hédin, Amédée-Arthur (1862)
 Isabey, Léon-Marie-Gabriel-Félix (1846)
 Joulet, Jean-Théodore (1854)
 Lacroix, Joseph-Eugène (1835)
 Lebis, Pierre-Albert (1858)
 Léger, Alphonse-Casimir (1862)
 Legueux, Mathieu-Joseph (1849)
 L'Héritier, Alexandre-Lucien (1843)
 Lucas, Charles (1852)
 Mabile, François-Alexandre (1867)
 Maillard, Auguste-Alfred (1872)
 Maitre, Louis-Alfred (1863)
 Martin, Antoine (1859)
 Masse, Anatole-Adolphe (1861)
 Mauss, Édouard-Christophe (1850)
 Naturel, Léonce-Jules (1868)
 Nélation, Auguste-Léon (1845)
 Noel, Pauly-Rémy (1863)
 Notkiewicz, Émile-Alexandre (1839)
 Olin, Jean-Édouard (1863)
 Paisant, Paul-Charles (1864)
 Pascault, Marie-Paulin-Stéphane-Albert (1863)
 Picou, Eugène-Charles (1850)
 Priolleau, Joseph (1853)
 Raffet, Paul-Léon-Marie (1865)
 Renou, Ludovic (1860)
 Ressejac, Étienne-Henri (1866)
 Rohard, Léon (1855)
 Ruprich-Robert, Victor-Marie (1838)
 Sanfourche, Jean-Baptiste (1852)
 Soulas, Jean-Louis-Dominique (1863)
 Tarlier, Joseph-Émile (1846)
 Thellier, Gustave-Alphonse (1858)
 Varinois, Louis-Marie-Charles (1868)
 Viard, Léon-Jules (1862)
 Vigneulle, Jean-Sylvain-Ferdinand (1864)
 Yriarte, Charles (1852)

* Note, the date following the student's name corresponds to the year of entry at the École des Beaux-Arts and not necessarily the year of entry into Constant-Dufeux's *atelier*.

Appendix E

Subjects for the Concours de Perspective (1845-1863)

The subjects matters for the concours for the painting and sculpture sections are as follows:

Tombeau près de Corneto (1845)

Ponte Salaris, près de Rome (1846)

Tombeau étrusque près de Corneto (1847)

Obélisque (1848)

Un tambour de colonne (1849)

Une charette (1849)

Fontaine de la Villa Médici (1850)

Tambour d'une colonne grecque (1850)

Tombeau de Cyrus, Isfahan (1851)

Un tailloir incliné sur un tambour (1851)

Une croix (1852)

Une porte grecque (1852)

Petit monument grecque dans le forum triangulaire à Pompeii (1853)

Un puit et une rampe (1853)

Un dodécaèdre sur un cylindre (1854)

Une muraille percé d'un arc plein cintre (1856)

Plusieurs pierre mises en chantier (1855)

Tumulus étrusque près de corneto (1855)

Ponte Salaris (1856)

Borne militaire antique (1856)

Vasque dans les jardin de la Villa Médici (1857)

Un coffret posé sur le milieu d'une table ronde (1857)

Une sphere (1858); vase étrusque (1858)

Une voute (1859)

Un chapiteau Dorique grecque et sa réflexion dans l'eau (1859)

Un tronc de colonne Dorique grecque (1860)

Un tronc de colonne Dorique grecque et sa réflexion dans l'eau (1860)
Margelle du puits antique de la maison dite Pausa à Pompeii (1861)
Plusieurs escaliers, perrons et pentes à cordons avec deux colonnes (1861)
Un personnage romain assis sur les ruines d'une ville antique (1862)
Cloaca Maxima à Rome construit par Tarquin l'ancien (1862)
Un dodécaèdre sur un cylindre (1863)

The subjects matters for the concours for the architecture section are as follows:

Tombeau de Théron (1845)
Petit temple d'El-Kab (1846)
Palais de thermes de Julien (1847)
Chapiteau appuyé sur un tambour (1848)
Un moule appuyé sur un bloc réfléchissant sur la surface de l'eau tranquille et dans un miroir (1849)
Pont antique de Chamas (1850)
Monument choragique de Lysicrates (1851)
Un cône tronqué et une margelle (1852)
Une croix oblique et incliné sur un cylindre (1853)
Une des tourelle du Pont Neuf (1854)
Plusieurs pierres mise au chantier (1855)
Un cube orné, posé obliquement sur un plan incliné (1856)
Un tronc de colonne grecque oblique et incliné (1857)
L'anamorphose d'une sphère (1858)
Une voute en arc de cloître, extradossée, nue à l'extérieur (1859)
Un tronc de colonne dorique grecque (1860)
Un tronc de cylindre tangent à la fois à un plan horizontal, à un plan incliné et au plan du tableau supposé vertical (1861)
Deux cône oblique avec projections d'ombres (1862)
Un cône et un cylindre avec projections d'ombres (1863)