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Napoleon and the 'new Rome': Rebuilding Imperial Rome in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Paris

Volume 1

Eleanor Tollfree



A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculties of the History of Art and Classics and Ancient History

September 1999

Word count: 86,562

Abstract of thesis.

In this thesis, I shall consider the influence of imperial Rome on the monumental architecture of Napoleonic Paris. Critics have often condemned Napoleonic architecture for its 'decadence,' and suggested that it illustrates the 'decline' of 'Neo-classicism' in France. Alternatively, the Napoleonic monuments have been regarded merely as propaganda for the new regime. A particular problem is that the Hellenocentric tradition of the History of Art has tended to write out the 'Romanness' of Napoleonic art.

Yet a unique architectural relationship developed between Paris and Rome in the second half of the eighteenth century. Central to this relationship was the study of Roman buildings undertaken by the students at the Académie de France à Rome. The onset of the Revolution gave architects the opportunity to design 'Roman' monuments and festival structures in Paris and Rome, and the Revolutionaries embraced the iconography of the Roman Republic. However, it was only with the rise to power of Napoleon and his coronation as Emperor of the French that Paris was established as the 'new Rome.' Inspired by the building projects of the emperors of ancient Rome, Napoleon created his own 'forum' in the heart of imperial Paris. This featured the display of spoils in the 'new Capitol,' the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel, and nearby, the Colonne à la Grande Armée in the Place Vendôme. To start with, Napoleon attempted to erect monuments which implied his affiliation to the first emperor of Rome, Augustus, who had secured his position in the name of the Republic and brought peace and prosperity to Rome. But by 1810, it was clear that the emperor Trajan represented a more appropriate imperial model for Napoleon. Trajan was renowned for his military leadership, but also for engaging Rome in constant war.

Dedication and acknowledgments

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, who have constantly helped and encouraged me. I would also like to thank the following, without whose help and guidance this thesis would not have been possible. Pam Michelle and Mary MacRae, who encouraged me at an early stage and whose teaching is still with me today. John Henderson, Simon Goldhill and Mary Beard profoundly altered my method of approach and offered me continual opportunities to develop my interests. Jas Elsner oversaw an undergraduate thesis and my MA. His enthusiasm for Art History has been a major inspiration. Ed Lilley, Catharine Edwards and Michael Liversidge have tirelessly helped me. The involvement of Catharine Edwards and Michael Liversidge in the *Receptions of Rome* Research Project (1993-6) drew me to Bristol in the first place. Michael Welbourne and Richard Hobbs steered me through the upgrading process. The British Academy, the University of Bristol (GNS Architectural History Foundation) and the British School at Rome funded my research. The University of Bristol provided invaluable opportunities for me to present my work at seminars, and supported attendance at the Classical Association Annual Conference (Royal Holloway, April 1997) and the Annual Conference of the International Society for the Classical Tradition (University of Tübingen, July-August 1998). My stay in Rome with Cristina Ruiz whilst undertaking my MA enabled me to gain a vital knowledge of the city, and it was through her that I was able to find accommodation in Paris to carry out research for this thesis. Clare Hornsby and Alex, as founders of the GNS Architectural History Scholarships at Bristol have been more than generous. I am also very grateful for their kind hospitality in Rome. At the British School at Rome, Andrew and Jo Wallace-Hadrill, Gill Clarke, Martin Millet, Ray Laurence and Lori-Ann Touchette were consistently encouraging. Donal Cooper, Alison Hynde, Carol Richardson and Clare O'Donahue provided excellent company throughout my stay in Rome. I am deeply indebted to Valérie Huet, whose paper on Napoleon given at one of the first Bristol conferences encouraged my interest in French receptions of Rome.

I must also express my thanks to the following people in Paris and Rome who assisted me with my work, either by allowing me access to archives and collections, or by discussing areas of my research with me. In Paris, I am grateful to the staff of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève and Annie Jacques at the library of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. I would like to thank Maria Pia Malvezzi of the British School at Rome, who patience and persuasion gained me access to many places in Rome relating to my research, including the Palazzo Mancini, Palazzo Quirinale, Clérisseau's 'Ruin Room' in the convent of S.S.Trinita dei Monti, Villa Albani and Palazzo Spada. It was also with her help that I was able to meet Dr Alloisi of the Galleria Corsini and Dr Franceschini of the Archivio Capitolino. Valerie Scott gave me much assistance in the library of the British School. Michel Hochmann of the Académie de France at the Villa Medici kindly allowed me to consult the original *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie*

de France à Rome and led me on an exciting trip by torchlight to see the casts in the basement of the garden loggia of the School. Dominique Reviller and Maria Teresa De Bellis helped me in the library at the Académie. Fabrizio Ambrosi de Magistris assisted me in the Biblioteca Accademia di San Luca and Biblioteca Romana Sarti, and allowed me to take photographs of M.J.Peyre's *Oeuvres d'Architecture* and *Supplément*. Dr Adolfo Fiorino of the Banca di Sicilia kindly guided me on two visits around the Palazzo Mancini and drew my attention to features of the building and its history and to relevant published material. Dr Paolo Arata of the Museo Capitolino patiently answered my questions on the arrangement of the museum in the late eighteenth century and the removal of antiquities by the French, and gave me access to rooms normally closed to the public. Dr Paolo Liverani of the Musei Vaticani enlightened me on matters concerning the museum during the period of the Grand Tour and the choice of items by the French, and generously provided me with a copy of his unpublished paper presented at the conference on the *Grand Tour* held at the British School at Rome. At the Museo Napoleonico, Dottoressa Gorgone informed me on matters concerning the French occupation. Signore Castelli allowed me access to archival material on the period of the Roman Republic, and arranged for photographs to be taken of items on display and in the archives of the museum.

More recently, I am grateful to Frank Salmon at the Annual Conference of the Association of Art Historians (April 1999) for sharing his findings on the influence of ancient Rome on French and British architects (and their influence on each other) in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He pointed me towards some vital material. I would also like to thank my supervisors for their continuing help and support, Catharine Edwards in particular, for sending me a copy of *Roman Presences: Receptions of Rome in European Culture, 1789-1945*. The staff at the British Library Reproductions Service have provided much help in obtaining illustrations. Finally, I am indebted to Timothy Stevens, Head of Collections at the Victoria and Albert Museum, for his understanding in allowing me time off to complete my thesis.

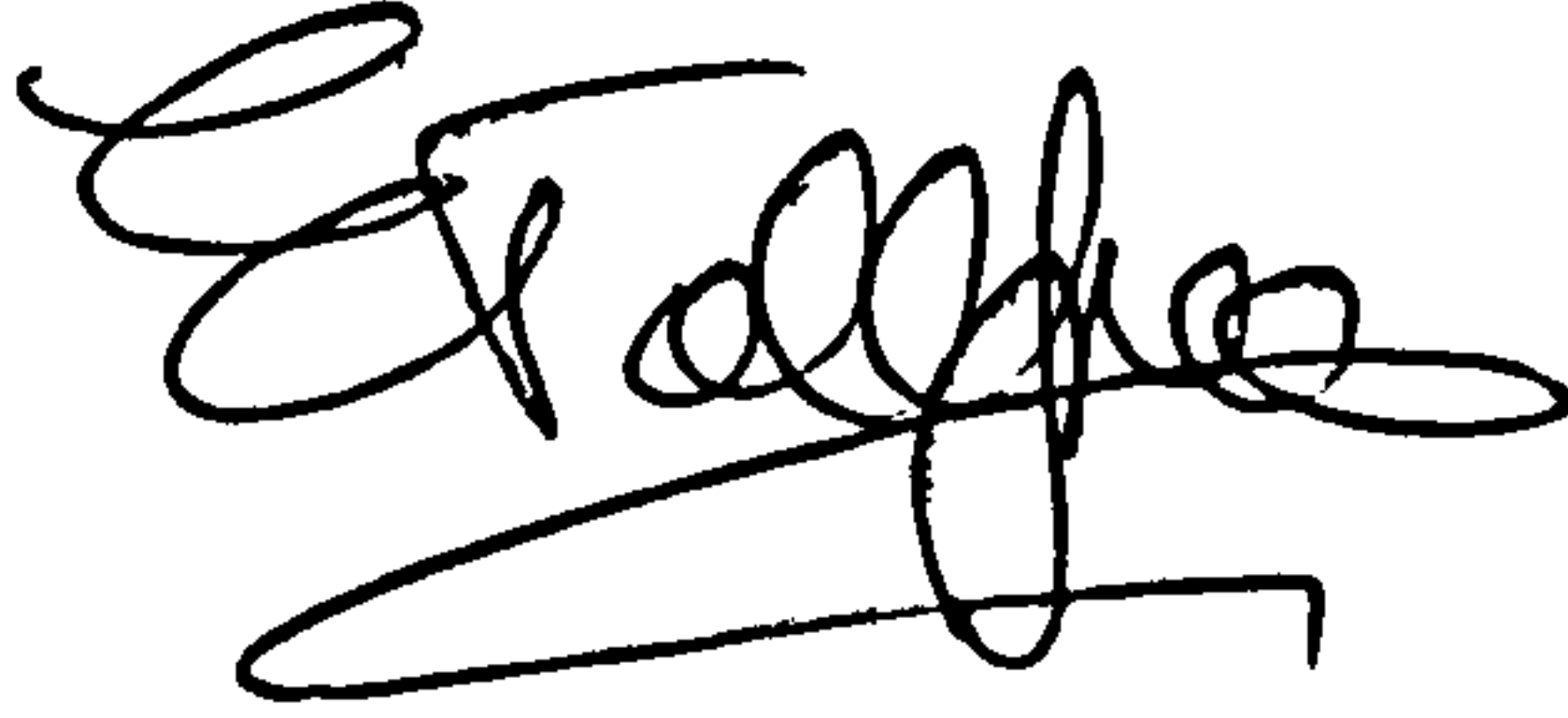
AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original except where indicated by special reference in the text and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree.

Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University of Bristol.

The dissertation has not been presented to any other University for examination either in the United Kingdom or overseas.

SIGNED:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'E. J. ...', written over a horizontal line.

DATE: 23/09/1999

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Introduction

‘Il est encore plus intéressant de connoître les causes que l’instant précis de l’affoiblissement des Empires. Dans l’excellent ouvrage où Montesquieu a développé celles de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains, il s’est glissé, à notre avis, une erreur capitale; l’auteur assigne pour date à la perte de Rome, la destruction de la République. Rome a compté, cependant, sous ses bons Empereurs, plus de jours heureux qu’aux époques les plus brillantes du gouvernement républicain; et nous ne voyons pas pourquoi on appelleroit les regrets sur un ordre de choses qui ne pouvoit subsister plus long-temps.’

Jacques-Corentin Royou, *Histoire des Empereurs Romains, depuis Auguste jusqu’à Constance Chlore*, 1808, p.xi

In his *Histoire des Empereurs Romains*, Jacques-Corentin Royou provides a history of imperial Rome which was uniquely adapted to the context in which he was writing - Napoleonic France. Historians before him, notably Montesquieu, with his *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, first published in 1734, and Charles Rollin with his *Histoire Romaine depuis la fondation de Rome jusqu’à la bataille d’Actium*, which appeared for the first time between 1738-41, had focused on the period of the Roman Republic, and the reasons for its relative ‘greatness’ in comparison with imperial Rome. Certainly, Montesquieu considered the history of Rome right up until the time of Justinian and the fall of the eastern empire, rather than ending with the battle of Actium and ascension of Octavian-Augustus, as we find in Rollin’s *Histoire Romaine*, but his account, like Gibbon’s, has as its underlying agenda the articulation of the decline of Rome under the empire and the ultimate fall of Rome.¹ The histories of ancient Rome provided by Montesquieu and Rollin were staple texts for the Revolutionaries, and the many editions of them which appeared in the second half of the eighteenth century are a testament to their popularity.² Royou’s *Histoire des Empereurs Romains* is significant because he aims to provide a more positive account of imperial Rome than Montesquieu and Rollin. Royou suggests that Montesquieu was wrong to date the fall of Rome from the end of the Republic, since this would imply that the decline of Rome set in under the

¹ See the article by Stephen Bann, ‘Envisioning Rome: Granet and Gibbon in dialogue’ (in Edwards ed: 1999, 36): ‘What [Gibbon] will write of Rome is emplotted from the start, to use Hayden White’s term, in the ironic mode. That is to say, it implicitly sets up the later history of the Empire, with its effete and incompetent rulers and its disruptive Christian communities, in relation to the model of its original effulgent greatness.’

² For example, in 1755, an edition of Montesquieu’s *Considérations...*, edited by Paul Eugène Edmond Barbier and Louis Vian was published in Paris, and further editions, edited by Barbier and Vian appeared in Amsterdam in 1771 and 1776, and in Paris in 1795 and 1815. The second edition of

Republic itself, which was only brief in comparison with the empire. By shifting the 'moment' of Rome's decline to the imperial period itself, Royou allows more scope for a consideration of the achievements of imperial Rome, and for delineating precisely why, at such a time of greatness (particularly under Augustus), the decline of Rome began.

The change in emphasis exhibited by Royou's account of ancient Rome directly reflects the uses being made of the model of ancient Rome in imperial France. In the late eighteenth century, ancient Rome had become of central importance to the Revolutionaries, who looked to Republican Rome as their political model. As Valérie Huet suggests, 'The two famous Brutuses - the Brutus who revenged the rape of Lucretia and drove out the Etruscan King Tarquin, and the Brutus who was spurred by Julius Caesar's hunger for power to plot his assassination - were models for the Republican citizen.'³ Examples of Republican Romans coined from Plutarch's biographies, which were well known from French translations such as the *Vies des Hommes illustres, traduites en françois, avec des remarques historiques et critiques par M.Dacier*,⁴ were revered by the Republicans, and they employed the iconography of Republican Rome for their festivals celebrating the events and ideals of the Revolution.⁵ As Napoleon gained power in France, rising from an ambitious young general to become Emperor of the French, it was also useful for him to employ the model of ancient Rome.⁶ In fact, the parallel between Revolutionary France and ancient Rome was strengthened by the similarities which could be drawn between the transition from Republic to Empire in ancient Rome, and from Republic to Empire in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century France. In antiquity, Octavian had achieved success in his campaigns and secured his position in the name of the Republic, going on to become the first emperor of Rome. Napoleon gained power in a similar manner, first of all as First Consul, then as First Consul for life, until finally, in 1804, he was made Emperor of the French. By using the model provided by ancient Rome, Napoleon was able to transform the position he had won through French 'civil war' into the leadership of an 'Augustan' empire.⁷ In his *Histoire Romaine*, Royou, like many of the imperial historians, was keen to delineate the achievements of imperial Rome, which already provided the key political, and, as I shall suggest, artistic model for the Napoleonic regime. His

Rollin's *Histoire Romaine* was published in Paris in 8 volumes in 1752, and a further edition appeared, for example, in 1773.

³ See the article by Valérie Huet, 'Napoleon I: a new Augustus?' (in Edwards ed: 1999, 53).

⁴ This was first published in fourteen volumes in 1762, and reissued with extensive notes in 1778.

⁵ I shall discuss this topic at greater length in Chapter 1 of this thesis. For a useful account of the general appeal of antiquity to the Revolutionaries, see Parker (1937), although as I shall suggest, his account now seems somewhat outdated and limited in scope.

⁶ It must be noted that throughout this thesis, I shall largely refer to Napoleon as 'Napoleon,' rather than distinguishing between the name he held as a young general, 'Bonaparte,' the title 'Napoleon Bonaparte,' used after he was appointed First Consul, and 'Napoleon I,' his title as Emperor of the French. This is for convenience, since I shall be discussing Napoleon's early career primarily with an eye to considering his role as Emperor of the French, and as an imperial Roman builder.

⁷ Napoleon also used other historical models in order to bolster his position, notably that provided by the Frankish emperor Charlemagne, but, as I shall discuss, these were employed less systematically than the Roman model.

consideration of the reasons why Rome fell would also have been useful for the new regime, since it gave Napoleon and his ministers examples of what to guard against, if they were to avoid the downfall of their 'Rome.'

In this thesis, I shall consider how Napoleon modelled himself on the emperors of ancient Rome. Historical and art historical accounts of the period often mention Napoleon's use of the Roman model. A few articles have tackled the issue of Napoleon's relationship to ancient Rome directly, and two of these focus on Napoleonic art,⁸ while an important account of the French excavations in Rome during the Napoleonic period has been provided by Ronald T. Ridley.⁹ As yet, however, a single study of Napoleon's 'Romanness' has not been produced, and the critic interested in the influence of ancient Rome on Napoleonic France has to turn to a whole range of sources from different disciplines, and piece together a sense of Napoleon's 'Romanness' as best he or she can. Despite the fact that it was not Ridley's purpose to provide an analysis of the growing influence of ancient Rome on late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century France, he presents a tantalizing resumé of the subject, which clearly requires further research.¹⁰ It has been my aim in this thesis to tackle this subject, and to attempt to bridge various disciplines, notably Art History, History and Classics, in order to provide an account of the influence of ancient Rome on Napoleonic France. The intellectual context for this thesis has been established by the current trend for interdisciplinary studies, in particular, those on the 'reception' of antiquity,¹¹ and especially by the special research project on *Receptions of ancient Rome in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*, undertaken at the University of Bristol between 1993-6.¹² Since the subject of the influence of ancient Rome on Napoleonic France is too broad for a thesis of this length, I have chosen to focus on a single aspect of this topic, the influence of the monumental architecture of imperial Rome on the monuments of Napoleonic Paris.

⁸ See the following articles: Edouard Driault, 'La Leçon de Rome à Napoléon' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.28, janvier-juin 1929, pp.333-349); John McCoubrey, 'Gros' *Battle of Eylau* and Roman Imperial Art' (*The Art Bulletin*, XLIII, June 1961, pp.135-9); Valérie Huet, 'Napoleon I: a new Augustus?' (in Edwards ed: 1999, pp.53-69). Since the above accounts of Napoleonic 'Romanness' have been produced sporadically over the last seventy years, and even the most recent article does not make reference to the earlier accounts, it would be difficult to suggest that these articles constitute a body of material on the subject.

⁹ Ridley (1992).

¹⁰ Ridley: 1992, pp.1-3. He concludes this section by suggesting: 'Fascination with the classical world, and Rome in particular, had been a feature of French life and culture even before the Revolution. The political concerns of that Revolution and the succeeding Consulate and Empire were, however, to give that interest a new, heightened meaning.'

¹¹ Consider, for example, Jenkyns (1980), (1991), (1992); Turner (1981); Patterson (1984); Clarke (1989); William.L.Vance (1989); Liversidge and Edwards eds (1996); Ayres (1997); Norman Vance (1997); Wyke (1997).

¹² See the collection of essays which has recently been published as a result of the project, edited by Edwards (1999).

One of the clearest ways in which Napoleon acted as Roman emperor was through his building projects for the city of Paris.¹³ When he became emperor, Napoleon made plans to transform Paris into a splendid imperial capital, a 'new Rome.' His architects carried on projects which had already been started in the late eighteenth century, such as the Madeleine. They constructed important new official buildings such as the Bourse, erected new colonnades in the Rue de Rivoli and its connecting streets, built new fountains and attempted to regenerate the city more generally through the construction of new bridges and roads. The attention of a visitor to Paris at the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century would have been attracted by the triumphal monuments which gleamed in the city centre, near Napoleon's imperial palaces, the Louvre and Tuileries. It was through the erection of 'Roman' monuments in the heart of his city, and the creation of his own imperial 'forum' that Napoleon manifested most clearly his role as a 'new Roman emperor.'

Before I turn to my main subject, however, I shall consider the problematic status of Napoleonic art. One of the reasons why Napoleonic art has proved to be difficult to analyse is because of its role as the art of transition. Napoleonic art was produced at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It also coincided with the changeover between different regimes, the end of the *ancien régime* (as the Revolutionaries called it) and the beginning of the Empire.¹⁴ Napoleon himself was both a Revolutionary hero and the Emperor of the French. His achievements as a general and as First Consul in many ways represented the climax of the Revolution, yet his creation as Emperor of the French also marked the beginning of a new regime. Critics of Napoleonic art have frequently regarded the artistic production of his reign as symbolising the 'end' or the 'beginning' of different periods. The most common interpretation of Napoleonic art, however is as a 'fin de siècle' art, more specifically, as the final 'decadent' phase of eighteenth-century Neo-classical art. Yet, as I shall suggest, it is not helpful to consider Napoleonic art in such terms. A consideration of the manner in which Napoleonic art has been constructed by Art History indicates that there are particular biases connected with the discipline itself which have been detrimental for interpretations of Napoleonic art.

Problems of interpretation

'Neo-classicism matured very rapidly, its moment of flowering was brief and followed by a period of no less rapid deterioration and devaluation during the Empire.'

Hugh Honour, *Neo-classicism*, 1991, p.14

¹³ The standard accounts of Napoleon's building projects in Paris are still Hautecoeur (1953, Volume V) and Boime (1990).

¹⁴ For a discussion of the significance of the term *ancien régime* to the Revolutionaries, see the article by Stephen Bann, 'Envisioning Rome: Granet and Gibbon in dialogue' (in Edwards ed: 1999, 39).

Although there have been many exhibitions of Napoleonic art, in particular, a whole series of exhibitions held in France and elsewhere in 1969 to commemorate the bicentenary of Napoleon's birth,¹⁵ in general, little has been written about Napoleonic art.¹⁶ Critics of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century art frequently give Napoleonic art a brief consideration, only to move on to dismiss it for being of little worth. The Napoleonic 'myth' has made it difficult for critics to interpret Napoleonic art.¹⁷ Napoleon is an ambiguous figure, most often considered to be a corrupt emperor, and this has relegated the art produced during his reign to the status of 'decadent' art. The reasons why Napoleonic art has largely been excluded from the History of Art are more complex, and related to the origins of the discipline itself. In this section, I shall consider the common conception of Napoleonic art as representing a period of artistic 'deterioration' and 'devaluation,' and suggest why accounts such as Hugh Honour's (which was first published in 1968) are now in desperate need of revision.

Napoleonic art is generally considered to be 'Neo-classical' art. Like the art produced in the second half of the eighteenth century, which, as is often suggested, was strongly influenced by the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum,¹⁸ Napoleonic art was inspired by the antique. Accounts of Napoleonic art tend to fall (largely for reasons of chronology) at the end of studies of Neo-classical art. Hugh Honour, for example, includes a section on Napoleonic art at the back of his book on *Neo-classicism*. But the fact that this section forms an Epilogue to his analysis of Neo-classical art

¹⁵ This series of exhibitions included the following: *Napoléon*, held at the Grand Palais, Paris, 20 June-2 December 1969; *Tel qu'en lui-même*, held at the Archives Nationales, Paris, 21 June-2 December 1969, and *La Légende Napoléonienne*, which took place at the Bibliothèque Nationale, 11 June-20 October 1969. Various other exhibitions were held at the Musée National du Château de Malmaison, at the Musée National de la Légion d'Honneur, and at Ajaccio and the Ile d'Aix, in order to mark the bicentenary. A useful publication which was produced in conjunction with the bicentenary celebrations, however, was the collection of articles, *Les Arts à l'Époque Napoléonienne* (produced as a special edition of the *Archives de l'Art Français, Nouvelle Période*, Volume XXIV, 1969). Other exhibitions to be held in Paris have focused on particular aspects of Napoleon's achievement, especially his military success (such as the exhibition *Napoléon à Austerlitz et Iéna*, held at Les Invalides in 1956), and relationship to Paris (for example, the exhibition, *Napoléon et Paris*, also held at Les Invalides, 1955). The exhibition *The Arts under Napoleon*, held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art between April 6-July 30 1978, is one of many which have provided dazzling displays of the Napoleonic decorative arts.

¹⁶ Some fundamental accounts of Napoleonic art, however, include Benoit (1897), Hauteceur, *L'art sous la Révolution et l'Empire en France* (1953), Boime (1990), and Wilson-Smith (1996). The special edition of *Apollo Magazine* on the subject *Napoleon and the Arts* (No.80, Spring 1964) is also a useful source. Other accounts of Napoleon art tend to focus on the decorative arts, for example, Grandjean (1966), or on the development of an 'Empire style,' on which, see Bourgeois (1930) and González-Palacios (1970). Alternatively, it is necessary to turn to studies of particular artists who worked under Napoleon, notably David and the architects Percier and Fontaine (whom I shall consider in greater detail later in this thesis).

¹⁷ Only more recently have historians been acknowledging the role of the 'myth' of Napoleon in accounts of the period. See, for example, Tulard (1985), and Wright: 1984, pp.91-95. Napoleon played an important role in establishing his 'myth,' when he wrote his *Mémoires* on the island of St Helena. He suggested that he had acted as a 'saviour' to many of the countries he had invaded.

emphasises that in his eyes, Napoleonic art represented the tail-end of the 'movement' or 'period.' The account by Mario Praz is unusual since he claims that Neo-classical art reached its 'full flowering' under the Empire. He considers that the art of the Empire possessed 'a unity which the checkered development of Neo-classicism lacks to a large extent.'¹⁹ If critics have varied in their interpretation of Napoleonic art, it has only been in terms of whether Napoleon art represents the moment of 'decline' or the 'peak' of Neo-classical art. In almost all cases, however, Napoleonic art has been considered to represent the first step on the road to ruin for Neo-classical art. There are several reasons why critics have considered Napoleonic art to represent the 'decline' of Neo-classical art. In order to understand why this judgement has been made of Napoleonic art, it is necessary to consider how critics have defined Neo-classical art.

In general, the appearance of Neo-classical art is linked with the development of Enlightenment thought.²⁰ For example, in his Introduction, Honour states, 'Neo-classicism is the style of the late eighteenth century, of the culminating, revolutionary phase in that great outburst of human inquiry known as the Enlightenment.'²¹ He suggests that Neo-classicism developed in France in connection with the 'philosophes,' and the ideas of Rousseau. He comments:

'The moral earnestness, the urgent seriousness, the high-minded, sometimes starry-eyed, idealism of the free-thinkers, *philosophes* and *Aufklärer* were all reflected in it. For Neo-classicism, in its most vital expressions, fully shared their spirit of reform which sought to bring about - whether by patient scientific advance or by a purgative return à la Rousseau to primitive simplicity and purity - a new and better world governed by immutable laws of reason and equity, a world in which l'infâme would be for ever écrasé.'²²

His account is arranged around topics which reflect the high-minded principles of the Enlightenment, 'The Vision of Antiquity,' 'The Ideal,' 'Sensibility and the Sublime.' Throughout his book, he regards the new interest in antiquity in the eighteenth century as constituting a 'movement,' and he assumes that artists and thinkers across Europe shared common ground. In his entry in the exhibition catalogue, *The Age of Neo-classicism* (1972), Honour paints a similar picture, associating the 'great intellectual

¹⁸ For example, Honour: 1991, pp.43-6 and Irwin: 1997, p.8 (and elsewhere) stress this influence. The excavations in Herculaneum began in the 1730s, those in Pompeii in 1748 (although serious excavations of Pompeii did not get underway until 1763).

¹⁹ See his essay, 'The Meaning and Diffusion of the Empire Style,' in the exhibition catalogue, *The Age of Neo-classicism*, 1972, p.xci.

²⁰ In the particular case of French Neo-classical art, it is often suggested that that it first developed as a reaction against the rococo. Although artists looked back with nostalgia to the artistic model of Louis XIV, this was too near chronologically and geographically, and soon they took inspiration from antiquity instead.

²¹ Honour: 1991, 13.

²² *Ibid*, 13.

excitement,...urgent enquiry and radical change' witnessed by the second half of the eighteenth century, with the development of Neo-classical art.²³

Neo-classical art is also said to have been founded on the 'pursuit of the Ideal.'²⁴ In particular, it is the notion of the 'Ideal,' as it was formulated by the antiquarian Winckelmann which is considered to have been fundamental to the development of Neo-classicism. In the Foreword to the catalogue, *The Age of Neo-classicism*, as in many accounts of Neo-classical art, Winckelmann is described as 'the patron saint of Neo-classicism,'²⁵ and he is deemed to be of such importance that the second section of the catalogue, after Honour's on 'Neo-classicism,' is devoted to a consideration of Winckelmann and his 'crucial role.'²⁶ As I shall suggest later in this thesis, the influence of Winckelmann in the late eighteenth century has been thought to be so far reaching that it also affected the establishment of the first public museums, including the first public museum of antique art in the Louvre.²⁷ His first important publication was the *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Art in Painting and Sculpture*, which appeared (in German) in 1755. But it was with his *History of the Art of the Ancients* (1764), written while he was working for the collector and scholar Cardinal Albani in Rome, that he received widespread popular acclaim, and established his reputation as an expert on ancient art.²⁸ In the *History*, Winckelmann expounded his belief (first presented in less detail in the *Reflections*) that the finest examples of antique sculpture, such as the Apollo Belvedere and the Laocoön, encapsulated 'the highest ideal in art.' The artists of such works had abstracted from what they saw in nature to appreciate 'something superior,' and by such means had been able to produce these perfect works of art. The notion of the 'ideal' had been in existence since antiquity, and had been revived during the Renaissance, but it was only in the second half of the eighteenth century, under the particular influence of Winckelmann, that it gained widespread popularity and became the mainstay of artistic theory and production.²⁹ According to art historians such as Honour, the 'ideal' became less important in Napoleonic France, where Neo-classicism became 'drained of all the high-minded ideas and force of conviction which had inspired its masterpieces,'³⁰ and the study of antiquities was no longer used as 'a means of penetrating the eternally valid truths.'³¹ Under the new regime, artists no longer attempted to capture the Neo-classical 'ideal' delineated by Winckelmann, but became content

²³ See exhibition catalogue, *The Age of Neo-classicism*, 1972, xxiii.

²⁴ Ibid, xxvii.

²⁵ Ibid, xiii.

²⁶ Ibid, xxxiv.

²⁷ For my discussion of this issue in its relation to the foundation of the Musée des Antiques in the Louvre, see Chapter 2 of this thesis.

²⁸ For extracts from a variety of Winckelmann's works, see Irwin (1972). Potts (1994) provides a detailed study of Winckelmann's writings, and focuses in particular on the role of his *History of the Art of the Ancients* in the establishment of the discipline of the History of Art.

²⁹ I shall consider the notion of the artistic 'ideal' and its reception in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century France in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

³⁰ Honour: 1991, 171.

with merely copying examples of antique art. The study of antiquities was no longer used as 'a means of penetrating the eternally valid truths,' and 'the revivalist shell was retained and the Neo-classical kernel thrown away.'³²

Accounts of Neo-classical art are themselves characterised by the methodology of Winckelmann, as it has come to influence the development of the history of art. As David Irwin suggests, with the *History of the Art of the Ancients* Winckelmann became 'the first writer on the subject to sort out a proper chronological development, intended to show 'the origin, progress, change and downfall of art.'³³ The most substantial previous account of the history of art had been provided by Vasari in his *Lives of the Artists*.³⁴ Vasari divided the history of modern Italian art into three main phases, and suggested that it developed from archaic beginnings to perfection under the High Renaissance masters. However, his comments on ancient art were contained in different sections of the *Lives*, and did not form a coherent account of the rise and decline of ancient art.³⁵ In addition, he 'did not seek to integrate his systematic history of the phased development of art to classic perfection with some larger cyclical pattern of rise and decline.'³⁶ By contrast, Winckelmann provided a detailed account of the rise and decline of ancient art. He begins his *History* with the statement:

'The history of art should tell us the origin, the growth, the alteration and the fall of art, together with the various styles of people, periods and artists, and demonstrate this as far as possible from the remaining works of antiquity.'³⁷

He delineates four periods or 'styles' of ancient art: the Archaic style, the High style, the Beautiful and a final phase called the Decadent, when ancient art receded into mere imitation.³⁸ In his opinion, ancient art reached perfection in Greece in the fifth century B.C., and declined during the period of the

³¹ See the article by Honour, entitled 'Neo-classicism,' in the exhibition catalogue, *The Age of Neo-classicism*, 1972, p.xxiii.

³² Honour: 1991, 171. For Mario Praz's direct criticism of Hugh Honour on this point, and suggestion that 'it would be unjust to think that the Empire style is merely the decorative exploitation on a grand scale of themes derived from Antiquity,' see his essay, 'The Meaning and Diffusion of the Empire Style,' in the exhibition catalogue, *The Age of Neo-classicism*, 1972, p.lxxxviii.

³³ Irwin: 1997, 27.

³⁴ See, for example, the translation of the *Lives* by Gaston du C.de Vere (1912-15). For a consideration of the significance of Vasari's account in the formulation of a history of art, see Potts: 1994, pp.40-41. Vasari, in turn, was influenced by the writings on art by Pliny the Elder, found in his *Natural History*, Books XXXIV-XXXV. But he provided a much more elaborate and systematic account than Pliny. On the role of Pliny, in particular, in the establishment of naturalism as the goal of Western art, see Elsner: 1995, pp.15-17.

³⁵ His discussion of the decline of ancient art in the later Roman Empire is included in the Preface to Part 1 of the *Lives*. Whereas he mentions the rise of Greek art from archaic origins to classic perfection in the Preface to Part 2.

³⁶ Potts: 1994, 40.

³⁷ Translated by Alex Potts, in Potts: 1994, 50.

³⁸ See Potts: 1994, p.67ff. Potts provides a detailed consideration of Winckelmann's subtle distinction between the High style and the Beautiful style, both of which Winckelmann considered to be represented by examples of fifth-century Greek sculpture. The essential difference, however, is that the

Roman Empire. Although Winckelmann indicated that the excellence of ancient art had been matched by the art of the High Renaissance, and he suggested that contemporaries should aspire to emulate the ancients, he did not suggest as such that the process he described of the rise and decline of classical art in antiquity had been repeated by the rise and decline of classical art at other times, or that it would be in the future.³⁹ It was only as Winckelmann's ideas were taken on board and developed by thinkers of the nineteenth century that his notion of the rise and decline of classical art was formulated as an ongoing cycle.⁴⁰ The delineation of the rise and decline of (Neo-)classical art in the second half of the eighteenth century clearly reflects this notion. In particular, just as Winckelmann sought a point of decline for the great art of antiquity and associated this with the period of the Roman empire, critics of Neo-classical art have looked for a point of decline for Neo-classical art. As I have already suggested, in most cases, critics have considered that 'the Empire marks its rapid decline.'⁴¹

It seems that Napoleonic art has often been condemned because of its 'Romanness.' There is evidence that even in antiquity, Roman art, especially late imperial art, was criticised for its decadence,⁴² but it is specifically as a result of Winckelmann's thesis on ancient art that Roman art has been labelled 'decadent' and has been considered to be merely 'imitative' in comparison with Greek art.⁴³ The 'decadence' of Napoleonic art is often linked to the excessive decoration, which critics perceive to characterise Napoleonic art. Honour, for example, makes this point in connection with the Arc du Carrousel:

'Where Neo-classical artists had sought inspiration in the purest and most primitive forms of antique art, those of Empire period turned to the florid opulence of Imperial Rome. The abstemious severity of Doric was replaced by Corinthian

High style was characterised by a 'certain hardness of contour,' and the Beautiful by 'a flowing gracefulness of contour' (Potts, p.68).

³⁹ His suggestion that contemporaries should strive to imitate the art of the ancients, however, implied that the contemporary age was one of artistic decline following the golden age of the High Renaissance. I shall discuss the significance of his pessimistic view of contemporary art in more detail in Chapter 3 of this thesis. Winckelmann's view of contemporary art was a major influence on the cultural pessimism of Quatremère de Quincy.

⁴⁰ In fact, French art, in particular, has often been structured around the appearance of classicism. Anthony Blunt (1982, pp.72, 324) suggests that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were phases of 'French classicism,' the 'first great period' in the mid sixteenth century; the second during the reign of Louis XIV, occurrences which can be taken together to represent a 'tradition of classicism' in French art.

⁴¹ Honour: 1991, 172. In his article on architecture in the catalogue *The Age of Neo-classicism*, Wend Von Kalnein also suggests that 'French Neo-classicism had passed its peak before the Empire' (1972, p.lvii).

⁴² For example, Pliny the Elder, writing in the first century A.D., suggested that the Roman art of his own day was 'a decline from the supreme peaks achieved by the Greeks.' Vitruvius, writing in the last quarter of the first century, also thought that painting had declined, and he condemned the surrealism of contemporary murals, which did not illustrate existing things, but 'monstra' and 'falsa' (see Elsner: 1995, pp.15-16).

richness and splendour. The polychromatic, richly sculptured Arc du Carrousel of 1806-7, a more elaborate version of the arch of Septimius Severus in Rome, characterised the new style in architecture. Pomp and extravagance were now the order of the day, to be expressed in an abundance of columns, statues and reliefs and the use of rich substances.⁴⁴

In accounts of Neo-classical art, Napoleonic art is often criticised for being 'evocative of Imperial luxury and grandeur.'⁴⁵ The 'obvious' relationship between the Napoleonic monuments to the examples of Roman architecture on which they are modelled has also caused unease amongst critics. Honour suggests that under the Empire, Neo-classical art experienced a 'transformation back once more into mere antique revival.'⁴⁶ According to Honour, Napoleonic art is of little interest, since it lacks the 'principles' of Greek art: 'There can be little doubt, for instance, that in turning from the bold simplicity of the Greeks to the decorative richness of the Romans, the architects employed by Napoleon were less concerned with the fundamental principles than with the need to create a symbolically appropriate background for the Empire.'⁴⁷

The formulation of the history of art around the manifestation of classicism is useful in that it provides one kind of framework for the interpretation of art and architecture.⁴⁸ Yet as the only model in which to work, it offers severe limitations and an agenda based solely around a concept of (Greek) classicism and its 'decadent' opposites. It is clear that within the traditional confines of Art History, there is little room for a proper analysis of Napoleonic art. In fact, the Hellenocentrism of Art History, as it has developed from Winckelmann, has in many ways had the effect of writing out the 'Romanness' of Napoleonic art.

By contrast, in this thesis, I shall present a very different account of Napoleonic art. I shall suggest that while Winckelmann's writings were widely known in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century France, and were especially influential for a short period on the Revolutionaries in France, his ideas were not dominant in France at this time. I shall attempt to trace the development of architectural 'Romanness' in France in the second half of the eighteenth century, and the way in which it laid the foundations for the 'Romanness' of Napoleon's monuments erected in Paris in the early nineteenth century. It is evident that Napoleon and his architects did not consider Roman art and architecture to be 'decadent' and 'declined,' but felt that it was of great relevance to the new regime.

⁴³ As I shall suggest, in the late eighteenth century, a distinction was beginning to be made between Greek and Roman art. The French in the early nineteenth century clearly appreciated a distinctive Roman imperial artistic model, but did not consider this to be 'decadent' or 'merely imitative.'

⁴⁴ Honour: 1991, 172.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 171. Robert Rosenblum, while he is less concerned with presenting a history of style than Honour, also comments that the Napoleonic monuments 'evoked, often more literally, Roman imperial splendor' (1989, p.129).

⁴⁶ Honour: 1991, 171. In fact, it could also be inferred that Napoleonic art was doubly imitative, since it was based on Roman art, which reworked examples of Greek art.

⁴⁷ *The Age of Neo-classicism*, 1972, p.xxvii.

Napoleonic art has also been dismissed by critics because of its role as visual propaganda for the regime. In his study of Napoleonic propaganda, Robert B. Holtman suggests that Napoleon established a vigorous propaganda machine, which made use of a whole range of media, from papers and books, political and military publications, and public gatherings, to education, religion and the arts.⁴⁹ Albert Boime comments that Napoleon 'looked to arts for self-glorification.' He suggests that Napoleon 'aimed to impress' through the 'sheer weight and bulk' of his monuments,' and that he 'exploited the decorative arts to advertise his political supremacy and to cast him as the legitimate heir to the old royal domains.'⁵⁰ In a similar manner, Wend von Kalnein considers that 'Napoleon treated architecture as an instrument of policy and a projection of his own image,'⁵¹ and Allan Braham remarks that Napoleonic architecture was 'monotonous...due to Napoleon ...numbing the imagination of his architects through his megalomania.'⁵²

I shall suggest, however, that it is important to consider Napoleonic art specifically because it had a propagandistic message. I shall delineate how Napoleon employed art (particularly monumental architecture) as propaganda in exactly the same manner as the emperors of imperial Rome. Rather than condoning Napoleonic art as part of Napoleon's propaganda machine, I shall delineate how his construction of commemorative monuments reveals his detailed understanding of the artistic model of emperors of Rome. Although Napoleon modelled himself on various 'great men' and heroes from the past, he was particularly attracted by the emperors of Rome for the creation of his 'myth.'

Napoleon and history, and the making of a 'myth'

Even as a young man, Napoleon was fascinated by history, and made close studies of historical texts. When he was attached to the La Fère regiment at Auxonne, he would often make notes from Rollin's *Histoire ancienne*, Raynal's *L'histoire du commerce des deux Indes*, Mably's *Observations sur l'histoire de France*, and others by lesser known historians such as the Abbé Augier de Marigny and Abbé Joseph-Marie Terray. He wrote abstracts of entire historical works, and his commission of a special campaign library meant then even when he was away, he could refer to important historical texts and continue his studies on the battlefield. As a man of the Revolution, Napoleon was always very conscious of his place in history. A sense of history had been central to the Revolutionaries, who had expressed their relationship to the past through their commemorative monuments and festivals. Napoleon's correspondence reveals that he constantly related himself to the figures of the past,

⁴⁸ And one in which artists have often seen themselves participating.

⁴⁹ See Holtman (1950).

⁵⁰ Boime: 1990, pp.12-13.

⁵¹ Von Kalnein, in his essay, 'Architecture in the Age of Neo-classicism,' *The Age of Neo-classicism*, 1972, lvii.

⁵² Braham: 1980, 210.

sometimes to previous rulers of France,⁵³ but in particular, to the great military leaders of antiquity. He made changes to the education system in France, prioritising the study of history, and commissioned historians to write accounts of his campaigns. But it was through the medium of art, in particular, that he expressed his role as a great historical figure.

In the wake of the upheavals of the Revolution, Napoleon seems to have perceived that he needed a well known and accepted model for himself and his government, in order to secure the regime. As Christopher Prendergast suggests, the new regime experienced a legitimisation crisis, since with the overthrow of the monarchy, Napoleon's position could not be legitimised by the divine right of kings.⁵⁴ Napoleon could not be represented in the same visual terms as the former monarchs of France. It was difficult for painters to determine a 'style,' 'a system of symbolic references and values for the depiction of Napoleon.'⁵⁵ Napoleon wanted to use the past to bolster and stabilise his position. But he also needed to present himself as a modern day ruler, not just as a figure from the past.⁵⁶ At first, he aligned himself to a whole range of heroes from the past, Hannibal, Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar, and Charlemagne, the founder of the Carolingian dynasty and Emperor of France. By encouraging a comparison with such figures, in his own correspondence, in war reports, in political circumstances and in art, Napoleon attempted to guarantee his position as a hero of the immediate past.⁵⁷

In his painting of *Bonaparte crossing the St Bernard* (1800) (fig.1),⁵⁸ David presents Napoleon as a great military leader and adventurer, like Hannibal and *Karolus Magnus* (Charlemagne), whose names are carved alongside 'Bonaparte' in the foreground of the scene. Astride his rearing horse on a precipitous rocky outcrop, Napoleon braves the elements as he points towards the mountains he and his troops must cross. His superhuman courage and ultimate glory are suggested by the fact that his gesture is also in the direction of the swirling heavens, which rise above the mountain peaks. In reality,

⁵³ As I shall suggest below, specifically to the emperor Charlemagne, certainly not to more recent French monarchs.

⁵⁴ See Prendergast: 1997, Chapter 2, especially pp.23-4, where Prendergast discusses how the word 'légitimé' itself occupied 'a politically unstable position in the political lexicon of post-revolutionary France.'

⁵⁵ Prendergast: 1997, 25.

⁵⁶ Napoleon was concerned to convey that he was the inheritor of the Revolution, and aimed to continue the ideals of the democratic Republic. Although, in many ways, his attempts in this direction were 'merely cosmetic' (Lee: 1999, 228), throughout this thesis, I shall try and point out the consistencies between the Revolution and the Empire, in particular, in terms of 'Roman' architecture.

⁵⁷ Occasionally, the comparisons between Napoleon and other 'great men' became so well known, that they were inverted to suggest that Napoleon was a model for the past. The imperial historian Maurice Rivoire, for example, started referring to Julius Caesar as the 'Bonaparte of the Romans' (see Burton: 1979, 96).

⁵⁸ The painting was in fact commissioned by Charles IV of Spain, but Napoleon liked it so much that he ordered three replicas of the painting to be made, the first of which was displayed at the special exhibition of David's painting of *The Intervention of the Sabine Women* (1799), held in 1800. For a more detailed discussion of the painting, see Schnapper: 1980, pp.206-8, and the catalogue from the

Napoleon did not cross the St Bernard Pass 'calm on a fiery horse,' but was led across the mountains on a mule, some days after the main advance.⁵⁹ But David's painting was the first of many which were used to construct Napoleon as a living myth, and to express his affiliation to the heroes of the past.

Up to and including the time of the coronation in 1804, Napoleon particularly favoured the model of Charlemagne. As June K. Burton suggests, 'Napoleon clearly flirted with the idea of recreating Charlemagne's empire; his ministers wrote competing policy papers for him, outlining the ways in which he could recapture and surpass the greatness of the medieval Empire.'⁶⁰ As I shall discuss later in this thesis, Napoleon's early plans for a monumental column in the Place Vendôme included the use of a statue of Charlemagne on top of the monument. The temporary structures which were designed to adorn the cathedral of Notre Dame for Napoleon's coronation, in particular, a colossal portrait statue of Charlemagne which decorated the porch, also emphasised his identification with Charlemagne.⁶¹ In his painting of *Napoleon I on the Imperial Throne* (1806) (fig.2), Ingres depicts Napoleon with the accoutrements of Charlemagne.⁶² Napoleon also referred to his affiliation to Charlemagne in his dealings with the papacy. For example, in May 1806, he sent an official *Décret* to the Pope declaring 'I am Charlemagne, the sword of the Church; I ought to be treated as such,' while in 1806, he wrote to Cardinal Fesch, stating, 'I am making known to the Pope my intentions... If he does not acquiesce to them, I will reduce him to the same condition where he was before Charlemagne.'⁶³ Napoleon's identification with Charlemagne was particularly useful as a means of justifying his desire for empire. Napoleon even urged his agent, Prince Eugène, viceroy of the Kingdom of Italy, to exploit the 'rights' he possessed as the Holy Roman Emperor. His ministers were quick to recognise that they could flatter the emperor by referring to him as Charlemagne, and on one occasion, the grand master of the Imperial University declared that while they used to refer to Charlemagne as the father of the university, they now attributed this honour to Napoleon.⁶⁴

However, by 1804, Napoleon's association with the Frankish monarch had become unpopular. Contemporaries were concerned that Napoleon would try to emulate Charlemagne's rigorous policy of

exhibition, *Jacques-Louis David, 1748-1825*, held at the Musée du Louvre and the Musée de Versailles, 26 octobre 1989-12 février 1990, pp.381-6.

⁵⁹ Lee: 1999, 233. Delaroche, in his painting, *Bonaparte crossing the St Bernard Pass* (1848), which is now in the Musée du Louvre, has specifically chosen to depict this less heroic scene, with Napoleon bundled in his overcoat, seated on a trudging mule.

⁶⁰ Burton: 1979, 9.

⁶¹ I shall discuss the decorations for the cathedral in more detail in Chapter 4. An imperial seal struck in 1804 also had on one side a reconstruction of the Carolingian coat of arms, and on the other, Napoleon seated in majesty like a Roman emperor.

⁶² Napoleon holds the ivory hand of justice which had purportedly belonged to Charlemagne, and a sceptre of Charles V, bearing a statuette of Charlemagne. The most recent discussion of Ingres' painting is to be found in the exhibition catalogue, *Portraits by Ingres: Image of an Epoch*, edited by Gary Tinterow and Philip Conisbee, 1999, pp.65-72.

⁶³ Quoted in Burton: 1979, 9. In the second quotation, Napoleon is referring to the state of vassalage the papacy had occupied before it was given special status by Charlemagne.

⁶⁴ Burton: 1979, 10.

expansion and bring further turbulence and hardship to France. This could be one reason why Ingres' painting of *Napoleon I on his Imperial Throne*, with its medieval iconography, received an unfavourable reception at the Salon of 1806. Charlemagne himself had asserted his affiliation to the emperors of ancient Rome, but in the light of the political, ideological and iconographical connections which had been made between the Revolutionaries and Republican Rome, and Napoleon's recent coronation as Emperor of the French, it now made more sense for Napoleon to look directly back to imperial Rome.

In this thesis, I shall suggest how, even during the Revolutionary wars, contemporaries regarded Napoleon as a 'Roman,' specifically as a Roman general, who had won 'Roman' glory and spoils in his campaigns abroad. I shall trace the links which developed between the French and ancient Rome in the late eighteenth century, and the development of the close relationship between Paris and Rome under Napoleon and his articulation of Paris as the 'new imperial Rome.' In the light of this deepening relationship with ancient Rome, we can see that David's painting of *Bonaparte crossing the St Bernard* owes a greater debt to depictions of great Romans than to any depictions of the medieval emperor Charlemagne. One source of inspiration for the painting was probably the equestrian monument of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol in Rome (fig.3), although David's painting shows Bonaparte riding his horse much more energetically than the Roman emperor. Throughout his reign, however, the statue of Marcus Aurelius was a major influence on Napoleon's artists. In 1804, plans were drawn up for the creation of an equestrian statue of Napoleon modelled directly on the well known bronze.⁶⁵ In Joseph Chabod's depiction of Napoleon at the Battle of Wagram, executed in 1810 (fig.4),⁶⁶ we can see that the Marcus Aurelius statue has served as a much more obvious source for the artist: Napoleon's calm attitude as he sits astride his horse directly reflects the poise of the Roman emperor and his commanding gesture clearly indicates his imperial status, in comparison with the earlier painting by David.

Napoleon as a Roman emperor and the 'new Rome'

It may seem surprising that, although Napoleon chose ancient Rome as his key political, cultural and artistic model, he never visited Rome. During his campaigns in Italy, he resided in cities in northern Italy, such as Turin and Milan.⁶⁷ His first visit to Rome was planned for spring 1812, and officials in Rome hastily organised the decoration of the Palazzo Quirinale. Instead, however, he was

⁶⁵ Although, as far as I can tell, it seems that this statue was never executed. See the article by Ferdinand Boyer, 'Napoléon et les monuments à sa gloire en France et en Italie (1804-1815)' (*Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.66, janvier 1958, p.21).

⁶⁶ The painting is now displayed in the entrance hall of the Museo Napoleonico in Rome. See the catalogue *Il Museo Napoleonico*, edited by Laura Capon, 1986, p.16.

⁶⁷ For example, after the liberation of Milan in spring 1796, he resided at the Palazzo Serbelloni and at the Castello Mombello in Milan (see Hubert: 1964, pp.225-6).

drawn off on the Russian campaign, and, in the spiral of events which followed, never got to Rome. Yet throughout his reign, Napoleon not only studied the Roman literature with great enthusiasm, especially the work of Livy and Plutarch,⁶⁸ but he used the model of ancient Rome, political and artistic, as a constant source of inspiration for his regime.

I have already outlined how Napoleon's rise to power in general reflects the establishment of Octavian-Augustus as the first emperor of Rome. In her important article, 'Napoleon I: a new Augustus?', Valérie Huet convincingly delineates how both gained their positions by means of a series of tactical moves. As Octavian refused to rule as triumvir for the third time, so too did Napoleon in 1802, refuse the position of consul for a period of ten years. Both strengthened their own positions through a policy of 'handing back' their power to the senate and the people. Both claimed to have restored the Republic in their respective regimes, and, as result, both were rewarded with the position of emperor.⁶⁹ Napoleon, like Augustus, secured his position through his claim to ancestry. While Augustus took advantage of his links with Caesar to suggest that he had inherited Julian ancestry, Napoleon implied that he was the successor of Charlemagne. Valérie Huet provides a useful account of the way in which Octavian-Augustus served as a political model for Napoleon, and highlights further ways in which the Augustan regime inspired Napoleon. Yet her account falls short of its title in that she does not pursue in sufficient detail how Napoleon established himself as the 'Augustus' of his 'Rome.' Rather, her article presents an analysis of isolated incidences of Napoleonic 'Romanness,' which in some cases, happen to take their inspiration from the model of Augustus.

Yet it is clear that Napoleon reflected the example of Augustus in several other important respects. Firstly, like Augustus, Napoleon had been involved in military campaigns in Egypt before he was made emperor. In fact, his 'success' in the Egyptian campaign (as it was articulated by the French) played a major role in securing his popularity at home and in establishing him as a potential 'saviour' for the regime in the wake of civil war.⁷⁰ Napoleon is clearly depicted as a Roman conqueror driving his chariot in pursuit of the Marmelukes in a relief shown at the top of the frontispiece for the first volume of the *Description de l'Égypte* (1809) (fig.5). The relief forms part of an imaginary temple doorway through which can be seen a panorama of ancient Egyptian monuments. Napoleon's victories in Egypt are recorded on the Roman battle standards depicted in the panels on either side of the

⁶⁸ Although he was a Greek, Plutarch lived in Rome during the early empire.

⁶⁹ See the article by Valérie Huet, 'Napoleon I: a new Augustus?' (in Edwards ed: 1999, p.55). Huet also points to slight differences. For example, Napoleon became emperor for life 'with the full meaning implied by the title 'emperor' after centuries of imperial Roman power.' In addition, while both Napoleon and Augustus were concerned to secure the heredity of their power, it was only in the case of Napoleon that the hereditary nature of his power was made clear from the start.

⁷⁰ On Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, see, for example, Herold (1962) and Thiry, *Bonaparte en Égypte, décembre 1797-24 août 1799* (1973). I shall consider the campaign in more detail in Chapter 2 of this thesis. On the significance of the campaign, especially in the foundation of ongoing French relations with the Near East, see the recent account by Porterfield (1998).

doorway.⁷¹ Secondly, Napoleon's use of art as propaganda for the new regime, especially for the propagation of his own image, relates him to the model of Augustus. Like Augustus, Napoleon made sure that his image was diffused throughout the empire. Busts of Napoleon were mass produced at Carrara, many commemorative paintings of Napoleon were commissioned, and a characteristic style of interior decoration was developed to decorate the imperial palaces in Paris and elsewhere in the empire.⁷² The eclectic nature of Roman art, in particular, its use of Egyptian elements, a result of the Egyptian campaign, also characterises Napoleonic art.⁷³ For example, several Egyptian monuments were erected in Napoleonic Paris. The Fontaine de la Victoire (fig.6) was erected in the Place du Châtelet in 1807. Designed by J.-M.-N. Bralle, it is decorated with a capital depicting palm leaves, and inscribed with the names of fifteen battles won by Napoleon.⁷⁴ Another fountain in the Rue de Sèvres, which was also designed by Bralle, incorporates a copy of the statue of Antinous as an Egyptian water-carrier, beneath an imitation temple doorway decorated with an eagle with outstretched wings (fig.7).⁷⁵ A monument to General Desaix, incorporating an obelisk was constructed in the Place des Victoires (fig.8),⁷⁶ and there were plans for the erection of an obelisk on the Pont-Neuf (fig.9).⁷⁷ Another way in

⁷¹ For further discussion of the frontispiece and the significance of the *Description* in general, see Boime: 1990, pp.6-7. The 21 volumes of the *Description* were published between 1809-1828.

⁷² On Augustus' use of art to project his image in Rome and throughout the empire, see Zanker (1990), Kleiner (1992). On the diffusion of images of Napoleon, see Boime: 1990, 19. Useful accounts of painted images of Napoleon include the article by Felix Markham, 'Napoleon and his painters' (*Apollo Magazine*, Vol.77, September 1964, pp.187-191), Boime: 1990, pp.49-54 and Prendergast (1996) provides an important account of Napoleonic history painting. On the role of Percier and Fontaine in Napoleonic interior decoration, see Percier and Fontaine's own *Recueil de décorations intérieures* (1843), Fouché (1905) and Hautecoeur (1953, Volume V). For a detailed survey of the French Empire style, see González-Palacios (1970).

⁷³ The definitive account of the influence of Egypt on Roman art is that by Rouillet (1972). On Augustus' use of Egyptian art, see Zanker (1990), for example, p.144 on the erection of the obelisk for the Solarium Augusti, and pp.270-272 on the use of the sphinx in Augustan art. Also see Curl: 1994, p.6ff.

⁷⁴ The statue of a winged victory holding victory coronae on the top of the monument is a replica. The sphinxes and double basins around the base of the monument were in fact added in 1858, to enhance the Egyptian nature of the monument. They were designed by Gabriel-Jean-Antoine Davioud and Alfred Jacquemart. On the fountain, see Hautecoeur: 1953, Volume V, pp.212-214 and Curl: 1994, pp.144-5.

⁷⁵ This drawing was executed by Moisy in 1812. A fountain employing a copy of the statue had been designed by Guillaume Boichot as early as 1800, Bralle's fountain, however, was constructed between 1806-1809, and was sculpted by Beauvallet. Interestingly, the depiction of the Antinous water-carrier shows the combined influence of the Egyptian campaign and the seizure of antiquities from Rome by the French according to the Treaty of Tolentino (1797): the original sculpture was one of the items selected by the French from the Room of the Gladiator in the Museo Capitolino (today it is displayed along with other 'Egyptian' sculptures from Hadrian's Villa in the Vatican Museums). For further information on the fountain, see Hautecoeur: 1953, Volume V, 217, and the exhibition catalogue, *Egyptomania, Egypt in Western Art, 1730-1930*, edited by Jean-Marcel Humbert, Michel Pantazzi and Christiane Ziegler, 1994, pp.268-269.

⁷⁶ Anonymous drawing of the monument, dated 1810. General Desaix played an important role in the Egyptian campaign, and died at the Battle of Marengo in 1800. The pink granite obelisk had been acquired from the Villa Albani. Although the monument was completed on 15 August 1810, the nudity of the statue was unpopular, and in 1814 it was taken down. On the monument to General Desaix, see

which Napoleon reflected Augustus was through his attempts to present himself as a bringer of peace and a restorer of order, initiating a period of political, social and cultural renewal after the upheavals of civil war.⁷⁸ In addition, both emperors were keen to establish a powerful empire, governed from their 'Roman' capitals.⁷⁹

In this thesis, I shall consider how Napoleon developed and articulated his affiliation to ancient Rome. My aim is to provide a detailed analysis of Napoleon's use of the Roman model through a consideration of his removal of works of art from Rome and erection of 'Roman' triumphal monuments in Paris. I shall hope to discover whether Napoleon consistently modelled himself on Augustus, or whether he had to adapt his use of the model of ancient Rome according to the changes experienced by his regime. It is particularly important to consider how Napoleon manipulated the imperial 'myth.' Napoleon did not just 'copy' the examples provided by the emperors of Rome. He specifically wanted to be presented as a living myth - as a man of his time, but with a credibility derived from ancient Rome. In my analysis of the Napoleonic monuments, I shall attempt to consider just how Napoleon used Roman architectural and artistic models to commemorate his victories as recent victories, not as the long gone military successes of ancient Rome.

The main thrust of this thesis, however, is to study how Napoleon turned Paris into the 'new Rome.' Critics have often mentioned the relationship of Napoleonic monumental architecture to that of imperial Rome, but their brief remarks on the subject hardly serve to trace the origins of this architecture in France or to consider the overall impact of the 'Roman' monuments in Napoleonic Paris.⁸⁰ In Chapter 1, I shall consider the development of a close architectural relationship between Paris and Rome. As I shall suggest, this was founded on the unique system of architectural education in France and at the Académie de France à Rome. The ties between the two cities were further developed by the foundation of the Roman Republic in the late eighteenth century. In Chapter 2, I

Biver: 1963, pp.151-161 and the exhibition catalogue, *Egyptomania, Egypt in Western Art, 1730-1930*, mentioned above, cat.no.111, pp.213-216.

⁷⁷ This design for the obelisk is by Louis-Pierre Baltard, and was executed in 1809. The reliefs on the obelisk were to be designed by the painter Pierre-Nolasque Bergeret, who was well known for having designed the spiral of reliefs for the Vendôme Column (see Chapter 5 of this thesis). In Baltard's illustration, the relief near the bottom of the monument was to have depicted Napoleon as a Roman conqueror, in the manner of the frontispiece of the *Description de l'Égypte* (1809). For a discussion of the plans for the obelisk, see Biver: 1963, pp.208-213 and the exhibition catalogue, *Egyptomania, Egypt in Western Art, 1730-1930*, mentioned above, cat.nos.112-115, pp.216-219.

⁷⁸ On the relation of these issues to Augustus, see Zanker (1990), and to Napoleon, Furet: 1988, p.218ff.

⁷⁹ For a useful study of the Augustan empire, see Bowman, Champlin and Lintott eds (1996). On Napoleon's foreign policy and establishment of an empire, see, for instance, Godechot, Hyslop and Dowd (1971) and Broers (1996).

⁸⁰ The most substantial account of the use of Roman models for Napoleonic architecture is that provided by Ziolkowski (1994). Even this is not a detailed analysis, however, since Ziolkowski's central purpose is to provide an analysis of the classical architecture of Washington. According to Ziolkowski, the classical influence on Washington architecture was derived via late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Paris.

shall analyse the impact of the arrival in Paris of works of art taken from Rome during the Italian campaigns, which played a crucial role in the establishment of Paris as the 'new Rome.' The display of works of art in the Louvre had the effect of shifting the cultural centre of Europe to Paris, and enabled the French to perceive themselves as conquering Romans. The theoretical debate which ensued concerning the significance of the new museum will be the subject of Chapter 3. While Quatremère de Quincy felt that the French should not seize works of art from abroad and that antique sculptures needed to be studied in Rome, Eméric-David defended the creation of the new museum, and closely linked the education of the artist to the 'new Rome.' In Chapters 4 and 5, I shall provide case studies of two of the most important 'Roman' monuments to be erected in Napoleonic Paris. I shall suggest that through his erection of the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel and the Vendôme Column, Napoleon vividly expressed his status as a 'new Roman emperor.'⁸¹ These monuments commemorated his military victories abroad, but also played a vital role in Napoleon's establishment of Paris as the 'new Rome.' Throughout this thesis, my aim will be to evaluate the unique relationship which was established between Napoleonic Paris and Rome - not just ancient Rome, but the modern city. During the Napoleonic period, the French maintained an almost constant presence in Rome, but French intervention in the city reached its height during the period of the Roman Republic, between 1798-9, and when they annexed the city, between 1809-1814.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the artist Hubert Robert painted a series of imaginary views of well known monuments in Paris.⁸² These were executed in the style of archaeological *capricci*, which, in the eighteenth century, were frequently produced by artists in Italy.⁸³ The painter Giovanni Paolo Panini, who was in Rome from 1717, and the architect and engraver, Giambattista Piranesi, whose *Vedute di Roma* appeared from the 1740s, satisfied the demands of many eighteenth-century travellers to Rome by producing such scenes.⁸⁴ One of the paintings by Hubert Robert is entitled *Une partie des principaux édifices de Paris* (fig.10). Executed in 1788, on the eve of the French Revolution, it shows a particularly striking choice and arrangement

⁸¹ In this thesis, I have chosen to focus on the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel, not on the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile, since the latter arch was only completed under the July Monarchy and its sculptural decoration, in particular, is the product of this regime. I shall refer to the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile, however in Chapter 4 and in the Conclusion.

⁸² A useful consideration of these paintings is provided by Marie Catherine Sahut in the exhibition catalogue, *Le Louvre de Hubert Robert*, 1979, pp.53-4. On Hubert Robert in general, see Nolhac (1910).

⁸³ On Robert and *capricci*, 'inventions which bring together disparate monuments located at some distance from one another into one pictorial field,' see Radisich: 1999, pp.100-103. Although she focuses on Hubert Robert's series of paintings of the 'Monuments de France,' which were commissioned by the comte D'Angiviller to decorate a new dining room at the palace of Fontainebleau.

⁸⁴ For a detailed study of Panini, see, for example, Arisi (1961), and on Piranesi, Wilton-Ely (1978). For a discussion of examples of their work and their importance in the dissemination of Roman monuments for Grand Tourists, see the exhibition catalogue, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, 1996, especially pp.46, 170-175.

of classical monuments which the artist could have seen for himself in contemporary Paris. In the background of the picture is depicted Soufflot's church of Ste Geneviève, and in front of the church is shown Perrault's colonnaded east front of the Louvre. The right hand foreground of the picture is taken up with Goujon's Fontaine des Innocents and Bouchardon's Fontaine des Quatre Saisons, and the column from the Hôtel de Soissons by Jean Bullant, while the scene as a whole is dominated by the Porte Saint Denis, designed by François Blondel. In the manner of Piranesi, Hubert Robert emphasises the grandeur of the monuments by using strong shadow, for example, on the city gate and the pedestal and steps of the fountain in the centre of the scene. Similarly, he places the arch at a dramatic angle to the viewer, and indicates the size of the monuments by the diminutive proportions of the figures and carriage passing beneath the arch. Panini often incorporated one of the Roman arches and either Trajan's Column or the Column of Marcus Aurelius in his paintings in order to provide interest in his compositions and demonstrate the variety of monuments erected in ancient Rome. For example, a *capriccio* executed by Panini dating from 1735 features the Arch of Constantine and Trajan's Column, as well as the Colosseum and the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius (fig.11).⁸⁵ Drawing inspiration from his paintings, Hubert Robert has included a 'Roman' arch and a column in his scene.⁸⁶ Robert's depiction of well known classical monuments in Paris clearly provides an architectural vision of Paris as the 'new Rome,' and vividly foreshadows the close architectural relationship which was to develop during the Revolution and under Napoleon between Paris and Rome. On the other hand, the painting could be read as having a more ominous implication. While it suggests that late eighteenth-century Paris was as magnificent as ancient Rome, the inclusion of fragments of masonry in the picture also hints that one day Paris, like Rome, would fall. In this thesis, I shall delineate how Napoleon used monumental architecture to establish his 'Rome.'

⁸⁵ Reproduction held in the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

⁸⁶ For a detailed discussion of the influence of Panini on Hubert Robert, see Radisich: 1999, pp.108-111. Alexandre Paillet, an art dealer who knew Hubert Robert well, commented that Robert considered Panini to be the supreme master of ruin painting. Robert himself established a collection of twenty-five pictures by Panini, which, according to Paillet, Robert regarded as 'le trésor de ses études,' and, after 'la Nature,' the secret of his success.

Chapter 1: 'La grande architecture': the influence of ancient Rome on French architects, 1750-1799

In this chapter, I shall consider the significance of ancient Roman architecture in the training of French architects in the second half of the eighteenth century. The French system of architectural training was established in the late seventeenth century with the foundation of the Académie Royale d'Architecture. Although the Académie de France à Rome was also founded at this time, it was only in the early eighteenth century that French architects were sent at the King's expense to study in Rome. The study of the ancient monuments in the city soon became central to the work of the students in Rome, and from the 1740s, groups of 'pensionnaires' at the school were making drawings of Roman buildings and using them as inspiration for their own designs.

I shall begin by considering the importance of the Grand Prix competitions in the establishment of the 'Roman' concerns of the students at the Académie Royale d'Architecture. Next, I shall provide a survey of the printed folio editions illustrating Roman monuments which influenced the students at the Académies in Paris and Rome, and analyse the role played by the formalisation of the rules for the student 'envois' in the establishment of close architectural relations between Paris and Rome. As a case study of the influence of ancient Roman architecture on the students at the Académie de France à Rome, I shall consider the works on architecture by Marie-Joseph Peyre. His collection of plans of Roman monuments and student designs modelled on Roman buildings, which was published as his *Oeuvres* in 1765, epitomises the developments witnessed by academic architecture in France in the second half of the eighteenth century. I shall also consider the edition of his collected works, which was published at the instigation of his son in 1795. Both these works have been little studied in the past, and the edition of Peyre's collected works has, up until now, been largely unknown. Lastly, I shall analyse the influence of ancient Rome on the design of temporary festival decorations and monuments commemorating the events and ideals of the Revolution. In this section, I shall focus on the festival structures erected by the French in Rome and their use of the ancient Roman monuments themselves during the period of the Roman Republic. Throughout this chapter, I shall consider the growing popularity of the notion of 'la grande architecture' in eighteenth-century France. This forms a vital background to my consideration of the 'Roman' monuments erected by Napoleon in early nineteenth-century Paris. It has become customary to mention that a 'revolution' took place in French architecture in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹ For the purposes of this thesis, the 'revolution' in

¹ For example, Braham: 1980, 16, notes the growing importance of antiquity in the work of French architects, and suggests that the architectural 'revolution' is profoundly linked to the social and political revolution. By contrast, Kaufmann (1952 and 1955) groups together the 'visionary' architects of the late eighteenth century, notably Boullée, Ledoux and Lequeu and indicates that they were 'revolutionary' in an aesthetic, rather than a social or political sense. More recently, Laura O'Connell has suggested that the Revolution had the effect of 'revolutionizing' the entire

architecture constitutes the growth of links between Paris and Rome, and the use of the model of ancient Rome as architectural inspiration for Paris.

(1) The academic system and the importance of Roman architecture

The Grand Prix de Rome

The centralised system of architectural training, then, was established in late seventeenth-century France.² Louis XIV's Surintendant des Bâtiments, Colbert, believed that the arts should serve the glory of France, to achieve which, their practice had to be organised on the same basis as industry and their theory established in a body of dogma. The practical side of this scheme was secured by the foundation of the Gobelins and the Savonnerie, and the theoretical by the establishment of the Academies.³ The Académie Royale d'Architecture, established in 1671, was the last of the Academies to be founded. The main task of the students at the school was to learn

building task (see her article, 'Redefining the Past: Revolutionary Architecture and the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils,' *The Art Bulletin*, June 1995, Volume LXXVII, No.2, pp.207-224).

² For a good general history of French architecture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Blunt (1982). For more specialised accounts of French architecture during this period, see, for example, M.N.Rosenfeld, 'The Royal Building Administration in France from Charles V to Louis XIV,' in Kostof ed (1977). For a comparison, for example, with the diversity of methods by which to become 'an architect' in Britain, see especially Crinson and Lubbock (1994). For a further history of architectural training in Britain in the eighteenth century, see the article by Peter Collins, 'The Eighteenth Century Origins of Our System of Full-Time Architectural Schooling' (*Journal of Architectural Education*, November, 1979, 2-6). Even the notion of the ideal training an aspiring architect in Britain could receive was rarely formulated in print. An exception mentioned by Crinson and Lubbock is *An Essay on the Qualifications and Duties of an Architect*, an anonymous pamphlet of 1773 probably written by James Peacock who worked in the office of George Dance. Kostof, ed (1977) is also a useful source on aspects of architectural training in Britain, and see the PhD thesis by Brian Hanson, *Mind and Hand in Architecture: Ideas of the Artisan in English Architecture from William Chambers to John Ruskin* (University of Exeter, 1987). For the establishment of the Architectural School of the Royal Academy, see Cates ed (1887), and for a general history of British architecture in the eighteenth century, see Summerson (1993).

³ On the development under Colbert of the centralised system of artistic training at the Academies, see Blunt: 1982, pp.321-6. For a history of the Académie Royale d'Architecture and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, see Egbert (1980) and Drexler ed (1977). For original source material on the structure, administration and teaching of the Academies, see, for example, *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie d'royale de peinture et de sculpture, 1648-1793*, edited by Montaignon, 1875-1892, and the *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, edited by Montaignon and Guiffrey, 1887-1912. Useful secondary sources on the teaching of the school include the article by Richard Chafee, 'The Teaching of Architecture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts' (in Drexler ed, 1977, pp.60-109), and Hargrove (1990). There are several helpful accounts of the history of art academies in general, such as Pevsner (1940) and Boschloo (1986-7). On the founding of the Academies with particular reference to developments in painting in seventeenth-century France, see Mérot (1995), especially Chapter 6, 'The founders of the Academy.' For a general history of painting and sculpture in France from 1700 till the time of the Revolution, see Levey (1993). Crow (1985) provides a useful account of the role played by the Academies in artistic production in France in the eighteenth century.

how to design large public buildings, and many of these students, especially those who studied in Rome, went on to become Architectes du Gouvernement.

The academic system did not provide the only means of training architects in the eighteenth century, since private architecture schools, notably Blondel's, developed, especially in the second half of the century.⁴ For some aspiring architects who could not gain access to either the centralised Académie or to one of the other schools, training on the job, or under a particular architect was probably an option, if circumstances permitted. Architects could also gain entrance to the Académie in Rome through other means. While Soufflot, for example, did not win the Grand Prix, he undertook his own studies in Rome in 1731-8 and, having presented some of his designs at the Académie de France à Rome gained access to the school that way. During his second visit to Italy which he undertook as the architectural instructor of the future Marquis de Marigny, he submitted a design for a triumphal arch as his 'morceau de réception' for election to the Roman academy, the Accademia di San Luca.⁵ The Accademia was established as an international community and many French and English students studied there. However, it remained the case that if one wanted to become a successful architect in France, it was vital to have received the approved, official training of the Académie d'Architecture.

From the early eighteenth century, academic training was focused on the annual design competitions. It was as a result of these competitions that the most promising architecture students were sent to study at the Académie de France à Rome. When the Académie Royale d'Architecture had been established in 1671, François Blondel, the first director of the Académie, had announced that the King intended to create a similar prize for architecture students as already existed for students at the Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture. As well as receiving medals, the students who won the end of year prizes for painting and sculpture had been awarded the right to study, at the expense of the state, at the Académie in Rome. The first architectural competition had been held in 1701-2, but the competition had not run smoothly. The Surintendant des Bâtiments had been unable to decide between the two entries. Even though he drew lots to select the winner, it seems that the competition remained inconclusive. Although another competition was held in 1703,

⁴ On Jacques-François Blondel and his school of architecture, see the many references in Braham (1980), especially pp.37-9. Blondel's key texts were the *Architecture française* (1752-6) and the *Cours d'Architecture* (1771-7).

⁵ On the training and career of Soufflot, see Braham: 1980, pp.18-36, 44-7 and 73-82, and more specifically, on Soufflot and Rome, see the article by Gianfranco Spagnesi, 'Rome et sa culture à l'époque du voyage de Soufflot' in the collection of essays, *Soufflot et l'architecture des Lumières*, 1980, pp.38-45. Soufflot's second trip to Italy took place during 1749-51. It is not possible to see a date on his design for a triumphal arch to Pope Benoit XIV, which he submitted to the Accademia di San Luca (on which, see the collection of essays mentioned above, 1980, pp.44-5, and the catalogue of drawings at the Accademia di San Luca, *I disegni di architettura dell'Archivio storico dell'Accademia di San Luca*, edited by Paolo Marconi, Angela Cipriani and Enrico Valeriani, 1974, Volume 2, no.2173). However, the fact that the arch is dedicated to Pope Benoit XIV indicates that the design was executed during his second, rather than his first visit to Rome.

the minutes of the meetings give no indication that a result was ever reached. In 1717, the Académie regulations state the intention of establishing an annual prize for students and of awarding a gold and a silver medal. The first of the regular competitions took place in 1720, and the prize given was a silver medal bearing portraits of the King and the Regent. But it was only in 1725 that the first student was sent to Rome, and in fact, during the *ancien régime*, the architectural prize never carried the right to go to Rome.⁶ Yet the number of architecture students continued to grow, from 28 in 1717 to 47 in 1746, and in 1763, Marigny instituted a monthly prize, the 'prix d'émulation,' to encourage the students at the school. With the onset of the Revolution, all the royal academies became suspect as privileged and undemocratic institutions and their existence came under scrutiny. The bureaucracy surrounding the Grand Prix had often caused dissent amongst the students, but now they demanded modifications from the minister in charge. Many students refused to complete the Grand Prix and resigned, and the Académies were abolished in 1793. Teaching was maintained, however, under the aegis of Leroy and in 1797, and the Grand Prix was renewed under a set of regulations similar to those which had existed under the *ancien régime*. The Grand Prix competition was to remain a major element in architectural training in France right up until 1968.

The list of Grand Prix awards indicates that from the time of the earliest competitions, Roman architecture was a major inspiration for the subjects chosen for the designs. The subject of 'un Arc de triomphe' was a popular choice, appearing no fewer than four times in the period preceding the Revolution, and triumphal arches were also often incorporated into the design for larger buildings. For example, a design by De Wailly which won him the Prix de Rome in 1752 includes an elaborate arch (fig.12), crowned with a four-horse chariot, incorporated into the colonnaded entrance for a palace.⁷ Other subjects for the Grand Prix which had obvious Roman connotations were 'Un Place Publique' (stipulated for the competition of 1733), 'Un Temple à la paix' (1749), 'Une Chapelle sépulchrale' (1755 and 1785), and 'Des Bains publics d'eaux minérales' (1774). These subjects recalled the public fora, temples, tombs and public fountains of ancient Rome.

The fact that the kinds of buildings chosen for the competitions were invariably ones of a royal or public nature meant that the grandiose buildings of ancient Rome served as ideal models for the designs. Members of the Académie ranked monumental public architecture as the 'highest' or most 'noble' form of architecture. The Académie acted as an advisory body on architectural matters to the King, and the kind of architecture which was demanded for the competitions at the

⁶ In the late 1760s, Marigny, the minister in charge, quarrelled with the Académie and refused to send the prize-winners to Rome. Instead he sent the architects of his own choice to Rome. In 1781, Marigny's successor stated that a stipend for Rome was not a right of the prize-winner but a favour granted at the discretion of the King.

⁷ Braham: 1980, 90.

school specifically reflected the requirements of the King and state.⁸ The academicians were frequently required to design buildings of national importance, and the Académie was always looked to as a training ground for royal or state architects.

In addition, both the size of the designs required for the competitions and the nature of the compositions lent themselves to the depiction of elaborate classical structures. The students were requested to produce plans and cross sections,⁹ and a desire for order, formality, unity and symmetry characterised their designs. They often composed their designs with an eye to incorporating the structure of the Imperial Baths or the Pantheon. As Egbert suggests, 'It was only these more highly ordered Roman compositions that appealed to the age of Louis XIV and to the regard for logical organisation. The designs submitted for the Grand Prix tended to be organised, like the Imperial Baths, around one or more focal spaces of simple geometric shape, generally an important room or courtyard, as in a typical plan such as that of 1786 - a 'Building to House the Academies.'¹⁰

The relevance of Roman architectural models was also heightened by the political and social changes of the Revolution, which encouraged the production of designs for public buildings. Popular subjects at the beginning of the eighteenth century such as the 'Entrance to a Palace' (1720) or for the 'Stables for a Sovereign Prince' (1739), were gradually replaced by more and more subjects of a 'public' nature, the word 'public' itself first being used for the competition subject prescribed in 1733. The subject chosen for the competition of 1774 was 'Public Baths,' the subject of the 1778 competition was 'Public Prisons,' and by 1791, the public ownership of royal property is clearly suggested by the program calling for a 'Public Gallery of a Palace.' By the early nineteenth century, the subjects specified for the competitions were often buildings 'to the glory of the First Consul,' or projects of an 'imperial' or 'national' nature.

Clearly, from an early stage and throughout the history of the Grand Prix competitions in the eighteenth century, the grandiose public buildings of ancient Rome served as a major influence on the designs submitted for the Grand Prix competitions. As I shall suggest in this thesis, however, it was in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that the public monuments of ancient Rome, specifically imperial Rome, were to become popular as models for monumental architecture in Paris.

⁸ On the few programmes which did call for private buildings, see Egbert, 1980, 147.

⁹ Perspective drawings were forbidden, at least until the nineteenth century.

¹⁰ Egbert: 1980: 113.

Early studies of Roman monuments

Even before the rules governing the studies of the architectural 'pensionnaires' were changed in 1778, making it essential that the students carry out prescribed studies of important Roman monuments or 'envois' to be sent back to the Académie in Paris, Roman architecture formed a major focus for their work. The eighteenth century is often said to have witnessed the rise of the architect-archaeologist, and various analyses have already been made of the work carried out by French architects in Italy in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Primary amongst these are the accounts by Hautecoeur,¹¹ Boyer,¹² and more recently, the important survey of French architectural studies compiled by Pinon and Amprimoz, *Les Envois de Rome (1778-1968): Architecture et archéologie*.¹³ In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, French architects studied the important texts of Vitruvius and Palladio. More significantly, however, they made detailed analyses of the ancient and Renaissance buildings themselves.¹⁴

The practice of making studies of the monuments from antiquity, in particular, Roman monuments, had been pioneered by Desgodetz, who executed and published his drawings at the expense of the King (fig.13).¹⁵ But it was only with the establishment of the Grand Prix and the custom of sending the most talented young French architects to study at the Académie in Rome, that students were able to familiarise themselves with the monuments of the city and started to make detailed studies of them. By the mid eighteenth century, as Boyer suggests, French architects such as Jean-Laurent Legeay, Charles-Louis Clérisseau and Marie-Joseph Peyre were executing studies of the Roman monuments in paint,¹⁶ in the manner of Giovanni Paolo Panini, who taught

¹¹ *Rome et la Renaissance de l'antiquité à la fin du XVIIIe siècle* (1912).

¹² 'Antiquaires et architectes français à Rome au XVIIIe siècle' (*Revue des Etudes Italiennes*, No.1, 1954, pp.173-185)

¹³ Pinon and Amprimoz (1988). See especially Chapter 1, 'Les Envois avant 1778,' pp.3-14. I am very grateful to Frank Salmon for pointing me towards this important source.

¹⁴ Pinon and Amprimoz: 1988, 4

¹⁵ At this time, as we have seen, there were no annual competitions sending architects to study in Rome at the expense of the King. Desgodetz's case was clearly an exception, and, as Pinon and Amprimoz point out, he makes it clear in the Préface to the first edition of *Les édifices antiques de Rome, dessinés et mesurés très exactement* (Paris, 1682), that he studied *with* the Academicians, not *as* one: '...je fus, sur la fin de l'année 1674, envoyé à Rome avec les Academiciens que le Roy y entretient...j'ai trouvé le moyen, pendant seize mois que j'ai été à Rome, de dessiner moi-même tous ces anciens Edifices dont j'ai levé les plans et fait les élévations et les profils, avec toutes les mesures que j'ai prises exactement, ayant observé les contours des ornemens dans leur goût et dans les différentes manières qui s'y remarquent.' Although Desgodetz's measurements of the buildings turned out to be less than accurate, his work still provided the most detailed survey of ancient buildings in Rome to be available in mid eighteenth-century France.

¹⁶ For example, in a letter from the Director of the Académie in Rome, Natoire, to Marigny, from 5 November 1755, Natoire comments, 'Le sieur Per, aussi architecte, fait des progrès, il se jette un peu dans le genre de Panini; il aime ce genre de décoration, et il y a beaucoup de talent, il fait quelques morceaux à l'huile, dont le meilleur vous sera présenté' (*Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, Volume XI, 1754-1763, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey,

them perspective at the Académie in Rome, and with the travels of the Marquis de Marigny, Charles-Nicolas Cochin, Jacques-Germain Soufflot and the Abbé Leblanc in Italy in 1750, French interest in Roman architecture was assured. It was not long before the 'pensionnaires' were drawing and measuring some of the most important monuments in Rome. Charles De Wailly, Pierre-Louis Moreau-Desproux and Marie-Joseph Peyre made studies of the Baths of Diocletian and Caracalla and at Hadrian's Villa, and the buildings of Hadrian's Villa were also studied by Clérisseau and Piranesi, and soon after by J.Gondoin. From the plethora of French names appearing in graffiti at Hadrian's Villa, we can see that the site was well visited by the French in the eighteenth century (figs.14-15).¹⁷ Sites which were further afield were also studied by French architects, notably the three temples at Paestum. These were measured and drawn by Soufflot in 1750, and engraved and published by Dumont in 1764.¹⁸ The 'pensionnaire' Charles Bellicard also produced a study of Herculaneum, *Les Observations sur les antiquités de la Ville d'Herculaneum*, which was published in 1754.¹⁹ By the 1760s and 1770s, the splendid remains of Roman architecture certainly formed the most popular subject of study for French architects in the city.²⁰ Pierre Adrien Pâris, for example, carried out a detailed survey of the Theatre of Marcellus in 1772. In 1771, Desgodetz's edition on Roman architecture was translated into English, and in 1779, it was reissued in Paris, with the specific approval of important figures at the Académie Royale d'Architecture - Marie-Joseph Peyre, his younger brother, Antoine-François Peyre and Guillaumot.

1901, pp.112).

¹⁷ I was able to spot, for example, the names and accompanying dates of Pajou (1754), Berruet (1760), Meert (1771) and Vaudoyer (1785). We know, for example, that Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer, a pupil of D'Affry, won the Grand Prix for architecture in 1783 with his design for 'Une Ménagerie d'un Souverain' (Egbert: 1980, 175). The cosmopolitan nature of eighteenth-century visitors to Hadrian's Villa can be seen from the mixture of nationalities, largely Italian, French and British. For a more detailed analysis of the graffiti at Hadrian's Villa, see MacDonald and Pinto (1995). Various eighteenth-century French signatures can also be seen scratched in the inside wall at the top of the column of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius (eg Breton, 1763, at the top of the Column of Marcus Aurelius), showing that it was possible for people to climb the columns at this date. I shall consider the relationship of the French to Trajan's Column and the Column of Marcus Aurelius in more detail in Chapter 5.

¹⁸ On the variety of publications which appeared on Paestum between 1764-1784, see the article by S.Lang, 'The Early Publication of the Temples of Paestum' (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Volume XIII, 1950, pp.48-64).

¹⁹ For further consideration of the influence of Pompeii and Herculaneum on the French, see the article by Jean Seznec, 'Herculaneum and Pompeii in French Literature of the Eighteenth Century' (*Archaeology*, Autumn 1949, pp.150-158), Grell (1982) on French travellers to Herculaneum and Pompeii in the eighteenth century, and Dumesnil (1865) on French travellers in Italy more generally.

²⁰ French passion for studying these remains seems to have been so great that Marigny actually complained to Natoire in 1762 that he wanted French architects to study their own architecture and that of the Greeks more (see the article by Ferdinand Boyer, 'Antiquaires et architectes français à Rome au XVIIIe siècle,' *Revue des Etudes Italiennes*, No.1, 1954, p.181). Boyer describes the growing interest of the French in the remains of the ancient city, 'Ce glissement des jeunes architectes vers archéologie' (Boyer: 1954, p.181).

In addition to the studies of Roman buildings being made by students at the Académie in Rome, some of which were reaching a wider audience through publication, other architects turned to producing engravings of Roman monuments in the tradition of folio editions and guides to Rome which had proliferated since the late sixteenth century. In producing their designs, these architects were strongly influenced by the many volumes of plates depicting Roman monuments which were available at this time. Early editions included Stefano du Perac's *I vestigi dell'antichità di Roma raccolti et ritratti in prospettiva* (1575), which contained detailed views of the different monuments and locations in Rome, such as the Forum Romanum, which at this date was still largely covered with earth (fig.16).²¹ Later collections included the *Prospettive diverse e vedute d'antichità tanto in Roma che ne I Luoghi circonvicini* (1748) by Francesco Duflos, which contains elegant long illustrations of Roman sites such as the Campo Vaccino (fig.17). Other folio editions were Giovanni Battista Falda's triple volume *Il nuovo splendore delle fabbriche in prospettiva di Roma moderna* (1773) and Giovanni Cassini's *Nuovo raccolto delle migliori vedute antiche, e moderne di Roma* (1779).²²

Some of the most popular illustrations of Rome were those produced by Vasi and Piranesi.²³ Piranesi's engravings of the monuments of Rome were particularly influential on the French. He provided evocative and atmospheric depictions of the ruins, which were also easy for the French to obtain. They could be purchased from the Bouchard and Gravier Bookshop on the Via del Corso (fig.18), which was located only a stone's throw away from the Académie at the Palazzo Mancini.²⁴ His engravings were also on sale in Paris, enabling many French architects to

²¹ A well-preserved copy of this edition is contained in the Thomas Ashby Archives of the British School at Rome. Other well known editions included Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau's *Livre des edifices antiques Romains* (1584), and a smaller edition by Giovanni Maggi, entitled, *Ornamenti di fabbriche antiche et moderni dell'alma città di Roma*, which was published in Rome in 1600. This contains plates of ancient monuments such as Trajan's Forum, later buildings such as 'Il Campidoglio Moderno,' and imaginative reconstructions of the Mausoleum of Hadrian, shown encircled with sculptures and topped with a dome surrounded with men pulled in four-horse chariots. In the seventeenth century, Antonio Lafreri published his *Speculum Romae Magnificentiae* (1606), and plates by Israel Sylvestre (dating from c.1642) were also published. In the late seventeenth century, Pietro Santi Bartoli produced various editions focusing on monuments such as Trajan's Column. There are examples of many of these editions and plates in the archives of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris.

²² The editions of these texts which were consulted are also held in the Thomas Ashby Archives of the British School at Rome.

²³ In particular, Vasi's *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna*, published in Rome between 1747-61, and Piranesi's *Vedute di Roma*, published from the late 1740s to the time of his death some thirty years later, the *Antichità romane* (first published in 1756), and *Della Magnificenza ed'Architettura de Roma* (first published in 1761). Many exhibitions have been held on the subject of Piranesi's depictions of Rome. See, for example, the exhibition catalogue, *Piranesi: Rome Recorded* (1989), which includes a complete edition of the *Vedute di Roma*, and the exhibition catalogue edited by Cara D. Denison, Myra Nan Rosenfeld and Stephanie Wiles, *Exploring Rome: Piranesi and his contemporaries* (1993).

²⁴ This painting by an anonymous artist, c.1774, is reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, *Grand*

familiarise themselves with the monuments of Rome before they came to the city.²⁵ French artists were also likely to have come into contact with Piranesi in the popular area of the Spanish Steps in Rome, which, in the second half of the eighteenth century, was the haunt of an international community of artists. For many years Piranesi lived nearby in the Strada Felice (now the Via Sistina), and this is commemorated by a plaque erected outside a house on the right hand side of the street, a short distance along the road in the direction of the Piazza Barberini (fig.19). The exhibition and conference on *Piranèse et les Français*, held at the Académie at the Villa Medici in Rome in 1976 produced a wealth of material on the subject of the relationship between Piranesi and the French which does not need to be repeated here. It must be mentioned, however, that Piranesi was well acquainted with many of the students at the Académie in Rome, and struck up a particularly close friendship with Clérisseau. His vision of the monumental grandeur of ancient Roman architecture had a profound influence on the studies of ancient Rome made by the students in Rome and on their designs when they returned to France.²⁶ The immensity of the buildings in his engravings and the reverence he conveyed for them through his depiction of meticulous details clearly struck a chord with French architects familiar with Marie-Joseph Peyre's *Oeuvres*, which encouraged architects to return to 'la grande architecture' of ancient Rome.

As more people travelled to Rome and the popularity of folio editions devoted to architecture and antiquities increased, the French started to produce their own guides to Rome and collections of illustrations. An important example of these new editions is Le Père Dominique Magnan's *La Ville de Rome, ou Description Abregée de Cette Superbe Ville* (fig.20), which was published in four volumes in 1778. This contains a detailed textual commentary on the attractions

Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century, edited by Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, 1996, cat.no.75, p.118. The bookshop was situated on the left of S.Marcello on the Via del Corso. Focillon: 1918, 52, also mentions the proximity of this bookshop to the French Academy at the Palazzo Mancini.

²⁵ For a survey of purchasers of Piranesi's works, see the article by Madeleine Barbin, 'Les collectionneurs de Piranèse en France au XVIIIe siècle d'après les catalogues de vente et les inventaires' (in *Piranèse et les Français*, as below, 1976, pp.43-66).

²⁶ See the collection of essays arising from the conference accompanying the exhibition, *Piranèse et les Français, Colloque tenu à la Villa Medici, 12-14 mai 1976*, edited by Georges Brunel, Académie de France, 1976. Important articles on the influence of Piranesi on the community of French artists at the Académie in Rome include that by Werner Oechslin, 'Le groupe des 'piranésiens' français (1740-1750): un renouveau artistique dans la culture romaine,' pp.363-394, and the article by Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, 'Piranèse, les Français et le classicisme international,' pp.419-422. In his article, 'Piranesi and Clérisseau's vision of classical Antiquity,' pp.303-314, Thomas J.McCormick provides an interesting of the relationship between Piranesi and Clérisseau, which he expands in more detail in his book on Clérisseau (1990). The articles by Gilbert Erouart, 'Jean-Laurent Legeay - Recherches,' pp.199-212, and Richard P.Wunder, 'The spread of 'piranesism' through Legeay and Challe,' pp.553-566, are a useful source on the role played by Legeay on the dissemination of the works on Piranesi in France, and provide a follow-up to the much-quoted article by John Harris on the influence of Legeay on Piranesi, 'Le Geay, Piranesi and International Neo-Classicism in Rome, 1740-1750' (in *Essays in the History of Architecture presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, 1967, pp189-196).

of Rome, maps of different areas of the city (fig.21), and illustrations and plans of the ancient edifices such as the Baths of Diocletian (figs.22-23). Two important folio editions depicting the monuments of ancient Rome were produced by Jean Barbault, a former student of painting at the Académie in Rome. His edition, *Les Plus Beaux Monuments de Rome Ancienne* (1761) (fig.24), includes engravings of temples such as the Temple of Jupiter Stator (in fact the Temple of Castor and Pollux) in the Forum Romanum (fig.25), and other monuments, such as the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius (fig.26). The other folio edition, entitled, *Recueils de Divers Monumens Anciens* (1770) (fig.27), also contains many illustrations of Roman monuments.²⁷ French painters, as well as architects, were deeply interested in the monuments of the ancient city. For example, Nicolas-Didier Boguet, who is commemorated, along with many other French artists and architects, with a tomb in the church of S.Luigi dei Francesi (fig.28), executed many landscape sketches in pencil and in ink and wash during his stay in Rome between 1783-4. His original sketchbook is held in the archives of the British School at Rome, and contains views of the Baths of Caracalla, the Palatine, Circus Maximus and the Colosseum, together with various illustrations of St Peter's and churches in Rome.²⁸ Paintings of Roman ruins were hugely popular in the late eighteenth century, especially those by Clérisseau and Hubert Robert, who cultivated the genre to such an extent that he became known as 'Robert of the Ruins.'²⁹

²⁷ The editions consulted are those in the Thomas Ashby Archives at the British School in Rome.

²⁸ Boguet has entitled his sketchbook, *Recueil de lointins et vues de Rome et autres Etudes de Paysages, desseins d'après Nature à Rome et dans les Environs en 1783 et 1784*. For more information on Boguet, see the article by Paul Marmottan, 'La Paysagiste Nicholas-Didier Boguet (1755-1839)' (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Volume XII, janvier 1925, pp.15-34). On Boguet's work for the redecoration of the Palazzo Quirinal during the French occupation of Rome, see Natoli and Scarpati eds: 1989, Volume 1, pp.94-110, Volume 2, pp.16-20. The monument to Boguet in the church of S.Luigi dei Francesi, Rome, was executed by P.Lemoyne in 1840. Among the other French artists who are commemorated in the church are Claude Lorrain, who died in Rome in 1682, although the monument was only put up in 1836, and the painter Pierre Guerin, who died in Rome in 1833.

²⁹ There is no room to provide a detailed consideration of French 'ruin' paintings here. But for further information, see, for example, Arisi (1961) on Panini, McCormick (1990) on Clérisseau, and Nolhac (1910) and Radisich (1999) on Hubert Robert. The study by John D.Bandiera, *The Pictorial Treatment of Architecture in French Art, 1731 to 1804* (PhD thesis, New York University, June 1982, published by Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1984), provides a useful analysis of French ruin paintings. French interest in ruins was also manifested through Clérisseau's creation of a 'Ruin Room.' This was commissioned by Père Thomas Le Sueur and his associate Père François Jacquier at the Convent of S.S.Trinità dei Monti. On the room, see the article by John Fleming and Thomas J.McCormick, 'A Ruin Room by Clérisseau,' in *The Connoisseur*, CXLIX, April 1962, pp.239-243, and entry no.18, p.25 in the catalogue from the exhibition *Visions of Ruin: Architectural fantasies & designs for garden follies*, held in the Soane Gallery at the Sir John Soane's Museum, London, 1999. More work needs to be done on the subject of the 'Ruin Room,' in particular, on the possible influence of the 'Ruin Room' in the Director's apartment at the Arcispedale di San Spirito in Rome, on that by Clérisseau. I am very grateful to Maria-Pia Malvezzi for arranging for me to visit both these rooms.

Folio editions illustrating the monuments of Rome provided an invaluable source of inspiration for academy students as they worked on their entries for the Grand Prix competitions. Collections of engravings of the ancient monuments served to excite those students who were preparing to go to Rome by offering them a vision of the splendours they were to see, and offered some consolation to those who could not go. It is likely that many folio editions would have been available for the 'pensionnaires' to consult at the Académie in Rome. Although we do not know exactly what selection of books might have been at the Académie in the second half of the eighteenth century,³⁰ lists of books ordered during the Directorship of Suvée (1795-1807) which survive in the archives of the Villa Medici indicate that folio editions of books on antiquities and ancient architecture were regarded as a priority for the new library at the Académie de France à Rome.³¹ For example, appended to a letter sent from Suvée to the Minister of the Interior on 18th January 1801 is a list of 82 books requested for the school (fig.29). Included are many key works on Roman architecture, ranging from the folio editions of Nardini, Falda, Fontana, Vasi, Nolli, Du Cerceau, Desgodetz and Barbault, to copies of Ponce's *Bains de Tite* and Fontaine's *Amphithéâtre flavien*, Vitruvius' *De Architectura* and Lalande's *Voyage en Italie*, which contains a detailed textual, if not visual, guide to Rome.³²

The location of the French Académie at the Palazzo Mancini (fig.30) on the Via del Corso from 1725 until the time of its removal to the Villa Medici in the early nineteenth century meant that the 'pensionnaires' at the school were accommodated at a convenient distance from the most popular Roman sites in the city.³³ In one direction, along the Via del Corso, lies the Capitoline, the imperial fora, the Colosseum, and, branching towards the river, the Theatre of Marcellus. In another direction, across the Via del Corso, at a ninety degree angle to the facade of the palazzo, lies the Pantheon. Built in the 1690s, the Palazzo Mancini was attributed to Sebastiano Cipriani, and was occupied by the Mancini family until it was purchased by the French in 1725.³⁴ An

³⁰ Much crucial archival information relating to the activities and contents of the Académie in Rome was lost during the pillages which took place at the Académie after the Revolution and at the time of the Roman Republic (see below).

³¹ See Lapauze: 1924, Volume 1, p.472 and the *Correspondance des Directeurs, Nouvelle Série, Directorat de Suvée, 1795-1807*, Tome 1, edited by Georges Brunel and Isabelle Julia, 1984, p.15.

³² I found the original document in Box 1 of the archives at the Villa Medici, in a folder labelled 'Papiers relatifs à la bibliothèque.' The document is labelled no.173. It has been published in the *Correspondance des Directeurs, Nouvelle Série, Volume II, Directorat de Suvée*, edited by Georges Brunel and Isabelle Julia, Académie de France à Rome, 1984, pp.223-5. I am grateful to Michel Hochmann at the Académie de France at the Villa Medici for allowing me to consult this archival material. For a more detailed consideration of Lalande's *Voyage en Italie*, see Chapter 2.

³³ Lapauze suggests that the French had set their sights on exchanging the Palazzo Mancini for the Villa Medici as early as 1798 (Lapauze: 1924, Volume 2, 5). However, official negotiations only started in 1801, and it was not until 18 May 1803 that they were finalised. For a detailed consideration of the exchange, see Chapter 1 in Lapauze: 1924, Volume 2, pp.1-29.

³⁴ See Schiavo (1969) for a history of the Palazzo, especially pp.131-175, on the Palazzo as the residence of the Académie de France à Rome. I am indebted to Dr Adolfo Fiorino of the Banco di

engraving by Vasi shows the elegant façade of the Palazzo overlooking the busy street of the Via del Corso (fig.31). Piranesi's illustration from the *Vedute di Roma* depicts students leaning over the first floor balcony with an enormous French coat of arms suspended overhead (fig.32). In the late eighteenth century, the Via del Corso was one of the busiest roads leading into the centre of the city (as it still is today).³⁵ Each year, the papal carnivals processed along the street, and often the students of the Académie took part in the parade. As I shall suggest, the prominent location of the Académie at the heart of the city served to enhance the provocative nature of the French artistic community in the eyes of the Romans during the period of the Revolution and the Roman Republic. Only recently, however, a distinguished Art Historian has made the mistake of suggesting that during the Revolution the French Academy was located at the Villa Medici,³⁶ and the importance of the location of the Académie has often been underestimated.³⁷

'Lever un monument antique tel que les thermes, les bains, les palais des Empereurs...': new rules for architects at the Académie in Rome

In the 1770s, the practice undertaken by French architects of drawing and making detailed plans of key ancient sites and buildings in Italy, especially Rome, was formalised by the introduction of new regulations governing the studies of the 'pensionnaires' in Rome. Although it is customary to refer to the 'archaeological' nature of French architecture at this period,³⁸ it is clear

Sicilia for twice showing me round the Palazzo, for explaining the history of the building and drawing my attention to the edition by Schiavo. As far as I can tell, a single study of the Académie at the Palazzo Mancini has not been published. The loss of archival material relating to the school in the eighteenth century which was either pillaged or destroyed during the attacks made on the Académie by the Roman populace in 1792, and by the Neapolitans in November 1798 and again in September 1799, may have discouraged critics from attempting such a study. (NB: The archival material which is currently held in the archives of the Villa Medici dates from the Directorship of Suvée, 1795-1807). However, there is much research which could be done on the activities of the students and life at the Académie when it was located at the Palazzo, using the *Correspondance des Directeurs* (which was kept in Paris) and various other sources. As I shall suggest in the next chapter, a particular area which would profit from further research is the history of the cast collection at the Palazzo and the role of the Académie in the manufacture of casts for the royal collections and art schools back in Paris. For general histories of the Académie de France à Rome, see Lapauze (1924), Alaux (1933) and Villedieu (1951), and on the history of the Academic system, Robertson (1910). On the variety of locations used by the school in Rome before the Académie was established at the Palazzo Mancini, see the Appendix at the back of Alaux, p.255ff.

³⁵ The length and straightness of the road is due to the fact that it is a former Roman road.

³⁶ Johns: 1998, 70: 'The French Academy, housed in the Villa Medici, became a centre of Jacobin agitation in the papal capital.'

³⁷ See Chapter 2 for a further discussion of activities of the students at the Académie, and the use of the different rooms of the Palazzo, especially for the display of casts.

³⁸ See, for example, Frank Salmon's comments on late eighteenth-century Neo-classical architecture in his article, '*Storming the Campo Vaccino: British architects and the antique*

that the close knowledge of the exact state and condition of different monuments developed by the 'pensionnaires,' and the versatility and imagination with which they often 'reconstructed' the monuments either in their plans or in their designs for buildings back in Paris, reflected current developments in archaeology and foreshadowed the programme of excavations and restorations undertaken by the French themselves during their annexation of Rome. The specification of compulsory studies of particular monuments in Rome by the Académie d'Architecture, which focused interest on a selection of buildings and provided the library of the Académie in Paris with unrivalled drawings of the monuments, provides an important background to the attempts of the French, under Napoleon, to 'rebuild' examples of Roman monumental architecture in Paris. The institutionalisation of the system of 'envois' based on Roman monuments encouraged what was already popular practice amongst the students at the Académie de France à Rome. In this respect, the monumental architecture constructed in Paris under Napoleon, especially the Arc du Carrousel and the Vendôme Column, with their close resemblance to their Roman models, represent the distinctive realisation of what was becoming a more and more 'archaeologically' precise profession.³⁹

In the regulations issued by the Académie in 1769, 'pensionnaires' had been encouraged to make plans and drawings after ancient buildings, to record their own observations and to copy any inscriptions which might appear on the monuments. The decision to formalise the system by which 'pensionnaires' undertook and sent 'envois' back to France, was taken at the same time as the academicians authorised the new publication of Desgodetz's important study of Roman architecture. Significantly, this change in rules was initiated by the younger brother of Marie-Joseph Peyre, Antoine-François Peyre, winner of the Grand Prix in 1762.⁴⁰ Having studied at the

buildings of Rome after Waterloo' (*Architectural History*, Volume 38, 1995, 149). Pinon and Amprimoz: 1988, XI, remark: 'Architecture et archéologie: le sous-titre du livre souligne clairement où est le font du problème.'

³⁹ Although, as I shall suggest in Chapters 4 and 5, it is a misjudgement to view the Arc du Carrousel and the Vendôme Column as 'mere antique revivals' (Honour: 1991, 171) since they offer complex artistic reworkings of the Roman monuments which inspired them.

⁴⁰ The younger brother of Marie-Joseph Peyre by nine years (see the *Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume X, 1742-1753, edited by Montaignon and Guiffrey, 1900, p.453, footnote 1 to no.4957, 'Brevet d'élève architecte a Rome pour le Sr Peyre'), Antoine-François Peyre was a 'pensionnaire' at the Académie in Rome between October 1763-December 1766, during the Directorship of Natoire. Despite being involved in a scuffle with some Papal guards during a procession in Rome (*Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume 12, 1764-1774, edited by Montaignon and Guiffrey, 1902, p.19), he was he was highly praised by Natoire for his talents as an architect (*Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume 12, as above, p.125-6, Letter from Natoire to Marigny). By 1778, he had put forward his recommendation that the student 'envois' should focus on ancient monuments (*Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume 13, 1774-1779, edited by Montaignon and Guiffrey, 1904, p.358-9, Letter from D'Angiviller to Gabriel). Before the Revolution, Peyre was well known for his designs for the Schloss in Koblenz, which he built for the Elector of Trier (1779-1786) (Kalnein: 1995, 278). He was one of several architects who put forward plans for the redesign of Versailles, and proposed erecting a semicircular double colonnade around the Place d'Armes, and fountains and Trajanic columns in the square (Kalnein:

Académie in Rome between 1763-6, a decade after his brother, and witnessed the publication of his brother's *Oeuvres* (1765), Antoine-François Peyre would have been well aware of the growing interest of the students in the ancient monuments of the city. In this context, it is not surprising that it was he who brought the issue of the student 'envois' to the attention of the academicians in Paris in 1778, and pushed for changes to be made.

The sequence of events leading to the change of rules in 1778 and 1787, and the institution of the first obligatory 'envois' and establishment of a list of projects in 1790, has already been well documented by Pinon and Amprimoz.⁴¹ In a statement made to the Académie on 9 March 1778, Antoine-François Peyre brought attention to the important role of studying Roman architecture in the training of the architect:

'Le but pour lequel ils sont envoyés, lorsqu'ils ont remporté les prix, est de se perfectionner dans l'architecture où ils ont déjà marqué avoir des dispositions, et avoir acquis des connaissances qui doivent les mettre à portée de faire un choix d'études qui puisse les conduire à la perfection; les progrès que l'on exige de leurs travaux à Rome dépendent totalement de ce choix.

D'après ces principes, Messieurs, je crois qu'il conviendrait de demander à Monsieur le Directeur général d'exiger de chaque élève de lever un monument antique tel que les thermes, les bains, les palais des Empereurs, et nombre d'autres dont les parties existantes offrent de grandes beautés....'⁴²

He suggested that one of the main benefits for the Académie of introducing a system of official 'envois' would be that the studies could be collected and preserved in the library of the Académie in Paris. Soon Antoine-François Peyre, along with Pierre-Louis Moreau-Desproux and Charles-Antoine Guillaumot, were charged with drafting a formal proposal for the new rules. These were

1995, 224). He maintained a high profile in Paris after the Revolution. For example, he was selected as one of the jury to judge the contest of Year II (1794), to which thirty sculptors and architects submitted their proposals (Leith : 1991, 263). He was one of six architects who sat on the third class of the new Institut, established in September 1795 (Braham: 1980, 252). His students included Percier and Fontaine, Louis-Pierre Baltard, Guénepin (who won the Grand Prix in 1805) and Huyot (who won in 1807). According to Kalnein (1995, 280), Antoine-François Peyre's designs are contained in his *Oeuvres d'architecture*, which were published by Percier and Fontaine in 1818. However, Antoine-Marie Peyre, Marie-Joseph Peyre's son and editor of the *Supplément* to the *Oeuvres*, does not seem to have won the Grand Prix and studied in Rome. But we know he worked as an architect since he produced several designs for buildings in Paris, including a project for a library in the Luxembourg district (undated), and taught architecture to students including Vincent, winner of the second prize in 1815. At the moment we still know relatively little about Marie-Joseph Peyre, his brother and his son, and much further research is needed.

⁴¹ Pinon and Amprimoz: 1988, pp.15-46. Also see the article by Ferdinand Boyer, 'Antiquaires et architectes français à Rome au XVIIIe siècle,' *Revue des Etudes Italiennes*, No.1, 1954, pp.183-5 for a general discussion of the changes.

⁴² Quoted in Pinon and Amprimoz: 1988, 15.

presented at a meeting of the Académie on 6 April. Article 3 of this proposal is concerned with the nature of the new 'envois':

'Les élèves de l'Académie, pensionnaires à Rome, seront chargés de lever et de dessiner avec exactitude pendant leur séjour en Italie, un monument antique ou moderne avec différens détails dont l'objet, si le monument est entier, sera l'exactitude et la précision; si le monument ne présente plus que des masses despouillées des marbres et des ornemens et que l'élève ait à les suppléer et restituer, son travail sera conduit par la pénétration et le jugement, et en ce cas, ce qui se trouveroit encore entier, même de moins important, sera dessiné avec exactitude pour donner à connoître autant qu'il sera possible par ces fragmens, la vraisemblance des décorations et ornemens suppléés et restitués.'⁴³

Article 4 of the proposal suggests that large projects should involve several students working together to produce the drawings, and others sections of the proposal referred, for example, to the timescale within which the 'envois' were to be submitted. Both Hautecoeur and Boyer have commented that these plans had the effect of making the students into archaeologists rather than architects, Boyer adding that despite the choice stipulated by the proposal of producing drawings of ancient or modern buildings, 'En fait le choix des pensionnaires porta presque toujours sur un monument antique.'⁴⁴ Certainly, although the proposal of 1778 indicates that a choice from ancient or modern buildings would be available to the students, the projects carried out between 1779-1787 refer only to ancient buildings.⁴⁵ In addition, following a report by De Wailly, L.-A.Trouard, Jardin and Pâris submitted to the Académie on 12 June 1786, in which they expressed their concern over the popularity of some projects over others,⁴⁶ the revised rules of 1787 left the students little room for choice.⁴⁷ The first student to undertake a prescribed study was Charles Percier, who in January 1788 was allotted Trajan's Column.⁴⁸ However, in 1790, the Académie went a step further by compiling a comprehensive list of 37 monuments selected for the 'envois,' and from their list of monuments, all of which are ancient Roman (although the mausoleum of Santa Constanza is termed 'le Baptistère de Constantine') it is clear that the architecture of the

⁴³ Pinon and Amprimoz: 1988, 19.

⁴⁴ Boyer, see the article as above, 1954, 184.

⁴⁵ No official list of these projects seems to have been made but a list can be compiled from the *Correspondance des Directeurs* and other archives at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (see Pinon and Amprimoz: 1988, 23-4). The projects include L.-A.Trouard working on the Temple of Fortune and Palestrina, P.Bernard continuing work begun by Clérisseau and Gondoin on Hadrian's Villa, A.-L.Vaudoyer on the Theatre of Marcellus, A.Cheval de Saint-Hubert on the Pantheon and Ch.-A.Moreau on the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.

⁴⁶ Pinon and Amprimoz: 1988, pp.26-8.

⁴⁷ Ibid, pp.41-6.

⁴⁸ I shall consider the significance of his work in more detail in Chapter 5.

ancient city formed their central concern.⁴⁹ The regulations were revised again in 1799, and this time they included detailed specifications regarding the required size of the 'envois' of details of buildings (during the first three years spent in Rome, one quarter actual size), the number of years the students had to work exclusively on ancient architecture (the first four years of what was now a five year scholarship), when the students were required to make hypothetical restorations of entire monuments (in their fourth year), and when they were allowed to travel for the purpose of their studies further than 36-40 miles outside Rome (at the end of the third year).⁵⁰ The magnificent depictions of Roman monuments which were displayed at the recent exhibitions *Roma Antiqua* held in Paris and Rome, are a testament to the survival of the rules of 1799 well into the nineteenth and even the early twentieth centuries and of the 'Roman' architectural vision of the academic system as it was conceptualised in the late eighteenth century.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Pinon and Amprimoz: 1988, pp.41-46.

⁵⁰ For the 1799 rules, see Pinon and Amprimoz: 1988, pp.49-52. Student travel had always been limited, since it had only been allowed with the express permission of the Director in Rome. Students had often visited the temples at Paestum, and some had travelled to Pompeii, but studies of Pompeii were forbidden and were largely impossible anyway for many years after excavations started at the site. Few had been to Herculaneum, and we know that in 1755, Marie-Joseph Peyre was refused permission from Marigny to travel to Naples (*Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume XI, 1754-1763, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1901, pp.87-8, no.5099, Letter from Marigny to Natoire - Natoire had written to Marigny to ask his advice on the matter). The first 'envoi' to be completed on a Pompeian subject was the 'Restauration du Forum de Pompéi' (comprising 12 studies) executed by Félix-Emmanuel Callet in 1823-4. For a discussion of Callet's 'envoi' and reproductions of some of his designs, see pp.115-127 in the catalogue from the exhibition *Pompei e gli architetti francesi dell'Ottocento*, held at the Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-arts, Paris, January-March 1981 and at the Institut Français de Naples in conjunction with the Soprintendenza Archeologica, April-July 1981. The catalogue also reproduces Callet's *Mémoire explicatif de la restauration du forum de Pompéi à Pompéi, près Naples. Par M.Callet, Architecte-Pensionnaire du Roi, à l'Académie de France à Rome* (1813, E.B-A, ms.244) (see pp.297-308). Before this, however, the third year design on the subject 'Parallèle des divers ordres doriques qu'il a recueillis à Rome et à Cori, Paestum et Pompéi,' carried out by L.Destouches in 1818, did include some reference to Pompeian material (see the above catalogue p.82), and clearly some French architects were able to execute small sketches and designs on Pompeian subjects around about this time (for example, see the sketches of the forum reproduced in the catalogue, pp.144-167).

⁵¹ See the catalogue from the exhibition *Roma Antiqua: Envois des architectes français (1788-1924), Forum, Colisée, Palatin*, held at the Curia in the Roman Forum and the Villa Medici in Rome, 29 March-27 May 1985 and at the Ecole National Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 7 May-13 July 1986, and the catalogue from the exhibition *Roma Antiqua: Envois degli architetti francesi (1786-1901), Grandi Edifici Pubblici*, held at the Palazzo delle Esposizione, Rome, 20 May-22 June 1992.

(2) Marie-Joseph Peyre's *Oeuvres d'Architecture* and the *Supplément*

The *Oeuvres d'Architecture* by Marie-Joseph Peyre was a major influence on the development of eighteenth-century French architecture.⁵² The *Oeuvres* was the first collection of academic architectural studies to be published, and in many ways, its appearance acted as a signpost for the students at the Académie de France à Rome who were increasingly devoting their energies to drawing the ancient monuments of the city. However, the 'Roman' nature of the *Oeuvres* has been little studied in detail. Critics have not considered the precise influence of the work on French architecture in the second half of the eighteenth century, nor the role Peyre's volume may have played in establishing new regulations for the training of the 'pensionnaires' at the Académie in Rome. In addition, I have not found a single study of the *Supplément*, which was published posthumously along with a reissue of the *Oeuvres* in 1795.⁵³

In this section I shall take a close look at both texts in order to consider the significance of the monuments of ancient Rome in the architectural vision of Marie-Joseph Peyre. While other architects and writers had focused their attention on producing theoretical texts on ancient architecture, using Vitruvius and Palladio as their models, in the *Oeuvres*, and in particular, in his other works, published as the *Supplément*, Peyre combines his knowledge of Vitruvius with his practical experience of measuring and drawing the Roman monuments, painstakingly acquired as a student at the Académie in Rome. In the texts of the *Supplément*, which were originally presented as lectures or classes at the Académie in Paris where he taught for many years, Peyre laments the fact that French architects no longer seem to understand Vitruvius, suggesting that they should return to 'la grande architecture' of the Romans by making thorough studies of Roman buildings, in combination with a consideration of traditional architectural theory. Despite his mention of Vitruvius and Palladio, however, Peyre's main concern is with architectural practice. His personal study of the buildings of ancient Rome, and his analysis of the inadequacies of recently-built

⁵² On Peyre and the significance of the *Oeuvres*, see the article by John Harris, 'Le Geay, Piranesi and International Neo-classicism in Rome, 1740-1750,' in *Essays in the History of Architecture presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, edited by D.Fraser, 1967, p.189, Braham: 1980, pp.83-9, Leith: 1991, pp.22-4, Kalnein: 1995, pp.173-175 and Watkin: London, 1996, 339.

⁵³ In his Preface, Braham (1980, 7) points out that at the time of writing, there was no monograph on Peyre, and as far as I have been able to tell, this is still the case. Both Braham (p.83) and Kruff (1994, 154) mention the collection of works published in 1795, but not in any detail. The only copy of the *Oeuvres* as it was reissued in 1795 along with the *Supplément, composé d'un Discours sur les monumens des anciens, comparés aux nôtres, et sur leur manière d'employer les colonnes* which I have found is that held in the Biblioteca Romana Sarti at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome. I am grateful to Fabrizio Ambrozi de Magistris at the Biblioteca Romana Sarti for his assistance in copying some of the text of the *Supplément* for me and for allowing me to take photographs of the *Oeuvres* and the *Supplément*. Copies of the 1765 edition of the *Oeuvres* can be found in a range of libraries, including the British Library and the library of the Académie de France at the Villa Medici in Rome, and a useful facsimile of it was produced by Gregg Press in 1967.

classical architecture in France, are the key elements of his work which set it aside from the theoretical texts produced by figures such as the Abbé de Cordemoy, François Blondel, Jacques-François Blondel, Pierre Patte and Père Laugier, with whom he has often been grouped.⁵⁴ Peyre did not want to immerse himself in textual matters, which he suggested his readers could find elsewhere. His main concern was to suggest how French architects should study existing Roman buildings in order to gain inspiration for their work. Although he had little opportunity to build his own designs, his work played a major role in the development of a taste for Roman monumental architecture, which, as will be suggested, came to fruition in Paris under Napoleon.

Drawing Rome: the *Oeuvres*

From the age of thirteen, Peyre studied with Jacques-François Blondel. In 1751, he won the Grand Prix with his design for a public fountain, and was able to travel to Rome as a 'pensionnaire' in 1753.⁵⁵ Here, he was well received,⁵⁶ and along with his contemporaries Charles De Wailly and Pierre-Louis Moreau-Desproux in 1755, he made detailed, scale drawings of the Baths of Caracalla and Diocletian and Hadrian's Villa. His career when he returned to Paris has not been investigated in any detail, but we know that he became Inspecteur, under Soufflot, of the Luxembourg Palace, and Contrôleur, under Gabriel, of the royal Château of Choisy. Two important early projects are illustrated in the *Oeuvres*, a small villa constructed on the outskirts of the city and a town palace for the Prince de Condé. Peyre assisted De Wailly in redesigning the Comédie-Française, although his role in this was often unrecognised.⁵⁷ He was also well known as

⁵⁴ A useful survey of eighteenth-century architectural theory is provided by Krufft (1994, Chapter 13, pp141-165). On Enlightenment architecture and theory in general, see Kaufmann (1955), Braham (1980), Rykwert (1980), Picon (1992) and Kalnein (1995). For a more detailed consideration of Cordemoy, see the two articles by Robin Middleton on 'The Abbé de Cordemoy and the Graeco-Gothic Ideal: A Prelude to Romantic Classicism' (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol.XXV, 1962, pp.278-320, and Vol.XXVI, 1963, pp.90-123), and on Laugier, see Herrmann (1962).

⁵⁵ In the short biographical notice at the beginning of the *Supplément* (p.3), Peyre's son indicates that his father was opposed to his architectural studies, and wanted him to train for another profession. Peyre's success in the Grand Prix is included in the list in Egbert: 1980, 171.

⁵⁶ In several letters contained in the *Correspondance des Directeurs*, Natoire mentions Peyre's hard-working nature and architectural talent. For example, in a letter to Vandières dated 14 November 1753, he comments, 'Notre jeune troupe étudie avec zelle. Le sr Pair, architectte, et qui a mis la main à ce dessein d'arme dans la partie qui le regarde, vient de me faire voir un morceau d'étude bien dessiné d'un projet qui pouroit servi de palais propre à contenir les différans genre d'Académie; cet ouvrage me paroît d'un très bons goût et bien imaginé; cela fera un très bons sujet' (Volume X, 1742-1753, Montaignon and Guiffrey, 1900, no.4987, 477). In another letter to Vandières from 9 January 1754, Natoire refers to Peyre as 'l'architectte dont j'ai eu l'honneur de vous parler avantajeusement et qui le mérite' (Volume XI, 1754-1763, Montaignon and Guiffrey, 1901, no.4996, 4).

⁵⁷ Braham: 1980, 98. Peyre's son had to write to the press on a least two occasions to remind the public that the theatre had been designed by Peyre, as well as De Wailly, in whose studio the

a decorator, undertaking the designs for the interior of the Duc de Nivernais' residence, near the Palais du Luxembourg, and in 1767, he revealed to the Académie his plans for a small church of the convent of the Visitandines.⁵⁸

A compilation of the studies Peyre made in Rome was published as the *Oeuvres d'Architecture* in 1765 (fig.33). One might question why Peyre wanted to publicise the studies he had made of Roman monuments and his designs for modern buildings, many of which clearly took their inspiration from the monuments of Rome. It is clear that Peyre was keen to promote himself. The *Oeuvres* is dedicated to Marigny, a key figure of influence at this period being the Surintendant des Bâtimens. However, Marigny is well known for having been sceptical of the close studies of Roman monuments being made by the students at the Académie in Rome,⁵⁹ and it may have been in an attempt to alter his opinions that Peyre felt it necessary to publish his work. He claims, right at the beginning of the *Oeuvres*, that his purpose is not to produce a theoretical treatise on architecture, but to display the influence of the monumental Roman architecture he studied in Rome on his work:

'Mon dessein n'est pas de parler des principes de l'Architecture; cette matière a déjà été traité avec succès: je mettrai seulement sous les yeux des Artistes et des gens de goût, le fruit de mes études en Italie. J'ai tâché d'imiter, dans différens projets que renferme cet Ouvrage, le genre des Edifices les plus magnifiques, élevés par les Empereurs Romains.'⁶⁰

He suggests that although most of these buildings are now in ruins, it is important to study them since they provide important examples of 'la belle Ordonnance de l'Architecture,' 'ordonnance' being a key concept for French architectural theoreticians at this time. In addition, Roman buildings offer the architect a wealth of different designs, the proportions and arrangement of which ('leurs distributions') had been tried and tested in antiquity.

Peyre was particularly interested in the large complexes of imperial buildings which he had seen for himself in Rome:

'Les Thermes de Dioclétien, de Caracalla, de Titus; le Palais des Empereurs, la Ville Adrienne & d'autres Monumens, prouvent ce que j'avance, & nous offrent de beaux Modèles qu'on ne s'est peut-être pas jusqu'à présent assez efforcé de suivre.'⁶¹

drawings had been produced. The prolific success of De Wailly in the later eighteenth century meant that he was very much in the public eye at this time.

⁵⁸ This was only built in 1780. For plans of the church, see the archives of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

⁵⁹ Braham: 1980, 45.

⁶⁰ Peyre: 1765, 3.

⁶¹ Ibid, 3.

Although he had made close studies of these buildings in Rome ('J'ai examiné scrupuleusement avec M.M. Moreau & de Wailly, Architectes, alors Pensionnaires du Roi à Rome, ce qui nous reste de ces Monumens, & nous en avons assez découvert pour pouvoir lever exactement les Plans ci-joints'), the plans he includes of the Baths, for example, in the *Oeuvres* are not scale plans (figs.34-35). What attracts him about the Baths is their grandeur and monumentality ('Les Thermes étoient des Bâtimens dont la grandeur & la magnificence surpassoient la plûpart des Edifices qui ornoient l'ancienne Rome'), and it is this which he tries to recapture in his own designs and expounds upon in his later works as being of central importance for the rejuvenation of French architecture. Throughout the *Oeuvres*, he continually refers to 'les dispositions,' 'les proportions,' and 'l'effet' of the buildings he proposes. He makes some mention of the numerical dimensions of his plans, commenting, for example, on his design for the portico of a church (fig.36), 'Les Colonnes n'y sont éloignées les unes des autres que d'un diametre & demi,' but his main concern is to convey the general effect of the Roman buildings. Only in his later works, especially in his studies entitled 'Principes que les anciens observoient pour la disposition des colonnes et des entre-colonnemens' and 'Parallèle des temples des anciens avec les églises modernes'⁶² does he provide a much closer analysis of the relative measurements of Roman buildings and their relation to French designs. As Krufft suggests,⁶³ Peyre's designs for grandiose buildings incorporating long colonnades and circular rooms, for example, his project for a cathedral and two palaces (figs.37-8),⁶⁴ reflect his interest in the symmetry of the ancient edifices. This element of symmetry acquired from an observation of ancient Roman buildings exerted a profound influence on many of the huge complexes designed by other Académie students in the late eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth century.

Peyre's familiarity with a wide range of Roman monuments, and his ability to employ and manipulate features of the monuments and buildings of Rome, characterise his studies in the *Oeuvres*. While a few of the projects do not particularly lend themselves to the employment of Roman architectural elements, such as his designs for a *Maison de Plaisance, Bâtie à Paris sur le nouveau Boulevard*, for a *Grotte et Cascades* and for *Fontaines jaillissantes et isolées*,⁶⁵ most of the projects show Peyre's use of Roman architectural characteristics and models. For example, his design for a *Chapelle Sépulchrale* (fig.39-40), as he himself comments, is closely modelled on the Tomb of Caecillia Metella, only here he adds a Pantheon-type domed roof, an entrance portico and flanks the monument with two obelisks. His design for a *Petite Eglise ou Rotonde* (fig.41-2) follows a similar formula, only this time there is no opening in the domed roof, and the church

⁶² Contained in the *Supplément*, see below.

⁶³ Krufft: 1994, 154.

⁶⁴ This was originally presented as an entry for the 1753 competition at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome.

⁶⁵ He may have been required to produce these studies as part of his training.

includes three additional side chapels as Peyre had seen in other churches in Rome. Even his two designs for palaces in Paris, *Projet d'un Palais pour S.A.S. Monseigneur le Prince de Condé, sur le Terrain de l'Hôtel qu'il habite* (fig.43-4), and *Projet pour l'augmentation du Palais de Bourbon* (fig.45-6), which were restricted by prescribed sites for the buildings, illustrate his subtle, yet effective, incorporation of Roman architectural elements, from the adaptation of a triumphal arch and colonnade for the dramatic entrance to the Hôtel de Condé, to the arched entrance, symmetrical courtyards and circular rooms planned for the extension of the Palais de Bourbon. However, it is in his two most grandiose designs, those for a complex of Académies (fig. 47-8) and for the *Palais d'un Souverain*'(fig.49) that we can see his most extravagant appropriation of the colonnades, circuses, arches, domes and sheer grandeur, 'la grande architecture,' of ancient Rome.

It is in his later works, published in the *Supplément*, that Peyre provides a more detailed explanation of the relationship of such designs to the great buildings of ancient Rome, and his desire for French architects to rebuild Paris as the 'new Rome.' In the *Supplément*, published only nine years before Napoleon became emperor of the French, he provides a close analysis of the 'Roman' buildings which had already been built by the French in Paris, in which he points out how these buildings both achieved and fell short of his Roman architectural ideal.

Taking lessons from the Romans: the reissue of the *Oeuvres* and publication of Peyre's collected works in 1795

The intention of Peyre's son in publishing his father's collected works as a *Supplément* to the reissue of the *Oeuvres* (fig.50) no doubt reflected his desire, and that of the Académie, to pay tribute to Peyre, who had died in 1785. Peyre had been well respected and for many years had taught at the Académie d'Architecture. The surge of interest in the monuments of ancient Rome, which had led to changes in the regulations governing the student 'envois' sent from Rome, probably made it a particularly appropriate moment for the publication of Peyre's work. A committee of Académie members authorised the decision to publish the new edition of the *Oeuvres*. The Preface by Peyre's son at the beginning of the *Oeuvres* reflects the acclaim that Peyre's work had received by this date, and the significance of his achievement in the eyes of his son:

'L'accueil que les artists ont fait à la première édition de ces oeuvres, l'utilité dont elles sont pour les arts, et le cas que l'on a toujours fait des talens de l'Auteur, m'ont engagé à faire paraître ce supplément. J'ai regardé, depuis la mort de mon père, cet ouvrage comme un dépôt sacré, dont je devais comte aux

arts qu'il a tant contribué à tirer du cahos, dans lequel ils étaient rentrés depuis long-temps.'⁶⁶

In the short biographical passage which follows on from the Preface, Antoine-Marie Peyre comments more fully on the importance of his father's work for developments in French architecture:

'Il y fit ses recherches précieuses sur les monumens des anciens, recherches utiles aux-quelles nous devons le splendeur de l'Architecture actuelle; dans quelle siècle, depuis les anciens, cet art a-t-il été porté à un plus haut degré de perfection? L'Ecole de chirurgie, le Panthéon Français, la Monnaie, la Salle des Français, le goût actuel des jeunes artistes sont aussi éloignés de l'Architecture du commencement de ce siècle, que cette dernière de l'Architecture gothique.'⁶⁷

The radical nature of Peyre's work is suggested by the fact that Peyre was the first to incorporate peristyles and columned porticoes in his designs, and by the opposition he first encountered to his work.⁶⁸ Not surprisingly, however, his son remained convinced of the importance of his ideas. He concludes with the comment, 'il suivît une carrière si utile à la régénération de l'Architecture.'⁶⁹

The *Supplément* is divided up into five sections, each of which is likely to have originated as a lecture or class given to the students at the Académie d'Architecture. The separate sections may well have been available to students in written form at an earlier date since on one occasion Peyre refers to 'mes lecteurs.'⁷⁰ The first section is an Introduction to the *Oeuvres*, and expands upon the introductory piece which first appeared at the beginning of this work in 1765. This is followed by a section entitled 'Du Génie dans l'Architecture.' The subject of the 'genius' was a popular one amongst Enlightenment thinkers, and in its application to architecture, it had also been treated by authors such as Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières.⁷¹ This section was probably intended to encourage the students at the Académie, since in it Peyre suggested that 'genius' could be developed through careful and assiduous study. In the third, fourth and fifth sections of the *Supplément*, Peyre provides a detailed examination of ancient architecture, specifically Roman architecture, and its relationship to French architecture. In the third section, entitled 'Dissertation sur les Distributions des Anciens Relativement aux Nôtres,' he considers the arrangement of Roman buildings, especially the Imperial baths and palaces which he had studied in Rome. Next, in the section entitled 'Principes que les anciens observaient pour la disposition des colonnes et des entre-

⁶⁶ Peyre: 1795, 2.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 3.

⁶⁸ This may well be a reference to Marigny, who, as has already been suggested, was sceptical of the emphasis placed on studying Roman monuments by the 'pensionnaires.'

⁶⁹ Peyre: 1795, 3.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 6. Unless, of course, his son had made this alteration for the purpose of publishing his father's teachings.

⁷¹ *Le génie de l'architecture: ou, l'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations*, first published in 1780.

colonnemens,' he discusses the use of columns in Roman and French buildings. Here he includes the measurements of the ancient buildings he had undertaken in Rome, and backs up his findings with quotations from Vitruvius and Palladio. In the final section, 'Parallèle des temples des anciens avec les églises modernes,' he provides a fascinating comparison between five Roman temples and five French churches. The churches had only recently been constructed in Paris and would have been highly familiar to his students. He leaves his audience/readers to formulate their own conclusions from the comparison, following his delineation of the principles of Roman architecture and discussion of the relationship of Roman and French monuments.

An important feature of Peyre's work is the way in which he prioritises the observation of ancient monuments over and above a consideration of the well known texts of Vitruvius and Palladio. Throughout the texts contained in the *Supplément*, but particularly in the last three sections, he makes it clear that he has gained his knowledge of Roman architecture from his close study of the buildings themselves in Rome. Peyre comments that French architects in the past have been hindered by their ignorance of Roman architecture as well as by the lack of opportunities to construct grandiose buildings on the scale of those erected in ancient Rome. Although they have been prevented from erecting 'la grande architecture,' he suggests that he will try to delineate the nature of this architecture in his work:

'J'ai tâché de rassembler les principes des Grecs et des Romains, que l'on reconnoît dans ce qui nous reste de leurs monumens, que Vitruve nous a détaillés, et que Palladio et tant d'autres architectes italiens ont reconnus avant moi. Le peu d'occasions que l'on a eu en France, jusqu'au dernier siècle, d'employer de la grande Architecture, et depuis ce temps, les modes, les faux principes, que ceux qui nous ont précédé ont établis, et qui sont devenus des usages que l'on a suivis aveuglément; toutes ces choses réunies ont arrêté nos progrès, et nous ont empêché de remonter plutôt à la source du beau: nous admirions les chef-d'oeuvres des anciens, et nous ne cherchions pas à découvrir pourquoi ils nous en imposaient; nous lisons Vitruve sans le comprendre; enfin nous nous étions fait une Architecture que nous appellions Française, et cependant la belle Architecture antique nous paraissoit sublime, tant le beau a d'empire sur les hommes; mais les usages en ont encore plus.'⁷²

As in the Introduction to the *Oeuvres* itself, Peyre indicates that he is not going to write a theoretical treatise as such. His purpose is to delineate the success of French architecture so far in trying to evoke 'la grande architecture,' and to point out, from observations based on his own studies of Roman monuments, where French architects have gone wrong. Ancient architecture experienced peaks and troughs of achievement, and in a similar manner, he suggests that French

There is a useful translation of this text by David Britt, edited by Robin Middleton, 1992.

architecture has not followed a consistent path. He credits the reigns of Louis XIII, Louis XIV and the last forty years as having been periods which have witnessed the reappearance of 'le genre de grandeur' in architecture, adding that 'le style dominant' will always find the opportunity to resurface.

His section 'Du Génie dans l'architecture' provides an important background to the rest of the *Supplément* by pointing out the need for unity and simplicity in architecture, key features of Roman architecture which he considers in more detail in the last three sections of the work. Peyre stresses that it is only Roman architecture, be it actual Roman monuments or successful French monuments, built to evoke 'la grande architecture,' which can arouse a profound response in the viewer:

'Tous les hommes sont sensibles à la vue du beau; le moins connaisseur, en voyant la porte S.Denis, éprouvera une sensation, un plaisir qu'il n'éprouvera pas en voyant des choses inférieures, et la Rotonde, à Rome, lui en imposera beaucoup plus que le frontispice de Saint-Pierre.'⁷³

Although he speaks more generally of the architecture of the Greeks and Romans in the first section of the *Supplément*, here he specifies the unique nature of Roman architecture in relation to that of Greece. Unlike Winckelmann, who in his *Remarques sur l'architecture des anciens*,⁷⁴ suggested that Roman architecture was merely derivative of Greek architecture, and soon exhibited decadence and declined, Peyre emphasises the achievements of Roman builders, who improved upon the models of architecture they inherited from Greece: 'C'est ainsi que les Romains s'en tinrent long-tems à imiter l'Architecture des Grecs, et parvinrent peu à peu à l'épurer.'⁷⁵ As will be suggested in the next chapter of this thesis, the deliberate choice of the artistic and cultural model of ancient Rome, over the Greek model expounded by Winckelmann, was soon to be evident in the establishment of the Musée des Antiques and the 'Roman' buildings of Napoleonic Paris.

In the third section of the *Supplément*, entitled, 'Dissertation sur les Distributions des Anciens Relativement aux Nôtres,' Peyre clearly explains his admiration for the architecture of ancient Rome, in particular, the buildings erected under Augustus:

'Quoique l'Architecture n'ait pas pris naissance en Italie, et que les Romains n'ayent été que les imitateurs des Grecs et des Egyptiens, ils ont tellement surpassé ces autres peuples, que c'est à juste titre que toutes les nations

⁷² Peyre: 1795, 5.

⁷³ Ibid, 7.

⁷⁴ This French version was published in Paris in 1783. It must also be noted that the *Remarques* was sometimes published as an addition to the *Histoire de l'Art chez les Anciens*. For example, it appears as the 'Observations sur l'architecture des Anciens' at the back of the H.J.Jansen edition of the *Histoire*, published in 1790 (Volume II, pp.543-652).

⁷⁵ Ibid, 7.

cherchent à découvrir, sous le peu de ruines qui nous restent de leurs fameux monumens, quels étaient leurs principes.

Sous le règne d'Auguste, l'Architecture était parvenue au plus haut degré de sa gloire; mais, comme s'il y avait un point de perfection qu'il n'est pas possible de surpasser, elle dégénéra, depuis ce temps, jusqu'au renversement totale de l'Empire.⁷⁶

He stresses that ever since the Renaissance, the buildings of ancient Rome have especially appealed to artists and architects and inspired them in their work. His awareness that Roman building was made possible by the vast sums of money available from conquest and empire to the emperors of Rome and the requirement of grandiose public and imperial buildings for the city of Rome, serves to foreshadow the fulfilment of these conditions during the Napoleonic regime. Peyre's interest, however, lies in the imperial baths, palaces and temples of the ancient city, not in the military monuments of ancient Rome which were favoured under Napoleon.

The focus of the 'Dissertation sur les Distributions des Anciens Relativement aux Nôtres' is the arrangement and nature of rooms within the imperial palaces and villas in Rome. Through his detailed knowledge of the ruins of Hadrian's Villa, country villas on the Via Appia and the imperial palaces on the Palatine in Rome, Peyre reveals that the Romans managed to achieve comfortable, yet grand, living spaces which are characterised by their arrangement in single-storey complexes, and the use of open-vaulted rooms:

'Les appartemens d'habitation et de commodité, étaient liés à ces vastes pièces, comme nous l'avons vu à la ville Adrienne; ce qui était d'autant plus facile, que ces vastes pièces, étant éclairées seulement par les voûtes, elles n'empêchaient pas les petites de leur être adossées, et celle-ci avaient des vues sur les jardins, places et campagnes qui les environnaient.'⁷⁷

While consistently grand, Roman architecture could thus be adapted to suit the requirements of the imperial palaces on the Palatine, with their magnificent view and staircases down to the Circus Maximus, and the more intimate surroundings of the country villas on the Via Appia. The various buildings at Hadrian's Villa, which incorporated accommodation blocks for the Emperor's entourage, and the luxurious rooms of the Villa of Lucullus, described by Pliny, in which works of art seized from foreign conquest were displayed, were all variants of 'la grande architecture.' Peyre reminds us that these buildings have been particularly inspirational for two of his own designs, included in the *Oeuvres*. He comments:

'Pendant mon séjour à Rome, les restes de ces fameux bâtimens me firent tant de sensation, que je fis tous mes efforts pour imiter le genre de ces superbes dispositions dans plusieurs projets, et entr'autres, dans un palais pour un

⁷⁶ Peyre: 1795, 9.

souverain, et dans un autre pour les arts et les sciences. J'ai rassemblé, autant qu'il m'a été possible, ce que j'ai admiré, pour le genre et pour la variété, dans les restes des thermes, dans ceux de la ville Adrienne et du palais des Empereurs, et j'ai reconnu la possibilité de joindre à la magnificence et à la noblesse des plus belles dispositions, les distributions les plus commodes et les plus variées.⁷⁸

He is convinced that French architects have not tried to imitate Roman buildings enough, or to employ grandiose features such as a rooms lit by vaults from above. He suggests that imperial palaces should serve as models for French palaces, and that sequences of large rooms arranged in a single storey would be ideal for royal apartments where it would be easy to obtain access to the King.⁷⁹ In his opinion, only in a few instances have architects managed to rival Roman architecture, and he cites the Porte Saint-Denis, the Louvre, St Peter's in Rome and St Paul's in London. Although modern architects have been innovative ('le moyen de porter les dômes, sur des pendentifs, est une découverte, dont les modernes ont seul la gloire'), he suggests that there is still a lot of work to be done.

The last two sections of the *Supplément* are largely concerned with Roman temples and the reinterpretation of these buildings by French architects. The 'Principes que les anciens observaient pour la disposition des colonnes et des entre-colonnemens,' as the title suggests, focuses on the use of columns by Roman architects, specifically on the size and spacing of columns in a variety of Roman temples, and includes passages from Vitruvius and Palladio on the subject. Whilst in Rome, Peyre was inspired to make his own measurements of different monuments, 'le plaisir que me firent les monumens anciens, la grandeur et le mâle qui règnent dans leurs ouvrages, m'engagea à mesurer exactement leurs entre-colonnemens.'⁸⁰ Finding that these matched the measurements given by Vitruvius and Palladio, he returned to France, only to be astounded by the inaccuracies displayed by French monuments, purporting to be 'classical':

'Je fus surpris qu'une découverte, si simple et si importante, eût été ignoré, si long-temps, parmi nous.

Ce qui est cause, je crois, que, depuis plus d'un siècle que nous employons, en France, des colonnes colossales, nous n'ayons en général qu'une idée très-imparfaite de la façon dont les Romains les employaient.'⁸¹

He cites sixteen examples of Roman temples, including key monuments in Rome such as the Temples of Mars and the Temple of Jupiter Tonnant (now identified as the Temple of Vespasian) and two from sites well outside Rome - the Maison Carrée at Nîmes, and Temple of Castor and

⁷⁷ Ibid, 11.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 11.

⁷⁹ The fact that Peyre's work was written well before the Revolution is particularly clear from this section referring to possible features for royal palaces.

⁸⁰ Peyre: 1795, 14.

Pollux, at Naples⁸² - and proceeds to examine three examples of French buildings which employ columns in a Roman style, the portico of Saint-Sulpice, the portico of the Church of the Assumption, Rue Saint-Honoré, and the porch of the Ecole de Chirurgie. While he admires all three examples, Peyre is concerned that the French still fall short of evoking 'la grandeur' by placing columns too close to one another, using columns which are too short, or by making entablatures too large for the columns beneath them. Even St Peter's, which is larger than most ancient temples, fails to capture 'cet air de noblesse' exhibited by Roman monuments since the columns of the building are incorporated inaccurately into the design.⁸³

After presenting his analysis of the relationship of the principles employed for Roman temples to some existing French monuments, in the last section, Peyre compares five examples of Roman temples with five recently-constructed Parisian churches. Only the porticoes of the French buildings are presented for comparison (fig.51), stripped from the rest of the buildings in an attempt to focus attention on the classical columns and their arrangement. The Temple of Jupiter Stator (Temple of Castor and Pollux) is compared with the portico of the courtyard of the Sorbonne; the Temple of Mars-Vengeur with the portico of the Church of the Assumption; the Temple of Jupiter or 'le frontispice de Néron' with the portico of Saint-Sulpice; the portico of the Roman Panthéon with the portico of Ste Geneviève;⁸⁴ and the Temple of Antoninus with the portico of the Ecole de Chirurgie. Peyre indicates that he has used the same scale for all the illustrations, although a note added by his son reveals that since Peyre did not provide an illustration of the church of St Geneviève, the building has been shown in its current state, as the French Pantheon, instead. Despite his admiration for these French 'temples,' it is clear from Peyre's introductory text to this section that he is less than happy with the state of French architecture they represent. He comments:

'Quant à l'extérieur de nos églises, aux porches, que nous appelons portails, depuis que nous avons quitté l'Architecture gothique, nous nous efforçames de les décorer; nous y employâmes des ordres Grecs et Romains, mais d'un genre qui ne ressemblait en rien à celui des anciens. Nous y fîmes des ordres les uns sur les autres, mal proportionnés; nous y accouplâmes les colonnes, y appliquâmes des pilastres ployés, des ornemens tenant du gothique, des croisées bombées, des balustrades, comme à des bâtimens d'habitations. Cette mode a

⁸¹ Ibid, 14.

⁸² Although Peyre was prohibited from travelling to Naples during his first three years in Rome, he may well have taken the opportunity to go there after this.

⁸³ Peyre: 1795, 17.

⁸⁴ Interestingly, the portico of the Panthéon in Paris had already been envisaged as a 'Roman' temple, separate from the rest of the building, when a full-scale painting of it was erected on the site for the foundation ceremony in 1764. The scene is illustrated in a commemorative painting executed by de Machy (reproduced in Braham: 1980, pp.74-5).

existé long-temps et n'existe encore que trop dans beaucoup d'états et de provinces de l'Europe.'⁸⁵

Although we do not know exactly when Peyre composed the studies which were compiled and published as the *Supplément* in 1795, it is likely that they predate the changes in rules issued by the Académie d'Architecture from 1778. Certainly, the composition of these five 'lectures' would have preceded the regulations as they were formulated in 1790. By 1795, as we have already seen, French architects were already making closer observations of Roman monuments than had ever been undertaken before. The publication of Peyre's *Oeuvres* and his teaching at the Académie d'Architecture in Paris clearly played a major part in encouraging a more archaeologically accurate type of 'Roman' architecture amongst the students at the school. The influence of Peyre's work can also be seen from the plans for monuments and festival structures produced to commemorate the Revolution and in the employment of the Roman buildings themselves for the celebrations of the Republicans in Rome. Although it was only under Napoleon that there was the opportunity to build 'la grande architecture' inspired by the imperial buildings of Rome, which had been advocated so strongly by Peyre.

(3) Celebrating Rome: festivals to the Revolution and the Roman Republic

The influence of the Revolution on architects in Paris and Rome.

The French Revolution had a profound effect on late eighteenth-century French architecture.⁸⁶ It would have been impossible for the events of the Revolution, which overturned the political, legal and social structure of monarchical France, not to have impinged on the Académies in Paris and Rome. The Académie Royale d'Architecture had been the scene of some dissent even before the Revolution. The choice of Grand Prix winner at the Académie d'Architecture and the bureaucracy surrounding the system had frequently caused dissatisfaction amongst the students. In 1785, for example, they stamped their feet and blew whistles in protest at the awards made for that year's Grand Prix.⁸⁷ In April 1790, the students' request for changes in the regulations was ignored, with the result that many of them refused to complete the Grand Prix and resigned. Under the aegis of the painter, David, the Commune des Arts was created, and by

⁸⁵ Peyre: 1795, 19.

⁸⁶ From the wealth of material on the French Revolution, see in particular, Furet (1996) and Doyle (1978 and 1989). For a useful illustrated compilation of original texts relating to the Revolution, see Schama (1989). On the relation of the Revolution to events in Europe in general, see, for example, Briggs (1979), Cobban (1969), Best (1982), McKay and Scott (1983), and Ford (1989).

⁸⁷ They felt that Pierre Fontaine should have been awarded the first, not the second prize.

August 1793, the Convention had secured the suppression of all the Académies, including the Académie de France à Rome.⁸⁸

Despite these bureaucratic upheavals, architectural training in Paris remained fairly consistent owing to the teaching offered at the school of the Académie d'Architecture run by Julien-David Leroy, who enlisted as his associate Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer. He also engaged Percier and Fontaine to serve on a committee judging the student work.⁸⁹ In many ways, it was this school, rather than Jacques-François Blondel's private school of architecture, which was the direct ancestor of the system of ateliers affiliated to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. The success of Leroy's school probably influenced the decision taken in October 1795 by the Convention, just before it was replaced by the Directory, to set up a new architectural school and reestablish the Rome prize and the Académie de France à Rome.

In Rome, the Revolution had a more profound effect on the teaching offered by the school - in fact on the existence of the school itself. At first, the fall of the Bastille had made relatively little impact on Italy and Rome. There was keen interest in what was going on in France, but the mood which prevailed was one of detachment from the events of the Revolution. It was only as rumours of French anticlericalism spread to Rome and the Revolutionaries became more radical in their protests that a sense of unease started to be felt and the students at the Académie grew restless to take part in the events back home.⁹⁰ When the French Republic's new ambassador, Hugo de Basseville, arrived in Rome he found most of the students to be fervent supporters of the Revolution,⁹¹ and as news reached Rome of the attack on the Tuileries and the imprisonment of the royal family back in Paris, the students tore down the royal portraits in the Académie, overturned the symbolic papal throne and put in its place a cast of the head of Brutus from the Capitoline.⁹² In

⁸⁸ For a more detailed consideration of the history of the Académies during the Revolution, see Robertson (1910), Egbert: 1980, pp.28-31, and the article by Chafee (in Drexler, ed: 1977, pp.65-77), which includes some useful quotation from primary sources concerning the Académies and the changes made to them during this period. For general studies of David, see Hautecoeur (1954), Brookner (1980), Schnapper (1980), Johnson (1993), and Lee (1999). Délécluze is still a fundamental source. For further discussion of David and the art of the Revolution, see Bordes and Michel (1988) and Boime: 1987, pp.391ff, and see Crow (1995) on the relationship of David to his pupils Drouais, Girodet, Gérard and Gros during the Revolution.

⁸⁹ It is not known whether the state paid for this education, or whether Leroy and Vaudoyer met the expenses themselves until the autumn of 1795 (see Chafee in Drexler, ed: 1977, 70). Certainly, Leroy provided his own prizes for the competitions held at his school, which included books and later on, medals bearing representations of Bonaparte (Egbert: 1980, pp.37-8).

⁹⁰ Alaux: 1933, Volume 1, 200.

⁹¹ Ibid, 217.

⁹² I have not been able to trace whether this was a cast of the bronze bust of Lucius Junius Brutus displayed in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, or a cast of the marble bust of Marcus Brutus in the Museo Capitolino. Christopher Johns indicates that it was 'a plaster bust of the celebrated bust of Brutus in the Capitoline Museum' (1998, note 3, p.212), but we still cannot be sure which bust it represented. He is incorrect in his statement that it was 'the only work specifically named as one of the hundred works of art demanded by the Treaty of Tolentino,' since both busts of Brutus were

these circumstances, the Palazzo Mancini became a focus for anti-French feeling in Rome. The Roman populace, infuriated and resentful at the French, many of whom they had seen sporting red cockades round the city of Rome, sacked and stormed the Académie, destroying many of the casts of antiquities displayed in the school which seemed redolent of the French threat to Italy and its culture.⁹³ The abolition of the Roman Catholic Church, the further development of war between France and the allied powers and the Terror of 1793-4, after which a stream of refugees started to fill Rome, only worsened the situation in Rome. Following the invasion of northern Italy by the French during the Franco-Austrian war of 1796-7, the ravaging experienced by Lombardy, Emilia, Liguria and the Veneto, and the removal of one hundred works art from collections in Rome, sanctioned by the Treaty of Tolentino of 1st February 1797, it became clear that the French had set their sights on the occupation of Rome.⁹⁴ The establishment of the Roman Republic in 1798 gave the French an unrivalled opportunity to install themselves in Rome and to become acquainted with the collections and architecture of ancient Rome. They displayed their unique interest in the culture of ancient Rome by appropriating for themselves the monuments of the ancient city, in particular, the Imperial Forum and the Capitoline.

The period of the Revolution witnessed a drastic decline in the building opportunities for French architects. The position and resources of the aristocracy and the church, who had provided important patronage for the artistic community, had been undermined, with the result that there was little money available for building projects. Many architects suffered unemployment, while

named in the Treaty (see Chapter 2 of this thesis and the list of works of antique sculpture taken by the French in the Appendix). It would surely have been more appropriate if the bust had been a cast of the bust of Lucius Junius Brutus, since he was the founder of the ancient Roman Republic, rather than Marcus Brutus, who assassinated Caesar. We know, for example, that David brought a copy of the bust of Lucius Junius Brutus back from Rome, which he allowed to be used as a stage prop during a production of Voltaire's *Brutus* in Paris in November 1790 (Haskell and Penny: 1981, 164).

⁹³ For a more detailed discussion of the influence of the French Revolution on Rome, especially on the Académie de France à Rome, see Lapauze: 1924, Volume 1, Chapter XIV, 'Directorat de Ménageot,' pp.417-442, and Chapter XV, 'L'Interrègne Révolutionnaire (1): Suvée, Directeur à Paris, Cacault, Directeur à Rome (1792-1801),' pp.443-493, and Johns: 1998, p.69ff.

⁹⁴ On the Italian campaigns of the French, see, for example, Ferrero (1961), Barnet (1978), Blanning (1996), and the catalogue for the exhibition *1796-1797: Da Montenotte a Campoformio: la rapida marcia di Napoleone Bonaparte*, held at the Museo Napoleonico in Rome, 4 February-27 April 1997. Useful sources on the Roman Republic are Lévesque (1807), and Giuntella (1950). I am grateful to staff at the Museo Napoleonico for drawing my attention to Cretoni (1971), and to those at the Biblioteca Fondazione Primoli for showing me the catalogue from the exhibition, *I Francesi a Roma: Residenti e viaggiatori nella Città Eterna dal Rinascimento agli inizi del Romanticismo*, held at the Palazzo Braschi in Rome, 1961 (see p.315ff on the Roman Republic). Also see Section IV of the catalogue, *1796-1797: Da Montenotte a Campoformio*, (as above, pp.83-98) on the Roman Republic, and the useful analysis by Heriot (1957) of the French in Italy between 1796-1799. See Andrieux (1968) for a general account of the French in Rome. On the relationship between the French and the Papacy, see Hales (1960), Higgs and Callahan (1979), Chadwick (1981), and for a specific study of the church in the pre-Revolutionary period, Cragg (1960).

others travelled abroad for work or turned their hand to writing architectural treatises as an alternative source of income.⁹⁵ The Convention wanted to resume the building projects of the *ancien régime*, but little came of their report proposing the construction of hundreds of new streets, the creation of more squares, the improvement of the old 'quartiers' and the decoration of the city at large.⁹⁶ However, the Revolution did provide some new opportunities for architects to employ their skills. Architects were needed to transform buildings made redundant by the Revolution, such as churches, into buildings serving new public needs.⁹⁷ The conversion of Ste Geneviève into a national Panthéon under the aegis of Quatremère de Quincy is the most famous example (fig.52).⁹⁸ In many ways, the Revolution was itself matched by a 'revolution' in architecture in the sense that the types of building required and whole purpose of building after the Revolution had significantly altered.⁹⁹ Temporary structures had formerly been erected for festivals and employed in theatre sets,¹⁰⁰ but the last decade of the eighteenth century witnessed the development of a radically new kind of temporary monument, and one which was uniquely suited to the circumstances of the Revolution and the Roman Republic. Monuments were designed to commemorate the Revolution and the Republic for the festivals held in Paris and Rome. Not all of these monuments were constructed, but the 'Romanness' of the structures and their iconography is clear from an observation of the designs. An important account by James Leith provides a detailed analysis of many of these designs.¹⁰¹ The relationship of these designs to the festivals and monuments planned by the French to commemorate the Roman Republic, however, has been little studied. Not only were 'Roman' monuments planned for the celebrations in Rome, including monumental columns, altars and triumphal arches, but the French chose significant locations and employed the fabric of the ancient city to articulate their new ideals. These festivals, in particular, brought the monumental architecture of ancient Rome to the attention of the French.

⁹⁵ On the altered circumstances for French architects during the Revolutions, see Hauteceur (1953, Volume V) and Braham: 1980, 251. Attracted by the patronage of Catherine the Great, several French architects, such as De Thomon, went to work for the Russian court, where artists, including Falconet, had also worked earlier in the century. Even Diderot had spent some time at the Russian court. Architects such as Rondolet and Durand devoted their time to writing architectural works instead.

⁹⁶ See Leith: 1991, Chapter VI, pp.151-213.

⁹⁷ Leith: 1991, pp.138-9.

⁹⁸ Anonymous drawing of Ste Geneviève converted into the Panthéon, reproduced in Leith: 1991, 112). On this project, see the excellent account by Biver (1982), also Braham: 1980, pp.81-2, Leith: 1991, pp.112-115 and pp.139-141.

⁹⁹ Although we must be careful to employ the term 'revolution' here, since many new building opportunities, even the creation of statues and festival structures to the Revolution, involved the adaptation of earlier buildings or artistic models.

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, Gruber (1972) on festival designs under Louis XVI.

¹⁰¹ Leith (1991).

Roman Republicans and the appropriation of ancient Rome

It is clear from the collection of designs for monuments reproduced by Leith that the Revolutionaries in Paris consistently articulated themselves as ancient Romans in terms of their building plans for the city. They set up temporary monuments to commemorate their heroes, often in the form of the sepulchral pyramids reminiscent of the monument to Gaius Cestius, which had been inspiring Académie students such as Jardin since the 1740s (fig.53).¹⁰² The programmes for competitions among students at the Académie Royale d'Architecture also influenced the amphitheatres, hippodromes and circuses which were planned to accommodate huge crowds at Revolutionary spectacles.¹⁰³ The design for the Festival of the Federation (fig.54), held on the Champ de Mars on 14 July 1790, involved the construction of an immense triumphal arch. This served as a magnificent entry to the area overlooked by the Ecole Militaire, as well as a means of guiding the procession of people to and from the site.¹⁰⁴ The Revolutionaries were keen to erect permanent structures to commemorate their achievements and planned to regenerate the city of Paris as a whole. The rapid changes in government, however, meant that the plethora of columns and temples which were designed during the Revolution in most cases remained on the drawing board. Yet temporary monuments and festival structures continued to be built, and enabled the Revolutionaries, in some respects, to create their 'new Rome.'¹⁰⁵ With the erection of festival monuments, such as the Egyptian fountain, triumphal arch, figures of Liberty and Hercules and the monumental column constructed as five of the processional 'stations' for the Festival of Unity and Indivisibility on 10 August 1793 (fig.55), the Revolutionaries appropriated important sites in the city and transformed the urban space of the city into (Roman) Republican, rather than royalist space.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Reproduced in Leith: 1991, 12. Jardin's design for a sepulchral chapel (1747) was to commemorate the celebrated dead. In the following year he designed a monumental bridge lined with obelisks and columns decorated with ship's prows which was to acclaim the hero returning to the city (see Leith: 1991, 13). Dufourny produced a similar academic design for a cemetery (Leith: 1991, 14). Examples of Revolutionary 'pyramids' include the pyramid employed in the design for the Festival of the Federation held on the Champ de Mars in 1772. In addition, an anonymous artist is said to have designed an immense quadrilateral pyramid three hundred feet high, crowned with a Temple of Liberty, for the site of the Bastille (Leith: 1991, 55).

¹⁰³ Perhaps the first architect in France to design a space of this nature was Servandoni, who proposed the construction of an amphitheatre on the outskirts of Paris to accommodate royal festivals (Leith: 1991, 8). The amphitheatre frequently recurs as a subject for academic designs. The so-called 'visionary' architects such as Boullée particularly praised the architectural form of the Roman Colosseum, and in 1781, a study was made by the Abbé Brotier of the political use made by the Romans of circuses (Leith: 1991, 16-22). I shall return to the subject of plans for arenas and amphitheatres in Chapter 4, during my discussion of plans for 'le forum Napoléon,' in between the Louvre and the Tuileries.

¹⁰⁴ For a more detailed consideration of the Festival of the Federation, see Leith: 1991, pp.43-53.

¹⁰⁵ On Revolutionary festivals in Paris, see Biver (1979), and Ozouf (1988).

¹⁰⁶ Reproduced in Leith: 1991, 118. For a detailed analysis of the Festival of Unity and

The institution of public festivals and the iconography which was employed for them was inspired, in particular, by the Roman Republic.¹⁰⁷ These festivals had various themes, from the celebration of important events connected with the Revolution, to the commemoration of Revolutionary martyrs.¹⁰⁸ At all the festivals, special significance was given to the 'fasces' or 'rods,'¹⁰⁹ which, as Livy describes in *The Early History of Rome*, were first held by Lucius Junius Brutus, the founder of the Republic:

'The earliest consuls exercised the full powers of the kings, and carried all their insignia, with one exception - the most impressive of all - namely the 'rods.' These were allowed to only one consul of the two, to avoid the duplication of this dreadful symbol of the power of life and death. Brutus by his colleague's consent, was the first to have the rods, and he proved as zealous in guarding liberty as he had been in demanding it.'¹¹⁰

Lucius Junius Brutus and Marcus Brutus, the assassin of Caesar, became the most important Roman heroes for the Revolutionaries, to the extent that a general cult of Brutus developed. Busts of 'Brutus' were frequently used as a symbol of the Republic.¹¹¹ This was especially the case, as

Indivisibility and the monuments constructed for the occasion, which were designed by David, see Leith: 1991, pp.130-134. Dowd (1948) provides a useful account of the role of David as pageant-master of the Revolutionary festivals.

¹⁰⁷ On festivals in ancient Rome, see Cary and Scullard (1979), especially pp.109-110 and p.178. National pride in ancient Rome was encouraged by public ceremonies such as triumphs and the funerals of illustrious men. Before 220 B.C, there had been regular public games in Rome, one day festivals called the 'Ludi Romani.' In 220 B.C, a second festival, the 'Ludi Plebeii' was instituted. The 'Ludi Apollinares,' 'Megalenses' and 'Ceriales,' which lasted up to five, seven or even fourteen days, were introduced during the Second Punic War, in order to keep up public morale, and in 173 B.C, the sixth public festival, the 'Ludi Florales' was established. There were also official 'ludi,' which consisted of circus races, dramatic performances and gladiatorial contests. Parker (1937) only discusses the general model provided by antiquity for the Revolutionary festivals, and suggests that the Spartan model of education and festivals had a particular influence on the Revolutionaries, (see Chapter XI, pp.119-138). Dowd (1948) is more helpful on the influence of ancient Rome.

¹⁰⁸ Important figures such as Voltaire and Rousseau were commemorated with public funerals as the great men of the Roman Republic had been in ancient Rome.

¹⁰⁹ On the significance of the fasces, see the article by Anthony J.Marshall, 'Symbols and Showmanship in Roman Public Life: The Fasces' (*Phoenix*, 38, No.2, 1984, pp.120-141).

¹¹⁰ Livy, *The Early History of Rome*, II.1.7-8, translated by De Sélincourt and Ogilvie, 1971, 106. Also see Cary and Scullard: 1979, 62.

¹¹¹ The use of a bust of Brutus to replace the papal throne in the Académie de France à Rome has already been mentioned. A bust of Brutus was also displayed at the Festival of Liberty, held in Paris in July 1798, at which the works of art from Rome and Italy were displayed in a procession through the streets of the city (see Chapter 2 below), and on the central podium at the Festival of the Perpetuity of the Republic, held in the Roman Forum in February 1799 (see this chapter below). On the cult of Brutus, see Parker: 1937, p.139.ff. Plutarch's *Life of Brutus* was popular reading at this time, and two of the most popular plays were Voltaire's *Brutus*, which focused on the achievements of Lucius Junius Brutus, and *La mort de César*, which had as a central figure Marcus Brutus (both plays were published in the *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, which appeared in 1785, the former in Volume I, the latter in Volume II).

will be suggested, at the festivals held to commemorate the Revolution and the Roman Republic. The concept of 'libertas,' which was fundamental to Republican Rome, was personified as a Roman woman dressed in a white robe, carrying a pike and a bonnet, and featured on many Revolutionary festival monuments. Many Revolutionaries chose to wear a Phrygian bonnet or Liberty cap, which had originally been worn by emancipated slaves in ancient Rome.¹¹² Although some critics have suggested that French republican thinkers such as Mably and Rousseau might have favoured the political model of Lycurgus' Sparta over that of Republican Rome, it was Republican Rome which served as the most obvious model for the formation of the government and legal system in the new regime, and Republican Rome which provided the most important visual and historical model for the Revolutionaries.¹¹³ Influenced by their reading of Roman writers, especially Cicero, Sallust, Livy, and Plutarch,¹¹⁴ rather than Greek writers, who were little studied at this time, the Revolutionaries referred to inspirational 'exempla virtutis' from Roman Republican history in their political speeches and social discourse in general.¹¹⁵ They often named

¹¹² Leith: 1991, 35. Figures from Graeco-Roman myth also featured in Revolutionary iconography, for example, Hercules, who came to represent the strength of the French people.

¹¹³ On the development of the thought of Mably, from his early career as a political royalist and the publication of the *Parallèle des romains et des français* (1740), to his later commitment to classical republicanism, see Wright (1997). Wright suggests that Mably favoured the Roman model for his early work, the *Parallèle*, in which he was much influenced by Montesquieu (p.24-5). On the general reception of ancient Rome by the Revolutionaries, see Parker (1937), although he does not provide a detailed analysis of the visual 'Romanness' of the French Revolutionaries and in fact does not mention the monuments planned or erected by them at all. His conclusion that the influence of antiquity on the Revolutionaries was not as great as it might at first seem certainly needs revision. Cf: Ayres (1997), on the tendency of the English aristocracy and gentry to portray themselves as virtuous Romans following the Revolution settlement of 1688-9.

¹¹⁴ As I suggested in the Introduction, although Plutarch was a Greek, he lived in Rome in the early empire.

¹¹⁵ Editions of texts by these authors available in the second half of the eighteenth century include the *Oraisons choisies de Cicéron, traduction revue par M. de Wailly, avec le Latin à côté sur l'édition de M.l'Abbé Lallemand, et avec des notes* (published in 3 volumes in 1772), *Les histoires de Salluste, traduites en français, avec le latin revu et corrigé, des notes critiques et une table géographique par M. Beauzée* (1770), and the *Vie des hommes illustres, traduites en français, avec des remarques historiques et critiques par M.Dacier* (first published in 14 volumes in 1762, then republished with Dacier's notes, preface, and letter to the King in 1778). The authors favoured by the Revolutionaries tended to be those who provided accounts of the heroes of the Roman Republic and emphasised the moral virtue of the period, such as Livy, Plutarch and Sallust. The work of Cicero was a major influence on Revolutionary rhetoric. On the diet of Latin texts read by the Revolutionaries, see Parker: 1937, especially Chapter 2, pp.8-37. His table on pp.18-19 indicates how many times different authors were cited in the speeches and published works of the Revolutionaries. The list includes, as well as the Roman authors I have already mentioned, Horace, Seneca Tacitus and Virgil, and works by the French writers Montesquieu, Rollin, Voltaire and Mably also feature prominently in Parker's list. The library catalogues of eighteenth-century French gentlemen give a good indication of the range of Roman sources consulted by the educated classes at this time; see, for example, the *Catalogue des Livres du Cabinet de feu M.Louis-Jean Gaignat* (Paris, 1769), and *Catalogue des Livres de la Bibliothèque de feu M.Mirabeu l'Ainé* (Paris, 1791), copies of which are in the Bristol University Library Restricted Access Collection. A selection of works by Cicero feature in each, along with copies of Livy's *Early History of Rome*

themselves and their children after the heroes of Republican Rome, and town names were adapted to incorporate reference to 'Brutus.'¹¹⁶ French accounts of Roman history were keenly read by the Revolutionaries, especially Montesquieu's *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, first published in Amsterdam in 1734.¹¹⁷ Other histories, such as the *Histoire Romaine depuis la fondation de Rome jusqu'à la bataille d'Actium* by Charles Rollin, played a crucial role in the visual dissemination of the history of ancient Rome, since they were often decorated with exquisite illustrations.¹¹⁸ A booklist issued by Suvée, detailing items to be purchased for the Académie de France à Rome, although it dates from some years after the Revolution (it is attached to a letter from Suvée to the ministre de l'Intérieur, 28 December 1798), provides important evidence of the works by ancient authors and accounts of ancient history which were often read in the late eighteenth century.¹¹⁹ Rollin's *Histoire Romaine* and *Histoire ancienne* feature near the top of the list (fig.56), while other works which are listed on the first page (fig.57) include texts by Plutarch, Livy and Cicero.

The establishment of Revolutionary Paris as the 'new Rome,' with its processions of people carrying fasces and bonnets and dressed 'à l'antique' (fig.58),¹²⁰ the erection of 'Roman'

and Plutarch's *Lives*. Cf: On the teaching of Roman history and production of accounts of ancient Rome under Napoleon, see Burton (1979).

¹¹⁶ See Parker: 1937, pp.140-144. The most popular name given to children at this period was, of course, Brutus, but the names Camillus and Caius Graccus were also popular. Within the city of Paris, Revolutionaries chose to live in districts such as 'Mucius Scaevola,' and outside Paris, in towns such as 'Mont-fort-le-Brutus.'

¹¹⁷ I have already mentioned the impact of Montesquieu in the Introduction to this thesis. NB: In the Preface to his translation of Montesquieu's *Considérations* (1965), David Lowenthal highlights Montesquieu's preference for the Roman rather than the Greek republican model: 'Montesquieu...does not even seem to admit the Spartan alternative. He acknowledges that both Rome and Sparta exemplify the most powerful kind of republic, the kind based on passion, or patriotism; but he flatly denies that a free republic can be composed of soldiers and yet be lacking in civil discord (as Sparta was). This makes the Roman solution seem even more natural than in Machiavelli' (p.7).

¹¹⁸ Again, I have already considered the various editions which were produced of Rollin's work (first published between 1738-41) in the Introduction to this thesis. The article by Peter Walch, 'Charles Rollin and Early Neo-classicism' (*The Art Bulletin*, XLIX, June 1967, pp.123-6) provides an interesting analysis of the illustrations by Gravelot, which appeared in a variety of editions of Rollin's work.

¹¹⁹ This original document is preserved in Box 1 of the archives at the Académie de France à Rome, Villa Medici. The document has been given the number 159. It is reproduced in the *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, Nouvelle Série, Volume II, Directorat de Suvée, 1795-1807, Tome 1, edited by Georges Brunel and Isabelle Julia, 1984, pp.141-144.

¹²⁰ This engraving depicting the funeral procession for Voltaire is reproduced in Biver: 1979, fig.17. The procession took place on 11 July 1791, and the illustration shows various groups of people dressed in antique costume, wearing crown of laurel and carrying 'Roman' standards. The description of the procession underneath the picture describes these groups as 'vétus à l'antique.' Even the tomb of Voltaire, which was carried at the procession and can still be seen in the crypt of the Panthéon, where it was laid, is Roman in style, in dark red marble reminiscent of the porphyry favoured by the Romans, and decorated with winged cupids carrying flaming torches, laurel swags

monuments in Paris and ‘Romanisation’ of the urban space, gained an added dimension, however, when transported to Rome. It is surprising that the festivals held in Rome between 1798-9 to commemorate the Roman Republic, their relationship to the festivals held in Paris and their visual and conceptual significance for the formation of Napoleonic Paris as the ‘new Rome’ have received little critical attention in the past.¹²¹ Yet many contemporary sketches and engravings have survived which depict the festivals in Rome and they vividly convey how the French employed important sites and monuments in the city.¹²²

To start with, the French erected monuments to their heroes lost in the struggle for ‘Liberty’ in the city of Rome. The most important hero for the French in Rome was General Duphot, whose death, during a scuffle between Jacobins and Papal guards near the Porta Settimiana on 28 December 1797 (fig.59), gave the French the excuse they needed to invade. A pyramid-shaped tomb was erected to Duphot, and there are two illustrations of the monument in the archives of the Museo Napoleonico.¹²³ In the first, a perspectival sketch in black ink (fig.60), smoke rises from the flaming altars set up at either corner of the monument and although St Peter’s itself is not visible through the clouds of smoke, the location of the monument is apparent from the colonnade of the cathedral courtyard drawn on the left.¹²⁴ The second is an engraving (fig.61), labelled *Sarcophage élevé au Général Français Duphot, à l’occasion de la Fête funebre célébrée par l’Armée Française d’Italies dans la place du Vatican*. The drawing has been attributed to Ceracchi and the engraving to Paolo Bargigli, who was made a governmental architect, responsible for the organisation of the festivals during the Roman Republic.¹²⁵ We know that several French architects

and theatrical masks. The statue of Voltaire which stands before the coffin shows him dressed in an antique style robe, in the manner of a distinguished Roman. For a detailed consideration of the influence of antiquity for Revolutionary dress, see Ribeiro (1988).

¹²¹ I have only been able to find one analysis of the festivals in Rome, the short paper by Christian-Marc Bosseno, ‘Iconographie des fêtes révolutionnaires italiennes (1796-1799)’ (in Vovelle ed: 1988, pp.157-164). This does, however, provide a useful survey of archival sources on the festivals in Rome and Italy. Hubert (1964) makes some mention of the festivals in Rome and Ozouf (1988) remains a useful source on Revolutionary festivals in general.

¹²² A range of festivals was held in Rome to commemorate the establishment of the Republic. In this section, I shall focus on the festivals which took place in sites relating to the ancient city. I shall, however, also consider the erection of a monument to Duphot in the piazza of St Peter’s. Other festivals which took place included a festival of Liberty, held in the Piazza di Spagna (now called the Piazza della Libertà) on 16 July 1798, at which Cardinals’ hats, all the patents of nobility which could be found, the minutes of the Holy Office and the Golden Book from the Capitol were burned beneath a gigantic sculpture of Liberty made by the Milanese sculptor Cirnolli (see Heriot: 1957, 184 and Hubert: 1964, 110).

¹²³ MN 3307 and MN 3309.

¹²⁴ Interestingly, Jardin’s design for a sepulchral chapel, mentioned at the beginning of this section, also shows the chapel part located in a curved arcade.

¹²⁵ Hubert: 1964, 109. Both these illustrations were transferred from the Museo di Roma to the Museo Napoleonico in 1950. They were put on temporary display in the Museo Napoleonico in 1952.

also proposed similar tombs in commemoration of Basseville and Duphot.¹²⁶ Although there are some small variations in the decoration of the tomb, both depict the monument as pyramid-shaped, carved with the name of the deceased and two winged victories carrying a corona, positioned on a square platform with steps rising on either side, flaming altars at each corner and flanked with two Trees of Liberty. The pagan associations of the pyramid of Gaius Cestius served to underline the achievement of the French, who, with the erection of the tomb, had appropriated for themselves the most important Christian site in the city.¹²⁷

On 11 January 1798, General Berthier and his troops rode into Rome, and there is an engraving of the scene designed by Nodet and engraved by P.J.Direxile in the Museo Napoleonico (fig.62).¹²⁸ The French troops, wearing their cockaded hats and carrying banners depicting cockerels swarm into the Piazza del Popolo from the right, watched by the Roman crowd. General Berthier, on horseback, takes off his hat to receive a victory wreath from a Roman official. This is a French engraving, and one of the two boys climbing on the ruined base of the Egyptian obelisk is shown waving his handkerchief in greeting to the troops, while two gentlemen point and a mother holds her small boy up on a column so that he can wave at the French. However, the people filling the piazza and the streets leading from the twin churches of Santa Maria di Miracoli and Santa Maria in Montesanto create a solemn crowd, indicating that for most Romans, the occasion bore little triumph.¹²⁹ Trees of liberty were planted in the Forum and beside the statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline, where citizens are reputed to have danced with tricolour cockades in their caps, but when General Berthier went to the Capitoline to make his speech invoking the shades of the heroes of Republican Rome, he declared that he had 'seen nothing but the most profound display' and found 'no trace of the spirit of liberty at all.'¹³⁰

For the French, however, who for nearly ten years had been proclaiming themselves the 'children of Brutus' and the founders of the first true republic since the ancient Roman Republic, the perfect opportunity had come for them to act as 'Romans' and to claim the historic site of the Capitoline as their own. An engraving of the *Proclamation de la République Romaine, Le 27*

¹²⁶ *Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume XVII, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1908, no. 9747, p.143.

¹²⁷ The Museo Napoleonico also has in its possession an important engraving (MN 701) depicting a Protestant burial taking place at night at the foot of the tomb of Gaius Cestius. This would suggest the continuing importance of the monument to Protestants, some time after the erection of the pyramid to Duphot outside St Peter's. However, an inscription at the bottom right of the picture indicates that it was engraved by L.Rosseda in 1840, and while it is possible that the original drawing might have been made during the French annexation of the city between 1809-1814, there is no evidence for this.

¹²⁸ MN 2087. This engraving was included in the exhibition *I Francesi a Roma*, held at Palazzo Braschi, 1961, cat.no.812.

¹²⁹ The ruined masonry in the foreground also has ominous connotations for the future of the monuments of Rome under French rule.

¹³⁰ Hibbert: 1985, 234.

Pluviose, An VI (fig.63),¹³¹ depicts the monuments placed on the Capitol to mark the declaration of the Republic. Pointing towards the pedestal decorated with fasces and a Tree of Liberty (in this case a post supported between crossed banners and surmounted by olive branches), the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius appears to welcome the foundation of the new Republic and to offer the French the heritage of Rome. Despite the fact that the sculpture was an imperial monument, in the context of the new Roman Republic, it was transformed into a symbol of the new regime, redolent of the direct historical links which the French Republicans claimed existed between them and ancient Rome. In front of the pedestal with the Tree of Liberty stands a monumental column topped with a figure in loose Roman dress with outstretched hand, which may well have been inspired by the bronze figure of Camillus on display in the Palazzo Conservatori nearby (fig.64).¹³² As early as 1767, the Frenchman Maille Dassausoy had published a two-volume work in which he proposed turning the Louvre into a new centre for the city, a Capitol, where great citizens would be honoured as the great men of the Roman Republic had been in antiquity.¹³³ The plans of Dassausoy and, more significantly, the appropriation of the site of the ancient Capitol, with all its historical associations, by the French during the Roman Republic, foreshadowed the establishment of the Louvre as the 'new Capitol' in Napoleonic Paris.

Another engraving from the archives of the Museo Napoleonico is a design by the Italian sculptor Ilari for a monument celebrating the 'liberation' of Rome by the French (fig.65).¹³⁴ Ilari does not specify the exact location intended for the monument.¹³⁵ But since the monument was designed to commemorate the proclamation of the Republic on the Capitol,¹³⁶ and depicts four

¹³¹ MR 790. A copy of the same engraving, designed by Carle Vernet, engraved by Duplessi-Bertaux and finished by Delaunay Jeune, is in the collection of the Museo di Roma. This was displayed at the exhibition *I Francesi a Roma*, held at the Palazzo Braschi, 1961, cat.no.814.

¹³² Certainly, the statue was already well known to the French as a cast of it had been on view at the Académie de France in Rome shortly after it opened. By 1684, a marble copy had been carved by Jean Baptiste Goy and sent to France, which was later placed in the grounds at Marly (Haskell and Penny: 1981, 169). The sculpture shown in the French engraving has a raised left hand, rather than a raised right hand as we find in the case of the Camillus statue, which suggests that it was not a direct copy of the Camillus, or the Camillus itself, temporarily removed for the occasion. On the particular significance of Camillus in Roman history, see Livy, *The Early History of Rome*, Book V (translated by De Sélincourt and Ogilvie, 1971, pp.269-402). In Livy's account, the intervention of Camillus saves the Capitol of Rome from the Gauls, and at the end of Book V (V.51-55), Camillus makes a powerful speech to the Romans, persuading them to stay in Rome rather than decamp to Veii. The placement of a statue of Camillus in the Capitoline by the French Republicans in 1798, therefore, would have ironically suggested that the French, as 'new Romans,' had saved the Capitol in Rome. Alternatively, the statue on the column may have represented Brutus, or a 'Romanised' Duphot.

¹³³ Leith: 1991, 26

¹³⁴ MN 3316.

¹³⁵ The title under the illustration specifies only that it is to be placed *in mezzo di una gran piazza*.

¹³⁶ The title reads, *La Libertà del Campidoglio eccita l'amirazione, e la speranza delle quattro parti del Mondo figurate sotto i quattro principali Fiumi dell'Universo. Ai Cittadini Consoli della Repubblica Romana*.

reclining river gods which recall those flanking the fountain before the Palazzo Senatorio (fig.66) and the Marforio displayed in the courtyard of the Museo Capitolino (fig.67),¹³⁷ it seems that Ilari may have intended the monument for the Piazza del Campidoglio itself. Certainly, the river gods, the winged victory figures in between swags of foliage on the podium below, and the battle spoils and eagles and swags depicted on the podium supporting the figure of Liberty, suggest that he was inspired by well known ancient Roman sculptures and monuments for his design.¹³⁸

The French attempted to foster Republican enthusiasm by replacing religious feast days with Revolutionary celebrations such as the Fête of the Federation and the Fête of the Perpetuity of the Republic. At these festivals, participants dressed as Roman senators honoured the memory of early martyrs in the cause of liberty.¹³⁹ Such visual demonstrations by the French were resented by the Italians. They were particularly enraged when, to celebrate the Fête of the Federation, the bronze angel on the top of Castel Sant'Angelo was painted in the colours of the Revolution, given a cap of liberty and transformed into 'le Génie libérateur de la France.'¹⁴⁰ At the same time, a triumphal arch twenty-three metres high was erected as a gateway to the Ponte Sant'Angelo, renamed the 'Pont de la République.'¹⁴¹ The arch was designed by Giuseppe Barberi to commemorate the French 'liberators' who had passed across on their way to St Peter's. It was surmounted by a stucco group representing 'La France unissent Rome à la Liberté,' placed between war trophies and two amphorae in imitation bronze, created by Giovan-Battista Comolli, who from then on, was known as the 'sculpteur de la République romaine.' The arch was inset with sculptural reliefs depicting the campaigns of the French armies in Italy, and in front and behind the arch, stood figures of Liberty and Triumph on circular podia. As we have seen, triumphal arches were incorporated into the designs for festivals to the Revolution held in Paris, such as the Festival of the Federation (1790) and the Festival of Unity and Indivisibility (1793). The arch erected on the Ponte Sant'Angelo, however, was more closely modelled on an ancient Roman model (the Arch of Constantine), and owing to its location in front of one of the most well known monuments

¹³⁷ For further information on the Marforio, see Haskell and Penny: 1981, pp.258-9.

¹³⁸ The river gods also recall the Nile and the Tiber in the Vatican collection, the winged victories are a common feature of Roman relief sculpture, and the battle arms and eagles and swags are similar to those on Trajan's Column.

¹³⁹ Hibbert: 1985, 234.

¹⁴⁰ Hibbert: 1985, 235.

¹⁴¹ Hubert: 1964, 109. Illustrations by Felice Giani depicting the arch and a huge altar designed by Giuseppe, Andrea Vici and Paolo Bargigli for the Piazza San Pietro, are reproduced in the article by I.Faldi, 'La Festa patriottica della Federazione in due dipinti di Felice Giani,' in the *Bolletino dei Museo comunali di Roma*, 1955, nos. 1-2, pp.14-8. Several engravings of these monuments, given to the Museo Napoleonico by the Museo di Roma in 1950, were displayed in the Museo Napoleonico in 1952. One, by Humbert de Superville was included in the catalogue to the exhibition *Les Français à Rome*, held in Paris at the Hôtel de Rohan. An oil painting of the arch erected on the Ponte Sant'Angelo by Felice Giani, which is now in the Museo di Roma, was included in the exhibition *I Francesi a Roma* held at Palazzo Braschi in Rome (1961, cat.no.832).

of the ancient city, Castel Sant'Angelo, in the context of the city of Rome the arch would have suggested even more strongly the visual links between the French Republicans and ancient Rome.

The other major festival held to celebrate the Roman Republic which also manifested the integration of new constructions with the monuments of the ancient city was the Festival of the Perpetuity of the Republic. This was held to mark the first anniversary of the Roman Republic and took place on 15 February 1799. The festival was staged in the Forum Romanum, where two sites were selected for the erection of temporary monuments. The central area of the Forum (fig.68), in front of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina (fig.69), where the Via Sacra leads through the site between the Arch of Titus and Arch of Septimius Severus, was used for the most important festival events. The second area chosen for the festival was a patch of open ground in front of the Basilica of Maxentius. Illustrations of the festival held in the archives of the Museo Napoleonico indicate that for this even the special festival structures were uniquely integrated with the location and fabric of the ancient sites. In addition, the iconography employed for the festival and the movement of the festival processions conveyed the precise role of the French Republicans as 'new Romans,' as the French were later to take on the role of 'imperial Romans' in the context of the 'Roman' buildings of Napoleon's 'new Rome.'

There are three illustrations of the scene. The first (fig.70), executed in sepia and wash by the artist Humbert, is a preparatory for the second (fig.71), an engraving by Piroli of the same, while the third (fig.72), with its greater depth and detail may have been Humbert's first attempt to capture the scene.¹⁴² The engraving of the scene is given the title *Alla Perpetuità della Repubblica. Festa patriottica del di 27 Piovoso Anno VII Republicano giorno della Rigenerazione di Roma. Nel Consolato dei Cittadini Zaccaleoni, Brizi, Pierelli, Rey, Calisti* and the inscription in the left hand side of this illustration indicates that Bargigli was again responsible for the festival design. All three illustrations show the large podium, flanked with steep stairs, which was constructed in the centre of the Forum, on the left of which can be seen the portico of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, beyond, on the right, the ruins of the Basilica of Maxentius and in the distance, the Colosseum. A column topped with the figure of Liberty with her pike and bonnet, stands on a pedestal, decorated with battle reliefs, and at each corner of the podium is a small pedestal supporting an eagle. A central pedestal at the front bears a bust which, from a separate illustration of the festival monument by Bargigli (fig.73), is identified as Brutus.¹⁴³ In Bargigli's design,

¹⁴² MN 691, MN 3311 and MN 696 respectively. MN 3311 was displayed at the exhibition *I Francesi a Roma*, held at the Palazzo Braschi in 1961 (catalogue number 836, reproduced as fig.XXVIII). For a comparison with the design of the Festival of the Federation held in the piazza outside St.Peter's in 1798, see the oil painting by F.Giani, from the Museo di Roma, reproduced in the same exhibition catalogue as above (fig.XXIX).

¹⁴³ MN 3326. The engraving is entitled *Prospetto della Machina eretto nel Foro Romano in Memoria del'Epoca della Libertà Romana Rivendicata, Dedicata ai veri Figli di Bruto, e difensori della Libertà. Inventata dal Cittadino Bargigli Paolo Architetto Consolare*. From the engravings, it is not clear whether the bust of Brutus was directly inspired by either of the

flaming altars are shown on either side of the column on top of the podium. The inscriptions in the coronae on the podia under the eagle on the left, under the bust of Brutus and under the eagle on the right, can be made out as 'Armata d'Italia,' 'Guardia Sedentaria,' and 'Legione Romana,' respectively. We can perceive the progressive visual clarification of the scene from the more cluttered, highlighted sketches, to the simpler design of the engraving, where the classical dress of the festival participants, standing with their wreaths on the podium, is more clearly presented. The most detailed sketch of the scene, however, also indicates that a pathway, flanked by foot soldiers led up to the front of the podium, while another, flanked by soldiers on horseback, led from the back of the monument straight up the Via Sacra to the Arch of Titus. Here, the significance of the scene as a modern day reenactment of a Roman festival or triumph is pertinently suggested by the delineation of the processional route which passes directly through the site as a triumphal procession would have done in ancient Rome (fig.74).

A pair of illustrations, one a sepia original by Humbert (fig.75), the other, an engraved version of the same (fig.76), depict the second monument erected in the Forum for the Festival of the Perpetuity of the Republic.¹⁴⁴ Here, an altar resembling the altars of the Fatherland constructed at many of the festivals held in France,¹⁴⁵ has become the focal point for commemoration of individuals who have died in the Republican cause. A altar surmounted by an urn stands on a high podium in front of the ruins of the Basilica of Maxentius. Flaming altars smoke on each corner of the podium, and youths reach up to place wreaths on the podium. The classical dress of the girls, dancing with their wreaths beneath the podium, and the three figures of the boy, man and soldier dressed in specifically Roman dress, standing under the altar, strongly contrast with the formal uniforms of the soldiers positioned round the monument, and the contemporary dress of the bystanders watching from the foreground. The altar is framed by the four Trees of Liberty planted at each corner of the monument, and the whole scene is dominated by the magnificent ruins of the Basilica of Maxentius behind. Two of the three great vaults of the Basilica, on which a few groups of people stand in order to view the festival ceremonies, act as a dramatic backdrop to the scene. The very fabric of the Roman building has become integral to the event. The space and dimensions of the building, and its location in the original Forum Romanum play a key role in establishing the

Capitoline busts of Brutus. Owing to the size of the bust for the monument, it is likely that the bust depicted a generalised 'Brutus.'

¹⁴⁴ We can tell that this monument was erected for the same festival by the date included in the titles at the bottom of the picture: *La Patria Riconoscente. Sarcofago eretto in memoria de' Patriotti morti in difesa della Repubblica. Per la ricorrenza della Festa dei 27 Piovoso An VII Republicano. Nel Consolato dei Cittadini: Zaccateoni, Pierelli, Rey, Calisti, Brizi.*

¹⁴⁵ Consider, for example, the altar put up in Orléans in 1790 and the altar erected on the Champ de Mars for the Festival of the Federation held in Paris, 1790 (Leith: 1991, pp.38 and 48). We know that a huge cylindrical altar 33 metres high and 16 across, supported on false Doric porphyry columns topped with gold globes and seated figures of the Renommées, was also erected in the Piazza of St.Peter's for another festival held in 1798 to commemorate the establishment of the Republic in Rome (Hubert: 1964, 109-110).

spatial structuring of the scene and in bringing to life the elements of ancient Roman ideology which were crucial to the new regime.

The letter headings designed for use by the French officials in Rome after the foundation of the Roman Republic suggest that the iconography of ancient Rome, specifically Republican Rome, was consistently employed for the visual definition of the new regime. These letter headings use the Roman iconography which was popular with the Revolutionaries in France. Used as the iconography of the Roman Republic, however, it has a striking new effect. Many feature the female figure of Liberty with her fasces and bonnet. In one design by an artist named Bombelli (fig.77),¹⁴⁶ Liberty has been 'Romanised' by the addition of the She-Wolf and Romulus and Remus, modelled on the well known bronze sculpture (fig.78), on her right.¹⁴⁷ On her left, a small boy pours coins from a cornucopia, suggestive of the plenty and prosperity promised by French rule, a feature which recurs in some of the other designs.¹⁴⁸ Pairs of symbolic figure are common in these designs, whether the figures of Plenty and a River God, or female figures of Liberty and Equality.¹⁴⁹ In another design (fig.79),¹⁵⁰ a classical podium supporting an eagle with outstretched wings, standing on the fasces and encircled by a corona, is flanked by the figures of Liberty and Equality. The symbol of the eagle became particularly popular following the establishment of Empire, when it was chosen by Napoleon to be one of his key emblems.¹⁵¹ Other symbols or figures, however, were unique to the French Republicans, and especially to the Roman Republic. A design for a letter heading to be used by the President of the 'Consolato della Repubblica Romana,' depicts a seated figure of Brutus holding the fasces (fig.80). Other designs show the name 'Bruto' engraved on plinths (fig.81), a bust of Brutus (fig.82), or a relief of his profile, illustrated alongside that of Caesar (fig.83).¹⁵² The fact that the French Revolutionaries had

¹⁴⁶ MN 2129.

¹⁴⁷ Although the French did not, in fact, take the She-Wolf as one of their spoils according to the Treaty of Tolentino, the bronze was used by the French as a stage prop in a production of Voltaire's *La Mort de César*, held in the Teatro di Apollo on 22 September 1798 (Haskell and Penny: 1981, 336).

¹⁴⁸ See, for example, the female figure reclining on and pointing at a cornucopia in MN 2130, referred to below.

¹⁴⁹ The pairing of such allegorical figures, which frequently occurs in the monuments proposed to commemorate the Revolution in France, may well have been preferred since it is suggestive of balance and equality.

¹⁵⁰ MN 2123.

¹⁵¹ Apparently, the symbol of the eagle was Napoleon's own choice from a number of alternatives presented to him by the Imperial Council, and represented his deliberate attempt to visually associate his own regime with that of Imperial Rome, as well as Charlemagne. The new emblem was designed for Napoleon by J.-B. Isabey, and the military and naval equivalent was soon adopted as a battle-standard, as was the eagle of the Roman legions (Ellis: 1997, pp.156-7).

¹⁵² These correspond, respectively, to the designs in the archives numbered MN 5246, MN 5242, MN 2130 and MN 2121. Busts of Brutus, as I have already mentioned, would have been particularly significant at this time, since they also alluded to the two busts which had recently been seized by the French from Rome.

referred to Brutus and Caesar was later to become of great significance to Napoleon, when he suggested that the empire had been founded in emulation of Rome's history.

The appropriation by the French of important ancient sites in the city which, as we have seen, took place on the occasion of the festivals held to commemorate the Roman Republic, is also suggested by two unsigned drawings for letter headings. These depict Liberty figures standing with their fasces and bonnets supported on staffs before key locations in Rome, as if claiming them as their own. One, a sketch in pencil and ink (fig.84),¹⁵³ shows Liberty gazing at a figure of the Tiber in the foreground, with the steps leading up to the buildings on the Capitoline behind. The engagement between the two figures is suggestive of the cultural and political dialogue which the French aimed to establish under the Roman Republic. The other (fig.85)¹⁵⁴ shows Liberty leaning on a pile of ruined masonry with the city of Rome, indicated by Castel Sant'Angelo and St Peter's in the background.¹⁵⁵ Here, as in some of the other letter headings,¹⁵⁶ she wears a military helmet rather than a Liberty bonnet, indicating that she also represents Minerva, protector of the French, and of the military prowess of the French in their seizure of Rome.

It is clear that the French had a distinct vision of the influence they intended to have on the arts in Rome. A large illustration held in the archives of the Museo Napoleonico, which is executed in black ink (fig.86), conveys their prediction of the future prosperity of the arts in the Roman Republic. The accoutrements of the three central female figures reveal their identities as Sculpture, Painting and (seated, leaning on an Ionic capital) Architecture. The symbols of Rome, the She-Wolf and twins and the Tiber, and the playful cupids experimenting with drawing materials are also in the scene. Behind rises a temple, a monumental column, a pyramid-shaped building and a colonnade, shown intact, rather than in ruined form, suggesting the future restoration of the arts (and the monuments of Rome) under the French. Over a decade later, the French undertook a whole series of excavations in Rome, the significance of which has only recently been recognised in the work of Ronald T.Ridley.¹⁵⁷ But the Romans themselves would hardly have identified with the presentation of French rule as beneficial to the arts. In fact, they would have been appalled at

¹⁵³ MN 3415.

¹⁵⁴ MN 5244.

¹⁵⁵ The sketchy drawing on the left of the picture is unclear, but might be meant to convey the columns of the imperial fora, another of the ancient Roman sites appropriated by the French for their own ceremonial purposes. Curiously, this sketch appears to have been reworked for another engraved letter heading which is also in the archives of the Museo Napoleonico and is reproduced in the catalogue for the exhibition *1796-1797: Da Montenotte a Campoformio: la rapida marcia di Napoleone Bonaparte*, held at the museum in 1997 (see p.104, cat.no.74). Here, however, the background has been altered to depict a fortress type structure on the left and a harbour on the right, indicating the port of Livorno, since the letter concerns the removal of works of art from Rome and Italy following the Treaty of Tolentino.

¹⁵⁶ Also MN 2123, MN 5246, MN 5311 and MN 2130.

¹⁵⁷ Ridley (1992).

the suggestion at the time of the Roman Republic, when their treasured works of art had just been seized by the French from Rome.

Chapter 2: 'Resurrecting the Roman Right of Conquest'¹: Napoleon's seizure of art from Italy and the creation of the Musée des Antiques

The creation of the Musée des Antiques in the Musée Central des Arts,² has been little studied in the past.³ By seizing works of sculpture such as the Apollo Belvedere and the Laocoön, and exhibiting them in Paris in the new Musée, Napoleon hoped to shift the cultural and artistic centre of Europe to France. He wanted to appropriate for himself the cultural heritage of Rome, and to create a dazzling display of European art. At the time, even some of his contemporaries objected to the spoliations of art. Perhaps the best known critic of the French spoliations was the influential spokesman for the arts, Quatremère de Quincy. He condemned Napoleon for 'resurrecting the Roman right of conquest.' In his eyes, the seizure of art by the French was barbaric and undermined the Republic of the Arts.⁴ Quatremère's comments, together with the sensitive nature of the issue of looted art, have heavily influenced interpretations of Napoleon's removal of art.⁵

Yet the brief realisation of Napoleon's Musée des Antiques, resplendent with celebrated sculptures from the collections of Rome and Italy, represents an important moment in the history of collecting and displaying ancient art. The foundation of the Musée and the changes it experienced under Napoleon also forms a crucial chapter in the history of the Louvre. Quatremère's suggestion that Napoleon had behaved like a Roman in fact reveals an important aspect of the ideology of the new Musée. The Musée des Antiques was presented to the French public as a triumphant display of Roman war spoils, captured by Napoleon, who, on returning from his campaigns, had dedicated them in his 'Temple of the Arts.' The few studies which have been made of the Musée des Antiques suggest that Winckelmann was a major influence on the concept and arrangement of the Musée. In this chapter, however, I shall suggest that the Greek-inspired vision of antiquity presented by Winckelmann had little impact on the establishment and arrangement of the Musée. The primary role of the Musée was

¹ Translated from Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettres à Miranda sur le déplacement des monuments de l'art de l'Italie*, edited by Edouard Pommier, Paris, 1989, Letter 1, p.91: 'Je croirais d'ailleurs également injurieux au XVIIIe siècle de le soupçonner capable de faire revivre ce droit de conquête des Romains, qui rendait les hommes et les choses la propriété du plus fort.'

² Subsequently named the Musée Napoléon (1802). With the restoration of the monarchy in 1814, the museum was named the Musée Royale (as I shall discuss in the Conclusion to this thesis).

³ The Louvre was not the first royal collection to be opened to the public (the Luxembourg preceded it), but 'its transformation was the most politically significant and influential' (Duncan: 1995, 22).

⁴ I shall provide a detailed consideration of Quatremère's response to Napoleon's seizure of art, expressed in the *Lettres à Miranda*, in the next chapter of this thesis.

⁵ See, for example, the article by Marie-Louise Blumer, 'Le transport en France des objets d'art cédés par le traité de Tolentino' (*Revue des Etudes Italiennes*, No.1, 1936, 11): 'L'idée de profiter des droits que donne la force pour dépouiller un peuple vaincu de son patrimoine artistique nous révolle aujourd'hui; elle semblait toute naturelle, au contraire, à nos compatriotes de la fin du XVIIIe siècle.' In the past, art historians have tended to avoid the subject of the seizure of art works during war. Now, however, art history is benefiting from such studies, which contribute to the social and political history of works of art.

to serve as the 'new Capitol' in Napoleonic Paris, the 'new Rome.' In this chapter I shall consider the range of factors which informed the choice of works of art made by the French from Rome, which included considerations of celebrity and familiarity, but also 'Roman' concepts of collecting and display. I shall suggest that the creation of the Musée des Antiques was not a meaningless act of barbarism (ruthless though it was), but an expression of Napoleon's affiliation to the emperors of ancient Rome, and of the establishment of his capital as the 'new Rome.'

(1) The French and the sculpture collections of Rome

'Having been recalled from Rome, Primaticcio took ship with the ...marbles and moulds of antique figures and returned to France. There, before any other thing, he cast according to those moulds and forms a great part of those antique figures, which came out so well, that they might be the originals; as may be seen in the Queen's garden at Fontainebleau, where they were placed, to the vast satisfaction of the King, who made in that place, one might say, another Rome.'⁶

Vasari's comments on the achievements of the artist Primaticcio at Fontainebleau during the reign of Francis I indicate that as early as the mid-sixteenth century, when the *Lives of the Artists* was first published, the display of casts after antique sculptures was a measure of the unique artistic relationship which had been established by the French with Rome. In the 1540s, Francis I had developed a keen interest in the sculptures of ancient Rome, and, encouraged by the Italians themselves, he had sent his chief court artist, Primaticcio, to supervise the taking of moulds of the best known sculptures to be sent back to France.⁷ In his reconstruction of the hunting lodge at Fontainebleau into a magnificent royal residence, the collections of Italy served as his artistic model: 'veuf de son rêve, l'Italie, il se fait une Italie française.'⁸ Through his display of casts of antique sculptures, taken from the prize moulds brought back by Primaticcio, Francis was able to realise his dream of recreating Rome, and laid the foundations of what was to become a unique relationship between the French and Rome focused on antique sculptures.⁹ By 1682, the *Mercure Galant* could claim that under Louis XIV, with his grandiose building and decorative plans for the palace of

⁶ Georgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, translated by Gaston Du C. De Vere, Volume IX, 1912-15, 147.

⁷ Haskell and Penny: 1981, 2

⁸ Quoted in Haskell and Penny: 1981, 1.

⁹ It is not the purpose of this account to provide a detailed analysis of the artistic relationship established by Francis I between France and Rome. But for further information on Francis I and his collections, see the exhibition catalogue, *La Collection de François I*, edited by Sylvie Béguin and Janet Cox-Rearick, 1972, and the article by Suzanne Favier, 'Les collections de marbres antiques sous François I' (*Revue du Louvre*, 1974, XXIV, pp.153-6).

Versailles, 'On peut dire que l'Italie est en France et que Paris est une nouvelle Rome.'¹⁰ In this chapter, however, I shall suggest that it was only in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which witnessed the French spoliations of art, the rise of Napoleon and his erection of triumphal 'Roman' monuments in Paris, that the city was truly established as the 'new Rome.'¹¹

Casts fit for a King: the establishment of the French 'canon' of antique sculpture

'For centuries there remained in existence a limited number of sculptures which were used as a touchstone by artists, art lovers, collectors and theorists alike for the gauging of taste and quality. It was the copies at Fontainebleau which demonstrated the possibility of that touchstone becoming accessible to Europe as a whole...'¹²

In their seminal study of the Renaissance and post-Renaissance history of antique sculpture, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900*, Haskell and Penny describe the development of a 'canon' of sculptures which, for several hundred years, had a major influence on artistic taste, until the sculptures became less popular in the nineteenth century.¹³ Their work remains a key text on the history of the reception of antique sculptures, specifically the sculptures which were displayed in collections in Rome and other major cities in Italy, such as Florence and Naples. Yet while they consider the relationship of various monarchs and collectors in different countries and at different times, their aim is to provide a history of the establishment of a single 'canon' of antique sculptures. They do not consider that there might, in fact have been several 'canons' of sculpture, informed by matters of nationality, politics and culture, including a 'canon' which was unique to the French, or that these 'canons' themselves are likely to have changed over time.

One of the main reasons why the French had founded an Académie in Rome in 1666 was to serve as a base for the manufacture of casts for the royal collections. During his visit to Paris in 1665, Bernini had expressed his surprise at the small amount of original antique sculptures to be found in France, while making it plain that he thought it essential for young art students to copy from casts taken from 'all the most beautiful statues, bas-reliefs and busts of antiquity' before learning to draw

¹⁰ Haskell and Penny: 1981, 42. On the collections established under Louis XIV, see, for example, André Félibien's *Statues et bustes antiques des maisons royales* (1679), the article by M. de Boisisle, 'Les collections de sculptures du Cardinal Richlieu' (*Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1881, XLII, pp.71-128), Pinatel (1963) on the sculptures in the gardens at Versailles, and the article by Simone Hoog, 'Quelques marbres du Cabinet du Roi identifiés à Versailles' (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, avril 1992, pp.137-145).

¹¹ Further research needs to be carried out to establish the similarities and differences between the 'Romes' established by Francis I, Louis XIV and Napoleon I.

¹² Haskell and Penny: 1981, 6.

¹³ Also see the catalogue from the exhibition curated by Haskell and Penny, *The Most Beautiful Statues: The Taste for Antique Sculpture, 1500-1900*, held at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 26 March-10 May, 1981.

from nature.¹⁴ With the foundation of the Académie in Rome, however, it was decided that the students would make marble reproductions to adorn the extensive grounds of the palace at Versailles, and plaster casts which could be used for the instruction of artists. At the same time, the director of the school could keep an eye out for any originals which might come up for sale, such as the Germanicus and Cincinnatus, acquired for the King in 1685, and attempt to persuade different collectors in Rome and Italy into allowing the French to make casts from choice works of art in their collections.

Popular subjects for casting were the most famous items held in the collections in Rome. The Laocoön, which was well-known from Pliny's *Natural History* even before its discovery in a Roman vineyard in 1506, and the Apollo Belvedere, which had been discovered some years before on a piece of land belonging to Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, had excited the imagination of countless artists since they had been placed in the sculpture court of Pope Julius II in 1506.¹⁵ Of all the sculptures which make up the 'canon' of works delineated by Haskell and Penny in their account, these two sculptures were the best known and the most emulated, well before Winckelmann wrote his eulogies to them in the mid-eighteenth century. The production of casts and copies of antique sculptures such of these was clearly a priority at the Académie in Rome when it was first founded, as Lapauze suggests in his detailed history of the Académie. By the time Poëron took over as Director in 1704, the current location of the school at the Palazzo Capranica was jam-packed with works of art, many of which were waiting to be shipped back to France.¹⁶ With Colbert no longer in control of the academic system from France, and Louis XIV too weary to pursue glory for the army and the arts, Poëron started to question whether the chief purpose of the Académie should still be for the production of casts and copies of works of art.¹⁷

However, the creation and display of casts and copies continued to play a major role in the life of the school. When the Académie was installed at the Palazzo Mancini in 1725, a site which was finally purchased by the French in 1737, the display of casts became a central feature of the school.¹⁸ In this chapter, I shall suggest that the selection of works, the manner in which they were displayed at the school and their significance as a distinct collection which was visited by many artists in Rome forms an important part of the history of the school, and influenced the choice of works of sculpture

¹⁴ Haskell and Penny: 1981, 37.

¹⁵ Francis I is said to have asked the Pope for the Laocoön, during his triumphal visit to Bologna in 1515. Following the Pope's refusal to part with the sculpture, Francis ordered a marble copy to be made, although when the Pope kept this for himself and sent a collection of other antique sculptures instead, it does not seem to have perturbed Francis. On the creation of the Belvedere sculpture court and the display of the Laocoön and the Apollo Belvedere, see Ackerman (1954), Krautheimer (1980) and Haskell and Penny (1981). Ilaria Bignamini suggests that the Laocoön was probably found in the Baths of Titus, not in the 'domus Titi,' where the Laocoön was recorded by Pliny, in the *Natural History*, Book XXXVI, 37 (see the exhibition catalogue, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, 1996, p.248-9).

¹⁶ Lapauze: 1924, p.146ff.

¹⁷ Ibid, xxii-xxiii.

¹⁸ Although curiously, the cast collection at the Palazzo has received little critical attention in the past.

made by the French in 1797.¹⁹ In their account of the establishment of the 'canon' of antique sculptures, Haskell and Penny consider how 'the taking of plaster casts from an original was an essential step in spreading world-wide appreciation of the most esteemed antique statues,'²⁰ but they do not analyse the unique circumstances in which a selection of casts after the antique were commissioned by the French and displayed at the Palazzo Mancini in Rome.

We know that when the Académie was based at the Palazzo Capranica between 1675 and 1725, there was little room for the display of casts and copies at the school, or even for their storage. From a variety of sources in the *Correspondance des Directeurs*, including an important inventory of the property of the Académie made in 1684, it is clear that two other sites were used by the Académie in order to store casts and copies which had been made or commissioned by the school.²¹ It was only when the Académie left the Palazzo Capricana, with its dark rooms and crowded galleries,²² and moved to the Palazzo Mancini on the Via del Corso, that there was at last room to make a proper display of the casts. The first Director of the school at its new site, Wleughels, took great pains to decorate the palace, installing beautiful marble furniture and tapestries, and plinths for the sculptures owned by the school. His particular concern, however, was to display the casts and copies throughout the palazzo, so that they could be easily studied by the students.

Special prominence was given to the casts of the frieze of Trajan's Column, which had, for many years been packed away in the workshop of Saint-Cecelia.²³ Wleughels installed these in the large circular room on the ground floor of the building, overlooking the Via del Corso (figs.87-8). Some original antique marbles, and some copies made by the students were also displayed here. From a plan of the ground floor of the building dating from the Directorship of Wleughels (1725-37)

¹⁹ Much can be learnt about the 'French canon' from a consideration of the casts and copies which were transported back to France and displayed in the royal collections, primarily at Fontainebleau and Versailles. However, as many of the casts were badly damaged during the journey to France, and the choice and adaptation of sculptures for the royal collections and parks was in many respects informed by the specific context of the court of Louis XIV, which is not the subject of detailed study here, I shall focus on the casts displayed at the Académie in Rome. In fact, it is likely that the collection of casts displayed at the Palazzo Mancini gives a more representative selection of the 'French canon' since it included both items which were being stored before being shipped back to France, and those which had been chosen for the instruction of artists at the school. Although in the later eighteenth century, the number of casts and copies intended for transportation back to France was much less than in the late seventeenth century, since by this time, copies of many of the desired works of art had already reached collections in France.

²⁰ Haskell and Penny: 1981, 3.

²¹ The *Correspondance* indicates that one store was rented from 'Monsignor Vicentini,' at the cost of 35 livres 9 sous 8 deniers for six months, while the other, on 'la rue de la Longare,' was rented at the cost of 30 écus per annum (Lapauze: 1924, 60). The inventory, compiled by the Director of the Académie Errard, before he handed over his position to La Teulière in 1684, gives a detailed list of the casts of complete statues and busts which were currently in the store at Longare as well as many stored in the Académie, at Palazzo Capranica, and in 'le magasin des Pantannes' (*Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume 1, 1666-1694, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1887, pp.129-142).

²² Lapauze: 1924, 179.

²³ *Ibid*, 182.

(fig.89),²⁴ we can tell that both this room, and the smaller room behind it were designated as 'Salles des Antiques.'²⁵ These rooms were conveniently situated next to two rooms designated for life-drawing in winter and summer, suggesting that the display of casts was for the specific purpose of study. Casts of the Farnese Hercules, the Capitoline Flora and a colossal statue of Augustus were among those displayed in niches on the stairs going up the first floor.²⁶ Other casts were displayed throughout the main living quarters of the first floor (fig.90),²⁷ especially in the large space of the central room (fig.91), with its balcony overlooking the Via del Corso, and in the Director's apartment on the second floor. Some examples could also be taken to the student workshops on the same floor in order to be studied in detail. Piranesi's illustration of the Palazzo Mancini (fig.32) provides important insight into the contents and use of rooms in the palace. He designates the large front room on the right of the building (labelled '1') as a display area for casts after the antique, *Stanze ove sono esposti I modelli della Colonna Traiana, Statue Equestri e Pedesti, Busti e Bassirilievi*. It is clear that the room on the left of this (labelled '2') was still used for life-drawing at this time, *Stanze per l'esposizione del Nudo*, and that casts were still arranged in the living quarters on the first floor (labelled '3'), *Appartamento Regio ornato parimente di modelli*. As well as indicating that many casts were now on display in the large ground floor room of the palace, Piranesi suggests that the cast collection is a major feature of the Académie, a semi-permanent collection, which might be of interest to visitors to Rome who were likely to buy the *Vedute*. The title of the engraving also draws attention to the other artistic facilities offered by the school, suggesting that they were not limited to the students of the school alone.²⁸ This reflects the fact that from the late 1720s, the Académie became a major attraction for artists and travellers of all nationalities, who were allowed to attend the life classes held at the school and study the cast collection on display there.²⁹

²⁴ Reproduced in Schiavo (1969).

²⁵ My thanks are due to Dr Adolfo Fiorino of the Banca di Sicilia who brought these plans to my attention and patiently showed me round the Palazzo Mancini, pointing out the features which would have been there when the palace was occupied by the Académie de France.

²⁶ Alaux: 1933, Volume 1, 82.

²⁷ Reproduced in Schiavo (1969). This plan of the first floor is labelled 'Toutes les pièces marquées par A qui composent le grand Appartement au premier étage sont occupées par toutes les figures antiques.' It was from the central balcony on the first floor that the students watched the annual Roman carnival, and hung tapestries to decorate the palace during the festivities. On one occasion, the Pope took such a liking to the tapestries hung from the palace that he inquired if he could buy them (Alaux: 1933, Volume 1, 86). On the participation of the students in 'la Caravane du Sultane de la Mecque,' during the Directorship of De Troy, see Alaux: 1933, p.122ff. A series of illustrations of this special event was made by Vien, many of which are reproduced in Schiavo (1969). On the festivals held by the students to mark the visit of Louis XIV to Rome in 1744, see the article by Richard P. Wunder, 'A Forgotten French Festival in Rome' (*Apollo Magazine*, LXXXV, May 1967, pp.354-359).

²⁸ *Veduta nella Via del Corso, Del Palazzo Dell'Accademia istituita da Luigi XIV, Re di Francia per i Nazionali Francesi studiosi della Pittura, Scultura, e Architettura; colla liberal permissione al Pubblico di esevicitarvisi in tali arti per il comodo della esposizione quotidiana del Nudo, e dei Modelli delle più rare Statue ed altri segni della Romana Magnificenza, si antichi, che moderni.*

²⁹ Lapauze: 1924, 210. With the closure of the Portuguese academy in Rome in 1728, Portuguese students joined the British, Spanish, German, Flemish and Italian students who already used the

A second set of plans of the Palazzo (fig.92), which can be dated to the period 1768-75, reveals that at this time, casts were also displayed in the large room at the back of the ground floor of the building.³⁰ A separate plan of the front section of the ground floor (fig.93), which focuses on the large round room, includes a plan of the room directly above it on the second floor, where it is indicated that a cast of the Laocoön (labelled '5') and two other plaster figures after the antique (labelled '3' and '4') were displayed.³¹ This provides evidence that here, in the more intimate surroundings of the living quarters of the Académie, a cast of one of the most famous antique sculptures, the Laocoön, formed the central focus of the room, which, with its minstrels' gallery above, was used for social occasions and musical events.³² Whereas the cast collection on the ground floor, which was visible from the street, would have been used for the detailed study of casts after the antique, and served as a public meeting place, the upper room was used for entertainment and relaxation. Here, the Laocoön was displayed as an emblem of the taste and erudition of the school.

The inventory of the property of the Académie de Rome made in 1684 indicates that the school owned a wide variety of casts after antique sculptures, including casts of many of the most popular works, which were amongst those taken by the French according to the Treaty of Tolentino in 1797.³³ At this date, for example, the Académie possessed two copies of the Laocoön, two of the Apollo Belvedere, two of the Antinous (probably the Belvedere Antinous), a copy of the Belvedere Torso, the Belvedere Hercules as Commodus and the Farnese Hercules (although the original sculpture of the Hercules was never in fact removed by the French). Interestingly, other works are listed which are not included in the 'canon' of works specified by Haskell and Penny, including the Ludovisi Gladiator, Borghese Faun, Borghese Bathers, Borghese Sibyl, Medici Bacchus and Mattei Amazon, despite the fact that items such as the Mattei Amazon were acquired by the French in 1797 and the French were clearly interested in the Borghese collection since they purchased most of the sculptures in 1807. Other items which had been cast by the French were works of obvious Roman origin, a variety of sculptures of Roman imperial figures, such as the Borghese Agrippina, busts of important emperors

facilities of the school. The son of Lord Portland had made a special visit to the school in 1727. Overall, however, it was the generosity of Wleughels, and the friendly atmosphere created by him at the school which particularly encouraged visitors to the Académie at this period (Lapauze: 1924, 206).

³⁰ This plan is also reproduced in Schiavo (1969). A consideration of the different students mentioned on the plans, some of which, such as the architects Poyet and Paris, had only won their Grand Prix in 1768, and of the dates of Natoire's directorship of the school (1751-1775) would suggest that these plans were probably made between the dates 1768-1775.

³¹ Reproduced in Schiavo (1969).

³² This double-height room, which extended from the first floor to the second floor above, where there was a minstrels' gallery overlooking the room below, was converted some time ago into two rooms. The minstrels' gallery has been removed, and a floor put in at the same level as the rest of the second floor. The room is now used as one of the offices of the Banca da Sicilia. I must thank Dr Adolfo Fiorino for allowing me to visit this part of the Palazzo Mancini, and for discussing these early plans of the palazzo with me.

³³ The inventory is reproduced in the *Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume 1, 1666-1694, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1887, no.239, pp.129-142.

and other Romans, including Caracalla, Hadrian, Pompey, Lucus Severus, Cicero, Commodus, Julius Caesar and Marcus Aurelius, and two busts each of Brutus, Seneca and Tiberius. This selection of casts suggests that even in the late seventeenth century, the theme of 'great men' or 'summi viri' was a popular one with the French.³⁴ The inventory compiled by Vien in 1781 (figs.94-5),³⁵ at the end of his Directorship in Rome, like the earlier inventory, mentions casts of renowned works held in the Vatican and Capitoline collections. This time, however, casts after the Vatican Meleager, the Vatican Ceres and the Spinario from the Palazzo dei Conservatori are also included in the list. In addition, a section at the bottom of the third page of the inventory (fig.96) reveals that the large circular room at the front of the Palazzo Mancini was now called 'la salle de Marc-Aurèle,' after the display of a cast after the equestrian sculpture in the room, and that the room contained casts of the Capitoline Antinous, the Germanicus, the Cincinnatus, the Tiber, the Reclining Mars, and 'une quantité de bas-reliefs de la colonne Trajanne.'³⁶

In fact, the centrality of casts of the frieze of Trajan's Column to the collection of casts and copies at the Palazzo Mancini and to the studies of the students there has received little mention in Haskell and Penny's account of the development of the 'canon' of works,³⁷ despite the fact that casts of the column were among the first to be made by the French, and there are a range of references to them in the *Correspondance*.³⁸ It appears that some of the casts were placed in storage by Natoire and were only redisplayed during the Directorship of Vien.³⁹ Yet the persistence with which Vien strove to reclaim the casts, the fact that Piranesi's engraving of the Palazzo designates the casts of the frieze as an important feature of the Académie's cast collection, and the popularity of the casts as a subject of study for the students all indicate that the casts of the frieze remained central to the French 'canon' of works. The poor condition of many of the casts mentioned in the inventory of 1781 may have been the result of the damp conditions in which the casts had been stored at various times as well as the wear

³⁴ As I shall suggest, this theme became even more popular in Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, and was perhaps most clearly manifested through the choice and arrangement of sculptures in the Musée des Antiques.

³⁵ The original document, labelled no. 7, is contained in box 2 of the archives of the Villa Medici in Rome.

³⁶ *Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume XVI, 1791-1797, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1907, p.438. The inventory was compiled by Vien in 1781, although it is included in a letter from Bénézech to Delacroix in 1796 (Volume XVI, as above, no.9561, p.433ff).

³⁷ Trajan's Column, or rather its frieze, is not included in the catalogue of works in the back of Haskell and Penny's account.

³⁸ On the storage of the casts of the frieze of Trajan's Column at a location near the Académie, see the letter from La Teulière to Villacerf, dated 9 May 1694, where La Teulière also refers to some of the other casts and marbles copies of antique sculptures owned by the Académie (*Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume II, 1694-1699, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1888, no. 490, p.16-7.). On Primaticcio's role in the manufacture of the first casts of the column, see the quotation from Bellori, contained in the note on p.20 of the *Correspondance*, as above.

³⁹ The casts had been stored in a house which Natoire sold to some Jesuits. It was only when the house was acquired by Piranesi, that Vien learnt of the existence of the casts and claimed them back as the property of the French crown (Alaux: 1933, Volume 1, 190).

and tear they had experienced by being moved around by the students, such as David, who, in the late 1770s, had several casts taken up to his room for private study.⁴⁰ In 1789, a year after Percier commenced his study of Trajan's Column as the first official 'envoi' commissioned by the Académie d'Architecture, Ménageot expressed his concern at the condition of the casts which he was busy arranging in a new display around the walls of 'la salle de Marc-Aurèle,' and in other rooms on the ground floor and first floor of the palace.⁴¹ The condition of the casts of the frieze, along with many of the other casts displayed at the Académie, suffered even more during the onslaught of the Roman people and later by the Neapolitans on the Académie.⁴² However, the fact that Suvée, the first Director to be appointed after the Revolution, and Dufourmy, the French ambassador to Naples, took great pains to locate the casts seized by the Neapolitans, to bring them back to Rome and display them in the Villa Medici, suggest that the casts of the Column were still given priority in the teaching at the Academy.⁴³

⁴⁰ See especially Seymour Howard's *Sacrifice of the Hero. The Roman Years: A Classical Frieze by Jacques-Louis David*, produced as a catalogue for the exhibition held at the E.B.Crocker Art Gallery, 1975. In the appendix at the back (p.94-5), Howard quotes some comments made by David on his time spent at the Académie in Rome (1775-80): 'Then the divine Column of Trajan completely ended my vacillation. I had several of its bas-reliefs brought to my room. I spent six months copying them. I then began to direct my studies. I forgot little by little the poor French forms which my hand would unceasingly produce. That which I made began to assume an antique character (and I began to forget that which I had learned with great labour), because it was to this that I primarily applied myself.' For examples of David's sketches from the reliefs and from other casts and antiquities in Rome, see the catalogue of his drawings held in the Cabinet des Dessins in the Musée du Louvre, edited by Arlette Sérullaz (1991). On David's studies in Rome in general, see Johnson: 1993, p.37ff.

⁴¹ *Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume XV, 1785-1790, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1906, no.9003, pp.336-7. In the same letter to D'Angiviller, dated 24 June 1789, Ménageot also comments on the poor state of the pedestal of the cast of the statue of Marcus Aurelius: 'Je viens de terminer l'arrangement des bas-reliefs de la colonne Trajanne que j'avois eu l'honneur de vous proposer l'hiver dernier, et auquel vous avez bien voulu m'autoriser; j'avois différé jusqu'à présent à cause de l'humidité dont les plâtres étoient pénétrés et qui auroit pu les endommager encore davantage dans le transport et en les plaçant; ils sont distribués dans la première antichambre de l'appartement du Roy sur une des faces de l'Académie d'hiver et tout autour de la salle de Marc-Aurèle, où ils étoient cy-devant à terre les uns sur les autres, en sorte qu'on ne jouissoit ny des bas-reliefs, ny de la salle dont elle étoit presque comblée. Cela fait un fort bon effet. Je vais faire racommoder le piédestal de la figure de Marc-Aurèle, qui est en très mauvais état, faire mettre une couche de détrempe sur ce qu'on voit de mur, et cette salle ne sera plus reconnoissable.'

⁴² On the fate of the casts at the hands of the Neapolitans, see the report from Talleyrand to the First Consul, issued on 4 May 1801 (*Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume XIII, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1904, no. 9856, pp.285-7). On the damage done to the casts of Trajan's Column and the statue of Marcus Aurelius in particular, see the letter from Suvée to the Council of the Musée Central des Arts, dated 13 January 1802 (*Correspondance des Directeurs, Nouvelle Série, Directorat de Suvée, 1795-1807*, Tome I, edited by Georges Brunel and Isabelle Julia, 1984, pp.302-3). The quotation from Kotzebue's *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Livorne, à Rome, et à Naples faisant suite aux souvenirs de Paris*, Paris 1806 in the *Correspondance des Directeurs, Nouvelle Série*, as above, p.20-1, provides a useful description of the state of the casts when they were displayed by Suvée at the Villa Medici, the new location of the Académie de France from 1803.

⁴³ A series of letters between Suvée (in Paris, and later on in Rome) and Dufourmy (in Naples) regarding the restitution of the casts and other works of art taken from the Palazzo Mancini by the Neapolitans, is contained in the *Correspondance des Directeurs, Nouvelle Série, Directorat de Suvée, 1795-1807*, Tome I, edited by Georges Brunel and Isabelle Julia, 1984, p.282ff. In December 1801,

It seems, therefore, that Haskell and Penny's account of the 'canon' of antique sculptures precludes a consideration of the variety of factors influencing the reception of sculptures in different countries and at different times. In particular, they provide little analysis of the preferences of the French, which were expressed through their choice of items for casting in Rome. The display of casts and copies at the Palazzo Mancini indicates that in the eighteenth century, the French prioritised popular examples of antique sculptures held in the collections of the Vatican and the Capitoline, but that they also favoured casts of sculptures of 'great men,' especially figures from Roman history, such as important Republicans and emperors. Their interest in sculptures depicting Roman figures was complemented by their fascination with the frieze of Trajan's Column. The production of casts of the frieze and the study of these casts undertaken by students at the Académie in Rome enabled the French to familiarise themselves with the column well before Percier made his drawings of the monument in 1788 and the French declared their intention of transporting the column itself back to France.

Dufourny estimated that there were 18 cases of casts which could be returned to the Académie from Naples (p.282-3). However, in response to a list of casts taken by the Neapolitans made by Sicubert (p.298-300), he indicated that some of these could not be found at Naples, some were in too poor a condition to be worth sending back to Rome, and that a possible course of action would be to ask the Neapolitans for other casts as replacements (p.300-1). In the end, the collection of casts amassed by Suvée at the Villa Medici consisted of casts returned from Naples, including some of the frieze of Trajan's Column, a selection of casts offered by Ménageot, which he had stored in Rome with the architect Sibleyras, and new casts commissioned from items in Naples, and from other collections in Rome such as the Albacini and Albani collections. Interestingly, one of the reasons why the French particularly favoured moving the French Academy to the Villa Medici was because of its spacious rooms, which they felt would be ideal for the display of casts (see, for example, the report by Thévin and Wicar, from April 1801, in the *Correspondance des Directeurs, Nouvelle Série*, as above, pp.237).

I am very grateful to Michel Hochmann, archivist at the Académie de France à Rome at the Villa Medici, for discussing the history of the cast collection with me. Some of the casts owned by the Académie have been restored and are displayed around the Villa Medici. For example, a cast of the Belvedere Antinous and busts of the Tiber and Jupiter Serapis are on show in the dining room, next to the library of the school, while many of the restored casts of Trajan's Column were placed on display on the first floor of the Villa four years ago, in the wake of the exhibition, *La Colonna Traiana e gli artisti francesi da Luigi XIV a Napoleone I* (1988). Unfortunately, however, most of the casts are stored in the filthy, damp conditions of the basement of a garden loggia at the Villa, and are in a dreadful state of repair. Michel Hochmann kindly took me to see these casts, and pointed out that some of them, as well as the casts of Trajan's Column, may have been made in the eighteenth century. The earlier casts tend to be solid, rather than hollow, and very discoloured, although often they have been yellowed through being placed outdoors. Apparently the casts suffered most damage during the Directorship of Balthus in the 1960s, which is when they were removed to the basement of the loggia. At the same time as this, students in Paris took hammers to many of the casts at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. A few have been restored at the Ecole, some battered casts are also on display, but most are housed at the Petits Ecuries at Versailles where they are the subject of ongoing controversy for developers (see the article by Ben Macintyre, 'Tourism threatens priceless record of ancient treasure,' published in *The Times*, November 9, 1996).

A useful inventory of the casts at the Villa Medici has been compiled by Christine Pinatel. A proper study of the casts has yet to be undertaken. Michel Hochmann knows of only one other person

Guided by Lalande: French visitors to Rome in the late eighteenth century

The terms of the Treaty of Tolentino stipulated that the French could take one hundred works of sculpture from the collections in Rome. As has been suggested, the choice of casts displayed at the Palazzo Mancini served as a major influence on the French when they came to choose the items they were to take back to France. It must also be mentioned that the choice of casts at the Académie was both informed by, and served to inform French attitudes to the sculpture collections in Rome. By the late eighteenth century, the French had a detailed knowledge of the public and private collections in the city. Much of their knowledge was gleaned from guidebooks to the city, and in this section, I shall consider the importance of the popular guidebook produced by Lalande. By 1797, the French also had much greater access to the collections in Rome, in particular to the Vatican collections, which had recently been opened to the public, and had become a 'must-see' for every visitor to Rome.

In 1794, the aspiration of the French to claim for themselves the best-known works of sculpture from antiquity was clearly expressed by the Abbé Grégoire, a member of the Comité d'Instruction Publique. In his *Rapport sur le Vandalisme* of 1794, he draws attention to the cultural allure and significance of the sculptures in Italy. He comments: 'Tel Anglais dépensoit deux mille guinées pour aller voir les monumens qui ornent les bords du Tibre. Certes, si nos armées victorieuses pénétrèrent en Italie, l'enlèvement de l'Apollon du Belvédère et de l'Hercule Farnèse seroit la plus brillante conquête.'⁴⁴ The model provided by the Romans appealed to the Abbé: 'C'est la Grèce qui a décoré Rome; mais les chefs-d'oeuvres des républiques grecques doivent-ils décorer le pays des esclaves? La République française devroit être leur dernier domicile.' The unique circumstances established by the Revolution and the Revolutionary wars provided the opportunity for the French to act as Romans, and to seize the same works of art as the Romans had taken from Greece.⁴⁵

By the time the armistice was agreed between the Pope and the French at Bologna in 1796, and the terms of the armistice had been ratified by the Treaty of Tolentino in 1797, the French had been visiting, studying and making casts from the antique sculptures in the collections of Rome for over a hundred years. Folio editions illustrating the monuments of Rome, had been available since the late sixteenth century, and many of these included illustrations of items of sculpture from collections in Rome. An early edition devoted to the sculptures of Rome is that by Giovanni Maggi, entitled,

who is working on the casts, Maria Vera Cresti (based at the Third University of Rome, studying the casts under the directorship of Suvée).

⁴⁴ Grégoire: 1794, published in Volume 4 of the *Bibliothèque Historique de la Révolution*, p.25. Also see Gould: 1965, 49 on the fact that antique sculptures, not paintings, were the principal target of the French. On the frustrated attempts of the French to seize the Farnese Hercules, see Haskell and Penny: 1981, pp.229-232.

⁴⁵ NB: At this time, it was still thought that many of the sculptures in collections in Rome was originals taken from Greece. It was Mengs who first suggested that they were Roman copies, not Greek originals (I shall refer to this issue again in Chapter 3).

Antiquarum statuarum urbis Romae, quae in publicis privatisque locis visuntur (1584) (fig.97).⁴⁶ This illustrates a wide range of sculptures, from public monuments such as the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline (fig.98) and the sculptures of Bucephalus and Alexander on the Quirinal,⁴⁷ to works of sculpture in collections, such as the Apollo Belvedere and reclining Cleopatra or Ariadne in the Vatican (figs.99-100), and the Spinario in the Capitoline (fig.101). Sculptures held in private collections, such as the Delle Valle Satyrs and Farnese Hercules owned by the families of those names, are also depicted in Maggi's folio volume.⁴⁸ The precise composition of the collections and their display had experienced some modification since their foundation. For example, a large number of sculptures had been donated to the Capitoline by the Popes in 1566 and 1733, and in the 1770s, the Belvedere sculpture court in the Vatican had been modified into an octagonal design. By the mid-eighteenth century, the growth of interest in antiquity and the relative ease with which it was possible to travel to Rome, ensured the growing popularity of the collections in Rome.⁴⁹

Among the publications which provided detailed accounts of antique sculpture in the late eighteenth century was Winckelmann's *History of the Art of the Ancients* (1764).⁵⁰ However, while Winckelmann acted as a general influence on the study of ancient sculpture, and clearly popularised examples of ancient sculpture such as the Apollo Belvedere, Laocoön and the Belvedere Torso, his work did not play an important role in inspiring the choice of antiquities taken by the French for the Musée, or, as I shall suggest later in this chapter, in the manner in which they were displayed. A range of translations and versions of the *History of the Art of the Ancients* was available to the French by the 1790s,⁵¹ but it was to French guides to Rome and accounts of ancient art that French travellers to the

⁴⁶ A copy of this is in the Thomas Ashby Archives of the British School at Rome.

⁴⁷ Many of the large public sculptures in Rome had never been buried and had been on view throughout the Middle Ages, see Pogány-Balás: 1980, pp.7-16.

⁴⁸ These private collections had been established in Rome in the sixteenth century, and were closely connected to the Papal families of Rome and to rich noble families who lived in sumptuous villas inside, or just outside, the city walls. For a history of the formation of the collections in Rome, see the following: on the Vatican collection and Belvedere sculpture court, Ackerman (1954); on the Medici collection, Müntz (1888), and the article by Boyer, 'Le transfert des antiques de Médicis de Rome à Florence' (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1932, Volume VII, pp.211-216); on the Farnese collection, Navanne (n.d); on the Ludovisi collection, Felici (1952); and on the Albani collection, Von Herausgegeben (1982). Haskell and Penny (1981) and Krautheimer (1954) provide useful accounts of the history of the collections in general. On the display of antiquities in Rome in the Middle Ages, see Greenhalgh (1989), and on the influence of Rome's antique sculptures on the Renaissance, see Pogány-Balás (1980).

⁴⁹ On the relative ease of travelling to Rome, see Morrison: 1996, 1, and the exhibition catalogue, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, 1996, p.93ff.

⁵⁰ I have already discussed the significance of Winckelmann in the Introduction to this thesis. The best analysis of Winckelmann's *History of the Art of the Ancients* is provided by Potts (1994).

⁵¹ For example, the Warburg has in its collection three French editions of the *History*, each of which is in three volumes. One edition is a translation by M.Huber, which appeared in 1789. The other editions were produced by H.J.Jansen (1790), and Bossange, Masson and Besson (1802). For a consideration of the various editions, translations and versions of the *History* which appeared in late eighteenth-century France, see the article by Edouard Pommier, 'Winckelmann et la vision de l'Antiquité

city chiefly turned. Although two publications by Winckelmann appear in the book lists compiled by Suvée for the establishment of a new library at the Académie in Rome (fig.102), a variety of other works on ancient art such as those by Montfaucon and D'Hancarville are also cited,⁵² and in fact, most of the books included in the lists refer specifically to Roman architecture, Roman history and literature, or are guides to the city of Rome.

One of the most popular accounts of the ancient art in Rome to be consulted by French travellers and artists to the city was the *Voyage d'un françois en Italie, fait dans les années 1765 et 1766* by Joseph Jérôme Le Français de Lalande. This was first published in Paris in 1769.⁵³ The small volumes of the *Voyage* could easily be taken by the traveller to his chosen destination, and provided compact accounts of the history, culture and art of Italy, as the subtitle to the complete work suggests: *Contenant l'Histoire & les Anecdotes les plus singulières d'Italie, & sa description; les Moeurs, les Usages, le Gouvernement, le Commerce, la Littérature, les Arts, l'Histoire Naturelle, & les Antiquités; avec des jugemens sur les Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture & Architecture, & les Plans de toutes les grandes villes d'Italie.* The third and fourth volumes offer a guide to the city of Rome, and are preceded by a section on the historical and cultural significance of Rome, entitled, 'Réflexions historiques sur la ville de Rome.' Lalande starts his delineation of the sights of Rome with an account of the Vatican, and the collection of antique sculpture in the Belvedere courtyard. Next, he considers the seven hills of Rome, the Tiber, the aqueducts, Colosseum, Quirinal and Pantheon, while in the fourth volume he turns to the Campus Martius, a variety of important palaces such as the Palazzo Borghese and Palazzo Farnese, and the Capitoline and the Palatine. The traveller to Herculaneum and Naples could refer to the seventh volume for details of the excavations, the 'Cabinet de Portici' and Mount Vesuvius. A French visitor to Rome in the late eighteenth century could have complemented his reading of Lalande with the more extravagant account of Rome by Dominique Maganan, entitled *La Ville de Rome*, which was first published in 1778. Magnan provides a detailed description of the art and monuments of Rome and fine illustrations of sculptures such as the Capitoline Venus, Capitoline Flora, and the Laocoön and the River Tiber in the Vatican (figs.103-6), all items which were taken from Rome by the French.

classique dans la France des Lumières et de la Révolution' (*Revue de l'Art*, Volume 83, 1989, pp.9-20).

⁵² This book list, which has not been reproduced in the *Correspondance*, is to be found in box 1 of the archives at the Villa Medici, in a folder labelled 'Papiers relatifs à la bibliothèque.' The entry at the top of the list reads: 'Winckelmann. Histoire des Arts du Dessein chez les anciens. Edition Romaine...' Another book list appended to Suvée's letter to the ministre de l'Intérieur, published in the *Correspondance des Directeurs, Nouvelle Série*, Tome 1, edited by Georges Brunel and Isabelle Julia, 1984, p.223, mentions the 'Histoire de l'art par Winckelmann et toutes ses oeuvres.' Montfaucon's account is mentioned in a book list dated 1798, which is reproduced in the *Correspondance*, as above, p.141, also in a book list included in box 1 of the archives, as above, which has not been published. The work of D'Hancarville is mentioned in the 1801 book list published in the *Correspondance*, as above, p.223, and in the unpublished book list from the archives which also mention Winckelmann.

Most importantly, unlike Winckelmann's aesthetic, personal account of the 'great works' of ancient sculpture in the collections of Rome, guides such as those by Lalande and Magnan set the sculpture collections and monuments of Rome within the context of the history and urban fabric of the city. Right at the beginning of his account of Rome, Lalande comments that the monuments of the city represent evidence of the might and grandeur of ancient Rome, and of the bellicose spirit of the Romans:

'Le souvenir de la grandeur des Romains, lié avec la vue des places qu'ils habiterent autrefois, a fait pour moi une partie des plaisirs de l'Italie. J'aime à me rapeller ces Conquéranes du Monde, avec toute l'élévation & la fierté de leur courage, & rien ne les rapelle si fortement que les restes de leurs Palais & la place de leurs triomphes.'⁵⁴

Lalande's descriptions of the sculpture collections of Rome are framed by this delineation of the ancient Romans as conquerors in war, and his whole text is ordered around the depiction of the physical features of the ancient city, as he takes his reader in a logical course around the sites of Rome. His description of the sculptures on display on the Capitoline and in the Museo Capitolino, following his analysis of the history of the ancient Capitoline and the role played by the Temple of Jupiter in ancient Rome, clearly suggests that many of these sculptures were once the spoils of war. Late eighteenth-century readers of Lalande would no doubt also have turned to the popular catalogue by Giovanni Bottari in order to pursue their interest in particular examples of antique sculpture displayed in the Museo Capitolino.⁵⁵

By the time the Treaty of Tolentino was signed in 1797, the sculpture collections of Rome were more accessible than they had ever been to visitors to Rome. The Museo Capitolino had opened as a public museum in 1734, and since then, it had been of prime importance for artists studying in Rome.⁵⁶ An engraving by Giovanni Campiglia from Bottari's catalogue, the *Museo Capitolino*, shows artists drawing from sculptures in the Capitoline (fig.107). In the 1760s, visitors had relied on Cardinal Albani and Winckelmann for gaining permission to visit the Papal collection in the Vatican and, in many cases, to see items in private collections as well, but the establishment of the Museo Pio-Clementino in the 1780s opened up access to the most magnificent collection in Rome.⁵⁷ The

⁵³ This is also mentioned in the 1801 book list published in the *Correspondance*, as above, p.223.

⁵⁴ Lalande: 1769, Volume 3, pp.1-2.

⁵⁵ See Bottari's *Museo Capitolino* (1750). The edition of this work I consulted is that in the Thomas Ashby Archives of the British School at Rome. A similar catalogue was also available for the Museo Pio-Clementino, compiled by G.B. and E.Q.Visconti (1782-1807, Volume I by G.B.Visconti, Volumes II-VII by E.Q.Visconti).

⁵⁶ Many of the marbles which were intended for the Museo Pio-Clementino were displayed here before the museum was opened in the Vatican.

⁵⁷ I am grateful to Paolo Liverani for discussing the foundation of the museum with me, and for providing me with a copy of his unpublished paper, 'The Museo Pio-Clementino at the time of the Grand Tour,' presented at the conference on the Grand Tour held at the British School at Rome, and represented at the British School as part of the History of Art lecture series in December 1997. On the

antiquarian passion of the Popes and their desire to keep antique sculptures in Rome, clearly encouraged their development of the museum.⁵⁸ The museum became the haunt of artists and antiquarians, eager to study the antique sculptures, as well as a fashionable public space, and 'a neutral and lay place of encounter and interchange.'⁵⁹ Illustrations of the Museo Pio-Clementino from the 1780s and 1790s commemorate the grandiose expanse of rooms established for the museum, such as the Sala Rotunda, the Stanza delle Muse and the Galleria delle Statue with the Cleopatra (figs.108-110).⁶⁰ The pictures also give some indication of the different kinds of visitors who visited the museum - or at least, an imaginary view of a cross-section of visitors. Particularly evocative is the painting in tempera by Jacques Sablet (c.1786-92) of the Stanza degli Animali (fig.111), which includes a lady with a poodle on a leash, a mother and child, the figure of a workman with his tools, leaning against a plinth, and a man in a turban,⁶¹ standing at the base of the Tiber.⁶² Most of the rooms were arranged around key works of sculpture, such as the River Tiber, and in some cases, as in the Stanze delle Muse, they were even named after celebrated works of art. The sculptures were so popular that they were often viewed at night. It may well have been at the Museo Pio-Clementino that the fashion started for viewing works of antique sculpture by torchlight, which served to enhance their sculptural effect.⁶³

establishment of the Museo Pio-Clementino, also see Haskell and Penny: 1981, p.70ff, and p. 241 in the exhibition catalogue, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini (1997), and the article by Seymour Howard, 'An Antiquarian Handlist and the Beginnings of the Museo Pio-Clementino' (in *Antiquity Restored: Essays on the Afterlife of the Antique*, 1990, pp.142-153).

⁵⁸ Cf: The pagan sculptures in the Belvedere court had been perceived as corrupting by Pius V. See Haskell and Penny: 1981, p.14, and see the article by E.H.Gombrich on 'The Belvedere Garden as a Grove of Venus,' in the essay, 'Hypnerotomachiana,' in *Symbolic Images: Studies in the art of the Renaissance*, 1972, pp.104-108.

⁵⁹ See the unpublished article by Paolo Liverani, 'The Museo Pio-Clementino at the time of the Grand Tour,' as above, p.1.

⁶⁰ These illustrations are by, respectively, Louis Ducros and Giovanni Volpato (c.1782), Vincenzo Feoli after Francesco Costa (1790s), and Vincenzo Feoli after Francesco Miccinelli (c.1795), and are all reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, as above, cat.nos.195, 196, 200, pp.242-247.

⁶¹ The Easterner is probably intended to hint at the exotic, to add to the wealth and richness of the sculptures depicted in the scene. Although Sablet was a French Swiss, who studied at the Académie in Paris and then in Rome, the date of the painting, c.1786-92, is too early to suggest that he is reflecting Eastern figures depicted during the Egyptian campaign (1798-1801). The turbaned figure frequently appears in Napoleonic works of art, however, such as on the frieze of the Sèvres Column and on the Vendôme Column (see Chapter 5).

⁶² This painting is also reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, as above, cat.no.197, p.245.

⁶³ On viewing antique sculptures by torchlight, see Haskell and Penny: 1981, 102; Eitner ed: 1970, Volume 2, 11, and the article by J.J.L.Whitely, 'Light and shade in French Neo-classicism' (*The Burlington Magazine*, 1975, pp.768-773).

It is clear from the list of items selected by the French from collections in Rome, which features in the *Correspondance des Directeurs*, that a range of factors influenced their choice.⁶⁴ The list is divided into statues, busts, sarcophagi and other sculptural items and paintings, and within these four groupings, is divided further according to the particular collection and in most cases the rooms in which the items were found.⁶⁵ The first two items to be selected by the French were the busts of the Republican heroes, Lucius Junus Brutus and Marcus Brutus (figs.112-3).⁶⁶ Interestingly, although Winckelmann includes two short sections on Roman art in his *History of the Art of the Ancients*, he does not mention these busts at all, which suggests that he thought that they were of little worth.⁶⁷ By contrast, casts of busts of Brutus had been displayed at the Palazzo Mancini,⁶⁸ and the busts were particularly favoured by the French at this time because of their relevance to political events. Sculptures which had been given special prominence in Roman collections, such as the Apollo Belvedere and the Laocoön, which were displayed in special niches in the Belvedere courtyard (figs.114-5), the Dying Gaul and Cupid and Psyche in the Museo Capitolino (figs.116-7), and the Spinario in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (fig.118), were also prioritised by the French, and became some of their most treasured spoils.⁶⁹ The 'great Romans' which had featured in the cast collection in the Palazzo Mancini were reflected in the choice of various statues, such as those of Augustus and Tiberius, taken from the Stanza Rotunda in the Museo Capitolino, and busts of important Romans

⁶⁴ The list is reproduced in the Appendix to this thesis (it appears in the *Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume XVI, 1791-1797, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1907, pp.462-466). The list is entitled, 'Liste des objets d'art désignéset choisis par les Commissaires de la République française, en vertu de l'article 8 de l'armistice conclu entre la République et Sa Sainteté la Pape.'

⁶⁵ I have only reproduced the first 83 items on the list, since the paintings chosen by the French are not the subject of discussion here.

⁶⁶ The bust of Marcus Brutus, like many of the other items chosen by the French, is not included by Haskell and Penny in their catalogue of items, indicating that the 'canon' of antiquities presented in their account does not reflect the 'canon' of the French at this time.

⁶⁷ Winckelmann's sections on Roman art appear in the second of the three volumes of the French edition of the *History* (published by H.J.Jansen in 1790). He first considers Roman art in Book 5, 'De l'art chez les Romains' (p.161ff), Chapter 1, 'Examen du prétendu style des Romains dans l'art,' and Chapter 2, 'Histoire de l'art chez les Romains.' He continues his analysis of Roman art in Book 6, 'De Révolutions de l'art' (p.189ff), Chapter 5, 'De l'art Grec sous les Romains, jusqu'au siècle d'Auguste,' and Chapter 6, 'De l'art depuis le siècle d'Auguste, jusqu'à celui de Trajan.' Throughout the *History*, Winckelmann's general opinion of Roman art is that it is merely imitative of Greek art, as the chapter heading, 'Examen du prétendu style des Romains dans l'art' suggests. He concedes that Roman art was probably at its best under Augustus (as I shall discuss in Chapter 4), but he still provides little analysis of it, especially in comparison with his detailed consideration of, for example, Egyptian and Etruscan art, which preceded Greek art, and in particular, Greek art itself.

⁶⁸ The inventory of the property of the Académie in Rome compiled in 1684 mentions two busts of Brutus, but does not specify which originals they were modelled on. The 1781 inventory, however, mentions that there were casts of the busts of Lucius Junius Brutus and Marcus Brutus at the Palazzo Mancini.

⁶⁹ Paintings such as Hubert Robert's depiction of *The finding of the Laocoön* (1773) had captured the popular imagination and ensured that the sculpture was well known (for a discussion of the painting, see Radisich: 1999, pp.133-4). In addition, Piranesi sometimes employed sculptures such as the Laocoön or the Tiber in his architectural fantasies (see Penny, 1983)

which were removed from the collections of the Museo Capitolino and Palazzo dei Conservatori. Many of the items to be chosen by the French were less widely known, such as a statue of a Priestess in the Museo Capitolino (fig.119), but they would have been familiar to French artists who had studied them in situ in the collections of Rome. A sketch by Hubert Robert from c.1763 (fig.120), for example, depicts a young man drawing the Mattei Amazon in the Museo Capitolino,⁷⁰ an item which was taken by the French, and sketches by David in his Rome sketchbooks confirm that items chosen by the French had for many years been studied in detail by French artists in Rome.⁷¹ Even the sketches by Hubert Robert and David of items in private collections such as at the Villa Medici and the Villa Albani foreshadow the interest of the French in these collections later on, and their attempts to acquire works from them.⁷² The choice of items made by the French reflected the artistic concerns of the Académie de France à Rome, the interests of French artists and travellers in Rome in general, and the political developments which had occurred in France. As I shall suggest, the procession of these works of art in Paris and their display in the Musée des Antiques, enhanced the ‘Romanness’ of many of these items, and engendered a specifically ‘Roman’ reading of the sculptures overall.

(2) ‘Le fruit des conquêtes de l’armée d’Italie’⁷³

One hundred works of art were ceded to the French by the armistice of Bologna, signed by Bonaparte and papal delegates on 18 June, 1796,⁷⁴ the terms of which were ratified by the Treaty of

⁷⁰ Reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, 1996, p.254. There are several references in the *Correspondance des Directeurs* to the attempts of the Director of the school to gain access for his students to draw and make copies in the collections in Rome. The French Secretary of State or ambassador was often involved in such negotiations (see, for example, the letter from Natoire to Marigny, dated 13 October 1756, regarding students copying paintings in the Capitoline, in Volume 11, p.163).

⁷¹ David’s sketch of the figure of a girl holding a dove, from the Museo Capitolino, for example, reproduced in Sérullaz: 1991, 37, is interesting since in this case, the French did not take the sculpture, but the tripod on which it stands.

⁷² For a variety of sketches by Hubert Robert, see the catalogue from the exhibition, *Hubert Robert: Drawings and Watercolours*, held at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1978, and the catalogue from the exhibition *J.H.Fragonard et H.Robert a Roma*, held at the Accademia di Francia a Roma, December 1990 - February 1991. For the sketches undertaken by David in Rome, again, see Sérullaz (1991).

⁷³ Term used to describe the contents of the Musée des Antiques in the Introduction to the official *Notice des statues, bustes et bas-reliefs, de la Galerie des Antiques du Musée Central des Arts*, a small catalogue first published in 1802. Also used in the subtitle of the catalogue of the Musée des Antiques produced by Augustin Legrand (1803): *Galerias des Antiques, ou, Esquisses des Statues, Bustes et Bas-reliefs, fruit des conquêtes de l’Armée d’Italie*. For a more detailed consideration of both catalogues, see the final section of this chapter, on the Musée des Antiques.

⁷⁴ For the precise terms of the armistice, see the *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier, publiée par ordre de l’Empereur Napoléon III*, Volume 1, 1858, pp.527-530. Article 8 concerns the works of art: ‘Le Pape livra à la République française cent tableaux, bustes, vases ou statues, au choix des

Tolentino, signed in February 1797.⁷⁵ On 10 April, the first of four convoys set out from Rome, and by 2 August, all the convoys had reached Livorno, in preparation for the journey to France. In Paris, a special triumphal procession was organised to celebrate the seizure of works of art from Rome. In July 1798, the spoils were drawn in convoy through the streets of Paris, and a specifically Roman visual and verbal rhetoric was used to convey the significance of the occasion. Only five months earlier, in February 1798, the French had entered Rome under the command of General Berthier. They had founded the Roman Republic, and held celebratory festivals in prominent ancient sites. Throughout the period of the Revolutionary wars and the Napoleonic regime, we can see the development of a unique relationship between Paris and Rome, whereby the French became ancient Romans and created Paris into the 'new Rome' as much as the French took over the administration and physical location of the city itself. The procession and display of works of antique art from Rome was a major factor in the development of the ideology of the 'new Rome.'

Liberation or conquest? The Italian campaigns and the removal of art from Rome

The precedent for the seizure of art from Italy had been established by the Belgium Campaign. The first convoy of confiscated works of art from Belgium arrived in Paris less than a year after the Louvre was first opened as a museum. As Cecil Gould suggests, the development of a policy of acquiring artistic war spoils must be seen in relation to the creation of the museum.⁷⁶ The removal of works of art was considered such a pressing issue that in July 1794, a special sub-committee drawn from members of the Commission Temporaire des Arts was set up to discuss the matter. Even at this stage, Citoyen Besson, a member of the Commission, cited the example of the Romans as justification for the seizure of works of art from Belgium.⁷⁷ A day after the spoils arrived in Paris, Luc Barbier, who had escorted the convoy in person, appeared before the Convention and made a speech in support of foreign conquest and the removal of spoils. He claimed that the works of art had been freed from servitude and 'liberated' by their removal to Republican France.⁷⁸ Such a suggestion reflected the comment made by Kersaint in 1791, that Revolutionary Paris, 'peopled by a race of men regenerated

commissaires qui seront envoyés à Rome, parmi lesquels objets seront notamment compris le buste en bronze de Junius Brutus et celui en marbre de Marcus Brutus, tous les deux placés au Capitole, et cinq cents manuscrits au choix desdits commissaires' (p.529).

⁷⁵ The terms of the Treaty are also reproduced in the *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, as above, Volume 2, pp.444-449. Article 13 confirms the removal of art by the French: 'L'article 8 du traité d'armistice signé à Bologne, concernant les manuscrits et objets d'art, aura son exécution entière, et la plus prompte possible' (p.446-7).

⁷⁶ Gould: 1965, 30. There had been much looting during the Netherlandish campaign, in 1792, but virtually no question of official confiscations at this time.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 31.

⁷⁸ McClellan: 1994, 116.

by liberty,' should succeed Rome as 'capital of the arts.'⁷⁹ The Revolutionaries clearly felt that their political freedom and enlightened thought made France the only true home for works of art.⁸⁰

Although the French were able to lay their hands on what was perhaps the most important piece of sculpture from Belgium, Michelangelo's 'Madonna' from Bruges, most of the spoils were paintings.⁸¹ It was not until the removal of the most coveted works of art, the antique sculptures from Rome, that the spoliations of the French were more closely compared with the looting of art by the Romans. As in the case of Belgium, the French justified their removal of art from Rome and Italy as the 'liberation' of these works, in this case, from a backward, barbarous people who did not look after their art. But at the same time they distinctively articulated themselves as ancient Romans, seizing works of sculpture from Rome as the Romans had originally done from Greece. It seems that the French regarded their removal of art from Rome specifically as liberation through 'Roman' conquest.

The Italian campaigns had not started as a quest for the removal and 'liberation' of art.⁸² There were several reasons why the Directory had wanted to continue the Revolutionary wars. For one thing, the Revolutionary government lacked the resources to maintain the armies, and was forced to push them out towards the 'natural boundaries' of the Alps, the Rhine and the Pyrenees, if not beyond.⁸³ It was hoped that a pincer attack could be made on the Austrian empire, that spoils could be acquired in the process, and that Italy would serve as a useful bargaining counter to be exchanged for territory in future peace negotiations with Austria.⁸⁴ Bonaparte, however, proved to be eager to plunder the riches of Italy in order to pay his men in silver and to return home a hero, accompanied by wagon loads of loot.⁸⁵ After a series of dazzling victories at Castiglione, Bassano, Arcola, Rivoli and Mantua, he

⁷⁹ Ibid, 116.

⁸⁰ See the article by Marie-Louise Blumer, 'Le transport en France des objets d'art cédés par la traité de Tolentino' (*Revue des Etudes Italiennes*, No.1, 1936, pp.11-2). A petition in favour of the seizure of works of art as war spoils, published in the *Moniteur universel* on 3 October 1796, stated 'La République française, par sa force, la supériorité de ses lumières et de ses artistes, est le seul pays au monde qui puisse donner un asile inviolable à ses chefs-d'oeuvre.' This issue will be considered in more detail in Chapter 3.

⁸¹ Gould: 1965, p.35ff.

⁸² For a detailed consideration of the Italian campaigns, see Ferrero (1961) and Thiry (1973). The catalogue from the exhibition, *1796-1797. Da Montenotte a Campoformio: la rapida marcia di Napoleone Bonaparte*, held at the Museo Napoleonico in Rome, 4 February - 27 April 1997, is a useful source for visual and documentary material relating to the campaigns.

⁸³ There were two main armies: while Napoleon was put in charge of the Army of Italy, Moreau directed the Army of the Rhine.

⁸⁴ Wright: 1984, pp.10-11.

⁸⁵ On Bonaparte's intention of taking artworks as spoils, and the encouragement he gave to those with him to do so, see Lanza de Laborie: 1913, Volume VIII, p.235. After securing the Treaty of Tolentino, he wrote to the Directory, declaring triumphantly 'Nous aurons tout ce qu'il y a de beau en Italie, excepté un petit nombre d'objets qui se trouvent à Turin et à Naples.' Quatremère de Quincy, in his book on Canova, claimed that Bonaparte was 'devoured by an anticipatory lust after the best things in each country, whether masterpieces and precious objects or men of talent and renown' (quoted in Gould: 1965, 43), although it must be noted that this probably reflects Quatremère's antipathy towards the removal of works of art from Italy and the creation of the Musée des Antiques. More recently, McClellan has suggested that Bonaparte himself manifested little personal interest in art (1994, p.116).

roused his troops like a Roman general by reminding them of what they had achieved, in particular their seizure of art.⁸⁶ His agreement of the Treaty of Campo Formio of September 1797 committed the Directory to territorial gains in Italy way beyond the original aims of the campaign to achieve France's 'natural frontiers.' Even at this stage, Napoleon's success in Venice, for example, was depicted by a contemporary artist in the manner of a 'Roman' triumph (fig.121).⁸⁷

To some extent, during the Egyptian campaign (1798-9) Bonaparte treated Egypt in a similar manner as he did Italy: as a major source of art and culture to be transmitted back to France.⁸⁸ Right

Saunier (1902, 25) has also remarked that the policy of taking artistic spoils was the result of decisions made by the Convention rather than by Napoleon himself: 'On attribue à tort à Napoléon l'accaparement des chefs-d'oeuvre. L'idée première vient de la Convention ou plutôt des comités et commissions qui s'agitaient autour d'elle.'

⁸⁶ See the *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, 1838-1869, Volume 2, no.1552, pp.482-4, 'Proclamation aux Soldats de l'Armée d'Italie,' issued at Bassano, 10 March, 1797:

'La prise de Mantoue vient de finir une campagne qui vous a donné des titres éternels à la reconnaissance de la patrie.

Vous avez remporté la victoire dans quatorze batailles rangées et soixante et dix combats; vous avez fait plus de cent mille prisonniers, pris à l'ennemi cinq cents pièces de canon de campagne, deux mille de gros calibre, quatre équipages de pont.

Les contributions mises sur les pays que vous avez conquis ont nourri, entretenu, soldé l'armée pendant toute la campagne; vous avez, en outre, envoyé trente millions au ministre des finances pour le soulagement du trésor public.

Vous avez enrichi le Muséum de Paris de plus de trois cents objets, chefs-d'oeuvre de l'ancienne et de la nouvelle Italie, et qu'il a fallu trente siècles pour produire...'

Napoleon's use of a special newspaper, *Le Courrier de l'armée d'Italie*, also ensured that throughout the campaigns, the morale and loyalty of the army was maintained. See, for example, the famous passage from 23 October 1796, quoted in Wright: 1984, pp.98-9: 'He moves at the speed of light and strikes like a thunderbolt. He is everywhere at once and misses nothing...He has the constant air of a man preoccupied with some great scheme, which frequently interrupts his meals and his sleep. He says with simple dignity to those whom he respects: 'I have seen kings at my feet. I could easily have amassed fifty millions in my coffers; I could easily have claimed to be someone other than what I am; but I am a citizen of France, I am the leading general of La Grande Nation; I know that posterity will do me justice.'" On Napoleon's use of propaganda in political and military publications in general, see Holtman: 1950, Chapter IV, pp.82-105.

⁸⁷ This design in ink and wash was executed by Ignazio Colombo in 1797, and is reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, *1796-1797. Da Montenotte a Campoformio: la rapida marcia di Napoleone Bonaparte*, 1997, p.75. Interestingly, however, it seems as if the Italian artist has alluded to a Roman triumph in order to satirise Bonaparte's military success in Venice.

⁸⁸ For a more detailed analysis of the Egyptian campaign, see Herold (1962), Lloyd (1973), Thiry (1973), Clayton (1982), Laurens (1989), Vercoutter (1992) and Laissim (1998). Also see the articles by Louis Hautecoeur, 'L'expédition d'Egypte et l'art français' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, Volume 1, janvier-février 1925, pp.81-7, Edouard Driault, 'L'Egypte et Napoléon' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.46, janvier-juin 1940, pp.108-146), and Alain Silvera, 'Egypt and the French Revolution' (*Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre Mer*, 69, No.257, 1982, pp.307-22). The recent account by Porterfield (1998) provides a detailed study of the relationship between art and politics in France's military conquest in the Near East, from the time of Napoleon to the Algerian intervention during the Restoration and the July Monarchy. For a consideration of the issue of orientalism in relation to the Egyptian campaign, see Said: 1978, pp.79-82, and, more recently, MacKenzie (1995), who provides a more positive reading of the influence of the east on European art. In addition, see the classic work by Said: 1994, pp.37-40 on the imperialism of the Egyptian campaign. His work clearly reflects post war anti-imperialism. For the general influence of Egypt on European art, see Curl

from the start, research into the history, art, culture and science of the country was prioritised with the creation of a specialist team of scholars and scientists, the Institut de Cairo.⁸⁹ The presence of the French army enabled a detailed studies of the monuments to be made, and spoils such as the Rosetta Stone were gathered together to be shipped back to France. Although the French undertook a wealth of research, much of which was to be published in the exquisite volumes of the *Description d’Egypte*,⁹⁰ and proclaimed that they were defenders of Islam and the Sultan, come to liberate Egypt from its enslavement to the Marmeluke barbarians,⁹¹ their real intention had been to acquire Egypt as a preliminary to ousting the British from India.⁹² In the end, few artifacts from Egypt reached France,⁹³ and the French had to wait until the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy for the establishment of a specialist Musée d’Egypte in the Louvre.⁹⁴ Bonaparte was forced to make a quick and humiliating escape from the British, and relied on the success of the reports he had been sending back to France to ensure his popularity back home.

(1994), and the exhibition catalogue, *Egyptomania, Egypt in Western Art, 1730-1930*, 1994, edited by Jean-Marcel Humbert, Michel Pantazzi and Christiane Ziegler.

⁸⁹ For further information, see the following articles: F.Charles-Roux, ‘Le but colonial de l’expédition française en Egypte: la formation et le départ de la ‘Commission des Sciences et des Arts’ (1798)’ (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.1, mars-avril 1924, pp.122-139); Jean-Edouard Goby, ‘Savants et ingénieurs de Bonaparte en Egypte’ (*Bulletin de l’Institut Napoléon*, No.30, janvier 1949, pp.4-5).

⁹⁰ This appeared in twenty-one enormous volumes between the years 1809-1828. During the reign of Louis XVIII, this was expanded to twenty-four volumes (see Porterfield: 1998, 83). For easy reference, see the compact edition produced by Benedickt Taschen in 1994, which reproduces all the plates from the original twenty-one volume edition of the *Description*, and the selection of scenes from the *Description* reproduced in Anderson and Fawzy eds (1988). Also see the account of the expedition, *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte* (1802) by Dominique Vivant Denon, who accompanied Napoleon on the campaign, and Chatelain: 1973, Chapter 3, pp.77-77-102, on Denon in Egypt.

⁹¹ In a conversation from the early 1800s, quoted in Herold: 1955, 48, Napoleon describes how he would have employed Egyptian culture for his own purposes:

‘In Egypt, I found myself freed from the obstacles of an irksome civilization. I was full of dreams, and I saw the means by which I could carry out all that I had dreamed. I saw myself founding a religion, marching into Asia, riding an elephant, a turban on my head and in my hand the new Koran that I would have composed to suit my needs. In my undertakings I would have combined the experiences of the two worlds, exploiting for my own profit the theatre of all history, attacking the power of England in India, and, by means of that conquest, renewing contact with the old Europe. The time I spent in Egypt was the most beautiful of my life, for it was the most ideal.’

Victor Hugo, some years later, also imagined Napoleon as a native Egyptian leader; see *Les Orientales*, in *Oeuvres poétiques*, edited by Pierre Albouy, 1964, 1:684:

‘Sublime, il apparut aux tribes éblouies
Comme un Mahomet d’occident...’

⁹² See, for example, Puryear (1951).

⁹³ Most of what had been uncovered and earmarked for transportation was surrendered to the British according to the terms of the Treaty of Capitulation of 1901 (see Gould: 1965, 91). The treasured Rosetta Stone, for examples, was taken by the British. On the fate of the stone, see the exhibition catalogue, *Canova: Ideal Heads*, edited by Katherine Eustace, 1997, cat.no.12, p.107). Casts were made of the stone soon after it arrived in Britain, and one of these casts is at the Ashmolean.

⁹⁴ For an excellent account of the foundation of the Musée d’Egypte, see Porterfield: 1998, especially Chapter 3.

Although there were few spoils which could be paraded through the streets of Paris after the Egyptian campaign, by this time Bonaparte's role as a triumphant Roman had already been secured by his success in Italy. Yet for his expedition to Egypt, Bonaparte was inspired by the heroes of antiquity, in particular, by Alexander the Great⁹⁵ and Caesar.⁹⁶ Throughout the campaign, his vision of the French as 'new Romans' conquering Egypt would have been fuelled by his reading from ancient authors.⁹⁷ In a proclamation to his soldiers issued on the eve of the Egyptian campaign, he compared them with them with 'les légions romaines,'⁹⁸ and in an order given from Alexandria on 4 July 1798, he gave instructions for the names of all the soldiers lost during the capture of Alexandria to be carved on a popular Roman monument, Pompey's Column.⁹⁹ As has already been suggested in the introduction to this thesis, in many ways, the Egyptian campaign, despite its failure and the lack of spoils, did, in fact, fit neatly into Bonaparte's new role as a victorious Roman, established by his Italian successes.

⁹⁵ For example, see his conversation of 1818, quoted in Herold: 1955, pp.58-9:

'What I like in Alexander the Great is not his campaigns, which we cannot understand, but his political methods. At thirty-three he left an immense empire, which his generals partitioned amongst themselves. He possessed the art of winning the love of the nations he defeated. He was right in ordering the murder of Parmenion, who like a fool had objected to Alexander's abandonment of Greek customs. It was most politic of him to go to Amon: it was thus he conquered Egypt. If I had remained in the East, I probably would have founded an empire like Alexander by going on a pilgrimage to Mecca, where I would have prayed and kneeled.'

⁹⁶ On Julius Caesar, Napoleon commented: 'Caesar...had to fight courageous enemies. He took risks in the adventures into which he was pushed by his boldness; his genius got him out of difficulties' (quoted in Herold: 1955, 227).

⁹⁷ The contents of his special campaign library, or 'bibliothèque portative' are listed in the *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, 1838-1869, Volume 4, no.2458, pp.37-8. This library included copies of Plutarch, Polybius, Tacitus, and Livy.

⁹⁸ See the *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, 1838, Volume 4, no.2570, p.128-9, 'Aux Soldats de Terre et de Mer de l'Armée de la Méditerranée,' issued at Toulon, 10 May 1798:

'Soldats!

Vous êtes une des ailes de l'armée d'Angleterre. Vous avez fait la guerre de montagnes, de plaines, de sièges: il vous reste à faire la guerre maritime.

Les légions romaines, que vous avez quelquefois imitées, mais pas encore égalées, combattaient Carthage tour à tour sur cette même mer et aux plaines de Zama. La victoire ne les abandonna jamais, parce que constamment elles furent braves, patientes à supporter les fatigues, disciplinées et unies entre elles.

Soldats, l'Europe a les yeux sur vous.

Vous avez de grandes destinées à remplir, des batailles à livrer, des dangers, des fatigues à vaincre. Vous ferez plus que vous n'avez fait pour la prospérité de la patrie, le bonheur des hommes et votre propre gloire.

Soldats-matelots, fantassins, canonniers ou cavaliers, soyez unis; souvenez-vous que, le jour d'une bataille, vous avez besoin les uns des autres.

Soldats matelots, vous avez été jusqu'ici négligés. Aujourd'hui la plus grande sollicitude de la République est pour vous. Vous serez dignes de l'armée dont vous faites partie.

Le génie de la liberté, qui a rendu la République, dès sa naissance, l'arbitre de l'Europe, veut qu'elle le soit des mers et des contrées les plus lointaines.'

⁹⁹ *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, 1838-1869, Volume 4, no.2750, p.293.

The intervention of the French in other countries across Europe in the early nineteenth century, however, contrasts with their special treatment of Rome. Much has been written about the establishment of the empire and the Napoleonic wars.¹⁰⁰ Napoleon viewed involvement in countries such as Spain as the opportunity to try and enforce his general European policies and create French hegemony in Europe, as well as a chance for territorial gains and plunder. By invading Spain, he hoped to destroy the long-standing relationship between Britain and Portugal, where he found it impossible to introduce the Continental system.¹⁰¹ He had been angered by the fact that the Bourbons had recently defied him in Naples by welcoming an Anglo-Russian army there, and intended to bring an end to the Bourbon line in Spain. Problems arose, however, when he realised that he had been misled by the accounts of travellers and diplomats, who had led him to believe that the invasion would be easy since the social conditions in Spain were on the brink of collapse and he would be able to convince the people that he was a saviour come to regenerate the peninsula.¹⁰² In the event, the Spanish campaign proved a constant drain on manpower and resources and only helped to create resistance to French rule in central and eastern Europe. The only significant way in which Napoleon's treatment of Spain resembled the Italian campaigns of the late 1790s was in the plundering of art, largely from Madrid, although it is clear that Spain proved to be a much less fruitful source of artistic loot than Italy. Vivant Denon was commissioned to select works of art to be transported back to France, but the French took very little in comparison with the wagon-loads which were brought back from Italy, and the art which was taken was certainly held in low regard in comparison with that from Rome.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ For French foreign policy and Napoleon and Europe in general, see Connelly (1965), Crawley ed. (1965, especially pp.250-274, 307-336), Tulard (1979 and 1985), Wright (1984) and Ellis (1991).

¹⁰¹ The introduction of the Continental System in 1793 decreed the exclusion of British goods from French markets. The system was partly the result of Napoleon's belief that Britain was near to economic crisis (clearly expressed by Napoleon in the *Journal de Paris*, 8 February 1810, where he remains confident in the face of French failure in Spain). In 1803, the Consular regime extended the exclusion of British goods to north-west European ports under French control. In November 1806, the Berlin Decrees declared Britain to be in a state of blockade. After Jena, Napoleon gained control of the north German ports, and after the Treaty of Tilsit, secured the adhesion of Austria, Russia, Denmark, Sweden and Portugal to the Continental System. For a close study of the Continental System, see Hecksher (1922) and Couzet (1958). On the French in Spain, see the chapter by R.Herr, 'God, evil and Spain's rising against Napoleon,' in Herr and Parker eds (1965), Lovett (1965), Carr (1966), Glover (1974) and Tulard (1985).

¹⁰² Tulard: 1985, 254.

¹⁰³ See the article by Pierre Lelièvre on the removal of artworks from Spain by the French, 'La Mission de Vivant Denon en Espagne' (in *Les Arts à l'Époque Napoléonienne, Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, Nouvelle Période*, Vol. XXIV, 1969, pp.365-372). Denon was requested to choose a representative selection of Spanish artworks to be displayed in the Louvre. He was also instructed to make sketches of the battlefields in Spain to serve as an inspiration for Spanish painters who were to commemorate the campaign. His mission was something of a failure, however, since, like most of the French at this period, he was unfamiliar with Spanish art. When Napoleon intervened and asked his brother Joseph, then King of Spain, to send back about fifty items of Spanish art, Joseph did so hurriedly and with little expertise. Unwrapping the items back in France, Denon was disappointed with them as he considered them to be only mediocre works of art. Gould (1965, 97) suggests that Joseph

By contrast, Rome remained a constant source of art for France, and the years 1802-1815, when the Musée Napoléon was under the rigorous directorship of Vivant Denon, witnessed the continual expansion of the museum collection.¹⁰⁴ Negotiations over works of art continued throughout the Napoleonic period, and major additions to the Musée des Antiques included the purchase of collections such as the Borghese collection in 1807. French relations with Italy were also characterised by the issue of religion and Napoleon's relationship with the Pope.¹⁰⁵ In 1801, Napoleon agreed the Concordat with the Pope and in 1804, the Pope agreed to attend the imperial coronation in Notre-Dame. Soon afterwards, however, conflict arose between them over the Code Napoléon, a situation which was exacerbated by the encroachment of French troops on Papal territory and led to the French occupation of Rome. The French annexation of Rome enabled the French to resume their close involvement in the city which had been established during the Roman Republic. Under the Empire, however, Napoleon propagated a new vision for Rome. He named Rome the second city of the Empire and his son as the King of Rome.¹⁰⁶ He gave instructions for imperial palaces to be planned, and imperial fora. Preparations were made for the transformation of the Palazzo Quirinale into a residence for Napoleon on his first visit to Rome.¹⁰⁷ Special bodies were created to administer the excavation and restoration of key sites in the city,¹⁰⁸ and plans developed for urban renewal and legal reform in the city.¹⁰⁹ Although it is likely that the French were partly motivated to undertake excavations in

Bonaparte wanted to keep the best works of Spanish art to himself, to fill his own equivalent to the Louvre in Madrid, and that Denon's mission was also hampered by its brevity (he was only there in the winter of 1808-9). On the appropriation of paintings from the Spanish royal collection by Joseph Bonaparte in 1813, as Wellington's army encroached across Spain, and the acquisition of these works of art by the British and their display in Apsley House, see Kauffmann: 1982, pp.5-15.

¹⁰⁴ See especially Lelièvre (Paris, 1942 and Angers, 1942), and Chatelain (1973). I shall refer to the additions made to the museum in these years in more detail later in this chapter.

¹⁰⁵ On Napoleon and the Pope, see especially Hales (1960 and 1961).

¹⁰⁶ On Rome under Napoleon in general, see Madelin (1906). On Rome as the second capital of the empire, see the article by Marie-Louise Biver, 'Rome, Seconde Capitale de l'Empire, Aquila Redux' (*Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.109, octobre 1968, pp.145-154). Useful sources on the King of Rome include the article by Edouard Driault, 'Le Roi de Rome ou le rêve de l'Empereur, 1810-1815' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.28, janvier-juin 1929, pp.32-51), Thiry (1968) and Martineau (1982).

¹⁰⁷ Napoleon's appropriation of the Palazzo Quirinale was significant, since it had been a residence of the Popes. See the article by Edouard Driault, 'Mémoires et Documents: Palais Impériale du Quirinale' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.28, janvier-juin 1929, pp.163-90, 216-44), the article by Daniel Ternois, 'Napoléon et la décoration du palais de Monte Cavallo en 1811-1813' (*Revue de l'Art*, Number 7, 1970, pp.68-9), the article by Silvia Bordini on 'Napoleonic Rome' (in Borsi ed: 1979, pp.47-86), the catalogue, *Il Palazzo del Quirinale*, with material by Franco Borsi, Chiara Briganti Marcello del Piazzo, Vittorio Gorresio and Giovanni Spadolini (1973), Natoli and Scarpati (1989), the special edition of the *Bollettino del Arte*, *Il Progetto d'Arredo del Quirinale Nell'Età Napoleonica*, edited by Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel and Chantal Gastinel-Coural (1995), and González-Palacios (1995).

¹⁰⁸ See Ridley (1992).

¹⁰⁹ See, for example, the article by Michael Broers, 'Italy and the Modern State: the experience of Napoleonic rule' (in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, Volume 3,

Rome in order to unearth new spoils, it is clear that in general, they played a greater cultural and regenerative role in Rome than in any other city of the empire, outside France.¹¹⁰ The triumphal parade of Italian spoils in Paris served as an early indication of what was to become a unique relationship between Paris and Rome - by which Paris was Romanised as much as the French intervened in Rome.

The 1798 Festival of Liberty: 'Entrée triomphale des monuments des sciences et arts'

'Rome is no more in Rome;
Every hero, every Great Man
Has changed country:
Rome is no more in Rome,
It is all in Paris.'¹¹¹

Viewers of the procession of spoils which took place through the streets of Paris in 1798 would have drawn clear parallels between the removal of art by their conquering armies, and the spoliations carried out by the Romans. The refrain in the song chanted at the Festival of Liberty, quoted above, suggests that they perceived Paris as the 'new Rome.' The removal of well known works of art meant that, in many ways, Rome had lost her role as the cultural capital of Europe. The works of art, which had played an important role in giving the city her identity as 'Rome,' were soon to be displayed in Paris, and to attract visitors to the 'new Rome.' Many of the viewers of the festival would have associated the procession with the Roman triumphs described by Latin authors, such as Livy, Pliny and Plutarch. Although critics often mention the general resemblance of the festival to the triumphs of ancient Rome, so far, an analysis of the 'Romanness' of the occasion has not been made. In this section I shall consider the relationship between the festival and the triumphs of ancient Rome, as a prelude to my detailed consideration of the Musée des Antiques, and its significance in the 'new Rome.'

By 1798, contemporaries such as Besson had already employed the Roman model as a justification for the spoliation of art by the French. The removal of important works of antique sculpture from Rome, however, brought the French much closer to the Roman model. Those who condemned the spoliations, such as Quatremère de Quincy, objected on the grounds that the French were reviving the barbarous customs of ancient Rome. The British, some years later, implied that the French had acted like Romans in their removal of art, in comparison with which they had been able to

The Transformation of Political Culture, 1789-1848, edited by François Furet and Mona Ozouf, 1987, pp.489-503).

¹¹⁰ I shall consider Napoleon's plans for Rome in more detail in Chapter 4.

¹¹¹ Refrain in the song chanted at the Festival of Liberty in 1798, as the spoils from Rome and Italy were paraded through the streets (translated by McClellan: 1994, 123).

acquire the Elgin Marbles through diplomacy alone.¹¹² But the similarities between the French and Romans in their seizures of art was more deeply rooted than these comparisons imply. The changing climate of the Revolution, in particular, the increased militarisation of the regime, in combination with the Roman ideology of the Revolutionaries, which was soon to be developed into that of imperial Rome, meant that contemporaries truly visualised themselves as ancient Romans, and Paris as the 'new Rome.'

According to the Treaty of Tolentino, it was agreed that the works of art chosen from collections in Rome by the French Commissioners would be sent to France without delay.¹¹³ Ten wagons were specially constructed for the first convoy, each of which carried two sculptures, and an additional wagon carried the paintings. While the few largest items, such as the Tiber and the Nile, were temporarily stored in the Vatican, three other convoys followed to Livorno, from which the items were shipped to Marseilles, then taken by boat up the Rhone and different canals to Paris.¹¹⁴ A well-known engraving by Marin and J.J.Baugean of the third convoy of works of art setting off from Rome (fig.122) depicts thirteen wagons being pulled by oxen through the Italian countryside outside Rome.¹¹⁵ The dome of St.Peter's can be seen in the background. The sheer feat of the journey is emphasised by the vulnerable nature of the convoy and the poor quality of the road depicted.¹¹⁶

¹¹² See the copy of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 87, January 1817, p.80 (quoted in Jenkins: 1992, 19): '[The Elgin Marbles] are a proud trophy because their display in the British Metropolis is the result of public taste, and also a pleasing one, because they are not the price of blood shed in wanton or ambitious wars.'

¹¹³ For further information concerning the circumstances of the Treaty and the selection of works etc, see Saunier: 1902, p.33ff., McClellan: 1994, pp.115ff., and the articles by Marie-Louise Blumer, 'La Commission pour la recherche des objets de sciences et arts en Italie (1796-1797)' (*La Revolution Française*, 1934, pp.62-88, 124-150, 222-259), and 'Le transport en France des objets d'art cédés par le Traité de Tolentino' (*Revue des Etudes Italiennes*, No.1, 1936, pp.11-23). The six Commissioners sent to Italy to select the works of art and other items to be transported back to France were the mathematician, Monge, the chemist, Berthollet, two naturalists, Thouin and Labillardière, the sculptor, Moitte and Berthelemy, a painter (Blumer, 1936, as above, 13). Blumer also includes interesting quotations from the letters sent from the Commissioners to the administrators of the Musée Central des Arts detailing the manner in which the paintings and sculptures were to be prepared for transportation and the special wagons which were to be constructed for the sculptures (Blumer, 1936, as above, pp.14-16). For further information and research on the Treaty of Tolentino, see the periodical *Quaderni del Bicentario, pubblicazione periodica per il bicentario del trattato di Tolentino (19th Feb.1797)*, which was first issued in 1995. I am grateful to Dottoressa Gorgone of the Museo Napoleonico for drawing this to my attention.

¹¹⁴ On the transportation of items, see the article by Marie-Louise Blumer, 'Le transport en France des objets cédés par le traité de Tolentino' (*Revue des Etudes Italiens*, No.1, 1936, pp.16-18. She delineates the precise route taken by canals etc across France on p.18. Also see various letters in the *Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume XVI, 1791-1797, edited by Montaignon and Guiffrey, 1907, p.468ff, and Volume XVII, 1797-1804. For example, in a letter from Talleyrand to François de Neufchateau, Ministre de l'Intérieur, dated 1 August 1797 (Volume XVII, no.9692, p.79), Talleyrand comments that the fourth convoy has left Rome, and that items which would have been particularly vulnerable during the mountain journey have been left in a store in the Vatican.

¹¹⁵ This engraving is held in the archives of the Museo Napoleonico, and is numbered MN 749. It is entitled, *Depart de Rome, du troisième Convoi des Statues et Monumens des Arts, pour le Museum Nationale de Paris, le 21 Floreal An. 5eme de la République. Dedié au Directoire executif de la*

As the boats containing the art works from Rome approached Paris, Thouin, one of the six Commissioners who had been responsible for selecting items for removal in Rome, suggested that their arrival should be celebrated with a special festival.¹¹⁷ Before leaving Rome, Thouin and Moitte had written to the *Ministre de l'Intérieur* to recommend that the works of art be provisionally placed in a church as soon as they arrived in Paris, so that public would be able to see them.¹¹⁸ But as the convoy neared Paris, reports spread concerning the hair-raising nature of the journey,¹¹⁹ and people became impatient from having waited over two years to see their spoils,¹²⁰ Thouin wrote to the President of the Directory, La Réveillère-Lepeaux, to propose that a festival be organised in Paris. He was adamant that the works of art should be given a magnificent reception, which would reflect their importance as glorious war spoils. In his letter, he commented:

‘Férons-nous arriver à Paris les précieuses dépouilles de Rome comme des bateaux de charbon, et les verra-t-on débarquer sur le quai du Louvre comme des caisses de savon? J’avou que cette idée m’afflige. Il me semble qu’il faudrait les faire entrer dans ce chef-lieu de l’empire français de manière plus décente, plus digne de leur mérite particulier, de la haute valeur des armées d’Italie qui les ont conquis, et enfin plus digne de l’importance que doit y attacher le gouvernement français.’¹²¹

As well as suggesting that a festival would have great moral significance for onlookers, he also cites as a direct precedent the Roman model of spoliation and their display of spoils:

‘Mais il ne faut pas manquer, dans une telle circonstance, de faire connaître au peuple français une grand et sublime vérité, qui doit être le but essentiel de cette espèce de spectacle et de toutes les fêtes nationales: c’est son but moral.

République Française par les citoyens Marin et Baugean. A copy of the same engraving from the collection of the Museo di Roma was included in the exhibition *I Francesi a Roma*, held at the Palazzo Braschi, 1961 (cat.no.802, p.322). Apparently the third convoy was pulled by 120 buffalo and 60 long-horned oxen (McClellan: 1994, 120).

¹¹⁶ Despite the trials of the journey, it seems that all of the works of art arrived undamaged in Paris. On unpacking the artworks in the Louvre, Denon apparently commented: ‘Cent caisses ont été ouvertes: pas un accident, pas une seule fracture n’a altéré notre bonheur dans l’acquisition de si rares trésors. Une étoile, qui est devenue la nôtre, a présidé à tous les événements relatifs à ces envois’ (quoted in the article by Marie-Louise Blumer, ‘Le transportation en France des objets d’art cédés par la traité de Tolentino,’ *Revue des Etudes Italiens*, No.1, 1936, 23).

¹¹⁷ Thouin had accompanied the convoy for most of the journey, so from a personal view, as well as for other reasons, he would have been keen to celebrate their arrival in Paris.

¹¹⁸ See the article by Meredith Shedd, ‘Plans for a Musée des Antiques in Paris during the 1790s: Political trophy case or precinct for study?’, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, février 1996, p.86.

¹¹⁹ McClellan: 1994, 120: ‘Descriptions of the bumpy road and curious bystanders between Rome and the port of Livorno (Leghorn), and the threat of English frigates on the open seas, lent the reports local colour and a touch of suspense...’

¹²⁰ Since the Armistice of Bologna.

¹²¹ Quoted in the article by Marie-Louise Blumer, ‘Le transport en France des objets d’art cédés par le traité de Tolentino’ (*Revue des Etudes Italiennes*, No.1, 1936, pp.18-19).

Il faut que tous les spectateurs reçoivent des impressions profondes qui les portent à penser, à combiner des idées et enfin à tirer de leurs propres réflexions de grandes vérités. En leur élevant l'âme, elles les rendent meilleurs et les attachent davantage à leur sol, à leurs lois, à leur gouvernement et à leur patrie. Une fort simple inscription placée au dernier char et qui pourrait être ainsi conçue remplira ce but:

Les Egyptiens devenus sans force et sans vertu se sont laissé enlever par les Grecs courageux et libres une partie de ces monuments. Ceux-ci à leur tour subjugués par les vices et vaincus par les Romains ont laissé échapper ces monuments de leur antique gloire avec ceux mêmes que leur génie avait produits. Les Français républicains, provoqués par d'insignes perfidies, ont conquis sur les Romains énervés par la superstition et tombés dans l'esclavage ces chefs-d'oeuvre de l'antiquité la plus reculée en même temps que les productions sublimes de leurs artistes mêmes. Français, conserve tes vertus et ton courage si tu veux conserver les monuments des victoires de tant de peuples différents auxquels tu succèdes dans cette noble possession. La destinée de ces chefs-d'oeuvre est de suivre le char de la victoire et d'embellir le séjour des arts et des sciences et surtout de la liberté.¹²²

The festival was originally planned to coincide with celebrations for Bastille Day, but in the event it took place on the date planned for the Festival of Liberty, 27 July 1798.

Several critics have provided accounts of the festival.¹²³ In the introduction to his important account, *Les Conquêtes Artistiques de la Révolution et de l'Empire*, Charles Saunier draws our attention to the fact that, in their seizure of art, the French were specifically influenced by the Romans.¹²⁴ McClellan, however, suggests that the Festival, in particular, the banners, songs and

¹²² Quoted in the article by Marie-Louise Blumer, as above, p.19. These ideas are also reflected in a report, presented to the Directory on 22 April 1798: 'Les commissaires du gouvernement pour la recherche des objets d'art, la classe de littérature et beaux-arts de l'Institut, les poètes, les philosophes, les politiques surtout qui sentent le besoin de relever l'esprit public, d'augmenter la fierté nationale, en faisant passer sous les yeux du peuple les dépouilles des peuples conquis, tous se réunissent pour demander que le jour d'entrée à Paris de ces fruits de nos victoires soit célébrer par une fête' (also quoted in the article by Marie-Louise Blumer, pp.19-20).

¹²³ On the Festival of Liberty, see Saunier: 1902, pp.32-43, Lanzac de Laborie: 1913, Volume VIII, pp.236-7, the article by Marie-Louise Blumer, 'Le transport en France des objets d'art cédés par le traité de Tolentino' (*Revue des Etudes Italiennes*, No.1, 1936, pp.18-23), Gould: 1965, pp.64-6, and McClellan: 1994, pp.120-123. Also see the article by P.Mainardi, 'Assuring the Empire of the Future: The 1798 *Fête de la Liberté*' (*The Art Journal*, No.48, summer 1989, pp.155-63).

¹²⁴ 'Cependant ce rêve d'un musée unique fut un moment presque réalisé. Dans leur fièvre de centralisation, les hommes de la Révolution ne s'étaient pas contentés de réunir à Paris toutes les richesses d'art de la France: ils avaient voulu accarparer, au hasard des conquêtes, les chefs-d'oeuvre dont s'enorgueillissaient les principales villes d'Europe. Etait-ce bien équitable? Ils y songèrent à peine. Leurs modèles, les Romains, avaient agi ainsi' (Saunier: 1902, 2). Unfortunately, however, Saunier does not explore this issue any further.

speeches composed for the occasion were 'loaded with...fuzzy rhetoric.'¹²⁵ He implies that the French continually referred to the Republic's eternal right to spoils and to their victory over tyrants in an attempt to justify their acquisitions. Yet in the context of the strong 'Roman' ideology of the Republic, this rhetoric seems to be far from 'fuzzy.' The removal of art during the Italian campaigns meant that the Louvre 'took on an increasingly military air.'¹²⁶ The ornamental arrangement of captured enemy arms and battle standards taken from Lombardy in the Louvre early on in 1798 prepared the public to view the works of art from Italy as 'Roman' battle spoils.¹²⁷ The occasion of the Festival of Liberty 'was as close to a literal and deliberate imitation of a Roman triumph as the revolutionaries ever achieved,'¹²⁸ and the model of ancient Rome was more significant than as a means of justification, as McClellan implies.

On 27 July 1798, the forty-five cases containing the items seized from Italy were loaded onto carts and moved in procession from the Museum of Natural History on the Left Bank to the Champ de Mars, where they arrived in the late afternoon. Etienne Délécluze, a pupil of David, describes the scene:

'It was resolved to arrange a triumphal entry on that day for all the crates containing the manuscripts, books, statues, and paintings from the library and museum of the Vatican. For this purpose, the crates were placed on enormous carts, drawn by richly caparisoned horses, and to these treasures of art, treasures of another kind were added, to give the procession a character of encyclopedic completeness....The whole long train was divided into four sections. At the head advanced the crates filled with manuscripts and books. Next came those which contained the most interesting mineral products of Italy, among them the Veronese fossils. To complete this museum of natural history on wheels, there were iron cages holding lions, tigers and panthers, surmounted by huge palm branches, carobs, and other exotic plants brought to France by our naval officers.

These were followed by a long line of carts filled with crated paintings, inscribed with the titles of the most famous works, such as Raphael's *Transfiguration*, and Titian's *Christ*...Finally, on specially constructed, heavy carts followed the sculptures and marble groups: the *Apollo of Belvedere*, the *Nine muses*,

¹²⁵ McClellan: 1994, 123.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 121. On the increased militarisation of the Republic and the effect this had on the monuments designed for Paris, see Leith: 1991, Chapter VIII, pp.261-305. I shall consider the relationship of the French to the militaristic monuments of ancient Rome, specifically arches and columns, in Chapters 4 and 5. As will be suggested, the arches and columns of Rome particularly appealed to Napoleon and his architects.

¹²⁷ McClellan: 1994, 121.

¹²⁸ Gould: 1965, 66. Note, however, Gould's remark that the Festival parade 'marked the culmination of the confidence of the Revolution....Little more than a year later the Revolution came to an end.' By

the *Antinous*, three or four statues of *Bacchus*, the *Laocoön*, the *Gladiator*, and other specimens of the best antique sculpture. These carts and their precious cargoes bore numbers and were bedecked with laurel branches, bouquets and wreaths of flowers, and with flags taken from the enemy. Inscriptions in French, Latin and Greek identified the divinities and other personages represented by the statues, or celebrated the glorious achievements of the Army and of its general to whom we owed these prestigious riches.

Each of the four sections was preceded by detachments of cavalry and infantry, with drummers and bands, and by the members of the Institute whose field of specialization corresponded to each of the four sections, accompanied by scholars and artists. Behind them marched actors, chanting hymns of joy... This immense procession traversed all of Paris, to pass in review at the Champ de Mars, before the five members of the Directory who stood at the Altar of the Fatherland, surrounded by the ministers of state and high officials of the government, the generals of the garrison, and an immense crowd of spectators who had come to witness a public ceremony which aroused the liveliest and most sincere enthusiasm. As can be imagined, this enthusiasm was especially strong among the artists...¹²⁹

A well-known illustration of the scene, drawn by Girardet and engraved by Ambroise Tardieu and Charles Normand (fig.123), depicts the parade travelling around the Champ de Mars.¹³⁰ The Horses of St Mark's can be seen in the foreground.¹³¹ These had been removed using scaffolding on the front of St Mark's, and wheeled across the Piazza by the French (fig.124).¹³² On the occasion of the Festival of Liberty, they were specially unwrapped in order to dazzle the crowds, and labelled, 'Ils sont enfin sur une terre libre.' Almost all the other sculptures were kept in their crates, as the festival organisers were wary of unpacking them before they reached the Louvre, but a banner held at the front of the fine art section announced that what followed were the conquered works of art, 'Les Arts

contrast, I am suggesting that the parade represents the first clear visual manifestation of Paris as the 'new Rome.'

¹²⁹ Translation by Lorenz Eitner, *Neoclassicism and Romanticism, 1750-1850, Sources and Documents, Vol.II, Restoration/Twilight of Humanism*, New Jersey, 1970, pp.8-9. For further contemporary descriptions of the festival, see *La Decade Philosophique*, 20 thermidor, an VI, pp.301-5, and *La Clef du Cabinet des Souverains*, No.552, 7 thermidor, an VI, pp.4816-4819.

¹³⁰ This copy of the engraving is held in the archives of the Museo Napoleonico in Rome, numbered MN 753.

¹³¹ On the reception of the Horses during this period, see the article by M.Pavan, 'The Horses of San Marco in the Neo-Classical and Romantic epochs,' in the exhibition catalogue, *The Horses of San Marco*, translated by J. and V. Wilton-Ely, 1979, pp.111-115.

¹³² This engraving by Jean Duplessi-Bertaux after Carle Vernet was executed in 1806, and is reproduced in Saunier, opposite the title page. The engraving shows the entry of the French in Venice in May 1797. A copy of the engraving from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris was included in the exhibition, 1796-1797. *Da Montenotte a Campofornio: la rapida marcia di Napoleone Bonaparte*,

cherchent la terre où croissent les Lauriers.' The role of the French as 'new Romans' was clearly indicated by the banner held before the twenty-seven wagons of antique sculpture, which proclaimed:

'La Grèce les céda; Rome les a perdu;
Leur sort changea deux fois; il ne changera plus.'

While the two wagons carrying the paintings were preceded by a banner demanding the attention of artists, 'Artistes, accourez! vos maîtres sont ici.'¹³³

Right from the start, the procession was presented as a Roman triumph.¹³⁴ In ancient Rome, generals and emperors had seized works of art during their campaigns and displayed them in triumph through the streets of Rome, and along the Via Sacra through the Forum Romanum (fig.125), and in a similar manner the French displayed their military spoils through the streets of Paris. The military context of the occasion provided clear links with the Roman triumphs delineated in the accounts of Roman writers such as Livy and Plutarch, which were widely read at this time.¹³⁵ According to Livy in *The Early History of Rome*, it was Romulus who, laying of spoils taken from the leader of the people of Caenina at a sacred oak on the Capitol, instituted the custom of victorious generals dedicating their spoils when they returned from war. He comments:

'The victorious army returned, and Romulus proceeded to dispose of the spoils. Magnificent in action, he was no less eager for popular recognition and applause; he took the armour which he had stripped from the body of the enemy commander, fixed it on a frame made for the purpose, and carried it in his own hands up to the Capitole, where, by an oak which the shepherds regarded as a sacred

held at the Museo Napoleonico, 1997 (cat.no.51). For further information on the Horses of St Mark's, see Haskell and Penny: 1981, pp.236-240.

¹³³ Quoted in the article by Marie-Louise Blumer, 'Le transport en France des objets d'art cédés par le traité de Tolentino' (*Revue des Etudes Italiennes*, No.1, 1936, p.21).

¹³⁴ For a useful delineation of the tradition of Roman triumphs, see R.Cagnat, 'La cérémonie du triomphe' (in Daremberg, Saglio and Pottier, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, quoted in Dupavillon and Lacroix: 1989, pp.98-101). Two excellent accounts of Roman triumphs are provided by Payne (1962) and Versnel (1970), while a useful account of Roman festivals is that by Dumézil (1986). For a detailed study of the significance of the trophies brought back by the Romans from their campaigns, see Picard (1957).

¹³⁵ See Chapter 1 of this thesis, and Parker: 1937, Chapter 1, pp.8-36. It is interesting to note that although Winckelmann's notion of the importance of the Greek artistic and cultural model was not a major influence on the French in this period, in a section of his *History*, Winckelmann refers to various Roman triumphs. If any part of the *History* was to have been popular at the time of Napoleon's seizure of spoils, it is likely to have been this section. His delineation of the triumphs occurs in Volume 3 of the H.J.Jansen edition of the *History of the Art of the Ancients* (1790), Book 5, Chapter 2, 'Histoire de l'art chez les Romains' (p.174ff). For example, he comments on the triumph of L.Quinctius: 'L.Quinctius, ayant terminé la guerre entre les Romains & Philippe, roi de Macédoine, père du dernier roi de Persée, fit transporter de la Grèce à Rome une grande quantité de statues de bronze & de marbre, & une infinité de vases artistement travaillés: toutes ces richesses furent exposées à la vue du peuple pendant le triomphe du général, qui dura trois jours, & qui date de la cent quarante-cinquième olympiade. Parmi ces trésors, il y avoit dix boucliers d'argent et un d'or, indépendamment de cent quatorze couronnes de ce dernier métal, données en présent par les milles grecques...' (Volume 3, p.374).

tree, he laid it down as an offering to Jupiter. At the same time he determined on the site of a plot of ground to be consecrated to God and uttered this prayer: Jupiter Feretrius (such was the new title he bestowed), to you I bring these spoils of victory, a king's armour taken by a king; and within the bounds already clear in my mind's eye I dedicate to you a holy precinct where, in days to come, following my example, men shall lay the 'spoils of honour' stripped from the bodies of commanders or kings killed by their own hands. Such was the origin of the first temple consecrated in Rome.¹³⁶

The Temple of Jupiter was built during the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, the first Roman King, after he had enacted his own triumphal entry into Rome, and it was under Tarquinius that a red terracotta image of Jupiter was made to stand in the temple. From then on, victorious military leaders had to be awarded the 'triumph,' which enabled them to take part in a religious procession from the gates of the city to the Capitoline, where a sacrifice was offered to Jupiter. By the time Livy was writing, the terracotta Jupiter and quadrigas which had stood in the Temple of Jupiter had been destroyed. During this period, however, it was already a well-established custom for victorious generals to dress as Jupiter and to process through the city to the temple, where they dedicated their spoils.¹³⁷

Livy describes many instances when Roman generals engaged in triumphs and dedicated their spoils on the Capitoline. For example, he delineates how the general Titus Quinctius despoiled Praeneste and brought back a statue of Jupiter Imperator which he dedicated on the Capitoline,¹³⁸ and mentions that an image of Hercules was seized by the Romans during their war with the Samnites and set up on the Capitoline.¹³⁹ Perhaps the most notorious plunderer during the history of the Republic was Verres, whose pillaging in Sicily was so ruthless that the Sicilians appealed to the Senate. Details of his spoliations are vividly described in the speeches made in his prosecution by Cicero, the *Verrine Orations*.¹⁴⁰ It was common for works of sculpture and painting which had been seized as booty to be

¹³⁶ Livy, *The Early History of Rome*, I.10, translated by De Sélincourt and Ogilvie, 1971, p.45.

¹³⁷ A 'triumphator' often painted his face red for the procession, possibly in imitation of the terracotta statue of Jupiter erected on the Capitoline, and held the accoutrements of Jupiter. Servius indicates that the red colour 'minium' was associated with Jupiter, and that 'those who celebrate triumphs, who have all the insignias of Jupiter - the sceptre, palm-branch tunic - even colour the face with red' (Servius, *Commentary on Vergil, Eclogue X*, 27, translated by Pollitt: 1983, 10).

¹³⁸ 'Titus Quinctius, who became the victor in a single pitched battle, after capturing two of the enemy's camps and nine towns and having accepted the surrender of Praeneste, returned to Rome. As part of his triumph, he carried off the statue of Jupiter Imperator from Praeneste and brought it to the Capitolinum. It was set up between the cellas of Jupiter and Minerva with a dedicatory tablet fixed in place beneath it as a memorial of his great deeds; the inscription incised upon it read something like this: 'Jupiter and all the gods granted that Titus Quinctius, the dictator, should capture nine towns' (Livy, *The Early History of Rome*, VI, 29, 8-9, translated by Pollitt: 1983, 24).

¹³⁹ 'In the same year Sora, Arpinum and Cesennia were recovered from the Samnites. The great image of Hercules was set up and dedicated on the Capitoline' (Livy, *The Early History of Rome*, IX, 44, 16, translated by Pollitt: 1983, 25).

¹⁴⁰ In his table of reading material cited by the Revolutionaries, Parker (1937, p.18) indicates that Cicero's orations were particularly well quoted at this time (he notes 42 citations). In the *Verrine*

displayed during the triumphal processions in Rome.¹⁴¹ Sometimes panels were specially commissioned to be held during the triumphs, as banners were made for the Festival of Liberty in Paris.¹⁴² Pliny, whose *Historia Naturalis* was also well known in the second half of the eighteenth century, mentions that it was in the context of triumphal processions in Rome that equestrian statues became popular.¹⁴³ Relief panels on triumphal arches in Rome, frequently depict the emperor engaged in triumphal procession, and would have mirrored the processions which took place through the arches up to the Capitoline. The interior of the Arch of Titus, for example, is decorated on one side with a relief panel depicting the victorious emperor being driven in his quadriga, followed by a winged victory (fig.126), and on the other, with a scene of the procession of booty, including a seven-armed candelabrum, taken during the sack of Jerusalem (fig.127). These panels were often copied and 'restored' by French artists, as we can see from a terracotta of the panel depicting the procession of spoils from Jerusalem by Jean-Guillaume Moitte, which dates from 1790 (fig.128).¹⁴⁴ Plutarch, in his *Life of Marcellus*, indicates that the Romans were well aware of the impact created by their magnificent processions,¹⁴⁵ although later on, as the displays of conquered art increased, generals were

Orations, Cicero describes how Verres targeted cult images and votive offerings in the Greek temples of Sicily. For example, at II, IV, 129-130, he comments: 'The third [most famous statue of Jupiter Imperator in the world] is that which was in Syracuse, which Marcellus, armed and victorious, saw and which he ceded in the name of religion; which the citizens and residents of Syracuse used to worship; which visitors not only used to see but actually to venerate - this statue Verres carried off from the temple of Jupiter' (quoted in Pollitt: 1983, 70). Cicero also provides a colourful description of the difficulty Verres sometimes faced in attempting to seize works of art, for example, at II, IV, 94-5,

¹⁴¹ The author Florus, for example, describes how statues of gold and Tarentine painted panels were carried in a triumph following the victory of the Romans over Pyrrus in 275 B.C: 'Nor scarcely ever did a triumphal procession enter the city which was more beautiful and splendid. For prior to this you would have seen nothing but the cattle of the Volsci, the flocks of the Sabines, the wagons of the Gauls, and the shattered armour of the Sabines; but on this day you would have seen Molossian, Thessalian, and Macedonian as well as Bruttian, Apulian, and Lucanian; and if you had looked at the procession you would have seen richly adorned statues of gold and charming Tarentine painted panels' (Florus, *Epitomae*, I, 12, 26-27, translated by Pollitt: 1983, 25).

¹⁴² Florus mentions that panels depicting purple togas and the 'triumphator' celebrating his victory, were commissioned for M.Fulvius Flaccus and T.Papirius Cursor (see Pollitt: 1983, 27).

¹⁴³ Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXIV, 19-20. Pliny's books on art were well known at this time through translations such as that by Etienne Falconet, *Traduction des XXXIV, XXXV, et XXXVI livres de Pline l'ancien, avec des notes...*, first published in Amsterdam in 1772.

¹⁴⁴ Photograph in the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

¹⁴⁵ 'When the Romans recalled Marcellus to the war with which they were faced at home, he returned bringing with him many of the most beautiful public monuments in Syracuse, realising that they would make a visual impression of his triumph and also an ornament for the city. Prior to this Rome neither had nor knew of these exquisite and refined things, nor was there in the city any love of what was charming and elegant; rather it was full of barbaric weapons and bloody spoils; and though it was garlanded with memorials and trophies of triumph, there was no sight which was either joyful or even unafraid to gentle and refined spectators' (Plutarch, *Life of Marcellus*, 21, translated by Pollitt: 1983, 32).

blamed for having made the people of Rome soft and corrupt for encouraging in them a taste for art.¹⁴⁶ The Romans were renowned for their glittering triumphs, and those of Sulla and Pompey were the most extravagant of them all.¹⁴⁷ On Pompey's triumph, for example, Appian comments:

'In his triumphal procession, he exhibited team-drawn wagons and litters carrying gold and elaborate decorative objects, including the couch of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, as well as the throne of Mithridates Eupator, his sceptre and a gold portrait statue measuring eight cubits from the base...'¹⁴⁸

The spoils from the French campaigns in Italy, then, were paraded in the manner of a Roman triumph. Even those onlookers who had not been educated in Latin are likely to have been familiar with popular engravings of triumphal monuments in Rome, such as the Arch of Titus and the Arch of Septimius Severus, through which triumphal Roman generals and emperors had passed on their way to dedicate their spoils.¹⁴⁹ Some may have been lucky enough to have visited the monuments in Rome, but for others, the account of the city by Lalande, which included references to ancient authors and to folio editions of the sights of Rome, was a well known source of information on Rome. In his section on the 'Quartier du Capitole,' Lalande describes the history of the Temple of Jupiter, and how the spoils taken during military campaigns were dedicated at the temple in Roman times:

' Le temple de Jupiter Capitolin suivant le plan qu'en donne Nardini, avoit 200 pieds de long & autant de largeur y compris les portiques dont il étoit environné; Sulla l'avoit enrichi des colonnes grecques du temple de Jupiter Olympien: il fut brûlé sous Vitellius & refait par Vespasien, & une troisième fois par Domitien avec plus de magnificance qu'auparavant; cet Empereur fit venir des colonnes d'Athenes, & il est probable que ce sont celles qu'on voit encore dans l'Eglise d'Araceli. Ce bel édifice ne susistoit plus du temps de S.Jérôme; sans doute que les Goths l'avoient détruit.

On voyoit anciennement dans ce temple la statue de Jupiter assis, la foudre dans une main, & la lance dans l'autre; cette statue avoit été d'abord de terre cuite, elle fut ensuite d'or. Scipion l'Africain par une distinction bien extraordinaire avoit une statue près de celle de Jupiter (Val.Max.8.15).

¹⁴⁶ Yet they did not mind the display of weapons, military machines and the prows of warships: Plutarch, in the *Life of Lucullus*, 37, comments that there was 'nothing despicable' about the sight of such weapons (Pollitt: 1983, 64).

¹⁴⁷ Even Augustus dedicated his spoils from Actium, which included many works of art, at the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. It is interesting to note that in his *Parallèle des temples des anciens avec les églises modernes* (published in the *Supplément*, 1795, see p.22), Marie-Joseph Peyre mentions that Augustus erected statues to victorious generals at the Temple of Mars the Avenger, where spoils were frequently dedicated. It is clear that the custom of Roman triumphs and the dedication of spoils was well-known at this time.

¹⁴⁸ Appian, *Mithridatic War*, XVII, 116-7, translated by Pollitt: 1983, 65.

¹⁴⁹ On the many engravings and folio editions of Roman monuments at this time, see Chapter 1.

Ce Temple étoit rempli de trophées, de dépouilles, & de riches présens offerts par les Consuls, les Généraux, les Rois, les Empereurs; on en peut voir un vaste détail dans Marlianus, Lipsius, Ryckius, Donati; Ieron, Roi de Syracuse, y avoit consacré une statue de la Victoire en or, qui pesoit 320 livres romaines: on y voyoit 3000 tablets de bronze où étoient l'histoire & les loix de la République; les portes étoient de bronze, ornées de lames d'or, les voûtes aussi dorées.

Les Triomphateurs étoient revêtus de la robe de Jupiter, prise dans ce Temple, & qui avoit servi à cette statue; ils alloient dans leurs chars jusqu'à la place du Capitole; de-là ils montoient à ce Temple par plusieurs degrés pour y venir rendre de solonelles actions de graces.¹⁵⁰

By the eighteenth century there was little visible evidence of the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, but Lalande vividly evokes the appearance of the temple and its role as the destination of triumphal processions in ancient Rome. Readers of his guide would have been able to obtain a sense of the historical and ideological locus of the ancient Capitol, and are likely to have been provoked to equate the display of spoils at the Temple of Jupiter on the ancient Capitol with the display of their own spoils at the 'Temple of the Arts' in the Louvre.

The 'Romanness' of the Festival of Liberty in Paris, with its procession through the public places and streets of the city, would have been particularly apparent during the ceremonies which took place on the Champ de Mars. The procession circled the arena three times, affording the crowds a good view of the wagons, banners and the festival attendants, who, for the section of fine arts, consisted of professors of art, students and important artists. A special ceremony took place to mark the handing over of the spoils, as ceremonies would also have occurred on the Capitol in ancient Rome. The four Commissioners who had accompanied the spoils on their journey back from Italy, Thouin, Moitte, Tinet and Berthélemy, gave an official list of the items to the Ministre d'Intérieur, François de Neufchâteau, attended by Joachim Lebreton and all the other members of the Institut. But it was the festival structures and decorations, depicted in the engraving by Girardet (fig.123), which provided the clearest evocation of ancient Rome. Recalling the Roman arena, circus and colosseum designs which had been made by many of the students at the Académie d'Architecture and the Académie in Rome, the Champ de Mars had been transformed into a huge oval arena, with an impressive semicircular pavilion at one end, decorated with colonnades, statues in classical dress, sculpted battle trophies, wreaths and flags. Trees marked the route around the arena, beyond which clustered the crowds. Important guests were seated in the pavilion at one end, while at the other end stood two female herms or 'termini' which marked the boundary of the festival site. The military theme conveyed by the cavalry, troops and horses employed for the procession was maintained by the lines of troops standing next to a central podium. The scene was one of public celebration on a grand

¹⁵⁰ Lalande: 1769, Volume 4, pp.237-8.

scale, employing a space of Roman proportions which, in antiquity, would have been used for public events, festivals and games.

Curiously, at the centre of the arena, before a podium surmounted by a figure of Liberty, stood a bust of Brutus, in a prominent position facing out towards the crowd. As has already been suggested, during the Revolution, a cult of Brutus developed and busts of Brutus were often used to symbolise the French Republic.¹⁵¹ Before being placed here, the bust had been carried at the back of the triumphal procession by a group of 'défenseurs de la République,' followed by the six Commissioners who had been in Italy, wearing tricolours in their hats, carrying wreaths of laurel in their hands. As Leith suggests, the seated figure of Liberty was 'no longer the motif of the celebration,' and even 'the carpenter's level once suspended between the two thermae at the entrance had disappeared.'¹⁵² The bust would have formed the focal point for the arena, and served as a symbol for the occasion, uniting the different elements of the occasion - military, political and artistic. It is not clear if the bust was a direct copy of either one of the two original busts taken from Rome by the French.¹⁵³ But the prominence given to it foreshadowed the centrality given to the bust of Brutus on the podium at the Festival of the Perpetuity of the Roman Republic some months later. The prominent use of the bust on this occasion also suggests that by this time, the Revolutionaries felt a need for a figurehead and leader. It must have been noticeable that one of the only ways in which the festival did not resemble a Roman military triumph was in its lack of a general or emperor, riding at the front of the procession.¹⁵⁴ At the time of the festival, Bonaparte had already been off on the Egyptian campaign for two

¹⁵¹ As I suggested in Chapter 1, for example, a bust of Brutus was displayed at the Académie de France à Rome shortly after the start of the Revolution in Paris.

¹⁵² Leith: 1991, 292.

¹⁵³ From the engraving by Girardet, it seems as if the bust bears more resemblance to that of Marcus Brutus than the bearded, toga-wearing Lucius Junius Brutus. Blumer only describes the bust as 'le buste antique de Brutus' ('Le transport en France des objets cédés par le traité de Tolentino,' *Revue des Etudes Italiennes*, No.1, 1936, p.22). None of the material I have consulted suggests that one of the original busts was taken out of its wrapping and displayed at the festival. In their rapturous description of the festival, E. and J. de Goncourt mention that the bust of Marcus Brutus was carried on a wagon (quoted in Saunier: 1902, pp.36-7), which could suggest that the bust displayed in the arena was that of Lucius Junius Brutus. It must be noted, however, that they do not provide a comprehensive list of the sculptures in the procession. Neither of the busts are mentioned in Délécluze's description of the festival quoted above. It is likely that the bust displayed in the arena was a generalised head of Brutus, as we find included in the decorations for the Festival of the Perpetuity of the Republic in Rome (see Chapter 1). However, had the bust been specifically modelled on either the bronze bust of Lucius Junius Brutus, or on the marble bust of Marcus Brutus, the precise significance of it at the festival would certainly have been altered.

¹⁵⁴ 'The important person missing from this new version of the festival of unity was Bonaparte, since it was his sword which had made it all possible' (Furet: 1996, 215). Traditionally the 'triumphator' would enter Rome standing on a high, two-wheeled chariot, called the 'currus triumphalis,' which was drawn by four horses and decorated with laurel branches and often a phallus, bells and whips.

months.¹⁵⁵ It was not long before he returned, however, and was able to gain power and become the 'new Roman emperor' of the French.

The 'Romanness' of the French spoliations was confirmed by the speeches made at the festival. For example, in his speech, Thouin compared the French to 'Roman' conquerors, who had used their military strength to gain the greatest works of art: 'le sorte de ces productions du génie est d'appartenir aux peuples qui brillent successivement sur la terre par les armes, par les sciences et de suivre constamment le char des vainqueurs.'¹⁵⁶ At the festival, the French placed new emphasis on the strength and success of their military forces and revealed that so far their taste for conquered art had only been whetted by their spoliations. Soon other proposals were being made for the removal of art, especially from Rome. The most famous suggestion was that put forward by General Pommereul for the removal of Trajan's Column. He suggested that the column should be transported from Rome and installed on the Ile de la Cité.¹⁵⁷ The growing militarisation of the regime and desire to acquire more spoils brought the French increasingly closer to the model of ancient Rome. The 'Romanness' of the procession of spoils was soon to be reflected in the 'Roman' displays of antiquities in the Musée des Antiques.

(3) The Musée des Antiques

'L'idée de Musée est née sous l'ancien régime mais la Révolution peut se glorifier de sa réalisation. Jamais, depuis la Renaissance, le goût de l'antique n'avait été aussi vivace qu'en cette fin de siècle; il se manifestait en tout: l'architecture calquait les temples pour les églises, les châteaux ou les porches de simples maisons; la peinture empruntait ses sujets à l'histoire grecque ou romaine, et ses personnages à la statuaire; le mobilier, même les coiffeurs et les toilettes féminines, plagiaient l'antiquité.

¹⁵⁵ The Egyptian campaign itself was frequently compared with the campaigns of the Romans in Egypt. For example, in the preface to the *Voyages* (1802), Denon describes how he stopped in the desert on the way to Syené (Assuan): 'Là je quittai l'armée pour rester avec la demi-brigade qui devoit tenir Mourâd-bey dans le desert. Fier de trouver à ma patrie les mêmes confins qu'à l'empire romain, j'habitai avec gloire les mêmes quartiers des trois cohortes que les avoient jadis défendus' (p.3). While in the 'Préface historique' to the *Description de l'Egypte* (1821), Fourier describes the intervention of the Romans in Egypt: 'L'Egypte ne pouvait échapper aux vues ambitieuses de Rome, et les derniers Lapidés subirent le sort commun de tant de rois. Ce pays fut administré avec sagesse; l'agriculture, la navigation et l'industrie y firent d'heureux progrès. La fertilité du territoire, le commerce de l'Inde, les restes d'une ancienne magnificence, les relations avec l'Arabie et l'Ethiopie, tout contribuait à l'importance de cette nouvelle province; et Alexandre fut long-temps regardée comme une seconde capitale de l'empire' (pp.xx-xxi).

¹⁵⁶ Quoted in the article by Marie-Louise Blumer, 'Le transport en France des objets d'art cédés par le traité de Tolentino' (*Revue des Etudes Italiennes*, No.1, 1936, p.22).

Ce goût de l'Antique, remis à l'honneur par les découvertes d'Herculaneum et de Pompéï, avait été diffusé par les théories de Winckelmann. Prônée par Quatremère de Quincy, la doctrine du Beau Idéal allait rendre le Musée nécessaire: l'art néo-classique y trouvera ses principales sources d'inspiration.¹⁵⁸

As Christine Aulanier suggests in her important study of the Musée du Louvre, the need for establishing a public museum of antiquities was first articulated during the *ancien régime*, but it was only fully realised with the Revolution.¹⁵⁹ She provides a detailed study of the origins of the Musée in the Salle des Antiques formed by Henri IV in the Louvre, and the foundation of the new museum in the Petite Galerie, after it had been vacated by the Bourse. However, her suggestion that the inspiration for the Musée lay in the influence exerted by Winckelmann and Quatremère de Quincy is misleading. As I shall suggest, while the studies of ancient art by Winckelmann, principally *The History of the Art of the Ancients*, were popular in the late eighteenth century, they only served to influence attitudes towards art more generally, and did not have much effect on museology in France. In this section, I shall consider the foundation, arrangement and significance of the Musée in the political and cultural context of Paris in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which suggests that the Musée played a central role in the creation of Paris as the 'new Rome.' The 'Roman' triumph which took place in Paris to commemorate the arrival of spoils from Rome and Italy had profound implications for the establishment of the Musée, especially in engendering the 'Roman' ideology of the Musée. The choice of sculptures and their arrangement within the Musée resounded with the ideology of ancient Rome, not that of ancient Greece, which was celebrated by Winckelmann

¹⁵⁷ Pommereul made the suggestion in a list of works of art acquired by the French attached to his translation of Milizia's *De l'art de voir dans les Beaux-Arts*, which appeared in an VI of the Republic (see Saunier: 1902, 56 and Lanzac de Laborie: 1913, Volume VIII, 237).

¹⁵⁸ Aulanier: 1955: Volume 5, p.62.

¹⁵⁹ For a detailed consideration of the origins of the Musée des Antiques, see the article by Meredith Shedd, 'Plans for a Musée des Antiques in Paris during the 1790s: Political trophy case or precinct for study?' (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, février 1996, pp.81-94). See the article by James Connelly, 'Forerunner of the Louvre' (*Apollo Magazine*, Vol.XCV, 1972, pp.120-132) on the influence of the Luxembourg Palace on the creation of the Louvre. Important accounts of the history of the Louvre include Aulanier (1948-64), Blum (1946), Gould (1965), Cantarel-Besson ed. (1981), Bresc-Bautier (1989 and 1995), and Schaer: 1993, pp.51-73. In particular, see McClellan, 'The Politics and Aesthetics of Display: Museums in Paris 1750-1800' (*Art History*, Vol.5, No.7, 1984, pp.438-464), and *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-century Paris* (1994, pp.148-154 on the Musée des Antiques, also Carol Duncan's review, 'Beginning with the Louvre,' *Oxford Art Journal*, 1996, Vol.19, No.1). The article by Edouard Pommier, 'Idéologue et musée à l'époque révolutionnaire' (in *Les Images de la Révolution Française*, edited by Michel Vovelle, 1988, pp.57-78) is useful. For a range of contemporary documents, see Tuetey and Guiffrey eds. *La Commission du Muséum et la Création du Musée du Louvre (1792-3)* (1909), Pommier ed. *Réflexions sur le Muséum national, 14 janvier 1793*, Jean-Baptiste-Pierre-Lebrun (1992) and Eitner ed. *Neoclassicism and Romanticism, 1750-1850, Sources and Documents, Vol.II, Restoration/Twilight of Humanism* (1970, pp.4-19). The article by Helmut Selig, 'The Genesis of the Museum' (*The*

in his accounts. Sculptures such as the busts of Lucius Junius Brutus and Marcus Brutus which had been ignored by Winckelmann were given pride of place by the French, and the rooms of the Musée were arranged with Roman themes. Recent museological studies by critics such as Duncan and Wallach, who consider the social, political and ritual aspects of museums, suggest more profitable methods for interpreting the Musée des Antiques.¹⁶⁰ While I shall bear in mind that the seeds of the Musée were sown long before the Revolution, at a time when the French could not have anticipated that they would be able to seize important works of art from Rome and elsewhere, I shall consider how the arrival of these works in Paris altered the whole concept of the Musée. The Musée became an important showpiece and an integral feature of the 'new Rome.'

The 'Capitol' of the 'new Rome'

As early as 1767, the Frenchman Maille Dussausoy had suggested that the Louvre in Paris should be developed into an equivalent of the Capitol in Rome. He admired the Romans for their continual embellishment of the Capitol during the period of the Republic, and declared that 'The Capitol was a Temple of Immortality, every citizen aspired to be admitted there.'¹⁶¹ In the second half of the eighteenth century, images of the modern Capitol, as it had been redesigned by Michelangelo, were well-known through the work of important engravers such as Nolli (fig.129) and Piranesi (fig.130),¹⁶² and French artists such as Hubert Robert had made frequent sketches while they were staying in Rome (fig.131).¹⁶³ The Capitol was renowned for its historical significance, in antiquity and

Architectural Review, V.CXLI, February 1967, pp.104-5) provides a good general survey of the development of the public museum.

¹⁶⁰ See their article, 'The Universal Survey Museum' (*Art History*, v.III, 1980, pp.448-469). They provide some analysis of the 'Romanness' of the French seizures of art: 'Today's universal survey museum might be compared to Roman displays of war trophies. The loot that was paraded through Rome in a triumphal procession was often donated to the Roman public by wealthy benefactors and placed on public exhibition...' (p.449). Duncan and Wallach link this to the 'Roman-derived rhetoric' which 'has been used in public buildings since the Renaissance to symbolize state authority' (p.450).

¹⁶¹ See Leith: 1991, 26.

¹⁶² This detail from Nolli's *Grande Pianta di Roma* (1748) is reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, *Piranesi: Rome Recorded*, 1989, fig.3, p.25. Interestingly, Piranesi collaborated with Nolli on the design for his *Grande Pianta*. and he was much influenced by Nolli's work, as we can see, in particular, from his own *Pianta di Roma e del Campo Marzio* (1774). Piranesi's *Veduta del Campidoglio di fianco* appeared as part of Piranesi's series of *Vedute di Roma*, and is reproduced in Wilton-Ely: 1978, p.56.

¹⁶³ This *Vue de la Place du Capitole*, executed by Robert in 1762, is reproduced in the catalogue from the exhibition, *Hubert Robert: Drawings and Watercolours*, held at the National Gallery of Art, Washington in 1978 (cat.no.11). Also see catalogue number 12, *Capitole, Fontaine de la Place du Capitole*. In the catalogue from the exhibition, *J.H.Fragonard et H.Robert a Roma*, held at the Accademia di Francia a Roma, Villa Medici, Rome, December 1990-February 1991, see Robert's sketches of the steps up to Capitol (cat.no.106) and the statue of Marcus Aurelius (cat.no.107).

in the Renaissance.¹⁶⁴ In his *Voyage d'un françois en Italie*, Lalande refers to the story from Livy concerning the naming of the site the 'Capitol,' and to observations made by Ovid and Plutarch, as well as providing a description of the modern Capitol.¹⁶⁵ Since the 1730s, the Museo Capitolino had been a major source of inspiration to French visitors to Rome, where they could study and draw examples of antique sculpture.¹⁶⁶ But the site was perhaps best known for the primary function it had served in antiquity - as the location where returning generals and emperors had dedicated their spoils, and it was this aspect of the Capitol which was evoked by the Musée des Antiques.

Although in her recent study of the background to the foundation of the Musée des Antiques, Meredith Shedd does not consider the full extent to which the arrival of spoils changed the plans for the Musée, her account provides an important study of the origins and initial arrangement of rooms in the Musée.¹⁶⁷ In the early 1790s, the principal *raison d'être* of the proposed art museum was that it should function as an instrument of cultural instruction for the French people. Various locations were suggested for the new Musée, including the Louvre and the Madeleine. On 12 September 1792, the

¹⁶⁴ On the historical significance of the Capitol, see the article by F.Saxl, 'The Capitol during the Renaissance: A Symbol of the Imperial Idea' (in *Lectures*, 1957, pp.200-214), Krautheimer (1980), Stambough (1988), and most recently, Edwards: 1996, Chapter 3, pp.69-95. In the *Mirabilis Urbis Romae* (3.7) it is suggested that 'it was called the Golden Capitol because it surpassed all the realms of the world in wisdom and beauty' (quoted in Edwards: 1996, 96). Haskell and Penny mention that according to Montaigne, 'it was on the Capitol that historical associations were most overwhelming' (1981, 46). Gibbon is said to have experienced his moment of conception of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-88) on the Capitol in Rome, no doubt because of the historical associations of the site (see Edwards: 1996, 69). Various French translations of Gibbon's work were produced in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A popular translation was that by M.de Séptchênes, *Histoire de la Décadence et de la Chute de l'Empire Romaine*, with additional headings by André Samuel and Michel de Cantwell (published in Paris in 12 volumes between 1790-2).

¹⁶⁵ 'Son nom de Capitol, & ses armes qui sont une tête de dragon, viennent de l'ancienne tête qui fut dit-on trouvée au Capitole & qui fut regardée comme un présage assuré de la grandeur de Rome: le quartier du Capitole est encore le chef-lieu de Rome moderne, et la résidence de ses Magistrats municipaux; c'étoit une partie de la huitième region appelée Forum Romanum; la montagne ou la colline du Capitole n'a guères que 100 toises de largeur du nord au midi, & 200 toises de l'est à l'ouest, en y comprenant même les racines de la montagne ou les montées qui y conduisent. Elle étoit couverte d'une épaisse forêt lorsque Romulus y bâtit un temple & y forma un asyle;

'Romulus ut saxo lucum circumdedit alto,
Quilibet huc, inquit, confuge, tutus eris.'

Le Capitole a deux sommets entre lesquels est une place un peu moins élevée qu'on appelloit Intermontium; on distinguoit aussi sur le Capitole, Arx & Capitolium, c'étoit la citadelle, & le temple; mais on a beaucoup disserté pour savoir si le temple de Jupiter Capitolin étoit sur la cime orientale où est le Couvent d'Araceli, ou bien vers la roche Tarpéienne du côté du Tibre: il me paroît très-probable que ce fameux temple, appelé Capitolium étoit à l'orient, & qu'il y avoit sur la roche Tarpéienne un temple de Junon, où étoient les oies sacrées, suivant le témoignage de Plutarque, lorsque les Gaulois montant à l'assaut vers la roche Tarpéienne surent découvertes par les cris se ces oiseux' (Lalande, *Voyage d'un françois en Italie, fait dans les années 1765 & 1766, 1769*, pp.135-6).

¹⁶⁶ The Museo Capitolino was opened 'per la curiosità de' forestieri, e diletanti, e comodo de' studiosi' (see the exhibition catalogue, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, 1996, p.255).

¹⁶⁷ See her article, 'Plans for a Musée des Antiques in Paris during the 1790s: Political trophy case or precinct for study?' (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, février 1996, pp.81-94).

issue was provisionally solved by the removal of all paintings and other monuments from former royal residences (except Versailles) to 'le Dépôt du Louvre,' and on 27 July 1793, the Convention National decreed that the Musée would be opened on 10 August, in the first three sections of the Grande Galerie closest to the Salon Carré.¹⁶⁸ One of the first people to suggest that there should be a separate museum for antiquities was Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun, a prominent art connoisseur and one of four members of the Commission Temporaire des Arts, the administrative body which had succeeded the Commission des Monuments in 1793. After examining the antiquities stored at the Bibliothèque Nationale, he suggested that the entire collection should be added to the Musée Central des Arts, for the benefit of artistic progress in France. In a pamphlet published later that year, Lebrun proposed that a special display of Greek and Roman antiquities should be established in the museum.¹⁶⁹ Numerous contemporary artists also favoured the idea of creating a separate museum of antiquities, but not at the Louvre, and not for the reasons put forward by Lebrun.¹⁷⁰ On 7 February 1795, the Conservatoire of the Musée Centrale des Arts announced that as many antiquities as possible were to be brought from various temporary locations for the 'decoration' of the Petite Galerie and the Jardin de l'Enfante. The choice of location was apt since the Petite Galerie had been the site of Henry IV's Salle des Antiques, or Salle de marbre.¹⁷¹ The sculptures had remained there while the area had been used as a summer apartment by Anne d'Autriche, but by 1715, they had been removed. However, since the Petite Galerie was currently occupied by the Bourse, in June 1795, the Comité d'Instruction Publique decided to provisionally locate the collection of antiquities in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and appointed A.L. Millin as curator.¹⁷² The architect Charles de Wailly was then appointed to develop a plan for the accommodation of both a central museum and the antiquities collection at the Louvre. The Galerie d'Apollon (located above the Petite Galerie) was suggested as a provisional location for antiquities, and larger antiquities were to be placed in the garden (fig.132).¹⁷³ Although the vacation of the Petite Galerie by the Bourse on 14 January 1796 meant that it would at last be possible to install the antiquities there, the arrival of the works of art from Rome and Italy introduced new factors into

¹⁶⁸ A catalogue of 120 pages published that year listed 537 paintings and 124 bronzes, portrait busts and other miscellaneous objects. However, for various reasons, these galleries had to be closed at the end of September, and although they were partially reopened in November, finally closed again in early 1794 (Shedd: 1996, 83).

¹⁶⁹ Lebrun, *Quelques idées sur la disposition du Muséum*, 1794, pp.14-15.

¹⁷⁰ Shedd: 1996, pp.83-4.

¹⁷¹ On this early collection, see Aulanier: 1955, Volume 5, p.65ff.

¹⁷² He was asked to catalogue and classify the items, to give public lectures on the antiquities in the collection and to promote the 'science of antiquity' in Paris. During his career, he published various studies of antique art, including *Introduction à l'étude des monumens antiques* (1796), *Monuments antiques, inédits ou nouvellement expliqués* (1802-4), and *Galerie mythologique* (1811).

¹⁷³ The watercolour is dated 23 November 1795. It depicts statues displayed along a portico, and a centaur mounted as a fountain in the middle. Although it has been attributed to Hubert Robert, who produced many sketches, watercolours and oil paintings of the Louvre during the period 1780-1805 (see the catalogue, *Le Louvre de Hubert Robert*, by Marie-Catherine Sahut, from the exhibition held at the Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1979), Aulanier suggests that it is by De Wailly.

the plans for the Musée. A committee of administrators from the museum and nine distinguished artists was set up to decide where the spoils should be displayed.¹⁷⁴ Again the Petite Galerie was selected as an appropriate location for the Musée,¹⁷⁵ but the preparations which were needed for the installation of sculptures delayed the opening of the museum for another two years.

When the Musée opened on 9 November 1800 it received an enthusiastic reception. The public had been keen to see the works of art from Lombardy when they had been installed in the Louvre,¹⁷⁶ and they eagerly anticipated being able to see the celebrated works of sculpture which had been seized from Rome. The catalogues detailing the contents of the Musée remain our chief source of information on the precise contents and arrangement of the museum.¹⁷⁷ The first catalogue to be produced was the official *Notice des statues, bustes et bas-reliefs de la Galerie des Antiques du Musée Napoléon*, which appeared in 1802.¹⁷⁸ The *Notice* was on sale inside the Musée, and like guides which were available on other parts of the collection in the Louvre, was used to help raise funds for the renovation and decoration of the galleries. Its small size and low cost meant that the guide was accessible to many visitors to the Musée, and its constant revision and republication, notably, in 1804, 1811, 1813 and 1814, is indicative of its popularity.¹⁷⁹ The introduction to the catalogue may have been brief, but it

¹⁷⁴ The artists chosen were the sculptors Roland, Chaudet and Giraud; painters David, Hue and Gibelin, architects Chalgrin and Dufourny, and someone identified as 'Launoy.' Note that earlier on, Roland, Giraud, David and Duforny had in fact all signed the petition protesting against the spoliation of art, which had been sent to the government in August 1796. On Giraud's suggestion that the antiquities should be displayed in the Manège, see the article by Meredith Shedd, 'Plans for a Musée des Antiques in Paris during the 1790s: Political trophy case or precinct for study?', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, février 1996, pp.87-89.

¹⁷⁵ This seems to have been largely for reasons of tradition: 'Là même Poussin avait placé la Salle d'antiques. Apollon et les plus belles statues seront dans le même lieu où ce grand maître et tous les artistes du siècle de Louis XIV avaient déterminé de poser les copies de ces chefs-d'oeuvres' (quoted by Shedd in her article, 1996, as above, p. 90).

¹⁷⁶ For example, a writer for the Republican journal *La Décade Philosophique*, in an account from May 1799 of his visit to the collection of Old Masters displayed in the Louvre, describes the pride of a family group looking round the museum: 'a young soldier escorting his father, his mother and his sister, good village people who had never before left their community, and who apparently had never seen paintings other than the sign of a local inn or the smoke-covered daub above the altar. These good people could never tell the difference between a Poussin and a Watteau, but they were all proud to be there; and the son, all the more proud to be leading them, seemed to be saying 'it is I that conquered many of these pictures'' (quoted in McClellan: 1994, 11). The author suggests that the soldier and his family saw the works of art primarily as war spoils.

¹⁷⁷ As there is insufficient room in this thesis to delineate all the additions and changes in arrangement made to the Musée during the period 1800-1814, I shall focus on the arrangement of the Musée up to and including 1803, when Legrand's catalogue was published. In my consideration of the 'Roman' nature of the Musée, however, I shall also consider the broad relationship of the Musée to the 'Roman' monuments, the Arc du Carrousel and the Vendôme Column, which were erected slightly later (1806-8 and 1806-1810, respectively). I shall provide some discussion of the dispersal of works of art after the fall of Napoleon in the Conclusion to this thesis.

¹⁷⁸ This was based on an earlier leaflet, entitled, *Notices des statues, bustes et bas-reliefs, de la Galerie des Antiques* (1800), which included brief texts by Ennio Quirinus Visconti.

¹⁷⁹ In some cases, different editions of the *Notice* have been bound together, or supplements added. For example, the 1802 copy of the *Notice* in the Warburg has a *Supplément* from 1811 bound with it.

immediately draws the visitor's attention to the status of the sculptures as the spoils of war, 'le fruit des conquêtes de l'armée d'Italie,' 'ces glorieux trophées de la victoire,'¹⁸⁰ and provides a short explanation of the foundation of the Musée, and descriptions of the statues contained in each room.

A more significant catalogue, however, was the small red volume produced by Augustin Legrand, entitled *Galerie des Antiques, ou Esquisses des statues*, which was published in 1803. Legrand makes it clear in his introduction that he has based his work closely on the official *Notice*.¹⁸¹ Like the *Notice*, Legrand's account follows the order of the galleries in the Musée. In addition, many of the descriptions of the statues are quoted directly from the *Notice*, and include reference to the epic and mythological backgrounds to sculptures such as the Laocoön and the Apollo Belvedere, their pose and provenance, and comments on any critical disputes pertaining to the provenance and quality of the sculptures.¹⁸² Yet Legrand provides a more detailed introduction than we find in the *Notice*, descriptions of the individual rooms of the museum and their decoration, and a complete set of illustrations of the items on display, for example, the 'Ariadne' or 'Cleopatra,' the Meleager and Antinous from the Vatican, and the bust of Lucius Junius Brutus from the Palazzo dei Conservatori and bust of Marcus Brutus from the Museo Capitolino (figs.133-6). The illustrations are not of a high quality, especially in comparison with the exquisite plates included in some of the larger catalogues which were published on the Musée, but they provide an important visual record of the contents of the Musée, and meant that Legrand's catalogue served as a pictorial souvenir for visitors to the museum. In fact, in his introduction, Legrand gives a clear indication of the kind of audience he is targeting with his work: this includes members of the public who could visit at the weekends, and artists, who could work in the Musée between Monday to Thursday:

'C'est en partageant cet enthousiasme général, que nous avons entrepris de tracer une *simple esquisse* de ces chefs-d'oeuvres. Il n'appartient sans doute qu'au Gouvernement de donner à un ouvrage de cet importance tout le rendu dont il est susceptible. Nous offrons donc ce Recueil aux artists, aux élèves, à tous nos concitoyens, sur-tout aux étrangers, comme *une réminiscence* utile et agréable.'¹⁸³

Most importantly, however, Legrand's catalogue begins with a striking frontispiece and dedication, which imbue the whole work with the rhetoric of Roman conquest which had characterised

There are two copies of the *Notice* in the British Library: one is an 1813 edition with a *Supplément* from the same year bound with it, entitled, *Supplément...contenant l'indication des monuments exposés dans la salle des fleuves*; the other is a reprint from 1814, which includes a *Supplément...contenant l'indication des monuments exposés dans les Salles des Fleuves, de Silène, du Gladiator, et des Muses*. It is interesting to note that even in 1814, the *Notice* still cost only 1 franc 50 cent.

¹⁸⁰ *Notice*, 1802, 'Avis' (no page no.).

¹⁸¹ 'Il se distribue sous le vestibule une Notice indicative des Statues. Cette Notice, parfaitement bien raisonné, ne laisse rien à désirer aux amateurs des arts, et sur-tout de l'antiquité; par quelques articles que nous avons extraits littéralement, on pourra juger de son mérite' (Legrand: 1803, p.viii).

¹⁸² As in the *Notice*, Legrand does not name the critics who put forward these different views.

¹⁸³ Legrand: 1803, p.vii-viii.

the procession of spoils in 1798. On the frontispiece is a portrait bust of Napoleon (fig.137), shown in profile from his left side, in the manner of a Roman coin. Here, clearly, was the 'Roman' general, who had been absent from the Festival of Liberty. Unlike the medal designed by Bertrand Andrieu to commemorate the opening of the Musée, which depicts Napoleon with his hair arranged in Roman style, his head crowned with a laurel wreath (fig.138),¹⁸⁴ the bust of Napoleon in Legrand's frontispiece shows Napoleon wearing contemporary dress. His hair is depicted in the long style we find in illustrations of Napoleon the young general, such as the painting of Napoleon at the Battle of Arcola by Jean-Antoine Gros (fig.139). But his profile is characteristically Roman in style, and his 'Romanness' is confirmed by the impressive eagle with outstretched wings shown below him, which holds an olive branch in its beak and grasps thunderbolts in its talons.¹⁸⁵ These are the symbols of Jupiter, and the star above the portrait bust, the clouds behind the eagle and the sun below indicate that Napoleon is being portrayed as a divinity, in fact, as Jupiter himself.¹⁸⁶ In ancient Rome, it was the

¹⁸⁴ Reproduced in Saunier: 1902, fig.6. An example of this medal is in the collection of the Museo Napoleonico. This was included in the exhibition *I Francesi a Roma*, held at the Palazzo Braschi in 1961 (cat.no.806, p.323). On the reverse is a view of the Musée, flanked by one of the Capitoline Amazons on the left, the Vatican Meleager on the right, looking towards the special niche containing the Apollo Belvedere. Another copy of the same medal is held by the Ashmolean Museum (see the exhibition catalogue, *Canova: Ideal Heads*, edited by Katherine Eustace, 1997, cat.no.19, p.122). An alternative version of the medal depicts the vista of the Musée looking towards the Laocoön (see Haskell and Penny: 1981, 112 and the exhibition catalogue, *Canova: Ideal Heads*, as above, cat.no.19, p.122). On the range of commemorative medals produced during the Napoleonic period, see Millin (1819-1821), Edwards (1837), Bramsen (1904), and the article by Jean Babelon, 'La médaille et les médailleurs sous le Premier Empire' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.29, juillet-décembre, pp.199-202).

¹⁸⁵ The frontispiece in the edition of Legrand's catalogue in the British Library also has the inscription 'Pax in Ore Manu Que Fulmen' printed at the bottom of the page (this is not included in the version shown here, which is from the copy in the library of the British School at Rome). Other catalogues detailing the contents of the Musée repeated the 'Roman' iconography of Legrand's frontispiece, in particular the image of the eagle with outstretched wings. For example, the frontispiece to the first volume of the magnificent catalogue by Eméric-David, Visconti and Croze-Magnan, *Le Musée français, recueil complet des tableaux, statues et bas-reliefs qui composent la collection nationale*, which was produced in 4 or sometimes 5 volumes between 1803-9, has a fine engraving of a circular shield, embossed with an eagle holding thunderbolts in its talons. A helmet is depicted above, surmounted by a corona, and battle arms and a cloak are shown behind. The British Library has two copies of this catalogue. One is produced in four volumes, the fourth volume of which is devoted to the Musée des Antiques, with descriptions of the sculptures by Eméric-David and Visconti. The other consists of five volumes. For this, the 'Discours historiques' have been separated off from the main text and bound together to form the fifth volume. This was clearly the most prestigious catalogue to be produced of the Musée. Other catalogues include the *Galerie du Musée Napoléon*, by Joseph Lavallé, which consists of eleven smaller volumes, published between 1802-9, and the catalogue entitled *Musée des Antiques*, which was produced in 1821 by Pierre Bouillon and J.B.de Saint-Victor. The article by George D.McKee, 'The Publication of Bonaparte's Louvre: Illustrated presentations before 1804' (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, mai-juin 1984, pp.165-172) provides a useful account of the range of catalogues produced on the Napoleonic Louvre, and considers the influence of the collections of engravings with commentary texts which were contained in the 'Cabinet du Roi' and the 'Cabinets illustrés' from the time of Louis XIV.

¹⁸⁶ The association of Napoleon with Jupiter is interesting, since the Roman emperor Augustus was also closely associated with Jupiter, and, as I shall suggest in Chapter 4, Napoleon often took

custom for a 'triumphator' to dress up as Jupiter, clothing himself in the 'vestis triumphalis,' embroidered with palm branches ('tunica palmata') and stars ('toga picta'), paint his face red in imitation of the terracotta statue of Jupiter housed in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, and carry the attributes of Jupiter.¹⁸⁷ In a similar manner, Legrand's frontispiece depicts Napoleon with some of the attributes of the Roman god.¹⁸⁸

The subtitle of the catalogue on the opposite page confirms Napoleon's role as victorious 'triumphator,' since the contents of the Musée are described as 'fruit des conquêtes de l'Armée d'Italie.' This is expanded further by the 'inscription' which appears on the next page of the catalogue (fig.140). The inscription is decorated with Roman fasces and victory coronae. Just as an inscription engraved on a triumphal building plays an important role in 'monumentalising' the structure, by explaining its purpose, the context in which it was erected and its eternal appeal, here the inscription is used by Legrand to 'monumentalise' his printed work.¹⁸⁹

'HONNEUR
 A L'ARMEE D'ITALIE;
 GLOIRE ET RECONNOISSANCE AU HEROS
 QUI A GUIDE SES PAS.
 SA VALEUR'A FIXE LA VICTOIRE;
 SES TROPHEES
 SONT L'ORGEUIL DE SON PAYS;
 LA PAIX
 COURONNE SES TRAVAUX;
 LES ARTS

Augustus as his imperial model. On visual depictions of Augustus as Jupiter, see Zanker: 1990, pp.230-238. The star depicted above Bonaparte's head in Legrand's frontispiece is also reminiscent of the great general Caesar. See Dio Cassius (XLV, 7,1): 'When, however, throughout those days a certain star appeared, moving from north to west, some called it a comet and said that it presaged the sort of things which usually followed, but many did not believe this, and associated it with Caesar, holding that he had transcended death and been placed among the stars; so, taking courage, he [Octavian] set up a bronze statue of him, with a star above its head, in the temple of Venus' (quoted in Pollitt: 1983, 93).

¹⁸⁷ For a detailed discussion of the attributes of the 'triumphator,' and his association with Jupiter, see the excellent account of Roman triumphs by Versnel: 1970, pp.58-93. Versnel suggests that the origin of the ceremony must have been a rite in which a king entering a city or sacred enclosure was hailed as a god.

¹⁸⁸ Napoleon was often presented as Jupiter. For example, in the portrait of him by Ingres from 1806, he is shown seated on a throne, wearing a corona, in the manner of a seated chryselphantine statue of Jupiter depicted on an antique gem. The original gem had been published by the Comte de Caylus. In Ingres' painting, the eagle of Jupiter has also been woven into the carpet in front of Napoleon. For further discussion of Ingres' painting and the allusion to Jupiter, see the exhibition catalogue, *Portraits by Ingres: Image of an Epoch*, edited by Gary Tinterow and Philip Conisbee, 1999, cat.no.10, pp.65-72.

¹⁸⁹ In a similar manner, the printed folio editions illustrating the Arc du Carrousel and the Vendôme Column played an important role in 'monumentalising' these structures (see Chapters 4 and 5).

PRENNENT UN NOUVEL ESSORT.
HONNEUR
AUX HEROS QUI SAIT LES APPRECIER.'

The strong Roman rhetoric of the inscription, with its celebration of military heroes and their battle trophies, leaves the reader of Legrand's catalogue in no doubt as to the 'Roman' achievement of conquest and spoils, a message which is reiterated by Legrand at the beginning of the introduction to the catalogue, where he comments: 'La Galerie des Antiques du Musée Central des Arts de France, est un des plus superbes trophées élevés à la gloire de l'Armée d'Italie, car fort peu d'objets provenat de l'intérieur de la France y ont été ajoutés.'¹⁹⁰ The implication throughout Legrand's catalogue is that the spoils have been dedicated in Napoleon's 'Temple of the Arts,' the Musée des Antiques in the Louvre, just as in ancient Rome war spoils were dedicated at the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. The relevance of the model of the Capitol is suggested by the prominence given to the Capitol in Legrand's delineation of the source of many of the works of art and the circumstances in which they were selected in Italy.¹⁹¹ The custom of the Romans adding their own inscriptions to the sculptures they had seized was also mirrored by the French, who attached plaques to key items such as the Apollo Belvedere, to claim the sculptures and their conquest as their own. In his catalogue, Legrand describes how Napoleon placed a dedicatory plaque on the base of the Apollo Belvedere at a special ceremony held to commemorate the opening of the museum.¹⁹² A contemporary illustration shows Napoleon standing before the statue (fig.141), holding his arm outstretched in imitation of the pose of the

¹⁹⁰ Legrand: 1803, p.v.

¹⁹¹ Although here Legrand is actually referring to the Capitoline Museum: 'C'est au Capitole et au Vatican que ces chef-d'oeuvres ont été choisis par les citoyens Bathelemi, peintre, et Moitte, sculpteur, commissaires nommés par le Gouvernement, à la recherche des objets de sciences et des arts, conjointement avec les citoyens Bertholet, Monge, Thouin et Tinet, en exécution du traité de Tolentino' (Legrand: 1803, p.v).

¹⁹² See Legrand: 1803, pp.v-viii: 'Le 18 brumaire, an 9, fut désigné pour l'ouverture d'une partie de ces salles. Le 16, le Premier Consul BONAPARTE fit l'inauguration de l'Apollon; il plaça entre la plinthe de la statue et son piédestal, une inscription gravée sur le bronze, qui lui fut présentée par le citoyen Vien au nom des artistes. Elle était ainsi conçue:

LA STATUE D'APOLLON QUI S'ELEVE
SUR CE PIEDESTAL, TROUVEE A ANTIUM
SUR LA FIN DU XV.e SIECLE,
PLACEE AU VATICAN PAR JULES II
AU COMMENCEMENT DU XVI.e;
CONQUISE L'AN V DE LA REPUBLIQUE
PAR L'ARMEE D'ITALIE,
SOUS LES ORDRES DU GENERAL BONAPARTE,
A ETE FIXI ICI
LE 21 GERMINAL AN VIII,
PREMIERE ANNEE DE SON CONSULAT.
Au revers est cette inscription:
BONAPARTE, PREMIER CONSUL.
CAMBACERES, DEUXIEME CONSUL.
LEBRUN, TROISIEME CONSUL.

statue.¹⁹³ He appears to be holding a commemorative medal in his hand, however, rather than the plaque which was to be fixed on the statue.

As well as reenacting the Roman tradition of parading war spoils through the streets of Rome and dedicating them on the Capitol, the French also imitated Roman themes of collecting and display through their arrangement of sculptures in the Musée. Roman authors indicate that many statues of heroic generals and emperors, as well as statues of the early kings of Rome, were erected on the ancient Capitol. The Capitol was where spoils gained through war were dedicated and placed on public display, and at the same time, where great generals, leaders and emperors placed statues commemorating themselves or those whom they admired. Plutarch indicates that statues of Marius and Victory were secretly commissioned by Caesar and set up on the Capitol by night, and that Bocchos erected statues of Sulla and Victories bearing trophies on the Capitol.¹⁹⁴ Dio Cassius tells us that after Caesar's return from Africa, a bronze statue of him was placed, at the order of the Senate, on the Capitol opposite the statue of Jupiter.¹⁹⁵ He mentions that another sculpture of Caesar was set up next to the statues of the former kings on the Capitol, to commemorate Caesar's victory over Sextus Pompeius in Spain, and describes how a statue of Augustus on the Capitol was struck by lightning just before the emperor's death.¹⁹⁶ Statues of great generals and emperors were also erected in other temples in Rome, and often in the imperial fora, which were lined with sculptures. Works of sculpture which were particularly highly prized, such as the Laocoön, were displayed in prominent places such as the imperial palaces or baths,¹⁹⁷ while private sculpture collections were established by wealthy

LUCIEN BONAPARTE, MINISTRE DE L'INTERIEUR.'

¹⁹³ Reproduced in Chatelain (1973). The picture is annotated, *Eh bien, Messieurs, deux millions!*

¹⁹⁴ Plutarch, *Life of Caesar*, 6: 'During his aedileship, while he was at the peak of his popularity, he [Caesar] secretly had statues made of Marius and Victory, both bearing trophies, which he set up after transporting them to the Capitoline during the night. At daybreak, when people saw these statues - their gold glittering and their exquisite workmanship being manifest (he also made open reference by inscriptions to the successes over the Cimbri) - there was amazement at the daring of him who had set them up (nor was there any doubt as to who it was).' Plutarch, *Life of Sulla*, 6: '[Sulla's] struggle with Marius flared up again, gaining new impetus from the ambition of Bocchos, who, to flatter the Roman people and to please Sulla, set up figures of Victory bearing trophies on the Capitoline and, next to them, a gold figure of Jugurtha being handed over for justice by Sulla himself' (quoted in Pollitt: 1983, 92).

¹⁹⁵ Dio Cassius, XLIII, 14, 6: '[On Caesar's return from Africa the Senate decreed]...that a certain chariot of his should be set up on the Capitoline opposite the statue of Jupiter and that a bronze statue of him, striding over an image of 'the inhabited world' should be set up, with an inscription saying that he was a demigod' (quoted in Pollitt: 1983, 93).

¹⁹⁶ Dio Cassius, XLIII, 45, 3: 'They then decided that a statue of [Caesar] in ivory, and later an entire chariot, should be sent into the Circus along with the images of the gods. They set up another statue of him in the temple of Quirinus, adding to it an inscription which read 'to the unconquered god,' and still another in Rome on the Capitoline next to those of the former kings' (quoted in Pollitt: 1983, 93). Dio Cassius, LVI, 29, 4: '[In 14 B.C. just prior to Augustus' death] a lightning bolt struck a statue of him which stood on the Capitoline, and the first letter of the name 'Caesar' disappeared' (quoted in Pollitt: 1983, 114).

¹⁹⁷ In his *Natural History*, Pliny describes many important statues which had been displayed in Rome, and suggests, for example, that the Laocoön was greatly admired. The popularity of the Apoxyomenos

Romans, such as Cicero, who displayed his fine works of art, many of which had been procured by Pliny, at his villa at Tusculum.¹⁹⁸ The Capitol in modern Rome was also strongly associated with antique sculpture. Here, visitors could see the trophies of Marius and statue of Marcus Aurelius, and inside the Museo Capitolino and Palazzo dei Conservatori, a whole range of antique sculptures, including, in the Museo Capitolino, many busts of Roman emperors which reflected the notion of the Capitol as a place where history was made. Some of the rooms of the museum were lined with portrait busts, most of them depicting Roman emperors or 'summi viri,' and are still arranged in this manner today (fig.142).

Critics of the Musée have tended to assume that the ideas of Winckelmann acted as an important influence on its creation.¹⁹⁹ If Winckelmann had been a major influence on the arrangement of the Musée, we would expect items to be arranged historically in the Musée and to illuminate a prioritisation of 'Greek' over 'Roman' works of art. Alternatively, critics have emphasised the role played by Ennius Quirinus Visconti, the great antiquarian scholar formerly employed at the Museo Pio-Clementino, who became the first curator of the Musée.²⁰⁰ Certainly, the famous sculpture of Laocoön, which had been seized from the Vatican, was displayed in a special niche in the new Musée, in a manner which reflected its display in the Belvedere sculpture court. This work had been given special consideration by Winckelmann, whose long descriptions of antique sculptures were well known.²⁰¹ The practice of viewing works of antique sculpture by lamplight, which had been highly popular in Rome as a means of seeing the physical contours of sculptures such as the Laocoön and Apollo Belvedere, was also adopted at the new Musée. A drawing by Benjamin Zix shows a visit made by the emperor and empress and their entourage to see the Laocoön in its niche in the Musée

is conveyed by his description of the public outcry which ensued when Tiberius had it removed from the public baths and placed in his private chamber. Apparently a riot started outside the theatre, with people shouting 'Give us back our Apoxyomenos!' (see Book XXXIV, xix, 62-5, translated by H.Rackam, Volume IX, 1968, pp.172-175).

¹⁹⁸ For further discussion of the collection and display of sculpture in ancient Rome, see Strong (1994), and on collections in the private sphere, see Gazda ed (1991). On Cicero's sculpture-collecting, see his letters to Titus Pomponius Atticus, the *Ad Atticum*, I.6.2; I.8.2; I.9.2; I.10.3; I.4.3.

¹⁹⁹ See, for instance, the quotation from Aulanier at the beginning of this section.

²⁰⁰ McClellan, for example, comments that 'The new arrangement owed much to the plan of the Pio-Clementino' (1994, 153).

²⁰¹ These descriptions are to be found in his *History of the Art of the Ancients*. For example, Winckelmann provides a detailed description of the Laocoön group and focuses on the way in which the two extremes of pain and calm are shown by the figure of the priest: 'Beneath the brow the battle between pain and resistance is fashioned with great wisdom, as if it were brought together at one point: for while pain drives the eyebrows upwards, the flesh on the eyelids is thrust downwards in the struggle against this pain, pressing against the upper eyelid, so that the latter is almost completely covered by the flesh pushing over it' (translated by Potts: 1994, 137). For a discussion of Winckelmann's description of the Laocoön, see Potts: 1994, especially p.136ff. As I have already suggested, the article by Edouard Pommier, 'Winckelmann et la vision de l'Antiquité classique dans la France des Lumières et de la Révolution' (*Revue de l'Art*, Vol.83, 1989, pp.9-20) provides a comprehensive account of the editions and versions of the *History* which were published in French in the second half of the eighteenth century.

(fig.143).²⁰² Yet a consideration of the selection and arrangement of sculptures in the Musée des Antiques, and the decoration of the galleries, reveals that Winckelmann's notion of the four phases of development illustrated by antique sculpture was not a guiding factor for the display of items in the Musée.²⁰³ The Musée served as a location for official functions, in a similar manner to the Museo Pio-Clementino in Rome. We can compare the watercolour by Boilly of Napoleon presenting the sculptor Cartellier with the Legion d'honneur (fig.144), and Gioacchino Serangeli's painting of Napoleon welcoming army delegates into the Musée (fig.145),²⁰⁴ with depictions of official occasions held in the Museo Pio-Clementino, such as the lunette executed by Stefano Piaie showing Pius VI visiting the museum (fig.146), and Bénigne Gagnereaux's painting of Pius VI accompanying Gustav III of Sweden on a visit to the Museo Pio Clementino (1786) (fig.147).²⁰⁵ Illustrations of the Musée also suggest that the museum acted as a general public meeting place, as was the case with the Museo Pio Clementino and the Museo Capitolino in Rome.²⁰⁶ As I shall suggest, however, the displays created by Visconti in the Museo Pio-Clementino were not the major influence on those in the Musée des Antiques.

²⁰² Reproduced in Aulanier: 1955, Volume 5, fig.45. As I have suggested, Haskell and Penny: 1981, 102, and J.J.L.Whitely, in his article 'Light and Shade in French Neo-Classicism' (*The Burlington Magazine*, 1975, pp.768-773) mention this practice. It seems, however, that it took some years before the practice of viewing antique sculpture by lamplight was introduced in France. In 1802, the German publicist, J.F.Reichardt, visited the Musée and made the following complaint: 'Many of the sculptures, including the Apollo Belvedere, are placed too high. His feet are roughly at the spectator's eye level, and his divine body can only be seen from below. In Italy, he also stood too high, but at least was better illuminated. Here he received light from a window at his side which descends to a point lower than his feet. To see the statue well in its true character, one must climb on a stool opposite. In Italy, the statue was seen to its best advantage by torch light, a form of illumination which has not yet come into fashion in France' (quoted in Eitner ed:1970, Volume II, p.11).

²⁰³ McClellan comes to the conclusion that 'historical sequence was not an issue in the organisation of the antique sculptures,' but remarks that this is 'surprising,' since the arrangement of paintings in the Grand Galerie did show a 'theoretical commitment to chronological demonstration,' and Winckelmann's *History of Ancient Art* did have a 'huge impact' in France (McClellan: 1994, 153). As he suggests, the problems regarding dating antique sculpture at this time, when Mengs had thrown the originality of many of the best known works of sculpture into doubt by suggesting that they were only Roman copies, not Greek originals, may have hindered the construction of an historical sequence. However, McClellan does not explore the 'Romanness' of the Musée, or suggest that even if it had been decided at this stage that many the sculptures were Roman copies, not Greek originals, it would have had little effect on the role of the Musée as the 'Capitol' of the 'new Rome.'

²⁰⁴ Both reproduced in Chatelain (1973).

²⁰⁵ Both were included in the exhibition, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*. See the exhibition catalogue edited by Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, 1996, cat.no.38, pp.80-82 and cat.no.198, p.246.

²⁰⁶ There are a whole range of illustrations of the Musée in the volume, *La Petite Galerie*, by Aulanier (*Histoire du Palais et du Musée du Louvre*, Volume 5, 1955). I shall refer to examples by Hubert Robert later in this chapter. For depictions of general visitors to the Museo Pio-Clementino, see the exhibition catalogue, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, as above, cat.nos. 193-203, pp.241-249 (already mentioned in this chapter).

The first set of plans for the Musée were produced by Auguste Cheval de Saint-Hubert in November 1797,²⁰⁷ and they included a ground plan and two cross-sections of the two main axes of the Musée (fig.148-150).²⁰⁸ He proposed that three existing walls be removed, in order to form an uninterrupted gallery space, comprising thirteen 'salles,' most of which were named after certain sculptures they contained: the Salle de Ceres (A), the Salle des Fleuves (C), the Salle de Sphinx (E), the Salle de Cléopâtre (F), the Salle du Gladiateur (H), the Salle du Laocoön (I), the Salle des Muses (L), the Salle d'Apollon (M) and the Salle d'Antinous (N).²⁰⁹ Even at this stage, however, there were three rooms named after certain themes, the Salle des Bustes (B), the Salle des Empereurs (D) and the Salle Egyptienne (G), all of which recall the preferences exhibited by the sculpture collections of ancient Rome. But the redesign of the Musée following the death of Hubert showed a much clearer debt to Rome. The new architect, Jean-Armand Raymond, like Saint-Hubert, had studied as a pensionnaire in Rome (1769-1775), but he made several important changes to Hubert's plans. He suggested that a niche be constructed for the Laocoön and a special display area created for the Apollo Belvedere, and he simplified the museum plan. Although his original plans have not been found, we know that the museum was to be organised into nine 'salles,' as can be seen from the plan devised by Meredith Shedd (fig.151).²¹⁰ While three of these rooms were to be named after the Laocoön, the Apollo and the series of sculptures from the Vatican representing the Muses, and another the Salle des Saisons after the decoration it contained, five other rooms were given names which made a clear reference to ancient Rome: the Vestibule or Rotonde de Mars, the Salle de Diane, the Salle des Empereurs, the Salle des Hommes Illustres and Salle des Romains. In the event, when the Musée opened on 9 November 1800, only six of the rooms planned by Raymond were ready (numbered 4-9 on the plan by Shedd). An undated plan of the Musée reproduced in Aulanier (fig.152) appears to illustrate the Musée at this time.²¹¹ The plan, as well as the descriptions of the galleries in the *Notice* and the catalogue by Legrand, all indicate that while there had been insufficient time to prepare the first three galleries which had been envisaged by Raymond for the Musée, the Rotonde de Mars, the Salle de Diane and the Salle des Empereurs, the Musée retained as two of the primary galleries in the museum the Salle des Hommes Illustres and Salle des Romains.

²⁰⁷ Saint-Hubert had trained under Antoine-François Peyre and in 1784 won the Grand Prix which enabled him to study in Rome. For a more detailed consideration of his career, see the article by Damie Stillman, 'British Architects and Italian Architectural Competitions, 1758-1780' (*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol.XXXII, No.1, March 1973, p.61).

²⁰⁸ Reproduced in Aulanier: 1955, Volume V, figs.31-33. The two cross-sectional drawings show the axis from the rotunda to the Salle du Laocoön (in which the Apollo Belvedere can be seen on the left at the end of the vista of the second axis), and from the Laocoön across to the Salle d'Apollon.

²⁰⁹ Significantly, all these sculptures had been praised by Lalande (see the *Voyage d'un français en Italie*, 1769, Volumes 3 and 4).

²¹⁰ See the article by Meredith Shedd, 'Plans for a Musée des Antiques in Paris during the 1790s. Political trophy case or precinct for study?,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, février 1996, p.91, fig.11.

The arrangement of sculptures in the Musée indicated a specifically Roman way of thinking, which would have been even more enhanced had there also been time to prepare the Salle des Empereurs. We can tell from the official *Notice* and from Legrand that the Salle des Saisons contained a range of sculptures depicting mythological subjects, and, appropriately, figures relating to the seasons,²¹² including various fauns, the Spinario, the Capitoline Flora, Cupid and Psyche from the Capitoline, and the reclining figure of Cleopatra. Significantly here in the Musée des Antiques, the Cleopatra did not form the focus of the gallery in which it had been placed, and nor was the gallery named after the sculpture, as it had been at the Museo Pio-Clementino. The Salle des Hommes Illustres reflected the historical associations of the ancient Capitol, as a location where sculptures of great generals and emperors had been displayed, and important events had taken place. Here, in one of the first galleries of the Musée, the visitor would have come face to face with an impressive array of sculptures depicting 'summi viri,' many of which had been taken from the Museo Capitolino in Rome. Displayed in the Musée des Antiques, they played an important part in articulating the 'Capitol' of the 'new Rome.' From the Capitoline Zeno and the Vatican Demosthenes, to statues of Trajan, Phocion, Menander, and Posidippus,²¹³ the collection of sculptures on display in this gallery evoked the Roman cult of heroes. Only recently had the French tried to rival the Roman cult of heroes with the series of 'Grands Hommes' commissioned by D'Angiviller,²¹⁴ and Napoleon, shortly after he had been made First Consul, had requested a set of sculptures of great men for the Tuileries.²¹⁵ Interestingly, later on, there were also plans to place Napoleon's own statue in the Salle des Hommes Illustres - Canova's statue of him as Mars (fig.154). By placing the statue among depictions of the great men of antiquity,

²¹¹ Reproduced in Aulanier: 1955, Volume 5, fig. 36. The specification of the entrance hall as the Hall of the Torso, however, in the location of the Salle des Empereurs planned by Raymond, is not mentioned in either the official *Notice* or in Legrand's catalogue of 1803.

²¹² The sculptures relating to the seasons reflected the painting on the ceiling of the gallery: 'Le plafond de cette salle, exécuté par Romanelli, offrant les peintures des Saisons, on a cru devoir y réunir les statues antiques des divinités champêtres, et celles relatives aux saisons' (*Notice*, 1802, p.1).

²¹³ A statue of Minerva was also included in this group, her associations with war and as guardian of many of these 'summi viri' probably making this appropriate.

²¹⁴ On D'Angiviller's 'Grands Hommes,' which were to stand in the Grand Galerie of the Louvre, see the article by Frances Dowley, 'D'Angiviller's Grands Hommes and the Significant Moment' (*The Art Bulletin*, 39, December 1957, pp.259-277) and McClellan: 1994, pp.82-90. Dowley (p.268) considers the significance of Plutarch for the French cult of 'hommes illustres': 'Eighteenth century interest in Plutarch, already active before D'Angiviller's time, was heightened by the rising interest in the history of France and her *hommes illustres*. The obvious analogy between writing lives of famous Greeks and Romans, and writing lives of famous Frenchmen was seized upon by writers like Turpin for his *La France illustre ou le Plutarque français*, which was published in three volumes from 1775 to 1780, at the time D'Angiviller was launching his series.'

²¹⁵ These included eminent Republicans from antiquity, including Brutus, Cicero, Cato and Demosthenes, and renowned generals, Alexander, Scipio and Caesar, as well as modern soldiers, such as Gustavus Adolphus, Turenne, Condé, Marlborough, Prince Eugène, the Maréchal de Saxe and Frederick the Great, the sailor from the ancien régime, Dugay-Trouin and a cluster of figures connected with the Revolution including Mirabeau, Dugommier, Dampierre, Marceau and Joubert (see Wilson-Smith: 1996, pp.93-4).

Vivant Denon seems to have intended to 'Romanise' the sculpture, and confirm its status as a heroic, Hellenistic nude, suitable for the representation of the 'Roman' emperor of France.²¹⁶

As the visitor to the Musée passed into the next room, the Salle des Romains, the theme of 'les hommes illustres' was placed within the broader context of the political, cultural and historical significance of ancient Rome. The 'Romanness' of the sculptures and their display was enhanced by the paintings of scenes from Roman history which decorated the ceiling of the gallery. The central panel illustrated *La Poésie et l'Histoire célébrant les succès de Bellone*, while the four other panels showed *Les Députés du Sénat apportant la pourpre consulaire à Cincinnatus*, *L'Enlèvement des Sabine*, *Le Courage de Mucius Scaevola*, and *La Contenance de Scipion*.²¹⁷ With the completion of the

²¹⁶ It must be noted that these suggestions for the display of the statue were put forward before Napoleon had seen the statue, and expressed his dislike of it. François Cacault, the ambassador to Rome, who had played an important part in the commission of the statue, was the first to suggest that the statue should be placed in the Musée des Antiques. In a letter written to Denon in 1803, he commented, 'La statue doit devenir l'ouvrage le plus parfait de ce siècle. Ce ne sera point une figure à mettre sur une place publique: elle doit être placée dans le Muséum au milieu des chefs-d'oeuvre antiques que nous devons au Premier Consul' (quoted in Johns: 1998, 99). When the statue arrived on New Year's Day 1811, Denon wrote an enthusiastic letter to Napoleon, suggesting that it be placed in the Salle des Hommes Illustres: 'La nudité (de la statue) m'avait fait penser de la placer au Musée parmi les Empereurs...Je viens de la faire decaisser et placer dans la salle des hommes illustres du Musée Napoléon - J'attendrais...que Sa Majesté l'ait vue et m'ait autorisé à en faire jouir le public. Aussitôt j'en préviendrai par la voix des journaux' (quoted in Chatelain: 1973, 144). The fact that Napoleon was to see the statue in the Salle des Hommes Illustres before the sculpture was revealed to the public, implies that the Musée, or at least this room, was to have been temporarily closed at this time (possibly just so Napoleon could view the work). However, we know that Napoleon did not come to see the statue until the following April, so it seems unlikely that it was ever placed in the Salle des Hommes Illustres, or at least, not for this length of time. Certainly, once he had seen the statue, it was placed in a storeroom in the Louvre where no one could see it, not in the prominent location of a gallery in the Musée. For further discussion of Canova's statue of Napoleon, see the following articles: Ferdinand Boyer, 'L'histoire du *Napoléon Colossale* de Canova' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.42, 1940, pp.189-199); Marie-Louise-Biver, 'La *Napoléon* de Canova' (*La Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 1, 1963, pp.424-429); Hugh Honour, 'Canova's *Napoleon*' (*Apollo Magazine*, No.98, 1973, pp.180-184); Christopher M.S.Johns, 'Antonio Canova's *Napoleon as Mars*: Nudity and Mixed Genre in Neoclassical Portraiture' (*Proceedings of the Consortium on Revolutionary Europe, 1750-1850*, 1990, pp.368-82). For the most recent material to be published on the statue, see Johns: 1998, pp.93-106, and the article by Valérie Huet, 'Napoleon I: a new Augustus?' (in Edwards ed:1999, pp.58-61). On the bronze version of the statue which was intended to stand in the Napoleonic forum in Milan, see Chapter 4 of this thesis. I shall consider the fate of the statue following the fall of Napoleon in the Conclusion to this thesis.

²¹⁷ These are mentioned in the *Notice* from 1813 (p.7), although from the comment in the 1802 *Notice*, 'Le plafond de cette salle étant orné de sujets de l'histoire romaine, peints par Romanelli, on a cherché à y réunir les statues, bustes et autres antiquités qui ont trait aux Romains' (p.21), it would appear that the paintings had been executed by Romanelli and that they were already there in 1802. McClellan suggests that 'Raymond's alterations to the Petite Galerie entailed some reworking of Romanelli's original ceiling frescoes dating from the reign of Louis XIII (heavily restored during year II when Republican symbols were substituted for those of Bourbon rule)' (McClellan: 1994, 151) The 1813 edition of the *Notice* (pp.5-8) indicates that by this time, many of the other rooms in the Musée were also decorated with scenes recalling ancient Roman history. For example, while the vestibule ceiling was decorated with medallions illustrating the four schools of sculpture (Egypt, Greece, Italy and France), a fitting prologue to a sculpture gallery, the arcade between the Salle des Empereurs and the

Salle des Empereurs in 1803, these paintings of Roman imperial subjects were extended further through the Musée. The central ceiling panel of the Salle des Empereurs, for example, was decorated with a painting by Charles Meynier on the subject, *La Terre recevant des Empereurs Adrien et Justinien le code des lois romaines dictées par la Nature* (fig.153).²¹⁸ Within the Salle des Romains, however, the depiction of scenes and figures from Roman Republican history would certainly have enhanced the importance of the two busts of Lucius Junius Brutus and Marcus Brutus which had been the first items to have been chosen by the French and were displayed in prominent positions in the room. The *Notice* explains the historical importance of the figures,²¹⁹ and particularly praises the bust of Lucius Junius Brutus as a fine work of art: 'La tête est d'un excellent travail: les yeux sont incrustés, suivant la pratique des anciens dans leurs ouvrages en bronze.'²²⁰ Other sculptures in the gallery represented a variety of figures from ancient Roman history, including Germanicus and Scipio, Cato and Porcie (shown in a double portrait), the emperors Augustus and Hadrian, Hadrian's favourite, Antinous (in this case, the Capitoline Antinous),²²¹ and figures associated with Roman

Salle des Saisons was decorated with a sculptural relief by Roland, depicting *Les Ambassadeurs des Germains et des Panneniens demandant la Paix à Marc-Aurèle*. For further information on the paintings decorating the interior of the Musée, see Aulanier: 1955, Volume 5, Chapter IV, pp.62-92. In particular, see pp.76-7 on the paintings by Berthélemy and Meynier, and p.86 on the paintings celebrating the achievements of the Roman emperors, Charlemagne and Napoleon, executed by Lesueur.

²¹⁸ Reproduced in Aulanier: 1955, Volume V, fig.49. This painting was originally complemented by two trompe l'oeil bas-reliefs showing *La Voie Appienne rétablie par Trajan*, and *Trajan faisant construire des aqueducs*. These were replaced in 1868 by paintings by Biennoury (see Aulanier: 1955, Volume V, 77). I shall consider the importance of Meynier and his use of iconography derived from Roman sculptural reliefs, specifically in relation to his work for the Arc du Carrousel, in Chapter 4.

²¹⁹ On the bust of Marcus Brutus, see the *Notice* (1802), catalogue number 87, p.28: 'Cette tête, dont la ressemblance est prouvée par les médailles, présente les traits de Marcus Junius Brutus, ce stoïcien qui, après avoir frappé César en plein sénat, et s'être vainement efforcé de rétablir la République, mourut à la bataille de Philippes, succombant à la fortune d'Octavien.' On the bust of Lucius Junius Brutus 'l'ancien,' see catalogue number 89, pp.29-30: 'Le vengeur de Lucrece, le destructeur de la tyrannie des Tarquins, le fondateur de la République et de l'autorité consulaire, Brutus l'ancien, est ici représenté dans ce buste en bronze, qui ressemble entièrement aux médailles frappées quelques siècles après sa mort.'

²²⁰ *Notice*, 1802, p.30. Later catalogues which were produced detailing the contents of the Musée also single out the bust as a fine work of art. See, for instance, the set of medium-sized, brown leather edged volumes entitled *Les monumens antiques du Musée Napoléon, dessinés et gravés par Thomas Piroli, avec une explication par J.G.Schweighauser, publiés par F.et P. Piranesi, frères*, Volume 3, 1804, p.27. This catalogue provides more detailed descriptions and finer illustrations than in Legrand's *Musée des Antiques*. This catalogue contains long passages on Roman sculptures such as a bust and a statue of Augustus which were also in the Salle des Romains (see pp.33-5). Detailed reference is made to certain features of the sculptures, such as the corona crowning the bust of Augustus. Such information would no doubt have been influential on artists creating images of Napoleon.

²²¹ The Antinous had been popular with visitors to the Museo Capitolino. See the black and white chalk drawing of Monsieur Hviid pointing at the restoration of the Albani Antinous in the Museo Capitolino, executed by Grandjean in 1780, which was included in the exhibition, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, 1986, cat.no.208, p.253.

mythology and religion, including a Ceres, a Priestess and a Sacrificial Priest. Despite the fact that the famous Dying Gladiator from the Capitoline was thought to be a Gaul or a German soldier,²²² this sculpture was also exhibited in the Salle des Romains, perhaps to suggest another characteristic Roman theme, military strength and conquest. The concentration of works of art depicting obvious Roman subjects, together with the emphasis placed on particular sculptures from Roman Republican history, represented a radical and specifically French interpretation of ancient sculpture, and one which was very much divorced from Winckelmann.²²³

Even the special display of the Laocoön and the Apollo Belvedere,²²⁴ at the end of the two axes of the Musée, within the context of the Roman rhetoric of the Musée reflected the tendency of the ancient Romans to seize the best known and most cherished works of sculpture, rather than the particular influence of Winckelmann.²²⁵ Two paintings executed by Hubert Robert depicting the Salle des Saisons (looking towards the Laocoön) and the Salle de l'Apollon (figs.155-6),²²⁶ while they directly recall his sketches of artists at work in the Museo Capitolino,²²⁷ also give some indication of the 'temple' surroundings in which the celebrated sculptures of the Laocoön and Apollo were displayed. As Duncan and Wallach suggest:

'the museum itself - the installations, the layout of the rooms, the sequence of collections - creates an experience that resembles traditional religious experiences. By performing the ritual of walking through the museum, the visitor is prompted to enact and thereby to internalize the values and beliefs written into the architectural script. Here, works of art play the same role as in traditional religious ceremonies.'²²⁸

²²² *Notice*, 1802, pp.32-33.

²²³ The Musée also contained works of sculpture which derived from the French royal collections, which Winckelmann had probably never seen. For example, displayed in the Salle des Romains was a 'Vestale ou Matrone,' from Versailles (see the *Notice*: 1802, 33), and a 'Vénus au bain' and 'Euterpe' from the original Salle des Antiques in the Louvre (p.36), and in the Salle d'Apollon, the 'Vénus d'Arles,' which had been displayed at Versailles (pp.77-9), and an 'Apollon Lycien,' from the gardens of Versailles (pp.83-84).

²²⁴ On the removal of the Apollo Belvedere and its display in Paris, see the article by Ian Jenkins, 'Gods without altars: the Belvedere in Paris' (*Proceedings of 'Il Convegno delle Statue nel Belvedere,' in Honour of Richard Krautheimer*, forthcoming).

²²⁵ Well-known works of antique sculpture in Roman collections continued to be the target of the French throughout the Napoleonic period (see below).

²²⁶ Reproduced in Aulanier: 1955, Volume 5, figs. 38 and 41. On the role of Robert in the decoration of the Louvre and the arrangement of the collections, and the range of drawings and paintings he produced of the Louvre, see the exhibition catalogue, *Le Louvre de Hubert Robert*, edited by Marie-Catherine Sahut, 1979. Robert's illustrations of the Louvre were executed between 1780-1805, and he was in charge of work at the Louvre between 1784-1792 and 1795-1802, during which he was given accommodation in the Louvre itself (Sahut: 1979, pp.3-4).

²²⁷ See, for example, fig.113.

²²⁸ Duncan and Wallach, 'The Universal Survey Museum,' (*Art History*, Vol.3, No.4, December 1980, pp.450-1).

Not only would a visitor to the Musée des Antiques have entered the Musée like a Roman mounting the Capitol, witnessing a display of magnificent artistic spoils, framed by the 'Romanness' of the bust of Napoleon, which was put up over the entrance to the Musée,²²⁹ by the commemorative plaques placed on some of the statues and by the 'Roman' rhetoric they read in the official guide, but the arrangement and different spaces of the Musée were also reminiscent of the clearly-demarcated areas of a Roman temple. The entrance to the Musée was a precinct with a coffered dome, stairs and columns indicated boundaries between the different areas of the Musée, and the visitor was drawn towards the sculptural focal point of each vista of the Musée, firstly, the Laocoön, then the Apollo Belvedere, each of which was positioned on a special podium. As the Romans had appropriated Greek icons and brought them to their own sacred spaces, principally to the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, so too had the French taken the sculptural icons of Rome and brought them to their 'Temple of the Arts,' the Louvre. The imaginary painting by Hubert Robert, showing the Louvre in ruins and an artist sketching from the Apollo Belvedere amongst the fallen masonry (fig. 157),²³⁰ as he had drawn artists sketching from the ruins in Rome, suggests that the visual and cultural associations of the new Musée were clearly those of ancient Rome. With the acquisition of further antique sculptures, notably the Medici Venus in 1802,²³¹ and items taken during the 1806-7 campaign, which were placed, along with

²²⁹ The bronze bust, by the Florentine sculptor, Lorenzo Bartolini, depicted Napoleon as a Roman wearing a laurel wreath, and was put up in the tympanum over the entrance to the Musée in 1805 (Bresc-Bautier: 1989, 81). Also see the caricature, reproduced in Chatelain (1973), depicting Athanase Lavallé in the guise of Figaro holding the bust of Napoleon in a precarious fashion, while a hairy Denon gambles like a monkey before the entrance to the Musée Napoléon.

²³⁰ Executed in 1796. Reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, *Le Louvre d'Hubert Robert*, edited by Marie-Catherine Sahut, 1979, fig.81, p.33.

²³¹ On further acquisitions made by the French for the Musée des Antiques, see Lanzac de Laborie: 1913, Volume VIII, pp.274-289, and the range of articles by Ferdinand Boyer, many of which were previously published in editions of the *Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, but have since been republished in his book, *Le Monde des Arts en Italie et la France de la Révolution et de l'Empire*, 1969 (see Part II, 'Napoléon et les collections,' pp.181-248). Vivant Denon, as director of the Musée Napoléon, played an important part in the expansion of the museum's collection (see Lelièvre, Paris, 1942, and Chatelain: 1973, Chapters IV and V, pp.161-216).

On the removal of the Medici Venus, see Lanzac de Laborie: 1913, Volume VIII, pp.275-279, and Boyer: Turin, 1969, pp.183-192. In September 1800, the Venus was shipped with other treasures to Palermo to escape the French. Talleyrand negotiated for the return of these on behalf of Luigi I, newly created King of Etruria, with the understanding that the French would claim the Venus. When Luigi refused to accept this proviso in 1802, the French applied diplomatic pressure on the Neapolitan court to send the Venus to France rather than Tuscany and the Venus, along with the Pallas of Velletri, was finally sent to Marseilles in September 1802. The First Consul visited the statue in the Musée on 16 August 1803. For Denon's rapturous praise of the statue, and his suggestion that it formed the perfect 'partner' for the Apollo Belvedere, see Lanzac de Laborie: 1913, 277, 279. The loss of the Venus was mourned to such an extent by the people of Florence that Canova was commissioned to create a version to replace it, the 'Venus Italica,' which was completed in 1811 and displayed in its place in the Tribuna of the Uffizi. For further information on the 'Venus Italica' see the article by Hugh Honour, 'Canova's statue of Venus,' *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume CXIV, No.835, October 1972, pp.658-670, and the exhibition catalogue, *The Three Graces: Antonio Canova*, edited by Timothy Clifford, Hugh Honour, John Kenworthy-Browne, Iain Gordon Brown and Aiden Weston-Lewis, 1995, cat.no.26, p.97. See Boyer: Turin, 1969, pp.235-240 on the negotiations undertaken by the

an array of captured arms, next to a copy of the bust of Napoleon in the entrance rotunda to the museum (fig.158),²³² the Musée was articulated with even greater clarity as the 'Capitol' of the 'new Rome.'

The Capitol had been the symbolic centre of ancient Rome, where huge numbers of statues and trophies were displayed - 'Here was surely the greatest concentration of signs of conquest even in that ultimate city of conquest, Rome.'²³³ In a similar manner, the Louvre was transformed by the arrival of works of art from Rome and Italy at the end of the eighteenth century. The association of the Louvre, specifically the Musée des Antiques, with the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol also played a major role in achieving 'an imperial legitimation of the regime through the stratigraphy of a sacred place,'²³⁴ and in assisting to create a mental and ideological map of the 'new Rome' in the minds of contemporaries. By the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, a visitor to the Musée could pass by the 'Roman' monuments of the Vendôme Column, only a short distance away from the Louvre and the Tuileries, and the Arc du Carrousel, which stood as a magnificent entrance to the Tuileries palace in the public square outside the Louvre (fig.159), before entering the Musée des Antiques itself, as an ancient Roman could have entered the Forum Romanum via the Arch of Titus (fig.160), travelled down the Via Sacra (fig.161) and passed through the Arch of Septimius Severus to the Capitol (fig.162).²³⁵ An ancient Roman would have been able to gaze from the Capitol over the Forum Romanum, and seen the topographical landmarks of the ancient city, and in a similar manner, a visitor to the Musée could have looked from the Louvre over Napoleon's 'forum' in the 'new Rome.'²³⁶

French for the acquisition of the Farnese antiquities, and on their attempts to remove the Spada Pompey, see Boyer: 1969, pp.211-218, and the article by Paul Marmottan, 'La statue dite de Pompée et Napoléon' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.29, juillet-décembre 1929, pp.271-290). Useful accounts of the purchase of the Borghese collection by the French are provided by Boyer: 1969, pp.197-202, and by Valérie Huet, in her article, 'Napoleon I: a new Augustus?' (in Edwards ed: 1999, pp.61-3).

²³² Illustration reproduced in Saunier: 1902, fig.9. The drawing is by Charles Normand, and inspired the more developed illustration by Benjamin Zix, which is reproduced in Chatelain: 1973.

²³³ Edwards: 1996, 71. Livy comments that there were often so many statues and trophies that some had to be removed (see *The Early History of Rome*, 2, 22, 6 and 40, 51, 3).

²³⁴ Cited from an unpublished paper by Anna Notaro, 'Resurrecting an Imperial Past. Strategies of Self-Representation and 'Masquerade' in Fascist Rome, 1934-38,' 1996, p.6. I am grateful to Catharine Edwards for providing me with a copy of this paper, Imperial Cities Working Paper No.3, produced under the aegis of the Imperial Cities Project, Department of Geography, Royal Holloway College.

²³⁵ Although it must be remembered that it was only from the third century A.D. that the Via Sacra was properly established in the Forum Romanum.

²³⁶ The visibility of the monuments from the Louvre is conveyed by the account of an English visitor to the Louvre in 1814, although this dates from the fall of Napoleon: 'As I walked along the Gallery of Pictures, I looked out from the windows on the Place du Carrousel. It was a court day at the Tuileries and the Gardes du Corps of Louis were lounging over the balcony of the Palace, while crowds were assembled to see the ministers and nobility, who went to pay their respects to His Majesty. A few months before, and all this was happening in favour of Napoleon...His N's and his monuments are everywhere about, but he himself is removed! And this temple of taste, and these palaces - many years

Duncan and Wallach comment that in the universal survey museum, 'the visitor moves through a programmed experience that casts him in the role of an ideal citizen - a member of an idealised 'public' and heir to an ideal civilized past.'²³⁷ In the case of the visitor to the Musée des Antiques, he or she was clearly cast in the role of a citizen of ancient Rome. Although, as I shall suggest in the next chapter, even some contemporaries, notably Quatremère de Quincy, would have disputed whether a visitor to see the 'Roman' spoils in the Musée was heir to a *civilized* past.

have not elapsed since they were scenes of savage ferocity and wanton carnage..' (quoted in Eitner ed: 1970, 12).

²³⁷ Duncan and Wallach, 'The Universal Survey Museum' (*Art History*, Volume 3, No.4, December 1980, 451-2).

Chapter 3: Regenerating art in the 'new Rome': the Musée des Antiques and the education of the artist

In this chapter, I shall consider how two contemporaries responded to Napoleon's seizure of art from Rome and Italy and the creation of the Musée des Antiques. I shall discuss two texts by art theoreticians: the collection of letters, the *Lettres à Miranda* by Quatremère de Quincy, which was published for the first time in 1796 (although it was probably circulated unofficially before this), and the essay *Recherches sur l'Art Statuaire*, submitted by Eméric-David to a competition held by the Institut de France in 1801 and published in 1805.

It is well known that Quatremère de Quincy and Eméric-David engaged in a theoretical debate over the nature of *le beau idéal* and its role in artistic production in early nineteenth-century France.¹ In the *Recherches sur l'Art Statuaire*, Eméric-David provided an 'optimistic' reading of French artistic production, suggesting that once art had reached perfection in ancient Greece, it had never declined.² He felt that under the right conditions, French art could also reach this state of perfection. Quatremère's response to Eméric-David is contained in his *Sur l'Idéal dans les arts du dessin* which was published in installments in the *Archives littéraires de l'Europe*. In contrast with Eméric-David, Quatremère de Quincy lamented the historically unfavourable position of contemporary French art. He believed that it would be impossible for modern art to rise out of its 'decline' and reach the perfection of the ancients.³ It is hardly surprising that at a time when the government was keen to regenerate the arts, the point of view put forward by Eméric-David found more popularity than Quatremère's.⁴

In many ways, however, Eméric-David's essay acted as a direct response to Quatremère's *Lettres à Miranda*.⁵ While Quatremère did not believe that the removal of works of art from Rome and their display in Paris would be of assistance to French artists, the essay competition entered by

¹ See especially the article by Potts, 'Political Attitudes and the Rise of Historicism in Art Theory' (*Art History*, Volume 1, no. 2, June 1978, pp.191-213), Potts: 1994, 226, and Prendergast: 1997, pp.49-62. Prendergast, for example, comments: 'These tensions [in art theory] were brought into the open at a particular moment, perhaps the only moment at which we can usefully speak of a genuine theoretical *debate* under Napoleon...The exchange between Eméric-David and Quatremère de Quincy (they both refer to each other, though never directly by name)...is the place where we can see most clearly the clash of divergent theoretical views during the empire as to the proper purposes of the visual arts...The central theoretical matter dividing the two writers concerns the meaning of the *beau idéal*. It is probably the last major appearance of the concept in its long and distinguished occupancy of the heartland of French aesthetic thought' (1997, pp.57-58).

² A view he also expressed in his introductory essays contained in the catalogue *Le Musée français* (see Volume II, 1805, p.89ff and Volume IV, 1809, p.99).

³ Quatremère had already put forward these ideas in the *Considérations sur les Arts du Dessin* (1791).

⁴ See Prendergast: 1997, 62: 'Quatremère, and with him an entire tradition of neoclassical orthodoxy, had by now been completely turned on his head.'

⁵ Quatremère's *Lettres à Miranda* have been little studied in the past. The most substantial critical account I have come across is that provided by Edouard Pommier in the Introduction to the recent edition of the *Lettres* (1989). Christopher M.S.Johns briefly mentions the *Lettres* in his recent account of Canova (1998, p.193).

Eméric-David was intended to suggest precisely how the antique sculptures from Rome could be used to regenerate French art. Previous critics of Quatremère de Quincy and Eméric-David, although they have related certain aspects of their work, have not considered their contrasting interpretations of Napoleon's spoliation of ancient art, and the role the antique sculptures were to have in Napoleonic France. In the *Lettres*, Quatremère voices his strong opposition to Napoleon's removal of art. A consideration of the context in which the *Lettres* was published suggests that the *Lettres* also served to undermine the purpose and significance of the Musée des Antiques. Eméric-David, writing in the wake of the publication of Quatremère's *Lettres*, and only shortly after the opening of the Musée des Antiques, provides an alternative interpretation of the removal of antique art. In his opinion, study of the antique sculptures in situ in the Musée des Antiques was to be of vital importance for artistic education and production in the 'new Rome.' As I shall suggest, an analysis of Quatremère's *Lettres à Miranda* in relation to Eméric-David's *Recherches sur l'Art Statuaire* provides an intriguing insight into contemporary views on the Musée des Antiques.⁶

(1) Rejecting the 'new Rome': Quatremère de Quincy and the *Lettres à Miranda*

Quatremère de Quincy had been an ardent supporter of the Revolution at the time of the fall of the Bastille.⁷ In 1791, he acted as a spokesman for artists before the legislative assembly, and in the same year was put in charge of the alterations being carried out to the church of Ste Geneviève to transform it into a national Panthéon.⁸ However, as he witnessed the increased radicalisation of the Revolution, and the onset of the Terror, his opinion changed. His belief in a constitutional monarchy in France forced him to go into hiding in August 1791. He was discovered and arrested in March 1794, and the next few years continued to be an uncertain time for him as, according to circumstances, he went in and out of hiding and arrest. The *Lettres* were written while he was still in hiding in 1796, before he was acquitted by the Tribunal criminel de la Seine in August 1796. It has been estimated that they were probably written between the beginning of the Italian campaigns (5 April 1796) and the month of July 1796, and that copies of them began to be circulated from June.⁹

⁶ McClellan (1994) only provides a brief analysis of the Musée des Antiques in his recent account of the Louvre, but it is still surprising that he does not consider the debate articulated by Quatremère de Quincy and Eméric-David in the *Lettres* and the *Recherches*.

⁷ For a detailed consideration of the career of Quatremère de Quincy, see the account by R. Schneider *Quatremère de Quincy et son invention dans les arts, 1788-1850* (1910). On his adherence to a Neo-classical ideal, see *L'esthétique classique chez Quatremère de Quincy*, also by Schneider (1910). Also of interest is Lavin's analysis of Quatremère's architectural language (1992) (and the review of Lavin's book by Steven Adams in *Art History*, Vol.18, No.4, December 1995).

⁸ On Quatremère's role in the transformation of Ste Geneviève, see Braham: 1980, 81-2, and Leith: 1991, p.112ff.

The 'Republic of the Arts'

One of the first ways in which Quatremère de Quincy objected to the seizure of art from Rome and Italy was through his invocation of the notion of the 'Republic of the Arts.' The concept was central to eighteenth-century thought, and its introduction by Quatremère at the beginning of his first letter would have put his readers on familiar ground. In addition, this material provides a general philosophical background for Quatremère's approach in the rest of the *Lettres*. He comments:

'En effet, vous le savez, les arts et les sciences forment depuis longtemps en Europe une république, dont les membres, liés entre eux par l'amour et la recherche du beau et du vrai qui sont leur pacte sociale, tendent beaucoup moins à isoler de leurs patries respectives qu'à en rapprocher les intérêts, sous le point de vue si précieux d'une fraternité universelle.'¹⁰

According to Quatremère, nations were united through their mutual participation in the 'Republic of the Arts,' forming 'une communauté d'instruction et de connaissances, une égalité de goût, de savoir et d'industrie.'¹¹ He suggested that the work of Enlightenment thinkers, the 'Lumières,' had brought an end to cultural barbarism in Europe, and created a world where the arts and sciences belonged to every country, not just one. He felt that one of the aims of the new regime created by the Revolution should be to maintain and develop this community, 'C'est à maintenir, à favoriser et à augmenter cette communauté, que doivent tendre toutes les pensées, tous les efforts de la saine politique et de la philosophie,' certainly not to divide up the cultural heritage of Europe, placing it in the hands of those who were most successful in war.¹² Within the context of his discussion of philosophical principles and developments, his use of the phrase 'le partage des ignorants ou des fripons' to describe the behaviour of those who have seized art for themselves is particularly derogatory.¹³ In a long rhetorical passage, he emphasises the disastrous effects of the plunder of art through his use of repetition and emphasis of key words expressing destruction:

'Si donc un dérangement funeste aux moyens d'instruction; si le démembrement des écoles de l'art et du goût, des modèles de beau, et des instruments de la science; si un dépareillement des objets qui servent de leçons à l'Europe; si l'enlèvement à leur pays natal des modèles de l'Antiquité, et la privation qui s'ensuivrait de tous les parallèles qui les expliquent et les font valoir; si la dispersion des points d'étude et de défilement des collections, en éparpillant et isolant tous les moyens d'apprendre, n'offraient plus à l'Europe que des ressources imparfaites d'une instruction incomplète et démembrée, ne pensez-vous pas que cette calamité pour la

⁹ Quatremère de Quincy: 1989, 11.

¹⁰ Ibid, 88.

¹¹ Ibid, 88.

¹² Ibid, 88.

science et pour l'art retomberait aussi sur ceux qui auraient été les imprudents auteurs?'¹⁴

His purpose in the first letter, then, was to place his criticism of the plundering of the French within the broad context of eighteenth-century thought, and to suggest how the one undermines the other. This was crucial to his attack, since it was precisely through an employment and manipulation of the philosophical and political thought of the time that the French defended their seizure of art.¹⁵ Right from the start, the Musée du Louvre was intended to play an important role in the Republican plan for the regeneration of the arts. The opening of the museum on the occasion of the Festival of National Unity in 1793 was interpreted in Revolutionary political discourse as a sign of triumph over despotism and culture born of liberty. The popular view of the seizure of art from Italy and Rome as the 'liberation' of these works played a central part in the Revolutionaries' justification of spoliation.

In his *Discours sur les monuments publics prononcé au Conseil du département de Paris le 15 décembre 1791*, Armand Guy Kersaint conveyed how freedom and Revolution were linked to the arts.¹⁶ His proposal, which was presented to the National Assembly and then to the King, concerned the development of national buildings in central Paris, using designs by the architects Jacques-Guillaume Legrand and Jacques Molinos.¹⁷ Government offices were to be installed in the uncompleted Madeleine. The building was to be decorated with statues of Rousseau and Voltaire, David's painting of *The Oath of the Tennis Court* and a huge winged victory was to hang in the dome. The Louvre was to contain a national gallery and national library, and a stadium decorated with a civic altar and a series of statues commemorating the heroes of the Revolution was to be built in the courtyard.¹⁸ Kersaint suggested that the artistic and political model of antiquity should serve as an inspiration for Revolutionary France:

'La France doit l'emporter un jour sur Rome antique; mais dans ce moment, elle peut n'avoir rien à envier à Rome moderne...Que Paris devienne l'Athènes moderne; et que la capitale des abus, peuplée d'une race d'hommes régénérée par la liberté, devienne par vos soins la capitale des arts.'¹⁹

¹³ Ibid, 89.

¹⁴ Ibid, 89.

¹⁵ For a more detailed account of the association between politics, liberty and art, as it developed during the Revolution, see the Pommier's Introduction, entitled 'La Révolution et le Destin des Oeuvres d'Art' (Quatremère de Quincy: 1989, pp.7-67), McClellan: 1994, pp.91-123 and Leith (1991).

¹⁶ See Quatremère de Quincy: 1989, p.19ff.

¹⁷ Leith: 1991, pp.105-109, reproduces several of the plans.

¹⁸ For a comparison with Louis-Pierre Baltard's plans to unite the Louvre-Tuileries (1811), which involved the erection of structures such as an amphitheatre, see Chapter 4.

¹⁹ Quatremère de Quincy: 1989, 19. Curiously, Kersaint prioritises the example of ancient Athens, and advocates that 'prytanées' of four different sizes be built in Paris. As has been suggested, however, the removal of antique art from Rome led to the distinct relevance of the model of ancient Rome, not ancient Athens.

By 1794, these ideas had been developed more aggressively to suggest that France was the legitimate inheritor of Greece and Rome.²⁰ In a speech given to the Société populaire et républicaine des arts, the painter J.B. Wicar claimed that the poor condition of the cast collection at the Louvre was the result of barbarism.²¹ He suggested that antiquity should be avenged by the restoration of these works in the new 'free' state of France.

It did not take long for such a sentiment to be applied to the works of antique art in Italy itself. The political freedom of ancient Greece was commonly associated with that of Revolutionary France, and by May 1794 three artists and a scholar wrote to the Committee for public health to recommend that the moment had come for France to 'liberate' works of art from Turin and Parma. If Winckelmann did have a particular influence on late eighteenth-century France, it was in the circumstances of the mid-1790s, when discussion of the seizure of works of art in the wake of the military campaigns reached its height.²² The cultural politics of the Convention encouraged figures such as Abbé Grégoire to proclaim that the French should seize artistic spoils.²³ Even when building works were undertaken in the Grand Galerie of the Louvre in January 1795, they were justified by the necessity of displaying 'repatriated' works of art.

In the *Lettres*, however, Quatremère strongly objected to the notion of the 'liberation' of art. In some respects, his theoretical approach to art was strongly influenced by the ideas of Winckelmann,²⁴

²⁰ Quatremère de Quincy: 1989, 22.

²¹ His speech was published in March 1794 in Détournelle's *Aux Armes et Aux Arts*.

²² The Revolutionaries invoked Winckelmann's association between political freedom and artistic achievement. As the great works of art (including the sculptures in Rome - which, it was believed included many which had been created in fifth-century Greece) were no longer in a 'nation libre,' the Revolutionaries felt they should be brought to France. In addition, it was generally thought that by studying examples of ancient art, modern artists could strive to emulate the ancients. In his translation of Winckelmann's *History of the Art of the Ancients* (1790), H.J. Jansen promised that France, transformed by the Revolution, would have the same glory as Antiquity. Again, for a general survey of editions of Winckelmann's writings which appeared in France during the Revolution, see the article by Pommier, 'Winckelmann et la vision de l'Antiquité classique dans la France des Lumières et de la Révolution' (*Revue de l'Art*, Vol.83, 1989, pp.9-20).

²³ For the Abbé Grégoire's comments on the removal of works of antique sculpture, and Luc Barbier's speech on the 'liberation' of art from Belgium, see Chapter 2 above.

²⁴ For example, like Winckelmann, he believed in a traditional notion of ideal beauty. See Schneider's *L'esthétique classique chez Quatremère de Quincy (1805-1825)* (1910) and Prendergast: 1997, pp.75-62, and for a detailed study of Winckelmann and the ideal, see Potts: 1994, especially pp.156-164. Quatremère's cultural pessimism also derived from Winckelmann, who suggested that contemporary art was in a period of 'decline.' Although Quatremère, in contrast with Winckelmann (who never specifically stated that modern artists would or would not be able to achieve the artistic excellence of the ancients), seems to have been convinced that modern artists would not be able to create art works as perfect as the ancients, however hard they tried. For Quatremère, the 'decline' experienced by French art formed a central issue for his work. In the *Considérations*, for example, he comments on 'la médiocrité du XVIIIe siècle,' and remarks that the century has witnessed 'une génération de pygmées.' In his opinion, 'Toutes sortes de raisons s'opposent à ce qu'ils ont été.' As Alex Potts suggests in his article 'Political attitudes and the rise of historicism in art theory' (*Art History*, Vol.1, No.2, June 1978, p.200), Quatremère de Quincy 'pointed out that the modern tradition had gone through its classic phase some time ago, and was now in a period of decadence, the period of routine as he called

but this did not mean to say that, like many of the Revolutionaries, he employed notions put forward by Winckelmann in order to advocate the spoliation of art.²⁵ When the more generalised notion of the model of ancient Greece and Rome was replaced by a more specific reference to the plunderings of ancient Rome, Quatremère found himself even more isolated from popular opinion. In his first letter, he suggested that the works of art in collections in Rome were ‘naturally’ placed in the city (a concept he developed, as I shall suggest, in the second and third letters). Bearing in mind the notion of the ‘Republic of the Arts,’ he considered that it was the responsibility of all nations to ensure that the sculptures were kept in Rome. Interestingly, Quatremère refers to the French as ‘Romans’ in order to criticise their spoliations, not to defend them. He warns against ‘le chaos de la politique léonine des anciens Romains,’²⁶ and expresses horror at the spoliations, which fly in the face of the principles of the ‘Republic of the Arts’:

‘Je croirais d’ailleurs également injurieux au XVIIIe siècle de le soupçonner capable de faire revivre ce droit de conquête des Romains, qui rendait les hommes et les choses la propriété du plus forte. Qui ne sait que ce droit absurde et monstrueux reposait, dans le code public de Rome, sur la même base que l’esclavage?’²⁷

By refuting the seizures of art in the precise terms in which they were defended, he cleverly turns the contemporary argument for the removal of art as an act of ‘liberation’ through ‘Roman’ conquest on its head. The ‘Roman’ procession of spoils through the streets of Paris in 1798 would have made it particularly evident that Quatremère’s opinions in the *Lettres* ran counter to the policies of the regime. Despite his topical comparison of the French with the plunderers of ancient Rome, his *Lettres* served to undermine the connotations of Roman glory implied by the ideology of the ‘new Rome.’

‘Le véritable muséum de Rome’

The second way in which Quatremère objected to the French spoliations of art was through his assertion that Rome itself constituted a museum, ‘le véritable muséum de Rome.’ Quatremère introduces the subject in the second letter, where he discusses the heritage of antiquity. In the third

it...To give particular emphasis to the historically unfavourable position of contemporary French art, he made the point that the age of Louis XIV, contrary to popular belief, was not a great period of artistic achievement. Far from witnessing a new flowering of the arts, it marked the time when the French inherited from the Italians an already dying artistic tradition...Quatremère stressed the differences between contemporary French and ancient Greek society in an attempt to show that a revival of Greek art was little less than a historical impossibility.’

²⁵ It must be noted that Winckelmann himself certainly did not suggest that ancient art should be taken from Rome. In fact, this would have been an anathema to him, since he had lived in Rome for many years, studied the collections of ancient art there, and played an important role in building up the collection of Cardinal Albani. For an account of Winckelmann’s activities in Rome, see, for instance, Leppermann (1971).

²⁶ Quatremère de Quincy: 1989, 91.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 91.

letter, he provides a detailed delineation of the 'museum' of Rome. The notion also features in the fourth and fifth letters, where he considers the education of the artist in Rome, and the importance of Rome for the studies of scholars and antiquarians. By suggesting that the great works of ancient and Renaissance art were already in their 'natural' museum, where they gained their full cultural and historical meaning from their unique associations with Rome, Quatremère provided his strongest argument against the removal of art from Rome and its installation in the Louvre. His delineation of 'le véritable muséum de Rome' implies that he either could not or did not want to understand the general principles which governed the foundation of the Musée Central des Arts. Before I consider Quatremère's discussion of the 'museum' of Rome, I shall briefly consider the principles which underlay the foundation of the Louvre - which, in his *Lettres*, Quatremère undermined.

As Carol Duncan suggests, the significance and novelty of the foundation of the Louvre museum must not be underestimated. She comments that 'The French Revolution created the first truly modern art museum when it designated the Louvre Palace a national museum.'²⁸ The Louvre museum is considered to be 'the largest and most influential of the universal survey museums, the prototype for scores of national galleries and municipal art museums.'²⁹ As much recent literature on the subject of museology suggests, the museum is a uniquely powerful cultural force because it offers works of art which are divorced from their 'original' settings,³⁰ and become, in effect, material for manipulation within the ideological and rhetorical setting of the museum.³¹ At the time of its foundation during the Revolution, the Louvre was intended to have a clear iconographic programme - France as the true heir of classical civilization, and, (following the removal of art from Italy) the direct descendant of ancient Rome. When the Musée des Antiques opened its doors for the first time in 1800, it relied on the fact that works of art had been taken from their 'original' settings,' the collections of Rome, and were given new meaning within the context of the 'new Rome.' By presenting his alternative vision of 'le véritable muséum de Rome,' Quatremère rejected the principles of the new Musée Central des Arts,³² and in particular, the need for a display of antique sculptures which had been taken from Rome.

²⁸ See the article by Carol Duncan, 'Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship,' in Karp and Lavine, eds: 1991, 88. For primary material on the ideas behind the creation of the Louvre, see, for example, Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun, *Réflexions sur le Muséum national*, edited by Pommier (1992). Also see the essay by Pommier, 'Idéologie et musée à l'époque révolutionnaire' (in Vovelle, ed: 1988, pp.57-78).

²⁹ See the article by Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, 'The Universal Survey Museum' (*Art History*, Vol.3, No.4, December 1980, 457).

³⁰ In fact, many critics would question whether such settings ever existed.

³¹ See, for example, the Introduction in Karp and Lavine eds: 1991, 1: 'Every museum exhibition, whatever its overt subject, inevitably draws on the cultural assumptions and resources of the people who make it. Decisions are made to emphasise one element and to downplay others, to assert some truths and to ignore others. The assumptions underpinning these decisions vary according to culture and over time, place and type of museum or exhibit.'

³² On Quatremère's continued condemnation of the specialist establishment of the museum, which he felt was created by arbitrary decision and power and divorced works of art from their separate contexts, see his *Considérations morales sur la destination des ouvrages de l'art* (1815).

Clearly, in the *Lettres à Miranda Quatremère de Quincy* voiced his opposition to more than Napoleon's removal of art.

Quatremère introduces the theme of the 'museum' of Rome in his second letter, which he begins, 'Mille causes réunies, vous le savez, mon ami, ont concouru à faire de l'Italie une espèce de muséum général, un dépôt complet de tous les objets propres à l'étude des arts.'³³ In this letter he discusses the heritage of antiquity, and focuses on the unique heritage of Rome. He describes how the 'museum' of Rome has been zealously cared for and restored by the Popes, 'c'est le soin continuel et le zèle infatigable avec lesquels le gouvernement pontifical a travaillé, depuis la renaissance des lettres, à rechercher, restaurer, et remettre en honneur ce que l'incurie de dix siècles avait enseveli,'³⁴ and the sumptuous galleries they have managed to construct with limited resources ('les minces finances').³⁵ This serves to refute the Revolutionaries' justification of the spoliation of Rome by asserting that the artworks suffered from neglect in the city, and their suggestion that this would be need to be remedied through the care and restoration provided in the Louvre.

Quatremère's debt to Winckelmann for his theoretical views led to him being called 'le Winckelmann français,'³⁶ but Quatremère was also influenced by Winckelmann for his general vision of Rome. Quatremère, like Winckelmann, felt that art had flowered under the skies of ancient Greece, but that Rome was the place where the work of the Greeks and the Romans could best be studied.³⁷ According to Quatremère, unique circumstances had protected and preserved the heritage of Rome:

'Ce pays est le seul qui puisse jouir de ce privilège proprement dit; il le tient de la nature même des choses: il le doit en grande partie à l'existence et à la conservation des monuments indigènes et des traditions de l'Antiquité, qui l'ont garanti de la contagion totale de l'ignorance et de la barbarie dont la reste de l'Europe fut infecté jusqu'au XVIe siècle.'³⁸

He suggests that these circumstances had also enabled the Italians, whose culture was rich and diverse, to reach high standards in their arts, 'vous savez qu'ils avaient atteint dans ce pays la plus haute perfection qu'ils aient reçue des modernes.'³⁹ Quatremère feared that the removal of antiquities from Rome would only encourage the Romans to excavate in the city, with the result that works of art would be filtered off to collections outside Rome and even Italy, creating a cultural drain on Rome. He

³³ Quatremère de Quincy: 1989, 93.

³⁴ Ibid, 94.

³⁵ Ibid, 95.

³⁶ Schneider, *L'esthétique classique chez Quatremère de Quincy (1805-1825)*: 1910, III.

³⁷ The difficulties of travelling to Greece at this time, and the general belief that the sculptures in the collections of Rome were Greek 'originals' helped to establish this conception of Rome.

³⁸ Quatremère de Quincy: 1989, 93.

³⁹ Quatremère later develops this theme of the art of the Italian Renaissance, which, in his opinion, as in Winckelmann's, had come the closest to achieving the artistic perfection of the ancients. In the fifth letter, he suggests that it would be beneficial to gather together the works of Raphael and display them in Rome. In the sixth letter, he provides a detailed discussion of the talents of Raphael and the context in which he worked.

describes how the sculptures which were being discovered every day in Rome - items which the masters of the Renaissance had not even seen - had to be viewed in Rome for their full artistic benefit to be achieved ('pour l'instruction de l'Europe').⁴⁰ At the end of the second letter, he recommends that rather than despoiling Rome, which represents the greatest museum available to the artist, contemporaries should undertake excavations on their own soil, to discover further elements of their own 'natural' museums. For example, referring to the Roman sites which were frequently visited by the French during their journeys to Italy, he suggests:

'Pourquoi la France n'exploite-t-elle pas les ruines de la Provence? Pourquoi, après les découvertes faites le siècle passé de plusieurs statues, et entre autres de cette belle Vénus de la galerie de Versailles, trouvée à Arles, ne pas interroger de nouveau les savants débris de Vienne, d'Arles, d'Orange, de Nîmes, d'Autun et de tant d'autres lieux? Pourquoi ne pas restaurer ce bel amphithéâtre de Nîmes pour en faire le dépôt de toutes les richesses antiques de cette colonie romaine? Pourquoi ne pas établir un muséum d'antiquités correspondant avec ceux d'Italie?''⁴¹

Undermining the Revolutionaries' suggestion that the antiquities in Rome had suffered from neglect, Quatremère rebukes them for carelessly abandoning their own cultural heritage. He suggests that instead of indulging in the unnecessary excess of despoiling others ('Quant à l'autre, ce n'est que la convoitise de Verrès'),⁴² the French should care for their own art and excavate their own Roman sites.

In the third letter Quatremère moves from his description of the heritage of Rome to a fuller explanation of its role as a 'museum.' He analyses the close integration of cultural, historical, geographic and climactic elements of which the 'natural' and 'true' museum of Rome is composed. He stresses that if works of art were transported to Paris, it would be impossible to recreate the conditions of Rome. Yet, as has been suggested, when the Musée des Antiques was opened in Rome, the Musée itself was articulated as an important feature of the 'new Rome.' It was Napoleon's precise intention to establish Paris as the 'new Rome,' and to do so, he erected monuments which were directly modelled on those in Rome. The *Lettres*, however, make it plain that Quatremère would not have recognised this 'new Rome.'

The first image used by Quatremère to describe the unity of elements from which the 'museum' of Rome is composed is that of a book.⁴³ He suggests that time has destroyed or dispersed some of these elements, while research and excavations are each day helping to fill in the gaps. He comments that, just as the removal of some pages from a book would create irreplaceable gaps in the volume (and, by implication, prevent the whole from being understood), so too would Rome be incomplete if some of her artworks were removed:

⁴⁰ Quatremère de Quincy: 1989, 97.

⁴¹ Ibid, 98-9.

⁴² Ibid, 99.

⁴³ The 'book' of science was a common conception in Enlightenment thought.

‘Si cela est, la décomposition du muséum de Rome serait la mort de toutes les connaissances dont son unité est le principe. Qu’est-ce que l’antique à Rome, sinon un grand livre dont le temps a détruit ou dispersé les pages, et dont les recherches modernes remplissent chaque jour les vides et réparent les lacunes? Que ferait la puissance qui choisirait, pour les exporter et se les approprier, quelques-uns de ces monuments les plus curieux? Précisément ce que ferait un ignorant qui arracherait d’un livre les feuillets où il trouverait des vignettes.’⁴⁴

In this sense, Quatremère indicates that Rome, the natural home (‘domicile’) of antiquity, is itself continually being enlarged and explained to us through new studies, especially science. Quatremère’s conception of Rome as a book, many pages of which have yet to be opened or ‘rediscovered,’ suggests that Rome provides instruction and knowledge, and is a rich (in fact the richest) cultural source. The removal of works of art from Rome would inhibit the educative powers of Rome, by preventing connections from being made between the different elements of Rome. By employing the image of a book, Quatremère conveys the unity of Rome, and implies that it would be impossible to recreate Rome in Paris (‘[Rome] est inamovible dans sa totalité’).⁴⁵ In order to suggest the disastrous effects that would occur, should items be removed from Rome, he employs a local example, commenting: ‘Que penseriez-vous d’un projet qui tendrait à dépecer le Muséum d’histoire naturelle de Paris pour que chaque ville de la France eût sa part de cette collection nationale?’⁴⁶

In the same letter, Quatremère establishes a vivid impression of the range of elements from which the ‘museum’ of Rome is composed. By means of a long list of different types of monuments, antiquities and locations in Rome, he takes his reader on a ‘tour’ of the city of Rome. The ‘sights’ he mentions are linked as much by his unbroken prose as by the more subtle association between things, which he refers to at the end of his list, while the images are still vivid in the reader’s mind. The passage would have served to evoke visual images in the memory of those who had visited Rome, and to draw to mind many of the folio editions and scholarly accounts which were available on the history and monuments of Rome (which are also evoked by Quatremère’s discussion of printing in the passage below). Quatremère’s list of the different elements of Rome provides a neat summary of his vision and understanding of the significance of Rome:

‘Le véritable muséum de Rome, celui dont je parle, se compose, il est vrai, de statues, de colosses, de temples, d’obélisques, de colonnes triomphales, de thermes, de cirques, d’amphithéâtres, d’arcs de triomphe, de tombeaux, de stucs, de fresques, de bas-reliefs, d’inscriptions, de fragments d’ornements, de matériaux de construction, de meubles, d’utensiles, etc. mais il ne se compose pas moins des lieux, des sites, des montagnes, des carrières, des routes antiques, des positions

⁴⁴ Quatremère de Quincy: 1989, 100-1.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 101.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 101.

respectives des villes ruinées, des rapports géographiques, des relations de tous les objets entre eux, des souvenirs, des traditions locales, des usages encore existants, des parallèles et des rapprochements qui ne peuvent se faire que dans le pays même.’⁴⁷

In the passage which follows, he mentions figures such as Montfaucon and Caylus. In particular, however, he gives priority to a consideration of the work of Winckelmann, whom he comments has analysed various aspects of Rome, ‘de décomposer l’Antiquité, d’analyser les temps, les peuples, les écoles, les styles, les nuances de style.’ He asserts that it is only due to ‘le réunion des matériaux’ in Rome that Winckelmann was able to write his pioneering accounts of ancient art. The removal of works of art and their dispersal across Europe would, he suggests, make it impossible to conduct such studies in the future. He discusses how monuments serve as ‘les signes’ for philosophical thought, and the importance of the integrity of Rome for ‘la recherche de la vérité’ and ‘l’instruction publique.’ His mention of ‘l’homme de génie,’ assembling his facts and drawing his conclusions, also reflects a popular theme in Enlightenment thought. By mentioning men of learning such as Pliny, Buffon and Gêbelin, the astronomer Bailly, and the religious historian Dupuis, he adds academic credence to his discussion of the instructive powers of Rome. He concludes with a metaphor reminiscent of the genus/species classification tables of Linnaeus and Buffon, in which the instructive, enlightening force of Rome becomes the trunk of the ‘tree of culture’: ‘Comme un émondement indiscret fait mourir un arbre, de même l’imprudent enlèvement des modèles de l’Antiquité à leur tige naturelle dessècherait cette sève que la culture moderne de Rome envoie dans toutes les branches de l’Europe savante.’⁴⁸ In his third letter, then, he attempts to parade the achievements of the Enlightenment, and to link them all to Rome.

Educating the artist in Rome

‘Les *Lettres à Miranda*, de 1796...étaient encore un hymne à Rome éducatrice.’⁴⁹

In the fourth and fifth letters, Quatremère suggests that it is essential for the student to study antiquities at first hand in their ‘natural’ cultural and historical context in the collections in Rome. By stressing the importance for students of undertaking a period of study in Rome, Quatremère was building on proposals he had already made in his publication, *Considérations sur les arts du dessin en France* (1791). In the *Considérations*, he responded to the decline he felt was being experienced in the Académies, and suggested that it was the result of the increased use of life classes. Between the years 1791-2, he put forward proposals for the reorganisation of the Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 102.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 108.

⁴⁹ Schneider, *L’esthétique classique chez Quatremère de Quincy (1805-1825)*: 1910, 16.

Quatremère wished neither to see the demise of the Académie at the hands of a group of academicians led by David, who were violently opposed to the 'Bastille académique,' nor the perpetuation of the traditional Académie, and found himself caught between two factions within the Académie. His conception of an Ecole des Beaux-Arts, with an official programme of study under the aegis of a central administrative body, in many ways served as an inspiration for the creation of the Institut des Arts in 1795.⁵⁰

In the fourth letter, Quatremère discusses the role played by the antique statuary in Rome in the education of the artist, especially in his appreciation of *le beau idéal*. Throughout his life, Quatremère remained committed to the notion of *le beau idéal*, and believed that for the achievement of artistic excellence, an artist had to be able to appreciate as well as express the 'ideal.' Discussion of the 'ideal' originated in the writings of Plato, Cicero and Quintilian, but had been further developed during the Renaissance. By the eighteenth century, the notion of *le beau idéal* had become even more popular, and a range of texts had been written on the subject.⁵¹ Quatremère was strongly influenced by Winckelmann,⁵² and felt that it was only possible to gain knowledge of *le beau idéal* by observing and abstracting from particulars in nature. Winckelmann suggested that it was only the sculptors of the 'greatest' works of art, such as the Laocoön and the Apollo Belvedere, who had been able to express

⁵⁰ In his account, *Quatremère de Quincy et son intervention dans les arts, 1788-1850* (1910, p.16), Schneider comments on Quatremère's delight at the establishment of the Institut. For a discussion of the *Considérations sur les arts du dessin en France* and Quatremère's campaign in general for the reform of the Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture, see Schneider (as above): 1910, pp.151-163. For a general history of the Académies and the foundation of the Institut, see, Braham: 1980, 252, Egbert (1980) and the article by Richard Chafee, 'The Teaching of Architecture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts' (in Drexler, ed: 1977, pp.60-109).

⁵¹ For a discussion of the 'ideal' in art in antiquity, see Plato, *The Republic*, Books III and IX (translated by Desmond Lee, 1955), Cicero, *Orator*, II.7-9 (translated by H.M.Hubbell, 1988) and Quintilian, *Institutiones Oratoriae*, Book XII, 10, 7-9 (translated by H.E.Butler, 1921). Important eighteenth-century texts on the 'ideal' include Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty* (1752), Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry* (1757), Reynolds' *Discourses on Art* (given yearly from 1769-1790 to the Royal Academy), Diderot's *Salons* (published from 1759) and Winckelmann's *On the imitation of the art of the Ancient Greeks* (1755) and the *History of the Art of the Ancients* (1764). For a general history of aesthetics, see, for example, Aschenbrenner and Isenberg, eds (1965), Beardsley (1966), Panofsky (1968), Barrell (1986) and Dickie (1997). The catalogue from the exhibition, *Le beau idéal, ou l'art du concept: 94e exposition du cabinet des dessins*, held at the Musée du Louvre, 17 October-31 December 1989 (edited by Régis Michel), is a valuable source. For a specific discussion of Quatremère's notion of the 'ideal,' see Schneider, *L'esthétique classique chez Quatremère de Quincy, (1805-1825)*: 1910.

⁵² In particular, by the popular works, *On the imitation of the art of the Greeks* (1755), and the *History of the art of the Ancients* (1764). Sections of *On the imitation...* were published in French from 1755, in the *Nouvelle bibliothèque germanique*, and from 1757, in the *Encyclopédie*, while a French résumé of the *History of the art of the Ancients* began to appear in installments in the *Journal Encyclopédique* from 1765. H.J.Jansen's edition of the *History*, which was first published in 1790, however, seems to have been the most popular French edition of this work. For other French translations of Winckelmann's work, see the article by Edouard Pommier, 'Winckelmann et la vision de l'Antiquité classique dans la France des Lumières et de la Révolution' (*Revue de l'Art*, Vol.83, 1989, pp.9-20). Morrison (1996) provides an interesting study of Winckelmann's notion of the aesthetic education to be gained from studying antique sculpture in Rome.

the 'ideal' in art, and, reading his work, Quatremère became convinced that modern artists should strive to emulate these examples of ancient art.⁵³

Quatremère discusses the precise circumstances in which the artist is able to appreciate *le beau idéal*. He suggests that the collections of antique sculptures in Rome provide a unique comparative context for the study of ancient art: only when different sculptures are viewed together, can artists distinguish between those works of art which really express *le beau idéal*, and those which fall short of this standard in some way. He indicates that he does not want to discuss the notion itself in any detail, 'Je ne veux pas entrer ici dans la discussion métaphysique du beau absolu et du beau relatif,' implying that the reader can look elsewhere for material on the subject.⁵⁴ More to the point, his aim here is to refer to *le beau idéal* in order to bolster his argument that the works of art should not be removed from Rome. He employs the vivid metaphor of a ladder to delineate the means by which the artist can gain knowledge of the 'ideal': 'La connaissance du beau, si nécessaire aux artistes, se forme par une sorte d'échelle comparative qui classe les modèles de l'art, établit entre eux les rangs et une sorte de hiérarchie de mérite.'⁵⁵ There are many examples which form the ladder of 'artistic excellence,' the largest proportion of which are clustered around the 'bottom' end of the ladder. He suggests that it is only when compared with works of lesser quality, that the beauty of the finer statues can be perceived:

'Ainsi, le petit nombre de belles statues antiques ne doit cet ascendant de la beauté, qui nous saisit, qu'à ce peuple infini de statues de même style, mais non de même mérite, au milieu desquelles elles brillent. Otez-leur les points de parallèle, elles perdront une grande partie de leur valeur.'⁵⁶

He is adamant that the removal of works of art would severely undermine the instructive powers of Rome, and comments, 'Le muséum de Rome perdrait dans les figures qui forment le couronnement de ses collections ce complément précieux de leçons et de parallèles, d'où résulte la théorie complète du beau.'⁵⁷ Drawing on the model of Cicero, who claimed that the sculptures seized by the Romans from Greece looked much less beautiful when displayed in Rome, Quatremère suggests that if the works of sculpture were to be removed to Paris, they would be bereft of the beauty that had characterised them in Rome:

'il éprouvait que les belles choses qu'il avait vues en Grèce ne lui paraissait plus si belles à Rome. C'est qu'elles y étaient dénuées de cette harmonie qui les faisait valoir; c'est qu'elles étaient dépouillées de cet accompagnement qui en faisait la parure, de ce concert de choses et des idées, de formes et de sentiments,

⁵³ Although, as has already been suggested, he seems to have had believed less than Winckelmann that contemporaries would in fact be able to reach the artistic perfection represented by such great works of art from antiquity.

⁵⁴ Including material by him, such as the *Considérations* (1791).

⁵⁵ Quatremère de Quincy: 1989, 110-1.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 111-2.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 112.

d'admiration publique, d'affections, de sympathie, qui forment comme l'atmosphère des modèles du beau.⁵⁸

In Quatremère's opinion, only the city of Rome is a suitable location for the sculptures ('un hospice digne d'eux'). He indicates that the climate and general social conditions of other capitals in Europe would prevent students from being able to acquire a subtle knowledge of *le beau idéal* from observing the statues:

Ce n'est ni au milieu des brouillards de Paris, des glaces et des neiges de Pétersbourg; ce n'est ni au milieu du tumulte des grandes villes de l'Europe, ni au milieu de ce chaos de distractions d'un peuple nécessairement occupé de soins mercantiles, que peut se développer cette profonde sensibilité pour les belles choses, ce sixième sens que la contemplation et l'étude du beau donnent aux élèves des arts.⁵⁹

In the fifth letter, Quatremère expands on his notion of the 'museum' of Rome as a place of education for the artist. His discussion provides a response to the notion that the Louvre was to be established as a centre for art education and was to play an important role in the regeneration of French art. In comparison with the fourth letter, where he focuses on the role of antique sculpture in the education of the artist,⁶⁰ here, he explains the importance of the different aspects of Rome for the

⁵⁸ Ibid, 116. In a sense, however, this argument does not work. At this time it was still thought that many works of sculpture in Rome were the 'originals' which had been brought from Greece by the Romans, and yet, despite Cicero's comment, it is clear that Quatremère regarded Rome as their 'natural' home, and a place where the beauty of the sculptures could be appreciated. The reader is inclined to wonder if Paris, with time, could also become their 'natural' home? On the other hand, perhaps Quatremère is implying that, failing the original context of the statues in Greece, the next best location for them is in Rome. It is interesting to note that Quatremère frequently quotes from Roman literary sources in the *Lettres* (eg. he quotes from Virgil at the end of the third letter, implying that the French seizure of art should be avoided like the curse of the Trojan horse, and includes a quotation from Pliny the Younger's *Letters* at the end of letter four). This suggests that while he does not feel the Romans should be copied for their warlike nature and spoliations, they serve as respectable literary models.

⁵⁹ Quatremère de Quincy: 1989, 116.

⁶⁰ Although in this letter, he also mentions that for the painter, the landscape of Rome is itself part of the 'museum' of Rome (Ibid, 115). Quatremère returns to the theme of the importance of Rome for painters in Chapter 6, where he focuses on Raphael and the schools of Italian painting. For a comparison with Quatremère's comments on the importance of the landscape of Rome, however, consider Chateaubriand's *Letter to Fontanes* (first published in *Le Mercure* in 1804). For Chateaubriand, writing between 1802-4, when he was secretary to the French embassy in Rome, the monuments scattered throughout and its environs, as much as the climate and atmospheric effects of the landscape, form an integral part of Rome. The landscape of Rome, he suggests, is a particular source of inspiration for the painter. In a beautiful passage in the *Letter to Fontanes*, for example, he comments: 'Rien n'est comparable pour la beauté aux lignes de l'horizon romain, à la douce inclinaison des plans, aux contours suaves et fuyants des montagnes qui le terminant. Souvent les vallées dans la campagne prennent la forme d'une arène, d'un cirque, d'un hippodrome; les coteaux sont taillés, en terrasses, comme si la main puissante des Romains avait remué toute cette terre. Une vapeur particulière, répandue dans les lointains, arrondit les objets et dissimule ce qu'ils pourraient avoir de dur ou de heurté dans leurs formes. Les ombres ne sont jamais lourdes et noires; il n'y a pas

education of all artists. In this letter he refutes the claims of the new regime in Paris that the artist could satisfactorily gain his education within the 'new Rome,' without having to go to Rome.

He suggests that, should works of art from Rome be dispersed in collections across Europe, it would be impossible for students to afford to travel to see them. Artists would be deprived access to 'les principaux modèles de l'art' which would be seen only by 'les riches voyageurs ou les amateurs opulents.'⁶¹ Even in these circumstances, artists would still have to travel to Rome, because of its wealth of ancient art in comparison with the rest of Europe: 'et, quelque chose qui arrive, ce pays sera toujours incontestablement Rome.'⁶² He provides a list of reasons why artists would still have to go to Rome, hammering home his point of view by the repetition of the phrase 'Il faudra toujours...' He comments that certain monuments can only be seen in Rome, 'car sans doute on n'enlèvera ni le Panthéon, ni le Colysée, ni les colonnes Trajane et Antonine..⁶³ His emphasis is on the immovability of items, either because they form part of monuments, such as bas-reliefs, or since they are themselves huge works of architecture, whether 'ces restes si grands et si magnifiques de l'architecture antique' or 'ces masses si majesteuses de Rome moderne,' such as the colonnades of St Peter's. For landscape painters, there is no substitute for studying the terrain of Rome, for observing different views of the city and the subtle effects of changes in light, practices followed by masters such as Salvator Rosa and Claude Lorrain. Using uplifting language reminiscent of Winckelmann, Quatremère stresses that for all artists, it is essential that they gain inspiration from antiquity, 'aillent boire à la source même de cette précieuse érudition de l'Antiquité,' and this can only happen in Rome.⁶⁴ To receive the training they require - especially visual training, artists have to study in Rome, 'Il faudra toujours aller en Italie, ne serait-ce que pour apprendre à étudier, ne serait-ce que pour apprendre à voir.'⁶⁵ In another Winckelmann-esque vision, Quatremère suggests that it is only in Rome that the artist can shed his cares and preconceptions and study at the font of antiquity, 'dans la capitale de la république des arts.'

His notion of the freedom of the artistic spirit and the nurturing it receives in Rome, and of the need for students to study in Rome, a tradition enshrined in the academic system, clearly went against every principle for artistic education being established by the Revolutionaries back in Paris. For the

des masses si obscures de rochers et de feuillages, dans lesquelles il ne s'insinue toujours un peu de lumière. Une teinte singulièrement harmonieuse, marie la terre, le ciel, et les eaux: toutes les surfaces, au moyen d'une gradation insensible de couleurs, s'unissent par leurs extrémités, sans qu'on puisse déterminer le point où une nuance finit et où l'autre commence. Vous avez sans doute admiré dans les paysages de Claude Lorrain, cette lumière qui semble idéale et plus belle que nature? eh bien, c'est la lumière de Rome!' (*Letter to Fontanes*, in the *Oeuvres romanesques et voyages*, edited by Maurice Regard, 1969, pp.1478-1479).

⁶¹ Or, as in Britain, students would have to travel from private house to private house, seeking permission to view the works of art in private collections, with the result that they would hardly be seen by anybody. See Quatremère de Quincy: 1989, 121.

⁶² Ibid, 117.

⁶³ Ibid, 118. As I shall suggest in Chapters 4 and 5, however, this did not stop Napoleon from building his own 'versions' of Roman monuments, in his attempt to establish Paris as the 'new Rome.'

⁶⁴ Ibid, 119.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 119.

founders of the Louvre museum and those involved in the removal of art from Italy, artists could study the 'greatest' works of art in the Louvre, and in this respect, did not need to go to Rome.⁶⁶ The articulation of Paris as the 'new Rome' served to encourage the general conception that artists no longer needed to visit Rome.⁶⁷ In a final damning comment on the ideology of the 'new Rome,' Quatremère implies that Napoleon does not even understand his classical sources properly: 'Que penser de l'érudition d'un homme qui, pour autoriser la spoliation de l'Italie, vous cite comme modèles des républicains français Scipion, César et Alexandre?' He remarks that Scipio, for example, provides an ambiguous model for Napoleon, since he handed back some of his spoils, and concludes, 'Voilà, ce me semble, ce qu'il faut opposer à ceux qui voudraient, à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, prendre pour modèle ces Romains, dont ils ne connaissent encore que les proscriptions et les rapines.'⁶⁸

(2) Educating the artist in the 'new Rome': Eméric-David's *Recherches sur l'Art Statuaire*

A completely different approach to the removal of antique sculptures from Rome and their display in the Louvre is provided by Eméric-David, in his *Recherches sur l'Art Statuaire*.⁶⁹ In many ways, by the time the Institut announced the essay competition in 1801, and Eméric-David's winning essay had been published in 1805, the removal of art from Italy and the fact of its display in the Louvre had ceased to be important issues.⁷⁰ Once the Musée had been established, contemporaries were less concerned to discuss whether or not France should have carried out the spoliations, than to negotiate precisely how the spoils could be used to regenerate French art. The rather naïve belief that

⁶⁶ It is important to mention, however, that the removal of art from Italy did not have the effect of completely negating trips to Rome. While the display of art in the Louvre made it much easier for artists to see important items, the Académie de France à Rome was soon refounded and by 1803, had been installed in the Villa Medici (see Chapter 1, note 33).

⁶⁷ The erection of 'Roman' monuments, as I shall discuss, played an important role in this. However, the French occupation of Rome (1809-1814), during which they started a series of urban developments and excavations, and Napoleon's imperial plans for Rome, which he designated the second capital of the empire, indicate quite clearly that the French did not stop going to Rome, but in many respects, went there more. Napoleon wanted Paris to emulate Rome, and possess her finest works of art, but he was also keen to maintain the importance of the city, albeit as a second capital.

⁶⁸ Quatremère de Quincy: 1989, 132.

⁶⁹ I have only been able to find one work focusing on Eméric-David, the unpublished PhD thesis by Meredith Shedd, *T.-B. Eméric-David and the Criticism of Antique Sculpture in France: 1780-1839* (University of California, Berkeley, 1980. Aspects of her research have been published as two articles, 'Eméric-David's 'Anatomical Vision': A French Response to the Elgin Marbles' (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, novembre 1983, pp.158-164), and 'A Neo-Classical Connoisseur and his Collection: J.B.Giraud's Museum of Casts at the Place Vendôme' (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, février 1996, pp.81-94). As has already been suggested, critics have usually only considered the *Recherches* in the light of the debate between Eméric-David and Quatremère de Quincy over *le beau idéal*, (see the article by Potts, 'Political attitudes and the rise of historicism in art theory,' *Art History*, Vol.1, No.2, 1978, pp.200-204, and Prendergast: 1997, pp.49-62). Overall, however, very little has been published on Eméric-David, and it seems that the most recent edition of the *Recherches* was published in 1863 (the British Library has a copy of the original 1805 edition, and the 1863 edition, which is unedited).

⁷⁰ On the competition itself, see Benoit (1897).

contemporary art would be 'spontaneously' regenerated by the removal of 'great' art from abroad, especially the antique art from Rome which had served as such an inspiration for the Renaissance, was now replaced by the more realistic opinion that some organisation would be required by the state for this to be achieved.⁷¹

Eméric-David's essay provides a detailed discussion of the education of the sculptor in the 'new Rome.' The fact that the Institut de France organised the competition in the first place suggests that the Institut acknowledged that some direction was needed for the practical arts at this time.⁷² At first glance, it appears that Eméric-David closely modelled his work on the writings of Winckelmann. Prendergast, for example, remarks that, like Winckelmann, he was 'devoted to the subject of Greek sculpture.'⁷³ Certainly, in the first part of the essay he concentrates on the unique circumstances in ancient Greece which provided perfect conditions for the flowering of the arts. In the second part of the essay, he considers sculptures such as the Laocoön and the Apollo Belvedere, which he suggests modern artists should try to emulate. A closer consideration of the essay, however, indicates that Eméric-David's essay represents a sophisticated rewriting of Winckelmann's ideas, which he has adapted to the circumstances of the 'new Rome.' Whereas Quatremère condemned the removal of art from Rome and provided a negative reading of the artistic policy of the new regime,⁷⁴ Eméric-David celebrates the display of sculptures in the Musée. In the third part of the essay, he emphasises the role of the art of the ancients as part of the artistic heritage of France, and throughout he discusses examples of ancient art which had been taken from Rome and suggests how they can be used by the

⁷¹ See Potts: 1994, 226: 'The deliberations of the Société Populaire et Républicaine des Arts indicate that, already by 1794, a concern was mounting among the more politically aware members of the artistic community that aesthetic standards might have to be artificially encouraged even under the new conditions of republican freedom...If we look ahead to the essays produced for the competition sponsored by the Institut in 1801 on the causes of the perfection of antique sculpture, we notice not only a new stress on correct artistic doctrine and a certain disillusionment with the idea that good art and political freedom necessarily went hand in hand. There was also a quite un-Winckelmanian tendency to mark out a separation between the artistic and political spheres.' As I shall suggest, according to Eméric-David, the achievement of 'perfection' in contemporary art could be reached largely as a result of a sound artistic policy, which, in comparison with the earlier association between politics and art, was not to be affected by the upheavals of Revolution or war. However, this was not to say that the purpose of the search for artistic perfection in contemporary art was not to glorify the state or to be used by it to express the ideology of the new regime.

⁷² At the end of the essay, Eméric-David provides a detailed account of the role the state should have in administering artistic education (see below).

⁷³ Prendergast: 1997, 57.

⁷⁴ See, for instance, McClellan: 1994, 148: 'The historical pessimism of Quatremère ran counter to Revolutionary and Napoleonic faith in the power of state institutions to effect meaningful reform and lasting achievements. This was no time for pessimism in official circles, as Denon, the erstwhile curator and diplomat well understood. Through its inspirational power, the Louvre, in conjunction with a revived Academic system (in the form of the Institut from 1795) and state patronage, would produce French art of sufficient greatness to compare the Napoleonic era with that of Alexander the Great, Augustus and Julius II. The museum was necessary for the production of the grand manner in France, and only French art had a future.'

modern sculptor. In his opinion (and that of the Institut), the removal of antique sculptures from Rome was essential for the new regime, since it guaranteed the regeneration of French art.

The Musée des Antiques

In the official Introduction to the *Recherches*, the Secretary for Literature and Fine Arts at the Institut National highlights Eméric-David's achievement, while setting it within the context of the ultimate aims of the Institut. He comments: '[il] présente un assez grand nombre d'idées et d'observations propres à accélérer la marche de l'art vers sa perfection.'⁷⁵ In Eméric-David's own preface, the author expresses his thanks to his friend, the sculptor J.-B.Giraud, who assisted him in writing the essay. The fact that he received the help of a well known, practising sculptor, who was also renowned for his collection of casts of antique sculpture on display in his apartment at the Place Vendôme,⁷⁶ suggests that right from the start, the essay was intended to serve as a inspiration for sculptors working in contemporary Paris. Eméric-David comments on the fact that Giraud was a skilled sculptor ('la cire et..le marbre qui s'animent sous les doigts') and suggests that he particularly revered the sculptures of the ancient Greeks, ('cet ardent et si dieux émule des Grecs'). At first, Giraud had actually been opposed to the removal of art from Rome, possibly because he anticipated that a display of antiquities in Paris would make his own cast collection redundant.⁷⁷ After the signing of the Treaty of Tolentino in 1797, however, he was chosen as one of nine artists to suggest where the antique sculptures seized from Rome should be displayed in Paris, and he began to eagerly anticipate the arrival of the spoils.⁷⁸ It is hardly surprising that with Giraud as his friend, Eméric-David paid close attention to the antique sculptures brought from Rome, which, by the time he was writing, were established on their plinths in the Musée. According to his essay, the antique sculptures in the Musée des Antiques were to play a major role in the education of the artist. The central argument of the essay is that contemporary artists could reach perfection in their art through a combination of studies: by undertaking the life classes provided by the Institut, and by making a close observation of the antique sculptures from Rome, displayed in the Musée.

⁷⁵ Eméric-David: 1863, vi.

⁷⁶ On Giraud's cast collection see the article by Meredith Shedd, 'A Neo-Classical Connoisseur and his Collection: J.B.Giraud's Museum of Casts at the Place Vendôme' (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, mai-juin 1984, pp. 198-206. It is interesting that, according to David, a visit to Giraud's collection of casts was itself like a visit to Rome. In 1789, David commented to Wicar: 'C'est [...] le premier sculpteur de chez nous; c'est le seul qui tient réellement de l'antique et qui soit réellement savant; ajouter à cela, si vous voulez, possesseur de soixante et dix mille livres de rente[...] il va faire en sorte que dans la Place Vendôme, où est son hôtel, nous puissions croire que nous sommes à Rome. Il nous l'a déjà fait voir par une vingtaine de superbes antiques qu'il a à Paris' (quoted in Schnapper: 1980, 47).

⁷⁷ Like many artists, he had signed a petition against the spoliations in 1796 (see the article by Shedd, 1994, as above, p.202, and for a reproduction of the petition itself, see Quatremère de Quincy: 1989, pp.141-142). As Shedd suggests, he may also have been 'partly motivated by a desire to sell his copies of some of these sculptures to the French government as a substitute for acquiring the originals.'

It has already been suggested that Eméric-David was influenced by Winckelmann. In the first part of the essay, he focuses on the Greek love of sculpture, he praises the taste of the Greeks and outlines the reasons why their sculpture attained such heights. He considers the unity of the Greek people, their love of heroes, the influence of their political system, their admiration for the human body, and the role of education, religion and the Olympic games in the creation of sculpture in ancient Greece. In the second part of the essay, he examines the practical methods employed by the Greeks to produce sculpture (their system of schools, study of anatomy, use of geometry, methods of modelling, techniques of drawing from life and making models from wax, and custom of polishing marble statues), and the theoretical basis of their work. He divides his discussion of the latter into a consideration of concepts which were of major importance to eighteenth-century thought: 'le Sentiment,' 'le Génie,' 'le Goût,' 'le Style,' and 'le Beau idéal.' He defines seven rules or principles which influenced the production of sculpture in ancient Greece, and illustrates each of these rules by reference to well known examples of antique sculpture, many of which were currently displayed in the Musée des Antiques. The third part of the essay is devoted to a delineation of 'L'Art Statuaire chez les modernes,' and provides a history of sculpture from the time of the Goths. After a consideration of sculpture in Italy, focusing on the Renaissance, he provides an analysis of sculptural developments in France, and finally makes proposals for the regeneration of sculpture to the standards of ancient Greece.

Although his admiration for the sculpture of the Greeks and belief that all other sculpture was inferior to that of ancient Greece allies Eméric-David's account to the work of Winckelmann, in the Introduction to the *Recherches*, however, Eméric-David remarks on the 'Romanness' of the French in their removal of art. This draws attention to the ideology of the new regime which took ancient Rome as its model, not ancient Greece. He comments:

'Depuis deux mille ans, quelques morceaux de marbre, taillés à la ressemblance du corps humaine, excitent l'admiration du monde. Les Romains les enlevèrent aux Grecs, et s'avouèrent vaincus par les artistes qui les avaient travaillés. Au milieu des guerres et des triomphes, les nations modernes les plus éclairées s'en emparent par des victoires, les obtiennent ou y renoncent par des traités publics, comme s'il s'agissait de villes et de provinces. Les anciens qui en ont écrit, l'ont fait, comme nous, avec les expressions hyperboliques de l'enthousiasme; et, par un consentement général, chez les Grecs, chez les Romains, parmi les Barbares, c'est à ces ouvrages de l'art que l'on a toujours comparé ceux de la Nature elle-même, pour en apprécier la beauté.'⁷⁹

Throughout the essay his discussion is framed by the artistic agenda of the 'new Rome,' and the conception that the French were 'new Romans' who had taken (what were still largely thought to be)

⁷⁸ See the article by Shedd, 1984, as above, p.203.

the greatest works of Greek art⁸⁰ - as well as works of sculpture executed by the Romans themselves.⁸¹ Interestingly, although Winckelmann's writings had held a certain appeal for the Revolutionaries,⁸² by 1800 they were the subject of frequent criticism by the French, who found his highly charged eulogies to particular sculptures such as those to the Apollo Belvedere, the Laocoön and the Belvedere Torso, effusive and over enthusiastic.⁸³ More scholarly accounts of issues such as *le beau idéal* were coming into fashion, and in his essay submitted to the same competition as Eméric-David, Nicholas Ponce openly criticises Winckelmann for suggesting that the finest sculptures from antiquity represented an almost unattainable ideal. This contemporary criticism of Winckelmann is reflected in Eméric-David's account, when in a section in the first part of his essay, entitled, 'Insuffisance des systèmes de différents écrivains,' he problematises various aspects of Winckelmann's *History of the Art of the Ancients*.⁸⁴

In keeping with the artistic ideology of the 'new Rome,' and in refutation of Winckelmann's (and Quatremère's) vision of the artist and the antiquarian pursuing his studies of antique sculptures in the context of the collections, history and culture of Rome, Eméric-David focuses on the works of art the student is to study in the Musée des Antiques. Included with the table of contents of his essay is a handy checklist of the sculptures referred to in his text which the artist can now observe in Paris: 'Table indiquant les statues et les bustes décrits ou mentionnés dans cet ouvrage qui se voyait dans le Musée Napoléon.' I shall consider the seven 'rules' or 'principles' illustrated by antique sculptures in the next section, since they are closely bound up with Eméric-David's 'anatomical' interpretation of antique sculpture. It is interesting, however, to note the choice of sculptures he employs to illustrate the 'rules.' In his previous discussion of general principles, such as 'Passions tempérées par la

⁷⁹ Eméric-David: 1863, 1.

⁸⁰ As early as 1779, Mengs suggested that many of the most famous marbles in Roman collections were of insufficient quality to be Greek originals, and were in fact, Graeco-Roman copies. At the time Eméric-David was writing, however, Mengs' ideas were still not widely accepted, and would not have been popular in France since they would have altered the status of their spoils. On the ideas and influence of Mengs, see the article by A.D.Potts, 'Greek sculptures and Roman copies I: Anton Raphael Mengs and the Eighteenth Century' (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol.XLI, 1980, pp.150-173).

⁸¹ The fact that the French were able to seize items of Roman sculpture as well as the works of 'Greek' art which the Romans had taken, suggested that, in a sense, the French had done one better than the Romans. I shall return to the theme of the French surpassing the Romans, in particular, through their erection of 'Roman' monuments, in Chapters 4 and 5 (the folio editions produced to commemorate the Arc du Carrousel and the Vendôme Column both suggested that the French had 'improved' upon the original Roman monuments).

⁸² See this chapter, above.

⁸³ Potts: 1994, 284, footnote 14.

⁸⁴ Eméric-David: 1863, pp.5-11. He suggests, for example, that writers such as Winckelmann have placed too much emphasis on the influence of the climate in ancient Greece on the production of sculpture. He particularly criticises Winckelmann for his suggestion that the religion of the ancient Greeks enabled them to perfect the arts: 'La religion des Grecs n'est pas d'ailleurs la seule où l'on ait attribué aux Dieux les formes du corps humain. Si, dans ce qu'elle renfermait de poétique, elle eût

sagesse,' he mentions well known sculptures such as the Laocoön which, like Winckelmann, he suggests illustrates a sense of restrained agony ('Ses yeux cherchent le ciel. Sa douleur est profonde; elle est noble. Il se plaint; il ne crie pas...').⁸⁵ But the sculptures he chooses to illustrate the seven 'principles' include lesser known examples which were not ecstatically praised or even mentioned by Winckelmann, such as the bust of Jupiter Serapis, of obvious Roman origin, which had been seized by the French from the Villa Albani, and the Capitoline Venus, both of which were on display in the Musée des Antiques.⁸⁶

In the final part of the essay, where he traces the history of modern sculpture, Eméric-David emphasises that antique sculpture is the cultural heritage of the French. The history of French sculpture can be traced via the Italian Renaissance, the modern 'peak' of perfection, directly back to its ancient roots. The fact that the Institut commissioned the essay competition suggests that some attempt was being made by the state to address the issue of artistic regeneration in France. But in the section, entitled, 'Recherche particulière des moyens d'atteindre à la perfection de la Sculpture antique,' Eméric-David makes direct reference to the role of the state in the regeneration of modern art: 'L'Art Statuaire est, en quelque sorte, l'art des gouvernements et des rois; c'est à eux qu'il appartient de la protéger, de lui servir d'appui et de guide.'⁸⁷ Although he mentions 'kings' as well as 'governments' here, Eméric-David is making a generalised reference to the need for public sculpture to be revived in France. He suggests that monuments should be erected to commemorate heroes and inspire the people ('[L'Art Statuaire] a besoin, premièrement, d'être employé à des monuments qui inspirent aux nations entières un vif intérêt').⁸⁸ In addition, examples of great works of sculpture should be provided for students to study (which in France, of course, had recently been achieved through the removal of sculptures from Rome), and competitions instituted for the design of public sculptures and monuments. Eméric-David's detailed discussion of the importance of public sculpture

favorisé la perfection des arts, en élevant, comme on l'a dit, l'imagination des artistes *au-dessus de la sphère des sens* (Winckelm.), pourquoi la religion chrétienne ne l'eût-elle pas fait?... (p.10).

⁸⁵ Eméric-David: 1863, 147.

⁸⁶ Curiously Eméric-David makes frequent mention of the Farnese Hercules, which he seems to have admired in particular because of its emphasised anatomical effect. Yet as the French never managed to acquire the sculpture, it was never on display in the Musée des Antiques. Eméric-David may mention the sculpture because, at this stage, the French still had every intention of seizing the Farnese Hercules (as Abbé Grégoire had been the first to suggest). In 1799 the French gave instructions for the sculpture to be packed up and made ready to be shipped over from Naples (Haskell and Penny: 1981, 229). Eméric-David could have been anticipating its removal, although this was never achieved. He also mentions the Medici Venus in his text and in the list of items on display in the Musée. However, as I have already suggested in Chapter 2, this did eventually reach France, and by 1803, was on display in the Musée. Again, when Eméric-David mentions the statue, he may have been anticipating its arrival. Alternatively, he may have added the list of sculptures (or added the Medici Venus to the list) to his essay when it was sent for publication in 1805.

⁸⁷ Eméric-David: 1863, 332.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 333.

at the end of his essay directly foreshadows the importance placed on the erection of monuments by Napoleon.⁸⁹ Calling upon the example of the ancients, he comments:

‘Que l’histoire des peuples anciens s’unisse à la nôtre pour nous offrir des exemples mémorables de courage et de vertu. Dans quels lieux seront placés des monuments devenus un sujet d’instruction et d’orgueil? Partout où le public se porte: dans les temples, dans les palais des magistrats, dans les marchés, dans les écoles. C’est là que les plus beaux ouvrages produisent les plus grands effets. C’est là que les artistes reçoivent d’utiles leçons des grands artistes. L’Art Statuaire se corrompt dans les boudoirs, et se perfectionne dans les places publiques.’⁹⁰

Even at this stage, before Napoleon had been made Emperor of the French and achieved his great Austerlitz success, Eméric-David draws attention to the model provided by ancient monuments commemorating ‘des exemples mémorables de courage et de vertu.’ Unlike Winckelmann, who showed little interest in the monuments of antiquity in comparison with smaller works of freestanding sculpture, Eméric-David suggests that the production of public monuments, inspired by antique models, should be encouraged in early nineteenth-century France.

Adapting *le beau idéal*: bringing ‘reality’ into the studio

‘Eméric David, ravi d’ailleurs des spoliations de Bonaparte, voit dans les antiques un encouragement à copier le modèle vivant après l’avoir choisi; Quatremère, irrité des spoliations, voit dans les antiques la condamnation de l’art réaliste de l’Empire.’⁹¹

One of the most important ways in which Eméric-David’s description of the education of the artist differs from Quatremère de Quincy’s in the *Lettres* is in his recommendation that the artist should take inspiration from the delineation of Nature in antique sculptures. Meredith Shedd has already commented on Eméric-David’s ‘anatomical’ interpretation of antique sculpture provided in the *Recherches sur l’Art Statuaire*.⁹² But she does not sufficiently relate the *Recherches* to the display of

⁸⁹ Although Eméric-David goes on to remark that sculptors concentrate on designing bas-reliefs too much, rather than free-standing sculptures (see Eméric-David: 1863, p.299). In the case of the Arc du Carrousel and the Vendôme Column, which erected soon after the publication of his work, bas-reliefs formed the focus of the monuments. Eméric-David’s suggestion that a sculptor works more like a painter when designing a bas-relief is particularly relevant to these monuments, where painters were employed to design the bas-reliefs (see Chapters 4 and 5). He also discusses the similarities and differences between sculpting bas-reliefs and ‘in the round’ (p.300), and on the use of bas-reliefs on architecture (p.301).

⁹⁰ Eméric-David: 1863, 338.

⁹¹ Schneider, *L’esthétique classique chez Quatremère de Quincy (1805-1825)*: 1910, 12.

⁹² See the article by Meredith Shedd, ‘Eméric-David’s ‘Anatomical Vision’: A French Response to the Elgin Marbles’ (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, novembre 1983, pp.158-164). She comments on the

antique sculptures in the Musée des Antiques, nor to the earlier discussion of the antique sculptures in Rome provided by the *Lettres* by Quatremère de Quincy. In this section, I shall emphasise that it was in the unique circumstances of early nineteenth-century Paris, where the antique sculptures seized by Napoleon created a dazzling display, that Eméric-David wrote his account.

The central argument of Eméric-David's essay is that the sculptor should be able to adapt, and improve on what he sees in Nature, specifically from his observation of the human body in life classes. While Quatremère de Quincy, in his *Considérations sur les Arts du Dessin* (1791) had objected to the emphasis placed on life-drawing by the Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture,⁹³ life-drawing is prioritised by Eméric-David. His theory relies on a description of the anatomical nature of antique sculptures. In his section on the studies and methods followed by Greek sculptors, he describes their observation of anatomy ('Etude de l'anatomie') and their use of models ('Réunion de plusieurs modèles vivants'). His 'anatomical' approach is most apparent, however, in his section on the theory governing the creation of Greek sculptures, and especially in his discussion of *le beau idéal* and the seven principles which were followed by Greek sculptors. Winckelmann, in his long descriptions of sculptures such as the Laocoön, immersed himself in detailed observations of the contours, muscles and physical contortions of the sculptures. By contrast, Eméric-David, in his delineation of the seven principles and his application of these principles to the sculptures in the Musée des Antiques, specifically relates the methods which had been followed by the ancients to the work of sculptors in Napoleonic France.

Central to his proposal for the education of the artist is his rejection of the notion of *le beau idéal* as it had been delineated by Mengs, Winckelmann and (although he does not mention him by name) Quatremère de Quincy. He presents their notion of *le beau idéal* as a fanciful, abstract entity, which is of no relevance to the sculptor, only serving to frustrate him as he searches beyond Nature for this 'ideal.' He comments, 'Cette beauté dont on voulait parler, étant un être chimérique.'⁹⁴ He directly criticises Mengs and Winckelmann:

'D'autres, tels que Mengs et Winckelmann, en reconnaissant que le beau idéal n'est qu'un beau de réunion, en ont parlé en termes tellement exagérés et

Recherches (p.158): 'Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this work was the presentation of an innovative anatomical theory of ancient sculpture which proposed that ancient Greek artists had consciously followed seven technical rules or procedures, all of which involved subtle though precise modification, omission, or accentuation of qualities which could be observed in living models.' However, Meredith Shedd is more concerned to show that the publication of the *Recherches* 'anticipated' the arrival of the Elgin Marbles in London and 'provided a theoretical and practical framework for the examination of the issue of naturalism in the art of Phidias' (p.159), than in considering the precise circumstances in Napoleonic Paris in which the *Recherches* was written.

⁹³ He considered that this was one of the main problems with the old Académie, and had helped to bring the decline of the system.

⁹⁴ Eméric-David: 1863, 174.

emphatiques, qu'ils ont dénaturé leur propre pensée, et fait croire que ce beau divin était hors de la Nature.'⁹⁵

Quatremère de Quincy also comes under attack for his suggestion that *le beau idéal* lies outside Nature, 'qu'on chererait en vain sur la terre le modèle de ce beau divin.'⁹⁶ Prendergast has rightly suggested that Eméric-David deliberately misinterprets Quatremère de Quincy, by implying that Quatremère was convinced that *le beau idéal* lay 'hors de la Nature.' It seems likely that he was hoping to dispense with the theoretical approach propounded so rigorously by Quatremère 'by way of a man of straw, attributing to the opposite camp a view of the *beau idéal* as signifying 'une beauté surnaturelle'....As we have seen, this is exactly not what Quatremère argued.'⁹⁷ However, Prendergast does not pursue in any detail the alternative put forward by Eméric-David (his theory of naturalism), or highlight the fact that it relies on a complete reversal of the role given to Nature (according to Eméric-David) in the theory of Quatremère.

Eméric-David suggests that according to thinkers such as Winckelmann and Quatremère de Quincy, Nature is of little assistance to the sculptor. In fact, as the sculptor struggles to gain an appreciation of the 'ideal,' the intimations of beauty in Nature only serve to torment him, by alluding to something that he can never find: 'La Nature cruelle aurait-elle donc condamné l'homme à ce supplice éternel, d'avoir en lui l'idée du beau, de le vouloir avec passion, de le chercher sans cesse et de ne pouvoir le découvrir jamais?'⁹⁸ By contrast, Eméric-David proposes that the Greeks found their 'ideal beauty' in Nature, and, referring to a well known story in Cicero's *De inventione*,⁹⁹ he comments, 'Mais Zeuxis trouvent ce beau dans la Nature.' He even suggests that the term 'le beau idéal' should not be used: 'Autant les Grecs étaient loin de rechercher cette beauté chimérique, autant le nom même de beau idéal leur aurait paru impropre et mal choisi.'¹⁰⁰ While artists, struck by the beauty of antique sculptures, believe that they have appreciation of *le beau idéal*, Eméric-David reveals that their conception of the 'ideal' is only 'fantastique,' 'indéterminé.'¹⁰¹ In his opinion, if an artist were to work without a model before his eyes, he would have no guide to follow in his work:

'L'artiste qui s'habitue à ce guide trompeur croit avoir saisi le *beau idéal*, parce qu'un certain fantôme, qu'il prend pour le modèle de ce beau surnaturel, demeure présent à son imagination, et il n'a réellement appris qu'à voir la beauté sous une forme unique.'¹⁰²

⁹⁵ Ibid, 174 .

⁹⁶ Ibid, 175.

⁹⁷ Prendergast: 1997, 60.

⁹⁸ Eméric-David: 1863, 175.

⁹⁹ Cicero, *De inventione*, II.i.1-3.

¹⁰⁰ Eméric-David: 1863, 177.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 182.

¹⁰² Ibid, 182.

In comparison with 'le vain et fatal système des modernes,'¹⁰³ Eméric-David indicates that the ancients were able to achieve perfection in their sculpture through a close consideration of human anatomy.

In his delineation of the seven principles employed by the ancients, which he suggests should be used by modern artists, he emphasises the importance of an observation of Nature. For example, as the first rule, he suggests, 'Déterminer nettement les divisions principales du corps, en établissant de grandes masses et des plans variés.' For the second rule, he proposes a more extensive observation of the body, 'Augmenter l'étendue réelle des parties principales, en donnant à leurs profils, sur tous les sens, autant de développement que la Nature le permet.' The third rule prescribes a detailed observation of the muscles of the body, 'Donner à ces mêmes parties le plus d'étendue apparente qu'il est possible, en faisant suffisamment sentir la manière dont les muscles s'entre-croisent dans l'homme vivant, au point où elles se réunissent.'¹⁰⁴ While the fifth rule involves an analysis of the impact of the bones on anatomical form, and the sixth an imitation of the regularity of form provided by Nature.

To illustrate the rules, Eméric-David draws the reader's attention to examples of antique sculpture, many of which had recently been brought from Rome and were currently on display in the Musée des Antiques. Sometimes he refers to several examples:

'Ces grands traits, marqués par la Nature sur le corps de l'homme, n'ont pas échappé aux anciens. Quelque figure antique que l'on considère, on verra toujours ces cinq grandes lignes dont nous parlons tracées sur le torse. On les trouve sur les plus anciennes productions de l'art, comme sur celles du dernier âge, sur les figures de tous les caractères et de tous les degrés de beauté. On les voit sur le Laocoön et sur l'Hercule Farnèse; on les voit sur l'Apollon, sur la Vénus de Médicis, sur les figures de l'Amour et sur celles qui représentent des enfants et des Génies.'¹⁰⁵

On other occasions, he draws attention to the features of a particular sculpture. For example, he refers to the Medici Venus in connection with the second rule, commenting, 'les courbes sont cintrées encore autant que le sujet le permettait.'¹⁰⁶ To illustrate the fourth rule, he describes a figure of Apollo displayed in the museum in Florence, first the muscles of the statue, 'Les muscles sont exprimés avec la douceur qui est proprement à l'adolescence,' then the chest and legs.¹⁰⁷ Long descriptions, all of which are full of anatomical analysis, are provided to explain each of the rules, and it is suggested throughout that the use of antique sculptures as models in technique should be combined with an observation of 'live' models. The student should take pains to copy the human body, since 'C'est le corps de l'homme que vous devez principalement imiter,' and Eméric-David stresses that 'Le but de

¹⁰³ Ibid, 184.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 191.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 195-6.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 202.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 212-3.

vos efforts actuels étant d'imiter avec vérité.'¹⁰⁸ He points out that a good working method is to practice drawing and modelling from different parts of the body, such as the torso, the legs and arms, and then attempt to put together the whole. The sculptor is warned not to be put off by imperfections he might see in his model: 'Ne vous découragez point à cause des imperfections de votre modèle vivant: l'homme savant découvre des beautés dans tous les ouvrages de la Nature.'¹⁰⁹ It is up to the sculptor to adapt what he sees to suit his requirements: 'Si votre modèle a des imperfections, composez la figure de telle manière que les défauts soient le moins apparents qu'il se pourra.'¹¹⁰ As Eméric-David concludes in the third part of his essay, where he makes recommendations for the regeneration of modern art, 'Vous avez formé votre goût sur la Nature et sur l'antique, vous ne douterez pas qu'il n'existe un beau réel.'¹¹¹ He suggests that the encouragement of the state is a vital factor in the regeneration of art, whilst being fully aware that this encouragement has already been given in France, through the acquisition and display of examples of ancient art and the provision of life-classes at the Institut.

Meredith Shedd suggests that Eméric-David saw the realisation of his seven principles in his observation of casts of the Parthenon sculptures in Giraud's collection in the Place Vendôme.¹¹² By commenting that the *Recherches* provided a theoretical background for a consideration of the naturalism of Phidias,¹¹³ she seems to be reiterating the traditional interpretation of the arrival of the Parthenon sculptures in London as a turning-point in conceptions of taste - specifically, the end of a belief in beaux-arts aesthetics and the beginning of a discourse of 'naturalism.'¹¹⁴ As Ian Jenkins comments:

'What immediately struck all those who saw the Parthenon sculptures for the first time was their likeness to nature. Far from being 'grand and square' according to

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 310.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 317.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 318.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 321.

¹¹² See the article by Meredith Shedd, 'Eméric-David's 'Anatomical Vision': A French Response to the Elgin Marbles' (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, novembre 1983, p.159). It appears that Eméric-David himself never went to London to see the marbles, although Quatremère de Quincy, for example, did. For Quatremère's response to the Elgin Marbles, see his *Lettres sur l'enlèvement des ouvrages de l'art antique à Athens et à Rome, écrites les unes au célèbre Canova, les autres au Général Miranda* (1836). Curiously, Quatremère regarded the removal of the Parthenon sculptures from Athens very differently from the removal of works of art from Rome. In the case of the Parthenon sculptures, Quatremère felt that they had suffered damage and neglect in their original context and suggested that they would be seen by many more people in London rather than Athens. For a discussion of the letters to Canova, see Schneider, *L'Esthétique Classique chez Quatremère de Quincy (1805-1825)*: 1910, pp.13-23.

¹¹³ See the article by Shedd, 1983, as above, p.159

¹¹⁴ The sculptures were first on display in rooms in Park Lane, and were only acquired by the British Museum in 1816. See Jenkins (1992) for a history of the display and interpretation of the Parthenon sculptures in London, especially at the British Museum. See St Clair (1998) for an in-depth analysis of the circumstances in which they were acquired, and his last controversial chapter on the damage they may have experienced whilst in the care of the British Museum.

Winckelmann's classification of art, the art of Pheidias appeared to take inspiration directly from nature. This was something the painter Benjamin Robert Haydon took as cause to abandon the 'false beau-ideal' of traditional art theory based upon the repertoire of Graeco-Roman models. He hailed the arrival of the Elgin Marbles as marking the commencement of real art, based upon the twin exemplars of the Parthenon sculptures and Nature.¹¹⁵

J. Rothenberg, too, considers that the display of the marbles in London represents a transitional point in the history of art theory: 'The Elgin Marbles arrived in England at the height of the transition from neo-classicism to Romanticism. In this milieu, they served as the focal point around which the most significant aesthetic and critical issues of the day were fought out.'¹¹⁶

Although Meredith Shedd considers the importance of Eméric-David's essay for later interpretations of the Parthenon sculptures, she neglects to consider the particular relevance of the essay to the circumstances of Napoleonic Paris. In fact, while Eméric-David would not have been able to see Giraud's casts of the Parthenon frieze at the time he was writing his essay,¹¹⁷ he would certainly have had ample opportunity to view the antique sculptures displayed in the Musée des Antiques. His friendship with Giraud, who was on the committee responsible for organising the exhibition of artworks from Rome would have ensured his interest in the Musée. The sculptures in the Musée were much more relevant to the issue of artistic regeneration in Napoleonic France, than the Parthenon sculptures, which were displayed later on in London. Eméric-David's analysis of the sculptures in the Musée in anatomical terms, and prescription, with the backing of the Institut, that artists should pursue naturalism in their work, suggests that the first theory of 'naturalism' was formulated in relation to the French seizure of art. Critics may have considered that the theory of naturalism was born in the 'new Athens,' as a response to the Parthenon sculptures,¹¹⁸ but Eméric-David's essay suggests that it was inspired by the spoils of Napoleon's 'Capitoline,' in the 'new Rome.'

As I shall suggest in Chapters 4 and 5, however, the artistic production of the Napoleonic regime drew its greatest influence from the bas-reliefs of imperial Rome. Napoleonic sculptors were primarily involved with executing sculptural decoration, bas-reliefs and sculptures for monuments such as the Arc du Carrousel and the Vendôme Column. Although Eméric-David suggested that the regeneration of French art required the study of the antique sculptures in the Musée des Antiques, it is clear that the monuments erected in the 'new Rome' did not provide the opportunity for the expression of Eméric-David's 'naturalistic' concerns. There is evidence that Napoleon preferred a 'realistic' kind

¹¹⁵ Jenkins: 1992, 24-5.

¹¹⁶ Rothenberg: 1977, 5.

¹¹⁷ As Meredith Shedd suggests, Eméric-David went to see Giraud's casts of the frieze for the first time in May 1818 (see her article, 'Eméric-David's 'Anatomical Vision': A French Response to the Elgin Marbles,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, novembre 1983, p.159).

¹¹⁸ On further links between Britain and Greece at this time, see, for example, Mordaunt Crook (1972), Tsigakou (1981) and Constantine (1984).

of art, to the extent that he commissioned works commemorating recent events and depicting figures in contemporary clothes, but his artists took recourse to the particular model provided by Roman imperial art, and the Musée des Antiques was chiefly regarded as a display of 'Roman' spoils.

Chapter 4: The Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel

The Napoleonic monuments, in particular the Arc du Carrousel (fig.163), have often been condemned by critics as examples of 'artistic devaluation.'¹ Critics have perceived them to be representative of the 'decadence' and 'decline' of Neo-classicism, or have regarded them as mere propaganda statements, expressing Napoleon's 'self-glorification.'² Yet a close analysis of the Arc du Carrousel in the context of the artistic, political and cultural developments of the time reveals that the arch functioned as a crucial element of the 'new Rome.' The fact that the arch served as visual propaganda precisely related it to the arches of imperial Rome, and the arch also played an important role in the recreation of the spatial and urban elements of the ancient city. A consideration of the sculptural decoration of the arch, focusing on the relief panels, indicates that the achievements of the new regime were visually expressed through a complex blend of artistic traditions derived from Roman sculptural reliefs and French painting, not through a meaningless copying of Roman examples.

As a background to my analysis of the Arc du Carrousel, I shall consider the significance of the arch form to the architects studying at the French Academies in Paris and Rome. In the second half of the eighteenth century, French architects made close studies of the monuments of ancient Rome. The arches of the ancient city were a popular subject for study, although at this period, the notion of 'la grande architecture' was inspired by an observation of the imperial palaces and baths of Rome, rather than the military monuments such as the arches and columns. During the frugal years of the Revolution, French architects were able to realise some of their 'Roman' designs through the erection of temporary festival structures, and employed the ancient monuments themselves for their festivals in Rome. Under the Empire, however, French architects at last had the chance to erect 'Roman' monuments in stone. In the context of Napoleon's military victories and his coronation as emperor, it now became appropriate for architects to turn specifically to the military monuments of imperial Rome.

Napoleon's desire to commemorate his victories through the erection of a network of Roman triumphal monuments in the centre of Paris suggests that he identified with the building intentions of the emperors of ancient Rome. The training his architects had received in Rome played an important part in the conception of monuments to celebrate his campaigns, but it was his own understanding (informed by Denon) of the uses the Roman emperors had made of building in imperial Rome which encouraged him to commemorate his achievements through the erection of triumphal monuments. His progression to power, from his appointment as First Consul in 1799, to First Consul for life (1802), then Emperor of the French (1804), directly recalls the manner in which Augustus gained power in

¹ See, for example, Honour: 1991, 172.

² Boime: 1990, 12.

Rome.³ In this chapter, I shall explore the parallels between Napoleon and Augustus more fully, in particular, the way in which both emperors attempted to transform their capitals through their imperial building projects.⁴ I shall consider how Napoleon, like Augustus, brought an end to civil war, and sought to characterise his reign as one of peace.⁵ Both emperors were keen to revive the arts. They were well aware of the interrelationship of art and politics and employed art and architecture to commemorate their achievements and consolidate their positions. It was also through art that they propagated the notion of a cultural renewal and established the mythical foundations of their 'new Romes.'⁶

The Arc du Carrousel was one of the earliest building projects to be undertaken by Napoleon in Paris. The arch was intended to commemorate Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz, and the architects Percier and Fontaine were chosen to design the monument. They modelled the arch on the Arch of Septimius Severus which they had studied together some years earlier in Rome.⁷ A close consideration of the Arc du Carrousel, however, reveals that although the French arch was in many ways closely related to the Roman arch, especially in its function as a ceremonial entrance to Napoleon's 'forum,' leading towards his display of spoils in his 'Capitol,' it was not decorated with sculptural reliefs which depicted Napoleon as a victor of bloody battles and sieges. It did not convey Napoleon as a 'new Septimius Severus,' but as a 'new Augustus.'

In this chapter, I shall consider the significance of the arch in the presentation of Napoleon as the 'new Augustus,' and provide a detailed analysis of the relief panels of the arch. Critics have stressed that Austerlitz 'proved the greatest victory of Napoleon's career,' and mentioned that 'a

³ For a consideration of Napoleon's rise to power, see, for example, Broers: 1996, pp.18-21, Furet: 1996, pp.206-248, and Crook: 1998, Chapter 4, pp.71-95. For exhibitions concerning Napoleon at important stages of his career, see, for example, the catalogue *Napoléon Ier, 1802, la paix d'Amiens, le Concordat, le Consulat à Vie*, from the exhibition held at Malmaison, 1952. Contemporaries would have been familiar with Augustan history from popular accounts of Roman history such as Rollin's *Histoire Romaine* (first published between 1738-41), and, later on, Royou's *Histoire des Empereurs Romaines* (1808) and *Histoire Romaine* (1809). On the rise of Octavian, see, for instance, Earl: 1968, pp.11-71, and Cary and Scullard: 1979, pp.283-298. On Napoleon's identification with Augustus, see Valérie Huet, 'Napoleon I: a new Augustus?' (in Edwards, 1999, especially pp.54-8).

⁴ On the building projects undertaken by Augustus, see Favro (1996), on those of Napoleon, Hautecoeur (1953, Volume 5) and Biver (1963).

⁵ For a detailed analysis of the reign and achievements of Augustus, see Earl (1968), Cary and Scullard: 1979, pp.315-350, Raaflaub and Toher eds (1990) and the article by J.A.Crook, 'Augustus: Power, Authority, Achievement' (in Bowman, Champlin and Lintott eds, 1996, pp.113-135).

⁶ Zanker (1990) provides an excellent account of Augustus' use of the arts as propaganda for the new regime. Earl (1968) is useful as a general source on Augustan art. Also see Simon (1986) and the article by Mario Torelli, 'Roman Art, 43 B.C. to A.D. 69' (in Bowman, Champlin and Lintott eds, 1996, pp.930-958).

⁷ Cf: Dupavillon and Lacloche: 1989, 77, suggest that the Arch of Constantine was the primary model for the arch. Although the Arch of Constantine, specifically the relief panels and figures standing on the entablatures above the columns of the arch, does seem to have influenced the design of Arc du Carrousel (see below), Dupavillon and Lacloche do not mention Percier and Fontaine's special knowledge of the Arch of Septimius Severus.

national cult soon sprung up around the battle...and its heroes.’⁸ Yet the Arc du Carrousel does not present Napoleon as a ruthless military general, but as a diplomat and arbiter. In fact, some historians have mentioned that with the Peace of Presbourg he consolidated, rather than capitalised, on his military success.⁹ At the same time, however, it is important to consider the significance of the arch in relation to the context in which it was produced. This reveals that Napoleon used Roman architectural models to sinister effect, in order to provide a reading of the Austerlitz victory which manipulated current events.

(1) Imperial building: Napoleon’s use of the Roman arch

Two important accounts of Napoleon’s building projects in Paris are those by Marie-Louise Biver, *Le Paris de Napoléon*,¹⁰ and the fifth volume of Louis Hautecoeur’s lengthy account, *L’histoire de l’architecture classique de France*, entitled *Revolution et Empire*.¹¹ While Biver’s account provides a detailed account of the monuments, buildings and urban developments carried out by Napoleon, and employs a wide range of archival sources, Hautecoeur’s sets the Napoleonic achievement within the context of the history of classical architecture in France, and he focuses in particular on training and stylistic developments.¹² Yet neither of these accounts provides a close study of the ‘Romanness’ of Napoleonic monumental architecture.¹³ Two folio editions published some

⁸ Broers: 1996, 42. On the Austerlitz victory, also see, for example, Godechot, Hyslop and Dowd eds: 1971, pp.117-119. For contemporary accounts of the campaign, see the article by Marcel Dunan, ‘Un inédit du Baron Fain: Le voyage d’Austerlitz (septembre 1805 - janvier 1806)’ (*Bulletin de l’Institut Napoléon*, No.42-3, janvier-avril 1952, pp.14-20), and Langeron (1998). In addition, see the review by Dunan of the exhibition, ‘Napoléon à Austerlitz et Iéna: L’Exposition des Invalides’ (*Revue de l’Institut Napoléon*, No.59, avril 1956, pp.33-4), and the exhibition catalogue by Alfred Marie (*Revue de l’Institut Napoléon*, No.59, avril 1956, pp.35-53).

⁹ Broers: 1996, 42. Broers goes on to comment that the next phase of Napoleonic expansion was ‘not caused...by French ambition, but by the unforeseen entry of Prussia into the Coalition of summer 1806’ (p.43).

¹⁰ Biver (1963).

¹¹ Hautecoeur (1953).

¹² See Marcel Dunan’s review of the section on Napoleonic architecture in Hautecoeur’s *L’histoire de l’architecture classique de France*, in his article entitled ‘Napoléon premier et l’architecture française’ (*Revue de l’Institut Napoléon*, No.50, janvier 1954, pp.30-32). Dunan also notes that Hautecoeur’s account focuses on stylistic and decorative reference to developments under Napoleon. Valérie Huet (see her article, ‘Napoleon I: a new Augustus?’, in Edwards ed: 1999, 64) provides surprisingly little comment on the significance and (in the context of her work) shortcomings of Hautecoeur’s account, and only remarks, ‘on the architectural history of France, Hautecoeur’s great work has never been superseded.’

¹³ In fact, Biver includes as her frontispiece the dedicatory inscription which appeared in the first volume of Baltard and Duval’s *Paris et ses monumens* (1803), which identifies Napoleon with Pericles as much as with Alexander and Marcus Aurelius. She does not observe that this appeared significantly before the erection of the ‘Roman’ monuments such as the arches and Vendôme Column. She may mention in her Introduction the strong influence which Rome, in general, had on Napoleonic Paris, but she does not explore this as her central theme.

years after the fall of Napoleon, *Monuments des Victoires et Conquêtes des Français* (1822),¹⁴ and Normand's *Arc de Triomphe des Tuileries* (1830), however, suggest that contemporaries viewed the Napoleonic monuments in direct relation to their Roman models, and that they particularly admired the triumphal monuments of ancient Rome. In the 'Précis historique' to his edition on the *Arc de Troimphe des Tuileries*, Normand provides a brief discussion of the universal desire to commemorate military success. After two short paragraphs, he turns directly to the example of the Romans, and displays his detailed knowledge of the physical features of Roman arches, and of references to the arch form made by ancient authors such as Pliny:

'Pour éterniser la mémoire de leurs succès militaires, les Romains élevèrent une multitude d'Arcs de Triomphe, monuments de pure magnificence, où les bas-reliefs, les statues, les inscriptions consacraient à la postérité le nom du vainqueur, les détails de ses conquêtes, les trophées de ses victoires. Ces grands Arcs, placés à l'entrée de leurs villes, sur les routes, sur les ponts, au sommet des montagnes, étaient à une, à deux, à trois portes. On les ornaient de bronzes, de marbres, de porphyre, d'or même. On éleva des Arcs de Triomphe à Rome, dès le règne de Romulus. L'histoire fait mention de l'Arc Triomphal d'Horatius Cocles et de celui de Camille. Et ces peuples qui ne durent, pour ainsi dire, leur célébrité qu'à leurs armes, conservèrent, durant plus de douze siècles, l'usage de consacrer leurs victoires par des Arcs de Triomphe.

Pline, qui vivait sous le règne de Trajan, appelle les Arcs de Triomphe une invention nouvelle, novitium inventum: il voulait sans doute dire seulement que les Romains en étaient les inventeurs.'¹⁵

The lack of studies of the 'Roman' monuments erected under Napoleon, in particular, the Arc du Carrousel and the Vendôme Column, may be the result of critics' unease at the alterations made to the monuments following the downfall of Napoleon.¹⁶ As will be considered later in this chapter, some

¹⁴ This is probably by L. Voïart, whose name appears after most of the textual entries.

¹⁵ Normand: 1830, first text page (no page numbers). Normand is noticeably more specific in his reference to the Roman building model than Voïart, in particular to the importance of the Roman arch form. This is probably for two reasons: firstly, his folio edition is devoted to the history and importance of the Arc du Carrousel, while Voïart provides an illustrated compendium of a wide range of victory 'monuments' from the Napoleonic period, from battle paintings, arches, columns, bridges and large buildings, to fountains, sculptures, sculptural reliefs and decorative mosaics; secondly, Normand's volume was produced at a time when there was renewed interest in the Arc du Carrousel, shortly before the decision was taken to restore the original relief panels on the arch. Voïart's account, on the other hand, while its aim is clearly to commemorate the victories of the Napoleonic era, appeared in 1822, when the Napoleonic regime would have been a more recent memory, and it might have been thought unwise to emphasise the 'Romanness' of Napoleonic art.

¹⁶ By contrast, the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile has not undergone such changes. The range of accounts of this arch may have been encouraged by the fact that the monument has not been altered, by the fact that the monument was produced under various regimes, not just that of Napoleon I (it was only completed under the July Monarchy), and because of the sheer impressiveness of the monument

of the Napoleonic insignia included in the sculptural decoration of the arch was altered soon after the fall of Napoleon, and in 1823, it was thought fit to replace the Napoleonic relief panels with plaster reliefs commemorating the recent French campaign in Spain. Although the Arc du Carrousel was intended to serve as a magnificent entrance to the Tuileries Palace, in 1871, the palace was burnt down by the Communards, creating an uninterrupted vista towards the arch from the Arc de l'Etoile (fig.164), down through the Tuileries gardens (fig.165) towards the Louvre (fig.166).¹⁷

The alterations made to the Arc du Carrousel are in fact well documented in two sources, Fontaine's *Journal*, and Normand's folio edition on the arch.¹⁸ While both volumes mention the removal of some of the decorative details on the arch and the replacement of the original relief panels with plaster reliefs, Fontaine suggests that in 1831 the decision was taken to put the original relief panels back on the arch. It appears that this was accomplished in the same year,¹⁹ and the original panels can still be seen on the arch today. In addition, drawings, engravings, paintings and photographs of the arch which predate the destruction of the Tuileries Palace in 1871, give a vivid indication of the appearance of the arch in its original setting. Fontaine's watercolour of the arch

and its continual use for triumphal processions. Interestingly Lanzac de Laborie (1905, Volume II, 256) comments on the size of the arch and the effect this had on the relationship of the arch to the ancient arches in Rome: '...parmi les monuments napoléoniens, nul plus que l'arc de l'Etoile ne captive de loin les regards, nul ne contribue plus effacement à la décoration de la capitale. L'oeil accoutumé à ses proportions gigantesques, les jeunes Parisiens qui font connaissance avec l'Italie jugent mequins au premier abord les arcs de la Rome antique: pour retrouver la sensation de grandeur qui leur est familière, il leur faut aller chercher, au delà du Forum, le Colosseo des Flaviens, l'amphithéâtre monstre où tout un peuple s'entassait pour voir combattre des armées de gladiateurs.' For further information on the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile, see the article by Alex D...PS, 'L'Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No. XLVI, janvier-juin 1940, pp.45-58), Hauteceur: 1953, Volume V, pp.196-199, Lanzac de Laborie: 1905, Volume II, pp.253-256, Biver: 1963, pp.186-198, Gaetgens (1974), various references in Fontaine's *Journal*, 1799-1853, Volumes 1-2 (1987), Dupavillon and Lacloche: 1989, pp.65-73, Boime: 1990, 13 and Gaillard: 1996, pp.182-191. On the importance of the Champs-Élysées in Napoleonic Paris, see the article by André Lorion, 'Les Champs-Élysées sous le Consulat et l'Empire' (*Revue de l'Institut Napoléoniennes*, No.106, janvier 1968, pp.29-32), and on the use of the Arc de Triomphe for triumphal processions and special occasions in general, see Gaillard: 1996, pp.172-181. Also see the article by Emile Franceschini, 'La Place de l'Etoile' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.28, janvier-juin 1929, pp.154-162).

¹⁷ Hauteceur, for example, comments: 'Aujourd'hui l'Arc du Carrousel est privé du cadre pour lequel il avait été fait; il s'oppose à la masse de l'arc de l'Etoile, se détache sur le vide et non plus sur des bâtiments; il n'est plus lié à la courbe des grilles' (1953, Volume V, 202). See also the article by Madeleine Tartary, 'Le Louvre et les Tuileries sous Napoléon: Les projets de réunion de Percier et Fontaine' (*Recueil des travaux et documents de l'Institut Napoléon*, No .5, 1945, p.50): 'L'Arc lui-même est aujourd'hui bien isolé et ne nous permet guère de juger de sa valeur.'

¹⁸ See various references in Fontaine: 1987, Volume 2, 1824-1853, pp.516, 526, 657, 659, 736, 772, 882, 884, 888-9, 999) and the section in Normand's folio edition on the arch, *Arc de Triomphe des Tuileries* (1830), entitled 'Etat actuel,' and its accompanying plates. Normand delineates the alterations made to the arch from 1823 and the nature of the plaster relief panels which, at the time he was writing his account, decorated the arch. Also see various references in Biver (1963) and (1964). To place the changes sustained by the arch in their historical context, see, for example, Bury (1969), Briggs (1979), Best (1982), Collingham (1988), Furet (1988), Ford (1989).

¹⁹ See Fontaine: 1987, Volume 2, 884. Also see Biver: 1963, 197 and the catalogue from the exhibition *Napoléon*, held at the Grand Palais, juin-décembre 1969, p.85, cat.no.260.

(fig.167), for example, shows mounted guards standing in the lateral arches of the monument, which clearly stands as an entrance to the Tuileries palace behind, while the photograph reproduced in Hautecoeur (fig.168) shows the arch flanked by two sentry boxes.²⁰ It would seem, therefore, that neither the changes made to the arch nor the changes in its setting provide an adequate excuse for the critical neglect of the arch. In fact, when we consider the 'Romanness' of the monument, the alterations and attacks which, to varying degrees, were sustained by the arch can be compared with the 'damnationes' experienced by imperial statues monuments in ancient Rome.²¹

The French and the arches of ancient Rome

In a well-known passage recorded in his *Correspondance*, Napoleon suggested that he was only interested in erecting triumphal arches in order to be seen to be promoting the arts in France:

'Les arcs de triomphe seraient un ouvrage futile et qui n'aurait aucune espèce de résultat, que je n'aurais pas fait faire, si je n'avais pensé que c'était un moyen d'encourager l'architecture. Je veux, avec les arcs de triomphe, nourrir pendant dix ans la sculpture de France. M.Denon me présentera un plan. Le ministre de l'intérieur doit faire faire un autre arc de triomphe à l'Etoile. Il faut bien s'entendre pour la description de tous les dessins. Il faut que l'un soit l'arc de Marengo et l'autre d'Austerlitz. J'en ferai faire un autre dans un situation quelconque de Paris, qui sera l'arc de la Paix, et un quatrième qui sera celui de la Religion. Avec ces quatre arcs, je prétends alimenter la sculpture de France pendant vingt ans...'²²

However, this quotation seems rather contradictory when we consider the range of evidence for Napoleon's interest in his building projects, in particular, the Arc du Carrousel.²³ Other items in his *Correspondance*, notably communications to Denon, Napoleon's director for the arts,²⁴ or Campagny, his Ministre de l'Intérieur, indicate that Napoleon was keen to keep abreast of the progress of his building projects. For many of his monuments, including the arch, his approval had to be sought for

²⁰ Fontaine's watercolour is reproduced in Biver: 1963, fig.41, while the photograph appears in Hautecoeur: 1953, Volume V, 201.

²¹ The emperor Domitian was perhaps most famous for suffering 'damnationes.' His reign was marked by military failure, and the revolt led by L.Antonius Saturnius, the governor of Upper Germany in A.D.88-89 was only the first of many conspirances which took place against the emperor in the last six years of his reign, until in A.D. 96, Domitian was assassinated by the Praetorian Guard. After his death, the Senate condemned him with a 'damnatio memoriae,' and his name and face were removed from public monuments (see Pollitt ed: 1983, p.152ff). For accounts by the Roman authors of the destruction of imperial images, see Pliny (*Panegyrics*), Suetonius and Dio Cassius.

²² *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, no.10235, 14 may 1806, quoted in Lanzac de Laborie: 1905, Volume II, pp.251-2.

²³ On the inconsistencies in Napoleon's comments on his artistic projects, see Lanzac de Laborie: 1905, Volume II, 251.

²⁴ Denon was director-general of the imperial museums, director of the mint, administrator of the imperial manufactures, a member of the Institut and a baron of the empire. For a detailed consideration of his career under Napoleon, see Lelièvre (Paris, 1942) and Chatelain (1973).

the designs of the monument, especially for the subject of their bas-reliefs.²⁵ In addition, it is clear that Napoleon's use of the Roman arch form was not just a whim, or a means of providing work for his sculptors and promoting the arts in France. In this section, I shall consider how the form of the triumphal arch had been popular in France long before the erection of the Arc du Carrousel. By commissioning his own triumphal arch, Napoleon was building on the close relationship which had already been established by the French with the triumphal arches of Rome in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as expressing his own particular affiliation to ancient Rome.

The monumental arch became popular in France during the reign of Louis XIV.²⁶ In the same year as the foundation of the Académie de France à Rome (1671), the first of two great classical arches designed by the Professor of the Académie Royale d'Architecture, François Blondel, was erected in Paris.²⁷ The Porte Saint-Denis (fig.169),²⁸ commemorated Louis XIV's magnificent victories on the Rhine frontier,²⁹ and was built on the major road leading from the church of Saint-Denis to the Ile de la Cité. While the plans of the monument were executed by Blondel (fig.170),³⁰ the construction of the arch was overseen by Pierre Bullet.³¹ The general design of the arch and the spandrels over the archway convey the 'Romanness' of the monument. Yet the size of the arch and the arrangement of the large sculptural panels indicate that it was not closely modelled on a Roman arch.³² The long bas-reliefs over the spandrels of the arch by the brothers Anguier illustrate Louis'

²⁵ On his role in choosing the subjects for the panels on the arch, see Biver: 1963, 178.

²⁶ For a useful illustrated history of the triumphal arch, with special reference to France, see Dupavillon and Lacloche (1989).

²⁷ See Dupavillon and Lacloche: 1989, pp.48-57 for a variety of illustrations of other arches planned during the reign of Louis XIV, many of which are triple-arched and decorated with columns topped with statues. Consider, for example, a design by Lebrun for an arch on the Rue Saint-Antoine, designed for the entrance of the King in 1660 (p.50), and a design by Emmanuel Héré for a royal entrance to the town of Nancy (p.57).

²⁸ Photograph held in the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

²⁹ Forty guard posts on the frontier were conquered in less than two months (Dupavillon and Lacloche: 1989, 51).

³⁰ Engraving after a drawing by François Blondel, reproduction held in the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

³¹ For a detailed consideration of Pierre Bullet, see Langenskiold (1959).

³² For a more detailed description of the arch and its sculptural reliefs, see Legrand and Landon: 1808, Volume 3, pp.41-44. Their praise of the monument and comments on current plans to restore the arch, indicate the popularity of the arch form at this time: 'L'ensemble de ce monument, soit pour l'harmonie de ses proportions, soit pour l'admirable exécution de toutes ses parties, ayant toujours été regardé comme l'un des plus beaux ouvrages du siècle de Louis XIV, le public et les artistes voyaient avec peine son entretien totalement négligé, et sa partie supérieure sur-tout réduite à un état de dégradation tel, que bientôt il aurait amené une ruine totale; ils faisaient des vœux pour qu'un prompt remède vint arrêter les progrès du mal.

Ce vœu est enfin exaucé: le gouvernement vient d'ordonner l'entière et complète restauration de la Porte Saint-Denis, et cette opération délicate s'exécute en ce moment sous la conduite de M.Cellerier, qui y apporte une intelligence et des soins dignes d'éloges' (p.43).

The fact that the restoration of the arch was commissioned during the Napoleonic period reflects the similar treatment which was given to the monuments of Paris and Rome under Napoleon (I shall consider this issue in more detail later in this chapter).

passage across the Rhine and the siege of Maëstricht. The archway is decorated on either side with monumental panels in the shape of obelisks, depicting battle trophies and allegorical figures. The arch clearly shows Blondel's desire to create a French arch in a classical design, but at a time before a strong architectural relationship between Paris and Rome had been established. The prominent position of the arch on one of the main roads into Paris, is indicated by Louis-Léopold Boilly's painting of conscripts marching past the arch in 1807 (fig.171).³³

Following the success of the Porte Saint-Denis, Blondel designed the Porte Saint-Martin (fig.172),³⁴ and Bullet was again employed to supervise the construction of the arch.³⁵ This arch, erected in 1674, commemorates the capture of Besançon and the French defeat of the German, Spanish and Dutch forces. Like the Arches of Septimius Severus and Constantine, it is triple-arched, with a dedicatory inscription running along the top of the monument. Again, however, the size of the arch and the position of the sculptural reliefs, indicates that the arch was not modelled on any particular Roman examples. The four bas-reliefs are signed by Desjardins, Marsy, Lehongre and Legros, and Louis himself is depicted as a mighty Hercules, sporting a contemporary wig. The starkness of the design, with its emphasis on the stonework used to construct the arch (fig.173),³⁶ however, did not mean that the arch was less popular than the decorative Porte Saint-Denis.³⁷ The strong 'Romanness' of Napoleon's Arc du Carrousel in comparison with the Porte Saint-Denis and the Porte Saint-Martin suggests that while Napoleon wanted to create monuments which recalled the military and artistic prowess of the reign of Louis XIV, he was also keen to evoke an era which was distinct from that of the French monarchy.³⁸

The significance of monuments of ancient Rome to French architects studying at the Academies in Paris and Rome in the eighteenth century has already been discussed.³⁹ The triumphal arches in Rome certainly held a particular attraction for French architects. An early design for a triumphal arch inspired by the arches of Rome was executed by Soufflot. His design was for a monumental arch commemorating Pope Benedict XIV (fig.174), and he submitted it as his 'morceau de réception' for election to the Accademia di San Luca during his second visit to Italy (1749-51).⁴⁰ Engravings of

³³ Reproduced in the catalogue of the Musée Carnavalet, edited by Bernard de Montgolfier, 1992, p.101. The painting was first exhibited at the Salon of 1808.

³⁴ Reproduction held in the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

³⁵ See Dupavillon and Lacloche: 1989, 52, and Legrand and Landon: 1808, Volume 2, Part 3, pp.45-6.

³⁶ Engraving after Blondel's drawing of the arch, reproduction held in the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

³⁷ Legrand and Landon: 1808, 46, for example, comment: 'Au reste, quoique la Porte Saint-Martin soit inférieure en richesse à la Porte Saint-Denis, elle ne lui cède ni par l'harmonie des proportions, ni par la pureté de l'exécution, dont elle put servir de modèle.'

³⁸ In 1798, the Porte Saint-Denis and Porte Saint-Martin were briefly threatened by the Republicans, who saw the monuments as redolent of the power of the monarchy. It was only when Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine (soon to be the architects of the Arc du Carrousel) stepped in, that the arches were saved (Fouché: 1905, pp.35-6).

³⁹ See Chapter 1.

⁴⁰ For further details on his arch design, see Chapter 1, note 5.

Roman arches, such as those of the Arch of Septimius Severus by Piranesi (fig.175)⁴¹ and by Jean Barbault (fig.176),⁴² also served as an important inspiration for French architects. The subject of 'Un Arc de Triomphe' appeared several times in the Grand Prix competitions in the eighteenth century, in 1722, 1730, 1747 and 1763,⁴³ and the form of a triumphal arch was also employed in designs for public gateways or palace entrances.⁴⁴ By 1790, the three best known ancient arches in Rome, the Arches of Titus, Septimius Severus and Constantine, had been included in the list of monuments requiring official studies by the students at the Académie de France à Rome, although it was only in 1809 that the plans of the Arch of Titus, for example, were made.⁴⁵

In the last decade of the eighteenth century, French architects designed triumphal arches to commemorate the Revolution.⁴⁶ The traditional association of the triumphal arch with festival processions, especially the processions held in ancient Rome, meant that the arch form was ideally suited to Revolutionary festivals, where Roman iconography and classical costume was also employed. As we have already seen, temporary monumental arches were employed at the Festival of Federation in 1790 and as one of the 'stations' at the Festival of Unity and Indivisibility in 1793 (figs.54-5). But the arch form became particularly popular from 1794, following the downfall of Robespierre and the onset of the Revolutionary wars in Lombardy and Italy. At first, arches such as that by Détournelle and Caraffe (fig.177) were designed to commemorate non-military concepts such as Concord, and De Wailly included a triumphal arch in his design for a Theatre of the Arts (fig.178).⁴⁷ Voinier's plan for a triumphal arch for the entrance of the western end of the Champs-

⁴¹ This engraving, showing the arch in the Campo Vaccino, was produced by Piranesi for his series of *Vedute di Roma*, and is reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, *Piranesi: Rome Recorded*, 1989, fig.13, p.139. As I shall discuss later in this chapter, this engraving is particularly important as it clearly indicates the semi-buried state of the arch at this period.

⁴² Barbault, *Les Plus Beaux Monuments de Rome Ancienne ou, Recueil des Plus Beaux de l'Antiquité Romaine qui existent encore* (1761) (edition held in the Thomas Ashby Archives of the British School at Rome).

⁴³ Egbert: 1980, p.168ff.

⁴⁴ To the extent that in 1738, for example, the designs which were first submitted for the competition subject 'Une Porte d'une grand ville' were all rejected since they were too similar to Roman triumphal arches (Egbert: 1980, 170).

⁴⁵ These were carried out by Auguste-Jean-Marie Guénepin. Most of his studies are reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, *Roma Antiqua: Envois des Architectes Français (1788-1924), Forum, Colisée, Palatin* (1985, pp.292-303).

⁴⁶ For excellent accounts of the Revolutionary arches, see Jacques and Mouilleseaux (1988), Dupavillon and Lacroix: 1989, pp.58-63 and Leith (1991). On architecture during the Revolution in general, see Kaufmann (1952) and (1955), and Braham (1980), and the exhibition catalogues, *Les Architectes Visionnaires de la fin du XVIIIe siècle* (1966) and *Les Architectes de la Liberté, 1789-1799* (1989). For a recent account of the architect Ramée, who employed the triumphal arch for some of his designs, see Turner (1998). Hirschfield (1938) is a useful source on arches and columns in Paris, including those designed during the Revolution.

⁴⁷ Reproduced in Leith: 1991, 275 and 289.

Elysées (fig.179), was a clear indication of the more militaristic arches which were to follow.⁴⁸ This arch was to have been inscribed,

‘TO THE VICTORIOUS ARMIES THE GREATFUL FATHERLAND
YEAR II OF THE REPUBLIC’⁴⁹

After the series of French victories in Italy and the agreement of the Armistice of Bologna (7 September 1797), the Directory opened a contest for the design of a monument to ‘these brave armies that have assured the conquest of Liberty.’⁵⁰ As Leith suggests, the plans submitted for the competition ‘provide a rich source of evidence of architectural planning at the end of the Revolution,’⁵¹ and, significantly, most of the designs were for triumphal arches or monumental columns. Louis-Pierre Baltard’s plan (fig.180), for example, features a triumphal arch on the banks of the Garonne, groves containing monuments to the French armies, and a ‘Portique à la Paix,’ in the centre of a semicircular amphitheatre.⁵² The arches constructed for the Revolutionary festivals and the militaristic arches planned in the latter years of the Revolution indicate the growing popularity and relevance of the form of the triumphal arch, although it was only under the Empire that the opportunity arose for the construction of ‘Roman’ arches which were closely modelled on the monuments of imperial Rome.

For their design of the Arc du Carrousel, Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine were strongly influenced by their knowledge of the Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome. I shall consider the relationship between the two arches in detail in the last section of this chapter. For now, however, it is important to consider the development of Percier and Fontaine’s familiarity with the Roman arch form, and their use of the Roman arches as inspiration for Napoleonic monuments before they worked on the Arc du Carrousel.

Percier and Fontaine formed a close friendship and an interest in ancient Roman architecture well before they went to Rome, since they studied together under Antoine-François Peyre.⁵³ When they reached Rome, however, they were able to study the ancient monuments at first hand.⁵⁴ We know

⁴⁸ Reproduced in Leith: 1991, 283.

⁴⁹ Leith: 1991, 282

⁵⁰ Quoted in Leith: 1991, 295.

⁵¹ Leith 1991, 295

⁵² On Baltard’s design, see Leith: 1991, pp.299-302. Baltard was an important figure during the Napoleonic regime. His ‘Roman’ plans for the courtyard in between the Louvre and Tuileries palaces will be discussed later in this chapter. His important folio edition commemorating the erection of the Vendôme Column will be considered in Chapter 5.

⁵³ Younger brother of Marie-Joseph Peyre, and, at the time, the Intendant des Bâtiments du Roi. As has already been suggested, Antoine-François Peyre played an important role in the introduction of new rules for the studies of the pensionnaires at the Académie de France à Rome. On Percier and Fontaine studying at Peyre’s school, see the article by Marie-Louise Biver, ‘Fontaine et Percier, amis légendaires’ (*Revue de l’Institut Napoléon*, No.94, janvier 1965, p.7).

⁵⁴ Fontaine won the second prize with his design for ‘Une Chapelle sépulcrale’ in 1785, but the students complained and made a commotion when the results were announced, and at the request of Huertier, Marigny still sent him to Rome as a pensionnaire (see Hauteceur: 1953, Volume V, 156, and Egbert: 1980, pp.175-6). For references to the special circumstances which permitted Percier to go to Rome, and his arrival at the Académie, see the *Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume XV,

from the *Correspondance des Directeurs* that Percier was charged with making drawings of Trajan's Column as his 'envoi' to be sent back to Paris.⁵⁵ With their friend and fellow pensionnaire Drouais, Percier and Fontaine studied a whole range of ancient buildings in the city, and, at the same time, worked on their own designs.⁵⁶ A letter from Ménageot to D'Angiviller, dated 21 November 1787, indicates that they asked permission to make studies of the Arch of Septimius Severus, although it does not seem that they were able to erect scaffolding at this time (as the arch has recently been scaffolded to facilitate the restoration of the monument).⁵⁷ Another letter from Ménageot to D'Angiviller, dated 8 July 1789, reveals that Fontaine had recently shown Ménageot a collection of his drawings of various sites and buildings in the city, which included exquisite depictions of the triumphal arches and temples in Rome:

'Ce pensionnaire m'a fait voir dernièrement une suite d'études qui m'ont fait beaucoup de plaisir; ce sont les arcs de triomphe et les principaux temples de l'ancienne Rome qu'il a restauré avec beaucoup d'étude et de soin; il y a, entre autres, deux vues du *Campo Vaccino*; l'une tel qu'on le voit actuellement rempli de ruines et de monuments modernes; l'autre, sur la même échelle et prise du même point restauré, tel qu'il pouvoit être au plus beau temps de Rome, en suivant exactement le plan de tout ce qui reste. Cet ouvrage l'a obligé à de très grandes recherches sur les différentes époques de ces monuments; ces deux dessins sont extrêmement intéressants et rendus avec beaucoup de finesse.'⁵⁸

The arches in Rome, in particular the Arch of Septimius Severus, remained a constant source of interest to Percier and Fontaine. Ménageot's comments suggest that the Forum Romanum, or Campo Vaccino, as it was commonly called at this time, was a major attraction for architectural students such as Percier and Fontaine, who engaged in drawing and making imaginative reconstructions of the site. Ronald T. Ridley indicates in his account of the excavations before and during the French occupation in Rome that in the late eighteenth century, the Arch of Septimius Severus was 'buried to

1785-1790, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1906, pp. 43, 45, 50, 102, 104-5, 107, 108, 113-5). Percier won the second prize with his design for 'Une Menagerie ... d'un souverain' in 1783, and first prize in 1786, when the subject of the competition was 'Un édifice à rassembler les Académies' (see the *Correspondance des Directeurs*, 1906, as above, pp.99, 113, 118-9). Fontaine arrived in Rome in October 1786, and Percier followed him shortly afterwards, arriving in November of the same year (Hautecoeur: 1953, Volume V, 157).

⁵⁵ His drawings of the column, which are preserved in the archives of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, will be discussed in Chapter 5.

⁵⁶ For example, Fontaine produced a design for 'Une église de la Sainte-Trinité,' while Percier made plans for 'Un museum d'histoire naturelle avec ses jardin' (Hautecoeur: 1953, Volume V, p.157).

⁵⁷ Ménageot comments: 'Comme il fait encore ici le plus beau temps du monde, MM. Percier et Fontaine, architectes, m'ont demandé la permission de lever l'arc de Septime Sévère et de profiter du beau temps' (*Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume XV, 1785-1790, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1906, no.8858, p.192).

⁵⁸ *Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume XV, 1785-1790, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1906, no.9004, p.338.

approximately half the height of the lateral arches, a depth of nearly four metres.’⁵⁹ The semi-buried state of the arch can be seen from depictions of the monument by Piranesi and Barbault (figs.175-6). It was only in 1802 that excavations were carried out to remove much of the earth around the base of the monument, a retaining wall was built, shops in the lateral arches were removed and the ancient road running through the arch revealed.⁶⁰ The resemblance of the Arc du Carrousel to the Arch of Septimius Severus, and its placement within the context of Napoleon’s own ‘forum,’ suggest that Percier and Fontaine employed their experience of producing reconstructions of the arches in Rome to create their design for this new ‘Roman’ arch. They were probably also aware of the excavations which had been made round the arch in the period 1802-3. Using their imaginative skill to manipulate the physical evidence they had seen, they mentally excavated the Arch of Septimius Severus and ‘rebuilt’ it for their design. The technical abilities of these two architects, as well as their keen interest in Roman monuments, enabled them both to stay on in Rome beyond their official dates of departure. Fontaine remained in Rome to assist Bonnard with his drawings of Roman aqueducts,⁶¹ and Percier was given an extra year to complete his studies of Trajan’s Column.⁶² Even on his way home from Italy, Percier prolonged his Roman studies by visiting the antiquities at Orange, Arles and Nîmes.⁶³ The sketches he made of the Arc d’Orange (fig.182), with its triple arches, decorative columns, coffered interior and relief panels depicting battle arms, undoubtedly influenced his design for the Arc du Carrousel.⁶⁴

By the time Percier and Fontaine were commissioned to design the arch, they were already the foremost architects and designers employed by Napoleon. On their return from Rome, they had worked on a variety of projects. In order to make a living, both had turned to theatre design, and while Percier undertook to assist Alexandre Lenoir in his arrangement of items at the Musée des Monuments français and in providing illustrations for the publisher Didot, Fontaine spent some time in London,

⁵⁹ Ridley: 1992, 36.

⁶⁰ These excavations were carried out at the instruction of Pope Pius VII. It was found that the road running through the arch divided to become the Clivus Capitolinus in one direction and ran towards the Tullianum in the other. It was also discovered that the lateral arches had steps, that there was a drain for water coming down from the Capitol. The excavations were carried out by convicts and ended in 1803 (see Ridley: 1992, pp.36-8).

⁶¹ See the *Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume XV, 1785-1790, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1906, no.9070, p.411, and Biver: 1964, pp.16-7.

⁶² *Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume XV, 1785-1790, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1906, no.9021, p.359. Percier’s studies of Trajan’s Column had been impeded by his frequent bouts of illness, and by the difficult conditions in which he had to work, often hanging from a basket on the side of the column.

⁶³ Biver: 1964, 17.

⁶⁴ French travellers often visited the Roman remains at these sites on their way to Italy, and are likely to have been familiar with the engravings the French artist Lapise had made from his sketches of the Arc d’Orange (1640). For a detailed study of the Arc d’Orange, see Amy et al (1965, Volumes I-II). Reproductions of examples of Lapise’s engravings are included in Volume II, plates 59-60. Useful general accounts of the Roman remains in the south of France include Drinkwater (1963) and Bromwich (1993).

and worked on publications of his own.⁶⁵ They came to the attention of Napoleon in 1798. Taken to the Palais du Luxembourg by David to discuss plans for Malmaison with Josephine Bonaparte, they became engaged in conversation with the First Consul over where to display the Italian spoils.⁶⁶ Impressed by their architectural knowledge and inspired suggestions, it was not long before Napoleon had placed them in charge of designing decorations for various festivals and established Fontaine as chief architect of the Tuileries (1801). They continued their work at Malmaison, and in 1804 Fontaine supervised the restoration and development of the palace of Fontainebleau, and took up the position of chief architect of the Louvre and the Tuileries.⁶⁷

Percier and Fontaine were first employed to design monumental arches for Napoleon for the occasion of his coronation in 1804. We can see from engravings of the temporary decorations erected outside and inside the cathedral of Notre Dame, and for the ceremony of the 'Distribution of the Eagles' on the Champ de Mars, that the two architects were already experimenting with the form of the Roman arch, and adapting it to suit the precise political and ideological requirements of Napoleon. In the folio edition, *Description des cérémonies et des fêtes qui ont eu lieu pour le couronnement de leurs Majestés Napoléon, Empereur des Français et Roi d'Italie et Joséphine, son auguste épouse* (1807) (fig.183), the engraving of the decorative structure erected over the facade of the cathedral entrance (fig.184) indicates that it reflected the gothic design of the cathedral. A statue of Charlemagne linked Napoleon to the Frankish emperor.⁶⁸ The entrance structure also featured

⁶⁵ On their early projects, see, for example, Fouché: 1905, pp.24-38, Hauteceur: 1953, Volume V, p.159ff, Biver: 1964, pp.17-22, and the article by Marie-Louise Biver, 'Fontaine et Percier, amis légendaires' (*Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.94, janvier 1965, 8),

⁶⁶ See, for instance, Fouché: 1905, pp.39-40 and the article by Marie-Louise Biver, 'Fontaine et Percier, amis légendaires' (*Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.94, janvier 1965, 9).

⁶⁷ On the projects undertaken by Percier and Fontaine in this period, see Fontaine: 1997, Volume 1, 1799-1824 and Fouché: 1905, p.39ff.

⁶⁸ Simon Lee comments on the association of Napoleon with Charlemagne indicated by the decorations on the front of the cathedral: 'The most visible indication of the relationship between the new empire and that of the Franks was at the main entrance to Notre Dame where a huge temporary porch in the form of a triumphal arch had been erected with colossal statues of Clovis (the founder of the Merovingian dynasty) and Charlemagne (as the founder of the Carolingian dynasty) placed on two of the four supporting pillars' (1999, p.241). He emphasises that 'Charlemagne's regalia was not used in the ceremony and its value was mostly symbolic' (p.242), and in his discussion of David's painting of the Coronation (1805-7), remarks: 'From 1806, the associations between Napoleon and Charlemagne were suppressed, since public opinion was increasingly critical of the territorial ambitions of Napoleon, which mirrored those of Charlemagne, and which continuously embroiled France in war. To be emperor also meant the denial of the ideals of the French Revolution and so Napoleon rejected Charlemagne in favour of a return to ancient Roman imagery which maintained Revolutionary connections' (p.255). Unfortunately, however, Lee does not expand on Napoleon's use of Roman imagery.

For further discussion of the iconography employed at the coronation and depictions of the event, see, for example, Irwin: 1997, p.258ff. In Chapter 4 of his recent account, *Napoleon and History Painting* (1997), Christopher Prendergast relates the iconography employed by David in his painting of the coronation to the problem of legitimacy faced by Napoleon. Although he provides an interesting discussion of the 'visibility' of the problem, one is tempted to conclude that his interpretation of the coronation as 'a microcosm of the intellectual disorder of the Napoleonic macrocosm' (p.38) misses

Napoleonic 'N's and the inscription, 'NAPOLEON EMPEREUR DES FRANCAIS, HONNEUR, PATRIE.'

Yet the construction of a monumental archway over the imperial throne in the interior of the cathedral (fig.185-6) served to articulate Napoleon as a Roman emperor. The arch was surmounted by eagles and swags of foliage, reminiscent of the base of Trajan's Column, winged female victory figures stood on either side of the arch, one on each side leaning to hold victory coronae over Napoleon below, while the coffered interior of the arch and the eight Corinthian columns which supported it all recalled Roman arches such as the Arch of Septimius Severus. A hand-coloured engraving depicting Napoleon seated on his imperial throne beneath the arch (fig.187) conveys the splendour of the scene and the overwhelming presence of the magnificent arch in the interior of the cathedral.⁶⁹ From the other engravings it is clear that the cathedral interior was festooned throughout with laurel swags, perched eagles and winged victories (fig.188), while Napoleon's 'Romanness' is maintained in the vignettes at the front of the folio edition, which are presented in the manner of 'Roman' coins (fig.189). On one, Napoleon is shown in profile like a Roman emperor, while on the other, he is depicted as a semi-naked Hellenistic ruler on one side, and the other side of the coin shows the cathedral (fig.190).⁷⁰

The 'Romanness' of the cathedral decorations was reflected in the design for the pavilion set up outside the Ecole Militaire, on the Champ de Mars (fig.191). The throne was situated under a triumphal arch consisting of four Corinthian columns. As in the case of the Arch of Constantine, the columns of the arch were decorated with statues, in this case winged victories bearing coronae. The arch was surmounted by the arms of Empire, and in between the canopies of the arch, were depicted scenes of Napoleonic battles. Along the facade of the pavilion had been placed immense Roman battle standards, featuring imperial eagles and Napoleonic 'N's. The pavilion clearly provided a 'Roman' setting for Napoleon's distribution of honours to his 'Roman' legions. Although Napoleon requested David to remove the winged victory from his painting of the *Distribution of the Eagles* (1810) (fig.192), the painting still presents Napoleon in the manner of a Roman emperor, wearing a corona and surrounded by iconographic elements derived from ancient Rome.⁷¹

the point of the sheer success of Napoleon's expression of power through his appropriation of, in particular, Roman iconography. Cf. Valérie Huet's more productive analysis of the depictions of Napoleon in paintings exhibited in the Salons, 1800-1815 (see pp.65-9 of her article 'Napoleon I: a new Augustus?', in Edwards ed: 1999, pp.53-69).

⁶⁹ This illustration, along with a selection of other hand coloured engravings, has been inserted in the back of an edition of the *Déscription des Cérémonies et des Fêtes*, which is to be found in the British Library (numbered Tab.583.d).

⁷⁰ On the custom of the Roman emperors depicting themselves on one side of coins, and buildings which they had erected or appropriated on the other, see my discussion below of the medals issued to commemorate the erection of the Arc du Carrousel.

⁷¹ For a discussion of David's painting, *The Distribution of the Eagles*, see, for example, Lee: 1999, pp.263-6, although, as has already been suggested, Lee is not a useful source on the 'Romanness' of Napoleonic art.

The temporary triumphal arch continued to be employed for various important events and festivals in Napoleonic Paris. Several arches had been constructed immediately after the Austerlitz victory. These included a triple arch (fig.193), surmounted by an equestrian statue of Napoleon, erected at Strasbourg for Napoleon's entrance to the city on 22 January 1806, and a single arch (fig.194), decorated with a statue of Napoleon in a quadriga and reliefs of battles arms, established at the Porte de Pantin, not far from the Rotonde de la Villette. This was erected for the triumphal entrance of the troops returning from the Prussian campaign in 1807.⁷² An arch designed by the Italian architect Mezzani was constructed to stand on special boats near the Piazza San Marco in Venice, to welcome Napoleon to the city in November 1807 (fig.195).⁷³ An original sketch of the monument is held in the archives of the Museo Napoleonico (fig.196).⁷⁴

Perhaps the most important temporary arches which served as precedents for the Arc du Carrousel, however, were those designed by Percier and Fontaine for the wedding procession of Napoleon and Marie-Louis of Austria in 1810.⁷⁵ Three arches were erected for the occasion: an arch made from wood and canvas on the site of the Arc de Troimphe de l'Etoile (fig.197), which bore the inscription, 'A NAPOLEON, A MARIE-LOUISE, LA VILLE DE PARIS';⁷⁶ a second at the entrance of the Tuileries gardens (fig.198), which formed part of a portico decorated with figures of Peace and Abundance and vases planted with shrubs;⁷⁷ and a third at the entrance to the Tuileries palace

⁷² On both arches, see Hauteceur: 1953, Volume V, pp.197-8. The illustration of the Strasbourg arch appears in Hauteceur (p.197), while the anonymous painting of the arch at La Villette is reproduced in Dupavillon and Lacloche: 1989, 64.

⁷³ Painting by Borsato, reproduced in Dupavillon and Lacloche: 1989, pp.74-5.

⁷⁴ MN 3380.

⁷⁵ Curiously, the form of the triumphal arch was also used for a decorative table piece which was designed for Napoleon's wedding banquet. The design (MN 969) is currently on display in Room 2 of the Museo Napoleonico in Rome. The table piece would have included miniature columns and podia, with young women dressed in classical dress dancing round them, and two triumphal arches, arranged on either side of a central temple positioned on a cluster of rocks over a fountain. These three-dimensional 'monuments' would have been offset by two-dimensional depictions of well known monuments in Rome and Paris: round the central temple, four pictures of the Arc du Carrousel and the Tuileries, St Peter's, the Pantheon and St Geneviève, and on either side, depictions of other monuments in Rome, ancient and modern, wreaths of flowers, eagles, cornucopia and winged victory figures. The museum label indicates that elaborate table pieces such as this were popular at the Napoleonic court, and that this one, with its depiction of Roman monuments, which was probably by an Italian designer, may have been intended to allow Napoleon to 'visit' Rome over dinner, although he had still not been able to make an actual visit to Rome. On the fashion for table decorations and even blancmanges modelled on Roman ruins, see the article by Colette Giller-Monton, 'Antoine Carême, le pâtissier-architecte' (*Monuments historiques*, no.131, 1984). It is clear that under Napoleon, the triumphal arch became a decorative 'toy' as well as a monument to be copied in stone.

⁷⁶ See the article by G.Vauthier, 'L'Arc de Triomphe en 1810' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.2, juillet-décembre 1913, pp.466-470).

⁷⁷ Fontaine commented on this arch, 'Le petit arc, à l'entrée du pont tournant, a fait le plus grand plaisir...On demande qu'il soit construit en marbre et qu'il reste comme monument en mémoire de l'auguste alliance contractée entre la Maison d'Autriche et l'Empereur des Français. Quelques personnes de la Cour font courir le bruit que l'Impératrice en a ordonné l'exécution' (quoted in Biver: 1964, pp.137-8).

(fig.199), decorated with winged victories, coronae and swags of foliage, which supported a special balcony on the level of the Grands Appartements looking out over the orchestra and displays which took place below.⁷⁸ The arches of ancient Rome served as important general models for all these temporary arches which were constructed for Napoleon. It was only in the case of the Arc du Carrousel, however, that Percier and Fontaine were able to evoke the precise context of the Arch of Septimius Severus in the Forum Romanum in Rome.

'Le forum Napoléon'

The circumstances surrounding the design and construction of the Arc du Carrousel have been well considered in the account by Biver, *Le Paris de Napoléon*.⁷⁹ It is noticeable, however, that Biver barely mentions either the 'Romanness' of the arch or its location within the spatial and ideological context of the 'new Rome.' Yet the official decree concerning the erection of the arch indicates that right from the start, the arch was planned as a focal point for the imperial centre of Napoleon's 'new Rome.' In this section, I shall consider the role of the monument in the development of an imperial 'forum' space in the heart of the city of Paris. In addition, I shall analyse how his building projects for this area related him to the first imperial builder of ancient Rome, Augustus.

Napoleon's first mention of plans for a triumphal arch can be dated to 18 February 1806. His instructions regarding the arch are included in a letter to Champagny, reproduced in the *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*:

'Vous emploierez le million destiné aux travaux de Paris de la manière suivante: 500,000 francs pour les travaux à faire cette année au Panthéon, et 500,000 francs pour l'érection d'un arc de triomphe à l'entrée des boulevards, près du lieu où était la Bastille, de manière qu'en entrant dans le faubourg Saint-Antoine on passe sous cet arc de triomphe.'⁸⁰

He only mentions the construction of the Arc du Carrousel, however, in an official decree dated 26 February 1806. Notably, the arch is discussed within the context of his plans to open up the area between the Tuileries and the Louvre. In Article 3 of the second section of his instructions, he comments:

'ART.3. Il sera ouvert une rue de la largeur de dix-sept mètres, sur la direction du milieu du palais des Tuileries et du milieu de celui du Louvre. Les maisons qui se

⁷⁸ These engravings appear in the *Description des Cérémonies et des Fêtes qui ont eu lieu pour le mariage de S.M. L'Empereur avec S.A.I. Madame L'Archiduchesse Marie-Louise D'Autriche*, 1810, Planches 3, 4 and 9. Useful accounts of the wedding procession and the arches are provided by Biver: 1964, pp.137-8, and Fontaine: 1987, Volume 1, pp.256-259.

⁷⁹ Biver: 1963, pp.176-186.

⁸⁰ *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, 1858-69, Volume 12, no.9841, p.75.

trouvent sur l'alignement de cette rue seront démolies, et la rue pavée avant le 1er novembre prochain.'⁸¹

His desire to create an imperial centre for Paris is evident from the name he suggests for the new road: 'La nouvelle rue prendra le nom de rue Impériale. Les façades de cette rue seront bâties sur un plan régulier qui sera proposé par l'architecte de notre palais des Tuileries.'⁸² In Articles 8-10 of the fourth section of his decree, he indicates the time scale and funding required for the Arc du Carrousel:

'ART.8. Il sera élevé un arc de triomphe à la gloire de nos armées, à la grande entrée de notre palais des Tuileries, sur le Carrousel.

ART.9. Cet arc de triomphe sera élevé avant le 1er novembre: les travaux d'art seront commandés, et devront être achevés et placés avant le 1er janvier 1809.

ART.10. Il sera prise un million pour cet objet sur les contributions provenant de la Grande Armée. La caisse d'amortissement tiendra chaque mois, à dater du 1er mars, une somme de 50,000 francs à la disposition de notre architecte, et celle de 15,000 francs à la disposition du directeur de notre musée pour les travaux d'art et de sculpture...'⁸³

The Arc du Carrousel was conceived as a grandiose monument commemorating Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz.⁸⁴ Its role as a visual celebration of the achievements of the Grande Armée was underlined by the fact that the spoils taken by the army during the campaign were to be used to finance the project. The arch served as the principal entrance to the Tuileries Palace,⁸⁵ and as a major feature of the military parade ground of la Place du Carrousel, renamed 'la cour Napoléon.'⁸⁶ An engraving

⁸¹ Ibid, no.9891, p.126.

⁸² Ibid, no.9891, Art.5, p.126.

⁸³ Ibid, no.9891, p.127.

⁸⁴ See the comments of Bausset, quoted in Biver: 1963, 176.

⁸⁵ Perhaps the earliest design for a gateway for the Tuileries palace, which, at this time, was designated the 'National Palace,' was that by Delannoy, proposed to the Committee for Embellishment in 1794. His design (now in the Carnavalet Museum) features 'two towering structures, like twin temples, one sheltering Liberty in commemoration of 14 July 1789, the other sheltering Equality in commemoration of 10 August 1792. The entablature of the former is decorated with Liberty Bonnets, that of the latter with Levels of Equality. Two female allegorical figures were thus to dominate the approach to the legislature, a site of great symbolic significance' (Leith: 1991, pp.154-5). Apparently David brought in engravings of the ruins of Palmyra to inspire Delannoy, and to ensure that the scheme was sufficiently grandiose. Although the design was approved by the Committee for Embellishments and then sent on to the Committee of Public Safety, like many of the projects for monuments put forward during the Revolution, it was never carried out.

⁸⁶ Biver: 1963, 176. The opening up of the Louvre-Tuileries and the capacity of the courtyard outside the Tuileries for military parades are suggested by an anonymous text, *Description de La Colonne de la Place Vendôme*, dating from after the fall of Napoleon (1818). In the section entitled, 'Carrousel,' the author comments: 'Une large rue dont la direction fait regretter que la porte du Louvre et celle des Tuileries ne se trouvent point sur le même axe, conduit à la vaste place du Carrousel, à laquelle un superbe divertissement exécuté sous Louis XIV donna son nom. Autrefois cette place, petite, étroite et obstruée par d'ignobles constructions, était bordée du côté du château par une muraille élevée laissant à peine entrevoir quelques parties de sa façade, dont on ne pouvait apprécier la beauté ni admirer l'étendue. Maintenant l'oeil étonné embrasse d'un seul regard toute la masse imposante de ce palais,

from the fourth book of the *Architecture française* (1752-56) by Jacques-François Blondel (fig.200) shows the fences and sentry posts marking off la Place du Carrousel, while an engraving by Perelle depicts a larger parade ground, being used for a military event (fig.201).⁸⁷ Under Napoleon, the courtyard was often used for military occasions. For example, on 14 July 1800, the Corps de Garde Consulaire celebrated the French victory at Marengo with a parade in the square, and in 1810, the Grande Armée processed in triumph through the Arc du Carrousel. A painting by Hippolyte Bellangé (fig.202), although it was executed at a much later date (1862), provides an evocative illustration of the scene.⁸⁸ In the context of Napoleonic Paris, the arch provided an architectural and also an ideological focus for the central space of the 'new Rome,' the area running from the Tuileries and 'la cour Napoléon' to the 'new Capitol,' the Louvre.

The arch served as a permanent visual reminder of the imperial strength and 'Romanness' of Napoleon. In ancient Rome, the arch acted 'as a powerful emblem of the very notion of empire. Outside the capital and especially outside Italy, the mere existence in a city of the honorary arch with its classical orders announced the presence of Rome, its laws, and its culture.'⁸⁹ As perhaps the most obvious example of 'the architectonic embodiment of imperialist rhetoric',⁹⁰ the arch could not have been a more appropriate means for Napoleon to express his role as Emperor and his affiliation to ancient Rome. He must have been only too aware of 'the potential of the honorary arch as an important instrument of state propaganda.'⁹¹ There were references to Roman arches in Latin texts such as Pliny's *Natural History*,⁹² and the arches in the Roman forum, the Arch of Titus and the Arch

dont le développement, les ornemens et la beauté annoncent majestueusement la demeure de nos Rois. De chaque côté s'élèvent les belles galeries qui communiquent avec le Louvre. Quinze mille hommes d'infanterie et de cavalerie peuvent manoevrer sur cette place lors des parades et des revues' (pp.19-20).

⁸⁷ Reproductions of both these engravings are to be found in the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

⁸⁸ The painting is entitled, *Une Jour de revue sous l'Empire (1810)*, and is reproduced in Bresc-Bautier: 1989, 84.

⁸⁹ See the article by Fred S.Kleiner, 'The study of Roman triumphal and honorary arches 50 years after Kähler' (*Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 1989, Volume 2, p.196). This important article provides the most up to date overview of literature on the Roman arches. For a comprehensive survey of Roman arches, see, in particular, De Maria (1988), and Westfelling (1977). Brown (1961), Macdonald (1965 and 1986), Bandinelli (1969), Ward-Perkins (1981) and Sear (1982) are all useful general sources on the arches in the context of the history and development of Roman architecture. For more specialist studies, see the article by I.A.Richmond, 'Commemorative arches and city gates in the Augustan age' (*Journal of Roman Studies*, Volume XXIII, 1933, pp.149-174, and the article by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 'Roman arches and Greek honours: the language of power at Rome' (*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, No.216, 1990, pp.143-181).

⁹⁰ See the article by Marla Stone, 'A flexible Rome: Fascism and the cult of *romanità*' (in Edwards: 1999, p.218).

⁹¹ See the article by Fred.S.Kleiner, 1989, as above, p.197.

⁹² For example, a popular French translation of Pliny's *Natural History* was that by Etienne Falconet, first published in 1772. Pliny's most famous comment on triumphal arches occurs in Book XXXIV, xii, 27: 'Columnarum ratio erat attolli super ceteros mortales, quod et arcus significant novicio invento primus tamen honos coepit a Graecis...' ('The purpose of placing statues of men on columns was to

of Septimius Severus, and the Arch of Constantine nearby, were well known.⁹³ The fact that during the period of the annexation of Rome (1809-14), the French continued and expanded upon the excavations which had been initiated by Pius VII, for example, clearing key areas in the Forum Romanum and restoring the Arches of Titus and Janus, indicates that the triumphal arch continued to be of special interest to the French during the Napoleonic period.⁹⁴

The role of Augustus as an imperial builder seems to have been a major influence on Napoleon, although there was no physical evidence of the triumphal arches he had constructed in the Forum Romanum.⁹⁵ Suetonius provides the most important written account of the buildings erected by

elevate them above other mortals, which is also the meaning conveyed by the new invention of arches,' translation by H.Rackam, 1968, p.149). Normand is referring to this comment when he mentions Pliny in his folio edition on the Arc du Carrousel (1830, first text page, quoted earlier in this chapter).

⁹³ I have already considered the range of folio editions and guides to Rome which were produced in the second half of the eighteenth century. Current literature on particular arches includes the accounts by Berenson (1954) on the Arch of Constantine, and Brilliant (1967) on the Arch of Septimius Severus. Although Berenson's account, in particular, is out of date, since he reads the Arch of Constantine as a symbol of the decline of classical art (for a contrasting view, see Elsner, 1995).

⁹⁴ Even before the period of the occupation, the French who were resident at the Académie in Rome were well informed about any excavations and restorations which were carried out in the city. For example, there are various references in the *Correspondance des Directeurs* to the restoration of the Arch of Constantine carried out at the instruction of Pope Clement XII (see Volume VIII, 1729-1733, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1898, no.3530, p.328, no.3531, p.328, and no.3588, p.375). The occupation, however, provided the French with the opportunity to carry out their own excavations. The French established various commissions to oversee the work, which included the Commission of 1809 and the Commission des Monuments (1810). For a detailed consideration of these organisations, the role of important figures such as Camille de Tournon, the Prefect of Rome, and Carlo Fea, Giuseppe Camporese, and Giuseppe Valadier, and the programme of French excavations, see La Padula (1969) and Ridley (1992). For further information concerning Martial Daru, who was posted to Rome in 1811, see the article by Suzanne D'Huart, 'Martial Daru, Intendant Militaire de l'Empire' (*Bulletin de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.103, avril 1967, pp.57-66). Other useful accounts of the excavations and building work undertaken by the French in Rome include the following: Madelin: 1906, Chapter VI, p.527ff, and the articles by Ferdinand Boyer, 'Le Panthéon et la Fontana de Trevi dans les projets de Napoléon' (*Revue des Etudes Italiennes*, 1931, pp.210-216), and 'Les embellissements de Rome au temps de Napoléon' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.34, janvier-juin 1932, pp.216-229).

⁹⁵ Roman coins are an important source of information about the Augustan arches, however, and it is likely that antiquarians were familiar with examples of these. Augustus erected three arches: an arch commemorating Actium, which he rebuilt in 19 B.C. as a larger triple arch (celebrating the Parthian victory); an arch to his sons, Gaius and Lucius; and the arch of Augustus, built to commemorate the Actium and Parthian victories. See the coins depicting the Actium arch, Via Flaminia arch and Parthian arch, illustrated in the article by Wallace-Hadrill, 'Roman arches and Greek honours: the language of power at Rome' (*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, No.216, 1990, p.174). For a detailed consideration of Augustus' arches, see Hannestad: 1986, pp.58-62, Zanker: 1990, pp.80-81 and Favro: 1996, pp.159-161. Important excavations of the Augustan arches were only carried out by Gamberini Mongenet in 1950-2 (see the article by Kleiner, 'The study of Roman triumphal and honorary arches 50 years after Kähler,' *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 1989, Volume 2, p.198-200).

Augustus in Rome,⁹⁶ while accounts of ancient history such as Montesquieu's *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, and Rollin's *Histoire Romain*, although they prioritised the period of the Roman Republic, provided an important general knowledge of Augustus and his significance in the history of Rome.⁹⁷ In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, much of the Forum Romanum was still concealed under earth, rubble and vegetation, but important examples of Augustan buildings could still be seen, and were illustrated in folio editions and mentioned in contemporary guides to Rome. Lalande and Magnan, for example, both mention a military column erected by Augustus in the Forum Romanum, the existence of the Forum of Augustus, and the Temple of Jupiter constructed by the emperor on the Capitol.⁹⁸ In his account, Lalande does not always indicate whether a monument was constructed by a particular emperor (in some instances, the monument may have been rebuilt several times, in others it is likely that he did not know), but he specifically points out that the Curia in the Forum Romanum had been rebuilt by Augustus.⁹⁹ Augustus was responsible for having completed the Basilica Julia and the Basilica Aemilia, and for constructing the Temple of Divius Julius, in front of which he hung the battle prows taken at Actium, for building

⁹⁶ The text of Suetonius is important since it delineates Augustus' 'Res Gestae.' The 'Res Gestae' outlined 'the achievements of the divine Augustus by which he brought the world under the empire of the Roman people' (translation of the first words of the 'Res Gestae' by Brunt and Moore, quoted in the article by Jas Elsner, 'Inventing imperium: texts and the propaganda of monuments in Augustan Rome,' in Elsner ed: 1996, 34). Augustus' building projects were recorded as part of his 'Res Gestae,' and he 'monumentalised' the text itself by having it inscribed on pillars set up outside his mausoleum in Rome and in temples throughout the empire. Collections of Suetonius' works were widely available in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For example, an edition of his collected works was published in 2 volumes in Amsterdam in 1736, entitled, *C.S.T. opera omnia quae extant..*, and in 1748, an edition with notes by J.Ernesti was published in Lipsiae (this was republished in 1775, and in 4 volumes in 1802). Vitruvius' text *De Architectura* was also well known at this time, through French editions of his work, most famously that produced by Claude Perrault in 1694. However, although Vitruvius wrote under Augustus, he was writing at a time soon after Augustus had come to power (he never mentions the emperor by name, so presumably wrote before 27 B.C, when the title Augustus was conferred upon him), and certainly, before his building programme for the city of Rome had got underway. As a consequence, he does not provide an analysis of Augustan buildings. Yet his account represents an important source for contemporary views on building, for example, on the subject of temples, fora and basilica, and the fact that he wrote it in the first place suggests that the promotion of architecture (and architects such as himself!) was paramount under Augustus.

⁹⁷ On these texts, see the Introduction and Chapter 1. The reign of Augustus was further explored by historians during the Napoleonic period such as Jacques-Corentin Royou, in his *Histoire des Empereurs Romains* (1808).

⁹⁸ For instance, Lalande comments on these monuments: 'La place d'Auguste, Forum Augusti, étoit derrière l'Eglise de Sainte Martine, presque à côté de S. Adrien...Auguste lorsqu'il avoit l'intendance des grands chemins établit cette première colonne militaire de bronze doré, d'où partoient tous les grands chemins d'Italie, & auquel se rapportoient les nombres de toutes les pierres milliaires...c'étoit sur ce passage qu'Auguste fit bâtir le temple de Jupiter Tonnant, après avoir échappé au danger de la foudre' (1769, Volume 3, p.297, 309, 314).

⁹⁹ 'Dans cette partie du Forum étoit le bâtiment où s'assembloient le Sénat & les Consuls, Curia Hostilia, fait par le Roi Hostilius: cet édifice fut brûlé dans le temps que le peuple fit les funérailles de P.Clodius (plin.34.5) mais il fut refait du temps d'Auguste' (Lalande: 1769, Volume 3, 302).

the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the Temple of Concord and the Temple of Mars Ultor.¹⁰⁰ In the early nineteenth century, however, it is likely that the French would have had a more generalised sense of his building achievements.¹⁰¹ Visitors to the Forum Romanum, on seeing the grandiose remains of porticoes, marble columns and capitals, may well have associated what they saw with the extravagant marble with which Augustus was said to have transformed Rome.¹⁰²

Napoleon himself is said to have declared in 1798, during the crossing from Toulon to Malta, 'Si j'étais le maître de la France, je voudrais faire de Paris, non seulement la plus belle ville qui existât, la plus belle ville qui ait existé, mais encore la plus belle ville qui puisse exister.'¹⁰³ In 1807, he elaborated on this aim: 'J'ai fait consister la gloire de mon règne à changer la face du territoire de mon empire. L'exécution de grands travaux est aussi nécessaire à l'intérêt de mes peuples qu'à ma propre satisfaction.'¹⁰⁴ Just as Augustus had made it his priority to transform the Roman Forum from a crowded market place into the imperial centre of Rome, so too did Napoleon, even before he was Emperor, aim to redevelop the area of central Paris in between the Tuileries and the Louvre, and create a magnificent public space. As early as January 1801, Napoleon asked the Conseiller d'Etat Benezech to prepare a report for him authorising the demolition of the buildings in between the two palaces:

'1. Les maisons nationales dégradées par la Machine infernale de manière que la rue de Chartres débouche sur le Carrousel; 2. L'hôtel de Coigny et les bâtiments qui y sont adossés; 3. Les différentes habitations qui se trouvent aux environs des

¹⁰⁰ For a more detailed study of Augustus' building projects, see Sear (1982), Stambough (1988), Zanker (1990) and Favro (1996).

¹⁰¹ Even Winckelmann, in his *History of the Art of the Ancients* (H.J.Jansen 1790 edition, Book 6, Chapter 6, 'De l'art depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à celui de Trajan,' p.389) mentions the fact that Augustus was renowned for his building achievements. He comments: 'Auguste, que Tite-Live nomme le fondateur et le restaurateur des temples, fit reflourir les beaux-arts à Rome; et, comme dit Horace, 'veteres revocavit artes.' However, he provides only a brief consideration of Augustan architecture, and in fact, soon makes it plain that he believes that art started to decline under Augustus: 'Quant au style, le bon goût commençoit déjà à baisser sous Auguste. Il paroît que cette décadence s'est introduite par l'envie qu'on avoit de plaire à Mécène, qui aimoit le style orné et affecté. Tacite dit, qu'en générale après la bataille d'Actium, Rome ne vit plus briller de grands génies. Il est certain, au rapport de Vitruvie, que des-lors on suivait un goût dépravé dans la peinture des ornemens' (p.399). Although he focuses on Vitruvius' derogatory comments on contemporary painting here, clearly Winckelmann does not think much of Augustan art in general. His lack of interest in Roman architecture, especially imperial architecture, would have held little appeal for Napoleon and his architects.

¹⁰² Augustus claimed that he had 'found Rome made from brick and left it made of marble' (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 28.3, quoted in Sear: 1982, 54). This was something of an exaggeration, but it is clear, nonetheless that marble was employed in great quantities for Augustus' building projects, tufa was used much less often, and that the marble trade flourished under him (see Sear: pp.49-51).

¹⁰³ Quoted in Hauteceur: 1953, Volume V, 149.

¹⁰⁴ *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, XVI, no.15358, Letter to Crétet, quoted in Hauteceur: 1953, Volume V, 149.

Tuileries et qui, sans exiger des sacrifices considérables, rendront la circulation à plusieurs rues obstruées.¹⁰⁵

By this time, the Louvre had already been transformed from a sprawling range of workshops and artists' residences and a variety of organisations and committees, into the Musée du Louvre. Napoleon, however, had his own plans for the area and the role it was to play in the 'new Rome.'

Set on different axes, the palaces of the Louvre and the Tuileries offered a continual challenge to French architects, who, since the time of Henri IV, had put forward plans to unite the buildings and create a single, central courtyard. But it was only under Napoleon, who persistently issued decrees for the evacuation of different areas of the palace and the demolition of buildings outside, that the project to open up the great courtyard got underway.¹⁰⁶ For example, in 1801, before Austerlitz and the commission of the Arc du Carrousel, he asked Chaptal to prepare the following decree regarding the shops which were located in the area:

'Tous les particuliers logés dans l'enceinte du Louvre, à quelque titre que ce soit, seront tenus d'évacuer les appartements qu'ils occupent avant le 1er frimaire an X. Ils seront logés dans d'autres bâtiments nationaux ou recevront une indemnité en argent pour leur loyer.'¹⁰⁷

When in 1806 he found that shopkeepers were still huddled along the Rue des Orties, near the riverside of the Louvre, he commented angrily to Marshall Duroc, 'Qu'est-ce que cela? S'écrira-t-il, mécontent. Qu'on fasse partir tous ces b... là! Ils finiraient par brûler mes conquêtes, mon musée.'¹⁰⁸ Napoleon intended that the Louvre was to house, as well as the Musée Napoléon, 'les Archives, le Garde-meuble, les modèles de l'industrie et de l'artillerie, les armures anciennes, enfin et surtout la Bibliothèque Nationale avec toutes ses collections d'imprimés, de manuscrits et de médailles.'¹⁰⁹ As the Tuileries palace became too small for his increasing entourage, he also began to think that he should move into a wing of the Louvre, although his architects were adamant that building would not be suitable for his requirements. By the time Napoleon returned from the Austerlitz campaign in 1806, many of the buildings in between the palaces had been successfully removed.¹¹⁰ It was at this point that he issued his instructions for the establishment of 'la Rue impériale' and the Arc du Carrousel, and visualised the arch as the central feature of the whole scheme.

¹⁰⁵ *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, no.5254, quoted in the article by Madeleine Tartary, 'Le Louvre et les Tuileries sous Napoléon: Les projets de réunion de Percier et Fontaine' (*Recueil des travaux et documents de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.5, 1945, p.44).

¹⁰⁶ It is important to remember that when Napoleon fell in 1814, Percier and Fontaine's new wing was still incomplete, and it took many years before the courtyard in between the two palaces was completely cleared. Much was achieved under Napoleon, however, as I shall describe. See the Conclusion for a discussion of the completion of the project in the 1850s.

¹⁰⁷ *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, no.5694, quoted by Tartary in her article, 1945, as above, p.45.

¹⁰⁸ Quoted in Tartary in her article, 1945, as above, p.45.

¹⁰⁹ Tartary, 1945, as above, p.46. These intentions were expressed in the decree of 1801 which also ordered the expulsion of artists from the Louvre.

¹¹⁰ Tartary, 1945, as above, p.48.

It is clear that when they designed the arch, Percier and Fontaine related the monument to the site of the Louvre-Tuileries as a whole. The topical nature of the debate over the development of the site is indicated by the many references to the plans to unite the palaces in publications such as Louis-Pierre Baltard and Pierre-Amaury-Pineaux Duval's folio edition, *Paris et ses monumens* (1803-5).¹¹¹ We know from various sources, notably Fontaine's *Journal*,¹¹² that Percier and Fontaine were closely involved with Napoleon's plans to unite the palaces from the beginning of the project. A plan of the site from 1800 (fig.203), shows that at this date, there were still many buildings filling the area between the Louvre-Tuileries.¹¹³ Percier and Fontaine put forward their first plan for the site in 1800, which suggested that the palaces should be united through the erection of a new wing of the Louvre and the construction of a metal fence parallel with the Tuileries. They developed a whole range of designs between 1807-1810, many of which included Roman circuses, amphitheatres, and, in one case, an opera house. Napoleon requested other architects such as Bellanger, Ducamp, Rondolet and Lebrun to devise alternative plans, some of which, along with earlier designs for uniting the Tuileries and the Louvre, are reproduced in the back of Normand's folio edition of the arch (fig.204).¹¹⁴

The three schemes proposed by Louis-Pierre Baltard, which were published in 1811 as his *Mémoires sur la Réunion du Palais imperial des Tuileries et du Louvre et plans de diverses dispositions pour l'achèvement de la place du Carrousel*,¹¹⁵ are of particular importance since they suggest that contemporaries viewed the area of the Louvre-Tuileries as 'le forum Napoléon.' During the Revolution, many plans had been put forward for the erection of vast festival buildings which were inspired by ancient Rome. Architects had envisaged mighty amphitheatres, circuses and arenas, spaces where people at large could come together to enjoy public events. For example, Riffault, working alongside Percier and Fontaine, had designed a covered arena (fig.205),¹¹⁶ while De Wailly, a colonnade and amphitheatre for the Cour Carré of the Louvre (fig.206).¹¹⁷ Baltard himself had proposed a design for a triumphal arch on the banks of the Garonne, which featured a Roman circus or hippodrome (fig.207).¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ See Baltard and Duval: 1803, Volume 1, Section IV, 'Etat actuel du Louvre - Nouveaux projets pour son achèvement,' p.41ff.

¹¹² Fontaine: 1987, Volume 1, see, for example, pp.200-1, 247-250. Also see Normand: 1830, second page of 'Précis historique' (no page numbers), and Biver: 1964, especially Chapter VII on the Louvre, pp.75-82.

¹¹³ Reproduced in the article by Madeleine Tartary, 'Le Louvre et les Tuileries sous Napoléon: les projets de réunion de Percier et Fontaine' (*Recueil des travaux et documents de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.5, 1945).

¹¹⁴ Normand: 1830, no page number.

¹¹⁵ His proposals are also mentioned by Fontaine: 1987, Volume 1, pp.240-1.

¹¹⁶ Leith: 1991, 191.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, 267.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, 301. This was actually his second plan for the site. His first design had involved a triumphal arch, groves containing monuments to the French armies, and a semi-circular amphitheatre (mentioned earlier in this chapter).

In 1810, Baltard was asked to submit plans for the Louvre-Tuileries, and he offered three different designs for the site.¹¹⁹ All of the plans would have reflected the 'Romanness' of the site which had already been established by the Musée des Antiques. His first design involves a circus and a circular temple (fig.208-9),¹²⁰ on which he comments:

'Dans ce projet j'ai distribué l'espace de manière à conserver aux deux palais l'avantage de leur position respective.

Les deux galeries doublées dans une partie de leur longueur formeroient deux corps de bâtiment qui pourroient être consacrés à la Bibliothèque et au Musée des beaux-arts.

Une cirque dans sa forme antique occuperait l'intervalle compris entre ces deux édifices. Le défaut de parallélisme entre les côtés offre une disposition dont on retrouve des exemples dans les hippodromes antiques; on pourroit la considérer comme un moyen de corriger le vice du local.

Un temple rond, placé à la rencontre des milieux des deux palais, seroit le point de vue nécessaire à l'un et à l'autre.

Dans les jours de fête, le cirque seroit prolongé jusqu'au palais, ce qui lui donneroit alors une dimension égale à ceux où l'on célébroit les grands jeux à Rome. Le rez-de-chaussée du Louvre seroit conservé pour les chefs-d'oeuvre de l'antiquité, et le premier étage, qui est consacré aux appartements des princes étrangers, continueroit à recevoir les embellissements projetés...'¹²¹

For his second design, he proposes the construction of an orangery, or winter garden for the site (fig.210-213).¹²² In his description, he pays close attention to the placement Arc du Carrousel, suggesting that it serves to enhance the disparity of the site:

'L'arc d'Austerlitz, situé perpendiculairement aux Tuileries, rend sensible le manque de parallélisme entre les deux palais; et c'est pour remédier au mauvais effet qu'il produit que j'ai élevé à l'une des entrées de l'orangerie un temple à Flore..''¹²³

¹¹⁹ In his 'Observations préliminaires,' he indicates that models of all three designs were put on show in the Musée du Louvre (p.2)

¹²⁰ Baltard: 1811, 3 and Planche I.

¹²¹ Ibid, 3.

¹²² Ibid, 7 and Planches IV-VI. He provides two different plans for this project: one proposes the construction of two small courtyards on either side of the Arc du Carrousel, the 'Cour des Princes' and 'Cour des Ministres' (Planche IV); the other includes the erection of a new library next to the entrance to the Musée, and the establishment of two small courtyards, the 'Cours du Musée Napoléon' (Planche V). The Temple of Flora is also illustrated in the 'Elévation' of the 'Orangerie, ou Jardin d'Hiver' (Planche VI).

¹²³ Ibid, 8.

He first uses the term 'le forum Napoléon' in his commentary on the third design. Describing his scheme for 'L'Odeum et le poecile' (fig.214-5),¹²⁴ he reveals that he has been directly inspired by the fora of Rome. Again, the Arc du Carrousel is an integral feature of his design:

'Après avoir considéré le forum Napoléon sous deux aspects différents, j'ai pensé ne pouvoir m'acquitter de ma tâche qu'en essayant, dans une nouvelle esquisse, planche VII, de rappeler quelques uns de ces monuments consacrés par les anciens à l'utilité publique; non tels que les thermes, qui sont comme des villes au sein de Rome même, mais comme le forum de Trajan au pied du Capitole, les palais des empereurs, celui d'Adrien à l'ancienne Tibur, où des édifices nombreux et manifiques étoient réunis à d'immenses jardins et à des sompuosités sans nombre, que nous sommes peut-être loin encore de pouvoir égaler.

Dans cet aperçu de disposition, peut-être trouvera-t-on quelques rapprochements à faire avec les idées des anciens sur les forums.

Je propose d'embellir celui-ci par des portiques, et par un odeum ou temple de la Renommée.

Les deux côtés de la cour, dite le Carrousel, seroient fermés par deux pavillons espacés du palais comme l'arc de troimphe.

Ces ailes de bâtiments recevraient les extrémités des portiques formant la double enceinte du forum.

Ces portiques, composant une double enceinte formée de colonnes et d'un mur de fond, seroient ornés de peintres à fresque, qui offriraient l'histoire civile et militaire du Génie tutélaire de la France...'¹²⁵

Baltard also included a plate depicting three cross sections (fig.216),¹²⁶ which enabled his readers to compare the elevations of the three plans for the site between the Louvre-Tuileries.

It seems from these plans, and in particular from Baltard's comments on them, that at this time, the area between the Louvre and Tuileries palaces was commonly regarded as 'le forum Napoléon.' Architects envisaged the site as a 'Roman' space, and designed structures recalling the monuments of imperial Rome. Positioned in the centre of the courtyard, the Arc du Carrousel was an integral feature of the site, and had to be carefully related to any scheme which was proposed. When on 10 February 1810, Napoleon came to make his choice from all the plans he had received, he selected a design by Percier and Fontaine (fig.217).¹²⁷ They proposed unifying the site through the construction of a new

¹²⁴ Ibid, 9 and Planche VII.

¹²⁵ Ibid, 9-10.

¹²⁶ Ibid, Planche III.

¹²⁷ Reproduced in the article by Madeleine Tartary, 'Le Louvre et les Tuileries sous Napoléon: Les projets de réunion de Percier et Fontaine' (*Recueil des travaux et documents de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.5, 1945).

north wing for the Louvre, and gave prominence to the newly completed Arc du Carrousel.¹²⁸ Although there was insufficient time for the project to be completed under Napoleon, it is clear the developments which were carried out under Napoleon would have enabled contemporaries to gain a sense of 'le forum Napoléon.' As Duncan and Wallach suggest, it was the 'Roman' theme of the Arc du Carrousel and the Musée des Antiques which served to unify the site as a whole:

'The early Louvre deliberately evoked the Roman tradition of triumphal display: captured enemy arms were exhibited along with works of art, and cartloads of art pillaged from conquered nations arrived at the Louvre in triumphal processions designed to recall those of ancient Rome. The visitor entering Napoleon's Louvre passed through triumphal arches decorated with trophies and victories.'¹²⁹

The establishment of a (semi-)clear space in between the Louvre and Tuileries enabled visitors to pass from the Arc du Carrousel (and by 1810, from the Vendôme Column a short distance away from the arch) across the courtyard of the Louvre-Tuileries and into Napoleon's 'Temple of the Arts,' as an ancient Roman could have walked through the Arch of Septimius Severus on the Via Sacra up to the Capitol in Rome. After 1810 it would have been possible for visitors to view the monuments of the arch and the Musée in close connection with each other, since the demolition of buildings in between the Tuileries and the Louvre facilitated a clear sight line between the two palaces. Perhaps the best views of 'le forum Napoléon,' however, would have been afforded from the windows of the Musée Napoléon, or from the imperial apartments in the Tuileries palace.

Napoleon felt that it was vital for him to establish a large public space or 'forum' in his name, which visually articulated his role and achievements as the new emperor. He probably considered that his 'forum' would serve as a useful visual confirmation of his presence and his power when he was away, as the imperial fora had for the emperors in ancient Rome.¹³⁰ More importantly, however, by redeveloping the centre of his capital into a magnificent imperial centre, he clearly expressed his affiliation to the Roman emperor Augustus.

In ancient Rome, the development of the centre of the city had given Augustus the opportunity to consolidate his power. In the first years after the battle of Actium, the people had been exhausted and demoralised from civil war, to the extent that, as Livy commented, they could 'no longer tolerate either their own ills or the cure for them.'¹³¹ They hoped that their new leader, Augustus, would rebuild the state, rebuild society, and even rebuild Rome. In a similar manner, the French looked to Napoleon to bring peace and a restoration of order to France. Like Augustus, Napoleon was keen to

¹²⁸ See, for example, the article by Tartary, 1945, as above, pp.56-9.

¹²⁹ See the article by Duncan and Wallach, 'The Universal Survey Museum' (*Art History*, Vol.3, No.4, December 1980, p.449).

¹³⁰ See Broers: 1996, 271: 'War is rightly regarded as the cardinal influence on the history of Napoleonic Europe; wars created and fuelled the Empire. Yet, paradoxically, the ceaseless campaigning made Napoleon as absentee monarch.'

¹³¹ Livy, *Early History of Rome*, 1.1 (translated by Zanker: 1990, 101).

create a magnificent imperial centre for his 'Rome.' He established his 'Capitol' and his 'forum' as key 'urban nodes' and 'primary focal points' for the city, as the Capitol and the imperial fora had been in Augustan Rome.¹³² Under Augustus, 'the Forum served increasingly as a museum and theatre rather than governmental center,'¹³³ and in a similar manner, Napoleon developed the Louvre-Tuileries into an area of display which was specifically connected with the arts. On the other hand, while the areas redeveloped by Augustus had already been of great importance during the Roman Republic, the palaces of the Louvre and Tuileries had been less significant to the French Republicans than other areas in the city of Paris, such as the Bastille.¹³⁴ Napoleon's aim, in the context of post-Revolutionary France, was to deliberately appropriate locations which were formerly associated with the monarchy, and create them into important 'public' places in Napoleonic Paris. The creation of 'le forum Napoléon,' therefore, confirmed his affiliation to ancient Rome and at the same time his role as inheritor of the French Revolution and his position as Emperor of the French.

The manner in which a visitor approaching and passing through Napoleon's 'forum' would have experienced the close interconnection of the monuments and spaces also reflected the way in which a visitor to the Augustan Forum Romanum 'experienced a carefully choreographed environment.'¹³⁵ The broad streets of the Champs-Élysées and the Rue de Rivoli led the visitor towards the imperial centre of the city, the area of the Louvre-Tuileries.¹³⁶ Going past the arch, the viewer was informed of Napoleon's recent military triumphs, alerted to the triumphal nature of the courtyard, and made to anticipate the sight of his dedicated spoils. Entering the 'temple' space of the Louvre, the viewer came face to face with Napoleon's 'Roman' plunder, which confirmed the new ideology of the regime articulated by the arch.

The role played by the Musée des Antiques reflected several elements of Augustan Rome. Octavian had celebrated his military victories with a great triple triumph held in 29 B.C.,¹³⁷ and dedicated his spoils on the Capitol. As we have seen, the arrival of Italian spoils in Paris was celebrated with a modern day triumph, and Napoleon's spoils were dedicated in the Louvre.¹³⁸ The Musée took on the well-known role of the Capitol, in particular the Temple of Jupiter Optimus

¹³² Favro: 1996, pp.195-6. For a useful study of the Roman Forum in general, see Grant (1970).

¹³³ Favro: 1996, 200.

¹³⁴ Ibid, 199.

¹³⁵ Ibid, 198.

¹³⁶ Like the Arc du Carrousel, the Rue de Rivoli, with its elegant arcades, was also designed by Percier and Fontaine. Work on the project, also for the Rue de Castiglione and Rue des Pyramides, started in 1802 (see Hauteceur: 1953, Volume V, pp.226-227 and Watkin: London, 1996, pp.377-378).

¹³⁷ See Zanker: 1990, 79 and Favro: 1996, pp.92-3, 242-244. On the Roman triumph in the late Republic and under Augustus, including useful surveys of the monuments erected, triumphs and other official events and celebrations, see Favro: 1996, pp.53, 83-86, 201, 237-244.

¹³⁸ One of the most striking differences, however, is that while Octavian (breaking with Republican tradition) placed himself, not the magistrates or senators, at the head of the procession of 29 B.C. (see Favro: 1996, 242) Napoleon was not even able to take part in his 'triumph' in Paris, since he was engaged in the Egyptian campaign.

Maximus, which Augustus had restored.¹³⁹ In addition, it was in the Musée, situated in his own forum, that Napoleon appropriated the cult of 'summi viri,' which had been established by Augustus through his display of illustrious figures from Roman history in a forum dedicated to himself, the Forum Augustum.¹⁴⁰ In ancient Rome, 'these portrait galleries...offered a revised version of history suited to the purposes of Augustan Rome.'¹⁴¹ Through the display of statues in the Musée des Antiques, including those of Lucius Junius Brutus, Marcus Brutus, and various Roman emperors, Napoleon linked French history to the history of Republican and imperial Rome. Romans had spoken with awe of the 'nova magnificentia' created by Augustus in the city of Rome, and authors such as Livy and Ovid describe the glistening marble of Augustus' buildings.¹⁴² By 1815, Napoleonic Paris would have been resplendent with its new Musée, marble arches, and new 'temple' structures such as the Chambre des Deputés and the Madeleine,¹⁴³ and it is clear that in early nineteenth-century Paris, these monuments were well received.¹⁴⁴

The erection of the Arc du Carrousel and the creation of 'le forum Napoléon' enabled Napoleon to develop further his desire to 'own' and 'exhibit' Rome. Although he was prevented from removing works of architecture from Rome, this clearly did not stop him from creating his own 'versions' of Roman monuments in his own imperial capital. The arch and the Musée des Antiques were crucial elements in the visual display of Paris as the 'new Rome.' Along with the Vendôme Column, they directly recalled the topographical landmarks of imperial Rome. Napoleon's architects, Percier and Fontaine, who played a central role in the creation of Napoleon's imperial centre, had a

¹³⁹ On the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the late Republic, see Zanker: 1990, pp.21-2. Favro: 1996, p.223, and p.193, describes how the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was a landmark in Augustan Rome. As well as restoring the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Augustus completely rebuilt the neglected Temple of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol, which many Romans believed to be the oldest temple in Rome, and which Livy had suggested was where Romulus had dedicated the original 'spolia optima.'

¹⁴⁰ See Favro: 1996, 126: 'At the center of the city, Augustus established a new, highly ordered exhibition of illustrious figures at the Forum Augustum. This impressive new complex had at its focal point a temple dedicated to Mars, himself the father of Romulus and Remus. In the flanking exedras were displayed sculptures of seminal figures in the history of Rome. Niches in the south exedras held representations of Romulus and other great men from Rome's past, the *summi viri*; in the north exedra, stood statues of Augustus' own ancestors all the way back to Aeneas.'

¹⁴¹ Zanker: 1990, 210.

¹⁴² See Livy, 1, 56, 2, and Ovid, *Pont.*, 1,8,33-8.

¹⁴³ The Chambre des Deputés by Bernard Poyet was built with a giant Corinthian portico, twelve columns wide. Vignon's completion of the church of the Madeleine as a secular Temple of glory used the model of a Roman Corinthian temple. Other monuments which reflected elements of Augustan Rome include, for example, the obelisk planned for the Pont-Neuf (see Biver: 1963, pp.208-213), which would have recalled the obelisk erected by Augustus as a part of the Horologium Augusti in the Campus Martius (see Zanker: 1990, pp.144-5, and Favro: 1996, pp.261-266). Also consider the fountain in the form of an immense plaster elephant which was constructed in the Place de la Bastille, although it is likely that this recalled Caesar rather than Augustus (see Biver: 1963, pp.199-207, and the article by Guy Ledoux-Lebard, 'Les projets de fontaines pour la Place de la Bastille et la Fontaine à l'Eléphant,' in *Les arts à l'époque napoléonienne, Archives de l'art français*, 1969, pp.37-56).

strong sense of the interconnection between the spaces and monuments of Napoleonic Paris - as they had also had of the spaces and monuments of Rome. In 1833, for example, Fontaine provided a detailed description of the effect he felt the monumental architecture of Napoleonic Paris would have on a visitor to the city. His account clearly conveys his notion of the relationship between different areas and buildings in the city:

‘Quelle sensation éprouvera-t-il, lorsqu’après avoir traversé plusieurs places embellies par des monuments d’utilité publique, après avoir aperçu sur les cours de la Seine ses ponts, ses quais nouveaux, il arrivera par une large et belle rue à la Colonnade du Louvre? Lorsque, traversant ensuite la grand cour de ce palais et l’avant-cour plus grande encore, le vestibule et le portique de la place d’Armes du Carrousel, passant sous l’arc du Carrousel, après avoir laissé de côté la fontaine à la rencontre des deux axes; lorsqu’entrant dans la cour d’honneur du palais des Tuileries, et de là dans le jardin, en suivant toujours la même direction à travers la place Louis XV et les Champs-Élysées jusqu’à la barrière de Chaillot, il s’arrêtera sous l’immense Arc de triomphe élevé à la gloire des armées françaises, au sommet de la montagne des Champs-Élysées, quelles seront ses réflexions sur un aussi grand nombre de merveilles? Que pensera-t-il de la réunion des choses prodigieuses dont cette prompte traversée de la ville lui aura offert l’étonnant spectacle?’¹⁴⁵

Through the work of Percier and Fontaine, the close connection between the monuments of ‘le forum Napoléon’ was also maintained at the level of decorative detail, since they were employed to work on the interior decoration of the Louvre and the Tuileries.¹⁴⁶ Motifs such as the imperial coronae, swags of foliage and imperial eagles, appear throughout the palaces, including the Musée Napoléon. When the arch was first completed, the painting section of the Musée Napoléon was closed for a period of eighteen months to enable a monumental staircase to be constructed.¹⁴⁷ Even during this period, however, the decorative and thematic impact of the Louvre-Tuileries as a whole, would not have been disrupted, since the Musée des Antiques was not closed at this time.

¹⁴⁴ Even if later on, as I shall discuss, the Arc du Carrousel and the Vendôme Column were to experience various ‘damnations’ at the hands of critics of the Napoleonic regime.

¹⁴⁵ From the *Residences de Souverains* (1833), quoted in the article by Madeleine Tartary, ‘Le Louvre et les Tuileries sous Napoléon: Les projets de ‘réunion’ de Percier et Fontaine’ (*Recueil des travaux et documents de l’Institut Napoléon*, No.5, 1945, p.59).

¹⁴⁶ On Napoleonic interior decoration in the Louvre and Tuileries, as well as other palaces, see Hauteceur: 1953, Volume V, p.332ff.

¹⁴⁷ The monumental staircase designed by Percier and Fontaine was being constructed during the period 1808-1810. The painting collection, especially that in the Grand Galerie, was reopened just in time for the wedding celebrations of Napoleon and Marie-Louise, which took place in the Salon Carré, and involved a bridal procession through the Grand Galerie (see the contemporary drawing of the procession by Benjamin Zix, entitled, *Le Cortège nuptial de Napoléon Ier et de Marie-Louise à travers la Grand Galerie du Louvre le 2 avril 1810*, reproduced in Bresc-Bautier: 1989, pp.178-183). For the well-known painting by Conderc of Percier and Fontaine showing Napoleon their plans for the staircase, which is now in the Musée du Versailles, see Bresc-Bautier: 1989, 70.

The 'Romanness' of 'le forum Napoléon' was also indicated by the sculptural decorations which were designed for the Louvre at this time. These included a fronton designed in 1808 by François Lemot for Perrault's colonnade (fig.218), depicting a bust of Napoleon being crowned by Minerva, surrounded by the figures of the Muses.¹⁴⁸ Below the fronton, over the central arch of the colonnade, was placed a relief designed in 1810 by Pierre Lemot (fig.219), showing Victory seated in a chariot, distributing victory coronae, her four horses rearing over reliefs of battle spoils.¹⁴⁹ An imperial bust of Napoleon, being crowned by Renommées, was placed on the façade of the Louvre overlooking the Seine, and in the Cour Carré, frontons were designed to show the cultural and political aspirations of the Napoleonic regime - including depictions of 'Napoléon législateur' and 'Napoléon, génie des arts,' which can be seen from two plaster maquettes by Claude Ramay and Jacques Philippe Lesueur (fig.220).¹⁵⁰ The symbols of the eagle, bee and Napoleonic 'N's were also used to decorate the Louvre, while in la salle des Maréchaux at the Tuileries, paintings and busts were installed to commemorate the campaigns and a silver figure of la Paix by Chaudet stood in la salle de la Paix.¹⁵¹

It is likely that for the general conception of his 'forum,' Napoleon and his architects were influenced by the design for a 'Foro Bonaparte,' which in 1800 had been planned for Milan by the Italian architect Giovanni Antolini.¹⁵² Antolini had already designed a triumphal arch for Napoleon in Faenza, during the First Cisalpine, but in January 1801, the government of Milan decreed the execution of his plans for a more extensive 'Roman' project, the creation of the 'Foro Bonaparte' (fig.221).¹⁵³ The government declared that 'it is the duty of the Cisalpine Republic to make eternal its recognition of the magnanimity of its founder and reordainer,' and reported to Bonaparte that 'The Foro Bonaparte will present a spectacle of Roman magnificence. To the pomp and display of the ancients will be united the good taste and amenities of the moderns.'¹⁵⁴ Carroll William Westfall has commented that 'the vast piazza, 633 metres in diameter and defined by a ring of loggias punctuated regularly by large public buildings surrounding the rebuilt Castello Sforzesco, with its toll station, transport canal, and free-standing monuments, does seem dry and impractical and to display only

¹⁴⁸ Reproduced in Gaillard: 1995, 23. The design has since been altered (probably during the Restoration) to depict the bust of Louis XIV.

¹⁴⁹ Reproduced in Gaillard: 1996, 23. Fontaine (1987, Volume 1, 183) mentions the completion of Cartellier's relief on 15 December 1807. He also refers to the completion of a bas-relief by Rolland, 'Le bas-relief du fronton faisait le milieu de la partie à droite de la façade du vieux Louvre dans la cour, par M.Roland, est également achevé.'

¹⁵⁰ Reproduced in Bresc-Bautier: 1989, pp.84-5.

¹⁵¹ See the article by Robert, Guy and Christian Ledoux-Lebard, 'La Statue de la Paix en argent de Chaudet' (*Recueil des travaux et documents de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.5, 1945, pp.14-32), the article by Marie-Louise Biver, 'La Statue de la Paix de Chaudet' (*Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.112, juillet 1969, pp.189-194), and Bresc-Bautier: 1989, 85.

¹⁵² See the article by Ferdinand Boyer, 'Napoléon et les monuments à sa gloire en France et en Italie (1804-1815)' (*Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.66, janvier 1958, pp.24-5), Hubert: 1964, pp.225-230, the article by Carroll William Westfall, 'Antolini's Foro Bonaparte in Milan' (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Volume XXXII, 1969, pp.366-385), and Irwin: 1997, 263-5.

¹⁵³ Reproduced in the article by Carroll William Westfall, 1969, as above, fig.56.

imperial pretension.¹⁵⁵ Yet it is curious to note that the project was not initiated by the French, but by the nationalistic patriots of the Cisalpine Republic, who sought independence from France. The appearance of the forum, as it was imagined by the artist Sanquirico (fig.222) gives some indication of the immensity of the space, while designs by Antolini and Felice Giani (figs.223-4) show that the theme of Napoleon's 'Roman' victory dominated the sculptures planned for the site.¹⁵⁶ By 1802, however, domestic problems had brought the project to a halt, and in 1807, the plans for extravagant public buildings were abandoned and trees were planted along the edges of the site. It remained for the architect Paolo Bargigli, who had worked on many of the festivals celebrating the Roman Republic, to 'Romanise' the site. He designed the temporary structures for a festival which was held there in 1802 (fig.225).¹⁵⁷ An arena and a triumphal arch which were also planned for Milan, were achieved,¹⁵⁸ although the arch does not seem to have acted as an important precedent for the Arc du Carrousel, since it was only completed in 1814. A second Napoleonic 'forum' was planned in Italy for the city of Florence. This was designed by the architect Del Rosso, in 1810. But this project too proved beyond the means of the municipal council and for the French, even when Fauchet modified the design in 1812 to that of a 'Champ de Manoeuvres.'¹⁵⁹ The fact that Napoleon was not all that bothered when the plans for the fora in Milan and Florence remained on the drawing-board,¹⁶⁰ in comparison with his more concerted efforts for building projects in Paris and Rome, is a clear indication of the preference he gave to his capital cities, and to the unique relationship which he developed between them. In his eyes, it was only in Paris and Rome that it was appropriate for his imperial power to be expressed through the development of complex, imperial Roman schemes.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 367-8.

¹⁵⁵ Reproduced in Westfall, fig.58.

¹⁵⁶ Reproduced in Westfall, figs. 57 and 59. Felice Giani also undertook some of the interior decoration of the Palazzo Quirinale in Rome during the period of the French annexation (see below).

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 372.

¹⁵⁸ On the Arco del Sempione, or Arco della Pace, designed by Luigi Cagnola, see Hubert: 1964, pp.236-239, and on the arena, p.229.

¹⁵⁹ On the plans for a 'Forum Napoléon' in Florence, see the article by Ferdinand Boyer, 'Les travaux publics dans les départements romains et toscans du Grand Empire' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.35, juillet-décembre 1932, pp.313-320).

¹⁶⁰ In the case of the forum planned for Milan, although Napoleon actually lived in the city at different times during his campaigns (and never even visited, let alone resided in Rome), he may have felt uneasy at having a forum dedicated to himself. The letter from the Ambassador to France, Marescalchi, to Vice President Francesco Melzi, suggests that he was particularly worried by the financial implications of the project (see the article by Carroll William Westfall, 'Antolini's Foro Bonaparte in Milan,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Volume XXXII, 1969, pp.369-370). The forum proposed for Florence seems to have been considered far too large as well as expensive for the city of Florence, which in French eyes, was not of military significance but important as a source of great art works. In his article, 'Les travaux publics dans les départements romains et toscans du Grand Empire' (as above, p.317-8), Boyer suggests that the project was so inappropriate that 'cette idée d'un forum Napoléon fut froidement reçue à Paris,' and in response to the second plan, 'Encore une fois Paris se montra sévère. Devant le Conseil des Bâtiments Civils, Gisors fit un rapport défavorable.'

It can be no coincidence that at the time when discussion of the project to unite the Louvre and the Tuileries and establish a vast public courtyard was reaching its peak in France, French officials in Rome were devising a scheme for an immense Napoleonic forum uniting all the Roman fora in the centre of the city.¹⁶¹ Under Napoleon, a unique symbiotic relationship was developed between Paris and Rome, which had as its particular focus, architecture and urban development. Although Marie-Louise Biver and Louis Madeleine have produced monumental studies on the influence of the Napoleonic regime on Paris and Rome, even these critics have overlooked a consideration of Napoleon's similar treatment of Paris and Rome, and his parallel vision for the cities.

Napoleon's plans for Rome were closely linked to his desire to secure the heredity of the regime. Like Augustus, Napoleon became preoccupied with establishing his own line, to the extent that he had divorced his wife Josephine and married Marie-Louise in 1810.¹⁶² Even before the birth of his son, Napoleon had decided that Rome was to be the second city of the empire, and that he and his successors should be crowned in Rome ten years after their coronation in Paris.¹⁶³ A medal was issued commemorating the union of Rome with the empire, showing on one side, a profile of Paris and Rome, and on the other, the imperial eagle flying towards the Capitol, and the caption 'Aquila Redux, le retour de l'Aigle.'¹⁶⁴ On 20 March 1811, his son was born, and Napoleon bestowed on him the title of the 'King of Rome.'¹⁶⁵ A medal was struck to commemorate the baptism of the King of Rome (fig.226),¹⁶⁶ showing Napoleon crowned with a laurel wreath, holding up his son and heir. A design for a medal by B.Pinelli (fig.227), which is currently on display in the Museo Napoleonico, depicts the King of Rome seated on the lap of Roma, the imperial eagle and star above him, the thunderbolts of Jupiter in his hand, and the she wolf and Romulus and Remus in the background.¹⁶⁷ A sketch in charcoal and chalk by Pierre Prud'hon (fig.228), which is also on display in the Museo Napoleonico, depicts an allegory of the birth of the King of Rome, employing the symbols of the eagle, the river Tiber and the she wolf and twins.¹⁶⁸ Percier and Fontaine designed an immense palace which was to be

¹⁶¹ See the article by Edouard Driault, 'Rome et Napoléon' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.13, janvier-juin 1918, p.18ff), and Natoli and Scarpati: 1989, 33.

¹⁶² On Augustus' establishment of an imperial dynasty, see, for example, Earl: 1968, pp.177-190, and Zanker: 1990, p.215ff.

¹⁶³ On the decree of 17 February 1810 issued by the imperial Senate, which stipulated these conditions, see the article by Edouard Driault, 'Le Roi de Rome ou le rêve de l'Empereur, 1810-1815' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.28, 37), and that by Marie-Louise Biver, 'Rome, Seconde Capital de l'Empire: Aquila Redux' (*Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.109, octobre 1968, pp.145-6).

¹⁶⁴ See the article by Biver, 1968, as above, 146

¹⁶⁵ On the King of Rome, see the article by Edouard Driault, 'Le Roi de Rome ou le rêve de l'Empereur, 1810-1815' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.28, janvier-juin 1929, pp.32-53), Thiry (1962) and Martineau (1982).

¹⁶⁶ Reproduced in Boime: 1990, 18. On the baptism of the King of Rome in Notre Dame, see the article by Edouard Driault, 'Le Roi de Rome ou le rêve de l'Empereur, 1810-1815' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.28, janvier-juin 1929, p.41).

¹⁶⁷ MN 616.

¹⁶⁸ MN 600.

the residence of the King of Rome in Paris (fig.229),¹⁶⁹ and various schemes were developed for imperial palaces in Rome.

The most magnificent palace which was planned by the French for Rome would have stood on the Capitol, overlooking a gigantic forum, 'il Foro di Napoleone,' below. A plan and cross section produced by the architect Scipione Perosini in 1811 (fig.230-1)¹⁷⁰ reveal the immensity of the project. Huge triumphal arches would have stood on three sides of the forum, and an elaborate palace would have surmounted the Capitol. From a window high up in the palace (fig.232), Napoleon would have been able to see in one direction right across his forum and 'les Jardins du Capitole,'¹⁷¹ and in the other direction, the colonnades encircling a monumental space on the Capitol. These views would have been even more splendid than those afforded from his apartments in the Tuileries, which led in one direction towards the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile, and in the other, towards the monumental space of 'le forum Napoléon.' Intended as a glamorous residence at the centre of the second capital of the empire, the scheme was one of many planned for Rome by the French, which included the refurbishment of the Palazzo Quirinale (fig.233) as the initial residence of Napoleon, the Empress and his son, the 'King of Rome.' Under the French, a magnificent new staircase was built in the palace. The imperial apartments were decorated with sumptuous paintings, many executed by the Italian artist Felice Giani, who adorned the ceiling of the Gabinetto Topographico with vignettes of tutelary gods (fig.234), and the ceiling of the Gabinetto delle Guerra with a painting depicting the 'Triumph of War' (fig.235). Various plaster friezes were also created to decorate the state rooms. One of these features winged victories with coronae (fig.236), another winged victories and battle arms (fig.237), and the most grandiose of them all illustrates the triumph of Caesar, complete with battle spoils, elephants and triumphal arch (figs.238-241).¹⁷² The French also planned to establish a Villa Napoléon.¹⁷³ Napoleon

¹⁶⁹ For a more detailed study of the palace of the King of Rome, planned for the hill, the Chaillot, overlooking the Seine, the Champ de Mars and the Ecole Militaire, see Hauteceur: 1953, Volume V, pp.184-188, Biver: 1963, pp. 327-332 and Biver:1964, Chapter XIII, pp.147-164.

¹⁷⁰ Reproduced in La Padula: 1969, pp.190-1.

¹⁷¹ These gardens would have encompassed all of the Forum Romanum, and most of the other imperial fora and stretched across areas of the Palatine. For a more detailed consideration of 'les Jardins du Capitole,' see the article by Ferdinand Boyer, 'Rome sous Napoléon: Le projet d'un jardin du Capitole' (*Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1932, pp.201-215).

¹⁷² These friezes were designed by Giuseppe Pacetti and Pietro Trefogli, Alessandro D'Este, and Carlo Finelli, respectively. I am very grateful to Maria Pia Malvezzi for arranging for me to visit the Palazzo Quirinale, and to my guide, who patiently pointed out these Napoleonic additions to the Palazzo. The most comprehensive account of the refurbishment of the Palazzo Quirinale is that by Natoli and Scarpati (1989). Other useful accounts include Briganti (1962), the article by Silvia Bordini, 'Napoleonic Rome' in Borsi ed: 1979, pp.47-86, and the special edition of the *Bollettino D'Arte*, Volume 2, 1995, edited by Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel and Chantal Gastinel-Coural, *Il Progetto D'Arredo del Quirinale Nell'Età Napoleonica*. On the paintings of ancient Roman subjects commissioned for the Palazzo Quirinale, see the article by Edouard Driault, 'Rome et Napoléon' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.13, janvier-juin 1918, p.35). Interestingly, alongside depictions of, for example, *Trajan distribuant les sceptres de l'Asie*, Napoleon himself was to be shown in scenes reminiscent of the Roman emperors, such as *L'Empereur donnant le code de ses lois à Rome*, and *L'Empereur ordonnant les embellissements de Rome*. I shall consider the iconographic

intended to visit Rome in spring 1812, and he was only prevented from doing so by the Russian campaign.¹⁷⁴ Had he visited the city, it is possible that his presence would have added impetus to the projects in Rome.¹⁷⁵ Well before 1812, however, Perosini's plans for a forum in Rome had been virtually abandoned owing to the impractical cost of the scheme.¹⁷⁶ Napoleon's vision for Rome may have constituted more than idle daydreams fuelled by his reading of Roman authors, but, like many of his building projects, his plans were unachievable within the period of his rule.

Napoleon's building plans for Paris and Rome were very similar. In the manner of a Roman emperor, Napoleon attempted to create splendid monumental centres for his capitals. In Paris, he redeveloped the site of the Louvre-Tuileries. In Rome, although there was insufficient time and money for the French to even begin to erect 'il Foro di Napoleone,' they managed to appropriate the ancient centre of the city through their excavations and restorations. The architectural achievements of the French in Napoleonic Paris and Rome provide the most obvious visual manifestation of Napoleon's role as a Roman emperor - as an imperial builder. But his architectural 'Romanness' was underpinned by the general social and urban improvements carried out by the French in Paris and Rome.¹⁷⁷ For example, the French set up a whole new administration for Rome, which aimed to improve roads, rivers, schools and prisons, and to build abattoirs, bridges, gardens, squares and fountains. They hoped to increase agricultural produce by draining marshes and developing the land, and to create new industry and commerce. They showed their concern for the art and culture of Rome by their excavations and committees (which were based directly on those in Paris), and their plans for new

relationship of Napoleonic painting to Roman sculptural reliefs in more detail in the next section of this chapter.

¹⁷³ See the articles by Ferdinand Boyer, 'Les embellissements de Rome au temps de Napoléon' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.34, janvier-juin 1932, pp.216-220), and 'Progetti pour la villa Napoleone a Roma' (*Bolletino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, 4, 1957, pp.15-19), and La Padula: 1969, pp.88-9 on the Villa Napoléon.

¹⁷⁴ See, for example, the article by Marie-Louise Biver, 'Rome, Seconde Capitale de l'Empire: Aquila Redux' (*Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.109, octobre 1968, p.152), and Chapter 8, 'Napoleone e il Quirinale: una visita mancata,' in the catalogue *Il Palazzo del Quirinale*, by Franco Borsi, Chiara Briganti, Marcello del Piazzo, Vittorio Gorresio and Giovanni Spadolini, 1973, pp.148-155.

¹⁷⁵ Or he might at least have 'Napoleonised' the Forum Romanum in some capacity, if on a much smaller scale. For example, at one stage, there was a plan to erect an exact replica of Canova's marble statue of Napoleon as Mars in the Forum Romanum, between the Arch of Titus and that of Severus (see the article by Valérie Huet, 'Napoleon I: a new Augustus?,' in Edwards ed: 1999, 59). It may have been intended to use a bronze version of the sculpture, similar to the bronze version now in the Museo Brera (see Hubert: 1964, pp.235, and Johns: 1998, 101).

¹⁷⁶ One is tempted to conclude, owing to the sheer size of the scheme, that it may always have been intended more as a means of flattering Napoleon rather than as a scheme which would be practically viable.

¹⁷⁷ See Ridley: 1992, 7, 65. Also consider the political and governmental changes made by the French in Rome. See in particular, the article by Michael Broers, 'Italy and the Modern State: The Experience of Napoleonic Rule' (Chapter 26 in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture, Volume 3, The Transformation of Political Culture, 1789-1848*, edited by François Furet and Mona Ozouf, 1989, pp.489-503). On Napoleon's desire to bring Italy, like France, out of its ancien régime, and on his encouragement of national unity in Italy, see Crawley ed: 1965, pp.331-2.

galleries. It is clear that Napoleon aimed to regenerate Paris and Rome, to create impressive new buildings and establish a new, prosperous regime, just as Augustus was famed for regenerating ancient Rome. But it was in Paris most of all that Napoleon expressed his role as a Roman builder, through the erection of 'Roman' monuments such as the Arc du Carrousel.

(2) The arch

In this section, I shall provide a detailed analysis of the design of the arch, focusing on the sculptural panels of the arch. I shall begin by considering the progress of the construction of the monument and the general design of the monument. I shall also survey the changes which were made to the monument after the fall of Napoleon. Although the arch has not been altered as much as it is often assumed, since the original relief panels were put back on the arch in 1831, it is important to establish the current condition of the arch, before turning to consider the 'Romanness' of the monument.

The construction and design of the arch

Works started on the foundations of the Arc du Carrousel on 21 April 1806, and on 7 July, the first stones of the arch were laid. Although Vivant Denon, who was in charge of overseeing the sculptural decoration of the arch, wanted to mark the occasion with a special ceremony, this was prevented by Percier and Fontaine.¹⁷⁸ According to Fontaine, several medals were struck in copper to commemorate the occasion, one of which depicted the arch along with the inscription 'Denon direxit,' and in small letters, 'Fontaine arch.'¹⁷⁹ The medals were placed with other coins in a wooden box and buried in the foundations of the arch.¹⁸⁰ Nineteen medals were struck to celebrate the Austerlitz campaign, and all of them are illustrated in Normand's folio edition on the arch, entitled *Arc de Triomphe des Tuileries* (fig.242).¹⁸¹ As well as the one depicting the arch, another showed the proposed *Colonne de la Grande Armée*. All of them had on the reverse a bust of Napoleon in profile.¹⁸² The portrait of Napoleon wearing a laurel wreath directly recalls the coins struck in ancient

¹⁷⁸ Fontaine: 1987, Volume 1, pp.137-8: 'Les constructions de l'arc de triomphe sont élevées de plusieurs pieds au-dessus de la hauteur du sol. M. le directeur Denon qui s'est fait donner la direction des bas-reliefs et des statues dont ce monument sera orné, veut s'occuper de lui et paraître le plus qu'il pourra dans cette affaire. C'est avec peine que nous avons obtenu, contre son opinion, que l'on ne fera pas une cérémonie, une chose publique de la pose d'une première pierre.'

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 138.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, 138: 'Cette médaille et plusieurs autres représentant les principaux événements du règne de l'Empereur ont été placées dans une boîte en bois recouverte en plomb, sous la quatrième assise de la pile à droite en entrant sous le grand arc, du côté du palais. Tout cela a été fait au gré de nos désirs sans bruit et sans cérémonie, en présence de M. le secrétaire du Musée qui m'a délivré les médailles.'

¹⁸¹ Normand: 1830, Planche XXIV.

¹⁸² Ibid, see the 'Description' (no page number) and Planche XXIV.

Rome to commemorate Octavian, for example, a denarius which has been dated to before 31 B.C. (fig.243),¹⁸³ and those depicting Augustus, such as an aureus, dated to 18-19 B.C. (fig.244).¹⁸⁴ The Napoleonic medals also depict symbols of victory which had frequently been used by Octavian-Augustus, such as the figures of Victoria and Pax, victory coronae, imperial eagles, and other visual symbols associated with Jupiter, such as thunderbolts, and scenes showing the emperor on horseback addressing his troops, as a 'triumphator' riding in a chariot, and receiving supplicants.

In ancient Rome, Augustus saw the potential of using coinage as a means of popularising his image at home and in the empire.¹⁸⁵ The Napoleonic medals obviously did not serve as general currency, but many were produced and they were often used as imperial gifts or prizes. The fact that Napoleon chose to commemorate his 'Roman' monuments by issuing these special medals indicates that he precisely understood the use that the Roman emperors had made of coinage in ancient Rome.¹⁸⁶ Augustus used coins to depict his triumphal arches (fig.245), buildings such as the Curia (fig.246) and temples, including the Temple of Jupiter Tonans (fig.247) and the round temple of Mars Ultor (fig.248).¹⁸⁷ In a similar manner, Napoleon gave instructions for his monuments to be depicted on his medals, as well as other monuments representing cities he had conquered, such as the Rialto Bridge, commemorating his success in Venice.

The construction of the arch proceeded fairly rapidly, and for speed and to save costs, some pieces of marble, such as the eight pink marble columns, were reused from other monuments and buildings.¹⁸⁸ On 26 April 1807, Fontaine recorded that the main structure of the arch was almost

¹⁸³ Reproduced in Zanker: 1990, 42. On the reverse is depicted a 'Columna rostrata' with a nude statue of Octavius.

¹⁸⁴ Reproduced in Zanker: 1990, 93. The depiction of Napoleon on his medals is very similar to this portrait of Augustus, although here, Augustus is shown wearing an oak wreath, awarded him 'ob cives servatos.'

¹⁸⁵ See Zanker: 1990, p.53ff.

¹⁸⁶ See Hill (1989), especially Chapter III on 'Triumphal arches,' and Chapter IV on 'Columns.'

¹⁸⁷ The coins depicting his arches are reproduced in the article by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 'Roman arches and Greek honours: the language of power at Rome' (*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, No.216, 1990, p.174). The other coins are reproduced in Zanker: 1990, pp.81, 109, 111. For comparison, see the coins depicting monuments struck under Nero, discussed in the article by Jas Elsner, 'Constructing decadence: the representation of Nero as imperial builder' (in Elsner and Masters eds: 1994, pp.112-127).

¹⁸⁸ See Fontaine: 1987, Volume 1, 145 (entry for 20 November 1806): 'Les huit colonnes en marbre de l'arc de triomphe sur la place du Carrousel sont montées en place. Ces colonnes ont été faites avec des blocs de marbre de Languedoc qui se trouvaient dans le magasin des marbres de Chaillot et qui probablement y étaient restés depuis la construction de Trianon sous Louis XIV. Quoique l'on ait pris pour les élever sur leurs piédestaux les plus grandes précautions, on n'a pu éviter l'accident qui est arrivé à la seconde colonne à gauche de l'entrée, du côté de la place du Carrousel. Les liens et les cales qui l'enveloppaient ont glissé au moment où elle s'est trouvée entièrement suspendue, et le sommet au-dessous de l'astragale s'est rompu, dans l'un des fils terrasseux dont le marbre de Languedoc est ordinairement rempli. Connaissant le peu de consistance de ce marbre nous ne l'avions employé qu'à regret, notre projet était de faire ces colonnes en granit. Mais le temps qu'il eût fallu avoir pour les trouver, les faire venir et les tailler nous avait forcé de recourir au parti que nous avons pris. Le morceau détaché a été réuni au tronçon par des mastics à feu et rassemblé par des forts

complete. He describes the special measures taken to ensure that work could carry on during bad weather, and mentions that the Horses of St Mark's were about to be placed on top of the arch:

'Les grosses constructions de l'arc de triomphe sur la place du Carrousel sont terminées. On n'a cessé de travailler pendant tout l'hiver, nous avons fait pour cela une couverture en planches qui nous a tenu à l'abri des mauvais temps. Les Chevaux de Corinthe, qui avaient été transportés de Grèce à Rome et qui depuis, après de bien longs voyages, sont venus à Paris comme l'un des principaux gages de la conquête de l'Italie par le général Bonaparte, vont être déposés des piédestaux de la grande grille des Tuileries où nous les avons placés en 1802. Ils seront désormais attelés au char de triomphe qui couronnera l'arc.'¹⁸⁹

By 6 December 1807, Fontaine was able to record that the arch was largely finished, 'L'arc de triomphe de la place du Carrousel est terminé à quelques détails de sculpture près, il est déchafaudé et la Garde impériale revenant de la campagne de Prusse a la première passé dessous.'¹⁹⁰ At the same time enough buildings in between the Louvre-Tuileries had been demolished to create a vista from one palace to the other.¹⁹¹ Preparations were made for the monument to be unveiled to Napoleon, and for it to be illuminated at the celebrations held for the anniversary of the coronation. On the day of his return from Italy, 1 January 1808, the Emperor went straight to the Tuileries to attend to his work and saw the arch for the first time. Fontaine records (perhaps not surprisingly) that his response to the arch was favourable. But it is clear that little escaped Napoleon's critical eye, even at the late hour in which he viewed the arch (10 o'clock):

'L'arc de triomphe de la place du Carrousel a fixé fort longtemps son attention et quoiqu'il ait dit que sa masse était trop large, qu'il avait plutôt l'apparence d'un pavillon que d'une porte, que les colonnes n'étaient pas d'un beau marbre, que la porte St Denis était préférable par sa forme et sa grandeur, je suis resté persuadé que

goujons en fer qui le traversent en entier. Nous croyons que la solidité de l'édifice ne souffrira en rien se cet accident.'

¹⁸⁹ Fontaine: 1987, Volume 1, 150. Note the persistent belief at this time that the Horses had been taken by the Romans from Greece. As Haskell and Penny (1981, p.236) suggest, they were in fact taken from Constantinople after it was sacked by the Venetians in 1204 during the Fourth Crusade. As Fontaine indicates, the Horses were installed on piers on the railings overlooking the Rue de Rivoli, in front of the Tuileries, before being placed on the Arc du Carrousel.

¹⁹⁰ Fontaine: 1987, Volume 1, 182.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, 182: 'La percée en face du Louvre et des Tuileries est achevée. Les bâtiments de la manufacture des Tabacs qui se trouvaient dans cet alignement ont été démolis par l'un des entrepreneurs des Bâtiments de l'Empereur M.Lassère à qui ils ont été accordés comme matériaux donnés en compte pour le prix de 3,056 francs concurremment avec deux autres entrepreneurs. M. l'intendant général a approuvé cette adjudication. La fête en commémoration de l'anniversaire du Couronnement de l'Empereur a été remise à aujourd'hui par ordre du ministre de l'Intérieur, il y a eu illumination au palais et au jardin.'

ce petit monument, le premier qui ait été élevé jusqu'ici à neuf sous son règne, lui faisait plaisir.¹⁹²

Despite the fact that Denon had some difficulty in procuring the marble blocks necessary for the eight statues which were to stand above the free-standing columns of the arch,¹⁹³ it seems that by the time Napoleon saw the arch, the sculptural decorations were complete, except for the bronze group which was to surmount the arch. In the entry made in his journal for 15 April 1808, Fontaine comments:

'On travaillait à l'achèvement du groupe en bronze qui couronne l'arc de la place du Carrousel, tout était recouvert de toiles. M. de Fleurieu, qui est aujourd'hui gouverneur du Palais, s'étant hâté de dire et d'expliquer que ces toiles cachaient les dispositions que l'on fait pour placer la statue de l'Empereur dans le char auquel sont attelés les Chevaux de Corinthe conduits par deux Victoires, SM a répliqué vivement qu'elle regardait comme chose inconvenante cet arrangement (dont la conception appartient toute entière à M. Denn); car dans le projet que nous avons présenté ce n'était pas l'Empereur en habits impériaux, mais Mars les armes à la main, que nous avons indiqué. Elle a ordonné que sa statue, qui déjà est élevée dans le char en serait descendue. *Ce n'est pas à moi, a-t-elle dit, c'est aux autres à me faire des statues. Que le char avec les Victoires soit achevé mais qu'il reste vide.*'¹⁹⁴

This passage is particularly interesting, since it describes the controversy which ensued over the statue of Napoleon which was to be placed on the arch. Clearly, while Denon wanted Napoleon to be depicted as Mars in a chariot on the top of the arch (fig.249),¹⁹⁵ Napoleon was strongly opposed to such a scheme. Interestingly, according to Napoleon's comments recorded in a passage by Bausset, it seems as if the emperor specifically distinguished between his self-representation in bronze and in bas-reliefs or paintings:

'Jamais je n'ai voulu ni ordonné que l'on fit de ma statue le sujet principal d'un monument élevé par mes soins et à mes dépens à la gloire de l'armée que j'ai eu l'honneur de commander: que l'image de ma personne fasse partie d'un bas-relief ou d'un tableau représentant une action dans laquelle j'ai figuré, cela est juste; mais que je prenne ou que je me fasse donner les honneurs d'une apothéose dans un édifice public, rien n'est plus inconvenant. Je veux que ma statue, si elle est placée, soit

¹⁹² Ibid, 185.

¹⁹³ See Biver: 1963, pp.180-1.

¹⁹⁴ Fontaine: 1987, Volume 1, pp.213-4.

¹⁹⁵ Sketch by Percier, reproduced in Biver: 1963, fig.42. On Lemot's statue of Napoleon, see the article by G.Selz, 'De Versailles à Malmaison, une statue de Napoléon Ier' (*Bulletin des Musées de France*, 1932, pp.151-2). For a detailed consideration of the role of Denon in the design and erection of monuments under Napoleon, and in the creation of commemorative art more generally at this time, see Chatelain: 1973, pp.103-217, and Lejèvre (Paris, 1942). He also played a major role in the design and construction of the Vendôme Column, although, as I shall suggest in Chapter 5, in this case, he wisely reserved judgement concerning the statue of Napoleon which was to surmount the monument.

élevée et que le char, si l'on n'a rien de mieux à y mettre, reste vide. Otez cette statue; ce n'est pas à moi à me faire des statues; que les Victoires et le char soient achevés, mais que ce dernier reste vide.'¹⁹⁶

In his opinion, the fact that the arch was intended to commemorate the achievements of the Grande Armée precluded the use of his statue on the monument.¹⁹⁷ As a consequence, he made sure that the statue was removed from the arch, and by 11 September 1808, it had been placed in storage in the Orangerie.¹⁹⁸ The chariot remained, however, along with Lemot's figures of Victory and Peace, and the Horses of St Mark's.

The arch received official approval in 1810, when Percier and Fontaine were awarded a prize for their design.¹⁹⁹ An article which appeared in early 1808 in the *Rapport sur les Beaux-Arts* praised the speed with which the monument had been erected, and only lamented the fact that the statue of Napoleon was not in the chariot on top of the arch to create 'un groupe pyramidal, dont une grand statue doit fait le sommet.'²⁰⁰ There is little evidence that contemporaries objected to the decoration of the arch, and it is noticeable that the criticisms which have been cited in Biver's account were in fact made after the fall of Napoleon, or much later.²⁰¹ Even when Stendhal mentions the arch in his *Promenades dans Rome*,²⁰² and comments on the similarity of the Arc du Carrousel to the Arch of Septimius Severus he sees in the Forum Romanum, his comparison is based on the general similarity of the monuments. His criticism of the 'decadence' of the sculptural panels of the Roman arch does not seem to reflect on his opinion of the French arch.²⁰³ In fact, his mention of the Arc du Carrousel

¹⁹⁶ Quoted in the article by Ferdinand Boyer, 'Napoléon et les monuments à sa gloire en France et en Italie (1804-1815)' (*Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.66, janvier 1958, p.23).

¹⁹⁷ Or at least this was the excuse he gave for the removal of the statue. It appears that Napoleon's depiction in freestanding sculptural form remained a matter of controversy throughout his reign - as the lengthy negotiations over the design of Canova's statue suggest.

¹⁹⁸ Fontaine: 1987, Vol.1, 215.

¹⁹⁹ See Normand: 1830, second page of 'Précis historique' (no page number), and Biver: 1963, 182.

²⁰⁰ Hautecoeur: 1953, Volume V, 201.

²⁰¹ Biver: 1963, pp.182-3.

²⁰² This was first published in 1828, although based on his visit to Rome between 30 September - 3 October, and 13-15 October 1811.

²⁰³ See Stendhal, edited by Caraccio: 1938-40, Volume 2, p.8. Stendhal compares the arches in terms of their architectural form as triple arches: 'Cet fut l'an 205 de l'ère chrétienne que le sénat et le peuple romain élevèrent cet arc de triomphe en l'honneur de Septime-Sévère, de Caracalla et de Geta ses fils, pour les victoires remportées sur les Parthes et autres nations barbares de l'Orient. Cet arc est de marbre pentélique, avec trois ouvertures, comme celui de la place du Carrousel. Il est décoré de huit colonnes cannelées, d'ordre composite; les bas-reliefs sont déjà d'une sculpture médiocre et montrent la décadence.' In Volume 1, p.24, although he does not mention that the Arch of Titus is illustrative of artistic 'decadence,' he mentions 'decadence' in connection with the Arch of Constantine: 'Du haut des ruines du Colysée, on vit à la fois avec Vespasien qui le bâtit, avec saint Paul, avec Michel-Ange. Vespasien, triomphant des Juifs, a passé sous cet arc de triomphe que vous apercevez là-bas, à l'entrée du Forum, et que, de nos jours encore, le Juif évite dans sa course. Ici, plus près, est l'arc de Constantine; mais il fut construit par des architectes déjà barbares: la décadence commençait pour Rome et pour l'Occident.' From a further 'comment he makes on the sculptural decoration of the Temple of Peace, 'Le style des morceaux de sculpture qu'on y voit encore montre la

serves as important evidence that the relationship of Napoleon's arch to the model of the arch of Septimius Severus was well-known.

As the Arch of Septimius Severus served to demarcate the boundary between the Forum Romanum, and the slope going up to the Capitoline, so too did the Arc du Carrousel stand as a monumental divide between 'le cour Napoléon,' where it acted as an entrance to the Tuileries, and the large courtyard which led towards the Louvre.²⁰⁴ Like Severus' arch (fig.250), the Arc du Carrousel (fig.251) is triple arched,²⁰⁵ and features eight freestanding Corinthian columns,²⁰⁶ rosettes decorate the vaults inside the arch (figs.252-3), winged victories (or Renommées) fly in the spandrels over the central arch (figs.254-6),²⁰⁷ and the pediment of the arch contains an inscription revealing the dedication and purpose of the arch (fig.257). The eight sculptures of different French military figures from the Grande Armée (fig.258) which stand on the columns were perhaps inspired by those on the Arch of Constantine (fig.259),²⁰⁸ although originally, such figures might have stood on the Arch of Septimius Severus, and both arches are likely to have been decorated with a bronze quadriga, like the bronze chariot surmounting the French arch. Unlike the Arch of Septimius Severus, however, the Arc du Carrousel does not have fluted columns, the bases of the columns are not decorated with sculptural reliefs, and the inscription on the arch has not been carried across the full width of the monument. The Arc du Carrousel also has the new feature of a transversal passage and arches (fig.260): 'Comme l'arc de Septime-Sévère, de Rome, qui lui a servi de modèle, il se compose dans sa largeur de trois arcades; mais il y a plus une arcade transversale, qui coupe les trois autres en croix, dans l'alignement des

décadence de l'art et annonce le siècle de Diocletian' (Volume 2, p.17), Stendhal seems to making the general claim that Roman art started to decline around the time of Diocletian. His rather vague, unexplored comments on 'la décadence,' however, suggest that he was far from preoccupied with the issue of artistic decline.

²⁰⁴ For a consideration of the location and significance of the Arch of Septimius Severus, see, for example, Hannestad: 1986, pp.262-267, and Kleiner: 1992, pp.329-333.

²⁰⁵ Normand (1830) comments: 'L'Arc de Triomphe des Tuileries a beaucoup d'analogie avec le type adopté par les anciens pour les Arcs à trois ouvertures, dont ceux de Septime-Sévère et de Constantin à Rome, sont de beaux modèles...Ce Monument rappelle chez nous l'architecture polychrome des anciens' (first page of the 'Description,' no page number).

²⁰⁶ The Arch of Constantine, the Arch of Titus and the Arc d'Orange are similarly decorated with Corinthian columns, only those of the latter two arches are not freestanding.

²⁰⁷ The sculptors of these reliefs were Dupasquier and Tonnay.

²⁰⁸ Normand: 1830, Planche XIII. These statues were executed by the sculptors Tonnay, Corbet, Foucou, Chinard, Dardel, Montony, Bridan and Dumont (see the anonymous, *Description de la Colonne de la Place Vendôme*, 1818, p.22-3, and Normand: 1830, 'Description,' Planche XIII. Note that the *Description* seems to mistakenly list Launay instead of Tonnoy). For a hand coloured compendium of military uniforms, which, even after the fall of Napoleon, were strongly influenced by the reforms he made for the Grande Armée, see the edition by Ambroise Tardieu, *Galérie des uniformes des gardes nationales de France*, 1817. The edition I consulted is held in the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris.

guichets de chacune des galeries du Louvre.²⁰⁹ A contemporary drawing by Fontaine shows a mounted sentry standing in the transversal arcade (fig. 261).²¹⁰

The lateral vaults of the French arch have central panels depicting victory coronae and thunderbolts of Jupiter with eagle wings (fig.262), and the central vault was originally decorated with a relief panel showing Napoleon being crowned by Victory. These panels can be seen from an illustration of the vaulting of the arch to be found in Normand (fig.263).²¹¹ The representation of the winged victory crowning Napoleon is similar to the relief panel inside the Arch of Titus, which depicts a winged victory crowning Titus as he stands in his chariot (although the details of the Roman relief are difficult to see as it is now badly damaged) (fig.264). The reclining river gods (fig.265) which feature in the spandrels on the internal arches, follow Roman prototypes: on the Arch of Septimius Severus, such figures appear in the spandrels over the smaller, outer arches (fig.266),²¹² while on the French arch, they have been moved to the spandrels over the arches inside the transversal passage. The bearded male figure (fig.267), for example, may also have been inspired by various sculptures of reclining river gods, in particular the large marbles of the Tiber and the Nile, which had been taken by the French from Rome. The egg and dart and acanthus motifs and the dentils which have been used to decorate the arch (fig.268), directly recall the beading carved on the Arch of Septimius Severus (fig.269), although for their arch, Percier and Fontaine have chosen to include small imperial eagles and rosettes as well. These details are all shown in a plate in Normand's edition on the arch (fig.270).²¹³ The military spoils and accoutrements which appear in the spandrels over the side arches (fig.271) are likely to have been inspired by the arms and armour depicted on the base of Trajan's Column, or even, since Percier had made sketches at Orange, by the relief panels over the side arches of the Arc d'Orange (fig.272).²¹⁴ It is clear from a number of Normand's engravings that the arch was originally decorated with Napoleonic 'N's, which appeared in coronae in between the putti and swags depicted above the relief panels of the arch (fig. 273),²¹⁵ and that a title was to have been given to each of the six relief panels on the arch, engraved below each panel above the spandrels of the side arches (fig.274).²¹⁶ Denon commissioned a number of sculptors to work on the sculptural decoration of the arch, including Cartellier, Chaudet, Lesueur, Dupasquier, Ramey, Bridan, Dumont, Clodion, Taunay,

²⁰⁹ See the section entitled 'Carrousel,' in the anonymous, *Description de la Colonne de la Place Vendôme*, 1818, p.21.

²¹⁰ Reproduced in Biver: 1964, fig.32.

²¹¹ Normand: 1830, Planche VI. Interestingly, Normand comments: 'Cet ensemble...est peut-être ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans ce monument, et ce qui le distingue le plus des Arcs antiques.'

²¹² Reproduced in Hannestad: 1986, 265.

²¹³ Normand: 1830, Planche VII.

²¹⁴ These reliefs on the Arc du Carrousel were executed by Montpellier.

²¹⁵ Normand: 1830, Planche XI. These friezes were executed by Tonnay and Dupasquier.

²¹⁶ Normand: 1830, Planche XIV. Also see Planches XV-XIX.

Corbet, and Boichot.²¹⁷ The ornamental features were carried out by the Gérard, Dumont, Calamar and Fortin.²¹⁸

As has already been mentioned, some of the decorative features of the arch were changed following the downfall of Napoleon in 1815, and Fontaine's *Journal* and Normand's folio edition on the arch provide a clear indication of what was altered. The overt Napoleonic symbols which featured on the arch were highly inappropriate to the new regime of Louis XVIII, who had been restored to the French throne in July 1815.²¹⁹ In an entry in his *Journal* for 18 August 1815, Fontaine describes how orders were given for the removal of these 'N's. Fontaine also describes how the Napoleonic decorations on the new wing of the Louvre were criticised at this time.²²⁰ It must have been with regret that he arranged for the removal of the six bas-reliefs on the Arc du Carrousel, replaced the central relief panel on the interior of the arch, removed the Napoleonic symbols, and took down the bust which had recently been used to decorate the Louvre.²²¹ As Normand confirms, the 'N's which had been depicted in the coronae held between the putti on the arch were replaced with rosettes, and these can still be seen on the arch (fig.275). The central panel on the interior of the arch was also replaced

²¹⁷ Cartellier, Lesueur, Dupasquier, Ramey and Clodion, were also five of the six sculptors chosen to execute the relief panels on the arch, which I shall consider separately below. The sixth sculptor chosen was Espercieux (see the *Description de la Colonne de la Place Vendôme*, 1818, pp.21-3, Normand: 1830 and Biver: 1963, 179).

²¹⁸ See the *Description de la Colonne de la Place Vendôme*, 1818, p.25.

²¹⁹ For a detailed study of the events which followed the downfall of Napoleon, and the Restoration, see Magraw (1992).

²²⁰ See Fontaine: 1987, Volume 1, pp.471-2: 'Si l'année dernière on a mis de l'importance à faire disparaître les signes, les emblèmes et les tableaux qui pouvaient rappeler le régime impérial, il est évident que l'on devra à plus forte raison cette année s'empresse d'effacer les moindres traces d'une époque dont nos dernières défaites, nos malheurs, et la présence accablante des ennemis rendent la mémoire plus insupportable encore. En effet partout on supprime, on gratte, on enlève avec une recherche scrupuleuse les objets qui offrent la plus petite réminiscence du règne passé. La passion toujours active a cette fois pris une grande part dans l'affaire. Le moindre retard apporté à l'exécution des mesures d'enlèvement est regardé par elle comme fait d'opinion contraire, comme disposition à la résistance, et devient par conséquent le motif d'une dénonciation grave. C'est ce qui m'arrive pour un buste de l'Empereur resté au centre du premier fronton de l'aile neuve et pour quelques autres signes dans les appartements que l'occupation des lieux n'a pas permis de faire ôter. Ces deux articles ont été le sujet principal des feuilles imprimées que l'on a distribuées dans la maison, à l'effet de m'en chasser. Mais ces misérables attaques, dont je ne connais pas l'auteur, ne viennent pas probablement d'une main fort habile. Jusqu'ici elles n'ont présenté rien de direct, le style est en bas, et loin d'atteindre le but que l'on s'est proposé elles n'ont servi, je crois, qu'à me redonner un peu de considération. Car le directeur de la maison, Monsieur le comte de Pradel, l'intendant, et quelques autres m'en ont parlé avec l'intérêt qu'inspire ordinairement la persécution. J'ai cru ne devoir opposer à tout cela que le calme et l'exactitude à remplir mes devoirs.'

²²¹ Ibid, p.472: 'Je vais d'après les ordres que j'ai reçus faire enlever les six bas-reliefs de l'arc de la place du Carrousel, subsister un trophée à la figure de l'Empereur dans le caisson sous la voûte, effacer les signes qui se trouvent sur le reste du monument et dans les frontons de l'aile neuve, enlever de la salle du Conseil d'Etat le beau plafond de Gérard représentant la bataille d'Austerlitz, enfin supprimer dans les bronzes des serrures, des espagnolettes, des cheminées de l'intérieur tout ce qui peut sans exception donner mémoire du régime que l'on veut faire oublier.'

with a panel depicting Victory and the spoils of war (fig.276).²²² Fontaine does not mention that the inscriptions, which appear under each bas-relief in plans for the monument, were removed from the arch, which suggests that these had never, in fact, been achieved.²²³ Normand indicates that the two arms of the empire and two arms of Italy, which originally decorated the centre of coronae in the panels on the attic of the arch (fig.277), were replaced with the arms of France with three fleur de lys.²²⁴ Today, we can see four arms of the empire decorating the coronae (fig.278), which were probably placed on the arch during the restoration of the monument in 1831.²²⁵ The small 'N's which originally decorated the top and bottom of the coronae, however, are likely to have been erased in 1815, and have not been recarved. Lemot's bronze chariot and the two figures on the top of the arch, as well as some of the decoration of the arch itself, were damaged by the Allies in September 1815 when they came to remove the Horses of St Mark's.²²⁶ The two figures and the remains of the chariot were removed in June 1816,²²⁷ and it was only in February 1827 that a new chariot, celebrating the coronation of Charles X,²²⁸ was commissioned for the arch.²²⁹ Although the new bronze group commissioned from the sculptor Bosio was not ready in time for the official unveiling of the arch on

²²² Interestingly, the depiction of the 'spolia' is very similar to the 'spolia' depicted on either side of the winged figure of victory, which appear half way up the frieze of Trajan's Column, marking the end of the first war. For the specific influence of the frieze of Trajan's Column on the relief panels of the Arc du Carrousel, see below. I shall discuss the significance of the figure of victory on Trajan's Column in Chapter 5.

²²³ Strips of pink marble can be seen today in the location of the bas-relief 'titles' intended by Percier and Fontaine. It is difficult to see from contemporary drawings, for example, those by Percier and Fontaine, showing the arch as it was constructed, if these 'titles' were ever inserted.

²²⁴ Unfortunately he does not illustrate these new arms.

²²⁵ Presumably, the two which were on the arch were used, and two more created.

²²⁶ Fontaine: 1987, Volume 2, p.485: 'Les quatre chevaux antiques de Venise que l'on avait attelés au char de l'arc du Carrousel sont réclamés par les Autrichiens pour être replacés sur le portail de l'église de St Marc à Venise. Un colonel autrichien était venu il y a quelques jours me demander de la part de l'Empereur de les lui livrer, et d'après le refus que j'avais eu ordre de faire, un ingénieur anglais assisté des pionniers de son régiment s'est chargé du travail. Le tour s'est passé militairement de nuit et brisant les pierres, arrachant les scellements, mutilant les deux Victoires en plomb qui devaient rester, et détruisant à dessein tous les ornements du char.'

²²⁷ Ibid, p.526: 'La cour est partie pour Fontainebleau où elle recevra la jeune princesse de Naples épouse future de Monsieur le duc de Berry. Nous devons pendant ce court voyage faire descendre les deux renommées en plomb doré et le débris du char qui sont restés sur l'arc du Carrousel après l'enlèvement des quatre chevaux de Venise, réparer quelques-uns des dégâts que les spoliations des étrangers ont causés, et faire disparaître tant au Château que dans les dépendances des N et des aigles que la difficulté de les atteindre ou leur peu d'importance ont fait échapper à nos recherches précédentes.'

²²⁸ Youngest brother of Louis XVIII, who succeeded Louis in 1824.

²²⁹ Fontaine: 1987, Volume 2, p.736: 'il va remettre, sur le sommet de cet édifice, le quadrigue en bronze qui en formait le couronnement. Quelle figure remplacera la statue de l'Empereur Napoléon? Ce sera celle de la Restauration sous une forme et des traits allégoriques. Un mouleur a été envoyé à Venise pour en rapporter les moules des chevaux que nous avons rendus, et dont on veut faire des copies qui remplaceront les originaux. Mais des considérations politiques ont depuis fait prendre le parti de charger M. Bosio, sculpteur habile, de faire dans cette forme avec ces mêmes modèles des chevaux nouveaux et de s'arranger de manière à ce qu'on ne puisse les prendre pour ceux de Corinthe.' On the sculptures made by Bosio, also see Biver: 1964, pp.191-2.

15 April 1828,²³⁰ the group was soon completed. The group has only recently been restored and still stands on the arch today (fig.257).

A consideration of the fate of the arch as a whole, however, indicates that the changes made to the decorative details of the arch were nothing in comparison with what was threatened in March 1816. Fontaine records that instructions were given for the complete demolition of the monument, as well as for the destruction of the Vendôme Column.²³¹ It seems that even without many of the Napoleonic references in the decoration of the arch, the monument still served as a potent symbol of the Napoleonic regime and represented a threat to the new government. In ancient Rome, the official condemnation of emperors such as Domitian had led to the removal of references to the emperor on monuments produced during his reign. The fate threatened by the authorities for the Arc du Carrousel and Vendôme Column, however, represented a much worse 'damnatio.' It appears that the arch was saved by Fontaine, who proposed some important new alterations to the monument.²³² In August 1824, it was decided to replace the original bas-reliefs with new panels celebrating the recent French campaign in Spain, designed by Louis Lafitte (fig.279).²³³ Plaster versions of the new panels, depicting scenes such as the *Entrée de S.A.R. Monseigneur Le Duc D'Angouleme dans Madrid*, were placed on the arch by 15 April 1828.²³⁴ In 1830, however, the July Revolution forced Charles X from the throne, and the July Monarchy was established, under Louis-Philippe.²³⁵ By the 16 February 1831,

²³⁰ Fontaine: 1997, Volume 2, p.772. The new plaster bas-reliefs, however, were finished on time. It seems that Fontaine was in charge of the project. He comments that the transformation of the arch was intended as 'un acte de flatterie' for the new King.

²³¹ Ibid, p.516: 'Plusieurs après avoir fait une guerre opiniâtre aux emblèmes et aux signes impériaux se déclarent maintenant contre les monuments du règne dernier. Ils veulent que l'on fasse sauter, c'est leur mot, l'arc de triomphe de la place du Carrousel et la colonne de la place Vendôme.'

²³² Ibid, p.516: 'Le directeur du ministère de la Maison du Roi vient de me consulter sur les moyens d'exécuter promptement et sans dépenses l'arrêt de destruction prononcé contre l'arc du Carrousel.'

J'ai fait ici comme font aujourd'hui les avocats qui plaident pour les hommes du parti vaincu. J'ai blâmé l'arc, je l'ai condamné moi-même et j'ai demandé grâce et sursis en objectant qu'il faudra beaucoup de temps et beaucoup d'argent pour enlever les pierres qui le composent. Je crois que si je n'ai pas obtenu la conservation de cet édifice, j'ai au moins retardé sa destruction.'

²³³ Normand: 1830, Planches XXV-XXVI. For the decision to replace the panels on the arch with these new reliefs depicting the Spanish campaigns, see Fontaine: 1997, Volume 2, p.657: 'Les six bas-reliefs en marbre qui ont été enlevés de l'arc de triomphe de la place du Carrousel en 1815 vont être remplacés par d'autres bas-reliefs représentant les hauts faits de la guerre d'Espagne. Nous avons donné les mesures et les châssis nécessaires, pour en faire les modèles. M. de Fourbin directeur du Musée a eu pour but, en imaginant et en faisant adopter cette disposition, deux choses, la première c'est une occasion favorable pour montrer de l'admiration et du zèle, la seconde c'est l'honneur d'avoir, par des ouvrages meilleurs que ceux enlevés, protégé, mis à l'abri de nouvelles attaques un petit édifice dont l'existence a été souvent menacée, et qui maintenant encore n'est pas vu par tout le monde avec une égale indulgence.' Also see Normand: 1830, first page of section entitled 'Etat actuel' (no page number).

²³⁴ Fontaine: 1987, Volume 2, p.772.

²³⁵ On the July Monarchy, see the excellent account by Collingham (1988), and especially p.2 on the 'sentimental cult of Napoleon' which grew up after the restitution of the Bourbon monarchy. On the prominence Louis-Philippe gave to Napoleon in his artistic policy, in particular, the decision to bring the body of Napoleon back to France and create a commemorative tomb for him, see Driskel: 1993,

the plaster reliefs on the arch had themselves become a focus of hatred for the new regime. Fontaine was given instructions to remove the plaster panels from the arch, but before he could do this, as he stood watching Louis-Philippe reviewing his batallions outside the Tuileries, he witnessed people attacking the reliefs, and throwing them to the ground.²³⁶ When the marble versions of the panels depicting the Spanish campaigns duly arrived, they were sent straight to the storerooms of the Louvre, and for a while the arch stood bereft of any relief panels.²³⁷ On 21 March 1831, however, Fontaine noted that the decision had been taken to replace the original, Napoleonic panels on the arch, which had been preserved in the basement of the Louvre.²³⁸ The original panels had been replaced by 13 April 1831, and we can only imagine Fontaine's delight at seeing them restored to the arch. Although the breakages suffered by the panels before and during their removal from the arch in 1815 are still evident from an observation of the panels on the monument today (fig.280).²³⁹ People requested that the bronze statue of Napoleon should also be placed on the arch. When the two Victory figures were put back on the arch, however, they accompanied Bosio's statue of la Paix.²⁴⁰ In his *Journal*,

pp.28-9. Driskel does not, however, mention the replacement of the original bas-reliefs on the Arc du Carrousel as part of this scheme, although it is likely that this also acted as an important precedent for the celebration of Napoleon with a tomb. Interestingly, while the Vendôme Column and the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile were considered as possible locations for the tomb of Napoleon, the Arc du Carrousel does not seem to have been considered at all. We know, however, that Napoleon's body was placed ceremoniously under the Arc de Triomphe for one night, on 14-15 December 1840, during its procession to the church of Les Invalides (see the article by Alex D...PS, 'L'Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile en 1840,' *Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.XLVI, janvier-juin 1940, p.45). I shall consider the proposal that the Vendôme Column be used as a tomb for Napoleon in more detail in the next chapter.

²³⁶ Fontaine: 1987, Volume 2, 882. Also see Biver: 1964, 197.

²³⁷ Biver: 1963, 186. These marble reliefs depicting the Spanish campaigns had been executed by the sculptors Roman, Pradier, Raggi, L.M.Petitot, Cortot, David D'Angers (Fontaine: 1987, Volume 2, p.736). It must be noted that, as in the case of the original panels, scenes of peace and negotiation are shown, not battle scenes. For further information on the marble reliefs commissioned in 1824, see the article by G. Hubert, 'L'art français au service de la Restauration. A propos des épaves de l'Arc du Carrousel conservées au Louvre' (*Revue des Arts*, IV, 1955, pp.209-216).

²³⁸ Fontaine: 1987, Volume 2, p.884: 'On avait craint la journée d'hier qui, étant l'anniversaire du retour de l'Empereur, sorti de l'île d'Elbe puis remonté sur le trône de France en 1815, pouvait devenir pour les bonapartistes qui portent Napoléon II un motif à troubles. Tout s'est passé dans le plus grand calme. Nous allons replacer sur les quatre faces de l'arc du Carrousel les six bas-reliefs en marbre qui ont été déposés en 1815, et que nous avons conservés dans un souterrain de la Galerie du Musée.' See also a 'Lettre de Delabarre,' quoted in Biver: 1963, 186: 'Vient la Révolution de 1830. Le peuple casse en morceaux ces oeuvres; mais, comme, heureusement, les anciens bas-reliefs ont été conservés, on les replace,' and Biver: 1964, 200.

²³⁹ I have not been able to find any other information regarding the current state of the panels. It seems from an observation of the panels that parts of them have been repaired. There is no evidence, however, that these panels might be only plaster copies of the original reliefs.

²⁴⁰ Fontaine: 1987, Volume 2, 889. There was also talk of replacing the bronze statue of Napoleon on the Vendôme Column. When it was found that the original statue was too badly broken to be replaced on the monument (it had pulled to the ground in 1815), a new statue was planned, although problems soon arose over whether the statue should depict Napoleon in Roman or modern attire (Fontaine: 1987, Volume 2, p.889).

following the replacement of the original panels on the arch, Fontaine reflected on the chequered history of the arch:

‘Nous devons, sans doute, déplorer avec les honnêtes gens les tristes effets des passions dont les aveugles fureurs ont trop souvent dévasté les monuments, et montrer en les rétablissant dans leur forme première que dans l’ordre actuel des choses la raison humaine a fait des progrès, mais il n’est pas convenable d’aller au-delà. Si la plupart des monuments honorifiques sont des oeuvres de flatterie et si par cela même ils ont subi les effets de la haine, l’arc du Carrousel se distingue par un autre but, et par une autre origine. Il a été élevé à la gloire de l’armée d’Allemagne par son général, par l’Empereur reconnaissant, qui a voulu, et qui a même ordonné que sa statue, placée malgré nous, contre notre opinion, par le directeur des musées Denon, ne s’élevât pas au-dessus des guerriers de l’armée, et fût sur-le-champ enlevée du sommet de l’édifice sur lequel on avait érigée.’²⁴¹

It was probably politic for him to maintain that he and Percier opposed the placement of a statue of Napoleon on the arch, which the emperor himself had rejected. Interestingly, however, he directly attributes the survival of the monument to the fact that the monument was erected to commemorate the achievements of the Grande Armée, and did not feature a statue of Napoleon.²⁴²

Napoleon as the ‘new Augustus’ : the sculptural panels on the arch

Although Denon played an important role in commissioning the fated statue of Napoleon for the arch, his main responsibility was for the design and execution of the relief panels which were to decorate the monument. His first task was to propose subjects for the panels. He selected four events which were of particular importance to be depicted on the bas-reliefs: *La Bataille d’Austerlitz*, *La Levée du Camp de Boulogne*, *La Capitulation d’Ulm* and *L’Entrée à Vienne*. At least six panels, however, were required for the arch, so he included various other subjects in the list he submitted to Napoleon: *Le combat de Wartingue*, *La Capitulation du Gal Wernck à Trotelsingue*, *L’Entrée à Munich*, *La reprise des drapeaux à Innesbruck*, *Le Passage du Danube* and *L’Entrevue des Deux Empereurs*. The subjects of the reliefs and the locations they were to occupy on the arch were chosen by the Emperor himself: *L’Entrée à Munich* and *L’Entrevue des Deux Empereurs* were to feature on the back of the arch, facing the Tuileries Palace; *La Capitulation devant Ulm* and *La Bataille d’Austerlitz* on the front of the arch, facing the Louvre; while the side of the arch facing the Seine was to be decorated with a relief of *La Paix de Presbourg*, and the other side facing towards the future

²⁴¹ Ibid, 889.

²⁴² Cf: The statue of Napoleon used to decorate the Vendôme Column clearly enhanced the provocative status of the column after the fall of Napoleon, as I shall discuss in Chapter 5.

location of Percier and Fontaine's new wing of the Louvre, a relief depicting *L'Entrée à Vienne*.²⁴³ The sculptors Cartelier, Espercieux, Clodion, Ramey, Le Sueur and Deseine were engaged to work on the reliefs, under the aegis of Denon.

The painter Charles Meynier was employed to execute the designs for the reliefs. He had studied under Vincent,²⁴⁴ and in 1789, won the Prix de Rome with his painting on the subject *Joseph reconnu par ses frères*.²⁴⁵ Before working on the designs for the relief panels on the arch, he became well known for his depictions of scenes from ancient history.²⁴⁶ As a student at the Académie in Rome (1790-1793), he made various studies of antique sculptures, and when he returned, transformed some of these into decorative paintings. The Musée du Louvre, for example, contains a painting of the Apollo Belvedere (1795).²⁴⁷ Meynier also executed history paintings, for example, on the subject, *La mort de Timophone* (1791), and from 1795, exhibited many of these at the Salons.²⁴⁸ His interest in subjects from Roman history is evident from a number of drawings. An undated example depicts *Nero, tormented by feelings of remorse* (fig.281),²⁴⁹ a subject taken from Dio or Suetonius,²⁵⁰ while another, which is one of a series of sketches from the period 1795-1804, shows *The sentence of Ligarius, or Cicero pleading before Ligarius* (fig.282), a subject inspired by Plutarch.²⁵¹ It is likely that many of these works which predate the erection of the Arc du Carrousel acted as a major influence on his designs for the relief panels of the arch. It was his commission to design the panels for the arch, however, which brought Meynier into prominence during the Napoleonic period.²⁵² Not long after the erection of the arch, he won much praise for his paintings of the Napoleonic campaigns, which depicted, for example, *Les Drapeaux d'Innesbruck* (1808) (fig.283), *L'Entrée dans Berlin* (Salon of

²⁴³ Biver: 1963, 178.

²⁴⁴ Vincent is well known for having taught David. See, for example, Schnapper (1980).

²⁴⁵ In fact, Meynier and Girodet shared the Grand Prix for 1789.

²⁴⁶ As far as I can tell, a single study or monograph of Meynier has not been written, but the article by Régis Michel, 'Meynier ou la métaphore parlementaire: Essai sur *La sentence de Ligarius*' (*Revue du Louvre*, No.3, 1987, pp.188-200), provides a useful account of his training at the Académie de France à Rome and the characteristics of his work. The Witt Library at the Courtauld Institute of Art contains useful information concerning the range of Meynier's work. On the tradition of French history painting in the eighteenth century, see the classic work (focusing on the period 1747-1785) by Locquin (1912), especially pp.244-258 on 'L'Histoire ancienne,' and the account of French art in the period 1700-1789, by Levey (1993). Bryson (1981) is a fundamental source on French painting of the ancient régime.

²⁴⁷ See the article by Régis Michel, 1987, as above, p.194.

²⁴⁸ Examples of these Salon paintings are *La naissance de Louis XIV* (1814), *Le berger Phorbas présente Oedipe enfant à la reine de Corinthe* (1814), and *Alexandre le Grand cédant Campaspe à Apelle* (1822).

²⁴⁹ Reproduction held in the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

²⁵⁰ See Dio, *Roman History*, LXI, and Suetonius, *Life of Nero*, XXXIX.

²⁵¹ Reproduced in the article by Régis Michel, 1987, as above, p.188. Apparently Meynier possessed the whole set of editions of the French translation of Plutarch, *Vies des Hommes illustres, traduites en françois, avec des remarques historiques et critiques par M.Dacier* (1778), and no doubt took his subject from the *Vie de Cicéron*, contained in Book VIII (see the article by Régis Michel, p.189).

²⁵² As Régis Michel suggests in his article (p.198, note 12), Meynier's drawings for the bas-reliefs have not been studied and represent an area for future research.

1810) (fig.284), and *L'Empereur dans l'Île de Lobau* (Salon of 1812) (fig.285), which, in turn, were probably influenced by his work for the panels on the arch.²⁵³ His close involvement with the events and artistic projects of the Napoleonic regime is evident from his sketch for a painting depicting an *Allegory of the Birth of the King of Rome* (fig.286),²⁵⁴ and sketch in ink and wash, possibly for a ceiling painting (fig.287), depicting an *Allegory of the Benefits of the Napoleonic Epoch*,²⁵⁵ showing Napoleon being led on a Roman chariot through a triumphal arch. Meynier also played an important part in the redecoration of various rooms of the Musée du Louvre, including the execution of scenes celebrating Roman subjects in the Musée des Antiques. Much of his work for the Musée du Louvre, however, was carried out after the fall of Napoleon.²⁵⁶

Several of Meynier's designs for the arch are now in the Cabinet des Dessins in the Louvre. These reveal that he designed the eight statues of military figures (fig.288) which were to stand on the columns of the arch, as well as the six relief panels.²⁵⁷ It is not clear whether the designs for the reliefs are the final versions he submitted to Denon. They seem to be very closely related to the reliefs which can be seen on the arch,²⁵⁸ although fewer figures and less depth have been given to the scenes. For example, a comparison between Meynier's design for the panel depicting the *Entrée à Munich* (fig.289) with the panel on the arch (fig.280) shows that the background architecture has been removed, and that the number of figures in the scene, especially on the right hand side, has been vastly reduced, to focus on a few figures bending in supplication before Napoleon, including a mother in a mob cap and her child. Whereas the design for the *Bataille d'Austerlitz* (fig.290) shows a line of prisoners of war being led across the background of the scene, these are not shown in the final version (fig.291), where the number of figures has been reduced, the flag from the centre of the scene has been removed, the postures and costumes of the French generals on the right have been simplified, and the horse has been pushed to the back of the scene. Particularly noticeable is the removal of the French generals' hats, which gives the figures a more timeless appeal, and the fact that there is a new emphasis on the draped, classical folds of their garments.

The general arrangement of the relief panels on the arch was undoubtedly the decision of the designers of the arch, Percier and Fontaine. For this, it is likely that they were influenced by the

²⁵³ The first painting is reproduced in Irwin: 1997, 129, the others in Proctor Patterson Jones: 1992, pp.211, 269. For further discussion of Meynier's representations of the Napoleonic campaigns, see the article by Charles Zieseniss, '*Napoléon à Eylau: Une esquisse de Charles Meynier*' (*La Revue du Louvre*, 10, 1960).

²⁵⁴ Included in a catalogue for *French Drawings: Neo-Classicism*, Heim Gallery, London, 20 February-27 March 1975, cat.no.100. The catalogue entry suggests that the drawing was possibly for a ceiling painting in the Tuileries palace, but that with the change of events in 1814, the subject was changed to the *Birth of Louis XIV*. This painting was exhibited at the Salon of 1814.

²⁵⁵ This is undated. Reproduction held in the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

²⁵⁶ For example, *La France sous les traits de Minerve, protégeant les arts*, executed in 1822 for the Grand Escalier des Muses in the Salle Percier, and *Le triomphe de la peinture*, completed in 1820 for the ceiling of the old entrance to the Musée, which today is the Salle Duchâtel.

²⁵⁷ Reproductions of these designs are held in the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

geometric arrangement of decorative relief panels in contemporary French interior decoration. Their own designs for the interior decoration of, for example, Napoleon's bedroom at the Château of Fontainebleau, for the upper wall and ceiling of the Salle de Vénus in the Louvre, and for the emperor's bedroom in the Tuileries, are characterised by the clear demarcation of decorative areas on the walls and ceilings of rooms.²⁵⁹ The sectioning-off of six distinct panels on the French arch (fig.292) strongly contrasts with the less defined reliefs on the Arch of Septimius Severus, which are placed between the two columns on either side of the arch and show a confusing array of scenes, one piled on top of another (fig.293).²⁶⁰ In one panel (fig.294), for example, the scene in the bottom left of the panel shows the Romans attacking the city of Ctesiphon with a siege machine, while the Parthians are shown desperately trying to defend their capital on the right.²⁶¹ The action almost leads off the edge of the panel since on the far right, the Parthian king is depicted fleeing from his city. In the upper register of the panel, the figures are arranged somewhat haphazardly into several scenes. Here the emperor, accompanied by Caracalla and Geta, addresses his troops ('adlocutio'), who are sprawled beneath him, while a city (possibly Ctesiphon) is depicted in the top right, and a riderless horse is shown on the left, waiting for the emperor.

Yet despite the difference in the number of scenes shown within the relief panels and in the arrangement of figures within them, when we compare the reliefs of the French arch with those on the Arch of Septimius Severus, the panels on the Arc du Carrousel do show a distinct affiliation to Roman imperial sculptural reliefs. The iconography which has been employed for the six panels is characterised by the use of stock scenes derived from imperial Roman reliefs. A list of subjects for paintings commissioned by Napoleon to celebrate various campaigns, notably the Egyptian and Austrian campaigns, reveals the popularity of Roman stock scenes for Napoleonic painting, as well as sculptural reliefs. The paintings often feature, for example, the arrival of the emperor ('adventus'), the emperor addressing his troops ('adlocutio'), and the pardon of the defeated enemy ('submitio').²⁶² The titles include *L'Empereur haranguant le 2^e corps d'armée sur le pont du Lech à Augsbourg*, *L'entrevue de l'empereur Napoléon et de l'empereur François II en Moravie*, *L'Empereur pardonnant aux révoltés du Caire sur la place d'Ezbekyeh*, and *L'entrée de Sa Majesté dans la ville*

²⁵⁸ And as they were later engraved for Normand's folio edition in 1830.

²⁵⁹ See Hauteceur: 1953, Volume V, pp.332-392. This interior decoration, in turn, may have been influenced by an observation of the sectioning-out of painted areas in interiors at Pompeii and Herculaneum, with which Percier and Fontaine would have been familiar at this time.

²⁶⁰ It must also be noted that the Roman arch does not have panels on either end of the monument like the French arch.

²⁶¹ Reproduced in Kleiner: 1992, fig.298, p.333.

²⁶² For a discussion of these stock scenes, see in particular, Brilliant (1963). While his stylistic account of the gradual codification of scenes of gesture and rank in imperial Roman art now seems somewhat outdated, he provides a useful overview of the range of material and the types of scenes which undoubtedly recurred in Roman art.

*de Munich, à l'instant où les Bavarois viennent au-devant d'elle.*²⁶³ Denon is said to have changed the title of one of the paintings commissioned to commemorate Austerlitz from *Passage du pont du Lech à Augsburg*, to *L'Empereur haranguant son armée au pont du Lech*, specifically because 'l'antiquité nous offre plusieurs ouvrages représentant pareil sujet tel que César, Trajan et Marc-Aurèle haranguant leurs armées.'²⁶⁴ The subjects chosen for the panels on the Arc du Carrousel (except the panel depicting *La Paix de Presbourg*, which will be considered later), employ similar scenes from Roman imperial reliefs in order to depict significant actions undertaken by Napoleon during the Austerlitz campaign.

Although the relief panels of the Arch of Septimius Severus employ scenes of 'adlocutio' and 'submissio' relating to Severus' Parthian campaigns,²⁶⁵ the relief panels on the French arch, however, seem to be more closely modelled on the depiction of stock scenes in the frieze of Trajan's Column. The scenes on Trajan's Column are depicted in a clearer, less jumbled manner than in the panels on the Arch of Septimius Severus, and there are particular features of the frieze which relate directly to the relief panels on the French arch. In the panels on the Arc du Carrousel, the figure of Napoleon is easy to distinguish since he is always shown at the centre of the panel, somewhat isolated from his advisers and his troops, 'a figure to be treated with respect and awe rather than a first among equals.'²⁶⁶ He is often shown in a frontal or semi-frontal position,²⁶⁷ and his distinct gestures mark him out from the other figures in the scenes.²⁶⁸ For example, in the panel depicting the *Entrée à Munich* (fig.289), which was executed by the sculptor Clodion, Napoleon reaches out to receive the Austrians in a marked gesture of 'submissio.' A scene showing the 'submissio' of the Dacian people on Trajan's Column (fig.295)²⁶⁹ is a likely Roman model for the scene, since it is far better preserved than the reliefs on the Arch of Severus. In the panel illustrating the *Bataille d'Austerlitz* (fig.290), sculpted by

²⁶³ See the *Arrêté* issued by Napoleon on 3 March 1806, reproduced in the *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, 1858-69, Volume 12, no.9915, pp.151-153. The notice stipulates that the paintings were to be placed in the Tuileries palace after having been displayed at the Salon in the Musée Napoléon (held on 15 August 1808). Lelièvre (Angers, 1942, pp.62-3) mentions that a series of eighteen paintings were commissioned to celebrate the Austerlitz campaign alone.

²⁶⁴ See the article by John Walker McCoubrey, 'Gros' *Battle of Eylau* and Roman Imperial Art' (*The Art Bulletin*, XLIII, June 1961, note 17, p.138).

²⁶⁵ On the panels on Severus' arch, see Hannestad: 1986, pp.262-267, and Kleiner: 1992, pp.329-333. On Severus' campaigns in general, see, for example, Cary and Scullard: 1979, pp.492-493 and Birley (1988).

²⁶⁶ Kleiner: 1992, 32.

²⁶⁷ For the most recent discussion of frontality in imperial art, see the article by Jas Elsner, 'Frontality in the Column of Marcus Aurelius' (to be published in John Scheid and Valérie Huet, eds, forthcoming). The issue of frontality is particularly related to studies of the Column of Marcus, but examples of imperial frontality also occur in the frieze of Trajan's Column. As Elsner suggests, these 'frontal' scenes do not have to be interpreted as early examples of the 'decline' of Roman art, although they indicate the increased ritualisation of the emperor.

²⁶⁸ Again, for a useful survey of the gestures typical of imperial Roman reliefs, see Brilliant (1963).

²⁶⁹ Illustration of one of the casts of Trajan's Column from the set in Rome, originally photographed by Conrad Cichorius, reproduced in Lepper and Frere: 1988, Plate LIV. This shows the 'submissio' of the Dacians at the end of the first Dacian war.

Espercieux, the attention of the viewer is drawn to Napoleon by the pronounced posture of his body, as he strides across the centre of the scene, without the long, draped garments worn by the other figures.²⁷⁰ His body is in a full frontal position, typical of the depictions of the emperor on Roman imperial reliefs, although he turns his head to confront the two French generals, General Rapp and General Rupnin, before him.²⁷¹ The Russian prisoners of war are shown with the beards and short tunics which were often used to depict 'barbarians' in Roman reliefs, in particular, the Dacians, in scenes on Trajan's Column (fig.296).²⁷² The figure of the emperor in the relief illustrating the *Capitulation devant Ulm* (fig.297) is striking both because he is shown framed against the head and body of his horse, and because he stands on a raised area, as Trajan is often depicted on a raised dais on the frieze of Trajan's Column (fig.298).²⁷³

In fact, both the arrangement of figures in the relief panels on the arch, which is clearer than in the panels of the Arch of Septimius Severus, and the iconography and details of the scenes, suggest that the frieze of Trajan's Column served as the major influence on the design of the panels.²⁷⁴ This comes as no surprise when we consider that the designer of the panels, Meynier, had studied at the Académie de France à Rome, where a study of casts of the frieze was prioritised.²⁷⁵ Although the arrangement of panels on the Arc du Carrousel and grouping of figures within the panels might also have been influenced by a range of Roman relief panels. Denon encouraged Napoleonic painters such as Gros to draw inspiration from Roman reliefs: 'It may have been Vivant Denon who called Gros' attention to Roman relief. His career as Napoleon's chief adviser concerning the fine arts shows at every turn his awareness of Roman practice.'²⁷⁶ The relief panels on the other arches in Rome and in the collections of the city were also well known. For example, in his folio edition *La Ville de Rome*

²⁷⁰ Interestingly, Trajan is often shown in simpler garb than his fellow men in the frieze on Trajan's Column. See the article by John Walker McCoubrey, 'Gros' *Battle of Eylau* and Roman Imperial Art' (*The Art Bulletin*, XLIII, June 1961, p.138). McCoubrey suggests that Denon ordered Gerard to employ this technique for his paintings commemorating the Austerlitz campaign.

²⁷¹ For descriptions of the scenes and the figures depicted in the them, see Normand: 1830, second page of 'Description' (no page number).

²⁷² Illustration from an original photograph by Conrad Cichorius, reproduced in Lepper and Frere: 1988, Plate LXVIII. Here the Dacians are shown preparing for the second war.

²⁷³ Illustration from the original photograph by Conrad Cichorius, reproduced in Lepper and Frere: 1988, Plate LVI. Trajan's final 'adlocutio' at the end of the first Dacian war.

²⁷⁴ Although in general the arch of Septimius Severus was greatly admired and studied in the second half of the eighteenth century, Lalande, for example, in his *Voyage d'un françois en Italie* (1769) (Volume 4, pp.307-8), does not seem to have thought very highly of the sculptural reliefs on the arch: 'La masse générale des entablemens est divisée d'une façon mesquine; la manière de tous les profils de cet arc est dure & seche ainsi que le travail des ornemens; les grands bas-reliefs quarrés qui sont sur les petites portes sont d'un goût qui tire tout à fait vers le gothique. Les Renommées qui sont sur archivoltte de la grande arcade sont d'un meilleur style que les sculptures des bas-reliefs quoiqu'elles ne puissent pas d'être comparées à celles de l'arc de Titus.'

²⁷⁵ As has been discussed in Chapter 1. I shall consider this issue further in Chapter 5.

²⁷⁶ See the article by John McCoubrey, 'Gros' *Battle of Eylau* and Roman Imperial Art' (*The Art Bulletin*, XLIII, June 1961, p.137).

(1783), Dominique Magnan mentions the Trajanic relief panels on the Arc of Constantine,²⁷⁷ and several relief panels depicting Marcus Aurelius which were displayed in the Capitoline and in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.²⁷⁸ The Arch of Constantine (fig.299) and a relief panel depicting Marcus Aurelius from the Museo Capitolino (fig.300) are illustrated by Jean Barbault in his volume *Les Plus Beaux Monuments de Rome Ancienne* (1761). But it was probably the frieze of Trajan's Column which remained the key influence for Meynier and the sculptors of the relief panels for the arch. Intriguingly, since Meynier was a painter, it could be that the influence of the Trajan reliefs came via French history painting rather than as a direct source. Certainly, the format required for the panels may

²⁷⁷ He does not seem to realise that eight of the panels on the arch date from the time of Marcus Aurelius, but clearly thinks that all the 'Trajanic' panels are fine works of art:

'Chaque face est ornée de quatre colonnes cannelées de jaune antique, & de plusieurs bas-reliefs de merite bien different. Les uns, faits du tems de Constantin, se ressentent beaucoup de la barbarie dans laquelle les beaux arts commençoient à tomber. Les autres au contraire, enlevés de quelque monument de Trajan, presentent des beautés, qui indiquent un siècle où la sculpture étoit à sa perfection. Ceux-ci sont au nombre de vingt. Il y en a dix de forme quarrée, qui sont dans l'attique, huit ronds au dessus des portes laterales, & deux autres plus grands au-dessous du grand arc.

Tous ces bas-reliefs & les huit belles figures de Daces, placées sur les colonnes, & dont le Cardinal Léopold de Médicis fit enlever les têtes dans le dernier siècle, se reportent aux expéditions & aux victoires de Trajan...' (Volume 4, p.16).

²⁷⁸ Magnan comments that two Marcus Aurelius reliefs could be seen in the Capitoline Museum: 'On a incrusté sur les murailles de l'escalier quantité de fragmens de l'ancien plan de Rome trouvé à S.Côme & S.Damien, & l'on a placé sur le premier palier, les deux bas-reliefs qui ont été tirés de l'arc de Marc-Aurèle près de S.Laurent in Lucina.' He mentions that four reliefs were in the Palazzo dei Conservatori: 'L'escalier, qui conduit à l'appartement superieur, est aussi orné de quelques belles antiques...Au palier on a placé deux bonnes statues d'Uranie & de Thalie, & quatre grands bas-reliefs tirés de l'Arc de Marc-Aurele, qui étoit près de S.Laurent in Lucina. Ils sont d'un travail excellent, & ils ont pour sujet un triomphe de Marc-Aurele; le sacrifice qu'il offre devant le temple de Jupiter Capitolin; l'Empereur à cheval qui donne des ordres aux préteurs; & Rome qui lui presente le gouvernement de la terre, figuré par un globe' (1783, Volume 4, p.5, pp.8-9).

Lalande, in his *Voyage d'un françois en Italie* (1769) also mentions the four Marcus reliefs in the Palazzo dei Conservatori: 'Bas-reliefs de l'arc de Marc-Aurèle, ou Arco di Portogallo qui étoit dans le cours: dans l'un ses victoires sur terre et sur mer sont exprimées par des figures de Neptune & de la Terre qui sont autour du char; dans l'autre, c'est un sacrifice qu'il fait devant le temple de Jupiter Capitolin, dont la porte paroît avoir été de bronze à en juger par la manière dont elles y est ouvragée; on remarque au-dessus de la frise les temples de Jupiter, de Junon, & de Minerve: dans le troisième l'Empereur est à cheval avec le Préteur à sa gauche qui semble lui demander la paix pour les Germains qui y paroissent à genoux: dans la quatrième c'est une figure de Rome qui lui présente le globe, symbole de la puissance impériale; les compositions en sont belles, ils sont d'un grand style, mais l'exécution en est pesante.' He describes how two could be seen mounted on the stairs of the Museo Capitolino: 'On trouve sur le 1r palier de l'escalier deux bas-reliefs qui étoient de l'arc de Marc-Aurele, & que nous avons annoncés plus haut; l'un représente une allocution, l'autre un sacrifice & la déification de Faustine; les draperies n'en sont pas mal jettées, mais elles sont rendues avec sécheresse' (Volume 4, Chapter X, pp.252-3, and 266-7).

Current sources suggest that of the four panels in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, only three (all of them except the panel depicting Roma presenting Marcus with a globe) come from the set of eight or more which were originally mounted on an arch (or possibly two arches) erected to Marcus Aurelius between 176 and 180 A.D. On the four reliefs in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, see Haskell and Penny: 1981, pp.255-7. On the Marcus panels in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and those on the Arch of Constantine (which include a profectio, a lustratio, an adlocutio, a clementia, a submissio, the rex datus, an adventus and a liberalitas), see Kleiner: 1992, pp.288-295.

have led Meynier to compose each design as if he were planning a painting rather than a sculptural relief.²⁷⁹ More importantly, however, Roman reliefs such as the frieze from Trajan's Column, had, for many years, been used as an important visual source for painters depicting figures from Roman history. The eighteenth century witnessed the rise in popularity of the 'exemplum virtutis,' selected from accounts from Roman history provided by authors such as Livy and Plutarch.²⁸⁰ For the visual depiction of subjects coined from ancient history, painters in the late eighteenth century had often turned to the frieze of Trajan's Column for inspiration, and Napoleon's painters were no exception.

The inclusion on the arch of the sixth panel illustrating *La Paix de Presbourg* however, which does not seem to have been inspired by the frieze on Trajan's Column, played an important role in establishing the meaning of the arch. As well as celebrating Napoleon's military prowess, the overriding message of the Arc du Carrousel was one of peace. With his victory at Austerlitz and the signing of the Treaty of Presbourg, Napoleon had brought an end to war and established peace across Europe. Monuments representing Napoleon as a bringer of peace had first been planned after the agreement of the Peace of Amiens between Britain and France in 1802. Moitte, for example, had designed a public monument depicting Napoleon in a Roman corona and cloak, holding a globe surmounted by a winged victory, standing on a podium decorated with battle arms and ships' prows (fig.301).²⁸¹ The monument was to have been inscribed with the dedication *A Bonaparte Pacificateur*. The figure of 'La Paix' became especially popular at this time, and various statues depicting the goddess were erected, such as Chaudet's silver statue in the Tuileries Palace. In a similar manner, the Arc du Carrousel was intended to commemorate the peace achieved by Napoleon through the Austerlitz campaign.

On the other hand, a closer consideration of the Arc du Carrousel suggests that the manner in which the monument presented Napoleon and his 'peace' was more complex than this. The design of the relief panels on the arch, especially the depiction of 'La Paix' on the sixth panel of the arch, served to conceal certain aspects of the Austerlitz campaign. Not only had Napoleon flagrantly broken the Peace of Amiens in order to resume his campaigns, but the relief panels focused only on the

²⁷⁹ Consider the similar manner in which Napoleonic bas-reliefs and paintings are depicted in Voïart's compendium of Napoleonic paintings and monuments, *Monumens des Victoires et Conquêtes des Français* (1822). Bas-reliefs as well as paintings are depicted in the form of engraved line drawings. The bas-reliefs are shown divorced from the monuments which they adorn, composed as a 'picture' on the same scale as the Napoleonic paintings. It is likely that the interrelationship of designs for painting and sculptural reliefs were enhanced by such folio editions, which may have been used as 'source books' for painters and sculptors.

²⁸⁰ See Rosenblum: 1989, Chapter II, pp.50-106. He comments, 'Readings of classical history and literature are now to produce examples of virtuous conduct rather than erotic adventures, and such lessons as demonstrated by Trajan and Marcus Aurelius were increasingly common in the late eighteenth century...Pliny the Elder, Livy, Plutarch, Valerius Maximus were searched for such examples of high-minded behaviour and yielded any number of edifying Roman lives' (p.57, 59). However, Rosenblum does not provide much information regarding the visual sources for the paintings.

²⁸¹ The design dates from 1802. Reproduction held in the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

negotiations for peace.²⁸² Unlike the frieze of Trajan's Column, the arch did not show the preparations for war, such as the construction of camps and fortifications, nor did it show the battlefield itself, with soldiers engaged in skirmish and bloodshed. Interestingly, an early design for the arch by Percier and Fontaine (fig.302), which they provided for Legrand and Landon's *Description de Paris et de ses édifices* (1808),²⁸³ indicates that at this stage, the bas-reliefs (at least, those on the front of the arch) were to have shown Napoleon on horseback on the battlefield, possibly in scenes of combat.²⁸⁴ Yet the final design for the arch and the relief panels, as we have seen, did not include any of these elements. In spite of the important artistic and iconographic model provided by Trajan's Column for the relief panels on the arch, the monument presents Napoleon as the 'new Augustus,' as a bringer of peace, a restorer of order, not as a 'new Trajan.'

After Austerlitz, Napoleon was engaged in instituting reforms at home, and (as the arch itself bears witness) building monuments to create a new imperial centre for the city. The allegorical representation of Peace in the sixth panel of the arch (fig.303), shown as a seated female figure, recalls the female figures of peace which feature on many Augustan reliefs, including that on the Ara Pacis in Rome (fig.304).²⁸⁵ Here, however, she is shown flanked by a winged victory, flying away to the left of the scene, bearing a corona and a trumpet with which to announce the triumphal news. References to 'La Paix' were also made on smaller, much less grandiose monuments which were commissioned in the wake of the French victory at Austerlitz. For example, a fountain was erected in the Place Sainte-Sulpice (now moved nearby to the Rue Bonaparte) (fig.305). The most prominent of the four bas-reliefs on the monument is dedicated to 'La Paix' (fig.306).²⁸⁶

Yet, just as the terms of the Peace of Amiens had been rendered meaningless by the resumption of war, the peace achieved at Austerlitz was soon undermined by the new campaigns undertaken by the French. Although critics have emphasised the impact of the entrance of Prussia into the Coalition in the summer of 1806,²⁸⁷ it seems unlikely that Napoleon himself did not intend to resume war. By the

²⁸² Note that Irwin (1997, p.274) comments incorrectly that the arch has 'reliefs illustrating battle scenes.'

²⁸³ Legrand and Landon: 1808, Volume 2, Part 3, p.46. A similar drawing by Percier and Fontaine, only without the bronze chariot and figures on the top, is reproduced in Biver: 1963, fig.44.

²⁸⁴ In the design, there is also a prominent inscription, 'NAPOLÉON, EMPEREUR DES FRANÇAIS, ROI D'ITALIE' across the front of the arch, and Napoleon is shown as a nude Roman emperor in the chariot on top of the arch.

²⁸⁵ See Zanker: 1990, pp.172-179. The Napoleonic figure of 'La Paix' does not, however, have the visual connotations of fertility and abundance associated with the figure of 'Pax' on the Ara Pacis, which might suggest that a general familiarity with Augustan images of 'Pax' and a knowledge of Augustan literature, rather than a specific knowledge of the Ara Pacis relief, served as an inspiration for the French relief. For other Augustan depictions of 'Pax,' see, for example, Zanker, p.315.

²⁸⁶ The fountain was designed by the architect Destournelles, and, on his death, Voinier. The relief panels were sculpted by Espercieux. The other three depict (going anti-clockwise round the monument from the panel of 'La Paix') 'Commerce,' 'Sciences et arts' and 'Agriculture.' On the fountain, see Hauteceur: 1953, Volume V, pp.214-5.

²⁸⁷ See Broers: 1996, 43, mentioned in the introduction to this chapter.

time the Arc du Carrousel was completed in 1808, the French had already been at war with Prussia (1806-7) and involved in the Russian campaign (1807).²⁸⁸

Curiously, however, Napoleon's achievement of the Treaty of Tilsit in July 1807 was also celebrated in terms of an 'Augustan' peace. Songs written for the fêtes and processions which took place on Napoleon's return, such as a song included in the anonymous text, *Hommage d'un français à sa patrie* (figs.307-9), make a deliberate connection between Napoleon's peace and the 'Pax Romana' achieved under the emperor Augustus.²⁸⁹ The motto printed above the text of the song entitled 'La Paix' asserts traditional Roman values and qualities, 'pietas,' 'robur' and 'decus,' and mentions gods invoked by the Romans ('Heroem cantat pietas; Mars fulmen, Apollo proesidium; Robur gallia, terra decus').²⁹⁰ 'La Paix' is presented as a divine gift ('Fille du ciel, descends de la céleste sphère!...'), described specifically as 'Auguste Paix,' and associated with a time of prosperity and regeneration:

'Auguste Paix!, je te salue,
 Tu combles enfin nos souhaits!
 . La victoire perce la nue
 Qui te dérobait aux Français!
 Parais sur la Terre et sur l'Onde,
 Viens, après tant de maux soufferts,
 Viens en souveraine du monde,
 Rends le bonheur à l'Univers.

 Aux arts, aux commerce, au génie,
 Rends leur éclat et leur vigueur;
 Ranime leur mourante vie
 De ton feu régénérateur!

²⁸⁸ Throughout the period 1805-1808, it is clear that peace was very far from Napoleon's mind. The Prussian campaign provided Napoleon with two new victories, Jena and Auerstädt, and Napoleon made sure that the Treaty of Posen (December 1806) provided him with a useful new ally (the King of Saxony). In November 1806, Napoleon invaded Poland, and created a Polish satellite state, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. The battle of Eylau, the first major battle of the Russian campaign, was inconclusive, but Napoleon gave instructions for it to be presented as a victory back home, and the success of the Grande Armée at Friedland (June 1807) confirmed French strength in Europe. According to the terms of the Treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon forced Alexander to recognise French hegemony in Europe. By 1808, French foreign policy was characterised by the introduction of the Continental System (according to the Berlin Decrees), and by Napoleon's invasion of Spain and Portugal.

²⁸⁹ The full title of the text is *Hommage d'un français à sa patrie, Le jour de l'Entrée Troisième de NAPOLEON L'INCOMPARABLE, au retour de ses campagnes, avec l'Olivier à la main, dans sa bonne Ville de Paris, Capitale de son Empire, Le 15 Août 1807*. The copy I consulted is held in the British Library, and it begins with two short songs/poems, the first to Napoleon, the second to Josephine, and a quotation by 'Petrus Franciscus Palloy.'

²⁹⁰ In addition, the motto on the next page, before the second part of the song, or second song, reads *Patria, NAPOLEO, Victoria, Pax*.

Atteints des fureurs de la guerre;
Ils allaient périr!! Tu parais,
Et tu fertilises la terre
Qui doit produire tes bienfaits.'

Yet although Napoleon's propagandists made every attempt to portray the Treaty of Tilsit as a 'Augustan' peace, the French must have been well aware of the failure of the peace treaties which had been agreed by Napoleon in recent years. The depiction of 'La Paix' on the Arc du Carrousel must have served as an ironic visual statement of the intentions and achievements of the new regime as the troops paraded through 'la cour Napoléon' on their way to war, and foreshadowed the further irony of later Napoleonic 'peace' settlements.

The arch, however, remained a sophisticated visual articulation of Napoleonic victory. The form of the arch and the nature of its sculptural decoration directly related the monument to the triumphal arches of ancient Rome and indicated Napoleon's role as a 'new Roman emperor.' At the same time, elements of the design of the arch conveyed the specific 'Frenchness' of the monument, and the fact that Napoleon was a modern emperor. In their folio edition, *Description de Paris et de ses édifices*, Legrand and Landon commented that Percier and Fontaine had improved upon the design of ancient Roman arches with their creation of the Arc du Carrousel: 'les architectes en ont reproduit les proportions et les détails avec une pureté plus grande que celle de leur original.'²⁹¹ Even to contemporaries, the synthesis of French and Roman artistic traditions in the design of the arch indicated that the arch was not a 'mere antique revival,' as many art historians have tended to suggest.²⁹² The relief panels of the arch display a complex reinterpretation of Roman imperial reliefs via the medium of French history painting, and clearly express the influence of French artistic training at the Académie de France à Rome. The design of the arch reflects the specific artistic conditions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and indicates that the monument was not just a 'copy' of a particular Roman triumphal arch.

The status of the arch as a uniquely French monument was established by its self-conscious referral to the past. The relief panel of *La Paix de Presbourg* includes the figure of History, or the Muse of History, Clio. She sits next to the figure of Peace,²⁹³ inscribing Napoleon's achievements on a large tablet supported on her lap (fig.310). Her presence and her action draw a direct link between Napoleon's achievements and the victories of the past. Napoleon's obsession with 'monumentalising' his achievements is suggested by his double commemoration of them. While the arch monumentalised Napoleon's achievements in stone, Clio records his victories in the past. The fact that she herself is recorded in stone in the process of inscribing Napoleon's deeds, suggests that his victories will be

²⁹¹ Legrand and Landon: 1808, Volume 2, Part 3, 47.

²⁹² Notably Honour: 1991, p.171ff.

²⁹³ As well as representing Peace, this figure also represents the city of Presbourg.

eternally inscribed in the past. The repetition of the motif of Clio recording Napoleon's achievements on other Napoleonic monuments underlines his fascination with (his relationship to) the past. Clio is shown in a similar manner on a bas-relief designed for the Palais de la Légion d'honneur, only here a youthful bust of Napoleon watches over her as she leisurely records his deeds (fig.309).²⁹⁴ As the emperors of Rome, especially Augustus, were acutely aware of the role of art, in particular monumental architecture, in the creation of their own myths, so too did Napoleon attempt to create his myth in stone. Yet his desire to establish his place in history and ability to anticipate his own myth was guided by the fact that he had at his disposal the 'complete' model of Rome. Like the Roman emperors, he celebrated his victories with monuments and erected a 'forum' in his name.²⁹⁵ But the inclusion of Clio on his arch suggests that he was well aware of his own place in history, which was as Emperor of the 'new Rome.' When the Institut suggested that he might want the inscription on the arch to be in Latin and to name him as 'Augustus' or as 'Germanicus,' it was significantly as the 'Empereur des Français' that he wanted to be known.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁴ Clio is shown slightly less formally here, however, since 'she adopts a position of watchful repose' (see Bann: 1983, 1). On the development of a notion of 'history' in France in the early eighteenth century in general, see Bann: 1983.

²⁹⁵ He also commissioned written accounts of his campaigns to be published, for example, that by Antoine Sérieys, *Histoire abrégée de la campagne de Napoléon-le-Grand, en Allemagne et en Italie, jusqu'à la Paix de Presbourg* (1805). On history writing in general under Napoleon, see Burton (1979).

²⁹⁶ For the lengthy list of suggestions for the inscription and Napoleon's response, see Fontaine: 1987, Volume 1, pp.238-239. Also see Biver: 1963, pp.183-184.

Chapter 5: The Vendôme Column

In a recent article on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, Jas Elsner suggests that the column 'has been placed in a classic 'no win' (or as some put it 'lose-lose') situation. It is derivative of Trajan's Column and therefore always secondary to it (inevitably second-rate to boot) and, when it has some innovations to offer, these are the first intimations of universal decadence. If there's one thing worse than mediocrity, it is being the first step on the road to ruin.'¹ In many ways, the Vendôme Column (fig.311) has been placed in a similar 'no win' situation. Like the Column of Marcus Aurelius, the Vendôme Column is closely modelled on Trajan's Column (fig.312).² Critics often suggest that the Vendôme Column, as an example of Napoleonic 'Roman' monumental architecture, manifests artistic 'decadence' and represents the 'decline' of the 'Neo-classical movement.'³

In this chapter, I shall begin by considering why the Vendôme Column, more than the Arc du Carrousel, has frequently been dismissed by critics in the past.⁴ Although the Napoleonic

¹ See the article by Jas Elsner, 'Frontality in the Column of Marcus' (to be published in Scheid and Huet eds, *Autour de la colonne de Marc-Aurèle*, forthcoming). I am very grateful to the author for providing me with an early version of this article, which was presented as a paper to the Roman Society in November 1998. The Column of Marcus was commissioned by the emperor Commodus, following the death and consecration of Marcus Aurelius. The column was constructed between A.D.180 and A.D.192, the year of Commodus's death, and the frieze depicts the German and Sarmatian campaigns. The fundamental source on the column is still Peterson (1896). Other accounts of the column include Caprino et al (1955), Kleiner: 1992, pp.295-301, Hannestad: 1996, pp.236-244, and the range of articles in Huet and Scheid eds (forthcoming).

² Virtually all the contemporary sources indicate that the Vendôme Column was modelled on Trajan's Column, which was erected in Trajan's Forum in Rome between A.D.106-113. The only contemporary source I have found which suggests that the Column of Marcus Aurelius served as inspiration for the Vendôme Column is the anonymous *Description de la Colonne de la Place Vendôme* (1818): 'Comme le colonne Antonine, qui lui a servi de modèle, son fût est entièrement revêtu de bas-reliefs en bronze... Sur le tailloir du chapiteau de la colonne, on a pratiqué, comme à la colonne Antonine, une galerie à laquelle on parvient par un escalier de cent soixante-seize marches, qui ont sept pouces et demi de hauteur sur vingt de largeur, ménagé dans l'intérieur de la colonne' (pp.5, 15). It seems that this is just a general error on the part of the author, since he does not mention any particular reason why the Column of Marcus, rather than that of Trajan should have been chosen as the model for the French monument. Every other source, from the Legrand and Landon's *Description de Paris et ses édifices* (1808) ('C'est une colonne exactement copiée, pour la forme et les dimensions, sur la colonne Trajane à Rome,' Volume 3, 18), to the folio editions by Louis-Pierre Baltard (1810) and Ambroise Tardieu (1822), indicates that Trajan's Column was the model for the column. These folio editions, and the official decrees concerning the erection of the column, which also comment that the column was to be modelled on Trajan's Column, will be discussed later in this chapter.

³ See especially Honour: 1991, pp.171-184, who discusses Napoleonic art in general as representing the 'decline' of 'Neo-classicism,' as I have discussed in the Introduction.

⁴ To such an extent that many important critics of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century art such as Irwin (1997), for example, do not even mention the column in their accounts. Rosenblum (1989, pp.132-3) provides the briefest remark possible on the significance of the column - he relates its reliefs to the sculptural programme of the Arc du Carrousel.

monuments, especially the 'Roman' monuments, are usually regarded as 'mere imitations' and 'copies' of earlier works, the Vendôme Column, in particular, has been condemned as only a 'reproduction' of an 'original' work of art.⁵ I shall consider the role which the tradition of casting Trajan's Column and the destruction of the Vendôme Column in the second half of the nineteenth century have had on interpretations of the column, which have reduced its status to that of a 'cast.' Secondly, I shall delineate the origins of the Vendôme Column project, and establish how the scheme was deeply rooted in the architectural developments of the late eighteenth century, especially the plans for columns commemorating the Revolution produced in the last decade of the century. Finally, I shall turn to the 'Romanness' of the column and the significance of the monument for the 'new Rome.' In this section, I shall provide a detailed analysis of the sculptural frieze.

Although plans for a column in the Place Vendôme were first mooted during the Revolution, it was only in the unique conditions of imperial Paris that it became appropriate and possible for a full size 'version' of Trajan's Column to be erected in France.⁶ In this chapter, I shall relate the column to the other 'Roman' monuments in the 'new Rome,' and consider how this monument, in comparison with the Arc du Carrousel, expressed Napoleon's role as an imperial Roman builder. Curiously, although the column, like the arch, was intended to commemorate the Austerlitz victory of 1805, the design of the column and the later date at which it was completed (1810), meant that the column conveyed a very different message from the arch. Both monuments were modelled on examples of Roman monumental architecture, and their role as visual propaganda specifically recalled the uses made of architecture by the emperors of Rome. In contrast with the bas reliefs of the arch, however, the sculptural reliefs of the column do not focus on the achievement of peace. In fact, little reference is made to the Peace of Presbourg in comparison with the prominent manner in which it is commemorated on the Arc du Carrousel. For the column, Napoleon's artists closely followed the model provided by the frieze of Trajan's Column, to provide a realistic, if somewhat horrifying visual account of the Austerlitz campaign, which had sinister implications for Napoleon's current involvement in other campaigns.

⁵ Braham, for example, comments that under Napoleon there was a 'pressure towards mere imitation' in architecture (1980, p.256).

⁶ As is well known, earlier on, General Pommereul had suggested that the French should transport Trajan's Column itself back to France (see Chapter 2). When legal restrictions and the impracticality of the plan prevented this, the decision was taken to erect a 'version' of the column in Paris. It was only under the Empire that there were the finances for such an expensive building project.

(1) Issues of reproduction and destruction

Ever since its erection in Trajan's Forum in A.D.113, Trajan's Column, perhaps more than any other monument in Rome, has been constantly 'reproduced.'⁷ Less than a century after its construction in Rome, the emperor Commodus chose to commemorate the military successes of Marcus Aurelius through the construction of a column modelled closely on Trajan's Column. By the eleventh century, the column had inspired various monumental columns decorated with spiral reliefs,⁸ and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, artists such as Muzioni and Bartoli produced engravings of the reliefs.⁹ In the eighteenth century, small bronze versions of the monument were produced as souvenirs,¹⁰ and the column was frequently depicted in engravings and paintings.¹¹ The unique design of the column, with its spiral of reliefs, depicting a wealth of figures and scenes, ensured the constant popularity of the monument, and the many reproductions which were made of the column both enhanced and maintained its appeal.

From the sixteenth century onwards, however, the issue of reproducing Trajan's Column in three dimensions was specifically related to France. As Valérie Huet suggests:

'The history of the casting of Trajan's column is entirely connected with the history of France and its kings: the fact that François I, Louis XIV and Napoleon III were responsible for the three different campaigns of casting proves that the column was not only seen as a source of artistic models, as a source for the better understanding of ancient history, but also as a display of power.'¹²

It is clear that by reproducing Trajan's Column Napoleon was following in the footsteps of Francis I and Louis XIV. In fact, by creating a full size version of the monument, he managed to outdo their casting campaigns and create an even greater 'display of power.'

Yet not only has the association of the Vendôme Column with the casting campaigns of the French Kings tended to emphasize the role of the Vendôme Column itself as a cast, but the material

⁷ See the article by Valérie Huet, 'Stories one might tell of Roman art: reading Trajan's Column and the Tiberius cup' (in Elsner ed, 1996, p.19): 'While...there seems to have been an obsession at all times for reproducing the column of Trajan, another historical column, also located in Rome, was neglected. I mean the column of Marcus Aurelius. In fact no such thing as a complete cast of this latter has ever been done.'

⁸ See, for example, Wheeler: 1971, 181: '...the 'continuous style' itself lingered on as an archaism into the Middle Ages and later. In the cathedral of Hildesheim, Hanover, a bronze pillar made in 1022 bears a spiral relief illustrating the life of Christ, in conscious imitation of the Trajanic prototype.'

⁹ See Froehner: 1865, pp.viii-ix. Bartoli reworked Muzioni's reliefs in the light of his own detailed studies.

¹⁰ See Haskell and Penny: 1981, 47: 'Indeed of all antique buildings Trajan's Column was the one most copied in reduced versions, especially in the late eighteenth century.'

¹¹ See Froehner: 1865, pp.ix-xiii.

¹² See her article, 'Stories one might tell of Roman art: reading Trajan's Column and the Tiberius cup' (in Elsner ed, 1996, p.13). Also see Froehner: 1865, pp.ix-xiii.

and method of production employed for the column have also added to its reputation as a 'copy' and 'cast.'¹³ The Vendôme Column was constructed from bronze panels, cast from the bronze obtained from 1,200 canon seized during the Austerlitz campaign. A special foundry was built at St-Laurent to enable the casting work to be carried out.¹⁴ For the erection of the column, the panels were mounted on a stone core made from drums of rock brought from Bagneux.¹⁵ Since antiquity, casting in metal has been a traditional resource for sculptors. In the case of the Vendôme Column, however, it has served to underline the status of the column as a 'copy' of Trajan's Column, rather than as an original 'work of art.'¹⁶

The fact that the column was completely pulled down by the Communards in 1871 and rebuilt during the Third Republic in 1875, has added to the sense of the monument as an 'inauthentic' work of art.¹⁷ Photographs of the demolition of the monument serve as a constant reminder of the fate which was experienced by the column.¹⁸ The Communards took the decision to pull down the monument on 22 April 1871.¹⁹ Barricades were set up across the Rue de la Paix (fig.313). A huge pile of earth and sand was laid strategically in the Place Vendôme to cushion the

¹³ Whereas in the eighteenth century, casts and copies were highly esteemed, in the early twentieth century, a distinction started to be made between casts and copies and 'original' works of art. For a useful history of cast production and the reception of casts, see Baker (1982). Now, however, casts are starting to be re-evaluated as works of art in themselves, which provide important information regarding the history of the dissemination on art. For a recent compilation of essays on the subject of the relationship of 'original' works of sculpture to 'reproductions' of them (although only free-standing sculptures are considered, not monumental sculpture such as Trajan's Column), see *Sculpture and its Reproductions*, edited by Anthony Hughes and Erich Ranfft (1997).

¹⁴ Tardieu: 1822, 14.

¹⁵ Sainte-Simon: 1982, 132. I shall consider the construction of the monument in greater detail later in this chapter.

¹⁶ The fact that there are very few accounts of the Vendôme Column suggests that critics do not regard it very highly. Albert Boime mentions the column only for its 'sheer weight and bulk,' and the fact that it served as propaganda for Napoleon (1990, 12). Most accounts of the column, as I shall suggest, tend to be written by French authors who focus on the history of the monument, and include detailed sections on how the monument was made, and how it was pulled down and rebuilt. Having consulted art and architectural historians in Britain and France, I have found that the common conception of the column is that it is only a 'copy' and a 'cast.'

¹⁷ For a useful discussion of the issue of 'authenticity,' see, for example, *Why Fakes Matter: Essays on Problems of Authenticity*, edited by Mark Jones (1992).

¹⁸ Some photographs have been reproduced in the article by A.Malissard, 'La Colonne Vendôme: une Colonne Trajane à Paris' (*Les Dossiers de l'archéologie*, No.17, juillet-août 1976, pp.116-121), and in the account by Sainte-Simon: 1982, p.150ff. For this section, I have consulted the original photographs held in the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris.

¹⁹ They were determined to achieve 'la chute d'un monument odieux, symbole du despotisme' (Sainte-Simon: 1982, 147). The strength of contemporaries' hatred of the monument is suggested by the comments of the painter Gustave Courbet: 'La colonne impériale de la Place Vendôme étant un monument de barbarie, un symbole de force brutale et de fausse gloire, une affirmation du militarisme, une négation du droit international, une insulte permanente du vainqueur aux vaincus, un attentat perpétuel à l'un des trois grands principes de la République, la Fraternité, sera démolie' (quoted by A.Malissard, in the article, 'La Colonne Vendôme: un Colonne Trajane à Paris,' *Les dossiers de l'archéologie*, No.17, juillet-août 1976, p.121).

fall of the column, scaffolding was constructed, ropes were attached to the monument and seats made from the remaining pieces of timber which lay in the square (fig.314). Once the column had been pulled down, people were able to climb on the debris (fig.315). Huge pieces of stone and the overturned crown of the column could be seen collapsed in the square (fig. 316). Communards took pride in posing in front of the fallen statue of Napoleon (fig.317), and in front of the empty base of the monument (fig.318). The column was soon rebuilt under the Third Republic in 1875, but it is clear from the way in which accounts of the column have focused on its destruction that the fate of the column has become ingrained in critics' minds.

In addition, many alterations have been made to the decoration on the top of the monument, according to the preferences of different regimes. As I suggested in Chapter 4, in the case of the Arc du Carrousel, changes were made to the monument, but (as far as I can tell) the monument has not been altered (except for restoration) since the original relief panels were replaced on the arch in 1831. The use of different statues and flags on the column, however, has helped to establish its ambiguous reputation and its status as a 'unoriginal' monument.²⁰ The first statue to crown the monument, that by Chaudet depicting Napoleon in Roman dress,²¹ was removed in 1814 and a white flag decorated with a fleur de lys was placed on the column. In 1815, this was replaced with a tricolour flag, followed by another white flag (fig.319),²² and in 1833 a statue of Napoleon in modern dress by Seurre was placed on top of the monument. A reproduction of Chaudet's statue by Dumont was used on the monument in 1864, and in 1875, this was replaced by a new statue of Napoleon as a Roman (fig.320), which still stands on the monument today.²³

In this chapter, however, I shall suggest that when the Vendôme Column was erected in Napoleonic Paris, the monument was regarded - like Trajan's Column - as a 'work of art'. The construction and design of the column can be seen as the culmination of French interest in Trajan's Column, while providing evidence of the particular inspiration provided by Roman imperial architecture for the artists of the Napoleonic regime. Although the French forged a unique relationship with Trajan's Column through the production and study of casts of the

²⁰ This has been enhanced by the vast range of nineteenth-century literature indicating the fluctuating popularity of the monument. Consider, for example, the three poems on *La Colonne D'Austerlitz* by Le Baron de Norvins, written in 1840, 1871 and 1874. On the various revivals in the popularity of Napoleon I, and the use of the column as a meeting place for bonapartists in the 1840s, see Driskel (1993).

²¹ I shall consider this statue in greater detail later in this chapter.

²² Frontispiece to the *Description de la Colonne de la Place Vendôme* (1818).

²³ For a useful history of the column and the statues on the column, see the timeline at the back of the new edition of Tardieu, edited by Maurice Griffé and Jean-Luc Beaumont (1995), and also Sainte-Simon: 1982, p.133ff. On the statues in particular, see the article by Robert Hénard, 'Les trois statues de la colonne' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.1, janvier-juin 1912, pp.349-372). Unfortunately, I have not been able to identify the sculptor of the statue which was placed on the monument in 1875. Unlike Chaudet's statue, this shows Napoleon wearing a long cloak as well as a tunic, carrying his sword in his left hand, and the winged victory on a globe in his right hand.

monument, specifically the frieze, this need not be interpreted to suggest that the Vendôme Column itself was 'merely a cast'. While it indicates that the French had a detailed knowledge of the design of the monument and were familiar with the technique of casting (at least in plaster), it also reveals that the French had an untiring interest in the monument and were accustomed to disseminating the frieze. By the late eighteenth century, the study of Trajan's Column had become central to the training of French architects at the Académie de France à Rome. The decision to erect a monumental column in Paris in the early nineteenth century provided the opportunity for the French to create their own full size Trajan's Column, and one which was specifically suited to the context of imperial France.

A painting exhibited by Etienne Bouhot at the Salon of 1808 (fig.321) anticipated the completion of the column, and indicates that contemporaries did not regard the new column as a worthless 'copy' of a work of ancient art.²⁴ The painting provides an atmospheric view of the column, depicted in the background of the scene, behind the ruins of the Couvent des Feuillants which were demolished for the redevelopment of the Rue de Castiglione and Rue de la Paix.²⁵ People are shown crowding in the left hand side of the scene, gazing up at the new monument, and the ruins of the convent provide a 'Roman' setting for the monument. The painting suggests that even before the column was finished, contemporaries were keen to commemorate it and saw the column as an integral feature of the 'new Rome.'

The production of important folio editions illustrating the column is also evidence that the French perceived the Vendôme Column as a magnificent work of art. These editions, which I shall consider in greater detail later in this chapter, facilitated the close study of the column and its frieze. The first edition, Louis-Pierre Baltard's *La Colonne de la Place Vendôme*, bears the publication date 1810.²⁶ Another edition, entitled, *La Colonne de La Grande Armée d'Austerlitz, ou de la Victoire*, by Ambroise Tardieu, appeared later on in 1822.²⁷ The division of the spiral relief into various scenes for the purposes of these editions is likely to have been influenced by

²⁴ The painting is currently on display in the Musée Carnavalet.

²⁵ Elegant colonnades were developed in these streets by Percier and Fontaine. The Rue de Castiglione, as well as the Rue de Rivoli and the Rue des Pyramides were all named after Napoleonic victories.

²⁶ The copy of this in the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris has been mistakenly classified as 'anonymous.' From El-Abd's detailed description of Baltard's volume and some of its plates it is clear that this is an example of his edition (see the PhD thesis by Lucretia El-Abd, *Pierre-Nolasque Bergeret (1782-1863)*, Columbia University, 1978, published by Ann Arbor, 1980, p.133ff). Although Tardieu (1822) comments that the publication of a folio edition illustrating the column was postponed due to Napoleon's recent marriage to Marie-Louise of Austria (which rendered the depiction of Austrian defeat somewhat tactless), and as El-Abd suggests, this volume is likely to have been that by Baltard, the fact that Baltard's edition still bears the date 1810 suggests that the publication of the volume was not delayed for long.

²⁷ I have found several copies of this in various libraries in London, Paris and Rome, suggesting that it was widely produced. Interestingly, an Italian edition was also published in 1830.

early engravings of Trajan's Column, such as those by Muziano and Bartoli.²⁸ It was clearly felt that detailed illustrations of the frieze were required to enable viewers to 'get near' to the monument and to understand its frieze, just as illustrations formed an integral part of studying Trajan's Column.²⁹ The creation of small bronze versions as souvenirs, such as that by Brenet (fig.322),³⁰ also suggested that contemporaries treated the Vendôme Column in a similar manner to Trajan's Column, which, throughout the eighteenth century, had been reproduced in this way.

Intriguingly, the fact that the Vendôme Column was cast in bronze rather than carved in marble did not lower the status of the column in the eyes of contemporaries. According to Tardieu, for example, the production of the column from the bronze taken during the Austerlitz campaign served to enhance the triumphal message of the monument, and in his opinion meant that the French monument surpassed its Roman model. In his folio edition, he suggests: 'mais l'imitation devait surpasser le modèle, et l'on sur ajouter à l'éclat du trophée en faisant servir à sa construction les dépouilles mêmes de l'ennemi.'³¹ Even the popular notion that the Vendôme Column, as it stands today, is only a 'copy' of the 'original' Vendôme Column, which was pulled down by the Communards in 1871, needs qualification, since almost all the panels were saved after the demolition of the monument, and only six of them had to be completely recast for the reconstruction of the column in 1875.³² A consideration of the Vendôme Column in the light of the tradition of reproducing Trajan's Column, and the history of the reception of the French column, provides some insight into why the monument has been criticised and dismissed in the past. By comparison, contemporaries were full of admiration for this commemorative 'work of art.' It is clear that in the context of the 'new Rome,' it was highly appropriate for the French to produce their own version of Trajan's Column, and to use it to convey the 'Roman' victories of their 'Roman' armies and emperor.

²⁸ It is also possible that the folio editions on the Vendôme Column were influential on later editions illustrating Trajan's Column, including the famous volume of photographs of casts produced by Conrad Cichorius in 1893. The relationship between publications on the Vendôme Column and those on Trajan's Column represents an interesting area for future research.

²⁹ And continue to be crucial to studies of the monument. Valérie Huet provides the most recent discussion of the role of images, especially photographs, in studies of Trajan's Column (see her article, 'Stories one might tell of Roman art: reading Trajan's column and the Tiberius cup,' in Elsner ed: 1996, pp.9-24).

³⁰ There are at least two examples of this bronze on public display in Paris, one in the Musée de la Monnaie and one in the Musée de l'Armée. Columns modelled on Brenet's design were produced from 1832, although bronze models of the column were available before this. See Sainte-Simon: 1982, 131 and the article by Georges Poisson, 'Une réduction de la Colonne Vendôme' (*Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.93, octobre 1964, pp.169-170).

³¹ Tardieu: 1822, 7.

³² Sainte-Simon: 1982, 154. Although he indicates that several small fragments from the frieze, which must have been taken by bystanders in 1871, have come up for auction in various places

(2) Planning the column: the origins of the Vendôme Column project

For many years before the erection of the Vendôme Column in Paris, French architects had been studying Trajan's Column in Rome and using it as inspiration for their own designs. A useful study of the relationship of the French to Trajan's Column is provided by the catalogue from the exhibition *La Colonna Traiana e gli artisti francesi da Luigi XIV a Napoleone I*, held at the Villa Medici in Rome in 1988. Although this includes a section on the Vendôme Column, it does not, however, provide a detailed analysis of the development of plans for a monumental column in Napoleonic Paris. In addition, it does not include evidence from folio editions and travel guides to Rome, which represented an important source of information on Trajan's Column for French architects in Paris and Rome.

Popular illustrations of the monument which were available to the French in the late eighteenth century included the engraving by Antonio Lafreri (1544) (fig.323), showing figures gesturing from the top of the monument, and an illustration by Piranesi, produced between 1747-8 as part of the series of engravings, the *Vedute di Roma* (fig.324).³³ Guides to Rome such as Dominique Magnan's *La Ville de Rome* (1783) provided descriptions of the monument, as well as engravings (fig.325).³⁴ These editions meant that students were familiar with Trajan's Column well before they travelled to Rome. Even if they did not gain the opportunity to go to Rome, folio editions and guides still enabled them to acquaint themselves with the design of the column. Students were not requested to design monumental columns on their own for their competition entries.³⁵ Yet monumental columns, often decorated with a spiral relief, did appear as decorative features and additions in some of the competition designs. The model of Trajan's column also featured in other designs, as can be seen from the drawing by Moreau-Desproux for a festival decoration in honour of the birth of a Dauphin (1782) (fig.326).³⁶

Engravings and descriptions of the column in travel guides played an important role in popularising the monument, and in making it well known to architects such as Charles Percier. In January 1788, Percier was requested to carry out detailed drawings of the column during his time spent as a student at the Académie de France à Rome. This was the first project to be commissioned according to the new rules governing student 'envois' issued by the Académie

across the world.

³³ Reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, *Piranesi: Rome recorded*, 1989, fig.18, p.142.

³⁴ Magnan: 1783, Volume 1, fig.5. His admiration for the monument is evident from the text: 'La Colonne de Trajan, qu'on voit dans cette place, est un des plus beaux monumens de l'ancienne Rome & la plus belle colonne qui soit au Monde...Le Tore inférieur est admirablement sculpté, & le fût est enrichi de beaux bas-reliefs, disposés sur un cordon qui tourne en digne spirale autour de la Colonne, & qui representent les deux expeditions de Trajan contre les Dances...Le dessein est correct, la sculpture estimée & les figures de bon style' (pp.36-7).

³⁵ Although, as has been suggested, triumphal arches and city and palace gates did feature as competition subjects (see Chapter 4).

d'Architecture.³⁷ In spite of encountering a whole range of problems, including personal illness, the discomfort of sitting for prolonged periods of time in a basket hanging from the column, the death of a foreman, and harassment from conservators at the Capitol, he was able to complete his 'envoi' by 1 April 1789.³⁸ Since Percier's plans of the monument would have been the most detailed and most recent studies of the column to have been carried out by a French artist,³⁹ it seems likely that they would have been referred to by the designers of the Vendôme Column. The close association between Percier and Denon established through their work on other projects such as the Arc du Carrousel, may have meant that Percier drew Denon's attention to his illustrations of the column.⁴⁰ We know, for example, that Denon showed the painter Bergeret some engravings of Trajan's Column by Giulio Romano to assist him with his design for the sculptural frieze.⁴¹ Possibly Denon also showed Percier's drawings to the architect of the column, Savinien Thierry, the designer of the base, Benjamin Zix, and to the two architects responsible for overseeing the project, Gondoin and Lepère. For example, Percier's intricate illustration of the base of Trajan's Column (fig.327) and cross-section showing the construction of the monument (fig.328), would have provided a useful basis for their designs.⁴² In addition, Percier's 'envoi' would have been particularly valuable for the artists designing the Vendôme Column since they

³⁶ Reproduced in Braham: 1980, 105.

³⁷ Pinon and Amprimoz: 1988, 36.

³⁸ In a letter to D'Angiviller, dated 6 August 1788, included in the *Correspondance des Directeurs* (Volume XV, 1785-1790, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1906, no.8929, p.269), Ménageot comments that Percier had finished making studies of the monument on site and was busy producing polished drawings of the monument, to be sent back to Paris as his 'envoi.' In another letter, also to D'Angiviller, dated 1 April 1789 (no.8991, p.327), he comments that Percier has completed these designs: 'Le snr Percier achève de mettre au net ses études de la colonne Trajanne; il est impossible de mettre plus de soin et d'importance qu'il en a mis à cet ouvrage; j'espère, Monsieur le Comte, que vous serez content de ses études et que vous les verrez avec plaisir.' He reiterates his admiration for the designs in a letter dated 22 July 1789 (no.9007, p.341). By 20 January 1790, Percier's drawings had been rolled up with a selection of paintings executed by the students at the school, and by 26 February, these had been sent from Rome and were en route to the Académie in Paris (see nos.9044, p.378, and 9060, p.396). For further details of Percier's project, see the *Correspondance des Directeurs*, 1906, as above, nos.8914, p.254, 8919, p.256, 8920, p.256-7, 8921, p.258, 8923, p.260, 8924, p.261, 8925, p.263, 8927, p.266, 8928, p.268, 8934, p.273, 8946, p.282, 9067, p.406, Fouché: 1905, pp.23-4, and Biver: 1964, 16.

³⁹ And had been placed in the library of the Académie d'Architecture in Paris specifically so they could be used for reference by artists and architects.

⁴⁰ Certainly, it seems that Percier used his knowledge of Trajan's Column as inspiration for his work on the Arc du Carrousel and interiors in the imperial palaces, and he may well have consulted his preparatory sketches of Trajan's Column or the 'envoi' designs themselves for this. Consider, for example, his designs for a chimney piece for La Galerie des Tuileries, and the chimney in La Salle des Cariatides du Louvre. For both designs, the motif of eagles holding a swag of foliage have been used to decorate the mantelpiece (see Hauteceur: 1953, Volume V, pp.342-343).

⁴¹ El-Abd: 1980, 125.

⁴² These reproductions of Percier's drawings are included in the exhibition catalogue, *Roma Antiqua, Envois des architectes français (1788-1924), Forum, Colisée, Palatin*, 1985, pp.142-151.

represented 'reconstructions' of Trajan's Column, rather than depictions of Trajan's Column in its current state. They indicate that, even in 1788, it was customary for French architects to imagine the original appearance of the column, and to 'rebuild' the monument for the purposes of their designs.⁴³ Interestingly, the link made by Percier between Trajan's Column and some examples of Trajanic coins in one of his drawings (fig.328) was reflected by the production of commemorative medals depicting Napoleon and the Vendôme Column, which were illustrated by Tardieu in his folio edition (fig.329).⁴⁴

The form of the monumental column, like the triumphal arch, appealed to architects designing monuments to commemorate the Revolution. At first, it seems that the column was more popular than the triumphal arch, since, without the spiral frieze which was characteristic of the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, it did not have such militaristic associations as the arch, and was probably also easier and cheaper to construct. The account of designs for monuments to the Revolution by James Leith provides many examples of Revolutionary columns.⁴⁵ For instance, immense columns with spiral friezes appear in Boullée's 'visionary' designs, flanking buildings such as a museum (fig.330), a colosseum and a National Assembly.⁴⁶ Such designs were never carried out (and may never have been intended for construction), but they remain vivid evidence that French architects were keen to revive the monumental columns and other buildings of ancient Rome at this time.

The first columns which were designed to commemorate the Revolution were usually dedicated to Liberty, and supported statues of Liberty carrying a pike and a Liberty Bonnet. In the case of the Column of Liberty which was erected in Montpellier (fig.331),⁴⁷ contemporaries were so fired by Revolutionary ideals that they suggested that the column should serve as a giant sundial, and link the Revolution to the cosmos. Other columns to Liberty often featured statues of Louis XVI. Davy de Chavigné, for example, put forward plans for a column honouring the king for the site of the Bastille (fig.332). The column was to have been topped with a statue of the King, and positioned on a rocky outcrop decorated with seated figures of France, Liberty, Concord and the Law. Like many other architects, he claimed that he had been the first person to

⁴³ See the letter from Ménageot to D'Angiviller dated 22 June 1789. It is clear that Percier's ability to make these 'restorations' was one of the aspects of Percier's drawings which he admired the most: 'Le sr Percier, architecte, m'a fait voir dernièrement les dessins qui lui avoient été demandés de l'élévation et des détails de la colonne Trajanne; il n'a cessé de travailler depuis ce tems et a rendu ces dessins avec le plus grand soin et la plus scrupuleuse exactitude. Je n'ai jamais vu d'étude d'architecture qui m'ait fait plus de plaisir; il a restauré avec infiniment de goût toutes les parties qui ont été détruites par le tems. Je crois, Monsieur le Comte, que vous verrez avec plaisir ce bel ouvrage' (*Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume XV, 1785-1790, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1906, no.9007, p.341).

⁴⁴ Tardieu: 1822, Planche 4. These medals were also illustrated by Normand in his folio edition on the Arc du Carrousel (see Chapter 4, fig.242).

⁴⁵ Leith (1991).

⁴⁶ See Leith: 1991, pp.17-19, 81.

design a column for the Bastille - in his case, an earlier design for a similar column, proposed during the elections of the Estates General.⁴⁸

The column designed by Etienne-Louis-Denis Cathala (fig.333), which was also for the site of the Bastille, was modelled much more closely on Trajan's Column.⁴⁹ Cathala suggested that the column should stand in a square area like a Roman public space (rather than a circular 'place'), and his design shows that it was to be decorated with a spiral relief depicting the progress of the Revolution. The monument was to be surmounted by a statue of the King. From his comments on the design, it is clear that he hoped his monument would make a striking impression:

'It is with these objectives in mind that I have proposed to erect a similar one [to Trajan's] in the centre of the square, one which will astonish posterity while impressing on it a sentiment of veneration. The enemies of the Revolution will not fail to come across this project, the completion of which will speak to the eyes of the whole world, more than books which are over the heads of the people.'⁵⁰

Another design for a column on the site of the Bastille, this time by Nicholas-Marie Gatteaux, depicts an immense monument over three hundred feet tall. The column itself was to be modelled as a giant fasces, bound with a spiral of coats of arms (fig.334), and an enormous figure of Liberty was to stand on its summit, supported on a globe.⁵¹ Columns were also designed for the forecourt of the Panthéon. These were intended to commemorate warriors who had died for the Fatherland. One of the designs which was submitted proposed that the column should be modelled on Trajan's Column although, like many of the Revolutionary columns, it was to be crowned with a statue of Liberty (fig.335). The shaft of the column was to be decorated with sculptural bands showing Revolutionary events such as a procession to the Panthéon, the heroism of Bara and the assassination of Marat (fig.336).⁵²

By 1797, however, the designs for columns took on a more military air. The figure of Liberty started to be replaced with statues of winged victories carrying coronae, as can be seen from Pierre Clochar's design for a monument to Victory and Peace, for the site of the Château Trompette in Bordeaux (fig.337).⁵³ The monument may have been intended to show how the victories of the Republic had assured the survival of liberty, but the design does not include any republican or democratic symbols. Instead, the column is decorated with a military frieze (fig.338), and the figure of La Paix was to be flanked by statues representing the army and the

⁴⁷ Ibid, 60.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 67-8.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 68-9.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Leith: 1991, 69.

⁵¹ Ibid, 70-72.

⁵² Ibid, 164-5.

⁵³ This was the site of the city's Bastille. On Clochar's column, see Leith: 1991, pp.295-299.

navy, standing amongst weapons and standards (fig.339). Clochar also proposed that the stretch of land from the Garonne river bank towards the column was to be decorated with monuments commemorating the four main armies.

By March 1799, there were plans to erect columns celebrating the victories of the French armies in the capital, or 'chef-lieu,' of each department of France. In the wake of Campo-Formio and the Egyptian campaigns, the Consulat decreed the following: 'Des colonnes triumpales seraient élevées dans tous les départements de France et une colonne nationale serait érigée à Paris.'⁵⁴ The first mention of a column for the Place Vendôme was in a notice issued by the Préfet de la Seine, Nicolas Frochot in June 1799, approved by the Ministre de l'Intérieur, Lucien Bonaparte. This stated that 'Conformément à l'Arrêté des Consuls du 29 ventôse dernier, il sera élevé sur la place Vendôme une colonne à la mémoire des braves du département de la Seine, morts pour la défense de la patrie et de la liberté.'⁵⁵ Various competitions were opened in year VI of the Republic, the second of which concluded with the award of a prize to the architect Labarre. In the end, however, it was decided that the quality of all the plans, including Labarre's, was insufficient, and the competitions were temporarily abandoned.

On 20 March 1800, Lucien Bonaparte proposed a new competition for the design of two columns in Paris, a departmental column in the Place Vendôme, and a national column in the Place de la Concorde. The competition was officially opened on 18 May. Although the competition deadline was not until mid August, Lucien Bonaparte laid the first stone of the national column on 14 July,⁵⁶ an action which was repeated by the Prefects for the columns in their respective departments. In the Place Vendôme, the battered pedestal which had held Giradon's statue of Louis XIV was removed, the medals placed in the foundations of the pedestal were unearthed,⁵⁷ and the Préfet de la Seine, Frochot, ceremoniously buried a new medal, depicting portraits of the three consuls, Bonaparte, Cambacérès and Lebrun, and laid the first stone of the column which was planned for the spot.⁵⁸ Four hundred designs were submitted to the competition, many of which were displayed in the building of the Institut. The jury for the competition included David, Percier and Fontaine, who ensured that the results were published in *Le Moniteur*.⁵⁹ Their familiarity with Trajan's Column from having studied the monument as students at the Académie de France à Rome is likely to have influenced their selection of the winning design.

⁵⁴ Quoted by Suzanne Damiron, in her article, 'Projet inédit pour une colonne en l'honneur des guerriers (1800)' (in *Les arts à l'époque napoléonienne, Archives de l'art français*, 1969, p.343).

⁵⁵ Ibid, 343.

⁵⁶ The date of a national festival to mark the first anniversary of the Consulat. The recent French victory at Marengo was also celebrated at the festival.

⁵⁷ These were taken to Bibliothèque Nationale for preservation and storage.

⁵⁸ Sainte-Simon: 1982, pp.118-120.

⁵⁹ See the article by Gabriel Vauthier, 'Les Colonnes Départementales et La Colonne Nationale en L'An VIII' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.28, janvier-juin 1929, p.66).

The competition for a national column was won by Moreau, who proposed a column decorated with a spiral of reliefs, surmounted by a statue of the Republic. The monument was to stand on a pedestal decorated with inscriptions to the glory of the French armies. A model of the column was erected, but a contemporary source declared that the statue conveyed 'une attitude triste et un air boudeur,' and by November 1801, it had been demolished.⁶⁰ Plans for erecting a column by the architect Molinos in the Place Vendôme were also short-lived, since it was decided that the figure of Minerva planned for the top of the monument was inappropriate ('elle n'inspire pas l'enthousiasme').⁶¹

A design for a column which served as a particularly important precedent for the Vendôme Column was that proposed by Davy de Chavigné. His project clearly reflects the way in which architects attempted to adapt their plans in order to keep up with the changing political circumstances of the time. Chavigné had already submitted a design for a monumental column in 1789. As I have suggested, this was to have featured a statue of Louis XVI on top of the monument, and four seated allegorical figures at the base of the column. Under the Empire, however, he adapted his design to serve the purposes of the new regime.⁶² The influence of his earlier project is evident from the fact that the Napoleonic column was also intended for the site of the Bastille,⁶³ and from his suggestion that the column was to stand on a bed of rocks in a circular basin, decorated with seated figures of France, Justice or Law, Concord and Victory,⁶⁴ in a similar manner to the column of Liberty. The column was to be dedicated to 'Napoléon Le Grand, Restaurateur de la Monarchie, sous le nom d'Empire Français.' At the same time, however, it was also intended to celebrate Napoleon's Austerlitz victory: the column was to be erected in 'un quartier nouveau...sous le nom d'Austerlitz,'⁶⁵ and one of its bas-reliefs was to depict *La Victoire d'Austerlitz*.⁶⁶ Chavigné makes several references to the inspiration provided by Trajan's Column. For example, he comments that the column was to have the same proportions as Trajan's Column and to be characterised by 'la richesse des colonnes Trajane et Antonine.'⁶⁷ Instead of a spiral of

⁶⁰ Quoted in Biver: 1963, 163.

⁶¹ Ibid, 163.

⁶² A copy of his project, published in 1806, is held in the British Library. The project is entitled, *Colonne de l'Empire Français, ou Projet de Colonne Triomphale à la Gloire de Napoléon Le Grand, Restaurateur de la Monarchie, sous le Nom d'Empire Français*. I have not found Chavigné's scheme for a Napoleonic column mentioned in any of the current critical accounts of French monumental architecture of the period, and it clearly merits further research.

⁶³ Although he indicates his awareness of current proposals for columns for the Place de la Concorde and the Place Vendôme at several points in his text. For example, on p.12 he comments: 'Le programme de colonne triomphale que j'ai l'honneur de vous soumettre, seroit également admissible, si on se décidoit à donner la préférence à la place Vendôme, et même à la place de la Concorde sur celle de la Bastille, pour l'érection de ce monument.'

⁶⁴ Chavigné: 1806, 9.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 7.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 9.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 11.

reliefs, however, the column was to be decorated with four horizontal reliefs commemorating (as well as the Austerlitz victory) *La révolution du 18 brumaire*, *Le rétablissement de la religion catholique en France* and *Le sacre de sa Majesté Napoléon Ier*. A statue of Napoleon was to be placed on top of the column, but Chavigné does not specify how the emperor was to be depicted.⁶⁸

Like so many of the monumental columns proposed during the Consulate and the early Empire,⁶⁹ Chavigné's column was loosely modelled on Trajan's Column. Although his project reveals that the column was to have commemorated the Austerlitz campaign, it suggests that, overall, the column would have displayed a confusing mixture of iconography. Austerlitz was only one of the elements which was to have been celebrated by the monument. By contrast, while the design of the Vendôme Column itself went through various changes, the sculptural reliefs of the monument were focused on a depiction of the Austerlitz campaign, and the column was much more closely based on Trajan's Column than any of these earlier designs.

(2) The column

More studies have been made of the Vendôme Column than of the Arc du Carrousel,⁷⁰ but it is curious that we know much less about the architect of the monument, Savinien Thierry, and the two architects who oversaw its construction, Gondoin and Lepère, than we do about the architects of the arch.⁷¹ The fact that the folio edition by Ambroise Tardieu has recently been reissued is a testament to the continuing interest in the Vendôme Column,⁷² whereas there are currently no publications devoted to the arch. Yet there is still a lack of interpretative studies of the column, in particular, of its 'Romanness.' Valérie Huet has recently suggested that it is interesting to consider

⁶⁸ For example, whether he was to be shown in Roman or contemporary dress, an issue which arose in relation to the statue of Napoleon planned for the Vendôme Column.

⁶⁹ See, for example, El-Abd: 1980, 122, on a column which was planned (possibly by Bernard Poyet) for an area of flat ground jutting out from the Pont-Neuf, a drawing for which is now in the Musée Carnavalet (Cabinet des Estampes, Topographie: Paris, carton 10A). See Poisson: 1964, 105 for details of other plans employing the model of Trajan's Column.

⁷⁰ On the Vendôme Column, see Ambert (1842), Norvins (1874), Lanzac de Laborie: 1905, Volume II, pp.240-245, Cain (1908), the article by Paul Greppe, 'La Colonne de la Place Vendôme' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.34, janvier-juin 1932, pp.47-52), Hauteceur: 1953, Volume V, pp.191-194, Biver: 1963, pp.162-175, Murat (1978), the article by A.Malissard, 'La Colonne Vendôme, une Colonne Trajane à Paris' (*Les dossiers de l'archéologie*, 17, juillet-août 1976, pp.116-121), Sainte-Simon: 1982, pp.118-160, the article by Felix Gambini, 'A la redécouverte de la colonne Vendôme' (*Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, 1995-IV, No.169, pp.56-57), and the article by Valérie Huet, 'Napoléon I: a new Augustus?' (in Edwards ed: 1999, pp.63-65).

⁷¹ It seems that very little information is available concerning the architects Savinien Thierry and Lepère. I am grateful to Amy Sargeant for providing me with a copy of her unpublished research material on Jacques Gondoin, entitled, *Jacques Gondoin and the Ecole de Chirurgie*. She found that there was hardly any archival material relating to Gondoin in libraries in Paris or Rome. This may well have been lost during the raids made on the Palazzo Mancini in Rome in the late eighteenth century.

⁷² Tardieu: 1995 (edited and reissued by Maurice Griffe and Jean-Luc Beamont)

how the method of production of the monument by a team of artists whose work often involved the political intervention of Napoleon, reflects how critics have tended to imagine the process of creation of Trajan's Column.⁷³ But it seems unlikely that an alternative method could have been employed for the production of the column, and such a comparison does not indicate how, in early nineteenth-century France, contemporaries might have viewed the Vendôme Column in relation to its Roman model, Trajan's Column. In the rest of this chapter, I shall consider the construction and design of the column, paying close attention to the relationship of the column to Trajan's Column.

The construction and design of the column

Napoleon was keen to erect a monument in the Place Vendôme which was sufficiently grandiose to replace the huge statue of Louis XIV. The statue by François Girardon had dominated the square under the Bourbons.⁷⁴ Louis XIV had been urged by Lavois and Mansard to redevelop the square, demolish many of the monasteries and convents, and create a magnificent Place des Conquêtes. Girardon had been commissioned to design an equestrian statue of the King, and it was erected in 1666 to much acclaim (fig.340).⁷⁵ During the Revolution, however, it became a target for the republicans, who pulled down the statue (fig.341)⁷⁶ and appropriated the plinth for their own purposes, for example, to display the body of Le Peletier (fig.342). By the late 1790s, the square had become shabby and neglected, and the historian Marco de Sainte-Hilaire suggests that it was when Napoleon saw it in this condition that he started to make plans to build a monumental column in the square.⁷⁷ It was only once he had been crowned Emperor of the French and had won his glorious battle at Austerlitz, that he had the opportunity to carry out these plans.

To start with, Napoleon intended that the column would feature a statue of Charlemagne, which he had removed from the emperor's tomb at Aix-la-Chapelle. Although these early plans for a 'Trajanic' column included a spiral relief depicting allegorical representations of the one

⁷³ See the article by Valérie Huet, 'Napoleon I: a new Augustus?' (in Edwards ed: 1999, 65).

⁷⁴ On the history and significance of the square, see Legrand and Landon: 1808, Volume 3, pp.15-18, Murat: 1978, p.15ff, Sainte-Simon (1982), Leith (1991), and most recently, Ziskin (1999). On Girardon's statue, see Blunt: 1982, pp.357, 368, 441.

⁷⁵ Reproduced in Murat: 1978, 19.

⁷⁶ The Revolutionaries demolished the statue in 1792. This drawing is reproduced in Murat: 1978, 28.

⁷⁷ Cain: 1908, pp.39-42, quotes the incident, which occurred in 1798, as recorded by Marco de Sainte-Hilaire. Apparently, Napoleon had dined with Général D'Augerville and Général Berthier, and, as they strolled through the Place Vendôme, he remarked on the emptiness of the square, 'Vôtre place est superbe, mais il lui faudrait un centre et un peuple,' and suggested that it needed 'Une colonne, comme celle de Trajan à Rome, ou bien un sarcophage immense, destiné à contenir les cendres des grands capitaines de la République.'

hundred and eight departments of the Republic, Napoleon was determined that the column would be dedicated to Charlemagne.⁷⁸ In October 1803, he gave the following instructions:

‘Article Ier: Il sera élevé à Paris, au centre de la place Vendôme, une colonne à l’instar de celle élevée à Rome, en l’honneur de Trajan.

Article II: Cette colonne aura 2 mètres de diamètre sur 20m 78 de hauteur. Son fût sera orner dans son contour d’une spirale de cent huit figures allégoriques en bronze, ayant chacune 0 m 97 de proportion, et représentant les départements de la République.

Article III: La colonne sera surmonté d’un piédestal, terminé en demi-cercle, orné de feuilles d’olivier et supportant la statue pédestre de Charlemagne.

Article IV: Le ministre de l’Intérieur sera chargé de l’exécution du présent décret.’⁷⁹

Archival material in the Louvre and the Archives Nationales indicates that Vivant Denon worked with the young architect Savinien Thierry to produce the designs for the monument, but it was soon decided that if the column was to be constructed in bronze, or even partially in bronze, that there would be problems of construction and oxidisation which would need to be overcome.⁸⁰ Napoleon himself requested that the plans be subject to the rigorous examination of the committee of the Institut,⁸¹ and meanwhile another column was erected at the important military camp of Boulogne-sur-Mer.

In comparison with the plans for the column in the Place Vendôme, which involved a large input from Napoleon, as well as Denon,⁸² the column at Boulogne-sur-Mer was commissioned by the French army, to commemorate the visit made by Napoleon in 1804 to distribute the new Legion D’Honneur.⁸³ In the folio edition, *Monuments des Victoires et des Conquêtes des Français* (1822) (fig.343), Voïart indicates that the column was to have a square pedestal decorated with bronze bas-reliefs depicting subjects including *La distribution de l’aigle de la Légion d’Honneur*

⁷⁸ On Napoleon’s self-identification with Charlemagne, see Irwin: 1997, 262, Prendergast: 1997, especially pp.34-5 on Napoleon’s visit to Aix-La-Chapelle before the coronation and the coronation regalia, and Lee: 1999, p.241. ff. Prendergast (1997, p.38) suggests that at first, the model of Charlemagne appealed to Napoleon more than ancient Rome since the association was ‘more indigenously French.’

⁷⁹ From a document in the Archives Nationales, quoted in Biver: 1963, pp.163-164.

⁸⁰ Biver: 1963, 164. According to El-Abd: 1980, 123, Savinien Thierry favoured the construction of the whole monument in bronze. This was ultimately rejected in favour of a stone core with exterior surfaces in metal.

⁸¹ El-Abd: 1980, 122.

⁸² Who, as will be suggested, was keen to emphasis the ‘Romanness’ of the monument, although he was careful to be less insistent over the nature of the statue for the column, perhaps having learnt from Napoleon’s rejection of the statue for the Arc du Carrousel.

⁸³ On the column at Boulogne-sur-Mer, see Voïart (1822), the anonymous *Colonne de la Grande Armée à Boulogne-sur-Mer* (1841) (a copy of which is in the Bibliothèque Historique de La Ville de Paris), and the article by Marie-Louise Biver, ‘La Colonne Napoléon et le Camp de Boulogne-

par Sa Majesté, le 28 thermidor an XII, and Le plan des ports de Boulogne, Wimereux et Ambleteuse et la flotille en rade. A bronze statue of Napoleon in his coronation robes was to stand on top of the monument,⁸⁴ and this, and the relief panels, were to be made from the bronze canon taken from the enemy. Napoleon may have appreciated the fact that the monument had been commissioned at the request of his army and the municipal council of Boulogne-sur-Mer, as triumphal monuments had usually been voted for by the Senate in Rome, but he remained disappointed that the column took so long to complete.⁸⁵ Napoleon's constant involvement in the project for the column in the Place Vendôme, on the other hand, seems to have been an important factor in ensuring that the column was completed within a period of four years.

Although Napoleon played an important role in the Vendôme Column project, it was Vivant Denon who presided over the design and construction of the column, and ensured that the monument was closely modelled on Trajan's Column. His personal interest in the project is conveyed by Benjamin Zix's depiction of him at work, surrounded by models of various Napoleonic monuments, including, prominently displayed, a model of the Vendôme Column (fig.344).⁸⁶ Valérie Huet has drawn attention to the 'convergent influences in the making of the Vendôme Column: that of Vivant Denon and that of Napoleon himself.'⁸⁷ Yet she does not clarify the differences in intention between Denon and Napoleon for the column, nor mention the way in which Denon gradually manipulated the plans put forward for the monument. The general concept of the column as a 'version' of Trajan's Column was agreed at an early stage in the project, as was the fact that the column was to be constructed (at least in part) in bronze. It was Denon, however, who made sure that the artists working on the column drew direct inspiration from the Roman column.

sur-Mer' (*Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.109, avril 1965, pp.75-83).

⁸⁴ On the history of the statues standing on the column, see the article by Marie-Louise Biver, 'La Colonne Napoléon et le Camp de Boulogne-sur-Mer' (*Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.109, avril 1965, p.83). Unfortunately, the original statue by Houdon has been lost. In 1838, Bosio was commissioned to create a new statue, which stood on the monument until it was shattered during bomb raids in the Second World War. On the use of a plaster model of Bosio's statue to decorate the esplanade of the Invalides during the ceremony for the return of Napoleon's body to Paris in December 1840, see Driskel: 1993, p.32. A new statue showing Napoleon in his coronation robes now stands on the column, but I have not been able to discover who designed it.

⁸⁵ In fact, it was only completed under the Restoration, at the instigation of Louis-Philippe. For a more detailed consideration of the form and decoration of the monument, and its completion under Louis-Philippe, see the article by Marie-Louise Biver, 'La Colonne Napoléon et le Camp de Boulogne-sur-Mer' (*Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.109, avril 1965, pp.80-83).

⁸⁶ Reproduced in Chatelain (1973). The picture also includes a range of other items which serve to suggest the different positions of authority Denon held under Napoleon. The medal press, for example, indicates his role as Director of the Imperial Mint, the Salle de Diane in the background indicates his role as Director of the Musée Napoléon (specifically, his role in developing the Musée des Antiques), while the books on the Egyptian campaign which are piled around his desk recall his involvement in the campaign.

⁸⁷ See her article, 'Napoleon I: a new Augustus?' (in Edwards ed: 1999, 64).

The decision that the column was to be erected in honour of the Grande Armée was taken shortly after Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz. While at Schoenbrün, on the morning after Austerlitz, Denon reminded Napoleon that a column was to be built in the Place Vendôme. He realised that the exploits of the French in Austria offered the opportunity for artists to depict an imperial campaign like Trajan's, and suggested that the column could be constructed from the canons seized during the campaign.⁸⁸ On 12 February 1806 Champagny, working closely with Denon, attempted to impress upon Napoleon the importance of using his own statue, rather than that of Charlemagne on the column:

'Sire, j'ai fixé les dispositions préliminaires pour préparer l'exécution des ordres de Votre Majesté à l'égard de la colonne qu'Elle a décidé d'élever sur la Place Vendôme. Mais il reste une intention à donner à ce monument. Les vœux de la nation française l'ont désignée. Votre Majesté avait d'abord destiné la colonne de la place Vendôme à recevoir la statue de Charlemagne; mais Elle a depuis restitué cette statue à la ville d'Aix-la-Chapelle. Que Votre Majesté me permette de lui dire qu'Elle se rendrait aux sentiments unanimes de ses sujets si Elle consentait à ce que cette colonne, formée avec le bronze des canons enlevés à l'ennemi, servît à consacrer les souvenirs d'une campagne qui vient de marquer une époque si glorieuse pour l'histoire de la France et à ce que cette colonne, élevée sur les proportions de la colonne Trajane, fût surmontée de la statue du Prince que la nation chérit...Quelle autre statue pourroit occuper la place que celle de Charlemagne laisse vacante?'

A letter from Napoléon to Champagny dated 17 February 1806, however, indicates that at this stage, Napoleon still envisaged that his column would commemorate Charlemagne: 'Faites-moi connaître où est la colonne que j'avais décrété d'élever à Charlemagne sur la place Vendôme.'⁹⁰ In a similar manner, on 28 February, he wrote to Champagny: 'Il serait peut-être convenable de charger M.Denon de suivre l'exécution du monument à élever au général Desaix sur la place des Victoires, et de celui de Charlemagne sur la place Vendôme.'⁹¹ Denon reacted by presenting new plans for the column to members of the Institut on 8 March, and two days later, he put them forward for Napoleon's approval. Denon's comments to Napoleon are preserved in a document in the Archives Nationales. Although he mentions that the column would be dedicated to Charlemagne, his delineation of the manner in which the frieze was to depict the Austerlitz campaign suggests that he had a precise understanding of the Roman column and of the relevance of the sculptural frieze:

⁸⁸ Tardieu: 1822, 11.

⁸⁹ Quoted in the article by Robert Hénard, 'Les trois statues de la colonne' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.1, janvier-juin 1912, p.354).

⁹⁰ *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, 1858-69, Volume 12, no.9831, p.68.

‘La pensée de l’Institut, qui est sûrement celle de la Nation, est que nous n’avons plus besoin de l’illusion des siècles pour chercher dans le passé le héros de la France. Cette colonne projetée pour Charlemagne devient donc tout naturellement la colonne Germanique. Votre dernière expédition y serait écrite en bronze par un bas-relief de huit cente trente pieds, représentant les opérations de la memorable campagne de 1805 contre les Autrichiens, de même que l’expédition contre les Daces l’a été sur la Colonne Trajane.’⁹²

Not only does Denon seem to suggest that the spiral relief of the column should present Napoleon’s campaign in the form of a narrative, like a visual text (‘Votre dernière expédition y serait écrite en bronze par un bas-relief...’), implying that this was how he ‘read’ the frieze on Trajan’s Column,⁹³ but his direct comparison between the Napoleonic and Trajanic campaigns indicates that he was aware of the similarity in location of the campaigns undertaken by both emperors. While the earlier plan for the column would have involved the depiction of the departments of the Republic (for which, it seems, the form of the spiral would have been insignificant), here Denon suggests that the French column should be used to depict Napoleon’s campaign *as Roman imperial art*.

Denon himself was familiar with the monuments of Rome, including Trajan’s Column, which he had visited in 1786.⁹⁴ He was well aware, however, that Napoleon had never visited

⁹¹ Ibid, Volume 12, no.9898, p.137.

⁹² Document in the Archives Nationales, quoted in Biver: 1963, 166.

⁹³ It has often been considered that the frieze of Trajan’s Column presents the narrative of the Dacian wars. See, in particular, the article by Valérie Huet, ‘Stories one might tell of Roman art: reading Trajan’s Column and the Tiberius cup’ (in Elsner ed: 1996, pp.15ff): ‘all the techniques discussed so far have one overriding aim: to read the column in a linear and narrative way. There has been a fashion from the origins of the study of Roman art to assume that, when Roman art is not copying Greek art, it is either characterized by portraits or by narrative stories told within historical reliefs. In the case of Trajan’s column, the problem is to agree on the story told...’ This reading has recently been applied to the Vendôme Column: in their 1995 reissue of Tardieu’s *La Colonne Vendôme*, Maurice Griffe and Jean-Luc Beaumont chose to focus on the plates of the frieze, which they reproduced in the form of a continual narrative - in the format of a pull-out frieze, with the descriptions of each ‘scene’ transplanted under the frieze. They have even joined together Tardieu’s illustrations of the reliefs on the pedestal of the monument, to create the effect of viewing continuously around the monument.

⁹⁴ Denon had travelled widely in Italy and was well informed on artistic matters. As a young law student he had frequented the studio of François Boucher and the study of the Comte de Caylus, the well-known collector and engraver. In 1778, when Denon was twenty-nine, he was sent to Naples as secretary to the French ambassador, the Marquis de Clermont d’Amboise. In 1780, he joined the Abbé Richard de Saint-Non, to supervise the graphic work being done on location for his *Voyage pittoresque dans les royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, and to produce a descriptive journal of the expedition. When Clermont d’Amboise returned to France in 1782, Denon was made chargé d’affaires at the French embassy until 1785. In 1786, at the end of his term of office in Naples, Denon returned to France via Rome. During his visit, he took in all the key sites of the city, including Trajan’s Column, and visited another scholar-collector, Seroux d’Agincourt. He made a brief visit back to France, but soon returned to Italy, and was resident in Venice until the outbreak of the French Revolution. For further information on Denon in Italy, see Nowinski

Rome, and that even from his reading of the ancient authors, Napoleon would have gained little impression of the monuments erected by Trajan in Rome, nor in fact of any of the achievements of Trajan at all.⁹⁵ He therefore took pains to familiarise Napoleon with the monument, and to involve him in the visual dissemination of the spiral frieze for the Vendôme Column:

‘Lorsque vous aurez décidé sur cet objet, si V.M. veut bien me le permettre, j’ai aurai l’honneur de lui porter la gravure en grand de la colonne Trajane, pour vous consulter, Sire, sur le choix des sujets qui devront être traités dans les bas-reliefs de la Colonne Germanique et placés dans l’ordre que V.M. voudra bien me dicter.’⁹⁶

Denon handled the situation cleverly by constantly referring in detail to the model of Trajan’s Column, while deliberately avoiding making reference to the dedication of the column to Charlemagne. From the manner in which Napoleon describes the column in a letter to Champagny on 6 June, ‘Je désire que vous m’apportiez mercredi une note qui me fasse connaître l’état du travail de la colonne en bronze d’Austerlitz,’⁹⁷ it seems that Denon had managed to convince him that the column should not feature Charlemagne.

The plans for the column by Savinien Thierry were submitted to the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils. Denon directed the whole project, while Gondoin and Lepère were responsible for overseeing the construction of the monument.⁹⁸ These architects had followed slightly different careers. While Lepère was one of Napoleon’s chief architects at Malmaison, Gondoin had studied under Blondel and at the Académie de France à Rome, and was perhaps best known for his design

(1970) and El-Abd: 1980, pp.67-71.

⁹⁵ The few short accounts of Trajan’s building in Rome are to be found in the authors Pausanias, V, xii, 6; Dio Cassius, LXVIII, 16, 3 and 7, 1-2; Ammianus Marcellinus, XVI, 10, 15-16 and Cassiodorus, *Variae*, VII, 6,1 (all of which are quoted in Pollitt: 1983, pp.169-170). It is known that Trajan himself wrote an account of the Dacian wars, but this has not survived and only the broad details of Trajan’s Dacian wars can be reconstructed from Dio’s *History* (see Lepper and Frere: 1988, pp.211-229, and Bennett: 1997, pp.214-218). The lack of literary sources on Trajan in general was well known in the late eighteenth century, to the extent that Gibbon lamented that he must ‘collect the actions of Trajan from the glimmerings of an abridgement or the doubtful light of a panegyric’ (quoted in Bennett: 1997, xii). Here, Gibbon is probably referring to the principal contemporary account which survives of Trajan, Pliny the Younger’s *Panegyricus*, ‘a work which uncritically expounds upon the virtues of [Trajan]’ (Bennett: 1997, xii). It is likely that Napoleon would have gained more of a sense of the achievements of Augustus from the books contained in campaign library. These included 4 volumes of Virgil’s poetry and 2 of Livy (both of whom wrote under Augustus, before the reign of Trajan), 2 volumes of Tacitus (who wrote under Trajan, but not about him), 12 volumes of Plutarch (who wrote under Nero and Domitian, as well as Trajan, but focused on Greek and Roman Republican heroes), and an edition of Montesquieu (who praised the Roman Republicans in particular, but also held Augustus in high regard) (see the *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, 1858-69, Volume 4, no.2548, pp.37-38).

⁹⁶ Document in the Archives Nationales, quoted in Biver: 1963, p.166.

⁹⁷ Quoted in Biver: 1963, 166.

⁹⁸ The role of Denon, Gondoin and Lepère in the project was commemorated through the erection of a plaque on the platform at the top of the monument (see Tardieu: 1822, 14).

of the Ecole de Chirurgie.⁹⁹ Both of them, however, had travelled with Napoleon on his campaigns. Lepère had been an important figure in the project for a canal between Suez and Thinch, and Gondoin had executed many drawings and compiled several illustrated volumes during the Egyptian campaign.¹⁰⁰ The young painter Pierre-Nolasque Bergeret, a former pupil of Lacour in Bordeaux, and later David, was employed to carry out the designs for the bas-reliefs. He had worked as a cartographer for the Napoleonic campaigns and had designed monumental items for production by the Sèvres porcelain manufactory. The painter Benjamin Zix worked on the designs for the pediment of the column, although the architect François Mazois designed the side of the base with the door allowing access to the inner stairs.¹⁰¹ Various sculptors were employed to execute the designs, many of whom were frequently involved in the official projects overseen by Denon, such as Chaudet, who was engaged to design the statue of Napoleon.¹⁰²

The canon which were to be used for the bronze decorations of the column, arrived in Paris in September 1806 and were paraded in triumph through the streets of the city.¹⁰³ The column represented an architectural innovation in France owing to the nature of its design, but also because new methods of construction had to be developed in order to attach the bronze plaques to the stone core.¹⁰⁴ Some intimation of the method by which the plaques were held in place by rows of plugs and clamps can be gained from an illustration of the Communards attacking the lower whorls of the column with axes and pikes (fig.345).¹⁰⁵ The way in which the relief panels have been arranged in lines for their attachment to the body of the column can be seen from an observation of the column shaft (fig.346). In their section on the Place Vendôme in the *Description de Paris et ses édifices*, Legrand and Landon indicate that while the column was still unfinished at this date (1808), the design of the monument was already well-known.¹⁰⁶ The column was completed on 15 August 1810, and an engraving by Duplessis-Bertaux in the folio

⁹⁹ On Gondoin and Lepère, see Sainte-Simon: 1982, 124. On the career of Gondoin, in particular, his project for the Ecole de Chirurgie, with its triumphal arch incorporated into the street façade and amphitheatre, see Braham: 1980, pp.137-145. As has already been suggested, little archival material on Gondoin has survived.

¹⁰⁰ Again, see Sainte-Simon: 1982, 124.

¹⁰¹ Tardieu: 1822, 14.

¹⁰² For a summary of sculptors employed to work on the column, see Tardieu: 1822, 14. The side of the pedestal with the door was executed by Gérard, and the other three sides by Beauvallet and Renaud. The reliefs for the spiral frieze were executed by Bartholini, Beauvallet, Boisshot, Boquet, Bosio, Bouillet, Bridan, Callamart, Cardelli, Clodion, Corbet, Delaistre, Deseine, Dumont, Dupasquier, Fortin, Foucou, Franin, Gaule, Gérard, Gois fils, Lorta, Lucas, Moutoni, Petitot, Picart, Renaud, Rutxhiel, Stouff, and Taunay. Perhaps unusually, a female sculptor was also employed, Mlle Charpentier. All the ornamental work was carried out by Gelée.

¹⁰³ Sainte-Simon: 1982, 123.

¹⁰⁴ On these technical problems, see Tardieu: 1822, 13; Biver: 1963, pp.170-171, Poisson: 1964, 116, and Sainte-Simon: 1982, 130. The casting of the bronze plaques was carried out by Delaunay and Canlers at the foundry at St-Laurent (Tardieu: 1822, 14).

¹⁰⁵ Reproduced in Sainte-Simon: 1982, 148.

¹⁰⁶ Legrand and Landon: 1808, Volume 2, Part 3, 18.

edition by Louis-Pierre Baltard, *La Colonne de la Place Vendôme* (1810),¹⁰⁷ shows the crowds gathered to watch the scaffolding being removed (fig.347).

The 'Romanness' of the monument was apparent in several ways. First and foremost, the design and form of the monument were very obviously inspired by Trajan's Column. In direct imitation of Trajan's Column (fig.348), the Vendôme Column is decorated with a spiral of reliefs (fig.349), and the shaft of the column itself is seated on an immense victory corona. The base of Trajan's Column is decorated with four perched eagles, between swags of foliage (fig.350), as is the base of the Vendôme Column (fig.351), and the inclusion of an inscription between two winged victories over the door in the base is repeated on the base of the French column (fig.352). The depiction of battle spoils on the base of Trajan's Column, is reflected in the design for the base of the Vendôme Column, where, although spoils appropriate to the Austrian campaigns are included, they are often shown in direct relation to those on the ancient column. For example, on the 'Piédestal du Levant' (fig.353), the tunic included in the bottom left of one of the panels on the base of Trajan's Column (fig.354), which can be seen more clearly in an illustration by John Hungerford Pollen (fig.355),¹⁰⁸ has been transformed into a military jacket worn by one of the commanders of the army of François II of Austria ('FII' can be seen on the saddle attachment above) (fig.356). The shields, helmets and weapons on the base of Trajan's Column have in general been transformed into modern equivalents, relating to the Napoleonic campaigns, such as the plumed helmet bearing the initials of Frederick II, canon balls and other accoutrements of war, such as trumpets and banners (fig.357), shown on the 'Piédestal du Nord.' As well as indicating the close relationship of the Vendôme Column to Trajan's Column, these features also reveal the relative modernity and 'Frenchness' of the column, and the adaptation of the Roman column for the commemoration of the Austerlitz campaign.

The original statue by Antoine-Denis Chaudet depicted Napoleon in the guise of a Roman emperor, wearing a cloak fastened on his right shoulder, a corona on his head, and Roman sandals on his feet (fig.358).¹⁰⁹ In his left hand he held a globe, supporting a winged victory, while he leant his right hand on the handle of a sword in a scabbard. Despite the fact that critics have often considered that the sculpture represented Napoleon as Caesar,¹¹⁰ or have even suggested that this original statue showed Napoleon in his coronation robes,¹¹¹ he is clearly shown as Trajan.¹¹² The

¹⁰⁷ The final stage of the engraving was carried out by N.Courbe.

¹⁰⁸ Hungerford Pollen: 1874, 18, fig.3.

¹⁰⁹ Baltard: 1810, Plate 56. I shall focus on Chaudet's statue here, as I am primarily concerned with the significance of the column within the context of Napoleonic Paris. In fact, Chaudet's statue only stood on the column for three years, before being pulled down after Napoleon's fall.

¹¹⁰ See, for example, the section by Maurice Griffe and Jean-Luc Beaumont added at the back of their reissue of Tardieu: 1995. They remark that the statue shows 'Napoléon en César.' Rosenblum (1989, 132) also refers to 'Antoine-Denis Chaudet's allegorical statue of Napoleon as Caesar.'

¹¹¹ Valérie Huet's comment, 'A statue of Napoleon in his coronation robes, his head crowned with

hairstyle, thick-set head and neck, and stockiness of Chaudet's Napoleon are reminiscent of many statues of Trajan (fig.359),¹¹³ examples of which had been taken by the French from Rome and at the time of the creation of Chaudet's statue were on display in the Musée des Antiques. These included a statue of Trajan in a loose toga carrying, like Napoleon in Chaudet's statue, a globe in his left hand.¹¹⁴ Curiously, it seems to have been Chaudet who pushed for the depiction of Napoleon in Roman guise, rather than Napoleon and Denon, who wanted Napoleon to be shown in contemporary dress. Chaudet stated firmly that if the column was modelled on Trajan's Column, then Napoleon's statue had to show him in the guise of Trajan:

'La colonne de la Grande Armée est une imitation de la colonne Trajane. Cette imitation ne doit pas demeurer incomplete; elle le serait si la statue destinée à couronner l'oeuvre n'était pas vêtue comme celle de Trajan.'¹¹⁵

After Napoleon's rejection of his statue as a Roman emperor for the Arc du Carrousel, Denon may well have been wary of trying to erect 'Roman' statues of Napoleon, but it is likely, since he was keen to erect works of art which were inspired by Roman models, that he would also have recommended that Napoleon should be shown as a Roman emperor.

The choice of Latin for the inscription on the base of the monument also closely relates the Vendôme Column to Trajan's Column. For the inscription on the Arc du Carrousel, Napoleon specifically rejected the titles 'Augustus' and 'Germanicus' and the use of Latin. The inscription held between the winged victories over the entrance to the base of the column, however, clearly identifies Napoleon as a Roman emperor, as a Roman imperial builder:

'NEAPOLIO.IMP.AVG.

laurel, was executed by Chaudet to be placed at the top of the column' (see her article, 'Napoleon I: a new Augustus?', in Edwards ed: 1999, 64), is blatantly misconceived. The only feature of the statue which is reminiscent of Napoleon's coronation garb is his corona. It could be that she is confusing the statue with the statue of Napoleon in his coronation robes on the Napoleonic column at Boulogne-sur-Mer?

¹¹² The only critic to correctly identify Napoleon as Trajan is A.Malissard: 'Au sommet se dresse, haute de 3,40 m, la statue de Napoléon en Imperator, ou mieux, en Trajan, oeuvre du sculpteur Chaudet' (see his section, 'La Colonne Vendôme, une Colonne Trajane à Paris,' in *La Colonne Trajane, Les dossiers de l'archéologie*, No.17, juillet-août 1976, p.119).

¹¹³ This statue is currently in the National Museum at Naples. Reproduced by Malissard in the above article, p.118. It is interesting that Cacault at one stage ordered two heroic busts of Napoleon, one showing him as Alexander the Great, the other with 'les chevaux comme les porte le générale Bonaparte, dans le même style que ceux des bustes de Trajan' (letter of November 1801, quoted in the article by John Walker McCoubrey, 'Gros' *Battle of Eylau* and Roman Imperial Art,' *The Art Bulletin*, XLIII, June 1961, p.138).

¹¹⁴ This statue had been taken from the Vatican along with the other spoils from Rome in 1797, and was on display in the Salle des Hommes Illustres (see the *Notice des statues, bustes et bas-reliefs, de la Galerie des Antiques*, an XI, 1802, p.15).

¹¹⁵ Quoted in the article by Robert Hénard, 'Les trois statues de la colonne' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.1, janvier-juin 1912, p.355). Apparently Chaudet made it a condition of his collaboration on the project that the statue had to depict Napoleon in Roman dress (Biver: 1963, 170).

MONVMENTVM.BELLI.GERMANICI
 ANNO.MDCCV
 TRIMESTI.SPATIO.DVCTV.SVO.PROFLIGATI
 EX.AERE.CAPTO
 GLORIAE.EXERCITUS.MAXIMI.DICAVIT.¹¹⁶

Yet there are important differences between this inscription and the dedication which appears on the base of Trajan's Column. In the inscription on Trajan's Column, the first line indicates that the column was dedicated by the Senate and the people of Rome ('SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS').¹¹⁷ It was not the tradition, in ancient Rome, for the emperor to commission triumphal monuments himself. The first line of the inscription on the Vendôme Column, however, makes it plain that this monument was dedicated by Napoleon, 'NEAPOLIO.IMP.AVG.'¹¹⁸ By commissioning the monument himself, Napoleon clearly transgressed the usual role of the emperors of Rome in such matters. In addition, the inscription also implies that a fundamental purpose of the column was to commemorate Napoleon's part in the campaigns, since it was through his leadership, 'DVCTV SVO,' that the enemy arms were captured and the war brought to an end in the space of three months. This further emphasises Napoleon's transgression of the imperial model, although the arrangement of the inscription attempts to disguise the main dedicatee of the column - Napoleon himself. The reference to Napoleon's role (mentioned in the fourth line) is carefully separated from the statement of the dedicatee of the monument, the Grande Armée (mentioned in the last line). The inscription on the base of Trajan's Column also draws attention to the precise surroundings of the column ('AD DECLARANDVM QVANTAE ALTITVDINIS / MONS ET LOCVS TANT[is ope]RIBVS SIT EGESTVS'),¹¹⁹ which, with the establishment of Trajan's Forum, formed a visible manifestation of Trajan's 'Res Gestae.' By contrast, the inscription on the Vendôme Column does not mention the surroundings of the column.

This did not mean to say that the location of the monument was insignificant to the column, however, or to the way in which the column articulated Napoleon as a 'new Roman emperor.' The inscription does not refer to Napoleon's creation of a special architectural surrounding for the column because the square in which it stood had been built long before Napoleon, during the time

¹¹⁶ See Tardieu: 1822, Plate 5, 'Piédestal du Midi.' Apparently the inscription was devised by Visconti, and was removed from the column, along with Chaudet's statue of Napoleon, after the fall of Napoleon (see Tardieu: 1995). The plaque was later replaced on the column, however, possibly during the reign of Louis-Philippe.

¹¹⁷ See Lepper and Frere: 1988, 203, for a reproduction of the complete inscription.

¹¹⁸ The fact that the monument was erected by Napoleon for his Grande Armée, and not vice versa, is stressed by Tardieu: 1822, 'Advertissement,' p.6, who describes the column as 'érigé à la Grande Armée par son illustre chef.'

¹¹⁹ This suggests that the column had been intended to indicate the height of the hill which had to be removed in order to build Trajan's Forum; For a detailed consideration of this phrase, see

of the Bourbon kings. In fact, it was precisely because the square had royal connections that Napoleon chose it as a suitable location for his monument. By erecting the Vendôme Column in the square, he was aiming to 'imperialise' the location and link it strategically to the other important monuments of his imperial centre in the Louvre-Tuileries. The column may not have stood in Napoleon's 'forum,' but he made sure that the square was linked to 'le forum Napoléon' with its Roman arch, through the redesign of the Rue de la Paix and Rue de Castiglione (which led to and out of the Place Vendôme), towards the Tuileries gardens. Both roads, as well as the Rue de Rivoli, which flanked the Tuileries and led towards the entrance of 'le forum Napoléon,' were given grandiose new colonnades, designed by Percier and Fontaine, and served to link the Place Vendôme to the central imperial complex in the 'new Rome.' The fact that Napoleon and his architects seem to have made no attempt to recreate any of the buildings which encircled Trajan's Column in antiquity,¹²⁰ including the Greek and Latin libraries,¹²¹ the Temple of Trajan and the Basilica Ulpia,¹²² which stood on the other two sides of Trajan's Column, is probably because when the Vendôme Column was designed, little was known about the original surroundings of Trajan's Column. Trajan's Forum is mentioned in several antique sources, but these accounts do not provide a detailed picture of the forum and its contents.¹²³ The interest of the French under Napoleon in the area surrounding the forum is clearly shown by the excavations which were undertaken of the area during the French occupation of Rome (fig.360).¹²⁴ But at the time the

Lepper and Frere: 1988, pp.203-207.

¹²⁰ See, for example, the maps and descriptions of Trajan's Forum in Lepper and Frere: 1988, pp.7-13, and Kleiner: 1992, pp.212-214.

¹²¹ Which were built far closer to Trajan's Column than the buildings round the French column in the Place Vendôme.

¹²² The Basilica overlooked Trajan's Forum itself, which was entered by means of a triumphal arch on the opposite side.

¹²³ As I have already suggested, brief reference it made to Trajan's building projects in Pausanias, V, xii, 6; Dio Cassius, LXVIII, 16, 3 and 7, 1-2; Ammianus Marcellinus, XVI, 10, 15-16 and Cassiodorus, *Variae*, VII, 6, 1.

¹²⁴ Reproduced in Ridley: 1992, p.159. On the excavations undertaken by the French in Trajan's Forum, see La Padula: 1969, pp.119-120, and Ridley: 1992, pp.152-167. According to the decree signed by Napoleon at St Cloud on 27 July 1811, which established the Commission des Embellissements, the piazzas of the Pantheon and Trajan were areas which needed specific attention and work was to start at once in Trajan's Forum. The valuations for the houses which needed to be demolished for the excavations were compiled by Valadier in November 1811. The demolition of S.Spirito began on 9 December 1811, and in January 1812, plans were made for the new square. Daru began excavations for the crown in the Forum on 23 March 1812, and soon began to discover stumps of columns made from blue granite, pavement in precious stone, and fragments of cornice and sculpture. In the end, it became difficult to find a way in which to terminate the excavations, because it was realised that the remains of the ancient Basilica stretched so far. By the time the French left in January 1814, the Embellissements had spent 182,883 frs on the Forum of Trajan, and had decided to focus on clearing the area around the base of Trajan's Column. The dimensions of the excavations were 300 feet long by 180 feet wide, and 13 feet below the modern level. In little more than two years, the French had uncovered part of the library portico, the central section of the Basilica, and part of the northern side of Trajan's Forum. They had unearthed a total of twenty columns from the Basilica, and pieces of precious pavement and

Vendôme Column was constructed perhaps the most detailed study of the area to have been carried out was the study of the Trajan's Column undertaken by Charles Percier.

One of the uses made of the Vendôme Column certainly reflected the function of Trajan's Column in Rome. It has often been suggested that it was only by climbing to the top of Trajan's Column that the monument served to indicate the height of the hill which had been removed to build the forum all around.¹²⁵ From the top of the column it was possible to see across the monuments of Trajan's Forum - in one direction, the Temple of Divius Traianus, and in the other, over the glittering bronze roof of the Basilica, towards Trajan's monumental arch.¹²⁶ In a similar manner, the Vendôme Column soon became well known for the spectacular views which were afforded from the top of the monument. Visitors could stand on the viewing platform and gaze across the monuments of the 'new Rome.' In a letter written to Napoleon in May 1810, Le Comte de Clarac commented:

'Un escalier intérieur conduit à la galerie qui l'entoure et tout le monde voudra y monter, car la vue est extrêmement intéressante. Le jardin des Tuileries, dominé de si près, les parcs des hôtels de la place Vendôme et le reste font un effet charmant.'¹²⁷

We cannot be sure exactly how far, in 1810, a viewer could have seen across to the Louvre-Tuileries. But it is clear that he or she would have gained an impression of the magnitude of Napoleon's building achievements just from scaling the column itself. It may also have been possible to see the area which had partially be cleared in between the two palaces and to catch a glimpse of the light reflecting off the bronze horses on the Arc du Carrousel. The attention of a viewer on the column would certainly have been drawn towards the celebrated new Musée Napoléon, and to the bustle of the area between the Louvre-Tuileries, with its military activities and building works.

The *Description de la Colonne de la Place Vendôme* indicates that in 1818, people were still keen to climb to the top of the monument to see the view. According to the author of this text, special permission had to be gained by letter from M. Delafolie, Conservateur des Monumens who lived on the Rue Saint-Honoré, and the monument could be visited between nine in the morning and six in the evening in summer, and from midday to four in the afternoon in winter.¹²⁸ This leaflet, with its information concerning the practicalities of visiting the monument, seems to have served as a useful guide. The inclusion of a detailed description of the view one could expect from

the entrance to the Basilica on the Forum side. Kleiner (1992, pp.212-213) indicates that the first comprehensive study of the Forum as an architectural and sculptural complex was made in 1970.

¹²⁵ See Lepper and Frere: 1988, pp.20-1.

¹²⁶ For further information on the surroundings of the column, including the temple (which was erected in Hadrianic times), and the arch, see Lepper and Frere: 1988, pp.20-21.

¹²⁷ Quoted in Biver: 1963, 171.

¹²⁸ *Description de la Colonne de la Place Vendôme*, 1818, 18.

the top of the monument, linked the column to another place of interest, the Place du Carrousel, with its triumphal arch. The *Description* indicates that the view from the monument in 1818 encompassed the Louvre and the Tuileries:

‘Qui veut voir le Panorama de Paris et de ses environs, ne peut choisir un autre lieu que la galerie qui domine la Colonne. Là, l’œil de l’admirateur des beaux-arts y contemple avec plaisir les Palais des Tuileries, du Louvre et du Luxembourg, les Invalides, le Panthéon, et les Eglises de Notre-Dame et de Saint-Sulpice: tandis que celui de la jeunesse frivole ne se fixe sur les Montagnes Russes, les promenades des Tuileries, des Champs-Élysées et des Boulevards. Mais, ce que l’œil de l’un et de l’autre ne se fatigue point d’admirer, c’est le mouvement perpétuel du passage des Tuileries aux Boulevards, qui fait de la rue de la Paix un vrai spectacle en miniature.’¹²⁹

Another way in which the Vendôme Column imitated Trajan’s monument was through its commemoration of Napoleon’s ‘Res Gestae.’ On the one hand, the monument was a testament to Napoleon’s achievements as an imperial Roman builder, as in antiquity, Trajan’s Column had been a statement in stone of Trajan’s building policy. On the other hand, through its dedication and illustration of the Austerlitz campaign, the column also commemorated Napoleon’s military ‘Res Gestae.’¹³⁰ The use of the model of Trajan’s Column for the French monument specifically cast Napoleon in the role of Trajan the imperial builder as well as Trajan the military general and conqueror of ‘barbarian’ forces as he had been depicted in his sculptural frieze.

In fact, although Napoleon and his artists could have employed the Trajanic frieze to serve as a general model for their monument,¹³¹ they decided to base the frieze of the Vendôme Column very closely on the Roman frieze. By using the frieze to depict the progress of the military campaign, the preparations for war, the conflict between the French and their opponents, the emperor on the battlefield and the bloodshed of war, they specifically associated the emperor with the imperial model of Trajan, rather than that Augustus, who, as has been suggested, was renowned for bringing peace. Trajan engaged in many more campaigns than Augustus, and, unlike Augustus, was almost always involved in war. As Richard Brilliant suggests:

‘Trajan was the first Emperor to pursue a consistent program of military adventure after reaching power. Augustus and Vespasian had founded their reigns on prior victories personally achieved but generally refrained from subsequent activity in the field. Unlike them, Trajan throughout his career

¹²⁹ Ibid, 18.

¹³⁰ By contrast, Suetonius (*Augustus*, 101, 4) indicates that Augustus deliberately chose to repress mention of his military exploits in his ‘Res Gestae.’

¹³¹ It must be remembered that the original plans for the Vendôme Column included a spiral relief depicting allegorical representations of the one hundred and eight departments of the Republic, not a spiral of military reliefs presenting a narrative.

served as the commanding general in great campaigns against the Dacians and the Parthians. The victories that came were his own, to be shared only with the army, and the celebration of continued military successes became a cornerstone of his public policy.¹³²

The frieze on the Vendôme Column, like that on Trajan's Column, vividly portrays the military aspects of war, and shows Napoleon, and the Grand Armée, engaged in an ongoing narrative of war. Clearly through the erection of the Vendôme Column, Napoleon expressed his affiliation to the emperor Trajan in various ways.

The viewing problems associated with Trajan's Column also affected viewers of the French column. Contemporaries commented on the fact that they could not make out many of the details of the campaigns presented in the Vendôme Column frieze. Le Comte de Clarac, for example, remarked:

'L'immense bas-relief en spirale, qui se déroule de haut en bas de la colonne, paraît d'un travail superbe; il forme une confusion de batailles, d'entrées, de figures impossible à démêler, que personne ne verra plus, dès que les échafaudages seront enlevés.'¹³³

As in the case of Trajan's Column, perhaps the overriding impression given by the immense spiral of the Vendôme Column frieze was of the endlessness of imperial military victory and glory. But the use of a narrative format to depict the Austerlitz campaign also conveyed a much less appealing aspect of the Napoleonic wars. As the viewer gazed up at the seemingly endless depiction of the Austrian wars, he or she must have related what they saw to the current Napoleonic wars. Although the column had been constructed to commemorate the Austerlitz campaign and the Peace of Presbourg, by the time it was built it served rather to illustrate the rupture of the Peace and the resumption of war.¹³⁴ Perhaps even more than Trajan, who extended the frontiers of the Roman empire to its furthest limits,¹³⁵ Napoleon was to be remembered for engaging his country in continual war.

However, the fact that the column was surmounted by a statue of Napoleon, as a statue of Trajan had originally stood on Trajan's Column in Rome, conveyed his unsurpassable glory, and hinted at the deification of the emperor. In ancient Rome, it was the custom for emperors to be

¹³² Brilliant: 1963, 110. For a more detailed consideration of the achievements of Trajan, military and otherwise, see the excellent account by Bennett (1997).

¹³³ Quoted in Biver: 1963, 171. The issue of the problem of viewing the frieze continues to dominate studies of the Trajan's Column. See, for example, the articles by Paul Veyne, 'Propagande expression roi, image idole oracle' (*La société romaine*, 1991, pp.320-337), and Valérie Huet, 'Stories one might tell of Roman art: Trajan's column and the Tiberius cup' (in Elsner ed: 1996, pp.9-24).

¹³⁴ Napoleon engaged in further campaigns almost as soon as the Peace of Presbourg had been agreed. See, for example, Broers: 1996, pp.43-49.

¹³⁵ See Kleiner: 1992, 208.

deified after death, and monuments erected or converted, for their tombs. Trajan's Column itself may have served as a tomb for Trajan.¹³⁶ Under Louis-Philippe, it was planned that Napoleon's body should be brought back from St Helena to be buried in Paris, and the Vendôme Column was suggested as a possible location for his tomb.¹³⁷ In the end, it was decided that a tomb was to be erected for Napoleon in the Church of Les Invalides. But it seems no coincidence that Napoleon's column had been considered, as Trajan's may well have been in ancient Rome, a suitable resting place for this modern 'Roman emperor.'

¹³⁶ The use of the column as a tomb for Trajan was first mentioned in antiquity by Dio Cassius (*Hist. Rom.* 68.16.3), who commented that column had not only been built by Trajan, but that it had a funerary function. For a detailed discussion of the possibility that the column was intended to be a tomb, see Lepper and Frere: 1988, pp.21-22. For a long time, scholars assumed that it would only have been appropriate for the column to fulfil this extra function under Hadrian. Boni's excavations in 1906, however, suggested that a solid stone projection along the wall of the innermost chamber of the base of the column had existed as an integral part of the original plan, and that two holes discovered over the shelf might have been to secure the brackets for funerary urns for Trajan and his wife Plotina (see the article by Giamcomo Boni, 'Trajan's Column,' *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol.III, 1907, pp.1-6). Lepper and Frere conclude that it is likely that those responsible for erecting the column, notably Apollodorus, originally conceived of the inner chamber as a funerary chamber, whether or not this was discussed with Trajan during his own lifetime. For comparison, see the more recent article by Amanda Claridge, 'Hadrian's Column of Trajan' (*Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Volume 6, 1993, pp.5-22), in which she suggests that the column was only converted into a tomb and its spiral frieze added, during the reign of Hadrian. For further discussion of the construction and design of the monument, and how this relates to its function, see the article by Mark Wilson Jones, 'One hundred feet and a spiral stair: the problem of designing Trajan's Column' (*Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Volume 6, 1993, pp.23-38). I am grateful to Jas Elsner for leading a British School at Rome visit to Trajan's Column, which enabled me to see the chambers in the base of the column, as well as the view from the top of the monument.

¹³⁷ See Driskel: 1993, pp.35-45. On 26 May 1841, Lamartine made his famous address to the Chambers, in which he discussed various sites which could serve as a tomb for Napoleon. He ruled out the Invalides, since he thought that bonapartists would be constantly agitating to have the tomb moved if it were placed there. He dismissed the suggestion that the Vendôme Column should be used, since he felt that the central position of the monument would make it a focal point for all sorts of seditions and bonapartist rallies. He rejected the Madeleine for the same reasons, the Basilica of Saint-Denis because of its strong links with the French royalty of the past, the Arc de Triomphe because it was too pagan and would inhibit future military parades, and the July Column, since there was no obvious relation between Napoleon and the July Revolution. In Lamartine's opinion, the Champ de Mars was the most appropriate location for Napoleon's tomb. Driskel points out that the Vendôme Column would have been appropriate, had the government wanted simply to stress Napoleon's military exploits at the expense of his civil career and his dynastic claims. As early as 1821, an old soldier of the Grand Armée had suggested that the column was 'the only monument worthy to receive [Napoleon's] ashes.' In a book of poetry published in 1840, an obscure author, Cuisin, suggested that the Napoleon's body should be laid to rest in the base of the column, although he hoped that the return of his body would not engender war and violence or put his heirs on the throne. Driskel concludes, 'The site was much too visible, and there was too little remove from the life of the city and the social classes to whom the myth of Napoleon of the People most appealed' (p.42).

Spiral of conquest: Napoleon as the 'new Trajan' and the popularity of the 'Trajanic' frieze

As an imperial Roman builder, Napoleon first modelled himself on Augustus, and later Trajan. While the relief panels of the Arc du Carrousel presented him as a negotiator and suggested that he had established peace, the Vendôme Column depicted him as a great military leader. Curiously, however, through this conflation of imperial models, Napoleon conveyed himself more emphatically as the 'new Trajan.'

Trajan himself is said to have desired to emulate Augustus. He requested that his subjects refer to him as 'princeps,' a title which had been used for Augustus, he established a harmonious relationship with the senate, enacted important social legislation, founded colonies and instituted a major public building programme.¹³⁸ Critics often mention that it was Trajan who 'brought to its fulfilment the great building project in the capital initiated over a century before by Augustus.'¹³⁹ With the erection of the Vendôme Column, Napoleon brought to fulfilment his 'Augustan' and 'Trajanic' building projects relating to the Austerlitz campaign.¹⁴⁰ Like Trajan, he used the column as a striking expression of his military and architectural 'Res Gestae.' In this section, I shall focus on the design of the Vendôme Column frieze. I shall consider the role of Bergeret in the design of the frieze, and the relationship of the frieze to that on Trajan's Column. Finally, I shall suggest why, by 1810, the Trajanic frieze had become the most persistent general model for the depiction of the Napoleonic campaigns.

Denon selected the young painter Pierre-Nolasque Bergeret to design the frieze.¹⁴¹ Bergeret had trained at the school of Lacour in Bordeaux,¹⁴² and later, under David in Paris.¹⁴³ In the early

¹³⁸ See Kleiner: 1992, pp.207-8. On the relationship of Trajan's building programme to that of Augustus, she comments: 'At home, Trajan initiated public works, at first concentrating on repairs and the building of roads, but the vast cache of war spoils from the emperor's second Dacian campaign allowed Trajan to embark on a significant public building program in Rome that rivalled that of Augustus and the Flavians.' She also compares the general reception of the two emperors: 'It was Trajan who was the first emperor since Augustus to possess the special aura that led to his designation *optimus*, informally from 100 and officially from 114. The legacy of the man and his accomplishments were almost equal to those of Augustus, and it was to Trajan more than to Rome's first emperor that emperors of the second, third and fourth centuries liked to make reference. In fact, Eutropius reports that in the late empire, emperors received acclamation in the senate as 'more fortunate than Augustus, better than Trajan' (*felicior Augusto, melio Traiano*).'

¹³⁹ Bennett: 1997, 144.

¹⁴⁰ As I shall discuss in the Conclusion to this thesis, he encountered some problems with his project for the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile, however, and the monument was only completed some time after his reign.

¹⁴¹ On Bergeret, see the PhD thesis by Lucretia El-Abd, *Pierre-Nolasque Bergeret (1782-1863)* (Columbia University, 1978, published by Ann Arbor, 1980). As far as I can tell, no other single study of Pierre-Nolasque Bergeret exists. The Witt Library in the Courtauld Institute of Art contains a useful compilation of works by Bergeret.

¹⁴² It is not clear, however, whether this was the provisional school set up by Lacour at his own expense after the closure of the Bordeaux Académie, or Lacour's atelier at the Ecole Centrale des Dessins, founded in February 1795.

nineteenth century, he was a prominent artist, and his works were, for a while, highly popular.¹⁴⁴ At the Salon of 1806, he exhibited his painting, *Les Honneurs rendus à Raphaël* (fig.361),¹⁴⁵ to widespread popular acclaim, while at the same Salon, Ingres' painting of *Napoleon I on his Imperial Throne* was badly received.¹⁴⁶ Bergeret continued to paint many history paintings,¹⁴⁷ and mixed in an influential circle which included the painter François Gérard. It was through Gérard that he gained his first employment as a cartographer for the Napoleonic campaigns. Although his visual knowledge of the Napoleonic campaigns undoubtedly helped him when he came to execute the Vendôme Column designs, Denon did not choose him to design the frieze on the basis of this work. It was while he was working on designs for monumental items at the Sèvres factory that Bergeret came to the attention of Denon.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ Here, he established a close friendship with his contemporary Ingres. Although Ingres won the Grand Prix in 1801, he did not leave Paris until 1806. At this time, Bergeret was experiencing more public success than Ingres, and this created a rift between the artists which was never properly resolved.

¹⁴⁴ In his lectures given between 1804 to his death in 1814, Lacour continually praised Bergeret, and upheld him as an example of artistic achievement. In one lecture, for example, he commented: 'Monsieur Bergeret a comme vous, contemplé de loin, et longtemps, la carrière de la gloire, avant de hasarder ses talents; comme vous, il a d'abord essayé ses forces sur des sujets faciles à traiter; puis, toujours guidé par l'étude dans les sentiers pénibles de l'art, il s'est avancé par gradation, et est enfin parvenu à force de persévérance à s'y frayer une route d'autant plus sûre, qu'elle est le fruit de ses méditations et de son jugement' (quoted in El-Abd: 1980, 15). In 1821, he described Bergeret as 'connu par la richesse et la fécondité de son génie,' which suggests that Bergeret was well-established at this time. On Bergeret's later failure and poverty, however, see El-Abd: 1980, Chapter V, pp.278-321. Bergeret comments on the difficulties of trying to work as a painter in early nineteenth-century France in his *Lettres d'un artiste sur l'état des arts en France, considérés sous les rapports politiques, artistiques, commerciaux et industriels* (1848), which are discussed by El-Abd.

¹⁴⁵ Reproduction held in the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

¹⁴⁶ For example, Le Comte de Clarac, who reviewed the Salon of 1806 for the *Annales littéraires de l'Europe*, criticised the painting for its 'stiff and awkward manner,' 'severity of pose and design,' and 'Gothic' composition (quoted by Andrew Carrington Smith in his article, 'The Critical Reception of Ingres' Portraits (1802-1855),' which appears in the exhibition catalogue, *Portraits by Ingres: Image of an Epoch*, edited by Gary Tinterow and Philip Conisbee, 1999, p.500). It is still not known whether Ingres was commissioned to execute the painting of *Napoleon I on his Imperial Throne*, or whether he executed it in the hope that it might be received to public acclaim (see the above catalogue, p.65).

¹⁴⁷ He depicted subjects ranging from ancient Rome to medieval and later times. These included *François Ier écrit des vers au bas du portrait d'Agnès Sorel* (1817), *Henri IV exposé sur son lit de mort* (1822), *La Bienfaisance d'Antonin le Pieux* and *La Clémence de Marc-Aurèle*, executed for the Conseil d'Etat in Orléans in 1832, and *Mort du Titien* (1832).

¹⁴⁸ Although the Sèvres porcelain manufactory had fallen into neglect during the Revolution, owing to a lack of funds and commissions, under Napoleon, it was much revived. A new administrator, Alexandre Brongniart, was appointed in 1800, and he instituted research for the development of an improved hard paste porcelain. Many artists and architects, including Percier and Fontaine, Meynier, Chaudet, Gérard and Isabey, worked on designs for porcelain items. Bergeret worked there from 1804. For a history of the Sèvres manufactory and a delineation of the variety of works produced by Sèvres under Napoleon, see El-Abd: 1980, p.73ff. On the relationship between Napoleon and the manufactory, see the article by Serge Grandjean, 'Napoléon et la manufacture de Sèvres' (*Bulletin de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.34, janvier 1959,

Bergeret's first major commission for Sèvres was for a series of vases in the 'style néo-étrusque.' Two were to celebrate the Egyptian campaign, while two others were to be decorated with a scene derived from the Roman wall-painting of the Aldobrandini Wedding and an imaginative pendant scene. A fifth vase was to be designed in imitation of a Greek amphora to commemorate Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz.¹⁴⁹ From Bergeret's designs for the decorative panels for all five of the vases, it is clear that he was influenced by the iconography and costume common on Etruscan and ancient Greek vases, as well as elements derived from Roman sculptural reliefs. For the depiction of Napoleon on the vases, however, he turned specifically to Roman sculptural reliefs. His design for one of the Egyptian vases shows Bonaparte in the guise of a Roman emperor, receiving the submission of conquered Janissaries (fig.362).¹⁵⁰ This Roman theme is maintained in his design for the Austerlitz vase, where Napoleon is depicted as a Roman triumphator (fig.363).¹⁵¹ Despite the use of some Grecian elements for the design,¹⁵² a winged victory bears a shield inscribed with Caesar's motto, 'VENI VIDI VICI,' and the countries involved in the war are represented by flying eagles.¹⁵³ Lucretia El-Abd has commented that Bergeret's design for the Austerlitz vase demonstrates that he was able to 'translate the triumphant events of Austerlitz of December 2, 1805, into the language of Greek vase painting,' but it is clear that elements of Roman iconography were also employed in his designs.

The 'Romanness' of Bergeret's work for Sèvres, however, is most evident from his design for the 'Colonne d'Austerlitz.'¹⁵⁴ The column (fig.364) displays 'Roman' elements which are

pp.1-2). On Sèvres in general, see, for example, Dauterman (1969), and Brunet and Fréaud (1978).

¹⁴⁹ El-Abd (1980, p.89) mentions that the location of the two vases executed to commemorate the Egyptian campaign is now unknown. She assumes that the Aldobrandini vases were made to serve as wedding gifts for members of Napoleon's family (p.97), but makes no comment on the current whereabouts of the vases. The Austerlitz vase was intended to be the first gift offered to Napoleon on his return from Austerlitz, and to be displayed at the Château de St-Cloud (it is now at Malmaison). Another important vase to be manufactured at Sèvres was the Vase du Musée, which depicts the arrival at the Louvre of art objects brought back from Italy by Napoleon's army. This was painted by Antoine Béranger, however, and completed at the later date of 1813. It is displayed at the Musée National de Céramique, and is illustrated in Irwin: 1997, fig.157, p.274. For a further discussion of the Sèvres vases, see the article by Marcel Gastineau, 'Denon et la manufacture de Sèvres sous le premier Empire (1805-1814)' (*Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, LXIII, janvier 1933, pp.21-42, and février 1933, pp.64-76), and El-Abd: 1980, p.85ff.

¹⁵⁰ Reproduction in the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

¹⁵¹ Reproduction in the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art. Also see Rosenblum: 1980, 188 and fig.211.

¹⁵² The vase uses the red and black colour scheme of Greek and Etruscan vases, and the horses and winged female figures, their hair styles and costumes, are modelled on Grecian designs.

¹⁵³ The largest eagle, representing Napoleonic France, is shown attacking another eagle (Austria), where nearby a third eagle (Russia), has been totally overcome and falls to the ground upside down. On the symbolism of the eagles, see El-Abd: 1980, 101.

¹⁵⁴ The column also represented a technological achievement for Brongniart and his hard paste porcelain. On the column, see the article by Serge Grandjean, 'Un monument Napoléonien en porcelaine' (*Bulletin de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.49, octobre 1953, pp.103-105), and El-Abd:

strongly influenced by the design of Trajan's Column.¹⁵⁵ The base of the column consists of an ebony plinth, decorated with gilded bronze ornaments. On each corner are eagles placed between swags of foliage (fig.365), which recall the eagles on the base of Trajan's Column. Unlike Trajan's Column, however the 'Colonne d'Austerlitz' presents Napoleon as an 'Augustan' as well as a 'Trajanic' emperor. The subjects of the circular plaques on the base of the monument, were copied from four of the medals commissioned to commemorate Austerlitz.¹⁵⁶ The four scenes show (starting from the front of the monument and move clockwise round it) the *Prise de Vienne et de Presbourg* (fig.365), *Allocution au pont du Lech* (fig.366), *Entrevue des deux empereurs* (fig.367), and *Prise d'Ulm et de Memmingen* (fig.368).¹⁵⁷ In the first plaque, Napoleon is shown as Hercules, wearing a lion skin, with personifications of the two conquered cities kneeling in supplication on either side of him. The other three plaques show Napoleon dressed as an ancient Roman, engaged in scenes of 'adlocutio,' negotiation and as a 'triumphator' in a chariot. Although the designs for the last three were influenced by stock scenes from the frieze of Trajan's Column, they do not depict Napoleon in the context of a narrative of battle, as we find on the frieze of Trajan's Column. The role of the monument as a visual celebration of peace is confirmed by the decoration of the top of the column with a statue of 'La Paix.'

The shaft of the column is decorated with horizontal panels rather than a spiral of reliefs but, unlike the plaques on the base of the column, the panels portray Napoleon engaged in conflict, in more complex, narrative scenes (fig.369). The arrangement of the panels to convey a narrative starting from the bottom of the column and ending at the top also recalls the frieze on Trajan's Column.¹⁵⁸ Bergeret himself painted the panels on the shaft, and the figures are depicted

1980, pp.105-115. On the general significance of the production of large-scale items such as the Austerlitz Vase and the Austerlitz Column, see El-Abd: 1980, p.115.

¹⁵⁵ At the time El-Abd was writing (pre-1978), the column was positioned in a gallery on the ground floor at Versailles which was not open to the public. Today, however, it is on display in the Salle du Sacre at Versailles, surrounded by some of the most famous Napoleonic paintings: a version of David's *Coronation* (1805-7), Gros' *Battle of Aboukir* (1806), David's *Distribution of the Eagles* (1810), and two portraits, one by Robert Lefèvre, labelled, *Napoléon Ier, Empereur des Français, 1804, Roi d'Italie, 1805*, the other by Rouillard, showing *Napoléon Bonaparte, Général en Chef de l'Armée d'Italie, 1796*. The ceiling is decorated with commemorative panels and stucco work, commemorating Napoleonic battles, which date from the 1830s, when Louis-Philippe established his museum illustrating the history of France.

¹⁵⁶ These were painted in the style of an antique cameo by a specialist in the technique, Pierre-Sylvestre Coupin de la Couperie, a pupil of Girodet's, who was employed at Sèvres.

¹⁵⁷ For the earliest reproduction of the designs of the medals and descriptions of the designs, see Tardieu: 1822, p.15ff and Plates 2-3. There are examples of all these medals on display in the Musée de la Monnaie in Paris.

¹⁵⁸ The subject of the scenes, from bottom to top, are as follows: *Levée du camp de Boulogne*, *Reddition de la ville d'Ulm*, *Entrée dans Vienne*, *Bataille d'Austerlitz* and *Retour de l'Expédition*. The original finished drawings for the panels, as well as the design for an extra panel which was never used (*Prise de Vienne*) and five preliminary drawings, are held in the archives of the Manufacture de Sèvres. For a discussion of the designs, see El-Abd: 1980, pp.109-114.

in imitation of relief, in gilt on a lapis lazuli background.¹⁵⁹ They are separated from each other by horizontal bands, each one of which is labelled with the subject of the relief directly above it. Features of the panels and their arrangement are modelled on elements of the frieze of Trajan's Column. In the first panel, for example, depicting the *Levée du camp de Boulogne*, Napoleon stands on a raised plinth, as he spurs on his men to leave camp (fig.370), while the other panels, including the top panel (fig.371), illustrating the *Entrée dans Vienne*, are characterised by the arrangement of rows of figures on foot and on horseback.¹⁶⁰ The figure of Napoleon is depicted towards the front of every panel, in line with the front of the base of the column. The inclusion of a turbaned man (fig.372) in the second panel on the column (showing the *Reddition de la ville d'Ulm*) indicates the specific artistic influence of the Egyptian campaign. The contemporary success of the monument is suggested by the fact that Brongniart later planned to manufacture two other columns, commemorating Tilsit and the campaign in Poland.¹⁶¹

Bergeret's design for the Sèvres column was clearly influenced by his knowledge of Trajan's Column. His observation of the frieze (either from casts or engravings) seems to have informed his design of horizontal 'Trajanic' panels, painted to imitate sculptural relief.¹⁶² The Vendôme Column, however, was to be modelled much more closely on Trajan's Column, especially in terms of its spiral of reliefs. Although Bergeret was probably well prepared to design the reliefs owing to the work he had undertaken on the Sèvres column, his work on the Vendôme Column, by comparison, was far more challenging.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ It is possible that in his use of a lapis lazuli background for the panels, Bergeret was influenced by the design of the replica of Trajan's Column made between 1774-1780 by Luigi Valadier and purchased three years later by Elector Karl Theodor of Bavaria (it is now in the Schatzkammer of the Residenz in Munich). The model is two metres tall, with silver gilt figures on a lapis lazuli ground (see Haskell and Penny: 1981, pp.47 and 51, fig.26).

¹⁶⁰ These two designs are reproduced in the catalogue from the exhibition, *Napoléon à Austerlitz et Iéna*, held at Les Invalides in 1956, which appears in the *Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.59, avril 1956, figs.2-3.

¹⁶¹ El-Abd: 1980, 114. On the Tilsit column, also see the article by Serge Grandjean, 'Un monument Napoléonien en porcelaine' (*Bulletin de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.49, octobre 1953, p.105). Work began on the Tilsit column in 1812, but it was never finished. The archives of the Sèvres manufactory contain five oil paintings in grisaille by A.E.Fragonard of the scenes that were to decorate the shaft. Until recently, these paintings were themselves attributed to Bergeret. The unfinished column was not listed in an inventory of unsold Napoleonic porcelain objects stored at Sèvres in 1814.

¹⁶² Bergeret does not seem to have won the Grand Prix and there is no evidence that he ever went to Rome and saw Trajan's Column.

¹⁶³ For the circumstances surrounding the production of Bergeret's designs for the frieze, see Biver: 1963, pp.167-169, and El-Abd: 1980, pp.125-129. Although Bergeret anticipated that the work would be monotonous, he was persuaded to accept the commission by Denon's suggestion that the work could lead to further commissions and 'récompenses honorifiques.' By employing only one designer, it was possible to achieve a unity of style for the frieze. Being a young artist, however, Bergeret encountered much resentment from his older peers, and so left the task of finding sculptors to execute his designs largely to Denon. It seems that his work was delayed by the intervention of self-important generals (such as General Jean Lannes, who demanded to be

The frieze of the Vendôme Column is very closely modelled on that of Trajan's Column. Like Trajan, Napoleon used the frieze as visual propaganda. The frieze delineates the glorious achievements of the French in the Austerlitz campaign. The activities of the Grande Armée are shown throughout the frieze, and the role of the emperor himself is prioritised in many of the scenes. Although the general style, visual features and narrative format of the frieze of the Vendôme Column directly recall the frieze on Trajan's Column, the frieze on the Vendôme Column provides a specifically French reading of the Trajanic frieze. Napoleon and his artists understood the frieze on Trajan's Column to such an extent, that it enabled them to produce their own 'Roman' frieze, not just an imitation of Roman art. The French column, however, also represents Napoleon's ruthless manipulation of Roman artistic models. It is disquieting to realise that the model provided by the Trajanic frieze enabled Napoleon and his artists to distort the circumstances of the Austrian campaign in the name of Roman art.

To start with, it is important to remember that the campaigns illustrated in the frieze on the French column took place in a similar location to Trajan's Dacians campaigns. Contemporaries were well aware of this phenomenon, as is suggested by a remark made by Tardieu in his folio edition: 'Dacie, vaste province arrosée par le Danube. Elle comprenait le pays connu maintenant sous le nom de Hongarie, et confinait à la Pannoe, aujourd'hui Autriche.'¹⁶⁴ The general composition of the Vendôme Column frieze closely matches the composition of the frieze on Trajan's monument.¹⁶⁵ Both friezes start at the bottom with a depiction of the preparations for war

depicted in the lower, and therefore more visible, areas of the frieze), but he still managed to complete the work in fourteen months. To start with, however, he gained little prestige from the work, since the publication of Baltard's folio edition was delayed and the publicity of the monument was suppressed. He was annoyed when he was not awarded the Legion d'Honneur for his work, although Denon did offer him further commissions such as designing the bas-reliefs for the Pont-Neuf obelisk. His arrogance is apparent from the fact that in his *Lettres* (1848), he compared his relationship with Denon to that of Mansard with Louis XV, who would leave errors in his drawings, so that when the King noticed them, Mansard could compliment him on his discerning eye. The final drawings for the bas-reliefs were destroyed in a fire just before the outbreak of the First World War. Bergeret's reference to them in his *Lettres* seems to indicate that they were done to scale (a descendant of Bergeret remembers them being very large). There are twenty-five outline sketches in the Cabinet des Dessins in Paris, which correspond to the first series of bas-reliefs ascending from the bottom of the shaft, and an outline sketch and two drawings in Bordeaux. The sketches in the Cabinet des Dessins are faintly drawn on tracing paper, and are not suitable for reproduction here. For a detailed discussion of all the sketches, however, see El-Abd: 1980, pp.131-140. Interestingly, the sketches in the Cabinet des Dessins appear to have been cut to that they conform exactly to the plates in Baltard's folio illustrations of the frieze.

¹⁶⁴ Tardieu: 1822, 7, note 2.

¹⁶⁵ In the following discussion, I shall refer to the plates illustrating the Vendôme Column frieze contained in Tardieu's edition (1822), since these show the scenes more clearly than my photographs of the monument itself, although I shall refer to my photographs of the frieze wherever possible. For reproductions of the frieze of Trajan's Column, I have turned to Conrad Cichorius' original photographs of casts of the frieze, which are reproduced in Lepper and Frere (1988).

and the arrival in a new terrain (figs.373-6).¹⁶⁶ The campaigns depicted in the two friezes are divided half way up the columns by the depiction of a winged victory recording the conclusion of the first campaign on a shield (figs.377-9).¹⁶⁷ However, while the end of the Dacian wars are illustrated with the submission and dispersal of the Dacians, the end of the Vendôme Column frieze focuses on the triumphal return of the emperor and the transportation of war booty (figs.380-1).¹⁶⁸ Stylistic elements of the Vendôme Column frieze specifically recall Trajan's Column, from the depiction of pontoon bridges (figs.382-4)¹⁶⁹ and architecture which is out proportion with the figures in the scenes (figs.385-7),¹⁷⁰ to the use of local detail, including rocky outcrops and trees and even statues to divide the scenes (figs.388-9).¹⁷¹ Scenes of construction - camp building, bridge building and the erection of military defences (figs.390) - also feature on both columns, although on the French column there are more scenes showing the preparation of arms (fig.391).¹⁷² Yet while different weapons feature in the Vendôme Column frieze, guns, canons and bayonets, for example, rather than stones (thrown by the Dacians), many of the basic activities of war depicted on both friezes are the same, and in both friezes, swords are used. On the other hand, the use of guns alters the nature of confrontation in the battle scenes on the French column, where soldiers are often shown in opposing lines (fig.392) rather than engaged in hand to hand fighting as they were in Trajan's time (fig.393).¹⁷³

The use of stock scenes to convey the actions of the emperor and the arrangement of these scenes to highlight the figure of the emperor in the frieze on the Vendôme Column also reflects elements of the Trajanic frieze. For example, near the beginning of the frieze, Napoleon is shown on a raised podium announcing the start of war and the departure of the army (fig.394-5), in a similar manner to the scenes depicting Trajan engaged in 'adlocutio' with his men (fig.396).¹⁷⁴ Later on in the frieze, he is shown addressing his men from horseback on the Pont du Lech (fig.397-8).¹⁷⁵ By 1810, scenes of 'adlocutio' derived from Roman reliefs were frequently depicted by French painters, specifically in relation to the Austerlitz campaign. In an account entitled *Examen du tableau des Sabines et de l'Ecole de M.David*, published in 1810, Alexandre Lenoir describes a painting by M.Gautherot, a pupil of David, which depicts 'le moment de la

¹⁶⁶ Lepper and Frere: 1988, Plate V, Tardieu: 1822, Planche 7.

¹⁶⁷ Lepper and Frere: 1988, Plate LVII, Tardieu: 1822, Planche 24.

¹⁶⁸ Lepper and Frere: 1988, Plate CXIII, Tardieu: 1822, Planche 35.

¹⁶⁹ Lepper and Frere: 1988, Plate VII, Tardieu: 1822, Planche 10.

¹⁷⁰ Lepper and Frere: 1988, Plate XXV, Tardieu: 1822, Planche 8.

¹⁷¹ Lepper and Frere: 1988, Plate XX, Tardieu: 1822, Planche 14.

¹⁷² Lepper and Frere: 1988, Plate XV, Tardieu: 1822, Planche 25.

¹⁷³ Tardieu: 1822, Planche 17, Lepper and Frere: 1988, Plate XXXII. Although on the frieze on Trajan's Column, the Roman soldiers are sometimes arranged in phalanxes, with their shields lined up against the enemy, in a manner similar to the rows of French soldiers with guns depicted on the Vendôme Column.

¹⁷⁴ Tardieu: 1822, Planche 8, Lepper and Frere: 1988, Plate XI.

¹⁷⁵ Tardieu: 1822, Planche 16.

campagne de 1805, où Sa Majesté l'Empereur harangua son armée près du pont de Lech, par la préparation à la bataille qui allait se donner. M. Gautherot a donné le nom d'allocution au sujet qu'il a représenté.' He provides a useful delineation of Roman 'adlocutio' scenes:

'Les Romains donnaient le nom d'Allocutions (Allocutiones) aux discours ou harangues que les Empereurs et les Généraux prononçaient à la tête des armées avant d'aller à la guerre, pour exhorter les soldats à se battre. Ils en usaient de même après le combat, pour les remercier ou les reprimander, suivant la conduite qu'ils avaient tenue dans les combats. Pour cette cérémonie, ils construisaient ordinairement une espèce d'estrade en pierre qu'ils nommaient suggestus; l'Empereur était debout accompagné du Préfet du Prétoire, qui avait sa place derrière ou à côté de lui. Les soldats armés, se plaçaient au bas pour l'écouter.'¹⁷⁶

Lenoir remarks that such scenes could also be seen on Roman coins, and this neatly reflects the fact that one of the medals produced to commemorate the Austerlitz campaign depicted the *Allocution au pont du Lech*, the same subject chosen by Gautherot for his painting. In his description of the medal, which is illustrated in his folio edition on the Vendôme Column (fig.399), Tardieu also refers to the antique origins of such scenes.¹⁷⁷

As well as displaying similar visual elements to the frieze of Trajan's Column, the Vendôme Column frieze also reflects the role of the Roman frieze as a narrative of the imperial campaigns. In his folio edition, Tardieu relates Bergeret's composition of the frieze to the creation of a written diary, covering the events of the Austerlitz campaign:

'C'est sur les programmes dictés par M. Denon que M. Bergeret sut écrire, d'une manière aussi exacte que pittoresque, et dans une suite de dessins de près de mille pieds d'étendue, le journal historique de la campagne de 1805.'¹⁷⁸

We shall never know, of course, the precise intentions of those who made the frieze on Trajan's Column - whether, or to what extent its artists intended it to depict a narrative, and how the selection of scenes and events related to the actual events of the campaigns. All we can conclude is that it shows a selection of scenes which, in our eyes, seems to present a narrative. It must be noted, however, that the Vendôme Column itself provides vital visual evidence of how the French,

¹⁷⁶ Lenoir: 1810, 33.

¹⁷⁷ Tardieu: 1822, Plate 1, fig 2. Tardieu comments on the medal (p.15): 'Napoléon rejoint l'armée à Augsbourg, et passe les troupes en revue au pont du Lech, où il les harangue avec cette éloquence militaire qui avait tant d'empire sur le soldat. Il fait jurer l'armée de vaincre, et elle ne faussa point ce serment. On a reproduit dans la médaille qui consacre cet événement une imitation des allocutions antiques: un général à cheval reçoit le serment de ses soldats et leur montre le chemin de la gloire, vers lequel la Victoire, tenant une palme, dirige déjà son vol...'

¹⁷⁸ Tardieu: 1822, 14. Denon's role in selecting the final scenes to be executed was appropriate since he had accompanied Napoleon and made sketches throughout the Austerlitz campaign.

in the early nineteenth century, interpreted the frieze of Trajan's Column as a narrative,¹⁷⁹ and in this respect, it is strange that critics of Trajan's Column have not made more use of the French monument.

Illustrations of the sculptural frieze clearly indicate that the frieze was intended to represent a narrative of the Austerlitz campaign. According to Bergeret's original sketches of the frieze, the scenes on the column were to have their corresponding titles inscribed in the bronze cord which spirals up the column beneath the bronze frieze.¹⁸⁰ The illustrations in Louis-Pierre Baltard's *La Colonne de la Place Vendôme*, which was commissioned to correspond with the inauguration of the monument in 1810,¹⁸¹ are also shown with titles (fig.400), and the arrangement of the illustrations in a volume, which was to be consulted from front to back, encouraged viewers to 'read' the frieze (as a narrative). In Tardieu's edition, which was published in 1822, longer scenes are shown than in Baltard's edition (although again, two are shown on each page, one on top of the other), which enabled the 'reader' to gain an even clearer sense of the 'story' of the campaign.¹⁸² The fact that the designers of the frieze thought that it was necessary to provide a volume illustrating the sculptural frieze, suggests that their conception of the column was significantly informed by their methods of interpreting the Trajanic frieze. The publication of folio editions on the column reveals that Denon and his artists designed the Vendôme Column with the viewing problems of Trajan's Column in mind: they anticipated that viewers would want to be able to see the details of the frieze which were not visible to the naked eye of a viewer on the ground.

On the other hand, Bergeret's division of the frieze into a mass of small scenes, each with its own title, which in the folio editions on the column, the viewer could peruse individually, also reflects the manner in which the frieze had been studied by the French for many years. Since the late seventeenth century, areas of the frieze had been cast in segments or 'scenes' at the Académie in Rome, and French artists had studied the casts in detail, focusing on portions of the frieze. The study of these casts had been an important influence on French painting in the eighteenth century. History paintings, in particular, had reflected the composition and iconography of certain scenes.

¹⁷⁹ This is confirmed, for example, by contemporary descriptions of the friezes of Trajan's Column and the Column of Marcus Aurelius in for example, Magnan (1783). In the case of the Column of Marcus Aurelius, Magnan lists the subject of each 'scene' on the column in order (see Volume 2, pp.7-10).

¹⁸⁰ I could not see these titles from my observation of the monument. It may be the case that the titles were not added to the monument when it was constructed, or were not replaced when the frieze was reconstructed in 1875.

¹⁸¹ As has already been suggested, we do not know exactly when it appeared, although it bears the date 1810. See the article by Robert Hénard, 'Les trois statues de la colonne' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.1, janvier-juin 1912, p.356), and El-Abd: 1980, 130.

¹⁸² See, for example, fig.381 and fig.383. I have already mentioned that the edition of Tardieu's *La Colonne de La Grande Armée d'Austerlitz* which has recently been produced by Maurice Griffé and Jean-Luc Beaumont (1995) represents the culmination of publications illustrating the frieze as

It is likely that before he started work on the Vendôme Column frieze, Bergeret would have been familiar with the iconography of the frieze of Trajan's Column through the medium of history painting.¹⁸³ The display and use of casts of the frieze at the Académie in Rome also seems to have prioritised individual scenes from the frieze, since casts were displayed in different locations around the Palazzo Mancini, or taken to students' rooms for private study.¹⁸⁴ We know that some casts of the frieze were arranged together, along a wall in the circular room of casts at the Palazzo Mancini, but it is difficult to know how many casts were put together, or whether an attempt was made to group them sequentially. Curiously, the manner in which the restored casts are currently displayed in the Villa Medici denies them a narrative, sequential role, since they are displayed individually in a series of different rooms (fig.401).¹⁸⁵

Despite the fact that the Vendôme Column frieze had been designed as a selection of individual scenes, the overall impact of the frieze, however, was as a narrative of the Austerlitz campaign. The frieze was planned to 'tell the story' of the campaign, in the same way as the frieze on Trajan's Column was thought to provide a pictorial history of Trajan's campaigns. Tardieu, for example, comments: 'Ce monument, parvenu jusqu'à nous, offre à notre admiration une des plus belles pages de l'histoire militaire de l'antiquité.'¹⁸⁶ Clearly, he envisaged that his folio edition provided a visual (and partly verbal) 'history' of Napoleon's campaign as vivid as any of his 'readers' would find in accounts of campaigns written by ancient authors. The creation of Napoleon's campaign into immediate 'history' was ensured by the concurrent production of written accounts of the Austerlitz campaign, such as the *Histoire abrégée de la campagne de Napoléon-le-Grand, en Allemagne et en Italie, jusqu'à la paix de Presbourg*, by Sérieys, which was first published in 1805.¹⁸⁷

The more sinister nature of Napoleon and his artists' use of the model of the Trajanic frieze, however, is apparent from a comparison of two particular features of the depiction of the Dacian wars in relation to that of the Austerlitz campaign. The Dacian wars represented Trajan's retaliation to the uprisings of the Dacian tribe on the eastern frontier of the Roman empire.¹⁸⁸ Although Trajan was committed to expanding the empire as far as possible, in the case of the

a narrative.

¹⁸³ Although for his work on the Sèvres Column, he may have made a close study of engravings of the frieze of Trajan's Column.

¹⁸⁴ See Chapter 2.

¹⁸⁵ This is possibly because many of the casts were destroyed during the period of the Revolution, with the result that it would be difficult to reconstruct even short sections of the frieze from the remaining few.

¹⁸⁶ Tardieu: 1822, 7.

¹⁸⁷ Sérieys also wrote several accounts of Roman history during the Napoleonic period. For a detailed consideration of Napoleon's commission of accounts of the campaigns, as well as new history books to be used in schools and the creation of new chairs in history in universities in France, see Burton (1979).

¹⁸⁸ Lepper and Frere comment: 'the Dio account is quite clear that [Trajan] was stirred to action by

Dacian wars, in many respects, he was only continuing Domitian's attempts to control the area and maintain the limits of the empire. Napoleon's Austrian war, although it has been said that it was provoked by the formation of the Third Coalition, provided the emperor with the ideal alternative to the (failed) British campaign.¹⁸⁹ He capitalised on the situation with the specific intention of expanding the empire. Yet Napoleon's use of the model of Trajan's Column to commemorate the Austerlitz campaign implied that Napoleon, like Trajan, had only been fighting in order to maintain the empire, and reduced the status of his opponents to troublesome, if brave, Dacians, overshadowed by the might of Napoleon's imperial strength. The column denied the fact that Napoleon was still trying to create his empire, and instead, suggested that his opponents, like the Dacians, were already part of his (long-established) 'Roman' empire.

Secondly, it is important to consider the relative time scales of the Dacian wars and the Austerlitz campaign. The Austerlitz campaign only lasted for three months,¹⁹⁰ and constituted a single campaign, in comparison with Trajan's two Dacian campaigns, which were spread over several years (A.D. 101-2, and 105-6). By employing the model of Trajan's Column, Napoleon was appropriating for himself the Roman glory gained through a war of several years, despite the fact that his own campaign had lasted for a mere three months. At the same time, the brevity of Napoleon's campaign served to suggest that Napoleon was far more glorious than Trajan. On reading the plaque on the base of the column which stated that Napoleon achieved his success at Austerlitz within three months, a viewer would have been provoked to consider how much more powerful Napoleon must have been than Trajan, to have resolved his campaign so soon. The inclusion of the motif of the winged victory signing a shield on the French column also has the effect of transforming the events of the Austerlitz campaign. On Trajan's Column, the winged victory is used to mark the end of the first Dacian war, a year after the campaign began, and three years before the second campaign commenced.¹⁹¹ The motif has been employed on the Vendôme Column to transform the battle of Ulm into an event as significant as the battle marking the end of the first Dacian war, despite the fact that a consideration of the events of the Austerlitz campaign suggests that this was not a natural division of events: Napoleon's victory at Ulm had been a chance victory, and one which took place only a short time after the French reached Austria. Napoleon and his artists have cleverly used the motif to present the battle of Ulm as Napoleon's master-stroke and the turning-point of the campaign.

Decebalus' flagrant breeches of the peace-terms of A.D.88.'(1988, 38).

¹⁸⁹ On which see Wright: 1984, 46.

¹⁹⁰ Although the exact length of the campaign is debatable. The Grande Armée left its camps on 23 August 1805. By 30 September, all the units had crossed the Rhine and by 11 October they had crossed the Danube. The battle of Ulm was on 20 October and the French victory at Austerlitz achieved on 2 December 1805.

¹⁹¹ See Lepper and Frere: 1988, pp.121-2.

In fact, the frieze of Trajan's Column became the most important single influence on depictions of the Napoleonic campaigns, from paintings and reliefs, to other commemorative works of art. Artists such as Meynier, Gros and Gérard frequently depicted 'Trajanic' scenes.¹⁹² Bergeret himself designed a series of 'Trajanic' reliefs for the Corps Législatif, which showed, for example, *La prise de Breslau* (fig.402).¹⁹³ In Milan between 1803-5, the artist Andrea Appiani had executed an immense painted frieze in the Palazzo Reale, which illustrated the Napoleonic campaigns in Italy and the establishment of the Cisalpine Republic (fig.403).¹⁹⁴ The frieze did not

¹⁹² For an exploration of how Gros, in particular, represented Napoleon as Trajan, see the important article by John Walker McCoubrey, 'Gros' *Battle of Eylau* and Roman Imperial Art' (*The Art Bulletin*, XLIII, June 1961, pp.135-139). He comments, for example, (pp.138-139): 'In Gros' *Eylau*, as elsewhere in Napoleonic art, a conscious parallel between Trajan and Napoleon was undoubtedly intended. We know that the analogy to Roman campaigns on the frontier was not lost upon the latter, who, in a bulletin issued just after Eylau, scornfully termed his enemies 'les Russes, les Kalmouks, les Cosaques, ces peuplades du nord qui envahirent jadis l'empire romain'... Finally, one of the last projects of the empire, the decorations of the imperial palace on the Quirinal in Rome, was to have included a painting of Trajan distributing the sceptres of Asia. Beside this scene was to be a blank space reserved to commemorate the triumphal entry of Napoleon, the new Trajan, into his capital.' Interestingly, other decorations for the Palazzo Quirinale included two friezes, which, while not modelled directly on Trajan's frieze, were no doubt influenced by its general format and again, associated Napoleon with a form of triumphal frieze. I have already mentioned one of the friezes, that by Carlo Finelli in the Salone dell'Imperatore, which depicts *Il trionfo di Giulio Cesare*. The other, in the Sala di Ricezione, is by Bertel Thorvaldsen, and shows *Il trionfo di Alessandro*. Other friezes showed a series of battle spoils, or winged victories holding coronae. For a detailed consideration of the friezes, see the catalogue edited by Marina Natoli and Maria Antonietta Scarpati, *Il Palazzo del Quirinale: Il Mondo Artistico a Roma nel Periodo Napoleonico* (1989).

¹⁹³ Bergeret produced his designs for the Chambre des Députés, in the Palais du Corps Législatif, in 1813. It is not known exactly where the panels would have been displayed within the Chambre des Députés. All the Napoleonic decoration within the Palais was destroyed in 1815. However, there are five drawings by Bergeret for the panels celebrating the Italian campaigns in the Cabinet des Dessins of the Musée du Louvre, and four in the Musée Dobrée. The drawing illustrated here is one of the designs in the Musée Dobrée (reproduction in the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art). Other scenes depicted included *Le Grand Duc de Berg investit Erfürt*, *Le convoi du général Shmettan*, *La prise de la flotte suédoise* and *Travaux de terrassement sur les remparts d'une ville*. For further information, see El-Abd: 1980, pp.146-150, and the archives of the Witt Library.

¹⁹⁴ The frieze decorated the Sala delle Cariatidi in the Palazzo Reale, and was destroyed during a bombing raid in 1943. Fortunately, Appiani engraved a complete version of the frieze between 1807-1818, and there is a copy of this in the archives of the Museo Napoleonico in Rome. For a reproduction and discussion of all the engravings, see the catalogue from the exhibition, *Mito e storia nei 'Fasti di Napoleone' di Andrea Appiani: La traduzione grafica di un ciclo pittorico scomparso*, held at the Museo Napoleonico, 15 February -15 May 1986. Also see the catalogue from the exhibition, *I 'Fasti di Napoleone' di Andrea Appiani: Ricostruzione di un ciclo pittorico perduto*, held at the Castello della Rancia, Tolentino, 24 April-29 July 1997. Hubert: 1964, pp.228-229, provides a useful general discussion of Appiani's work in Milan. Appiani's engravings indicate that the painted frieze was more detailed and had a greater depth than the frieze of the Vendôme Column, partly because of the medium in which it was produced. The different political context of the frieze is made clear by allegorical representations, for example, in the catalogue, fig. XIX shows Bonaparte being led by Minerva to a seated figure of France, in order to be made First Consul. Motifs which are specific to Trajan's Column, however, including the figure of victory inscribing a shield, are also incorporated into the frieze, along with features

have imperial intentions, but through its visual narrative it cast Napoleon as the 'new Trajan.' With its depiction of Napoleon engaged in the activities of war, it foreshadowed the popularity of the 'Trajanic' frieze in Napoleonic Paris later on. With the completion of the Vendôme Column in Paris in 1810, it was clear that Napoleon, like Trajan, had transformed war into an art form.

Although the Arc du Carrousel, completed in 1808, presented Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz as the establishment of an 'Augustan' peace, by 1810 it had become much more appropriate for Napoleon to model himself on the emperor Trajan. Like Trajan, Napoleon was frequently absent from his capital, fighting campaigns abroad, and like Trajan, he prioritised the commemoration of his military 'Res Gestae.' Contemporaries had suggested that Louis XIV was 'Il Traiano della Francia,'¹⁹⁵ but a consideration of the Vendôme Column and the context in which it was built reveals that Napoleon, rather than Louis XIV, was closely modelled on Trajan. The design of the column reveals Napoleon and his artists' deep understanding of imperial Roman monumental architecture. It also, however, suggests that they employed the artistic model of Rome to transform recent events with frightening effect.

which derive from the influence of the Egyptian campaign, such as a crowd of turbaned musicians who follow Napoleon as he enters Milan in triumph.

¹⁹⁵ As the Bartoli edition of engravings of Trajan's Column was inscribed.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have considered how Napoleon employed the monumental architecture of imperial Rome in order to articulate himself as a 'new Roman emperor' and establish Paris as the 'new Rome.' By erecting triumphal 'Roman' monuments, Napoleon created a splendid imperial centre in his capital. The foundation of the Musée des Antiques, with its display of antique sculptures seized by the French from Rome and Italy, played a key role in the articulation of the 'new Rome.' Just as victorious generals and emperors in ancient Rome had paraded their spoils through the streets of the city and dedicated them in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, so too did the French parade Napoleon's spoils and dedicate them in his 'Temple of the Arts,' the Louvre. The Musée des Antiques was characterised by its Roman ideology, established through the arrangement of sculptures according to Roman themes, such as 'summi viri,' and the creation of 'temple' settings for prized works of art. Although there were some critics of the Musée, such as Quatremère de Quincy, who opposed the French spoliations of art and felt that the antique sculptures should be studied within their 'natural' and historical context in Rome, in general, the French were thrilled to be able to visit the sculptures in their Musée. Art theoreticians such as Eméric-David were soon trying to establish exactly how they could be employed for the regeneration of French art. The Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel and the Vendôme Column were erected near the Musée between the years 1806-1810, and these also conveyed Napoleon's military success. They recalled well known monuments in the imperial fora of Rome, and were established as important topographical landmarks in the centre of the 'new Rome.' In the centre of his capital, Napoleon created a network of Roman public spaces, including 'le forum Napoléon,' which was linked, via a series of streets named after his victories, to the Place Vendôme. The 'Romanness' of the arch and the column was reinforced by the use of Roman iconography for the sculptural decoration of the monuments. Critics have condemned the Arc du Carrousel and the Vendôme Column for being 'merely imitations' of monuments in Rome, but in fact they show a complex combination of French and Roman artistic traditions, uniquely adapted to commemorate the Napoleonic campaigns. In many ways, these monuments represented the culmination of developments in French artistic training in the second half of the eighteenth century, and the realisation in stone of the Revolutionaries' designs. The architect Marie-Joseph Peyre had suggested, as early as 1765, that French architects should take inspiration from the grandiose buildings of imperial Rome. But it was only in the context of imperial Paris, in the wake of the Austerlitz campaign and with the patronage of Napoleon, that it was possible to construct the 'new Rome.'¹ By this time it was the military

¹ It is interesting to consider how the association of Napoleonic Paris with ancient Rome was replaced later in the nineteenth century by an association with ancient Athens. On this subject, see, for example, the essay by Claire Hancock, '*Capitale du plaisir: the remaking of imperial Paris*' (in Driver and Gilbert eds, 1999, pp.64-77). I am grateful to Catharine Edwards for providing me with an earlier

monuments of imperial Rome which were of particular inspiration for French architects, not the baths and palaces which had been admired by Peyre.

Napoleon undertook other 'Roman' building work in the city, including the construction of new bridges, public buildings such as the Bourse and the Madeleine, and a series of fountains, some on an Egyptian theme. Plans for monuments such as the Pont-Neuf obelisk, while they did not get off the drawing board, also suggested that Napoleon had the monumental architecture of the Roman emperors in mind. Although his building projects frequently served to commemorate his military victories, his improvement of road systems, markets, hospitals and gardens in the city, showed that he had a genuine concern for urban development in general, not just for the celebration of his campaigns. The period of the Roman Republic and in particular the French occupation of Rome enabled the French to establish a unique symbiotic relationship between Paris and Rome. As well as turning Rome into the second city of the empire, the programme of excavations and urban development undertaken by the French in the city had an important influence on the transformation of Paris into the 'new Rome.'

Napoleon built on the political and artistic links which had been developed between France and ancient Rome during the Revolution in order to articulate himself as a 'new Roman emperor' and Paris as the 'new Rome.' His coronation as emperor, following the period of the French Republic, specifically evoked the transition from Republic to Empire in ancient Rome. To start with, Napoleon cultivated his association with the emperor Augustus, who was renowned for bringing peace and prosperity to Rome after a period of civil war. Augustus was also well known for the magnificent buildings he had constructed in Rome, and his buildings had attracted the admiration of French architects such as Marie-Joseph Peyre as early as 1765. Napoleon planned to rebuild Paris as Augustus had rebuilt ancient Rome, and the erection of the Arc du Carrousel was central to his 'Augustan' vision of imperial Paris. By 1810, however, Napoleon's role as a military leader and his continual campaigning meant that he resembled the emperor Trajan rather than Augustus, the first emperor of Rome. Napoleon proclaimed his affiliation to Trajan through the erection of the Vendôme Column, which was modelled on Trajan's Column, and the Trajanic frieze became a crucial source of inspiration for various forms of Napoleonic art.

The designs of the Arc du Carrousel and the Vendôme Column indicate that Napoleon and his artists had a precise understanding of the artistic model of imperial Rome, especially the use of monumental architecture as propaganda for the imperial regime. Napoleon's minister for the arts, Vivant Denon, played an important role in ensuring that the Napoleonic monuments were based closely on their Roman models. However, it is clear from a detailed consideration of the Arc du Carrousel and the Vendôme Column that the French did not just copy the Roman monuments which they chose as an inspiration for their monuments. In fact, it seems that in order to adapt these Roman

version of this paper, entitled 'Imperial Paris, 1851-1870', given at the Imperial Cities Conference organised by the Department of Geography at Royal Holloway College, May 1997.

monuments to suit the precise requirements of the new regime, Napoleon and his artists employed and manipulated their Roman models with unnerving success.

Epilogue

In this thesis I have provided an analysis of the role played by monumental architecture in the establishment of Paris as the 'new Rome.' However, it is also important to consider the impact of the fall of Napoleon in 1814 on the articulation of Paris as the 'new Rome.' Some of the architectural projects which had been planned under Napoleon were only finished after he fell from power. The completion of monuments such as the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile and the full clearance of the courtyard between the Louvre-Tuileries represented the further realisation of Napoleon's 'new Rome.' But the Restoration also witnessed the deconstruction of fundamental elements of the 'new Rome,' notably, the return of works of art from the Musée des Antiques (and the Louvre museum in general) to the countries from which they had been seized. The deconstruction of the display of spoils in the Musée des Antiques undermined the ideological coherence of the 'new Rome.'

In this section, I shall provide a brief consideration of the effect of Napoleon's fall on the 'new Rome,' specifically on the 'Roman' monuments and loci which had been established in Napoleonic Paris. In addition, I shall outline further areas for research on the subject of Napoleon's 'Romanness,' which it has not been possible to consider within the scope of this thesis. I shall focus in particular on the implications of the collapse of the empire on the myth of Napoleon as a 'Roman.' In many ways, it was only after Napoleon's fall that the imperial myth was properly established. It is clear, however, that the flexibility of the imperial myth, which had lent it such appeal for Napoleon, also enabled his critics to employ the myth to undermine the Napoleonic regime. Not only were French artistic relations with Rome following the Napoleonic period fraught with tension (the monuments of the ancient city in particular representing the ambiguity of Napoleon and his achievements), but discussion of Napoleon's 'Romanness' became a means of expressing opinion about the regime.

Two of the most important building projects which were only completed after Napoleon's fall were the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile and the Louvre-Tuileries courtyard. Work had stopped on the arch for various reasons in 1814, at a time when the structure of the monument rose just five or six metres from the ground.¹ The resurgence in popularity of Napoleon I during the July Monarchy, however, led to the completion of the monument and its bas-reliefs in 1836 (fig.404).² Similarly,

¹ The project was particularly hampered by the sudden deaths of both Chalgrin and Raymond, but there were also problems concerning the funding and design of the monument. On this subject, see Biver: 1963, pp.194-198.

² The construction work started in 1831, and the architect Abel Blouet was in charge of the project. By the end of 1832, the arch was already forty metres tall. Louis-Philippe and his minister Adolphe Thiers employed various sculptors to execute the sculptural decoration. The monumental groups depict (on the side facing the Champs-Élysée) *Le Triomphe de 1810*, by Jean Cortot, and the *Marseillaise* or *Le Départ des Volontiers de 1792*, by François Rude; while those on the opposite side show *La Paix de 1815* and *La Résistance de 1814*, both by Antoine Etex. The bas reliefs commemorate, for example, *La Bataille d'Aboukir* by Bernard Seurre, and *Les funérailles de Marceau*, by Philippe Lemaire. For a

Percier's and Fontaine's project to unite the Louvre and Tuileries palaces was only achieved after the Napoleonic period, according to a refined version of their plans produced by the architect L.-T.-J. Visconti (fig.405),³ as they were finally executed by the architectural firm of Hector Lefuel in the 1850s (fig.406).⁴ The completion of both these projects represented the achievement of the key 'Roman' spaces in the centre of the city - the processional route from the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile down towards the 'forum' space in between the Tuileries and Louvre palaces.

By contrast, in the case of the Musée des Antiques the fall of Napoleon witnessed the partial dismantling of the Musée. To start with, according to the terms of the Treaty of Paris, agreed in May 1814, the French were permitted to keep the works of art which had been seized as spoils during the campaigns.⁵ As Katharine Eustace suggests, the treaty was 'purposefully benign,' and 'carefully avoided all occasions of wounding French pride, in an attempt to re-establish the Bourbon monarchy under Louis XVIII.' In 1814, 'the great galleries of the Musée Napoléon, immediately renamed the Musée Royale, at the Louvre, remained intact, being one of the wonders of the world, a powerful symbol of national pride.'⁶ On 30 August 1815, however, Canova, who had been elected to represent the Pope, delivered a letter to the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh, making a case for the annulment of the Treaty of Tolentino.⁷ Castlereagh was entirely supportive of the Italians' claims for the restitution of their art, and in September, he sent a memorandum to the Ministers of the Allied Powers requesting them to ensure that 'justice' was done. In his memorandum, he invested 'these Trophies' with enormous symbolic value, commenting that the 'Principle of property,' a principle of 'virtue, conciliation and peace,' was the 'surest and only guide to Justice' which would 'settle the public mind of Europe.'⁸ Although his careful wording was intended to ensure that the French were not insulted by the proposals, the French were distraught at the prospect of losing their treasured works of art. As Walter Scott commented in July 1815:

detailed consideration of the monument and its sculptural decoration, see Gaetgens (1974) and Gaillard (1995).

³ Visconti worked with his student Emile Trélat on the plans.

⁴ These are reproduced in Van Zanten: 1994, pp.78, 80. On the development of Percier's and Fontaine's plans and the achievement of the project, see Van Zanten: 1994, Chapter 3, p.74ff.

⁵ It was according to this treaty that Napoleon's abdication was secured. On the negotiations over artistic war spoils which ensued after the fall of Napoleon, see Saunier: 1902, pp.85-185, Chatelain: 1973, pp.217-254 (this includes a useful table indicating the number of works of art which were returned to different countries), and the exhibition catalogue, *Canova: Ideal Heads*, edited by Katharine Eustace, 1997.

⁶ Eustace: 1997, 10.

⁷ Canova had been charged with making a claim for 'la restituzione de' capi d'opera dell'arte antica e dei quadri' that had been removed by the French from Italy (see Eustace: 1997, 9). Interestingly, in his letter to Castlereagh, he appealed on behalf of Rome as the great repository of Art, Antiquity and History, and the training ground of artists - and in doing so recalled elements of Quatremère de Quincy's *Lettres à Miranda*.

⁸ Quoted by Eustace: 1997, 13.

‘[French] attachment to these paintings and statues, or rather to the national glory which they conceive them to illustrate, is as excessive as if the Apollo and Venus were still objects of actual adoration.’⁹

Even Louis XVIII himself was desperate to hold onto the works of art, partly in order to safeguard his own position in France. But he had little bargaining power with the Allies, and shortly after the removal of the Medici Venus on 25 October (fig.407),¹⁰ official recognition of the Papal claim for restitution was secured.¹¹ The French were able to keep some statues, such as the large marble of the Tiber,¹² but this did little to pacify them as the Allies made preparations to remove the bulk of the works of art. By 2 October, the Englishman, Andrew Robertson, recorded in his diary that ‘there is now no bounds to the rage of the French,’¹³ and three days later the Director of the Louvre, Vivant Denon, resigned. A British officer who witnessed the statues being packed up for their transportation back to Rome, commented on the resentment of the French and their refusal to help. His poignant description of the French response to the removal of works of art vividly conveys the significance of the items to the French:

‘I insinuated myself among the groups of Frenchmen that occupied the space in front of the Louvre and its approaches, and was much edified at the expressions of mingled rage, shame, and grief; it was as if we had partitioned France amongst the allies, and made all the inhabitants tributary serfs, there could have been scarcely greater consternation...Everyone has heard the story of the girl who fell in love with the Apollo; the grief and sorrow of both men and women for its departure were of the deepest character, and nearly equalled that of the passion of the young lady. Some of the artists who were allowed to be present when this inimitable statue was put in its case, shed tears, and kissed the hand of the marble. All the feelings...reached their climax when the train of carriages with the packages moved off, under the escort of our 52nd light infantry.’¹⁴

A contemporary engraving also conveys the emotional impact of the scene for the French. A French artist, leaning on his canvas (probably a copy of one of the paintings being removed by the Allies),

⁹ Quoted by Eustace: 1997, 15.

¹⁰ Engraving in the Bibliothèque Nationale, reproduced in Chatelain (1973).

¹¹ This was achieved on 30 September 1815.

¹² Various items were also kept in Paris since their owners could not afford to transport back to Rome. The Albani family, for example, only transported the prized Antinous bas-relief back to their villa in Rome. This had been one of Cardinal Albani’s antiquities, and had been highly praised by Winckelmann in his *History of the Art of the Ancients*. Many of the items which had been owned by the Albani were sold to Prince Ludwig of Bavaria (see Haskell and Penny: 1981, 116).

¹³ Quoted by Eustace: 1997, 16.

¹⁴ Anonymous, *Cognitions of a Vagabond*, London 1838 (quoted in *Neoclassicism and Romanticism, 1750-1850*, Volume II: *Restoration/Twilight of Humanism*, Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series, edited by Lorenz Eitner, 1970, pp.13-14).

weeps profusely as the great works of antique sculpture, the Apollo Belvedere and the Laocoön are wheeled away, accompanied by guards (fig.408).¹⁵

Napoleon's seizure of art from Italy had played an important role in ensuring the need for a national Musée des Antiques. The fact that the removal of certain works of art to the Musée had brought popular acclaim to some works of art which had been little known before they were removed from Rome,¹⁶ and that other works of art which had not been selected by the French experienced a decline in popularity,¹⁷ suggests that the French spoliations were not only influenced by, but served to influence the creation of 'canons' of artistic taste. In addition, although Napoleon's Musée des Antiques had only existed for a brief period of fifteen years, it is clear that through the Musée, Napoleon had achieved his aim of shifting the cultural attractions of Rome to France. Various travellers to Rome in the decades after the fall of Napoleon, on visiting the antique sculptures in the collections of Rome, referred to the fact that they were items which they had first seen in Paris some years ago.¹⁸

Perhaps the lasting impression of the Musée in the eyes of the French, however, was one of humiliation, engendered by the 'destruction' of the Musée by the Allies in 1815.¹⁹ The degree to which they had celebrated their display of spoils as a magnificent 'Roman' military success, was matched by the level of humiliation they suffered when the spoils were confiscated in 1815. I have

¹⁵ Reproduced in Saunier: 1902, fig.12. In reality, the statues would have been packed up for transportation. The illustration suggests, however, that it is the sight of the statues which provokes such a strong reaction in the French artist. The fact that the statues are shown as 'captives,' led by guards, would have had particular resonance for French viewers of this illustration, since, as has been discussed earlier in this thesis, by bringing the statues to France, the Revolutionaries had claimed that they were 'liberating' them.

¹⁶ For example, a marble Diana taken from the Borghese collection, 'which had certainly been noted when still in Rome, but which only achieved true celebrity after its arrival in Paris where, following three quarters of a century of growing admiration, it was to be described as 'one of the pearls of the Museum, among the most esteemed masterpieces of Greek sculpture' (Haskell and Penny: 1981, 113).

¹⁷ The Della Valle Satyrs, for example, were much more popular in the sixteenth century than in the nineteenth. Lalande did not think much of them, they were not taken by the French, and they were little drawn from the late eighteenth century onwards.

¹⁸ In his *Promenades dans Rome*, Stendhal, for example, describes his visit to the Capitol: 'Comme, en visitant le Capitole moderne, nous cherchions aujourd'hui des plaisirs d'architecture, nous ne sommes entrées dans les musées (ouverts deux fois par semaine, le jeudi et le lundi), que pour reconnaître que dans le bâtiment à gauche du spectateur se trouvent le Gladiateur mourant, le Vénus du Capitole, le buste de Brutus et autres chefs-d'oeuvre que nous avons vus à Paris..' (Stendhal, edited by Armand Caraccio: 1938-1940, Volume II, p.4).

¹⁹ The French clearly regarded the removal of works of art as constituting the 'destruction' of the museum. The Archives du Louvre, for example, contains amongst items of general correspondence for 1815, a 37 page manuscript entitled *De ce qui passé au musée royal depuis l'entrée des Alliés à Paris*. In the preface to this article, the author comments, 'Des circonstances inouïes avaient élevé un monument immense; des circonstances non moins extraordinaires viennent de le renverser. Il avait fallu vaincre l'Europe pour former ce trophée; il a fallu que l'Europe se rassemblât pour le détruire...La destruction du musée est devenue un monument historique. J'ai regardé comme un des devoirs les plus importants et les plus douloureux que j'ai à remplir à donner au public à qui ce musée a

already suggested that little research has been undertaken on the subject of the Musée des Antiques as a 'Roman' display of art. In a similar manner, critics have not considered how the removal of spoils served to undermine the specific 'Romanness' of the Musée des Antiques.²⁰ It is clear that just as the foundation of the Musée in 1800 played a crucial role in the establishment of Napoleonic Paris as the 'new Rome,' the confiscation of Napoleon's war spoils in 1815 led to the transformation of Napoleon's 'Roman' glory, as it had been achieved through the display of spoils in the Musée des Antiques, into 'Roman' failure and defeat.

In 1815, as Napoleon's 'Roman' regime fell, the Romans themselves triumphed through their reclamation of works of art. To commemorate the return of art works from Napoleonic Paris, a plaque was erected over the doorway of the Room of the Gladiator in the Museo Capitolino (fig.409),²¹ and a fresco was commissioned to decorate one of the lunettes on the east wall of the Galleria Chiaramonti in the Vatican. Executed by Francesco Hayez, the fresco depicts the River Tiber, in the presence of a bust of Canova, watching the arrival of the convoy of art works back in Rome (fig.410).²² Perhaps the final humiliation of the French was the purchase of Canova's statue of Napoleon as Mars by the British as a gift for Wellington.²³ As has been suggested, the statue was hated by Napoleon, since 'Cette nudité dans un portrait n'était pas de son goût.'²⁴ While Napoleon had given strict instructions that the statue should not be put on display, now it was to be owned by Wellington, who had inflicted

si complètement appartenu le journal fidèle et les détails les plus exacts des opérations qui ont amené son démembrement...' (quoted in Chatelain: 1973, pp.226-227).

²⁰ In the past, critics have tended to focus on the events and negotiations surrounding the removal of art. The most recent account, the exhibition catalogue, *Canova: Ideal Heads*, edited by Katharine Eustace (1997), provides an analysis of the relationship between Canova and the British concerning the return of works of art to Italy, and the political and cultural significance of Canova's works of neoclassical art, his 'Ideal heads' (see also the revue of the exhibition by Tom Flynn, 'Canova: Ideal Heads in Oxford,' *Apollo Magazine*, Vol.CXLVI, No.429, November 1997, pp.57-8). Further research is needed on the significance of the display of sculptures in the Musée des Antiques, how this changed during the Napoleonic period as more works of art were acquired and further galleries were opened (for example, the Salle des Fleuves in 1813), and the corresponding significance of the removal of these items for the Musée after 1815.

²¹ Several of the works of art which had been taken from the Museo Capitolino by the French had been taken from this room, which is prominently situated at the top of the main flight of stairs in the museum (on entering the museum, these stairs are to the right). The plaque was erected in 1816, after the safe return of sculptures such as the Dying Gladiator, Faun playing a pipe, and the Capitoline Juno. I am grateful to Dr Paolo Arata of the Museo Capitolino for drawing my attention to the plaque, and for delineating the current and former locations of the sculptures which were seized by the French.

²² Reproduced in Haskell and Penny: 1981, 114.

²³ Apparently the British bought the statue 'for less than three thousand pounds.'

²⁴ *Mémoires* of M. de Bausset, quoted in Saunier: 1902, 189. Also consider the suggestion by Christopher Johns that 'Napoleon primarily feared the comparison of his present balding, paunchy self to Canova's sublime, heroic creation, unquestionably crowned with his own likeness. The marble portrait [was] superimposed over the muscular body like a beachgoer's face above the photographic cutout of a strongman.' (Johns: 1998, 101). According to Johns, Canova may have deliberately subverted a more traditional type of statue for his depiction of Napoleon, and the statue may also have displeased Napoleon since in 1811, he wanted to be presented as a man of peace, not as Mars (Johns:

Napoleon's final defeat, and prominently displayed in his London house.²⁵ Had the statue been displayed in the Salle des Hommes Illustres, it would at least have been set in an appropriate 'Roman' context. This setting would also have enhanced the interpretation of the statue as a Roman imperial type. The exhibition of the statue in Apsley House, however, neatly deconstructed Napoleon's 'Romanness,' by implying that Wellington was Napoleon's 'Roman' conqueror, who had seized his sculpture as a trophy of war. A contemporary sketch pokes fun at the size of the statue relative to its 'captor,' Wellington. Wellington is shown as a tiny man, teetering on a bench as he stretches up to unveil the statue in Apsley House (fig.411).²⁶ The role of the statue in representing Napoleon as a victor in war is undercut by the diminutive size of Wellington, Napoleon's conqueror, who is adorned with medals which he probably gained fighting at Waterloo. For the purposes of the illustration, the winged statue of victory which had stood on the globe held by Napoleon, has been replaced by a shabbily dressed female figure in a long dress.

In this thesis, I have considered how Napoleon and his architects, under the instruction of Denon, strove to use the model of the Roman emperors to commemorate the achievements of Napoleon, in particular his military victories achieved during his campaigns abroad. I have focused on how Napoleon transformed the central area of his capital into the 'new Rome. It has not been within the scope of this thesis, however, to consider the full implications of the model of imperial Rome for Napoleon and his contemporaries in early nineteenth-century Paris.

Further research is needed, for example, on the topic of the 'Romanness' of the other monuments, especially the temple structures, which were erected in Napoleonic Paris. I have provided some analysis of the representation of the emperor in the bas-reliefs on the Arc du Carrousel and the Vendôme Column, and the statues of Napoleon in Roman garb which were created to decorate both monuments, but so far, a study of the 'Romanness' of Napoleon's personal image has not been made.²⁷ Another topic which requires greater consideration is the 'Romanness' of the decorative arts produced

1998, 104). As I have indicated, however, the Vendôme Column, completed in 1810 (although begun in 1806), certainly did not present Napoleon as a man of peace.

²⁵ The archives of the Furniture and Woodwork Department in the Victoria and Albert Museum contain a photocopy of the original receipt given by John Flaxman to the Duke of Wellington detailing the cost of 'moving the colossal statue of Bonaparte 14 June [1817] from Richmond House to Apsley House' (this has been photocopied from John Flaxman's account book, held in the archives of Columbia University Library, New York). I am grateful to the Assistant Curator at Apsley House, Katharine Hugh, for pointing me towards this source.

²⁶ The drawing is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but is reproduced in Chatelain (1973). It seems as if the artist had not actually seen the statue, since Napoleon is shown with his left foot forward rather than his right, holding a sword in his left hand instead of a staff, the tree trunk is shown behind his left leg rather than his right, and Napoleon is not shown wearing a cloak - although the artist may well have transformed the cloak into a covering sheet on purpose to add to the comic effect of the depiction. The sketch was probably executed by a British rather than a French artist precisely because it pokes fun at the statue, although it also shows Wellington in a comical light.

²⁷ Valérie Huet, however, provides some discussion of Canova's statue of Napoleon at Apsley House and of depictions of Napoleon in Salon paintings (see her article, 'Napoleon I: a new Augustus?', in Edwards ed: 1999, pp.53-69).

under Napoleon, which used many of the motifs, the eagles, coronae and Egyptian symbols employed in antiquity by Roman artists and craftsmen, and in many cases, were directly modelled on Roman decorative artifacts which had been found at Herculaneum and Pompeii.²⁸ These motifs were carried through into the interior decoration of Napoleonic palaces, although, as might be expected, there was some variation in the decoration of palaces in France in comparison with, for example, Rome, where different artists were used. The precise impact of the Egyptian campaign and of the publication of the *Description de l'Égypte* on Napoleonic art and the role of French imperial ambitions in Egypt in the articulation of Napoleon as a 'new Roman emperor' are topics which would also benefit from further research. In addition, while a useful survey of Napoleon's interest in history, his influence on the teaching of history and historical production has been made by June K. Burton,²⁹ the accounts of ancient Roman history published in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have yet to be linked in any detail to developments in Napoleonic art.³⁰ These are just a few of the areas relating to the subject of Napoleon as a Roman emperor (specifically relating to artistic production) which represent important subjects for future research.

It has also been beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a detailed consideration of the way in which the Roman model may have been employed to criticise Napoleon and his regime. Even in antiquity, Roman imperial mythology was such that emperors were quickly designated as 'good' or 'bad' emperors,³¹ and it is hardly surprising that it was often the emperor's use (and abuse) of the visual arts, which provoked some of the strongest reactions in contemporary viewers and in viewers later on.³² While the association of Napoleon with the emperors of ancient Rome seems to have been used by his artists as a means of glorifying his deeds, the choice of Trajan's Column as the model for Napoleon's column, as I have suggested, could also have implied to contemporaries a more sinister aspect of the Napoleonic campaigns. I have discussed how Quatremère de Quincy employed the Roman model in order to condemn Napoleon's spoliations, and to suggest that he was barbarous and unenlightened, rather than a glorious 'triumphator.' Other contemporaries compared Napoleon with the emperors of Rome for the purpose of condemning the general political ethos of the regime. The

²⁸ The compendia on ancient art provided by Le Comte de Caylus, the *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines* (1756-1767) and the Baron d'Hancarville, *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines* (1785) were a useful source of inspiration for Napoleon's craftsmen, although they had influenced French decorative arts in the late eighteenth century as well.

²⁹ See Burton (1979).

³⁰ I have provided some consideration of the reception of ancient Roman history by the French in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. I have commented on the popularity of the accounts by Montesquieu and Rollin, and, later on, Royou. But I have only considered these French accounts of ancient history in terms of their general relation to my main theme, the erection of 'Roman' monuments under Napoleon, and not in relation to other examples of Napoleonic art and architecture.

³¹ This was heightened by the fact that after death, it was decided whether an emperor was to be honoured with deification or not.

³² To the extent, as has been suggested, that images of emperors such as Domitian were destroyed when the emperor himself was officially condemned. In a similar manner, the Napoleonic monuments suffered 'damnationes' under various regimes.

diplomat and writer, Chateaubriand, for example, swiftly grew to dislike Napoleon and the political espionage of the Napoleonic court. In 1804, following the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, he resigned from the diplomatic service, and in 1807, published an article in the *Mercure* in which he blatantly attacked Napoleon by referring to imperial Rome. In his article, he commented on the regime of Nero, where decadence and corruption were rife, and implied that circumstances were little better in Napoleonic France.³³ It would be interesting to know if there was widespread criticism of Napoleon in such terms, or if contemporaries referred to Napoleon's role as a patron of art and architecture by drawing on negative Roman models such as the emperor Nero.

Interestingly, in his article on Nero as an imperial builder, Jas Elsner suggests that it was largely after and as a consequence of his fall that Nero's building projects were viciously condemned by the ancient authors. He comments:

'In effect, Nero only became an outrageous and prodigal builder when he fell from power. Then, the rhetoric of history turned against him and he was condemned in every respect - especially in the most visible and rhetorically potent elements in his reign, his private life and his public works.'³⁴

In a similar manner, it seems that condemnation of Napoleon by French critics largely arose after his fall.³⁵ During the Restoration and the Commune, hatred against Napoleon developed, and it is likely that at this time, Napoleon was regarded as a 'decadent' Roman builder, and a 'corrupt' emperor of the 'new Rome.' It may have been the military nature of the arch and the column in particular which attracted criticism. Certainly, after the Napoleonic period, the model of Trajan's Column had become so redolent of imperial power and conquests, that it was not considered to be a suitable model for the column celebrating the July Revolution. When the Colonne de Juillet was erected in the Place de la Bastille (fig.412), it was decorated with horizontal panels, and not with a spiral of reliefs.³⁶

On the other hand, we can see from designs put forward in the 1830s and 1840s for a monument to be erected as Napoleon's tomb, that artists also employed the Roman military associations of Napoleon in order to convey his military success. A design executed by Antoine Etex in 1839, for example, depicts Napoleon in Roman garb, mounted on his horse like the statue of Marcus Aurelius on

³³ See Chateaubriand, translated by Robert Baldick: 1961, 254. On the relationship between Napoleon and Chateaubriand, see the article by Richard Laulan, 'Chateaubriand et Napoléon ou le lapsus d'un grand écrivain' (*Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.78, janvier 1961, pp.1-7), Geyl: 1964, pp.17-18, and the article by Marcel Dunan, 'Napoléon et Chateaubriand' (*Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, No.123, avril 1972, pp.67-69).

³⁴ See the article by Jas Elsner, 'Constructing decadence: the representation of Nero as imperial builder' (in Elsner and Masters eds: 1994, p.123).

³⁵ The condemnation of Napoleon as a 'decadent' Roman emperor by international enemies such as the British represents another area for future research. As has already been suggested (see Chapter 2), Napoleon's seizure of works of art was certainly condemned by the British as barbarous and 'Roman,' in comparison with their acquisition of the Elgin Marbles through negotiation and diplomacy.

³⁶ See Driskel: 1993, pp.42-44.

the Capitol, only here he is shown perched on an immense globe (fig.413).³⁷ In a frontispiece for de Las Cases' *Mémorial de Saint-Hélène* (1842), the artist Charlet has also chosen to depict Napoleon as a Roman emperor, mounted on a rearing horse and pointing forwards, as if leading the battle charge (fig.414).³⁸ It seems likely that such designs influenced Henry de Montant in his execution of a powerful engraving for an edition of *La Vie de Jules César* (1868), which again shows Napoleon on a rearing horse (fig.415), only this time the engraving is given the title *Napoléon-César*. Napoleon gazes up at a divine light in the sky, while the feet of his horse straddle the countries labelled 'Gaul' and 'Italie' on the globe below.³⁹ Even in an engraving produced shortly after the death of Napoleon on Saint-Helena on 5 May 1821, illustrating the *Songe de Bertrand* (fig.416), General Bertrand is shown dreaming that two Roman figures, one wearing a plumed Roman helmet, the other an imperial corona, lead the group of military leaders and 'great men' who come to meet Napoleon as he enters the 'other world.'⁴⁰

After the fall of Napoleon in 1815, the ambiguity of Napoleon's achievement was soon established as a fundamental part of the 'myth.' French visitors to Rome became particularly aware of the contradictory nature of Napoleon in relation to the monuments and art of Rome. Although many clearly admired the excavations undertaken by the French in Rome, they often felt a twinge of conscience when they visited the monuments and collections of Rome. For example, in his *Promenades dans Rome*, Stendhal reveals an uncertain attitude towards the monuments of Rome. His observation of the Colosseum leads him to consider the contradictory nature of Napoleon, and to compare him with the emperors of Rome: 'On peut faire aux Romains la même objection qu'à Napoléon. Ils furent criminels quelquefois, mais jamais l'homme n'a été plus grand. Et l'on se sent disposé à mépriser les vaincus.'⁴¹ Before he visits the Forum, he pauses to consider the past relationship of the French to the site, and remembers that in the past, the French have despoiled the area and caused much damage there. Although in the seventh century, 'le Forum était encore dans toute sa splendeur,' in the eleventh century, the French undertook two incursions against Rome, 'mais

³⁷ Reproduced in Driskel: 1993, fig.38. Interestingly, this was Etex's second design for the monument. His first depicted the monument in the form of a fountain, and showed Napoleon dressed in military uniform. It was only for his second design, which was specifically for the site of Les Invalides, that he showed Napoleon as a Roman imperial figure.

³⁸ See Driskel: 1993, 68.

³⁹ Reproduced in the article by John Grand-Carteret, 'La légende Napoléonienne par l'image vue sous un jour nouveau' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.20, janvier-juin 1923, plate opposite p.43). As I have suggested in this thesis, Napoleon admired Caesar and his comments on him are widely known (see, for example, Herold, 1955). It was only when Napoleon became emperor that the Roman imperial model became much more appropriate. Napoleon was still associated with Caesar, however, as we find in this illustration by de Montant, owing to the parallels between their military success.

⁴⁰ Reproduced in the article by Pascal Greppe, 'L'Empereur est mort!' (*Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, No.34, janvier-juin 1932, plate opposite p.279).

⁴¹ *Promenades dans Rome*, edited by Armand Caraccio: 1938-40, Volume 1, p.25. Although Stendhal visited Rome in 1811, his *Promenades* were not published until 1828, so it is likely that they reflect a

en l'an 1084, lorsque les Gaulois de Brennus vinrent de nouveau à Rome sous la conduite de Robert Guiscard, ce centre de la magnificence romaine éprouva le sort que les Cosaques avaient envie de nous infliger en 1814.'⁴² Stendhal underlines the ferocity of these incursions by the French by comparing them with the recent attack of 'les Cosaques' on the French.⁴³ Yet to some extent he excuses the actions of the French by stressing the cultural and historical allure of the monuments of Rome, 'Ces édifices, si fameux dans tout l'univers, furent, précisément à cause de cela, dépouillés de tous leurs ornements, et à ce qu'il paraît ruinés de fond en comble.' He even suggests that to some extent, the recent excavations of the French had served to make up for the earlier spoliations, which had rendered the Forum 'le marché des boeufs.'

Stendhal begins his commentary on the Napoleonic period in Rome by describing it as 'l'époque des fouilles ordonnées par Napoléon.' He specifically avoids mentioning the recent spoliations of art by the French. In an attempt to suggest his own scepticism of the actions of the French, he criticises them for their vanity, especially regarding their military strength: 'il faut convenir que le courage guerrier de ce peuple a ravagé toute l'antiquité. La bravoure tient probablement à la vanité et au plaisir de faire parler de soi; combien ne voit-on pas de maréchaux de France sortis de la Gascogne!' Clearly, Napoleon's spoliations of art had established a tense relationship between the French and Romans over artistic matters. Stendhal suggests that the Romans have taunted the French for having poor taste in the arts. His reply, however, neatly conveys both the supremacy of the French in the arts and the reliance of the French on the model of Roman art. He comments: 'nous pouvons leur répondre par le compliment que Virgile adressa aux anciens Romains:

Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera;

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.'⁴⁴

In the *Aeneid*, these lines are spoken by Anchises to Aeneas and the other Roman heroes in the underworld. Anchises suggests that while the Greeks ('alii') are renowned for their artistic skills, the strength of the Romans lies in their government. On one level, Stendhal quotes these lines in order to make the general point that the Romans were not renowned for their art. Yet his reference to Virgil is more complex than this. Within the context of his epic masterpiece, the *Aeneid*, Virgil's comment does not truly suggest that the Romans had little skill in the arts. By using this quotation from Virgil in order to respond to the Romans, Stendhal transposes the meaning of the lines to suggest that the arts

French view of Rome after the fall of Napoleon, rather than during the French occupation. For a useful general consideration of Stendhal, see Brookner: 1971, pp.33-56.

⁴² *Promenades dans Rome*, edited by Armand Caraccio: 1938-40, Volume 2, p.8

⁴³ Here, Stendhal is referring to the role of the Russians in bringing the downfall of Napoleon in 1814. Napoleon invaded Russia in June 1812, and captured and burnt Moscow in September, but by November and December, the Grande Armée was forced to retreat. By 31 March 1814, the Tsar and the King of Prussia rode in triumph through Paris.

⁴⁴ Stendhal, edited by Armand Caraccio: 1938-40, Volume 2, p.6. The two lines of Latin are lines 847 and 851 from Book VI of Virgil's *Aeneid* - 'Others will beat the bronze so that it breathes softer lines, but Romans, never forget that government is your medium' (translated by Williams, 1972).

are the forte of the French (here the 'alii' instead of the Greeks). At the same time, however, by appropriating lines from a Roman author, he suggests that Roman culture is specifically the heritage of the French. Considering that he is employing Virgil in order to respond to the resentment of the Romans for the French spoliations and their taunts concerning the poor standards of French art, Stendhal wittily suggests that as the French have derived their taste in the arts from the Romans, then the Romans are condemning their own art. The French art they deride has been acquired by the French from Rome!

Only now does Stendhal move on to confront the issue of the recent spoliations of the French. This time, he implies that the Romans should be grateful that the French only took works of art. He defends the spoliations of the French by saying that the artworks were 'useful' to the French, and that they showed great restraint by establishing peace and not exacting revenge for the murder of Duphot.⁴⁵ According to Stendhal, in the wake of the Napoleonic period, a complex relationship had been established between the French and the art works and monuments of ancient Rome. Not surprisingly, he suggests that as the (French) visitor approaches the Forum Romanum, he or she feels 'une émotion de curiosité que rien ne peut arrêter.' As well as being overwhelmed by the history and significance of the ancient site, the visitor could not fail to be aware of the particular relation of the Forum to the French - most recently, to Napoleon, and his appropriation of the edifices for the creation of his own 'Rome.'

During his reign, Napoleon and his artists showed that they had a detailed knowledge of the artistic model of the emperors of ancient Rome. They were able to manipulate the imperial myth to suit the purposes of the new regime, to build triumphal Roman monuments in Napoleon's capital, and establish impressive Roman spaces and ideological loci which evoked the splendours of imperial Rome. Yet Napoleon and his artists may have underestimated the potency of the myth of the Roman emperors. While the imperial myth could be employed to strengthen Napoleon's role as the emperor of the French, it was difficult to control the ambiguities of the myth, and repress the connotations of the corruption and decadence of imperial Rome, which were inevitable in the minds of those who opposed the regime.

Napoleon's achievement in establishing the 'new Rome,' however, must be remembered. Aspects of his regime, such as the seizure of artworks during military campaigns may seem repugnant to the modern mind, and the erection of monuments such as the Arc du Carrousel and Vendôme Column, preposterous expressions of imperial ambition, but it is clear that in the context of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century France, both the removal of works of art from abroad and the construction of grandiose military monuments in Paris played a major role in establishing a coherent

⁴⁵ 'Enfin, le terrible droit de la guerre s'adouissant, les Français qui, en 1798, pouvaient punir sévèrement N. et N., véritables assassins du général Duphot, et exercer les vengeances les plus justes, se contentèrent d'un traité de paix. Les chef d'oeuvres des arts furent plus utiles à la France que les

ideology for the new regime. After the turmoil of the French Revolution, Napoleon's use of the model of imperial Rome provided a much-needed political and cultural model for the empire and built on the ideological developments of the late eighteenth century. Curiously, even the fall of Napoleon served to highlight the status of his capital as the 'new Rome': like imperial Rome, Napoleon's 'Rome' fell. The brevity of his reign had the effect of enhancing the glory - and the 'decadence' - of his 'imperial Rome.'

têtes de quelques misérables; et le général des Gaulois sut cette fois dompter assez sa colère pour voir l'utile' (Stendhal, edited by Armand Caraccio, 1938-40, Volume 2, p.7).

Appendix: List of antique sculptures taken by the French from Rome according to the terms of the Treaty of Tolentino

Liste des objets d'art désignés et choisis par les Commissaires de la République française, en vertu de l'article 8 de l'armistice conclu entre la République et Sa Sainteté le Pape¹

**Statues - Muséum du Vatican
Au Belvédère**

1. L'Appollon.
2. Le Laocoon.
3. Le Lantin, marqué LF.
4. Le Torse, marqué LG.
5. L'Hercule Commode, marqué LG.

Galerie des Statues

6. Démosthène assis tenant un rouleau. No.56.
7. Trajan assis tenant un globe. No.LIV.
8. Le poète Posidipe assis. No.17.
9. Le poète Ménandre assis, No.18.
10. Phoccion, No.31.
11. La Cléopâtre, marquée LH.
12. Cupidon, torse. No.11.
13. La Santé, sans numéro, placé à côté de Trajan.
14. Sextus Impericus (sic), précepteur de Marc-Aurèle, No.31.
15. Une Amazone. No.XIII.

Salle d'Adonis

16. Vénus accroupie, No.38.
17. Adonis. No.47.
18. Paris. No.42.

Salle du Char

19. Discobole. No.LVIII.
20. Sardanapale, avec une inscription grecque sur sa draperie. No.3.
21. Auguste. No.5.
22. Une statue qu'on dit être César. No.7.
23. Tibère en toge. No.15.
24. Discobole, fait par Miron, sans numéro.

Salle des Animaux

25. Méléagre. No.LII.
26. Le Nil avec ses enfans.
27. Le Tibre, avec la Louve, Rémus et Romulus, marquée LG.

¹ *Correspondance des Directeurs*, Volume XVI, 1791-1797, edited by Montaiglon and Guiffrey, 1907, pp.462-466.

Salle ronde

- 28. Une grande statue de Cérès. No.9.
- 29. Une grande statue de Melpomène. No.7.

Salle d'Apollon et des Neuf Muses

- 30. Appollon.
- 31. Une Muse.
- 32-39. Idem.

Au Capitole Salle d'Antinoüs

- 40. Antinoüs.
- 41. Appollon.
- 42. Un groupe de l'Amour et Psyché.

Salle du Gladiateur

- 43. Le Gladiateur mourant.
- 44. Une Vestale portant le feu sacré.
- 45. La Junon.
- 46. Le Porteur égyptien.
- 47. Le Faune jouant de la flûte.

Chambre des Bustes

- 48. Vénus.
- 49. Flore.

Première chambre des Bustes

- 50. Zénon.

Gallerie des Candélabres

- 51. Uranie. No.63.
- 52. Cérès. No.77.

Salle de la Figure égyptienne

- 53. Une figure égyptienne.

Palais des Conservateurs

- 54. Tireur d'épine.

Bustes - Muséum du Vatican Salle ronde

- 55. Antinoüs. No.8.
- 56. Adrien. No.6.
- 57. Jupiter Sérapis. No.XII.
- 58. Jupiter.No.2.

- 59. La Comédie. No.1.
- 60. La Tragédie. No.19.
- 61. L'Océan. No.10.

Galerie des Bustes

- 62. Buste de Caesar
- 63. Ménélas. No.XIII.
- 64. Minerve.

Muséum du Capitole Palais des Conservateurs

- 65. Junius Brutus, en bronze.

Salle de la Mosaïque

- 66. Marcus Brutus.
- 67. Alexandre.
- 68. Ariane.

Première chambre des Bustes

- 69. Homère, la quatrième tête.

Tombeaux, autels, candélabres, vases etc - Muséum du Vatican

Au haut de l'escalier

- 70. Un grand vase de basalte avec des masques et des anses.

Au Belvédère

- 71. Un autel en face de l'Antinoüs. No.XIV.

Salle des Candélabres

- 72. Un candélabre. No.31.
- 73. Idem. No.2.
- 74. Idem. No.14.
- 75. Un autel. No.15.
- 76. Idem. Sans numéro, avec des ornemens consacrés à Appollon.

Près de la porte d'entrée

- 77. Un Sphinx de granit rouge.
- 78. Idem.
- 79. Une chaise curule.
- 80. Idem.

Au Capitole Dans la première pièce

81. Le Tombeau des Muses et son couvercle.

Au fond de la Petite galerie

82. Le tombeau représentant le Triomphe des divinités marines.

Sous le vestibule de la porte d'entrée

83. Un grand trépid.

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