Quarrels Between Painting and Architecture in Post-Revolutionary France

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On 26 December 1829, Horace Vernet, the recently appointed director of the French Academy in Rome (figs. 1 and 2), wrote at length to the secrétaire-perpétuel of the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris, Quatremère de Quincy. Of the prize-winning students completing their studies in Rome over the previous year, two had had their "envois" very frostily received by the home academy: the architect Henri Labrouste, who had submitted his studies of the Greek temples at Paestum (fig. 3), and the sculptor, Charles Seurre, Grand Prix de Rome for sculpture in 1824 and future academician. I need hardly speak further here of the significance of Labrouste's studies of Paestum, shortly to be the subject of an article by Martin Bressani, and of the importance that Labrouste's brush with authority held for the future development of a whole generation of young French architects who aligned themselves with the new Romantic tendency. Of Seurre's contretemps, I can say little, since the norms by which sculptural production was being judged at that particular period are still quite obscure to me, and have been judged by posterity - probably quite wrongly - to be worth forgetting. But I use this famous incident to point out, from the start, that the case of Labrouste, involving as it did a bitter series of exchanges between Horace Vernet and Quatremère, went far beyond the issue of a single brilliant student disrupting the norms of a particular artistic discourse. Vernet had also suggested that the Légion d'honneur be bestowed on a specially meritorious young painter. Quatremère objected violently:

> Is painting a privileged case? Have we not seen more than once some excellent pieces of sculpture resulting from the compulsory

Fig. 1 Ferdinand Gaillard, engraver, after Paul Delaroche: Portrait of Horace Vernet, 1863, published in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 15, 4e livraison (October 1863), facing 320, Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art, McGill University, Montréal, photo © Megan Spriggs 2005

Fig. 2 Unknown photographer: view of the facade of the Villa Medici, *Walks in Rome*, vol. I, published in 1887, albumen silver print, 9.2 x 15.6 cm, PH1980:1104.01:004, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture / Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal

> work of student pensionnaires? Has not more than one architect distinguished himself in his studies by work of the most meritorious kind? And the same goes for the other arts.

On one level, it is easy to put this quarrel down to a matter of personal animosity. When Quatremère wrote coldly about the view of the Academy in his answers to Vernet, the tone must have seemed infuriating to someone so preeminently born to inherit the mantle of French painting. Himself a recently elected member of the Academy, Horace Vernet was the grandson of Joseph Vernet, whose seascapes had made him possibly the most famous French painter of the mid-eighteenth century in Europe, and son of the academician Carle Vernet. On his mother's side, he was also the grandson of another eminent artist academician, Moreau le jeune, and a nephew (by marriage) of the eminent architect academician Chalgrin, whose last major commission among many had been the commencement of the Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile. Yet Horace was no mere continuer of the family line. When he was elected to the Academy in 1826, he had already established his reputation with paintings that violated some of the taboos of Restoration politics. His Barrière de Clichy (1820, Louvre, inv. R.F. 126), celebrating the last stand of the French National Guard as the Allied troops entered Paris from the north in 1814, was refused by the Salon, and attracted all the more attention because it was thereupon exhibited privately to great popular acclaim. Stendhal remarked memorably in his review of the Salon of 1824 that Horace Vernet was the only French artist who could expect to live on the proceeds of his work, without state patronage. This independence, however, did not conflict with a desire to be, in the words of the historian of the French Academy at Rome, the "regenerator of the French school." It was with the high hope of making the Villa Medici the bastion of this revival that he had put in for, and obtained, the post of director.

Quatremère de Quincy was cast in a very different mould. I will not at this stage attempt to recount all the stages of his career before the period of the Bourbon Restoration. He had, among other things, been appointed in 1792, at the height of the Revolution, as "Commissaire du département à la direction et administration du Panthéon français." In 1816 he had received the appointment as secrétaire-perpétuel of the newly reformed Académie des Beaux-Arts, a position from which he was to resign only in 1839, ten years before his death. Several stories survive to tell of the deeply uningratiating persona that he sustained in the public sittings

of this body. Ingres's pupil Amaury-Duval writes of the eulogy that Quatremère delivered, in his easily imitated nasal tone, on the death in 1818 of the recently appointed architect academician Jacques-Charles Bonnard, whose principal achievement was the reconstruction of the Quai d'Orsay. After a full hour of his notoriously slow delivery, he announced:

> "Ladies and Gentlemen, we have reached the thirtieth year of the life of the young Bonnard, we still have forty years to get through." There was a ripple of panic in the galleries, followed by an explosion of laughter, which forced him to shorten those last forty years considerably.

Horace Vernet himself ventured to suggest, when the quarrel blew up in 1829, that Quatremère's animus against him was the direct result of such public humiliations. He mentioned specifically another incident, also recounted by Amaury-Duval, and occurring more recently in 1826, when the nomination of an unknown young student to the Grand Prix de Paysage Historique was greeted with uproarious "sifflets" - catcalls - among the young audience. This was, of course, the very year of Horace's election to the Academy, and it seems as if Quatremère held him personally responsible for the turbulent spirit of the younger and more indisciplined members of the artistic community.

I am not, however, going to regale you any longer with tales of the buccaneering Horace and the whining Quatremère. Their quarrel extended from 1829 into 1830 and beyond, touching on several other crucial matters of the administration of the Academy at Rome. Regime change in 1830, from the elder branch of the Bourbon dynasty to the Orléans family, gave a surprising new political context to the quarrel, when Horace Vernet's proffered resignation was refused by the new Minister of the Interior, the former art critic and bourgeois historian François Guizot, who pronounced that the Rome Academy should in fact be considered totally independent of the Académie des Beaux-Arts. This did not, however, stop Quatremère from importuning Guizot's successor, Thiers, with the claim that Horace had been trying since his appointment to wrest the program of studies at Rome away from the supervisory control of Paris, "by taking the part of the students against their masters."

Fig. 3 Unknown photographer: "Tempio di Nettuno," Paestum, Italy, ca. 1860, albumen silver print, 26 x 34.9 cm, PH1980:0028, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture / Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal

My interest in the significance of this prolonged altercation will develop on two levels. On the one hand, I am going to pursue it further in relation to the deep-seated conflicts that continued to affect, not just the relations of Rome and Paris, but the internal debates and projects pursued within the Académie des Beaux-Arts over the succeeding period. I should say here that there is, remarkably enough, no sustained historical coverage of this phase in the Academy's history. The procès-verbaux of its meetings, which have not yet been published, exist only in Quatremère's scrupulous written record preserved in the archives of the Institut de France, and I shall be referring to them. My work here at the CCA (in April 2003) has enabled me to fill out the aspect that remained quite obscure to me up to now, and which is fundamental to any understanding of what was at stake. This is, quite simply, the position adopted by the architectural members of the Academy in relation to the major issue that wracked the whole body between 1833 and 1836, which was the reform of the arrangements for the annual exhibition, or Salon. This was their prime site of engagement with the public, and consequently an arena where their values and principles were to be most visibly attested.

On another level, however, I am going to enquire into the longer-term origins for the conflict that raged in the 1830s. In administrative terms, this had been prepared for by the way in which the Institut had been reformed first in 1795 and then again in 1803, after the suppression of the former royal academies by the Revolutionary government in 1793. Under the Ancien Régime, there had been separate academies for painting and sculpture on the one hand and architecture on the other, with relatively relaxed rules about respective numbers and little need for mutual communication. The changes of government following the Revolution saw a radical transformation in structure, which was perpetuated with only minor changes by the Bourbon monarchy. The two academies were welded into one, with a section of musicians and a section of engravers added for good measure. Membership was now strictly limited - painting, for example, had six members in 1795, with two more added in 1803, and a further batch brought in after the Restoration, whilst sculpture went from six to eight places over these years, and engraving from three in 1803 to four by 1816.

Although the provision of a secrétaire-perpétuel from 1803 initiated a steering role that Quatremère would adopt with alacrity, the Academy was still blessed (or cursed) with the idealistic program that had been vested in it from 1795 onwards: one of unifying the arts under an overall, triangular unity between Arts, Letters, and Sciences. Put in simple terms, this meant that all members of the Académie des Beaux-Arts were involved in voting for every new member of each respective section. Architects helped to elect painters, musicians helped to elect engravers, and so on. No less significantly, all sections except music (for obvious reasons) had an equal role in selecting and refusing the works of painters, sculptors, engravers, and architects submitted to the Salon.

This leads me to make one or two general remarks on the treatment of academies and their role in the historiography of the nineteenth century. Too often, when the issue of the Academy and the related question of Salon exhibition is discussed in this context, it is formulated from the perspective of the triumph of Modernism. Manet and the Salon des Refusés are given talismanic status, and the Academy is portrayed as a homogeneous, authoritarian institution that hangs over the scene like a thunder-cloud and is finally blown away to oblivion. My own view is that academies are far from homogeneous: they invariably contain tensions and even contradictions that sometimes express themselves in the elections and other decisions made, but more often remain below the surface. I have absolutely no doubt that this was the case with the French Académie des Beaux-Arts over this period. No less than any other aspect of French culture, it was experiencing the clash of paradigms, which we can conveniently label, as Stendhal did, the battle of Racine and Shakespeare, or more blandly, Classicism and Romanticism. But what interests me, in particular, for the purposes of this lecture, is the extent to which this quarrel takes on the form, within the Academy, of a clash between pictorial and architectural paradigms. In the particular institutional form of the Academy, we might hypothesize that it is not just Quatremère and Horace Vernet who are fighting, but two systems of thought making a claim to hegemony.

Ultimately I shall be trying to flesh out this hypothesis, while also indicating that I am not defending the rather Manichean opposition between forces that I may seem to have held up to now. But initially, and before I return to visual illustrations, I want to take take us into the thick of the action by looking in detail at Quatremère's record of the sessions of the Academy for the years leading up to l836. By this point, the role of protagonist has been passed on from Horace Vernet to the youngest painter ever yet elected to the Academy, soon to be Horace's son-in-law,

Paul Delaroche. Delaroche was elected in 1832, at the fourth round of voting, which suggests a highly contested campaign in favour of this "young turk" who had had an electrifying success at the Salon of 1831. On 14 December 1833, he puts forward on behalf of the painting section a proposal to reorder the system used in the previous year for the selection of works for the Salon. On 11 January 1834, he returns to the issue, and is voted down by two architects, who propose that all deliberations on the matter should be left till the next Salon, that of 1835, is being planned. Delaroche's proposal now loses impetus, as he takes off for Italy in the summer of 1834, coming back in the spring of 1835 as the son-in-law of Horace Vernet, by which time arrangements must already have been completed for the Salon of 1835. But he returns to the charge on 30 January 1836, when a reading of his proposals results in the creation of a commission of all the sections of the Beaux-Arts, with two members drawn from each.

Even from the bare record of the procès-verbal, it is clear that the architects are taking the lead in contesting Delaroche's proposal, whose effect would inevitably have been precisely to diminish their influence over the selection of exhibits in all fields but that of architecture proper. Given the exponential growth of paintings shown at the Salon over the years, and their highly advantageous placing in the Louvre, it is quite understandable that the architects, whose exhibits were relatively small in number and by all accounts very poorly sited, should have fought to retain their voice. The commission reported on 3 February 1836, and as Quatremère noted, no doubt wearliy, the discussion went on till six o'clock in the evening, at which point the motion to adjourn the meeting was lost by two votes, out of 32 members present. So the issue was pursued again at the meeting of 6 February, and again on 13 February, and on 20 February, when what would appear to have been a compromise motion was adopted. This did not satisfy Delaroche and Horace Vernet, both of whom subsequently resigned from the Salon jury.

Out of this confrontation, which was incidentally quite closely followed in sections of the press, some tentative conclusions emerge about the clash of aesthetic systems. Quite clearly, the factions were finely balanced, even though the painting section was intent on diminishing the role of the other sections. One may assume that the painting section itself, though made up of a spectrum of disparate artists, from Gros, Ingres, Granet, and the Vernets to more conventional history painters like Gamier and Blondel, predominantly supported Delaroche's proposal. It is also quite likely that the free members - appointed for their general distinction and interest in the arts - would also have supported it. The two members appointed to the commission from this section included the Comte de Pastoret, a patron of Ingres and Delaroche, and the Vicomte de Senonnes, whose beautiful though demi-mondaine wife was the subject of one of Ingres's most seductive portraits and whose own career had blossomed when he became deputy to the Comte de Forbin, director of the Louvre in the Restoration period.

On the other hand, the musicians may well have ranged themselves in the opposition. French music was undergoing a bleak season, and the section in the Academy had been dominated for some time by the Italian-born Cherubini, whose music, to quote Grove, demonstrated his "severe dwelling in a realm of pure thought." Of the two musicians who were appointed to the commission, Henri Berton and Ferdinand Paer, little more can and need be said here in summary of their careers than that they were opera composers who spent their last years impotently deploring the success of Rossini. This is, however, speculation on my part. What appears less speculative, because of the decisive votes and their proposers as recorded by Quatremère, is the conclusion that the architects, as a section, were overwhelmingly opposed to the proposal of the painting section. If we now look in more detail at the particular architects involved, it becomes clear that their position is rooted in the particular course that French architecture had taken, both before and after the Revolutionary interruptions.

What comes out immediately, if we look at the four architects prominent in opposing Delaroche's reform, is the close affiliation between them, which can be traced back to the dominant figure of Joseph Peyre, born in 1739, an active participant in the affairs of the Academy who had died as late as 1823. Of the two architects who proposed the postponement of Delaroche's reform on the first occasion in 1834, both were Grand Prix de Rome and both were former students of Peyre. Auguste-Jean-Marie Guénepin, the younger of the two (born in 1780), had been elected only in 1833, a year after Delaroche - provoking an ironic comment from Viollet-le-Duc père.

Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine was born a generation before, in 1762, and had made his name through becoming the architect most in

favour with the Emperor Napoleon. With his inseparable colleague, Charles Percier - another of Peyre's students - he had built what could be regarded as the most significant monument of the Imperial epoch, the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel (fig. 4). One of the two architects appointed to the commission that so lengthily and contentiously debated the proposal of Delaroche in its final for was Achille Leclère, Grand Prix de Rome and a pupil of Percier, born in 1785 and so slightly younger than Guénepin. The other, François Debret, born in 1777 and also Grand Prix de Rome, had been entrusted in 1816 with one of the most important projects of the new regime, the construction of a new École des Beaux-Arts on the site of the convent of the Petits-Augustins on the Left Bank, but had been humiliated in 1832 when the project was taken out of his hands and entrusted to his own brother-in-law, Félix Duban. The great French historian of the Romantic period, Augustin Thierry, once spoke of the spirit of French liberalism as that of the sons rising up against the father. What begins to emerge from my analysis of the protagonists in this academic quarrel is the sharp difference between the sections of architecture and painting in respect of this clash between generations that inevitably overdetermined the artistic contest between Classics and Romantics. In the painting section, where the presence of the Vernets father and son symbolized the openness of the Academy to new talents, such as Géricault, the selection of Paul Delaroche - however hard fought - betokened a conscious program of resuscitating the French school, which could only mean espousing the ambitions of the new generation. Delaroche was not a Prix de Rome, and though he had studied in the studio of Gros, his election was a recognition of his ability to swim with the new Romantic tide. In the architecture section, there was indeed a succession of generations, consolidated around the Prix de Rome and the studios of Peyre and his successors. But the most recent recruits to the Academy, such as Guénepin and Leclère, were far from enjoying popular success. Indeed, Guénepin's record was modest, being largely confined to church furnishings and the overall charge of the Paris abattoirs. His most prestigious building, completed long after this period, was to be the mairie of the 5th arrondissement, just opposite the Pantheon. The contemporaries of Delaroche, young architects like Duban and Labrouste, remained very much outside the Academy, and the reported bad feeling between Debret and Duban - his successor as architect at the Beaux-Arts - is just one index of that.

But if the architects in the Academy opposed the proposals for reform of the Salon, this was not simply to make a nuisance of themselves. Any move that threatened the architects' right to have a voice in the selection of paintings for the Salon also implicitly violated their traditional claim to have the oversight of the other plastic arts, in so far as their superior purpose was to come together to form an overall synthesis. Debret epitomized this longstanding claim, dating back to the foundation of the Academy in Louis XIV's reign when he wrote in justification of the Prix de Rome, and of the necessity for young architects to study the monuments of Italy:

> Called upon to guide, not only workers of every kind, but also artists in every genre, how could the architect perform this function with discernment if he had not himself acquired a degree of knowledge sufficient to make them cooperate in the execution of his thought, and obtain a general ensemble that can only come out of one single and same will.

So it is the fundamental idea of the "single and same will" guiding the synthesis of the plastic arts - which can and must be that of the architect - that inspires their resistance to the painters' wish to have the dominant voice in selecting paintings for the Salon. In this respect, the new organization of all the arts together in the post-Revolutionary Academy had brought about a quarrel that was implicit right from the start. But there is another no less significant reason for this antagonism that flares up in the 1830s between painters and architects. And this is embedded in the more recent history of France. Here we approach the core of the problem in comparing the development of the two arts if we reckon that painting, after and as a result of the Revolution, defines itself through progressively integrating a museological - and thus ultimately a historicist - paradigm. Architecture, on the other hand, polemically sets itself apart from the museological and historicist paradigm, and the line that is drawn to establish this apartness as late as the 1830s is precisely that between the architects within the Academy and those like Duban and Labrouste who were starting to make their way outside it.

It was undoubtedly the gathering pace of the Revolution from the 1790s onwards that began to enforce a parting of the ways between two divergent schools of thought. An instructive little story is told about the architect Peyre, teacher of Guénepin, Percier, and Fontaine, that during the time he was in charge of the royal domain of Fontainebleau, he

successfully protected the works of art by telling the uncouth Jacobins who came to remove or vandalize them that they were statues of Brutus and Publicola, and not the "chevaliers" and "chanceliers" of France. Not all monuments had such resourceful protectors, and it was left to Alexandre Lenoir to persuade the National Convention that such works under threat should be assembled and displayed in the former convent of the Petits-Augustins. What gave a new resonance to the whole issue of conservation and museum creation, however, was the problem that ensued immediately when the armies of the Republic began to repatriate works of art from Italy and the Low countries, which were destined to be added to the former royal collections housed in the Louvre. Arguments raged between those who supported both the conservation of national treasures in Lenoir's Musée des Monuments Français and the accumulation of foreign art treasures in the Louvre and those, on the other hand, who violently opposed the separation of art works from their original context.

In this debate, as is well known, Quatremère played a pivotal role. Indeed, it seems clear that his strategic alliance with the architects of the future Academy is consolidated at this time. In July 1796, he publishes his Lettres à Miranda sur le déplacement des monuments de l'art de l'Italie, significantly republished once again in 1836. There follow two petitions to the Directory, the first supporting his contention that Rome should not be stripped of its masterpieces, and the second repudiating the idea that Rome, "that indolent and superstitious city," should be designated as "the Museum of the Universe." Aligning themselves with Quatremère's defence of Rome are not only architects like Percier, Fontaine, and Soufflot, but also four of the six sculptors appointed to the Academy in 1795, and the painters Vincent and David. On the other side, there stands just one academician, the painter Regnault, together with a few future members of the Academy such as the painters Claude Vernet and the Baron Gérard and the sculptor Chaudet; this group is joined, of course, by Alexandre Lenoir, who interestingly classes himself professionally among the thirty-seven signatories as a "conservateur."

Evidently Quatremère's passionate defence of Rome as the "Museum of the Universe" was at the time unsuccessful. The Louvre continued to amass not only the appropriated sculptures of papal Rome, but also masterpieces of painting from the whole of Italy and the Low Countries. The Musée des Monuments Français continued in existence throughout the period that concluded with the fall of the Emperor in 1815. At the beginning of the Bourbon Restoration, however, the tendency represented by Quatremère had its revenge. The peace settlement with the Allies required that most, if not all, of the masterpieces extracted from the rest of Europe, and Italy in particular, during the Revolutionary years, should be returned to their former owners. The Musée des Monuments Français, which was associated, inevitably, with the circumstances of the Terror and so generated repugnant memories among the returning exiles, was closed, and large sections of the collection were forthwith returned to their original homes.

In my reconstruction of the debate setting at variance architects and painters in this period, I began with Horace Vernet's dispute with Quatremère. I then turned to the fortunes of Delaroche's proposal for the reform of the Salon jury. In both of these acrimonious episodes, lasting over several years, the stakes of the competing parties can be seen to be closely connected. From the point of view of Quatremère and the architects associated with him, it was a matter of asserting the primacy of Rome, and the teaching of the French Academy at Rome as an integral aspect of the program of the Académie des Beaux-Arts. Only if Rome remains in essence the "Museum of the Universe," and if the students who have gained the Grand Prix can complete their studies under the close supervision of the Paris authorities, can architecture justify its claim to be the arbiter of the plastic arts. That is why Horace Vernet, in seeking greater freedom for the students of architecture and in securing the minister's astonishing verdict that the Rome Academy is independent of Paris, is striking at the heart of Quatremère's authority. For Vernet, the Salon and the choice of paintings in the Salon is the crucial issue. That is why his ally and later son-in-law, Delaroche, persists in trying to steer through the reform that will diminish the power of the other sections to reject paintings unacceptable to them. But that is also why Delaroche's unsuccessful project includes a fulsome defence of the role of the Louvre as a museum, and a proposal that all interests would be best served if the location of the Salon could be transferred elsewhere, thus ensuring that the masterpieces remain on view all the year round. It is the Louvre that needs to be fostered and safeguarded as the greatest museum in the world, for its educational value to students, and also for its impact on foreign visitors who flock to it, as in the past they flocked to see the treasures of Rome.

At this point in my argument I want to introduce another factor, one that is essential in explaining why this quarrel ends not in acrimony but in a triumphant synthesis of painterly and architectural aspirations in the late 1830s. I shall be following a track that leads to the completion of the new École des Beaux-Arts at the end of the decade, with Duban's architectural mise-en-scène and Delaroche's great Hémicycle achieving spectacular complementarity. But I shall have to start this narrative by tracing the emergence of the museological and historicist paradigm from an early stage, in the post-Revolutionary and Imperial epoch. Here it is necessary to look at two developments in tandem: on the one hand, the distinctive character of architectural expression under the constraints of the Empire, and on the other, the internal transformation within the studio of David, which was not only the fulcrum of image-making activity throughout the period, but also the place where the historicist paradigm most clearly started to take form.

To summarize very schematically the state of architecture under Napoleon, it was a matter of grandiose visions and inadequate resources. The Emperor's retrospective words from the Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène are often quoted to show that he intended to make Paris "the true capital of Europe," with "monuments . . . in proportion to her greatness." More revealing, perhaps, is the little description given by Prosper de Barante of a meeting of the Conseil d'État in March 1810, when the Emperor told his secretary to take dictation, and began with the solemn phrase: "Towns are not founded in a day." Then he walked to the window and said: "Even Paris is not complete." Then he lost his train of thought and moved on to something else. The incident is significant because Barante was Prefect in the one small piece of coherent urbanism that Napoleon did initiate in France, to which he also gave his name: the town of Napoléon-Vendée, built on a settlement in the Vendée previously called La Roche-sur-Yon. This mournful piece of do-it-yourself classicism implanted the signals of Imperial authority - barracks, law courts, church - on a picturesque medieval settlement still reminiscent of the death-throes of the Ancien Régime in the civil wars of the Vendée.

Otherwise the guiding motif of French architecture under Napoleon could be summed up by the subterfuge that Peyre applied in his defence of the treasures of Fontainebleau. Dressing up the "Chevaliers et Chanceliers" to look like Brutus and Publicola was still the order of the day, as palaces like Fontainebleau and the Tuileries were given the most sumptuous

Fig. 4 François-Auguste Renard, photographer: Les Tuileries, Place du Carrousel et Arc de Triomphe, 1852, later published in *Paris photographié* (1853), salted paper print from albumen negative, 16.4 x 20.8 cm, PH1985:0690, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture / Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal

Fig. 5 Unknown photographer: Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile, ca. 1851, salted paper print, 22.7 x 32.1 cm, PH1981:0932, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture / Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal

make-overs in the Imperial style. Percier and Fontaine's extraordinary Salon des Maréchaux in the immense central pavilion and guard-room of the Tuileries is a case in point. The sixteenth-century character of the room is made super-real by the importation of motifs from Jean Goujon's guard-room at the Louvre nearby, while the portraits of the fourteen marshals of the Empire punctuate the walls. In the context of these massive exercises in interior decoration by Percier and Fontaine, the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel stands out as, in Albert Soubiès's words, "the jewel of their architectural work." We should keep in mind, however, that the great mass of the Tuileries then cut off the present axis that leads up to the Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile (figs. 4 and 5).

Begun by Chalgrin, and taken over at his death in 1811 by his pupil Goult, this infinitely grander and more monumental arch stood for several years in the form of a gigantic construction of scaffolding and painted canvas, mute testimony to the grandiose yet hollow aspirations of the Imperial epoch. In the early Restoration period, it was temporarily in the care of Bernard Poyet, whose earlier contribution to the townscape of Paris had been the north-facing Corinthian facade of the Palais Bourbon, on the axis of the Madeleine, but who responded to the royalist mood of the times by proposing that the incomplete arch should be replaced by a hundred-metre-high column topped with a statue of Saint Louis. After his death in 1824, the reprieved arch was finally carried to completion in 1836 by the architect Jean-Nicholas Huyot, who died in 1840 and is presumably captured in its shade in the fine print of 1842 by Auguste Blanchard after the portrait by the academician Martin-Michel Drölling (fig. 6). Since Huyot was a former student of David, he enables me to side-step at this point from noting the unfinished business of Napoleonic Paris to tracking the museological and historicist paradigm at the very centre of the Davidian enterprise. He will be one of the figures in whom I see, at the final stage of this lecture, the reconciliation of the post-Revolutionary quarrel between architecture and painting.

Étienne Delécluze points out in his remarkable and largely autobiographical Louis David, son école et son temps that the last decade of David's teaching produced only three major figures: the architect, Huyot, who studied with him before entering the studio of Peyre, and the painters Ingres and Granet. It was not unusual for intending architects to pursue their studies in David's studio, and Delécluze records that he was wont to chide them for their tendency to roideur, stiffness, reproaching

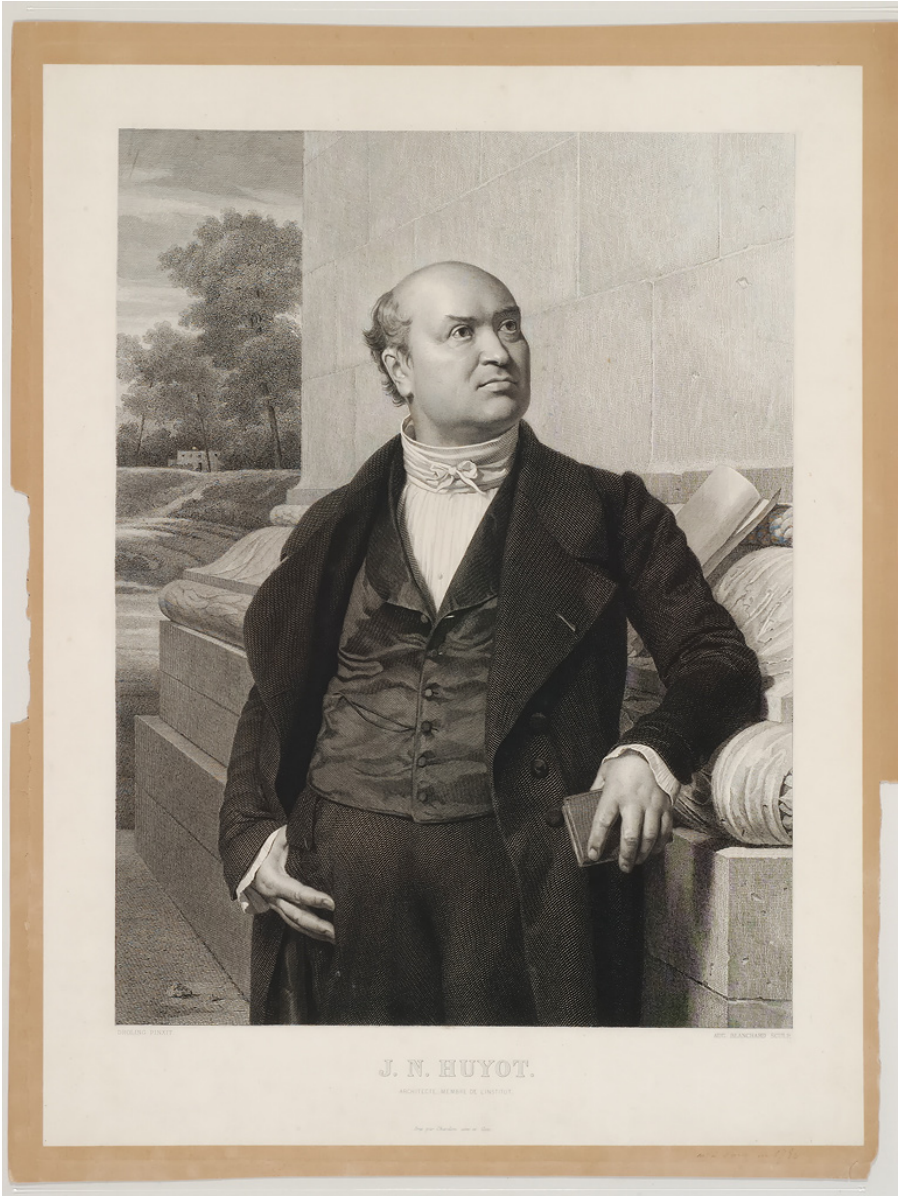

Fig. 6 Auguste Thomas Marie Blanchard, engraver, after Michel Martin Drölling: portait of J.N. Huyot, ca. 1842, engraving, sheet 48 x 32 cm, Call no. PORT ID 90-F3, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture / Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal

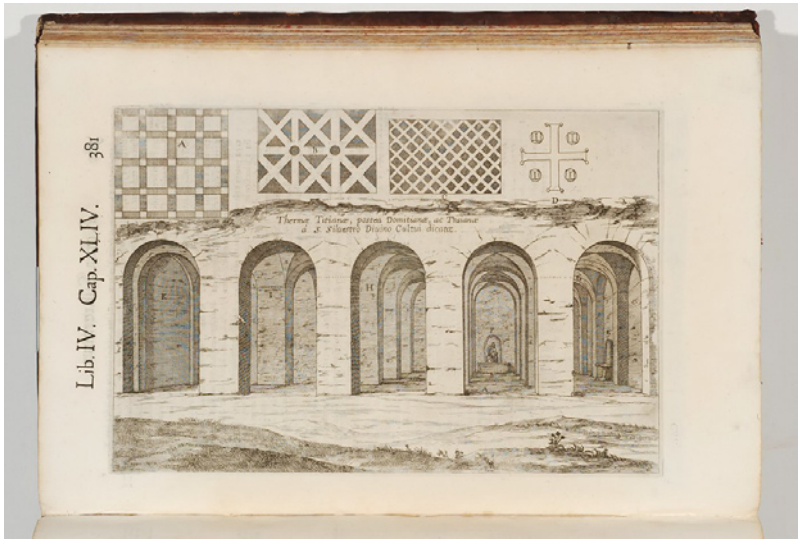

Fig. 7 Paolo Aringhi: perspective view of the baths of Trajan (later incorporated into the crypt of the church of San Martino ai Monti), from *Roma subterranea novissima*..., vol. II (Rome, 1651), p. 381, Call no. ID M 85-B7087, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture / Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal

Fig. 8 Unknown photographer: interior of the Capuchin charnel house, Santa Maria della Concezione, from the album *Walks in Rome*, vol. II, published in 1887, albumen silver print, 9.2 x 15.9 cm, PH1980:1104.02:005, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture / Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal

one of them for drawing a leg as if it were a baluster. It seems, however, as if Huyot profited from his period of study with David to develop an acquaintance precisely with the faction in the studio that was least prone to "roideur" either in drawing practice or in ideology. The fact that he accompanied another of David's students, the Comte Auguste de Forbin, on his lengthy voyage of 1817 to the Orient, is surely significant. For Forbin, by then the director of the Louvre and the protagonist of a generously eclectic policy toward contemporary painters and sculptors, had been the focal point of resistance to the doctrinaire but unproductive tendency of the so-called Primitifs or Barbus. A contemporary cartoon dramatizes this well-known opposition by juxtaposing the exaggeratedly courtly, not to say effete, aristocratic figure with the posturing nude ephebes derived from David's painting of the Sabines from 1798.

David's own closeness to the architectural paradigm as I have sketched it here is proved by a number of connections. He was, after all, one of the signatories to Quatremère's petition of 1796 deploring the despoliation of Rome in favour of the Louvre. He was a close friend of Fontaine, and indeed was responsible for first introducing him to Napoleon. But the surprisingly undogmatic nature of his teaching, at least in the years following the Revolution, favoured the emergence of a school whose leader was Forbin's life-long friend and fellow Provençal, and one of the three leading figures mentioned by Delécluze: François-Marius Granet.

It is to Granet, and to a lesser extent to his friends from the so-called Lyons school in David's studio, that we owe the creation of the first thoroughly historicized spaces in French painting. Significantly, these are, in the first instance, Roman scenes, which Granet invests with a temporal otherness that is itself the product of specific mechanisms of framing, voiding, and displacement. Traditional townscapes of Rome, such as those produced from an assembly line by the Flemish artist Gaspar Van Wittel (Vanvitelli) in the early eighteenth century, lined up the monuments of the ancient city against those of Christian hegemony in order to stress the primacy of the latter.

Granet, on the other hand, frames a medieval church like San Francesca through an arch of the Colosseum (Sainte-Françoise Romaine, Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence). He enters the church of San Martino ai Monti and descends to the lower of its two crypts (fig. 7), where the cold and damp assail him, in order to foreground its remote and alien character

(La crypte de San-Martino-in-Monte, Musée Fabre, Montpellier). When he decides to work in the slightly more congenial context of the Capucin church by the Piazza Barberini, he is not unmindful of the proximity of one of the most famous charnel houses in Rome (fig. 8). But his motive for starting his famous series of the liturgical ceremonies in the retro-choir, as he recounts it in his memoirs, is precisely to recapture through painting a historical period that has ended forever. Only after Napoleon has suppressed the religious orders and made the bells of Rome fall silent does Granet begin this cumulative process of restitution. It is in the first years of the Bourbon Restoration, however, that the popularity of his work becomes so marked, since these intensely visualized but alien ceremonies coalesce remarkably with the Romantic yearning for a time that has been irretrievably lost.

Lenoir's Musée des Monuments Français - the first museum in which the succession of centuries was made palpable through successive types of visual display - was indeed largely dispersed after 1816. But the work of Granet and the Lyons painters no less resourcefully employed the architectural signifier to fabricate compelling historical representations. In the case of Granet, the back-lit prospects that subordinate human activity to the illusion of an unbridgeable spatio-temporal otherness (for example, Le cloître de la chartreuse Sainte-Marie-des-Anges, Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence) help to engender, in their turn, the paintings and the dioramas of Daguerre, which present the empty Scottish cloister as a vehicle for a narrative of light and darkness unfolding in front of a captive audience.

More overtly ideological, the Lyons painter Fleury Richard chooses to revive the Ancien Régime when he exhibits at the Salon of 1817 his Madame Elisabeth, soeur du roi, showing his subject dispensing charity at her house in Montreuil (Châteaux de Versailles et du Trianon, inv. MV5271). Here the action is expelled to the outer limits of the space, all the more to bring out the superior ancientness of the Gothic colonnade. At the same Salon, his colleague Pierre Révoil produces what is surely the definitive emblem of the early Restoration period in his Convalescence de Bayard (Louvre, inv. 7473). The legendary French warrior, wounded at the Siege of Brescia in 1512, is taken to recuperate in the palazzo of a local family whose goods he magnanimously spares from the pillaging and sacking that normally follow such a conquest. It is the emblematic picture of the period because, precisely, the dainty and elaborate appurtenances of the Renaissance household are brought together in the state of having been rescued from destruction. They have been symbolically given back. But the space that they now occupy is that of a proto-museum, neatly anticipating the historical contextualization of the Musée de Cluny at the beginning of the next decade.

I can pause only briefly to touch on the role that Delaroche played in consolidating the museological and historicist paradigm. Suffice it to say that works like his Princes in the Tower from the 1831 Salon (Louvre, inv. 3834) and Jane Grey from that of 1834 (National Gallery, London, inv. NG1909) overcame the barrier that had traditionally existed between the superior achievement of history painting and the so-called genre painting to which the relatively small-scale works of the Lyons school had been assigned. Delaroche achieved a triumphant hybridity in his own more visually striking genre historique, gaining the admiration of his teacher Gros and even, in the first instance, the easily offended Ingres, while at the same time attracting the crowds of the Salon. It was notorious that Delaroche had visited the Tower of London in 1827 to observe the architectural scene of the two historical misadventures depicted there, and that he had commissioned painstaking reproductions of Renaissance furnishings to stock the recreated period milieu.

This brings me back again to the mid-1830s and to the quarrel between painting and architecture with which I began this talk, and which I abandoned at the point in 1836 when Delaroche's proposal for the reform of the Salon jury had survived its turbulent passage through debate after debate and finally come to its moment of truth at the meeting of the Académie on 20 February. It is Huyot, the pupil of David and of Peyre, the fellow traveler of the Comte de Forbin and last architect in charge of the Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile, who puts what I judge to have been the compromise motion, adopted in the following terms:

The five sections of the Academy will immediately be formed into as many committees, each presided by one of its members. Each of these committees will be specially charged with making a reasoned report, with the effect that the Academy can give its view on all that contributes to the progress and perfecting of the different parts of the Beaux-Arts.

Whether he intended it or not, Huyot's motion seems to have driven the original, highly specific motion of the painting section into the sand.

Fig. 9 Hibon, engraver, after a design by J.N. Huyot, architect: aerial view of the project for the Palais de Justice de Paris, approved by the Conseil général de la Seine on 28 October 1838, from *Documents relatifs aux travaux du Palais de justice de Paris et à la reconstruction de la Préfecture de police . . . planches et légendes* (Paris: Charles de Mourgues Frères, 1858), pl. X, Call no. CAGE M NA4475.F72 P3 1858, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture / Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal

Fig. 10 Édouard Baldus, photographer: courtyard of the École des beaux-arts, Paris, 1850s, albumen silver print, 21.1 x 28.2 cm, PH1980:0226, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture / Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal

Yet the change, which had failed to come about on the institutional level, was already taking place where it mattered, in the actual development of painting and architecture during the second half of the decade. Huyot himself was one of the pioneers. A text published in 1841, shortly after his death, credited him with moving away from "the school of M. Percier, whose relatively unappreciated austerity condemned it to a narrow imitation of the antique," and engaging in "broader and more well-informed studies." Clear evidence of this comes in his extensive scheme for the area of the Palais de Justice (fig. 9). As Kathleen Taylor has pointed out in her thesis on the development of the Palais de Justice, Huyot not only incorporated neo-Gothic in his plan, but also proposed, in her words, "the tree-lined avenue linking the Palais to the cathedral of Notre-Dame, realizing the relationship that Victor Hugo had conjured in prose."

Huyot's visionary scheme was not carried out. But by 1837, Félix Duban's no less imaginatively hybrid scheme for the École des Beaux-Arts, on the site of the former Musée des Grands-Augustins, was already in the process of being carried out. We can see the emergence of the grand structure of Duban's Palais des Beaux-Arts in a woodblock engraving published in the Magasin universel in 1834. A contemporary article from its competitor, the Magasin pittoresque, explains that a major aspect of the new concept for the school is its "museum of studies," intended to "remedy as far as possible the loss of the Musée des monuments français, by utilising the precious remains that have been left buried in cellars or fallen into ruin."

The most visible aspect of this reparative and museological project is, of course, the retention of the so-called Arc de Gaillon, collected in parts from the bishops of Rouen's chateau in the Seine valley near Vernon in 1801-1802, reerected by Alexandre Lenoir, and photographed in its Beaux-Arts site by Baldus (fig. 10). This lecture has been, in a sense, a tale of several arches, from the triumphal arch forming the centre of the facade of the Villa Medici to Percier and Fontaine's Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel and Chalgrin's Arc de Triomphe completed by Huyot. But the Arc de Gaillon is the first to be historicized, in a museum setting that is reaffirmed by the pedagogic program that Duban's eclectic scheme underwrites. Furthermore, the splendid coloured designs that Duban understates for a sumptuous folio of Parisian sites commissioned by the Duc d'Orléans in 1837 (now in the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche

Museen, Berlin) indicate how the perspectival organization of the courtyard around the Arc de Gaillon culminates in the so-called Hémicycle, where the outgoing students receive their prizes. Between 1837 and 1841, this would be the site of the preparation of Delaroche's most important work, the historicist panorama of "Artists of All Ages," where the architects from the medieval period to the end of the seventeenth century share a spatio-temporal continuum with the sculptors and painters, and the exemplars from antiquity are flanked by embodiments of Gothic art on the left and Renaissance art on the right. For the first time, and in evident contradistinction to the ideal classical past depicted by Ingres a few years before in the Apotheosis of Homer, the legendary artists of ancient Greece are presented together, as men who show the evident signs of youth and age. In view of the story that I have traced here, we can perhaps forgive Delaroche for showing Pheidias, on the right, as a muscular sculptor not unlike the heavily built artificer shown by Ingres; the painter Apelles, in the centre, shining with all the bloom of purposeful youth; and the architect of the Parthenon, Ictinus, bearing the weight of an already burdensome antiquity. I will, however, end as I began, with Horace Vernet, writing this time to Ingres, who was by then his successor as director at the Villa Medici in Rome, about his first reactions to the Hémicycle:

> The central part is completely finished. Of course our illustrious colleagues will react vociferously to the treatment. But can they stand in the way of the fact that when one man has had the courage to tell the truth, others come to feel a horror of lies? All the good side of Delaroche's talent can be found in this part of his picture, and also to be discerned there is the happy influence that the French School owes to your constant efforts to speak to the eyes in the language of Homer.

Whether Ingres was won over by the flattery, I somewhat doubt. But it is impossible to question the sincerity of Vernet's conviction that the regeneration of the French school was well under way.

The main sources used for this lecture are: Amaury-Duval, *L'atelier d'Ingres* (Paris: G. Crès, 1924); Henri Lapauze, *Histoire de l'Académie de France à Rome*, 2 volumes (Paris: Plon, 1924); Albert Soubiès, *Les membres de l'Académie des beaux-arts depuis la fondation de l'Institut*, 4 volumes (Paris: Flammarion, 1909-1917); and Katherine Fischer Taylor, "The Palais de Justice of Paris: Modernization, Historical Self-consciousness, and Their Prehistory in French Institutional Architecture, 1835-1869," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, c. 1989 (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 2002). See also Stephen Bann, "Paul Delaroche à l'hémicycle des Beaux-Arts: L'histoire de l'art et l'autorité de la peinture," *Revue de l'art*, no. 146 (2004-4), 21-34.