

**THE PHYSIOGNOMY OF A COLLECTION:
ARCHITECTURAL LEGIBILITY AND HISTORICAL EXPRESSION AT THE
MUSÉE DES MONUMENTS FRANÇAIS, 1795-1816**

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The Musée des monuments français (1795-1816) began as a depot for newly nationalized property during the first years of the French Revolution. The depot rapidly filled with tomb monuments, sculptures, and architectural fragments from the former churches and palaces of the *ancien régime* in Paris and its environs. The growing cache of historic artifacts and art objects inspired Alexandre Lenoir to shape the storehouse into a collection for public display. The Musée des monuments français subsequently developed into a site of historical discourse. Previous scholarship has predominately framed the museum as an institution central to the growth of ideas about French patrimony in the nineteenth century. My dissertation traces the development of Lenoir's complex system of art and architectural classification and examines the theoretical implications of the museum within contemporaneous dialogues about architectural legibility and historical interpretation. Lenoir integrated physiognomy, formal artistic analysis, and the theoretical potential of the body to navigate uncertain meanings in a period of political and social upheaval. Each gallery of the Musée des monuments français engaged the visitor in a new and different relationship with time and history. The Introduction Hall presented a hieroglyphic overview of French art, the five century rooms temporalized the *ancien régime* into a historical taxonomy based on the body of the king, the three courtyards revealed a history of architecture that transcended the vocabulary of the legible body, and the garden, called the *Élysée*, celebrated universal human virtue and genius. In the *Élysée*, Lenoir buried the remains of the honored dead

where their presence activated the senses of the living. The sequence of spaces presented competing interpretations of the relationship between history, material culture, and the individual in which no single historical system dominated. Museum visitors judged the progress of artistic achievements, admired the clarity of scientific classification, mused over the tangible remains of distant centuries, and even conversed with the dead. The Musée des monuments français engaged the sensation and judgment of an emerging museum-going public in the practice of coding temporal and historical relationships onto objects, architectural spaces, and historical bodies.

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PREFACE

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Musée des monuments français was a site of historical discourse. From 1795 to 1816, Alexandre Lenoir transformed a stockpile of artifacts housed at the Petits-Augustins Dépôt in Paris into a permanent collection and a recognized public institution.¹ During the first years of the French Revolution, dépôts were established as storehouses for nationalized property after the abolition of the Catholic Church in 1789 and the monarchy in 1792. The Petits-Augustins Dépôt served as a storage facility for the painting and sculpture. Through the creative organization and public pressure of Lenoir, the Dépôt became the Musée des monuments français in 1795. The museum functioned as a laboratory for the function and representation of history during a time of dramatic social and political change. In the halls of the Musée des monuments français, meanings attributed to material culture were destabilized and re-interpreted. The visitor navigated the deep origins of culture, art production, and religion, questioned the influence of the monarch, and debated with the dead. Each of the four major sections of the museum - the Introduction Hall, the century rooms, the three courtyards, and the garden, or Élysée - presented a different relationship between the object, the individual, and history. By 1816, both the monarchy and the Catholic

¹ Ministère de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts, *Inventaire général des richesses d'art de la France. Archives du Musée des monuments français, Première partie, Papiers de M. Albert Lenoir, Membre de l'institut et Documents tirés des archives de l'administration des beaux-arts*, vol. 1 (Paris: Plon, Nourrit, et Cle, 1883), 34 and vol. 2, 305-6. See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839). From this point forward in the dissertation, this source will be abbreviated as *AMMF*. Lenoir's proposal for a "Musée spécial des antiquités et monuments français" was accepted by the Comité d'instruction publique on October 21, 1795 and the museum was recognized as the Musée des monuments français by Pierre Bézénech, Minister of the Interior, on April 8, 1796.

Church had been reinstituted. The Musée des monuments français was closed on December 18, 1816, by a decree of Louis XVIII.² The official decree that shuttered the museum by the recently restored Bourbon monarch did not use the word "musée," and instead reverted to the title "Dépôt des monuments," a reference to the establishment's original role. The use of the word "dépôt" signaled the political realities surrounding the museum. The closure of the museum revealed a fundamental anxiety over the translatability and meaning of the autonomous object. The language of the decree did not close an institution but instead attempted to restore a set of monuments to their former purpose and location after twenty years in storage.

The displacement of the cultural legacy of the *ancien régime* during the French Revolution was fundamentally a crisis of meaning and a struggle to define authenticity. Leading early nineteenth-century art theorist, Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, expressed this sentiment in his famous denunciation of the Musée des monuments français as a "cemetery for the arts."³ Two hundred years later, the same apprehension over the autonomous object survives in the introduction to the bicentennial exhibition at the Musée du Louvre in 2016, *Un musée révolutionnaire: Le musée des monuments français d'Alexandre Lenoir*, which asserted that Lenoir worked "without doctrine, without theory."⁴ However, to assume Lenoir was purely an opportunist

² AMMF, vol. 1, 440. See also AN AJ/52/443.

³ Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, *Rapport fait au Conseil-général ; le 15 thermidor, an 8, sur L'Instruction publiques, Le rétablissement des Bourses, Le scandale des inhumations actuelles, L'érection de Cimetières, La restitution des tombeaux, mausolées, etc.* (Paris: R. Jacquin, Desenne, Mareschal, 1800), 32-33. « Je veux parler de ce prétendu conservatoire, où s'entassent journellement tous les débris des temples, de ce dépôt de la rue des Petits-Augustins, véritable cimetière des arts, où une foule d'objets, qui ne sauraient être d'aucune valeur pour l'étude, et qui n'en avaient que par le local et leurs accessoires, désormais sans rapport avec les idées qui leur donnaient la vie, formeraient le plus burlesque, s'il n'était le plus indécent de tous les recueils. » Though he was a formidable critic of the Musée des monuments français, many of the ideas of Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy (1755-1849) were incorporated or translated by Lenoir into the theoretical underpinnings of the museum.

⁴ Roland Recht, "Le Musée d'Alexandre Lenoir: Une « Collection magnifient confuse, poétique désordonnée »" in *Un musée révolutionnaire: Le musée des monuments français d'Alexandre Lenoir*, eds. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier and Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot (Paris: Musée du Louvre with Hazan, 2016), 10-11. According to Recht, « aucune doctrine, aucune théorie ne fonde son (Lenoir's) œuvre. »

without a guiding theoretical methodology denies the complexity of the museum's organization. The circumstances of the French Revolution forced Lenoir to realign former hierarchical and contextual meanings into an ongoing negotiation of political forces with different conceptions of history.

This dissertation maps the emergence and organization of Lenoir's system of art and architectural classification and uses these processes to examine the multiple temporal and historical relationships that emerged from the museum's arrangements. Lenoir constructed a pedagogical journey through a sequence of four distinct spaces: the Introduction Hall, five century rooms, three proposed courtyards, and the picturesque garden, called the *Élysée*. Each space layered the visitor experience with another interpretation of the ongoing negotiation between historical representation and the spectator. The Introduction Hall presented a hieroglyphic overview of French art, the five century rooms temporalized the *ancien régime* into a historical taxonomy based on the body of the king, the three courtyards revealed a history of architecture that transcended the vocabulary of the legible body, and the *Élysée* celebrated universal human virtue and genius. To direct the interpretation of these spaces by his visitors, Lenoir juxtaposed various forms of material culture typically kept separate, created sculptural ensembles out of different artifacts, and constructed immersive architectural environments. He engaged the writings of contemporary art and architectural theorists, most notably Johann Joachim Winckelmann and Quatremère de Quincy, despite the latter's severe criticism of the museum.

The body emerged as an important theoretical tool of discourse at the Musée des monuments français. The French Revolution replaced royal will with the general will of the public. The body politic, or the sacred body of the nation, was severed from the royal body and regenerated

in the body of the citizen.⁵ In the eighteenth century, the term “regeneration” connoted both a spontaneous religious awaking and disciplined education or exercise.⁶ The French Revolution integrated both definitions of regeneration into the political process of reforming the body politic. After 1789, the fall of the Bastille was quickly historicized as a miraculous awakening that must be followed by a longer period of intense reformation and re-education of the public. In 1793, the tombs of the royal necropolis at the church of the Abbaye royale de Saint-Denis were opened, and the bodies exhumed, analyzed, and reinterred in a mass grave.⁷ Lenoir was present at the exhumations and recorded the state of each corpse. After 1793, Lenoir adopted physiognomy as a theoretical apparatus to navigate the metamorphosis of the body of the king from the head of the sacred body politic to an object of historical study in the museum. Lenoir employed the body as represented in sculpture as well as actual dead bodies buried in the Élysée and the sensory body of the visitor moving through the museum to direct the experience of space and interpret formal patterns in the museum. Like the two components of Revolutionary regeneration, the exhumation of the bodies of the kings at Saint-Denis became the foundational rupture that created the Musée des monuments français, and passage through the museum developed into a transformative pedagogical exercise.

Physiognomy was a widespread practice at the end of the eighteenth century as the scientific method that could reveal a subject’s inner moral character from exterior facial characteristics. Lenoir used physiognomy to understand the history of the monarchy as recorded

⁵ Dorinda Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class, and Political Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 75.

⁶ Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France 1770-1800*, trans. Charlotte Mandell (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 132-137.

⁷ The medieval church of the Abbaye royale de Saint-Denis became a cathedral in 1966 and is now known as the Basilique Cathédrale de Saint-Denis. For simplification, this site is referred to as "Saint-Denis" in the text.

on the exposed bodies of the French kings. He extended his interpretation to material culture: the physiognomy of material culture could reveal the inherent “character” of its historical era. Lenoir presented his physiognomic interpretation of history by creating a chronological sequence of period rooms, which each offered visitors the opportunity to immerse themselves in the character of different periods from history. Lenoir, however, was keenly aware that the French Revolution had demonstrated the historical limits of royal dynasties. The century rooms existed between the Introduction Hall and the Élysée, which both revealed a deeper history that included but was not limited by the monarchy. By integrating different and sometimes contradictory interpretations of a monument’s relationship to history and the spectator, Lenoir engaged the participatory judgment and taste of an emerging museum-going public in a dynamic new process of negotiating historical meaning and coding those discoveries onto architecture and sculpture.

1.1 THE HISTORY OF THE MUSÉE DES MONUMENTS FRANÇAIS

Marin-Alexandre Lenoir was born in Paris on December 21, 1762, to Alexandre Lenoir, a prosperous merchant and *bonnetier du Roi*, and his second wife, Louise Catherine Adam, the daughter of a butcher.⁸ (Figure 1.1) The family lived on the rue Saint-Honoré near the Tuileries

⁸ For accounts of Lenoir's early years, see Alexandre Lenoir, *Calomnie repoussée. Réponse à l'article du Nain Rose, du 10 Mars 1816, intitulé Biographie* (Hacquot: Paris, 1816); M. Allou, “Notice sur la vie et les travaux d’Alex Lenoir” in *Mémoires et dissertations sur les antiquités nationales et étrangères*, vol. 16 (Paris: La société royale des antiquaires de France, 1842): vi-xxvi; and Jean-Luc Froissart, *Alexandre, Albert et Angéline Lenoir, Une Dynastie en A majeur (1761- 1891)* (Paris: chez l’auteur, 2012), 1-12. The date of Lenoir's birth is disputed, and I have used the date listed in his 1839 obituary by M. Allou. Jennifer Carter discusses the debate surrounding Lenoir’s birthdate in her unpublished dissertation, “Recreating Time, History, and the Poetic Imaginary: Alexandre Lenoir and the Musée des monuments français.” (PhD diss., University of McGill, 2007), 54. Carter emphasizes the influence of Lenoir's involvement with freemasonry on his work and suggests that Lenoir may have adjusted his birthdate to coincide with dates important to Masonic rituals.

garden. As a child, Lenoir was sent to live in Alsace and where he was educated by his uncle, a priest of the cathedral chapter of Neivillers, near Strasbourg, and later the canon of the Cathédrale de Toul. He returned to Paris as an adolescent to attend the Collège des Quatre-Nations.⁹ Lenoir was a lifelong collector, and in his parents' house on the rue Saint-Honoré, he had assembled his first small cabinet of curiosities and a portfolio of drawings and engravings by the age of fifteen. In 1779, Lenoir entered the studio of Gabriel-François Doyen, where he remained until 1790.¹⁰ Doyen was a prominent history painter and a member of the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture.¹¹ Lenoir was introduced to freemasonry by his father and joined the loge Saint-Jean d'Écosse du contrat social between 1773 and 1804.¹² Later in life, Lenoir became an active mason. In 1811, he was invited to prepare a course on antiquity and freemasonry for the loge Saint-Alexandre d'Écosse de Paris and subsequently published a history of freemasonry, *La Franche-Maçonnerie rendue à sa véritable origine*, in 1814.¹³

⁹ The Collège des Quatre-nations, also known as the Collège Mazarin, was founded by Cardinal Mazarin in 1661. Here, Lenoir would have had access to the Bibliothèque Mazarine, the oldest public library in France that held 60,000 volumes by the end of the eighteenth century.

¹⁰ Henri Stein, *Le peintre G.F. Doyen et l'origine du Musée des Monuments français* (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1888), 21-22 and Froissart, *Alexandre, Albert et Angéline Lenoir*, 4. Gabriel-François Doyen (1726-1806) was asked by the Le bureau d'agence générale de la municipalité of Paris on September 13, 1790, for his opinion on the value of the paintings, sculptures, and other treasures found in the former religious houses. A letter from the Comité d'alienation on October 5, 1790, confirmed that the Administration des Biens nationaux gave him the authority to make judgments on what should be conserved. Doyen had been the pupil of Charles-André van Loo, won the Grand Prix de Rome in 1748. While studying in Italy, he was influenced by the work of Annibale Caracci, Pietro Berrettini, Giulio Romano, Michelangelo, and Titian. Doyen returned to France in 1756 and was admitted to the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture in 1758. Lenoir became his pupil in 1779, after spending about a year training with a painter named Boyen. Doyen left France for Russia in 1791 on the invitation of Catherine II, where he remained for the rest of his life.

¹¹ Lenoir would later attack the academies in his guidebooks for the Musée des monuments français.

¹² The date range of Lenoir's introduction to freemasonry is disputed. Carter, "Recreating Time, History, and the Poetic Imaginary," 54.

¹³ The 1812-1813 course was titled, "Allégories des antiquités égyptiennes, indiennes, et grecques qui ornent les archives générales de l'order." See also Alexandre Lenoir, *La Franche-Maçonnerie rendue à sa véritable origine ou L'Antiquité de la franche-maçonnerie prouvée par l'explication des mystères anciens et modernes* (Paris: Fournier, 1814) and Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

Lenoir also studied drama and performed in a tragedy at the château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye with the actor François-Joseph Talma at the beginning of his career.¹⁴ Lenoir's first publication was a short comedy in one act, *Les amis du temps passé* (1786), performed for the duchesse d'Orléans. It was during this period of his life that Lenoir became acquainted with his longtime friend, the academically-trained painter, Jacques-Louis David.¹⁵ Lenoir also met his wife, the painter Adélaïde Binart, in Doyen's studio, and they were married in 1794. Binart, a student of Doyen and Jean-Baptiste Regnault, pursued a successful career as a portrait painter, exhibiting regularly at the Salon from 1795 to 1817.¹⁶ Lenoir never had the opportunity to study in Italy, as was typical of elite, academically-trained artists of the period. Lenoir was first introduced to the pedagogical potential of the public art gallery as a student with the collection of

¹⁴ François Joseph Talma (1763-1826) developed realism in set design and scenery and was an early advocate of historical costuming. He is considered, like Lenoir, a precursor of French Romanticism. Talma was also a friend of Jacques-Louis David and Napoleon Bonaparte.

¹⁵ Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825) was a longtime friend of Lenoir. David made occasional use of Lenoir's collections as models. Lenoir enthusiastically defended David's work in *Explication du tableau des Sabines et de l'École de M. David* (Paris: Imprimerie d'Harcourt, 1810), published anonymously; *Observations scientifiques et critiques sur le génie et les principales productions des peintres et autres artistes le plus célèbres de l'antiquité, du moyen âge, et des temps modernes* (Paris: Chez B. Mondor, 1821); in which he credited David with restoration of French art; and, after David's death, "David, souvenirs historiques," *Journal de l'Institut historique* 3, no. 1 (1835): 1-13. David began a portrait of Lenoir sometime between 1810 and 1815 and finished the painting in exile. *Portrait d'Alexandre Lenoir* is now part of the painting collection of the Musée du Louvre. David also made two black crayon portraits of Lenoir and his wife Adélaïde in 1809, which are currently held by the Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre. Lenoir owned David's allegorical drawing, *Le Triomphe du Peuple Française* (1794), now held by the Musée Carnavalet in Paris, which represents the heroic entrance of Revolutionary martyrs Jean-Paul Marat and Louis-Michel le Peletier de Saint-Fargeau. For more information on the relationship between David and Lenoir, see Heather McPherson, "Endgame and Afterimage: David's Portrait d'Alexandre Lenoir," in *David after David Essays on the Later Work*, ed. Mark Ledbury (Williamstown MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2007): 218-231.

¹⁶ Adélaïde Binart (1796-1832) kept her studio in the Lenoirs' private quarters at the Musée des monuments français from 1794 to 1820. Many of Binart's portraits represented members of the scientific and artistic community of Revolutionary and Napoleonic Paris, including Gaultier de Claubry, surgeon, Balthazar-Georges Sage, chemist and founder of the École des Mines, the wife of chemist André Laugier, Bernard-Jacques Foubert, administrator at the Musée du Louvre, and Charles-François Dupuis, scholar of mythology, whose work influenced Alexandre Lenoir. The three children of Lenoir and Binart also pursued artistic careers: Zélia Lenoir (1795-1813) was student of David until her death of typhoid fever at the age of eighteen, Albert Lenoir (1801-1891) was an architect and creator of the Musée de Cluny, now the Musée national du Moyen Âge, and Clodomir Lenoir (1804-1887) was a history painter.

the duc d'Orléans at the Palais-Royal, where he frequently copied works by Raphael, Titian, and other artists.¹⁷

The advent of the French Revolution presented Lenoir with an unprecedented opportunity. After the nationalization of church property on November 2, 1789, the immense wealth and sacred heritage of the Catholic Church became *biens nationaux*, or properties confiscated for the good of the nation. The sale of former church property was intended to back a new currency, the *assignat*, and enrich depleted state coffers. Overnight, the buildings and holdings of the church no longer served religious or sacred functions. Suddenly lacking purpose and meaning, the material legacy of the church was vulnerable to neglect, destruction, appropriation, and foreign sale. Moreover, no comprehensive inventory existed of the art collections and other valuables held by the church. The need to assess and determine potential uses for the former ecclesiastical property was urgent.¹⁸

The newly nationalized property initiated localized public debates about what should be sold, conserved, repurposed, or destroyed. In Paris, the Assemblée nationale created the Commission des monuments, a team of twenty-five scholars, experts, and specialists, on October 13, 1790. Lenoir's instructor Doyen was among those appointed to the Commission.¹⁹ The creation of the Commission established that only learned men could perform the task of conserving, demolishing, selling, or appropriating the material legacy of the *ancien régime*. From the autumn

¹⁷ Allou, "Notice sur la vie," viii.

¹⁸ The Comité des affaires ecclésiastiques and the Comité d'aliénation des biens nationaux were initially formed to oversee the sale of the newly nationalized property.

¹⁹ Members of the Commission des monuments represented a diverse range of professionals who had earned their reputations during the *ancien régime*. Many had been members of the academies. Members included Dom Germain Poirier (1724-1803), a Benedictine monk and archivist at the Abbaye de Saint-Denis; historians and antiquarians Jean-Jacques Barthélemy (1716-1795), Bon-Joseph Dacier (1742-1833), and François-Marie Puthod de Maison-Rouge (1757-1820); scientists Nicolas Demarest (1725-1815) and Alexandre Vandermonde (1735-1796); and librarians Hubert-Pascal Ameilhon (1730-1811) and Abbé Gaspard-Michel Leblond (1738-1809). Doyen joined the Commission des monuments along with painters Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825), Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829), and Anicet Charles Gabriel Lemonnier (1743-1824) and sculptors Augustin Pajou (1730-1809) and Louis Boizot (1743-1809). See Emmet Kennedy, *A Cultural History of the French Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 197-234.

of 1790 to the spring of 1791, Lenoir aided Doyen in the assessment of paintings, sculpture, and other works of art worthy of preservation held by numerous Parisian churches and religious institutions.²⁰ The Commission established depots in former monasteries, convents, and religious buildings throughout Paris where the newly defined *biens nationaux* were stored, inventoried, and prepared for sale or dispatch to public institutions and collections such as museums, libraries, and schools.

On October 15, 1790, the Couvent des Petits-Augustins, which was built between 1615 and 1640 for Marguerite de Valois near the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris, was established as a depot for painting and sculpture.²¹ Doyen was appointed to oversee the management of the Petits-Augustins Dépôt. On January 4, 1791, Lenoir joined Doyen at the Dépôt where they kept detailed records of incoming and outgoing objects and continued to inventory objects in religious buildings.²² Lenoir was appointed the guardian of the Petits-Augustins Dépôt on June 6, 1791, which granted him authority over the "placement, arrangement, and conservation of all effects" of the collection.²³ At the end of 1791, Doyen fled Revolutionary France for Russia, leaving Lenoir solely in charge the Dépôt.

²⁰ "Notes diverses sur quelques édifices de Paris, ainsi que sur plusieurs personnages célèbres," *AMMF*, vol. 1, 1-6 and vol. 2, 1-5. Lenoir assessed the Hôtel-Dieu, the Couvent des Cordeliers, the house of the Jacobins on rue de Bac, the Église Saint-Marcel, the Église Saint-Pierre des Arcis, the Couvent des Minimes de la place Royale, and the Couvent des Théatins.

²¹ *AMMF*, vol. 3, 148. By October 1794, twelve Dépôts were operational in Paris, including the Maison de Nesel and the Couvent des Petits-Augustins for antiquities, sculpture, and painting; a Dépôt on the rue Bergère for music and musical instruments; an unnamed Dépôt for machines and scientific instruments; and eight Dépôts throughout the city dedicated to the collection of books and manuscripts.

²² Alexandre Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français ou description historique et chronologique des statues en marbre et en bronze, Bas-reliefs et Tombeaux des Hommes et des Femmes célèbres, pour servir à l'Histoire de France et à celle de l'art, ornée de gravures; et augmentée d'une dissertation sur les costumes de chaque siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie de Guilleminet, 1800), 3-4. See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839) for a full list of catalogs.

²³ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 6. « pour le placement, l'arrangement et la conservation de tous les effets. »

Between 1791 and 1793, the Petits-Augustins Dépôt functioned as a processing and storage facility under Lenoir's care. His duties involved keeping detailed records of the frequent sales, additions, and transfers of objects held by the Dépôt and regularly reporting to the Comité d'instruction publique. As the scope of cultural appropriation expanded in the first years of the Revolution, the Dépôt received artifacts and artwork from an increasing number of sources. On March 30, 1792, the properties of *émigrés* who had left France since 1789 were confiscated for sale, followed shortly by the holdings of counter-revolutionaries. The property of the king came under the authority of the Commission des monuments on August 11, 1792, shortly before the abolition of the monarchy on September 21, 1792. The royal academies were suppressed in August 1793, and a committee was created to inventory their property, causing a redundancy with the Commission des monuments. In December 1793, the Commission temporaire des arts replaced the Commission des monuments, under the supervision of the Minister of the Interior.²⁴

Lenoir had to carefully navigate an uncertain position during a period of political and cultural upheaval. He also needed to legitimate his role among the established cultural elite. Modern scholars have upheld iconoclastic destruction as the decisive force that propelled the development of French museums, libraries, and other cultural institutions at the beginning of the nineteenth century. During the early years of the Revolution, reliquaries, sculptures, and other treasures were sent to the foundries, statues of kings were torn down, and abandoned properties were ransacked. Popular violence executed against both the bodies and the symbols of the

²⁴ After the suppression of the academies in August 1793, the Minister of the Interior created a new thirty-six member commission for the task of inventorying the property of the former institutions. This organization overlapped with the duties of the Commission des monuments, and on December 18, 1793, the two organizations combined into the Commission temporaire des arts. For information on the formation of the Commission temporaire des arts, see Louis Tuetey, ed., *Procès-verbaux de la Commission temporaire des arts*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1912), v-xxxviii.

oppressors of the French people was viewed as a political right by many, and the Commission des monuments and later the Commission temporaire des arts continually worked to suppress “malevolent” destruction not conducted under its auspices.²⁵ The Commission upheld that legitimate and necessary destruction was only appropriate after the reasoned decisions of learned men or as part of public festivals designed by appointed officials.²⁶ Anything else was overzealous ignorance.

Government officials frequently oversaw the strategic excise of symbols of the church, nobility, and aristocracy. During the first years of the French Revolution, a stonemason known as Citoyen Scellier became an expert at “facadectomy.” He was frequently employed to perform amputations of iconography associated with the suppressed institutions of the *ancien régime*. In 1793, Scellier was hired to remove the heads from the Gallery of the Kings, the frieze of free-standing sculptures on the west façade of the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris. The Gallery of the Kings represented twenty-eight generations of the kings of Judah but were popularly understood to represent the kings of France. The Commission des monuments recommended that “all stained-glass windows and paintings with coats of arms (in the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris) must be suppressed...with all the necessary precaution to avoid damaging the objects to which they are

²⁵ Kennedy, *A Cultural History of the French Revolution*, 201. By 1793, the destruction of any “monuments of arts and science” by malevolence could be penalized with two years imprisonment.

²⁶ *Instruction sur la manière d'inventorier et de conserver dans toute l'étendue de la République, tous les objets qui peuvent servir aux arts, aux sciences et à l'enseignement* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1794), 67-68. « Pendant que des personnes recommandables par leur civisme et par leur instruction, choisies par les districts, de concert avec les sociétés populaires, sont occupées de recensement et de la conservation des objets qui doivent servir à l'enseignement, il ne faut pas que des citoyens tout-à-fait étrangers à l'étude des arts se permettent de renverser des monumens dont ils ne connoissent ne la valeur ne les motifs, sous le prétexte qu'ils croient y voir des emblèmes de superstition, de despotisme ou de féodalité. Lorsque le peuple, armé de sa massue, vengeur de ses propres injures, et défenseur de ses propres droits, a rompu sa chaîne et terrassé ses oppresseurs, plein alors d'un juste courroux, il a pu tout frapper: mais, aujourd'hui qu'il a remis le soin de sa fortune et de ses vengeances à des législateur, à des magistrats auxquels il se confi; aujourd'hui que des citoyens éclairés ont été nommés par lui juges et conservateurs des chef-d'œuvres des arts qui sont en son pouvoir, ne lui suffit-il pas de surveiller leur conduite, et ne doit-il pas au moins les entendre toujours, avant de se déterminer? »

attached."²⁷ Special care was taken to excise the offending symbols without destroying the overall structure. Scellier worked like a skilled surgeon, cutting away diseased portions to save the whole body.

Iconoclastic destruction was only an aspect of the threat facing the newly nationalized property. Abandoned châteaux, empty religious houses, and their contents fell victim to fire, humidity, collapsed roofs, exposure, and neglect. Furthermore, the lack of a comprehensive inventory meant precious and valuable artifacts could be sold, lost, or destroyed without the knowledge or consent of the Commission des monuments. After the Revolution, Lenoir would routinely maintain that he had protected the arts against the “hatchets of the vandals” at all costs.²⁸ He famously claimed that he whitewashed two bronzes by the seventeenth-century sculptor Jacques Sarrazin to protect them from the foundry and boasted that he had been stabbed in the hand defending the tomb of Cardinal Richelieu at the Sorbonne. In 1793, after finally being forced to comply with orders to submit 180 paintings for a bonfire in a street festival, Lenoir demanded the funerary monument of the de Thou family from the Église-Saint-André-des-Arts in Paris as a reward for his "cooperation" with the paintings.²⁹ In reality, Lenoir acted with great care and political dexterity during the Terror as he negotiated through official channels to obtain the transfer of objects and building components to the Dépôt.

The Dépôt's growing accumulation of funerary monuments, sculptures, and architectural fragments provided a unique opportunity for an entrepreneurial artist like Lenoir. Lenoir briefly

²⁷ Kennedy, *A Cultural History of the French Revolution*, 205-212. The destruction of the *Gallery of the Kings* was conducted under orders from the Commune, the Section de la Cité, and the Commission des monuments. Bazin erected scaffolding in September 1793, and the sculptures were removed on December 16, 1793, by Scellier and the aid of two workers skilled in the removal "emblems of feudalism," Bellier and Daujou. Scellier was later employed as a stonemason at the Musée des monuments français.

²⁸ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 25, and vol. 3, 153, and Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 159.

²⁹ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 12.

opened the collection to the public in August 1793, during the Fête de l'Unité et de l'Indivisibilité. In October of the same year, Lenoir observed the exhumations the royal necropolis of the French monarchy at Saint-Denis and kept a detailed record of the state of each disinterred royal corpse. After the exhumations, the royal funerary monuments of Saint-Denis were dismantled and shipped to the Dépôt. By the end of 1793, Lenoir was laying the foundation for a permanent exhibition at the Petits-Augustins Dépôt. Two years later, on October 21, 1795, the Comité d'instruction publique accepted Lenoir's proposal to create a museum "Musée spécial des antiquités et monuments français," which was officially recognized as the Musée des monuments français on April 8, 1796.³⁰ In the proposal, Lenoir emphasized the accomplishments of his conservation work, including the restoration of a painting he attributed to Tintoretto and the reconstruction of François Girardon's *Descente de croix* from the Église Saint-Roch in Paris from over one hundred fragments. He presented a lengthy argument for the restoration of the tomb of François I from Saint-Denis and included that he had prevented the sale of Michelangelo's *The Captives*, collected the ashes of Descartes at the Église Sainte-Genève, and rescued the tomb of Cardinal Richelieu from destruction.³¹

The ground floor of the former convent lent itself to the development of Lenoir's museum program with minimal major building renovation. (Figure 1.2) The convent was accessed from the rue des Petits-Augustins (now rue Bonaparte) through a small courtyard leading to the entrance of the church, the largest space in the convent and the only remnant that still survives. Lenoir covered the original façade of the convent church with a large sixteenth-century fragment from the Château d'Anet by Philibert de l'Orme, which is still in this location. The long nave of the convent church

³⁰ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 34, and vol. 2, 305-6.

³¹ *AMMF*, vol 1, 22-28.

served as the Introduction Hall of the Musée des monuments français, where Lenoir displayed monuments attesting to the origins and breadth of French art. To the north of the church was the sacristy, characterized by low groin vaults. Here, Lenoir installed the Thirteenth-Century Room. The Thirteenth-Century Room was the first in a series of five period rooms, each designed in the character of the century represented. Directly to the west of the church was a small square garden surrounded by an arcaded cloister and a series of rooms on the north, west, and south sides that had served as the living areas of the convent.³² The two halls to the north of the cloister became the Fourteenth-Century Room and the Fifteenth-Century Room, and the two rooms west of the cloister served as the Sixteenth-Century Room and the Seventeenth-Century Room. Lenoir filled the cloister and its garden with more tomb monuments, sculptures, and busts. In the space above the Thirteenth-Century Room, Lenoir kept a collection of plaster casts of antiquities for use by artists.³³ (Figure 1.3)

After completing the interior circuit, the visitor returned to the south end of the Introduction Hall and exited the museum through the entrance. In the entry courtyard directly south of the museum, Lenoir worked with the architect Charles Percier to design three chronological courtyards constructed out of large architectural fragments.³⁴ This project was only partially completed using

³² Suzanne Thouroude, "Le Couvent des Petits-Augustins." *L'Information d'histoire de l'art* 4 (October 1964): 166.

³³ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 353 and vol. 3, 271. The studio above the Thirteenth-Century Room is visible in a section of the Musée des monuments français held by the Département des Estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France, VA 269 D2.

³⁴ Charles Percier (1764-1838) was a French architect, interior designer, and decorator. Percier was a pupil of Antoine-François Peyre (1739-1823). He won the Prix de Rome in 1786. Percier met his friend and collaborator Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine (1762-1853) while both architects were studying in Rome. They returned to Paris and set up a practice in 1790. Percier and Fontaine were the most prominent architects during the reign of Napoleon. Percier was the teacher of many prominent nineteenth-century architects, including Jacques Hittorff and François Debret. Between 1801 and 1812, Percier and Fontaine published in installments an illustrated interior design manual, Charles Percier and Pierre Fontaine, *Recueil des décorations intérieures : comprenant tout ce qui a rapport à l'ameublement : comme vases, trépiers, candélabres, cassolettes, lustres, girandoles, lampes, chandeliers, cheminées, feux, poêles, pendules, tables, secrétaires, lits, canapés, fauteuils, chaises, tabourets, miroirs, écrans, etc. etc. etc.* (Chez les auteurs: Paris: 1801-1812), which helped establish the Empire style and directed the development of the decorative arts into the nineteenth century. Percier and Lenoir were close friends, and Percier

facades and arcades transported over 40 miles from the Château d'Anet and the Château de Gaillon. The Élysée was located to the west of the former convent. An axis of funerary architecture and sculptures like that of the Introduction Hall formed the central monumental spine of the garden, surrounded by lush greenery, meandering paths, and more monuments hidden in the vegetation. In contrast to the historicity of the century rooms, the Élysée represented a timeless field of rest. Here, Lenoir interred the remains of the medieval couple, Abélard and Héloïse; several important seventeenth-century figures including Jean de La Fontaine, Molière, Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, Jacques Rohault, René Descartes; the eighteenth-century Benedictine scholars Bernard de Montfaucon and Jean Mabillon; and, briefly, the seventeenth-century general Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne.

The Musée des monuments français was a product of the French Revolution that became an important cultural institution in the Napoleonic Era. The majority of the design, construction, and installation of the museum and gardens occurred between 1796 until 1800 during the Directoire and Consulate. By 1803, the museum was largely complete. Napoleon, then First Consul, and Joséphine de Beauharnais initially visited the museum with on December 24, 1800.³⁵

worked on several projects at the museum. Percier and Lenoir were acquainted by 1795. Percier would frequently sketch at the museum. Their collaboration began about 1800, when they were both involved in the remodeling of Malmaison and the exterior courtyards of the Musée des monuments français. Percier provided many drawings for Lenoir's catalog, designed the series of exterior courtyards, and traveled to Anet with Lenoir to determine what parts of the château could be shipped to Paris. Percier's collaboration with Lenoir was one of the few projects he did not share with Fontaine. For more information, see Jean-Philippe Garric, ed., *Charles Percier: Architecture and Design in the Age of Revolution* (Bard Graduate Center: Decorative Arts, Design History, Material Culture, 2016).

³⁵ Alexandre Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique des monumens de Sculpture réunis au Musée des monumens français par Alexandre Lenoir, Fondateur et Administrateur de ce Musée, Membre de la société libre des sciences lettres et arts de Nancy; Augmentée d'une dissertation sur la Barbe et les Costumes de chaque siècle, et d'un Traité de la Peinture sur verre, par le même auteur*, 7th ed., (Paris: musée des Petits-Augustins, Guyot, Levrault, Tezari, Year XI, 1803), 113. Napoleon and Joséphine visited on December 24, 1800. Napoleon's reaction, as recorded by Lenoir, was "Lenoir, you have transported me to Syria; continue your researches and look forward to the results with pleasure." In the original French: « Le premier consul Bonaparte, en visitant mon établissement, parut extrêmement satisfait de mes travaux : et il ne put s'empêcher de me le témoigner vice son obligeance ordinaire ; il me dit, en entrant dans cette salle qui lui représentait les édifices qu'il avait parcourus dans

Lenoir's presentation of the history of France, which did not begin or end with the monarchy, suited Napoleon's ambitions because it opened the possibility of inserting himself into the history of the nation as the successor to the Bourbon monarchy, and he encouraged Lenoir to continue his work. Napoleon visited once more in 1806, this time as Emperor. Joséphine attended an evening tour of the museum illuminated by torchlight in 1807.³⁶ Lenoir developed a friendship with Joséphine and was appointed Conservateur des objets of her collection at the Château de Malmaison.³⁷

Lenoir published twelve editions of a guidebook meant to be used in the museum between 1793 and 1816.³⁸ In 1800, Lenoir began the project to produce an eight-volume illustrated catalog. Percier produced many of the illustrations. Lenoir published six volumes between 1800 and 1806, and two retrospective volumes appeared in 1821.³⁹ The Treaty of Amiens ended hostilities between the French and the British from 1802 to 1803, which opened Paris to travelers from the British Isles. Both French and English language city guides to Paris encouraged travelers to visit the museum.⁴⁰ The museum was very popular with British travelers, who compared it to

son voyage d'Asie : Lenoir, vous me transportez en Syrie : je suis très content ; continuez vos recherches, et j'en verrai toujours les résultats avec plaisir. » See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

³⁶ Céline Meunier et Alain Pougetoux "Alexandre Lenoir et l'Impératrice Joséphine: Une amitié intéressée?" in *Un musée révolutionnaire*, eds. Bresc-Bautier and de Chancel-Bardelot, 58-59.

³⁷ The Château de Malmaison was the primary residence of Empress Joséphine de Beauharnais (1763-1814) from 1799 until her death. In his duty as Conservateur des objets de la Malmaison, Lenoir created a catalog of the collection: Alexandre Lenoir, *Catalogue historique et raisonné des antiquités et des marbres du Château Imperial de Malmaison, ordonné par sa Majesté l'Impératrice et Reine*. (1809) and Alexandre Lenoir, *Peintures, vases, et bronzes de la Malmaison, décrits et publiés par M. Alexandre Lenoir, gravés par. M. N.-X. Willemin, ouvrage dédié de l'Impératrice Joséphine* (Paris: Hacquart, 1810). See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839). Additionally, in 1807, Lenoir ordered the transfer of a « monument d'architecture gothique » from Metz to the gardens of Malmaison to serve as a picturesque ruin. See *AMMF*, vol. 1, 364.

³⁸ For a complete list of Lenoir's catalogs, see Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

³⁹ Volume 1 (1800): Antiquity, Gallo-Roman antiquity, the early Middle Ages, and the Thirteenth-Century Room; Volume 2 (1801): the Fourteenth-Century Room and the Fifteenth-Century Room; Volume 3 (1802): the Sixteenth-Century Room; Volume 4 (1805): the Sixteenth-Century Room; Volume 5 (1806): the Seventeenth-Century Room and Élysée. Volume 6 (1803): Stained Glass; Volume 7 (1821) and Volume 8 (1821): History of art in France, published after the closure of the museum. For full titles, see Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

⁴⁰ For information on travel guides, see Appendix C, Firsthand Accounts of the Musée des monuments français.

Westminster Abbey. In 1803, Lenoir published an English translation of the first volume of his illustrated catalog.⁴¹

Despite the popularity of the Musée des monuments français in the first decade of the nineteenth century, Lenoir faced continual challenges to the legitimacy of the institution. In 1800, the Minister of the Interior, Lucien Bonaparte, ordered that Lenoir oversee the transfer of the museum's collection of sculptures to the Parc Monceau in Paris, where they would form a picturesque sculpture garden.⁴² According to the proposal, the sculptures of the Musée des monuments français were better suited to the experience of a garden rather than inside a former convent. Lenoir and Jean-Charles-Alexandre Moreau, the architect of the museum at that time, successfully aborted that plan by arguing that such an endeavor would be prohibitively expensive.⁴³ After the reinstatement of the Catholic Church in 1801, Lenoir negotiated continual reclamations of the museum's religious monuments from the Church.⁴⁴ He was largely successful in retaining those objects already on display in the century rooms as of 1801.⁴⁵ In 1811, Lenoir

⁴¹ Alexandre Lenoir, *Museum of French monuments, or an Historical and Chronological Description of the Monuments, in Marble, Bronze and Bas-relief collected in the Museum of Paris; ornamented with elegant etchings, Translated from the French of Alexander Lenoir, Founder and Director of the Museum*, vol. 1, trans. J. Griffith (Paris: Levrault and London: John Bell, 1803). See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

⁴² *AMMF*, vol. 1, 184-185, 194-206, 227.

⁴³ Jean-Charles-Alexandre Moreau (1767-1810) was the architect of the Musée des monuments français from 1800 until 1804. Moreau replaced Antoine-Marie Peyre (1770-1843), who was influential in the design and development of the century rooms. In 1804, was succeeded by Claude-Étienne Beaumont (1757-1811) succeeded Moreau. Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer (1756-1846) replaced Beaumont in 1810 and served as the architect of the Musée des monuments français until the closure of the museum in 1816. Charles Percier was named "architect-draftsman" by the Minister of the Interior in 1800. See Chloé Demey, "The milieu intellectuel et artistique d'Alexandre Lenoir," (DEA, université de Paris IV, 2002), 140-144.

⁴⁴ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 280-288. Lenoir was successful at retaining objects that were on display in the century rooms, gardens, and Introduction Hall. Many of the objects returned to churches were stored by the museum and not on display. See Musée des monuments français Index and note that Lenoir kept most of the objects used in his displays until 1816 (including many listed in the guidebooks from Year V until 1816). The antiquities transferred to the Musée du Louvre by 1803 were an exception.

⁴⁵ The majority of reclaimed artifacts were from the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Of the century rooms, the Thirteenth-, Fourteenth-, Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Rooms remained relatively unchanged throughout the tenure of the museum according to catalog records. The objects in the Seventeenth-Century Room and the Introduction Hall were more likely to be after 1805. Objects in the Cloister Gallery, Cloister Garden, and Entry

rebuffed another proposal led by architects Jean Rondelet and Jacques Cellier to transfer the monuments of the Musée des monuments français to the Église Sainte-Geneviève and Saint-Denis.⁴⁶ Lenoir petitioned Napoleon, Joséphine, and her son, Prince Eugène de Beauharnais, viceroy of Italy, to save the museum. He proposed the creation of two new galleries: a comparative gallery of ancient and contemporary painting and a Nineteenth-Century Room for contemporary sculpture. Additionally, Lenoir began referring to the museum as the Musée Impérial des Monuments français.⁴⁷ Lenoir successfully emphasized the uniqueness of the Musée des monuments français as a European institution and Rondelet and Cellier's proposal was abandoned.

Lenoir consistently maintained the urgent need to complete the museum and hoped to see it transformed into a permanent institution, not an accidental by-product of the Revolution. Lenoir envisioned an expansion of the museum into the Hôtel de Bouillon, which was located on the quai Malaquais directly north of the Élysée. In 1800, Lenoir proposed the installation of a collection of portraits of *hommes célèbres*, a chronology of suits of armor, a collection of medals, and a library dedicated to the study of French art in the Hôtel de Bouillon.⁴⁸ After the end of the

Courts were relocated with the highest frequency. Monuments located in the Élysée were also more likely to be reclaimed in the first years of the nineteenth-century than those in the interior of the museum. See Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index.

⁴⁶ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 405-411. Jean-Baptiste Rondelet (1743-1829) was formerly the chief architect of the Église Sainte-Geneviève.

⁴⁷ In 1810, Lenoir began using the title "Musée Impérial des Monuments français" on some documents and in the title of the guidebook published in 1810, though the title "Musée des monuments français," was never retired and appeared on other documents of the same period. Lenoir first proposed a Nineteenth-Century Room in 1809.

⁴⁸ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 198-200. Lenoir collected 137 drawings and paintings for the portrait collection, including drawings of the Valois court attributed to François Clouet (c.1510-1572). collection was purchased by Ronald Sutherland Levenson Gower, Duke of Sutherland (1786-1861) purchased the collection in 1838 and kept at the Stafford House in London. He copied and published the collection in Ronald Sutherland Levenson Gower, *The Lenoir Collection of original French Portraits at Stafford House, auto-lithographed by Lord Ronald Dower* (London: Maclure & Macdonald, 1874). Henri d'Orléans, duc de Aumale (1822-1897) purchased the Lenoir collection in 1874 and moved them to the Château de Chantilly, where they are conserved today. See Lenoir Collection, Archives of the Château de Chantilly.

Revolution in 1799, Lenoir struggled to find the government support he needed to acquire the large architectural facades and funds necessary to complete the exterior courtyards and other projects. By the early nineteenth century, the arrival in Paris of ancient sculptures and masterpieces from Rome in 1798, seized by Napoleon as part of the Treaty of Tolentino, and the transportation of the Elgin marbles from Athens to London between 1801 and 1812 sparked heated debates about contextuality and the public purpose of museums. The Musée des monuments français was embroiled in contemporary museological debates about the advantages and limitations of viewing monuments in their original locations.

The Bourbon Restoration sealed the fate of the Musée des monuments français. In 1815, Lenoir lost a portion of the grounds of the Élysée to the Mont-de-Piété, which forced him to disassemble and relocate the chapel dedicated to Abélard and Héloïse.⁴⁹ Lenoir continued to petition Louis XVIII to recognize the value of retaining the Musée des monuments français and offered to reinvent the museum under the restored Bourbon monarchy. Despite Lenoir's efforts, the museum was closed in 1816 and the land granted for the construction of the École des Beaux-Arts, which still occupies the site. Most of the building was demolished, except for the former convent church, which housed the Introduction Hall, the former sacristy, which held the Thirteenth-Century Room, and two facades from the Château d'Anet and the Château de Gaillon.⁵⁰ Louis XVIII knighted Lenoir for his efforts to preserve many royal and religious monuments during the French Revolution and appointed him to oversee the conservation of the royal funerary monuments at Saint-Denis.

⁴⁹ *AMMF*, vol. 3, 145.

⁵⁰ The façade from the Château d'Anet remains part of the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts today. The façade from the Château de Gaillon was returned to Gaillon in 1977. The church of the former Petits-Augustins Dépôt today serves as gallery space for the college, and the sacristy is now a café, the Café Héloïse.

1.2 THE LEGACY AND LIMITS OF HERITAGE

The Musée des monuments français never matured into a permanent nineteenth-century public museum like the Musée du Louvre or the Muséum d'histoire naturelle. After the dispersal of the collections in 1818, the ephemeral museum became a fixed node for an established cultural hierarchy of memory, continually re-interpreted and revived for the present. This process began with the generation of French intellectuals and writers who had been inspired by the Musée des monuments français as children, particularly French historians Jules Michelet, Augustin Thierry, and Baron de Barante.⁵¹ This generation included Lenoir's son, the architect Albert Lenoir, who was dedicated to preserving his father's legacy.⁵² The younger Lenoir was the architect of the Musée de Cluny, which opened in 1843 in the fifteenth-century Hôtel de Cluny. The Musée de Cluny displayed the ruins of the Gallo-Roman baths of Lutetia alongside medieval and Renaissance artifacts and art objects collected by Alexandre de Sommerard.⁵³ Baron de Barante

⁵¹ Jules Michelet, *Histoire de la Revolution française*, vol. 8 (Paris: C. Marpon and E. Flammarion, 1880); Ernest Vinet, "Les archives pendant la Révolution," *Journal des débats* (April 23, 1867); and Dominique Poulot, "Alexandre Lenoir et les Musées des monuments français," in *Histories and Memories*, vol. 4 of *Rethinking France: Les Lieux des Mémoire*, ed. Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), 124. Additionally, Victor Hugo lived in an apartment that overlooked the Musée des monuments français as a child and assisted with the dismantling of the museum. Victor Hugo and Adèle Hugo, *Raconté par un témoin de sa vie*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie Internationale, Brussels, and Leipzig: A. Lacroix, Verboeckhoven, and Ce., 1863), 410. See Appendix C, Firsthand accounts of the Musée des monuments français.

⁵² Albert Lenoir (1801-1891) was an architect and historian. He studied under François Debret (1770-1850). While studying in Rome, became acquainted with the group of nineteenth-century Romantic architects who challenged the classical tradition and experimented with architectural eclecticism in the 1830s: Félix Duban (1789-1870), Henri Labrousse (1801-1875), Joseph-Louis Duc (1802-1879), and Léon Vaudoyer (1802-1872). This group developed an understanding of architectural history as a mirror of the progressive stages of humanity focused on change, adaptation, and cultural relativity. In addition to the creation of the Musée de Cluny, Albert Lenoir is known for the publication of *Statistique monumentale de Paris*, 3 vols. (Paris: 1867), a comprehensive inventory and critical assessment of the monuments of Paris.

⁵³ Alexandre du Sommerard (1779-1842) was a career military officer and amateur collector. In his leisure, he collected, classified, and eventually published a collection of Gothic and Renaissance art objects. The Musée de Cluny is now known as the Musée national du Moyen Âge and still located in the former Hôtel de Cluny, built by Jacques d'Amboise (c.1440-1516), abbot of Cluny, in the late fifteenth century. Like the Musée des monuments français, several halls of the Musée de Cluny were designed as immersive period rooms. While the period rooms of the Musée des monuments français represented temporality, the period rooms of the Musée de Cluny recreated a specific historical place or function, such as the bedroom of François I. Today, the original period rooms no longer

hoped the Musée de Cluny could replace the unfortunate loss of Lenoir's museum, and Lenoir himself viewed the new museum as an appropriate successor to the Musée des monuments français.⁵⁴

Louis Courajod, the conservator of medieval and Renaissance sculpture and art objects at the Musée du Louvre, published the first written history of the Musée des monuments français, *Alexandre Lenoir: son Journal et le Musée des monuments français* (3 vols., 1878-1887).⁵⁵ A significant part of Courajod's work was the publication of Lenoir's journal from 1791 to 1799 detailing the daily movement of objects in and out of the Petits-Augustins Dépôt and later museum, lists of the locations of objects removed from the museum after its closure, and a description of Lenoir's collection of portraits. Five years after the publication of Courajod's first volume, Albert Lenoir edited and published his father's papers with the Ministère de l'Instruction publique as *Inventaire général des richesses d'art de la France. Archives du Musée des monuments français* (3 vols., 1883-1897). In response, Courajod included several of Lenoir's letters left out of the publication by Lenoir and the Ministère de l'Instruction publique in the second volume of *Alexandre Lenoir: son Journal et le Musée des monuments français* in 1886. Whereas the generation of historians who had visited the museum as children were concerned with the nostalgic memory of the closed museum, Courajod was too young to have visited the museum himself.

exist. The Gothic collection remains in the museum in Paris, and the collection of Renaissance artifacts is housed at the Musée nationale de la Renaissance in Écouen. See Alexandre Du Sommerard, *Les Arts au Moyen Age en ce qui concerne principalement Palais Romain de Paris l'hôtel de Cluny issu de ses ruines de la collection classé dans cet hôtel*, 5 vols. (Paris: l'hôtel de Cluny, 1842-1846) and Albert Lenoir, *Projet d'un musée historique formé par la réunion du Palais des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny, exposé aux salles du Louvre sous le no 1546* (Paris: Imprimerie de P. Renouard, 1833).

⁵⁴ Poulot, "Alexandre Lenoir et les Musées des monuments français," 128 and Alexandre and Albert Lenoir, *Coupures de Presse*, Département des Estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France, YA-E-154-4.

⁵⁵ Louis Courajod (1841-1896) became the conservator of medieval and Renaissance sculpture and art objects in Musée du Louvre in 1874 and director of the Département de sculpture du Moyen Âge, de la Renaissance, et des Temps modernes in 1893. He held that position until his death in 1896. Louis Courajod, *Alexandre Lenoir: son Journal et le Musée des monuments français* 3 vols. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1878-1887).

Courajod was interested in establishing Lenoir as a figure of art historical importance. Courajod's history primarily focused on the provenance of the Louvre's collection of medieval and Renaissance sculpture, many which came from the Musée des monuments français, and the use of fragments from the former museum to create the now demolished sculptural courtyards of the École des Beaux-Arts.

Scholarly interest in the Musée des monuments français piqued again during the 1970s, not quite a century after the work of Courajod, with Bruno Foucart's publication on the lasting impact of Lenoir's career.⁵⁶ Fascination with the museum increased in the 1980s and 1990s, which coincided with the reinvestment in studies of the French Revolution due to the bicentennial in 1989. In 1986, Dominique Poulot contributed an article on the Musée des monuments français to *Les lieux de mémoire*, Pierre Nora's multi-volume opus on the cultural history of France.⁵⁷ Framing the Musée des monuments français as a *lieu de mémoire* was a foundational moment that has shaped scholarship on the museum for over thirty years. Poulot's theoretical understanding of heritage and patrimony was influenced by his mentor, Nora. Nora argued that modern societies invest in *lieux de mémoire* or places of memory such as museums and archives due to the acceleration of history and the loss of *milieux de mémoire*, or real environments of memory. According to Nora, the decline of peasant culture and the rise of industrial society at the end of the

⁵⁶ Bruno Foucart, "La fortune critique d'Alexandre Lenoir et du premier Musée des monuments français" *L'Information de l'histoire de l'art* (1969): 223-232.

⁵⁷ It is important to consider the placement of the article on the Musée des monuments français in *Les lieux de mémoire*. In the French edition, Poulot's article appears in Volume 2 *La Nation*, Part 3 "La Gloire les mots," published in 1986. The article is placed in the section titled "Patrimoine," and is preceded by chapters titled "La notion de patrimoine" by Phillipe Contamine and "Naissance des musées de province" by Édouard Pommier and followed by "Arcisse de Caumont et les sociétés savantes" by Fraçoise Bercé and "Guizot et les institutions de mémoire" by Laurent Theis. In the English edition, Poulot's chapter is in *Histories and Memories*, volume 4 of *Rethinking France: Les Lieux de mémoire, Histories and Memories* (2010), between the chapters titled "The Archives" by Krzysztof Pomian and "Guizot and the Institution of Memory" by Laurent Theis. The French edition places more emphasis on patrimony than the English version.

eighteenth century caused the decline of real memory or living socio-sacred recollection. Memory was replaced by history, a prosaic, sterile representation of the actual past, and *lieux de mémoire*.⁵⁸

Dominique Poulot's work reinforces the historicization of the Musée des monuments français as a *lieu de mémoire*. Poulot's three major publications on the development of museums in France, *Surveiller et s'instruire: la Révolution française et l'intelligence de l'héritage historique* (1996), *Musée, Nation, Patrimoine: 1789-1815* (1997), and *Une histoire des musées de France* (2005), place the Musée des monuments français in a privileged position in the development of French museums from the eighteenth-century to the present.⁵⁹ *Surveiller et s'instruire* and *Musée, Nation, Patrimoine* both trace the development of patrimony and heritage in several Revolutionary museums, focusing on the Musée du Louvre and the Musée des monuments français. *Une histoire des musées de France* expands the history of museums into the twentieth century, while still advancing the same argument about the emergence of modern French heritage in the Revolutionary museums and developing an interesting interpretation of Lenoir's dual interest in universal origins and neoclassicism. According to Poulot, the Revolutionary museums were the only appropriate place for the culture of the past to exist within the new nation. Museums were the place where new origins were inscribed, historical landmarks replaced lost histories, and a clear and cogent concept of heritage was established to pass on to the future.⁶⁰ Poulot's interpretation of the Musée des monuments français hinges on three assumptions: the mobility of objects during the French Revolution effectively erased their historicity and former meanings, the Revolutionary museums

⁵⁸ Pierre Nora, "General Introduction: Between Memory and History," *Representations*, Vol. 26 (Spring 1989): 8.

⁵⁹ For a detailed list of Poulot's work on the Musée des monuments français, see the bibliography.

⁶⁰ Dominique Poulot, *Surveiller et s'instruire: la Révolution française et l'intelligence de l'héritage historique* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1996), 439, 450.

of France were unique in Europe because they rose from the vandalism of the Terror, and the French Revolution represented a fundamental rupture in the continuity of time.

The Revolutionary museums, according to Poulot, were mythic constructions of the state created out of the vandalism of the Terror. Poulot interprets the discourse between vandalism and conservation as a “complex conflict of antagonistic classifications.”⁶¹ Traditional order was suspended during the Revolution and acts of preservation and destruction both resulted from the same impulse. The outcome of this conflict was a patrimony cultivated in the “name of the general will” according to the development of public criticism and new forms of organization.⁶² Poulot argues that the written accounts of the Musée des monuments français formed “the sole cogent and expressive image of the conquest of national patrimony.”⁶³ According to Poulot, the museums of France were unique in comparison to their European counterparts because their origins were inextricably linked to the ideals of liberty, regeneration, and public instruction during the French Revolution.⁶⁴ However, in his pleas to save the Musée des monuments français, Lenoir emphasized the status of his museum as an internationally recognized institution. In addition to Lenoir's descriptions and guides, most of the surviving accounts of the Musée des monuments français were written by foreign travelers, signaling the emergence of a European public accustomed to internationally established museum practices.⁶⁵ Andrew McClellan in *Inventing the Louvre* (1994) and Carole Paul in *The First Modern Museums of Art* (2012) challenge French exceptionalism in museum history. They demonstrate how the first public French museums were indebted to specific

⁶¹ Dominique Poulot, “Revolutionary 'vandalism' and the birth of the museum: The effects of a representation of a modern cultural terror” in *Art in Museums*, ed. Susan Taylor (London: Athlone Press, 1995), 207-208.

⁶² Poulot, “Revolutionary 'vandalism' and the birth of the museum,” 207-208.

⁶³ Poulot, *Surveiller et s'instruire*, 463. « Des narrations...a fourni la seul image convaincante et expressive de la conquête du patrimoine par la Nation. »

⁶⁴ Dominique Poulot. *Une histoire des musées de France* (Paris: La Découverte, 2005), 7.

⁶⁵ See Appendix C, Firsthand Accounts of the Musée des monuments français.

practices already established in Italy and Germany, such as chronological organization, staging, and the use of written guides.⁶⁶

The new museum collections of the Revolutionary period, Poulot concludes in both *Surveiller et s'instruire* and *Musée, Nation, Patrimoine* could be signs or symbols in Peircian terms, but could never be icons.⁶⁷ Charles Sanders Peirce defined an icon as a representation based on a quality of likeness that is “the firstness of it as first.”⁶⁸ In other words, an icon physically resembles what it represents. For Poulot, the former monuments of the *ancien régime* could no longer function as icons at the Musée des monuments français because an icon cannot represent a thing that has no existence. By denying the object its icon-status, Poulot indirectly prioritized the original meaning and hierarchical position of an object during the *ancien régime* as more authentic than any meaning accrued after the Revolution. This assumption homogenized the diversity of Lenoir’s museum, when in fact Lenoir deliberately created a collection that could be interpreted from multiple vantages of historical perception. The perceived lack of iconicity in the Revolutionary museum reveals a deeper anxiety in contemporary scholarship. It suggests that the movement of art objects from their original contexts represents a loss of meaning and thus a crisis of authenticity.

The emphasis on Nora’s conception of *lieux de mémoire* in contemporary historicizations of the Musée des monuments français depends on an understanding of modern time as relentlessly linear, and an interpretation of the past that is not at all temporally-motivated. In this

⁶⁶ See McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre* and Carole Paul, ed., *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and early 19-Century Europe* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012).

⁶⁷ Dominique Poulot, *Musée, Nation, Patrimoine: 1789-1815* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), 365, and ‘*Surveiller et s'instruire*,’ 29. Poulot elaborates that objects acting as signs in the museum denoted meaning through an actual physical connection, such as the act of war or revolution that transferred the monument to the museum. Objects acting as symbols did so through various inscriptions that established a signification for the future.

⁶⁸ Charles Sanders Peirce, *The Philosophy of Peirce: Selected Writings*, ed. Justus Buchler (New York AMS Press, 1978), 105.

conception of time, the past remains “non-linear and site-specific,” while the present, entrenched in its artificiality, is divorced from organic sites of memory.⁶⁹ The recent scholarly emphasis on the French Revolution as a moment of fundamental historical rupture creates a problematic temporal vacuum, one in which the Revolution exists both as an origin and the source of an outcome that depends on a contemporary knowledge and intervention. The historicization of the Musée des monuments français as the foundation of French patrimony is thus inescapably teleological and depends on its mid-nineteenth-century role as a site-less ephemeral storehouse of French culture. The idea of a Musée des monuments français bound to a modern concept of heritage is not complete without the participation of the present.

This uneasiness surrounding meaning and the Musée des monuments français crossed into English-language literature with Stephen Bann’s influential and frequently cited comparison of the Musée des monuments français and the Musée de Cluny in *The Clothing of Clio* (1984).⁷⁰ Bann’s interpretation focused on the fragmentary nature of the Musée des monuments français, condemning its loss of organic totality.⁷¹ Quatremère de Quincy is revived, as is his well-known criticism of the Musée des monuments français as a “cemetery for the arts.”⁷² According to Didier Maluevre, Quatremère de Quincy’s statement continues to be relevant because it foreshadows modernity’s struggle with the loss of cultural authenticity: “It is heard in the ever-repeated, ever-

⁶⁹ Michael Rothberg, “Between Memory and Memory: From Lieux de mémoire to Noeuds de mémoire” *Yale French Studies* 118/119, *Noeuds de mémoire Multidirectional Memory in Postwar French and Francophone Culture* (2010): 4.

⁷⁰ Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 77-92. Bann compares the Musée des monuments français and the Musée de Cluny, analyzing what he calls the shift from “specimen to relic.” Lenoir assembled disunited fragments at the Musée des monuments français, while Alexandre Du Sommerard brought together and displayed an integrated collection of objects of daily life from the Middle Ages. Bann’s argument misrepresents the generational difference between the two museums and has colored the reception of Lenoir’s museum as fragmentary, uncritical, and eccentric.

⁷¹ Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, 83-84.

⁷² Quatremère de Quincy, *Rapport fait au Conseil-général*, 32-33.

pressing realization that the modern era is ungrounded, cast adrift from the immanent life of tradition that perennial ties have been broken.”⁷³ In other words, the continued anxiety over the translation of objects at the Musée des monuments français is grounded not in the actual workings of the historical museum, but in the fear that modernity is implicitly associated with the loss of cultural meaning.

The Musée des monuments français continues to be regenerated as a symbol of national patrimony, each time addressing a new and more distant public. Some recent scholarship has taken preliminary steps to destabilize this interpretation. Andrew McClellan wrote about the parallel development of the Musée des monuments français and the Musée du Louvre in *Inventing the Louvre* (1994). He argues that the popularity and growth of the museum coincided with the Thermidorian backlash against the vandalism and destruction of the Terror.⁷⁴ Chloë Demey's unpublished thesis led by Bruno Foucart at the Université de Paris-Sorbonne in 2002, “Le milieu intellectuel et artistique d'Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839)” effectively demonstrates the broad, diverse, and international social network of Lenoir and provides a solid foundation for further research.⁷⁵ In *Sculpture and Enlightenment* (2009), Erica Naginski challenges the traditional historicization of the vandalism of the French Revolution with her study of the proposal to secularize Saint-Denis in 1781, twelve years before the politicized exhumations.⁷⁶ Cecilia Hurley in *Monuments for the People: Aubin-Louis Millin's Antiquities Nationales* (2013) provides an

⁷³ Didier Maleuvre, *Museum Memories: History, Technology, Art*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 18.

⁷⁴ McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*.

⁷⁵ Chloë Demey, “The milieu intellectuel et artistique d'Alexandre Lenoir,” DEA, université de Paris IV (2002).

⁷⁶ Erica Naginski, *Sculpture and Enlightenment* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2009).

alternative interpretation of the development and definition of the historic monument through a close study of Aubin-Louis Millin's *Antiquities Nationales*.⁷⁷

Two hundred years later, the Musée des monuments français is still caught in a crisis of legitimacy. This phenomenon has created a dynamic afterlife for the Musée des monuments français, but has also led to teleological and deterministic interpretations, overly reliant on homogenizing conceptions of collective memory and modernity's assumed attachment to linear time. Most recently, in 2016, the Musée de Louvre and the Institut national d'histoire de l'art organized a major exhibition on the Musée des monuments français titled “Un Musée Révolutionnaire: Le musée des monuments français d'Alexandre Lenoir.”⁷⁸ This exhibition brought together many surviving visual records of the museum, included a 3-D model of the Sixteenth-Century Room, and invested in expanding the scholarship on Lenoir's varied and eclectic interests beyond French monuments. However, a central premise of the exhibition was that Lenoir lacked a guiding theory or doctrine, an assumption that again traces its roots to a sense of the loss of cultural authenticity.

Indeed, Lenoir was actively rewriting and reframing history, suppressing former associations, and emphasizing a break from the past during a time of significant political and cultural change. Under such terms, the Musée des monuments français could certainly be one of Nora's *lieu de mémoire* insofar as it was a site where the perpetually-actual phenomenon of collective memory mingled with the deliberate construction of an archival record. Yet, the Musée des monuments français' rapid emergence and dissolution equally positioned it as a spontaneous

⁷⁷ Cecilia Hurley, *Monuments for the People: Aubin-Louis Millin's Antiquities Nationales*. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2013).

⁷⁸ Geneviève Bresc-Bautier and Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot, eds., *Un musée révolutionnaire: Le musée des monuments français d'Alexandre Lenoir* (Paris: Musée du Louvre with Hazan, 2016). Exhibition Catalog.

phenomenon of its historical moment, or *milieu de mémoire*. The history of the working museum is often overshadowed by its posthumous relevancy in the theoretical realm of French collective memory. In contemporary scholarship, the historical museum has become indistinguishable from its proposed role in the development of a specific version of modernity. The dominant focus on heritage has left a deficit in our understanding of the complexity and experience of the actual museum and Lenoir's deep investment in the theoretical premises and cultural phenomenon of the late eighteenth century.

1.3 MAPPING THE MUSÉE DES MONUMENTS FRANÇAIS

In his own words, Lenoir was not creating a new history, but uncovering the true nature of the past that had been concealed by the *ancien régime*, a past that was “already traced by the nature of things.”⁷⁹ Lenoir articulated a subtle distinction between the construction of a new history, as he is frequently credited in contemporary scholarship, and the work revealed by an excavation or archeological project. Lenoir did not invent new material but understood himself as engaged in the exhumation and exposure of a more profound truth previously hidden from view. Lenoir's primary goal was pedagogical, and he was, in his distinctive way, engaged in the revolutionary regeneration of the body politic. By tracing the development of Lenoir's complex system of art and architectural classification and mapping the physical arrangement of the museum, this dissertation uncovers the

⁷⁹ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 3rd ed. (Year V, 1796-1797), 21. « La chronologie des siècles passés est un livre ouvert, dans lequel on lit la marche des événements; c'est ce qui m'a déterminé à classer les Monumens par époque, et à suivre dans cet ouvrage la ligne de démarcation qui était déjà tracée par la nature des choses. »

malleable and sometimes contradictory historical and temporal systems employed at the Musée des monuments français to create a dynamic site of discourse.

The second chapter of this dissertation follows the early development of the museum from the nationalization of church property in 1789 to the exhumations of Saint-Denis and the official recognition of the Musée des monuments français in 1795. Lenoir was inspired by Quatremère de Quincy's discussions of architectural character and Winckelmann's systematic theory of art history. Faced with a growing stock of medieval and Renaissance artifacts, many not considered "high" art by his contemporaries, Lenoir negotiated between the different definitions attached to historic objects and works of art. He combined disparate artifacts, sculptures, decorative objects, and funerary monuments into sculptural ensembles. Using these ensembles, he designed the Musée des monuments français as a sequence of increasingly complex spaces, each with a distinct relationship to history. The legible body and, in particular, physiognomy, popularized in the late eighteenth-century by Johann Kaspar Lavater, provided Lenoir with an accessible metaphor. Royal bodies, ordinary bodies, sculptural representations of human form, and real corpses provided access into the different meanings attached to the creative ensembles in the four primary spaces of the museum, the Introduction Hall, the century rooms, the proposed courtyards, and the Élysée. The Introduction Hall trained the visitor to read Lenoir's pedagogical sculptural ensembles and established the origins of French art, the century rooms framed royal history around the body of the king, the courtyards led the visitor back in time absent the royal body, and the Élysée culminated in the universal potential of the individual outside of time and history. As the visitor moved through the museum, each gallery offered a new historical interpretation that complicated the last, creating a uniquely layered temporal experience.

The following three chapters carefully reconstruct the organization and trace the historical meanings of the distinct parts of the museological system. The third, fourth, and fifth chapters offer the most detailed descriptions of the interior and exterior spaces of the museum to date, in English or French. The third chapter examines Lenoir's investigations into the origins of French art in the Introduction Hall. Lenoir was not exclusively devoted to national history. In fact, national history alone was too dependent on the narratives of the *ancien régime*, which represented a limitation for Lenoir. Lenoir was concerned with developing a theory of origins for French art that predated the monarchy and situating the history of France within a deeper universal history of mankind. Using arrangements of sculptural ensembles, Lenoir navigated between presenting the origins and highest achievements of a chronological history of French art inspired by Winckelmann that began in Gallo-Roman antiquity and a more abstract essential language of symbolic forms that referenced a single universal origin based on the writings of Charles-François Dupuis. Lenoir was also astute to include the role of the individual in the broader mechanisms of history. Most of the ensembles in the Introduction Hall were individual portraits that emphasized artist-patron relationships and highlighted the accomplishments of significant figures within political hierarchies.

The fourth chapter follows the development and arrangement of the century rooms. Lenoir asserted that the chronological sequence of century rooms was designed according to the "exact physiognomy" of the century they represent.⁸⁰ Lenoir frequently repeated that the Musée des monuments français was both a historical and a chronological museum. Lenoir arranged the

⁸⁰ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 5th ed. (Year VIII, 1800), 5-6. « Une masse aussi imposante monumens de tous les siècles me fit naître l'idée d'en former un Musée particulier, historique et chronologique, où l'on retrouvera les âges de la sculpture française dans des salles particulières, en donnant à chacune de ces salles le caractère, la physionomie exacte du siècle qu'elle doit représenter. »

sequence of century rooms chronologically, but in the interior of each gallery, Lenoir painted a historical “portrait” of that era.⁸¹ Lenoir did not organize the objects in the century rooms chronologically and, unlike later period rooms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, he did not recreate a specific architectural place or function. Like in the Introduction Hall, Lenoir's organizational system was multifaceted and complex. In the century rooms, he developed and employed a decorative and spatial template, or taxonomy, to direct the experience of the spectator. Lenoir centralized each century room around the tomb monument or sculpture of the most influential monarch of the period. He surrounded the central royal body with symmetrical sculptural ensembles and integrated the decorative scheme using repurposed fragments from major architectural masterpieces of its era. Following Winckelmann, Lenoir used this arrangement to demonstrate the relationship between the moral authority of political culture and the encouragement of artistic genius and innovation. Within these spaces, Lenoir encouraged sensory immersion; the experience of the century rooms could transport the visitor back in time or reanimate long-dead historical figures. As in the Introduction Hall, new relationships between the individual and history emerged. In the century rooms, immersion enabled the spectator to begin to engage directly in the historical process.

The final chapter illustrates the inversion of the interior museological sequence and the critical path of the legible body in both Lenoir's unrealized proposal for three exterior courtyards and his actualized arrangement of the Élysée. This chapter presents the most comprehensive architectural investigation into the design and organization of the exterior courtyards to date. Lenoir intended the courtyards to transport the visitor from the sixteenth century back in time to

⁸¹ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 6th ed. (Year X, 1802), 146, 164. Discussing the Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Rooms, Lenoir refers to his design as the « portrait d'un siècle. »

the fourteenth century, then the Élysée. The privileged position that the legible body held in the interior spaces of the museum was transcended in the garden. The century rooms blended bodies and architecture into a unified historical portrait. In the Élysée, visible architecture highlighted the invisible presence of the actual bodies of great men and women from French history interred in the garden. The Élysée was located beyond history and chronology, and therefore also physiognomy. The garden was the conclusion of a pedagogical journey that began in the Introduction Hall and led the visitor through a museological presentation of multiple modes of historical thought.

The dissertation is accompanied by four appendices that serve as valuable resources for the study of the Musée des monuments français. The first appendix provides a comprehensive account of all of the objects on display at the Musée des monuments français. This index was compiled using Lenoir's illustrated catalog, guidebooks, visitor accounts, and visual records. The index includes the original and current locations of all of the objects on display as well as descriptions of the position and composition of all of the sculptural ensembles. The second appendix is an inventory of the existing visual records, including plans, elevations, drawings, paintings, and engravings, that represent the various spatial arrangements of the Musée des monuments français. The third appendix presents a compellation of firsthand accounts of the museum accompanied by a short description of each author. Finally, the fourth appendix offers the first complete bibliography of the publications of Alexandre Lenoir.

Lenoir introduced a historically driven model of progress distinct from both Winckelmann's stylistic, historical analysis, which inspired him, and later nineteenth-century evolutionary systems. Lenoir's museological system integrated antithetical contrasts between period-based physiognomic clarity and universal principles into a complex, immersive display: the

museum layered linear and non-linear, concrete and abstract, and eternal and ephemeral interpretations of history. At the heart of these theoretical discussions was the inherent flexibility of the autonomous object. The classification system of the Musée des monuments français prioritized temporal identities and layered these concepts over former meanings and hierarchies. Lenoir's system was a prescient dialogue invested in the relationship between autonomous self-hood and historical determination. At the Musée des monuments, the spectator engaged with a complex and varied group of historical interpretations that introduced the potential of the individual to shape history.

2.0 FROM MANNEQUINS TO PHYSIOGNOMY: LEGIBLE BODIES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MUSEUM AT THE PETITS-AUGUSTINS DÉPÔT

On September 23, 1790, Alexandre Lenoir accompanied Jean Sylvain Bailly, mayor of Paris, to the Sainte-Chapelle, where they earmarked paintings for conservation and collected treasures, jewels, and religious objects for transport to the Hôtel des monnaies de Paris.⁸² Lenoir worked under the direction of his mentor, Gabriel-François Doyen, to evaluate and create an inventory of paintings, sculptures, and other objects that had belonged to the recently suppressed Catholic Church. At the Sainte-Chapelle, at Louis IX's thirteenth-century royal chapel, Lenoir eagerly recorded the crusader-king's treasures, including illuminated manuscripts embellished with gold and precious stones, cornices decorated with scenes representing the Passion of Christ, pieces of the True Cross, and the Crown of Thorns. He described in detail the sensation of examining the Crown of Thorns closely and feeling its mass and volume with his own hands.⁸³ According to Lenoir's report, the physical and visual accessibility of the cultural artifacts of the Sainte-Chapelle made possible by the Revolution revealed the significance of the objects in a way that was not possible during the *ancien régime*.

Lenoir tentatively built a case for conservation based on the double significance of the artifact at the Sainte-Chapelle as a tactile, corporal connection to the past and an aesthetic representation of historical periodization. He emphasized the integration of the precious objects at the Sainte-Chapelle into French history with short anecdotes about how the life of Louis IX had

⁸² *AMMF*, vol. 1, 1.

⁸³ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 1-2.

overlapped with the same objects he held. He also noted the aesthetic value of the decorative and architectural elements that housed the objects, which he claimed created a unified, elegant "composition" of Gothic taste. The Sainte-Chapelle represented, for Lenoir, "the perfect model of a Gothic church in all its parts and all its details."⁸⁴ Lenoir's early work on the church records revealed three key foundational concepts of his approach to history: the desire to understand art history as part of a broader socio-political construction, the search for a visually identifiable language of each art historical period, and, most critically, the discursive intersection of monuments and individual subjectivity in the construction of history.

This chapter traces Lenoir's translation of the displaced monuments of the Catholic Church and the *ancien régime* into a coherent system of representation at the Musée des monuments français. From the autumn of 1790 to the spring of 1791, Lenoir assessed paintings, sculpture, and objects of value in the Sainte-Chapelle and other Parisian churches and religious houses before joining Doyen permanently at the Petits-Augustins Dépôt in early 1791.⁸⁵ Lenoir's visceral, engaging account of the Sainte-Chapelle was not merely showmanship. He emphasized the knowledge gained from the new tangibility and visibility of sacred relics and art objects made possible by the nationalization of church property. Such accessibility could reveal new relationships between the citizen, the artifact, and society, and more broadly, between the individual and history. In a period of political and social upheaval, Lenoir and his contemporaries explored new modes of legibility. The translation of sacred objects into civic or historic monuments required the development and dissemination of the language of the legible artifact.

⁸⁴ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 1-2. According to Lenoir, the Sainte-Chapelle « représente le modèle parfait d'une église gothique dans toutes ses parties comme dans tous ses détails. »

⁸⁵ "Notes diverses sur quelques édifices de Paris, ainsi que sur plusieurs personnages célèbres," *AMMF*, vol. 1, 1-6 and vol. 2, 1-5.

Lenoir utilized the work of Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, who developed a theory of architectural character and type based on language, and Johann Joachim Winkelmann, who established a chronological history of art based on systematic stylistic analysis. Lenoir's experimentation with language led him to physiognomy as a theoretical model. Physiognomy, popularized by the Swiss theologian Johann Kaspar Lavater at the end of the eighteenth century, was the science of reading inner moral meaning from the external character of the face. For Lenoir, the legible body emerged as an entry point to decipher figural sculpture and artifacts less likely to be considered of artistic value by his audience. Lenoir's records of the exhumations of Saint-Denis in 1793 solidified the importance of the body as a decipherable artifact and translated the physical remains of the disinterred monarchs into a newly legible history of France.

Lenoir embraced the dynamic dialogue that surrounded objecthood and identity during the French Revolution. According to Lenoir, the accumulation of nationalized property revealed the true history of France. The keys to unlocking that history were exposed through the practiced process of reading and decoding the records written on both objects and bodies. Lenoir organized the artifacts collected at the Musée des monuments français into a pedagogical sequence of sculptural and architectural assemblages. The Introduction Hall introduced Lenoir's distinctive integration of historical bodies and the sculptural ensembles, the century rooms integrated the physiognomies of kings into immersive architectural space, the courtyards mirrored the century rooms absent the royal body, and, finally, the Élysée provided a natural setting for the burial of the honored dead. Lenoir relied on physiognomy, formal artistic analysis, and the potential of the legible body to instruct his audience in the history of France exposed by the Revolution. Like Lenoir's initial experience at the Sainte-Chapelle, the museum sequence formed a didactic journey that revealed the historical relationships between individuals, objects, and society

2.1 CODIFYING CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE

In 1790 and 1791, the Comité d'Administration des Affaires ecclésiastiques et d'Aliénation des Domaines nationaux published four sets of *Instructions* concerning the selection, transportation, and inventory of the newly nationalized property to depots overseen by the Commission des monuments. These *Instructions* formed the foundational framework of the translation of material culture from *monuments de culte* to *biens nationaux*. The first *Instruction*, published in December 1790, provided detailed guidelines for the movement and transportation of objects divided into seven type-categories.⁸⁶ Three further *Instructions* were published in 1791, which broadly outlined specific guidelines for historic objects, artworks, and books according to the conservation principles of the Comité d'Administration.⁸⁷ *Instruction concernant les châsses, reliquaires, autres pièces d'orfèvreries* (March 1791) was the most prescriptive of the four *Instructions* on guiding the selection of artifacts for conservation.⁸⁸ The Comité deemed that all monuments

⁸⁶ Comité d'Administration des Affaires ecclésiastiques et d'Aliénation des Domaines nationaux, *Instruction concernant la conservation des manuscrits, chartes, sceaux, livres imprimés, monuments de l'antiquité et du moyen âge, Statues, Tableaux, Dessins et autres objets relatifs aux beaux arts, aux arts mécaniques, à l'Histoire naturelle aux mœurs et usages de différents peuples, tant anciens que modernes, provenant du mobilier des maisons ecclésiastiques, et faisant partie des biens nationaux*. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1790). This document did not give explicit instruction as to what should or should not be conserved but instead emphasized that the decision was left to the learned judgment of the conservator. The document noted that in the newly nationalized property, "one finds an infinity of monuments of interest to the arts, sciences and letters." The seven categories included manuscripts, charters, and seals; books; medals, money, tombs, mausoleums, weapons, inscriptions and weights and measures from the middle ages and antiquity; paintings, drawings, prints, maps, tapestries, mosaics, and stained glass; machines; objects of natural history; and costumes and armor.

⁸⁷ Comité d'Administration des Affaires ecclésiastiques et d'Aliénation des Domaines nationaux, *Instruction concernant les châsses, reliquaires, autres pièces d'orfèvreries provenant du mobilier des maisons ecclésiastiques, & destinés à la fonte* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, March 20, 1791); Comité d'Administration des Affaires ecclésiastiques et d'Aliénation des Domaines nationaux, *Instruction pour procéder à la confection du Catalogue de chacune des Bibliothèques sur lesquelles les Directoires ont dû ou doivent incessamment apposer les scellés* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, May 15, 1791); and Comité d'Administration des Affaires ecclésiastiques et d'Aliénation des Domaines nationaux, *Instruction pour la manière de faire les états et notices des monuments de peinture, sculpture, gravure, dessins, etc.; provenant du mobilier des maisons ecclésiastiques supprimées, et dont l'envoi est demandé promptement par les comités réunis d'administration ecclésiastique et d'aliénation des biens nationaux* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, July 1, 1791).

⁸⁸ *Instruction concernant les châsses, reliquaires, autres pièces d'orfèvreries*, 1-3.

created before the year 1300 merited its stewardship based on age, which bestowed a new priority on medieval artifacts. Additionally, any object of exceptional beauty or craftsmanship, any monument of importance to history, and any artifact with an inscription of value had to be conserved. *Instruction pour la manière de faire les états et notices des monumens de peinture, sculpture, gravure, dessins, etc.* (July 1791) outlined documentation and cataloging practices for artworks. In contrast to the *Instruction* for historic objects, this document did not provide specific criteria for the selection of what was to be conserved. The *Instruction* for artworks was primarily concerned with the creation of a record. Paintings had to be described as accurately as possible, with descriptions that included the name of the artist; the subject, size, and medium of the painting; and any inscriptions.⁸⁹ The cataloger needed to establish if the painting was a copy, and if so, provide information about the original and note any master-pupil relationships. If the name of the artist was not available, the cataloger was required to gather the provenance history of the painting. Sculpture was treated similarly; the cataloger listed the name of the creator as well as the materials, proportions, and subject of the piece. Most important, the *Instruction* stipulated that the cataloger periodically publish a *notice succinte* on the information compiled on the Dépôt's collection.

The *Instructions* made a notable distinction between the record of a work of art and the inventory of a historic object. The historic object was prioritized for *what* was conserved, while the emphasis for a work of art focused on *how* it was recorded. The prevalence of anonymity among historic objects contrasted the prominence of the named artist for the artwork. While it was true that many of the creators of historic objects were unknown, the Comité expected a record that highlighted the history of the provenance for artworks, including its place of origin and its former

⁸⁹ *Instruction pour la manière de faire les états et notices des monumens de peinture, sculpture, gravure, dessins*, 2-3.

owners. Provenance was considered less important for the historic object. Two distinct methods of recording material culture emerged. The records created for a collection of paintings and sculptures defined networks of schools, influences, and connoisseurship. Each artwork was a discrete entity that existed within an interconnected web of artistic development. An artwork was treated as a product of its particular historical dynamic and a contributor to the momentum of artistic progress. By contrast, the historic object was valued fundamentally for its age. The historic object was the visible, tangible remnant of a distinct moment in time that offered reliable evidence about the customs and mores of a past era. In contrast to the artwork, the historic object was not embedded in an extended network of development and not treated as a generator of historical change.

At the core of the data collection project was a fundamental shift in the cultural value of monuments. In the late eighteenth century, the word "monument" referred to any artistic production with "deliberate commemorative function," and was usually attached to the notion of grandeur.⁹⁰ During a speech to the Assemblée nationale constituante in 1790, antiquarian and naturalist Aubin-Louis Millin de Grandmaison introduced the term "historic monument" while arguing for the creation of a descriptive and visual record of architecture and other structures that could not be safeguarded in storehouses.⁹¹ The debate over nationalized property in the first years of the Revolution unbound monumentality from intentionality by distinguishing artistic and

⁹⁰ Cecilia Hurley, "Demonumuntalizing the past. Antiquarian approaches to the middle ages in the eighteenth century" in *Visualisierung und Imagination*, ed. Wessel Reining and Jeroen Stumpel, vol. 2 (Goettingen: 2006): 343-344.

⁹¹ Aubin-Louis Millin de Grandmaison (1759-1818), presenting the first volume of *Antiquités nationales ou Recueil de monuments to the Assemblée nationale constituante* in 1790. « Mais les amis des lettres, et des citoyens jaloux de la gloire de la nation, ne pouvoir sans peine la destruction de chefs-d'œuvres du génie, ou de monumens intéressans pour l'histoire; nous avons aussi gémi de l'oubli dans lequel ces monumens allaient être plongés; et nous avons tenté de les lui arracher. » *Gazette nationale*, 6, 345 (December 11, 1790): 595. Millin was the director of the Magasin encyclopédique, and, in 1795, became conservator of the Cabinet des médailles et antiques of the Bibliothèque nationale.

historic qualities apart from any commemorative purpose.⁹² A much broader definition of the monument emerged in which any object, no matter how humble, could become a monument if it had born witness to an aspect of the past worthy of study. The syntactical utilization of the term "historic" in the Revolution's rebranding of the former commemorative functions and social hierarchies of mobile and immobile monuments was varied and open to multiple interpretations. Under these broad definitions, both the work of art and the historic object could be considered "historic monuments."

The *Instructions* outlined guidelines for paintings, sculptures, books, instruments, and precious artifacts that could be removed, transported to depots, and cataloged, then joined into new collections, displayed, sold, or destroyed. No longer bound to hierarchical functions or place-based contextuality, the *Instructions* guided organizational groupings dominated by the temporal distance between an object, its beholder, and various intersections of other objects and users. Distinctions between object types emerged based on the nature of temporal relationships. Historic objects were characterized by dense accumulations of time and a direct connection to the past. Collections of artworks formed networks and patterns across time. The prioritization of the temporal over the spatial distanced all artifacts from pre-Revolutionary hierarchies and functions while facilitating their movement and reorganization.

In 1794 the Comité d'instruction publique published *Instruction sur la manière d'inventorier et de conserver, dans toute l'étendue de la République, tous les objets qui peuvent*

⁹² Hurley focuses the shift in eighteenth-century definitions of the word "monument" around Millin's work on *Antiquités nationales*. Commemorative definitions of the word "monument" can be found in Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel, contenant généralement tous les mots François*, 3 vols. (The Hague and Rotterdam: Arnoud et Reinier Leers, 1690); Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire de la langue françoise, ancienne et moderne; augmenté de plusieurs remarques importantes sur la langue françoise, additions d'histoire, de grammaire, de critique, de jurisprudence, et d'une liste alphabetique des auteurs et des livres citez dans ce dictionnaire*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1735); and Vol. 10 (1765) of Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, eds., *Encyclopédie, ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métier*, 28 vols. (Paris: 1751-1772).

servir aux arts, aux sciences et à l'enseignement under the direction of Dom Germain Poirier and Félix Vicq d'Azyr.⁹³ The initial *Instructions* in 1790 and 1791 had provided little information on the display or use of nationalized property. The authors of the 1794 *Instruction* emphasized that the creation of a unified system of classification that would ensure every object of material culture was knowable, retrievable, and accessible to the public:

Never has a grander spectacle been offered to nations. All these precious objects that were kept far from the people or that were shown to them to strike them with wonder and respect, all these riches belong to them. Now they serve public instruction, they serve to form philosophical legislators, enlightened judges, educated farmers, and artists of genius.⁹⁴

Vicq d'Azyr and Poirier transposed the terminology and taxonomic methods of scientific classification to the domain of historic monuments. They integrated artworks, historic objects, and other object types identified by the first *Instructions* into a standardized method of identification that enabled comparison. Much like specimens of natural history, historic objects, artworks, instruments, and books were subjected to rigid methods of observation, organization, and naming. Systematized textual references enabled universal legibility and facilitated transportation,

⁹³ Félix Vicq d'Azyr and Dom Germain Poirier, *Instruction sur la manière d'inventorier et de conserver, dans toute l'étendue de la République, tous les objets qui peuvent servir aux arts, aux sciences et à l'enseignement* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1794). Félix Vicq d'Azyr (1748-1794) was an anatomist, a physician, member of the Académie des Sciences and the Académie française, and the successor to the comte de Buffon. Vicq d'Azyr was an early specialist in the anatomy of the brain and one of the creators of the discipline of comparative anatomy. Vicq d'Azyr attempted to translate the terminology and taxonomic methods of his scientific work to the historic monuments. He died shortly after the publication of the *Instructions*. His work was published posthumously: Félix Vicq d'Azyr, *Œuvres de Vicq d'Azyr, recueillies et publiées avec des notes et un discours sur sa vie et ses œuvres*, 7 vols. (Paris: Moreau de la Sarthe, 1805). Dom Germain Poirier (1724-1803) was a former Benedictine monk and member of the Commission des monuments who accompanied Lenoir at the exhumations of Saint-Denis.

⁹⁴ Vicq d'Azyr and Poirier, *Instruction sur la manière d'inventorier et de conserver*, 3. « Jamais un plus grand spectacle ne s'offrit aux nations. Tout ces objets précieux qu'on tenoit loin du peuple ou qu'on ne lui montrait que pour le frapper d'étonnement et de respect; toutes ces richesses lui appartiennent. Désormais elles serviront à l'instruction publique; elles serviront à former des législateurs philosophes, des magistrats éclairés, des agriculteurs instruits, des artistes au génie desquels au grand peuple ne commandera pas en vain de célébrer dignement ses succès; des professeurs qui n'enseigneront que ce qui est utile; des instituteurs enfin qui, par un méthode vigoureuse et simple, prépareront de robustes défenseurs à la République et d'implacables ennemis aux tyrans. »

communication, and, ultimately, the transformation of the material legacy of the Catholic Church and the *ancien régime* into a resource for public instruction.⁹⁵

2.2 NOTICE SUCCINCTE AND ESSAI SUR LE MUSÉUM

Lenoir frequently clashed with Commission des monuments and later the Commission temporaire des arts over the best purpose and destination of the newly nationalized property. In 1793, he repeatedly refused to turn over forty-seven paintings demanded by the Commission du muséum for the Musée central des arts at the Louvre, including masterpieces by Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci.⁹⁶ In exchange for the paintings, Lenoir negotiated the permission to open the Dépôt to the public from August 3, 1793, until the end of September. The inauguration coincided with the Fête de l'Unité et de l'Indivisibilité and the public opening of the Louvre. In preparation for his opening, Lenoir published *Notice succincte* and distributed it for free to visitors and officials.⁹⁷ *Notice succincte* served as a guide to the rich, eclectic, mixture of the sculpture, monuments, and architectural fragments the Dépôt had to offer. The brief commentary accompanying *Notice succincte* did not mention the development of the history of art or the usefulness of his collection for artists. *Notice succincte* was not chronologically or thematically organized. Lenoir left behind

⁹⁵ E.C. Spary, *Utopia's Garden: French Natural History from Old Regime to Revolution*. (Chicago: University Chicago Press. 2000), 80-81. Spary describes the ordering systems of eighteenth-century naturalists as a product of Enlightenment social structures. Spary argues that "seeing" was really "seeing through." Gardens and cabinets of natural history specimens were "abridgments" of an "immense book of nature." The eighteenth-century naturalists created systems of organization to share scientific knowledge with a broader audience. In other words, a plant could not be known until it was described and named. The methods of observation of the natural historians essentially translated natural specimens into text, which facilitated their movement and exchange woven into the broader colonial project.

⁹⁶ Courajod, *Alexandre Lenoir*, vol. 2, v-ix, and Alexandre Tuetey and Jean Guiffry, *La Commission du Muséum et la création du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1910), 222-5.

⁹⁷ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 24.

no record of the architectural or spatial arrangement of the initial 1793 display, though his first renovations began in the church, the cloister, and the sacristy. However, the focus on sculpture and architectural fragments in *Notice succinte* hinted that paintings and sculptures were displayed separately at the Dépôt. The collection in *Notice succinte* legitimated Lenoir's process and emphasized the need for more work:

These pieces that I have unearthed, so to speak, from the descendants of Richelieu, are, in sculpture, as precious as ignored or hidden paintings, and through my zeal for the arts that I profess, and my devotion to my position, I have discovered and returned them to the nation.⁹⁸

That same year, in 1793, Lenoir published *Essai sur le Musæum de peinture*, which outlined his vision for an ideal museum in the Louvre, hoping to influence the long debate surrounding the formation of a public art gallery in the former palace. In *Essai sur le Musæum de peinture*, Lenoir firmly outlined his conceptualization for a chronological museum of art and introduced the century as a guiding classificatory framework. In his organizational system for the Louvre, each "genre" of art was organized chronologically in a distinct gallery. He proposed separate galleries for ancient Egyptian, Etruscan, and Indian antiquities; ancient Greek sculpture; modern sculpture; and painting. Lenoir attested that the chronology enabled the visitor to compare, for example, the work of Italian Renaissance masters Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Michelangelo against France's sole great Renaissance painter, Jean Cousin, and the inferior German artist, Hans Holbien.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Alexandre Lenoir, *Notice succinte des objets de sculpture et d'architecture réunis au Dépôt provisoire national, rue des Petits-Augustins, au ci devant couvent de la Reine Marguerite* (Paris: Desenne, 1793), 11. « Ces morceaux que j'ai déterrés, pour ainsi dire, de chez l'héritière de Richelieu, sont, en sculpture, aussi précieux que quelques tableaux ignorés ou cachés, et que mon zèle pour les arts que je professe, et mon dévouement à ma place, m'ont fait découvrir et restituer à la nation. » See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

⁹⁹ Alexandre Lenoir, *Essai sur le Musæum de peinture* (Paris: 1793), 8-11. See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

Comparing *Essai sur le Musæum de peinture* and *Notice succinte*, it is clear that Lenoir understood the collections of the Louvre as artistic masterpieces and the artifacts in the Petits-Augustins Dépôt as fragments and historic objects. In contrast to the comprehensive artistic network created by Lenoir's ideal Louvre, the arrangement of "unearthed" and "found" objects previously concealed by the *ancien régime* at the Petits-Augustins Dépôt uncovered a tangible, corporeal connection to the past and an incomplete yet necessary historical transparency. The integration of different object-types, themes, and historical contexts at the Dépôt suggested a conscious intervention designed to achieve a striking visual effect but one that was not subject to systematic organization. *Essai sur le Musæum de peinture* offered a legible art historical system yet did not integrate art history into political culture. *Notice succinte* revealed that the Revolution could recover a deeper, perceptible, unmediated past previously distorted or hidden from view. Lenoir was keen to emphasize his role in reassembling and reconstructing monuments from fragments and insisted on the necessity of continuing his work. Lenoir's historic fragment was temporally discontinuous, an authentic remnant of the past that eluded representation as concrete or finite that could physically engage the visitor in the process of historical discovery. *Essai sur le Musæum de peinture* and *Notice succinte* offered two interpretative models of material culture based on the *Instruction*'s distinction between a historic object and a work of art. Lenoir's gradual integration of the *Instructions*' definition of the historic object as an anonymous, authentic material remnant of its era and the artwork as part of the linear sequence of aesthetic development provided the framework for the organizational structure of the Musée des monuments français.

2.3 BETWEEN CHRONOLOGY AND CHARACTER

The *Instructions* and the codification of French national property was the newest development in a longer eighteenth-century debate between a history of art structured around the biographic development of artists and one that relied instead on the analysis of the formal qualities of objects. Since the sixteenth century, the history of art was based on the model of Georgio Vasari's *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architettori* (1550). Vasari conceived of art history as a succession of biographies of individual artists, whose lives were subject to growth, perfection, and decline. Artistic progress over time was genealogical, and artistic skills transformed as they were passed down from one generation to another.¹⁰⁰ In the eighteenth-century, histories of art based on longer patterns of chronologically organized stylistic development replaced artist biographies. As chronological modes of historical thinking gained popularity in the second half of the eighteenth century, they were made manifest by the practice of viewing, comparing, and analyzing sequenced groups of art objects in museum displays and illustrated paper collections.

In 1764, German antiquarian Johann Joachim Winckelmann introduced a new model of art history. Winckelmann used the formal characteristics of ancient sculpture to trace the development of art within the structural patterns of history. Winckelmann's influence was widespread, and his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterhums* (1764) first appeared in French in extracts of the *Journal Encyclopédique*, and the first full French translation was published in 1766.¹⁰¹ The most widely

¹⁰⁰ Ingrid Renée Vermeulen, *Picturing Art History: The Rise of the Illustrated History of Art in the Eighteenth Century* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 8 and Alex Potts, "Introduction," in Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of the Art of Antiquity*, trans. Harry Francis Malgrave (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2006), 22.

¹⁰¹ On Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768), see Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) and Katherine Harloe, *Winckelmann and the Invention of Antiquity: History and Aestheticism in the Age of Altertumswissenschaft* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

read French translation of Winckelmann's work was Hendrik Jansen's *Histoire de l'art chez le anciens*, a three-volume edition published from 1790 to 1794.¹⁰² Winckelmann understood history as a systematically conceived pattern:

The history of the art of antiquity that I have endeavored to write is no mere narrative of the chronology and alterations of art, for I make the word history in the wider sense that it has in the Greek language, and my intention is to provide a system.¹⁰³

For Winckelmann, the same cyclical pattern of infancy, rise, and decline could be applied uniformly to distinct artistic traditions.¹⁰⁴ Artistic innovation and invention were only possible under conditions of political enlightenment and cultural freedom. According to Winckelmann, the government of the Ancient Greeks had been favorable to the arts, while the rigid sanctions of the Egyptian government limited innovation and development. Therefore, Egyptian art had been arrested typologically in Winckelmann's early archaic phase, while Greek art had matured to the classical phase. Winckelmann's theory fused stylistic analysis and political history. Historical patterns overrode the efforts of individual artists and patrons. For Winckelmann, stylistic difference was also historical difference: historical and political ideologies were embedded in the very mechanism of visual representation. Winckelmann's definition of style framed the inherent empirical limits of the language of representation in which an artist could work within a given political system.¹⁰⁵

Without the aid of ancient masterpieces, Lenoir was never able to construct a complete history of French art-making using primarily formal characteristics in the manner of Winckelmann.

¹⁰² Notes and supplementary articles on architecture, painting, and life of Winckelmann augmented the 1790 edition. At the time of his death, Lenoir owned a three-volume set of *Histoire de l'art chez le anciens*, most likely the 1790 edition. AN (Paris), MC/ET/CIX/1057. For a history of the publication of *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterhums*, see Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal*, 11.

¹⁰³ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of the Art of Antiquity*, trans. Harry Francis Malgrave (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2006), 71.

¹⁰⁴ Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal*, 34-35.

¹⁰⁵ Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal*, 81.

Additionally, Lenoir needed to carefully negotiate the representation of Republican ideals using the cultural artifacts of the *ancien régime*. Art and architectural theorists, particularly the linguistic analysis of Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, provided him with a workable model. Beginning with his prize-winning essay for the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* written in 1785, Quatremère de Quincy developed a theory of architecture as a kind of writing.¹⁰⁶ Quatremère de Quincy understood Egyptian hieroglyphs, or "speaking pictures" as the original translation of an idea into a form, or the birth of art.¹⁰⁷ Hieroglyphs were a distinctly social act, essential signs of human creation and invention. According to Quatremère de Quincy, they secularized any notion of divine or natural origins of architecture: "the arts of design veritably owe and owed their origins to the needs of writing."¹⁰⁸ Hieroglyphs informed architecture the way gestures became words.¹⁰⁹

With all their surfaces destined to receive inscriptions in symbolic characters, they must be regarded as enormous books always open for the education of the public...All (Egyptian) monuments were a form of public library; their ornaments were legends...These monuments were- utterly metaphorically- the repositories of the rites, dogmas, exploits,

¹⁰⁶ Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, *De l'architecture égyptienne considérée dans son origine, ses principes, et son gout, et compare sous mêmes rapports à architecture grecque. Dissertation qui a remporté, en 1785, le prix propose par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris* (Paris: 1803), 95. Quatremère de Quincy was an influential architecture theorist and the perpetual secretary of the Académie des beaux-arts from 1816 to 1839. He was a fierce critic of the Musée des monuments français and was instrumental in its closure. For recent work on Quatremère de Quincy in English, see Sylvia Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992); Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, *Letters to Miranda and Canova on the Abduction of Antiquities from Rome and Athens*, trans. Chris Miller and David Gilks (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2012); Samir Younés, ed., *The True, the Fictive, and the Real (The Historical Dictionary of Architecture of Quatremère de Quincy)* (London: Andreas Papadakis: 1999); and Louis A. Ruprecht. *Classics at the Dawn of the Museum Era: The Life and Times of Quatremère de Quincy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

¹⁰⁷ Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, 93-95. Quatremère de Quincy was aware of the role of Egyptian hieroglyphs in the work of William Warburton (1698-1779), Étienne Bonnet de Condillac (1715-1780), and Antoine Court de Gebelin (1725-1784). The work of his cousin Etienne Marc Quatremère (1782-1857) influenced the work of Jean-François Champollion (1790-1832), who ultimately deciphered hieroglyphs.

¹⁰⁸ Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, *Considerations sur les arts du dessin en France suivie d'un plan d'académie, ou école publique, et d'un système d'encouragemens* (Paris: 1791). « Il faut dire que les arts du dessin doivent et ont dû véritablement leur origine aux besoins de l'écriture. » Quoted in Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, 95.

¹⁰⁹ Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, 98.

glories, and in the end, of the philosophical or political history of the nation.¹¹⁰

Quatremère de Quincy's work embedded the history of architecture into the history of human society, without any reference to divine sources. The forces of nature had determined the needs of the first habitations, but as human civilizations matured, character emerged as the fundamental expression of the conditions of complex society. Architectural character was rooted in context and was the result of the "direct action of society."¹¹¹ According to Quatremère de Quincy,

Architectural character *consists of a way of being, in a conformation necessitated by physical needs and moral habits, and in which are painted the climate, the ideas, the mores, the tastes, the pleasure, and the character of a people.*¹¹²

In the *Dictionnaire d'architecture* (1788), Quatremère de Quincy developed a complex theory of architectural expression by defining essential, distinctive, and relative character.¹¹³ Essential character referred to the fundamental divisions between things in nature. Distinctive physical character was the particular application of essential character to historical contingency, mores, behavioral patterns, and climate. Relative character related to the relationship between a

¹¹⁰ Quatremère de Quincy, *De l'architecture égyptienne*, 95. « Destinés à recevoir sur toutes leurs surfaces des inscriptions en caractères symboliques, il faut les regarder comme de grands livres toujours ouvert à l'instruction publique... Tous les monumens étoient des espèces de bibliothèques publiques, leurs ornemens étoient des legends... des monumens qui étoient sans aucune métaphore des dépositaires des rites, des dogmes, des exploits, de la gloire; enfin de l'histoire philosophique et politique de la nation. » Quoted in Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, 93.

¹¹¹ Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, 140.

¹¹² Quatremère de Quincy, *Dictionnaire d'architecture*, vol. 1, 492. « Le caractère d'architecture des différens peuples consiste dans une manière d'être, sans une conformation nécessaire par les besoins physiques et les habitudes morales, et dans laquelle se peignent les climats, les idées, les mœurs, les plaisirs et le caractère même de chaque peuple. »

¹¹³ Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, *Dictionnaire d'architecture*, vol. 1, part of *Encyclopédie méthodique ou par ordre de matières*, ed. by C-J. Panckoucke (Paris: Panckoucke, 1788), 477-521. On the role of character in eighteenth-century culture, see Warner Szambien, *Symétrie, gout, caractère: Théorie et terminologie de l'architecture à l'âge classique 1550-1800* (Paris: Picard, 1986); Marc Grignon and Juliana Maxim. "Convenience, Caractère, and the Public Sphere." *Journal of Architectural Historians* 49, no. 1 (1995): 29-37; and Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1987).

thing and its meaning, which Quatremère de Quincy divided into ideal character in the metaphysical or intellectual realm and imitative character or propriety in the physical realm.

While Winckelmann's chronological system was historical and followed a linear sequence, Quatremère de Quincy's architectural language was abstract and atemporal, though it could be applied to development over time. Even though Quatremère de Quincy was one of the most outspoken critics of the Musée des monuments français, Lenoir cited him frequently. Lenoir tended away from the abstraction of Quatremère de Quincy for the temporalization of Winckelmann. He attempted to integrate Winckelmann's politicized historicity with Quatremère de Quincy's ideas about architectural legibility into a system that enabled the artifacts of the *ancien régime* to serve the history of France. Quatremère de Quincy provided Lenoir with a blueprint towards a theory of architectural character, and Winckelmann offered a historical analysis of the political impact of art. However, for Lenoir, the physiognomy of the legible body could reveal the influence of the individual on art and society.

2.4 PHYSIOGNOMY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CULTURE

After his execution on January 21, 1793, Louis XVI was a "body outside the nation." His death extinguished any sacredness still invested in his kingship. The body of Louis XVI was underrepresented in images and narratives of his execution: the guillotine had effectively normalized the exceptional body of the king.¹¹⁴ His corpse quickly disappeared from public view after the execution and was buried in an anonymous grave to avoid the development of a cult

¹¹⁴ Antoine de Baccque, *Glory and Terror: Seven Deaths under the French Revolution*, trans. Charlotte Mandell. (New York: Routledge, 200), 87.

directed at his body. On the eve of the execution of Louis XVI, Philippe Nicolas Marie de Pâris, a former bodyguard of the king, assassinated Louis-Michel Le Peletier, the deputy who cast the regicide vote. To commemorate the man who quickly became a great martyr of the Revolution, Jacques-Louis David designed a lavish memorial to Le Peletier. In contrast to the hidden body of Louis XVI, David exposed the stabbed corpse of Le Peletier before the gaze of the citizens of Paris. For three days, Le Peletier half-shrouded corpse was displayed in the manner of an antique sculpture on a plinth that had recently supported a statue of Louis XIV in the Place des Picques (now the Place de Vendôme). The cadaver lay with his gaping mortal wound exposed, draped in classical robes. After the third day, Le Peletier was taken to the Panthéon for burial. The grim *tableau* was a grotesque ode to virtuous masculinity and Winckelmann-inspired stillness.¹¹⁵ In a theatrical display of revolutionary transparency, all representational distance between the metaphorical political body and the actual body collapsed. In the first years of the Revolution, revealing or concealing the legible body was symbolically important. The raw visibility of Le Peletier's corpse was the antithesis to the absent body of Louis XVI.

Medical literature of the 1790's increasingly described bodies as both products and agents of social order, constructed not by the hands of God but by the powers held by each citizen. As researchers dissected bodies and failed to locate the soul, self-possession and self-mastery of the body began to become the domain of the individual rather than the Church. Imagery of healthy, hygienic bodies became the generalized prescription for society as a whole. Bourgeois insistence on the control of bodily functions, body image, and body outlines clashed with unruly, dirty, and

¹¹⁵ Joseph Clarke, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France: Revolution and Remembrance, 1789-1799* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 155-6.

sickly peasant bodies, which evaded and complicated the medical gaze.¹¹⁶ The French Revolution extended the desire for bodily legibility to the social mask of the aristocrat and the royal court. During the *ancien régime*, court rituals at Versailles had demanded facial immobility, emotional impassivity, *le fard*, and white make-up. By contrast, the ideal Revolutionary body was transparent, undoing the dangers of the social mask and openly revealing its true character. In 1790, the carnival and its masks were forbidden in France.¹¹⁷ A masked physiognomy was an illegible transgression of corporal limits of the physical body.

The word "physiognomy" derived from the Greek "physis" (nature), "nomos" (law), and gnomon (law), meaning "law of nature" or "interpreter of nature."¹¹⁸ Physiognomy was an ancient practice that gained widespread popularity in eighteenth-century European culture.¹¹⁹ Swiss theologian Johann Kaspar Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente* (1775-1778) and court painter Charles Le Brun's published public lecture, *Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière* (1668), shaped the broad spectrum of theoretical applications of physiognomy in the late eighteenth century. Lavater sought to develop a supra-linguistic system of interpretation to decipher the "original language of nature" inscribed on the human form.¹²⁰ Le Brun, by contrast,

¹¹⁶ Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*. For the role of the body in the French Revolution, also see De Baccque, *The Body Politic*; De Baccque, *Glory and Terror: Seven Deaths under the French Revolution*; Clarke, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*; and Avner Ben-Amos, *Funerals, Politics, and Memory in Modern France, 1789-1996* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹¹⁷ De Baccque, *The Body Politic*, 216.

¹¹⁸ Melissa Percival, *The Appearance of Character: Physiognomy and Facial Expression in Eighteenth-Century France* (London: W. S. Maney and Son, 1999), 8. In French, the thirteenth-century term "physionomie" and the sixteenth-century term "physiognomie" were used interchangeably in the eighteenth century, with "physionomie" being more common until Lavater's publication brought "physiognomie" back into favor.

¹¹⁹ On the sensationalist and materialist physiognomy, specifically Guillaume Hyacinthe Bougeant (1690-1743), Julien Offray de La Mettrie (1709-1751), Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1714-1780), and Claude Adrian Helvétius (1715-1771), see John O'Neal, *The Authority of Experience: Sensationalist Theory in the French Enlightenment* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996) and Melissa Percival, *The Appearance of Character*.

¹²⁰ Johann Kaspar Lavater, *Essai sur la physiognomonie, destiné à faire connoître l'homme et le faire aimer*, trans. Mme E de la Fête, H. Renfer, and Mme. Caillard, 4 vols (The Hague, 1781-1803), vol. 1, viii.

attempted to trace the pathognomic effect of the inner soul on the external body through an artistic analysis of facial expression.¹²¹ At its root, physiognomy was an attempt to establish a verifiable relationship between external matter and the internal thought.

Le Brun delivered his famous lecture on expression to the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture in 1668. Le Brun's graphic expressions were used to train artists at the academy for the next century and reached a non-specialist audience when they were included in the *Encyclopédie*. For Le Brun, expression was the visible effect of the soul on the external body.¹²² His lecture focused on the methods a painter could use to represent the visual manifestation of the soul. Le Brun's theory of expression developed from a desire to induce at first glance a "psychological" effect or an emotional resonance in the experience of a history painting."¹²³ He attempted to graphically represent a restricted number of universal expressions, such as anger, joy, and sorrow. He articulated these changeable muscle movements with the hope that they would reveal the soul's inner passions on the surface of the body. His drawings were reductive, simplistic, and stylized. Both Le Brun and Lavater reduced facial grammar to a finite set of recognizable symbols. However, unlike Lavater's close observation of the unchanging, unmovable structure of each body's unique imprint, Le Brun erased all traces of individuality for universal applicability, creating "ageless, sexless, rank-less prototypes" meant to represent fundamental human emotions.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Charles Le Brun, "Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière, 1668," in Jennifer Montague, *The Expression of the Passions: The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's "Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière"* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994). Charles Le Brun (1619-1690) was the Premier peintre du Roi under Louis XIV and director of the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture.

¹²² Le Brun, "Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière," 126.

¹²³ Montague, *The Expression of the Passions*, 29.

¹²⁴ Percival, *The Appearance of Character*, 52.

Lavater understood physiognomy as a system of signs that was absolute, finite, and knowable. Physiognomy was a "divine alphabet" inscribed on the human body.¹²⁵ Lavater's theory of physiognomy is of particular importance because of its widespread popularity at the end of the eighteenth century. Lavater designed his treatise as a "how-to" manual for navigating the public realm. Troubled by the inherent arbitrariness of human language, Lavater argued that visual signs of communication were more effective than any human tongue. He believed that the human body, particularly the face, was an infallible index, which could reveal man's essential moral character to those who could decode its signs properly. Lavater published *Physiognomische Fragmente, zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntniß und Menschenliebe* between 1775 and 1778.¹²⁶ *Physiognomische Fragmente* was a collaborative effort and included contributions from Johann Georg Ritter von Zimmermann, Johann Gottfried Herder, and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. The first French translation, *Essai sur la physiognomonie, destiné à faire connoître l'homme et le faire aimer*, was a lavishly illustrated four-volume edition overseen by Lavater and published between

¹²⁵ Lavater, *Essai sur la physiognomonie*, vol.1, viii. « Je ne promets point...de donner en entier l'immense Alphabet qui serviroit à déchiffrer la langage original de la Nature, écrite sur le visage de l'Homme & dans tous son extérieur, mais je me flatte d'avoir au moins tracé quelques-uns des caractères de cet Alphabet divin, & ils seront assez lisibles pour qu'on œil sain puisse les reconnoître partout où il les retrouvera. »

¹²⁶ Christopher Rivers, *Face Value: Physiognomical Thought and the Legible Body in Marvau, Lavater, Balzac, Gautier, and Zola* (Madison: Wisconsin Press; 1994), 68 and Michael Shortland, "The Power of a Thousand Eyes: Johann Kaspar Lavater's Science of Physiognomy," *Criticism* 28 (1986): 376-408. An English edition translated from French, *Essays on Physiognomy Designed to Promote the Knowledge and Love of Mankind* (1789-98), was edited by Thomas Holloway and translated from French by Henry Hunter. In the same year, Thomas Holcroft published *Essays on Physiognomy* (1789), translated from the original German. By 1810, a version of *Physiognomische Fragmente* had appeared sixteen German, fifteen French, two American, two Russian, one Dutch, and twenty English editions.

1781 and 1798.¹²⁷ The talent of reading human characteristics, Lavater promised, was accessible to those willing to hone their craft through rigorous study and observation.¹²⁸

I do not promise...to give in entirety the immense alphabet that serves to decipher the original language of Nature written on the face of man and on all of his exterior, but I flatter myself to have at least drawn some of the characters of this divine alphabet, and that they will be legible enough for the sound eye to be able to recognize them wherever they are found.¹²⁹

Lavater's physiognomic method was a two-step process. (Figure 2.1) First, the physiognomist translated the subject into a readable imprint. Next, the physiognomist decoded the imprint of its essential non-verbal *Ur-sprache*. The first step was an exercise in self-imposed restraint.¹³⁰ Lavater was determined to eliminate human caprice and ensure the accurate reproduction of God's divine alphabet in his study subjects. Lavater demanded that his physiognomists observe with the precision of a scientist and be able to repeat their experiments. Portraiture was a significant obstacle to physiognomy according to Lavater. The artist's desire to flatter, the sitter's shifting expression over time, and the imperfections of hand threatened the accuracy the firm, unchanging characteristics of the face. Therefore, Lavater encouraged the study

¹²⁷ On Lavater (1741-1801), see Shortland, "The Power of a Thousand Eyes;" Rivers, *Face Value*; Percival, *The Appearance of Character*; Lucy Hartley, *Physiognomy and the Meaning of Expression in Nineteenth-Century Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Richard, T. Gray, *About Face: German Physiognomic Thought from Lavater to Auschwitz* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004); and Melissa Percival and Graeme Tytler, eds., *Physiognomy in Profile: Lavater's Impact on European Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005).

¹²⁸ Lavater claimed that while everyone experienced physiognomic sensations, only a few individuals were gifted with the innate ability to translate those sensations into an accurate definition the character of man from the arrangement of exterior traits.

¹²⁹ Lavater, *Essai sur la physionomie*, vol.1, viii. « Je ne promets point...de donner en entier l'immense Alphabet qui serviroit à déchiffrer le langage original de la Nature, écrite sur le visage de l'Homme & dans tous son extérieur, mais je me flatte d'avoir au moins tracé quelques-uns des caractères de cet Alphabet divin, & ils seront assez lisibles pour qu'on eût s'en puisse les reconnoître partout où il les retrouvera. »

¹³⁰ See Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007). Lavater's physiognomic process negotiated the distinction made by historians Daston and Galison between "truth-to-nature," used by eighteenth-century naturalists and atlas makers, and nineteenth-century scientific objectivity. While objectivity was characterized by the self-restraint of the active self, truth-to-nature was distinguished by the assertion of the naturally passive self. Eighteenth-century naturalists and atlas makers practiced truth-to-nature in response to the untamed variability and monstrosities of nature that preoccupied sixteenth- and seventeenth-century naturalists.

of the still faces of the dead. Skulls, in particular, offered the "great outline of man."¹³¹ Moreover, he advocated the use of a camera obscura or physiognotrace.¹³² These tools traced the shadow or physical outline of the source, and thus could produce an uncorrupted translation of nature. Lavater's ideal product was a solid black profile on a white canvas, usually framed within an oval. He considered the profile to be the most faithful representation of the human face because it was the least subject to changing expression. At his most reductive, Lavater abstracted the forehead, nose, lips and other parts of the profile into simple groups of single lines. Each graphic cipher was accompanied by a detailed description of the moral meaning it revealed.

Lavater stressed the importance of building a collection of portraits and profiles, in addition to ancient and modern busts, medals, and skulls. As examples, Lavater filled his treatise with engravings from diverse sources: Goethe, Henry Fuseli, William Blake, the German illustrator Daniel Chodowiecki, as well as Rembrandt, Raphael, Peter Paul Rubens, Anthony Van Dyke, Nicolas Poussin, William Hogarth, and Le Brun.¹³³ Lavater's critics were quick to point out that he would never be able to provide concrete evidence to support the complete correspondence between the material and the immaterial he espoused.¹³⁴ In response, Lavater proclaimed his imperfection; the divine alphabet he was able to explain was merely a fragment. Not unlike Lenoir's historical fragments, Lavater viewed the incomplete, fragmentary nature of physiognomy

¹³¹ Lavater, *Essai sur la physionomie*, vol. 2, 129, 215. The skeleton, particularly the skull, composed « le sommaire de la forme humaine en général » See also Gray, *About Face*, 50.

¹³² The physiognotrace was an instrument similar to a pantograph that facilitated the accurate replication of a sitter's profile in shadow. The physiognotrace was invented in France by Gilles-Louis Chrétien (1754-1811) in 1783 and 1784. Chrétien's device used the technology of the pantograph to trace and record a sitter's profile. In 1802, John Isaac Hawkins (1772-1855), an Englishman living in Philadelphia patented the second type of physiognotrace. Hawkins partnered with the American artist, Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827), who marketed the machine. Hawkins' machine differed from Chrétien's in that it could be operated by the sitter, potentially removing the necessity of a trained artist from the production of a portrait. While the physiognotrace was theoretically supposed to remove the hand of the artist, in practice, artists frequently modified the product to the physiognotrace to produce the desired profile.

¹³³ Rivers, *Face Value*, 68.

¹³⁴ Rivers, *Face Value*, 93.

as a means to engage his followers, and he urged his readers to continue the work. Lavater distinguished between passive "physiognomic sensation" that belonged to all and the practiced talent of "physiognomic perception," which allowed man "to *think* rather than feel physiognomically."¹³⁵ The trained eye of the physiognomist could "see through" the particular to the essential and overlook the incidental to reveal "a reality otherwise hidden to each alone."¹³⁶

Lavater's physiognomy depended on an understanding of inner character and correspondent physical traits as unique, inborn, and unchanging. Lavater associated Le Brun's pathognomic studies with the artificial language of the aristocratic courts: "physiognomy is the mirror of the natural and the wise. Pathognomy is the mirror of courtesans and fashionable people."¹³⁷ During the first years of the Revolution, Lavaterian physiognomy emerged as a tool that could expose the fleeting and fickle expressions of a degenerate aristocrat and or a dangerous enemy. Like Quatremère de Quincy's theory of character, Lavater considered physiognomy a language that could only be decoded by a trained eye. However, where Quatremère de Quincy emphasized man as the sole creator of human culture, Lavater's theory relied on divine intervention. Still, physiognomy promised to strip away the social façade and expose the character of a person in the same manner that Lenoir's fragments in *Notice succinte*, unmasked by the Revolution, revealed the true history of France.

¹³⁵ Shortland, "The Power of a Thousand Eyes."

¹³⁶ Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 58.

¹³⁷ Lavater, *Essai sur la physionomie*, vol. 1, 26. « Le physiognomonie est le miroir du naturaliste et du sage. La pathognomonie est le miroir des courtisanes et des gens du monde. »

2.5 THE EXHUMATIONS OF THE ROYAL NECROPOLIS AT SAINT-DENIS

On, August 1, 1793, Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac took the floor of the Convention nationale and demanded his fellow citizens purge the earth of the mortal remains of kings as an act of Revolutionary catharsis. Saint-Denis had served as the burial place of the French monarchy since the tenth century. The oldest body dated from the sixth century. For centuries, the former abbey church and its impressive collection of medieval and Renaissance *gisants* and *priants* had stood as a symbol of the immortality of the royal body. Barère called for the absolute eradication of the memory of kings by the obliteration of their tombs and mausoleums in Saint-Denis:

Royal pride and spectacle could not be eased by this theater of death; and those who carry the scepter have and caused so many evils to France and to humanity, seem still in the tomb to be proud of their faded grandeur. The mighty hand of the Republic must mercilessly efface these superb epitaphs and demolish without pity the mausoleums that still recall the terrifying memory of kings.¹³⁸

The former abbey church suffered significant damage and neglect during the first years of the Revolution. It had been used for soldier's barracks and grain storage. The roof was stripped of its lead, leaving the interior and its funerary monuments exposed to the elements. However, the symbolic importance of Saint-Denis still posed a politically anachronistic problem for the Revolution. The concept of the nation in the absolute monarchy of pre-Revolutionary France was structured around “the king’s two bodies,” a pontifical model borrowed from the medieval

¹³⁸ Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac, *Rapport fait au nom du comité du salut public, le premier août 1793, l'an II de la République Française* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1793), 28-29. « L'orgueil & le faste royale ne pouvoient d'adoucir sur ce théâtre de la mort; & les porte-sceptres qui ont fait tant de maux à la France & à l'humanité, semblant encore dans la tombe, s'enorgueillir d'une grandeur évanouie. La main puissante de la République doit effaces impitoyablement ces épitaphes superbes, & démolices mausolées sans douleur, qui rappelleroient encore des rois l'effrayant souvenir. »

church.¹³⁹ The first body of the king was his natural mortal person. The second body was the body politic, the sacred body of the nation composed of the king and his subjects, of which the king was the head. The mortal body of the king could die, but second body of the king was immortal and passed on from one monarch to the next. When a medieval king expired, his immortality was invested in an effigy that reigned for several weeks during the “ceremonial interregnum” until the coronation of his successor. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the distinction that had existed in the medieval period between the king’s mortal body and his immortal sacred body began to dissolve, and the corporal body of the king became endowed with the sacred qualities formerly dedicated to the effigy. From Henri IV onwards, the Bourbon kings were buried in the crypt of Saint-Denis without funerary monuments or ceremonial effigies. Images of the living king ensured the consolidation of absolute power.

By the late eighteenth-century, Saint-Denis’ symbolic centrality had eroded. Trends in eighteenth-century portraiture emphasized the achievements of *grands hommes* independent of royal birth. These works blended likeness and personal narrative into an exemplary model of civic virtue and individual genius. After he was appointed the director of the Bâtiments du roi in 1774, Charles-Claude Flahaut de la Billaderie, the comte d’Angiviller embarked on an ambitious program of commemorative sculpture as part of his plan to transform the Grande Galerie of the Louvre into a public exhibition space for the royal collection of paintings.¹⁴⁰ Beginning in 1778,

¹³⁹ For more information, see Sheryl Kroen, *Politics and Theater: The Crisis of Legitimacy in Restoration France, 1815-1830* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) and Ernst Kantorowitz, *The King’s Two Bodies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

¹⁴⁰ Charles-Claude Flahaut de la Billaderie, comte d’Angiviller (1730-1810) was the director of the Bâtiments du roi from 1774 until the Revolution. He began the project of transforming the Grande Galerie of the Louvre into an exhibition space for the royal collection of paintings, a project that was not fully realized until after the Revolution. For information on d’Angiviller’s project, see Naginski, *Sculpture and Enlightenment*, Chapter 3, “Sculpture and Polemos;” Christopher Drew Armstrong, “Des ‘Hommes illustres’ aux ‘Artistes célèbres’ au Grand Galerie au XIXe siècle une histoire parlante de l’art” in *À le culte des grands hommes 1750-1850*, ed. by Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Gregor Wedekind, 505-534 (Paris: Editions de la Maison des sciences de la homme, 2009); David Bell, *The*

d'Angiviller commissioned twenty-eight sculptures of *grands hommes* of France. The subjects included ten military commanders, eleven scholars, three magistrates, one philanthropist, and one artist. Rather than focusing on royal portraiture, kingship was symbolically represented as the benevolent force that encouraged genius to flourish in France.¹⁴¹ Physiognomy, gesture, historical costume, and accoutrements representing the subject's expertise fostered emulation and civic enlightenment. Recognition of achievement and individual genius resonated with the growing eighteenth-century interest in reordering the secular world without reference to the divine.¹⁴² The pursuit of rationality led to a belief in the perfectibility of mankind through education, and an egalitarian foundation for merit-based achievement. The interest in *grands hommes* reflected a secular worldview where man was the measure of all things, and the powerful patriotic pedagogy that accompanied their display revealed the vast possibilities of individual achievement.

Beginning in 1791, Quatremère de Quincy directed the project to transform the Église Sainte-Geneviève into the Panthéon which would replace Saint-Denis as the national necropolis.¹⁴³ The Panthéon was designed as a mausoleum for distinguished citizens of France founded on civic virtue, not kingship. The first Panthéon burials were frequently accompanied by civic festivals and long processions, like those that had once carried the kings to Saint-Denis. The comte de Mirabeau was the first to be interred in the national Panthéon in 1791. Later that same year, the remains of Voltaire, who died in 1778, were disinterred and moved to the Panthéon. The body of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who also died in 1778, was transferred to the Panthéon in 1794. Unlike d'Angiviller's

Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism 1680-1800 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); and Francis H. Dowley, "D'Angiviller's Grands hommes and the Significant Moment" *The Art Bulletin*, 39 no. 4 (Dec. 1957): 259-277.

¹⁴¹ Naginski, *Sculpture and Enlightenment*, 234.

¹⁴² Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France*, 108-119.

¹⁴³ The Église Sainte-Geneviève was designed in 1755 by Jacques-Germain Soufflot (1713-1780). The church was transformed into a national pantheon under the direction of Quatremère de Quincy beginning in 1791. See Chapter 4, "The Temple of Revolution" in Naginski, *Sculpture and Enlightenment*, 217-288.

grands hommes, Quatremère de Quincy substituted representational portraiture and the literal articulation of biographical specificity, costume, and figural likeness for a purely allegorical sculptural program. Rather than commissioning a series of portraits of the great men of France interred in the Panthéon, Quatremère de Quincy designed a decorative program using groupings of allegorical figures that personified the Motherland, including *Nature*, *Liberty*, *Equality*, *Reason*, and *Regeneration*.¹⁴⁴ For Quatremère de Quincy, sculpture was hieroglyphic writing. At the Panthéon, he shaped a figurative visual vocabulary into a language of political allegory that was presumably of and for the enlightened citizen.¹⁴⁵ However, the absence of the legible body in Quatremère de Quincy's vision for the Panthéon meant the success of the project relied on the willingness of the public to learn his complex allegorical language. Quatremère de Quincy's design for the Panthéon could not entirely eclipse the symbolic potential of Saint-Denis.

Despite shifting commemorative practices in the eighteenth century, Saint-Denis remained a deeply problematic symbol of the immortal body of the king even after the guillotine had decapitated French monarch. Following Barère's instruction, the Convention decided that the funerary monuments of the former kings would be dismantled, and their bodies exhumed and destroyed. Under the direction of Citoyen Scellier, stonemason and demolition expert, a team of workman and soldiers gathered to remove the oldest mausoleums of Saint-Denis on August 6, 1793. Crowds gathered to watch as the Carolingian, Capetian, and Valois monuments were dismantled over three days. Metal monuments and pieces were melted down for material, and the stone fragments sent to the Petits-Augustins Dépôt.¹⁴⁶ From 1793 to 1794, the Dépôt filled with

¹⁴⁴ Naginski, *Sculpture and Enlightenment*, 236.

¹⁴⁵ Naginski, *Sculpture and Enlightenment*, 243, 269.

¹⁴⁶ Kennedy, *A Cultural History of the French Revolution*, 206-212 and John McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment: Changing Attitudes to Death among Christians and Unbelievers in Eighteenth-century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 254-6.

royal monuments from Saint-Denis, in addition to a steady stream of religious sculpture and funerary monuments dedicated to nobles and other dignitaries. The *gisants* of the Carolingian, Capetian, and Valois dynasties were the first to arrive, followed by fragments of the great double-level *memento-mori* monuments of François I, Louis XII, and Henri II and their queens.¹⁴⁷

On October 12, 1793, Scellier and his team returned to Saint-Denis to open the lead coffins and disinter the human remains of 158 kings, queens, princes, princesses, and other notables buried within. The bodies were gathered into three nearby trench graves and covered with quicklime, and the lead tombs melted down or sent to the Hôtel de Ville for storage. Dom Germain Poirier and Lenoir were at hand to oversee and record the exhumations. As workers opened each coffin, Lenoir and Poirier kept a careful catalog of each body removed from the grave, effectively stripping away the symbolic immortality of the body of the king and translating it into a temporalized record of the past. Using the guidance of the *Instructions*, Lenoir created a set of historical data from the bodies, listing name, rank, death date, and age of each body, noting the various states of decomposition found among the corpses.

The first tomb to be opened was that of Marshal General, Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne because according to Lenoir, the workers wanted to see a "great man."¹⁴⁸ Louis XIV granted Turenne the posthumous honor of burial with the kings of France due to his celebrated military accomplishments. To the surprise of gathered spectators, Turenne was found

¹⁴⁷ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 20.

¹⁴⁸ Alexandre Lenoir, "Notes Historiques sur les exhumations faites en 1793 dans l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis" in *Musée des monumens*, vol. 2, xcix-cxxiv. See also Dom Druon, "Journal Historique de l'extraction des cercueils de plomb des Rois, Reines, Princes, Princesses, abbés et autres personnes qui avaient leurs sépultures dans l'Eglise de l'abbaye royale de St Denis en France" (1796), after the original by Dom Poirier. See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

dried but "unaltered."¹⁴⁹ His features were still recognizable from portraits and medals. Turenne's mummy consequently was saved from the burial trench and displayed in the sacristy of the church for eight months before being transferred to the Muséum d'histoire naturelle and, briefly, the Musée des monuments français. The next body to be exhumed was the extremely well-preserved remains of Henri IV, the favorite king of the Revolution. Henri IV's cadaver was a dried mummy. The top of his head had been sawn, his brain removed, and the skull packed with a fibrous material that produced a strong chemical odor. Odor was an index of social health in the late eighteenth-century, thus severely decomposed bodies were considered toxic and dangerous. Henri IV did not smell like decaying flesh and was given preferential treatment compared to any other monarch. His mummy was displayed in its coffin in the choir of Saint-Denis for several days, before being added to the mass grave. The remaining royals were exposed in varying states of decomposition over the next several days. The visible and legible bodies, which Lenoir eagerly recorded, revealed the moral character of the exhumed. The skeletal remains of the oldest medieval kings were generally better preserved than the later cadavers, some which had putrefied due to different embalming practices. Others suffered abnormal decompositions: Louis XIV had become "as black as ink" and the well-preserved skin of Louis XV, who died of smallpox, was pitted with red and purple discolorations on his lower body.¹⁵⁰ The exhumation team considered the Bourbon cadavers particularly dangerous because they emitted a black vapor with an intense odor. Workers blamed these bodies for causing diarrhea and fever among their ranks. However grisly the task, the reports of Lenoir and Dom Poirier maintained order and meticulous attention to detail. The most powerful

¹⁴⁹ Lenoir, "Notes Historiques sur les exhumations," in *Musée des monumens*, vol. 2, xcix-c. Turenne and the fourteenth-century military leader Bertrand du Guesclin were the only two individuals interred at Saint-Denis in honor of military service.

¹⁵⁰ Lenoir, "Notes Historiques sur les exhumations," in *Musée des monumens*, vol. 2, cv.

tool of the Revolution's massive reorganization of cultural heritage was not the frenzied mobs tearing down statues of kings, but the careful lists of cultural artifacts supervised by the Commission des monuments.

Lenoir argued for the preservation of the bodies because of the information they could provide "to history, to antiquities, to the arts, to costume, to anatomy, to physiology, to chemistry."¹⁵¹ This plea was ultimately unsuccessful. However, Lenoir made watercolor sketches of four of the most intact cadavers: Louis VIII, Henri IV, Louis XV, and Turenne. (Figure 2.2) Each body is centered on a blank page without background or context. Like Le Peletier, the corpses are displayed half shrouded, recumbent on gray plinths, with the heads turned slightly towards the viewer. All but Louis XV crossed their hands across the stomach. Louis VIII is a skeleton with a scepter and a gilded cap. The other three are shriveled mummies without any signs of kingship. In comparison to the detail of Lenoir's report, the images are sanitized: Henri IV's sawed-off skull is barely visible, and a shroud hides Louis XV's discolored skin.

Lenoir legitimated his work by insisting he had physically examined his subjects and the sketches had been taken from nature. He confirmed François I's height by measuring a femur bone and examined the well-preserved skin, hair, and beard of Henri IV with his hands.¹⁵² The stark transparency of Lenoir's exhumation drawings emphasized the raw physiognomic authenticity of the exhumed corpse. The images revealed a critical negotiation of meaning. Depoliticized, desacralized, and utterly transparent, the mortal bodies were decaying fragments of a past. Like

¹⁵¹ Lenoir is quoted in Kennedy, *A Cultural History of the French Revolution*, 206-207. Dom Poirier further expanded on the importance of the human remains for the study of chemistry and anatomy due to the ability to study "the progressive state of dissolution of the human body over a large number of centuries, by the different manners of embalming, and the singularity of seeing quicklime employed in the embalming process of some fifteenth- and sixteenth-century bodies."

¹⁵² *AMMF*, vol. 1, 16.

the monuments Lenoir "unearthed" in *Notice succinte*, the exposed bodies of the kings were as critical to the symbolic goals of Revolutionary regeneration as the erasure of their images and emblems from edifices. The surest way to translate the immortal body of the king into decaying organic material was the creation of a visual and written record.

2.6 BODY POLITICS AND REVOLUTION

After the end of the Terror in 1794, the relationship between Republican identity, iconoclastic destruction, and the legible body shifted. During the Directoire, a fascination with the subjectivity of body outlines replaced the stark bodily transparency championed in the first years of the Revolution. The body became a dialogic tool: displaying, negating, or challenging the body's legible physiognomy was a means to negotiate the trauma of the recent past, particularly the memory of violent acts performed against bodies and artifacts during the Terror. Fashion extended into new social realms, and women's bodies entered the public sphere unaccompanied and exhibited in new ways. Women's costumes celebrated historical and cultural eclecticism, drawing from different regions of the world and a variety of historical eras. Wigs returned to fashion, as well as the cropped hair worn by the victims of the guillotine. Men appeared in public in stylized, exaggerated outfits. These fashions revised the "corporeal contours" of virtuous masculinity championed earlier in the Revolution and epitomized in the bleeding corpse of Le Peletier. Instead,

the subjective body of the Directoire was itself a site of discourse that revolved around the assertion of visibility in the public sphere.¹⁵³

Lavater's immutable physiognomies also shifted in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century France with an extended new translation of *Physiognomische Fragmente* and the popularity of Pocket Lavaters.¹⁵⁴ Between 1806 and 1810, the physician Louis-Jacques Moreau de la Sarthe published an expanded ten-volume translation of *Physiognomische Fragmente* titled *L'art de connaître les hommes par la physionomie*.¹⁵⁵ Moreau's augmentation of Lavater's work introduced Lavaterian physiognomy into the French medical community. Moreau was a vitalist scientist who believed that physicians could only gain knowledge of the human body by observing the life process, which was no longer possible once the subject was deceased. Vitalists viewed physiognomy as a legitimate scientific alternative to dissection.¹⁵⁶ During the same period, concise

¹⁵³ Ewa Lajer-Brucharch, *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David After the Terror* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 189-203.

¹⁵⁴ Michael Gamper "'Er lasst sich nicht lesen': Physiognomie and the City," in *Physiognomy in Profile, Lavater's Impact on European Culture*, ed. Melissa Percival and Graeme Tytler (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 150-160. French "Pocket Lavaters" often bore Lavater's name, though he was not involved in their production. Lavater died in 1801, and many Pocket Lavaters were actually published after his death: *Le Lavater moral* (Paris: L. Janet, 1800); *Physionomie portative d'après Lavater les Pernety, et plusieurs autres célèbres physionomistes* (Paris: Bertrand-Pottier et Félix Bertrand, 1806); *Le Lavater portatif, ou précis de l'art de connaître les hommes par les traits du visage*, 6th ed. (Paris: Saintin, 1815); and Nicolas Ponce, *Le Lavater historique des femmes célèbres des temps anciens et modernes* (Paris: Ladvocat 1822).

¹⁵⁵ Johann Kaspar Lavater, *L'art de connaître les hommes par la physionomie, Nouvelle édition, corrigée et disposée dans un ordre plus méthodique, précédée d'une notice historique sur l'auteur; augmentée d'une exposition des recherches ou des opinions La Chambre, de Porte, de Camper, de Gall, sur la physionomie; et d'un très-grand nombre d'articles nouveaux sur les caractères des passions, des tempéraments et des maladies, par M. Moreau, docteur en médecine, avec 500 gravures exécutées sous l'inspection de M. Vincent, peintre, membre de l'Institut*. 10 Vols. (Paris: 1806-9).

¹⁵⁶ Louis-Jacques Moreau de la Sarthe (1771-1826) was a French physician and anatomist. Moreau edited the collected works of Félix Vicq d'Azyr and later inherited Vicq's editorship of the medical section of the *Encyclopédie méthodique*. Vitalist scientists rejected dissection. Thus, character and temperament were critical to understanding a patient because such features had an effect on the overall "organization" of a person and vulnerability to disease. Moreau hoped that the science of physiognomy could be the vitalist response to dissection. Moreau expanded Lavater's original with additional articles, footnotes, annotations, and contributions from Giambattista della Porta, Petrus Camper, and Franz Joseph Gall. Giambattista della Porta (c.1535-1615) was a sixteenth-century scientist who developed an early theory of physiognomy that influenced Lavater. Petrus Camper (1722-1789) studied comparative anatomy and developed a theory of race-based human typology based on facial angles. Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828) was the founder of phrenology. See Caroline Warman, "What's Behind a Face? Lavater and the Anatomists,"

urban handbooks called Pocket Lavaters began to be advertised as aids for the reader navigating public space. Pocket Lavaters were sold in *duodecimo* format and promoted quick social exchanges. Readers navigating the city with the help of a Pocket Lavater used a type-grid to make instant physiognomic assessments of the intentions or mentality of strangers from their outward appearance. Typically, the goal was to uncover some form of dishonest behavior, hypocrisy, or pretense. Pocket Lavaters lacked the careful study and comparison that Lavater had insisted a physiognomist needed to master the "language of nature." Lavater was concerned with the usefulness of physiognomy for the development of his religious and philosophical understanding of social fraternity. Pocket Lavaters translated Lavater's hyper-individuation into a reductive roadmap of human typologies.

The renewed interest in the self-mastery of the subjective body extended to a corporal reinvestment in Le Brun's pathognomic expressions. When the drawings of the former royal collection were exhibited to the public at the Musée du Louvre in 1797, mirrors were built into the walls to enhance the lighting in the space. Visitors unexpectedly used the mirrors to compare Le Brun's diagrams of human expression with their physiognomies.¹⁵⁷ Spectatorship involved investing one's own body into the experience of the museum. Similarly, when exhibiting *Les Sabines* in 1799, Jacques-Louis David went further and installed a freestanding pivoting mirror against the wall opposite the canvas.¹⁵⁸ The mirrors allowed visitors to see themselves in the painting while viewing it. As the Directoire sought to establish itself as a legitimate republic in

in *Physiognomy in Profile Lavater's Impact on European Culture*, ed. by Melissa Percival and Graeme Tytler (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005).

¹⁵⁷ Lajer-Brucharch, *Necklines*, 136-138.

¹⁵⁸ Lajer-Brucharch, *Necklines*, 136.

contrast to the violence and terror of the Jacobin regime, the process of repossessing the art of the king shifted from an unmasking to an act of "in-corporealization" and self-identification.

Henri Grégoire introduced the term "vandalism" in a pamphlet condemning iconoclastic destruction in *Rapport sur les inscriptions des monuments publics* in 1794. The devastation of the Terror had transformed France into a "vast cemetery" of bodies and artifacts alike:¹⁵⁹

One cannot inspire in citizens too much revulsion for these acts of *vandalism* that know only destruction. Ancient monuments are another form of commemorative medal, they must be preserved in their entirety...As for those of the Middle Ages and of modern times...they must also be preserved; they supplement archives by the facts for which they are repositories; they fix the epochs of history: their destruction would be a loss.¹⁶⁰

Grégoire stressed the importance of preserving antique, medieval, and modern monuments as "repositories," or tangible records of the physical past. To emphasize his point, Grégoire anthropomorphized the monument into an actual living remnant of history: "in this statue, which is a work of art, the ignorant can see a shaped stone, show him that this marble breathes, that this canvas is alive, that this book is an arsenal to defend his rights."¹⁶¹ Preserving objects, emblems, and inscriptions in their encyclopedic entirety created a visible, physical archive that could corroborate written history. The insistence on encyclopedic preservation in Grégoire's language revealed a shift from the earlier division between a historic object and work of art in the first

¹⁵⁹ Henri Grégoire, *Troisième rapport sur le Vandalisme* (Paris: Convention nationale, 8 frimaire Year III; 14 December 1794.), 2. « Les conspirateurs n'ayant pu faire de la France un vaste cimetière. »

¹⁶⁰ Henri Grégoire, *Rapport sur les inscriptions des monuments publics* (Paris: Imprimé par ordre de la Convention nationale, 2 nivôse Year II; 11 January 1794), 9. « L'on ne peut inspirer aux citoyens trop horreur pour ce vandalisme qui ne connoît que la destruction. Les monumens antiques sont des médailles sous une autre forme, ils doivent être conservés dans leur totalité...Quant à ceux du moyen âge et des temps modernes...ils doivent être également conservés; ils suppléent souvent aux archives par les faits dont ils sont dépositaires; ils fixent les époques de l'histoire: les détruire seroit une perte. » Henri Grégoire (1750-1831) was a former priest and a Revolutionary leader involved in the preservation of monuments. He also advocated for the assimilation of a single, uniform French language.

¹⁶¹ Henri Grégoire, *Instruction Publique Second rapport sur le Vandalisme* (Paris: Imprimé par ordre de la Convention nationale, 8 brumaire Year III; 29 October 1794), 10. « Dans cette statue, qui est un chef-d'œuvre, l'ignorant ne voit qu'une pierre configurée; montrons-lui que ce marbre respire, que cette toile est vivante, que ce livre est un arsenal propre à défendre ses droits. »

Instructions. By 1794, the authors attempted to unify the double roles of the new historic monument as both an authentic, unique, immediate record of the past and a potential link in the sequential development of a broader history. Moreover, the body emerged, in the words of Grégoire, as an apt metaphor that could reveal meaning in public monuments, which “must speak a language intelligible to all.”¹⁶²

Lenoir's associations with vandalism and selective destruction also changed during this period. In *Alexandre Lenoir Opposing the Destruction of the Tomb of Louis XII at Saint-Denis* (1799), Pierre Joseph Lafontaine imagines the exhumation of Saint-Denis as an episode of Revolutionary fervor.¹⁶³ (Figure 2.3) This image differed significantly from an earlier drawing of the same scene, *Alexandre Lenoir defending the Monuments against the Furor of the Terrorists* (c. 1793). In the 1793 version, Lenoir runs into Saint-Denis, letter in hand, hoping to abort of the destruction of the monuments.¹⁶⁴ (Figure 2.4) The demolition is underway, and stone remnants are strewn on the floor. The tombs are being dismantled by a team of workmen, who pause to pay Lenoir heed. Lenoir's authority rests in the paper in his hand, which is presumably an official order to stop the demolition. Lafontaine portrays the scene much differently in the 1799 image. An angry mob bristles with mallets, spears, axes, and guns, poised to attack the monument of Louis XII. In a moment of imminent, yet unresolved danger, the pristine monument stands in the left corner, untouched. In the lower right corner, a toothless old woman and a shoeless ransacker gleefully pull the shrouded remains of a royal skeleton from beneath the floor. Lenoir stands alone in defense, without a weapon or an official decree, protecting the monument with his own body. Only a small

¹⁶² Grégoire, *Rapport sur les inscriptions des monuments publics*, 5. « Les monuments publics doivent donc rappeler son courage, ses triomphes, ses droits, sa dignité: ils doivent parler un langage intelligible pour tous. »

¹⁶³ Title translated from: *Alexandre Lenoir s'opposant à la destruction du mausolée de Louis XII à Saint-Denis*.

¹⁶⁴ Title translated from: *Alexandre Lenoir défendant les monuments contre la fureur des Terroristes*.

dog snapping at the feet of an attacker comes to his aid. Lenoir's face is resolute and composed, in contrast to the gnarled physiognomies of the overzealous rioters wearing Phrygian caps and cockades.¹⁶⁵ The scene loosely recalled David's *Les Sabines*, which was exhibited the same year. Lenoir, upright and defiant, arms outstretched, fashions himself as a model of moral self-control against the irrationality and bloodlust of the *sans-culottes*.

Grégoire's anthropomorphized public monuments participated in the same language of corporal meaning that embedded malleable Revolutionary identities into the various contours of the legible body in the Louvre's and David's mirrored faces, Lavater's stripped masks, and Le Peletier's raw corpse. Physiognomy and character emerged as a flexible graphic language that could negotiate the Revolution's ongoing investment in political and social meaning. For Lenoir, who shaped a new museum out of the material legacy of the *ancien régime* during and after the French Revolution, physiognomy offered a usable language that could incorporate both bodily subjectivity and the shifting meanings of legible artifacts. The exhumations of the bodies of the kings became the symbolic origin on the Musée des monuments français. Lenoir's "true history" of France was only revealed after the royal body was rendered visible by exhumation, examination, and documentation.

Lenoir's historicization of the Musée des monuments français engaged a continual dialectic between the absence and presence of the body fragment. The bodies of Saint-Denis were made visible, but only for a short period. In a matter of days, the remains were exhumed, recorded, thoughtfully studied, and buried into a mass grave. The fragmentary body of the king became the ideal monument of the *ancien régime* at the Musée des monuments français because it was both absent and present. The royal bodies had been recovered from the hidden depths of sacred power

¹⁶⁵ Phrygian caps and cockades were the traditional garb of the working class in the first years of the Revolution.

only to be dismantled and destroyed. Moreover, Lenoir's self-promotional legends about the protection of monuments from frenzied mobs during the first years of the Revolution positioned himself as the vector through which history was revealed. The exhumations of Saint-Denis emerged as a critical moment where the Revolution simultaneously exposed and overcame its past. Lenoir seized on his role in that event as a way to incorporate the body of the monarch and the abandoned royal monuments into a discourse about the deeper history of France.

2.7 FROM MANNEQUINS TO PHYSIOGNOMY

In 1794, Lenoir submitted a new inventory to the Commission temporaire des arts and the Comité de Instruction publique, labeled *Catalogue des objets réunis au Dépôt provisoire de la République*. This document marked a significant departure from both *Notice Succinte* and Lenoir's plan for the Louvre. After passing briefly over the monuments of Egyptian, Hebrew, Etruscan, Greek, and Roman antiquity held by the Dépôt, Lenoir emphasized the importance of studying "neglected" medieval monuments.¹⁶⁶ Lenoir divided French art into two sections: "Monuments of the Middle Ages," which was chronologically arranged, and "Monuments since the Renaissance of the arts," which was organized according to artists' œuvres, and roughly chronologically. Lenoir remained beholden to the *Instructions*' distinction between an artwork and a historic object by treating the Renaissance and the Middle Ages differently. While the overall chronology hinted at integration, Lenoir still struggled with the monuments of the Middle Ages. By knitting the Renaissance monuments into a network of artists' œuvres, Lenoir neutralized problematic political associations

¹⁶⁶ *AMMF*, vol. 2, 169-201.

by the focus on artistic biographies. However, Lenoir did not initially consider the anonymous products of the Middle Ages to be works of art, though he valued them as authentic fragments that could reveal information about the past. Lenoir proposed a history of costume for the Middle Ages: “these monuments should only be regarded as a collection of mannequins, dressed according to the era they belong to.”¹⁶⁷ By labeling the former royal tombs “mannequins,” Lenoir relocated the representational source of the medieval effigies from kingship to a historical system based on the legibility of the bodies represented in the funerary monuments. The collection was formalized from an eclectic accumulation of fragments into a chronology by transforming the recumbent *gisants* into a sequence of temporal imprints marked by the distinctive physiognomies of their costumed bodies.

In 1795, Lenoir began actively promoting the collection of the Petits-Augustins Dépôt as a permanent exhibition. He continued to revise and publish a new guidebook every one or two years, which he sold to visitors at the entrance of the collection. The following edition of his guidebook, titled *Notice historique des monumens des arts réunis au Dépôt national*, was published in 1795. This publication was a clear attempt to translate *Catalogue des objets* (1794) into a physical exhibition. Though still officially a depot, Lenoir's guidebook functioned as a tour through the new museum and a nascent attempt to assemble the heterogeneous collection of objects, many assumed to be of lesser artistic value by the eighteenth-century spectator, into a single art historical line of development.¹⁶⁸ Visitors entered the Dépôt from the south entrance of the former convent church, where Lenoir installed a gallery of paintings. From there, the visitor

¹⁶⁷ *AMMF*, vol. 2, 176. « Ces monuments, rounds ainsi, ne doivent être regardés que comme un rassemblement de mannequins, vêtus selon les époques auxquelles ils appartiennent. »

¹⁶⁸ Alexandre Lenoir, *Notice historique des monumens des arts réunis au Dépôt national, rue des Petits-Augustins, Suivie d'un traité de la peinture sur verre*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Cussac, Year IV, 1795-1796). See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

followed a roughly chronological circuit of three galleries dedicated to sculpture: the "Hall of Antiques," which displayed antiquities taken from the collections of Richelieu and the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, followed by the "Hall of Antiques of the Middle Ages," and the "Hall of Monuments since the Renaissance." The two halls of French sculpture divided the funerary monuments from Saint-Denis and other sculptures, fragments, and mausoleums into two distinct groups of material culture before and after the Renaissance.

In *Catalogue des objets* (1794), Lenoir had used the word "mannequins" only to describe medieval monuments. A year later in *Notice Historique* (1795), Lenoir demonstrated a desire to integrate the Dépôt's medieval, Renaissance, and modern monuments under a unified art-historical system. The entire collection became "models dressed according to their eras."¹⁶⁹ Under Lenoir's new criteria, the newer monuments were no longer prioritized over medieval works, and Lenoir began to blend the *Instruction's* distinction between a historic object and a work of art. All monuments were listed according to their place of origin, followed by a short description and, in many cases, the subject, the date of execution, and the name of the creator if known. Lenoir attempted to build a record of the individuals who had created or influenced the making of the artifacts. If the artist or sculptor was unknown, Lenoir included instead the name of a priest or architect who oversaw the construction of the church where the object was found.

Lenoir's proposal for a "Musée spécial des antiquités et monuments français" was accepted by the Comité d'instruction publique on October 21, 1795, and the Dépôt was recognized as the Musée des monuments français by Pierre Bézénech, Minister of the Interior, on April 8, 1796.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Lenoir, *Notice historique*, x. « Ces monumens ainsi réunis ne doivent être regardés que comme une rassemblement de modèles vêtus selon les époques auxquelles ils appartiennent et selon les places qu'occupaient ceux qu'ils représentent. »

¹⁷⁰ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 34, and vol. 2, 305-6.

At this stage, Lenoir had not yet finalized his system of organization. Like *Notice succincte* in 1793, Lenoir's 1795 proposal stressed the accomplishments of his conservation work and the necessity of a legible system of organization. The 1795 proposal also suggested that visibility was critical to preservation:

My intention is to restore (the tombs) by proving that it was the only way to preserve it, my reasoning being that a monument dismantled and forgotten in a corner will necessarily degrade. Where would those be that one sees in the Dépôt, if I had not taken care?¹⁷¹

Visibility alone was not a system of organization. Bézénech's decree also gave priority to the completion of the Musée central des arts at the Louvre and the Palais des Arts. He demanded that Lenoir release any monuments needed by those collections. Shortly afterward, the collections of paintings and antiquities left the Musée des monuments français.¹⁷² Lenoir introduced a matured system of organization in the next edition of the guidebook, *Description historique et chronologique des monumens de Sculpture réunis au Musée des monumens français*, published in Year V (1796-1797).¹⁷³ In the introduction, Lenoir framed the ideology of the museum with a direct reference to the work of Winckelmann, "the arts experience revolutions like empires, they pass successively from infancy to maturity, and return little by little to the point where they began"

¹⁷¹ *AMMF*, vol 1, 27. « Je crois urgent de les réunir pour conserver les vives arêtes et les repaires faits pour leur rapprochement. J'ai laissé entrevoir que mon intention était de la rétablir tel qu'il était, en prouvant que c'était le seul moyen de la conserver, motivant mes raisons sur ce qu'un monument démonté et oublié dans un coin doit nécessairement de dégrader. Où seraient ceux que l'on voit au Dépôt, si je n'eusse pas pris ce soin? »

¹⁷² *AMMF*, vol. 2, 305-6.

¹⁷³ For full bibliographic information, see Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839). From Year VIII (1799-1800) until 1810, these guidebooks followed a similar sequence. The introduction was followed by a description of antiquities formerly held by the museum, Gallo-Roman monuments, and monuments of the early middle ages. Next Lenoir introduced each century room from the Thirteenth-Century Room to the Eighteenth-Century Room with a vivid description of the room, a catalog list of monuments, and a dissertation on the costumes of that era. An essay on the stained glass in the museum concluded each guidebook. The 1800 edition was partially illustrated and comprised two volumes. After 1810, Lenoir removed the introductory section on classical antiquities formerly held by the museum and began the guidebook with Gallo-Roman monuments. The final two editions, published in 1815 and 1816, emphasized the Lenoir's plans for the continuation of the museum, completing the Eighteenth-Century Room, building a Nineteenth-Century Room and the external courtyards, as well as creating a gallery of portraits, a collection of medals and armor, and a library dedicated to the works in the museum.

and adopted Winckelmann's model of structural patterns of growth, perfection, and decline.¹⁷⁴ Winckelmann's structural patterns enabled Lenoir to construct a chronology of French art as a distinct geographic and cultural phenomenon that began with the Gallo-Roman and Celtic monuments, rather than classical antiquity. Moreover, the chronology allowed Lenoir to incorporate lesser-appreciated medieval monuments and neutralize politically problematic artifacts. Most important, Winckelmann's stylistic analysis integrated art history into the structure of political history. Winckelmann established a direct correlation between political attitudes and artistic liberty. The greater the freedom of the political culture, the more the opportunity for artistic invention and innovation. Using Winckelmann, Lenoir created a history of France that revealed the changing relationship between art and society under different political regimes.

Winckelmann's art history depended on the careful observation of the formal characteristics of ancient masterpieces. Left with medieval, Renaissance, and contemporary commemorative monuments, tomb sculpture, architectural fragments, and decorative objects of various materials and crafts, Lenoir could not rely exclusively on the purely formal analysis of sculptural development. Instead, Lenoir explored the theoretical potential of integrating chronology, architectural character, and the legible body. According to Lenoir, the past was an open book "already traced by the nature of things," and therefore the careful observation of extant artifacts determined the "chronology of centuries."¹⁷⁵ Lenoir designed the Musée des monuments français as a systematic compilation of working objects designed to train the eye to ennoble

¹⁷⁴ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 3rd ed. (Year V, 1796-1797), 9. « Les arts éprouvent des révolutions comme les empires: ils passent successivement de l'enfance à la supériorité, et retournement peu-à-peu au point d'où ils étaient partis. »

¹⁷⁵ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 3rd ed. (Year V, 1796-1797), 21. « La chronologie des siècles passés est un livre ouvert, dans lequel on lit la marche des événements; c'est ce qui m'a déterminé à classer les Monumens par époque, et à suivre dans cet ouvrage la ligne de démarcation qui était déjà tracée par la nature des choses. »

certain major characteristics and synthesize the general out of the particular, relying on the formal qualities of the architectural setting and, equally, the physical bodies and narratives of the numerous historical figures who populated and shaped the museum.¹⁷⁶ The guidebooks of the Musée des monuments français instructed the visitor how to read Lenoir's sculptural ensembles. According to one reviewer in *La Clef du cabinet souverains*, "the utility of these sort of notices is greater than one could imagine...not all of the monuments are masterpieces, and they cannot speak for themselves when their expression is lost they need the aid of the written word."¹⁷⁷

Lenoir introduced physiognomy as a guiding framework for the museum in the fifth edition of his guidebook published in 1800. He did so in concert with a description of the exhumations of Saint-Denis as the origin of the museum:

Present at the exhumations of the cadavers of Saint-Denis, I made interesting remarks. Many persons who had been interred in the first centuries of the monarchy, in the sarcophagi of stone, used at that time, were found with their costumes still intact, and with utensils for their usage, these objects, precious for the chronology of costume, have been denatured, and the materials taken to the mint. Henri IV was found well conserved such that he was not disfigured at all. Such an imposing mass of monuments from all centuries gave me the idea to form a historical and chronological museum, where one would find the ages of French sculpture in distinct halls, and each hall given the character of the exact physiognomy of the century it represents.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison define "working objects" as "manageable, communal representatives of the sector of nature under investigation," such as atlases and type specimens. Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, "The Image of Objectivity," *Representations*, no. 40 (October 1992): 85.

¹⁷⁷ François Pommereul, "Musée des Monuments français," *La Clef du cabinet des souverains, Nouveau journal historique, politique, économique, moral et militaire*, no. 84 (24 germinal Year V; April 13, 1797): 836-838. «L'utilité de ces sortes de notices est beaucoup plus grand qu'on ne l'imagine...Tous ces monuments ne sont pas des chef d'œuvres; ils ne parlent pas tous d'eux-mêmes; quand l'expression leur manque, il faut bien aider un peu à la lettre. » See Appendix C, Firsthand Accounts of the Musée des monuments français.

¹⁷⁸ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 5th ed. (Year V, 1796-1797), 5- 6. « Présent à l'exhumation des cadavres de l'abbaye de St.-Denis, j'y ai fait des remarques intéressantes. Plusieurs des personnages qui y avaient été enterrés dans les premiers siècles de la monarchie, dans des sarcophages en pierre, usage qui remonte à cette époque, furent trouvés avec leurs vêtements encore intacts, et avec des ustensiles à leur usages : ces objets, précieux pour la chronologie des costumes, ont été dénaturés, et les matières portées à la monnaie. Henri IV fut trouvé dans une conservation telle qu'il n'était aucunement défiguré. Une masse aussi imposante de monuments de tous les siècles me fit naître l'idée d'en former un Musée particulier, historique et chronologique, où l'on retrouvera les âges de la sculpture française dans des salles particulières, en donnant à chacune de ces salles le caractère, la physionomie exacte du siècle qu'elle doit représenter. »

Cited in full, the paragraph reveals the importance of linking the origins of the museum, architectural character, and the legibility of the exposed body. Lenoir highlighted the archeological and cultural benefit of exhuming the cadavers, which revealed details about historical embalming practices, costume, and articles of daily use. Most important, the exhumations revealed the bodies of the kings. Lenoir introduced physiognomy as the conceptual framework of the museum with a discussion of the well-preserved body of Henri IV. The "imposing mass of monuments" in the next sentence described the funerary monuments and artwork held by the Petits-Augustins Dépôt as well as the exhumed cadavers of Saint-Denis. Lenoir's introduction of physiognomy linked his developing aesthetic theory of character based in temporal specificity with the corporeal legibility of the exhumed monarchs.

Physiognomy was used periodically in eighteenth-century architectural theory to describe the external, often individuated "face" of a building, or to relate character to broader typological or cultural significance. Lenoir does not explicitly state a source for his architectural adaptation of the term. Lavater only briefly described architectural physiognomies, noting that every country, province, and town has a distinct physiognomy and a character "conformable to this physiognomy."¹⁷⁹ Jacques-François Blondel directly compared the reading of the facade of a building to the physiognomy of a human face in the *Encyclopédie* (1751-1772): "One could say the facade of a building is to the edifice what physiognomy is to the human body, one reveals the qualities of the soul, the other determines the interior of a building."¹⁸⁰ In *Théorie des jardins*

¹⁷⁹ Johann Kaspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy; for the Promotion of the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind*, 3 vols, trans. Thomas Holcroft (London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1789), vol. 3, part 1, 124.

¹⁸⁰ Jacques-François Blondel, "Façade" in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers*, vol. 6, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (Paris: Briassan, 1751), 35. « L'on que peut dire que la façade d'un bâtiment est à l'édifice, ce que la physionomie est au corps humain: celle-ci prévient en faveur des qualités de l'âme; l'autre détermine à bien juger de l'intérieur d'un bâtiment. » Jacques-François Blondel (1705-1774) was an architect and professor of architecture at the Académie Royale d'Architecture. Jacques-François Blondel's *Cours d'architecture ou traité de la décoration, distribution et constructions des bâtiments*, 9 vols. (Paris:

(1776), Jean-Marie Morel, like Lavater, referred to the differences in "forms of buildings, the genre, the character, give to each neighborhood, to each street, its particular physiognomy."¹⁸¹ Quatremère de Quincy specifically used the term "physiognomy" to refer specifically to the national or temporal character of architecture.¹⁸²

When Lenoir adopted a model of origin, growth, and decline inspired by the work of Winckelmann, he could not rely, as Winckelmann had, solely on formal artistic characteristics to fuse stylistic patterns and history. Lenoir's medieval models did not fit neatly into Winckelmann's system for antiquities, and he did not have the resources or the audience to construct a purely formalized history of medieval art. However, Quatremère de Quincy's understanding of character as the direct product of a society could be expanded to describe every aspect of material culture. Following Quatremère de Quincy, Lenoir used character to define the nature of cultural work performed by a particular society at a specific moment in time. Lenoir reiterated that every society was imprinted with a distinctive temporal character, or physiognomy, that permeated all of its material culture. "The Egyptians, the Chinese, the Persians, and also the Greeks, have *imprinted* their architecture with the invention of a particular character, which distinguished it in a manner, *well-marked*, from other peoples of the earth."¹⁸³ Moreover, Lenoir, like Quatremère de Quincy,

1771-1777) replaced Jacques Blondel's *Cours d'architecture* (1675-1683) as the central teaching text on French architecture at the academy. For more information, see Robin Middleton, "Jacques François Blondel and the Cours d'Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 18, no. 4 (December 1959): 140-148 and Kevin Harrington, *Changing ideas on architecture in the Encyclopédie 1750-1779*. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1990).

¹⁸¹ Jean-Marie Morel, *Théorie des jardins ou l'art des jardins de la nature*, vol. 2, (Paris: Pissot, 1776, Panckoucke, 1802), 3. Jean-Marie Morel (1728-1810) was trained as an architect and produced an essential treatise on natural garden design. Morel and Lenoir were acquainted and worked together briefly at the Château de Malmaison.

¹⁸² On physiognomy, see Quatremère de Quincy's entry on *caractère* in Quatremère de Quincy, *Dictionnaire d'architecture*, vol. 1, 477-521.

¹⁸³ Alexandre Lenoir, "Notice sur l'origine de l'architecture appelée improprement gothique," *Mémoires de l'Académie celtique* 3 (1809): 341. « Les Egyptiens, les Chinois, les Perses et même les Grecs, ont imprimé à leur architecture par l'invention un caractère particulier, qui la distingue d'une manière bien marquée, de celle des autres peuples de la terre. » Emphasis added by author. See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

understood his museum as a book composed of monuments that could be read as a language. Using a distillation of Quatremère de Quincy's definition of character, Lenoir could embed many forms of cultural production into Winckelmann's model of structural patterns of history.

Quatremère de Quincy was invested in the development of architectural language as it related to origins, environment, and context. Lenoir, however, was ultimately committed to a historical sequence. Quatremère de Quincy's understanding of character was rooted in place, and every one of Lenoir's artifacts had been uprooted and moved at least once. Lenoir shifted his understanding of character to political context, studying the physiognomies of both architecture and the legible body. Like buildings imprinted by the particular character of their eras, bodies were also legible forms that held a record of a historical person's physiognomy, and therefore their moral character. Reading the physiognomies of historical figures, particularly that of kings, Lenoir believed he could uncover the presence or lack of cultural freedom and artistic innovation in a specific era. With this knowledge, he could navigate the meanings of cultural artifacts in a period of political and social change.

In the sixth edition of the guidebook, published in 1802, Lenoir went even further, and provided physiognomic interpretations of his historical subjects from their monuments. The 1802 edition also included Lenoir's description of the exhumations of the tombs of Saint-Denis with a dissertation on historical funerary practices.¹⁸⁴

The tomb of Clovis, placed beside the ruins of an ancient temple, we can see the king lying down: one can still read on his forehead his audacity and his intrigues...On the tomb of Frédégonde, the list of her crimes appears engraved in indelible characters, time has not worn them, and her veiled face is an art of statuary. Tender Héloïse, one recovers her entire soul in her bust. The coldness of Abélard chills the spectator...One sees in the darkness, the criminal Birague on his knees, he seems to ask for forgiveness from the Lord for the plots he hatched with Gondi. The miserable courtesans led Charles IX into the abyss. The eyes of Charles are still livid, and his forehead seems to transpire with the blood he shed. Pilon,

¹⁸⁴ Lenoir added an essay on funerary practices over time in the 1803 and 1806 editions.

your sensible soul, must have suffered to model this head. (Catherine de) Medici, richly dressed, augments the number of this cortege of assassins; the smile of seduction that colors her lips, disguises the criminal traits of her soul.¹⁸⁵

In the second volume of the illustrated catalog, published in 1803, Lenoir published a chronological history of the French monarchy that was accompanied by a chronological collection of portraits of each monarch in profile.¹⁸⁶ (Figure 2.5) Following the model of Lavaterian physiognomy, each monarch, beginning with Clovis and ending with Napoleon, was depicted in profile within a circular frame, arranged six to a page. The profiles were accompanied by a series of articles that described to the personal character and major events in the life of each monarch. The chronology ended with the execution of Louis XVI and the rise of Napoleon. In the following section, Lenoir published his detailed notes on the exhumations of Saint-Denis. He provided detailed commentary on the state of decomposition of each of the French monarchs, making distinctions between the skeletal remains of the oldest monarchs, the putrefied liquefaction of badly conserved corpses, the relative preservation of chemically-altered Renaissance cadavers, and foul-smelling Bourbon bodies.¹⁸⁷ Lenoir's royal history was unique. Together, Lenoir offered his reader a written account, a visual history, and a pseudo-scientific autopsy of each monarch, which could be used to form judgments on moral character from physiognomic form and bodily decay.

¹⁸⁵ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 6th ed. (Year X, 1802), 9-10. « La tombe de Clovis, placée à côté de ces monumens, débris d'un ancien temple, nous fait voir ce roi couché : on lit encoure sur son front l'audace et l'intrigue; il change de religion pour se faire un parti. Sur la tombe de Frédégonde, la liste de ses crimes paraît burinée ne caractères ineffaçables; le tems ne les a point usés, et son visage voilé est un art du statuaire. La philosophe et tendre Héloïse, dont on retrouve l'âme toute entière dans son buste, sourit et soupire encore pour son amant. La froideur d'Abélard glace le spectateur... On voit dans l'ombre, le criminel Birague à genoux; il semble demander pardon à l'Eternel, des complots qu'il trama avec Gondî. Ces courtisans méprisables conduisirent Charles IX dans l'abîme. Les yeux de Charles sont encore livides, et son front paraît ressuer le sang qu'il a versé. Pilon, ton âme sensible a dû souffrir en modelant cette tête. Médici, richement vêtue, augmente nombre de ce cortège d'assassins; le sourire de la séduction qui colore ses lèvres, déguise les traits criminels de son âme. »

¹⁸⁶ Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français*, vol. 2, i-xcviii.

¹⁸⁷ Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français*, vol. 2, xcix-cxxiv.

2.8 DIDACTIC PHYSIOGNOMY AND THE SCULPTURAL ENSEMBLE

Lenoir's primary pedagogical tool was the sculptural and architectural ensemble. Not unlike d'Angiviller's *grands hommes*, Lenoir analyzed the physiognomy, gesture, and historical costume of commemorative sculpture. He augmented figural monuments with sculptural and architectural decoration to create a historical portrait. These combinations were based on varying degrees of connectivity between the represented historic figure and cultural artifacts. Some ensembles joined the funerary monument of a patron with other commissioned work, others reunited the commemorative monuments of a family group or couple, and many assemblages were simply compilations of a tomb monument with co-temporal sculptural and architectural fragments. As an example, Lenoir created an architectural frame for the *gisants* and sarcophagus of Anne de Montmorency and his wife, Madeline de Savoye, using black marble columns and an entablature from Anne de Montmorency's château in Écouen.¹⁸⁸ (Figure 2.6). Lenoir decorated the sarcophagus and its frame with religious bas-reliefs. Above the entablature, he placed included a small statue representing the Muse of History alongside the sword and armor of Anne de Montmorency.

Lenoir had to negotiate between an understanding of architectural language or character as something that was innate and fixed, and the political reality that the entire collection of the Musée des monuments français had undergone a seismic shift in meaning. The human form was a unique cipher. The body transcended the distinctions made in the various *Instructions* published by the Comité d'Administration between an artwork and a historic artifact and revealed the

¹⁸⁸ The Château d'Écouen was built for Anne de Montmorency by the architect Jean Bullant between 1538 and 1550. For more information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Anne de Montmorency and Madeline de Savoye*, 2.20.

interconnectivity between the individual accomplishment, culture, and history. Lenoir integrated the sculptural ensembles into an unfolding sequence of pedagogical spatial environments that explored the complex relationship between the individual and society. He created an environment in which meanings were discursive and negotiable rather than absolute. The four major spaces of the museum - the Introduction Hall, the century rooms, the proposed exterior courtyards, and the garden - each positioned the artifacts in a new contextual relationship between objecthood and history. Thus, for Lenoir, the Musée des monuments français itself did not negate the *ancien régime* and the former meanings of its artifacts. Instead, it challenged the concept of fixity by complicating, deepening, and revealing new dimensions. The human form provided a constant datum. Within an increasingly complex system, individual character could always be read on the physiognomies of the myriad of historical figures that populated the museum, revealing the failures of history as well as the gradual emergence of the enlightened individual.

The Introduction Hall, completed after 1800, presented the origins and breadth of French art, and introduced the sculptural ensemble as a method of historic portraiture. A great central axis composed of some of the finest pieces of the collection dominated the Introduction Hall. Along the walls of the Introduction hall, Lenoir lined nineteen unique sculptural ensembles, each dedicated to a person or family from French history. In the century rooms, individual sculptural ensembles were integrated into a temporalized portrait of each era. Lenoir began the Thirteenth-Century Room and the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1796, followed by the Sixteenth-Century Room in 1797, the Fifteenth-Century Room in 1798, and the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1799.¹⁸⁹ Lenoir's galleries did not recreate a specific place or a historical scene. Instead, he sought an accurate impression, sensation, or imprint of the mentality of each century using the body of the

¹⁸⁹ McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, 180-184.

king as the centerpiece. The century rooms traced the history of France from the dark, mysterious thirteenth century and the evocative fourteenth century to the enlightened sixteenth century and the corrupt seventeenth century. On the exterior, Lenoir designed a reverse chronological sequence of three courtyards, which were only partially completed, using large architectural fragments from the Château d'Anet and the Château de Gaillon. The courtyards led the visitor from the Introduction Hall to the Élysée back in time through the sixteenth, fifteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The legible body was largely absent from the courtyards. In the Élysée, Lenoir interred the remains of great figures from French history. Here, the legible body represented in tomb effigies that dominated the interior spaces was eclipsed by actual, yet invisible bodies buried in the garden.

The spatial sequences of the museum offered the visitor a pedagogical civic lesson that demonstrated the struggle between historical determination and individual will. Lenoir praised the individual accomplishments of historical figures whose accomplishments transcended the political-historical system, and periodically addressed artists directly: “you, Goujon and Cousin, worthy founders of the French school, you have also expanded the arts.”¹⁹⁰ The artistic achievements of the earliest century rooms were dominated by political policies of their rulers, yet the Élysée emphasized the universal influence of individual genius and civic virtue. The layered complexity of the museum rescued a past “at the edge of the abyss” by using artifacts arranged in a sequence of spaces that represented different temporal relationships.¹⁹¹ This temporal

¹⁹⁰ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 7th ed. (Year XI, 1803), 9. « Vous, Goujon et Cousin, dignes fondateurs de l'école française, vous avez aussi agrandi les arts, et l'érection de vos tombeaux est une dette j'ai voulu payer en faveur des siècles à venir. »

¹⁹¹ Joseph Lavallée in Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 8-9. « Il semble que sa main puissante soutient les siècles sur les bords de l'abîme, les range chacun à leur place, et leur défend de s'anéantir, pour montrer leurs arts, leurs grands hommes, leurs tyrans, et souvent leur ignorance. »

malleability gave the visitor the agency to negotiate the subjectivity of meanings within the historical system.

Lenoir did not make analogies between human form and artistic production. Instead, the legible body and temporalized architectural character both revealed knowledge about the function of history. Facial physiognomies carved into stone fragments exposed the moral character of a particular historical figure. The physiognomies of kings helped Lenoir confirm the presence or lack of cultural freedom, and therefore artistic innovation and invention, in any given era. Further observations about a statue's historical dress, its ornamentation, and its relationship to co-temporal objects grounded the historical person represented within the particular ethos of the period. Lenoir encouraged the viewer to speculate on how individual moral character shaped historical progress. No longer passive mannequins or models, the monuments were both physiognomic data and examples of the finest art of their respective eras. The tombs, busts, and sculptures assumed a degree of personhood that brought to "life" the encoded historical figures. When experienced collectively, Lenoir's ensembles spoke to the spectator's senses and disseminating historical knowledge through immersive sensation. A visit to the Musée des monuments français, recounted by Sébastien Mercier in 1797, was a vivid, palpable, and sensory voyage of self-discovery shaped by the immediate and unmediated physiognomic legibility of formerly inaccessible historical bodies and monuments:

I walked on tombs, I strode over mausoleums. Every rank and costume lay beneath my feet; I spared the faces and bosoms of queens. Lowered from their pedestals, the grandest persons were brought down to my level; I could touch their brows, their mouths, whisper in the ear of Richelieu and interrogate Turenne and Malebranche. There, all the centuries yielded to me before my eyes.¹⁹²

¹⁹² Louis-Sébastien Mercier, "Sur le dépôt des Petits-Augustins, dit le musée des Monuments français," *Journal d'économie publique, de morale, de politique*, 5 (1797): 325-329. « Je marchois sur le tombeaux, j'enjambois les mausolées. Tous les rangs, tous les costumes, toutes les couronnes étoient sous mes pieds; j'épargnois le visage et le sein des reines; les plus fameux personnages descendus de leur piédestal étoient redevenus à mon niveau; je pouvous

The Musée des monuments français navigated the double role of the cultural artifact as an authentic temporal imprint and an intentional artistic production, valorizing the historic monument as a direct and uncompromised witness to the past while also demonstrating chronological development over time. Any remaining distinction between the historic object and the artistic network was fully integrated into the temporal system: the monuments in the century rooms were doubly historic records and autonomous ahistorical subjects creating that history, simultaneously fragmentary and finite, both the imprint and the apparatus of historical knowledge. Lenoir's system of architectural classification negotiated the two poles of the Revolutionary body: the need to reveal and expose supposed truths permanently inscribed on the corporeal exterior and the desire to invent the assertive, self-determined citizen.

toucher leur front, leur bouche, parler à l'oreille de Richelieu, et interroger Turenne et Mallebranche. Là, tous les siècles sous mes regards se donnoient la main. » See Appendix C, Firsthand Accounts of the Musée des monuments français.

3.0 ART AND ITS ORIGINS: THE INTRODUCTION HALL AND THE DEEP HISTORY OF FRANCE

On June 9, 1804, Lenoir addressed the members of the Académie Celtique in the Introduction Hall of the Musée des monuments français. Members included writers, historians, and scholars specifically interested in the development of the study of the Gallo-Roman antiquity in France. Lenoir discussed several monuments at the entrance of the Introduction Hall, including the blocks from the *Pillar of the Boatmen* (*pilier des Nautes*), a first-century Gallo-Roman monument discovered under the crypt of the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris in 1711, *Nehalennia*, a second-century stone figurine discovered in Austria in 1647, and an unnamed king of France, represented by a medieval *gisant*. Lenoir asserted the importance of the collection of the Musée des monuments français for the history of France and emphasized the role of the museum as an ongoing research tool for the construction of that history:

Gentleman, by uniting you in this environment, I have the advantage to place you among the monuments that are, for a large part, the object of your research...There are the Druidic altars erected under Tiberius, where the Parisians burnt incense in honor of their gods. Here is a statue of Isis, known to the Germans as a young virgin named Nehalennia, further up are images of the kings of France...It is thus, gentleman, that gathered in this museum, your true nation, you are surrounded by monuments of ancient Gaul, the Middle Ages, and modern France.¹⁹³

¹⁹³ Alexandre Lenoir, quoted by Éloi Jahanneau, "Discours d'ouverture sur l'établissement de l'Académie Celtique, les objets de ses recherches et le plan," *Mémoire de l'Académie Celtique, ou recherches sur les antiquités celtiques, gauloises et françaises* 1 (1807), 33-25. « Messieurs, a-t-il dit, en vous réunissant dans cette envient, j'ai l'avantage de vous placer au milieu des monumens dont une grande partie fait l'objet de vos recherches. Consacrant vos plus doux loisirs à les étudier, vous prenez dans ce Muséum l'attitude qui vous convient; et l'Académie elle-même, en s'en rapprochant, n'en deviendra que plus auguste. Là, sont les autels druidiques érigés sous Tibère, sur lequel les Parisiens faussaient fumer l'encens en l'honneur de leurs dieux. Ici est la statue d'Isis, considérée par les Germaines comme une jeune vierge, sous le nom de Néhalennia; plus loin s'élèvent les images des premiers rois de France...C'est ainsi, Messieurs, que rassemblés dans ce Muséum, votre véritable patrie, vous vous trouvez entourés des monuments de l'antique Gaule, de ceux du moyen âge, et de la France moderne. » The room of this meeting is recorded as the "Hall of Louis XIV," but fits the description of the Introduction Hall. See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

In this small collection of ancient objects, Lenoir found a platform to use the Musée des monuments français - and the Introduction Hall in particular - as a laboratory for studying the origins of French art. Lenoir's speech revealed three critical ideas about his theories on the origins of art. First, Lenoir attested that French art began in Gallo-Roman antiquity, thus establishing an origin separate from classical antiquity. Second, by seeking the origins of French art in Gallo-Roman antiquity, Lenoir firmly established an understanding of France that included yet predated the monarchy. Finally, Lenoir obliquely referenced the Egyptian goddess Isis as a source for French art, linking the national chronology to a much broader set of sources.

The Introduction Hall, located in the church of the former convent, offered a “coup d’œil” of French art from “infancy under the Goths, to progress under Louis XII, perfection under François I, the origins of decadence under Louis XIV, and restoration at the end of our century.”¹⁹⁴ Here, Lenoir presented a hieroglyphic overview of French art that trained the visitor to read his distinctive history of French art. The sculptural ensemble was Lenoir’s primary pedagogical tool. Lenoir combined monuments, sculptures, and cultural objects from disparate sources into sculptural ensembles. He integrated the academic theory of artistic development of Johann Joachim Winckelmann and Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy into a notion of universal history based on the mysticism of Charles-François Dupuis. History in the Introduction Hall was not bound by chronology as it was in the century rooms. The Introduction Hall could be experienced in careful contemplation or at once in a single glance because its lessons about origins,

¹⁹⁴ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 5th ed. (Year VIII, 1800), 9. « Une salle d’introduction m’a paru indispensable pour servir d’ouverture à mon Musée : cette pièce contiendra des monumens de tous les siècles, chronologiquement placés ; l’artiste et l’amateur verront d’un coup-d’œil l’enfance de l’art chez les Goths, ses progrès sous Louis XII, et sa perfection sous François Ier, l’origine de sa décadence sous Louis XIV, et sa restauration vers la fin de notre siècle. » See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

highest achievements, and individual accomplishments were universal and essential to all French art.

The French Revolution, including Lenoir's contributions, has been historicized with unique force in Western for the past forty years thought as a fundamental rupture in the continuity of the fabric of time. This rupture is generally represented as the end of an ancient tradition of social and temporal thought and the opening of Western modernity. "A new relationship with time was the most significant change, and perhaps the defining development of the French Revolution," argues Lynn Hunt.¹⁹⁵ According to Hunt, the Revolution ushered in a "new kind of voluntarism," one based on the notion that "human will could consciously shape the future and thereby accelerate the effects of time."¹⁹⁶ Likewise, for Reinhart Koselleck, the eighteenth century witnessed an acceleration of time that revealed itself in the awareness of a distinct past, present, and future. The Revolution breached the traditional, cyclical forms of Christian prophecy. In the aftermath of this rupture, the present became consumed by a "rush to the future."¹⁹⁷ Pierre Nora also explored the concept of accelerated time in his work on history, memory, and *lieux de mémoire*.¹⁹⁸ In these studies, the late eighteenth century is framed as the period that initiated the fundamental restructuring of Western perception of time. The dominant theoretical emphasis on "historical rupture" and "temporal acceleration" has isolated late eighteenth century, and the French Revolution in particular, as historically unique regarding the understandings and manifestations of time during that period. Time in these analyses is always shaped like a vector, with a definite beginning and a progressive velocity that drives it into the ever-expanding present. However, this

¹⁹⁵ Lynn Hunt, *Measuring Time, Making History* (Budapest: European Central Press, 2008), 68.

¹⁹⁶ Hunt, *Measuring Time, Making History*, 70.

¹⁹⁷ Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. Keith Tribe (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985), 11.

¹⁹⁸ See the first chapter for a detailed discussion of Pierre Nora.

interpretation is limited because it does not allow for competing versions of modernity to emerge, particularly those beyond the context of Western historical thought.

In contemporary scholarship, the Musée des monuments français and Lenoir's work have become indistinguishable from the development of a modern concept of heritage in France.¹⁹⁹ The cult of heritage that surrounds the Musée des monuments français depends on two assumptions: that the Musée des monuments français was the site of total rupture with the past and the origin of a progressive vector of historical identity that extended into the nineteenth century. Lenoir was actively working to legitimate the radical re-temporalization of the French Revolution. However, Lenoir did not understand time as a vector, and the Musée des monuments français never matured into a modern public institution. Moreover, Lenoir had no concept of the evolutionary systems that would dominate later histories of the nineteenth century. Lenoir's contributions simultaneously complement and contradict twentieth-century theories of temporal acceleration and historical rupture. Lenoir participated in a fertile moment of experimentation with time and history by seeking to rectify and embed the disturbances of the recent past into much deeper associations with ancient, universal, and primitive origins.

3.1 THE REPUBLICAN CALENDAR AND THE EMERGENCE OF DEEP TIME

Like the vast reorganization of national property that prompted the creation of the Musée des monuments français, the Republican Calendar repositioned France in secular history and mythical time. Developed in 1793 and used until 1805, the Republican calendar instituted a ten-day week

¹⁹⁹ See the first chapter for a detailed discussion of the contemporary scholarship on the Musée des monuments français.

within a thirty-day, twelve-month yearly cycle. The months were named for agricultural and natural themes. The hours of the day were briefly decimalized as well.²⁰⁰ The Republican Calendar erased all Catholic feast days and Christian symbolism. Instead, its creators aimed to restore the true "natural" source of time: "new time in this sense was associated not with endless historical differentiation but with a return to a unitary, trans-historical measure."²⁰¹ Moreover, the emphasis on "uniform transparent time" directly related to self-governance. Rousseauian freedom in eighteenth-century thought took the "form of a reinsertion of human history into a cyclical, and cosmological, time of nature."²⁰²

The Republican Calendar exposed the central contradiction of the French Revolution's relationship with historical determinism. By marking the founding of the First Republic on September 22, 1792, as its origin, the Republican Calendar paradoxically loaded a yet-to-be-complete historical event - the unfinished revolution - as the only possible future for the Republic.²⁰³ At the same time, the Republican calendar was based on the notion that the Christian calendar had been a temporary aberration. By stripping away its excesses, the new calendar revealed man's original freedom in natural time. The Republican Calendar contributed to the conception of the French Revolution as a significant but problematic locus of historical rupture and accelerated time reinforced by many historians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.²⁰⁴

Lenoir's organization of the Musée des monuments français, in particular, the Introduction

²⁰⁰ For recent scholarship on the Republican calendar, see Sanja Perovic, "The French Republican Calendar: Time, History, and the Revolutionary Event," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 35, no. 1 (2012): 1-20; Matthew Shaw, *Time and the French Revolution: The Republican Calendar, 1789-Year XIV* (London: Royal Historical Society, 2011); and Richard Taws, *The Politics of the Provisional: Art and Ephemera in Revolutionary France* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

²⁰¹ Perovic, "The French Republican Calendar," 5.

²⁰² Perovic, "The French Republican Calendar," 22.

²⁰³ Perovic, "The French Republican Calendar," 11-12.

²⁰⁴ For a detailed discussion of the role of the French Revolution in modern historiography, see the Introduction.

Hall, followed a similar conceptual ideology as the developers of the Republican Calendar. Lenoir could not escape the Republican calendar's necessary rupture with the historical time of the *ancien régime*, but he could modify it. For Lenoir, the great historical rupture of the French Revolution was not the formation of the First Republic. Lenoir was politically dexterous and avoided inflexible allegiances whenever possible. He was, as he repeatedly claimed, only concerned with the arts. Therefore, Lenoir's rupture was not a political event but an archaeological one. Lenoir framed the exhumations of Saint-Denis as the moment that revealed hidden knowledge and historical truths that had been carefully concealed during the *ancien régime*. Lenoir repeated this point in his catalogs, guidebooks, and social appearances.²⁰⁵ His emphasis was taken seriously, and nearly every published visitor account recorded some reference to the exhumations of Saint-Denis. In some cases, spectators even remarked on the physiognomic legibility of the subjects:

In Octob. 1793, by command of the government, the bodies of kings and princes and other famous persons, were exhumed.²⁰⁶ (Johann Georg August Galletti, 1808)

The hazardous enterprise of rescuing these sublime efforts of sculpture from the hands of revolutionary fury was undertaken by M. Lenoir...at the peril of his life.²⁰⁷ (Thomas Raffles, 1817)

On opening the coffin of Henri IV, the body was so well preserved that the features, even the character of his countenance were strongly marked.²⁰⁸ (James Forbes, 1803)

²⁰⁵ Joseph Farrington, *The Farrington Diary*, ed. James Grieg, vol. 2 (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1923), 21. John Farrington recorded an account of a social gathering in September 1802 attended by Ennio Quirino Visconti, Charles Percier, Alexander Lenoir, and Adélaïde Binart. Lenoir seized the opportunity to entertain the party with his tales of the exhumations of Saint-Denis. Lenoir insisted that the bodies of Henri IV and Turenne were so well preserved that “a child who had seen prints might have known them.” See Appendix C, Firsthand Accounts of the Musée des monuments français.

²⁰⁶ Johann Georg Auguste Galletti, *Reise Nach Paris im Sommer 1808* (Gotha: Ettingersche Buchhandlung, 1809), 169-170. “Im Octob. 1793 wurden, einem Befehle des Wohlfahrtsausschusses zufolge, die Leichen der Könige, und andrer fürstlichen und berühmten Personen, ausgegraben.” See Appendix C, Firsthand Accounts of the Musée des monuments français.

²⁰⁷ Thomas Raffles, *Letters During a Tour Through Some Parts of France, Savoy, Switzerland, Germany, and The Netherlands, in the Summer of 1817*, 3rd ed. (Liverpool: Thomas Taylor, 1820), 100-101. See Appendix C, Firsthand Accounts of the Musée des monuments français.

²⁰⁸ James Forbes, *Letters from France Written in the Years 1803 & 1804, including a Particular Account of Verdun, and the Situation of the British Captives in that City*, vol. 1 (London: J. White, 1806), 408. See Appendix C, Firsthand Accounts of the Musée des monuments français.

The Republican Calendar did not survive Revolution and was formally discontinued in 1805. However, the desire to recover the natural and pre-royal origins of France was ingrained in Lenoir's thinking and remained a dominate aspect of the Musée des monuments français. The Republican calendar had stripped away the Christian calendar and revealed "natural" time. The exhumations of the royal tombs neutralized the sacred immortality that structured history during the *ancien régime* and opened the door for a deeper history of France. The bodies of the monarchs became legible, tangible artifacts that revealed historical truths hidden under the *ancien régime*. Lenoir was ideally positioned to uncover the deep history of France because he had carefully analyzed the bodies with his own hands and studied the physiognomies of the former monarchs.

In 1806, Lenoir published a short pamphlet titled *Recueil d'observations sur le Déluge*, in which he affirmed that the Great Flood had not occurred as described in the Bible.²⁰⁹ In doing so, Lenoir legitimated his work by aligning it with recent geological and zoological discoveries that opened the deep past of the Earth and destabilized the authority of biblical history. Georges Cuvier proclaimed that naturalists and anatomists like himself were "a new species of antiquarian," uncovering and revealing the depths of the past from bones excavated from deep within the earth, much like Lenoir's royal exhumations.²¹⁰ In his first lecture to the Institut national in 1796, Cuvier determined that a fossilized mammoth discovered in Ohio was a species of elephant "of which one no longer finds a living trace."²¹¹ Thus, Cuvier established that extinction had occurred. To defend

²⁰⁹ Alexandre Lenoir, *Recueil d'observations sur le Déluge* (Paris: 1806). See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

²¹⁰ Georges Cuvier, "Discours Préliminaire, Recherches sur les ossemens fossiles de quadrupèdes" (1812) in Martin J. Rudwick, *Georges Cuvier, Fossil Bones, and Geological Catastrophes: New Translations and Interpretations of the Primary Texts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 183.

²¹¹ Georges Cuvier, "Espèces des éléphants" (First presented in 1796) in Rudwick, *Georges Cuvier, Fossil Bones, and Geological Catastrophes*, 22. Georges Cuvier (1769-1832) was a naturalist and zoologist, an instrumental founder of the fields of comparative anatomy and paleontology, and a professor at the Muséum d'histoire naturelle in Paris. Studying elephant bones, Cuvier established that extinction had occurred. Cuvier thought that all animals

his theory of extinction, Cuvier studied all known records of ancient geological events. In doing so, he desacralized the geological history of the Old Testament, notably the Flood. Cuvier treated the Bible as any other historical source in which "self-interested fictions that mask...truth" had to be separated from fact.²¹² The Republic Calendar provided the fundamental theoretical legitimacy that severed the monuments from the temporal hierarchies of the *ancien régime*. The scientific discoveries of the naturalists and zoologists and the archeological exhumations of Saint-Denis displaced the authority of biblical and royal history to uncover deeper understandings of geological time. It was in the context of these ideas that Lenoir organized the Introduction Hall to reveal the true history of France.

3.2 NEGOTIATING ROYAL REPRESENTATION IN THE INTRODUCTION HALL

The visitor entered the Introduction Hall and the museum under a façade transported from Château d'Anet by Lenoir and Charles Percier in 1802. The imposing three-story façade had been part of the château commissioned by Henri II for his mistress, Diane de Poitiers, and built by the architect Philibert de l'Orme between in 1547 and 1552. Lenoir considered the Château d'Anet a masterwork of the French Renaissance. The first monument greeting the visitor was the sculptural ensemble for Diane de Poitiers created by Lenoir and Pierre-Nicolas Beauvallet in 1798.²¹³ (Figure

came from four principal forms and four general plans which were distinct and irreducible. He opposed early theories of evolution. On Cuvier, see Dorinda Outram, *Georges Cuvier: Vocation, Science and Authority Post-Revolutionary France* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); Rudwick, Georges Cuvier, *Fossil Bones, and Geological Catastrophes*; and E.C. Spary, *Utopia's Garden*.

²¹² Cuvier, "Discours Préliminaire," 257. Cuvier concluded that the earth had been upset by "successive revolutions and various catastrophes" over vast distances of time, and as a result, the positions of the continents and the oceans shifted and caused distinct animal species to emerge and die out.²¹²

²¹³ For more information on these monuments, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Diane de Poitiers*, 2.26 and the facade of Château d'Anet, 1.1. Sculptors who worked at the Musée des monuments français

3.1) The monument to Diane de Poitiers was the first of the central axis of the Introduction Hall dominated by masterpieces of French art. On the south wall directly opposite the monument for Diane de Poitiers, Lenoir installed Étienne-Pierre-Adrien Gois' eighteenth-century plaster bas-relief, *The Miracles of Saint-Philippe*, above the museum entrance.²¹⁴ Near the entrance of the museum, a collection of Gallo-Roman antiquities and early Gothic monuments, the earliest pieces of the collection, represented the origins of French art. Along the long east and west walls of the gallery, nineteen sculptural ensembles, each dedicated to a prominent individual or family from French history, introduced complex historical portraits that integrated personal achievement, physiognomy, historical context, artistic quality, and artist-patron relationships in the tradition of d'Angiviller's *grands hommes*.²¹⁵ Representations of the best examples of royal patronage were also integral to Lenoir's historical program. In the Chapelle des Louanges, the small chapel located off the east wall, Lenoir reconstructed the monumental double-level tomb of François I and Claude de France from Saint-Denis by Philibert de l'Orme, Pierre Bontemps, and François Marchand.²¹⁶

By placing the monument to Diane de Poitiers and the Château d'Anet at the entrance of the museum, Lenoir prioritized the association of enlightened patronage with artistic freedom and

included Claude Michallon (1752-1799) who collaborated with Lenoir from 1797 until his death in 1799, Pierre-Nicolas Beauvallet (1750-1818), who restored monuments at the museum from 1798 to 1805, Jean-Joseph Foucou (1739-1821), who worked with Lenoir from 1796 to 1807, and Louis-Pierre Deseine (1749-1822) who contributed work from 1796 until about 1801. Beauvallet and Deseine were instrumental in the creation and restoration of many sculptural ensembles. Additionally, Lenoir commissioned numerous busts from his sculptors to "complete" the collection of the museum. Beauvallet restored the tomb of Diane de Poitiers for the Introduction hall and Fontaine de Diane for the Élysée. Beauvallet and Deseine both worked on the tomb of Abélard and Héloïse. Deseine later became one of Lenoir's most outspoken critics.

²¹⁴ For more information on these monuments, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *The Miracles of Saint-Philippe*, 2.5. Étienne-Pierre-Adrien Gois (French 1731-1810) was a professor at the Académie de peinture et sculpture. He also contributed a portrait of Michel de l'Hôpital to d'Angiviller's *grands hommes* project for the Louvre. During the early Revolution, Gois was a royalist but also supported the educational potential of public art and festivals. Étienne-Pierre-Adrien Gois, *A nosseigneurs les représentants de la Nation* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1790).

²¹⁵ For more information on d'Angiviller's project for the Louvre, see the previous chapter.

²¹⁶ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *François I and Claude de France*, 2.13.

accomplishment. As a patron of the arts, the mistress of Henri II, and a member of the court of François I – yet not royalty – Diane de Poitiers provided Lenoir with the ideal conduit to introduce the French Renaissance as the highest achievement of French art. The sixteenth-century white marble *priant* of Diane de Poitiers and its black marble of sarcophagus by Matthieu Jacquet and Luc Jacquet was carried by four sphinx heads. The ensemble was raised on a high pedestal decorated with four carved female figures carrying torches and four painted enamel copper plates, including a portrait of François I by Léonard Limosin. The culminating achievements of architecture, sculptural, decorative art, and portraiture during the Renaissance was consolidated into the figure of Diane de Poitiers at the entrance of the Musée des monuments français, not a direct representation of a king. Lenoir's placement of Gois' eighteenth-century plaster bas-relief for the Église Saint-Phillip-de-Roule directly opposite the monument for Diane de Poitiers encouraged the comparison of the contemporary sculpture of a living artist with the potential of the highest cultural achievements of France.

Behind the *priant* of Diane de Poitiers, an axis of monuments led the visitor deeper into the museum. (Figure 3.2) The central axis was primarily commanded by free-standing pieces chosen for their exceptional artistic quality. In comparison to the portrait ensembles that lined the walls, many of the monuments in the axis were retained in their original configurations and were not integrated into sculptural groupings, with the exception of Diane de Poitiers. Lenoir aligned the *monuments du coeur* for Anne de Montmorency and Henri III, followed by the Germain Pilon's *monument du coeur* for Henri II carried by the Three Graces, a large marble fountain initially thought to be from the Château de Gaillon, and the seventeenth-century black marble pyramidal *monument du coeur* for members of the Longueville family. At the northern end of the axis, Lenoir

placed François Girardon's seventeenth-century tomb for Cardinal Richelieu bracketed by two monumental columns.²¹⁷

Along the walls of the Introduction Hall, Lenoir introduced two didactic axes of sculptural ensembles. In contrast the central axis, which represented the best of French art, the two secondary axes displayed complex historical portraits of individual figures. Lenoir integrated architectural objects, wooden and stone carvings, paintings, enamels, stained glass, and armor and weaponry into a unified artistic expression. Of the nineteen ensembles, only five were dedicated to royals. The majority of the ensembles were composed using the funerary monuments of high ranking nobles, state officials, and military leaders who influenced French culture and politics. These portraits revealed their historical subjects through a close reading of the physiognomy, historical dress, personal accouterments, patronage, artistic quality, and - if no material with a direct connection to the historical person was available - the co-temporality of the sculptural ensemble. A biographical account of the person represented accompanied a description of each ensemble in Lenoir's guidebooks.

On the east wall, Lenoir installed ensembles constructed from the funerary monuments of Pierre d'Orgemont, Louis Poncher and Robine Le Gendre, Philippe Villiers de Isle-Adam, the Neufville de Villeroy family, Cardinal René Birague and Valentine Balbiani, Louis XI, Cardinal François de la Rochefoucauld, and finally a sculpture of Louis XIV as a child with his parents.²¹⁸ The *priant* of Pierre d'Orgemont was supported by two winged figures on columns and capped

²¹⁷ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *monument du coeur* for Anne de Montmorency, 2.27; *monument du coeur* for Henri III, 2.28; *monument du coeur* for Henri II (The Three Graces), 2.29; *Fountain of Gaillon*, 2.30; *Longueville Pyramid*, 2.31; *Cardinal Richelieu*, 2.33; *Monumental Column for Philippe Desportes*, 2.33; and *Monumental Column for the Seigneurs of Rostaing* (possible attribution) 2.34.

²¹⁸ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Queen Blanche*, 2.6; *Pierre d'Orgemont*, 2.7; *Louis Poncher and Robine Le Gendre*, 2.8; *Philippe Villiers de Isle-Adam*, 2.9; *Neufville de Villeroy Family*, 2.10; *Cardinal René Birague and Valentine Balbiani*, 2.11; *Louis XI*, 2.12; *Cardinal François de la Rochefoucauld*, 2.14; and *Monument du Pont-au-Change*, 2.15.

with a Gothic canopy. The *gisants* of Louis Poncher and Robine Le Gendre rested on their original base framed by two pilasters and a semi-circular relief from the Château de Gaillon. Lenoir placed the *priant* of Philippe Villiers de Isle-Adam was on a base decorated with a bas-relief from the Château d'Anet and enamels from Limoges. The ensemble was framed by carved panels from the Château de Gaillon and bas-reliefs by Germain Pilon. For the monument to the Neufville de Villeroy family, Lenoir assembled the three *priants* in front of a classical pediment raised by two Corinthian columns. The monuments for Cardinal René Birague and Valentine Balbiani were recessed into a niche decorated with the coats of arms of the Birague and Balbiani families. The *priant* of Birague and the *gisant* of Balbiani rested above a sarcophagus decorated with a bas-relief of Balbiani in a state of death. The funerary monuments for Louis XI and Cardinal François de la Rochefoucauld were conserved in their original configuration. The *priant* of Louis XI and four marble angels were raised on a base carried by six columns. The white marble *priant* of Rochefoucauld rested on a black marble cenotaph. Above both monuments, Lenoir installed plaster models of pediments taken from the renovations of the Louvre. At the end of the east wall, Lenoir arranged the sculptural trio of Louis XIV as a child with his parents commissioned for the Pont-au-Change below another plaster pediment from the Louvre.²¹⁹

On the west wall, Lenoir designed a series of ensembles from the funerary monuments of William Douglas, Prince of Scotland, the Rostaing family, the de Thou family, Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, Michel de l'Hôpital, Anne de Montmorency and Madeline de Savoye, and Henri-

²¹⁹ Lenoir provided limited information about the plaster models of Louvre pediments he collected at the Musée des monuments français. He attributed the pediments to Jean Guillaume Moitte, M. Rolland, M. Cartelier, and M. Chadet (possibly Antoine-Denis Chaudet). See Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index.

Claude d'Harcourt.²²⁰ Directly west of the entrance, Lenoir placed the early seventeenth-century *gisant* of William Douglas in front of a large tripartite stone retable from the Église Saint-Merri in Paris. On the upper level of the retable, Lenoir placed a terracotta sculpture of the Trinity between statues of the Virgin and Saint John.²²¹ North of the ensemble dedicated to William Douglas, Lenoir arranged the *priants* of Charles and Tristan de Rostaing on a sarcophagus carried by two caryatides and decorated with three bas-reliefs and painted enamels. For the monument to the de Thou family, Lenoir arranged the *priant* of Jacques-Auguste de Thou between the *priants* of his two wives and a bust of Christophe de Thou. Lenoir framed the tomb monuments with two pediments, an entablature, and an archivolt probably from the Église-Saint-André-des-Arts. Beside the monument to the de Thou family, Lenoir installed a fireplace from the Château de Villeroy with a bust of Admiral Gaspard de Coligny. Next, Lenoir positioned the *priant* of Michel de l'Hôpital and a bust of Michel Hurault de l'Hôpital within a frame created by two caryatids carrying an entablature. The *gisants* of Anne de Montmorency and Madeline de Savoye were placed on a decorated sarcophagus under a frame created from two black marble Doric columns, an entablature from the Château d'Écouen, and a large bas-relief representing the sacrifice of Abraham. The ensemble was decorated with the sword and armor of Anne de Montmorency. At the north end of the west wall, Lenoir installed the funerary monument of Henri-Claude d'Harcourt in its original configuration. At the north end of the axial gallery, Lenoir placed the monumental seventeenth-century tomb of Cardinal Jules Mazarin by Antoine Coysevox taken from the Collège des Quatres

²²⁰ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *William Douglas*, 2.25, *Rostaing Family*, 2.24, *De Thou Family*, 2.23; *Villeroy Fireplace*, 2.22; *Michel de l'Hôpital*, 2.21; *Anne de Montmorency and Madeline de Savoye*, 2.20; and *Henri-Claude d'Harcourt*, 2.19.

²²¹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *William Douglas, Prince of Scotland*, 2.25. William Douglas was a Prince of Scotland who died in France in 1611 and was buried in the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près, Paris.

Nations. Above the monument to Mazarin, Lenoir installed a large sixteenth-century bas-relief taken from the architectural debris of the Louvre renovations, which he attributed to Jacquo Ponce.²²² Numerous busts of influential historical figures were placed throughout the Introduction Hall.²²³ In the floor at the entrance of the Introduction Hall, Lenoir installed a zodiac between two flat tomb plates from Saint-Denis and fourteen funerary epitaphs for various figures from French history.²²⁴

In the Chapelle des Louanges, an octagonal chapel in the northeast corner of the Introduction Hall, Lenoir reconstructed the monumental double-level tomb of François I and Claude de France.²²⁵ An ornamental iron and copper grill separated the chapel from the main gallery. Inside the monument, Lenoir replaced the *transis* of François I and Claude de France with models. The original *transis*, which depicted the monarchs at the moments of their deaths, were displayed in the center of the Sixteenth-Century Room where they could be examined in more detail. François I was particularly critical to Lenoir's understanding of the relationship between good governance and artistic achievement. When he prioritized François I's monument in a dedicated chapel, Lenoir positioned the French Renaissance as the highest culmination of French art and framed François I as a strong king who enabled and encouraged artistic freedom. However, by opening the museum with the ensemble dedicated to a member of François I's court - Diane de Poitiers - instead of a representation of François I himself, Lenoir shifted focus onto the individuals who had flourished under the monarchy, not the monarchy itself. Time in the Introduction Hall

²²² For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Cardinal Jules Mazarin*, 2.16 and *Louvre Bas-relief*, 2.17.

²²³ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Busts of the Introduction Hall*, 2.35-2.44. The identity and location of the busts varies between the available sources.

²²⁴ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Zodiac*, 2.47; *Abbé Adam*, 2.48; *Abbé Auteuil*, 2.49; and *Epitaphs*, 2.50.

²²⁵ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *François I and Claude de France*, 2.13.

was not subject to chronology or temporal sequencing. Instead, French art was framed as a negotiation between royal power and individual accomplishment. Lenoir's arrangement of the objects in the Introduction Hall trained the eye of the spectator to identify and prioritize associations and affiliations not possible before the Revolution. The Introduction Hall presented a history of France that included the monarchy but was not dominated by it. The individual accomplishments of artists, statesmen, patrons, and military families were, for Lenoir, a stronger representation of the success or failure of an era and the political legacy of a monarch than a single royal monument.

3.3 ANTIQUITIES AT THE MUSÉE DES MONUMENTS FRANÇAIS

Lenoir reserved the south wall, directly east and west of the entrance, for ensembles of Gallo-Roman antiquities and early Gothic monuments. Before 1800, Lenoir displayed Greek, Roman, and Gallo-Roman antiquities at the entrance of the museum. In 1795, the collection of antiquities of the Musée des monuments français was allocated for the Salle of Antiques of the Musée du Louvre. The Greek and Roman collection of the museum was transported to the Louvre between 1797 until 1803.²²⁶ After about 1800, Lenoir no longer featured Greek and Roman art at the entrance of the Musée des monuments français. By 1804, the entrance area displayed a Gothic ensemble dedicated to Queen Blanche, the mother of Louis IX; an ensemble for Clovis, the first king of the Franks; an ensemble created from the tomb plates of Childebert and Frédégonde; and several first-century Gallo-Roman carved blocks of the *Pillar of the Boatmen*.

²²⁶ See also Julien Rochs, "Les antiques au Musée des monuments français" in *Un musée révolutionnaire*, eds. Bresc-Bautier and de Chancel-Bardelot, 99.

The collection of Greek and Roman antiquities at the Musée des monuments français before 1795 included two Roman statues, *Bacchus* and *Hermes*, from the collection of from the gardens of the Château de Richelieu; a Venus, a Meleager, a Germanicus, a Junon, a Faun, and a bust of Caracalla from the collection of Richelieu; a Hermaphrodite, two Roman sarcophagi and a gray marble vase from the Église Saint-Sulpice; a porphyry Roman sarcophagus that had served as the tomb of the comte de Caylus; and the *Vase de Cana* from the Abbaye de Port-Royal des Champs.²²⁷ The Musée des monuments français held a collection of Gallo-Roman, Etruscan, Greek, and Roman figurines, busts, and vases from the Couvent des Petits-Pères, which was sent to the Bibliothèque nationale in 1800.²²⁸ From 1795 to 1803, the Musée des monuments français also housed a collection of Greek stelae from the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. The stelae at the Musée des monuments français constituted the first public exhibition of original Greek work in France.²²⁹

²²⁷ For more information on these monuments, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: 12.1-12.34. The collection seems to have transferred to the Louvre in two groups. The first group, from 12.1 to 12.17, included mainly Roman sculpture sent to the Louvre around 1797. The first group was only listed in the guidebook published in Year V, or 1796-1797. The second group, from 12.18 to 12.34, included *Bacchus Richelieu*, *Hermes Richelieu*, and several Greek stelae. This group was sent to the Louvre before 1803 but remained in the guidebooks until 1810. A drawing by Vauzelle shows a collection of antiquities in a garden, including *Hermes*, an imperial bust, and a sarcophagus. See Jean-Lubin Vauzelle, *Statues et fragments antiques réunis au Musée des monuments français*, c.1797, RF 5279.39, Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre. See also Rochs, "Les antiques au Musée des monuments français," 96-100.

²²⁸ After the Revolution, public displays of antiquities could be found at the Musée du Louvre and the Bibliothèque nationale. The Musée du Louvre, then known as the Musée central des Arts, briefly opened in 1793 at the same time as the Musée des monuments français. It was closed again in 1796 and reopened in 1801. During the Napoleonic era, the Musée du Louvre, now called the Musée Napoléon, grew under the direction of Dominique Vivant Denon (1747-1825) and the addition of masterpieces and antiquities acquired during Napoleon's military campaigns. Many of these works were returned to their original owners after the defeat of Waterloo. Smaller antiquities, medals, and other objects were housed in the "Muséum nationlae des antiques" at the Bibliothèque nationale, formed from the former Cabinet du roi under the direction of Aubin-Louis Millin de Grandmaison (1759-1818). See McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre* and Thierry Sarmant, *Les Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque nationale 1661-1848* (Paris: École des Chartres, 1994).

²²⁹ Roch, "Les antiques au Musée des monuments français," 100. The collection of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres was composed in part of the collection of Charles Marie François Olier, marquis de Nointel, ambassador to Constantinople under Louis XIV in 1673.

Hubert Robert's *La Salle d'Introduction du musée des monuments français*, painted in approximately 1798, depicts the entrance of the museum in the Introduction Hall, facing southeast. (Figure 3.3) Robert exaggerates the height of the barrel-vaulted hall, giving it the impression of decaying cavernous space. The *priant* of Diane de Poitiers is dramatically illuminated by sunlight streaming into the dark hall from the open entrance doors.²³⁰ Behind the monument to Diane de Poitiers, a sixteenth-century style *priant* recedes into a shadowy recess, flanked by *Bacchus* and *Hermes* from the Château de Richelieu on high pedestals.²³¹ At the base of these sculptures, a thirteenth-century style *gisant* and a first-century Gallo-Roman carved block from the *Pillar of the Boatmen* lay among a pile of stone blocks and fragments.²³² Gois' bas-relief, *The Miracles of Saint-Philippe*, is directly above the entranceway.²³³ A sketch by Jean-Lubin Vauzelle, executed around 1800, corroborates Robert's placement of *Bacchus* and *Hermes* in the southeast corner of the entrance to the Introduction Hall.²³⁴ (Figure 3.4) In Vauzelle's version, *Bacchus* and *Hermes* are flanked by three blocks from the *Pillar of the Boatmen* and the same unidentified *priant*

²³⁰ Hubert Robert (1733-1808) was a prominent French landscape painter known for his picturesque ruin scenes. He painted two scenes of the Musée des monuments français: *La Salle d'Introduction du musée des monuments français*, between 1798 and 1801, Musée du Louvre, and *Vue du Jardin Élysée*, 1803, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, and The Frick, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français.

²³¹ For more information on these monuments, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Bacchus* (*Bacchus Richelieu*), 12.29 and *Meleager* (*Hermes Richelieu*), 12.30.

²³² For more information on these monuments, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Pillar of the Boatmen*, 2.2-2.3.

²³³ For more information on these monuments, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *The Miracles of Saint-Philippe*, 2.5.

²³⁴ Jean-Lubin Vauzelle (1776-after 1837) was a student of Hubert Robert. He displayed paintings of the Musée des monuments français in the salons of 1797, 1799, 1802, and 1812. Vauzelle's work is a significant portion of the visual record of the Musée des monuments français. His paintings were engraved and published after the closure of the museum in Jean-Baptiste Réville, Joseph Lavallée and Jean-Baptiste de Roquefort-Flaméricourt, *Vues pittoresques et perspectives des salles du Musée des monuments français et des principaux ouvrages d'architecture, de sculpture et de peinture sur verre qu'elles renferment gravées au burin en vingt estampes par MM. Réville et Lavallée d'après les dessins de M. Vauzelle, avec un texte explicatif par B. de Roquefort* (Paris: Didot l'aîné, 1816). See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français.

represented in Robert's painting.²³⁵ Near the doorway in Vauzelle's drawing stood the *Vase de Cana* and two Greek stelae, which were not included by Robert.²³⁶

Between 1800 and 1803, Lenoir replaced the Greek stelae and Roman sculptures at the entrance of the Introduction Hall with a unique assemblage of Gothic and Gallo-Roman antiquities. (Figure 3.5) At the east end of the south wall, he superimposed a twelfth-century carving of a virgin and two anonymous twelfth-century *gisants*, which he renamed for Clovis, the first king of the Franks, and his wife, Clotilde. The central virgin, *Notre Dame de la Carole*, rested on a pedestal decorated with a painting, the *Virgin of Smolensk*. Lenoir placed the entire ensemble on the *Block of Eight Divinities* from the *Pillar of the Boatmen*. Beside this ensemble, Lenoir installed *Nehalennia* above the *Bull of Saint-Marcel*, an ancient carved stone block discovered in the base of the Église Saint-Marcel in Paris.²³⁷ On the western side of the south wall, Lenoir posed the tomb plates of Childebert and Frédégonde over the *Tombeau de Ladre*, a twelfth-century marble plaque from Saint-Denis.²³⁸ In the southeast corner of the museum formerly occupied by *Bacchus* and *Hermes*, Lenoir designed a monument dedicated to Queen Blanche, the mother of Louis IX, which he placed to the east of the entrance in the former location of *Bacchus* and *Hermes*. For this ensemble, Lenoir used the black marble *gisant* of Mahaut d'Artois to represent Blanche de Castille, which he rested on a sarcophagus of colored glass. Behind the *gisant*, Lenoir constructed a monumental triangular frame from Gothic fragments and a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-

²³⁵ Jean-Lubin Vauzelle, *Vue de la salle d'introduction avant son achèvement*, c.1800, RF 5279.33, Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français.

²³⁶ The Greek stele represented in the image may be #IV, *Marble sepulchral monument dedicated to Marcus Pompeius and Isodora*, and #VI, *Stone sepulchral monument dedicated to Moschus*. For more information on these monuments, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Funerary Stele*, 12.21; *Funerary Stele*, 12.23; and *Vase de Cana*, 12.35.

²³⁷ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Nehalennia*, 2.1; *Clovis and Clotilde*, 2.2.

²³⁸ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Childebert and Frédégonde*, 2.4.

century trefoil tympanum.²³⁹ Between *Nehalennia* and *Queen Blanche*, Lenoir placed an unidentified bas-relief of a robed praying female figure, possibly a Gallo-Roman or classical antique, on top of another block of the *Pillar of the Boatmen*.²⁴⁰

Lenoir's decision to relocate the origins of French art in Gallo-Roman antiquity was not entirely the consequence of the loss of antiquities to the Louvre. To compensate for the relocation of the Greek and Roman monuments at the Musée des monuments français, Lenoir received permission to order plaster casts of the antiquities once held by the Dépôt, including *Bacchus* and *Hermes* from the collection of Richelieu and other masterpieces, such as the *Borghese Gladiator*, *Apollo Belvedere*, and *Castor and Pollux*.²⁴¹ Lenoir maintained a growing collection of casts in a studio above the Thirteenth-Century Room for use by visiting artists and frequently loaned casts to various institutions.²⁴² An anonymous drawing depicts the Hall of Antiques at the Musée des monuments français as a cavernous room filled with masterpieces, including *Apollo Belvedere*, and *Castor and Pollux*, *The Dying Gaul*, *Germanicus*, *Farnese Hercules*, part of the *Niobides Group*, the *Borghese Vas*, and *Seated Hercules*. This drawing exaggerates the size of the space and likely the extent of the collection.²⁴³ (Figure 3.6) The statue of *Bacchus* was transferred to the Louvre in 1797, the year before the ensemble for Diane de Poitiers was completed, and *Hermes*

²³⁹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Queen Blanche*, 2.6

²⁴⁰ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Block of Jupiter*, *Pillar of the Boatmen*, and an unidentified statue, 2.3.

²⁴¹ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 353. For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Model of Apollo Belvedere*, 12.44; *Model of Castor and Pollux*, 12.45; and *Model of the Borghese Gladiator*, 12.46.

²⁴² *AMMF*, vol. 1, 353 and *AMMF*, vol. 3, 271. The studio above the Thirteenth-Century Room is visible in a section of the Musée des monuments français held by the Département des Estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France, VA 269 D2. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français.

²⁴³ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 353. For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Model of Apollo Belvedere*, 12.44; *Model of Castor and Pollux*, 12.45; *Model of the Borghese Gladiator*, 12.46; *Model of Germanicus*, *Roman Emperor*, 12.47; *Model of the Dying Gaul*, 12.55; *Model of Farnese Hercules*, 12.57; *Model of Niobides Group*, 12.58; *Model of Kylix (Borghese Vase)*, 12.59; and *Model of Seated Hermes*, 12.60. See *Antiques, Musée des monuments français*, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.34. A statue of Athena (labeled Minerve by Lenoir) may also be represented in the corner of the gallery. See *Minerve (Athena)*, 12.1.

was sent to the Louvre around 1800. Based on the depictions of Vauzelle and Robert, Lenoir probably displayed a plaster cast of *Bacchus* in the Introduction Hall from 1797 until sometime after 1800.²⁴⁴ Therefore, the *Bacchus* drawn by Vauzelle and Robert was likely already the cast that remained in the museum collection until its closure. Lenoir's decision to replace *Bacchus* with an ensemble of Gallo-Roman and Gothic monuments was not forced by the Louvre but was instead a design choice based on the needs of a museological narrative.

3.4 THE FOUNDATIONS OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

The earlier versions of the Introduction Hall recorded by Robert and Vauzelle depicted monuments of the French Renaissance beside Roman sculpture, Gothic tombs, and Gallo-roman carvings. These versions represented French art as the inheritor of the traditions of classical antiquity. Around 1800, Lenoir removed the plaster casts of the Greek and Roman antiquities from the Introduction Hall and established the origin of French art in a pastiche of Gallo-Roman antiquities and early Gothic monuments. Following Winckelmann's model of structural patterns, French art was a distinct genre from classical antiquity. Lenoir understood himself as "completing the work" of Johann Joachim Winckelmann by doing for French art what Winckelmann had done for antiquity.²⁴⁵ He further refined this concept with a loose interpretation of Quatremère de Quincy's

²⁴⁴ For more information on these monuments, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Bacchus* (*Bacchus Richelieu*), 12.29 and *Meleager* (*Hermes Richelieu*) 12.30.

²⁴⁵ Alexandre Lenoir, *Musée impérial des monumens français: Histoire des arts en France et description chronologique des statues en marbre et en bronze, bas-reliefs et tombeaux des hommes et des femmes célèbres, qui sont réunis dans ce Musée*, 9th ed. (Paris: Hacquart, 1810), 1. « Un savant illustre nous a donné, vers la fin du siècle dernier, l'Histoire de l'Art chez les Anciens. Cette étude importante, traitée avec le meilleur esprit, décrit avec l'enthousiasme d'un sage et l'éloquence d'un orateur, devait nécessairement développer le génie de nos artistes, et donner à nos arts une nouvelle impulsion: mais cet homme juste célèbre, arrêté au milieu de sa carrière savante par les coups d'un assassin, n'a pu compléter le travail qu'une grande conception lui avait fait entreprendre, et nous ne

definition of character, claiming that each civilization “imprinted” their architecture with a distinguishable character.²⁴⁶

Lenoir’s work was embedded in broader academic debates about the origins of architecture. In the mid-eighteenth century, established academic doctrine held that architecture had developed continually over the *longue durée* beginning with the Egyptians and reaching refinement under the Greeks. The comte de Caylus in *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grècques, romaines et gauloises* (1752-1755), Jacques-François Blondel in *Cours d'architecture* (1771-1777) and Marc-Antoine Laugier in *Observations sur architecture* (1765) reinforced this model of historical continuity. For Caylus, Egyptian architecture was massive and crude, yet understood as a stepping stone towards Greek refinement.²⁴⁷ According to Laugier, “the Egyptians sketched architecture heavily, the Greeks drew it with much grace.”²⁴⁸ With a similar analogy, Blondel wrote that the Egyptians had “prepared art’s rough draft” for the Greeks.²⁴⁹ Winckelmann disrupted the historical

doutons pas que Winckelmann n'eût donné, à la suite de son grand ouvrage, une Histoire de l'Art chez les Peuples modernes. » See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

²⁴⁶ Alexandre Lenoir, “Notice sur l'origine de l'architecture appelée improprement gothique,” *Mémoires de l'Académie celtique* 3 (1809): 341. « Les Egyptiens, les Chinois, les Perses et même les Grecs, ont imprimé à leur architecture par l'invention un caractère particulier, qui la distingue d'une manière bien marquée, de celle des autres peuples de la terre. » Emphasis added by author. For a longer discussion of character, see the previous chapter. See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

²⁴⁷ Anne-Claude-Philippe de Tubières, Comte de Caylus (1692-1765) published *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grècques, romaines et gauloises*, 7 vols. (Paris: 1752-1767). Unlike Winckelmann, Caylus did not have access to the more extensive collections of antiquities in Rome and worked primarily with smaller-scale objects such as coins, engraved gems, and small statues. Working directly with objects was critical to Caylus. Caylus presented a chronological history of art based on the empirical examination of extant art objects rather than the philosophical interpretation of ancient texts, iconography, and emblems. On the Comte de Caylus (1692-1765), see Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal*, 76-81; Francis Haskell, *History and its Images: Art and the Representation of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 180-186; and Vermeulen, *Picturing Art History*, 107-110.

²⁴⁸ Marc-Antoine Laugier, *Observations sur architecture* (The Hague: Saillant, 1765), v-vi. « Les Egyptiens ont esquissé l'Architecture pesamment, les Grecs l'ont dessiné avec beaucoup de grâce. » Quoted in Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, 34. Marc-Antoine Laugier (1713-1769) was a Jesuit priest and architectural theorist. He reevaluated Gothic architecture and popularized a theory of origins of architecture based on the primitive hut. See Marc-Antoine Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture* (Paris: Duschesne, 1753) a second edition in 1755.

²⁴⁹ Jacques-François Blondel, *Cours d'architecture ou Traité Décoration, Distribution, and Construction les Bâtiments*, vol. 1 (Paris: Desaint, 1771), 396. « L'unité dans l'ordonnance d'un bâtiment est une des principales beautés de l'architecture: les Grecs ont excellé dans cette partie ils devoient à la vérité beaucoup aux Egyptiens; mais ces derniers n'avoient pour ainsi dire qu'ébauché l'art. » Quoted in Sylvia Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and*

model of the *longue durée* by establishing Greek and Egyptian art as two distinct genres that followed the same historical patterns. In the later eighteenth century, Quatremère de Quincy and Julien-David Leroy also challenged the theory of that Egyptian architecture was a precursor to Greek architecture and believed that each tradition had a distinct origin.

In *Essai sur l'architecture* (1753), Laugier presented the primitive hut as the essential origin of all architecture and Greek architecture as the ideal model for contemporary architecture. Laugier's influence was widespread. In Laugier's well-known frontispiece from the second edition of *Essai sur l'architecture* in 1755, nature provided the fundamental elements of architecture in the primitive hut. The earth created a solid base, tree trunks became columns that eventually developed into the classical orders, branches formed pediments and entablatures, and a leafy canopy provided a roof. Laugier's primitive hut paved a way back for architecture to the essential simplicities of nature: "All the splendors of architecture ever conceived have been modeled on the little rustic hut. It is by approaching this first model that fundamental mistakes are avoided, and true perfection is achieved."²⁵⁰ Laugier's primitive hut universalized Greek architecture as good architecture. In the second edition of *Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (1770), Leroy localized the primitive hut in Greek architecture.²⁵¹ According to Leroy, the Greeks had

the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture, 34. For information on Jacques-François Blondel, see the previous chapter.

²⁵⁰ Marc-Antoine Laugier, *An Essay on Architecture*, trans. Wolfgang and Anni Herrmann (Los Angeles: Hennessey and Ingalls, Inc., 1977), 12. Original French: « La petite cabane...est le modèle sur lequel on a imagine les magnificence de l'Architecture. C'est en ce rapprochement dans l'exécution de la simplicité de ce premier modèle, que on évite les défauts essentiels, que l'on saisit les perfections véritables. »

²⁵¹ Julien-David Leroy (1724-1803) was an architect and a professor of architecture the Académie Royale d'Architecture. Leroy published the first measured drawings of the Parthenon in 1758. He established that Greek architecture was a historical and cultural phenomenon, rather than the embodiment of a universal ideal. See Julien-David Leroy, *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce, considérées du côté de l'histoire et du côté de l'architecture*, 2d. ed., 2 vols. (Paris: Louis-François Delatour, 1770). For more information on Leroy, see Christopher Drew Armstrong, *Julien-David Leroy and the Making of Architectural History* (Routledge: London, 2012) and Robin Middleton, "Introduction" in Julien-David Leroy, *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece*, trans. David Britt (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2004), 1-199.

built huts before they knew about the Egyptians.²⁵² This assertion established the Greeks as the originators of the primitive hut. Thus, for both Laugier and Leroy, the Greeks alone developed classical architecture and the system of orders. Leroy, however, divided the development of Greek and Egyptian architecture into two separate traditions of development with distinct origins.

Winckelmann replaced narrational and biographical histories of art with a system of structural patterns. Like Leroy, Winckelmann considered the chronological development of distinct civilizations as separate traditions rather than a single line of development over the *longue durée*. However, Winckelmann did not seek the distant origins of architectural genealogies like Leroy. Instead, Winckelmann's primitive was atemporal and universal:

“The origins of the arts of design were more or less the same in people separated from one another. This was not so because people separated from one another had communicated their means...but because nature always teaches the simplest and easiest things first”²⁵³

Winckelmann constructed a history of art based on the relationship between political culture and artistic invention. The arts of every civilization followed a similar structural pattern of infancy, progress, and decline according to varying degrees of achievement. This allowed each civilization a degree of autonomy. Caylus attempted to trace the progress of antiquity across cultures from Egypt to Greece. Winckelmann viewed the history of the Greek tradition as distinct from Egyptian art, although following the same structural pattern. According to Winckelmann, Egyptian art had been arrested typologically in the early archaic phase, while Greek art had matured to the classical phase.

²⁵² Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, 34-36.

²⁵³ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti*, vol. 1 (Rome: 1767), xii. Quoted in Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, 37. “L’arte del disegno ne’ suoi principio e stata la stessa appo più popoli disparati l’uno dall’altro, non per comunicazione della maniera d’operare e de’ fini che si avevano in operando, ma per natura, la quale a tutti nell’insegnare incomincia dal semplice e dal più facile.”

Unlike Laugier, who understood the primitive hut as a reproducible, natural model, Quatremère de Quincy considered the primitive hut to be a model that expressed the abstract characteristics of an immaterial type. Quatremère de Quincy's primitive hut was imitated, but not replicated, by later builders. The architects who transposed wood into stone and those who designed the classical orders out of tree trunks had already distinguished their work from the original primitive hut.²⁵⁴ Quatremère de Quincy defined two distinct ways contemporary architects might imitate Greek architecture: "one consists of imitating in style, the other in grasping its principles and spirit."²⁵⁵ Later, he would articulate the first definition as actually a "copy" to further distinguish and differentiate imitation as a creative process. An "imitative system disguises the object imitated under a veil of invention and masks the truth with the appearance of fiction."²⁵⁶ Imitation necessitated reason and creativity beyond what was necessary for mere copying.

Quatremère de Quincy's study of hieroglyphs and language was integral to his understanding of type and architectural origins. Like Leroy, Quatremère identified the separate development of Egyptian and Greek architectures. He defined three distinct "mother tongues" of architecture that could be traced to three principal types: the tent, the cave, and the hut. Building elements, such as columns, capitals, and beams, composed architecture the way that grammar structured language.²⁵⁷ The three types emerged during the first stages of human development from unique social organization and climatic conditions: hunter dug caves out of the earth, gatherers moved frequently and needed to transport their tents easily, and farmers demanded a

²⁵⁴ Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, 111.

²⁵⁵ Antoine Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, "Sur la manière d'imiter la bonne Architecture grecque," *Journal des batimens civils*, no. 29 (6 nivose, Year IX; 27 December 1800): 3-7. Quoted in Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, 104. « Il y a deux manières d'imiter l'architecture grecque: l'une consiste à en imiter le style; l'autre à en saisir les principes et le génie. »

²⁵⁶ Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, 111.

²⁵⁷ Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, 97.

fixed shelter, or hut.²⁵⁸ Egyptian architecture was a distinct language from that of the Greeks because Greek architecture originated in the hut, Chinese architecture in the tent, and Egyptian architecture primarily in the cave. According to Quatremère de Quincy, the Gothic had no such source because it was a perversion and a "mélange" of Greek debris with Arab and Eastern influences.²⁵⁹ The architectural type of a building was both its "pre-existent germ" and its "primitive cause."²⁶⁰ The type was never directly copied. Instead, type in architecture acted as a foundational impulse that developed into architecture in the same way the verbal gestures became language. In this sense, Quatremère de Quincy described Greek architecture as "imprinted" with the history of carpentry and "written" from the constituent parts of the primitive hut: various architectures were impressed with type and meaning in a "language of form and of line."²⁶¹

In the fourth edition of the guidebook, published in Year VI (1797-1798), Lenoir made a definitive shift from a theory of origins based on development over the *longue durée*, with French art seeking its foundation in classical antiquity, to a conceptualization of the primitive that was, like Winckelmann's writing, atemporal and universal. In the Year VI guidebook, Lenoir introduced his theory of the primitive hut. For Lenoir, the primitive hut developed out of necessity from nature, forming the impetus for all human artistic endeavor.²⁶² Lenoir did not attempt to localize the primitive hut in a specific architectural tradition in the manner of Leroy or Quatremère

²⁵⁸ Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, "Cabane" and "Climat" in *Encyclopédie méthodique: Architecture*, vol. 1 (Paris: Agasse, 1800), 382-386, 699 and "Égyptienne (Architecture)" in *Encyclopédie méthodique: Architecture*, vol. 2 (Paris: Agasse, 1800), 285-286.

²⁵⁹ Quatremère de Quincy, "Gothique," *Encyclopédie méthodique: Architecture*, vol. 2, 463. « Nous sommes donc fondée à regarder l'architecture gothique comme un résultat des débris de l'architecture antique, comme un mélange irrégulier des différents goûts des siècles précédents, mélange dans lequel il se peut que l'influence du goût de l'Orient et de celui des Arabes soit entrée pour quelque chose. »

²⁶⁰ Anthony Vidler, "The Idea of Type: The Transformation of the Academic Ideal, 1750-1830," *Oppositions Special Issue, Paris under the Academy: City and Ideology*, 8 (Spring 1977): 95-111.

²⁶¹ Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, 95-98.

²⁶² Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 4th ed. (Year VI, 1797-1798), 23.

de Qunicy. As discussed in the last chapter, Lenoir used the language of Quatremère de Quincy to develop a theory of national character. Lenoir remarked that Egyptians, the Chinese, the Persians, and the Greeks “imprinted” their architecture with a particular character, “well marked, from other peoples of the earth.”²⁶³ However, Lenoir did not adopt Quatremère de Quincy’s theory of type. Instead, Lenoir integrated Winckelmann’s stylistic theory of structural patterns into an abstract, atemporal understanding of the primitive. The arts, Lenoir asserted in the tradition of Winckelmann, experienced revolutions like political empires. Artistic development was cyclical, developing from infancy to maturity, until, ultimately, fading “to the point where they began.”²⁶⁴ The primitive was, for Lenoir, an abstract, natural state, or an essential baseline, from which all civilization emerged, flourished, and returned.

In earlier guidebooks, Lenoir had labeled the Greek and Roman antiquities held by the museum “monuments antiques” and positioned them as the first stage of the development of French art.²⁶⁵ Beginning in Year VI, Lenoir listed the Greek and Roman antiquities held by the museum in the fourth edition of his guidebook as *archétypes antiques*. The change roughly coincided with Hubert Robert’s painting, which occurred after the decree that transferred the antiquities of the Musée des monuments to the Musée du Louvre and before the reorganization of the Introduction Hall. The Year VI edition of the guidebook firmly established Gallo-Roman antiquity as the beginning of Lenoir’s art historical chronology of French art. Lenoir introduced the *archétypes antiques* with a description of the Museum of Alexandria:

²⁶³ Lenoir, "Notice sur l'origine de l'architecture appelée improprement gothique," 341. « Les Egyptiens, les Chinois, les Perses et même les Grecs, ont imprimé à leur architecture par l'invention un caractère particulier, qui la distingue d'une manière bien marquée, de celle des autres peuples de la terre. » See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir, (1762-1839).

²⁶⁴ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 3rd ed. (Year V, 1796-1797), 9. « Les arts éprouvent des révolutions comme les empires: ils passent successivement de l'enfance à la supériorité, et retournement peu-à-peu au point d'où ils étaient partis. »

²⁶⁵ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 4th ed. (Year VI, 1797-1798), 51.

These temples and palaces were known by the name of the Muses because the museum was not only a designated place that held monuments of the arts, but also where artists assembled to discuss the arts. Such was the case with the Museum of Alexandria, in which the kings and, since the conquest of Egypt, the Roman emperors maintained with extraordinary magnificence, a number of savants whose whole occupation has been dedicated to scholarship.²⁶⁶

The French word *muséum* derived from the Latin *Musaeum* and referred to the Museum of Alexandria, founded by Ptolemy. The Museum of Alexandria, which included the Library of Alexandria, was a Hellenistic institution that gathered the best scholars of the world and dedicated their labor to the collection and advancement of human knowledge.²⁶⁷ According to Lenoir, only a museum led by "scholars and artists who are true philosophes," could become an institution where the citizen would find the "recreation of the spirit" and the student could continue "the march of his studies."²⁶⁸ The Musée des monuments français imitated the original model of the museum of Alexandria.²⁶⁹ In the ancient Museum of Alexandria, Lenoir found the same cultural investment in intellectual freedom that he imagined for post-Revolutionary France. Following Winckelmann's art historical system, Lenoir traced the formal characteristics of art and architecture from Gallo-Roman France to the eighteenth-century. However, the concept of an abstract and atemporal

²⁶⁶ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 4th ed. (Year VI, 1797-1798), 51. « Ces temples et ces palais étaient connus sous le nom de Musées; car Musée ne désigne pas seulement un local qui renferme des monuments des arts, mais aussi celui où les artistes s'assemblent pour disserter sur les arts. Tel fut le Musée d'Alexandrie dans lequel ses rois, et depuis la conquête l'Egypte les empereurs Romains ont entretenu avec une Magnence extraordinaire un nombre de savants, dont toute l'occupation était de s'appliquer aux lettres. »

²⁶⁷ For more information on the Museum of Alexandria, see Paula Lee Young, "The Museum of Alexandria and the Formation of the Muséum in Eighteenth-Century France," *Art Bulletin* 79, No. 3 (September 1997): 385-412. Young argues that in eighteenth-century France, a muséum was a space dedicated to "knowing" not "showing." In eighteenth-century French, the term muséum referred to a body of scholars and the building that housed the and had little or nothing to do with object collections and public display. Muséum and musée were derivatives of musaeum, which correlated exclusively to the Museum of Alexandria of antiquity

²⁶⁸ Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 203. « Le Museum national ne peut être dirigé que par des savants et des artistes vraiment philosophes. C'est alors que le citoyen en y trouvera les délassements de l'esprit, c'est alors que la jeunesse y trouvera la marche de ses études; elle y verra évidemment les défauts qu'elle doit éviter et les sublimités qu'elle doit envier pour la perfection d'art. »

²⁶⁹ Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, "Muséum," in *Encyclopédie méthodique: Architecture*, vol. 2, 741 and Young, "The Museum of Alexandria and the Formation of the Muséum in Eighteenth-Century France," 389. For Quatremère de Quincy, a musée referred to a collection of objects and a link in an extended typological series, while a muséum invoked the Alexandrian project, the original type.

primitive opened Lenoir to develop a secondary theory of characteristics universal to all human development. Lenoir sought to identify symbols recorded on the monuments that transcended time and conveyed meaning to human culture across national boundaries.

3.5 ARCHETYPES AND ORIGINS

“Archetypes” likely entered Lenoir’s lexicon from Charles-François Dupuis. Dupuis was an outspoken critic of religion, a member of the committee that created the Revolutionary calendar, and an acquaintance of Lenoir.²⁷⁰ According to Dupuis, all modern religions, including Christianity, were derived from myths appropriated from more ancient beliefs. Once the veneers of religious belief were stripped away, all societies could discover their harmonious origins in nature. Dupuis used the term “archetype” in *Origine de tous les cultes* (1795) to describe the essential model upon which God created the world:

All the Platonists admitted the unity of the Archetype or of the model upon which God had created the World, also the unity of the Demiurgos, or of the God artificer ("Dieu artiste") by a succession of the same philosophic principles, or in other word: by the very unity of the work as may be seen in Proclus and in all the Platonists.²⁷¹

Lenoir used the term “archetype” in two ways. Though Lenoir's collection of Greek and Roman antiquities was relocated to the Louvre by 1803, Lenoir continued to describe Greek and

²⁷⁰ Charles-François Dupuis, *L'Origine de tous les Cultes, ou la Religion universelle*, 4 vols. (Paris: H. Agasse, 1794-1795). Dupuis (1742-1809) was a professor of rhetoric, a lawyer, and a scholar of mythology. He exerted great influential on Lenoir's thinking. Lenoir's wife, Adélaïde Binart, painted a portrait of Dupuis in her private studio at the Musée des monuments français.

²⁷¹ Charles-François Dupuis, *The Origins of all Religious Worship, translated from the French of Dupuis* (New Orleans, 1872), 271. Original French: « Tous les Platoniciens admettaient l'unité de l'archetype ou du modèle sur lequel Dieu créa le monde, ainsi que l'unité du demiourgos ou du dieu artiste, par une suite des mêmes principes philosophiques; c'est-à-dire d'après l'unité même de l'ouvrage, comme on peut le voir dans Proclus et dans les Platoniciens. » From Charles-François Dupuis, *Abrégé l'origine de tous les cultes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Agasse, 1801), 85.

Roman antiquities as “archetypes” in the guidebooks until 1810. He also used the term archetype to distinguish between original architectural fragments and contemporary models that had been created from historical sources in the Fifteenth-Century Room:

I have composed my ceiling, my windows, and in general all the decoration of this room based on the type of the tomb of Louis XII, which is placed in the middle, with details that I brought from the Château de Gaillon, which was going to be demolished; with archetypes which I have copied myself, at Chartres and at Blois.²⁷²

On the one hand, Lenoir used the term "archetype" to mean a model or a copy of an original work of art (or a much older copy). On the other hand, using Dupuis' definition, the archetype could reference a universal code of meaning. Lenoir was heavily influenced by Dupuis' writing. Dupuis was not merely interested in the illumination of the past myths but hoped to reveal ancient connectivity to the present.²⁷³ Dupuis' beliefs were evident in his work on the Republican Calendar. Like Lenoir, Dupuis sought a universal history that predated the *ancien régime*. His radical theory of solar myth was based on an implicit anthropocentric conception of the universe: man created religion to mirror social order, and thus man could change or transform its direction. All religious traditions manifested from ancient worship of primal elements, particularly the sun. The triumph of light over darkness was the life force of civilization and modern society's return to Nature.²⁷⁴ The solar myth functioned as a "universal code, a key to unlocking the basic structures of all religions" that could release society from religious dogma and lay the groundwork for a free

²⁷² Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 6th ed. (Year X, 1802), 164: « J'ai composé mon plafond, mes croisées, et en général toute la décoration de cette salle, sur le type du tombeau de Louis XII, qui en fait le milieu, avec des détails que j'ai apportés du château de Gaillon, qui vient d'être démoli; avec des archetypes que j'ai levés moi-même, tant à Chartres qu'à Blois, etc. »

²⁷³ For discussions of Dupuis' work, see Burton Feldman, and Robert D. Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology 1680-1860* (Bloomington and London: University of Indiana Press, 1972), 135; Perovic, "The French Republican Calendar," 1-20; and Dominique Poulot, "L'Égypte imaginaire d'Alexandre Lenoir," in *L'Égypte imaginaire de la Renaissance à Champollion : actes du colloque, Paris, 21-22 mai 1991*, ed. Grell Chantal (Paris: Presses de l'université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2001): 127-144.

²⁷⁴ Dupuis, *The Origins of all Religious Worship*, 79-80.

society.²⁷⁵

Lenoir found a network for his research on the pre-dynastic and pre-Christian origins of France in the Académie Celtique. The Académie Celtique was founded in 1804 by historians Jacques Cambry, Jacques Antoine Dulaure, and Jacques Le Brigant with the goal of studying Celtic and Gallo-Roman civilization, folk history, and the vernacular customs of France.²⁷⁶ Lenoir, who served briefly as the president of the Académie Celtique, was dedicated to positioning the Musée des monuments français notably the Introduction Hall, as an indispensable resource for the advanced study of the Gallocentric history of France. Active members published investigations on Celtic and Gallo-Roman monuments; monolithic architecture; and the language, agriculture, and customs of Celtic and Gallo-Roman France. Members traveled the départements of France with a questionnaire designed to record and compare local customs, monuments, and languages.²⁷⁷ The researchers sought an origin of modern France influenced by yet distinct from the monumental histories of ancient Greece and Rome. The Académie Celtique emerged at a moment in the early nineteenth century when scholars were increasingly interested national histories and the relationship between national and universal origins. The organization was modeled on the example of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh, organized in 1780 to preserve Highland language, poetry, and music. The Académie Celtique was also indebted to recent investigations into folk history in Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Moscow as well as studies of Celtic and Gallo-Roman culture from the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres during the *ancien régime*. The

²⁷⁵ Perovic, "The French Republican Calendar," 5

²⁷⁶ Éloi Johanneau, "Discours d'ouverture sur l'établissement de l'Académie Celtique," 40. Members of the Académie Celtique included French architect Jacques-Guillaume Legrand (1753-1807), antiquary and naturalist Aubin-Louis Millin de Grandmaison (1759-1818), chemist Antoine François, comte de Fourcroy (1755-1809), naturalist and explorer Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859), and linguist and diplomat Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835).

²⁷⁷ On the Académie Celtique, see Nicole Belmont, ed., *Aux sources de l'ethologie française L'Académie celtique* (Paris: Comités Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 1995), 1-21.

academy disbanded in 1812, and in 1814, several former members formed the Société des Antiquaires de France.

Between 1807 and 1810, Lenoir published eighteen articles in the *Mémoires de l'Académie celtique* on subjects ranging from recently discovered Gallo-Roman monuments, Gothic architecture, and the mythological origins of Metz to Egyptian sculpture and Classical funerary vases.²⁷⁸ Lenoir's writings extended his museum work too new audiences and arenas of influence. In his articles for the Académie Celtique, Lenoir began to acknowledge increasingly eclectic Roman and Egyptian influences in French art. Cultural transmission infused with mysticism and theories about universal religion emerged as a central concept of Lenoir's understanding of history. Lenoir negotiated historical and natural time by grounding Dupuis' solar myth within Winckelmann's art historical model of systematically conceived patterns of growth and decline. Winckelmann's understanding of the art historical development of different cultures as distinct, separate genres following the same structural pattern enabled Lenoir to narrowly focus on a chronological segment of French history as it had emerged from the vast depths of universal time.

In 1809, Lenoir published his study of Egyptian objects and hieroglyphs in *Nouvelle explication des hiéroglyphes* and several associated articles.²⁷⁹ For Lenoir, Egyptian hieroglyphs were both "simple characters" that constituted the basic elements of formal writing and allegories

²⁷⁸ For a complete list of these publications, see Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

²⁷⁹ Alexandre Lenoir, *Nouvelle Explication des hiéroglyphes ou des anciennes allégories sacrées des Égyptiens; utile à l'intelligence des monumens mythologiques des autres peuples; suivie d'un résumé alphabétique ornée de dix-huit planches*. 4 vols. (Paris: Musée des monumens français, vol. 1, 1809, vol. 2-3, 1810, and Paris: Nepveu, 1821, vol. 4). See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839). Lenoir studied Egyptian objects that came to the Petits-Augustins Dépôt from the "cabinet des Petits-Pères" of the Couvent des Petits-Pères in Paris. The convent was suppressed during the French Revolution and the building demolished after 1849. Lenoir's first publication on hieroglyphs did not appear until ten years after Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. Upon discovering Lenoir's publication, a young Jean-François Champollion (1790-1832) panicked. He feared his emerging work deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphs had been surpassed by the older and more established Lenoir, but soon realized that Lenoir continued to operate under the assumption that hieroglyphs were mystic symbols.

decorated with attributes that granted them symbolic value.²⁸⁰ Lenoir extended the second definition of a hieroglyph as an allegory or attribute of symbolic value to the monuments of all cultures. He considered the sculptural façade of the Cathédrale Notre Dame de Paris, for example, to be covered in “hieroglyphs.”²⁸¹ However, the transmission of far-flung symbols did not exist within a traditional temporalized system of development. Instead, an individual work of art was understood as an accretion of meaning, an incremental accumulation of past and present that simultaneously represented its most remote origin, an array of references across history, and its most recent manifestation:

Not only do our arts coincide perfectly with those of the Ancients, but we have found a rapport between the allegories that characterize the diverse divinities in which their sculptors were practiced and our mystical legends that our artists have painted or sculpted.²⁸²

Lenoir was particularly drawn to the symbolic importance of the pyramid, which he claimed represented ancient sun worship, the bull, which he associated with immortality, and the goddess Isis. Lenoir attempted to merge the symbolic associations of multiple civilizations into a single historical figure. Thus, for Lenoir, *Nehalennia* was simultaneously Isis, Minerva, the Virgin Mary, and Diana.²⁸³ Lenoir was fascinated by the origins of the Gothic ogive arch. According to Lenoir, the form and meaning of the Gothic arch originated in the *style arabe* brought to France during the Crusades under Louis IX. For Lenoir, the ogive arch was the sacred egg of Isis, a

²⁸⁰ Marc Étienne, "Alexandre Lenoir Égyptologue," in *Un musée révolutionnaire*, eds. Bresc-Bautier and de Chancel-Bardelot, 79.

²⁸¹ Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 52.

²⁸² Alexandre Lenoir, *Musée des Monuments français. Recueil de portraits inédits des hommes et des femmes qui ont illustré la France sous différents règnes, dont les originaux sont conservés dans l'édit musée* (Paris: chez l'auteur au Musée, 1809), 1-2. « Nous avons reconnu aussi que non seulement nos arts coïncident parfaitement avec ceux des Anciens mais encore nous avons trouvé des rapports singuliers entre les allégories qui caractérisent les diverses divinités sur lesquelles se sont exercés leurs sculpteurs et nos légendes mystiques que nos artistes ont peintes ou sculptées. » See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

²⁸³ Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 140.

supreme deity that connected ancient Egyptian, Persian, and Greek religions.²⁸⁴ Lenoir attributed the development of the Gothic in France to Louis IX's architects, Eudes de Montreuil and Pierre de Montreuil, whom he claimed had accompanied Louis IX on the Seventh Crusade. Upon their return to France, the Montreuils fused the ogive arch into an existing French tradition that had developed from Gallo-Roman antiquity. Thus, Louis IX was critical to Lenoir's narrative of French history because he was the crusader king who had facilitated and encouraged the development of the Gothic style. Creating a Gothic monument dedicated to the mother of Louis IX, Blanche de Castille, was an essential inclusion in the Introduction Hall and an important symbolic addition to the narrative Lenoir hoped to construct about the origins of French art.²⁸⁵

In his apartment above the museum, Lenoir built a private collection of Greek, Roman, Egyptian, Indian, and medieval art, which he shared with privileged visitor to pursue his personal - often far-fetched - comparative studies of ancient cultures.²⁸⁶ (Figure 3.7) Lenoir's collection included stained glass, historical costumes and armor, enamels, sculptures, architectural fragments, paintings, engravings, medals, and drawings from the French middle ages to the eighteenth century.²⁸⁷ He also collected figurines, small sculptures, vases, and other artifacts from

²⁸⁴ Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français*, vol. 5, 112.

²⁸⁵ Lenoir, "Notice sur l'origine de l'architecture appelée improprement gothique," 341-354 and Alexandre Lenoir, *Observations sur l'origine et l'emploi de l'ogive dans l'architecture* (Paris: 1819). See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839). According to Mary Shepard, Lenoir developed this idea from the seventeenth-century historian François Eudes de Mézeray. See Mary Shepard, "L'œuf sacré: Alexandre Lenoir's Cour Arabe and the Pointed Arch," in *Medieval Art and Architecture after the Middle Ages*, ed. Janet T. Marquardt and Alyce A. Jordan, 149-170 (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009).

²⁸⁶ *Catalogue des Antiquités et objets d'art qui composent le cabinet de M. le Chevalier Alexandre Lenoir* (Paris: 1837). See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

²⁸⁷ *Catalogue des Antiquités et objets d'art qui composent le cabinet de M. le Chevalier Alexandre Lenoir* (1837). Lenoir remained dedicated to his theory of universal cultural transmission for the remainder of this life. In 1834, he published his findings of cultural parallels between the origin, meanings, and religious uses of monuments from ancient Egypt, Mexico, India, Greece, and Rome. The publication was the collaboration of several scientists and scholars, including the esteemed German naturalist, Alexander von Humboldt. Alexandre Lenoir, "D'un parallèle de ces anciens monuments mexicains avec ceux de l'Égypte, de l'Indostan et du reste de l'ancien monde," in *Antiquités mexicaines, relation des trois expéditions ordonnées par le Roi d'Espagne en 1805, 1806 et 1807, pour la recherche*

ancient Egypt, India, Japan, Greece, and Rome. These collections were outside of the chronology of medieval and Renaissance monuments of the museum. However, for Lenoir, both the collections of plaster casts of classical antiquities housed above the Thirteenth-Century Room and his private cabinet of eclectic art objects from around the world augmented universal meanings within the chronology of the Musée des monuments français. All art was part of the same symbolic language.

3.6 UNIVERSAL SYMBOLISM AND NATIONAL HISTORY

In 1800, Lenoir collaborated with architect Charles Percier on the design of the frontispieces of the first five volumes of the illustrated catalog.²⁸⁸ The frontispiece for the first volume functioned as a didactic tool that trained the eye of the visitor to read associations and meanings created by the organization of the Introduction Hall. (Figure 3.8) A simple grid organized a group of objects that Lenoir considered important to understanding the origins of French art. In the upper row, Lenoir included a laurel wreath, the *Vase de Cana*, and *L'empire du temps sur la monde*.²⁸⁹ The *Vase de Cana* was a first-century alabaster vase from Palestine or Syria, which Lenoir labeled as "oriental." *L'empire du temps sur la monde* was a sixteenth-century bas-relief featuring a female figure of Time riding on top of the world, which was represented as a ship navigated by Fortune at the sails and Death at the rudder. In his description of the bas-relief, which he classified as an

des antiquités antérieures à la découverte du Mexique, Second Part (Paris: Jules Didot-l'Aine, 1834), 5-24. See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

²⁸⁸ Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français*, vol. 1, *Frontispiece*.

²⁸⁹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Vase de Cana*, 12.35 and *L'empire du temps sur le monde*, 12.36.

antiquity rather than a sixteenth-century object, Lenoir reflected that Time was the master of the choices of man. The inclusion of both *L'empire du temps sur la mon, e* and the *Vase de Cana* in the frontispiece pointed to the deep universal origins of all art. The next row fused ancient and medieval Paris by flanking *Notre Dame de la Carole* with two carved blocks representing Jupiter and Tarvos Trigaranos from the *Pillar of the Boatmen*.²⁹⁰ Below *Notre Dame de la Carole*, Lenoir and Percier presented a group of medieval objects, including an eleventh-century *guêtre*, or foot covering, from the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près; a detailed drawing of the pattern decorating the *guêtre* and an unidentified medieval similar to the *gisant* of Dagobert located in the Élysée.²⁹¹

The general organization of the *tableau* was borrowed from the comparative drawings of natural specimens by naturalists and anatomists. Within a grid, Lenoir and Percier represented a carefully selected collection of architectural decorations, funerary monuments, devotional sculptures, and costumes drawn at various scales. The diverse group of objects reflected Lenoir's interest in the historical significance of objects of daily use and other cultural artifacts not typically associated with artistic value. The grid of objects was organized without reference to temporality or chronology. However, the emphasis on the eleventh-century *guêtre* and the *Pillar of the Boatman*, both discovered under religious buildings during the eighteenth century, highlighted the benefit of the ongoing archeological and historical project that the Revolution and the reorganization of national property had accelerated.

²⁹⁰ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Block of Juptier, Pillar of the Boatmen*, 2.3.

²⁹¹ Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 162-166. The *guêtres* were discovered with the body of Abbot Ingon at the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près as part of exploratory excavations in 1798. They were not part of the collection of the Musée des monuments français, but Lenoir participated in the exhumations and discussed the tombs and their contents, particularly well-preserved clothing, in great detail in the catalog. Ingon was the abbot of the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près from 1014 to 1026.

Together, the individual objects formed a taxonomy of the deep symbolic origins of French art. Readers of Lenoir's catalog could identify the Virgin Mary as a Christian icon as well as a universal symbol that pointed to the foundational origins of all religion in nature. The frontispiece embedded the body of the king and Christian time into the universal history of mankind. The real and symbolic exposure of the body of the monarch had opened a deeper history of France. Historical time, in Winckelmann's terms, was defined by socio-political context. For Lenoir, the body of the monarch was intrinsically tied to historical time, yet the history of France was no longer defined by a chronology of kingship. This change opened an opportunity for Lenoir to shape the individual, national, and universal aspects of French art beyond royal history and Christian time.

In the Introduction Hall, Lenoir presented a complex intersection of the national origins, universal symbolism and individual achievements of French art. The three distinct types of ensembles in the Introduction Hall - the artifacts representing the origins of French art at the entrance, the axis of masterpieces in the center, and the sculptural portraits along the walls - were together untethered to chronological time. Instead, the monuments of the Introduction Hall were doubly legible as physiognomic portraits of individual historical figures and universal symbols. Lenoir destabilized the royal history of France by mapping direct relationships between historical individuals and coded meanings that transcended historical time. Royal bodies were incorporated into the system, but they were no longer the symbolic head or physical center. As such, historical and chronological time was not central to the experience of the Introduction Hall. Instead, temporality was layered and multidimensional. Here, an artifact manifested its most ancient origin and its most recent application in a single glance. As exemplified in the layered meaning Lenoir inscribed onto the Gothic ogive arch, a monument could simultaneously be universal and

temporalized, ancient and contemporary, and the product of cultural transmission and a national tradition. Within this fluid network of temporalities, Lenoir presented the visitor with a new relationship between the individual and history beyond the limits of Christian time, embedded in a complex, layered negotiation of universal symbolism, individual achievement, and the struggle for autonomy.

4.0 MAKING A HISTORICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL MUSEUM: TAXONOMY AND THEATER IN THE CENTURY ROOMS

Themes of uncovering and revealing permeate Lenoir's writing, reinforcing the concept that the French Revolution, and more specifically the arrangements of the Musée des monuments français, exposed historical truths previously hidden from view under the *ancien régime*. In the Introduction Hall, Lenoir employed the sculptural ensemble to present a hieroglyphic overview of French art. In the century rooms, the sculptural ensemble evolved into a fully immersive architectural setting dominated by the visible body of the monarch. Each century room was, according to Lenoir, a historical portrait that could reveal the essential character of its era.²⁹² Physiognomy had a double application for Lenoir. The physiognomy of the face exposed the inner moral character of those who shaped history and the character of a particular historical period was marked on every product of its material culture. This chapter explores the intersection of eighteenth-century theories of sensation and taxonomy in the organization and experience of the "physiognomy" of each century room. To direct the gaze of the visitor to engage with a uniquely immersive experience of historical time, Lenoir employed a systematic spatial datum to translate the collection of the Petits-Augustins Dépôt into a chronology, then integrated the chronology and the legible body into a history of French art and architecture.

The visitor entered the Thirteenth-Century Room through a pair of Gothic portals at the north end of the Introduction Hall. The Fourteenth-, Fifteenth-, Sixteenth-, and Seventeenth-

²⁹² Alexandre Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 6th ed. (Year X, 1802), 146, 164. Discussing the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Rooms, Lenoir refers to the room design as the « portrait d'un siècle » See Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

Century Rooms framed the north and west sides of the cloister gallery that opened onto a small central garden. The five century rooms led the visitor through French art, architecture, and history from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth century. An Eighteenth-Century Room was planned but never completed. Leaving the Introduction Hall for the century rooms meant a change of state, and the guiding temporal organization shifted from the layered codification of the universal and national origins of French art to a defined chronological sequence. Like in the Introduction Hall, Lenoir used artifacts and decorative elements from disparate sources. However, in the century rooms, Lenoir employed these objects to create immersive architectural environments. Lenoir reconstructed monuments to generate new symmetries and associations used sculptures as architectural screens and repurposed tombs as architectural ornament.

The legible body of the king offered an apt vehicle for Lenoir to reconstruct a narrative from the material culture of the *ancien régime*. Royal bodies had been historicized into legible objects and temporalized by the exhumations of Saint-Denis. Before the Revolution, the royal tombs had been grouped in one sacred space, a literal manifestation of the immortality of the kingship and the body politic. In the century rooms, the eternal continuity was interrupted and replaced by clear temporal boundaries and a compartmentalized vision of time as a sequence of discrete historical units. Meaning was folded into the temporality and corporality of the royal funerary monument, which was both a tangible historical record of the physiognomy of the man who shaped his century and a testament to the achievement and accomplishment of the artist who created it.

Yet the legible body alone was not enough. In Lenoir's interpretation, adopted from the work of Johann Joachim Winckelmann, monarchs encouraged or limited artistic invention and accomplishment by oppressing or reinforcing artistic freedom. Lenoir needed to integrate disparate

architectural and sculptural sources into a systematic taxonomy driven by the legibility of the historical - or moral - character of each era. His solution was a complex negotiation of chronology and history, royal power and artistic agency, and sensory experience and scientific taxonomy. Most critically, Lenoir engrossed the visitor in a meditation on the limits of individual autonomy within complex historical systems. The century rooms comprised systematic distillations of an idea about historical time embodied within immersive *tableau* in which historical knowledge could be revealed through sensory experience.

4.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL MUSEUM

Lenoir's choice of a chronological arrangement and his eagerness to integrate Winckelmann's art historical work into the organization of his museum were both part of broader shifts in eighteenth-century viewing practices. In earlier eighteenth-century collections, paintings were often installed in crowded symmetrical displays. The mixed-school arrangement, which emphasized the formal qualities of paintings and corresponded to academic art theory, was popular in early eighteenth-century European art galleries. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, manuals for viewing art in galleries such as André Félibien's *Entretiens sur les views et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintures anciens et modernes* (1685-88) and Roger de Piles' *Cours de peintre par principes* (1708) provided a framework for the verbal and social skills necessary for connoisseurship and comparative viewing practice.²⁹³ In the eighteenth century, guidebooks and

²⁹³ On the manuals of André Félibien (1619-1695) and Roger de Piles (1635-1709) see Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes*, (Paris: Jacques Estienne, 1708) and André Félibien, *Entretiens sur les views et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintures anciens et modernes* (Paris: Simon Bernard, 1685-1688). For more

catalogs expanded viewing practices to public museums. Guidebooks were typically unillustrated and provided pertinent information intended to be used by visitors as they walked through the museum. Catalogs, on the other hand, functioned as virtual and mobile museums and were frequently illustrated with engravings of the works on display. Catalogs disseminated a museum's collection to a broader viewing public in the form of a book.

Piles' *Cours de painter par principes* and its comparative numerical rating system, *Balance de peintres*, provided a framework for viewing mixed-school arrangements and a structure for judging artists against one another based on coloring, composition, drawing, and expression.²⁹⁴ Pictures were organized according to personal, regional, or historical criteria to allow visitors to compare their qualities. Paintings and sculptures were usually segregated into distinct galleries. Modern and ancient works were also typically separated, but exceptions existed. In 1750, the Palais du Luxembourg featured two mixed-school galleries where French, Italian, Dutch and Flemish paintings were displayed together, and two additional galleries were dedicated exclusively to French and Italian painting.²⁹⁵ These galleries were embellished with opulent furniture displaying fine porcelains and sculpture.

Though the transformation of the Louvre into a public museum had been initially proposed during the *ancien régime*, the project was achieved during the French Revolution and was thus associated with the triumph over despotism. The primary debate surrounding logistics of opening a public museum in the former palace concerned the organization of the masterpieces in the Grande Galerie. The central question was whether to hang the paintings using the traditional mixed-school

information, see Carol Paul, "Preface" and "Introduction," in *The First Modern Museums of Art*, ed. Paul. xiii and 5-7.

²⁹⁴ McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, 33, 107-108. For *Balance de peintres*, see Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes*.

²⁹⁵ McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, 13-48.

method or a system of organization defined by historical or geographical criteria. Artists preferred the mixed school method, which facilitated dialogue, art criticism, and artistic education. Alternatively, chronological and national arrangements inspired by Winckelmann shaped larger historical and political sequences over time and were closely associated with scientific taxonomies. When the Louvre opened to the public as the Musée central des arts on August 10, 1793, the Grande Galerie and its catalog were incomplete. By the time the Grande Galerie was opened permanently on July 14, 1801, chronological arrangements had become more prominent. The paintings were arranged roughly by school and in chronological order, with special preference given to specific aesthetic comparisons and symmetry.²⁹⁶

During the first years of the French Revolution, Winckelmann's theory was celebrated because it could be easily assimilated into the popular view that the new conditions of liberty would produce a flourishing artistic tradition after the degradation of *ancien régime* court culture and the stifled academies. In 1795, the Commission temporaire des arts decreed that copies of Jansen's 1790 translation of Winckelmann's *L'Histoire de l'art chez le anciens* be placed in every museum of art and the principal libraries of the Republic.²⁹⁷ However, the French debates were indebted to broader European innovations in the development of princely galleries and public museums that integrated Winckelmann's ideas into a variety of contexts. Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, innovative arrangements for grouping works by geographically defined schools were introduced in German galleries, first at the Dresden picture gallery, then in

²⁹⁶ Andrew McClellan, "Musée du Louvre, Paris: Palace for the People, Art for All" in *The First Modern Museums of Art*, ed. Paul, 222-228. The Louvre closed shortly after the festival. The museum was opened briefly again a year later, closed in 1796, and opened once more in 1801.

²⁹⁷ Tuetey, ed., *Procès-verbaux de la Commission temporaire des arts*, 117. « La nouvelle édition des œuvres de Winckelmann sera placée dans chaque musée d'art et dans les principaux bibliothèques de la République. » Quoted in Dominique Poulot, "La Naissance du Musée," in *Aux armes & aux arts ! Les arts de la Révolution 1789-1799*, directed by Philippe Bordes and Michel Régis (Paris: Adam Biro, 1988), 226.

Düsseldorf, and finally systematically at Vienna's Galarie Belvedere.²⁹⁸ The Galarie Belvedere was organized between 1779 and 1791 by Christian von Mechel, a Basel printmaker, and friend of Winckelmann. Mechel separated Italian, Netherlandish and German paintings into national galleries, and further subdivided the Italian paintings by Roman, Venetian, Lombard, Florentine, and Bolognese schools. Within the Italian groupings, he arranged all paintings by a single artist together, and these were then organized chronologically within each school. This organization demonstrated both the development of various artistic traditions as well as the evolution of individual artist's oeuvres. The Netherlandish and German galleries were arranged chronologically. The German galleries following the Habsburg monarchs' successive reigns, using Winckelmann's conception of art as a historical system to promote the Hapsburg legacy as long-standing "fathers of the arts."²⁹⁹

In sculpture museums, thematic and chronological innovations were underway at the Musei Capitolini and the Museo Pio-Clementino in Rome. At the Musei Capitolini, Alessandro Gregorio Capponi pioneered the use of a chronological strategy in combination with thematic organization.³⁰⁰ The Musei Capitolini was opened to a limited public in 1733 under Pope Clement XII. Capponi was committed to the benefit that first-hand analysis of antiquities and other ancient objects could provide antiquarians, as opposed to the more established study of ancient texts. In this way, the new public museum did not operate as a princely cabinet but was akin to a repository of learning, modeled after the organization of a book. Capponi grouped sculptures into galleries

²⁹⁸ Paul, ed., *The First Modern Museums of Art*, xiii, 5-7 and de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes*.

²⁹⁹ On Christian von Mechel (1737-1817) and Vienna's Galarie Belvedere, see Michael Yohan, "Kunsthistorisches Museum/Belvedere, Vienna," in *The First Modern Museums of Art*, ed. Carol Paul, 173-176.

³⁰⁰ On Alessandro Gregorio Capponi (1683-1746) and the Musei Capitolini, see Chapter 6 in Heather Hyde Minor, *The Culture of Architecture in Enlightenment Rome* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Press, 2010), and Paul ed., *The First Modern Museums of Art*, 27-37.

based on type and theme. Most notably, he isolated the busts of the emperors, normally combined with other objects, into a single gallery. These sculptures were then organized chronologically according to the reign of the emperors. The gallery was not richly ornamented, and the busts were displayed on simple shelves that encouraged rigorous comparison. The organization was logical, transparent, and heeded contemporary scientific norms.

The Museo Pio-Clementino at the Vatican in Rome was founded in 1771 under Pope Clement XIV. In contrast to the Musei Capitolini, which translated antiquities into legible taxonomies with didactic clarity, the organizational strategy at the Museo Pio-Clementino depended less on placing objects by type or chronological order, and instead oriented statues, busts, alters, reliefs, and architectural pieces around contextual and historical themes. The organization of the Museo Pio-Clementino created suggestive "tableaux:" Egypt was represented in the atrium, Rome in the Rotunda, and Greece in the Hall of Muses. Moreover, the Museo Pio-Clementino fostered the growing pedagogical role of sensation, mood, and emotion in the museum displays, providing "fantasies of access" to origins and the "promise of the experience of unmediated reality."³⁰¹ The fact that Winckelmann had directly engaged and written about the masterpieces in the Roman collection enhanced this phenomenon. Visiting in 1787, Johann Wolfgang Goethe brought Winckelmann's *Geshichte der Kunst des Alterhums* instead of the museum's guidebook, so that he could read it "on the spot where it was written."³⁰² Michelangelo Simonette, the architect of the Vatican, designed semi-private *gabinetti* that enabled the immediate and personal experience

³⁰¹ On the Museo Pio-Clementino and Michelangelo Simonette (Italian 1724-1781), see Jeffery Collins, "A Nation of Statues: Museums and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Rome," in *Architecture Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors*, ed. Amy Baxter and Meredith Marin (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 193-207.

³⁰² Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Italian Journey*, trans. by W. H. Auden and Elizabeth Mayer (New York: Pantheon Books, 1962), 136. Quoted in Jeffery Collins, "Museo Pio-Clementino, Vatican City: Ideology and Aesthetics in the Age of the Grand Tour," in *The First Modern Museums of Art*, ed. Carol Paul, 130.

of the antiquities popularized by Winckelmann. For Winckelmann himself, these spaces promoted a viewing practice characterized by emotional engagement and unhindered immersion:

In gazing upon this masterpiece, I forget all else, and I myself adopt an elevated stance in order to be worthy of beholding it. My chest seems to expand with veneration and to heave like those I have seen swollen as if by the spirit of prophecy, and I feel myself transported to Delos and to Lycian groves, places Apollo honored with his presence- for my image seems to assume life and movement, like Pygmalion's beauty.³⁰³

Lenoir's medieval and Renaissance objects were not considered masterpieces by contemporary standards. In the Introduction Hall and the century rooms, he resolved this issue by creating and manipulating sculptural and architectural ensembles of objects. In the century rooms, the chronology took precedence. In his first foray into museological organization, *Essai sur le Musæum de peinture* (1793), Lenoir suggested organizing painting and sculpture chronologically within distinct galleries dedicated to Egyptian, Etruscan, and Indian antiquities; ancient Greek sculpture; modern sculpture; and painting.³⁰⁴ This arrangement assumed the objects on display were understood as art objects and echoed other organizational strategies suggested for the Grande Galerie of the Louvre and achieved in the German museums. However, at the Musée des monuments français, Lenoir did not have a collection he could arrange into a single dialogue about pictorial qualities, artist's œuvres, or academic theory. Instead, he cultivated a solution for the century rooms that fell between the organizational rigor of the Musei Capitolini and the evocative experience of the Museo Pio-Clementino. Lenoir integrated the didactic clarity of the chronological arrangement into an immersive spectacle experienced through the senses.³⁰⁵

³⁰³ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of the Art of Antiquity*, trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2006), 334. Quoted in Jeffery Collins, "Museo Pio-Clementino, Vatican City," 123.

³⁰⁴ Lenoir, *Essai sur le Musæum de peinture*. See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

³⁰⁵ Lenoir never traveled to Rome, but he was well-connected within the artistic and cultural circles of Paris, and both collections were known to him.

4.2 SENSATION AND EXPRESSION IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ARCHITECTURE

Inspired by John Locke, eighteenth-century French sensationalist philosophers, most notably Étienne Bonnot de Condillac and Claude Adrien Helvétius, explored the senses as the origin of all judgment, ideas, and knowledge of the external world.³⁰⁶ In *Traité des sensations* (1754) Condillac described his famous thought experiment in which a statue, having never had an idea or a sense-impression, was granted the ability to smell a rose. The sense of smell activated pleasure and pain, followed by memory. Memory then elucidated comparison, and eventually, judgment. Frequent comparison and judgment developed the association of ideas. Condillac's statue was able to unlock each human cognitive capability from that first fragrant rose. For Condillac, language was a system of signs that enabled a sensation to become an idea. When used correctly and precisely, language was a method for analyzing the capacity of the sensations. However, Condillac found human communication lacking and ill-defined, and, as such, argued for greater precision in language.³⁰⁷ In *De l'esprit* (1758), Helvétius contended that talent or virtue had nothing to do with physiology: all accomplishment and error stemmed from interactions of the external world on the passions. Human beings were primarily motivated by the natural desire to maximize pleasure and minimize pain. Following a model of the human mind as a blank state, Helvétius argued for the natural equality of all people. Individual differences were shaped by external variables. Education, when

³⁰⁶ John Locke (1632-1704) postulated that at birth the mind was a blank slate or a tabula rasa and that all knowledge was derived through sense perception, as opposed to Pre-existing Cartesian concepts.

³⁰⁷ Étienne-Bonnot de Condillac *Traité des sensations*, 3 vols. (Paris: De Bure, 1754) and O'Neal, *The Authority of Experience*, 36-40.

universally available and properly implemented, had the power to direct man towards sameness. Therefore, for Helvétius, uniform education was the method by which to reform society.³⁰⁸

Sensationalist philosophy extended to architecture, and for many thinkers in the eighteenth century, architectural expression experienced through sensation revealed knowledge of the external world. Eighteenth-century theories of expression were rooted in seventeenth-century challenges to the Vitruvian doctrine and the authority of Classical architecture. After the foundation of the Académie royale d'architecture in 1671, architectural-academics needed to solidify their authority as the official representatives of the building profession. These scholars worked to formulate an official architectural doctrine derived from the Classical treatises and the study of Roman buildings, establish the correct proportions of the orders, and define good taste. In response to his colleague François Blondel, who maintained that beauty in architectural proportion was the result of absolute principles based on nature, Claude Perrault eschewed a unified theory of beauty or harmony.³⁰⁹ He developed a thesis on “positive beauty,” which was based on “convincing reason,” or the quality of materials, massing, and craftsmanship, and “arbitrary beauty,” which depended on habit, association, and cultural convention. Positive beauty was the result of common sense, while arbitrary beauty fell under the auspices of taste and imagination. Claude Perrault introduced an understanding of architecture based on cultural relativity and the effect of the building on the spectator.

³⁰⁸ Claude-Adrian Helvetius, *De l'esprit* (Paris: Durand, 1758) and O'Neal, *The Authority of Experience*, 83-104.

³⁰⁹ Louis Pelletier, *Architecture in Words: Theatre, Language, and Sensuous Space of Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2006), 12-13. Claude Perrault (1613-1688) was a physician, architect, and a member of the Académie Royal des Sciences. He designed of the east façade of the Louvre. See Claude Perrault, *Ordonnance des cinq espèces de colonnes selon la methode des anciens* (Paris: Coignard, 1683). François Blondel (1618-1686) was the first director and professor at the Académie Royale d'Architecture and the author of *Cours d'architecture* (1675-1683). On Perrault and Blondel, see Anthony Gerbino, *François Blondel: Architecture, Erudition, and the Scientific Revolution* (London: Routledge, 2010) and Antoine Picon, *Claude Perrault, 1613-1688, ou la curiosité d'un classique* (Paris: Picard, 1988).

In the eighteenth-century, architectural theorists shifted from an emphasis on the representation of social status, or *convenance*, to modes of architectural evaluation based on specified internal and external criteria, or *caractère*.³¹⁰ Architects, including Étienne-Louis Boullée, Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, and Sir John Soane, developed concepts of architectural expression based on the notion of sensibility. Boullée's definition of *caractère* integrated sensualist philosophy into a notion of function: "to give *caractère* to a work is to employ with justice the means that produce no other sensations in the beholder's mind than those that result from the subject (of the building)."³¹¹ Boullée explored the "poetry of architecture," and defined character as the sensation or impression provoked by forms based on a building's purpose. These theories led him to develop vast imaginary architectural projects based on geometric volume and the effects of light and shadow.³¹² As the needs of social convention receded to the background, architecture emerged from plastic forms embodied with meaning that could "speak" to the senses. Boullée's notion of *caractère* enabled the development of a "typological eclecticism" divorced from the classical tradition.³¹³

Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières treated architecture as an active player in various social

³¹⁰ Grignon and Maxim, "Convenance, Caractère, and the Public Sphere," 29-37.

³¹¹ Étienne-Louis Boullée, *Architecture: Essai sur l'art* (Paris: Hermann, 1968), 73. « Mettre du caractère dans un ouvrage, c'est employer avec justesse tous les moyens propres à ne nous faire trouver d'autres sensations que celles qui doivent résulter du sujet. » Boullée wrote *Essai sur l'art* between 1778 and 1788, but it was not published until 1953. Étienne-Louis Boullée (1728-1799) was an architect and instructor at the École nationale des ponts et chaussées. Boullée studied under Jacques-François Blondel. He was known for his expressive paper projects, notably the colossal Cenotaph for Sir Isaac Newton. On Boullée, see Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Étienne-Louis Boullée (1728-1799) Theoretician of Revolutionary Architecture*, trans. James Emmons (New York: Braziller, 1974) and Helen Rosenau, *Boullée and Visionary Architecture, including Boullée's Architecture, Essay on Art*. (New York: Harmony Books, 1976).

³¹² Boullée, *Architecture: Essai sur l'art*. 48. « Il m'a semblé que pour mettre dans l'architecture cette poésie enchanteresse dont elle est susceptible, je devais faire des recherches sur la théorie des corps, les analyser, chercher à reconnaître leurs propriétés, leur puissance sur nos sens, leur analogie avec notre organisation. »

³¹³ Grignon and Maxim, "Convenance, Caractère, and the Public Sphere," 36.

interactions with spectators.³¹⁴ In *Le génie de l'architecture* (1780), Le Camus de Mézières presented a detailed description of an ideal *hôtel particulier*; using architecture to evoke specific emotions. He produced the most developed theory of character and architectural expression based on an analogy between physical sensation and the experience of architectural space:

It is, then, the arrangement of forms, their character, and their combinations which become an inexhaustible source of illusion. It is from these principles that we must begin, whenever we intend to arouse emotion through Architecture, when we wish to speak to the mind and stir the soul, rather than content ourselves to build by piling stone on stone, imitating arrangements at random and borrowing ornaments without reflection. Effects and sensations spring from the considered intention that governs the ensemble, the proportions, and the agreement of the various parts.³¹⁵

Le Camus de Mézières developed a "spatial interpretation of the contemporary experiential perception of temporality."³¹⁶ He described movement through architectural space as a linear narrative wherein the transitional spaces announced the character of the next room:

Each room must have its own particular character. The analogy of the relation of the proportion decides our sensations; each room makes us want the next; and this engages our minds and holds them in suspense. It is satisfaction itself.³¹⁷

Le Camus de Mézières believed that the experience of architecture could inspire a range of sensations and emotions: "In examining a monument, we experience different sensations that

³¹⁴ Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, *Le génie de l'architecture, ou, l'analogie de cet art avec nos sensation* (Paris: Morin, 1780). On Le Camus de Mézières (1721-1793), see Pelletier, *Architecture in Words: Theatre, Language, and Sensuous Space of Architecture* and Robin Middleton, "Introduction," in Nicholas Le Camus de Mézières, *The Genius of Architecture, or, the Analogy of that Art with our Sensations*, trans. David Britt. (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of the Arts and the Humanities, 1992).

³¹⁵ Le Camus de Mézières, *Le génie de l'architecture*, 7. « Ce sont donc les dispositions des formes, leur caractère, leur ensemble qui deviennent le fond inépuisable des illusions. C'est de ce principe qu'il faut partir, lorsqu'on prétend dans l'Architecture produire des affections, lorsqu'on veut parler à l'esprit, émouvoir l'ame, & ne pas se contenter, en bâtissant de placer pierres sur pierres, & d'imiter au hasard des dispositions, des ornements convenus ou empruntés sans méditation. L'intention motivée dans l'ensemble, les proportions & l'accord des différences parties produisent les effets & les sensations. »

³¹⁶ Pelletier, *Architecture in Words*, 194

³¹⁷ Le Camus de Mézières, *Le génie de l'architecture*, 45. « Chaque piece doit avoir son caractère particulier. L'analogie, le rapport des proportions, decident nos sensations; une piece fait désirer l'autre; cette agitation occupe & tient en suspens les esprits, c'est un genre de jouissance qui satisfait. »

oppose one another: here, gaiety, there, melancholy."³¹⁸ He was dedicated to understanding the effect of architecture on all the senses, evoking light, shade, color, touch, and even smell.³¹⁹ Architecture could influence the relationship between the mind and the senses through the expression of character.³²⁰ The theory of Le Camus de Mézières testified to the rise of the subjective individual: the "gradations of ornamentation, succession of spaces, and emotional climax" of the architectural narrative must be experienced uniquely by each spectator.³²¹

Sir John Soane extended a theatrical metaphor to architecture.³²² In the Royal Academy Lecture in 1808, Soane compared the experience of moving through a building to a play. For Soane, the theatricality of architecture equated to the sensation of moving through a carefully orchestrated sequence of spaces:

The front of a building is like the prologue of a play, it prepares us for what we are to expect. If the outside promises more than we find in the middle, we are disappointed. The plot opens itself in the first act and is carried on through the remainder, through all the mazes of character, convenience of arrangement, elegance, and propriety of ornaments, and lastly produces a complete whole in distribution, decoration, and construction.³²³

Soane began converting his London home at 13 Lincoln Inn Fields into a museum for his personal collection around 1808. The collection included the sarcophagus of Seti I, Greek and

³¹⁸Le Camus de Mézières, *Le génie de l'architecture*, 4. « En examinant un monument, nous éprouvons différents sensations opposées les unes aux autres: là, c'est la gaieté, ici, la mélancolie. »

³¹⁹ Middleton, "Introduction," *The Genius of Architecture*, 56.

³²⁰ Pelletier, *Architecture in Words*, 155. In Jean-François Bastide's famous novel, *La petite maison* (1758), a well-designed house participates in the seduction of a young girl, Mélite, by leading her through a succession of rooms that gradually increase in ornamentation. In *Le génie d'architecture*, Le Camus de Mézières' description follows the same route through his house as Mélite's seduction.

³²¹ Pelletier, *Architecture in Words*, 6-7.

³²² Sir John Soane (1753-1837) was a prominent British architect and professor at the Royal Academy. Soane visited the Musée des monuments français in 1808 and owned all eight volumes of Lenoir's illustrated catalog. His house-museum can be compared to the Musée des monuments français for its theatricality, but the origin of the two museums was entirely different. Soane's museum was a private collection opened to a limited public. Soane's primary intent was, like Lenoir's, pedagogical. He hoped to provide architecture students without the ability to travel the opportunity to study history through objects, models, fragments, and plaster casts.

³²³ David Watkin, ed., *Sir John Soane: The Royal Academy Lectures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 187-188.

Roman bronzes, cinerary urns, Roman mosaics, sculptural fragments and busts, medieval architectural decorations and stained glass, as well as Chinese ceramics, Peruvian pottery, and Indian ivory.³²⁴ The well-lit public spaces on the upper floors gradually led into a labyrinthine sequence of basement rooms, where Soane displayed most of the collection. (Figure 4.1) He organized the objects into eclectic groupings of fragments augmented by architectural features. Architecture dissolved into a series of carefully constructed views. Soane maximized the theatrical effects of shadow, indirect lighting, mirrors, and open and closed spaces to enhance the desired dramatic effect.³²⁵ He led visitors through an unfolding succession of scenes, alternating between viewing spaces and entering into them. Soane's house-museum "theatricalized" its audience by challenging established relations and legitimated distances between the spectator and spectacle.³²⁶ The immersive, shifting, dynamic viewing experience was a constant reminder of the spectator's corporal participation in the spectacle.

Lenoir designed the century rooms with the understanding that specific architectural arrangements, lighting, and settings would provoke a relatable emotional response or mood in his visitors. As in the work of Le Camus de Mézières, the century rooms unfolded as a sequence of architectural spaces in which sensation revealed architectural character. For Lenoir, the expressive quality of architecture translated into the essential moral character of the century. The Thirteenth-Century Room was gloomy and melancholic, the Sixteenth-Century Room was triumphant, and the Seventeenth-Century Room was banal. Like Soane, Lenoir theatricalized the spaces of the museum and physically engaged his audience in the spectacle. On special occasions, Lenoir sought

³²⁴ Helen Dorey, ed., *A New Description of Sir John Soane's Museum*, 9th ed. (London: Trustees of the Sir John Soane's Museum, 1991), 84-85.

³²⁵ Caroline van Eck, *Art, Agency, and Living Presence: From the Animated Image to the Excessive Object* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2015), 166.

³²⁶ Helene Furjan, *Glorious Visions: John Soane's Spectacular Theater* (London, Routledge, 2011), 47.

ways to enhance the sensory experience of the museum. He organized torchlight tours with musical accompaniment for elite visitors, and, in 1810, illuminated the stained-glass windows in honor of the second marriage of Napoleon.³²⁷

The architectural creations in the century rooms were not re-creations of the past; they *were* the past, remnants of a lost language that Lenoir unearthed and made legible in a museum to "speak to all eyes."³²⁸ For Lenoir and many visitors to the Musée des monuments français, the architectural framing and new proximity of so many sculptural portraits collapsed the temporal distance between the viewer and the past-ness of the historical figures represented. Lenoir's visitor was expected to become emotionally engaged in the musicological display, which purported to bring the dead to life or plunge the spectator into the past. Historian Jules Michelet recalled the vivid experience of visiting the Musée des monuments français as a child:

Even now I recall the feeling, still just the same and still stirring, that made my heart beat when, as a small child, I would enter beneath those dark vaults and gaze at the pale faces; and would then, keen, curious, and timid, walk and look, room after room, epoch after epoch. What was I looking for I hardly knew- the life of the time was the spirit of the age. I was not altogether certain they were not alive, all those marble sleepers, stretched out on their tombs. And when I moved from the sumptuous monuments of the sixteenth century, glowing with alabaster, to the low room of the Merovingians, in which was to be found the sword of Dagobert, I felt it possible that I would suddenly see Childéric and Frédégonde raise themselves and sit up.³²⁹

³²⁷ On the stained-glass display, see *AMMF*, vol. 3, 132. There are two accounts of torchlight visits to the Musée des monuments français. John Forbes recorded a torchlight visit with the Institut nationale in 1804. Lenoir similarly illuminated the museum for a visit by Joséphine in 1807. Forbes, *Letters from France Written in the Years 1803 & 1804*, 406-7 and Meunier and Pougetoux "Alexandre Lenoir et l'Impératrice Joséphine : Une amitié intéresse?" 59. See Appendix C, Firsthand accounts of the Musée des monuments français. On the practice of torchlight visits in general, see Claudia Mattos, "The Torchlight Visit: Guiding the Eye through Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Antique Sculpture Galleries." in *Critical Exchange: Art Criticism of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries in Russia and Western Europe*, ed. Carol Adlam and Juliet Simpson (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), 129-151.

³²⁸ Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 51. « Il doit...parler à tous les yeux. »

³²⁹ Michelet, *Histoire de la Revolution française*, vol. 8. « Je me rappelle encore l'émotion, toujours la même et toujours vive, qui me faisait battre le cœur, quand, tout petit, j'entrais sous ces voûtes sombres et contemplais ces visages pâles, quand j'allais et cherchais, ardent, curieux, craintif, de salle en salle et âge en âge. Je cherchais quoi? Je ne le sais ; la vie d'alors, sans doute, et le génie des temps. Je n'étais pas bien sûr qu'ils ne vécussent point, tous ces somptueux monuments du XVI^e siècle éblouissants d'alâtre, je passais à la salle basse de Mérovingiens où se trouvait la croix de Dagobert, je ne savais pas trop si je ne verrais point se mettre sur leur séant Chilpéric et

Visiting the Musée des monuments français in 1802, British writer Anne Plumptre found herself "surrounded within the same space, at the same moment of time, by persons whose hours and places of existence were far removed alike from ourselves and each other."³³⁰ The century rooms immersed the visitor in the first-hand experience of the distinctive emotive expression Lenoir associated with the era represented, which had the effect of bringing to "life" the statues and effigies of historical figures displayed in the museum. The phenomenon collapsed representational space, temporal distance, and hierarchal relationships between the spectator and the spectacle, which enabled the visitors to symbolically engage with the historical figures who populated the museum. For Plumptre, the experience of the Musée des monuments français encouraged the unmediated contemplation of the "honored dead, and the art employed in doing them honor" because there was "nothing to break in upon the train of reflection which such an assemblage is calculated to excite."³³¹ These decorative environments were critical to the experience of the Musée des monuments français because, as Plumptre observed, as "specimens of sculpture," alone, the collection of Musée des monuments français could not compare with the masterpieces in the Louvre.³³² The museum became a sensory stage leading visitors into the temporal imaginary through architectural expression.

Fredégonde » Translation from Haskell, *History and Its Images*, 252. See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

³³⁰ Anne Plumptre, *A Narrative of Three Years Residence in France, Principally in the Southern Departments from the Year 1802 to 1805; Including Some Authentic Particulars Respecting the Early Life of the French Emperor and a General Inquiry into his Character*, vol. 1 (London: J. Mawman, J. Ridgeway, J. Clarke, B. Crosby and Co., and Constable and Co., 1810), 31. See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

³³¹ Plumptre, *A Narrative of Three Years Residence in France*, 31.

³³² Plumptre, *A Narrative of Three Years Residence in France*, 31-32.

4.3 HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY IN THE CENTURY ROOMS

The architectural settings of the century rooms needed to create a believable backdrop for the living presence of history that captivated Lenoir's visitors. Lenoir wrestled between designing an immersive spectacle intensified by fantasies of the dead come to life and constructing a legible scientific record of history.³³³ At the center of this conflict was the methodological direction of the century rooms. Returning to Lenoir's critical evocation of the physiognomic properties of the century rooms, it is essential to note that Lenoir describes the museum as both "historical" and "chronological:"

The mass of important monuments from all centuries gave me the idea to form a historical and chronological museum, where one would find the ages of French sculpture in distinct halls, and each hall given the character of the exact physiognomy of the century it represents.³³⁴

History and chronology, according to Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy were not mutually exchangeable concepts. For Quatremère de Quincy, the idea of type revealed the historical dimension of architecture. However, within typologies, chronology was telescopic, collapsible, and not itself the substance of history.³³⁵ Thus, Quatremère de Quincy distinguished between a history and a chronology. Winckelmann's work, according to Quatremère de Quincy, "resembled a chronology more than a history," and a mere chronology could not constitute alone a history.³³⁶ Quatremère de Quincy hoped for an architectural treatise that would be

³³³ Van Eck, *Art, Agency, and Living Presence*, 176.

³³⁴ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 5th ed. (Year VIII, 1800), 5-6. « Une masse aussi imposante monumens de tous les siècles me fit naître l'idée d'en former un Musée particulier, historique et chronologique, où l'on retrouvera les âges de la sculpture française dans des salles particulières, en donnant à chacune de ces salles le caractère, la physionomie exacte du siècle qu'elle doit représenter. »

³³⁵ Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, 98.

³³⁶ Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettres sur l'enlèvement des ouvrages de l'art antique à Athènes et à Rome écrites les unes au célèbre Canova les autres au général Miranda* (Paris: 1836), 206. « Quelque estimable

“simultaneously chronological, historical, theoretical, and didactic; a work that could become a universal treatise of art.”³³⁷

Lenoir did not use the word “type” to classify the sequence of architectural spaces he articulated in the century rooms. He instead utilized the terms “genre” and “species” to differentiate between the art historical traditions of different nationalities and eras, “character” to describe the physical and theoretical attributes of genre, and “portrait” to denote the architectural manifestations of character in the century rooms.³³⁸ While Quatremère de Quincy himself certainly did not believe Lenoir succeeded in the creation of a museum of the history of French art and architecture that was both historical and chronological, Lenoir emphasized this feat by titling six editions of his guidebook *Description historique et chronologique des monumens de Sculpture réunis au Musée des monumens français* between 1796 and 1806. Chronology in Lenoir’s lexicon was scientifically-oriented, based deeply in his reading of Winckelmann, and implicitly tied to cyclical-progressive development over time. Lenoir referred to the choice of a chronological arrangement as primarily determined by the nature of the objects themselves:

The chronology of centuries past is an open book in which one reads the march of events, this is how I determined to classify the monuments by time, and to follow in this book the line that was already traced by the nature of things.³³⁹

que soit son Histoire de l’art, elle ressemble toujours plus à une chronologie qu’à une histoire. » Quoted in Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, 98-99.

³³⁷ Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, *Encyclopédie méthodique: Architecture*, vol. 3 (Paris: Agasse, 1825), 313. « Chaque-jour voit accroître, dans des collections nouvelles, le trésor des ruines antiques, et bientôt être me manquera-t-il (et je parle ici de la seule architecture) qu’un homme capable d’en embrasser l’ensemble et d’en faire sortir, dans un ordre à la fois chronologique, historique, théorique et didactique, l’ouvrage qui puisse devenir le traité universel de cet art. » Quoted in Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, 99.

³³⁸ In addition to “caractère” and “portrait,” both cited above, Lenoir first used the term “genre” to describe the periodization of art in *Essai sur le Musæum de peinture* (1793).

³³⁹ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique* 3rd ed. (Year V, 1796-1797), 21. « La chronologie des siècles passés est un livre ouvert, dans lequel on lit la marche des événemens; c’est ce qui m’a déterminé à classer les Monumens par époque, et à suivre dans cet ouvrage la ligne de démarcation qui était déjà tracée par la nature des choses. »

The words "*already traced*" are key. The chronology made legible a hidden past already imprinted on the stones. Additionally, Lenoir subtly indicated his intention to display the monuments by "time" within each room; and each room in chronological order. The century rooms were aligned into a clear chronological sequence around the cloister. Within the interiors of the century rooms, objects were not chronologically arranged. Each century room opened into a unique historical portrait. Historical expression, for Lenoir, was the connective tissue that bound the cultural of a specific era and touched every artifact, from basic utensils to artistic masterpieces. Lenoir's history was as much about the dynamics between the people who produced things as it was about the things they produced. Patrons, artists, architects, sculptors, artisans, and political leaders all came to life in Lenoir's history.

4.4 TAXONOMY AND THE CENTURY ROOMS

Unlike later nineteenth-century period rooms, Lenoir's century rooms did not recreate a specific function or historical place. If, as Lenoir maintained, the century rooms embodied the "exact physiognomy" of their eras and the character of the century was imprinted on every object of material culture, it can be assumed that with the application of the correct method, architectural physiognomies could be decoded like facial physiognomies. Indeed, Lenoir called the century rooms "portraits." For Johann Kaspar Lavater, the silhouette provided the ideal template for analyzing facial physiognomies. The dark outline of the profile of a face against a white field flattened the face, eliminated extraneous detail, and restricted the gaze to what was essential.³⁴⁰

³⁴⁰ For a detailed discussion of the work of Lavater, see Chapter 2.

Lenoir needed a design strategy that trained the spectator to prioritize the historicity of the space above all other associations. Under a less rigorous system of organization, the Musée des monuments français could have easily resembled a church or chapel, given its source material. To accomplish his goal, Lenoir developed and employed a taxonomy.

During the eighteenth century, illustrated architectural histories, including those by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, Julien-David Leroy, and Jean-Nicholas-Louis Durand, explored the intersection of visual knowledge, chronology, and taxonomy. In *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur* (1721), Fischer von Erlach illustrated the history of architecture through a monumental series of individual, distinctive buildings represented in their original contexts. Fischer von Erlach's engravings were organized chronologically, with his own work serving as a capstone at the end of architectural history.³⁴¹ (Figure 4.2) His depiction of the Nanking Pagoda, for example, was drawn in detailed perspective, set in a mountainous landscape, and populated by scores of human figures. Every illustration was an elaborate portrait highlighting the singularity of an architectural masterpiece and its surrounding landscape in an identifiable moment in time.

In his comparative *tableau* of *Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (2nd edition, 1770), Leroy juxtaposed scaled plans and sections of architectural monuments into three familial-chronological timelines.³⁴² (Figure 4.3) In contrast to Fischer von Erlach's evocative illustrations of monumental buildings in specific places and times, Leroy's *tableau* was akin to an

³⁴¹ Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656-1723) was a prolific Baroque architect active primarily in Vienna and Salzburg. Fischer von Erlach's *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur* was one of the first illustrated examples of architectural history and comparative studies of world architecture. He composed the collection for the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles VI. Fischer von Erlach's study challenged the authority of Classicism by emphasizing eclecticism in his architectural models. See Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurf Einer Historischen Architektur: in Abbildung unterschiedener berühmten Gebäude des Alterthums und fremder Völker; umb aus den Geschichtbüchern, Gedächtnißmünzen, Ruinen, und eingeholten wahrhaftigen Abrißen, vor Augen zu stellen* (Vienna, 1721).

³⁴² Armstrong, *Julien-David Leroy and the Making of Architectural History*, 158-160 and Leroy, *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grece*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, Plate 1.

analytical drawing in abstract space. Focusing on religious structures, Leroy encouraged the comparative analysis of forms usually kept separate. The profound architectural innovation of the Christians, according to Leroy, was the fusion of the long-nave basilica with the centralizing dome. Leroy trained the eye of the architect to be “aggressively selective,” like the gaze of a naturalist or a botanist.³⁴³ He concentrated on limiting visual attention to a small range of properties developing over time. Leroy generated an architectural history that was taxonomic and generative. The comparative *tableau* encouraged the close visual analysis of the filiation, mutation, and inheritance of specific forms over time.³⁴⁴

Durand published *Recueil et parallèle des édifices de tout genre anciens et modernes* in 1800, the same year Lenoir began publishing his illustrated catalog.³⁴⁵ (Figure 4.4) Durand produced *Recueil et parallèle* by sifting through three hundred volumes of architectural treatises and distilling from the accumulated mass of knowledge a clear and concise collection. Thus, *Recueil et parallèle* was like a museum, a carefully organized pedagogical collection available to the public much like displays being developed at the same time at the Musée des monuments français. In *Recueil et parallèle*, Durand was concerned with “genres” of architecture, a term he borrowed from natural history. To understand genre, Durand explored the history of architecture through ahistorical groupings of different types of buildings. *Recueil et parallèle* was designed for

³⁴³ In their study of the development of scientific objectivity, Loraine Daston and Peter Galison emphasize how eighteenth-century botanists, Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778) in particular, labored to limit their sight and restrict their observations to a narrow range of properties. Linnaean taxonomy was based on the close, restricted observation of the number, proportion, and arrangement of the reproductive organs of plants. Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 58-66.

³⁴⁴ Armstrong, *Julien-David Leroy and the Making of Architectural History*, 159.

³⁴⁵ Jean-Nicholas-Louis Durand (1760-1834) was a professor of architecture at the École Polytechnique in Paris. He trained professionals and specialists, including architects, engineers, painters, sculptors, and designers, to cultivate an understanding of the history of architecture. See Jean-Nicholas-Louis Durand, *Recueil et parallèle des édifices de tout genre anciens et modernes, remarquables par leur beauté, leur grandeur, ou par leur singularité, et dessinés sur une même Echelle* (Paris: Gillé fils, Year VIII, 1799-1800).

rigorous comparison. On each page, Durand offered a detailed taxonomy of plans and elevations brought together to represent a single genre. Durand's genres blended cultural origin ("Mosques and Pagodas"), structural attributes ("Domed Churches"), and function, ("Basilicas"). In his published academic lectures, *Précis des leçons d'architecture données à l'École polytechnique* (1802 and 1805), Durand went further, and dissected architecture into its fundamental elements, such as porches, stairs, and halls.³⁴⁶ He analyzed groupings of buildings according to fitness and economy and proposed graphic solutions.

Like Leroy, Durand produced architectural taxonomies, but Durand's process was radically ahistorical. He was unconcerned with specific spatial and temporal settings and even considered decoration merely an accessory. He did not mention type, though his approach benefited from the inner economy of a typological approach. From Durand's conception of genre emerged a kind of taxonomic subsystem based on associations between functions, uses, and spatial arrangements. Where Durand was almost exclusively concerned with economy and fitness, Leroy examined the development of a restricted set of architectural forms over time. Fischer von Erlach's illustrations created a series of independent compositions that could be studied individually or comparatively. Understanding Fischer von Erlach's Nanking Pagoda, for example, did not depend on the organization of the other illustrations in the collection. However, the buildings represented in Durand's *Recueil et parallèle* and Leroy's *tableau* could only be viewed as collections. Both Durand and Leroy created taxonomies by isolating discrete elements and combining them into new associational groups.

The works of Durand and Leroy were paper projects, and Lenoir was arranging,

³⁴⁶ Jean-Nicholas-Louis Durand, *Précis of the Lectures on Architecture*, trans. David Britt. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2000). See also Jean-Nicholas-Louis Durand, *Précis des leçons d'architecture données à l'École polytechnique*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1802-1805).

manipulating, and designing physical objects and spatial relationships. However, Lenoir also created a taxonomy. Each monument and fragment entering the Petits-Augustins Dépôt arrived as a discrete entity that Lenoir grouped into a new ensemble. Once grouped in the century rooms, the artifacts created something greater than the sum of their individual identity. Together, according to Lenoir, the sculptural and architectural ensembles revealed the essential character or physiognomy of their eras. To maintain consistent effect in the interpretation of the spaces, Lenoir needed to direct the spectator to understand the century rooms through the lens of historical time. To accomplish this effect, Lenoir developed a spatial datum according to an established set of principles. Each century room was organized according to the same basic template.

At the center, Lenoir placed the primary royal tomb monument that included an effigy or sculpture of the monarch who had defined the century. Then, a major architectural monument or phenomenon was chosen to define the primary patron-artist relationships of that century. The Thirteenth-Century Room addressed the state the architecture at the beginning of the reign of Louis IX using fragments from Saint-Denis, the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and the existing architectural character of the Petits-Augustins Dépôt. Lenoir's chronology of French art began with the architects of Louis IX introducing the ogive arch to France and developing the Gothic style. In 1809, Lenoir briefly suggested using debris from the Cathédrale de Cambrai and the Abbaye de Cluny to build an Eleventh-Century Room, which would have presumably preceded the Thirteenth-Century Room, but no record exists of the design of this space.³⁴⁷ In the Fourteenth-Century Room, arcade pieces and other architectural fragments from the Sainte-Chapelle and a newly constructed, period-inspired vaulted ceiling demonstrated the maturation of the Gothic

³⁴⁷ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 393. In his annual report, "Observations sur l'état actuel du Musée des Monuments français et sur les moyens de le terminer," Lenoir presented the idea of creating an Eleventh-Century Room to augment the museum and "complete the history" it presented.

under Louis IX and Charles V. In the Fifteenth-Century Room, fragments from the Château Gaillon manifested the early development of the Renaissance and the influence of Italian art under Louis XII. The Sixteenth-Century Room represented the highest achievement of French art and was treated differently. Instead of adopting a single building, the Sixteenth-Century Room concentrated on the unified expression of all arts under the reign of François I. The decorative scheme of the Seventeenth-Century Room and the reign of Louis XIV was intentionally banal and limited to the existing structure of the Petits-Augustins Dépôt. Of the five century rooms, the Seventeenth-Century Room was the least evocative. The walls, ceilings, and openings of the century rooms were decorated with roughly co-temporal funerary monuments, sculptures, and architectural fragments as well as monuments and decorative elements Lenoir commissioned to complete his design. An object was included or omitted from the century room based on Lenoir's datum, not the actual date of its creation. Once a concept had been chosen, the authenticity or age of a particular artifact mattered less to Lenoir, as long as the inclusion of an intentionally misidentified statue or anachronistic decorative element contributed to the overall design.

The dominant theme of each century room was the relationship between political power and artistic freedom. Lenoir did not construct a chronology as Leroy had, by following the filiation of a specific set of architectural forms over time. Instead, Lenoir's taxonomy traced the evolution of political systems in the tradition of Winckelmann. Each century room and its associated architectural system was a discreet historical unit organized into a chronological sequence of distinct spaces. The century rooms embedded architecture into a complex portrait of artist-patron relationships, political systems, and hierarchies of innovation. The centralized representation of the king functioned as a physiognomic record of the moral character of the ruler, a work of art that manifested the sensibility of the era, and an expression of the artistic genius of the individual

maker. The paper taxonomies were visually restrictive to direct the gaze of the reader, but Lenoir's system was additive. The century room datum provided a framework that supported, even encouraged, visitors to investigate the historicity of the arrangements through different modes of sensory and visual knowledge. Thus, the careful physiognomist studying skulls, the artist tracing the works of great masters, and the theatricalized spectator engrossed in a conversation with the dead were all part of the economy of Lenoir's pedagogical taxonomy. In addition to historical physiognomies, the hieroglyphic symbols and universal meanings Lenoir introduced in the Introduction Hall were a part of all human culture, and therefore could emerge in the century rooms as well. The century rooms enabled the visitor to transcend the present for a prescient lesson about the limits and responsibilities of individual autonomy within any given historical system. According to Lenoir, "it is in traveling to past centuries that artists can clear a path to the future and choose the route that they will follow to direct their studies."³⁴⁸

4.5 THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ROOM

On the north wall of the Introduction Hall, Lenoir and his architect, Antoine-Marie Peyre, constructed two matching portals from the architectural debris of Saint-Denis. Decorated columns supporting red and yellow pointed arches framed the openings into the Thirteenth-Century Room, located in the former sacristy of the convent. The sacristy was the first room to be refitted by

³⁴⁸ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 3rd ed. (Year V, 1796-1797), 2. « C'est en voyageant dans les siècles passés, que les artistes pourront à l'avenir se frayer un passage et choisir la route qu'il ont à suivi pour diriger leurs études. »

Lenoir and Peyre between 1796 and 1797.³⁴⁹ (Figure 4.5) Above each of the entrances, Lenoir inscribed the words “State of the Arts in the Thirteenth Century” and placed two stone bas-reliefs of Abélard and Héloïse commissioned from one of his sculptors, probably Louis-Pierre Deseine.³⁵⁰ In the center of the room, two large round columns supported the low groin vaulted ceiling of the former sacristy. The existing architecture matched Lenoir's vision for the dark, mysterious thirteenth century. Lenoir painted the vaults a deep blue with gold stars. At the crossings, he placed rosettes from the Abbaye Saint-Victor and hung suspended sepulchral lamps designed in "imitation" of the style of the time.³⁵¹ In three of the five windows in the small room, Lenoir placed stained glass from the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés.³⁵² The two remaining windows on the south wall were not fitted with stained glass, but their frames were decorated in a style similar to the portals.

The Thirteenth-Century Room began Lenoir's visual narrative about the chronological development of French art and architecture. Lenoir outfitted the Thirteenth-Century Room to position Louis IX as France's first significant patron-king. Lenoir credited Louis IX with

³⁴⁹ Antoine-Marie Peyre (1770-1843) served as the architect of the museum from 1796 to 1800, during the design and construction of the century rooms. The extent of Peyre's role is difficult to determine from Lenoir's records, but the doors of the Sixteenth-Century Room and Seventeenth-Century Room were the design of Peyre. Peyre established himself in the first years of the Revolution at the Château de Fontainebleau protecting objects of art from destruction. Antoine-Marie Peyre was the son of architect Marie-Joseph Peyre (1730-1785) and nephew of architect Antoine-François Peyre (1739-1823). Lenoir noted his admiration for Marie-Joseph Peyre, a student of Jacques-François Blondel (1705-1774) and architect of the Théâtre de l'Odéon with Charles de Wailly (1730-1798). Antoine-François Peyre was a professor at the Académie royale d'architecture, where his students included Charles Percier (1764-1838), Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine (1762-1853), and Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer (1756-1846), who also served as the architect of the Musée des monuments français.

³⁵⁰ « État de l'art dans le XIII siècle » For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: Entrances of the Thirteenth-Century Room, 3.23. The former Thirteenth-Century Room is currently the Café Héloïse of the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts. The bas-relief of Abélard and the two door frames remain in place.

³⁵¹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: Vaults of the Thirteenth-Century Room, 3.39.

³⁵² For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: Stained Glass of the Thirteenth-Century Room, 3.40-3.42.

introducing the "*style arabe*" to France from Syria after the Crusades, which led to the development of the Gothic style.³⁵³ The majority of monuments of the Thirteenth-Century Room were chosen, created, or renamed to create tangible connections to Louis IX, his family, and his legacy. At the center of the room, Lenoir installed the *gisants* of Louis de France and Jean, two sons of Louis IX. The *gisant* of Jean was actually that of Philippe-Dagobert, brother of Louis IX, and the two *gisants* were placed on a pedestal decorated with stone arcades of angels from the tomb of Philippe-Dagobert.³⁵⁴ The walls of the Thirteenth-Century Room were lined with eighteen more recumbent *gisants*.³⁵⁵ Fourteen of these tombs were royal monuments from Saint-Denis, commissioned posthumously during the reign of Louis IX for the first French kings, including Clovis II (635-c.657), Charles Martel (c.685-741), and Pépin le Bref (714-768).³⁵⁶ The display of seventh- and eighth-century monarchs in the Thirteenth-Century Room has repeatedly been pointed to in contemporary scholarship as an example of Lenoir's lack of concern for historical accuracy. However, Lenoir emphasized that these tombs were works of the thirteenth-century in his guidebooks, commissioned under Louis IX, who had created a visual history of the kings of France as part of his legacy.³⁵⁷

³⁵³ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 5th ed. (Year VIII, 1800), 140-141. See the previous chapter for a detailed discussion.

³⁵⁴ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Louis de France and his brother Jean*, 3.14.

³⁵⁵ The Thirteenth-Century Room displayed five double and eight single *gisants*. No surviving source identifies the exact location of these *gisants* within the room. For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index. Monument commissioned during the reign of Louis IX: *Clovis II*, 3.1; *Charles Martel*, 3.2; *Pépin le Bref and Berthe*, 3.3; *Carloman I and Ermentrude*, 3.4; *Louis III and Carloman II*, 3.5; *Eudes*, 3.6; *Hugues Capet*, 3.7; *Robert II le Pieux and Constance d'Arles*, 3.8; *Philippe de France*, 3.9; *Constance de Castille*, 3.10. In addition to the 1264 commission, *gisants* for *Philippe III and Isabelle d'Aragon*, 3.11; *Pierre d'Alençon*, 3.12; and *Robert, comte de Clermont*, 3.13 were displayed in the Thirteenth-Century Room.

³⁵⁶ Georgia Sommer Wright, "A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of St. Louis," *The Art Bulletin*, 56, no. 2 (June 1974): 224-243. Lenoir considered Louis IX the patron of the *gisants* of the Thirteenth-Century Room. The commission of these monuments is typically attributed to Louis IX, but Wright argues that no record exists for this assignment.

³⁵⁷ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 5th ed. (Year VIII, 1800), 140-141.

The Thirteenth-Century Room roughly represented the state of architecture at the beginning of the reign of Louis IX. Lenoir did little to embellish the existing architecture of the Thirteenth-Century Room and decorated the walls with a variety of artifacts and sculptures. He installed a prominent statue below each of the springing points of the low vaults. Along the north wall, this privilege was granted to a statue of Childebert, who was also represented in the Introduction Hall, and Béatrix de Bourbon, a distant ancestor of the Bourbon monarchs.³⁵⁸ Between these monuments, Lenoir placed a large retable of Saint-Eustache from Saint-Denis.³⁵⁹ In each of the corners of the room, Lenoir added small statues of the Virgin.³⁶⁰ On the west wall, a painted marble virgin was ensconced beneath the springing point of the vault. The west wall was decorated with several Gothic bas-reliefs most likely from Saint-Denis, a carving of the fleur-de-lys, and an unidentified bust.³⁶¹ On the east side of the gallery, Lenoir fixed a female statue beneath the spring line. He surrounded this figure with a gilded processional cross; three bas-reliefs, the *Nativity*, *Resurrection*, and *Ascension of Christ*; two stone murals featuring the *Sergent d'armes* of Louis IX; a mosaic from Saint-Denis; another bust; and an architectural fragment, possibly *Scenes from the Martyrdom of Saint Hippolyte* from Saint-Denis.³⁶²

Between the two entrances along the south wall, Lenoir placed upright statues identified as Louis IX and his wife Marguerite de Provence under the spring line. Louis IX and Marguerite de Provence were actually sculptures of Charles V and Jeanne de Bourbon. Lenoir lacked a period

³⁵⁸ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Béatrix de Bourbon*, 3.18 and *Childebert*, 3.16.

³⁵⁹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Retable of Saint-Eustache*, 3.17.

³⁶⁰ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Virgins*, 3.37 and 3.38.

³⁶¹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Unidentified Bas-Relief*, 3.19; *Fleur-de-lys*, 3.20; and *Large Blue Virgin*, 3.21; *Female Bust*, 3.22.

³⁶² For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Scenes from the Martyrdom of Saint Hippolyte*, 3.31; *Female figure with book*, 3.32; *Male Bust*, 3.33; *Mosaic*, 3.34; *Processional Cross* with three bas-reliefs, the *Nativity*, the *Resurrection*, and the *Ascension of Christ*, 3.35; and *Sergent d'armes*, 3.36.

sculpture of Louis IX, who was so critical to his narrative. To solve this issue, Lenoir intentionally renamed a contemporaneous statue for Louis IX to achieve his vision for the Thirteenth -Century Room. Lenoir never hesitated to repurpose or commission any monument he believed he needed to "complete" his collection. Between the two monarchs, Lenoir installed the stone tomb of their grandchildren, Louis and Philippe d'Alençon, and the painted enamel of tomb of their infant son, Jean de France.³⁶³ In the corners stood monuments for Marguerite d'Artois; Charles de France, King of Sicily and brother of Louis IX; and a wooden panel, *The Genealogy of the Virgin*.³⁶⁴ The design process appears to have been contradictory. Lenoir, who regularly emphasized the legitimacy of his work by accounting his examinations of the physical remains of the monarchs and encouraging visitors to make physiognomic analyses of the statues, readily substituted a statue of one king for another. The century rooms, however, did not display chronologically lineages of preserved artifacts, as did in the Musei Capitolini in Rome. The century rooms were the physical manifestation of a distinct historical expression, and Lenoir ultimately chose to prioritize the overall effect over individual accuracy.

4.6 THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ROOM

After the Thirteenth-Century Room, the visitor briefly reentered the north end of the Introduction Hall and followed a doorway at the northwest corner of the gallery into the north hall of the cloister. The Fourteenth-Century Room and Fifteenth-Century Room flanked the north side of the hallway.

³⁶³ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Louis IX*, 3.28; *Marguerite de Provence*, 3.26; *Louis and Philippe d'Alençon*, 3.27; and *Jean de France*, 3.24.

³⁶⁴ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Marguerite d'Artois*, 3.25; *Charles de France, King of Sicily*, 3.30; and *Genealogy of the Virgin*, 3.29.

To the south, six window bays opened onto the cloister garden. Lenoir installed stained glass in the openings and placed roughly contemporaneous *gisant* tombs at the base of each window bay.³⁶⁵ The sculptural screen of semi-open walls and columns that divided the Fourteenth-Century Room and Fifteenth-Century Room from the cloister allowed glimpses of the interiors of the galleries from the hallway. For the cloister wall of the Fourteenth-Century Room, Lenoir composed a delicate open arcade of seven pointed arches using debris from the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés. (Figure 4.6) The central arch was the largest and served as an open entrance into the gallery. In the six flanking arches, three on either of the entrance, Lenoir housed six *Apostles* from the Sainte-Chapelle.³⁶⁶ Lenoir decorated both sides of the arcade with bas-reliefs representing religious scenes and carved angels.³⁶⁷ Directly across from the entrance to the Fourteenth-Century Room, Lenoir placed a rare thirteenth-century nude *Adam* from the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris. The placement of *Mort Saint-Innocent*, the emancipated, skeletal figure of Death that once stood in the center of the Cimetière des Innocents, across from the entrance to the Fifteenth-Century Room mirrored the thirteenth-century nude.³⁶⁸ Lenoir's juxtaposition of the two sculptures

³⁶⁵ Lenoir, who only vaguely described the windows, attributed most of them to the sixteenth century. Of the nineteen *gisants* of the Fourteenth-Century Room named in Lenoir's guidebook, four of them were likely placed beneath the windows of the North Cloister. Of these six, only two, the tombs of Pierre de Navarre and Catherine d'Alençon, were identified. For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: Stained Glass in the North Cloister, 10.25-10.33; *Gisants* of the Fourteenth-Century Room and North Cloister, 4.31-4.48; and *Pierre de Navarre and Catherine d'Alençon*, 10.5.

³⁶⁶ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Six Apostles*, 4.2. Of the original twelve, six were displayed in the museum, four were kept in storage at the museum, and two were destroyed during the Revolution before reaching the Dépôt.

³⁶⁷ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *The Life of Christ*, 4.3; *Calvary*, 10.2; and *Angels*, 4.4.

³⁶⁸ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Adam*, 10.1 and *Mort Saint-Innocent*, 10.4. *Adam* and *Mort Saint-Innocent* are shown at the entrances of the Fourteenth-Century Room and Fifteenth-Century Room, respectively, in J.E. Biet and Jean-Pierre Brès, *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français. Collection de 40 dessins perspectifs gravés au trait représentant les principaux aspects sous lesquels on a pu considérer tous les monuments recensés dans ce musée et dessinés par J.E. Biet et gravés par MM. Normand Père et Fils avec un texte explicatif de M. J.P. Brès*. (Paris, 1821). A different statue is located in the position of Adam in Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques. Vues pittoresque* was a collection of engravings based on the earlier drawings and paintings and drawings of Jean-Lubin Vauzelle. *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments* created a record of images of the museum created by artists for artists around the time of its closure. Thus, most of the images

mediated two very different representations of the human form. By positioning *Adam* and *Mort Saint-Innocent* between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Lenoir secularized Christian notions of origin and afterlife in the middle of his century sequence.

Passing under the delicate Gothic arcade, the visitor entered the Fourteenth-Century Room. Compared to the low Thirteenth-Century Room, the Fourteenth-Century Room soared to a double-story height. (Figure 4.7) The dominating influence for the Fourteenth-Century Room, completed in 1799, was the Sainte-Chapelle. Lenoir believed that the Sainte-Chapelle was the most developed representation of the "arabesque" taste: "elongated and elegant arches took the place of low profiles, and soon, in imitation of the mosques, our temples rose majestically, their interiors covered with gilding, glass beads and bright colors, demonstrating the greatest luxury."³⁶⁹ The Sainte-Chapelle, commissioned after Louis IX returned from the Crusades, represented the maturation and proliferation of the Gothic. The centerpiece of the room was Lenoir's invented monument for Charles V and Jeanne de Bourbon. A marble *gisant* of Charles V and a marble *gisant d'entrailles* of Jeanne de Bourbon rested on a wooden platform decorated with carved panels from the Sainte-Chapelle. Four columns from the *jubé* of Chartres raised a fourteenth-century canopy from Saint-Denis.³⁷⁰

in *Vues pittoresques* would have been recorded earlier than those in *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments*, which could account for the different placement of the statues outside of the Fourteenth-Century Room. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français.

³⁶⁹ Lenoir, *Description historique*, 5th ed. (Year VIII, 1800), 161. « Au retour des croisades, vers la fin du treizième siècle, les arts, dépendants du dessin, furent très-cultivés; et les artistes qui avoient voyagé en Asie avec Louis IX, en apportèrent un nouveau genre de décoration, et introduisirent particulièrement dans l'architecture le goût arabesque; dès-lors les ogives allongées et élégantes prirent la place des voûtes surbaissées, et l'on vit bientôt, à l'imitation des mosquées, nos temples s'élever majestueusement, et leur intérieur, chargé de dorures, de verroteries et de couleurs brillantes, montrer le luxe le plus imposant. »

³⁷⁰ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Charles V and Jeanne de Bourbon*, 4.1. The columns from Chartres are often misidentified as from the Abbaye de Maubuisson. The *gisant d'entrailles* of Jeanne de Bourbon replaced an anonymous female *gisant* in 1810.

Six large clerestory windows dominated the upper portions of the north and south walls. On the north wall, Lenoir installed stained glass from Saint-Denis.³⁷¹ In the ceiling, Lenoir constructed three bays of quadripartite rib vaults painted red, blue, and gold to resemble those at the Sainte-Chapelle.³⁷² On the upper portions of the west and east walls, Lenoir built two large composite bas-reliefs. Both composites were composed of a trefoil tympanum above three to four carved panels representing religious scenes, likely from Saint-Denis or the Sainte-Chapelle.³⁷³ On either side of both composite bas-reliefs, Lenoir placed limestone statues of four apostles under Gothic canopies from the Église of Saint-André-des-Arts.³⁷⁴ The upper east and west walls were decorated with fleur-de-lys.

In the lower portion of the interior walls of the Fourteenth-Century Room, Lenoir installed a continuous frieze of twenty knights placed upright in an arcade of trefoil arches from Saint-Denis.³⁷⁵ Six knights lined both the east and west walls, and eight knights were placed on the north wall. The knights were *fabriques*. Lenoir commissioned twenty plaster bodies in period dress, then completed each sculpture with an original bust or a stone face taken from a *gisant* or other sculpture. The sources of the historical fragments used to construct the knights are in most cases unknown. Below the knights, Lenoir lined twelve recumbent *gisants* along the base of the

³⁷¹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: Stained Glass of the Fourteenth-Century Room, 4.50-4.52.

³⁷² For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: Fourteenth-Century Room Ceiling, 4.49.

³⁷³ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *West Composite Bas-relief*, 4.8; *East Composite Bas-relief*, 4.9.

³⁷⁴ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Saint Peter, Saint Paul, Saint John, and Saint Philip*, 4.10.

³⁷⁵ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: Knights of the Fourteenth-Century Room, 4.11-4.30. Many knights are doubly represented as full *gisants* elsewhere in the museum. Historical figures represented included Philippe IV le Bel, Louis X le Hutin, Robert, comte de Clermont, Louis de France, comte d'Évreux, Philippe V, le Long, Charles de France, comte de Valois, Pierre de Bourbon, comte de la Marche, Jean II, le Bon, Bertrand du Guesclin, Charles V, Pierre d'Orgemont, Chancelier de France, Léon de Lusignan, King of Armenia, Bureau de la Rivière, Louis de Sancerre, Pierre de Navarre, comte de Mortain, Arnoul de Braque, Charles IV le Bel, Charles d'Évreux, comte d'Etampes, Charles d'Alençon, Philippe VI de Valois.

four walls of the Fourteenth-Century Room: three *gisants* along both the east and west walls, four along the north wall, and two along the south wall.³⁷⁶ In the south, east, and west corners of the Fourteenth-Century Room, Lenoir placed small statues, as he had in the corners of the Thirteenth-Century Room.³⁷⁷ At the center of the north wall, breaking the frieze of knights and *gisants*, Lenoir installed a wooden throne.³⁷⁸

The Fourteenth-Century Room represented a clear development from the Thirteenth-Century Room, even though both rooms were decorated with many objects and artifacts from the same sources, mainly the Sainte-Chapelle and Saint-Denis. In the Thirteenth-Century Room, Lenoir invested in the dynastic legacy of Louis IX but did little to develop the gallery architecturally. He employed the existing ceiling and organized the *gisants* of the Thirteenth-Century Room into straight rows. In the Fourteenth-Century Room, Lenoir embedded the *gisants* and knights into a continuous architectural frieze. Six *Apostles* from the Sainte-Chapelle served as a porous boundary between the fourteenth-century space and the cloister. The stylistic distinction between architecture and sculpture was blended into a seamless portrait of the fourteenth century based on the Sainte-Chapelle. The Sainte-Chapelle represented, for Lenoir, the critical moment in the development of the stylistic identity of its era that linked the dynastic origins and architectural legacy of the patron-king, Louis IX.

Of all the century rooms, the Fourteenth-Century Room was celebrated as particularly successful at achieving a direct and uncompromised sensation of the past and was popular with

³⁷⁶ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Gisants* of the Fourteenth-Century Room and North Cloister, 4.31-4.48. Of the nineteen *gisants* of the Fourteenth-Century Room illustrated in Lenoir's catalog, twelve of were placed in the Fourteenth-Century Room, and the remainder likely in the North Cloister.

³⁷⁷ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Female Statue*, 4.5 and *Soldier*, 4.6.

³⁷⁸ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Throne*, 4.7.

artists and visitors. In Charles-Marie Bouton's painting, *La Folie de Charles VI*, Charles VI mourns the tombs of his parents, Charles V and Jeanne de Bourbon, in the center of the Fourteenth-Century Room.³⁷⁹ (Figure 4.8) Charles VI died in 1422, and his tomb was displayed in the Fifteenth-Century Room. The Fourteenth-Century Room was evocative and immersive. Architectural expression experienced by the senses played into the theatrical interpretations of the Fourteenth-Century Room, creating a space that could, theoretically, navigate between the multiple temporalities and enable an unmediated experience of historical time.

4.7 THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ROOM

Leaving the Fourteenth-Century Room, the visitor continued west down the North Cloister. On the south side of the hall, Lenoir installed stained glass and positioned recumbent *gisants* in the window bays as he had done in front of the Fourteenth-Century Room. (Figure 4.9) Three open bays separated the North Cloister and the Fifteenth-Century Room. Each bay was framed by two Corinthian columns from the *jubé* of the Église Saint-Père in Chartres.³⁸⁰ The central bay was open and served as the entrance. The piers at either side of the entrance were decorated with marble medallions representing Louis XII as Mars and Anne de Bretagne as Minerve from the Château de Gaillon.³⁸¹ In the two bays at either side of the entrance, Lenoir installed *gisants* of Valentine

³⁷⁹ *La Folie de Charles VI* is currently displayed at the Musée royal de Brou in Bourg-en-Bresse, France. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français.

³⁸⁰ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Corinthian Columns*, 5.8.

³⁸¹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Louis XII as Mars and Anne de Bretagne as Minerve*, 10.7.

Visconti and Louis, duc d'Orléans.³⁸² Opposite the central bay, Lenoir positioned *Mort Saint-Innocent* between marble medallions of Roman Emperors Galba and Vespasian.³⁸³

The centerpiece of the Fifteenth-Century Room was the double-level tomb of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne from Saint-Denis.³⁸⁴ (Figure 4.10) The proportion and scale of the decoration, frieze, and arches of the Fifteenth-Century Room mimicked the design of the tomb by Italian sculptors Juste de Juste and Jean de Juste. The Fifteenth-Century Room, begun in 1798, was primarily outfitted with architectural fragments from the Château de Gaillon, built by Cardinal Georges d'Amboise during the reign of Louis XII. The Château de Gaillon represented the introduction of the Italian Renaissance in France and patronage under Louis XII for Lenoir. The Corinthian columns that flanked the open bays of the entrance wall supported a frieze that was mirrored on the north wall. Above the three open bays of the entrance wall, three recessed arches displayed stone bas-reliefs.³⁸⁵ Below the frieze on the north wall, four rectangular windows were installed with stained glass from the Couvent des Célestins and the Couvent des Bonhommes de Passy.³⁸⁶ Above the frieze, four arched windows of clear glass mirrored the recessed arches on the south entrance wall.³⁸⁷ The window frames were decorated with architectural debris from the Château de Gaillon. The flat ceiling, existing beams, and upper walls were painted blue, violet, and gold and fitted with *arabesques* and architectural decoration from the Château de Gaillon.³⁸⁸

³⁸² For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Valentine Visconti*, 5.6 and *Louis, duc d'Orléans*, 5.3.

³⁸³ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Galba and Vespasian*, 10.6

³⁸⁴ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Tomb of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne*, 5.1.

³⁸⁵ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Pentecost and God the Father with Angels*, 5.9.

³⁸⁶ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Stained Glass of the Fifteenth-Century Room*, 5.23-5.28.

³⁸⁷ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Upper Windows of the Fifteenth-Century Room*, 5.28.

³⁸⁸ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Wall and Ceiling of the Fifteenth-Century Room*, 5.29.

Lenoir developed sculptural ensembles out of tomb monuments and architectural fragments to form symmetries, make scalar relationships between objects, and highlight associations between historical figures and the cultural developments of the fifteenth century. On the east wall, Lenoir created two monumental sculptural ensembles using tomb monuments from the Commynes family and Renée d'Orléans-Longueville.³⁸⁹ Renée d'Orléans-Longueville's *gisant* was placed at the base of its original *enfeu*, which was framed with architectural fragments from the Château de Gaillon. South of the monument to Renée d'Orléans-Longueville, Lenoir placed the *priants* of Philippe and Hélène de Commynes on top of a large bas-relief, *Saint George and the Dragon*. At the base of this panel, Lenoir placed the *gisant* of Jeanne de Commynes. The two ensembles were inscribed into symmetrical shallow niches decorated with architectural debris from the Château de Gaillon and mirrored each other in massing and scale. On the opposite west wall, Lenoir placed the *gisants* of Philippe d'Orléans and Charles d'Orléans in center of a deep semi-circular niche painted blue with stars. The *gisants* were flanked by two marble *Virtues* from the tomb of Louis XII, two monumental columns, and two busts. Above the *gisants*, Lenoir installed an alabaster bas-relief, the *Dormition of the Virgin*.³⁹⁰ Along the north wall, Lenoir placed *gisants* of Guillaume de Tanneguy, Charles VI, Isabeau de Bavière, and Anne de Bourgogne under the four stained glass windows with a mosaic of the virgin at the center.³⁹¹

In the Fifteenth-Century Room, Lenoir introduced a collection of busts of historical figures, mostly kings he felt essential to the history and development of the arts in the fifteenth century.

³⁸⁹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Renée d'Orléans-Longueville*, 5.12 and *Commynes Family*, 5.10.

³⁹⁰ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Philippe d'Orléans and Charles d'Orléans*, 5.20 and *Unidentified busts*, 5.21-5.22.

³⁹¹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Guillaume de Tanneguy*, 5.13, *Charles VI*, 5.15, *Mosaic of the Virgin*, 5.16, *Isabeau de Bavière*, 5.17, and *Anne de Bourgogne* (actually Jeanne de Bourgogne), 5.19.

Each bust was mounted on a column or a carved base from the Château de Gaillon. Lenoir went out of his way to construct a coherent historical narrative. Of the Fifteenth-Century Room busts, Louis XII, Charles VII, and Marie d'Anjou were fifteenth-century or early sixteenth-century originals.³⁹² Pierre-Nicholas Beauvallet, Lenoir's sculptor, created a bust for Joan of Arc by adding a feathered hat and sword to an early sixteenth-century terracotta bust from the Château de Gaillon.³⁹³ Lenoir also commissioned a terracotta bust of Charles VIII and a plaster bust of Louis XI to complete the collection.³⁹⁴

The double-level tomb of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne, the most striking monument in the Fifteenth-Century Room, stood in the center of the space.³⁹⁵ Lenoir had restored the monument after its arrival from Saint-Denis. The freestanding architectural enclosure supported the *priants* of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne. Below, statues of the twelve apostles guarded the twelve bays of an arched canopy, which was intended to shelter the *transis* of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne. However, as with the tomb of François I in the Introduction Hall, the cadaver tombs enclosed within the architectural monument were copies. Lenoir removed the original *transis* of the monarchs and placed them in the center of the gallery, directly west of the large tomb. The *transis* rested on a base decorated with marble lion heads from the Château de Gaillon and bas-reliefs representing the wars of Louis XII. The monarchs were unclothed and partially shrouded, depicted in the moments of their deaths. Lenoir provided the visitor with complete visual access to the

³⁹² For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Louis XII*, 5.11, *Charles VII*, 5.14, *Marie d'Anjou*, 5.18.

³⁹³ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Jeanne d'Arc*, 5.5.

³⁹⁴ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Charles VIII*, 5.4 and *Louis XI*, 5.7.

³⁹⁵ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne*, 5.1, and *Transis of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne*, 5.2.

cadaver tombs usually shielded under an architectural canopy.³⁹⁶ The visitor could simultaneously admire the craftsmanship of the monument and read the fully exposed physiognomies of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne, as Lenoir had during the exhumations of Saint-Denis.

The Fifteenth-Century Room was a double portrait: an architectural lens into a critical moment in the development of French design and a collection of influential historical figures who shaped the artistic and political dimensions of the century. Sculpted bodies were seamlessly integrated into the architectural program. Lenoir commissioned busts of figures he considered necessary to offer a complete vision for the fifteenth century. Popular heroes such as Joan of Arc were prominently displayed beside kings including Charles VIII and Louis XI. The overall decorative ensemble of the Fifteenth-Century Room offered a coherent visual representation of the material artifacts of various origins and materiality working in unison. The arrangement reflected Lenoir's understanding of the way benevolent patronage and artistic liberty advanced all aspects of material culture.

4.8 THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ROOM

Leaving the Fifteenth-Century Room, the visitor left the from the North Cloister for the West Cloister, which led to the Sixteenth-Century Room and Seventeenth-Century Room. Like the North Cloister, the West Cloister opened onto the cloister garden through an arcade. In the West

³⁹⁶ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 5th ed., (Year VIII, 1800), 199. « Les figures que l'on voit dans ce tombeau sont des archétypes que j'ai fait lever sur les marbres, afin de procurer aux artistes et aux amateurs la vue de ces statues précieuses, dont ils n'auraient pu jouir si je les eusse placées dans le monument comme elles y étaient originellement. Ce moyen m'a paru convenable, puis-qu'il laisse au monument son entier effet. »

Cloister, Lenoir installed the forty-four stained glass panels of the *Story of Psyche*, commissioned by Anne de Montmorency for the Château d'Écouen between 1540 and 1544.³⁹⁷ At the base of each window, Lenoir placed a *priant* from the sixteenth or seventeenth century.³⁹⁸ In contrast to the gallery wall of the North Cloister, which was a semi-open architectural screen, the separation between the West Cloister and the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Rooms was a solid wall. The West Cloister served as a long portrait gallery of busts of historical figures Lenoir considered important to this period of French history, including kings, politicians, artists, architects, military leaders, and scholars.³⁹⁹ At the north end of the West Cloister, Lenoir installed a monument to Gabrielle d'Estrées, mistress of Henri IV, and at the south end, a bust of the architect Jean Bullant.⁴⁰⁰

The Sixteenth-Century Room was built between 1796 and 1797 in the former chapter house of the convent. (Figure 4.11) For Lenoir, the sixteenth century represented the highest achievement of French arts for Lenoir. Unlike the Fourteenth-Century Room and Fifteenth-Century Room, no single building was used as a design source for the Sixteenth-Century Room. Instead, the design of the Sixteenth-Century Room was driven by the unification of the arts, artists, and the relative

³⁹⁷ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Story of Psyche*, 10.34.

³⁹⁸ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *James Douglas*, 10.11 and *Priants* of the West Cloister and Gardens, 10.12-10.24. Eight *priants* lined the windows of the West Cloister, one of which was *James Douglas*. The remaining seven were likely among the fourteen *priants* listed in Lenoir's guidebooks without a specified location. These *priants* listed without location could be any of the anonymous monuments shown in images of the West Cloister, the Cloister Garden, and the Élysée.

³⁹⁹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: Sixteenth-Century Busts, unspecified location, 6.21-6.29, and Seventeenth-Century Busts, unspecified location, 7.26-7.62. Lenoir provided lists of the Sixteenth-Century busts and Seventeenth-Century busts displayed in the museum in the fourth and fifth volumes of his illustrated catalog. The exact location of these busts is generally not specified, but many were probably in the West Cloister. Images of the West Cloister show a hall lined with busts on both sides. Up to 23 busts could have been installed in the West Cloister. The unspecified busts could have been in the Sixteenth-Century Room, the Seventeenth-Century Room, the West Cloister, the Introduction Hall, the Cloister Garden, or the Élysée.

⁴⁰⁰ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Gabrielle d'Estrées*, 10.8 and *Jean Bullant*, 10.9.

artistic freedom enjoyed under the patronage of François I during the French Renaissance. Lenoir described the design of the Sixteenth-Century Room as an act of "painting" the century and emphasized the agency of artists, sculptors, and architects of that period:

To paint this brilliant century properly, we studied plans of monuments built by Lescot, Bullant, and Philibert, and we have reunited these details in this room to fix the eyes of connoisseurs onto the century known in the arts as the *century of the renaissance*.⁴⁰¹

The visitor entered the Sixteenth-Century Room through a classical portal designed by Peyre.⁴⁰² Both the Sixteenth-Century Room and Seventeenth-Century Room were raised above the cloister level by five steps. The portal of the Sixteenth-Century Room was framed by two Corinthian columns and capped with a triangular pediment. Lenoir and Peyre decorated the portal with examples of high achievement in multiple artistic mediums. The bases of the columns were decorated with copper bas-reliefs representing biblical scenes. Above the pediment, two bronze *génies* flanked a bronze bust of François I. Four glazed terracotta medallions framed either side of the entrance. By juxtaposing objects from multiple sources, materials, and authors, Lenoir demonstrated the artistic unity of the sixteenth century. The walls of the Sixteenth-Century Room were bare brick, and the exposed ceiling joists and beams were decorated with arabesques and salamanders, the emblem of François I.⁴⁰³ Lenoir installed the five windows along the north and

⁴⁰¹ Lenoir, *Description Historique et chronologique*, 5th ed. (Year VIII, 1800), 193-258. Modern scholars typically credit the writer Jules Michelet (1798-1874) with the first use of the term "renaissance" as a decisive historical phrase that broke away from the Middle Ages and generated a new conception of humanity and its relationship to the world. Michelet was writing fifty years after Lenoir. While Lenoir's concept of renaissance was not as developed as that of Michelet, Lenoir's description of the Sixteenth-Century Room as the "century of the renaissance" constructed clear connections between the artistic and political legacy of François and attempted to visually define of the cultural and historic legacy of the political policies of the sixteenth-century France. Moreover, Michelet visited the Musée des monuments français as a child and was inspired by the museum. « Pour peindre ce siècle brillant comme il convenait, nous avons levé des plans dans les monuments bâtis par les Lescot, les Bullant, les Philibert, etc., et nous avons renfermé dans cette salle les détails que nous avons pu réunir, afin de fixer les yeux des connoisseurs sur le siècle connu dans les arts sous la dénomination de siècle de la renaissance. »

⁴⁰² For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Entrance of the Sixteenth-Century Room and François I*, 6.4.

⁴⁰³ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Ceiling of the Sixteenth-Century Room*, 6.35.

west walls with stained glass from the Château de Vincennes, the Église du Temple in Paris, and the Château d'Écouen.⁴⁰⁴

The center of the Sixteenth-Century Room was dominated by the *monument du coeur* of François I from the Abbaye de Hautes-Bruyères in Saint-Rémy-l'Honoré, France and the *transi* of François I that was formerly part of his funerary monument from Saint-Denis.⁴⁰⁵ The *transi* of François I rested on a pedestal decorated with bas-reliefs representing the battles of Marignon and Cériseles from the original tomb. Like the *transi* of Louis XII in the Fifteenth-Century Room, the cadaver tomb of François I was exposed in the center of the Sixteenth-Century Room for uninterrupted visibility. Lenoir placed the *transis* of Henri II and Catherine de Medici at either end of the west wall.⁴⁰⁶ Between them, he installed statues of Henri IV and David, alongside an allegorical bas-relief representing Peace and Abundance.⁴⁰⁷ On the north wall, Lenoir centered a monumental column dedicated to Cardinal Charles Bourbon, flanked by *priants* of Albert-Pie de Savoie and Jeanne de Vivonne, misidentified by Lenoir as Charlotte Catherine de la Trémoille.⁴⁰⁸ Throughout the Sixteenth-Century Room, Lenoir installed busts of *hommes célèbres* of the sixteenth century - such as the painter Martin Fréminet, the historian Jean-Baptiste Gondi, and the celebrated soldier Dominique Sarrède de Vic, the vicomte d'Ermenonville - alongside kings.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁴ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: Stained Glass of the Sixteenth-Century Room, 6.30-6.34.

⁴⁰⁵ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Transi of François I*, 6.1 and *Monument du coeur* for François I, 6.2.

⁴⁰⁶ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Transis of Henri II and Catherine de Medici*, 6.9

⁴⁰⁷ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Henri IV*, 6.10; *David*, 6.11; and *Peace and Abundance*, 6.12.

⁴⁰⁸ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Charlotte Catherine de la Trémoille* (actually Jeanne de Vivonne), 6.6; *Monumental Column for Cardinal Charles Bourbon*, 6.7; and *Albert-Pie de Savoie, comte de Capri*, 6.8.

⁴⁰⁹ Lenoir refers to this collection as « Bustes des hommes célèbres du seizième siècle. » Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156. For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: Sixteenth-Century Busts, 6.18-6.29.

On either side of Peyre's entrance, two mirrored sculptural ensembles using the tombs of Admiral Chabot and Charlotte Catherine de la Trémoille, misidentified as Claude-Catherine de Clermont-Tonnerre by Lenoir, dominated the east wall.⁴¹⁰ As in the Fifteenth-Century Room, Lenoir used sculptural ensembles to create symmetry and unity between disparate objects in the gallery. The *priant* of Clermont-Tonnerre rested on a sarcophagus and was decorated with two *génies*. This ensemble was raised on a platform supported by four Ionic columns. Beneath the platform, Lenoir installed an alabaster bas-relief, *Christ in the Garden of Olives*, above a lion from the tomb of Admiral Chabot that rested on a base decorated with medallions of the Medici family. The alabaster *demi-couchée* tomb of Admiral Chabot rested on a sarcophagus on a platform raised by four Ionic columns, identical to the tomb of Clermont-Tonnerre. Below the tomb, an allegorical statue, *Fortune*, rested on a platform decorated with bas-reliefs representing Saint-Paul and Saint Melchisédec. Both ensembles were slightly recessed into arched wall niches under bas-reliefs from the Église Sainte-Geneviève.

On the south wall, Lenoir constructed monuments to artists and sculptors Germain Pilon, Jean Cousin, and Jean Goujon.⁴¹¹ These ensembles were not organized around a tomb effigy but instead memorialized each artist with a representational arrangement of their work. The large monument to Jean Goujon was placed at the center of the wall. Lenoir framed a bust of Goujon with two nymphs, *Victory* and *Peace*, executed by Goujon as models for renovations to the Louvre, above the inscription, "in memory of Jean Goujon, who died on August 24, 1572."⁴¹² Below the inscription, Lenoir installed a large stone bas-relief of nymphs by Goujon that had been removed

⁴¹⁰ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Admiral Chabot*, 6.3 and *Claude-Catherine de Clermont-Tonnerre* (actually Charlotte Catherine de la Trémoille), 6.5.

⁴¹¹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Jean Cousin the Elder*, 6.13; *Monument to Jean Goujon*, 6.14; and *Germain Pilon*, 6.15.

⁴¹² « À la mémoire de Jean Goujon qui périt le 24 août 1572. »

from the Fontaine des Innocents in 1787. The entire ensemble was raised on four small columns and capped with a decorative pediment. To the left and right of Goujon's monument, Lenoir designed monuments to Germain Pilon and Jean Cousin the Elder. The monuments commemorating Pilon and Cousin were shaped like ancient stelae. The monument to Jean Cousin was composed of two *génies* attributed to Cousin from the tomb of Admiral Chabot and an inscription that read, "in memory of Jean Cousin, painter and sculptor, founder of the French school, died in 1550"⁴¹³ The monument to Germain Pilon featured two allegorical figures by Barthélemy Prieur, *Prudence* and *Sculpture*, flanking an inscription, "in memory of Germain Pilon, sculptor of the French school, died in 1590," above two antique vases and the bronze bas-relief, *The Deposition of Christ*, executed by Pilon.⁴¹⁴ On either side of the monument to Jean Goujon, Lenoir installed busts of Charles IX and Henri III by Germain Pilon.⁴¹⁵

The Sixteenth-Century Room was a critical didactic turning point in the Musée des monuments français. The legible body of the king was fully revealed in its entirety in the same space where the artist emerged as a historical actor. The raw physiognomic exposure of the once-sacred cadaver tombs of François I, Henri II, and Catherine de Medici, the last two sculpted by Pilon, stood beside dedications to the personal accomplishments of individual artists. The Sixteenth-Century Room was the first significant space in the museum sequence where Lenoir monumentalized artists as historical agents in their own right. The artists' monuments called attention to the integration of their work elsewhere in the Sixteenth-Century Room and the rest of the museum. In the Sixteenth-Century Room, three stained glass windows and the tomb of Admiral

⁴¹³ « À la mémoire de Jean Cousin, peintre et sculpteur, fondateur de l'école Française, mort en 1550. »

⁴¹⁴ « À la mémoire de Germain Pilon, sculpteur de l'école Française, mort en 1590. »

⁴¹⁵ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Charles IX*, 6.18 and *Henri III*, 6.19.

Chabot were attributed to Jean Cousin the Elder, and the *transis* of Henri II and Catherine de Medici were the work of Germain Pilon. Jean Cousin the Elder and Jean Goujon both worked on the Château d'Anet.

The central focal point of the room, the *transi* of François I, functioned doubly. The monarch was "exhumed" and offered for careful analysis like the description of the royal remains in Lenoir's catalogs. However, the *transi* was also one of the most exceptional sculptural accomplishments of its age and a representation of the patronage of the monarchs of France. The emergence of the artist on the historical stage invested the body of the king in a new narrative of personal accomplishment and individual ingenuity that eclipsed the sacred authority of the royal monument. Between the stone corpse of François I and the monuments to Germain Pilon, Jean Cousin, and Jean Goujon, Lenoir introduced a subtle hierarchical tension, never entirely resolved, between the role of the œuvre and the portrait in the Musée des monuments français.

4.9 THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ROOM

Leaving the Sixteenth-Century Room, the visitor entered the Seventeenth-Century Room from the West Cloister. The Seventeenth-Century Room, begun in 1796 in the former refectory of the convent, was both the largest and least decorative of the century rooms. (Figure 4.12) In the Seventeenth-Century Room, Lenoir demonstrated the decline French art under Louis XIV, Charles Le Brun, and the academies: "The degradation that took place in the arts after the century of the Renaissance was striking. It was in the morals and politics of the government that one finds the

primary cause”⁴¹⁶ Lenoir eschewed the sculptural ensemble that had been the defining design feature of the Fourteenth-Century Room, the Fifteenth-Century Room, and the Sixteenth-Century Room. In the other century rooms, Lenoir's sculptural ensembles created unity by creating associations and relationships, which did not work with Lenoir's concept for the seventeenth century. The former refectory was an actual example of seventeenth-century architecture. The ceiling formed a long low barrel vault pierced with six gables on either side, which articulated the six arched windows on the west wall. Lenoir installed these six windows with stained glass from the Église Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais and the Église des Feuillants in Paris.⁴¹⁷ As in the Sixteenth-Century Room, Lenoir lined the Seventeenth-Century room with busts and tomb monuments dedicated to royalty and aristocrats as well as scholars, writers, artists, statesmen, and military leaders.⁴¹⁸ These monuments represented the highest artistic achievement of the era and prominent figures Lenoir considered essential to the historical narrative. The notable departure of the Seventeenth-Century Room from earlier century rooms was the lack of embellishment. Lenoir provided little architectural drama to integrate the monuments into a cohesive century-portrait.

Visitors entered the Seventeenth-Century Room through two portals designed by Peyre. In both portals, ionic columns supporting entablatures reading "State of Art in the Seventeenth Century."⁴¹⁹ Above the entablatures, Peyre designed matching archivolts to display marble lions from the tomb of Jacques de Souvré. At either end of the entablatures, Lenoir placed statuettes

⁴¹⁶ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 6th ed. (Year X, 1802), 245. « La dégradation qui eut lieu dans les arts dépendans du dessin, à la suite du siècle de la renaissance...est frappante. C'est dans la moralité et dans la politique du gouvernement qu'il faut en chercher la première cause. »

⁴¹⁷ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: Stained Glass of the Seventeenth-Century Room, 7.63-7.68.

⁴¹⁸ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: Seventeenth-Century Busts, 7.26-7.62.

⁴¹⁹ « État de l'art dans le XVIIe siècle. » For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: Entrances of the Seventeenth-Century Room, 7.10. Two of the lions were originals from the tomb of Jacques de Souvré, and two were copies commissioned by Lenoir.

commissioned from Jean-Joseph Foucou of four important seventeenth-century artists and sculptors: Nicholas Poussin, Eustache Le Sueur, Jacques Sarrazin, and Pierre Puget. Lenoir claimed these artists had resisted the tyranny of Lebrun and the academies. In front of the two portals, Lenoir placed the marble *priants* of Raymond Phélypeaux and Cardinal Pierre de Bérulle.⁴²⁰ Most important, the bronze equestrian statue of Louis XIV by François Girardon commanded the center of the hall. (Figure 4.13) The monument, a reduced model of a larger statue for the Place Vendôme, established the reign of the sun king as the dominating influence over the cultural accomplishments and shortcomings of the century.⁴²¹

On the east wall, tomb monuments to Jean-Baptiste Lully, Charles Le Brun, Jacques de Souvré, Le Brun's mother Julienne le Bé, and Jérôme Bignon flanked both entrances.⁴²² Along the north wall, Lenoir placed a painting of Henriette Selincart by Lebrun, the tomb of Michel Le Tellier, a terracotta medallion representing René Descartes, and a statue of Henri IV's chief minister, Maximilien de Béthune, duc de Sully.⁴²³ The tomb of Michel Le Tellier was a rare sculptural ensemble for the Seventeenth-Century Room. Lenoir raised the sarcophagus and *demi-couchée* of Michel Le Tellier on two marble heads from the tomb of Jacques de Souvré. Above the ensemble, Lenoir installed a bas-relief by Gerard von Opstal from the Château de Vincennes. On the west wall, Lenoir lined statues of the vicomte de Turenne, Jean de la Fontaine, Henri IV,

⁴²⁰ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Raymond Phélypeaux*, 7.1, and *Cardinal Pierre de Bérulle*, 7.3.

⁴²¹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Louis XIV on Horseback*, 7.2.

⁴²² For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Jean-Baptiste Lully*, 7.9; *Charles Le Brun*, 7.11; *Jacques de Souvré*, 7.12; *Julienne le Bé*, 7.13; and *Jérôme Bignon*, 7.14.

⁴²³ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Henriette Selincart*, 7.4; *Michel Le Tellier*, 7.5; *The Government Receiving Peace from the Hands of Hercules*, 7.6; *René Descartes*, 7.7; and *Maximilien de Béthune, duc de Sully*, 7.8.

Louis XIV, and Charles Rollin, followed by tombs of Henri Chabot and Jean-Baptiste Colbert.⁴²⁴

The tomb of François-Michel Le Tellier and Anne de Souvré dominated the center of the south wall, flanked by a medallion for Louis de Marillac, a monument to Jean François Paul de Gondî, and a stone bas-relief dedicated to Antoine d'Aubray, comte d'Offémont.⁴²⁵

Lenoir represented the degradation of art in the seventeenth century by creating a relatively undecorated gallery marked by the isolation of objects in a shared space. Unlike earlier the century rooms, where Lenoir used visual cues and created sculptural ensembles to demonstrate unity of character, the monuments of the seventeenth century were visually disconnected from one another. In Lenoir's seventeenth-century portrait, the era of Louis XIV offered some bright highlights of talent and resistance but lacked the overall cohesion of earlier centuries. Of all the century rooms, the Seventeenth-Century Room was the least evocative. Representations of the Seventeenth-Century Room, such as Léon-Mathieu Cochereau's *La Salle du XVIIe siècle au musée des Monuments français* (c.1816), reveal visitors engaging in introspective contemplation or artists copying a sculpture. The banality of the Seventeenth-Century Room could not provide the platform for the sensory temporal imaginary as the Fourteenth-Century Room had in the painting by Bouton.

⁴²⁴ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne*, 7.25; *Jean de la Fontaine*, 7.24; *Henri IV*, 7.23; *Louis XIV*, 7.22; *Charles Rollin*, 7.21; *Henri Chabot, duc de Rohan*, 7.20; and *Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, 7.19.

⁴²⁵ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Louis de Marillac*, 7.15; *François-Michel Le Tellier, marquis de Louvais and Anne de Souvré*, 7.16; *Antoine d'Aubray, comte d'Offémont*, 7.17; and *Jean François Paul de Gondî, cardinal de Retz*, 7.18.

4.10 THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ROOM

Lenoir included an Eighteenth-Century Room in his guidebooks and invited visitors to explore eighteenth-century monuments after leaving the Seventeenth-Century Room.⁴²⁶ The Eighteenth-Century Room was never completed. In an undated proposal for the expansion of the Musée des monuments français, Lenoir suggested using the two halls off the South Cloister for Eighteenth-Century Room and a Nineteenth-Century Room.⁴²⁷ However, visitor descriptions give conflicting accounts of the exact location of the Eighteenth-Century Room, and it may have also been housed in the cloister during different periods of the museum's existence.⁴²⁸ In the tradition of the Comte d'Angiviller's project for the Louvre, the Eighteenth-Century Room was designed to commemorate the *grands hommes* of the eighteenth century, exhibiting "likenesses of Maupertuis, Crebillon, Coustou, Lepautre, Rousseau, Marshal Saxe, Montesquieu, Fontenelle, Chevert, Helvétius, Piron, Voltaire, Buffon, d'Alembert, and... the great antiquary Winckelmann:"⁴²⁹

The monuments reunited in the Eighteenth-Century Room bear the imprint of a greater perfection than those in the preceding hall; perfection especially due to the celebrated Vien, who led art to the study of the antique. This hall contains many beautiful mausoleums as well as many busts of the great men of the century.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁶ Alexandre Lenoir, *Musée royal des monumens français ou Mémorial de l'histoire de France et de ses monumens*, 12th ed (Paris, chez l'auteur, 1816), 37.

⁴²⁷ Alexandre Lenoir, *Plan des diverses salles du Musée des monuments français*, n.d., Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.9. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français. Lenoir also described a plan for a Nineteenth-Century Room in 1809 and 1811 to house contemporary sculpture in honor of Napoleon, but never articulated his plans for this space. *AMMF*, vol.1, 383, 405-411.

⁴²⁸ For descriptions of the Eighteenth-Century Room, see Carl C. von Berkheim, *Lettres sur Paris ou Correspondance de M., dans les années 1806 et 1807*, (Heidelberg: Mohr et Zimmer, Paris: les Marchands de Nouveautés, 1809); J. F. C. Blanvillain, *La Pariséum ou Tableau de Paris en l'an XII*, (Paris: Cramer, 1804); and Mariana Starke, *Travels on the Continent, Written for the Use and Particular Information of Travellers*. (London: John Murray, 1820.) Mariana Starke, writing in 1820, described the Eighteenth-Century Room as being part of the cloister. Carl C. von Berkheim referred to the Eighteenth-Century Room as a distinct hall. See Appendix C, Firsthand accounts of the Musée des monuments français.

⁴²⁹ Starke, *Travels on the Continent*, 26. For a discussion of d'Angiviller's project for the Louvre, see Chapter 2.

⁴³⁰ Berkheim, *Lettres sur Paris*, 286. « Les monumens réunis dans la salle du dix-huitième siècle, portent l'empreinte d'une plus grande perfection que ceux de la salle précédente; perfection qu'on doit sur-tout au célèbre Vien, qui ramena l'art à l'étude de l'antique. Cette salle conteient plusieurs beaux mausolées, de même que quantité de

Lenoir described the eighteenth century as lingering in the decadence and degradation of Le Brun's academies, yet brimming with a growing hope that the study of antiquities would regenerate the arts.⁴³¹ Addressing students directly, Lenoir warned his readers to forget the "perfidious system" of the academies and encouraged his audience to follow in the footsteps of individuals, particularly Joseph-Marie Vien, who would "tear off the veil concealing our eyes from the finest productions of antiquity."⁴³² In Lenoir's eighteenth century, busts of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette stood beside men of the Revolution, including the comte de Mirabeau, Jean Sylvain Bailly, and Camille Desmoulins, without political comment. For Lenoir, the "chronology of history" was the most important criteria for inclusion.⁴³³ In 1797, Lenoir requested permission to commission busts of *hommes célèbres* that were "missing from my collection:" Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Claude Adrien Helvétius, and Guillaume-Thomas François Raynal.⁴³⁴ He planned to acquire two stained glass windows for the project. The first window represented a philosopher in his cabinet and the second was designed after Julien-David Leroy's

bustes de tous les hommes célèbres du siècle. » See Appendix C, Firsthand accounts of the Musée des monuments français.

⁴³¹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: Eighteenth-Century Room, 8.1-8.65.

⁴³² Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 125-128. « Voila l'origine de toutes ces peintres blasardes et sans conception dont nous avons vu tapisser les murailles de nos salons, jusqu'au moment ou un génie superior est descendu du midi de la France avec la rapidité de l'aigle pour arracher le voile qui cachoit à nos yeux les plus belles productions de l'antiquité, » Joseph-Marie Vien (1716-1809) was a French painter. He won the Prix de Rome in 1743 and built a reputation as a Neoclassicist based in his interest in the Roman paintings unearthed during the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

⁴³³ *AMMF*, vol. 2, 322. « Pour réaliser ce plan, que je crois inséparable de la chronologie de l'histoire, j'ai fait en vain les recherches nécessaires pour me procurer les bustes les plus essentiels qui manquent à ma collection. » For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Louis XVI*, 2.41; *Marie Antoinette*, 2.42; *Mirabeau*, 8.22; *Camille Desmoulins*, 8.24; and *Jean Sylvain Bailly*, 8.55. According to Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques*, the busts of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were located in the Introduction Hall. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français.

⁴³⁴ *AMMF*, vol. 3, 322-325. According to Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques pittoresques*, the bust of Jean-Jacques Rousseau was located in the Élysée. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français. The busts of Winckelmann, Helvétius, and Raynal were located in the Eighteenth-Century Room.

drawings of the ruins of Ancient Greece.⁴³⁵ Lenoir's vision for the Eighteenth-Century Room integrated collecting, the study of antiquity, and, most important, the individual accomplishments of great men into the conclusion of the century room sequence. If it had been completed, the Eighteenth-Century Room would have matured the narrative of the artist as a historical actor that began into the Sixteenth-Century Room into a complete lesson for the self-development of the enlightened citizen.

4.11 THE LIMITS OF HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY IN THE CLOISTER GARDEN

Traversing the sequence of century rooms through the cloister, the visitor caught momentary glimpses of a small rectangular garden through the stained-glass windows. The Cloister Garden was symmetrically divided into four grassy quadrants by a monumental column placed in the center of the garden.⁴³⁶ (Figure 4.14) Visitors entered the Cloister Garden through two openings at west and east end of the North Cloister, across from the Fourteenth-Century Room and the Fifteenth-Century Room. In each quadrant, Lenoir loosely arranged three to four tomb monuments or memorials under shady trees. In contrast to the museum interior, the monuments in the garden were not rigidly aligned or symmetrically organized. In the northwest quadrant of the garden, Lenoir placed the *priant* of Louis Potier, and in the northeast quadrant, the *priant* of Chrétienne

⁴³⁵ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: Eighteenth-Century Room Stained Glass, 8.66-8.67.

⁴³⁶ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Monumental Column*, 9.1.

Leclerc, the *gisant* of Charles d'Alençon, and a large marble vase.⁴³⁷ To the south, Lenoir placed a monument *à l'antique* for Jean-Baptiste Britard near two unidentified female *priants* in the southwest quadrant and the *gisants* of Louis de Sancerre and Bertrand de Guesclin, together on a single base, the *priant* of Claude d'Aubespine, and an unidentified female *priant* in the southeast quadrant.⁴³⁸ Lenoir bordered the perimeter of the garden with a path lined with tall poplars, more *priants*, statues, and other monuments, including the miniature *priant* of Marie de Bourbon-Vendôme.⁴³⁹

Unlike the century rooms, the Cloister Garden did not impose any of the temporal or historical associations relationship developed in the century rooms. In the garden, unidentified sixteenth-century *priants* rested in a tangle of vegetation beside fourteenth-century *gisants* and eighteenth-century monuments. Many of its monuments were anonymous, and not identified in the guidebooks. The Cloister Garden was an in-between space that existed outside of the temporal domain of the century rooms. The garden, which appeared and disappeared from the view of the visitor walking beside the stained-glass windows of the Cloister, was a reminder that the century rooms and their temporalized physiognomies were finite. The royal history of France was a small component of a deeper, more ancient history of mankind marked by cycles of nature, found the domain of the garden.

⁴³⁷ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Louis Potier, marquis de Gesvres*, 9.2; *Large Marble Vase*, 9.3; *Charles d'Alençon*, 9.4; and *Chrétienne Leclerc*, 9.5 (Proposed Attribution).

⁴³⁸ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Jean-Baptiste Britard*, 9.6; *Louis de Sancerre and Bertrand de Guesclin*, 9.7; *Claude d'Aubespine*, 9.8; and two unidentified female *priants*, 9.9 and 9.10. Additionally, the published engraving by Réville and Lavallée of the Cloister Garden shows the *priant* of Jeanne de Vivonne near the monument to Jean-Baptiste Britard, but this *priant* is also in the Sixteenth-Century Room. See Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques* and Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français.

⁴³⁹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Marie de Bourbon-Vendôme*, 9.11 (proposed attribution). For rough sketches of the Cloister Garden showing numerous unidentifiable monuments, see, No. 140, No. 146, No. 147, No. 151, No. 152, No. 153, and No. 155, Ms. 1012, Croquis faits au Musée des monuments français par Charles Percier, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français.

5.0 BEYOND PHYSIOGNOMY: PRESENCE AND ABSENCE IN THE ÉLYSÉE

The journey through the Musée des monuments français ended where it began, at the entrance of the Introduction Hall. The cloister led the visitor back to the tomb monument of Diane de Poitiers and the Gallo-Roman stone carvings after traversing the century rooms. Leaving the Introduction Hall, the visitor passed under a façade from Diane de Poitiers' residence, the Château d'Anet, and stepped into the Entry Court, a long irregular courtyard that followed the southern perimeter of the museum. At the western edge of the Entry Court stood the Arc de Gaillon from the château of Cardinal Georges d'Amboise. The sequence of courtyards, never completed according to Lenoir's design, guided the visitor back in time. Beyond the Arc de Gaillon, the Petite Cloître – a long rectangular court bounded by arcades on the south and east sides – led the visitor into the Jardin de l'Élysée.

This chapter maps the temporal and historical intersection of the museum, the Élysée, and Lenoir's unfinished design for a sequence of three courtyards. The Introduction Hall translated the universal and national origins of French art into legible hieroglyphic sculptural ensembles. The century rooms explored the dynastic development of French art, the emergence of the artist as an agent, and the impact of political constructs on the production of art. The Élysée, by contrast, was outside chronology, a reflective cessation from the movement of history that could enhance or contradict the other temporal systems employed at the museum. Unlike in the century rooms, where Lenoir integrated architecture and sculpture into immersive *tableau* of each historical era, architectural fragments in the Élysée were scattered throughout the landscape as isolated objects. The human body, in full physiognomic display in the century rooms, was largely concealed in the garden. Instead, monuments demonstrating the accomplishments of *grands hommes* were

presented as models for emulation. The interior and exterior of the museum were mirrors of one another. The century rooms shaped the progress of history, while the courtyards unwound that historical chronology, leading the visitor into the Élysée and the universal, ahistorical principles of mankind. German writer Auguste de Kotzebue described the experience of moving from the interior of the museum to the Élysée as a release at the end of the intensity of the century rooms:

The curious, braving the times, continue to march from century to century, until the eighteenth, coming finally to an *allée* of shadows in the Élysée (the former garden of the convent); here one stops in front of the *grand homme* and rests on the tomb of the good La Fontaine.⁴⁴⁰

The Entry Court, the Petite Cloître, and the fragments from Anet and Gaillon created a space between the museum and the garden where this change of state occurred. Lenoir collaborated with the architect Charles Percier on the design of the courtyards between the Introduction Hall and the Élysée that inverted the path of the century rooms, leading from the sixteenth-century monument for Diane de Poitiers back to the Gothic beginnings of French architecture. The Élysée was at the end of this sequence. The interior of the museum had been framed around exposed representations of the royal body, yet the legible body was no longer the centerpiece in the Élysée. In the exterior spaces of the Musée des monuments français, the relationship between the individual and history finally eclipsed the body of the king. The royal body was replaced by the invisible presence of the actual bodies of great figures from French history buried in the Élysée and the architectonic expression of artist-patron relationships in Lenoir's proposed courtyards.

In contrast to the empty tombs of the century rooms, the Élysée was a peaceful space where the visitor could contemplate the lives and accomplishments of those buried there: seventeenth-

⁴⁴⁰ Auguste Kotzebue, *Souvenirs de Paris*, vol. 1 (Paris: Barba, 1805), 173. « Le curieux, bravant le temps, continue de marcher ainsi de siècle en siècle, jusqu'au dix-huitième, il arrive enfin à l'allée des Ombres, dans l'Élysée (ancien jardin du couvent); là, il s'arrête devant un grand homme, on va se reposer sur la tombe du bon La Fontaine. » See Appendix C, Firsthand accounts of the Musée des monuments français.

century scholars and writers including Jean de La Fontaine, Molière, Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, Jacques Rohault, René Descartes; the eighteenth-century Benedictine scholars Bernard de Montfaucon and Jean Mabillon; and, briefly, the seventeenth-century general Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne. Bodies and architecture had been integrated into unified historical *tableaux* in the century rooms, yet in the Élysée, visible architecture and sculpture signaled the invisible presence of actual bodies. However, in a far corner of the garden, Lenoir designed a small Gothic chapel for the remains of Héloïse and Abélard that housed their *gisants* in the same manner as the monumental architectural canopies of François I in the Introduction Hall, Charles V in the Fourteenth-Century Room, and Louis XII in the Fifteenth-Century Room. In the Élysée, history was no longer mediated by the physiognomies of the kings as it had been in the century room. In the tomb of Héloïse and Abélard, however, physiognomy re-emerged in the far corner of the garden to reveal the impact of the achievements of *grands hommes* on the forces of history.

5.1 ELYSIAN FIELDS OF REST AND THE PICTURESQUE GARDEN

In the century rooms, Lenoir insisted on the value of the former funerary monuments as artworks and historic objects. In Lenoir's Élysée, the funerary monuments of historical figures were put in the service of death and memory. The eighteenth-century fascination with the concept of the Élysée was based on Virgil's Elysian Fields, the eternal resting place for the worthy dead in a landscape of Arcadian bliss. In the fourth edition of his guidebook, published in Year VI (1797-1798), Lenoir introduced his project to build the Élysée. He described the Élysée as a verdant paradise outside the royal chronology, which could "speak" directly to the senses:

An Élysée seemed to me suitable to the character I had given my establishment, and the garden offered me the means to execute my project. In this calm and peaceful garden, one sees more than forty statues, tombs posed here and there rise with dignity on a green lawn in the middle of silence and tranquility. The pines, cypresses, poplars, with the cinerary urns placed on the wall, give this place a sweet melancholy that speaks to the sensitive soul. Finally one finds a stone here, a fragment of the tomb of Heloise, on which I have had the names of these unfortunate lovers engraved. The cenotaphs and the *statues couchées* of the good constable and Sancerre, his illustrious friend rest near a column supports the heart of Jacques Rohault, dignified follower of Descartes.⁴⁴¹

Death in the garden was peaceful and tranquil, in contrast to macabre representations of Christian death epitomized by the naked cadaver tombs that dominated the century rooms. The French Revolution's official de-Christianization of death was built upon an extended period of cemetery reform and secularization over the course of the eighteenth century.⁴⁴² Cemetery reformers argued that garden cemeteries and "fields of rest" were the antidote to overflowing and unsanitary medieval burial grounds, such as the Cimetière des Innocents in Paris. In 1780, burial inside the city walls of Paris was forbidden. After 800 years of continuous use, the Cimetière des Innocents had become a noxious symbol of medieval Christian death. The cemetery was bursting; the increased earth pressure caused by overfilled burial pits had recently forced human remains through the cellar walls of adjacent homes. Between 1785 and 1787, two million cadavers from the Cimetière des Innocents were excavated, burned to remove any fleshy residue, and the bones transported to underground quarries outside of the city, which became the Catacombs in the early

⁴⁴¹ Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 4th ed. (Year VI, 1797-1798), 16-17. « Un Élysée m'a paru convenir au caractère que j'ai donné à mon établissement, et le jardin intérieur m'a offert tous les moyens d'exécuter mon projet. Dans ce jardin calme et paisible, on voit plus de quarante statues; des tombeaux posés çà et là sur une pelouse verte s'élèvent avec dignité au milieu du silence et de la tranquillité. Des pins, des cyprès et des peupliers les accompagnent; des larves et des urnes cinéraires posées sur les murs concourent à donner à ce lieu de bonheur la douce mélancolie qui parle à l'âme sensible. Enfin on y retrouve une pierre, débris du tombeau d'Héloïse, sur laquelle j'ai fait graver les noms de ces infortunés époux; les cénotaphes et les statues couchés du bon connétable et de Sancerre, son illustre ami, plus loin une colonne supporte dans un vase le cœur de Jacques Rohault, digne émule de Descartes. » See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

⁴⁴² For a discussion of eighteenth-century cemetery reforms, see Richard Etlin, *The Architecture of Death: The Transformation of the Cemetery in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1984).

nineteenth century.⁴⁴³ Cemetery reform was urban surgery. Excavating the diseased and decaying pockets of charnel houses, church crypts, and burial pits benefited the health and sanitation of the city as a whole. Reforms also shifted the domain of the dead away from long-standing associations with the church. Death in the garden was a long peaceful sleep, no longer represented by figures such as *Mort Saint-Innocent*, the macabre sixteenth-century alabaster representation of Death from the Cimetière des Innocents that welcomed visitors into the Fifteenth-Century Room.⁴⁴⁴

Like architects guided by theories of sensation and experience, such as Étienne-Louis Boullée, Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, and Sir John Soane, eighteenth-century garden theorists were concerned with fashioning experience. A successful garden enlightened the senses and enlivened the imagination.⁴⁴⁵ In *Essai sur les jardins* (1774), Claude-Henri Watelet argued that the goal of the garden designer was to sustain a state of wonder.⁴⁴⁶ Watelet advised designers to manipulate the landscape without relying on faux-ruins or follies. According to Watelet, the garden designer must "favor designs full of mystery, dissimilar shapes, immediate visual impressions...and such surprises (that) resist uniformity," which cultivated the effects of the unexpected and led the spectator through the landscape.⁴⁴⁷ Watelet compared an architect's power to compose a moving sequence of forms and shadows using colonnades to the garden designer's ability to shape the landscape and manipulate the ground plane. The garden designer created

⁴⁴³ McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment*, 304-16.

⁴⁴⁴ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Mort Saint-Innocent*, 10.4.

Mort Saint-Innocent was restored by Louis-Pierre Deseine (1749-1822) is now conserved at the Musée du Louvre.

⁴⁴⁵ For an extended discussion of sensation and eighteenth-century architectural theory, see the previous chapter.

Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières dedicated *Le génie de l'architecture* to Watelet.

⁴⁴⁶ Nina L. Dubin, *Futures and Ruins: Eighteenth-Century Paris and The Art of Hubert Robert* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010), 22 and Claude-Henri Watelet, *Essai sur les jardins* (Paris: Prault, 1774). Watelet (1718-1786) was a well-known art critic and garden theorist. He introduced English landscape gardens to France as the *jardin Anglois*. He was influenced by Thomas Whately's *Observations on Modern Gardening* (London: T Payne, 1770). For an English translation, see Claude-Henri Watelet, *Essay on Gardens*, trans. Samuel Danon, ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

⁴⁴⁷ Watelet, *Essay on Gardens*, 50-51.

experiences using light and shadow, openings and closings, and the rise and fall of earth features. The best gardens activated the senses, aroused emotions, and stirred sentiment, “the most perfect relation between external objects, feelings, and the shape of the soul.”⁴⁴⁸

The Élysée blended aspects of cemetery reform and pleasure gardens into landscapes dedicated to the memory of the honored dead. The gardens of Stowe in Buckinghamshire popularized the eighteenth-century Élysée as a place to honor public virtue.⁴⁴⁹ The grounds at Stowe were gradually transformed from a large seventeenth-century formal garden into a picturesque landscape in the early eighteenth century under the direction of Lord Cobham. Between 1734 and 1739, Lord Cobham and William Kent developed the Elysian Fields in the eastern portion of the garden.⁴⁵⁰ The designers followed Virgil's description for an Arcadian field of rest, engineering the landscape to create "shady groves," "cushioned river banks," and "meadows fresh with streams."⁴⁵¹ In this landscape, Lord Cobham and Kent built the Temple of British Worthies, a Renaissance-style *fabrique*, between 1734 and 1735, followed by the Temple of Ancient Virtue, a classical rotunda, and the Temple of Modern Virtue, a rusticated ruin, between 1736 and 1738.⁴⁵² In the Temple of British Worthies and the Temple of Modern Virtue, Lord Cobham created an "outdoor Westminster Abbey" with busts and statues of important political figures. The Elysian Fields was a political commentary on the contemporary power struggle

⁴⁴⁸ Watelet, *Essai sur les jardins*, 13, quoted in Middleton, "Introduction," *The Genius of Architecture*, 49. « Ce sentiment délicat qui exige les relations les plus parfaites entre les objets extérieurs, les sens, et l'état de l'âme. »

⁴⁴⁹ On Stowe, see Etlin, *The Architecture of Death*, 184-197.

⁴⁵⁰ Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham (1675-1749) was a British politician who developed the gardens at Stowe from 1712 until his death in 1749. Lord Cobham employed many prominent designers and architects during that forty-year period, garden designers Charles Bridgeman (1690-1738) and Lancelot Capability Brown (1716-1783), and architects Sir John Vanbrugh (1664-1726), James Gibbs (1682-1754), and William Kent (c.1685-1748). Kent is credited with the Fields at Stowe, which was part of a much larger landscape.

⁴⁵¹ Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book 6, in *Virgil with an English Translation*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, vol. 1, (London: William Heinemann and New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1916), 673-675. Quoted in Etlin, *Architecture of Death*, 189.

⁴⁵² John D Tatter, "A Summary History Stowe Landscape Gardens," November 7, 1996, <http://faculty.bsc.edu>.

between the Whigs and the Tories: the crumbling Temple of Modern Virtue reflected the degradation of the current degraded state of government. The Elysian Fields at Stowe were part of a larger landscape that Lord Cobham developed for over forty years. Unlike the Élysée at the Musée des monuments français, human remains were not interred in the Elysian Fields of Stowe. However, the gardens of Stowe offered a model of an ideal memorial landscape to later designers. Rather than dwelling on mortality, visitors to Stowe were encouraged to reflect in "elegiac sorrow" on personal memory and noble virtues.⁴⁵³

The Élysée was introduced to France at Ermenonville, a picturesque garden built by René-Louis de Girardin, Marquis de Vauvray beginning in 1762.⁴⁵⁴ Girardin designed Ermenonville as an idealized Arcadian landscape, inviting his visitor into a series of pastoral scenes dotted with actual tombs and honorary funerary monuments. Here, Girardin buried the worthy dead in a tranquil natural setting. In 1778, Girardin invited Jean-Jacques Rousseau to stay at Ermenonville and created a private garden on his estate intended for his guest modeled after the Élysée in Rousseau's epistolary novel, *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761).⁴⁵⁵ When Rousseau died six weeks after moving to Ermenonville, Girardin made preparations to bury the famous author on his estate. Girardin commissioned Rousseau's tomb from the sculptor Jacques-Philippe Le Sueur after a design by the painter Hubert Robert.⁴⁵⁶ (Figure 5.1) A simple stone sarcophagus *à l'antique* was decorated with a bas-relief representing several mothers praying to the goddess of Nature inscribed

⁴⁵³ Etlin, *The Architecture of Death*, 197.

⁴⁵⁴ On Ermenonville, see Etlin, *The Architecture of Death*, 204-209.

⁴⁵⁵ Published initially as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Lettres de deux amans, habitans d'une petite ville au pied des Alpes* (Amsterdam: Marc Michélet, 1761). Rousseau's epistolary novel explored the relationship between the individual and the collective as well as explored the rationality of moral principles. The title points to the history of Héloïse d'Argenteuil and Peter Abélard, whose remains were reunited at the Musée des monuments français.

⁴⁵⁶ Jacques-Phillipe Le Sueur (1759–1830) was a French sculptor. Hubert Robert (1733-1808) was French painter known for his scenes of ruins. He painted the Élysée and the Introduction Hall of the Musée des monuments français.

with the phrase, "Here lies the friend of nature and truth."⁴⁵⁷ Girardin installed the tomb on the Île des Peupliers, an artificial island dotted with poplars in the center of a small lake on the estate.⁴⁵⁸ Rousseau's tomb became a site of pilgrimage; the peaceful Arcadian landscape provided an ideal setting to mourn at the tomb of a *grand homme*. Girardin also buried the painter Georg Friedrich Mayer on another island in the lake, and built monuments to Henri IV, the decorated sixteenth-century soldier Dominique de Vic, vicomte d'Ermenonville, and four poets: Theocritus, Virgil, James Thomson, and Salomon Gesner.

Ermenonville offered a restful sleep for the virtuous in a landscape of *fabriques*, monuments, and faux-ruins meant to activate the sensations and imaginations of the living. In the picturesque garden, the *fabrique*, or purpose-built folly, was a locus of imaginative projection and potential.⁴⁵⁹ At Ermenonville, Girardin intentionally designed the Temple de la Philosophie as an unfinished ruin. This *fabrique* was composed of six Tuscan Doric columns, each dedicated to a philosopher: Isaac Newton, René Descartes, William Penn, Montesquieu, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Voltaire. At its base lay a broken pillar inscribed with the words, "Quis hoc perficiet," meaning "Who will complete this?" In Girardin's garden, the honored dead mingled with reminders of the potential of the living. The Temple de la Philosophie and Rousseau's tomb represented the double nature of Ermenonville's Arcadian landscape, between the finality of death and the possibilities of the future.

The French Revolution officially secularized death by suppressing the Catholic Church and adopting the model of Elysian Fields as the ideal setting for the commemoration of individual

⁴⁵⁷ « Ici repose l'ami de la nature et de la vérité. »

⁴⁵⁸ René de Girardin, *Promenade ou itinéraire des jardins d'Ermenonville* (Paris: Mériot, Gattey, and Guyot, 1788). Rousseau's body remained in its tomb at Ermenonville until it was moved to the Panthéon in Paris in 1794.

⁴⁵⁹ Dubin, *Futures and Ruins*, 12.

virtue and the personal achievements of *grands hommes*. Multiple concepts for Elysian Fields were proposed. In 1791, Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer offered a plan to transform the Champs-Élysées into a *voie de l'honneur* bordered on both sides with tombs of the honored dead shaded by an *allée* of trees.⁴⁶⁰ As part of his project to transform the Église Sainte-Geneviève into a temple for the bodies of the great men, Quatremère de Quincy proposed encircling the Panthéon with an Élysée to separate it from the chaos of the city and provide space for philosophical contemplation.⁴⁶¹ In 1794, Jean-Baptiste Avril proposed four new cemeteries, or *Champ de repos*, for the city of Paris in rural settings where the dead would be buried in orderly, individual graves.⁴⁶² Like many revolutionary projects, these proposals never left the drawing table. The garden at the Musée des monuments français was the only Revolutionary Élysée realized in Paris. Lenoir's design for the Élysée integrated principles of eighteenth-century garden design and the Revolutionary popularity of Elysian fields into a picturesque landscape that celebrated individual virtue and transcendence over earlier concepts of Christian death.

5.2 ÉLYSÉE, TARTARE, AND THE JOURNEY THROUGH TIME

In the fifth volume of his illustrated catalog, Lenoir introduced the garden by reminding his reader of the critical dualism invested in the concept of the Élysée: "I wanted, when speaking of the Élysée, to leave out speaking of Tartare, but the two fables are so closely linked that the words that

⁴⁶⁰ Etlin, *The Architecture of Death*, 230-232. Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer (1756-1846) served as the architect of the Musée des monuments français from 1810 until its closure in 1816.

⁴⁶¹ Etlin, *The Architecture of Death*, 230-236.

⁴⁶² Etlin, *The Architecture of Death*, 238-240.

designate them are virtually inseparable."⁴⁶³ The Élysée was not possible without Tartare, the mythical prison of the damned, as heaven could not exist without hell, good without evil, or day without night.⁴⁶⁴ In Lenoir's museological allegory, the century rooms became the journey the visitor had to overcome before achieving enlightenment. The eternal fields of rest could only be reached after the visitor had "braved the times," in the words of German writer August Kotzebue, and traversed the struggle of history in the century rooms. The Élysée and the century rooms represented the fundamental dualism of darkness and light in Dupuis' deeper history of mankind that Lenoir hoped to emulate. The century rooms had presented the cyclical rise and fall of French art, placing the degradation of culture under Louis XIV during the seventeenth century at the end of the chronological sequence. However, the overall progression of the museum through the century rooms, returning to the Introduction Hall, and following the exterior route to the Élysée was greater than the limits of royal history, and composed an overarching journey from darkness to light:

The somber light that illuminates (the Thirteenth-Century) room is again an imitation of the time; of the magic that perpetually keeps one in a state of weakness and superstition struck with terror, because I observed that the closer one comes to the centuries similar to our own, light increases in public monuments, as if the view of the sun could only agree with the enlightened man.⁴⁶⁵

The century rooms traversed a segment of history, while the museum as a whole represented the passage from ignorance to enlightenment. The Élysée was at the end of the spatial

⁴⁶³ Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français*, vol. 5, 171. « J'aurois voulu, en parlant de l'Élysée, m'absentir de parler du Tartare ; mais ces deux fables sont tellement liées, que les mots qui les désignent sont presque inséparables. »

⁴⁶⁴ In Greek mythology, Tartare, or Tartarus, is the deep abyss used as a dungeon and torture chamber for the wicked. Tartare is both a deity and a place in the underworld. See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

⁴⁶⁵ Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français*, vol 1, 181. « La lumière sombre qui éclaire ce lieu est encore une imitation du temps; magie par laquelle on maintenait perpétuellement dans un état de faiblesse des êtres que la superstition avait frappés d'effroi; car j'ai observé que plus on remonte vers les siècles qui se rapprochent du nôtre, plus la lumière s'agrandit dans les monumens publics, comme si la vue du soleil ne pouvait convenir qu'à l'homme instruit. »

sequence of the Musée des monuments français, yet Lenoir never clearly delineated the Élysée as specifically of the past, the present, or the future. Lenoir cited Virgil's eternal fields of rest for the worthy, the Marquis de Condorcet's *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès l'esprit humaine* (1795), François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (1699) and Christophe Willibald von Gluck's opera about Orpheus' journey through the underworld, *Orphée et Eurydice* (1774), as his inspirations for the meaning of the Élysée.⁴⁶⁶ The references to Virgil and Gluck placed the Élysée firmly within the traditions and mythologies of classical antiquity. The citation from Condorcet, however, gave the Élysée a contemporary significance in the chronology of Revolutionary progress. Writing while he hid from arrest during the Terror in 1794, Condorcet described the stages of progress in human history. The ninth stage culminated with the American and French Revolutions, which freed those nations from despotism. Condorcet envisioned an Élysée as the tenth and final progressive stage of human history and his hope for a future in which humanity finally achieved universal equality and real improvement. Lenoir cited Condorcet's description of an Élysée in the catalog:

The image of humanity freed from its chains, released from the domain of chance as well as the enemies of progress, and advancing with a firm and sure step in the direction of truth, virtue, and happiness presents to the thinker an idea that soothes him from the errors, crimes, and injustices that still defile the earth... This contemplation is for him an asylum, where the memory of his persecutors cannot pursue him; where, alive in thought, man is reestablished in his rights in the dignity of nature and he forgets being tormented and corrupted by greed, fear or envy; it is here that he truly exists with his fellow men, in an Élysée that his reason has created and that his love for humanity embellishes with the purest enjoyments.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁶ Virgil, *Aeneid*, was written between 29 and 19 BCE. The Marquis de Condorcet died in prison in 1794 during the Terror, and *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès l'esprit humaine* was published posthumously in 1795. François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon published *Les Aventures de Télémaque* anonymously in 1699. German composer Christoph Willibald von Gluck's opera, *Orfeo ed Euridice*, based on the myth of Orpheus, premiered in Vienne in 1762. The French version, *Orphée et Eurydice*, premiered in Paris in 1774. Lenoir included a bust of Gluck in the Eighteenth-Century Room.

⁴⁶⁷ Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 192-193, quoting Condorcet, *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès l'esprit humaine* (1795). « Le tableau de l'espace humaine affranchie de toutes ses chaînes, soustraite à l'empire du hasard comme à celui de l'ennemi de ses progrès, et marchant d'un pas ferme et sûr dans la route de la

Fénelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque* offered a model of the Élysée in the service of the future. Lenoir cited Fénelon's description of the champs Élysée as a paradise of "divine delight" outside of time, where "centuries pass more rapidly than hours among mortals on Earth."⁴⁶⁸ Fénelon's champs Élysée could only be reached after traveling through Tartare. As Kotzebue found the gardens a release at the end of the century rooms in the Musée des monuments français, Fénelon's traveler looked forward to the future promise of the Élysée at the end of a difficult journey: "Young mortal...on one side there is the black Tartare where the evil kings are punished, and the other side, the champs Élysée, where the good kings are rewarded. But you cannot go to the champs Élysée until you have passed through Tartare."⁴⁶⁹ In this analogy, the royal history of the century rooms represented the journey through Tartare that was rewarded by the enlightenment found in the Élysée. The theme of Élysée was developed further in Fénelon's *Dialogue des morts* (1712), in which the Élysée was the place outside of time where great men debated their

vérité, de la vertu et du bonheur, présente au philosophe un spectacle qui le console des erreurs, des crimes, des injustices dont la terre est encore souillée et dont il est souvent la victime. C'est dans la contemplation de ce tableau, qu'il reçoit le prix de ses efforts pour les progrès de la raison, pour la défense de la liberté. Il ose alors les lier à la chaîne éternelle des destinées humaines ; c'est là qu'il trouve la vraie récompense de la vertu, le plaisir d'avoir fait un bien durable, que la fatalité ne détruira plus par une compensation funeste, en ramenant les préjugés et l'esclavage. Cette contemplation est pour lui un asile, où le souvenir de ses persécuteurs ne peut le poursuivre ; où, vivant, par la pensée, avec l'homme rétabli dans les droits, comme dans la dignité de sa nature, il oublie celui qui l'avidité, la crainte ou l'envie tourmentant et corrompent ; c'est là qu'il existe véritablement avec ses semblables, dans un Élysée que sa raison a su se créer, et que son amour pour l'humanité embellit des plus pures jouissances. »

⁴⁶⁸ Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français*, vol. 5, 187-188, quoting Fénelon, *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (1699).

« Les hautes montagnes de Thrace, qui de leur fronts couverts de neige et de glace, depuis l'origine du monde, fendent les nues, seroient renversées de leurs fondemens, posées au centre de la terre, que les cœurs de ces hommes justes ne pourroient pas même être émus: seulement ils ont pitié des misères qui accablent les hommes vivans dans le monde; mais c'est une pitié douce et paisible, qui n'altère en rien leur immuable félicité...Dans ce ravissement divin, les siècles coulent plus rapidement que les heures parmi les mortels; et cependant mille et mille siècles écoulés n'oient rien à leur félicité toujours nouvelle et toujours entière. »

⁴⁶⁹ François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, *Les Aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse*, ed. Jacques Le Brun (Paris: Gallimard, 1995), Livre XIV, 309, quoted in Pascal Griener, "Alexandre Lenoir et le modèle anglais: La politique et l'histoire après la Révolution," in *Un musée révolutionnaire*, eds. Bresc-Bautier and de Chancel-Bardelot, 209. « Jeune mortel...tu n'as qu'à parcourir, d'un côté, l'endroit du noir tartare où les mauvais rois sont punis; de l'autre, les champs Élysée, où les bons rois sont récompensés. Mais tu ne peux aller d'ici dans les champs Élysée, qu'après avoir passé par le tartare. »

histories.⁴⁷⁰ In the tranquility of the garden, beyond of the constraints of time, the dead entered into dialogue with the living and discussed the failures of history in anticipation of an enlightened future. Speaking at the inaugural meeting of the Académie Celtique at the Musée des monuments français, Éloi Johanneau described the Élysée as a place outside of time where those individuals buried there could debate their histories and contemplate the progress of the living:

In this garden planted in the form of an Élysée, the remains of illustrious men whose ashes (Lenoir) collected rest on the grassy lawn in sarcophagi surrounded by weeping willows, cypresses, myrtles and roses...Molière, La Fontaine, Descartes, Boileau, Heloise, Abelard, Mabillon and Montfaucon are among you. Do you not already see these immortal shadows, reanimated at your approach, coming out of their tombs to come to sit with you? Do you not see them wandering around you, taking part in your inquiries, and applauding your labors, which, like theirs, have only the object of national glory?⁴⁷¹

Virgil and Condorcet offered Lenoir versions of an Élysée in the service of the ancient past and the Revolutionary present, respectively. Lenoir's understanding of the Élysée was fluid and could be interpreted from more than one theoretical point of view. Like Fénelon's Élysée, the garden of the Musée des monuments français was a space outside of time and yet also at the end of a historical journey, where past and present were debated for the betterment of the future. Musing on the temporal significance of the Élysée in his catalog, Lenoir cited an anonymous poet: "It is true...that we have no ideas about the future, which does not exist for us, but our ideas about the past and the present furnish our imagination with the materials with which we construct the

⁴⁷⁰ Griener, "Alexandre Lenoir et le modèle anglais," 209 and François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, *Dialogues des morts composez pour l'education d'un prince* (Paris, Florentin Delauine, 1712).

⁴⁷¹ Éloi Johanneau, "Discours d'ouverture sur l'établissement de l'Académie Celtique," 33-25. « C'est dans ce jardin, planté en forme d'Élysée, que reposent, dans des sarcophages posés sur le gazon, entourés de saules pleureurs, de cyprès, de myrtes et de roses, les mânes de quelques hommes illustres dans les lettres, dont il a recueilli les cendres. Oui Messieurs, Molière, La Fontaine, Descartes, Boileau, Héloïse, Abélard, Mabillon, Montfaucon, sont au milieu de vous ! Supposez un instant que ces mânes illustres, comme dans l'Élysée des anciens, se voyant, s'entendent et jouissent d'une félicité inaltérable ; laissez un instant votre imagination se prêter à cette douce illusion. Ne voyez vous pas déjà ces ombres immortelles, remaniées à votre approche, sortir de leurs tombeaux pour venir siéger avec vous? Ne les voyez-vous pas déjà errer autour de vous, prendre part à vos recherches, et applaudir à vos travaux, qui, comme les leurs, n'ont pour but que le gloire nationale ? » Éloi Johanneau (1770-1851) was a philologist and an active member of the Académie Celtique. See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

domain of the future."⁴⁷² Inspired by the writings of Virgil, Condorcet, and Fénelon, the Élysée was not rigidly defined and could be simultaneously past, present, and future.

5.3 MIRRORING THE MUSEUM IN ANET, GAILLON, AND METZ

For the Élysée to be interpreted as the end of a long journey, Lenoir needed to create a strong visual connection between the Introduction Hall and the garden entrance. The Élysée occupied a rectangular plot of land southwest of the museum. When planning began in 1799, access to the garden from the museum passed through two existing courtyards, the Entry Court and the Petite Cloître. The Entry Court was a long, irregular courtyard that stretched from the rue des Petits-Augustins along most of the length of the southern wall of the museum.⁴⁷³ Following the Entry Court was the Petite Cloître, a narrow rectangular courtyard Lenoir filled with loosely organized sculptures and fragments.⁴⁷⁴ The Petite Cloître was bounded by arcades to the south and east sides, the museum to the north, and, to the west, a narrow double-story wing of the former convent building that extended from the southern end of the Seventeenth-Century Room. (Figure 5.2) To enter the Élysée, visitors passed under a large open gate on the western wall of the Petite Cloître.

⁴⁷² Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français*, vol. 5, 173. « Il est vrai...que nous n'avons point d'idées de l'avenir, qui n'existe point pur nous ; ce sont nos idées du passé et du présent qui fournissent à notre imagination les matériaux dont elle sert pour contruire les *régions futures*. »

⁴⁷³ A plan of the former convent by Alexandre Lenoir, a plan of the museum in 1810 by Alexandre Lenoir and a plan of the final configuration of the museum in 1818 by Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer show the locations of the Petite Cloître (Petite Cloître) and the Entry Court (Cour d'Entrée). These plans are held at the Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.1, RF 5279.2, and RF 5279.9. Charles Percier's rough sketches of the Petite Cloître and the interior of the Élysée give a general indication of the spatial relationships defining the exterior portions of the museum. No. 139 and No. 142, Ms. 1012, Croquis faits au Musée des monuments français par Charles Percier, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français.

⁴⁷⁴ Rough sketches by Charles Percier of the Petite Cloître reveal numerous, unidentifiable monuments. No. 139, Ms. 1012, Croquis faits au Musée des monuments français par Charles Percier, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France.

Between 1799 and 1807, Lenoir collaborated with the architect Charles Percier to develop a sequence of three courtyards that axially connected the street entrance, the Introduction Hall, and the Élysée. Percier and Lenoir were already well-acquainted by 1795 when Lenoir recorded that Percier frequently visited the Musée des monuments français to sketch the monuments.⁴⁷⁵ In 1800, the Minister of the Interior, Lucien Bonaparte, appointed Percier to direct the architecture of the Musée des monuments français and oversee its plans, models, and stereotomy.⁴⁷⁶ Percier's work at the Musée des monuments français took place during the same period that he and his architectural partner Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine were engaged in several high-profile building projects, including the arcades for the rue de Rivoli, the arc de Triomphe du Carrousel at the Tuileries Palace, and restorations at the Château de Malmaison. Thus, Percier's collaboration with Lenoir endowed the Musée des monuments français with the legitimacy of a major public project of the Napoleonic era and distanced it from its identity as a Revolutionary depot.

Percier and Lenoir's design for the sequence of courtyards employed large architectural fragments to construct a journey from the Introduction Hall to the Élysée back in time through the sixteenth, fifteenth, and fourteenth centuries. In their influential design manual for the Empire style, *Recueil de décorations intérieures* (1801-1812), Percier and Fontaine asserted that they did not merely copy antique models or stylistic fashions, but employed historical sources that embodied the character of the age and integrated them into contemporary design solutions for architectural interiors and decorative objects.⁴⁷⁷ According to Lenoir, Percier's appointment at the

⁴⁷⁵ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 24.

⁴⁷⁶ *AMMF*, vol 2, 443. Letter from Lenoir to Antoine-Marie Peyre (French, 1770-1843), June 16, 1800. Percier's position was in addition to the role of the museum architect, at the time held by Peyre, and was not intended to interfere with Peyre's daily responsibilities. Stereotomy was primarily crucial in the execution of the ceiling of the Fourteenth-Century Room.

⁴⁷⁷ Charles Percier and Pierre Fontaine, "Discours Préliminaire," in *Recueil des décorations intérieures*, 1-19.

Musée des monuments français ensured that the architecture of the museum would be "guided by the character suited to the physiognomy of the centuries that I want to paint."⁴⁷⁸ The courtyards of the Musée des monuments français offered Percier an opportunity to employ his interest in historicism beyond the classical and Egyptian motifs of the Empire Style. With Lenoir, Percier assimilated an eclectic ensemble of historical architectures into a cohesive design that could draw the visitor into a visual and sensory experience of the spirit of different periods of French history.

By 1799, the Château d'Anet, the former residence of Diane de Poitiers, had deteriorated after almost a decade of neglect and was slated for demolition. In May of 1799, Lenoir and Percier traveled to Anet together to make models and drawings of the château.⁴⁷⁹ The Château d'Anet, commissioned by Henri II and built under the direction of the architect Philibert de l'Orme and the sculptor Jean Goujon between 1547 and 1552, offered Lenoir a deteriorating example of one of the finest integrations of architecture and sculpture of the French Renaissance, as well as an important patron-architect partnership.⁴⁸⁰ The following October, Lenoir requested permission from the Minister of the Interior, Nicolas Marie Quinette, to transport a large section of the façade of the château to Paris to serve as the entrance of the museum.⁴⁸¹ In his proposal for the facade,

⁴⁷⁸ *AMMF*, vol. 2, 443. « Le Ministre de l'Intérieur, désirant donner à l'architecture du Musée que dirige le caractère qui convient à la physionomie des siècles que je veux peindre, vient de m'adjoindre le sieur Percier, architecte dessinateur, qui, avec moi, est chargée de diriger, dans le Musée des Monuments français, les plans, moulures, profils, et en général tout ce qui tient à la stéréotomie de l'architecture, sans que cela change en rien vos fonctions ordinaires. »

⁴⁷⁹ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 142. Percier's friendship and collaborations with Lenoir were one of the few cases in his career where he did not collaborate with his partner, Pierre Fontaine (1762-1853). For more information on the work of Charles Percier, see Jean-Phillippe Garric, "The Musée des monuments français: Composition and the Art of Context," in *Charles Percier Architecture and Design in an Age of Revolutions*, ed. Jean-Phillippe Garric (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.): 103-106.

⁴⁸⁰ The Château d'Anet was partially destroyed during the French Revolution. Surviving structures include the centralizing Greek cross chapel designed by Philibert de l'Orme (1514-1570), the portal gate, Diane de Poitiers's mortuary chapel, and a portion of the château. A replica of the Fontaine de Diane, representing Diane de Poitiers as Diana, Goddess of the Hunt, by Jean Goujon (1510-1565) stands behind the chapel. The original statue, which was displayed in the Élysée, is conserved at the Musée du Louvre.

⁴⁸¹ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 151-152. Lenoir had already successfully petitioned for the transport the funerary monument of Diane de Poitiers, installed at the entrance of the Introduction Hall, and several stained-glass windows in 1796.

Lenoir emphasized the visual effect created between the architecture of the Château d'Anet and the tomb of Diane de Poitiers at the entrance of the Introduction Hall. He stressed the value of preserving Anet for the education of artists before it fell into disrepair.

In 1799, Lenoir published a plan for the installation of a façade from the Château d'Anet and the design of the Sixteenth-Century Courtyard twice, in both *Compte-rendu d l'état actuel du Musée des Monuments français* and *Rapport historique sur le Château d'Anet*.⁴⁸² Lenoir collaborated on the design with Percier. The façade from the Château d'Anet occupied the entire northern wall of the courtyard and functioned as the entrance to the museum. The façade featured three stacked orders, which Lenoir and Percier planned to superimpose over the existing gabled front of the former church of the Couvent des Petits-Augustins. (Figure 5.3) On the ground level, twin Doric columns flanked the double doors of the Musée des monuments français. Above the entrance, double Ionic columns framed a large rectangular window, and on the uppermost level, double Corinthian columns flanked an arched window. The ensemble was capped with the insignia of Henri II and Diane de Poitiers.

Lenoir and Percier's courtyard design planned to extend the monumental central axis of the Introduction Hall into a semicircular apse on the southern side of the courtyard. (Figure 5.4) At the center of the apse, the designers placed a monumental column flanked by two statues. The

⁴⁸² Plans and elevations of the Sixteenth-Century Court can be found at the Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.38-RF5279.46. These drawings were also published in Alexandre Lenoir, *Compte-rendu d l'état actuel du Musée des Monuments français de ses dépenses annales des, améliorations dont il est susceptible; suivi d'un projet d'y établir, avec les débris d'anciens Monuments, trois époques remarquables de l'architecture en France*. (Paris: 1799) and Alexandre Lenoir, *Rapport historique sur le Château d'Anet*. (Paris: 1799). See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839) and Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français. Percier did not sign the 1799 drawings, which were published under Lenoir's name alone. When drawings were republished in 1805 in the fourth volume of Lenoir's illustrated catalog, they were signed "Percier del et sc." Jean-Phillippe Garric argues that the Latin inscription, "Percier del(ineavit) et sc(ulpsit)" indicates that Percier was the author of the design. Jean-Phillippe Garric, "The Musée des monuments français: Composition and the Art of Context," 104.

Sixteenth-Century Courtyard presented the architecture of the French Renaissance as a period of reserved classicism. The east, west, and south walls of the courtyard continued the lower order of the façade from the Château d’Anet. The walls of the courtyard were a single story tall with a simple base and a basic Doric entablature, punctuated with rectangular niches reserved for busts of important figures. Two triumphal arches leading to the rue des Petits-Augustins and the Fifteenth-Century Courtyard were axially aligned on the east and west walls of the courtyard. Directly north of the triumphal arches, two temple fronts, each comprised of a stepped base, four Doric columns and pilasters, an entablature, and a low pediment, opened into shallow recessed porches where more busts would be displayed. Along the east wall, an additional rectangular opening between the temple front and the museum entrance provided a view of a *priant* in a small garden accessible only from the entry passageway.

Shortly after his trip to Anet, Lenoir traveled to Gaillon with M. Colliot, a colleague of Percier, to model and sketch the Château de Gaillon as he had at Anet.⁴⁸³ The Château de Gaillon was begun in 1502 by Georges d’Amboise, Cardinal Archbishop of Rouen, after his return from Italy where he had been inspired by the art and architecture of the Italian Renaissance.⁴⁸⁴ Cardinal Amboise employed Italian artists and sculptors as well as local builders on the project that continued until his death in 1510. In 1801, Lenoir petitioned the Minister of the Interior, Jean-Antoine Chaptal, to transport large sections of the façade from the Château de Gaillon to the Musée des monuments français.⁴⁸⁵ In 1802, Lenoir published an expansion of the initial proposal in *Rapport sur la restauration des quatre façades du Château de Gaillon dans la seconde cour d*

⁴⁸³ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 154-155.

⁴⁸⁴ The Château de Gaillon is considered the first château of the French Renaissance. Cardinal Georges d’Amboise’s (1460-1510) project at Gaillon was inspired by his time in Italy, including his meetings with Leonardo da Vinci (1542-1519) and the architect Giovanni Giocondo (c.1433-1515).

⁴⁸⁵ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 246.

Musée des monumens français.⁴⁸⁶ The proposed plan incorporated the façades from the Château d'Anet and the Arc de Gaillon into a sequence of courtyards that led from the rue des Petits-Augustins to the Élysée. The drawings published in 1802 were unsigned, but Lenoir republished the same project in the fourth volume of his extended catalog in 1805. In the second publication, all the drawings were signed by Charles Percier, “Percier del et sc,” indicating that Percier was the designer of the courtyard proposal.⁴⁸⁷

The projected plan for the exterior of the museum regularized and introduced axial symmetry into the existing irregular courtyards in front of the Musée des monuments français. (Figure 5.5) Percier and Lenoir's design arrayed three independent courtyards along a compositional axis, separated by areas of circulation. The primary exterior axis ran parallel to the interior axis of the galleries. The visitor would have entered the first courtyard from the rue des Petits-Augustins through a short barrel-vaulted passageway. The primary destination of the passage was the Sixteenth-Century Courtyard and the museum entrance, with a tertiary opening in the middle of the passageway that accessed a small garden decorated with a single *priant* to the north. From the Sixteenth-Century Courtyard, the central axis led the visitor through the Fifteenth-Century Courtyard and the Cour Arabe, or Gothic courtyard, and from there into the Élysée. The axial passageway offered pedestrians on the rue des Petits-Augustins an unobstructed glimpse through the three courtyards into the garden.

⁴⁸⁶ Alexandre Lenoir, *Rapport sur la restauration des quatre façades du Château de Gaillon dans la seconde cour d Musée des monumens français présenté au Citoyen Chaptal, ministre de l'intérieur* (Paris: 1802). The engraving and original drawing of this plan are both held by the Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.4 and RF 5279.5. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français and Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

⁴⁸⁷ Garric, “The Musée des monuments français: Composition and the Art of Context,” 104.

A shorter barrel-vaulted passageway separated the Sixteenth-Century Courtyard from the Fifteenth-Century Courtyard, the largest of the three courtyards. The design of the Fifteenth-Century Courtyard did not require as much new construction as the Sixteenth-Century Courtyard and instead relied heavily on the use of large architectural fragments and decoration from the Château de Gaillon, like the Fifteenth-Century Room.⁴⁸⁸ The Arc de Gaillon comprised the entire west wall of the courtyard. (Figure 5.6) At the center of the imposing double-story arcade, Lenoir positioned a sixteenth-century baptismal font from the Abbaye Saint-Victor.⁴⁸⁹ Compared to the classicism of the façade from the Château d’Anet, the Arc de Gaillon was sculptural and heavily decorated. The cornice combined classical details with trefoil archs associated with French architecture of the Middle Ages, which Lenoir emphasized to frame the fifteenth century as a transitional period between the Gothic and the Renaissance. The walls of the Fifteenth-Century Courtyard would have been taller than those of the Sixteenth-Century Courtyard and roughly matched the height of the Arc de Gaillon. Both the north and south walls were designed using an arcade capped with a balustrade. (Figure 5.7) A delicate arcade from the courtyard of the Château de Gaillon was proposed for the north wall, which would have created a covered walkway adjacent to the museum building. Along the south wall, a heavier arcade from the Château de Gaillon would have opened into a broad covered porch. The fourth façade from Gaillon, not depicted in any drawings, was planned for the east wall. At the center of the Fifteenth-Century Courtyard,

⁴⁸⁸ Perspectives, plans, and elevations of the Fifteenth-Century Courtyard can be found in the Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.3-5279.4, RF 5279.52, and RF 5279.63-RF 5279.65. The plan and elevations were published in Lenoir, *Rapport sur la restauration des quatre façades du Château de Gaillon*. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français and Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

⁴⁸⁹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Arc de Gaillon, Courtyard of the Fifteenth Century*, 1.2.

Lenoir planned to install a large fountain, possibly using the original basin of the famous fountain that had been at the center of the courtyard of the Château de Gaillon.⁴⁹⁰

The visitor would have entered the third and final courtyard, the Cour Arabe, by passing under the Arc de Gaillon.⁴⁹¹ The Cour Arabe was the Gothic, or fourteenth-century courtyard. This court was designed in plan by 1802, but not articulated in elevation until sometime between 1805 and 1807. The plan consisted of a divided courtyard, with a larger rectangular area to the north and a smaller square pavilion directly south. The size of the larger portion was determined by the length of the Arc de Gaillon to the east. Across from the Arc de Gaillon, an arcade opened into the Élysée. In 1806, Lenoir considered using an unidentified cloister from Reims as the source for the final courtyard.⁴⁹² He attributed the Reims cloister to “Montreuil,” a reference either Eudes de Montreuil or Pierre de Montreuil, thirteenth-century architects under Louis IX whom Lenoir believed had introduced the Syrian ogive arch to France after the Seventh Crusade.

In May of 1807, Lenoir traveled to Metz to study and document the architecture and sculpture of the Église des Grands-Carmes and determine how to transport it to the Musée des monuments français.⁴⁹³ His journey was made at the request of the Minister of the Interior, Jean-Baptiste de Nompère de Champagny, to examine two alters that potentially merited conservation

⁴⁹⁰ The original fountain of Gaillon, commissioned in 1506 and from Agostino Solari (active c.1500), Antonio della Porta (c. 1471-1520), and Pace Gazini (active 1493-1521), was composed of two super-imposed marble basins surmounted by a statue of John the Baptist. It was dismantled in 1756, and the lower basin relocated to the gardens at Liancourt, near Oise, France. It is unclear whether Lenoir was aware of this. Today the base of the fountain of Gaillon is conserved in the gardens of the Château de la Rochefoucauld.

⁴⁹¹ The Cour Arabe is included in the plan held by the Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.3-5279.4 and published in Lenoir, *Rapport sur la restauration des quatre façades du Château de Gaillon*. The drawings of the proposal to install a fragment of the Église des Grands Carmes de Metz in the Cour Arabe are conserved at the Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5281.104 and RF 5279.37. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français and Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

⁴⁹² Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 8th ed. (1806), 149.

⁴⁹³ *AMMF*, vol. 3, 112.

in the late fourteenth-century church, which was at that time serving as a magazine.⁴⁹⁴ Shortly after his visit, Lenoir requested permission to transport large components of the Église des Grands-Carmes to the Musée des monuments français, as well as to the gardens of the Château de Malmaison, the residence of the Empress Joséphine, where he served briefly as Conservateur des objets.⁴⁹⁵ Lenoir developed a design for the west wall of the Cour Arabe, the boundary of the Élysée, using an arcade from a chapel of the Église des Grands-Carmes composed of a delicate sequence of three open trefoil arches supported by thin columns.⁴⁹⁶ (Figure 5.8) On either side of the arcade, Lenoir intended a set of large wooden double doors surmounted by trefoil arches and flanked by twin sets of double columns. It is possible that Lenoir planned to use the fragments from Metz in addition to the unidentified cloister from Reims to complete the Cour Arabe. Lenoir continued to describe the cloister from Reims as part of the future Cour Arabe in his guidebooks until 1816, at the same time as he was making plans to transport parts of the Église des Grands-Carmes to the Musée des monuments français.⁴⁹⁷

The courtyards were never completed. Between 1801 and 1802, only the façades from the Château d'Anet and the Arc de Gaillon were transported to the Musée des monuments français.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁴ AMMF, vol. 1, 340.

⁴⁹⁵ AMMF, vol. 1, 357-359. See also Alexandre Lenoir, *Notice historique sur la ville de Metz, manuscrit orné de dessins originaux. Offert à sa Majesté, l'Impératrice et Reine* (1807). As the Conservateur des objets de la Malmaison, Lenoir created two catalogs of the collection of Malmaison: Alexandre Lenoir, *Catalogue historique et raisonné des antiquités et des marbres du Château Imperial de Malmaison, ordonné par sa Majesté l'Impératrice et Reine* (1809) and Alexandre Lenoir, *Peintures, vases, et bronzes de la Malmaison, décrits et publiés par M. Alexandre Lenoir, gravés par M. N.-X. Willemin, ouvrage dédié de l'Impératrice Joséphine* (Paris: Hacquart, 1810). See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839). Lenoir was involved with the work at Château de Malmaison from about 1807 to 1810.

⁴⁹⁶ An elevation of this plan is conserved at the Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.37. This elevation is identical to a drawing of the chapel of the Église des Grands-Carmes de Metz, conserved at the Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5281.104. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français.

⁴⁹⁷ Lenoir, *Musée royal des monumens français*, 134.

⁴⁹⁸ The facade from the Château d'Anet remains where Lenoir installed it, at the entrance of the Musée des monuments français, now the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts. The Arc de Gaillon remained in place after the closure of the museum and was integrated into the entry courtyard of Félix Duban's (1798-1870) design for the

The façade from Anet served as the distinctive entrance of the Introduction Hall, and the Arc de Gaillon defined the boundary between the Entry Court and the Petite Cloître. Though the Musée des monuments français remained very popular with visitors during the Napoleonic era, Lenoir struggled to secure government funding for the completion of the courtyards, as well as financial resources for any other future development. In the case of the Église des Grandes-Carmes, J. V. B. Neuville complained about Lenoir's request to send parts of the monument to both the Musée des monuments français and the Château de Malmaison and alerted Nompère de Champagny to stall the transportation.⁴⁹⁹ Neuville argued that by requesting the fragments for the Musée des monuments français, Lenoir classified the fragments as objects of art, worthy of public display. Yet by also hoping to place parts of the same monument in the gardens at Malmaison, Neuville continued, Lenoir revealed that the fragments were actually objects of curiosity, and therefore not worthy of monumental status and scholarly attention in a museum. The second interpretation eventually determined the destination of the Église des Grandes-Carmes. In October of 1807, Lenoir announced the transport of a "Gothic monument, thirty-six feet in height" from Metz to the gardens of the Château de Malmaison, and not to the Musée des monuments français.⁵⁰⁰

The courtyards functioned similarly to the century rooms in that they created a visual architectural history of France. Each monument represented a critical monument in the

École des Beaux-Arts. The Arc de Gaillon was returned to the Château de Gaillon in 1977. For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Facade, Château d'Anet, Sixteenth-Century Courtyard* 1.1; *Arc de Gaillon, Fifteenth-Century Courtyard*, 1.2; and *Cour Arabe*, 1.3.

⁴⁹⁹ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 360-362.

⁵⁰⁰ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 364. « d'un monument d'architecture gothique de trente-six pieds de hauté » The Église des Grand-Carmes de Metz was demolished, and the reconstruction of the monument at Malmaison was never completed. Later in the nineteenth century, some of the fragments of the Église des Grand-Carmes de Metz were taken from Malmaison to the Château de Mont-l'Évêque and the Château de Gueulzin. In 1960, several elements of the former church were acquired by the Musée de la Cour d'Or and returned to Metz. The remainder of the fragments of the Église des Grand-Carmes transported from Metz to Malmaison have been lost. See Meunier et Pougetoux "Alexandre Lenoir et l'Impératrice Joséphine : Une amitié intéressée?"

development of the French architecture that significantly shaped the character of its era. Lenoir emphasized the role of the architect and architect-patron relationships in his guidebooks. Anet represented the highest achievement of the French Renaissance and celebrated the architect-patron relationship between Philibert de l'Orme, Henri II, and Diane de Poitiers. Gaillon represented the moment that the Renaissance was introduced to France as a result of the grand vision of the Cardinal d'Amboise and his team of French and Italian artists. Both Metz and Reims were anonymously Gothic to Lenoir. In his guidebooks, Lenoir attributed the unidentified cloister from Reims to Montreuil, the thirteenth-century architect of Louis IX, whom Lenoir believed inspired the development of the Gothic in France.

The proposed courtyards offered the spectator a significantly different experience than the century rooms. The century rooms were each centralized around the body of the monarch and crowded with imagery, representations, and historical figures that revealed, according to Lenoir, a complete history of French art. The courtyards simplified and condensed the sequence of the century rooms without the body of the king to serve as a physiognomic key. The journey through the century rooms led forward in time through the royal history of France yet concluded back in the origins of French art in the Introduction Hall. Like the century rooms, the courtyard chronology began in the Introduction Hall. The exterior sequence presented an alternate history that eclipsed the royal body. The degradation of the arts under Louis XIV during the seventeenth century was omitted from the courtyard chronology, and the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were condensed into a monument that represented the Gothic generally. Royal history was included in the patronage of Henri II and Louis IX in the Château d'Anet and the Cour Arabe. However, but primarily used to emphasize artistic achievement and architect-patron relationships. At the end of the second chronological journey back in time, the Élysée was the symbolic inverse of the

Introduction Hall.

5.4 ECLIPSING THE LEGIBLE BODY IN THE ÉLYSÉE

Leaving the Petite Cloître for the Élysée, the visitor entered a densely planted garden. Lenoir began the Élysée in 1796 and opened it to visitors in 1799 but did not complete the work until 1805.⁵⁰¹ In the Élysée, Lenoir arranged trees and shrubs into small groves that defined a meandering path through the landscape.⁵⁰² He chose trees traditionally associated with death: yews, cypresses, poplars, and willows. The perimeter of the garden was heavily planted, but the vegetation cleared at the center revealing a monumental, north-south axis through the garden, which mirrored that of the Introduction Hall. (Figure 5.9) At the north end of the axis, aligned with the garden entrance, Lenoir placed a monumental column decorated with four bas-reliefs originally from the statue of Louis XIV at the Place de Victoires that represented the military triumphs of the king.⁵⁰³ Following the axis south, Lenoir aligned the Fontaine de Diane by Jean Goujon from the Château d'Anet and a seventeenth-century copy of Jupiter de Smyrne from the Château de Sceaux.⁵⁰⁴ The axis terminated in an architectural monument dedicated to Anne de Montmorency and Madeline

⁵⁰¹ Laetitia Barrague-Zouita, "Le Roman nationale au jardin: L'Élysée du Musée des monuments français d'Alexandre Lenoir" in *Un musée révolutionnaire*, eds. Bresc-Bautier and de Chancel-Bardelot, 190 and AN F17/*/244, fols.148.

⁵⁰² Barrague-Zouita, "Le Roman nationale au jardin," 191. Barrague-Zoutia estimates that the Élysée was densely planted for its size by studying the numbers of plantings requested by Lenoir. After a drought in 1802, he obtained 418 trees. In 1802, 418 Scottish pines were brought it to decorate the surroundings of the tomb of Héloïse and Abelard. In 1807, Lenoir accused the gardeners of negligence and requested 454 trees to replace those lost. He obtained 164 trees after the Minister of the Interior determined that the small garden already had "une telle quatité." AN F17/*/24/5, fols. 253 and 261; F17/*/24/8, fols. 104,109, and 443-444; and F17/*/24/10 fols. 28-30.

⁵⁰³ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Triumphal Column*, 11.4.

⁵⁰⁴ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Jupiter de Smyrne*, 11.2 and *Fontaine de Diane*, 11.3.

de Savoye, which Lenoir claimed to reconstruct from the never-executed sixteenth-century design of the architect Jean Bullant.⁵⁰⁵ The monument consisted of ten Corinthian columns arranged in a double row to form a semi-circular niche capped by a cupola and flanked on either side by two male *priants*.⁵⁰⁶

Thick clusters of trees and vegetation surrounded the central axis, which Lenoir dotted with monuments, tombs, and architectural fragments. In contrast to the central axis, the peripheral areas of the garden followed an irregular and organic organization. Along the southern wall of the garden, Lenoir installed the Tomb of Dagobert, a thirteenth-century Gothic monument posthumously dedicated to the seventh-century monarch from Saint-Denis.⁵⁰⁷ (Figure 5.10) Nearby, in the southwest corner of the garden, Lenoir placed an architectural fragment from the Église Saint-Laurent in Nogent-sur-Seine, constructed from the mid-fifteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century.⁵⁰⁸ Near this architectural fragment was a bust of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, commissioned for the museum in 1797, and a monument to the seventeenth-century philosopher, Jacques Rohault.⁵⁰⁹ A marble urn on top of a black marble Corinthian column contained the heart of Rohault, interred initially at the Église Sainte-Geneviève alongside the body of his friend, René Descartes. Rohault's heart was transferred to the Musée des monuments français before 1796, the first of many human remains to be introduced into the museum.

⁵⁰⁵ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Mausoleum for Anne de Montmorency, connétable de France and Madeline de Savoye*, 11.1.

⁵⁰⁶ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Unidentified male priants*, possibly Guillaume de Montmorency and Philippe de Castille, 11.6.

⁵⁰⁷ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Tomb of Dagobert with Nantilde and Clovis II*, 11.13.

⁵⁰⁸ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Monument from Nogent-sur-Seine*, 11.11.

⁵⁰⁹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Jean-Jacques Rousseau, philosopher*, 11.18 and *Monument and Heart of Jacques Rohault, philosopher and physicist*, 11.12. Lenoir commissioned the bust of Jean-Jacques Rousseau from M. Boyer, who is not identified.

At the center of the garden, west of the axis, the visitor discovered the tombs of the writer Jean de la Fontaine and the playwright Molière, the urn of the poet Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, and a monument dedicated to Jean Racine, Molière, Boileau, and La Fontaine in a dense grove of trees.⁵¹⁰ According to Lenoir, these seventeenth-century authors had accomplished greatness despite the political degradation of the century of Louis XIV, thus they were memorialized in the Élysée rather than the century rooms. The bodies of La Fontaine and Molière arrived at the Musée des monuments français in 1799 from the Église Saint-Joseph in Paris, where Molière had been buried in the area reserved for unbaptized infants. Lenoir designed two tombs *à l'antique* for the writer and the playwright. La Fontaine's simple stone sarcophagus was decorated with two bas-reliefs depicting two of his fables, "The Wolf and the Lamb" and "The Wolf and the Crane." The tomb of Molière was raised on four pillars and decorated with dramatists' masks to represent his profession. The tombs of La Fontaine and Molière both announced the presence of actual bodies in their sarcophagi. Lenoir inscribed, "Jean de la Fontaine is in this tomb" and "Jean left as he came" on the monument for La Fontaine, and "Molière is in this tomb" on its neighbor.⁵¹¹ The ashes of Boileau-Despréaux, which arrived at the Musée des monuments français from the Sainte-Chapelle in 1800, were placed in an urn on a pedestal inscribed with a similar epitaph: "Boileau is in this tomb."⁵¹² Nearby stood the combined monument for Racine, Molière, Boileau and La Fontaine, designed by Lenoir. On each face of a tall square pillar, a simple niche sheltered a bust of each of the four writers.

⁵¹⁰ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Tomb and remains of Jean de La Fontaine, fabulist*, 11.7; *Monument to Molière, Jean Racine, Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, and Jean de La Fontaine*, 11.8; *Tomb and remains of Molière, playwright*, 11.9; *Urn and remains of Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, poet*, 11.10.

⁵¹¹ Lenoir inscribed « Jean La Fontaine est dans ce tombeau » and « Jean s'en alla comme il était venu » on the tomb of Jean de la Fontaine and « Molière est dans ce tombeau » on the tomb of Molière.

⁵¹² « Boileau est dans ce tombeau. »

Continuing north, the visitor found the seventeenth-century *priants* of Albert de Gondi, constable of France and Pierre de Gondi, bishop of Paris in a separate shady grove. The *priants* were raised on platforms above empty sarcophagi.⁵¹³ At the northern edge of the garden, directly opposite the Tomb of Dagobert, Lenoir placed a seventeenth-century monument to Louis II, the Grand Condé from the Église Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis in Paris, which included four bronze allegorical figures, *Religion, Prudence, Faith and Charity*, and fourteen bas-reliefs depicting the battles of Condé.⁵¹⁴ Moving south, the visitor came to a fountain dedicated to Pomponne de Bellièvre, chancellor of France under Henri IV. For this *fabrique*, Lenoir converted an architectural fragment from a Parisian hôtel into a working fountain decorated with the *gisant* of an unidentified soldier, busts of Medusa and Mercury, dramatist masks, and a bust of Pomponne de Bellièvre.⁵¹⁵

In the eastern groves of the garden, near the fountain, Lenoir installed the tombs of the philosopher René Descartes.⁵¹⁶ René Descartes' monument was the first tomb Lenoir designed for the Élysée. The remains of Descartes arrived at the museum from the Église Sainte-Geneviève around 1795. Lenoir initially installed the body in a Roman porphyry tomb from the second or third century BCE that had belonged to the comte de Caylus. This tomb was taken from the Musée des monuments français to the Louvre in 1797. After 1797, Descartes' remains rested in a tomb of Lenoir's design, a marble sarcophagus supported by four stone griffins and inscribed with the words, "Remains of René Descartes, died in Sweden in 1650."⁵¹⁷

⁵¹³ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Albert de Gondi, maréchal de France* and *Pierre de Gondi, bishop of Paris*, 11.21.

⁵¹⁴ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Monument to Louis II, le Grand Condé*, 11.5.

⁵¹⁵ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Fountain and bust of Pomponne de Bellièvre, connétable de France*, 11.17.

⁵¹⁶ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Tomb and remains of René Descartes, philosopher*, 11.16.

⁵¹⁷ "Restes de René Descartes, mort en Suede en 1650."

Lenoir acquired the remains of the historian Bernard de Montfaucon and the scholar Jean Mabillon in 1799 from the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés.⁵¹⁸ Near the tomb of Descartes, Lenoir placed a simple stone sarcophagus *à l'antique* for Mabillon without an inscription. The tomb of the historian Bernard de Montfaucon rose in a grove near the southeast corner of the garden. Lenoir decorated Montfaucon's tall stone stele with sculptural fragments from ancient Egypt, ancient Greece, ancient Rome, and the early French Middle Ages to represent the regions and historical periods of Montfaucon's research. (Figure 5.11) Near the tombs of Mabillon and Descartes stood the empty marble sarcophagus dedicated to Admiral Gaspard de Coligny by Lenoir in 1806.⁵¹⁹ Between 1799 and 1800, the tomb briefly held the remains of Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne. The well-preserved remains of Turenne had been exhumed at Saint-Denis in 1793 and then displayed at the Muséum d'histoire naturelle until 1799 when Lenoir requested their transfer to the Musée des monuments français. In 1800, Turenne was interred at Les Invalides in Paris.

Both architectural and bodily legibility underwent a fundamental change in the Élysée. The garden was a mirrored inversion of the Introduction Hall. In the Introduction Hall, a monumental central axis celebrated the highest achievements of French sculpture. To each side of this axis, Lenoir organized ensembles of monuments and architectural fragments into sculptural ensembles that emphasized symbolic associations, individual accomplishment, artist-patron relationships, and royal patronage. The Introduction Hall led to the chronological sequence of century rooms,

⁵¹⁸ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Tomb of Bernard de Montfaucon* and *Remains of Bernard de Montfaucon*, 11.19 and *Tomb and remains of Jean Mabillon, scholar*, 11.14. Lenoir frequently used Bernard de Montfaucon's *Monumens de la Monarchie Française* 5 vols. (Paris: 1729-1733) to identify the objects in the museum.

⁵¹⁹ For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Tomb of Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne/Admiral Gaspard de Coligny*, and *Remains of Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne*, 11.20.

which were each centralized around a representation of the body of the monarch and characterized by the architectural physiognomy of its era. In the century rooms, the artist emerged as a historical actor. Lenoir and Percier's courtyard design guided the visitor through a second chronological sequence leading into the Élysée. The legibility of the royal body was eclipsed by the artist-as-agent and artist-patron relationships in the courtyards. The Élysée offered a second monumental axis dedicated to great artistic achievement. Diane de Poitiers and Anne de Montmorency were doubly represented, present in both the monumental axis of the Introduction Hall and the Élysée. However, the Élysée was framed differently than the Introduction Hall. The spectator's approach was aligned with the central axis of the Introduction Hall, yet in the Élysée, the visitor's path intersected with the axis perpendicularly. Where the axis of the Introduction Hall was surrounded by orthogonally aligned sculptural ensembles, the axis of the Élysée was embedded in the center of an irregular, meandering path surrounded by organically arranged architectural fragments and tomb monuments.

The monuments and spatial arrangements in the Introduction Hall, century rooms, and courtyards were implicitly tied to temporality. In the Élysée, architectural fragments and large funerary monuments from all periods of French history – including the thirteenth-century Tomb of Dagobert, the fifteenth-century monument from Nogent-sur-Seine, the sixteenth-century design for a monument to Anne de Montmorency, and the sixteenth-century fountain of Pomponne de Bellièvre – were framed in the landscape without historical reference. In contrast to the exposed legibility of the royal body embedded in the historical system of the century rooms, epitomized by the accessibility of François I's *transi* in the Sixteenth-Century Room, the tombs for the honored dead of the Élysée were, for the most part, faceless monuments inscribed with frank reminders that they concealed real bodies, such as "Jean La Fontaine is in this tomb." Timeless and non-figural,

the tombs honored historical figures who embodied qualities Lenoir considered to be universal attributes of human greatness. Lenoir added detail to the monuments to emphasize the achievement and genius of the interred, such as the antiquities on the tomb of Montfaucon and the literary references on the tomb of La Fontaine. As in Fénelon's Élysée, the presence of the dead in the garden was meant to engage the living.

The inclusion of actual bodies in the Élysée introduced the invisible-yet-present bodily fragment as a type of monument that did not exist elsewhere in the Musée des monuments français. Similar references about the sensation of a living presence were made about the historical figures represented in stone or plaster throughout the museum by Anne Plumptre, Jules Michelet, and Louis-Sébastien Mercier, among others.⁵²⁰ Charles-Marie Bouton painted an imagined scene of Charles VI coming to life at the tomb of his father in the Fourteenth-Century Room in *La folie de Charles VI* (1817).⁵²¹ In the century rooms, the temporal boundaries of the royal past remained intact. Spectators bore witness to past centuries by interacting with the historic persons represented in the statuary and effigies. In the Élysée, however, the presence of the interred body meant that historic figures were symbolically immanent in the present, and able to engage visitors in the labors of the future. Beyond the dynastic and Christian histories of France, Lenoir's vision for enlightenment upheld individual achievement and genius as timeless aspirations.

⁵²⁰ See Chapter 2 for the account of Louis-Sébastien Mercier, and Chapter 4 for the accounts of Anne Plumptre and Jules Michelet.

⁵²¹ See Chapter 4 for a discussion of Charles-Marie Bouton's *La folie de Charles VI*.

5.5 PHYSIOGNOMY IN THE CHAPEL FOR HÉLOÏSE AND ABÉLARD

In a secluded courtyard in the southeast corner of the Élysée, the visitor found the *gisants* of the twelfth-century scholar and abbess of Paraclete, Héloïse d'Argenteuil and her romantic and intellectual partner, the theologian Pierre Abélard, in a small Gothic chapel designed by Lenoir.⁵²² (Figure 5.12) In 1800, Lenoir requested the transfer of the remains of Héloïse and Abélard from the Église Saint-Laurent in Nogent-sur-Seine and the original tomb of Abélard from the Église Saint-Marcel in Chalon-sur-Saône to the Musée des monuments français.⁵²³ The body of Abélard was initially interred in the Église Saint-Marcel near Chalon-sur-Saône after his death in 1142 but had been transferred by Héloïse to join her tomb in the Abbaye du Paraclete shortly before her death in 1164. Both bodies remained in the Abbaye du Paraclete until being moved to a new tomb in the Église Saint-Laurent in 1779.⁵²⁴ On April 21, 1800, Lenoir traveled to Nogent-sur-Seine to personally oversee the exhumation and transportation of the remains to Paris.⁵²⁵

The story of the clandestine romance between the twelfth-century scholars Héloïse and Abélard, their secret marriage, his castration, their painful separation, and their reunification in death resonated in the imaginations of the early Romantics. The story was well known in the early nineteenth century; the correspondence between the couple had been translated from Latin into French and published in the seventeenth century. For Lenoir, the remains of Héloïse and Abélard were a critical addition to the museum. Lenoir considered Abélard's scholarship a "force of genius

⁵²² For detailed information, see Appendix A, Musée des monuments français Index: *Tomb and remains of Abélard and Héloïse*, 11.15.

⁵²³ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 159-170.

⁵²⁴ Mary B. Shepard, "A Tomb of Abelard and Heloise," *Romance Studies*, Vol. 25, 1 (January 2007): 34.

⁵²⁵ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 179.

that developed in a century plunged in the darkness of superstition"⁵²⁶ Therefore, Abélard was as an ideal supra-historical figure for the Élysée. The sepulchral chapel was one of five architectural monuments in the garden, which together formed a visual catalog of the architectural history of France.⁵²⁷ Finally, the history and romance between Héloïse and Abélard elicited the emotional, visceral reaction Lenoir intended for his picturesque garden. The inclusion of the actual remains of the pair endowed the site with a living presence:

In the square garden within the cloisters, are several ancient urns and tombs. Amongst them is the vase which contains the ashes, if any remains, of Abelard and Heloise, which has been removed from Paraclete to the Museum. It is covered with the graceful shade of an Acacia tree, which seems to wave proudly over its celebrated deposit. Upon approaching this treasurable antique, all those feelings rushed in upon me, which the beautiful, and affecting narrative of the disastrous lovers, by Pope, has often excited in me. The melancholy Heloise seemed to breathe from her tomb here.⁵²⁸

Lenoir and his sculptors, Louis-Pierre Deseine and Pierre-Nicholas Beauvallet, began designing a sepulchral chapel for the pair in 1800 and developed the design over several years. Work on the *gisant* of Abélard was finished in 1804, and the reconstruction of the *gisant* of Héloïse was terminated in 1805. The project was more or less complete by 1807.⁵²⁹ The *gisants* of Héloïse and Abélard rested on a sarcophagus decorated with bas-reliefs from the thirteenth-century tomb

⁵²⁶ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 159. In a letter to the Minister of the Interior, Lenoir described why Abélard merited inclusion in the Musée des monuments français: « Il suffit d'ouvrir l'histoire pour connoître le mérite de ce philosophe, plus remarquable encore par la force du génie qu'il développé dans un siècle plongé dans les ténèbres de la superstition, que par l'intérêt qu'excite le souvenir de ses malheurs. »

⁵²⁷ The other architectural monuments in the Élysée were the thirteenth-century Tomb of Dagobert, the fifteenth-century monument from Nogent-sur-Seine, the sixteenth-century Fountain of Pomponne de Bellièvre, and the sixteenth-century monument to Anne de Montmorency.

⁵²⁸ Sir John Carr, *The Stranger in France: or, A Tour from Devonshire to Paris illustrated by Engravings in Aqua Tinta of Sketches taken on the Spot* (London: J. Johnson, 1803), 224. See Appendix C, Firsthand accounts of the Musée des monuments français.

⁵²⁹ Pierre-Yves le Pogum and Florian Meunier, "Le tombeau d'Héloïse et d'Abélard: La mise en scène d'une histoire...d'amour?" in *Un musée révolutionnaire*, eds. Bresc-Bautier and de Chancel-Bardelot, 158-160. Lenoir's design went through several modifications. Drawings at the Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.102 and RF 5279.106, reveal an alternate version of the chapel in which the *gisant* of Abélard was alone and gargoyles extended from less decorated gables. In another version, stained glass enclosed three sides of the chapel. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français.

of Philippe Dagobert and Louis de France from the Abbaye Royaumont, including a relief of the funeral procession of Louis de France that Lenoir rechristened as the funeral of Abélard.⁵³⁰ The tomb was raised on a large rectangular plinth and enclosed by columns supporting open arcades of ogive arches. The open-cage frame of ogive arches raised a monumental canopy defined by flat triangular gables nearly the same height as the arcade that supported it. Four open trefoils pierced the four gables and decorated with crockets, rosettes, and pinnacles. Two sixteenth-century medallion busts of Héloïse and Abélard completed the ensemble. In 1814, the portion of the Élysée occupied by the chapel was given to the Mont-de-piété under the re-established monarchy, forcing Lenoir to reassemble the chapel in the Petite Cloître.⁵³¹ After the closure of the museum, the chapel was relocated to the Cimetière du Père Lachaise between 1818 and 1819.

While Lenoir explained that his tomb was a thoroughly nineteenth-century creation, he emphasized that much of his source material had been created during the lifetimes of Héloïse and Abélard, and whenever possible, directly or even tangibly connected to the couple themselves.⁵³² Lenoir claimed that the busts of Héloïse and Abélard came from the house of Fulbert, Héloïse's uncle and guardian. He insisted that the arcades had come from Saint-Denis at the time of Abbot Suger, who was known to both Héloïse and Abélard. After 1810, he dropped Saint-Denis as a source and announced he had received the arcades from the Abbaye du Paraclete.⁵³³ Lenoir claimed to join the original *gisant* of Abélard from the Église Saint-Marcel with an unidentified

⁵³⁰ Shepard, "A Tomb of Abelard and Heloise," 36.

⁵³¹ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 423 and *Tombeau d'Héloïse et Abélard transporté du jardin et place en 1818 dans la dernière cour du musée* (1818), Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.107. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français and Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

⁵³² Shepard, "A Tomb of Abelard and Heloise," 36.

⁵³³ Shepard, "A Tomb of Abelard and Heloise," 30.

female *gisant* modified to represent the features of Héloïse.⁵³⁴ Physiognomic accuracy mattered to Lenoir, and he ordered Deseine to create new head for the *gisant* using the plaster impression he had taken from Héloïse's skull as a reference.⁵³⁵

Lenoir also emphasized the presence of the remains of Héloïse and Abélard in the garden chapel with inscriptions on each side of the sarcophagus: “This Tomb of Abelard was Transported from the Église Saint-Marcel in Chalon-sur-Saône, Year VIII,” “Bodies of Abélard and of Héloïse were Transported to this Place in the Year VIII,” and, inscribed twice, “The Remains of Héloïse and Abélard are Reunited in this Tomb.”⁵³⁶ However, Lenoir, at different times, stored some of the bones in his private apartment above the Musée des monuments français and shared them with esteemed guests. At Lenoir’s invitation, British traveler Frances Elizabeth King examined the bones of Héloïse and Abélard in Lenoir’s private cabinet while the chapel was still under construction in 1802:

A very fine mausoleum is building in the garden for the remains of Abelard and Eloisa, which are deposited at present in the private closet of Monsieur Lenoir; and, as a great favor, not often granted, he admitted us into this closet to see these curious relics, and there, in the original coffins in which they were interred, lay the bones of those celebrated characters of the twelfth century; their bones were in perfect preservation, and we examined them very particularly.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁴ Pogum and Meunier, “Le tombeau d’Héloïse et d’Abélard: La mise en scène d’une histoire...d’amour?” 165-166. Pogum and Meunier argue that the well-known quote about the skull did not explicitly refer to Héloïse, and therefore could also refer to more than one *gisant*. They propose that Abélard's *gisant* was also a reconstruction.

⁵³⁵ Lenoir, Alexandre. *Mémoire sur les sépultures d'Héloïse et d'Abélard, suivi d'un projet d'établir, dans le Musée des Monumens français une chapelle sépulcrale pour y déposer leurs cendres, présenté au général Bonaparte, premier consul de la république Française* (Paris: 1802), 4. « N'ayant pu me procurer de types sûrs de ce personnages, j'ai fait mouler leur tête de mort, que je remise au sculpteur Deseine, qui en a formé leurs bustes, dont j'ai parlé plus haut, et qui ornent ce Musée. » See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

⁵³⁶ William Dorset Fellowes, *Paris During the Interesting Month of July 1815, A Series of Letters Addressed to a Friend in London*. (London: Gale and Fenner, 1815), 137. Fellowes listed the inscriptions as « Corps d’Abelard et d’Héloïse ont été Transportés dans ce lieu en l’An VIII, » « Ce Tombeau d’Abelard à été Transporté de l’Église Saint-Marcelle-Challons-sur-Saone An VIII, » and, inscribed twice, « Les Restes d’Heloise et d’Abelard sont Reunis dans ce Tombeau. » See Appendix C, Firsthand accounts of the Musée des monuments français.

⁵³⁷ Frances Elizabeth King, *A Tour in France, 1802*, 2nd edition. (London: John Booth, 1814), 39. Another British traveler, James Forbes, recounted a similar experience in 1803. Forbes, *Letters from France*, 404. See Appendix C, Firsthand accounts of the Musée des monuments français.

After the closure of the museum, Lenoir kept some of the bones he claimed belonged to Héloïse and Abélard, and frequently bestowed them as gifts to his friends and acquaintances. Lenoir reportedly gave parts of Abélard's upper jaw and an arm bone to a M. Moët, he presented a tooth and finger bone of Héloïse and fragments of Abélard's vertebrae to the Dumont de Frainays sisters in ivory phylacteries, and he offered the couple's bones to Dominique-Vivant Denon, director of the Musée du Louvre, in a refurbished fifteenth-century monstrance.⁵³⁸ Lenoir also kept a marble sarcophagus containing some of the bones of Héloïse and Abélard, in addition to some of the remains of Molière, La Fontaine, Boileau, and hair from Jeanne de Bourbon as part of his personal collection, which was listed in the sale of his property in 1837.⁵³⁹

Unlike any other monument in the interior or exterior the Musée des monuments français, the tomb of Héloïse and Abélard encapsulated the competing intersection of the legible body, architectural codification, and the boundaries of historical time that defined the complexity of the museum as a whole. For Lenoir, the bones of Héloïse and Abélard became post-Christian relics of the French Revolution that offered a visceral and corporeal connection to the past, the same profoundly physical embodiment of history that he had felt holding the Crown of Thorns while examining the Sainte-Chapelle during the first years of the Revolution. The other tombs that contained human remains in the Élysée were designed without the architectural codification of a historical period. However, the chapel of Héloïse and Abélard was intended to be recognizable as a Gothic monument. Whereas the proposed courtyards eschewed the legible body, the Héloïse and Abélard monument celebrated their physiognomies. The historicity of the legible body reemerged

⁵³⁸ Shepard, "A Tomb of Abelard and Heloise," 38.

⁵³⁹ *Catalogue des antiquités et objets d'art qui composent le cabinet de M. Le Chevalier Alexandre Lenoir* (1837), 30, no. 256. See Appendix D, Bibliography of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839).

in the garden chapel and, unlike the architectural character that defined the century rooms, the body of the king remained absent. Instead, Lenoir invested the authority bestowed onto representations of royal bodies in the century rooms into the physical remains of Héloïse and Abélard.

The Élysée transcended the temporal hierarchies Lenoir had carefully constructed in the other spaces of the museum. Royal bodies, which served as a benchmark of historicity in the interior of the museum, were absent from the Élysée. Here, the corpse and the architectural monument conveyed a palpable yet disrupted presence, simultaneously absent and present. Sensory experience was not tied to historical physiognomies or taxonomies, as it had been in the century rooms. Bodies and architecture were combined into unified historical *tableaux* in the century rooms. In the Élysée, the physiognomic unity of body and architecture was severed: architecture was visible while real bodies were hidden. The invisible bodies offered the visitor the unmediated sensory presence of illustrious genius, not the physiognomy of a historical period. However, at the chapel of Héloïse and Abélard, Lenoir wound these stranded fragments into a history using legible bodies untethered to the Winckelmann-inspired interpretation of royal history employed in the museum interior. Meaning at the chapel relied on the imagination and memory of the visitor who acknowledged the presence of the bodies by the textual inscriptions on monuments. The corporality of Héloïse and Abélard, alongside the real or imagined histories of their lives, shaped the physiognomy of their *gisants*, assimilated the actual or invented provenance of the architectural fragments that composed the chapel, and engaged the physical performance of spectatorship. In the chapel of Héloïse and Abélard, Lenoir finally achieved a narrative about the discourse between individual achievement and the forces of history that finally eclipsed royal legibility.

6.0 THE DEATH AND AFTERLIVES OF THE MUSÉE DES MONUMENTS

FRANÇAIS

On August 17, 1796, a group of forty-five painters, sculptors, architects, and other members of the artistic community published a petition in *Journal de Paris* questioning the legitimacy of the removal from Rome to Paris of antiquities and masterpieces of painting and sculpture seized during the Napoleonic wars.⁵⁴⁰ Many notable members of the artistic community signed the petition, including Charles Percier, Jacques-Louis David, and Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy. The authors of the petition carefully suggested that the government appoint a committee of artists and scholars whose duty it would be to submit a full report on the displacement of every object before it could be removed from Rome. The thinly veiled intention of this petition was to keep the monuments in Rome, where they could be admired in their original locations. Quatremère de Quincy in particular condemned the transfer of the monuments from Rome, and in *Lettres sur le préjudice qu'occasionneroient Aux Arts et à la Science* (Year IV, 1796), known as *Lettres à Miranda*, he proclaimed that the “real museum of Rome” was the city itself, where the ancient monuments were embedded in the landscape, culture, and climate that created them.⁵⁴¹

In October of 1796, a second group of artists published a response to the first petition in *Gazette nationale ou, Le moniteur universel* urging the government to relocate the antiquities and

⁵⁴⁰ “Pétition au Directoire,” *Journal de Paris*, no. 330 (30 Thermidor Year IV; 17 August 1796): 1323. For the English translation, see *Letters to Miranda and Canova*, trans. Miller and Gilks, 169-170.

⁵⁴¹ Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettres sur le préjudice qu'occasionneroient Aux Arts et à la Science, le déplacement des monumens de l'art de l'Italie, le démembrement de ses Ecoles, et la spoliation de ses Collections, Galeries, Musées, &c* (Paris: Desenne, Quatremère, Year IV; 1796), 21. For the English translation, see *Letters to Miranda and Canova*, trans. Miller and Gilks, 93-124.

masterpieces to France.⁵⁴² Thirty-seven artists, sculptors, architects, and men of letters signed this petition, including Alexandre Lenoir, Antoine-Marie Peyre, architect of the Musée des monuments français, Hubert Robert, who painted several ruin scenes at the museum, and Jean-Joseph Foucou, a sculptor who executed statuettes for the Seventeenth-Century Room. The second petition argued that the movement of the arts across cultures was essential to the development of public taste, the education of artists, and the amelioration of the state of the arts in France. Keeping the masterpieces in Rome, they continued, limited their access exclusively to the small number of wealthy individuals and students who had the ability to travel. Moreover, instability abroad gave the authors no guarantee of the future security of the antiquities and masterpieces. The authors provided a list of examples of times when precious works of art were sold or confiscated from Rome due to political unrest and the lack of government protection. The idea of the museum of Rome, according to Lenoir's group of petitioners, was a fantasy of the rich that ignored the present political circumstances.

The two petitions reveal the divergent viewpoints on the public purpose of monuments during the end of the French Revolution and Napoleonic era that would continually challenge the legitimacy of the Musée des monuments français and ultimately contribute to its closure in 1816. The first petition argued for the authority of the learned expert, echoing the role of the Commission des monuments and the *Instructions* of the Comité d'Administration des Affaires ecclésiastiques et d'Aliénation des Domaines nationaux, published between 1790 and 1791. The Commission des monuments was formed in 1790 to create an inventory of the former ecclesiastical property that

⁵⁴² "Pétition présentée par les artistes au Directoire exécutif," *Gazette nationale ou, Le moniteur universel*, no. 12 (30 Vendémiaire, Year V; 3 October 1796): 45-46. For the English translation, see *Letters to Miranda and Canova*, trans. Miller and Gilks, 171-173. Claude Michallon (1752-1799), a sculptor who also worked with Lenoir at the Musée des monuments français, signed both petitions.

suddenly belonged to the state. The Commission responded to a crisis of meaning created by the dissolution of the Catholic Church in 1789, and the abolition of the monarchy in 1792. The second petition also emphasized the necessity of protecting works of art during periods of political upheaval. However, an important distinction emerged in the five years between the publication of the Comité's *Instructions* and the Rome petitions. The Comité's *Instructions* directed the categorization of a large number of movable artifacts, including artworks, books, instruments, and historic objects, to determine new functions and symbolically distance meanings from the ecclesiastical and royal past.⁵⁴³ In the Rome petitions, however, the practice of spectatorship, whether in Rome or integrated into new collections in Paris, determined the relevance of the artwork. Emphasis had shifted from the meaning of the object itself to the reception of the spectator. The artifacts organized in the Musée des monuments français had been collected under very different circumstances than the masterpieces that Napoleon seized from Rome, but by the end of the French Revolution, the Musée des monuments français was embedded in the same cultural debates about the role of context in the experience of a work of art.

6.1 "A CEMETERY FOR THE ARTS" AND THE DEATH OF THE MUSEUM

Working with politically displaced objects over the course of the French Revolution, Lenoir minimized former hierarchies and site specificity as a matter of necessity. In doing so, he developed a layered system of meaning that employed temporality as a discursive tool. The Introduction Hall presented a hieroglyphic prelude to the museum's unique approach to French

⁵⁴³ An essential purpose of these inventories was to identify books, artworks, and objects that would become part of national and local institutions of education, such as the Musée du Louvre and the Bibliothèque nationale.

art, highlighting the origins of France, artist-patron relationships, and elements of universal symbolism that embedded French culture in the larger history of mankind. The century rooms addressed the royal history of France, creating a taxonomy of discrete historical units organized into a chronological sequence. Each temporalization centered on the legible body of the king. Within this system, the artist gradually emerged as an increasingly influential historical actor, offering a model of self-development to the enlightened visitor. The exterior courtyards designed from fragments of Gaillon, Anet, Metz, and Reims created an inversion of the interior journey through the Introduction Hall and the century rooms, absent the legible body of the king. In the Élysée, invisible yet actual remains of famous individuals from French history replaced the royal body. The Élysée celebrated universal values of human accomplishment beyond the finite boundaries of the *ancien régime*. Spectatorship at the Musée des monuments français meant engaging in a dialogue about the relationship between the object, the individual, and history. No single historical interpretation dominated the narrative. Historical meaning was always negotiable and fluid.

The importance of contextual relationships emerged as a critically important component of museological discourse shortly after Lenoir began establishing the Musée des monuments français. Following the 1796 Italian Campaign, Napoleon confiscated masterpieces from the Museo Pio-Clementino in the Vatican, including the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Laocoön and his Sons*, the *Belvedere Torso*, and the *Muses*. He transported them to Paris, where they entered the collection of the Louvre in 1798.⁵⁴⁴ In *Lettres à Miranda* (Year IV, 1796), Quatremère de Quincy denounced

⁵⁴⁴ The conservator of the Musei Capitolini, Ennio Quirino Visconti (1751-1818), left Rome in 1799 and became the curator of antiquities at the Louvre under the directorship of Dominique Vivant Denon (1747-1825). Napoleon continued to augment the Louvre with Italian, Dutch, Spanish, and Austrian artwork from his conquests, and in 1803, the Louvre was renamed the Musée Napoleon. Many masterpieces were repatriated after the end of Napoleon's reign in 1814. See McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*.

the transfer of the antiquities from Rome to Paris because the antiquities were an integral component of their environment and could only be understood in their original locations:

Carving up the museums of antiquities in Rome would be a far greater folly with more irreparable consequences. The site that other museums occupy is often quite independent of their branch of knowledge, but the museum in Rome was placed there by the very order of nature, which intended that it should exist only there; the country itself is part of the museum.⁵⁴⁵

Quatremère de Quincy envisioned the city of Rome as a living museum made up of the interrelationship of statues, temples, obelisks, fragments, frescoes and other ancient ruins with places, sites, ancient roads, mountains, and quarries as well as the memories, customs, and local traditions.⁵⁴⁶ It was possible, according to Quatremère de Quincy, to transfer the stones of a monument, but one could not “transport the cortege of tender, profound, melancholic, sublime, and touching sensations by which these monument were environed *in situ*.”⁵⁴⁷ A single work of art was the sum of countless relationships that bound the discoveries, errors, prejudices, customs, religion, and laws of a culture. Isolating works of art in museums deprived masterpieces of their means of demonstration and the relationships that defined their greatness, which amounted to the end of education for artists.”⁵⁴⁸ According to Quatremère de Quincy, architectural character was “a way of being” because architecture and sculpture were coded with the symbolic language of a culture.⁵⁴⁹ Therefore, museums represented the death of art and artwork stranded in such

⁵⁴⁵ Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettres sur le préjudice qu’occasionneroient Aux Arts et à la Science*, 21. « Dépecer le museum d’antiquités de Rome, seroit une plus haute folie, et d’une conséquence bien plus irrémédiable. Les autres peuvent toujours se recompléter : celui de Rome ne pourroit l’être. Le lieu qu’occupent les autres est assez souvent indépendant du genre de leur science, qui veut qu’il ne puisse exister que là : le pays faut lui-même partie du museum. » For the English translation, see *Letters to Miranda and Canova*, trans. Miller and Gilks, 100.

⁵⁴⁶ Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettres sur le préjudice qu’occasionneroient Aux Arts et à la Science*, 21.

⁵⁴⁷ Quatremère de Quincy, *Rapport fait au Conseil-général*, 37 : « Oui, vous y en avez transporté la matière ; mais avez-vous transporté, avec eux, ce cortège de sensations, tendres, profondes, mélancoliques, sublimes ou touchantes, qui les environnaient ? »

⁵⁴⁸ Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettres sur le préjudice qu’occasionneroient Aux Arts et à la Science*, 74-75.

⁵⁴⁹ Quatremère de Quincy, *Dictionnaire d’architecture*, vol. 1, 492. « Le caractère d’architecture des différents peuples consiste dans une manière d’être. »

institutions were “a lost form of writing whose marks no longer have any claim to the mind’s attention.”⁵⁵⁰ For Quatremère de Quincy, the impact of a work of art was determined by its reception, and its reception was determined by its physical location in a given context. The reaction of the spectator enhanced or diminished the meaning of the object itself. Isolation in a museum destroyed the aesthetic language that bound an artwork to its living culture. Quatremère de Quincy argued that the commodification of art into collections, museums, and cabinets, as well as the reduction of art to the status of furniture deprived art of its immanent usefulness in society.⁵⁵¹ The transplanted monument had been “dismembered, displaced, and denatured.”⁵⁵² Displaced artworks, according to Quatremère de Quincy, represented a crisis of history:

What would become of the history of the Arts if the edifices that contain the genius of each century, rather than acquiring as they age public veneration that should render them sacred, were to find themselves condemned, like ephemeral productions of fashion, to appear one day, only to be replaced by the next?⁵⁵³

In 1790 and 1791, the Comité d'Administration's *Instructions* had created two distinct interpretations of material culture. Works of art were classified by chronologies of artists' oeuvres and master-patron relationships. Historic objects preserved as direct witnesses to the past. Lenoir negotiated these definitions to integrate Gothic architecture and sculpture, normally not considered to be of artistic value, into the chronology of French art. For Quatremère de Quincy, the visible traces of the accumulation of time in a work of art revealed its history. Quatremère de Quincy's version of age-value foreshadows John Ruskin and Alois Riegl; he condemned the restoration of

⁵⁵⁰ Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, quoted in Dominique Poulot, “The Cosmopolitanism of Masterpieces,” in *Letters to Miranda and Canova*, trans. Miller and Gilks, 22.

⁵⁵¹ Poulot, “The Cosmopolitanism of Masterpieces,” 31.

⁵⁵² Dubin, *Futures and Ruins*, 123: « démembrer, déplacer, dénaturer » Quatremère de Quincy used these verbs to protest the removal of the Fontaine des Innocents from its site after the demolition of the Église des Saints-Innocents in 1787.

⁵⁵³ Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, *Journal de Paris*, no. 42 (11 February 1787): 181-183, quoted in Dubin, *Futures and Ruins*, 124.

antiquities because he considered the natural aging of a monument to be an aspect of its beauty and value.⁵⁵⁴ Novelty, fashion, obsolescence, and an aversion to fixity were the enemies of history. Because history accumulated in individual works of art rather than in chronological development over time, Quatremère de Quincy condemned the inclusion of the Gothic in a chronology of French art at the Musée des monuments français. The Gothic had no artistic value for Quatremère de Quincy and therefore did not belong in a chronology with artwork from other periods. The city trapped in an endless cycle of demolition and displacement where monuments were carefully cataloged into museums was a dead place, lacking the living presence of art:

Displace all the monuments, collect all of the decomposing fragments, methodically classify the debris, and bring them together into a practical course of modern chronology; it is an existing nation constituting the state of a dead nation; it is the living attending his own funeral; it is killing art to make history; and it is no longer making history, but the epitaph.⁵⁵⁵

Paradoxically, in 1818, Quatremère de Quincy defended Lord Elgin's purchase and transportation of the Parthenon marbles to Great Britain between 1801 and 1812 and their acquisition by the British Museum in 1816 in a published series of letters to his friend, the sculptor Antonio Canova.⁵⁵⁶ An apparent contradiction emerged in Quatremère de Quincy's thought between the need to preserve of the authenticity of the monuments of Rome in their original locations at the expense of visibility, and the desire to make the monuments of Athens visible in

⁵⁵⁴ Poulot, "The Cosmopolitism of Masterpieces," 45. On Ruskin's approach to conservations, see John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London: Smith Elder, 1849). On Riegl and age-value see Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origins," (1903) *Oppositions*, 25 (Fall 1982): 21-51.

⁵⁵⁵ Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, *Considérations morale sur la destination des ouvrages de l'art ou de l'influence de leur emploi qui le genie et le gout de ceux qui les produisent ou qui les jugent, et sur le sentiment de ceux qui en jouissent et en reçoivent les impressions* (Paris: Crapelet, 1815), 57-58. « Déplacer tous les monumens, en recueillir ainsi les fragmens décomposés, en classer méthodiquement les débris, et faire d'une telle réunion un cours pratique de chronologie modern ; c'est pour une nation existante, se constituer en état de nation morte ; c'est de son vivant assister à ses funérailles; c'est teur l'Art pour faire en l'histoire; ce n'est point en faire l'histoire, mais l'épitahe. »

⁵⁵⁶ Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettres écrites de Londres à Rome et adressés A. M. Canova sur les Marbres d'Elgin, ou les Sculptures du temple de Minerve à Athènes* (Rome, 1818). For the English translation, see *Letters to Miranda and Canova*, trans. Miller and Gilks, 125-168.

the artificial environment of the British Museum. Moreover, Quatremère de Quincy approved of the fact that the display of the Parthenon marbles in the British Museum allowed the spectator to closely inspect parts of the Parthenon, such as the frieze, which would not have been visible in its original location. However, for Quatremère de Quincy, the impact of the work of art was determined by its reception.⁵⁵⁷ He argued that the Parthenon was deteriorating in Athens and was extremely difficult to visit; therefore the conditions of its reception as an art object were no longer tenable. The community necessary for the relationship between an object and the spectator that endowed that object with value as a work of art did not exist in Athens. Therefore, the conditions necessary for viewing the Parthenon as an art object were not available in Athens but could be achieved in London.

In *Lettres à Miranda* and subsequent publications, Quatremère de Quincy effectively shifted the discourse surrounding the movement of monuments from the open-ended guidelines of the Comité's *Instructions* to an unwavering investment in contextual authenticity entirely dependent on the reception of the art object. This debate was problematic for Lenoir, who had designed a space where interpretations were intentionally fluid at the Musée des monuments français. The theoretical underpinnings of the museum depended on the exposure of the body of the king during the exhumations of Saint-Denis. The royal bodies underwent a metamorphosis by becoming visible. According to Lenoir, the legibility of the physiognomies of the kings and the integration of their tomb monuments into evocative ensembles composed of a wide range of cultural artifacts at the Musée des monuments français revealed the true history of France. Thus, for Lenoir, his supporters, and many visitors, the Musée des monuments français was a place that could bring the past to life.

⁵⁵⁷ Poulot, "The Cosmopolitanism of Masterpieces," 43.

Quatremère de Quincy responded by using body metaphors to attack the theoretical foundations of the Musée des monuments français. The museum represented the double death of the monument: “What do these mausoleums tell me without burial, these cenotaphs doubly empty, these tombs that death no longer animates”?⁵⁵⁸ The emptied tomb had suffered a second death by losing its interred body to enter the museum. In 1800, Quatremère de Quincy praised Lenoir as a guardian of artworks that would have otherwise been destroyed by political and religious fanaticism during the first years of the French Revolution, but condemned the formation of a museum after the immediate purpose of the Dépôt to safeguard the arts was no longer necessary:

I want to speak of the so-called conservatory where daily the remains of temples are heaped, of the Dépôt on the rue des Petits-Augustins, a veritable cemetery of the arts, where a multitude of objects, which cannot be of any value, are piled up for study...without relation to the ideas that gave them life, forming the most burlesque, if not the most indecent of collections.⁵⁵⁹

Lettres à Canova, though published after the closure of the Musée des monuments français, represented the general acceptance of the transportation of monuments during extreme circumstances by those who generally opposed the movement of art. Critics of the continued existence of the Musée des monuments français in the early nineteenth century regularly praised Lenoir for his initial impulse to conserve monuments during the first years of the French Revolution. In a letter written to Jean-Antoine-Chaptal, Minister of the Interior, in 1801, Jacques Claude Beugnot, prefect of the Seine Inférieure and a friend of Quatremère de Quincy successfully argued against the transfer of the tombs of Henri de Guise de Balafre and the Princesse de Clèves

⁵⁵⁸ Quatremère de Quincy, *Considérations morale*, 57. « Que me dissent ces mausolées sans sépulture, ces cénotaphes doublement vides, ces tombeaux quel la mort n’anime plus? »

⁵⁵⁹ Quatremère de Quincy, *Rapport fait au Conseil-général*, 32-33. « Je veux parler de ce prétendu conservatoire, où s’entassent journellement tous les débris des temples, de ce dépôt de la rue des Petits-Augustins, véritable cimetière des arts, où une foule d’objets, qui ne sauraient être d’aucune valeur pour l’étude, et qui n’en avaient que par le local et leurs accessoires, désormais sans rapport avec les idées qui leur donnaient la vie, formeraient le plus burlesque, s’il n’était le plus indécent de tous les recueils. »

to the Musée des monuments français:

It is true that we owe much to citizen Lenoir's creation of a refuge for the productions of art when the latter were faced with a choice between destruction and (a place in) that unique asylum. Yet those works have lost the greatest part of their merit by being displaced and are now divested of all purpose; they no longer speak to the soul and present no intelligible sense to the mind! But imagine that all those monuments were still *in situ*. I appeal to citizen Lenoir himself and his enlightened taste: would he in that case wish to see them torn from their places in order to constitute the Musée des monuments français?⁵⁶⁰

Beugnot applauded Lenoir for his work during the first years of the Revolution but noted that the monuments were moved out of necessity and emphasized the spiritual cost of transplantation. In the museum, the objects had become blank stones and had lost their ability to "speak to the soul." The inversion of the legible body was the monstrous, mutilated corpse. If the Musée des monuments français was a cemetery for the arts, the ensembles and sculptural arrangements that filled its halls became dismembered and decomposing bodies. Italian archeologist Leopoldo Cicognara condemned the strange juxtapositions he found in the museum:

One comes across strange compositions and monsters from Horace because separate fragments have been jumbled together so as to reconstruct monuments that never really existed...There are other very strange couplings made for reasons of symmetry, size or proportion (assuming that other more fantastic reasons are not responsible) which present individual works composed of differing periods designed by differing artists for differing purposes.⁵⁶¹

In 1814, Louis-Pierre Deseine, who had worked closely with Lenoir as a sculptor at the Musée des monuments français until about 1801, compared the restoration work of the museum to an ensemble of dismembered limbs haphazardly heaped together by a madman:

⁵⁶⁰ Letter from Jacques Claude Beugnot to Jean-Antoine Chaptal, 21 August 1801. Quoted in Dominique Poulot, "The Cosmopolitanism of Masterpieces," 24.

⁵⁶¹ Leopoldo Cicognara, quoted from Haskell, *History and its Images*, 247. See Appendix C, Firsthand accounts of the Musée des monuments français.

“I can just imagine a madman saying in a reasonable tone, Sirs behold this old body, onto which I have grafted a bosom, pectorals, a neck, a head, arms, hands, thighs, legs, feet, accessories, and a stand. This, Sirs, is an antique statue!”⁵⁶²

Along the same lines, several spectators who visited the museum towards its closure remarked on the double loss of the separation of the body from the tomb, followed by the integration of the emptied monument into a scientific, lifeless chronology. Most notably, the novelist Sir Walter Scott was struck by deep associations of loss when he visited Musée des monuments français in 1815:

Far deeper is that sensation rooted, when we consider that the stones accumulated around us have been torn from the graves which they were designed to mark out and to protect and divided from all association arising from the neighborhood of the mighty dead. It is also impossible, with the utmost care and ingenuity, that the monuments should be all displayed to advantage; and even the number of striking objects huddled together, diminishes the effect which each, separately, is calculated to produce upon the mind.⁵⁶³

⁵⁶² Louis-Pierre DeSeine, *Notices historiques sur les anciennes académies royales de peinture, sculpture de Paris, et celle d'architecture ; suivies de deux écrits qui ont déjà été publiés, et qui ont pour objet la restitution des monumens consacrés à la religion catholique* (Paris: Le Normant, 1814), 279-280. « J'imagine entendre un insensé dire d'un ton raisonnable: Messieurs, vous voyez ce vieux corps, auquel j'ai fait rapporter un derrière, des pectoraux, un cou, une tête, des bras, des mains, des cuisses, des jambes, des pieds, des accessoires, une plinthe: eh bien! C'est un statue antique. » Quoted in Deborah Jenkins, *Trauma and its Representations: Social Life of Mimesis in Post-Revolutionary France* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 44. Lenoir commissioned several busts from Louis-Pierre Deseine (1749-1822), including the likenesses of Héloïse, Charles VIII, Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Michel de Montaigne, and Jean Sylvain Bailly. Deseine also worked with Lenoir on the tomb of Abélard and Héloïse and the restoration of *Mort Saint-Innocent*. After about 1801, Deseine completed his work at the Musée des monuments français and became one of the museum's staunchest opponents. He published two other pamphlets on the reestablishment of the Catholic monuments and the role of museums: Louis-Pierre Deseine, *Lettre sur la sculpture destinée à orner les temples consacrée au culte catholique et particulièrement sur les tombeaux* (Paris: Baudouin, Year X, 1802) and Louis-Pierre Deseine, *Opinion sur les Musée, où se trouvent retenus tous les objets d'arts, qui sont la propriété des temples consacrés à la religion catholique* (Paris: Baudouin, Year XI, 1803).

⁵⁶³ Sir Walter Scott. *Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk*. (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne and Co, 1815, London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, and John Murray, 1815, and Philadelphia: Moses Thomas, 1816), 189-190. Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) visited the Musée des monuments français after touring the battlefield of Waterloo. Sir Archibald Alison (1757-1839), known for his *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (Edinburgh: 1790), had a similar reaction in 1814. See Sir Archibald Alison, *Travels in France during the Years 1814-15, comprising of a Residence at Paris during the Stay of the Allied Armies and at Aix, at the period of the landing of Bonaparte*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, Macredie, Skelly, and Muckersy; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown; Dublin: Cumming, 1816), 59-60. “(The monuments) are there brought together from all parts of France; severed from the ashes of the dead they were intended to cover; and arranged in a systematic order to illustrate the history of art whose progress they unfold. The tombs of all the Kings of France, of all the Generals by whom its glory has been extended, of the statesmen by whom its power, and the writers by whom its fame has been established, are crowded together in one collection, and heaped upon each other, without any other connection than that of the time in which they were originally raised. The Museum accordingly exhibits, in the most striking manner, the power of arrangement and classification which the French possess; it is valuable, as containing fine models of the greatest

Quatremère de Quincy provided a theoretical foundation for the political mechanisms that made the closure of the Musée des monuments français immanent after the Bourbon Restoration in 1814. In 1816, Lenoir sent a desperate plea to Louis XVIII to save the museum, calling the closure of the Musée des monuments français a “second vandalism” and proposed a series of changes that he hoped would save the museum.⁵⁶⁴ This final proposal was different from Lenoir’s unfinished plans for the Eighteenth-Century Room, his brief concepts for the Eleventh-Century Room and the Nineteenth-Century Room, and his designs for the exterior courtyards, each of which would have expanded the historical complexity of the museum. In earlier proposals, Lenoir always emphasized the value of the museum’s unique organization and arrangement. Now, Lenoir responded directly to the criticism of Quatremère de Quincy and his followers. He attempted to re-sanctify the formerly sacred monuments by suggesting engaging a priest to perform regular masses at the museum for the memory of those memorialized by the monuments. He offered to make models of the monuments essential to the chronology that could be restored at their original sites. Most important, Lenoir reframed the Musée des monuments français as a necessity in the way Quatremère de Quincy praised the transportation of the Parthenon marbles from Athens to London. The Musée des monuments français was still relevant under the Bourbons because the original sites of many of its monuments had been destroyed.⁵⁶⁵ Therefore, the only way for these artifacts to be viewed as art objects was in the museum, which could become a permanent Dépôt

men which France has produced, and exhibits a curious specimen of the progress of art, from its first commencement to the period of its greatest perfection but it has wholly lost that deep and peculiar interest which belongs to the monuments of the dead in their original situation.” See Appendix C, Firsthand accounts of the Musée des monuments français.

⁵⁶⁴ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 436-439. « Les détruire serait un second vandalisme qui ne saurait avoir le règne heureux de la Restauration. »

⁵⁶⁵ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 436-439.

for future orphaned monuments. Under this new purpose, the museum would become the “Musée royale des Monuments français” or alternatively the “Chapelle royale de la Reine Marguerite.”

Despite Lenoir’s efforts, Louis XVIII closed the “Dépôt des monuments” on December 18, 1816, bequeathed the site to the École des Beaux-Arts, and appointed Lenoir to oversee the restitution and conservation of the royal funerary monuments at Saint-Denis.⁵⁶⁶ The Musée des monuments français was slowly dismantled between 1816 and 1824, and many of its monuments returned to sites around France, most in or around Paris.⁵⁶⁷ The royal funerary monuments were returned to Saint-Denis and joined into a new arrangement there with the monuments from the demolished Abbaye Royaumont. The tombs of La Fontaine, Mabillon, and Abélard and Héloïse were transported to the Cimetière du Père Lachaise. Many of the Gothic and Renaissance monuments that could not be returned to their original sites were incorporated into the holdings of the Musée du Louvre, where they formed much of the Gothic and Renaissance collection of the Département des Sculptures. The original buildings of the Couvent des Petits-Augustins were mostly demolished for the construction of the École des Beaux-Arts by Félix Duban, leaving intact only the façade from Anet, the former Introduction Hall, the former Thirteenth-Century Room, and the Arc de Gaillon, which was returned to the Château de Gaillon in 1977.

6.2 TEMPORALITY, OBJECTHOOD, AND THE LEGACY OF LENOIR

Each space of the Musée des monuments français complicated the last by absorbing the spectator into an ongoing, shifting negotiation of the relationship between history and the individual. Lenoir

⁵⁶⁶ *AMMF*, vol. 1, 440.

⁵⁶⁷ *AMMF*, vol. 3, 216-316

juxtaposed cultural artifacts in new ways, created sculptural ensembles out of objects and materials usually kept separate, and constructed immersive architectural environments. He experimented with the boundaries of ornamentation and objecthood. Lenoir introduced a historical approach that embedded cultural artifacts, artistic masterpieces, and legible bodies into the same theoretical discourse. When thinkers like Quatremère de Quincy still regarded the Gothic as barbaric and not worthy of serious study, Lenoir's historical chronology created a space for the academic consideration of Gothic architecture and Gallo-Roman antiquities in the work of the Académie Celtique. The Musée des monuments français also fostered a romanticized re-imagination of the medieval past characterized by the troubadour-style paintings popularized by the museum.⁵⁶⁸ Both the serious academic study of the middle ages and the sentimental medieval imagery that developed at the Musée des monuments français influenced the popularity of the Gothic Revival in the early nineteenth century.

In 1816, engravers Jean-Baptiste Réville and Joseph Lavallée published *Vues pittoresques et perspectives des salles du Musée des monuments français*, a collection of twenty engravings based on the paintings of Jean Lubin Vauzelle.⁵⁶⁹ Several years later, in 1821, J.E. Biet and Jean-Pierre Brès published *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français*, a collection of forty engravings from drawings executed by Biet.⁵⁷⁰ Biet's drawings were made at a low angle to imitate the position of a seated artist drawing at the Musée des monuments français and reiterated the importance of the museum for artists. These publications framed the afterlife of the ephemeral

⁵⁶⁸ The troubadour style was a trend in French history painting in the early nineteenth-century characterized by idealized scenes of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The troubadour style was popularized in part by the rediscovery of the medieval past at the Musée des monuments français. Notable troubadour-style artists included Pierre-Henri Révoli (1776-1842) and Fleury-François Richard (1777-1852).

⁵⁶⁹ Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques*. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français.

⁵⁷⁰ Biet and Brès, *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français*. See Appendix B, Visual Depictions of the Musée des monuments français.

museum as a paper collection. The introduction for *Vues pittoresques* by Jean-Baptiste Bonaventure Roquefort, a historian and member of the Académie Celtique, and the introduction for *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français* by Jean-Pierre Brès both emphasized the importance of the Musée des monuments français in the construction of a history of French art and architecture from a fusion of Gallo-Roman, rather than purely Classical, origins. The focus on a localized rather than symbolic antiquity led both authors to follow the chronology of French art into lengthy discussions of the development of the Gothic style in France.

Lenoir's influence, however, must be considered beyond the appreciation and study of the Middle Ages. At the Musée des monuments français, the body acted as an interpretive tool that enabled discourse between all forms of cultural production as signifiers of aesthetic impulse. The Sixteenth-Century Room represented the most cogent example of the confluence of objecthood and physiognomy. The exposed body of François I, dominating the center of the room, played a double role: the physiognomy of the man exposed the character and agency of an individual, while the physiognomy of the sculptural artifact revealed the character of the century. The objects that cover the body (armor, costume), objects that represent the body, (sculpture and tomb effigies), and objects that surround the body (architecture and decoration) positioned the body at the center of a carefully orchestrated display. Body and object were part of the same temporal system. These cultural artifacts could be understood as both individual objects and as components of a historical system, which endowed them with meaning and integrated them into a whole greater than the sum of their parts.

For the temporal impression of the Sixteenth-Century Room to be effective, time could not pass, and the objects could not age. Within the century rooms, Lenoir created an artificial environment in which all types of objects were suspended in a specific historical moment of the

royal chronology. However, the Musée des monuments français was itself a response to the limitations of the monarchy in time. The Introduction Hall folded the royal history of the century rooms into a much deeper and longer history of France. The Élysée and the courtyards functioned as alternatives to the object relationships of the century rooms. The courtyards offered an inversion of the century rooms wherein the body of the king, doubly present in the century rooms, was absent, forcing the spectator to contemplate historical time outside of monarchical time. In the Élysée, the separation from the *ancien régime* was complete. The body was no longer a representation but an actual presence, yet one that was disconnected and hidden from view. Unlike the century rooms, the monuments that surrounded the bodies in the Élysée were fragmentary and subject to the passage of time.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, objects became prominent symbols of cultural accomplishment.⁵⁷¹ Consumerism, competition, and the comparison of national production of luxury items and industrial technologies in great international exhibitions fostered the cultural dominance of objecthood. The former art historical hierarchy of architecture, sculpture, and painting opened to include costumes, textiles, objects of daily use, and ornaments into a continuous cultural discourse. Objects of daily use, in particular, were representations of the intersection of art and life in a way churches and palaces could not be because they signified a full range of nineteenth-century habitations, lifestyles, and social classes. In 1843, the Musée de Cluny opened from the collection of Alexandre du Sommerard with Alexandre Lenoir's son, Albert Lenoir,

⁵⁷¹ Alina Payne, *From Ornament to Object: Genealogies of Architectural Modernism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012). Payne argues that the object-as-ornament is the theoretical foundation of architectural modernism by demonstrating how, over the course of the nineteenth century, architectural theory became detached from ornament and was relocated in the objects that filled architectural space. This theoretical shift was possible due to the equalization ornament and objects and the emergence of theories of objects as haptic devices. Payne uses primarily German sources to make her argument beginning with the influence of Gottfried Semper (1803-1879) and *Four Elements of Architecture* (1851), and thirty-five years after the closure of the Musée des monuments français.

serving as museum architect. The collection was anticipated by many as the successor to the shuttered Musée des monuments français.⁵⁷² However, by the mid-nineteenth century, the period room could no longer be effective as a temporal *tableau* like the Sixteenth-Century Room, framed by the legible body of the king. Instead, at the Musée de Cluny, the French Renaissance was represented by a gallery titled “The Bedroom of François I,” an imagined domestic space defined by objects. A large four-poster bed dominated the center of a small gallery with an exposed wooden ceiling, surrounded by paintings, heavily ornamented cabinets, and multiple suits of armor. A large table sat in front of the bed, covered in religious objects, utensils, and small sculptures.⁵⁷³ (Figure 6.1) Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc used a similar domestic scene to represent the interior of a fifteenth-century château in his *Dictionnaire raisonné du mobilier français*, (6 vols, 1872-1874). A four-poster bed with a Gothic canopy, a low table with a bench attended by small figures in period dress, an ornate cupboard, and a large fireplace fill a small wood-paneled room similar to that of the Musée de Cluny.⁵⁷⁴ (Figure 6.2)

In the Sixteenth-Century Room of the Musée des monuments français, Lenoir used objects and decorative elements surrounding the legible body of the king to represent the character of the century itself. By the mid-nineteenth century, objects had eclipsed the legible body of the Musée des monuments français. The interpretation of both the Bedroom of François I and Viollet-le-Duc’s fifteenth-century room relied on the arrangement of objects and decoration to represent a specific domestic purpose. The historicity of the later spaces was dependant on the function of objects in

⁵⁷² Poulot, “Alexandre Lenoir et les Musées des monuments français.” in *La Nation*, 128.

⁵⁷³ Du Sommerard, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*. In later images of the Bedroom of François I, including a photograph postcard produced by publishing company Léon & Lévy in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, the table has been replaced by a writing desk covered in books. The bed, an artifact of the French Renaissance that never belonged to François I, is now conserved at the Musée nationale de la Renaissance in Château d’Écouen, France.

⁵⁷⁴ Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné du mobilier français de l’époque carlovingienne à la Renaissance*, 6 vols. (Paris: Librairie centrale d’architecture, 1873-1874).

space. Temporality was no longer invested in the historical body of the king, and royal history was not presented as an individual journey to overcome. Instead, temporality was mediated by domestic objects that surrounded the body of the spectator. The idea of the Renaissance or the late Gothic in the Musée de Cluny and Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire raisonné du mobilier français* did not depend on a political and cultural abstraction, as it had in the Musée des monuments français, but was instead generated from an established domestic pattern applied through the intersection of different objects in space. Yet this development was not possible without the Musée des monuments français: Lenoir's juxtapositions and ensembles were part of a larger cultural shift that initiated the prominence of the autonomous object and the stylistic eclecticism of the nineteenth century.

The Musée des monuments français created a space for the historical eclecticism of the nineteenth century and other forms of dynamic historical thought by opening spectatorship to understandings of temporal contingency. This achievement was not a total rupture with the past or a complete investment in a new temporal system. The different spaces of the museum existed in constant dialogue with one another. The Introduction Hall, the century rooms, the proposed courtyards, and the Élysée each presented a different relationship between the individual and society. Lenoir experimented with new ways of engaging the intersection of identity, temporality, and objecthood. Historical meaning in the museum was never fixed, and temporality was an ongoing discourse. At the Musée des monuments français, the spectator - trained by Lenoir's immersive and evocative arrangements to continuously interrogate, interpret, and challenge the mechanisms of the past - emerged as the essential historical agent.

APPENDIX A

MUSÉE DES MONUMENTS FRANÇAIS INDEX

The Musée des monuments français Index records of the location of all of the known objects on display at the Musée des monuments français between 1796 (Year V) and 1816, and, if known, their maker, original location, and current place of conservation. Each object retains its original catalog number established by Lenoir in the Year V guidebook. Many of the objects in the Musée des monuments français were displayed in sculptural ensembles. In the index, individual objects organized into ensembles are grouped with a description of their arrangement. Every display, including objects organized into ensembles and objects presented individually, are cataloged in the index by gallery according to the rubric below.

The principal sources for this index are Biet and Brés, *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français* (1821), Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques et perspectives des salles du Musée des monuments français* (1816), nine editions of Lenoir's guidebook, *Description historique et chronologique des monumens de sculpture réunis au Musée des monumens français*, published between Year V and 1816, and Lenoir's illustrated eight-volume catalog, *Musée des monumens français ou description Historique et chronologique*, published between 1800 and 1821. M.E.A.P., *Les Curiositiés de Paris et de ses environs* (Paris: 1805) lists the location of items in 1805. Data about the artists, including name, nationality, and birth and death date was sourced from the Getty List of Artist Names whenever possible. If not otherwise cited, data about current locations and affiliations was provided by the contemporary museum, institution, or conservation space.

Attributions noted “by Lenoir” are recorded for the reader's knowledge but should not be assumed as accurate because Alexandre Lenoir was frequently incorrect in his attributions. Duplicates, inconsistencies, and specific anomalies are noted in the text for each room.

Table 1. Gallery Rubric for the Musée des monuments français Index

1.1	Facades and Courtyards
2.1	Introduction Hall
3.1	Thirteenth-Century Room
4.1	Fourteenth-Century Room
5.1	Fifteenth-Century Room
6.1	Sixteenth-Century Room
7.1	Seventeenth-Century Room
8.1	Introduction Hall
9.1	Cloister Garden
10.1	Eighteenth-Century Room
11.1	Élysée
12.1	Hall of Antiques

A.1 FACADES AND COURTYARDS

The Entry Court and the Petite Cloître connected the interior of the Musée des monuments français and the Élysée. The Entry Court and the Petite Cloître displayed a variety of monuments that cannot be identified from existing visual records.⁵⁷⁵ Lenoir planned to build three courtyards dedicated the sixteenth century, the fifteenth century, and the fourteenth century using fragments from the Château d'Anet, the Château de Gaillon, Église des Grands-Carmes and a cloister from Reims. He successfully transported large facades from Anet and Gaillon, but the courtyards were never completed.

1.1

#540 Facade, Château d'Anet, Sixteenth-Century Courtyard

- Architectural fragment from the Château d'Anet, 1547-1552 (catalog Year X-1816)
- **Philibert de l'Orme** (French, c.1510-1570) and **Jean Goujon** (French, c.1510-c.1565), built for Diane de Poitiers (1499-1566)
- MMF Location: Portico installed at the entrance to the Introduction Hall in 1802, full courtyard planned and never completed.
- Conserved in the same location, now the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 44; Biet and Brés, *Frontispiece*; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du portique de la Salle d'Introduction*.

1.2

#538 Arc de Gaillon, Fifteenth-Century Courtyard

- Architectural fragment from the Château de Gaillon, begun in 1502 (catalog Year X-1816)
- Attributed to **Joconde** by Lenoir, a reference to the influence of **Giovanni Giocondo** (Italian, 1433-1515)
- MMF Location: Installed in the second courtyard south of the museum in 1801-2, full courtyard planned and never completed.

⁵⁷⁵ Rough sketches by Charles Percier of the Petite Cloître reveal numerous, unidentifiable monuments. No. 139, Ms. 1012, *Croquis faits au Musée des monuments français par Charles Percier*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France.

- Conserved as part of the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts until 1977, now restored to the Château de Gaillon.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year X, 180; Biet and Brés, Frontispiece; Réville and Lavallée, *Portique de Gaillon*. Included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4.

#538 Baptismal font

- Stone baptismal font c.1541 (catalog Year X-1816)
- From the Abbaye Saint-Victor, Paris (now demolished).
- MMF Location: Installed in the Arc de Gaillon.
- Conserved at École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts (as of 2014).
- Reference: Biet and Brés, Frontispiece; Réville and Lavallée, *Portique de Gaillon*. Included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4.

1.3

#501 Cour Arabe

- Fragments from the Église des Grands-Carmes, late 14th century (catalog 1806-1816) An unidentified cloister from Reims is also listed as a source.
- The cloister from Reims was attributed to **Eudes de Montreuil** (French, died c.1289) or **Pierre de Montreuil** (French, died 1267) by Lenoir.
- Planned but never executed. Fragments of the Église des Grands-Carmes were sent to the Musée des monuments français for the Château de Malmaison beginning in 1806. Some of these fragments were taken to the Château de Mont-l'Évêque and the Château de Goeulzin in later nineteenth century. Many fragments have been lost.⁵⁷⁶
- A fragment of the Église des Grands-Carmes remains as a ruin in its original location. Other elements were acquired in 1960 and conserved at the Musée de la Cour d'Or in Metz, France.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1806, 146; *AMMF*, vol. 1, 357-359.

Monuments listed in the Entry Court in 1805, unspecified location

1.4

#190 Marie Camus de la Chambre, doctor to Louis XIV (d. 1669)

- Marble bas-relief, c.17th century (catalog Year V- 1816)

⁵⁷⁶ Meunier and Pougetoux "Alexandre Lenoir et l'Impératrice Joséphine : Une amitié intéresse?" 60.

- **Louis-Claude Vassé** (French 1717-1772)⁵⁷⁷
- From the Église Saint-Eustache, Paris.
- Listed in the Entry Court in 1805.
- Conserved at the Église Saint-Eustache, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 91; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 123.

1.5

#206 Monument for François Louis de Bourbon, prince de Conti (1664-1709)

- Marble bas-relief, c.17th century (catalog Year V- 1816)
- Attributed to **François Girardon** (French, 1628-1715) by Lenoir.
- From the Église Saint-André-des-Arts, Paris (demolished in 1807)
- Listed in the Entry Court in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 107; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 123.

1.6

#315 Jean-Baptiste Santeuil, poet (1630-1697)

- Stone funerary monument, c.17th century (catalog Year V-1806)
- From the Abbaye Saint-Victor, Paris.
- Listed in the Entry Court in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, M.E.A.P., 182; *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 123.

1.7

#330 Saint Jérôme

- Marble statue, 1752 (catalog Year V-1803)
 - **Lambert-Sigisbert Adam** (French, 1700-1759)
 - From Les Invalides, Paris.
 - Listed in the Entry Court in 1805.
 - Conserved at the Église Saint-Roch, Paris.
 - Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 188; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 123.
-

⁵⁷⁷ Incorrectly attributed to Jean-Baptiste Tuby (1635-1700) by Lenoir.

1.8

#488 Louis XIV crossing the Rhine

- Marble bas-relief, c.17th century (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Attributed to **Coustou** (French, unspecified) by Lenoir.
- Listed in the Entry Court in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year VIII, 304; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 123.

A.2 INTRODUCTION HALL

South Wall of the Introduction Hall

2.1

#250 Bull of Saint-Marcel

- Stone block, c.100 CE-300 CE (catalog 1806-1816)
- Discovered in 1806 at the base of the bell tower of the Église Saint-Marcel, Paris.
- MMF Location: Base for #423 *Nehalennia* in the far west corner.
- Conserved at the Musée nationale du Moyen Âge, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1806, 61; Biet and Brés, Plate 1; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1.

#423 Nehalennia

- Stone figure, c.200 CE-300 CE (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Discovered in 1647 in Domburg Austria, taken to Paris by the French army from the Académie de Bruxelles in 1792.
- MMF Location: Placed on #250 *Bull of Saint-Marcel* in far west corner.
- Conserved at the Musée du Cinquenaire, Brussels, Belgium.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 137 and Plate 18; Biet and Brés, Plate 1. Not present in Réville and Lavallée.

2.2

#4 Block of Eight Divinities, Pillar of the Boatmen

- Stone block, c.100 CE (catalog Year V-1816)
- Discovered in 1711 under the crypt of the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris, originally part of a Gallo-Roman temple in ancient Lutetia.
- MMF Location: Base for #8 *Notre Dame de la Carole*.
- Conserved at the Musée nationale du Moyen Âge, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 134 and Plate 18; Biet and Brés, Plate 1; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1.

#8 Notre Dame de la Carole

- Wood virgin, c.1135 (catalog Year V-1815)
- From the Église Saint-Martin-des-Champs, Paris.
- MMF Location: Left of entrance, placed in front of a large 12th-century column with a capital carved with large birds, between #9 *Clovis and Clotilde*, and resting on #4 *Block of Eight Divinities*.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis, column capital conserved at the Musée nationale du Moyen Âge, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 178 and Plate 25; Biet and Brés, Plate 1; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1. Included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1.

#8 Virgin of Smolensk with Child

- Painting, *l'eau d'œuf*, Unknown date (catalog Year V-1815)
- Given to the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris by the John II Casimir Vasa, King of Poland (d. 1672), according to Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Bas-relief placed on #8 *Notre Dame de la Carole*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 178 and Plate 25; Biet and Brés, Plate 1; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1.

#9 Clovis and Clotilde

- Unidentified stone statue-columns, 12th century, identified as Clovis (c.466-c.511) and Clotilde (475-545) by Lenoir (catalog Year V - 1816)
- From the portal of the Église Notre-Dame de Corbeil, Paris (demolished 1794)
- MMF Location: West of entrance, placed on either side of #8 *Notre Dame de la Carole* after 1806.

- Conserved initially at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis until 1916, now in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.⁵⁷⁸
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 183 and Plate 26; Biet and Brés, Plate 1; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1. #9 Clovis and Clotilde is listed in the Thirteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

2.3

#2 Block of Jupiter, Pillar of the Boatmen

- Stone block, c.100 CE (catalog Year V-1816)
- Discovered in 1711 under the crypt of the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris, originally part of a Gallo-Roman temple in ancient Lutetia.
- MMF Location: Freestanding, west of entrance.
- Conserved at the Musée nationale du Moyen Âge, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 183 and Plate 26; Biet and Brés, Plate 1; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1. Included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1.

-- Unidentified statue

- Bas-relief of praying female figure
- MMF Location: Freestanding, west of entrance, resting on the Block of Jupiter
- Reference: Biet and Brés, Plate 1; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1.

2.4

#6 Childebert (c. 496 - 558)

- Stone tomb plate with colored precious stone, c.12th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris.
- MMF Location: West of entrance, above #42 *Tombeau de Ladre*, beside #7 *Frédégonde*.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 157; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction* 1; and Jean-Lubin Vauzelle (1776-1837), *Une Salle des Petits-Augustins*, undated, Musée Carnavalet.

#7 Frédégonde (c. 545 - 597)

⁵⁷⁸ Bresc-Bautier and Chancel-Bardelot, eds., *Un Musée Revolutionnaire*, 357.

- Stone tomb plate with colored precious stone, c.12th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près, Paris.
- MMF Location: West of entrance, above #42 *Tombeau de Ladre*, beside #6 *Childebert*.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 170 and Plate 23; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction* 1; and Jean-Lubin Vauzelle (1776-1837), *Une Salle des Petits-Augustins*, undated, Musée Carnavalet.

#42 Tombeau de Ladre

- Marble plaque, c.12th century or earlier (catalog Year V-1806 as #XXXV, 1815-1816 as #42)
- From the chancel of the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: West of entrance, below #6 *Childebert* and #7 *Frédégonde*.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 89 and Plate 14; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1; and Jean-Lubin Vauzelle (1776-1837), *Une Salle des Petits-Augustins*, undated, Musée Carnavalet.

2.5

#382 The Miracles of Saint-Philippe

- Large plaster bas-relief, 1775 (catalog Year V - 1816)
- **Étienne-Pierre-Adrien Gois** (French, 1731-1823)
- Model for the peristyle of the Église Saint-Phillip-de-Roule, Paris, never permanently executed.
- MMF Location: Above entrance along the length of the south wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 204; Biet and Brés, Plate 1; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1.

East Wall of the Introduction Hall

2.6

#431 Queen Blanche

- Black marble *gisant*, actually of Mahaut d'Artois (1268-1329), 1322, and architectural ensemble (catalog 1806-1816)⁵⁷⁹
- *Gisant* by **Jean Alloul** (active in Tournai)
- *Gisant* from the Abbaye de Maubuisson, Saint-Ouen-l'Aumône, France.
- MMF Location: South end of east wall.
- Ensemble by Lenoir installed in 1804. Lenoir labeled the *gisant* recently identified as Mahaut d'Artois as Blanche de Castille (1118-1252), mother of Louis IX.⁵⁸⁰ The *gisant* is placed on a sarcophagus encrusted with colored glass. The *gisant* is framed by an *enfeu* composed of Gothic architectural fragments. At the center is a late 13th- or early 14th-century trefoil tympanum, probably from the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis), decorated with a mask of leaves and mounted with small statues of Saint John, Saint Mark, and a Virgin (#71, catalog Year V-1806) from the Abbaye de Longchamp, Paris (demolished after 1792).
- *Gisant* possibly conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.⁵⁸¹ Saint John is conserved at the Musée nationale du Moyen Âge, Paris. A virgin from the Abbaye de Longchamp is also conserved at the Musée nationale du Moyen Âge, Paris. The tympanum conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée impérial*, 1810, 124; Biet and Brés, Plate 1; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1.

2.7

#437 Pierre d'Orgemont, Chancellor of France (1315-1389)

- Limestone *priant*, 14th century, and architectural ensemble (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- *Priant* originally from the Couvent de Saint-Catherine-Val-des-Ecoliers, Paris, transferred in 1767 to the Église Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis, Paris.
- MMF Location: East wall between #431 *Queen Blanche* and #96 *Louis Poncher and Robine Le Gendre*.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. The *priant* is supported by two winged figures on columns. Between the columns is a bas-relief representing the Christ on the cross. Above the *priant* is a Gothic canopy.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 71 and Plate 89; Biet and Brés, Plate 2; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1. #48 *Pierre d'Orgemont* is listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

2.8

⁵⁷⁹ Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, "La mise en scène des personnalités historiques: quelques monuments factices au Musée des monuments français," in *Un musée révolutionnaire*, eds. Bresc-Bautier and de Chancel-Bardelot, 98.

⁵⁸⁰ Bresc-Bautier, "La mise en scène des personnalités historiques," 144.

⁵⁸¹ The identity of a black marble *gisant* is unknown.

#96 Louis Poncher, secretary to the king, (d. 1521) and Robine Le Gendre (d. 1520)

- Alabaster *gisants* on their original base, 1521-1523, and architectural ensemble (catalog Year V - 1815)
- *Gisants* by **Guillaume Chaleveau** (French, known c.1465-1533) and **Guillaume Régnault** (French, c.1450-c.1532)
- *Gisants* from the Église Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris.
- MMF Location: East wall between #437 *Pierre d'Orgemont* and #447 *Villiers de Isle-Adam*.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. The *gisants* are framed by two pilasters and crowned with a semi-circular relief from the Château de Gaillon.
- *Gisants* conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 49 and Plate 98; Biet and Brés, Plate 2; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1.

2.9

#447 Philippe Villiers de Isle-Adam, knight (1464-1534)

- Alabaster *priant*, c.1535, and architectural ensemble (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Ensemble includes bas-reliefs by **Germain Pilon** (French, c. 1525-1590) in 1588 and bas-reliefs attributed to **Pierre Bontemps** (French, c. 1505-1568) by Lenoir.
- *Priant* from the Église du Temple, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: East wall between #96 *Louis Poncher and Robine le Gendre* and #551 *Neufville de Villeroy Family*.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. The *priant* rests on a base decorated by a bas-relief from the Chapel of Anet, *The Adoration of Magi*, attributed to **Pierre Bontemps** by Lenoir, and thirteen enamels from Limoges. Carved panels from the Château de Gaillon frame the *priant*. At either side of the *priant* are two stone bas-reliefs by **Germain Pilon**, *Christ and the Good Samaritan* and *Saint John the Baptist Preaching*.
- *Priant* conserved at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, bas-reliefs by Pilon conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 50 and Plate 101; Biet and Brés, Plate 3; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1.

2.10

#551 Neufville de Villeroy Family

- Marble *priants*, early 17th century, and architectural ensemble (catalog Year X - 1816)
- *Priants* of Nicolas III de Neufville de Villeroy (1528-1598), Madeline de l'Aubespine (1546-1596), and Nicolas IV de Neufville de Villeroy (c.1543-1617) by **Matthieu Jacquet** (French, c. 1545-after 1611) and **Germain Jacquet** (French, active 1597-1636).

- *Priants* from the Église Saint-André-des-Arts, Paris (demolished in 1807)
- MMF Location: East wall between #447 *Philippe Villiers de Isle-Adam* and #108 *René Birague and Valentine Balbiani*.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. Three *priants* are assembled in front of two Corinthian columns and a classical pediment. The *priant* of Nicholas IV is facing north in the center. On either side are the *priants* of his father, Nicolas III, and his wife, Madeline de l'Aubespine, both facing west.
- *Priants* conserved at the Église Notre-Dame-de-la-Nativité in Magny-en-Vexin, France.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français* vol. 4, 190 and Plate 157; Biet and Brés, Plate 3; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1.

2.11

#108 Cardinal René Birague, Chancellor of France (1506-1583) and Valentine Balbiani (1518-1572)

- Bronze *priant* of René Birague and marble *demi-couchée* statue of Valentine Balbiani, 1573-1574 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Germain Pilon** (French, c.1525-1590)
- Originally from the Couvent de Saint-Catherine-Val-des-Ecoliers, Paris, transferred in 1767 to the Église Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis, Paris.
- MMF Location: East wall in niche between #551 *Neufville de Villeroy Family* and #471 *Louis XI*.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. The ensemble is recessed into a niche. The *priant* of Birague is placed above the monument of his wife. The lower *gisant* of Balbiani is placed on sarcophagus decorated with a bas-relief of Balbiani in the moment of death. Both monuments include angels holding reversed torches. Above the statues hang both Birague's and Balbiani's coat of arms.
- Conserved initially at the Musée de Versailles, now in Département des Sculptures Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 126 and plate 121; Biet et Brés, Plate 4 and Réville and Lavallée, *Tombeau de chancelier Birague*.

2.12

#471 Louis XI (1423 - 1483)

- Marble *priant* and four marble angels raised on a base carried by six columns, c.1622, (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Attributed to **Michel Bourdin** (French, c.1580-1650)
- From the Basilique Notre-Dame in Cléry Saint-André, France
- MMF Location: East wall between #108 *Birague and Balbiani* and #99 *François I*.
- Conserved at its original location, the Basilique Notre-Dame in Cléry Saint-André, France.

- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 123 and Plate 150; Biet and Brés, Plate 4; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'Introduction*, 2.

#528 Louvre Pediment

- Plaster model of a new pediment for the Louvre, Paris, early 19th century (catalog 1810-1816)
- Attributed to **Chadet** (possibly Antoine-Denis Chaudet, French, 1763-1810) by Lenoir
- MMF Location: East wall, above #471 *Louis XI*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée impérial*, 1810, lxi; Biet and Brés, Plate 4; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 2.

2.13

99 François I (1494-1547) and Claude de France (1499-1514)

- Double-level marble funerary monument with models of François I and Claude de France in the moment of death inside the funerary monument, and *priants* of François I, Claude de France, and three of their children above the funerary monument, 1548-1558 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Philibert de l'Orme** (French, c.1510-1570), **Pierre Bontemps** (French c.1505-1568), and **François Marchand** (French, c.1500-c.1553), commissioned by Henri II, (1519-1559)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- Location MMF: In the Chapelle des Louanges off of the east wall of the Introduction Hall.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. An iron grill ornamented with copper (#230, catalog Year V-1816) separates the Introduction Hall and the Chapelle des Louanges. Above the entrance is a half-rossette relief imitating stained glass. The *transis* of François I and Claude de France the funerary monument was a model, the actual *gisants* were on display in the Sixteenth-Century Room.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 59 and Plate 102; Biet and Brés, Plate #5, Réville and Lavallée, *Tombeau de François I*.⁵⁸²

2.14

#178 Cardinal François de la Rochefoucauld (1558-1645)

⁵⁸² Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques*, show *La Nymphe de Fontainebleau*, c.1540 - 1545, by Benvenuto Cellini (Italian, 1500 - 1571) over the entrance to the Chapelle des Louanges, but this bas-relief was in the Musée du Louvre by 1797. *La Nymphe de Fontainebleau* was originally created for Fontainebleau, then moved to Château d'Anet, and is now conserved at the Musée du Louvre.

- **Philippe de Buyster** (Flemish, 1595-1688)
- White marble *priant* and angel on black marble cenotaph, mid 17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Église de Sainte-Geneviève, Paris.
- Location MMF: East wall between #99 *François I and Claude de France* and #474 *Monument du Pont au Change*.
- Conserved at the Chapelle Notre-Dame de l'Annonciation de l'hôpital Charles Foix, Ivry-sur-Seine, France.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 72 and plate 180; Biet and Brés, Plate 6; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 2, #178 *Cardinal François de la Rochefoucauld* is listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

#315 Louvre Pediment

- Plaster model of a new interior pediment for the Louvre, Paris, early 19th century (catalog 1810-1816)
- Attributed to **Jean Guillaume Moitte** (French, 1746-1810) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: East wall, above #178 *Cardinal Rochefoucauld*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée impérial*, 1810, xli; Biet and Brés, Plate 6; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 2.

2.15

#474 Monument du Pont-au-Change

- Bronze statues placed on a large stone bas-relief, c.1643 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Statues of Louis XIV as a child, (1638-1715), Louis XIII (1601-1643), and Anne d'Autriche (1601-1666) by **Simon Guillain** (French, 1581-1658)
- From the Pont-au-Change, Paris
- MMF Location: North end of east wall.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 66 and plate 179; Biet and Brés, Plate 6; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 2. *Anne d'Autriche* is listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room and *Louis XIV* is listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

#210 Louvre Pediment

- Plaster model of a new interior pediment for the Louvre, Paris, early 19th century (catalog 1810-1816)
- Attributed to **Cartelier** (unspecified) by Lenoir.

- MMF Location: East wall, above #474 *Monument du Pont au Change*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée impérial*, 1810, xxxi; Biet and Brés, Plate 6; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 2.

North Wall of the Introduction Hall

2.16

187 Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602-1661)

- Marble *priant* with three bronze allegorical figures, 1689-1693, and architectural ensemble (catalog Year V-1816)
- *Priant* and bronzes by **Antoine Coysevox** (French, 1640-1720), pediment attributed to **Coysevox** by Lenoir.
- *Priant* and bronzes by from the chapel of Collège des Quatre-Nations, Paris.
- MMF Location: North wall.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. The *priant* is framed by two marble columns with Corinthian capitals and capped with a semi-circular pediment.
- *Priant* and bronzes by conserved at its original location, now the Chapelle de l'Institut de France, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 84 and Plate 184; Biet and Brés, Plate 7-8; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 2.

2.17

#564 Louvre Bas-relief

- Stone bas-reliefs, representing Justice, Religion, Charity, and Equity, 16th century (catalog 1810-1816)
- Attributed to **Jacquio Ponce** (French, active c.1527-1570) by Lenoir.
- Construction debris from renovations to the Louvre, Paris.
- MMF Location: North wall, above # 187 *Cardinal Jules Mazarin*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée impérial*, 1810, lxxv; Biet and Brés, Plate 8; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 2.

West Wall of the Introduction Hall

2.18

322 Louvre Pediment

- Model of a new pediment for the Louvre, Paris, early 19th century (catalog 1815-1816)

- Attributed to **Rolland** (unspecified) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: North end of west wall, above the entrance to the cloister.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée impérial*, 1810, xlii; Biet and Brés, Plate 8; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 2.

2.19

339 **Henri-Claude d'Harcourt, Marshall of France (1703-1769)**

- Marble monument, 18th century (catalog Year V - 1815)
- **Jean-Baptiste Pigalle** (French, 1714-1785)
- From the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris
- MMF Location: West wall, between the entrance to the cloister and #450 *Anne de Montmorency*.
- Conserved at its original location, the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris
- Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 133 and Plate 192; Biet and Brés, Plate 8; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 2. #339 *Henri-Claude d'Harcourt* is listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

2.20

#450 **Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France (1493-1567) and Madeline de Savoye (died 1586)**

- Marble *gisants*, 1576-1582, and architectural ensemble (catalog Year V-1816)
- *Gisants* by **Barthélemy Prieur** (French, 1536-1611) after **Jean Bullant** (French, c.1515-1578)
- *Gisants* from the Église Saint-Martin in Montmorency, France.
- MMF Location: West wall, between #339 *Henri-Claude d'Harcourt* and #541 *Michel de l'Hôpital*.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. Behind the *gisants*, black marble Doric columns support an entablature from the chapel at the Château d'Écouen. Between the columns is a bas-relief representing the sacrifice of Abraham, The sarcophagus is decorated with bas-reliefs representing the four evangelists, Faith, Religion, and Strength. Above the entablature rests a figure representing the Muse of History and the armor and sword of Anne de Montmorency.
- *Gisants* conserved initially at the Musée de Versailles, now in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 86 and Plate 147, 152, and 153; Biet and Brés, Plate 9; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 2.

2.21

#541 Michel de l'Hôpital, Chancellor of France (1507-1573) and Michel Hurault de l'Hôpital (d. 1592)

- *Priant* of Michel de l'Hôpital, and bust of Michel Hurault de l'Hôpital, 16th century with bas-relief representing the Judgment of Solomon and caryatides (catalog Year X-1816)
- Bas-relief representing the Judgment of Solomon attributed to the sculptor **Mosca** (Italian) by Lenoir, two caryatides attributed to **Germain Pilon** (French, c.1525-1590) by Lenoir
- *Priant* and bust from the parish church of Vignai, near Estampes, France.
- MMF Location: West wall, between #450 *Anne de Montmorency* and #551 *Villeroy Fireplace*.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. The *priant* rests of a base decorated with a bas-relief representing the Judgment of Solomon. Behind the *priant*, two caryatides hold an entablature, creating a frame. The bust of Michel Hurault de l'Hôpital is mounted between the caryatides.
- *Priant* and bust conserved at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 111 and Plate 149; Biet and Brés, Plate 9; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 2.

2.22

#551 Villeroy Fireplace

- Marble fireplace, c. 1545-1611, and marble bust (catalog 1806-1816)
- Fireplace by **Matthieu Jacquet** (French, c.1545-after 1611), bust attributed to **Jean Goujon** (French, c.1510-c.1565) by Lenoir.⁵⁸³
- Fireplace from the Château de Villeroy near Mennecy, France.
- MMF Location: West wall, between #542 *Michel de l'Hôpital*, and #165 *De Thou Family*.
- Ensemble by Lenoir: A marble bust of Admiral Gaspard de Coligny (1519-1572) rests in the niche of the fireplace.
- Ensemble conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 174; Biet and Brés, Plate 10. Not visible in Réville and Lavallée.

2.23

#165 De Thou Family

- Marble bust of Christophe de Thou, c. 1582, marble *priant* of Marie de Barbaçon-Cani, after 1601, marble *priants* of Jacques-Auguste de Thou, Gasparde de la Châtre and bronze bas-relief, 1647, and architectural ensemble (Catalog Year V-1816, also under #166 and #150 Year V-1806)

⁵⁸³ Incorrectly attributed to Germain Pilon (French, c.1525-1590) by Lenoir.

- Bust of Christophe de Thou, parlementaire (1508-1582) and *priant* of Marie de Barbaçon-Cani (died 1601) by **Barthélemy Prieur** (French, 1536-1611), *priants* of Jacques-Auguste de Thou, historian (1553-1617), Gasparde de la Châtre (died 1617), and bronze bas-relief by **François Anguier** (French, 1604-1669).
- *Priants* and bust the Église-Saint-André-des-Arts, Paris (demolished in 1807)
- MMF Location: West wall, between #551 *Villeroy Fireplace* and #186 *Rostaing Family*.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. In the center, the *priant* of Jacques-Auguste de Thou faces west and the *priants* of his two wives face east at either side, similar to the arrangement of #551 *Neufville de Villeroy Family*. Two pilasters, an entablature and an archivolt, frame the *priants*, all probably from the Église-Saint-André-des-Arts. The bust of Christophe de Thou is placed at south end of the ensemble. The sarcophagus of Jacques-Auguste de Thou is decorated by a bronze bas-relief representing the Muse of History.
- *Priants* conserved initially at the Musée de Versailles, *priants* and bust now in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 55 and Plate 177; Biet and Brés, Plate 12; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1.

2.24

#186 Rostaing Family

- Two marble *priants*, 17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- *Priants* of Charles, Marquis de Rostaing (1573-c.1660) and Messire Tristan, Marquis de Rostaing (1513-1591) attributed to **Philippe de Buyster** (Flemish, 1595-1688), bas-reliefs attributed to **François Marchand** (French, c.1500-c.1553) by Lenoir.
- *Priants* from the Église des Feuillants, Paris. (now demolished)
- MMF Location: West wall, between #165 *De Thou Family* and #162 *William Douglas*.
- Ensemble by Lenoir: Two *priants* are placed on a sarcophagus raised by two caryatides and decorated with three bas-reliefs depicting Saint John the Baptist, the Adoration of the Magi, and Saint John's Apocalypse, attributed to François Marchand by Lenoir. At the center between the caryatides is an enamel representing the life of Saint John.
- *Priants* conserved at the Église Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 82 and Plate 183; Biet and Brés, Plate 11; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1. *Charles Rostaing* is listed in the Entry Court, *Tristan Rostaing* is listed in the Cloister Garden, and the bas-reliefs are listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

#222 Antoine de Rostaing and Jean de Rostaing (died before 1659)⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸⁴ Attribution by Lenoir. The bust is probably actually the bust of Gaston de Rostaing, which was sculpted as part of the same series as that of Jean de Rostaing.

- Marble busts on octagonal pilasters, 1659, (catalog #222 in 1816, catalog # 304 and #305, Year V-1810)
- **Philippe de Buyster** (Flemish, 1595-1688)
- From the Église des Feuillants, Paris. (now demolished)
- MMF Location: column busts placed on either side of #186 *Rostaing Family*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 82 and Plate 183; Biet and Brés, Plate 11; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1.

2.25

#162 William Douglas, Prince of Scotland (1552-1611)

- Stone *gisant*, 17th century, and sculptural ensemble including a stone retable, 16th century, and terracotta sculptural group representing the *Trinity*, c.1630 (catalog Year V-1816)
- *Gisant* attributed to **Michel Bourdin** (French, c.1580-1650), retable attributed to **Pierre Berton Saint-Quentin** (French, active 17th century), and *Trinity* attributed to **Dupré** (French, c.17th century) by Lenoir.
- *Gisant* from the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près, Paris, retable from the Église Saint-Merri, Paris, *Trinity* from the Église Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, France.
- MMF Location: South end of west wall.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. Behind the *gisant* is a stone retable featuring the three orders of architecture. The retable includes stone bas-reliefs on the lower and middle levels, including a large bas-relief of the Last Supper. On the upper level, *Trinity* (center) and two standing statues of the Virgin and Saint John are placed on the retable.
- *Gisant* conserved at its original location, now the Église Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris, fragments of the retable, including the Last Supper bas-relief, are conserved at the Musée Carnavalet, Paris, and *Trinity* conserved at the Musée nationale de la Renaissance, Écouen.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 194 and Plate 158; Biet and Brés, Plate 11; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1. The Trinity is listed in the Cloister Gallery and William Douglas is listed in the Élysée in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

Center Axis of the Introduction Hall

2.26

#466 Diane de Poitiers, royal mistress (1499-1566)

- White marble *priant* on black marble sarcophagus, c.1579, and sculptural ensemble including painted enamel copper plates, c.1550, and wooden female figures, early 17th century (catalog Year VIII-1816)

- *Priant* by **Matthieu Jacquet** (French, c.1545-after 1611) and **Luc Jacquart** (French), two painted enamels by **Léonard Limosin** (French, c.1505-.c1575), ensemble executed by **Pierre-Nicholas Beauvallet** (French, 1750-1818).
- *Priant* from the funerary chapel of Château d'Anet, two painted enamels by Léonard Limosin from the Couvent des Feuillants, Paris (now demolished), two painted enamels from the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, and wooden female figures from the Église de Sainte-Geneviève, Paris.⁵⁸⁵
- MMF Location: Center, south end of hall, directly in front of entrance.
- Ensemble by Pierre-Nicholas Beauvallet and Lenoir in 1798. The sarcophagus is carried by four sphinx heads, which are raised on a pedestal flanked by four wooden statues of women carrying torches.⁵⁸⁶ The pedestal is decorated with two painted enamels on copper plates by Léonard Limosin, "François I under the traits of Saint Thomas" and "Saint Paul under the traits of Jacques de Genouillac." Two other painted enamels on copper plates from the Sainte-Chapelle also decorate the pedestal. Lenoir adds a dog with a torch to the *priant* to represent fidelity.
- *Priant* conserved at its original location, the funerary chapel of Château d'Anet. Wood statues and painted enamel copper plates conserved at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 77 and Plate 145, vol. 5, Plate 158; Biet and Brés, Plate 12; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 1.

2.27

105 Monument du cœur for Anne de Montmorency (1493-1567)

- Marble column, c. 1570-1580 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Barthélemy Prieur** (French, 1536-1611)
- From the Couvent des Célestins, Paris (demolished in 1901)
- MMF Location: Center, between #466 *Diane de Poitiers* and #542 Fountain of Gaillon, west of #456 *Monument du cœur for Henri III*
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris. A fragment from the monument is also at the Musée nationale de la Renaissance, Écouen.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 94 and vol. 5, Plate 169; Biet and Brés, Plate 11; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'Introduction*, 1.

2.28

#456 Monument du cœur for Henri III (1551-1589)

- Red marble column, 1635, (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Attributed to **Barthélemy Prieur** (French, 1536-1611) by Lenoir.

⁵⁸⁵ Incorrectly attributed to Germain Pilon (French, c.1525-1590) by Lenoir.

⁵⁸⁶ Incorrectly attributed to Germain Pilon (French, c.1525-1590) by Lenoir.

- From the parish church of Saint-Cloud, France.
- MMF Location: Center, between #466 *Diane de Poitiers* and #542 *Fountain of Gaillon*, west of #105 *Monument du coeur for Anne de Montmorency*.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 92 and Plate 114; Biet and Brés, Plate 3; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'Introduction*, 1.

2.29

#111 Monument du coeur for Henri II (1519-1559)

- Marble statue representing Three Graces, 1560-1566 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Germain Pilon** (French, c.1525-1590), pedestal by **Domenico del Barbieri** (Italian, c.1506-between 1565-1575), commissioned by Catherine de Medici (1519-1589).
- From the Couvent des Célestins, Paris (demolished in 1901)
- MMF Location: Center, between #207 *Longueville Pyramid* and #541 *Fountain of Gaillon*. (Réville and Lavallée depict Henri II's monument south of #542 *Fountain of Gaillon*, all other representations show Henri II's monument north of the fountain.)
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 132 and Plate 123; Biet and Brés, Plate 3; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'Introduction*, 1. Included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3.

2.30

#542 Fountain of Gaillon

- Marble fountain, early 16th century (catalog 1802-1816)
- Listed as from Gaillon by Lenoir, but probably from a royal château in the Loire Valley.
- MMF Location: Center, between #111 *Monument du coeur for Henri II* and #105 and #456, *Monuments du coeur for Anne de Montmorency and Henri III*. (Réville and Lavallée depict *Fountain of Gaillon* north of #111 *Monument du coeur for Henri II*, all other representations show the fountain south of Henri II's monument.)
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 55 and vol. 5, Plate 173; Biet and Brés, Plate 3; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'Introduction*, 2.

2.31

#207 Longueville Pyramid, Monument du coeur for Henri I de Longueville (1564-1595) and Henri II de Longueville (1595-1663)

- Black marble obelisk, marble and bronze bas-reliefs, and marble allegorical figures, 1661 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **François Anguier** (French, 1604-1669)
- From the Couvent des Célestins, Paris (demolished in 1901)
- MMF Location: Center, between #174 *Cardinal Richelieu* and #111 *Monument du coeur for Henri II*.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 107; Biet and Brés, Plate 10; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 2. Included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5.

2.32

#174 Armand Jean du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu (1528-1642)

- Marble monument, begun 1675 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **François Girardon** (French, 1628-1715)
- From the Chapelle de la Sorbonne, Paris.
- MMF location: Freestanding, center, between #542 *Longueville Pyramid* and #546 and #204, two monumental columns closest to the north wall.
- Conserved at its original location, the Chapelle de la Sorbonne, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 61 and Plate 178; Biet and Brés, Plate 8; Réville and Lavallée, *Tombeau de Cardinal de Richelieu*. Included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5.

2.33

#546 Monumental Column for Philippe Desportes, poet (1545-1606)

- Granite column, with a bronze medallion representing Phillippe Desportes, commissioned in 1637 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Medallion by **Matthieu Jacquet** (French, c.1545-after 1611)
- From the Abbaye Notre-Dame de Bonport, Pont-de-l'Arche, France.
- MMF Location: Freestanding, northeast corner, north end of central axis and east of #204 *Seigneurs of Rostaing Column*.
- Medallion conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 173; Biet and Brés, Plate 6; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 2.

2.34 Monumental Column: Proposed Attribution

#204 Monumental Column for the Seigneurs of Rostaing⁵⁸⁷

- Marble column, 16th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Église des Feuillants, Paris. (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Freestanding, northwest corner, north end of central axis and west of #546 *Desportes Column*.
- Reference: Attribution from Biet and Brés, Plate 8. Column is present but unidentified in Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 2.

Alternative Attribution:

#104 Monumental Column for François II

- Marble column, 16th century, (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Couvent des Célestins (demolished in 1901)
- Reference: M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 94.

Busts of the Introduction Hall

2.35

#147 Jean Calvin, theologian (1509-1564)

- Marble medallion, undated (catalog 1806-1816)
- MMF Location: Medallion is south of the entrance of the Chapelle des Louanges, above #312 *Nicholas Boileau-Despréaux*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1806, 184; Biet and Brés, Plate 5.

2.36

#148 Guillaume Froelich, Colonel-General of the Swiss Guard (c.1492-1562)

- Marble Bust, mid 16th century, (catalog Year V-1816)
 - Attributed to **Pierre Bontemps** (French, c. 1505-1568)
 - From the Église des Cordeliers, Paris (now demolished)
-

⁵⁸⁷ Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot identifies this column as the Monument du coeur for Louis de Cossé, Duc de Brissac See Béatrice Chancel-Bardelot, "Les salles du Musée des monuments français," in *Un musée révolutionnaire*, eds. Bresc-Bautier and de Chancel-Bardelot, 122. However, Brissac's column, now in the Musée du Louvre, bears no resemblance to the column depicted in the illustrations. I propose using the identification from Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques*, the Monumental Column for the Seigneurs of Rostaing. Moreover, M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, lists the monumental column for François II as being in the Introduction Hall in 1805.

- MMF Location: Bust is placed on west wall north of #162 *William Douglas*. MMF Location: Unspecified, Sixteenth-Century Room.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156-169; Biet and Brés, Plate 11. #148 *Guillaume Froelich* is listed in the Sixteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

2.37

#151 François Rabelais, scholar (1494-1533)

- Marble medallion, undated (catalog 1806-1816)
- MMF Location: Medallion is north of the entrance of the Chapelle des Louanges, above #368 *Guillaume de Lamoignon*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1806, 184; Biet and Brés, Plate #5.

2.38

#265 Henri IV (1553-1610)

- Marble bust, 16th-17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Barthélemy Tremblay** (French, 1568-1629).⁵⁸⁸
- From the royal collection.
- MMF Location: Bust is south of #450 Anne de Montmorency.
- Conserved initially at the Musée du Louvre, now at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 46-53; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 2.⁵⁸⁹

2.39

#283 Jean-Baptiste Colbert, statesman (1619-1683)

- Marble bust, executed in 1677 for the Académie royale de peinture et sculpture (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Antoine Coysevox** (French, 1640-1720)
- MMF Location: Bust is placed on the east wall north of #551 *Neufville de Villeroy Family*. Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

⁵⁸⁸ Incorrectly attributed to Barthélemy Prieur (French, 1536-1611) by Lenoir.

⁵⁸⁹ In an inventory taken in 1824, #265 is listed as being in the Sixteenth-Century Room. *AMMF*, vol. 3, 296.

- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 46-53; Biet and Brés, Plate 3; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction* 1. #283 *Jean-Baptiste Colbert* is listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

2.40

#312 **Nicholas Boileau-Despréaux, poet (1636-1711)**

- Marble bust, late 16th-early 17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- **François Girardon** (French, 1628-1715)
- MMF Location: Bust is south of the entrance of the Chapelle des Louanges, below #147 *Jean Calvin*.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 46-53; Biet and Brés, Plate 5. Bust is also listed as in the Seventeenth-Century Room, Biet and Brés, Plate 36.

2.41

#367 **Louis XVI (1754-1793)**

- Marble bust, 1790 (catalog Year X-1816)
- **Jean-Antoine Houdon** (French, 1741-1828)
- MMF Location: Bust is placed on the east wall south of #471 *Louis XI*.
- Conserved at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 2.

2.42

#368 **Marie Antoinette (1755-1793)**

- Marble bust, 1783 (catalog Year X-1816)
- **Félix Lecomte** (French, 1737-1817)
- MMF Location: Bust is placed on the west wall, south of #541 *Michel de l'Hôpital*.
- Conserved at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle d'introduction*, 2.

2.43

#440 Jules Hardouin-Mansart, architect (1646-1708)

- Marble bust, presented to the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture in 1703 (catalog 1815-1816)
- **Jean-Louis Lemoyne** (French, 1665-1755)
- MMF Location: Bust is placed on the east wall, between #178 *Cardinal François de la Rochefoucauld* and #474 *Monument du Pont-au-Change*.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1815, 134; Biet and Brés, Plate 6. #440 *Jules Hardouin-Mansart* is listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

2.44

#491 Guillaume de Lamoignon, jurist (1617-1677)

- Terracotta bust, undated (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Attributed to **Anguier** (French, unspecified) by Lenoir
- MMF Location: Bust is north of the entrance of the Chapelle des Louanges, below #151 *François Rabelais*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 46-53; Biet and Brés, Plate 5. #491 *Guillaume de Lamoignon* is listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

Stained Glass Windows of the Introduction Hall

2.45

#19 Window 1

- Three panels representing Christ preaching in the desert, Abraham, and the battle between the Israelites and the Amalécites.
- Attributed to **Jean Cousin the Elder** (French, c.1500-c.1560) by Lenoir
- From the interior chapel of the Château d'Anet.
- MMF Location: Chapelle des Louanges
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi, 300.

2.46

-- Window 2

- Panel representing scenes from the life of Saint Paul.
- Attributed to **Robert Pinaigrier** (active in France, 16th century) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Introduction Hall
- Reference, Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 21.

Floor of the Introduction Hall

2.47

-- **Zodiac**

- MMF Location: Center, South end of hall in front of #466 *Diane de Poitiers*
- Reference: Biet and Brés, Plate #12.

2.48

#518 Abbé Adam (c. 12th century)

- Stone tomb plate installed in flooring, undated (catalog Year X-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: South end of hall with #519 *Abbé Auteuil*.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year X, 116; Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 234 and Plate 43.

2.49

#519 Abbé Auteuil (c. 13th century)

- Stone tomb plate installed in flooring, undated (catalog Year X-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: South end of hall with #518 *Abbé Adam*.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year X, 116; Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 234 and Plate 43.

2.50

-- **Epitaphs (listed in pairs from south end to north end of hall)**

- Verse for Henri II (1519-1599) by Diane de Poitiers (1499-1566) (left)

- Verse for Agn s Sorel (1422-1450), mistress of Charles VII, by J. J. Bief (right)
- Epitaph for Anne de Montmorency (1493-1567) by Amadys Jemyn (1538-1592) (left)
- Verse for Mary Stuart (1542-1587) by Diane de Poitiers (1499-1566) (right)
- Epitaph for Philippe Desportes, poet (1548-1606) (left)
- Epitaph for Fran ois I (1494-1547) from  glise des Cordeliers in Avignon, France (right)
- Epitaph for Marguerite de Valois (1553-1615) (left)
- Verse for Henri II (1519-1599) by Jean-Antoine Ba f (1532-1589) (right)
- Epitaph for Nicholas Boileau-Despr aux, poet (1636-1711) (left)
- Epitaph for Jean-Baptiste Santeuil, poet (1630-1697) (right)
- Verse for Blaise Pascal, physicist (1623-1662) by Jean Foy-Vaillant (1632-1706) (left)
- Verse for Jacques-B nigne Winslow, anatomist (1669-1760) (right)
- Epitaph for Louis XIII (1601-1643) by Pierre Corneille (1606-1684) (left)
- Epitaph for Marie de M dici (1553-1610) (right)
- Reference: Lenoir, *Mus e royale*, 1816, 21-28.

Additional Monuments of the Introduction Hall

2.51

#1 Block of the Dedication, Pillar of the Boatmen

- Stone block, c.100 CE (catalog Year V-1816)
- Discovered in 1711 under the crypt of the Cath drale Notre-Dame de Paris, originally part of a Gallo-Roman temple in ancient Lutetia.
- Listed in the Introduction Hall in 1805, not represented in visual records.
- Conserved at the Mus e nationale du Moyen  ge, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Mus e des monuments fran ais*, vol. 1, 134 and Plate 17; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosit s de Paris et de ses environs*, 89.

2.52

#3 Block of Four Divinities, Pillar of the Boatmen

- Stone block, c.100 CE (catalog Year V-1816)
- Discovered in 1711 under the crypt of the Cath drale Notre-Dame de Paris, originally part of a Gallo-Roman temple in ancient Lutetia.
- Listed in the Introduction Hall in 1805, not represented in visual records.
- Conserved at the Mus e nationale du Moyen  ge, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Mus e des monuments fran ais*, vol. 1, 134 and Plate 18; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosit s de Paris et de ses environs*, 89.

2.53

#103 Henri II (1519-1559) and Catherine de Medici (1519-1589) in court dress

- Stone *gisants*, c.1583 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Germain Pilon** (French, c.1525-1590), commissioned by Catherine de Medici.
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- Listed in the Introduction Hall in 1805, not represented in visual records.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 87 and Plate 111. M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 94.

2.54

#347 Marie-Anne Hoquart de Cossé (d. 1779)

- Marble monument and urn, late 18th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Couvent des Célestins (demolished 1901)
- Listed in the Introduction Hall in 1805, not represented in visual records.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 194; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 94.

2.55

#425 Clotaire II (584-625)

- Stone tomb plate, undated (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- From the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près, Paris.
- Listed in the Introduction Hall in 1805, not represented in visual records.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 166 and Plate 22; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 94.

2.56

#426 Bertrude (c.582-c.619)

- Stone tomb plate, undated (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- From the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près, Paris.
- Listed in the Introduction Hall in 1805, not represented in visual records.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 166 and Plate 22; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 94.

2.57

#427 Childéric (c.653-675)

- Stone tomb plate, undated (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- From the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près, Paris.
- Listed in the Introduction Hall in 1805, not represented in visual records.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 168 and Plate 22; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 94.

2.58

#477 Force and Hope

- Stone statues, c.17th century (catalog Year VIII-1810)
- **Michel Anguier** (French, 1612-1686)
- From the Porte Sainte-Antoine, Paris (demolished in 1778).
- Listed in the Introduction Hall in 1805, not represented in visual records.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year VIII, 295; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 96.

2.59

#493 Nymphé

- Marble statue, c.18th century (catalog 1802-1806)
- Attributed to **Jean-Baptiste Pigalle** (French, 1714-1785) by Lenoir.
- Given by the citizen Donjeux.
- Listed in the Introduction Hall in 1805, not represented in visual records.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1802, 305; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 96.

2.60

#525 Four Kings

- Stone portal sculptures, c.1100 (catalog 1802-1816)
- From the portal of the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- Listed in the Introduction Hall in 1805, not represented in visual records.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 30 and Plate 62; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 96.

A.3 THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ROOM

Recumbent *Gisants* of the Thirteenth-Century Room

The Thirteenth-Century Room displayed five double and eight single *gisants*. The exact order and arrangement of these *gisants* is not identifiable from any surviving source.

3.1

#10 Clovis II (635-c.657)

- Stone *gisant*, c.1263-1264 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Commissioned during the reign of Louis IX (1214-1270)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF location: Unspecified, single recumbent *gisant* of the Thirteenth-Century Room.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 184, Plate 26; Biet and Brés, Plates 13-16; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du treizième siècle*.

3.2

#11 Charles Martel (c.685-741)

- Stone *gisant*, c.1263-1264 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Commissioned during the reign of Louis IX (1214-1270)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF location: Unspecified, single recumbent *gisant* of the Thirteenth-Century Room.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 185, Plate 26; Biet and Brés, Plates 13-16; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du treizième siècle*.

3.3

#12 Pépin le Bref (714-768) and Berthe (c.726-783)

- Stone *gisants*, c.1263-1264 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Commissioned during the reign of Louis IX (1214-1270)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF location: Unspecified, double recumbent *gisants* of the Thirteenth-Century Room.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.

- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 185, Plate 26; Biet and Brés, Plates 13-16; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du trizième siècle*.

3.4

#13 Carloman I (751-771) and Ermentrude (c.825-869)

- Stone *gisants*, c.1263-1264 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Commissioned during the reign of Louis IX (1214-1270)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF location: Unspecified, double recumbent *gisants* of the Thirteenth-Century Room.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 185, Plate 25; Biet and Brés, Plates 13-16; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du trizième siècle*.

3.5

#14 Louis III (c.863-882) and Carloman II (c.866-884)

- Stone *gisants*, c.1263-1264 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Commissioned during the reign of Louis IX (1214-1270)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF location: Unspecified, double recumbent *gisants* of the Thirteenth-Century Room.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 186, Plate 27; Biet and Brés, Plates 13-16; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du trizième siècle*.

3.6

#15 Eudes (c.859-898)

- Stone *gisant*, c.1263-1264 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Commissioned during the reign of Louis IX (1214-1270)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF location: Unspecified, single recumbent *gisant* of the Thirteenth-Century Room.
- No longer exists, probably severely damaged during French Revolution.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 186, Plate 27; Biet and Brés, Plates 13-16; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du trizième siècle*.

3.7

#16 Hugues Capet (c.941-996)

- Stone *gisant*, c.1263-1264 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Commissioned during the reign of Louis IX (1214-1270)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF location: Unspecified, single recumbent *gisant* of the Thirteenth-Century Room.
- No longer exists, probably severely damaged during French Revolution.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 186, Plate 27; Biet and Brés, Plates 13-16; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du treizième siècle*.

3.8

#17 Robert II le Pieux (c.970-1031) and Constance d'Arles (c.984-1032)

- Stone *gisants*, c.1263-1264 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Commissioned during the reign of Louis IX (1214-1270)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF location: Unspecified, double recumbent *gisants* of the Thirteenth-Century Room.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 187, Plate 28; Biet and Brés, Plates 13-16; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du treizième siècle*.

3.9

#18 Philippe de France (c.1116-1131)

- Stone *gisant*, c.1263-1264 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Commissioned during the reign of Louis IX (1214-1270)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF location: Unspecified, single recumbent *gisant* of the Thirteenth-Century Room.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 188, Plate 28; Biet and Brés, Plates 13-16; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du treizième siècle*.

3.10

#19 Constance de Castille (c.1136-1160)

- Stone *gisant*, c.1263-1264 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Commissioned during the reign of Louis IX (1214-1270)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF location: Unspecified, single recumbent *gisant* of the Thirteenth-Century Room.

- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 188, Plate 28; Biet and Brés, Plates 13-16; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du treizième siècle*.

3.11

#24 Philippe III (1245-1285) and Isabelle d'Aragon (1247-1271)

- Marble *gisant* of Philippe III, 1307, marble *gisant* of Isabelle d'Aragon, c.1275 (catalog Year V-1816)
- *Gisant* of Philippe III by **Jean d'Arres** (French)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF location: Unspecified, double recumbent *gisants* of the Thirteenth-Century Room.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 196, Plate 31; Biet and Brés, Plates 13-16; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du treizième siècle*.

3.12

#25 Pierre d'Alençon (1251-1284)

- Marble *gisant*, later identified as Robert II d'Artois (c.1300-1317), 1320 (catalog Year V-1816)⁵⁹⁰
- **Jean Pépin de Huy** (Belgian, active 1311-1329)
- From the Église des Cordeliers, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, single recumbent *gisant* of the Thirteenth-Century Room.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 197, Plate 31; Biet and Brés, Plates 13-16; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du treizième siècle*.

3.13

#29 Robert, comte de Clermont (1256-1317)

- Marble *gisant*, later identified as Charles de Valois (1270-1325), early 14th century (catalog Year V-1816)⁵⁹¹
- From the Couvent des Jacobins, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, single recumbent *gisant* of the Thirteenth-Century Room.

⁵⁹⁰ Elizabeth Brown, *The Oxford collection of the drawings of Roger de Gaignières of the royal tombs of Saint-Denis*, vol. 5, part 5 (The American Philosophical Society: Philadelphia, 1988), 16.

⁵⁹¹ Brown, *The Oxford collection of the drawings of Roger de Gaignières*, 16.

- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 203, Plate 33; Biet and Brés, Plates 13-16; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du treizième siècle*.

Center of Thirteenth-Century Room

3.14

#22 Louis de France (1244-1260) and his brother Jean (d. 1247)

- Limestone *gisants*, second *gisant* actually of Philippe-Dagobert (1222-c.1235), c.13th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- Commissioned by Louis IX (1214-1270)
- From the Abbaye Royaumont, near Asnières-sur-Oise, France.
- MMF Location: Center of Thirteenth-Century Room
- Ensemble by Lenoir. The two *gisants* rest of a base decorated with stone arcades of angels, c. 1235 from the tomb of Philippe-Dagobert.
- *Gisants* conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis. Arcades conserved at the Musée du Louvre, Paris, Musée nationale du Moyen Âge, Paris, and the Liebieghaus, Frankfurt.⁵⁹²
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 190, Plate 30; Biet and Brés, Plates 14-15; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du treizième siècle*.

3.15

-- Medallion of Clovis (c.466-c.511)

- Marble medallion, c.1800, not listed in the catalog.
- **Nicolas Xavier Willemin** (French, 1763-c.1839)
- MMF Location: Medallion is mounted under the capital of the west column.
- Reference: Biet and Brés, Plate 14.

North Wall of Thirteenth-Century Room

3.16

#30 Childebert (c. 496-558)

- Stone statue, 1239-1244 (catalog Year V-1816)
-

⁵⁹²Bresc-Bautier and Chancel-Bardelot, eds., *Un Musée Revolutionnaire*, 358.

- From the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près, Paris.
- MMF Location: North wall, east of #32 *Retable of Saint-Eustache*.
- Conserved the in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 208 and Plate 33; Biet and Brés, Plate 13-15; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du trièzième siècle*.

3.17

#32 **Retable of Saint-Eustache**

- Limestone panel, mid 13th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: North wall, center bay, between #30 *Childebert* and #62 *Béatrix de Bourbon*.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 208 and Plate 34; Biet and Brés, Plates 13-15; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du trièzième siècle*.

3.18

#62 **Béatrix de Bourbon (c.1320-1381)**

- Stone statue with alabaster face on octagonal column, late 14th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Couvent des Jacobins, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: North wall, west of #32 *Retable of Saint-Eustache*.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 88; Biet and Brés, Plate 14; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du trièzième siècle*.

West Wall of the Thirteenth-Century Room

3.19 **Unidentified Bas-Relief: Proposed Attributions**

#33 **The Life of Saint-Denis**

- *Stone bas-relief*, undated (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).

- MMF Location: North end of west wall. ⁵⁹³
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 209 and Plate 38; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 100.

#432 Bas-relief in Alabaster de Lagny

- Alabaster de Lagny, undated (catalog 1806-1816)
- MMF Location: North end of west wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 213 and Plate 38; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 100.

3.20

#34 Fleur-de-lys

- Stone bas-relief, c.13th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: Center of the southern bay of the west wall, beneath the unidentified female bust.
- Reference: Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du treizième siècle*; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 100.

3.21

#68/69 Large Blue Virgin

- Marble virgin, undated (possibly #68 or #69 in the catalog, Year V-1816)
- MMF Location: Center of east wall at the base of the vault.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 91; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du treizième siècle*.

3.22

⁵⁹³ In Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques*, *Salle du treizième siècle*, this bas-relief is identified as #432. In every image of the Thirteenth-Century Room, the view of this corner is obscured. What is visible relates more closely to #33 *The Life of Saint-Denis* in both Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques* and in *Bonaparte et Joséphine visitant la salle du XIIIe siècle au musée des Monuments français, sous la direction d'Alexandre Lenoir, le 27 décembre 1800*, Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 29453. Moreover, Lenoir illustrated both bas-reliefs in *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1 as a thirteenth-century monument, lending credibility to the likelihood that the objects were on display rather than in storage. M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs* recorded both objects on display in the Thirteenth-Century in 1805.

-- **Female Bust**

- Unidentified female bust, undated, not listed in the catalog.
- MMF Location: Center of the southern bay of the west wall, capped by an archetypically Gothic crown. One of two aligned unidentified busts of the Thirteenth-Century Room.
- Reference: Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du treizième siècle*.

South Wall of the Thirteenth-Century Room

3.23

-- **Entrances of the Thirteenth-Century Room**

- Two entrances, each framed by pointed arches with an inscription in Gothic lettering "État de l'art dans le XIII siècle."
- MMF Location: East and west end of the south wall.
- The door frames remain in their original location in the Thirteenth-Century Room, now Café *Héloïse* of the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts. The inscriptions have been removed.
- Reference: Biet and Brés, Plate 16, Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du treizième siècle*.

-- **Abélard (1079-1142) and Héloïse (c.1092-1164)**

- Stone bas-reliefs, after 1800, not listed in the catalog.
- Possibly executed by **Louis-Pierre Deseine** (French, 1749-1822)
- MMF Location: South wall, *Abélard* is over the west entrance and *Héloïse* is over the east entrance.
- *Abélard* remains in its location in the Thirteenth-Century Room, now Café *Héloïse* of the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts. *Héloïse* has been lost.
- Reference: Biet and Brés, Plate 16, Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du treizième siècle*.

3.24

#21 Jean de France (1247-1248)

- Copper covered with painted enamel, c.1250 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Commissioned by Louis IX (1214-1270)
- From the Abbaye Royaumont, near Asnières-sur-Oise, France.
- MMF Location: South wall, east of west entrance.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.

- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 190 and Plate 31; Vauzelle, *Vue de la salle du XIIIe siècle*, Department of Prints and Drawings, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.19.

3.25

#38 Marguerite d'Artois (c.1285-1311)

- Marble *gisant*, 14th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Couvent des Jacobins, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: *Gisant* is placed upright in the west corner of the south wall.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 60 and Plate 65; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du trizième siècle*.

3.26

#28 Marguerite de Provence (1221-1295)

- Stone *gisant*, actually of Jeanne de Bourbon (1338-1378), 1365-1380 (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: *Gisant* placed upright on the south wall, west of #27 *Louis and Philippe d'Alençon*.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 203 and Plate 32; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du trizième siècle*.

3.27

#27 Louis and Philippe d'Alençon, grandchildren of Louis IX (died c.1291)

- Stone funerary monument, late 13th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Abbaye Royaumont, near Asnières-sur-Oise, France.
- MMF Location: Center of south wall, between #28 *Marguerite de Provence* and #23 *Louis IX*
- Conserved at the Musée nationale du Moyen Âge, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 203 and Plate 32; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du trizième siècle*.

3.28

#23 Louis IX (1214-1270)

- Stone *gisant*, actually of Charles V (1338-1380), 1365-1380 (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: *Gisant* placed upright on the south wall, east of #27 *Louis and Philippe d'Alençon*.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 192 and Plate 31; Biet and Brés, Plate 16; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du treizième siècle*.

3.29

#169 Genealogy of the Virgin

- Wood bas-relief, c.14th century (catalog 1806-1816)
- MMF Location: South wall, west of east entrance.
- Possibly conserved at the at the Musée nationale de la Renaissance, Écouen.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1806, 14; Biet and Brés, Plate 16.

3.30

#26 Charles de France, King of Sicily (1227-1285)

- Marble *gisant*, c. 13th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From Couvent des Jacobins, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: *Gisant* is placed upright on the east end of the south wall.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 200 and Plates 32; Biet and Brés, Plate 16.

East Wall of the Thirteenth-Century Room

3.31 Unidentified Bas-Relief: Proposed Attribution⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹⁴ No clear image of the bas-relief in this corner exists, but Biet and Brés, *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français*, shows a sketchy illustration of a similarly sized bas-relief in this location. Furthermore, Lenoir illustrates *Scenes from the Martyrdom of Saint Hippolyte* in *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1 as a thirteenth-century monument, lending credibility to the likelihood that it was displayed in the Thirteenth-Century Room rather than kept in storage. However, unidentified bas-reliefs of similar styles were also used to decorate the Fourteenth-Century Room.

#35 Scenes from the Martyrdom of Saint Hippolyte

- Stone bas-relief, mid-13th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- Possible MMF Location: Center of the southern bay of the east wall, beneath the unidentified male bust.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 209 and Plate 34; Biet and Brés, Plate 16; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 100.

3.32

-- Female figure with book

- Statue in religious dress, undated, not listed in the catalog
- MMF Location: Center of west wall at the base of the vault.
- Reference: Biet and Brés, Plate 15.

3.33 Unidentified Male Bust: Proposed Attribution

#36 Guillaume de Rochefort, Chancellor of France (c. 1433-1492)

- Marble bust, undated (catalog Year V-1816).
- From the Couvent des Petits-Pères (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Center of the southern bay of the east wall, capped by an archetypically Gothic crown. One of two aligned unidentified busts of the Thirteenth-Century Room.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 210; Biet and Brés, Plate 16; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 100.

3.34

#429 Mosaic

- Mosaic panel, c.11th century (catalog 1806-1816)
- MMF Location: East wall, south of #20 *Sergent d'armes*.
- Initially conserved at the Musée nationale du Moyen Âge, Paris, now at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 210 and Plates 37; Biet and Brés, Plate 16.

3.35

#37 Processional Cross with three bas-reliefs representing the Nativity, Resurrection, and the Ascension of Christ

- Gilded copper cross and three alabaster bas-reliefs, c.14th century (catalog Year V-1816), with two other unidentified bas-reliefs.
- Cross attributed to **Raoul** (unspecified) by Lenoir.
- Cross and three associated bas-reliefs from the Grands-Carmes monastery, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: North end of east wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 210 and Plates 35 and 38; Biet and Brés, Plate 15.

3.36

#20 Sergent d'armes

- Two Stone murals, c.14th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Couvent Saint-Catherine-Val-des-Ecoliers, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: At least one mural is on the east wall, below #37 *Processional Cross*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 189 and Plates 28-29; Biet and Brés, Plate 15.

Corners

3.37 Unidentified Small Virgins: Proposed Attribution

#71 Three Small Virgins

- Stone virgins, undated (Year V-1806)
- From the Abbaye de Longchamp, Paris (demolished after 1792).
- MMF Location: Three small virgins, possibly from the Abbaye de Longchamp, are located in Northwest corner, southwest corner, and southeast corner of Thirteenth-Century Room. However, one virgin from the Abbaye de Longchamp is part of #431 *Queen Blanche* in the Introduction Hall.
- One virgin from the Abbaye de Longchamp is conserved at the Musée nationale du Moyen Âge, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 91; Biet and Brés, Plates 13-16; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du treizième siècle*.

3.38

#31 Virgin

- Limestone, undated (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près.
- MMF Location: Northeast corner.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 205 and Plate 33; Biet and Brés, Plate 15.

Ceiling of the Thirteenth-Century Room

3.39

-- Vaults of the Thirteenth-Century Room

- Existing vaults painted blue with gold stars, decorated with rosettes from the Abbaye Saint-Victor, Paris (now demolished) and hung with sepulchral lamps imitating the style of the time.
- Reference, Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 28.

Stained Glass Windows of the Thirteenth-Century Room

3.40

#1 Window 1

- Panel representing scenes from the lives of Louis IX and Queen Blanche.
- From the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près, Paris.
- MMF Location: "to the right," possibly west wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 33-34.

3.41

#1 Window 2

- Panel representing the life of Queen Blanche.
- From the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près, Paris.
- MMF Location: "center," possibly north wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 33-34.

3.42

#1 Window 3

- Panel representing religious scenes.
- From the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près, Paris.
- MMF Location: "to the left," possibly east wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 33-34.

A.4 FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ROOM

Center of the Fourteenth-Century Room

4.1

#60 Charles V (1338-1380) and Jeanne de Bourbon (1388-1377)

- Marble *gisant* of Charles V, 1372, marble *gisant* of Jeanne de Bourbon, mid-14th century, and architectural ensemble (catalog Year V - 1815, Jeanne de Bourbon 1810-1816)
- Charles V by **André Beaunevue** (Dutch, c.1334-c.1400), commissioned by Charles V.
- Charles V from the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis. Jeanne de Bourbon was initially represented by an unidentified *gisant*, which was replaced by the *gisant d'entrailles* of Jeanne de Bourbon from the Couvent des Célestins, Paris in 1810.⁵⁹⁵
- MMF Location: Center of the Fourteenth-Century Room.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. The *gisants* rest on a wooden base decorated with 16th-century bas-reliefs from the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, representing the apostles and the Passion of Christ. Four columns from the *jubé* of Cathédrale de Chartres, c.1240, until recently misidentified as from the Abbaye de Maubuisson, support a canopy from the late 14th century funerary monument of Marguerite de Flandre (c.1310-1382) from the abbey church of Saint-Denis, (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- *Gisants* and canopy conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis, columns conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 70 and Plate 70; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

South Wall of the Fourteenth-Century Room

4.2

⁵⁹⁵ Chancel-Bardelot, "Les salles du Musée des monuments français," 128-9.

-- Six Apostles

- Stone, 1243-1248, not listed in the catalog.
- From the Sainte-Chapelle. Of the original twelve, two were destroyed and ten were sent to the Musée des monuments français.
- MMF Location: Six apostles formed an open arcade with architectural debris from the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près, Paris, creating a visual screen between the Fourteenth-Century Room and the North Cloister. Four apostles remained in storage.
- After the closure of the museum, four apostles were sent to the Calvarie du Mont-Valérien, where they were damaged in 1841, four apostles were sent to Saint-Denis, one was sent to the Église de Créteil, and one remained on site. Now six originals and six replicas are conserved at the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, and the six damaged originals are conserved at the Musée nationale du Moyen Âge, Paris.
- Reference: Biet and Brés, Plates 17-18, 20 and 25; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

4.3

#430 Two tripartite bas-reliefs, representing the life of Christ and other biblical scenes

- Limestone bas-reliefs, undated (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Possibly from the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis) or the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris.
- MMF Location: South wall, on either side of the entrance, above the apostles.
- Reference: Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 210 and Plate 38; Biet and Brés, Plate 19; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle*. According to an inventory taken in 1816, the bas-reliefs were moved to Saint-Denis after the closure of the museum.⁵⁹⁶

4.4

-- Angels

- Bas-relief angels, undated, not in listed in the catalog.
- Location: South wall, either side of entrance arch.
- Reference: Biet and Brés, Plate 19; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle*.

4.5

⁵⁹⁶ AMMF, vol. 3, 199.

-- **Female statue**

- Unidentified female statue, undated, not listed in the catalog.
- MMF Location: Southeast corner of the Fourteenth-Century Room.
- Reference: Biet and Brés, Plate 18.

4.6 Unidentified Soldier: Proposed Attribution

#70 Soldier

- Statue in military dress, undated, (catalog 1803-1816)
- MMF Location: Southwest corner of the Fourteenth-Century Room.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, 145; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle*.

North, South, and East Walls of the Fourteenth-Century Room

4.7

#49 Throne

- Wood Throne with painting above, c.14th century (catalog 1806-1816)⁵⁹⁷
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: Center of north wall between rows of knights and *gisants*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1806, 5.

4.8

#430 West Composite Bas-relief

- Limestone bas-reliefs, undated (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Possibly from the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis) or the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris.
- MMF Location: West wall, above the row of knights.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. At the top of the composition is a trefoil tympanum. Below that is a bas-relief relief, "Scenes from the Passion." Below that is another bas-relief representing Twelve Apostles with the Holy Father at the center. At the lowest level of the composition

⁵⁹⁷ The subject of the painting changes depending on the source. In Biet and Brés, *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français*, the painting represents a religious scene. In Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques*, the painting represents Philippe le Bel. Lenoir claims the painting is of Pierre de Terreil (died 1524).

is a bas-relief representing hell. The wall behind the composed is decorated with fleur-de-lys.

- According to an inventory taken in 1816, the bas-reliefs were moved to Saint-Denis after the closure of the museum, and at least the Twelve Apostles is still conserved there. "Scenes from the Passion" is now conserved at the Musée nationale du Moyen Âge, Paris.⁵⁹⁸
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 210 and Plate 38; Biet and Brés, Plates 19; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle*.

4.9

#430 East Composite Bas-relief

- Limestone bas-reliefs, undated (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Possibly from the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis) or the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris.
- MMF Location: East wall, above the row of knights.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. At the top of the composition is a trefoil tympanum. Four bas-reliefs representing religious scenes are stacked below the trefoil tympanum. The wall behind the composed is decorated with fleur-de-lys.
- According to an inventory taken in 1816, the bas-reliefs were moved to Saint-Denis after the closure of the museum.⁵⁹⁹
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 210 and Plate 38; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-18.

4.10

#442 Saint Peter, Saint Paul, Saint John, and Saint Philip

- Limestone statues under canopies, early 15th century (catalog Year VIII-1810, still mentioned in 1816)
- Statues from the Chapelle de Picardie, canopies from the Église Saint-André-des-Arts, Paris (demolished in 1807)
- MMF Location: Two statues of the east wall and two statues on the west wall, on either side of the composite bas-relief.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. At the top is a bas-relief representing the Passion of Christ. Below that is an arcade framing small, unidentified statues. Below that alternates another bas-relief representing the Passion. At the lowest level is another arcade framing small statues.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 135; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-18; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle*.

⁵⁹⁸ AMMF, vol. 3, 199.

⁵⁹⁹ AMMF, vol. 3, 199.

Knights of the Fourteenth-Century Room

The north, east, and west walls of the Fourteenth-Century Room were lined with twenty knights placed upright in an arcade of trefoil arches from the abbey church of Saint-Denis, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis. Six knights were installed along both the east and west walls, and eight knights were placed along the north wall. The knights are *fabriques*. Lenoir commissioned twenty plaster bodies in period dress and combined them with a bust or face from a historical *gisant* or other monument. Many knights were doubly represented as full *gisants* elsewhere in the museum. The origin of the historical fragments used to construct the knights is in many cases unknown. The first name listed below, Philippe IV le Bel, is the first knight at the left of the entrance, moving clockwise around the room.

4.11

#39 Philippe IV le Bel (1268-1314)

- Also represented as a *gisant* in the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

4.12

#40 Louis X le Hutin (1289-1316)

- Also represented as a *gisant* in the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

4.13

#29 Robert, comte de Clermont (1256-1317)

- Possibly represented as a *gisant* of the Thirteenth-Century Room, though this *gisant* was later identified as Charles de France, comte de Valois (1270-1325).
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

4.14

#43 Louis de France, comte d'Évreux (1276-1319)

- Also represented as a *gisant* in the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

4.15

#45 Philippe V, le Long (c.1294-1322)

- Also represented as a *gisant* in the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

4.16

#54 Charles de France, comte de Valois (1270-1325)

- The actual *gisant* of Charles de France entered the museum misidentified as that of Robert comte de Clermont (1256-1317). A second unknown *gisant* was attributed to Charles de France, possibly on display in the Fourteenth-Century Room, the cloister, or the cloister garden.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

4.17

#90 Pierre de Bourbon, comte de la Marche (1311-1356)

- Bust fragment, undated (catalog 1806-1816)
- From the Couvent des Jacobins, Paris (now demolished)
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

4.18

#53 Jean II, le Bon (1319-1364)

- Also represented as a *gisant* in the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

4.19

#59 Bertrand du Guesclin, Constable of France (1320-1380)

- Also represented as a *gisant* in the cloister garden.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

4.20

#60 Charles V (1338-1380)

- *Gisant* in the center of the Fourteenth-Century Room
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

4.21

#437 Pierre d'Orgemont, Chancellor of France (1315-1389)

- Also represented as a *priant* in the Introduction Hall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

4.22

#65 Léon de Lusignan, King of Armenia (1342-1393)

- Possibly represented as a *gisant* in the cloister garden.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

4.23

#72 Bureau de la Rivière, chamberlain to the king (d.1400)

- Marble face fragment, undated (catalog An5-6 as part of #60, 1810-1816 #72)
- Possibly from the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- Face conserved at the Musée nationale du Moyen Âge, Paris, body destroyed in 1887.⁶⁰⁰
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

⁶⁰⁰Chancel-Bardelot, "Les salles du Musée des monuments français," 129.

4.24

#58 Louis de Sancerre, maréchal and Constable of France (1342-1402)

- Also represented as a *gisant* in the cloister garden.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

4.25

#79 Pierre de Navarre, comte de Mortain (1366-1412)

- Also represented as a *gisant* in the North Cloister.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

4.26

#67 Arnoul de Braque, knight (active 1340)

- Stone fragments, possible the alabaster bust of Nicolas de Braque, father of Arnoul de Braque, undated (catalog Year V-1616)
- From the Couvent des Pères de la Merci, Paris (now demolished)
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41, 90.

4.27

#47 Charles IV le Bel (1294-1328)

- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.
- Also represented as a *gisant* in the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister.

4.28

#48 Charles d'Évreux, comte d'Etampes (1305-1336)

- Marble *gisant*, early 14th century (catalog Year 5-1816)
- From the Église des Cordeliers, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Unspecified. *Gisant* listed in storage by the 1824 inventory, but was possibly on display in the Fourteenth-Century Room, the cloister, or the cloister garden.⁶⁰¹ Listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

⁶⁰¹ *AMMF*, vol. 3, 290.

- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

4.29

#46 Charles d'Alençon (1297-1346)

- Also represented as a *gisant* in the cloister garden.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

4.30

#52 Philippe VI de Valois (1293-1350)

- Also represented as a *gisant* in the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 40-41.

Gisants of the Fourteenth-Century Room and North Cloister

The list of nineteen *gisants* in the Fourteenth-Century Room and North Cloister is compiled from those *gisants* illustrated by Lenoir as part of the Fourteenth-Century Room in *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2 (1803) and were not listed elsewhere as being in another part of the museum or in storage. Except for #79 Pierre de Navarre and Catherine d'Alençon, the exact location of these monuments is unspecified. Sixteen of the nineteen *gisants* of the Fourteenth-Century Room listed below were installed at the bases of the knights along the walls of the room and beneath the windows of the North Cloister. There were three *gisants* along both the east and west walls, four along the north wall, and two along the south wall. Four more *gisants* were placed in the window bays of the North Cloister that connects the Fourteenth-Century Room and the Fifteenth-Century Room. Two of the North Cloister *gisants* are identified as #79 Pierre de Navarre and Catherine d'Alençon. The remaining three *gisants* of the original nineteen could have been placed in the Cloister Garden or the Élysée. The *gisant* of #42, petit roi Jean, being considerably

smaller than the monuments represented in the images of the Fourteenth-Century Room, could have been combined with a larger *gisant*.⁶⁰²

4.31

#39 Philippe IV, le Bel (1268-1314)

- Marble *gisant*, c.1327 (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: MMF location: Unspecified, recumbent *gisant* of the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister. Also represented as a knight. Listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 46 and Plate 65; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

4.32

#40 Louis X, le Hutin (1289-1316)

- Marble *gisant*, c.1327 (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: MMF location: Unspecified, recumbent *gisant* of the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister. Also represented as a knight. Listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 58, and Plate 65; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

4.33

#41 Le petit roi Jean (1316)

⁶⁰² Based on this information, these are the monuments most likely on display in the Fourteenth-Century Room and North Cloister. The *gisant* #64 *Blanche Capet* is not illustrated by Lenoir but is listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room by other sources. Additionally, other monuments listed as in storage in the inventories after 1816, such as #48 *Charles d'Évreux, comte d'Etampes* and #44 *Blanche de France*, and monuments whose location is unknown, such as #54 *Charles de France, comte de Valois*, may have also been part of this group.

- Marble *gisant*, early 14th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: MMF location: Unspecified, child-size recumbent *gisant* of the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister, may have been placed with a larger *gisant*. Listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*. Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 60 and Plate 65; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

4.34

#43 Louis de France, comte d'Évreux (1276-1319)

- Marble *gisant*, early 14th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Église des Cordeliers, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: MMF location: Unspecified, recumbent *gisant* of the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister. Also represented as a knight. Listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 60 and Plate 65; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

4.35

#44 Blanche de France (1253-1323)

- Marble *gisant*, early 14th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Église des Cordeliers, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: MMF location: Unspecified, recumbent *gisant* of the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister. Listed in the Thirteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 60 and Plate 71; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

4.36

#45 Philippe V, le Long (c.1294-1322)

- Marble *gisant*, c.1327 (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: MMF location: Unspecified, recumbent *gisant* of the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister. Also represented as a knight. Listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 61 and Plate 65; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

4.37

#47 Charles IV le Bel (1294-1328)

- Marble *gisant*, c.1327 (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: MMF location: Unspecified, recumbent *gisant* of the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister. Also represented as a knight.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 62 and Plate 66; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

4.38

#50 Guillaume de Chanac, bishop of Paris (died 1348)

- Marble *gisant*, mid-14th century (catalog An5-1816)
- From the Abbaye Saint-Victor, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: MMF location: Unspecified, recumbent *gisant* of the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister. Listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved initially at the Musée de Versailles, now in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 64 and Plate 67; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

4.39

#51 Jeanne de France, Queen of Navarre (1311-1349)

- Marble *gisant*, mid-14th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: MMF location: Unspecified, recumbent *gisant* of the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister. Listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 65 and Plate 67; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

4.40

#52 Philippe VI de Valois (1293-1350)

- Marble *gisant*, commissioned 1364 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **André Beaunevue** (Dutch, c.1334-c.1400), commissioned by Charles V (1338-1380)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: MMF location: Unspecified, recumbent *gisant* of the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister. Also represented as a knight. Listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 66 and Plate 67; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

4.41

#53 Jean II, le Bon (1319-1364)

- Marble *gisant*, commissioned 1364 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **André Beaunevue** (Dutch, c.1334-c.1400), commissioned by Charles V (1338-1380)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: MMF location: Unspecified, recumbent *gisant* of the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister. Also represented as a knight. Listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 70 and Plate 67; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

4.42

#54 Marie d'Espagne (died 1379)⁶⁰³

- Marble *gisant*, late 14th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Couvent des Jacobins, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, recumbent *gisant* of the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 74 and Plate 68; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

4.43

#55 Jeanne d'Évreux (c.1307-1371)

- Marble *gisant*, late 14th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: Unspecified, probably a recumbent *gisant* of the North Cloister. Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 74 and Plate 68; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

4.44

#56 Jean de Dormans, cardinal (died 1380)

- Stone and marble *gisant*, c.1382 (catalog an5-1816)
- From the chapel of the Collège de Beauvais.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, recumbent *gisant* of the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 75 and Plate 69; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

4.45

⁶⁰³ Marie d'Espagne was the spouse of Charles, comte de Alençon (1297-1346), but her *gisant* was number-paired by Lenoir with #54 *Charles de France, comte de Valois* (1270-1325).

#57 Blanche

- Marble *gisant*, actually Jeanne de France (c.1351-1371), c.1371 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Atelier of **Jean de Liège** (Flemish, 1330-1381)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: Unspecified, recumbent *gisant* of the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 75 and Plate 69; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

4.46

#61 Marguerite de Flandre (c.1310-1382)

- Marble *gisant*, late 14th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: Unspecified, recumbent *gisant* of the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister. Listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 88 and Plate 72; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

4.47

#64 Blanche Capet, duchesse d'Orléans (1328-1393)

- Marble *gisant*, c. 1390 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jean de Liège** (Flemish, 1330-1381) and **Robert Loisel** (French, active 1383-1408)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: Unspecified, recumbent *gisant* of the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister. Listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 88.

4.48

#66 Blanche de Navarre (1332-1398)

- Marble *gisant*, late 14th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- Atelier of **Jean de Liège** (Flemish, 1330-1381)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: Unspecified, recumbent *gisant* of the Fourteenth-Century Room or North Cloister. Listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 89 and Plate 72; Biet and Brés, Plates 17-20 and 25-26; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quatorzième siècle* and *Vue du cloître*.

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#79 Pierre de Navarre (1366-1412) and Catherine d'Alençon (before 1396-1462)

- MMF Location: See North Cloister, 10.5.
- Reference: Plate 76; Biet and Brés, Plates 26 and 28.

Ceiling of Fourteenth-Century Room

4.49

-- Vaults of the Fourteenth-Century Room

- Newly constructed vaults painted red and blue with gold accents. The Fourteenth-Century Room was constructed of architectural debris from the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris and the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- Reference, Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1816, 29.

Stained Glass of Fourteenth-Century Room

4.50

-- Window 1

- Panel representing subjects from the New Testament.
 - From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).⁶⁰⁴
 - MMF Location: "to the right," possibly east side of north wall.
 - Reference, Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1816, 34.
-

⁶⁰⁴ Chancel-Bardelot, "Les salles du Musée des monuments français," 128.

4.51

-- Window 2

- Six-part panel designed with *arabesques* and a griffin.
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: "center," possibly center of north wall.
- Reference, Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1816, 34.

4.52

-- Window 3

- Panel representing the Eternal Father and other religious subjects.
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).⁶⁰⁵
- MMF Location: "to the left," possibly west side of north wall.
- Reference, Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1816, 34.

A.5 FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ROOM

Center of the Fifteenth-Century Room

5.1

#94 Funerary monument of Louis XII (1462-1515) and Anne de Bretagne (1477-1514)

- Double-level marble funerary monument with models of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne in a state of death inside the funerary monument surrounded by twelve apostles, and *priants* of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne on top of the funerary monument, 1515-1531 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Juste de Juste** (Italian, c.1505-c.1599) and **Jean de Juste** (Italian, 1485-c.1579)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: Center of Fifteenth-Century Room. The *transis* of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne were models, the actual *transis* were displayed beside the funerary monument.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.

⁶⁰⁵ Chancel-Bardelot, "Les salles du Musée des monuments français," 128.

- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 144 and Plate 85; Biet and Brés, Plates 21-24; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*. Funerary monument architecture included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2.

5.2

#445 Transis of Louis XII (1462-1515) and Anne de Bretagne (1477-1514)

- Marble *transis*, 1515-1531, on base decorated with bas-reliefs representing battle scenes of Louis XII (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Juste de Juste** (Italian, c.1505-c.1599) and **Jean de Juste** (Italian, 1485-c.1579)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: Center of Fifteenth-Century Room, east of #94 *Funerary monument of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne*.
- Ensemble by Lenoir: *Transis* placed on a new base decorated with bas-reliefs representing battle scenes of Louis XII and two lions.
- *Transis* conserved in their original location inside the funerary monument at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 154 and Plate 86; Biet and Brés, Plates 23-24; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*.

#218 Lions

- Marble bas-reliefs 1502-1510 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Anonymous, attributed to the imaginary Renaissance sculptor Paul Ponce by Lenoir.
- From the Château de Gaillon.
- MMF Location: Decoration on the base of the *transis* of #445 *Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne*.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 154 and Plate 86; Biet and Brés, Plates 23-24; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*.

South Wall of the Fifteenth-Century Room

5.3

#77 Louis, duc d'Orléans (1372-1407)

- Marble *gisant*, 1504 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Commissioned by **Louis XII** (1462-1515)
- From the Couvent des Célestins (demolished in 1901)

- MMF Location: West end of south wall, serving as a screen between the Fifteenth-Century Room and the North Cloister.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 96 and Plate 77; Biet and Brés, Plate 27; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*.

5.4

#444 Bust of Charles VIII (1470-1498)

- Terracotta bust, 1799, on a marble column, early 16th century (1803-1816)
- **Louis-Pierre Deseine** (French, 1749-1822)⁶⁰⁶
- Column from the Château de Gaillon.
- MMF Location: MMF Location: South wall, between the west opening of the Fifteenth-Century Room and ##77 *Louis duc l'Orléans*.
- Conserved at the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 140 and Plate 84; Biet and Brés, Plate 23; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*.

5.5

#537 Jeanne d'Arc (1412-1431)

- Terracotta bust, c.1507-1510 on a base with a marble panel, c.1508-1510, restored 1802-1803 (catalog Year X-1816)
- Restored, feather, hat, and sword added by **Pierre-Nicolas Beauvallet** (French, 1750-1818), base panel from the atelier of **Jérôme Pacherot** (Italian, c.1463-after1540)⁶⁰⁷
- Bust and panel from the Château de Gaillon.
- MMF Location: South wall, centered between two openings of the Fifteenth-Century Room.
- Bust conserved at the Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans, panel conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 112 and Plate 77; Biet and Brés, Plates 23-24; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*.

5.6

#78 Valentine Visconti (1371-1408)

⁶⁰⁶ Chancel-Bardelot, "Les salles du Musée des monuments français," 130-1.

⁶⁰⁷ Chancel-Bardelot, "Les salles du Musée des monuments français," 130-1.

- Marble *gisant*, 1504 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Commissioned by Louis XII (1462-1515)
- From the Couvent des Célestins (demolished in 1901)
- MMF Location: East end of south wall, serving as a screen between the Fifteenth-Century Room and the North Cloister.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 96 and Plate 77; Biet and Brés, Plates 27; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*.

5.7

#443 Louis XI (1423-1483)

- Plaster bust, c.1800, on a marble column, early 16th century (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Bust by **Louis-Pierre Deseine** (French, 1749-1822) or **Pierre-Nicolas Beauvallet** (French, 1750-1818).⁶⁰⁸
- Column from the Château de Gaillon.
- MMF Location: South wall, between the east opening of the Fifteenth-Century Room and #78 *Valentine Visconti*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 136 and Plate 78; Biet and Brés, Plate 24; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*.

5.8

-- Corinthian Columns

- Eight Corinthian columns, c.1509, not listed in the catalog
- From the *jubé* of the Église Saint-Père in Chartres
- MMF Location: South wall, columns frame the openings between the Fifteenth-Century Room and the North Cloister.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 31; Biet and Brés, Plates 21, 23-24, and 27; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*.

5.9

-- Pentecost

- Stone bas-relief, mid-16th century.
 - From the Église de Sainte-Geneviève, Paris.
-

⁶⁰⁸ Chancel-Bardelot, "Les salles du Musée des monuments français," 130-1.

- MMF Location: South wall, bas-relief in east or west archivolt.
- Conserved at in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 31; Biet and Brés, Plate 24; Réville and Lavallée, Salle du quinzième siècle.

-- God the Father with Angels

- Stone bas-relief, undated.
- From the Cimetière des Innocents, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: South wall, bas-relief in far west archivolt.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 31; Biet and Brés, Plate 24; Réville and Lavallée, Salle du quinzième siècle.

East Wall of the Fifteenth-Century Room

5.10

#93 Commynes Family

- Painted wood priants of Philippe de Commynes (1447-1511) and Hélène de Chambes (died 1531), alabaster gisant of Jeanne de Commynes (died 1514), early 16th century, and architectural ensemble, including a stone bas-relief, Saint George and the Dragon, c.1509-10 (catalog Year V-1816)
- *Saint George and the Dragon* by **Michel Colombe** (French, c.1430-c.1515)
- *Priants* and *gisants* from the Couvent des Grand-Augustins, Paris (now demolished). *Saint George and the Dragon* was executed in Tours for the chapel of the Château de Gaillon.
- MMF Location: South end of east wall.
- Ensemble by Lenoir: The two *priants* face south, in a row with identical lion *prie-dieux*, placed on a high stone sarcophagus decorated with coats of armor. This rests on top of the large bas-relief, *Saint George and the Dragon*. At the base is the *gisant*.
- *Priants*, *gisant*, and *Saint George and the Dragon* conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 136 and Plate 83; Réville and Lavallée, Salle du quinzième siècle.

5.11

#446 Louis XII (1462-1515)

- Alabaster bust on marble panel, 1508-1510 (catalog Year VIII-1816)

- Head by **Pierre-Nicholas Beauvallet** (French, 1750-1818), torso by **Lorenzo da Mugiano** (Italian, died c.1516), panel from the atelier of **Jérôme Pacherot** (Italian, c.1463-after 1540)⁶⁰⁹
- Torso and panel from the Château de Gaillon.
- MMF Location: Center of east wall, between #95 *Renée d'Orléans-Longueville* and #93 *Commynes Family*.
- Bust initially conserved at the Musée du Versailles, now in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris. Head and panel also conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 154 and Plate 87; Biet and Brés, Plate 21.

5.12

#95 Renée d'Orléans-Longueville (1508-1515)

- Alabaster *gisant* and *enfeu*, architectural ensemble, early 16th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Couvent des Célestins (demolished 1901)
- MMF Location: North end of east wall.
- Ensemble by Lenoir: The *gisant* is placed at the base of one panel of its original *enfeu*, which is decorated with small statues of Saints Catherine, Barbe, Geneviève, and Agnès. The original *enfeu* is framed with architectural fragments from the Château de Gaillon. At the top are figure identified as "martyrs" by Lenoir.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 155 and Plate 88; Biet and Brés, Plate 21 and 24; Réville and Lavallée, Salle du quinzième siècle.

North Wall of the Fifteenth-Century Room

5.13

#89 Guillaume du Chastel, *Panatier* of Charles VII (died 1441)

- Limestone and marble *gisant*, c.15th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: East end of north wall.⁶¹⁰
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.

⁶⁰⁹ Chancel-Bardelot, "Les salles du Musée des monuments français," 130-1.

⁶¹⁰ In an inventory taken in 1824, the *gisant* of Guillaume de Tanneguy is listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room. *AMMF*, vol. 3, 293.

- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 125 and Plate 80; Biet and Brés, Plate 24; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*. Included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2.

5.14

#85 Charles VII (1403-1461)

- Marble bust, c.1493, on column, 1500-1510 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Bust the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis) column from the chapel of the Château de Gaillon.
- MMF Location: North wall, between #83 *Anne de Bourgogne* and #84 *Isabeau de Bavière*.
- Bust conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis, column conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 120 and Plate 78; Biet and Brés, Plate 24; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*.

5.15

#81 Charles VI (1368-1422)

- Marble *gisant*, 1429 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Pierre de Thoiry** (French, active 15th century), commission of Isabeau de Bavière (1371-1435).
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: North wall, between #156 *Mosaic of the Virgin* and #85 *Charles VII*.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 107 and Plate 76; Biet and Brés, Plates 22 and 24; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*.

5.16

#156 Mosaic of the Virgin

- Mosaic, c.1500 (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Église Saint-Mérri, Paris, executed in Florence.
- MMF Location: Center of north wall
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 131; Biet and Brés, Plate 22; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*.

5.17

#84 Isabeau de Bavière (1371-1435)

- Marble *gisant*, 1429 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Pierre de Thoiry** (French, active 15th century), commission of Isabeau de Bavière.
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: North wall, between #156 *Mosaic of the Virgin* and #87 *Marie d'Anjou*.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 110 and Plate 76; Biet and Brés, Plates 22 and 24; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*.

5.18

#87 Marie d'Anjou (1404-1463)

- Marble bust, c.1493, on column, 1500-1510 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Bust the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis) column from the chapel of the Château de Gaillon.
- MMF Location: North wall, between #83 *Anne de Bourgogne* and #84 *Isabeau de Bavière*.
- Bust conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis, column conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 102 and Plate 78; Biet and Brés, Plate 22; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*.

5.19

#83 Jeanne de Bourgogne, duchesse of Bedford

- Marble *gisant*, actually of Anne de Bourgogne (1404-1432), 15th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Couvent des Célestins, Paris (demolished in 1901)
- MMF Location: East end of north wall.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 109 and Plate 76; Biet and Brés, Plate 22; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*.

West Wall of the Fifteenth-Century Room

5.20

#80 Philippe d'Orléans (1396-1420) and Charles d'Orléans (1394-1465)

- Marble *gisant*, 1504, and architectural ensemble, including the alabaster bas-relief, *Dormition of the Virgin*, c.1520 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Commissioned by Louis XII (1462-1515)
- *Gisants* from the Couvent des Célestins (demolished in 1901), *Dormition of the Virgin* from the Église Saint-Jacques de la Boucherie, Paris (demolished in 1797)
- MMF Location: East end of south wall, serving as a screen between the Fifteenth-Century Room and the North Cloister.
- Ensemble by Lenoir: *Gisants* are placed in the center of a semi-circular niche, painted blue with stars, at the center of the west wall. Above the *gisants* is *Dormition of the Virgin*. #94 *Two Virtues* and #441 *Two Monumental Columns* are placed on the north and south ends of the semi-circular niche on the west wall.
- *Gisants* conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis. *Dormition of the Virgin* is conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 104 and Plate 77; Biet and Brés, Plates 22-23.

#94 Two Virtues

- Two of four marble virtues from the funerary monument of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne, 1515-1531 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Juste de Juste** (Italian, c.1505-c.1599) and **Jean de Juste** (Italian, 1485-c.1579)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: North and south ends of the semi-circular niche on west wall.
- Four virtues conserved as part of funerary monument of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne in the the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 144 and Plate 85; Biet and Brés, Plates 22-23.

#441 Two Corinthian Columns with statues of Francis of Paola (1416-1507) and an apostle

- Monumental alabaster columns crowned with limestone statues, undated (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- From the Église Saint-Père in Chartres
- MMF Location: North and south ends of the semi-circular niche on west wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 134 and Plate 82; Biet and Brés, Plates 22-23.

5.21

#74 Unidentified bust, possibly Charles Quint, Holy Roman Emperor (1500-1558)

- Stone bust, c.16th century (catalog 1810-1816)

- Attributed to **Jean Cousin** (French, unspecified) by Lenoir.
- Bust purchased by Lenoir from M. Balleaux.
- MMF Location: South end of west wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée impérial*, 1810, xx; Biet and Brés, Plate 23; AGHORA.inha.fr. The monument to Charles Quint is listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

5.22

-- Unidentified Bust

- Bust, undated.
- MMF Location: North corner of west wall.
- Reference: Biet and Brés, Plate 22.

Stained Glass Windows of the Fifteenth-Century Room

5.23

#16 Window 1

- Panels representing the return of the prodigal and Christ carrying the cross.
- From the Couvent des Célestins (demolished 1901)
- MMF Location: "to the right," possibly west end of north wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 34-36.

5.24

-- Window 2

- Panels representing Saint Charles Borromée and Saint Jacques.⁶¹¹
- MMF Location: possibly center-west position on north wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée impérial*, 1810, 298.

5.25

#18 Window 3 (upper portion)

⁶¹¹ Before 1806, descriptions included instead #17, a panel representing Noah's Arc from the Couvent des Célestins or the Couvent des Bonshommes de Passy.

- Panel representing the Annunciation.
- From the Couvent des Célestins or the Église Saint-Leu-Saint-Gilles, Paris.⁶¹²
- MMF Location: Possibly center-east position on north wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 34-36.

5.26

#2 Window 3 (lower portion)

- Two panels representing Jean II, le Bon and Charles V.
- From the Couvent des Célestins (demolished 1901)
- MMF Location: possibly east end of north wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 34-36.

5.27

#3 Window 4

- Panels representing the marriage of the Virgin and Louis IX on this throne.
- From the Couvent des Bonshommes de Passy (now demolished)
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 34-36.

5.28

-- Upper Windows

- Clear glass framed by symmetrically decorated pilasters with fragments from the Château de Gaillon.

5.29

Wall and Ceiling Decoration of the Fifteenth-Century Room

- Walls and ceiling are painted blue with accents of violet and gold and fitted with *arabesques* and architectural decoration from the Château de Gaillon.

⁶¹² Chancel-Bardelot, "Les salles du Musée des monuments français," 130.

A.6 SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ROOM

Center of the Sixteenth-Century Room

6.1

#448 Transi of François I (1494-1547)

- Marble *transi*, 1548-1558 (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Funerary monument by **Philibert de l'Orme** (French, c.1510-1570), **Pierre Bontemps** (French c.1505-1568), and **François Marchand** (French, c.1500-c.1553), commissioned by Henri II, (1519-1559)
- From the funerary monument of François I and Claude de France at the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: Center of Sixteenth-Century Room, north of #539 *Monument du coeur for François I*.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. The *transi* was placed on bas-reliefs representing the battles of Marignan and Cérisoles by **Pierre Bontemps** (French c.1505-1568) from the original funerary monument of François I and Claude de France in the Introduction Hall. The original funerary monument contained models of *transis*.
- Conserved in the funerary monument of François I and Claude de France at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 73 and Plate 103; Biet and Brés, Plate 30-31; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du seizième siècle*. Bas-relief of the Battle of Cérisoles Included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3.

6.2

#539 Monument du coeur for François I (1494-1547)

- Marble, after 1556 (catalog Year X-1816)
- **Pierre Bontemps** (French c.1505-1568), commissioned by Henri II (1519-1559)
- From the Abbaye de Hautes-Bruyères in Saint-Rémy-l'Honoré, France.
- MMF Location: Center of Sixteenth-Century Room, south of #448 *François I*.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 74 and Plate 104; Biet and Brés, Plate 32; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du seizième siècle*.

East Wall

6.3

#98 **Admiral Chabot (1480-1543)**

- Alabaster *demi-couchée* with a prostate figure of Fortune, 1565, and architectural ensemble (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Jean Cousin the Elder** (French, c.1500-c.1560)⁶¹³
- From the Couvent des Célestins (demolished 1901)
- MMF Location: South end of east wall.
- Ensemble by Lenoir: The *demi-couchée* and its sarcophagus are raised on a platform supported by four Ionic columns. The figure representing Fortune is placed between the columns on a base decorated with #141 *Saint-Paul and Saint Melchisédec*.
- The *demi-couchée* and Fortune conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 53 and Plate 100; Biet and Brés, Plate 31. Included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3.

#141 **Saint-Paul and Saint Melchisédec**

- Alabaster bas-relief, c. 1582 (catalog Year V)
- **Germain Pilon** (French, c. 1525-1590)
- From Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, Paris.
- MMF Location: Bas-relief decorates the base of holding the Fortune of #98 *Admiral Chabot*.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 53 and Plate 100; Biet and Brés, Plate 31.

#133 **Christ carrying the Cross**

- Stone bas-relief, mid-16th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Église de Sainte-Geneviève, Paris.
- MMF Location: Above #98 *Admiral Chabot*.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 125 (as #134); AGHORA.inha.fr.

6.4

-- **Entrance of the Sixteenth-Century Room**

- **Antoine-Marie Peyre** (French, 1770-1843)
-

⁶¹³ The nineteenth-century attribution to Jean Cousin the Elder is complicated Cousin's death in c.1560, yet the funerary monument was not completed until 1565.

- Entrance is framed with Corinthian marble columns and a classical pediment.
- MMF Location: Center of east wall.

#223 Bas-reliefs representing scenes from the New Testament

- Copper bas-reliefs, c.1550 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Quermessel** (unspecified) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Decorating base of columns framing entrance.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 45-6; Biet and Brés, Plate 31; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du seizième siècle*.

#145 François I (1494-1547)

- Bronze bust, 1756 (French, catalog Year V-1816)
- **Louis-Claude Vassé** (1716-1772)⁶¹⁴
- Initially at the Château de Fontainebleau, then the Salle des Antiques of the Louvre.
- MMF Location: Bust placed at top of entrance pediment.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 45-6; Biet and Brés, Plate 31; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du seizième siècle*; Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156-169; AGHORA.inha.fr. #145 *François I* is listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

#130 Génies

- Two bronze figures, c.1585 (Catalog Year V-1816)
- **Barthélemy Prieur** (French, 1536-1611).
- From the funerary monument of Christophe de Thou (1508-1582), c. 1585, Église-Saint-André-des-Arts, Paris (demolished in 1807)
- MMF Location: *Génies* placed on top of the entrance pediment on either side of #145 *François I*.
- Conserved with the funerary monument of the de Thou family, Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 45-6; Biet and Brés, Plate 31; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du seizième siècle*.

#455 Four Medallions

- Glazed terracotta, 16th century (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Attributed to **Bernard Palissy** (French, 1509-1590)

⁶¹⁴ Incorrectly attributed the bust to Jean Cousin (French, unspecified) by Lenoir

- From Saint-Germain-en-Laye.⁶¹⁵
- MMF Location: East wall, two medallions on either side of the entrance.
- Conserved at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 123 and Plates 118-120; Biet and Brés, Plate 31; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du seizième siècle*. #455 *Four Medallions* are listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

6.5

#115 Claude-Catherine de Clermont-Tonnerre

- Marble *priant*, actually of Charlotte Catherine de la Trémoille (1568-1629), after 1629, with two *génies*, sarcophagus, and architectural ensemble (catalog Year V-1816)
- *Priant* by **Simon Guillain** (French, 1581-1658)
- *Priant* from the Église des religieuses de Sainte-Claire-de-l'Ave-Maria, Paris (now demolished), columns from the Église Saint-Landry, Paris (demolished 1829)
- MMF Location: North end of east wall.
- Ensemble by Lenoir: The *priant*, two *génies*, and the sarcophagus are raised on a platform supported by four Ionic columns. Between the columns is #335 *Christ in the Garden of Olives*, above an alabaster lion from the #94 *Admiral Chabot*. The lion rests on a base decorated with bronze medallions of Cosimo de Medici (1537-1569), Ferdinand de Medici (1549-1609), Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), and an allegorical figure.
- *Priant* initially conserved at the Musée de Versailles, now in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris. The lion is conserved with the funerary monument of Admiral Chabot in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre. Columns conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 128 and Plate 139; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du seizième siècle*; AGHORA.inha.fr.

#335 Christ in the Garden of Olives

- Marble bas relief, c.1582 (catalog Year VI-1816)
- **Germain Pilon** (French, c.1525-1590)
- From Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, Paris.
- MMF Location: Between the four columns and beneath the platform carrying the *priant*.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 128 and Plate 139; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du seizième siècle*.

⁶¹⁵ Marie-Pierre Salé, "Les albums Lenoir: Archives en images du musée des monuments français," in *Un musée révolutionnaire*, eds. Bresc-Bautier and de Chancel-Bardelot, 254.

#133 Virgin of piety with Philippe le Bel

- Stone bas-relief, mid-16th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- Called *Christ au tombeau* by Lenoir
- From the Église de Sainte-Geneviève, Paris.
- MMF Location: Above #115 *priant*.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 125; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du seizième siècle*; AGHORA.inha.fr.

North Wall

6.6

#170 Charlotte Catherine de la Trémoille (1568-1629)

Marble *priant*, actually of Jeanne de Vivonne, (1515-1583), after 1583 (catalog Year V-1816)
Priant from the Église des religieuses de Sainte-Claire-de-l'Ave-Maria, Paris (now demolished)
MMF Location: East end of north wall.

Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 58; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du seizième siècle*. #170 *Charlotte Catherine de la Trémoille* is listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

6.7

#112 Monumental Column to Cardinal Charles de Bourbon (died 1590)

- Marble column, late 16th century, bronze vase, late 16th century, and sculptural ensemble with limestone bas-relief, c. 1544, and bronze statues c.1571-8 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Bas-relief by **Jean Goujon** (French, c.1510- c.1565), bronze statues by **Barthélemy Prieur** (French, 1536-1611).
- The column is from the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis), the vase is from the funerary monument of the de Thou family, at the Église-Saint-André-des-Arts, Paris (demolished in 1807), the bas-relief is from the Église Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris, and the bronze figures are from the monument du coeur for Anne de Montmorency (1493-1567) from the Couvent des Célestins, Paris (demolished in 1901)
- MMF Location: Center of north wall.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. The column and two bronzes, representing *Peace* and *Abundance*, rest on a pedestal decorated with the bas-relief, *The Deposition of Christ*. The bronze vase rests at the top of the column.

- The column is conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis, the vase is conserved on top of the monument du coeur for Henri III (1551-1589), the bas-relief and the bronze figures are conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 135; Plate 124; Biet and Brés, Plate 30; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du seizième siècle*; AGHORA.inha.fr.

6.8

#97 Albert-Pie de Savoie, comte de Capri (died 1531)

- Bronze *demi-couchée*, late 16th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Église des Cordeliers, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: West end of north wall.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 52 and Plate 99; Biet and Brés, Plate 30; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du seizième siècle*.

West Wall

6.9

#458 Transis of Henri II (1519-1559) and Catherine de Medici (1319-1589)

- Marble *transis*, 1573 (catalog Year VI-1816)
- **Germain Pilon** (French, c.1525-1590)
- From the funerary monument of Henri II and Catherine de Medici at the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: Catherine de Medici is at the south end of the west wall and Henri II is at north end of the west wall.
- Conserved in the funerary monument of Henri II and Catherine de Medici at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 86 and Plate 111-112 (under #102); Biet and Brés, Plate 30-31; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du seizième siècle*. The model for the female *transi* is listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

6.10

#113 Henri IV (1553-1610)

- Marble statue, c.1605, sculptural ensemble with a marble bas-relief, c.1597-1600 (catalog Year V-1816)

- Statue by **Pierre de Francqueville** (Flemish, 1548-1615), bas-relief by **Matthieu Jacquet** (French, c. 1545-after 1611)⁶¹⁶
- Bas-relief from the Château de Fontainebleau.
- MMF Location: West wall, between #258 *Henri II* and #121 *David*.
- Ensemble by Lenoir: Statue is mounted on a pedestal with a marble bas-relief representing the Battle of Ivry.
- Statue conserved at the Musée nationales du château de Pau, bas-relief conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
-
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 136 and Plate 126; Biet and Brés, Plate 30; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du seizième siècle*.

6.11

#121 David

- Marble statue, c.1580, and sculptural ensemble with stone bas-relief and two double caryatids, c.1588 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Statue by **Pierre de Francqueville** (Flemish, 1548-1615), bas-relief and double caryatids by Germain Pilon (c.1525-1590)⁶¹⁷
- Statue from the royal collection, displayed in the Salle des Antiques, Louvre from 1692-1722, bas-relief and double caryatids from Couvent des Grand-Augustins, Paris (now demolished).
- MMF Location: West wall, between #113 *Henri IV* and #258 *Catherine de Medici*.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. Statue is mounted on a base decorated with the bas-relief, *Saint Paul preaching to Athens* and two groups of double caryatids.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 141 and Plate 154; Biet and Brés, Plate 30; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du seizième siècle*.

6.12

#142 Peace and Abundance

- Marble bas-relief (catalog 1806-1816)
- Attributed to **Barthélemy Prieur** (French, 1536-1611) by Lenoir
- MMF Location: West wall, possibly between, beside, or behind #121 *David* and #113 *Henri IV*.

⁶¹⁶ Bas-relief incorrectly attributed to Pierre de Francqueville (Flemish, 1548-1615) by Lenoir.

⁶¹⁷ Bresc-Bautier, "La mise en scène des personnalités historiques," 144.

- Reference: Lenoir, *Description Historique*, 1806, 12; Biet and Brés, Plate 31; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du seizième siècle*.

South Wall

6.13

#253 Monument to Jean Cousin the Elder, painter and sculptor (c.1500-c.1560)

- Sculptural ensemble, c.1800, including two alabaster *génies*, c. 1565 (catalog Year X-1816)
- *Génies* attributed to **Jean Cousin the Elder** (French c.1500-c.1560)
- *Génies* from the funerary monument of Admiral Chabot (1480-1543) in the Couvent des Célestins (demolished 1901)
- MMF Location: West end of south wall.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. *Génies* flank an inscription "À la mémoire de Jean Cousin, peintre et sculpteur, fondateur de l'école Française, mort en 1550."
- *Génies* conserved with the funerary monument of Admiral Chabot (1480-1543) in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 100 and Plate 117; Biet and Brés, Plate 32.

6.14

#107 Monument to Jean Goujon, sculptor (c.1510- c.1565)

- Sculptural ensemble c.1797, with a bust, c.1797, two nymphs, 16th century, and a stone bas-relief, c.1547-9. (catalog Year V-1816)
- Bas-relief and nymphs by **Jean Goujon** (French, c.1510- c.1565), bust by **Claude Michallon** (French, 1751-1799).
- Bas-relief from the Fontaine des Innocents, Paris, two nymphs are models executed for the Louvre.
- MMF Location: Center of south wall.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. Two nymphs representing Victory and Peace, flank a bust of Jean Goujon created for the monument and the inscription, "À la mémoire de Jean Goujon qui périt le 24 août 1572." This is placed above the large stone bas-relief. The ensemble is raised on four small columns and capped with a decorative pediment.
- Bas-relief conserved at the Musée du Louvre.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 97 and Plate 116; Biet and Brés, Plate 32. Bas-relief included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3. The nymphs from the Fontaine des Innocents are listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

6.15

#454 Monument to Germain Pilon, sculptor (c.1525-1590)

- Sculptural ensemble, c.1798, with bronze bas-relief, late 16th century and marble figures, c.1585 (catalog Year VI-1816)
- Bas-relief by **Germain Pilon** (c.1525-1590), figures by **Barthélemy Prieur** (French, 1536-1611)
- Bas-relief probably from the funerary monument of Cardinal René Birague (1506-1583) at the Couvent Saint-Catherine-Val-des-Ecoliers, Paris, and transferred in 1767 to the Église Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis, Paris. Marble figures from the funerary monument of the de Thou family, at the Église-Saint-André-des-Arts, Paris (demolished in 1807)
- MMF Location: East end of south wall, above #100 *Charles de Maigny*.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. The two allegorical figures, representing Prudence and Sculpture, flank and inscription, "À la mémoire de Germain Pilon, sculpteur de l'école Française, mort en 1590." Below that, two antique vases flank the bronze bas-relief, *The Deposition of Christ*.
- Bas-relief and marble figures now conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 100 and Plate 117; Biet and Brés, Plate 32.

6.16

#100 Charles de Maigny (died 1556)

- Stone, after 1557 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Pierre Bontemps** (French, c. 1505-1568)⁶¹⁸
- From the Couvent des Célestins, Paris (demolished in 1901)
- MMF Location: East end of south wall, below #454 *Monument to Germain Pilon*.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 84 and Plate 105; Biet and Brés, Plate 32.

6.17

-- Inscription

- Unidentified inscription
- MMF Location: West end of south wall, above ##253 *Monument to Jean Cousin the Elder*

⁶¹⁸ Incorrectly attributed to the imaginary Renaissance sculptor Paul Ponce by Lenoir.

Sixteenth-Century Busts

Lenoir provided a list of the Sixteenth-Century busts displayed in *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4 (1805). The exact location of most of these busts is not specified. The unspecified busts were likely located in the Sixteenth-Century Room, the West Cloister outside of the Sixteenth-Century Room, the Introduction Hall, the Cloister Garden, or the Élysée.

6.18

#548 Charles IX (1550-1574)

- Alabaster bust, 16th century, catalog Year X-1816)
- **Germain Pilon** (French, c.1525-1590)
- MMF Location: South wall of Sixteenth-Century Room, west of #107 *Jean Goujon*.
- Conserved at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156-169; AGHORA.inha.fr.

6.19

#549 Henri III (1551-1589)

- Alabaster bust, 16th century, catalog Year X-1816)
- **Germain Pilon** (French, c. 1525-1590)
- MMF Location: South wall of Sixteenth-Century Room, east of #107 *Jean Goujon*.
- Conserved at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156-169; AGHORA.inha.fr.

6.20

#562 Martin Fréminet, painter (1567-1617)

- Bronze Bust (catalog 1806-1816)
- **Barthélemy Tremblay** (French, 1568-1629)
- From the Abbaye de Barbeau, Seine-et-Marne, France (now demolished)

- MMF Location: Possibly east wall, south of entrance.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Not part of Lenoir's List of Sixteenth-Century Busts.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1806, 183; Biet and Brés, Plate 32, Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du seizième siècle*.

Sixteenth-Century Busts, unspecified location.

6.21

#149 Jean-Baptiste Gondi, historian (died c. 1580)

- Bronze bust, late 16th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Barthélemy Prieur** (French, 1536-1611) by Lenoir.
- From the Couvent des Grand-Augustins, Paris (now demolished).
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Sixteenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Sixteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156-169.

6.22

#151 Bon Broué (died 1588)

- Terracotta bust (catalog Year V)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Sixteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156-169.

6.23

#152 François de Montholon, Garde des sceaux de France (died c.1590-?)

- Bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Sixteenth-Century Bust. MMF Location: Unspecified, Sixteenth-Century Room. Listed in the Sixteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156-169.

6.24

#153 Thomas Elbene Briçonnet, Secretary to the king (died c.1593)

- Bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Sixteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156-169.

6.25

#154 Nicholas Brulart, statesman (1544-1624) and Claude Prudhomme

- Bust (catalog Year V-1803)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Sixteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156-169.

6.26

#155 Olivier de Lefèvre d'Ormesson (died 1590-?)

- Bronze bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Couvent des Bonshommes de Passy (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Sixteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156-169.

6.27

#462/3 Michel de Montaigne, philosopher (1533-1592)

- Two busts (catalog Year VIII-1806)
- One bust attributed to **Leitier** (unspecified) by Lenoir, the other to **Louis-Pierre Deseine** (French, 1749-1822)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Sixteenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Sixteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156-169.

6.28

#464 Dominique Sarrède de Vic, vicomte d'Ermenonville, Military leader (active 1590)

- Marble bust (catalog Year VI-1816)
- **Guillaume Dupré** (French, c.1574-1642)
- From the Église d'Ermenonville.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Sixteenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved in the Department of Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156-169.

6.29

#547 Henri II (1519-1559)

- Alabaster bust, 16th century, catalog Year X-1816)
- **Germain Pilon** (French, c. 1525-1590)
- MMF Location: Possibly Introduction Hall, unspecified location. Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156-169; AGHORA.inha.fr.

Sixteenth-Century Busts outside of the Sixteenth-Century Room

#148 Guillaume Froelich, Colonel-General of the Swiss Guard (c.1492-1562)

- MMF Location: See Introduction Hall, 2.36.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156-169.

#150 Christophe de Thou, parlementaire (1508-1582)

- MMF Location: See Introduction Hall, 2.23.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156-169.

#270 Pomponne de Bellièvre (1529-1607) and Nicolas de Bellièvre (1583-1650)

- MMF Location: For Pomponne de Bellièvre, see Élysée, 11.17.⁶¹⁹
- Also found on the List of Seventeenth-Century Busts.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156-169.

#547 **Henri II (1519-1559)**

- Germain Pilon (French, c. 1525-1590)
- MMF Location: See Introduction Hall, 2.45.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 156-169.

Stained Glass: Sixteenth-Century Room

6.30

#4 **Window 1**

- Panel representing the Apocalypse.
- Attributed to **Jean Cousin the Elder** (French, c.1500-c.1560) by Lenoir.
- From the Château de Vincennes.
- MMF Location: North wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 36.

6.31

#4 **Window 2**

- Panel representing the Apocalypse.
- Attributed to **Jean Cousin the Elder** (French, c.1500-c.1560) by Lenoir.
- From the Château de Vincennes.
- MMF Location: North wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 36.

6.32

#5 **Window 3**

⁶¹⁹ Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques*, list this bust as also being in the Introduction Hall.

François I, kneeling.

- Attributed to **Nicolas Beaurain** (unspecified) after **Jean Cousin the Elder** (French, c.1500-c.1560)
- From the Château de Vincennes.
- MMF Location: North end of west wall.
- Initially returned to the Château de Vincennes, then conserved at the Musée de Cluny, now conserved at the Musée nationale de la Renaissance, Écouen.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 36; AGHORA.inha.fr.

6.33

#7 Window 4

- Panel representing Christ with the crown of thorns.
- Design attributed to **Albrecht Dürer** (German, 1471-1528) by Lenoir.
- From the Église du Temple, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Center of west wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 36.

6.34

#6 Window 5

- *The Nativity* and *The Circumcision*
- After **Francesco Primaticcio** (Italian 1504-1570)⁶²⁰
- From the priory church of the Château d'Écouen.
- MMF Location: South end of West wall.
- Conserved at the Musée Condé, Chantilly.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 36-7; AGHORA.inha.fr.

Ceiling of the Sixteenth-Century Room

6.35

- Ceiling decorated with arabesques and salamanders, the emblem of François I.

⁶²⁰ Incorrectly attributed to Bernard Palissy (French, 1509-1590) by Lenoir.

Additional Monuments listed in the Sixteenth-Century Room in 1805

6.36

#101 Andre Blondel de Rocquencourt, controller general of finances (d. 1558)

- Bronze tomb plate, 1558-1560 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jean Goujon** (French, c.1510-c.1565) ⁶²¹
- From the Couvent des Filles-Repenties, Paris.
- Listed in the Sixteenth-Century Room in 1805.
- Conserved in the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 85; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiositiés de Paris et de ses environs*, 105.

6.37

144 Christ au tombeau

- Stone bas-relief, c.1609 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Daniel de Volterra** (Italian, 1509-1566) by Lenoir.
- From the Église Saint-Eustache, Paris.
- Listed in the Sixteenth-Century Room in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 155 and Plate 156; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiositiés de Paris et de ses environs*, 105.

6.38

#160 Guy Du Four, seigneur de Pibrac (1529-1584)

- Cenotaph, c. 16th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- Listed in the Sixteenth-Century Room in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 181; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiositiés de Paris et de ses environs*, 108.

6.39

⁶²¹ Incorrectly attributed to the imaginary Renaissance sculptor Paul Ponce by Lenoir.

#460 Entrance of Louis XII into Milan

- Pair of bas-reliefs c. 16th century (catalog Year VI-1816) ⁶²²
- Listed in the Sixteenth-Century Room in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1802, 223; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 108.

A.7 SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ROOM

Center

7.1

#171 Raymond Phélypeaux, Secretary of State (1560-1629)

- Marble *priant*, 17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Église des Feuillants, Paris. (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Center of Seventeenth-Century Room, north of #212 *Louis XIV*. Listed in the Entry Court in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 59; Biet and Brés, Plate 34; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1.

7.2

#212 Louis XIV on Horseback (1638-1715)

- Bronze, c.1692 (catalog 5-1816)
- **François Girardon** (French, 1628-1715)
- Reduced version of the statue for the Place Vendôme, Paris
- MMF Location: Center of Seventeenth-Century Room, between #171 *Raymond Phélypeaux* and #167 *Cardinal Pierre de Bérulle*
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 150; Biet and Brés, Plate 35.

7.3

⁶²² Incorrectly attributed to the imaginary Renaissance sculptor Paul Ponce by Lenoir.

#167 Cardinal Pierre de Bérulle (1575-1629)

- Marble *priant* on pedestal representing the sacrifice of Noé and the mass of Saint Philippe, 1653-57 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jacques Sarrazin** (French, 1588-1660)
- From the Grands-Carmes monastery, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Center of Seventeenth-Century Room, south of #212 *Louis XIV*
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 57; Biet and Brés, Plate 33-34; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1.

North Wall

7.4

#199 Henriette Selincart (died 1680)

- Oil painting on black marble, c.1680 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Charles Le Brun** (French, 1619-1690)
- From the Église Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris.
- MMF Location: West end of north wall.
- Conserved at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Reims, France.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 99; Biet and Brés, Plate 34; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1.

7.5

#232 Michel Le Tellier, Chancellor of France (1603-1685)

- Black and white marble, (catalog Year V-1806, #285 in 1816)
- **Pierre Mazeline** (French, 1632-1708) and **Simon Hurtrelle** (French, 1648-1724)
- From the Église Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, Paris.
- MMF Location: Center of north wall.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. Two marble bearded heads from 17th-century funerary monument of Jacques de Souvré (1600-1670) from the Église Saint-Jean-de-Latran, Paris raise the black marble sarcophagus. The marble *demi-couchée* of Michel Le Tellier lies on top of the sarcophagus, flanked by two marble figures, *Religion* and *Force*.
- Conserved at its original location, the Église Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 117; Biet and Brés, Plate 34; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1; AGHORA.inha.fr.

7.6

#485 The Government Receiving Peace from the Hands of Hercules

- Marble bas-relief, 17th century (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- **Gerard von Opstal** (Flemish, c.1594-1668)⁶²³
- From the Château de Vincennes.
- MMF Location: Above #232 *Michel Le Tellier*. Not pictured in images.
- Conserved at the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year VIII, 306; AGHORA.inha.fr.

7.7

#180 René Descartes, philosopher (1569-1650)

- Terracotta medallion, 1667 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Gilles Guérin** (French, c.1606-1678)
- From the Église de Sainte-Geneviève, Paris.
- MMF Location: East end of north wall.
- Conserved at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 74; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1.

7.8

#275 Maximilien de Béthune, duc de Sully, maréchal of France (1560-1641)

- Model made after the statue for the Corps législatif, before 1797 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Pierre-Nicholas Beauvallet** (French, 1750-1818).
- MMF Location: North wall, in front of #232 *Michel Le Tellier*.
- Conserved at the Palais Bourbon, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 19; Biet and Brés, Plate 34; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1.

East Wall

7.9

⁶²³ Incorrectly attributed to Anguier (unspecified) by Lenoir.

#202 Jean-Baptiste Lully, Italian-born composer (1632-1687)

- Bronze bust on black and white marble sarcophagus (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jean Collignon** (French, died 1702)⁶²⁴
- From the Basilique Notre Dame des Victoires, Paris.
- MMF Location: North end of east wall.
- Conserved at its original location, the Basilique Notre Dame des Victoires, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 102 and Plate 189; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1; AGHORA.inha.fr.

7.10

-- Two Entrances of the Seventeenth-Century Room

- **Antoine-Marie Peyre** (French, 1770-1843)
- Two entrances, each framed by two Ionic columns supporting an entablature reading "État de l'art dans le XVII^e siècle."
- MMF Location: North and south end of the west wall.
- Reference: Biet and Brés, Plate 33 and 36; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1-2.

#254 Lions

- One marble original set of lions, late 17th century, one model, c.1797 (catalog Year V-1806, mentioned in 1816)
- Original lions by **François Anguier** (French, 1604-1669)
- Original lions from the 17th-century funerary monument of Jacques de Souvré (1600-1670) from the Église Saint-Jean-de-Latran, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: In the archivolt of one of the two entrances of the Seventeenth-Century room.
- Initially used in a panel decorating the court of the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, now conserved at the Labatoire de recherche des monuments historiques in Champs-sur-Marne, France.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 169; Biet and Brés, Plate 33 and 36; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1-2; AGHORA.inha.fr.

#236 Nicholas Poussin, painter (1594-1665)

- Statuette, c. 1797 (Catalog Year V-1816)
 - **Jean-Joseph Foucou** (French, 1739-1821), commissioned by Lenoir.
-

⁶²⁴ Incorrectly attributed to Pierre Cotton (French, active 1675-1688) by Lenoir.

- MMF Location: Above one of the two entrances of the Seventeenth-Century Room.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 165-166; Biet and Brés, Plate 33 and 36; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1-2.

#237 Eustache Le Sueur, painter (1616-1655)

- Statuette, c. 1797 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jean-Joseph Foucou** (French, 1739-1821), commissioned by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Above one of the two entrances of the Seventeenth-Century Room.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 165-166; Biet and Brés, Plate 33 and 36; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1-2.

#238 Jacques Sarrazin, sculptor (1588-1660)

- Statuette, c. 1797 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jean-Joseph Foucou** (French, 1739-1821), commissioned by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Above one of the two entrances of the Seventeenth-Century Room.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 165-166; Biet and Brés, Plate 33 and 36; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1-2.

#239 Pierre Puget, sculptor (1620-1694)

- Statuette, c.1797 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jean-Joseph Foucou** (French, 1739-1821), commissioned by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Above one of the two entrances of the Seventeenth-Century Room.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 165-166; Biet and Brés, Plate 33 and 36; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1-2.

7.11

#203 Charles Le Brun, painter (1619-1690)

- Marble, c.1692 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Antoine Coysevox** (French, 1640-1720)
- From the Église Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, Paris.
- MMF Location: East wall, between #191 *Jacques de Souvré* and the north entrance.
- Conserved at its original location, the Église Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 104 and Plate 187; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1.

7.12

#191 Jacques de Souvré, military and religious leader (1600-1670)

- Marble *demi-couchée* and sculptural ensemble, 17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- *Demi-couchée*, angels, *Atlantas*, and sarcophagus by **François Anguier** (French, 1604-1669)
- *Demi-couchée* and angels from the Église Saint-Jean-de-Latran, Paris (now demolished), sarcophagus and *Atlantas* from the funerary monument of Jacques Auguste de Thou at the Église-Saint-André-des-Arts, Paris (demolished in 1807), and lion heads from the Église Notre-Dame-des-Blancs-Manteaux, Paris.
- MMF Location: East wall, between #197 *Julienne le Bé* and #203 *Charles Le Brun*.
- Initially conserved at the Musée de Versailles, now in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. The *demi-couchée* and angels are raised on a platform carried by two *Atlantas* and a pedestal supported by four lion heads. The ensemble rests in front of a truncated pyramid.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 91; Plate 185; Biet and Brés, Plate 33; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 2; AGHORA.inha.fr.

7.13

#197 Julienne le Bé, mother of Charles Le Brun (died 1668)

- Marble, after 1668 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jean Collignon** (French, died 1702)
- From the Église Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, Paris.
- MMF Location: East wall between #191 *Jacques de Souvré* and the south entrance.
- Conserved at its original location, the Église Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 98 and Plate 187; Biet and Brés, Plate 36; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 2.

7.14

#184 Jérôme Bignon, master of the Bibliothèque du roi (1589-1656)

- Marble bust and two figures, *Abondance* and *Justice*, above a bas-relief representing Saint-Jérôme, 1667-1685 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Bust and bas-relief by **François Girardon** (French, 1628-1715), *Abondance* and *Justice* by an anonymous artist.⁶²⁵

⁶²⁵ Incorrectly attributed to François Girardon (French, 1628-1715) by Lenoir.

- From the Église Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, Paris.
- MMF Location: South end of east wall.
- Conserved at the Église Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 80 and Plate 182; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 2; AGHORA.inha.fr.

South Wall

7.15

#241 Louis de Marillac, Marshall of France (1573-1632)

- Black marble medallion, before 1698 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **François-Antoine Vassé** (French, 1681-1736)
- From the Église des Feuillants, Paris. (now demolished)
- MMF Location: East end of south wall.
- Conserved at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 166; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 2.

7.16

#205 François-Michel Le Tellier, marquis de Louvais (1628-1715) and Anne de Souvré (1636-1715)

- Marble and bronze, c.1699, (catalog Year V-1816)
- François-Michel Le Tellier by **François Girardon** (French, 1628-1715), Anne de Souvré by Cornielle van Clève (French, 1645-1732), bronze *Vigilance* attributed to **Martin van den Bogaert, Desjardins** (Dutch, 1637-1694) and bronze *Prudence* attributed to **François Girardon** (French, 1628-1715).
- From the Église des Capuchins, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Center of south wall, below #252 *Monument to Antoine d'Aubray*.
- Conserved at the Hôtel-Dieu de Tonnerre, France.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 106 and Plate 188; Biet and Brés, Plate 35; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 2.

7.17

#252 Monument to Antoine d'Aubray, comte d'Offémont (died 1670)

- Stone bas-relief, 1671 (catalog Year V-1816, also under #253 and #254)
- **Martin van den Bogaert, Desjardins** (Dutch, 1637-1694)

- From the Couvent de Oratoire, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Center of south wall, above #205 *François-Michel Le Tellier*.
- Initially conserved at the Musée de Versailles, now in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 169; Biet and Brés, Plate 35; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 2; AGHORA.inha.fr.

7.18

#198 Jean François Paul de Gondi, cardinal de Retz (1613-1679)

- Marble and alabaster monument du coeur, c. 1679 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **François Girardon** (French, 1628-1715) by Lenoir
- From the Couvent des Filles du Calvaire, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: West end of south wall.
- Initially conserved at Saint-Denis, then the Musée de Cluny, now at the Musée nationale de la Renaissance, Écouen.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 99; Biet and Brés, Plate 35; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 2; AGHORA.inha.fr.

West Wall

7.19

#200 Jean-Baptiste Colbert, statesman (1617-1683)

- Marble and bronze funerary monument, 1687 (catalog Year V-1816)
- *Priant* and *Fidelity* by **Antoine Coysevox** (French, 1640-1720), *Piety* by **Jean-Baptiste Tuby** (French, 1635-1700), after the design of **Charles Le Brun** (French, 1619-1690)
- From the Église Saint-Eustache, Paris.
- MMF Location: South end of the west wall.
- Conserved at its original location, the Église Saint-Eustache, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 100 and Plate 188; Biet and Brés, Plate 35; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 2.

7.20

#183 Henri Chabot, duc de Rohan (1616-1655)

- Marble, after 1656 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **François Anguier** (French, 1604-1669)
- From the Couvent des Célestins, Paris (demolished in 1901)

- MMF Location: West wall between #76 *Charles Rollin* and #200 *Jean-Baptiste Colbert*.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 78 and Plate 181; Biet and Brés, Plate 35; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 2. #183 *Henri Chabot* is listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

7.21

#76 Charles Rollin, historian (1661-1741)

- Plaster, c.1789 (catalog 1810-1816)
- **Félix Lecomte** (French, 1727-1817)
- Model of marble statue, part of d'Angiviller's *Grands hommes* series, Salon of 1789.
- MMF Location: West wall between #214 *Louis XIV* and #183 *Henri Chabot*.
- Marble conserved at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 106 and Plate 188; Biet and Brés, Plate 35; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 2.

7.22

#214 Louis XIV (1638-1715)

- Marble, after 1672 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jean Warin** (French, 1607-1672)⁶²⁶
- MMF Location: West wall between #116 *Henri IV* and #76 *Charles Rollin*.
- Conserved at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 159; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1.

7.23

#116 Henri IV (1553-1610)

- Marble, undated (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Barthélemy Prieur** (French, 1536-1611) by Lenoir.
- Unknown origin.
- MMF Location: West wall between #214 *Louis XIV* and #290 *Jean de la Fontaine*.

⁶²⁶ Incorrectly attributed to Michel Anguier (French, 1612-1686) by Lenoir.

- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 126 and Plate 151; Biet and Brés, Plate 34; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1. *Henri IV* is listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

7.24

#290 Jean de la Fontaine, fabulist (1621-1695)

- Plaster, c.1781 (catalog 1803-1816)⁶²⁷
- **Pierre Julien** (French, 1731-1804)
- Model of marble statue, exhibited in the Salon of 1783, part of d'Angiviller's *Grands hommes* series, Marble exhibited in the Salon of 1785.
- MMF Location: North end of west wall.
- Plaster model conserved at the Musée Crozatier, Puy-en-Velay, marble statue conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, 256; Biet and Brés, Plate 34; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1; AGHORA.inha.fr.

7.25

#195 Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne (1611-1675)

- Black and white marble, 17th century (catalog Year V-1806, removed in 1799)
- **Gaspard Marsy** (French, 1624-1681) and **Jean-Baptiste Tuby** (French, 1635-1700),
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Room.
- Conserved at Les Invalides, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 150.

Seventeenth-Century Busts

Lenoir provided a list of the Seventeenth-Century busts displayed in the museum in *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5 (1806). The exact location of these busts is not specified. The unspecified busts would have likely been located in the Seventeenth-Century Room, the West

⁶²⁷ Incorrectly attributed to Antoine Coysevox (French, 1640-1720) by Lenoir.

Cloister outside of the Sixteenth-Century Room, the Introduction Hall, the Cloister Garden, or the Élysée.

7.26

#282 Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne (1611-1675)

- Marble bust, c.1695 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jérôme Derbais** (French, c. 1645-1712)
- From the Château de Chantilly.
- MMF Location: Lower west wall, between #214 *Louis XIV* and #116 *Henri IV*.
- Conserved at the original location, now the Musée Condé, Chantilly.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53; AGHORA.inha.fr.

7.27

#284 Pierre Corneille, dramatist (1606-1684)

- Bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jean-Jacques Caffieri** (French, 1725-1792)
- Executed for the Comédie-Française, Paris.
- MMF Location: Upper west wall, above #282 *Turenne*.
- Conserved in the collection of the Comédie-Française, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1; AGHORA.inha.fr. Included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5.

7.28

#295 Jean Racine, writer (1639-1699)

- Plaster bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jean-Jacques Caffieri** (French, 1725-1792) after Antoine Coysevox (French, 1640-1720)
- Executed for the Comédie-Française, Paris.
- MMF Location: Upper east wall, south of south entrance per Biet and Brés, not coordinated with Réville and Lavallée.
- Conserved at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53; Biet and Brés, Plate 36; AGHORA.inha.fr.

7.29

#296 André Le Nôtre (1613-1700)

- Marble bust, c. 1700 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Antoine Coysevox** (French, 1640-1720)
- From the Église Saint-Roch, Paris.
- MMF Location: Upper west end of the north wall.
- Conserved at the Église Saint-Roch, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1.

7.30

#496 Nicolas Coustou, sculptor (1658-1733)

- Terracotta bust (catalog Year X-1816)
- **Guillaume I Coustou** (French, 1677-1746)
- Given by the Coustou family.
- MMF Location: Lower east wall, south of the north entrance.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1.

7.31

-- Blaise Pascal, mathematician (1623-1662)

- Bust, not listed in catalog
- **François-Henri Jacquet** (French, 1778-1848)
- MMF Location: Upper west wall, between the first and second window from the north wall.
- Reference: Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du dix-septième siècle*, 1; AGHORA.inha.fr.

Seventeenth-Century Busts, unspecified location

7.32

#181 Nicolas Le Jay de Tilly, président, Parlement de Paris (1573-1640)

- Marble bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Pierre II Biard** (French, 1592-1661)
- From the Église des Minimes de la place Royale, Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust.
- Conserved initially at the Musée de Versailles, now in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.33

#266 Louis XIII, as a child (1601-1643)

- Bust, c.1610 (catalog Year V-1803)⁶²⁸
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust.
- Conserved at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.34

#267 Louis XIV (1628-1715)

- Bronze bust, c.1686 (catalog Year V-1810)
- Attributed to **Antoine Coysevox** (French, 1640-1720) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Room. Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.35

#268 Louis XIV (1628-1715)

- Bronze medallion, 1705-6 (catalog Year V-1810)
 - **Antoine Benoist** (French, 1632-1717)
 - From the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
 - MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust.
 - Conserved at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
-

⁶²⁸ Incorrectly attributed to Barthélemy Prieur (French, 1536-1611) by Lenoir.

- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53; AGHORA.inha.fr.

7.36

#269 Louis XIV (1628-1715)

- Model of a bust at the Château de Versailles (catalog Year V-1803)
- Attributed to **Bernier** (unspecified) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.37

#271 Guillaume du Vair, writer (1556-1621)

- Marble bust, c. 1621 (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the chapel of the collège des Berandins, Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Initially conserved at the Musée de Versailles, now in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.38

#273 Nicolas-Claude-Fabri de Peiresc scientist and antiquarian (1580-1537)

- Marble bust, c. 1797 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Commissioned by Lenoir, executed by **Claude Michallon** (French, 1751-1799) after **Jean-Jacques Caffieri** (French, 1725-1792) ⁶²⁹
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53; AGHORA.inha.fr.

⁶²⁹ Incorrectly attributed to Antoine Coysevox (French, 1640-1720) by Lenoir.

7.39

#274 Armand-Claude de Bullion, marquis de Gallardon, superintendent of finances (1644-1671)

- Marble Bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.40

#276 Armand Jean du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu (1528-1642)

- Marble bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Giam Lorenzo Bernini** (Italian, 1598-1680)⁶³⁰
- From the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53; AGHORA.inha.fr.

7.41

#278 Jean Rotrou, poet and tragedian (1609-1650)

- Bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.42

#279 Thomas Bricconnet, counselor, Cour des aides (died 1658)

⁶³⁰ Incorrectly attributed to Antoine Coysevox (French, 1640-1720) by Lenoir.

- Marble bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Room.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.43

#280 Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602-1661)

- Marble bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Louis Lerambert** (French, 1620-1670)⁶³¹
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53; AGHORA.inha.fr.

7.44

#281 Jean-Baptiste Pocquelin de Molière (1622-1673)

- Bust, c.1779 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Jean-Antoine Houdon** (French, 1741-1828) by Lenoir.
- From the Comédie-Française, Paris
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.45

#285 Michel Le Tellier, Chancellor of France (1603-1685)

- Bronze bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Antoine Coysevox** (French, 1640-1720)⁶³²
- From the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près, Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

⁶³¹ Incorrectly attributed to Antoine Coysevox (French, 1640-1720) by Lenoir.

⁶³² Incorrectly attributed to the Jacques Sarrazin (French, 1592-1660) by Lenoir.

- Conserved initially at the Musée du Louvre, lost in a fire in 1939.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53; AGHORA.inha.fr.

7.46

#286 Louis II de Bourbon, le Grand Condé (1621-1686)

- Marble bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jérôme Derbais** (French, c. 1645-1712)⁶³³
- From the Château de Chantilly.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at the original location, now the Musée du Conde, Chantilly
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53; AGHORA.inha.fr.

7.47

#289 Henri d'Harcourt, Marshall of France (1654-1718)

- Marble bust (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.48

#290 Léon de la Fontaine, l'Académie française

- Bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Jean-Jacques Caffieri** (French, 1725-1792) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

⁶³³ Incorrectly attributed to Antoine Coysevox (French, 1640-1720) by Lenoir.

7.49

#291 Édouard Colbert, comte de Maulevrier (c.1633-1693)

- Marble Bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Martin van den Bogaert, Desjardins** (Dutch, 1637-1694) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.50

#292 Édouard Colbert de Villacerf, superintendent, bâtiments du roi (1628-1699)

- Medallion, c.1700-1705 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Nicolas Coustou** (French, 1658-1733)
- From the Église des Minimes de la place Royale, Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust.
- Conserved at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.51

#293 Pierre Mignard, painter (1612-1695)

- Marble bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Martin van den Bogaert, Desjardins** (Dutch, 1637-1694)
- From the collections of the Académie royale
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Room.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.52

#294 Jean-Baptiste Santeuil, poet (1630-1697)

- Bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jean-Louis Couasnon** (French, 1747-1802)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53; AGHORA.inha.fr.

7.53

#297 Marie Serre

- Marble bust, 1706 (catalog Year VIII-1810)
- **Antoine Coysevox** (French, 1640-1720)
- From the collections of the Académie royale
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.54

#298 Pierre-Sylvain Regis, philosophe (1632-1707)

- Marble bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Église Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis, Paris
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.55

#299 Jules Hardouin-Mansart, architect (1646-1708)

- Marble medallion (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Antoine Coysevox** (French, 640-1720) by Lenoir
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century medallion.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.56

#300 Thomas Corneille, dramatist, (1625-1709)

- Bust (catalog Year V-1816)

- Attributed to **Jean-Jacques Caffieri** (French, 1725-1792) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.57

#301 Charles Lejay, baron de la Maison-rouge

- Marble bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Église des Minimes de la place Royale, Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.58

#302 Guillaume de Lesrat, sieur de Lancrau, président, Parlement of Paris (died 1644)

- Marble bust, c.1645 (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Église des Minimes de la place Royale, Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.59

#308 Méderic Barbezier, *Grand maréchal des logis du roi* (d. 1613)

- Bust, c. 17th century (catalog Year V-1815)
- From the Église des Feuillants, Paris. (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.60

#311 Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux (1627-1704)

- Bust (catalog 1803-1816)
- Attributed to **Antoine Coysevox** (French, 1640-1720) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.61

#489 Henri du Bouchet, conseiller au parlement (1593-1654)

- Marble bust (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- From the library of the Abbaye Saint-Victor, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

7.62

#490 François Salignac de la Mothe-Fénélon, Bishop of Cambrai (1651-1715)

- Bust (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Attributed to **Antoine Coysevox** (French, 1640-1720) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Seventeenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

Seventeenth-Century Busts outside of the Seventeenth-Century Room

#265 Henri IV (1553-1610)

- MMF Location: See Introduction Hall, 2.38.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Sixteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

#270 Pomponne de Bellièvre (1529-1607)

- MMF Location: See Élysée, 11.17.⁶³⁴
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⁶³⁴ Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques*, list this bust as also being in the Introduction Hall.

- Also found on the List of Sixteenth-Century Busts.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

#283 Jean-Baptiste Colbert, statesman (1619-1683)

- MMF Location: See Introduction Hall, 2.39.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

#312 Nicholas Boileau-Despréaux, poet (1636-1711)

- MMF Location: See Introduction Hall, 2.40.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

#491 Guillaume de Lamoignon, jurist (1617-1677)

- MMF Location: See Introduction Hall, 2.44.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Seventeenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 45-53.

Stained Glass: Seventeenth-Century Room

7.63

#9 Window 1

- Panel representing the ordeal of Saint Gervais and Saint Protais
- After **Eustache LeSueur** (French, 1616-1655)
- From the Église Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, Paris.
- MMF Location: Possibly north end of the west wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 37.

7.64

#10 Window 2

- Panel representing the life of Saint Gervais and Saint Protais and the flight from Egypt, c.1540.
- After **Eustache LeSueur** (French, 1616-1655) according to Lenoir.

- From the Église Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, Paris.
- MMF Location: Possibly second window from the north end of the west wall.
- Flight from Egypt conserved at the Musée nationale de la Renaissance, Écouen.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 37.

7.65

#14 Window 3

- Panel representing the life of Dom Jean de la Barrière (1544-1600)
- After **Mathieu Elias** (Flemish, 1658-1741)
- From the Église des Feuillants, Paris. (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Possibly third window from the north end of the west wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 37.

7.66

#14 Window 4

- Panel representing the life of Dom Jean de la Barrière (1544-1600)
- After **Mathieu Elias** (Flemish, 1658-1741)
- From the Église des Feuillants, Paris. (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Possibly fourth window from the north end of the west wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 37.

7.67

#14 Window 5

- Panel representing the life of Dom Jean de la Barrière (1544-1600)
- After **Mathieu Elias** (Flemish, 1658-1741)
- From the Église des Feuillants, Paris. (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Possibly fifth window from the north end of the west wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 37.

7.68

#14 Window 6

- Panel representing Dom Jean de la Barrière (1544-1600) accompanying Henri IV (1553-1610) making his entry into Poissy.

- After **Mathieu Elias** (Flemish, 1658-1741)
- From the Église des Feuillants, Paris. (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Possibly south end of the west wall.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 37.

Additional Monuments listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805

7.69

#218 Saint Denis in Prayer

- Marble statue, c.17th century (catalog Year V-1802)
- Attributed to **Jacques Sarazin** (French, 1592-1660) by Lenoir
- From the Abbaye de Montmartre, Paris (demolished in 1794)
- Listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Av V, 160; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 112.

7.70

#246 Justice, Temperance, Force, and Prudence monument to Louis XIII (1601-1643)

- Marble medallions, c.1643 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jacques Sarazin** (French, 1592-1660)
- From the Église Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis, Paris
- Listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: *Description historique*, Year V, 167; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 112.

A.8 EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ROOM

Eighteenth-Century Monuments

8.1

#213 Louis XIII (1601-1643)

- Marble statue (catalog Year V -1810)

- **Guillaume Coustou** (French, 1677-1746)
- From the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century monument.
- Conserved at the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 130.

8.2

#321 **François Girardon, sculptor (1628-1715) and Catherine Duchemin, painter (1630-1698)**

- Marble, 1703-1707 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Eustache Nourrisson** (French, 1654-1706) and **Robert Le Lorain** (French, 1666-1748)
- From the Église Satin-Landry, Paris (demolished 1829)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century monument. Listed the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Part of the funerary monument conserved at the Église Saint-Marguerite, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 130.

8.3

#326 **Cardinal Guillaume Dubois (1656-1723)**

- Marble *priant*, 1725 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Guillaume Coustou** (French, 1677-1746)
- From the Église Saint-Honoré, Paris (demolished in 1791)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century monument. Listed in the Introduction Hall in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at the Église Saint-Roch, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 131.

8.4

#327 **Louis XIV (1628-1715)**

- Marble statue (catalog Year V -1810)
- Attributed to **Antoine Coysevox** (French, 1640-1720) by Lenoir
- From the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century monument.
- Conserved at the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 130.

8.5

#333 Jean-Baptiste Languet de Gergy (1674-1750)

- Marble and bronze monument, 1757 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Michel-Ange Slodtz** (French, 1705-1764)
- From the Église Saint-Sulpice, Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century monument. Listed in the Introduction Hall in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at the Église Saint-Sulpice, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 132 and Plate 191.

8.6

#340 Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis, mathematician and astronomer (1698-1759)

- Marble monument, 1766 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jean-Baptiste d'Huez** (French, 1729-1793)
- From the Église Saint-Roch, Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century monument. Listed in the Entry Court in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at the Église Saint-Roch, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 134 and Plate 193. Included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5.

8.7

#341 Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon, dramatist (1674-1762)

- Monument (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne** (French, 1704-1778)
- Built for the Église Saint-Gervais, Paris, never placed.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century monument. Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Possibly conserved at the Musée des beaux-arts, Dijon (listed in 19th-century inventories)
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 136.

8.8

#342 Model of equestrian statue of Louis XV (1710-1774)

- Bronze model, 1748-1763 (catalog Year V-1816)

- **Edme Bouchardon** (French, 1698-1762)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century monument. Listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 129.

8.9

#343 **Pierre Mignard, painter (1612-1695) and Madame de Feuquière (1652-1742)**

- Marble (catalog Year VI-1816)
- **Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne** (French, 1704-1778)
- From the Église Saint-Roch, Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century monument.
- Conserved at the Église Saint-Roch, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 138 and Plate 194.

8.10

#344 **Louis XV (1710-1774)**

- Marble statue (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne** (French, 1704-1778) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century monument. Listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 129.

8.11

#366 *Amour*

- Marble statue, copy of an antique (catalog Year V-1806)
- Attributed to **Jean-Pierre Antoine Tassaert** (Flemish, 1727-1788) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century monument. Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 148.

8.12

#492 **Charles III de Créquy, governor of Paris (1624-1687)**

- Marble cenotaph, c.1690-1700 (Year VIII-1816)
- **Pierre Mazeline** (French, 1632-1708) and Simon Hurtrelle (French, 1648-1724)
- From the Église des Capuchins, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century monument.
- Conserved at the Église Saint-Roch, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 130-1.

Eighteenth-Century Busts and Bas-reliefs

8.13

#337 *Isis*

- Marble statue (catalog Year V-1806)
- Attributed to **Clodian** (unspecified) by Lenoir
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century monument.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.14

#348 **Monument to Félicité Brûlart (unspecified)**

- Marble (catalog Year V-1810)
- Attributed to **Monnot** (unspecified) by Lenoir.
- From Dames des Sainte-Marie.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century monument.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.15

#355 **Jean-Germain Drouais (1763-1788)**

- Plaster Model, 1788-1789 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Claude Michallon** (French, 1751-1799), after **Charles Percier** (French, 1764-1838)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century monument.
- Conserved at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 139 and Plate 195. Included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5.

8.16

#361 Louis XV (1710-1774)

- Marble bust, c.1770 (catalog Year X-1816)
- **Étienne-Pierre-Adrien Gois** (French, 1731-1823)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Conserved at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.17

#362 Madame du Barry, royal mistress (1743-1793)

- Bronze bust (catalog Year X-1816)
- Attributed to **Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne** (French, 1704-1778) by Lenoir
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.18

#364 Héloïse (c.1092-1164)

- Marble bust, c.1800 (catalog Year X-1816)
- **Louis-Pierre Deseine** (1749-1822)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Terracotta version of Abélard and Héloïse conserved at the Musée Carnavalet, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.19

#365 Louis, Dauphin of France (1729-1765)

- Marble bust (catalog Year X-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805. *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.20

#369 Louis Hercule Timoléon de Cossé-Brissac, duc de Brissac (1734-1792)

- Marble bust (catalog Year X-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.21

#370 Ulrich-Frédéric Woldemar, comte de Lowendal, Marshall of France (1700-1755)

- Marble bust (catalog Year X-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.22

#372 Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, comte de Mirabeau, Revolutionary leader (1749-1791)

- Bust (catalog 1803-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.23

#373 Monument for Diane-Adélaïde de Nesle, duchesse de Lauragais, royal mistress (1714-1769)

- Marble medallion (catalog Year V-1802)
- **Edme Bouchardon** (French, 1698-1762)
- From the Église Saint-Sulpice, Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Medaillon
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.24

#373 Camille Desmoulins, Revolutionary leader (1760-1794)

- Bust (catalog 1803-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.25

#375 Maurice de Saxe, Marshall of France (1696-1750)

- Marble bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.26

#376 Monument to Anne Claude, comte de Caylus, antiquarian (1692-1765)

- Marble bas-relief (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Louis-Claude Vassé** (French, 1716-1772) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century bas-relief. Listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.27

#380 Le Batteau

- Marble bas-relief (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Broche** (unspecified) by Lenoir
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.28

#384 Bas-relief representing the French Republic

- Bas-relief (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Jean-Jacques Foucou** (French, 1739-1821) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Introduction Hall in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.29

#389 Antoine Coysevox (1640-1720)

- Marble bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne** (French, 1704-1778) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Seventeenth-Century Room in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.30

#390 Marc-René de Paulmy d'Argenson, lieutenant of police (1652-1721)

- Marble Bust by **Guillaume I Coustou** (1677-1746) (catalog Year V-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Conserved at Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.31

#391 Philippe II duc d'Orléans, Regent of France (1674-1723)

- Bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.32

#392 Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, poet (1671-1741)

- Terracotta bust (catalog Year V-1816)

- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Room.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.33

#393 Claude François Bidal d'Asfeld, Marshall of France (1665-1743)

- Marble medallion (catalog Year V-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at the Église Saint-Roch, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.34

#394 Pierre Lepaultre, sculptor (1659-1747)

- Bust attributed to **Francin** (unspecified) by Lenoir (catalog Year V-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.35

#396 Philippe Néricault Destouches, playwright (1680-1754)

- Bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.36

#397 Pierre-Claude Nivelles de la Chaussée, dramatist (1692-1754)

- Bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Jean-Jacques Caffieri** (French, 1725-1792) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.

- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.37

#398 Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu, philosopher (1689-1755)

- Bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Jean-Jacques Caffieri** (French, 1725-1792) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Room.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.38

#399 Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle, author and scientist (1657-1757)

- Bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Ref Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.39

#401 Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768)

- Terra-cotta bust, c.1797 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Louis-Pierre Deseine** (French, 1749-1822). Lenoir requested permission to commission a bust of Winckelmann in 1797.⁶³⁵
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Marble bust executed in 1818 and is conserved at the Musée des Augustins, Toulouse.⁶³⁶
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.40

#402 François de Chevert, general (1695-1769)

⁶³⁵ *AMMF*, vol. 3, 322-325.

⁶³⁶ Bresc-Bautier and Chancel-Bardelot, eds., *Un Musée Revolutionnaire*, 353.

- Marble medallion (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Église Saint-Eustache, Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.41

#403 Claude Adrien Helvétius, philosopher (1715-1771)

- Bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- Lenoir requested permission to commission a bust of Helvétius in 1797.⁶³⁷
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.42

#404 Alexis Piron, dramatist (1689-1773)

- Terracotta bust, 1762 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jean-Jacques Caffieri** (French, 1725-1792)
- From Église Saint-Roch, Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at the Musée des beaux-arts, Dijon, France.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.43

#405 Pierre Laurent Buirette de Bellroy, dramatist (1727-1775)

- Bust (catalog Year V-1816)
 - MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Room.
 - Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.
-

⁶³⁷ *AMMF*, vol. 3, 322-325.

8.44

#406 Voltaire, philosopher (1694-1778)

- Marble bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Jean-Antoine Houdon** (French, 1741-1828) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Élysée in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.45

#406bis Voltaire, philosopher (1694-1778)

- Marble bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Jean-Baptiste Pigalle** (French, 1714-1785) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.46

#408 Jean-Louis Leclerc, comte du Buffon, naturalist (1707-1788)

- Marble bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Augustin Pajou** (French, 1730-1809)
- Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Conserved at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.47

#409 Guillaume-Chrétien de Lamoignon de Malesherbes, statesman (1721-1794)

- Marble bust (catalog 1803-1816)
- **Antoine-Denis Chaudet** (French, 1763-1810)
- Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.48

#410 Marc René, marquis de Montalembert, military engineer (1714-1800)

- Bust (catalog 1803-1816)
- Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.49

#412 Denis Diderot, philosopher and encyclopedist (1713-1784)

- Terracotta bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Marie-Anne Collot** (French, 1748-1821)
- Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Marble iteration conserved at the Hermitage State Museum, Saint Petersburg, Russia.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.50

#413 Georges Gougenot, seigneur de Croissy (1664-1748) and Marie Angélique Vérany de Varennes

- Marble Medallion (catalog Year V-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.51

#414 Abbé Gougenot (1719-1767)

- Bronze bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Jean-Antoine Houdon** (French, 1741-1828) by Lenoir
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.

- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.52

#415 Christoph Willibald von Gluck, composer (1714-1787)

- Marble bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- After **Jean-Antoine Houdon** (French, 1741-1828)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Room. Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.53

#416 Guillaume-Thomas François Raynal, writer (1713-1796)

- Marble Bust, 1790 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Jean-Joseph Espercieux** (French, 1757-1840) by Lenoir. Lenoir requested permission to commission bust of Raynal in 1797.⁶³⁸
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.54

#417 Monument to Bernard Chérin, genealogist (17181-1785)

- Marble cenotaph (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jean Siméon Chardin** (1699-1779)
- From the Couvent des Grand-Augustins, Paris (now demolished).
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.55

⁶³⁸ *AMMF*, vol. 3, 322-325.

#418 Jean Sylvain Bailly, astronomer and Revolutionary leader (1736-1793)

- Plaster bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Louis-Pierre Deseine** (French, 1749-1822)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- MMF Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.56

#494 Jean-Baptiste Leroy, physicist (1729-1800)

- Bust (catalog Year X-1816)
- Attributed to **Antoine-Denis Chaudet** (French, 1763-1810) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.57

#497 Claude-Louis Hector de Villars, Marshall of France (1653-1734)

- Bust (catalog Year X-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.58

#498 Armand de Vignerot du Plessis, Marshall of France (1696-1788)

- Bust (catalog Year X-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.59

#499 Duc de Brissac, probably Jean de Cossé, duc de Brissac (1698-1780)

- Marble bust (catalog Year X-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.60

#500 **Abbé Michel de Marolles (1600-1681)**

- Marble medallion (catalog Year X-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.61

#503 **Jean le Rond d'Alembert, mathematician and encyclopedist (1717-1783)**

- Bust attributed to **Francin** (unspecified) by Lenoir (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Room.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.62

#504 **Charles de Wailly, architect (1730-1798)**

- Bust (catalog Year V-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust. Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.63

#505 **Jacques de Vaucanson, artist and inventor (1709-1782)**

- Marble medallion (catalog Year V-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.

- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.64

#554 Monument to M. Dubaussion, priest (died 1784)

- Bust (catalog Year X-1816)
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

8.65

#554 Models

- Model of Hercules and model of a bust by **Michelangelo** (Italian, 1475-1564) (catalog Year X-1816)
- Hercules was made for the Panthéon, Paris, Michelangelo for the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Attributed to Guillaume Boichot (French, 1735-1814) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Unspecified, Eighteenth-Century Bust.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

Eighteenth-Century Busts and Monuments outside of the Eighteenth-Century Room

#339 Henri-Claude d'Harcourt, Marshall of France (1703-1769)

- MMF Location: See Introduction Hall, 2.19.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 133 and Plate 192.

#367 Louis XVI (1754-1793)

- MMF Location: See Introduction Hall, 2.41.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

#368 Marie Antoinette (1755-1793)

- MMF Location: See Introduction Hall, 2.42.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

#382 The Miracles of Saint-Philippe

- MMF Location: See Hall of Introduction, 2.5
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

#407 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, philosopher (1712-1778)

- MMF Location: See Élysée, 11.18.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

#495 Jean-Baptiste Britard, comedian (1721-1791)

- MMF Location: See Cloister Garden, 9.6.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 147.

#496 Nicolas Coustou, sculptor (1658-1733)

- MMF Location: See Seventeenth-Century Room, 7.30.
- Reference: Lenoir, List of Eighteenth-Century Busts, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

-- Epitaph to Jacques-Bénigne Winslow, anatomist (1669-1760)

- MMF Location: See Introduction Hall, 2.51.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 150-166.

Stained Glass: Eighteenth-Century Room

8.66

-- Window 1

- Panel representing a philosopher in his cabinet.
- **M. Séguin** (French)
- MMF Location: Planned for the Eighteenth-Century Room
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 37.

-- Window 2

- Panel representing the ruins of Greece.
- **M. Séguin** (French) after **Julien-David Leroy** (French, 1724-1803)
- MMF Location: Planned for the Eighteenth-Century Room
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1803, xvi; Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 37.

A.9 CLOISTER GARDEN

The Cloister Garden was organized into four grassy quadrants symmetrically divided by four paths leading to the monumental column placed in the center of the garden. In each quadrant, Lenoir arranged three to four funerary monuments and memorials under shady trees. The path around the boundary of the garden was lined with more monuments and statues. The identity and location of the many of the monuments on display in the Garden Cloister is not knowable from existing sources.⁶³⁹

9.1

-- Monumental Column

- MMF Location: Center of the Cloister Garden.
- Reference: Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du jardin de cloître*.

9.2

#176 Louis Potier, marquis de Gesvres (d. 1630)

⁶³⁹ Rough sketches by Charles Percier of the Garden Cloister reveal numerous, unidentifiable monuments. No. 140, No. 146, No. 147, No. 151, No. 152, No. 153, and No. 155, Ms. 1012, Croquis faits au Musée des monuments français par Charles Percier, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France.

- *Priant* with *prie-dieu* of a book, c.17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Couvent des Célestins, Paris (demolished in 1901)
- MMF Location: Northwest quadrant of the Cloister Garden
- Conserved at the Église Saint-Gervais-Saint-Protais, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 176; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du jardin de cloître*.

9.3

-- ***Large Marble Vase***

- MMF Location: Northeast quadrant of the Cloister Garden.
- Reference: Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du jardin de cloître*.

9.4

#46 Charles d'Alençon (1297-1346)

- Marble *gisant*, c. 14th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Couvent des Jacobins, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Northeast quadrant of the Cloister Garden, near #457 *Chrétienne Leclerc*.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 62 and Plate 66; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du jardin de cloître*.

9.5

Female *Priant*: Proposed Attribution

- #457 *Chrétienne Leclerc* (died 1627)
- Marble *priant*, c.1627, (catalog Year VI-1816)
- Attributed to **Simon Guillain** (French, 1581-1658)
- From the Église des Carmes-Déchaussés de Charenton.
- MMF Location: Northeast quadrant of the Cloister Garden near #46 Charles d'Alençon.
- Initially conserved at the Musée de Versailles, now in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 147; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du jardin de cloître*.

9.6

#495 Jean-Baptiste Britard, actor (1721-1791)

- Marble monument, c.1802 (catalog Year X-1816)
- **Jean-Joseph Foucou** (French, 1739-1821).
- MMF Location: Southwest quadrant of the Cloister Garden, near #109 *Jeanne de Vivonne*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 147; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du jardin de cloître*.

9.7

#58 **Louis de Sancerre**

- Marble *gisant*, early 14th century (catalog 1810-1816, Year VI-1806 as #59)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: Southeast quadrant of the Cloister Garden, on base with #59 *Bertrand de Guesclin*. Listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 75 and Plate 69, 71; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du jardin de cloître*.

#59 **Bertrand de Guesclin**

- Marble *gisant*, 1397 (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- Commissioned by Charles V (1338-1380)
- MMF Location: Southeast quadrant of the Cloister Garden, on base with #58 *Louis de Sancerre*. Listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 75 and Plate 69, 71; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du jardin de cloître*.

9.8

#164 **Claude d'Aubespine (died 1613)**⁶⁴⁰

- Marble *priant*, c.17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Église des Feuillants, Paris. (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Southeast quadrant of the Cloister Garden near #58 *Louis de Sancerre* and #59 *Bertrand de Guesclin*.

⁶⁴⁰ Attribution by Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques*, 36.

- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 54; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du jardin de cloître*.

9.9

#65 Unidentified female *priant*

- MMF Location: Southeast quadrant of the Cloister Garden.
- Reference: No. 141, Ms. 1012, Croquis faits au Musée des monuments français par Charles Percier, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France.

9.10

#65 Unidentified female *priant*

- MMF Location: Southwest quadrant of the Cloister Garden.
- Reference: No. 153, Ms. 1012, Croquis faits au Musée des monuments français par Charles Percier, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France.

9.11 Female *Priant*: Proposed Attribution

#569 Marie de Bourbon-Vendôme (1515-1538)

- Miniature alabaster *priant*, after 1594 (catalog 1815-1816)
- From the Abbaye Notre Dame de Soissons (now demolished)
- MMF Location: South wall of Garden Cloister.
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1815, 159; No. 153, Ms. 1012, Croquis faits au Musée des monuments français par Charles Percier, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France; AGHORA.inha.fr. #569 *Marie de Bourbon-Vendôme* is listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

9.12

#65 Léon de Lusignan, King of Armenia (1342-1393)

- Marble *gisant*, before 1393 (catalog Year V-1815)
- From the Couvent des Célestins, Paris (demolished in 1901)

- MMF Location: Cloister Garden or Élysée.⁶⁴¹
- Conserved at the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 88 and Plate 72. #65 *Léon de Lusignan, King of Armenia* was listed in the Fourteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

9.13

#438 Marie de Bourbon, abbess of the Abbaye de Poissy (died 1401)

- Black and white marble *gisant*, after 1401 (catalog Year VI-1816)
- From the Église Saint-Louis des Dominicaines de Poissy.
- MMF Location: Cloister Garden, unspecified.⁶⁴²
- Initially conserved at Saint-Denis, now in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 90 and Plate 71.

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#109 Jeanne de Vivonne (d.1583)

- Duplicate with #170 *Charlotte Catherine de la Trémoille*, located in the Sixteenth-Century Room, 16.4.
- MMF Location: Réville and Lavallée show *Jeanne de Vivonne* in the southwest quadrant of the Cloister Garden, and also in the Sixteenth-Century Room. #109 *Jeanne de Vivonne* is listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du jardin de cloître*.

Monuments listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805, unspecified location

9.14

#63 Sainte Geneviève

- Alabaster, c.14th century (catalog Year V-1810)
- From Couvent des Célestins (demolished 1901)
- Listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 82; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 119.

⁶⁴¹ Lenoir's notebooks, conserved in the Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, depicts #65 in a garden, #RF5279.88.

⁶⁴² In an inventory taken in 1824, #438 is listed as being in the Sixteenth-Century Room. *AMMF*, vol. 3, 290.

9.15

#201 Mausoleum of the Castellans Family

- Column and two female figures, c.1683 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **François Girardon** (French, 1628-1715).
- From the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris.
- Listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805.
- Conserved at the Église Saint-Germain-des-Prés.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 187; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiositiés de Paris et de ses environs*, 121.

9.16

#209 Henri de Silly, comte de la Roche-Guyon (d. 1586)

- Marble *priant*, c.16th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From Roche-sur-Seine, France.
- Listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 158; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiositiés de Paris et de ses environs*, 121.

9.17

#229 Melancholy

- Stone c. 17th century (catalog Year V-1802)
- Attributed to **Martin van den Bogaert, Desjardins** (Dutch, 1637-1694) by Lenoir.
- From the Église des Minimes de la place Royale, Paris.
- Listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 163; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiositiés de Paris et de ses environs*, 121.

9.18

#331 Eight Apostles and the Virgin

- Stone group, 1734 (catalog Year V-VIII)
- **Edme Bouchardon** (1698-1762)
- From the Église Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

- Listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805.
- Conserved at the Église Saint-Sulpice, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 188; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 122.

9.19

#372 Descent from the Cross

- Marble bas-relief c.17th-18th century (catalog Year V-1802)
- Attributed to **François Barrois** (French, 1656-1726) by Lenoir.
- From the Église Saint-Roch, Paris
- Listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 202; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 122.

9.20

#419 Vase representing the Judgment of Paris

- Marble vase, c.18th century (catalog Year V-1806)
- Listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 212; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 119.

9.21

#476 Louis XIV (1638-1715) Vanquishing the Fronde

- Marble c.17th century (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- **Gilles Guérin** (French, c.1606-1678)⁶⁴³
- Listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805.
- Conserved at the Musée Condé, Chantilly
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 115 and Plate 190; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 119.

⁶⁴³ Incorrectly attributed to Jacques Sarazin (French, 1592-1660) by Lenoir.

A.10 CLOISTER GALLERY

North Cloister

10.1

#436 Adam

- Stone nude, c. 1260 (catalog Year X-1816)
- Attributed to **Pierre de Montreuil** (French, c.1200-1267)
- From the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris.
- MMF Location: South wall of North Cloister, centered across from the entrance to the Fourteenth-Century Room.
- Conserved at the Musée nationale du Moyen Âge, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year X, 145; Biet and Brés, Plate 25. Réville and Lavallée, in *Vue du cloître*, show an apostle-like figure in this location in place of *Adam*.

10.2

#430 Bas-reliefs representing the Calvary

- Limestone bas-relief, undated (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Possibly from the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis) or the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris.
- MMF Location: Above apostles on the north wall of North Cloister, on either side of the entrance to the Fourteenth-Century Room.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 210 and Plate 38; Biet and Brés, Plate 25; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du cloître*.
- According to an inventory taken in 1816, the bas-reliefs were moved to Saint-Denis after the closure of the museum.⁶⁴⁴

10.3

-- Angels

- Bas-relief angels, undated, not in listed in the catalog.
 - Location: North wall of North Cloister, on either side of the entrance to the Fourteenth-Century Room.
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⁶⁴⁴ *AMMF*, vol. 3, 199.

- Reference: Biet and Brés, Plate 25; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du cloître*.

10.4

#91 Mort Saint-Innocent

- Alabaster, c.1530 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Restored by **Louis-Pierre Deseine** (French, 1749-1822).⁶⁴⁵
- From the Cimetière des Innocents, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: North Cloister, south wall, centered across from the entrances to the Fifteenth-Century Room.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 126 and Plate 80; Biet and Brés, Plates 25 and 28.

10.5

#79 Pierre de Navarre (1366-1412) and Catherine d'Alençon (before 1396-1462)

- Marble *gisants*, 1412 (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Église de la Chartreux, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: South wall of North Cloister, in window bays.
- Ensemble by Lenoir: An undated Gothic bas-relief is placed on the base of the *gisant* of Pierre de Navarre.
- Initially conserved at the Musée de Versailles, now in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 102 and Plate 76; Biet and Brés, Plates 26 and 28. #79 *Pierre de Navarre and Catherine d'Alençon* are listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

10.6

#233 Galba, Roman Emperor (3 BCE-69 CE)

- Marble medallion, before 1508 (catalog 1803-1816)
- From the Château de Gaillon.
- MMF Location: Probably south wall of North Cloister.
- Conserved at the Musée des Antiquités, Rouen.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 32; Biet and Brés, Plates 26 and 28; AGHORA.inha.fr.

⁶⁴⁵ Incorrectly attributed to François Gentil (French, unspecified) by Lenoir.

#233 Vespasian, Roman Emporer (9-79 CE)

- Marble médaillon, before 1508 (catalog 1803-1816)
- From the Château de Gaillon.
- MMF Location: Probably south wall of North Cloister.
- Conserved at the Musée des Antiquités, Rouen.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 32; Biet and Brés, Plates 26 and 28; AGHORA.inha.fr.

10.7

#233 Louis XII (1462-1515) as Mars and Anne de Bretagne (1477-1514) as Minerve

- Marble medallions, c.1508 (catalog 1803-1816)
- From the Château de Gaillon.
- MMF Location: north wall of North Cloister, on either side of the entrances to the Fifteenth-Century Room
- Remained at the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts until 1977, now conserved at the Château de Gaillon.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 32; Biet and Brés, Plates 27-28; AGHORA.inha.fr.

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-- **Six Apostles**

- MMF Location: See Fourteenth-Century Room, 4.2.
- Reference: Biet and Brés, Plates 25.

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#77 Louis duc d'Orléans (1372-1407)

- MMF Location: See Fifteenth-Century Room, 5.3.
- Reference: Biet and Brés, Plate 27; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*.

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#78 Valentine Visconti (1371-1408)

- MMF Location: See Fifteenth-Century Room, 5.6

- Reference: Reference: Lenoir, Biet and Brés, Plates 27; Réville and Lavallée, *Salle du quinzième siècle*.

West Cloister

10.8

#161 Gabrielle d'Estrées, royal mistress (1573-1599)

- Ebony statue, early 17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Philippe de Buyster** (Flemish, 1595-1688) by Lenoir.
- From the Église Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris.
- MMF Location: North end of the west wall of the West Cloister.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 193; Biet and Brés, Plates 26-28.

#550 Allegorical bas-relief representing love and the hunt

- Ebony bas-relief, early 17th century (catalog 1806)
- From the Église Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris.
- MMF Location: Part of monument to #161 *Gabrielle d'Estrées*, north end of the west wall of the West Cloister.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 193; Biet and Brés, Plates 26-28.

10.9

#469 Monument to Jean Bullant, architect (c.1515-1578)

- Sculptural ensemble, before 1805, with a marble bust of Jean Bullant, executed before 1805, two alabaster *génies*, c.16th century, and an inscription (catalog 1806-1816)
- *Génies* attributed to **Germain Pilon** (French, c. 1525-1590) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: South end of West Cloister.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. The bust of Jean Bullant is placed above an inscription flanked by two *génies* and raised on a plinth.
- Bust conserved at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 92; Biet and Brés, Plate 29; AGHORA.inha.fr.

10.10

-- **Bas-relief**

- Unidentified plaster bas-reliefs.
- Plasters after the work of **Jacques Sarazin** (French, 1592-1660) according to Biet and Brés.
- MMF Location: West wall of the West Cloister, between the two entrances of the Seventeenth-Century Room.
- Reference: Biet and Brés, Plate 29.

10.11

#177 James Douglas, Scottish nobleman (1617-1645)

- Marble *demi-couchée*, c.17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près, Paris.
- Attributed to **Antoine Coysevox** (French, 1640-1720) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: South bay of the West Cloister, across from the southern entrance of the Seventeenth-Century Room.
- Conserved at the Église Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1818.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 69; Biet and Brés, Plate 36. #177 *James Douglas* was listed in the Élysée in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

Priants of the West Cloister and Gardens

This list was compiled from those sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *priants* listed by Lenoir in his catalogs that were not located in another part of the museum. The window bays of the West Cloister were lined with up to eight *priants*, one of which was #177 James Douglas. The remaining seven *priants* and the unidentified *priants* in the gardens come from this list.⁶⁴⁶

10.12

#82 Jean Juvénel des Ursins (d.1431) and Michelle de Vitry (d.1436)

- Stone *priants*, c. 15th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris.

⁶⁴⁶ For the 1820 Inventory, see *AMMF*, vol. 3, 282.

- MMF Location: Unspecified fifteenth-century *priant*. Listed in the Fifteenth-Century Room in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2, 108, and Plate 82. Included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 2.

10.13

#110 Catherine Nogaret de la Valette (died c.1585)

- Marble *priant*, c. 16th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Couvent des Célestins, Paris (demolished in 1901)
- MMF Location: Unspecified sixteenth-century *priant*. Listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 131.

10.14

#118 Diane de France, duchesse d'Angoulême (1538-1614)

- Marble *priant*, after 1621 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Thomas Boudin** (French, c.1570-1637)
- From Église des Minimes de la place Royale, Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified sixteenth-century *priant*, probably the West Cloister.⁶⁴⁷ Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Initially conserved at Saint-Denis, now at the Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 129 and Plate 151.

10.15

#163 Louis de Trémoille (died 1613)

- Marble *priant*, c.17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Couvent des Célestins, Paris (demolished in 1901)
- MMF Location: Unspecified seventeenth-century *priant*. Listed in the Entry Court in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at the Musée Bernard d'Agesci, Niort, France.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 193.

⁶⁴⁷ *AMMF*, vol. 3, 296.

10.16

#173 Amador de La Porte (died 1644)

- Marble *priant*, after 1637 (catalog Year VI-1816)
- **Michel II Bourdin** (French, 1609-1678)
- From the Église du Temple, Paris (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Unspecified seventeenth-century *priant*. Listed in the Élysée in 1805, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Initially conserved at the Musée de Versailles, now in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 60.

10.17

#179 Marguerite de Luxembourg, duchesse de Tresmes (c.1585-1645)

- Marble *priant*, c.17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the Couvent des Célestins, Paris (demolished in 1901)
- MMF Location: Unspecified seventeenth-century *priant*.
- Conserved at the Église Saint-Gervais-Saint-Protais, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 68.

10.18

#181 Madeline Marchand (1603-1625)

- Marble *priant*, after 1628 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Thomas Boudin** (French, c.1570-1637)
- From Église des Minimes de la place Royale, Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified seventeenth-century *priant*. Listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Initially conserved at the Musée de Versailles, now in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 144.

10.19

#182 Charles de Valois-Angoulême, duc d'Angoulême, comte d'Auvergne (1573-1650)

- Marble *demi-couchée*, c. 17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From Église des Minimes de la place Royale, Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified seventeenth-century *priant*.
- Conserved in the court of the Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 77.

10.20

#185 Charles, duc de la Vieuville (c.1582-1653) and Marie Bouhier (died 1663)

- Marble *priants*, after 1658 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Gilles Guérin** (French, c.1606-1678)
- From Église des Minimes de la place Royale, Paris.
- MMF Location: Unspecified seventeenth-century *priant*. Marie Bouhier is listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Initially conserved at the Musée de Versailles, now in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 80.

10.21

#192 René Potier, duc de Tresmes (1570-1670)

- Marble *priant*, c.17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Anguier** (French, unspecified) by Lenoir
- From the Couvent des Célestins, Paris (demolished in 1901)
- MMF Location: Unspecified seventeenth-century *priant*. Listed in the Cloister Garden in 1805 according to *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at the Église Saint-Gervais-Saint-Protais, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 68.

10.22

#570 Henriette de Lorraine, Abbess of Notre Dame de Soissons (died 1684)

- Black and white marble, c.17th century (catalog 1815-1816)
- Probably from the Abbaye Notre Dame de Soissons (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Unspecified seventeenth-century *priant*.
- Conserved at the Cathédrale de Soissons.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1815, 159.

10.23

#571 Gabrielle-Marie de la Rochefoucauld, Abbess of Paraclete and Notre Dame de Soissons (died 1693)

- Black and white marble, c.17th century (catalog 1815-1816)
- Probably from the Abbaye Notre Dame de Soissons (now demolished)
- MMF Location: Unspecified seventeenth-century *priant*.
- Conserved at the Cathédrale de Soissons.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1815, 159.

Stained Glass: North Cloister

10.24

-- Window 1

- Panel representing the martyr of Saint-Etienne.
- Attributed to **Bernard Palissy** (French, 1509-1590) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: This window is represented in the easternmost bay of the North Cloister in an anonymous drawing of the North Cloister in Lenoir's album held in the Musée du Louvre. It is listed as after Window 2 in Lenoir's catalog.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 38. Anonymous, Drawing of the North Cloister, #RF5279.35, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre.

10.25

-- Window 2 (lower portion)

- Two panels representing the adoration of the Magi and a priest praying before Saint-Germain and Saint-Joseph.
- MMF Location: North Cloister, second bay from the east, near the Fourteenth-Century Room.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 38.

10.26

-- Window 2 (upper portion)

- Panel representing the descent from the cross.
- Attributed to **Jean Cousin the Elder** (French, c.1500-c.1560) by Lenoir.

- MMF Location: North Cloister, second bay from the east, near the Fourteenth-Century Room. In Bouton's painting this window is represented over a door into the Cloister Garden, but in Biet and Brés, Plate 25 and Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du cloître*, an unidentified *gisant* has been placed in front of the door.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 38, and Charles Marie Bouton, *La Folie du Charles VI*, 1817, conserved at the Musée royale de Brou.

10.27

-- Window 3

- Two panels representing religious scenes, including the Last Supper and an assembly of sainted doctors and women.
- Attributed to **Jean Nogarre** (French, c.17th century) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: North Cloister, third bay from the east, near the Fifteenth-Century Room.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 38 and Biet and Brés, Plate 26.

10.28

-- Window 3

- *The Virgin and Infant between Four Angels*
- Executed in 1544, origin unknown.
- Anonymous, in the style of Jean de Mignon (French, active 1535-1555). Attributed to Jean Nogarre (French, c.17th century) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: North Cloister, third bay from the east, near the Fifteenth-Century Room.
- Initially conserved at the Musée de Cluny, now conserved at the Musée nationale de la Renaissance, Écouen.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 38; Biet and Brés, Plate 26; AGHORA.inha.fr.

10.29

-- Windows 4-5

- Panel representing Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France (1493-1567) with Saint Anne, Saint Joachim, and the Virgin.
- Anonymous, attributed to **Bernard Palissy** (French, 1509-1590) after **Jean Bullant** (French, c.1515-1578) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: North Cloister, probably outside the Fifteenth-Century Room.
- Possibly conserved at Église Saint-Acceul, Écouen.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 38.

10.30

-- Windows 4-5

- Panel representing Madeline de Savoye (died 1586) and her daughters with Anne de Montmorency.
- Anonymous, attributed to **Bernard Palissy** (French, 1509-1590) after **Jean Bullant** (French, c.1515-1578) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: North Cloister, probably outside the Fifteenth-Century Room.
- Possibly conserved at Église Saint-Acceul, Écouen.⁶⁴⁸
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 38.

10.31

-- Windows 4-5

- Panel representing the Sons of Anne de Montmorency and Madeline de Savoye.
- Anonymous, attributed to **Bernard Palissy** (French, 1509-1590) after **Jean Bullant** (French, c.1515-1578) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: North Cloister, probably outside the Fifteenth-Century Room.
- Possibly conserved at Église Saint-Acceul, Écouen.⁶⁴⁹
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 38.

10.32

-- Window 6

- Two panels representing scenes from the New Testament and two medallions decorated with the emblems of Louis XII, Henri II, and Diane de Poitiers
- MMF Location: Directly after the family of Anne de Montmorency, possibly the westernmost window of the North Cloister.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 39.

Stained Glass: West Cloister

⁶⁴⁸ Two sets of windows, one conserved at Musée Condé in Chantilly and the other Église Saint-Acceul in Écouen, represent Anne de Montmorency and his family. However, from the description provided by Lenoir, it is not possible to definitively determine which of these windows were on display in the Cloister.

⁶⁴⁹ Two sets of windows, one conserved at Musée Condé in Chantilly and the other Église Saint-Acceul in Écouen, represent Anne de Montmorency and his family. However, from the description provided by Lenoir, it is not possible to definitively determine which of these windows were on display in the Cloister.

10.33

#8 Window 1

- *Story of Psyche*, 44 panels, c.1540-1544.
- Commissioned by Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France (1493-1567)
- From the Château d'Écouen.
- MMF Location: West Cloister, and perhaps more locations.
- Conserved at the Musée Condé, Chantilly.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 39 and Biet and Brés, Plates 33 and 36.

Stained Glass: South and East Cloisters

10.34

-- Window 1

- Two panels representing the end of the world and the resurrection of the dead.
- Attributed to **Robert Pinaigrier** (active in France, 16th century) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: After *Story of Psyche*, likely the South Cloister.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 39.

10.35

-- Window 2

- Two panels representing the end of the world and the resurrection of the dead.
- Attributed to **Robert Pinaigrier** (active in France, 16th century) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: South or East Cloister.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 39.

10.36

#12 Window 3

- Ten panels representing the life of Dom Jean de la Barrière.
- After **Mathieu Elias** (Flemish, 1658-1741)
- From the Église des Feuillants, Paris. (now demolished)
- MMF Location: South or East Cloister.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 39.

10.37

-- Window 4

- Two panels representing the descent from the cross.
- Attributed to **Jean Nogarre** (French, c.17th century) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: South or East Cloister.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 39.

10.38

-- Window 6

- Panel representing scenes of the life of Sainte Geneviève.
- MMF Location: Immediately west of the Hall of Introduction, possibly located in the East or North Cloister.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1816, 38.

Busts of the North and West Cloisters

Images of the West Cloister show up to twenty-three busts on display in this hall. Images of the North Cloister show at least four busts on display in this hall. The busts in these spaces are not identifiable from available sources but were likely related to the adjacent Fifteenth-, Sixteenth-, and Seventeenth-Century Rooms, and possibly the Eighteenth-Century Room. See Sixteenth-Century Busts, Seventeenth-Century Busts, and Eighteenth-Century Busts and Bas-Reliefs.⁶⁵⁰

Monuments listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, unspecified location

10.40

#123 Resurrection of Christ and Christ on the Tomb

- Terracotta group, c.16th century (catalog Year V-1803)
 - Attributed to **Germain Pilon** (French, c. 1525-1590) by Lenoir
 - From the Église Sainte-Geneviève.
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⁶⁵⁰ Biet and Brés, *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français*, Plates 25-29.

- Listed in the Cloister Galler in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 121; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiositiés de Paris et de ses environs*, 114.

10.41

#128 Saint François

- Terracotta, c.16th century (catalog Year V-1806).
- Attributed to **Germain Pilon** (French, c. 1525-1590) by Lenoir.
- From Couvent des Grands-Augustins, Paris (demolished in 1849).
- Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 123; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiositiés de Paris et de ses environs*, 115.

10.42

#193 Monument for Anne-Marie Martinozzi, Princess de Conti (d. 1672)

- Marble bas-relief, c.17th century (catalog An-1806)
- Attributed to **François Girardon** (French, 1628-1715) by Lenoir.
- From Église Saint-André-des-Arts, Paris (demolished in 1807)
- Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 92; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiositiés de Paris et de ses environs*, 115.

10.43

#194 John II Casimir, King of Poland (1609-1672)

- Funerary monument effigy, c.17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Balthazard Marsy** (French, 1628-1674) by Lenoir
- From the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près, Paris.
- Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Les Curiositiés de Paris et de ses environs*.
- Conserved at the Église Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 94 and Plate 186.

10.44

#243 François de Blanchefort de Créquy, Marshall of France, (1625-1687)

- Bronze bas-relief depicting a battle and marble bust, c.17th century (catalog YEAR V-1818)
- **Jean Juby** (French, c. 1654-1740), and **Nicolas Coustou** (French, 1685-1733)
- From the Couvent des Jacobins, Paris (now demolished)
- Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805.
- Bust conserved at the Église Saint Roch, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 121 (under #343), M.E.A.P., *Les Curiositiés de Paris et de ses environs*, 115.

10.45

#244 Grieving Woman

- Marble bas-relief, c. 17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Jacques Sarazin** (French, 1592-1660) by Lenoir
- From the Couvent de Saint-Croix-de-la-Bretonnerie, Paris (now demolished)
- Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 167; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiositiés de Paris et de ses environs*, 116.

10.46

#245 Inscriptions from monument to Louis XIII (1601-1643)

- Marble inscriptions, c.1643 (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jacques Sarazin** (French, 1592-1660)
- From the Église Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis, Paris
- Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 167; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiositiés de Paris et de ses environs*, 112.

10.47

#260 Bas-relief representing the last rights of humanity

- Marble bas-relief, c. 17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **François Girardon** (French, 1628-1715) by Lenoir.
- From Église Saint-André-des-Arts, Paris (demolished in 1807)
- Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 171; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiositiés de Paris et de ses environs*, 116.

10.48

#319 Amour and Psyché

- Marble copies of antiques, c. 18th century (catalog Year V-1803)
- Attributed to **Pierre le Gros** (French, unspecified) by Lenoir
- From the garden of the Château de Richelieu, Touraine.
- Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 185; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 116.

10.50

#334 Christ on the column

- Stone, c.18th century (catalog Year V-1803)
- Attributed to **René-Michel Slodtz** (Paris, 1705-1764), after **Michelangelo** (Italian, 1475-1564) by Lenoir
- Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 189; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 117.

10.51

#436 Life of the Virgin

- Stone bas-relief, undated middle ages (catalog Year VIII-1802)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year VIII, 160; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 117.

10.52

#452 Education of the Virgin

- Alabaster bas-relief, c.16th century (catalog Year VIII-1806)
- Attributed to **Jean Bullant** (French, c.1515-1578) by Lenoir.
- From the Château d'Écouen.
- Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year VIII, 216; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 118.

10.53

#473 Models for Monument to Henri de Bourbon Condé (1588-1646)

- Bas-relief, c.17th century (catalog 1802-1816)
- Attributed to **Jacques Sarazin** (French, 1592-1660) by Lenoir.
- Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1802, 262; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 119.

10.54

#487 Bas-relief representing Athletes

- Marble bas-relief, c.17th century (catalog Year VIII-1810)
- Attributed to **Le Gros** (French, unspecified) by Lenoir.
- Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year VIII, 303; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 119.

10.55

#553 Monument for Denis David Dubuisson, curé de Magny (c.1703-1784)

- Marble bas-relief and monument, c.1785 (catalog 1806-1816)
- Attributed to M. Dejoux, possibly **Claude Dejoux** (French, 1732-1816) by Lenoir.
- Listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805.
- Conserved at the Église Notre-Dame-de-la-Nativité in Magny-en-Vexin, France.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1806, 241; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 119.

A.11 ÉLYSÉE

Central Axis of the Élysée

11.1

#449 Mausoleum for Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France (1493-1567) and Madeline de Savoye (died 1586)

- Architectural monument, c. 1797 (catalog Year V-1816)
- After the design of **Jean Bullant** (French, c.1515-1578)
- MMF Location: Center axis of the Élysée
- Ensemble by Lenoir. A semi-circular niche formed by 10 Corinthian columns raises a half-cupola. A marble solidier by Germain Pilon (French, c. 1525-1590) from the Salle des Antiques of the Louvre and six stone apostles from the Château d'Anet.⁶⁵¹
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, Plate 168; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du grand jardin*, 1.

11.2

#480 Jupiter de Smyrne

- Stone statue copied after an antique, c.17th century (catalog Year VIII-1810)
- Attributed to **Marsy** (French, unspecified) by Lenoir.
- From the Château de Sceaux.
- MMF Location: Center axis of the Élysée, between #449 *Mausoleum for Anne de Montmorency* and #467 *Fontaine de Diane*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year VIII, 297.

11.3

#467 Fontaine de Diane

- Marble, mid-16th century (catalog Year VIII-1810)
- Restored by **Pierre-Nicholas Beauvallet** (French, 1750-1818), original author unknown.⁶⁵²
- From the Château d'Anet.
- MMF Location: Center axis of the Élysée, between #480 *Jupiter de Smyrne* and #208 *Triumphal Column*.
- Conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris Replica in the original location at the Château d'Anet.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 85 and Plate 158; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du grand jardin*, 1.

⁶⁵¹ Laetitia Barrague-Zouita, "Le Roman nationale au jardin: L'Élysée du Musée des monuments français d'Alexandre Lenoir" in *Un musée révolutionnaire*, eds. Bresc-Bautier and de Chancel-Bardelot, 195.

⁶⁵² Attributed to Jean Goujon (French, c.1510-c.1565) by Lenoir.

11.4

#208 Monumental Column

- Pink marble column decorated with four bronze bas-reliefs at base and bronze figure of *Abondance* at top, reliefs 1679-1689 (catalog Year V-1816)
- Bas-reliefs by **Martin van den Bogaert, Desjardins** (Dutch, 1637-1694)
- Bas-reliefs from the base of the statue of Louis XIV (1638-1715) from the Place des Victoires, Paris.
- MMF Location: Center axis of the Élysée, between #467 *Fontaine de Diane* and #188 *Monument to Louis II, le Grand Condé*.
- Bas-reliefs conserved in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, Plate 176.

11.5

#188 Monument to Louis II, le Grand Condé (1621-1686)

- Bronze figures representing Religion, Prudence, Faith, Charity, and two génies, with fourteen bronze bas-reliefs of the battles of Condé, c. 17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Jacques Sarazin** (French, 1592-1660)
- From the Église Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis, Paris.
- MMF Location: East wall of the Élysée.
- Conserved at the Musée Condé, Chantilly.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 87; Biet and Brés, Plate 40.

11.6 Unidentified Priants: Proposed Attributions

#168 Guillaume de Montmorency (1453-1531)

- Alabaster *priant*, c.16th century (catalog 1806-1816)
- From the Église Saint-Martin in Montmorency, France.
- MMF Location: Center axis of the Élysée, two *priants* on either side of #449 *Mausoleum for Anne de Montmorency*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1806, 165 and Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du grand jardin*, 1.

#472 Philippe de Castille (died 1627)

- Marble *priant*, c.17th century (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- MMF Location: Center axis of the Élysée, two *priants* on either side of #449 *Mausoleum for Anne de Montmorency*.

- Conserved at the Cathédrale Saint-Étienne de Meaux.
- MMF Location: Center axis of the Élysée, two *priants* on either side of #449 *Mausoleum for Anne de Montmorency*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year VIII, 266; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du grand jardin*, 1; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 125.

11.7

#509 Tomb of Jean de la Fontaine, fabulist (1621-1695)

- Stone sarcophagus, c.1800 (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Tomb design by Lenoir, with two bas-reliefs depicting the fables, "The Wolf and the Lamb" and "The Wolf and the Crane," and two inscriptions, "Jean de la Fontaine est dans ce tombeau" and "Jean s'en alla comme il était venu."
- MMF Location: Center of the Élysée.
- Conserved at the Cimetière du Père Lachaise, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 199 and Plate 200.

#509 Remains of Jean de La Fontaine (1621-1695)

- Originally interred at the Église Saint-Joseph, Paris.
- Transferred to the Musée des monuments français in 1799.
- Interred at the Cimetière du Père Lachaise, Paris in 1818.
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 2, 374.

11.8

#510 Monument to Molière (1622-1673), Jean Racine (1639-1695), Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636-1711) and Jean de La Fontaine (1621-1695)

- Monument, c. 1800 (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Design by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Center of the Élysée.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year VIII, 365; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du grand jardin*, 1.

11.9

#508 Tomb of Molière, playwright (1622-1673)

- Stone sarcophagus, c.1800 (catalog Year VIII-1816)

- Tomb design by Lenoir, with dramatists' masks to represent his profession and the inscription: "Molière est dans ce tombeau."
- MMF Location: Center of the Élysée.
- Conserved at the Cimetière du Père Lachaise, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 197 and Plate 199.

#508 Remains of Molière (1622-1673)

- Originally interred at the Église Saint-Joseph, Paris, in the portion of the cemetery reserved for unbaptized infants.
- Transferred to the Musée des monuments français in 1799.
- Interred at the Cimetière du Père Lachaise, Paris in 1818.
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 1, 141, vol. 2, 270, vol. 3, 253.

11.10

#555 Urn of Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, poet (1636-1711)

- Marble vase on pedestal (catalog 1802-1816)
- Pedestal inscribed with the inscription "Boileau est dans ce tombeau."
- MMF Location: Center of the Élysée.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 202 and Plate 203; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du grand jardin*, 1.

#555 Remains of Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636-1711)

- Originally interred at the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris.
- Transferred to the Musée des monuments français in 1800.
- Interred at the Église Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1818.
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 2, 426-435 and vol. 3, 262-3.

11.11

#544 Monument from Nogent-sur-Seine

- Architectural fragment, mid-15th century to mid-16th century (catalog Year X-1816)
- From the Église Saint-Laurent, Nogent-sur-Seine
- Attributed to **Philibert de l'Orme** (French, c.1510-1570) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: North wall of the Élysée.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 156 and Plate 130; Biet and Brés, Plate 39; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du monument d'architecture de Nogent-sur-Seine*.

11.12

#314 Monument to Jacques Rohault, philosopher and physicist (1618-1672)

- Marble urn on top of a black marble Corinthian column (catalog Year V-1816)
- Inscription: "Ici est déposée le coeur de Jacques Rohault, disciple et ami de Descartes, mort en 1674."
- MMF Location: North wall of the Élysée, near #544 *Monument from Nogent-sur-Seine*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 196 and Plate 198; Biet and Brés, Plate 39; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du monument d'architecture de Nogent-sur-Seine*.

#314 Heart of Jacques Rohault (1618-1672)

- Originally interred at Église Sainte-Geneviève with René Descartes (1596-1650).
- Transferred to the Musée des monuments français before 1796.
- Interred at the Église Saint-Germain-des-Prés 1818.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique*, 3th ed. (Year V, 1796-1797), 182 and *AMMF*, vol. 1, 140.

11.13

#5 Funerary monument of Dagobert (c.603-639) with Nantilde (c.610-642) and Clovis II (c.637-658)

- Limestone monument, c.13th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- MMF Location: West wall of the Élysée.
- Conserved at its original location, now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 152 and Plate 19bis; Biet and Brés, Plate 37; Réville and Lavallée, *Tombeau du roi Dagobert*.

11.14

#544 Tomb of Jean Mabillon, scholar (1632-1707)

- Stone sarcophagus, c.1799 (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Tomb design by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Center of the Élysée.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 201 and Plate 201.

#544 Remains of Jean Mabillon (1632-1707)

- Originally interred at the Abbaye of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris.
- Transferred to the Musée des monuments français in 1799.
- Interred at the Église Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1818.
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 2, 374 and vol. 3, 260.

11.15

#515 Tomb of Abélard (1079-1142) and Héloïse (c.1092-1164)

- Stone *gisants*, sarcophagus, and architectural canopy, 1800-1814 (catalog Year X-1815)
- Tomb design by Lenoir, with **Louis-Pierre Deseine** (French, 1749-1822) and **Pierre-Nicholas Beauvallet** (French, 1750-1818).
- MMF Location: Southeast corner of the Élysée.
- Ensemble by Lenoir. Two unidentified *gisants* serve as Héloïse and Abélard. The female *gisant* was given a new face by Louis-Pierre Deseine (French, 1749-1822) after Héloïse's skull. The architectural canopy is constructed of fragments from anonymous sources.⁶⁵³ The canopy is decorated with two medallion busts of Abélard and Héloïse and the sarcophagus is decorated with bas-reliefs from the thirteenth-century tomb of Philippe Dagobert (1222-c.1235) and Louis de France (1244-1260) from the Abbaye Royaumont, near Asnières-sur-Oise, France.
- Multiple inscriptions: "Pierre Abailard," "Sub eodem marmore jacent hujus monasterii conditor Petrus Aelardus et abbatissa prima Heloisa, 1779," "Le tombeau d'Abélard a été transporté de l'église St Marcel les Chalons sur Saône en l'Year VIII," "Les restes d'Héloïse et d'Abélard sont réunis dans ce tombeau," and "Les restes d'Abélard et d'Héloïse ont été transportés dans ce lieu l'an MDCCCXIX."
- Conserved at the Cimetière du Père Lachaise, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 223 and Plate 40; Biet and Brés, Plate 38; Réville and Lavallée, *Monument d'Héloïse et d'Abelard*.

#515 Remains of Abélard⁶⁵⁴

- Originally interred at Église Saint-Marcel-lès-Chalon, near Chalon-sur-Saône.
- Transferred to the Abbaye du Paraclete by Héloïse before her death in 1164.
- Transferred to the Église Saint-Laurent, Nogent-sur-Seine in 1779.
- Transferred to the Musée des monuments français in 1800.
- Interred at the Cimetière du Père Lachaise, Paris in 1818-9.

⁶⁵³ Lenoir claimed fragments came from the Abbaye de Saint-Denis, Abbaye du Paraclete, and the Église Saint-Marcel-lès-Chalon to strengthen the connection between Abélard and Héloïse and their new tomb. Pogran and Meunier, "Le tombeau d'Héloïse et d'Abélard: La mise en scène d'une histoire...d'amour?" 165-9.

⁶⁵⁴ Shepard, "A Tomb of Abelard and Heloise," 34.

#515 Remains of Héloïse⁶⁵⁵

- Originally interred at the Abbaye du Paraclete.
- Transferred to the Église Saint-Larent, Nogent-sur-Seine in 1779.
- Transferred to the Musée des monuments français in 1800.
- Interred at the Cimetière du Père Lachaise, Paris in 1818-9.

11.16

#507 Tomb of René Descartes, philosopher (1596-1650)

- Before 1797, remains held in a porphyry tomb, Roman, c.2nd-3rd century, once belonging to the Anne Claude de Caylus (1692-1765) (#I, catalog Year V-1810)
- After 1797, remains held in a marble sarcophagus, c.1797 (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Tomb designed by Lenoir is supported by griffins and inscribed with the inscription: "Restes de René Descartes, mort en Suede en 1650."
- MMF Location: Southeast corner of the Élysée.
- Tomb of Anne Claude de Caylus conveyed in the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 197 and Plate 195; Biet and Brés, Plate 40.

#507 Remains of René Descartes (1596-1650)

- Originally interred at the Église de Sainte-Geneviève, Paris.
- Transferred to the Musée des monuments français in or before 1795.
- Interred at the Église Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1818.
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 1, 24 and vol. 3, 260.

11.17

#159 Fountain of Pomponne de Bellièvre, Chancellor of France (1529-1607)

- Architectural fragment from the Hôtel d'O, old Rue du Temple, Paris. (catalog 1815-1816)
- Attributed to **Germain Pilon** (French, c. 1525-1590) and **Jean Bullant** (French, c.1515-1578) by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Southeast wall of the Élysée.

⁶⁵⁵ Shepard, "A Tomb of Abelard and Heloise," 34.

- Ensemble by Lenoir: Architectural fragment converted into a fountain and decorated with the soldier *couché*, busts of Medusa and Mercury, masks, and the bust, #270 *Pomponne de Bellièvre*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée royale*, 1815, 93; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue de la fontaine de Pomponne de Bellièvre*.

#270 Bust of Pomponne de Bellièvre, Chancellor of France (1529-1607)

- Marble bust, late 16th-early 17th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- **Matthieu Jacquet** (French, c. 1545-after 1611)⁶⁵⁶
- MMF Location: Center of #159 *Fountain of Pomponne de Bellièvre*.
- Conserved at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 169; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue de la fontaine de Pomponne de Bellièvre*. #270 *Pomponne de Bellièvre* is located in the Hall of Introduction according to Biet and Brés, Plate 2 and listed in the Cloister Gallery in 1805, *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*.

11.18

#407 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, philosopher (1712-1778)

- Marble bust, c.18th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **M. Boyer** (unspecified) by Lenoir. Lenoir requested permission to commission a bust of Rousseau in 1797.⁶⁵⁷
- MMF Location: North wall of the Élysée, near #544 *Monument from Nogent-sur-Seine*.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 210; Réville and Lavallée, *Vue du monument d'architecture de Nogent-sur-Seine*.

11.19

#513 Bernard de Montfaucon, historian (1655-1741)

- Stone monument, c.1799 (catalog Year VIII-1816)
- Tomb design by Lenoir, using sculptural fragments from ancient Egypt, ancient Greece, ancient Rome, and the early French Middle Ages to represent the work of Montfaucon.
- MMF Location: Probably southwest corner of the Élysée.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 5, 202 and Plate 202.

⁶⁵⁶ Incorrectly attributed to Barthélemy Prieur (French, 1536-1611) by Lenoir.

⁶⁵⁷ *AMMF*, vol. 3, 322-325.

#513 Remains of Bernard de Montfaucon (1655-1741)

- Originally interred at the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près, Paris.
- Transferred to the Musée des monuments français in 1799.
- Interred at the Église Saint-Germain-des-Près in 1818.
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 2, 374 and vol. 3, 260.

11.20

#511 Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne (1611-1675)

- Marble sarcophagus, c.1799 (catalog Year VIII-1803)
- Tomb design by Lenoir.
- MMF Location: Center of the Élysée.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year VIII, 365.

#511 Remains of Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne (1611-1675)

- Originally interred at the abbey church of Saint-Denis (now the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis).
- Exhumed in 1793, transferred to the Muséum d'histoire naturelle.
- Transferred to the Musée des monuments français in 1799.
- Interred at Les Invalides, Paris, in 1800.
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 2, 374.

#561 Admiral Gaspard de Coligny (1519-1572)

- Marble sarcophagus (catalog 1806-1816)
- Lenoir attributed the sarcophagus to M. Monesquiou (undefined) at the Château de Chatillon, but it appears to have been the same sarcophagus used for Turenne.
- MMF Location: Center of the Élysée.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 22 and Plate 144.

11.21

#114 Albert de Gondi, Marshall of France (1522-1602)

- Marble *priant*, c.17th century, raised on platforms above cenotaphs (catalog Year V-1816)
- *Priants* from the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris.
- MMF Location: Northeast corner of the Élysée.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 138 and Plate 127.

#117 Pierre de Gondi, bishop of Paris (1533-1616)

- Marble *priant*, c.17th century, raised on platforms above cenotaphs (catalog Year V-1816)
- *Priants* from the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris.
- MMF Location: Northeast corner of the Élysée.
- Conserved at its original location, the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 3, 145.

11.22

#419 Monument to Pierre Julien, sculptor (1731-1804)

- Black marble cenotaph, early 19th century (catalog 1810-1816)
- MMF Location: Élysée, unspecified.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, 1810, 293.

Monuments listed in the Élysée in 1805, unspecified location

11.23

#106 Monumental Column for Timoléon Cossé, comte de Brissac (d. 1569)

- Marble column, c. 16th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- From Couvent des Célestins (demolished 1901)
- Listed in the Élysée in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 4, 108; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 125.

11.24

#125 Anatomical Figure

- Marble, c. 16th century (catalog Year V-1816)
- Attributed to **Germain Pilon** (French, c.1525-1590) by Lenoir.
- Listed in the Élysée in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 121; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 125.

11.25

#210 Charlemagne (742-814)

- Marble, c.1706 (catalog Year V-1806)
- **Antoine Coysevox** (French, 1640-1720)
- From Les Invalides, Paris.
- Listed in the Élysée in 1805.
- Conserved at Les Invalides, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 157; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 126.

11.26

#211 Louis IX (1214-1270)

- Marble, c.1701-1706 (catalog Year V-1806)
- **Nicolas Coustou** (French, 1658-1733)
- From Les Invalides, Paris.
- Listed in the Élysée in 1805.
- Conserved at Les Invalides, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 157; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 126.

11.27

#424 Tomb plates of Abbots of the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Morard (Abbot, 990-1014) and Ignon (Abbot 1014 to 1026)

- Stone tomb plates, c. 11th century (catalog Year VIII-1805)
- From the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris.
- Listed in the Élysée in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 158-166 and Plate 20-21; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 126. Items from the tomb of Ignon included in the frontispiece of *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1.

11.28

#479 Baptism of Jesus Christ

- Marble group, c.17th century (catalog 1800-1803)
- Attributed to **Jean-Baptiste Tuby** (French, 1635-1700) by Lenoir
- From the Château de Sceaux.
- Listed in the Élysée in 1805.

- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year VIII, 297; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 127.

11.29

#481 Minerve

- Copy after an antique, c.17th century (catalog Year VIII-1810)
- Attributed to **Marsy** (French, unspecified) by Lenoir.
- From the Château de Sceaux.
- Listed in the Élysée in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year VIII, 298; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 127.

11.30

#482 Junon

- Copy after an antique, c.17th century (catalog Year VIII-1810)
- Attributed to **Marsy** (French, unspecified) by Lenoir.
- From the Château de Sceaux.
- Listed in the Élysée in 1805.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year VIII, 298; M.E.A.P., *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs*, 127.

A.12 HALL OF ANTIQUES

The Hall of Antiques was located on the second floor, above the Thirteenth-Century Room. It was not part of the visitor circuit but was open to artists. The Hall of Antiques went through multiple stages of development. The *Description historique et chronologique* (Year V, 1796-1797) listed thirty-five Greek and Roman antiquities. In *Description historique et chronologique* (Year VI, 1797-1798), Lenoir reported that seventeen of these antiquities had been transferred to the Louvre. The remaining antiquities were listed in the guidebook until 1810, but many had been transferred

to the Louvre by 1803. *Bacchus Richelieu* and *Meleager/Hermes Richelieu* were temporarily displayed in the Introduction Hall. The manner Lenoir displayed the other antiquities in the Musée des monuments français before they were sent to the Louvre is for the most part not knowable from existing sources.

As the antiquities were sent to the Louvre, Lenoir created plaster casts of *Bacchus Richelieu* and other monuments. Lenoir advertised that visitors could order plaster casts of the original antiquities from him. After 1799, the Hall of Antiques was a collection of plaster casts. In 1797, Lenoir obtained permission to order copies at his own expense from the mold-makers of the Louvre. He purchased casts of *Apollo Belvedere*, *Castor and Pollux*, the *Borghese Gladiator*, and *Germanicus*. In 1807, the Musée des monuments français received a collection of casts of masterpieces rejected by the Louvre. Lenoir continued to collect casts and models for the duration of the museum's existence. The two drawings of the Hall of Antiques in Lenoir's notebooks in Département des Arts graphiques in the Musée du Louvre show a rich collection of masterpieces, but these images cannot be verified and may have been imagined.

Antiquities, catalog Year V, transferred to the Louvre c. 1797

12.1

#XIV Minerve (Athena)

- Copy of an antique, undated (catalog Year V)
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée centrale des arts), Paris.
- Conserved in the Musée du Louvre.⁶⁵⁸
- Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 31 and Lenoir, *Collection des monumens de sculpture au réunis au Musée des monumens français*. (1798), 30, #XX.

⁶⁵⁸ Rochs, "Les antiques au Musée des monuments français," 100.

12.2

#XV Young Faun

- Marble, undated, Roman (catalog Year V)
- From the garden of the Château de Richelieu, Touraine.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée centrale des arts), Paris.
- Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 31.

12.3

#XVI Junon

- Marble, undated, possibly Roman (catalog Year V)
- From the garden of the Château de Richelieu, Touraine.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée centrale des arts), Paris.
- Conserved at the Dépôt of the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Tour.⁶⁵⁹
- Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 31 and Lenoir, *Collection des monumens de sculpture au réunis au Musée des monumens français*. (1798), 30, #XXV.

12.4

#XVII Venus

- Marble, undated, possibly Roman (catalog Year V)
- From the garden of the Château de Richelieu, Touraine.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée centrale des arts), Paris.
- Conserved at the Dépôt of the Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans.⁶⁶⁰
- Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 31 and Lenoir, *Collection des monumens de sculpture au réunis au Musée des monumens français*. (1798), 26, #XIX.

12.5

⁶⁵⁹ Rochs, "Les antiques au Musée des monuments français," 98.

⁶⁶⁰ Rochs, "Les antiques au Musée des monuments français," 98.

#XVIII Meleager

- Marble, undated, Roman (catalog Year V)
- From the garden of the Château de Richelieu, Touraine.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée centrale des arts), Paris.
- Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 32 and Lenoir, *Collection des monumens de sculpture au réunis au Musée des monumens français*. (1798), 38, #XXIII or #XXIV.

12.6

#XIX Hermaphrodite

- Copy of an antique, undated (catalog Year V)
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée centrale des arts), Paris in 1798.
- Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 32.

12.7

#XX Amour

- Copy of an antique, undated (catalog Year V)
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Original antique in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (Copy also listed as transferred to the Louvre after Year V).
- Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 32.

12.8

#XXIV Bas-relief of a woman

- Marble bas-relief, undated, Roman (catalog Year V)
- From the Académie des Belles-Lettres.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée centrale des arts), Paris.
- Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 33 and Lenoir, *Collection des monumens de sculpture au réunis au Musée des monumens français*. (1798), 20, and Plate 4, #XV.

12.9

#XXV Bust of a Roman Woman

- Marble bust, undated, Roman (catalog Year V)
- From the garden of the Château de Richelieu, Touraine.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée centrale des arts), Paris.
- Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 33.

12.10

#XXVI Two Medallions

- Plaster, undated, partially antique (catalog Year V)
- From the Académie des Belles-Lettres.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée centrale des arts), Paris.
- Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 33.

12.11

#XXVII Small Masks

- Marble masks, undated, Roman (catalog Year V)
- From the Académie des Belles-Lettres.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée centrale des arts), Paris.
- Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 34.

12.12

#XXVIII Bust of Caracalla, Roman Emperor (188-217)

- Marble bust, undated, Roman (catalog Year V)
- From the garden of the Château de Richelieu, Touraine.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée centrale des arts), Paris.
- Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 34.

12.13

#XXIX Two Busts

- Marble bust, undated, Roman (catalog Year V)
- From the Couvent des Petits-Pères (now demolished)
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée centrale des arts), Paris.
- Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 34.

12.14

#XXX Busts of Twelve Emperors

- Copies after antiques, undated (catalog Year V)
- MMF Location: Élysée.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée centrale des arts), Paris.
- Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 34.

12.15

#XXXI Sarcophagus

- Marble sarcophagus, undated, late Roman empire (catalog Year V)
- From the Église Saint-Sulpice, Paris.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée centrale des arts), Paris.
- Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 35 and *Collection des monumens de sculpture au réunis au Musée des monumens français*. (1798), 41, #XXVI or #XXVII.

12.16

#XXXII Sarcophagus

- Marble sarcophagus, undated, late Roman empire (catalog Year V)
- From the Église Saint-Sulpice, Paris.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée centrale des arts), Paris.
- Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 35 and *Collection des monumens de sculpture au réunis au Musée des monumens français*. (1798), 41, #XXVI or #XXVII.

12.17

#XXXIII Antique Vase

- Gray marble vase, undated, late Roman empire (catalog Year V)
- From the Église Saint-Sulpice, Paris.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée centrale des arts), Paris.
- Lenoir, *Description historique*, Year V, 35.

Antiquities, Catalog Year V- 1810, many transferred to Louvre before 1803

--

#1 Sarcophagus of Anne Claude de Caylus (1692-1765)

- Porphyry sarcophagus, Roman, c. 2nd-3rd century, (catalog Year V-1810)
 - MMF Location: See Élysée, 11.16.
 - Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée centrale des arts) in 1797.
 - Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 52 and Plate 2.
-

12.18

#I bis Funerary Stele

- Three fragments of a bas-relief dedicated to Epaphroditus and united in a single frame, undated, Greek (catalog Year V-1810)
 - MMF Location: unspecified location.
 - Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 54 and Plate 3.
-

12.19

#II Funerary Stele

- Marble sepulchral monument dedicated to Eurythmus, undated, Greek (catalog Year V-1810)
 - MMF Location: unspecified location.
 - Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 56 and Plate 4.
-

12.20

#III Funerary Stele

- Stone sepulchral monument dedicated to Philochares and Timagore Hephaistodore, undated, Greek (catalog Year V-1810)

- Originally from Athens, transferred from the Académie des Belles-Lettres, Nointel collection in 1795.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée Napoléon) in 1803.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 57 and Plate 5.

12.21

#IV Funerary Stele

- Marble sepulchral monument dedicated to Marcus Pompeius and Isodora, Greek under Roman rule (catalog Year V-1810)
- Originally from Athens, transferred from the Académie des Belles-Lettres, Nointel collection in 1795.
- MMF Location: possibly southeast corner of Introduction Hall, before 1803.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée Napoléon) in 1803.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 60 and Plate 5, Vauzelle, *Vue de la salle d'introduction avant son achèvement*, Musée du Louvre 5279.33.

12.22

#V Tablet with Inscription

- Marble tablet, dedicated to Marcellus by Abydos, undated, Greek (catalog Year V-1810)
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 59 and Plate 5.

12.23

#VI Funerary Stele

- Stone sepulchral monument dedicated to Moschus, undated, Greek (catalog Year V-1810)
- Originally from Athens, transferred from the Académie des Belles-Lettres, Nointel collection in 1795.
- MMF Location: possibly southeast corner of Introduction Hall, before 1803.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée Napoléon) in 1803.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 60 and Plate 6, and Vauzelle, *Vue de la salle d'introduction avant son achèvement*, Musée du Louvre 5279.33.

12.24

#VII Funerary Stele

- Stone sepulchral monument dedicated to Démétrius, undated, Greek (catalog Year V-1810)
- Originally from Athens, transferred from the Académie des Belles-Lettres, Nointel collection in 1795.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée Napoléon) in 1803.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 61 and Plate 7.

12.25

#VIII Funerary Stele

- Marble sepulchral monument dedicated to Boitenos, 2nd-3rd century CE (catalog Year V-1810)
- Possible originally from Cypress, transferred from the Académie des Belles-Lettres, Nointel collection in 1795.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée Napoléon) in 1803.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 61 and Plate 6

12.26

#IX Scene depicting the cult of Aphrodite and Arès

- Marble bas-relief, c. 410 BCE (catalog Year V-1810)
- Originally from Athens, transferred from the Académie des Belles-Lettres, Nointel collection in 1795.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Louvre (Musée Napoléon) in 1803, now conserved at the Musée du Louvre
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 61 and Plate 8.

12.27

#X Marble of Athens

- Marble tablets with obituaries of 180 Athenians killed during the Peloponnesian War, 431-494 BCE (catalog Year V-1810)
- Originally from Athens, transferred from the Académie des Belles-Lettres, Nointel collection in 1795.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.

- Transferred the Musée du Louvre (Musée Napoléon) in 1803, then the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris until 1929, now conserved at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.⁶⁶¹
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 62 and Plate 9.

12.28

#XI Funerary Stele

- Stone sepulchral monument, undated, Greek (catalog Year V-1810)
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 73.

12.29

#XII Bacchus (Bacchus Richelieu)

- Marble statue, c. 2nd century, Roman (catalog Year V-1810)
- From the garden of the Château de Richelieu, Touraine.
- MMF Location: Either original or plaster cast is shown in Vauzelle's drawing of the Introduction Hall before 1800.
- Marble transferred to the Louvre in 1797 and is conserved at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 76 and Plate 10, *Statues et fragments antiques réunis au Musée des monuments français*, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.36, Vauzelle, *Vue de la salle d'introduction avant son achèvement*, Musée du Louvre 5279.33.

12.30

#XIII Meleager (actually Hermes Richelieu)

- Marble statue, c. 2nd century, Roman (catalog Year V-1810)
- From the garden of the Château de Richelieu, Touraine.
- MMF Location: Either original or plaster cast is shown in Vauzelle's drawing of the Introduction Hall before 1800.
- Marble transferred to the Louvre around 1800 and is conserved at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 78 and Plate 11 and Vauzelle, *Vue de la salle d'introduction avant son achèvement*, Musée du Louvre 5279.33.

⁶⁶¹ Bresc-Bautier and Chancel-Bardelot, eds., *Un Musée Revolutionnaire*, 356.

12.31

#XXI Silenus

- Stone bas-relief, undated, Roman (catalog Year V-1810)
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Conserved at the Musée du Louvre.⁶⁶²
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 85 and Plate 12

12.32

#XXII Fête in honor of Bacchus

- Stone Bas-relief, undated, Roman (catalog Year V-1810)
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Conserved at the Musée du Louvre after 1920.⁶⁶³
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 85 and Plate 12

12.33

#XXIII Funerary Stele of a Young Mother

- Marble sepulchral monument, c. 370 BCE (catalog Year V-1810)
- Probably originally from Asia Minor, transferred from the Académie des Belles-Lettres, Nointel collection in 1795.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Transferred to the Musée du Louvre (Musée Napoléon) in 1803.⁶⁶⁴
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 88 and Plate 13

12.34

#XXXVII Bas-relief

- Bas-relief in the *style grec*, dedicated to a poet, undated (catalog 1802-1810)
- MMF Location: Hall of Antiques, unspecified location.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 91 and Plate 14

⁶⁶² Rochs, "Les antiques au Musée des monuments français," 100.

⁶⁶³ Rochs, "Les antiques au Musée des monuments français," 100.

⁶⁶⁴ Bresc-Bautier and Chancel-Bardelot, eds., *Un Musée Revolutionnaire*, 356.

Antiquities of the Musée des monuments français after 1803

12.35

#XXXIV Vase de Cana

- Alabaster vase, c. 1st century BCE (Year V-1816)
- Originally from Palestine or Syria, transferred from the Abbaye des Port-Royal des Champs, Yvelines in 1793.⁶⁶⁵
- MMF Location: Possibly southeast corner of Introduction Hall before 1803.
- Conserved in the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 89 and Plate 13 and Vauzelle, *Vue de la salle d'introduction avant son achèvement*, Musée du Louvre 5279.33. Included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1.

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#XXXV Tombeau de Ladre

- MMF Location: See Introduction Hall, 2.4
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 89 and Plate 14.

12.36

#XXXVI L'empire du temps sur le monde

- Marble bas-relief, c.1550-1600 (catalog Year VI-1806, 1810-1816 as #71)
- MMF Location: probably Hall of Antiques.
- Initially conserved at Saint-Denis, now at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 90 and Plate 15. Included in the frontispiece for *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1.

12.37

-- Discobole

- Antique, possibly Roman copy of Greek bronze, c. 460-450 BCE.

⁶⁶⁵ Bresc-Bautier and Chancel-Bardelot, eds., *Un Musée Revolutionnaire*, 355.

- MMF Location: Hall of Antiques
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 1, 398. Listed in the 1816 Inventory, *AMMF*, vol. 3, 217-8.

12.38

-- Cincinnatus

- Antique, unspecified
- MMF Location: Hall of Antiques
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 1, 399.

12.39

-- Numerous antique busts, heads, torsos, bas-reliefs and other fragments

- In 1816: 2 large vases, 32 bas-reliefs from Athens, 12 torsos, 5 busts, 49 heads, and 5 bas-reliefs, and the large head of a horse.
- Unspecified age or origin.
- MMF Location: Hall of Antiques.
- Reference: 1816 Inventory, *AMMF*, vol. 3, 217-8.

Antiques, listed in Lenoir, *Collections des monuments de sculpture...* (1798)

12.40

#XIII Esculape

- Marble statue, undated.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Conserved at the Musée du Louvre.⁶⁶⁶
- Reference: Lenoir, *Collection des monumens de sculpture au réunis au Musée des monumens français*. (1798), 20, and Plate 4.

12.41

#XIV Jupiter

- Marble statue, undated.
 - MMF Location: unspecified location.
-

⁶⁶⁶ Rochs, "Les antiques au Musée des monuments français," 100.

- Conserved at the Musée du Louvre.⁶⁶⁷
- Reference: Lenoir, *Collection des monumens de sculpture au réunis au Musée des monumens français*. (1798), 20, and Plate 4.

12.42

#XVI Isis

- Egyptian figurine, undated.
- From the cabinet des Augustines, place des Victoires, Paris.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Collection des monumens de sculpture au réunis au Musée des monumens français*. (1798), 20, and Plate 4.

12.43

#XVIII Isis

- Egyptian figurine, undated.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Collection des monumens de sculpture au réunis au Musée des monumens français*. (1798), 24.

12.43

#XXXI Bacchus

- Marble statue, undated.
- MMF Location: unspecified location.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Collection des monumens de sculpture au réunis au Musée des monumens français*. (1798), 24.

Models of the Hall of Antiques

12.44

-- Model of Apollo Belvedere

⁶⁶⁷ Rochs, "Les antiques au Musée des monuments français," 100.

- Plaster, 1799, after marble statue, c.120-140 BCE, which was made after bronze original, c. 350-325 BCE.
- After **Leochares** (Greek, c.4th century BCE)
- Purchased from Jean-André Getti (Italian), mold-maker, Salle des Antiques, Louvre.
- MMF Location: Hall of Antiques
- Marble original conserved in the Museo Pio-Clementino, Vatican City, Italy.
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 1, 353, *AMMF*, vol. 2, 338, and *Antiques, Musée des monuments français*, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.34. Listed in the 1816 Inventory, *AMMF*, vol. 3, 217-8.

12.45

-- Model of Castor and Pollux

- Plaster, 1799, after marble statue, c.1st century CE, Roman. (Possibly after version by Antoine Coysevox (France 1640-1720) Versailles, 1687-1712)
- Purchased from Jean-André Getti (Italian), mold-maker, Salle des Antiques, Louvre.
- MMF Location: Hall of Antiques
- Marble original conserved in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain.
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 1, 353, *AMMF*, vol. 2, 338, and *Antiques, Musée des monuments français*, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.34. Listed in the 1816 Inventory, *AMMF*, vol. 3, 217-8.

12.46

-- Model of the Borghese Gladiator

- Plaster, 1799, after marble statue, 100 BCE.
- After **Agasias of Ephesus** (Greek, c. 100 BCE)
- Purchased from Jean-André Getti (Italian), mold-maker, Salle des Antiques, Louvre.
- MMF Location: Hall of Antiques
- Marble original conserved at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 1, 353, *AMMF*, vol. 2, 338. Multiple gladiators listed in the 1816 Inventory, *AMMF*, vol. 3, 217-8.

12.47

-- Model of Germanicus, Roman Emporer (15 BCE-19 CE)

- Probably *Marcellus as Hermes Logios*. Plaster, 1799, after marble statue, c. 20 BCE, Roman.
- Purchased from Jean-André Getti (Italian), mold-maker, Salle des Antiques, Louvre.

- MMF Location: Hall of Antiques
- Marble original conserved at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 1, 353, *AMMF*, vol. 2, 395, and *Antiques, Musée des monuments français*, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.34. Listed in the 1816 Inventory, *AMMF*, vol. 3, 217-8.

12.48

-- Model of Venus de Medici

- Plaster, 1799, after marble statue, c.1st century BCE, Greek, which was made after a Greek bronze original sculpture.
- MMF Location: Hall of Antiques
- Marble original conserved at the Galleria delga Uffizi, Florence, Italy.
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 2, 395. Listed in the 1816 Inventory, *AMMF*, vol. 3, 217-8.

12.49

-- Model of a Statue of a Young Senator

- Plaster cast
- MMF Location: Hall of Antiques
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 1, 353.

12.50

-- Model of a Statue of a Faun

- Plaster cast
- MMF Location: Hall of Antiques
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 1, 353. Multiple fauns listed in the 1816 Inventory, *AMMF*, vol. 3, 217-8.

12.51

-- Model of a Bust of Nero

- Plaster cast
- MMF Location: Hall of Antiques
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 1, 353. Multiple busts listed in the 1816 Inventory, *AMMF*, vol. 3, 217-8.

12.52

-- Model of a Bust of Adrien

- Plaster cast
- MMF Location: Hall of Antiques
- Reference: *AMMF*, vol. 1, 353. Multiple busts listed in the 1816 Inventory, *AMMF*, vol. 3, 217-8.

12.53

-- Model of Bacchus (Bacchus Richelieu)

- Lenoir likely ordered a plaster cast after *Bacchus Richelieu* (#XII), c. 1797.
- MMF Location: Hall of Antiques, unspecified location. Either original or plaster cast is shown in Vauzelle's drawing of the Introduction Hall before 1800.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 76 and Plate 10 and Vauzelle, *Vue de la salle d'introduction avant son achèvement*, Musée du Louvre 5279.33.

12.54

-- Model of Meleager (Hermes Richelieu)

- Lenoir likely ordered a plaster cast after *Hermes Richelieu* (#XIII), c. 1797.
- MMF Location: Hall of Antiques, unspecified location. Either original or plaster cast is shown in Vauzelle's drawing of the Introduction Hall before 1800.
- Reference: Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français*, vol. 1, 78 and Plate 11, and Vauzelle, *Vue de la salle d'introduction avant son achèvement*, Musée du Louvre 5279.33.

Models of the Hall of Antiques, Image Identification Only

The models in this list have been identified from two drawings held by the Département arts graphiques of the Musée du Louvre, *Salle de statues et de vases antiques* and Vauzelle, *Statues et fragments antiques réunis au Musée des monuments français*. They do not appear in the archives, catalogs, or other textual references. In 1807, the Musée des monuments français recieved a

collection of casts of masterpieces rejected by the Louvre, and these could make up in part that collection.

12.55

-- **Model of the Dying Gaul**

- After marble statue, 3rd century BCE, Hellenistic.
- Marble original conserved at the Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy.
- Reference: *Antiques, Musée des monuments français*, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.34.

12.56

-- **Model of Belvedere Antinous (Hermes)**

- After marble statue, 2nd century CE, Roman copy of Greek original.
- Marble original conserved in the Museo Pio-Clementino, Vatican City, Italy.
- Reference: Vauzelle, *Statues et fragments antiques réunis au Musée des monuments français*, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.36.

12.57

-- **Model of Farnese Hercules**

- After marble statue, c. 215 CE, Roman copy of Greek original, c.4th century BCE.
- After **Gykon** (Roman, c.200-220 CE), after the original attributed to **Lysippos** (Greek, c.4th century BCE)
- Marble original conserved at the Museo Archologico Nazionale, Naples, Italy.
- Reference: *Antiques, Musée des monuments français* Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.34. Multiple *Hercules* listed in the 1816 Inventory, *AMMF*, vol. 3, 217-8.

12.58

-- **Model of Niobides Group**

- After marble statues, c. 3rd century CE, Roman copies of Greek originals, c.2nd-3rd century BCE.
- Marble originals conserved at the Niobe Room of the Galleria delga Uffizi, Florence, Italy.

- Reference: *Antiques, Musée des monuments français* Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.34. Multiple *Niobides* listed in the 1816 Inventory, *AMMF*, vol. 3, 217-8.

12.59

-- Model of Kylix (Borghese Vase)

- After marble vase, late 1st century BCE, Athens, Greece.
- Marble vase conserved at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Reference: *Antiques, Musée des monuments français* Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.34. Multiple vases unspecified vases listed in the 1816 Inventory, *AMMF*, vol. 3, 217-8.

12.60

-- Model of Seated Hermes

- After bronze statue, before 70 BCE, Roman copy of Greek original.
- From the Villa of the Papyr, Herculaneum, Italy, discovered in 1758.
- Bronze conserved at the Museo Archologico Nazionale, Naples, Italy.
- Reference: *Antiques, Musée des monuments français* Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, RF 5279.34.

List of Antiques in the Collection of the Musée des monuments français in 1816⁶⁶⁸

- Two *Apollos* (see above)
 - *Discobole* (see above)
 - *Castor and Pollux* (see above)
 - Two *Fauns* (see above)
 - Two *Slaves*
 - *Diana, l'Amazone*
 - Three groups, *Children of Niobides* (see above)
 - *Germanicus* (see above)
 - Five *Hercules* (see above)
 - *Marsais*
 - *Atlanta*
 - Two *Venuses*
 - Two *Rotators*
-

⁶⁶⁸ *AMMF*, vol. 3, 217-8.

- Two *Sleeping Hermaphroditus* (Original in the Musée du Louvre, Paris)
- *Mercury* (see above)
- Two groups, *Laocoon* (Original in the Museo Pio-Clementino, Vatican City, Italy)
- *Bacchus* (see above)
- Two *Gladiators* (see above)
- *Meleager* (see above)
- *Centaur*
- *Venus de Medici* (see above)
- *Joueuse d'osselets* (Original in the Musée du Louvre, Paris)
- *Hermaphrodite of Caylus*
- *Sibylle*
- *Paetus and Arria*
- Large head of a horse
- Two large vases
- Flore
- Tiberius
- Equestrian statue and bas-relief by **Étienne-Pierre-Adrien Gois** (French, 1731-1823)
- Model of a column capital
- Diana the Huntress
- Hercules as a child
- Ganymede
- 32 bas-reliefs from Athens
- Fragments from the Column of Trajan
- Head of Fleuve
- Jupiter
- Minerva
- 12 Torsos
- 5 Busts
- 49 Heads
- 5 Bas-reliefs

APPENDIX B

VISUAL DEPICTIONS OF THE MUSÉE DES MONUMENTS FRANÇAIS

This appendix compiles the existing visual records, including plans, elevations, drawings, paintings, and engravings, of the spatial arrangement of the Musée des monuments français. This record offers a complete list of the visual depictions of the physical spaces of the museum. Visual records of individual object-ensembles are not listed in this appendix but can be found in Alexandre Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français ou description Historique et chronologique...* (8 vols, 1800-1821) and Album Alexandre Lenoir, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

B.1 PUBLISHED COLLECTIONS

Réville, Jean-Baptiste, Joseph Lavallée and Jean-Baptiste de Roquefort-Flaméricourt. *Vues pittoresques et perspectives des salles du Musée des monuments français et des principaux ouvrages d'architecture, de sculpture et de peinture sur verre qu'elles renferment gravées au burin en vingt estampes par MM. Réville et Lavallée d'après les dessins de M. Vauzelle, avec un texte explicatif par B. de Roquefort.* Paris: Didot l'aîné, 1816.

- Collection of twenty engravings by Jean-Baptiste Réville (French, 1767-1825) and Joseph Lavallée (French, 1747-1816) after the drawings and paintings made by Jean-Lubin Vauzelle (French, 1776-1837) with an introduction by Jean-Baptiste-Bonaventure Roquefort (French, 1777-1834).

Biet, J.E. and Jean-Pierre Brès. *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français. Collection de 40 dessins perspectifs gravés au trait représentant les Principaux aspects sous lesquels on a*

pu considérer tous les Monuments recensés dans ce Musée et dessinés par J.E. Biet et gravés par MM. Normand Père et Fils avec un texte explicatif de M. J.P. Brès. Paris: Didot l'aîné 1821.

- Collection of forty engravings by M. Normand and son after drawings made by J.E. Biet with descriptions by Jean-Pierre Brès (French, 1782-1832). Biet executed the drawings at a low angle as an artist would sit and draw to reinforce the importance of the museum for artists. The introduction was dedicated to Charles Percier (French, 1764-1838).

B.2 ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

Croquis faits au Musée des monuments français par Charles Percier, Ms. 1012, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, France.

- This collection of 63 drawings of Charles Percier (French, 1764-1838) was given to the Institut de France by the widow of François Debret (French, 1777-1850) in 1850. It includes Percier's sketches of the Musée des monuments français, notably the Introduction Hall, the gardens, and the courtyards.

RF 5279, 5280, 5281, 5282, Album Alexandre Lenoir, RF 5279, 5280, 5281, 5282, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

- The four volumes of the Album Alexandre Lenoir contain the drawings and papers of Alexandre Lenoir (French, 1761-1839), and his collaborators, including Charles Percier (French, 1764-1838) and Jean-Lubin Vauzelle (French, 1776-1837). The album includes drawings of each gallery and the gardens, plans, proposed projects, individual drawings of each of the sculptural ensembles and many of the objects in the museum, and drawings of the exhumations of the Basilique cathédrale de Saint-Denis. The collection was donated to the Musée du Louvre by the descendants of Lenoir in 1921.

B.3 INTRODUCTION HALL

Percier, Charles (French, 1764-1838), *Musée des Petits-Augustins*.

- 1809, Watercolor and pencil, H. 0.258; L. 0.38 m.
- RESERVE FOL-VE-53 (G), Département Estampes et photographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Percier, Charles (French, 1764-1838), *Pencil and ink sketches of the Introduction Hall*

- c.1795-1816, No. 40, Ms. 1012, Croquis faits au Musée des monuments français par Charles Percier, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, France.
- c.1803-1816, No. 106, Ms. 1012, Croquis faits au Musée des monuments français par Charles Percier, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, France.

Robert, Hubert (French 1733-1808), *La Salle d'introduction du musée des Monuments français.*

- c.1796-1801, Oil on canvas, H. 0.385; L. 0.47 m.
- RF 1952-32, Département des peintures, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *La Salle d'introduction du musée des Monuments français.*

- 1804, Oil on canvas, H. 0.60; L. 0.74 m.
- Inv. P.2073, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *Musée des Petits-Augustins, Monument du cardinal Richelieu.*

- 1819, Watercolor and ink, H. 0.357; L. 0.29 m.
- RESERVE FOL-VE-53 (G), Département Estampes et photographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *Première vue de la salle d'introduction au musée des Monuments français.*

- 1815, Watercolor and ink, H. 0.344; L. 0.442 m.
- RF 28831, Collection Defer-Dumesnil, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *Vue de la salle d'introduction avant son achèvement.*

- c.1795-1803, Pencil on vellum, H. 0.289; L. 0.377 m.
- RF. 5279.33, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *Vue de la salle d'introduction depuis le cloître.*

- c.1804-1820, Watercolor, and ink, H. 0.252; L. 0.192 m.
- Inv. D.2492, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *Seconde vue de la salle d'introduction au musée des Monuments français*.

- 1816, Watercolor and ink, H. 0.386; L. 0.423 m.
- RF 28832, Collection Defer-Dumesnil, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Published Sources

Biet and Brés, *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français* (1821).

- *Salle d'introduction*, Plates 1-12.

Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques* (1816).

- *Première vue de la salle d'introduction*.
- *Seconde vue de la salle d'introduction*.
- *Tombeau de François Ier*.
- *Tombeau de Chancelier Birague*.
- *Tombeau de Cardinal de Richelieu*.

B.4 THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ROOM

Anonymous (French), *Napoléon et Joséphine visitant le musée des Monuments français*.

- c.1800, Ink, brown wash, and white highlights, H. 0.211; L. 0.320 m.
- RF 29453, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Anonymous (French), *Vue intérieure de la salle du XIII^e siècle, Musée des Monuments Français*.

- c.1796-1816, Ink, pencil, and brown wash, H. 0.213; L. 0.325 m.
- RF 5279.17, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Boilly, Julien-Léopold (French 1796-1874), *Le musée des Monuments français aux Petits-Augustins, la salle des sculptures du XIII^e siècle*.

- c.1816, Watercolor, H. 0.215; L. 0.165 m.
- Inv. D.145, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France

Bouton, Charles-Marie (French, 1781-1853), *Le Philosophe en méditation (Salle du XIII^e siècle)*.

- 1812, Oil on canvas, H. 1.17; L. 0.89 m.
- Napoleon Museum, Arenenberg, Switzerland.

Cochereau, Léon-Mathieu (French, 1793-1817), *La Salle du XIII^e siècle au musée des Monuments français*.

- 1816, Oil on canvas, H. 0.64; L. 0.54 m.
- Inv. P.1424, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.

Charles Percier (French, 1764-1838), *Pencil sketch of the Thirteenth-Century Room*.

- c.1796-1816, No. 178, Ms. 1012, Croquis faits au Musée des monuments français par Charles Percier, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, France.

Jean-Lubin Vauzelle (French, 1776-1837), *Salle du XIII^e siècle*.

- c.1796-1816, Watercolor, H. 0.295; L. 0.447 m.
- RF 5279.19, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *Vue intérieure de la salle du XIII^e siècle, Musée des Monuments Français*.

- 1796-1816, Chalk and pencil, H. 0.307; L. 0.182 m.
- RF 5279.18, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Published Sources

Biet and Brés, *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français* (1821).

- *Salle du XIII^e siècle*, Plates 13-16.

Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques* (1816).

- *Salle du treizième siècle.*

B.5 FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ROOM

Anonymous (French), *Vue intérieure de la salle du XIV^e siècle, Musée des Monuments Français.*

- c.1799-1816, Watercolor, ink, and brown and gray wash, H. 0.312; L. 0.232 m.
- RF 5279.20, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Bouton, Charles-Marie (French, 1781-1853), *La folie de Charles VI, 1817.*

- c.1815, Oil on canvas, H. 1.14; L. 1.46 m.
- Inv. 982.156, Musée de Monastère Royal, Bourg-en-Bresse, France.

Bouton, Charles-Marie (French, 1781-1853), *La salle des sculptures du XIV^e siècle au Musée des monuments français.*

- c.1815, Oil on canvas.
- Inv. P.1372, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.

Percier, Charles (French, 1764-1838) after Alexandre Lenoir (French, 1761-1839), *Projet pour la salle du XIV^e siècle, Musée des Monuments Français.*

- c.1801, Watercolor and ink, H. 0.230; L. 0.182 m.
- RF 5279.21, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Percier, Charles (French, 1764-1838), *Pencil and ink sketch of the Fourteenth-Century Room.*

- c.1799-1816, No. 122, Ms. 1012, Croquis faits au Musée des monuments français par Charles Percier, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, France.

Published Sources

Biet and Brés, *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français* (1821).

- *Salle du XIVe siècle*, Plates 17-20.

Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques* (1816).

- *Vue de la salle du quatorzième siècle*.

B.6 FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ROOM

Anonymous (French), *Salle du XIVe siècle, Musée des Monuments Français*.

- c.1798-1816, Watercolor, ink, and pencil, H. 0.243; L. 0.220 m.
- RF 5279.22, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Anonymous (French), *Salle du XVe siècle, Musée des Monuments Français*.

- c.1798-1816, Ink, H. 0.252; L. 0.225 m.
- RF 5279.23, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Bouton, Charles-Marie (French, 1781-1853), *La salle du XVe siècle au musée des Monuments français*.

- c.1801-1816, Oil on canvas.
- Inv. P.1284, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.

Bouton, Charles-Marie (French, 1781-1853), *La salle du XVe siècle au musée des Monuments français*.

- c.1813-1814, Oil on canvas, H. 1,35; L. 1.1 m.
- Inv. MU.1224, École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Paris, France.
- Exhibited at the Salon of 1814.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *Vue du Musée des Monuments Français: salle du XVe siècle*.

- c.1801-1816, Watercolor and ink, H. 0.341; L. 0.427 m.
- RF 28833, Collection Defer-Dumesnil, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Published Sources

Biet and Brés, *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français* (1821).

- *Salle du XVe siècle*, Plates 21-24.

Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques* (1816).

- *Vue de la salle du quinzième siècle*.

B.7 SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ROOM

Autran, Camille (French) and Angèle Dequier (French), *Restitution 3D de la Salle du XVIe siècle*.

- 2016, 3D model, Collaboration of the musée du Louvre, the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art (INHA), and the laboratory MAP MAACC de l'Ecole d'architecture de Paris La Villette.
- <http://c3dc.fr/2014/11/le-projet-musee-des-monuments-francais-3d/>

Anonymous (French), *Salle du XVIè siècle, Musée des Monuments Français*.

- c.1797-1816, Gray ink and brown wash, H. 0.228; L. 0.225 m.
- RF 5279.27, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Anonymous (French), *Salle du XVIè siècle, Musée des Monuments Français*.

- c.1797-1816, Ink, H. 0.234; L. 0.337 m.
- RF 5279.28, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Anonymous (French), *Salle du XVIè siècle, Musée des Monuments Français*.

- c.1797-1816, Watercolor and ink, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- RF 5279.29, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Anonymous (French), *Salle du XVI^e siècle, Musée des Monuments Français*.

- c.1797-1816, Watercolor and ink, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- RF 5279.30, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Percier, Charles (French, 1764-1838), *Pencil sketch of the Sixteenth-Century Room*

- c.1797-1816, No. 107, Ms. 1012, Croquis faits au Musée des monuments français par Charles Percier, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, France.

Published Sources

Biet and Brés, *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français* (1821).

- *Salle du XVI^e siècle*, Plates 30-32.

Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques* (1816).

- *Salle du seizième siècle*.

B.8 SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ROOM

Anonymous (possibly Jean-Lubin Vauzelle), *Salle du XVII^e siècle, Musée des Monuments Français*.

- c.1797-1816, Watercolor, ink, pencil, and brown wash, H. 0.31; L. 0.208 m.
- RF 5279.31, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Cochereau, Léon-Mathieu (French, 1793-1817), *La salle du XVII^e siècle au musée*.

- c.1816, Oil on canvas, H. 0.465; L. 0.39 m.

- Galerie la Nouvelle Athènes, Paris, France.

Cochereau, Léon-Mathieu (French, 1793-1817), *La Salle du XVIIIe siècle au musée des Monuments français*.

- c.1815, Oil on canvas. H. 0.65; L. 0.535 m.
- Inv. P.1357, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.

Cochereau, Léon-Mathieu (French, 1793-1817), *Vue de la salle du XVIIIe siècle du Musée des Monuments français*.

- Before 1817, Oil on canvas, 0.69; L. 0.55 m.
- INV992-9, #92-002133, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Reims, France.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *Vue du XVIIIe siècle*.

- 1816, Watercolor and ink, H. 0.341; L. 0.437 m.
- RF 28834, Collection Defer-Dumesnil, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *Vue du Musée des Monuments Français: salle du XVIIIe siècle*.

- 1817, Watercolor and ink, H. 0.341; L. 0.437 m.
- RF 28834, Collection Defer-Dumesnil, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *Tombeaux de Jacques de Souvré et de Mme Lebrun, mère du peintre*.

- 1819, Watercolor and ink, H. 0.338; L. 0.428 m.
- RESERVE FOL-VE-53 (G), Collection Hippolyte Destailleur, Département Estampes et photographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

Published Sources

Biet and Brés, *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français* (1821).

- *Salle du XVIIIe siècle*, Plates 33-36.

Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques* (1816).

- *Première vue de la salle du 17eme siècle.*
- *Deuxième vue de la salle du 17eme siècle.*

B.9 CLOISTER GALLERY

Adèle Lebreton (French, 1794-1854), *Galerie bordée de statues gothiques*.

- c.1815, Pencil, charcoal and white highlights, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- RF 5279.35, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Published Sources

Biet and Brés, *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français* (1821).

- *Galerie du Cloître*, Plates 25-29.

Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques* (1816).

- *Vue du Cloître.*

B.10 CLOISTER GARDEN

Anonymous (French), *Vue du cloître*.

- c.1797-1816, Conte crayon, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- RF 5279.69, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Anonymous (French), *Vue du cloître*.

- c.1797-1816, Pencil and conte crayon, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)

- RF 5279.70, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Anonymous (French), *Vue du cloître*.

- c.1797-1816, Conte crayon, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- RF 5279.71, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Anonymous (French), *Vue du cloître*.

- c.1797-1816, Conte crayon, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- RF 5279.72, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Lenoir, Zélia (French, 1795-1813), *Cloître de couvent des Petits-Augustins*.

- c.1800, Pencil, H. 0.485; L. 0.315 m.
- RF 52970, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Percier, Charles (French, 1764-1838), *Pencil and Ink Sketches of the Jardin du cloître*.

- c. 1797-1816, Nos. 140, 141, 146, 147, 151, 152, 153, and 156, Ms. 1012, Croquis faits au Musée des monuments français par Charles Percier, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, France.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *Jardin du cloître des Petits-Augustins*.

- 1819, Watercolor and ink, H. 0.34; L. 0.43m.
- RESERVE FOL-VE-53 (G), Collection Hippolyte Destailleur, Département Estampes et photographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

Published Sources

Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques* (1816).

- *Vue du jardin du cloître*.

B.11 ENTRY COURT

Lenoir, Alexandre (French, 1761-1839), *Tombeau d'Héloïse et Abélard transporté du jardin et place en 1818 dans la dernière cour du musée.*

- 1818, Pencil, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- RF 5279.107-5279.108, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Percier, Charles (French, 1764-1838), *Projet de reconstitution du portique de la maison de Diane de Poitiers.*

- c.1799, Engraving, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- RF 5279.49, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.
- Published in Alexandre Lenoir, *Compte-rendu d l'état actuel du Musée des Monumens français de ses dépenses annales des, améliorations dont il est susceptible ; suivi d'un projet d'y établir, avec les débris d'anciens Monumens, trois époques remarquables de l'architecture en France* (Paris: 1799) and Alexandre Lenoir, *Rapport historique sur le Château d'Anet* (Paris: 1799).
- Drawing published and signed by Percier in Alexandre Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français ou description Historique et chronologique des Statues en marbre et en bronze, Bas-reliefs et Tombeaux des Hommes et des Femmes célèbres, pour servir à l'Histoire de France et à celle de l'art, ornée de gravures; et augmentée d'une dissertation sur les costumes de chaque siècle; par Alexandre Lenoir, administrateur du musée*, vol. 4. (Paris: Harquart, 1805), Plate 159

Percier, Charles (French, 1764-1838), *Reconstitution de la façade du château de Gaillon.*

- c. 1802, Watercolor, ink, and brown wash, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- RF 5279.63, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.
- Published in Alexandre Lenoir, *Rapport sur la restauration des quatre façades du Château de Gaillon dans la seconde cour d Musée des monumens français présenté au Citoyen Chaptal, ministre de l'intérieur* (Paris:1802).
- Drawing published and signed by Percier in Alexandre Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français ou description Historique et chronologique des Statues en marbre et en bronze, Bas-reliefs et Tombeaux des Hommes et des Femmes célèbres, pour servir à l'Histoire de France et à celle de l'art, ornée de gravures; et augmentée d'une dissertation sur les costumes de chaque siècle; par Alexandre Lenoir, administrateur du musée*, vol. 4. (Paris: Harquart, 1805), Plate 163.

Percier, Charles ((French, 1764-1838), *Projet de reconstitution du portique de la maison de Diane de Poitiers à Anet.*

- c.1799-1800, Ink and wash on an engraving, H. 0.293; L. 0.22 m.
- RF 5279.47, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. Also see RF 5279.49 and RF 5279.50, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Percier, Charles (French, 1764-1838), *Pencil sketch of the Petite Cour.*

- 1795-1816, No. 139, Ms. 1012, Croquis faits au Musée des monuments français par Charles Percier, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, France.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *Les arcades de la cour de Gaillon.*

- c.1798-1815, Watercolor and ink, H. 0.243; L. 0.285 m.
- RF 5279.53, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France

Published Sources

Biet and Brés, *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français* (1821).

- *Frontispiece.*

Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques* (1816).

- *Portique du Gaillon.*
- *Vue de la portique de la salle d'introduction*

B.12 ÉLYSÉE

Anonymous (French), *Jardin du musée des monuments Français.*

- 1799-1816, Ink and brown wash, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)

- RF 5279.67, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Anonymous (French), *Vue du jardin du musée des monuments Français.*

- 1799-1816, Pencil, ink and gray wash, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- RF 5279.74, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Anonymous (French), *Vue du jardin du musée des monuments Français.*

- 1799-1816, Watercolor and ink, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- RF 5279.117, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Boquet, Louis René (French, 1717-1814), *Tombeau de René Descartes au jardin Élysée.*

- c.1799-1814, Graphite pencil, H. 0.234; L. 0.30 m.
- Inv. D.732, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.

Boquet, Louis René (French, 1717-1814), *Tombeau des Montmorency au jardin Élysée.*

- c.1799-1814, Graphite pencil, H. 0.233; L. 0.302 m.
- Inv. D.731, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.

Eckersberg, Christoffer Wilhelm (Danish, 1785-1853), *Vue du cénotaph de Molière.*

- 1811, Ink and wash, H. 0.21; L. 0.27 m.
- Inv. KKS gb4170, National Gallery of Denmark, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Eckersberg, Christoffer Wilhelm (Danish, 1785-1853), *Vue du cénotaph de de René Descartes.*

- 1811, Pencil, ink, and wash, H. 0.225; L. 0.28 m.
- Inv. KKS 385, National Gallery of Denmark, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Eckersberg, Christoffer Wilhelm (Danish, 1785-1853), *Vue du cénotaph de Molière avec la fontaine de Molière, Boileau, Racine et la Fontaine.*

- 1811, Ink and wash, H. 0.199; L. 0.258 m.
- Inv. KKS 1988-59, National Gallery of Denmark, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Lenoir, Alexandre (French, 1761-1839), *Vue du jardin du musée des monuments Français*.

- 1799-1816, Pencil, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- RF 5279.75, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Percier, Charles (French, 1764-1838), *Pencil and Ink Sketches of the Élysée*.

- c.1799-1816, Nos. 57, and 142-145, Ms. 1012, Croquis faits au Musée des monuments français par Charles Percier, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, France.

Robert, Hubert (French, 1733-1808), *L'Élysée du musée des Monuments français*.

- 1803, Oil on canvas.
- Inv. P.1750, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.

Robert, Hubert (French, 1733-1808), *Le Jardin Élysée du Musée des Monuments français*.

- 1804, Oil on canvas, H. 0.632; L. 0.797 m.
- 1970.48, Frick Art Museum, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, United States.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *Vue du jardin du Musée des monumens Français*.

- c.1799-1815, Watercolor and ink. H. 0.244; L. 0.406 m.
- RF 5279.73, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *Jardin des Petits-Augustins, Monuments de Diane de Poitiers et de Boileau*.

- 1815, Watercolor and ink, H. 0.33; L. 0.428 m.
- RESERVE FOL-VE-53 (G), Collection Hippolyte Destailleur, Département Estampes et photographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *Jardin des Petits-Augustins, Tombeau d'Hélöise et d'Abélard*.

- 1815, Watercolor and ink, H. 0.34; L. 0.267 m.

- RESERVE FOL-VE-53 (G), Département Estampes et photographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- See also RF 5279.103, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *Jardin des Petits-Augustins, Fontaine dit de Pomponne de Bellière*.

- 1816, Watercolor and ink, H. 0.356; L. 0.29 m.
- RESERVE FOL-VE-53 (G), Collection Hippolyte Destailleur, Département Estampes et photographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

Published Sources

Biet and Brés, *Souvenirs du Musée des monuments français* (1821).

- *Élysée*, Plates 37-40.

Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques* (1816).

- *1ère vue du grand jardin*
- *Monument d'Héloïse et d'Abeillard.*
- *Tombeau du roi Dagobert*
- *Vue de la Fontaine de Pomponne de Bellière*
- *Vue du monument d'architecture de Notgent sur seine.*

B.13 HALL OF ANTIQUES

Anonymous (French) *Salle de statues et de vases antiques*.

- c.1793-1803, Ink, pencil and gray wash, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- RF 5279.34, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Vauzelle, Jean-Lubin (French, 1776-1837), *Statues et fragments antiques réunis au Musée des monuments français*

- c.1796-1816, Pencil, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)

- RF 5279.36, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

B.14 PROPOSED COURTYARDS

Plans

Lenoir, Alexandre (French, 1761-1839) and Charles Percier (French, 1764-1838), *Plan projeté du Musée des Monuments Français*⁶⁶⁹

- c.1802, Ink and watercolor, H. 0.230; L. 0.335 m.
- RF 5279.4, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. See also RF 5379.8 and RF 5379.6, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.
- Engraving, RF 5279.3, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.
- Published in Alexandre, Lenoir, *Rapport sur la restauration des quatre façades du Château de Gaillon dans la seconde cour d Musée des monumens français présenté au Citoyen Chaptal, ministre de l'intérieur* (Paris: 1802).
- Plan published and signed by Percier in Lenoir, Alexandre. *Musée des monumens français ou description Historique et chronologique des Statues en marbre et en bronze, Bas-reliefs et Tombeaux des Hommes et des Femmes célèbres, pour servir à l'Histoire de France et à celle de l'art, ornée de gravures; et augmentée d'une dissertation sur les costumes de chaque siècle; par Alexandre Lenoir, administrateur du musée*, vol. 4.(Paris: Harquart, 1805), Plate 165.

Lenoir, Alexandre (French, 1761-1839), *Plan du Musée des Monuments Français*.

- Early 19th century, Engraving, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- RF 5279.5, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France

Lenoir, Alexandre (French, 1761-1839), *Plan des diverses salles du Musée des Monuments Français*.

⁶⁶⁹ In a recent article, Jean-Phillippe Garric argues that this plan was actually authored by Charles Percier. See Jean-Phillippe Garric, "The Musée des monuments français: Composition and the Art of Context," in *Charles Percier Architecture and Design in an Age of Revolutions*, edited by Jean-Phillippe Garric (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.): 104.

- Early 19th century, Pencil, H. 0.250; L. 0.332 m.
- RF 5279.9, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Sixteenth-Century Courtyard

Percier, Charles (French, 1764-1838), *Reconstitution du château d'Anet au Musée des Monuments Français*.

- c. 1799, Ink, pencil, and watercolor, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size).
- RF 5279.45, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.
- Engraving of drawing, RF 5279.44 and RF 5279.46 Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.
- Published in Alexandre Lenoir, *Compte-rendu d l'état actuel du Musée des Monuments français de ses dépenses annales des, améliorations dont il est susceptible ; suivi d'un projet d'y établir, avec les débris d'anciens Monuments, trois époques remarquables de l'architecture en France* (Paris: 1799) and Alexandre Lenoir, *Rapport historique sur le Château d'Anet* (Paris: 1799).
- Drawing published and signed by Percier in Alexandre Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français ou description Historique et chronologique des Statues en marbre et en bronze, Bas-reliefs et Tombeaux des Hommes et des Femmes célèbres, pour servir à l'Histoire de France et à celle de l'art, ornée de gravures; et augmentée d'une dissertation sur les costumes de chaque siècle; par Alexandre Lenoir, administrateur du musée*, vol. 4. (Paris: Harquart, 1805), Plate 162.

Percier, Charles (French, 1764-1838), *Restauration du château d'Anet au Musée des Monuments Français*.

- c. 1799, Engraving, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size).
- RF 5279.43, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.
- Reproduction with watercolor, RF 5279.42, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.
- Published in Alexandre Lenoir, *Compte-rendu d l'état actuel du Musée des Monuments français de ses dépenses annales des, améliorations dont il est susceptible ; suivi d'un projet d'y établir, avec les débris d'anciens Monuments, trois époques remarquables de l'architecture en France* (Paris: 1799) and Alexandre Lenoir, *Rapport historique sur le Château d'Anet* (Paris: 1799).
- Drawing published and signed by Percier in Alexandre Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français ou description Historique et chronologique des Statues en marbre et en bronze, Bas-reliefs et Tombeaux des Hommes et des Femmes célèbres, pour servir à l'Histoire de France et à celle de l'art, ornée de gravures; et augmentée d'une dissertation sur les costumes de chaque siècle; par Alexandre Lenoir, administrateur du musée*, vol. 4. (Paris:

Harquart, 1805), Plate 161.

Percier, Charles (French, 1764-1838) after Alexandre Lenoir (French, 1761-1839), *Restauration du château d'Anet au Musée des Monuments Français*

- c. 1799, Ink and watercolor, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size).
- RF 5279.38, RF 5279.39, 5279.40, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.
- Engraving, RF 5279.41, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. Engraving is attributed to Alexandre Lenoir.
- Published in Alexandre Lenoir, *Compte-rendu d l'état actuel du Musée des Monumens français de ses dépenses annales des, améliorations dont il est susceptible ; suivi d'un projet d'y établir, avec les débris d'anciens Monumens, trois époques remarquables de l'architecture en France* (Paris: 1799) and Alexandre Lenoir, *Rapport historique sur le Château d'Anet* (Paris: 1799).
- Drawing published and signed by Percier in Alexandre Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français ou description Historique et chronologique des Statues en marbre et en bronze, Bas-reliefs et Tombeaux des Hommes et des Femmes célèbres, pour servir à l'Histoire de France et à celle de l'art, ornée de gravures; et augmentée d'une dissertation sur les costumes de chaque siècle; par Alexandre Lenoir, administrateur du musée*, vol. 4. (Paris: Harquart, 1805), Plate 164.

Fifteenth-Century Courtyard

Lenoir, Alexandre (French, 1761-1839), *Projet de la cour de Gaillon au Musée des Monuments Français*

- Early 19th century, Pencil, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size).
- RF 5279.65, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Anonymous (French), *Galerie à arcades au château de Gaillon*. (North Arcade)

- c. 1802, Ink and brown wash, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- RF 5279.52, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Percier, Charles (French, 1764-1838), *Reconstitution à Paris du château de Gaillon*. (South Arcade)

- c. 1802 Watercolor and brown wash on an engraving, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)

- RF 5279.64, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.
- Published in Lenoir, Alexandre. *Rapport sur la restauration des quatre façades du Château de Gaillon dans la seconde cour d Musée des monumens français présenté au Citoyen Chaptal, ministre de l'intérieur*. Paris: 1802.
- Drawing published and signed by Percier in Alexandre Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français ou description Historique et chronologique des Statues en marbre et en bronze, Bas-reliefs et Tombeaux des Hommes et des Femmes célèbres, pour servir à l'Histoire de France et à celle de l'art, ornée de gravures; et augmentée d'une dissertation sur les costumes de chaque siècle; par Alexandre Lenoir, administrateur du musée*, vol. 4. (Paris: Harquart, 1805), Plate 160.

Cour Arabe

Anonymous (French), *Chapelle des Carmes, à Metz*.

- c.1807-1810, Engraving, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size, large drawing folded three times).
- RF 5281.104, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Imbard, Étienne François (French, 1780-1830), *Architecture Syrienne, Vué de la troisième cour du musée des Monumens français*.

- c.1807-1810, Watercolor and ink on an engraving, H. 0.247; L. 0.3405 m
- RF 5279.37, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

B.15 TOMB OF HÉLOÏSE ET ABÉLARD

After Étienne François Imbard (French, 1780-1830), *Chapelle sépulcrale d'Héloïse et d'Abélard*

- c.1800-1821, Watercolor on an engraving, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- Version with only one *gisant* in the chapel.
- RF 5279.102, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Anonymous (French), *Tombeau d'Héloïse et d'Abélard*

- c.1800-1821, Watercolor and ink, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- Narrower version with stained glass on three sides of the chapel.
- RF 5279.105, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Anonymous (French), *Tombeau d'Héloïse et d'Abélard*

- c.1800-1821, Watercolor, ink, and brown wash, H. 0.525; L. 0.375 m. (album size)
- Wider version with stained glass on three sides of the chapel.
- RF 5279.106, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.
- Similar version published in Alexandre, Lenoir *Musée des monumens français ou description Historique et chronologique des Statues en marbre et en bronze, Bas-reliefs et Tombeaux des Hommes et des Femmes célèbres, pour servir à l'Histoire de France et à celle de l'art, ornée de gravures; et augmentée d'une dissertation sur les costumes de chaque siècle; par Alexandre Lenoir, administrateur du musée*, vol. 1 (Paris: Guilleminet, 1800), Plate 40.

B.16 LENOIR'S APARTMENT

Anonymous (French), *L'Appartement d'Alexandre Lenoir au couvent des Petits-Augustins*.

- 1804, Watercolor, ink, brown wash, and white highlights, H. 0.274; L. 0.348 m.
- RF 3756, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

B.17 PLANS AND ELEVATIONS

Anonymous (French), *Plan du Musée des Monuments Français en 1810*.

- 1810, Pencil and ink, H. 0.590; L. 0.690 m. (large drawing folded three times)
- RF 5279.12, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Lenoir, Alexandre (French, 1761-1839), *Plan de l'ancien couvent des Petits-Augustins*.

- c.1791-1820, Pencil, H. 0.255; L. 0.327 m.
- RF 5279, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Thierry (French) and Neveu (French), after Léon Vaudoyer (French, 1803-1872), *Plan du Musée des Monuments Français en 1818*.

- 1818, Engraving, H. 0.310; L. 0.395 m.
- RF 5279.1, Album Alexandre Lenoir-1, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

Vaudoyer, Antoine-Laurent-Thomas. (French, 1756-1846), *Coupe du bâtiment des Petits-Augustins avec les trois premières salles du Musée des Monuments français* (XIIIe, XIVE, et XVe siècle).

- 1817, Watercolor and ink.
- VA 269 D2, Département Estampes et photographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Published Sources

Ministère de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts. *Inventaire général des richesses d'art de la France. Archives du Musée des monuments français, Première partie, Papiers de M. Albert Lenoir, Membre de l'institut et Documents tirés des archives de l'administration des beaux-arts*. Vol. 1. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, et Cle, 1883.

- Plan Général du Musée des monuments français en 1809, showing the layout of the museum interior, the Élysée, and the proposed courtyards.

Réville and Lavallée, *Vues pittoresques* (1816).

- *Plan du Musée des monuments français aux Petits-Augustins*.

APPENDIX C

FIRSTHAND ACCOUNTS OF THE MUSÉE DES MONUMENTS FRANÇAIS

This appendix presents a list of firsthand accounts of the Musée des monuments français. Each account is accompanied by a brief description of the author and the year, if known, of the museum visit. The appendix is organized according to the type of account: travel journals written by foreign visitors, Parisian guidebooks, French reviews and accounts, and childhood recollections published later in the nineteenth century.

C.1 TRAVEL JOURNALS

Anonymous. *A Picturesque Tour Through France, Switzerland on the Banks of the Rhine and through part of the Netherlands in the year MDCCCXVI*. London: J. Mawman, 1817.

- Anonymous British traveler visited the Musée des monuments français in 1816.

Anonymous. *France et Paris sous le Directoire. Lettres d'une voyageuse anglaise suivies d'extraits des lettres de Swinburne (1796-1797)*. Translated by Albert Babeau. Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1888.

- Anonymous British traveler visited the Musée des monuments français in December 1796.

Anonymous. *Journal of a Short Trip to Paris during the Summer of MDCCCXV*. London: T. Bensley, 1815.

- Anonymous British traveler visited the Musée des monuments français in 1815.

Anonymous. *Memorandums of a Residence in France in the Winter of 1815-1816, including Remarks on French Manners and Society with a Description of the Catacombs and Notices of some other Objects of Curiosity and Works of Art, not hitherto described*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1816.

- Anonymous British traveler visited the Musée des monuments français in late 1815 or early 1816.

Alison, Sir Archibald. *Travels in France during the Years 1814-15, comprising of a Residence at Paris during the Stay of the Allied Armies and at Aix, at the period of the landing of Bonaparte*. 2 Vols. Edinburgh, Macredie, Skelly, and Muckersy; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown; Dublin: Cumming, 1816.

- Archibald Alison (1757-1839) was a Scottish Episcopalian priest and a theorist known for *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (1790). He visited the Musée des monuments français in 1814.

Berkheim, K.G. de. *Lettres sur Paris ou Correspondance de M. dans les années 1806-1807*. (Heidelberg: Mohr and Zimmerman, Paris: les Marchands de Nouveautés 1809.

- Anonymous German-speaking traveler visited the Musée des monuments français in April 1806.

Bernard, Richard Boyle. *A Tour through some parts of France, Switzerland, Savoy, Germany, and Belgium, during the Summer and Autumn of 1814*. Philadelphia: Edward Earle, 1815.

- Richard Boyle Bernard (1787-1850) was an Irish parliamentarian, priest, and the Dean of Leighlin. He visited the Musée des monuments français in 1814.

Berry, Mary. *Extracts from the Journals and Correspondences of Miss Berry from the year 1782 to 1853*. Edited by Lady Theresa Lewis. 3 Vols. 2nd edition. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1866.

- Mary Berry (1763-1852) was an English writer known for her correspondences about social life in France and Great Britain. She visited the Musée des monuments français in 1802.

Birkbeck, Morris. *Notes on a Journey through France, from Dieppe through Paris and Lyons, to the Pyrenees, and back through Toulouse, in July, August and September 1814, describing the Habits of the People, and the Agriculture of the Country*. 4th edition. London: William Phillips, 1815.

- Morris Birkbeck (1764-1825) was an English-born American agricultural innovator, abolitionist, American pioneer, and the Secretary of State of Illinois. He visited the Musée des monuments français in 1814.

Blagden, Francis. *Paris as it was and as it is or A Sketch of the French Capital, Illustrative of the Effects of the Revolution, with Respect to Sciences, Literature, Arts, Religion, Education, Manners, and Amusements, Comprising also a correct Account of the most remarkable National Establishments and Public Buildings In a Series of Letters Written by an English Traveler during the Years 1801-2, To a Friend in London.* 2 Vols. London: C. and R. Baldwin, 1803.

- Francis Blagden was an English traveler who visited the Musée des monuments français in November 1801.

Broadly, Alexander Meyrick., ed. *The Journal of a British Chaplain in Paris during the Peace Negotiations of 1801-2, From the Unpublished MS. of the Revd Dawson Warren, M.A., unofficially attached to the Diplomatic Mission of Mr. Francis James Jackson, edited with Notes, a Preface, and Historical Introduction.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1913.

- Reverend Dawson Warren (1770-1838) was a British chaplain who visited the Musée des monuments français in December 1801.

Bruun-Neergaard, Tonnes Christian. *Sur la situation des Beaux-Arts en France ou Lettres d'un Danois à son ami.* Paris: Dupont, 1801.

- Tonnes Christian Bruun-Neergaard (1776-1824) was a Danish landlord and an amateur artist. He visited the Musée des monuments français in February 1801.

Bÿgge, Thomas. *Travels in the French Republic: containing a Circumstantial View of the Present State of Learning, the Manufactures, Learned Societies, Manners, &c. in that Country.* Translated by John Johns, L.L.D. (London: T. Gilles, 1801).

- Thomas Bÿgge was a Danish professor of mathematical astronomy at the University of Copenhagen. He visited the Musée des monuments français in or shortly before February of 1801.

Carr, Sir John. *The Stranger in France: or, A Tour from Devonshire to Paris illustrated by Engravings in Aqua Tinta of Sketches taken on the Spot.* London: J. Johnson, 1803.

- Sir John Carr (1772-1832) was an English barrister and travel writer. He visited the Musée des monuments français in or shortly before 1802.

Cicognara, Leopoldo. *Storia della Scultura dal sui Risorgimento in Italia*. 3 Vols. Venice: 1813, 1816, 1818.

- Leopoldo Cicognara (1767-1834) was an Italian archeologist and art writer. He visited the Musée des monuments français before 1816 and compared Lenoir's compositions to a monstrous body.

Clérembray, Félix, ed. "Journal de voyage d'un prêtre neufchâtelois à Paris en mai 1810." *Revue catholique de Normandie* (1915): 101-121.

- Pierre-Antoine Cochois was a French traveler and the vicar of Saint-Pierre de Neufchâteau before the Revolution. He visited the Musée des monuments français in May 1810.

Colston, Marianne. *Journal of a Tour in France, Switzerland, and Italy during the Years 1819, 20, and 21, illustrated by Fifty Lithographic Prints, from original drawings, taken in Italy, the Alps, and the Pyrenees*. 2 Vols. London: G. and W.B. Whittaker, 1823.

- Marianne Colston (1792-1865) was an English travel writer. Colston visited the Musée des monuments français between 1819 and 1821 when "vast enlargements" were underway to build the École des Beaux-Arts.

Eyre, Edmund John. *Observations made at Paris during the Peace and Remarks in a Tour from London to Paris through Picardy, and to England by the Route of Normandy, containing a Description of every Object of Curiosity in the French Metropolis and its Environs; a Critical Review of the Theatres, Actors, &c, and every Interesting Particular that may serve as the useful Companion to the Stranger, and amuse the mind of the Curious and Scientific*. Bath: W. Meyler Grove, 1803.

- John Edmund Eyre (1767-1815) was an English dramatist who visited the Musée des monuments français in 1802 or early 1803.

Farrington, Joseph. *The Farrington Diary*. Edited by James Grieg. 8 Vols. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1922-1928.

- Joseph Farrington (1747-1821) was an English landscape painter and writer. He recorded a gathering in September 1802 attended by Ennio Quirino Visconti, Charles Percier, Alexander Lenoir, and Adélaïde Binart, his wife, in which Lenoir described the exhumations of Saint-Denis.

Fellowes, William Dorset. *Paris During the Interesting Month of July 1815, A Series of Letters Addressed to a Friend in London*. London: Gale and Fenner, 1815.

- William Dorset Fellows (1769-1852) was a captain in the British Navy. He visited the Musée des monuments français in July 1815.

Forbes James. *Letters from France Written in the Years 1803 & 1804, including a Particular Account of Verdun, and the Situation of the British Captives in that City*. 2 Vols. London: J. White, 1806.

- James Forbes (1749-1819) was an English traveler who visited the Musée des monuments français in 1803. He attended a torchlight tour organized by Lenoir for members of the National Institute.

Galletti, Johann Georg Auguste. *Reise Nach Paris im Sommer 1808*. Gotha: Ettingersche Buchhandlung, 1809.

- Johann Georg Auguste Galletti (1750-1828) was a German historian and geographer who visited the Musée des monuments français in the summer of 1808.

Greathead, Bertie. *An Englishman in Paris: 1803, the Journal of Bertie Greathead*. Edited by J. P. T. Bury and J. C. Barry. London: Geoffrey Bles, 1953.

- Bertie Greathead (1759-1826) was an English dramatist who visited the Musée des monuments français in January 1803.

Halem, Gerhard Anton von. *Erinnerungs-Blätter von einer Reise nach Paris im Sommer 1811*. Hamburg: Bohnschen Buchhandlung, 1813.

- Gerhard Anton von Halem (1752-1819) was a German writer who visited the Musée des monuments français in the summer of 1811.

Hall, Francis. *Travels in France in 1818*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1819.

- Francis Hall was a British lieutenant who visited the Musée des monuments français in 1818, as it was being dismantled.

Heinzemann. *Aus Briefen aus Paris an einen Freund in Deutschland*. Basel: 1800.

- Heinzemann was a German-speaking traveler who visited the Musée des monuments français in 1798.

Humboldt, Wilhelm von. *Wilhelm von Humboldts Werke*. Edited by Albert Leitzmann. 17 Vols. Berlin: Behr, 1903-1936.

- Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) was a Prussian diplomat, philosopher, linguist, and brother of the naturalist and explorer, Alexander von Humboldt. In an undated letter to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Humboldt extolled the collection of the Musée des monuments français as an excellent study tool for the physiognomist. Humboldt visited the Musée des monuments français around 1798.

Jackson, Sir George. *The Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson, K. C. H., from the Peace of Amiens to the Battle of Talavera*. Edited by Lady Jackson. 2 Vols. London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1872.

- Sir George Jackson Duckett, 1st Baronet (1725-1822) was an English naval administrator and a Member of Parliament. He visited the Musée des monuments français in 1802.

Jessop, Thomas. *Journal d'un Voyage en Septembre-Octobre 1820*. Edited by F. C. W. Hiley. Paris: Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1928.

- Reverend Thomas Jessop was a British clergyman who visited the Musée des monuments français in 1820, as it was being dismantled. He admired the tomb of Abélard and Héloïse at the Cimetière du Père Lachaise.

King, Frances Elizabeth. *A Tour in France, 1802*. 2nd edition. London: John Booth, 1814.

- Frances Elizabeth King (1757-1821) was an English writer who visited the Musée des monuments français in 1802.

Kotzebue, Auguste von. *Souvenirs de Paris en 1804*. 2 Vols. Paris: Chaigneau aîné, 1805.

- Auguste von Kotzebue (1716-1819) was a German dramatist, writer, and statesman. He visited the Musée des monuments français in 1804.

Laquiante, Arthur, ed. *Un hiver à Paris sous le consulat, 1802-1803, d'après les lettres de Johann Friedrich Reichardt*. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie., 1896.

- Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752-1814) was a Prussian composer and music critic who visited the Musée des monuments français in the winter of 1802-1803.

Lemaistre, John Gustavus. *A Rough Sketch of Modern Paris; or, Letters on Society, Manners, Public Curiosities, and Amusements, in that Capital, written during the last two months of 1801 and the first five of 1802*. London: J. Johnson, 1803.

- John Gustavus Lemaistre (d. 1804) was a British traveler. He visited the Musée des monuments français twice during his stay in Paris, upon his arrival in late 1801, and again in May 1802.

Meyer, Frederic Jean Laurent. *Fragments sur Paris*. Translated by Général Dumouriez. 2 Vols. Hamburg: 1798.

- Frederic Johann Lorenz Meyer (1760-1844) was a German advocate and author. He visited the Musée des monuments français around 1797.

Mitis, Oskar Freiherr von and Claude de Rarécourt de la Vallée, Comte de Pimodan, eds. *Souvenirs du Prince Charles de Clary-et-Aldringen, Trois mois à Paris lors du mariage de Empereur Napoléon Ier et de Archiduchesse Marie-Louise avec des croquis de l'auteur et deux portraits*. 2nd edition. Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1914.

- Prince Charles de Clary-et-Aldringen was an Austrian nobleman. He visited the Musée des monuments français in April 1810.

Moody Christopher Lake, ed. *A Sketch of Modern France in a Series of Letters to a Lady of Fashion written in the Years 1796 and 1797 during a Tour through France*. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1798.

- Anonymous British traveler, referred to as “a Lady,” visited the Musée des monuments français between 1796.

Morgan, Lady. *France*. 2 Vols. London: Henry Colburn: 1817.

- Lady Morgan Sydney (c.1781-1859) was an Irish novelist who visited the Musée des monuments français after the Bourbon between 1814 and 1817.

Pinkerton, John. *Recollections of Paris in the years 1802-3-4-5*. 2 Vols. London: Hurst Rees, & Orme, and Cadell & Davies, 1806.

- John Pinkerton (1758-1826) was a Scottish antiquarian, cartographer, and historian visited the Musée des monuments français between 1802 and 1805.

Plumptre, Anne. *A Narrative of Three Years Residence in France, Principally in the Southern Departments from the Year 1802 to 1805; Including Some Authentic Particulars Respecting the Early Life of the French Emperor and a General Inquiry into his Character*. 3 Vols. London: J. Mawman, J. Ridgeway, J. Clarke, B. Crosby and Co., and Constable and Co., 1810.

- Anne Plumptre (1769-1838) was an English author of fiction, travel writer, and translator. She visited the Musée des monuments français in 1802.

Poncet, J. B. "Notes sur les spectacles et les musées de Paris en l'an VII et en l'an VIII," in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, 51-60. Paris: H. Champion, 1891.

- J. B. Poncet was a French writer. He recorded his visit to the Musée des monuments français in April 1800 and claimed he had visited the museum twenty times.

Raffles, Thomas. *Letters During a Tour Through Some Parts of France, Savoy, Switzerland, Germany, and The Netherlands, in the Summer of 1817*. 3rd edition. Liverpool: Thomas Taylor, 1820.

- Thomas Raffles was a British traveler and the cousin of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826), British statesman and the founder of Singapore. He visited the Musée des monuments français in the summer of 1817.

Schultes, Joseph August. *Briefe über Frankreich, auf einer Fussreise im Jarhe 1811 durch das südwestliche Baiern, durch de Schweiz, über Genf, Lyon, Montpellier, Cette, durch de Cevennen über Clermont, Moulins, Nevers nach Paris, und über Nancy nach Strassburg*. 2 Vols. Leipzig: Bey Gerhard Fliescher, 1815.

- Joseph August Schultes (1773-1831) was a Viennese naturalist and professor of botany. He visited the Musée des monuments français in 1811.

Scott, Sir Walter. *Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk*. Edinburgh: James Ballantyne and Co, 1815, London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, and John Murray, 1815, and Philadelphia: Moses Thomas, 1816.

- Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) was a Scottish novelist, playwright, and poet known for *Rob Roy* and *Ivanhoe*. He visited the Musée des monuments français in 1815, after viewing the battlefield at Waterloo.

Shelley, Lady Frances. *The Diary of Frances, Lady Shelley 1787-1817*. Edited by Richard Edgcumbe. 2 Vols. London: John Murray, 1912.

- Lady Frances Winckley Shelley (1787-1873) was an English diarist. She visited the Musée des monuments français in 1815.

Shepard, Rev. William. *Paris in 1802 and 1814*. 3rd Edition. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814.

- Reverend William Shepard (1768-1847) was an English minister and politician who visited the Musée des monuments français in 1802.

Sierstorphff, Kaspar Heinrich Freiherr von. *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise durch die Niederlande nach Paris im eilsten Jahre der grossen Republik*. 2 Vols. 1804.

- Kaspar Heinrich Freiherr von Sierstorphff (1750-1842) was a Braunschweig-wolfenbüttelscher (German) statesman. He visited the Musée des monuments français shortly before 1802.

Simpson, James. *Paris after Waterloo, Notes taken at the Time and Hitherto Unpublished, including a revised edition- the tenth- of A Visit to Flanders and the Field*. Edinburgh and London: M. Blackwood and Sons, 1853.

- James Simpson (1781-1853) was a Scottish advocate, writer, and phrenologist who visited the Musée des monuments français in 1815.

Stevenson, Seth William. *Journal of a Tour through part of France, Flanders, and Holland, including a visit to Paris, and a walk over the Field of Waterloo made in the summer of 1816*. Norwich: Norfolk Chronicle Press, 1817.

- Seth William Stevenson (1784-1853) was an English antiquarian who recorded his visit to the Musée des monuments français in May 1816. Stevenson had also visited the museum in 1802 and admired the additions of the facades from Anet and Gaillon in 1816.

Stewart, W. *Diary of an Excursion to France in the Months of August and September 1814, in a Series of Letters, Wherein an accurate idea may be formed of the expense attending a Tour to Paris- Its roads delineated- Economical information to the Tourist- Its Public Buildings, Amusements, &c. described with the utmost precision*. Edinburgh: Peter Hill, Manners, and Miller, London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Dublin: M. N. Mahon, Gilbert, and Hodges, and R. Milliken, 1814.

- W. Stewart was a British writer who visited the Musée des monuments français in September 1814.

Tappen, George. *A Short Description of a Tour through France and Italy for the Purpose of Viewing the Painting, Sculpture, & Architecture of those Countries*. London: S. Hamilton, 1804.

- George Tappen was a British architect who visited the Musée des monuments français in 1802.

Uklansky, T. *Ansichten von Paris im Jahre 1809*. 2 Vols. Zürich: Heinrich Gesner, 1809.

- T. Urlansky was a German-speaking traveler who visited the Musée des monuments français in 1809.

Wansey, Henry. *A Journey to Paris in June 1814*. London: Richard Cruttwell, 1814.

- Henry Wansey (c.1752-1827) was an English antiquarian who visited the Musée des monuments français in June 1814. Wansey compared the Musée des monuments français to the Westminster Abbey.

Weston, Stephen. *The Praise of Paris: or, A Sketch of the French Capital; in Extracts of Letters from France in the Summer of 1802; with An Index of many of the Convents, Churches, and Palaces, not in the French Catalogues, which have furnished Pictures for the Louvre Gallery*. London: C. and R. Baldwin, 1803.

---. *Two Sketches of France, Belgium, and Spa, in Two Tours, during the Summers of 1771 and 1816; with a Portrait of Napoleon's Guide at Waterloo, by the author of "Letters from Paris, in 1802-3."* London: Baldwin, Chadock, and Joy, 1817.

- Reverend Stephen Weston (1747-1830) was an English antiquarian and clergyman. He visited the Musée des monuments français in summers of 1802 and 1816.

Wilmot, Catherine. *An Irish Peer on the Continent (1801-1803) Being a Narrative of the Tour of Stephen, 2nd Earl Mount Cashell through France, Italy, Etc. as Related by Catherine Wilmot*. Edited by Thomas U. Sadleir, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate, 1920.

- Stephen Moore, 2nd Earl Mount Cashell (1770-1822) was an Irish politician and Member of Parliament. He visited the Musée des monuments français in December 1801.

Yorke, Henry Redhead. *Letters from France in 1802*. 2 Vols. London: H. D. Symonds, 1804.

- Henry Redhead Yorke was an English political writer. He visited the Musée des monuments français in 1802.

C.2 GUIDEBOOKS

Anonymous. *A Practical Guide during a Journey from London to Paris with a Correct Description of all the Objects deserving of Notice in the French Metropolis, Illustrated with Maps and Useful Tables*. London: R. Phillips, 1802.

- An English-language guide to Paris included a description of the Musée des monuments français in 1802.

Anonymous. *Blicke auf Paris: Einem Augenzeugen*. Altenburg: Schnuphasischen Buchhandlung, 1805.

- A German-language guide to Paris included a description of the Musée des monuments français in 1804.

Anonymous. *Le voyageur à Paris; tableau pittoresque et moral de cette Capitale*. 3 Vols. Paris: Devaux, 1797.

- A French-language guide to Paris included an early description of the Musée des monuments français in 1797.

Anonymous. *Manuel du Voyageur à Paris, Contenant la description des Spectacles, Manufactures, Etablissements publics, Jardins, Cabinets curieux, les Foires et Marchés de la République, la division de Paris en douze arrondissements, ainsi que la notice des rues par ordre alphabétique; et, en général, tout ce que les Étrangers peuvent désirer d'y connaître*. Paris: Chez Favre, Year X (1801-1802).

- A French-language guide to Paris included very brief description of the Musée des monuments français in 1801-1802.

Anonymous. *Promenades instructives et amusantes d'un Père avec ses enfans*. 2 Vols. Paris: Guillaume & C. Libraires, 1817.

- A guide to Paris written from the perspective of the fictional M. de la Borde, a French father hoping to educate his sons in 1817.

Aubrey, ed. *Le guide des étrangers aux monumens publics de Paris, Contenant la description des Objets les plus curieux et les plus remarquables; les Chefs-d'œuvre que les Jardins publics contient. Analyse des différens Musées, ainsi que les Bibliothèques publiques, avec*

leurs jours d'ouvertures. Détails des Théâtres et lieux d'amusements. Paris: Chez Aubry, 1807.

- A French-language guide to Paris marketed to foreigners in 1807, including a description of the Musée des monuments français.

Blanvillain, J. F. C. *Le Pariséum ou Tableau de Paris en l'an XII (1804) Ouvrage indispensable pour connaître et visiter en peu de tems ce qu'il y a de curieux; Antiquités, Édifices, Musées, Cabinets, Manufacturers, Spectacles, avec les noms et les adresses des artistes et des littérateurs, la notice des ouvrages publiés sur Paris, les Postes, les Monnaies, les lieux mémorables, l'indication des rues, et un Panorama qui offre au premier coup-d'œil la position et la destination des objets les plus intéressans.* Paris: Cramer, 1804.

- J. F. C. Blanvillain was a French travel writer who included a description of the Musée des monuments français in his guide to Paris in 1804.

Marchant, F. M. *Le Conducteur de l'étranger à Paris, Contenant la Description des Palais, Monumens, Edifices, Musées et Bibliothèques de cette Capitale; l'indication de ses Académies, Sociétés savantes, Écoles, Etablissements de Bienfaisance; des Cours, Tribunaux, Ministères, Administrations, Autorités civiles et militaires, avec leurs jours d'audience; de ses Curiosités, Spectacles et Amusemens; précédé d'un Précis sur l'histoire de Paris, et d'une instruction aux Étrangers sur la manière d'y suivre leurs affaires et d'y vivre convenablement à leur fortune' suivi de la Description des environs de Paris, avec l'indication des Fêtes champêtres, et terminé par la Liste de ses Rues, Places, Quais, etc. par tenans et aboutissans.* 3rd Edition. Paris: Moronval, 1815.

- F. M. Marchant was a French travel writer who included a description of the Musée des monuments français in his guide to Paris in 1815.

M. E. A. P. *Les Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs, Contenant l'origine de Paris, de ses monumens, leurs descriptions et les jours que l'on y est admis, des jardins et des promenades publiques, etc.; précédé des noms et demeures de tous les grands dignitaires de l'Empire français, et des principales autorités; suivie de la description des villes villages, bourgs, châteaux, maisons de plaisance, parcs et jardins qui sont aux environs de Paris, avec des anecdotes instructives, recueillies avec soin.* 2 Vols. Paris: Roux and the Marchands de Nouveautés, 1805.

- A French-language guide to Paris in 1805 containing an extensively detailed description of the Musée des monuments français.

Planta, Edward. *A New Picture of Paris or, the Stranger's Guide to the French Metropolis; accurately describing the Public Establishments, Remarkable Edifices, Places of Amusement, And every other Object worthy of Attention. Also, a Correct List of the Paris*

Journals, Periodical Publications, Libraries, and Literary Institutions. To which is added, a Description of the Environs of Paris, With correct Maps, and an accurate Plan of the City. London: Samuel Leight, 1816.

- Edward Planta was a British travel writer who discussed the Musée des monuments français in his guide to Paris in 1816.

Prudhomme Louis-Marie. *Voyage Descriptif et Philosophique de Ancien et du Nouveau Paris. Miroir fidèle qui indique aux Étrangers et même aux Parisiens ce qu'ils doivent connaître et éviter dans cette Capitale, contenant des faits historiques et anecdotes curieux sur les monumens et sur les variations des mœurs de ses habitans depuis vingt-cinq ans; La Physionomie des maisons de jeux et des joueurs; Les pièges que tendent les matrones, les prostituées, les filous et les voleurs, etc., suivi de la description des environs de Paris; d'un Dictionnaire des rues, places, quais de cette Capitale, etc.* 2 Vols. Paris, chez l'auteur, 1814.

- Louis-Marie Prudhomme (1752-1830) was French journalist, historian, and writer. His guide to Paris contained a description of the Musée des monuments français in 1814.

Pujoulx, Jean-Baptiste. *Paris à la fin du XVIIIe siècle ou Esquisse historique et morale des Monumens et des Ruines de cette Capitale; de l'Etat des Sciences, des Arts et del'Industrie à cette époque, ainsi que des Mœurs et des Ridicules et ses Habitans.* Paris: Brigitte Mathée, 1801.

- Jean-Baptiste Pujoulx (1762-1821) was a French naturalist, dramatist, and travel writer. His guide to Paris contained a description of the Musée des monuments français in 1801. He categorized the Musée des monuments as a “ruin” not a museum. Pujoulx also included a short guide to physiognomies in Paris in the publication.

Starke, Mariana. *Travels on the Continent, written for the Use and Particular Information of Travelers.* London: John Murray, 1820.

- Mariana Starke (c.1761-1838) was an English travel writer who visited the Musée des monuments français in 1817.

C.3 FRENCH PUBLICATIONS AND REVIEWS

Anonymous. “Aux auteurs du Journal,” *Journal de Paris* (26 pluviôse, Year X; 15 February 1802): 876-77.

- The *Journal de Paris* was the first French daily paper, published from 1777 to 1840. It typically provided literary news, reviews of various urban spectacles, anecdotes about prominent figures, and weather reports.

Boutard, Jean-Baptiste. "Variétés. Sur le Muséum des Monumens français, rue des Petits-Augustins." *Journal des débats* (16 Vêntose, Year X; March 7, 1802): 3-4.

- Jean Baptiste Boutard (1771-1838) was a French author. *Journal des débats* was a French newspaper published between 1789 and 1944. The periodical was particularly influential on French culture in first half of the nineteenth century.

G. "Musée des Monumens français, ou Description historique et chronologique de statues en marbre et en bronze, bas-relief, et tombeaux des hommes et des femmes célèbres, pour servir à l'histoire de l'Art, et à celle de France, ornée de gravures, et augmentée d'une dissertation sur les costumes de chaque siècle; par Alexandre Lenoir, fondateur et administrateur de Musée" *Le Mercure de France*, no. 23 (1st prairial, Year IX; May 21, 1801), 339-342.

- Anonymous review of Lenoir's guidebook and museum. *Le Mercure de France* was a French literary magazine and gazette that first appeared in the seventeenth century and is still published today as part of the Éditions Gallimard publishing group. *Le Mercure de France* was an influential arbiter of arts and culture in during the *ancien régime*.

Landon, Charles Paul. *Annales du Musée et de l'École moderne des beaux-arts*. Vol. 1. Paris: Annales du Musée, 1801.

- Charles Paul Landon (1760-1826) was a French painter and art critic.

Mercier, Louis-Sébastien. "Sur le dépôt des Petits-Augustins, dit le musée des Monuments français." *Journal d'économie publique, de morale, de politique*, 5 (1797): 325-329.

---. "L'Arrangement du dépôt des Petits-Augustins, dit le musée des monuments français." *Journal de Paris*, (28 prairial, Year VI; June 16, 1798): 1129-1130.

- Louis-Sébastien Mercier (1740-1814) was a French dramatist and writer. He reviewed the Musée des monuments français in 1797 and 1798. The *Journal d'économie publique, de morale, de politique* was a French periodical published between 1796 and 1797.

"Musée des monuments français" *Journal des bâtimens civils des monumens et des arts*, 6, no. 153 (29 pluviôse, Year X; February 17, 1802): 278-279.

- *Journal des bâtimens civils des monumens et des arts* was a French periodical published

from 1800 to 1819.

Pommereul, François. "Musée des Monuments français." *La Clef du cabinet des souverains, Nouveau journal historique, politique, économique, moral et militaire*, no. 84 (24 germinal, Year V; April 13, 1797): 836-838.

- François René Jean de Pommereul (1745-1824) was a French general during Revolution, a prefect under Napoleon, and an author. *La Clef du cabinet des souverains* was a French periodical published between 1797 and 1805.

C.4 CHILDHOOD RECOLLECTIONS

Hugo, Victor and Adèle Hugo. *Raconté par un témoin de sa vie*. 2 Vols. Paris: Librairie Internationale, Brussels and Leipzig: A. Lacroix, Verboeckhoven, and Ce., 1863.

- Victor Hugo (1802-1885) was an influential French novelist of the Romantic period. As a child, Hugo's home overlooked the Musée des monuments français and he assisted with the dismantling of the museum.

Le Coeur, C. *Considérations sur les musées de province*. Paris: Vignancourt, 1872.

- C. Le Couer was the curator of the Musée de Pau in 1872 and visited the Musée des monuments français as a child.

Michelet Jules. *Histoire de la Révolution française*. 7 Vols. Paris: 1847-1853.

- Jules Michelet (1798-1874) was a French historian. He visited the Musée des monuments français as a child and wrote about the striking impression and influence of the museum on his development in *Histoire de la Révolution française*.

Thierry Augustin. *Récits des Temps Mérovingiens précédés de Considerations sur l'Histoire de France*. 3 Vols. Brussels: 1840.

- Augustin Thierry (1795-1856) was a French historian who, like Michelet, visited the Musée des monuments as a child and later recounted the strong historical impression it left on him.

Vinet, Ernest, "Les archives pendant la Révolution," *Journal des débats* (April 23, 1867).

- Ernest Vinet (1804-1878) was a French writer who recalled the influence of Lenoir on the French historian Augustin Thierry (1795-1856) as a child.

APPENDIX D

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MARIN-ALEXANDRE LENOIR (1762-1839)

This appendix compiles the most complete bibliography of the work of Marin-Alexandre Lenoir to date. The first three sections of the appendix list the full titles of the published archives, the twelve single-volume guidebooks, and the illustrated eight-volume catalog of the Musée des monuments français. All other works are organized alphabetically by year. Undated articles, a list of courses taught by Lenoir, and the catalogs for the sale of Lenoir's collection are listed at the end of the bibliography. Duplicate publications that appear in more than one book or journal are also noted.

D.1 ARCHIVES OF THE MUSÉE DES MONUMENTS FRANÇAIS

Ministère de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts. *Inventaire général des richesses d'art de la France. Archives du Musée des monuments français, Première partie, Papiers de M. Albert Lenoir, Membre de l'institut et Documents tirés des archives de l'administration des beaux-arts.* Vol. 1. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, et Cle, 1883.

Ministère de l'instruction publique, des beaux-arts et des cultes. *Inventaire général des richesses d'art de la France. Archives du Musée des monuments français, Deuxième partie, Documents déposés aux Archives Nationales et provenant du Musée des monuments français.* Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, et Cle, 1886.

Ministère de l'instruction publique, des beaux-arts. *Inventaire général des richesses d'art de la France. Archives du Musée des monuments français, Troisième partie.* Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, et Cle, 1897.

D.2 GUIDEBOOKS OF THE MUSÉE DES MONUMENTS FRANÇAIS

Notice succincte des objets de sculpture et d'architecture réunis au Dépôt provisoire national, rue des Petits-Augustins, au ci devant couvent de la Reine Marguerite, par Alexandre Lenoir, élève de l'Académie de Peinture de Paris, garde dudit Dépôt depuis sa formation, établi en novembre 1790, et conservé par Décret du Corps Législatif, du 18 octobre 1792. Paris: Desenne, 1793.

Notice historique des monumens des arts réunis au Dépot national, rue des Petits-Augustins, Suivie d'un traité de la peinture sur verre. 2nd ed. Paris: Cussac, Year IV, 1795-1796.

Description historique et chronologique des monumens de Sculpture réunis au Musée des monumens français par Alexandre Lenoir, Conservateur de ce Musée; Suivie d'un traité historique de la Peinture sur verre, par le même auteur. 3rd ed. Paris: musée des Petits-Augustins, Year V, 1796-1797.

Description historique et chronologique des monumens de Sculpture réunis au Musée des monumens français par Alexandre Lenoir, Conservateur de ce Musée; Suivie d'un traité historique de la Peinture sur verre, par le même auteur. 4th ed. Paris: musée des Petits-Augustins, Year VI, 1797-1798.

Description historique et chronologique des monumens de Sculpture réunis au Musée des monumens français par Alexandre Lenoir, Conservateur et Administrateur de ce Musée; Augmentée d'une dissertation sur la Barbe et les Costumes de chaque siècle; et suivie d'un traité de la Peinture sur verre, par le même auteur. 5th ed. Paris: musée des Petits-Augustins, Guyot, Gide, Agasse, Year VIII, 1800.

Description historique et chronologique des monumens de Sculpture réunis au Musée des monumens français par Alexandre Lenoir, Fondateur et Administrateur de ce Musée; Augmentée d'une dissertation sur la Barbe et les Costumes de chaque siècle, du procès-verbal des exhumations de Saint-Denis, et d'un Traité de la Peinture sur verre, par le même auteur. 6th ed. Paris: musée des Petits-Augustins, Guyot, Agasse, Levrault, Year X, 1802.

Description historique et chronologique des monumens de Sculpture réunis au Musée des monumens français par Alexandre Lenoir, Fondateur et Administrateur de ce Musée, Membre de la société libre des sciences lettres et arts de Nancy; Augmentée d'une dissertation sur la Barbe et les Costumes de chaque siècle, et d'un Traité de la Peinture sur verre, par le même auteur. 7th ed. Paris: musée des Petits-Augustins, Guyot, Levrault, Tezari, Year XI, 1803.

Description historique et chronologique des monumens de Sculpture réunis au Musée des monumens français par Alexandre Lenoir, Fondateur et Administrateur de ce Musée, Membre de l'Académie Celtique de France, de la société libre des sciences lettres et arts de Nancy; Augmentée d'une dissertation la Barbe et les Costumes de chaque siècle, et d'un Traité de la Peinture sur verre, par le même auteur. 8th ed. Paris: Hacquart, 1806.

Musée impérial des monumens français: Histoire des arts en France et description chronologique des statues en marbre et en bronze, bas-reliefs et tombeaux des hommes et des femmes célèbres, qui sont réunis dans ce Musée. 9th ed. Paris: Hacquart, 1810.

Musée royal des monumens français, ou Mémorial de l'histoire de France et de ses monumens. 10th ed. Paris: chez de l'auteur, 1815.

Musée royal des Monumens français ou Mémorial de l'histoire de France et de ses monumens. 11th ed. Paris: chez de l'auteur, 1815.

Musée royal des monumens français ou Mémorial de l'histoire de France et de ses monumens. 12th ed. Paris: chez de l'auteur, 1816.

D.3 ILLUSTRATED CATALOG OF THE MUSÉE DES MONUMENTS FRANÇAIS

Musée des monumens français ou description Historique et chronologique des Statues en marbre et en bronze, Bas-reliefs et Tombeaux des Hommes et des Femmes célèbres, pour servir à l'Histoire de France et à celle de l'art, ornée de gravures; et augmentée d'une dissertation sur les costumes de chaque siècle; par Alexandre Lenoir, fondateur du musée. Vol 1. Paris: Guilleminet, 1800.

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Musée des monumens français: histoire de la peinture sur verre, et description des Vitraux anciens et modernes, pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Art, relativement à la France, ornée de gravures, et notamment de celles de la Fable de Cupidon et Psyché, d'après les dessins de Raphaël, par Alexandre Lenoir, fondateur et administrateur du musée. Vol. 6. Paris: Guilleminet, 1803.

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D.4 BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MARIN-ALEXANDRE LENOIR

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