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Landscape Drawing Beyond the Classical Ruin: David, Drouais and Percier

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Throughout the 18th century, Rome maintained a primacy for artists and elite European tourists interested in the roots of Western civilization as preserved in the physical remains of antiquity. During the course of the 1700s, because of discoveries and excavations taking place all over Italy, antiquarians and proto-archaeologists unearthed, catalogued and categorized the physical remains of ancient civilizations about which the discourse had been relatively theoretical to that point, supplementing the largely literary tradition with a new visual lexicon. Although Rome had been a nexus of artistic education for the French in particular since Louis XIV founded a branch of the *Académie royale de peintre et de sculpture* there in 1666, by the middle of the eighteenth century, with the sudden comparative abundance of antique objects and ruins, Rome claimed a prominence in the visual arts unmatched by any other European city.

The education that the French *Académie de Paris à Rome* provided for its most elite students, winners of the prestigious *Prix de Rome* competition, was defined by close supervision and a strict regulation of the students' schedules. Although time spent drawing at the *Académie* was officially privileged over time spent working in Rome itself, by the end of the 18th century, *pensionnaires*, especially those associated with the David school, increasingly valued their direct, physical contact with the city over the practice of academic exercises. The experience of French artists working and studying in Rome at this time is preserved in the sketchbooks and albums they made there, which were filled with architectural landscapes made *en plein air*, rendered in a newly geometricized style with a focus on modern architecture that completely supplanted the romanticized meditations

on antique ruins so popular at mid-century. Consequently, Neoclassicism came to be expressed by this developing style, which was not necessarily exclusively bound up with antique subject matter.[1] Once reduced to classical, elemental forms, representations of architecture could then be redecorated with the fragments of antiquity so valued by architects such as Charles Percier (1764–1838).

When Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825) traveled to Rome as a *pensionnaire* of the *Académie* in 1775, his master Joseph-Marie Vien (1716–1809) had already been dispatched by the comte d'Angiviller (1730–1809), as the new head of the Roman Academy with intentions of strictly regulating every moment of the *pensionnaire's* day.[2] Yet the rebellious urge to record Rome through direct experience that had precipitated the tightening of the reins is expressed in the notebooks of David and several of his students, including Jean-Germain Drouais (1763–1788), by a drawing practice that was not conceived of as preparatory, but rather as exploratory, as a means for the artist to externalize his thought process, and as a site for experimentation not bound by the rigid hierarchy of academic education. At the beginning of his stay in Rome, several of David's early drawings demonstrate an indebtedness to previous iterations of landscape that emphasize nature and the pictorial effects of light and shade based on careful direct observation. In a sheet most likely from David's first trip to Italy, and now at the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, the ruins of the temple of Venus express the capriciousness of nature as it is being reclaimed by an abundance of foliage (fig. 1). However,

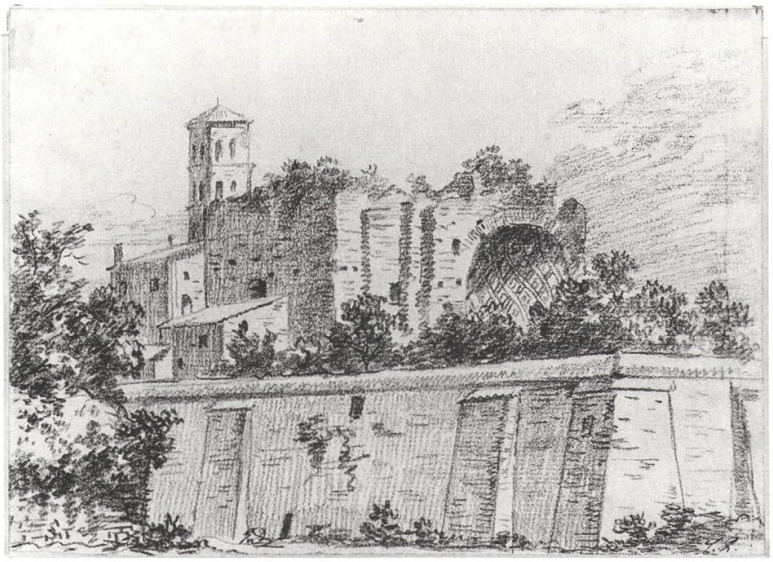

Fig. 1 Jacques-Louis David, *Vue de Rome avec le temple de Vénus et l'église Santa Maria Nova*, 1775–1780, pencil, 15 × 21.3 cm, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum

as David continues his exploration of Rome and its surroundings, his style begins to shift toward a more geometrical conception of the landscape in which the importance of nature is vastly reduced in subordination to architecture, as in a drawing from his fourth album, now at the National Gallery in Washington DC (fig. 2). Like many artists of the time, when drawing from nature David used only black pencil, adding layers of wash once he returned to his studio. In a series of drawings from the Washington notebook, David notes the direction of the light with the phrase "*du sens ordinaire*", for light that comes from the left, or with the phrase "*du sens opposé*" for light that falls from the right.[3] The additive nature of the light, applied in solid geometrical shapes replaces the cross-hatching in pencil, which, as in the Stockholm drawing, is modeled according to the surfaces that it articulates. In the Washington DC sheet, the rendering of light is displaced from a sensory experience to a cerebral one, in which orientation is defined through verbal cues that are not necessarily bound up with the recording of the particulars of direct observation. Instead, David's developing use of light as the final layer applied to an underlying scaffold of architecture speaks to the essential constructedness of these landscapes, a quality that he will continue to develop throughout his second stay in Rome. This interest in geometricized, even archetypal renderings of architectural landscapes culminates in the drawings made by David and his favorite student Jean-Germain Drouais, the two artists pushing each other toward an increasing linearity in which shadow defines the planes of undecorated, geometrical edifices (fig. 3).

Fig. 2 Jacques-Louis David, *Vue de l'église Saint-Onofrio à Rome*, gray wash over black chalk on pale blue laid paper, 16.8 × 21.6 cm, Washington, The National Gallery of Art

Fig. 3 Jean-Germain Drouais, *Paysage composé*, 1784–1788, gray wash over graphite, 12.9 × 17.6 cm, Rennes, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

This stylistic shift is enacted, significantly, not through the depiction of antique ruins, but through vignettes of modern buildings. Recording modern architecture freed the developing style from the nostalgia for antiquity that had become characteristic of view painting from the middle of the century. When artists like Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778) and Hubert Robert (1733–1808) ventured out into the Roman Campagna in order to draw, they tended to focus on famously picturesque locations, such as the town of Tivoli and its gardens, or the ruins that dotted the countryside. Piranesi, especially, set the precedent for a graphic exploration of Rome and its monuments in publications of his etchings, such as the *Antichità romane de' tempi della Repubblica*, published in 1748. Piranesi's images of Rome are haunted by a distinct melancholy, in which commanding ruins overcome by the proliferation of nature stand as silent witnesses to the passage of time and the crumbling of Italian antiquity (fig. 4). While the progression from the Roman images of Piranesi to those of the David school was a gradual process, antiquity had in many ways come to be associated with Piranesi's tendency to show ancient monuments as more imposing than they really were. The pared-down geometry of the modern buildings that defined the drawings of David, Drouais and virtually every student associated with the David school not only offered a new subject that could accommodate the developing style as it had become increasingly detached from literal representations of antiquity, but also responded to the actual, modern experience of the Campagna, which could be quite distinct from what images such as those by Piranesi might suggest.

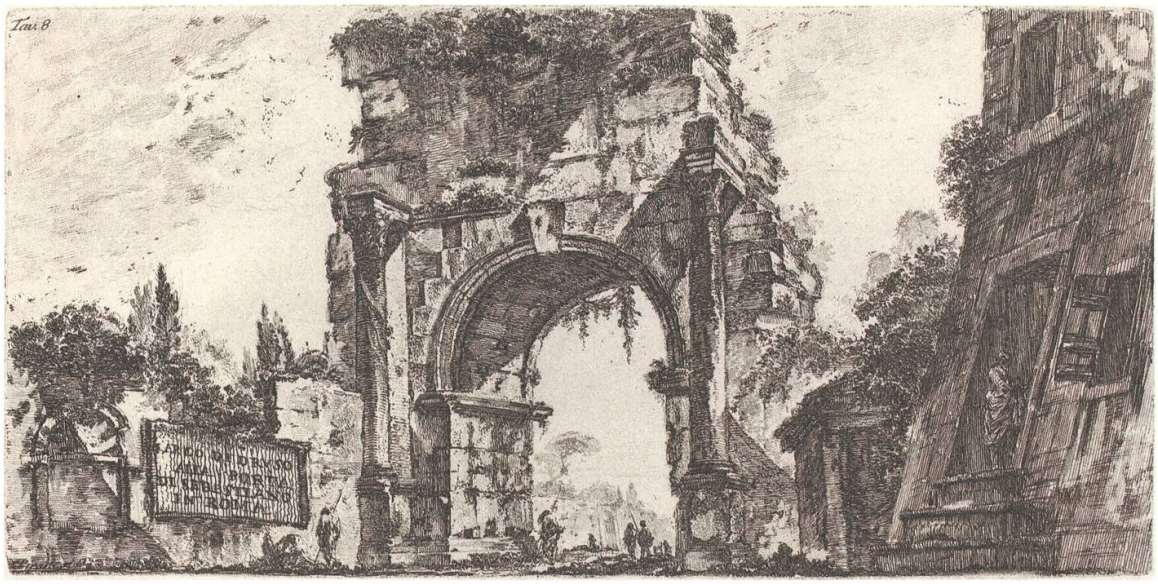

Fig. 4 Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Arco di Druso*, 1748, etching on paper, 13.2 × 27 cm, Washington, The National Gallery of Art

Repeatedly during the second half of the 18th century, travelers on the Grand Tour record impressions of their first glimpses of Rome from her surrounding countryside. Rather than accounts of picturesque ruins, however, tourists often display a certain amount of indignation at the physical reality of the Campagna. Writing of his travels in Italy in 1785, one year after Drouais arrived in Rome, the Abbé Dupaty (1746–1788) describes his first impressions of the countryside:

> "At length, by continually proceeding through this desart [*sic*], through solitude and silence, I found myself among some houses, I could not refrain from dropping a tear: I was in Rome. What! Is this Rome? Rome, that once spread her terrors to the extremities of Asia; and is it now this desart, [*sic*] announced only by the tomb of Nero! No, this is not Rome; it is merely the dead body of that illustrious city; the country round is her tomb; and the wretched populace, that swarm within her walls, the worms that devour the carcass."[4]

The dichotomy that is established between Rome, the cradle of artistic production in the antique world, and its barren, wasted environs is further reiterated at the beginning of the 19th century when the British traveler, the Reverend John Chetwode Eustace (1762–1815), wrote:

> "Beyond Nepi… the Campagna di Roma begins to expand its dreary solitudes; and naked hills, and swampy plains rise, and sink by turns, without presenting a single object worth attention. It must not, however, be supposed that no vegetation decorates these dreary wilds. On the contrary, verdure but seldom interrupted, occasional corn fields, and numerous herds and flocks, communicate some degree of animation to these regions otherwise so desolate.… [A]s the traveller advances over the dreary wilds of the Campagna, where not one object occurs to awaken his attention, he has time to recover from the surprise and agitation, which the first view of Rome seldom fails to excite in liberal and ingenious minds."[5]

This is not, then, the Campagna of antique ruins, but a barren, unhealthy and poverty-stricken area divorced from the antique civilizations still evident in the city it surrounds. The written recollections of Grand Tourists do not demonstrate the sense of nostalgia evoked by ruins, which admittedly did continue throughout the 18th and well into the 19th century, gaining new traction with the advent of Romanticism. Instead, they evince an alternative understanding of the Roman countryside in which the Campagna is essentially alienated from the antique, whereby it is defined by its bareness and ultimately by this lack.

Yet for artists of the David school, it was precisely modern architecture that supported an exploration of the characteristics of Greek art, such as simplicity, linearity and the unity of form and function, which were held to be foundational for Western art. Modern artists looked to antiquity not only for literal forms and objects to be copied, but also for lessons and principles that could be put into the service of a modern French school. Freed from the burden of the antique, the Campagna served as a site more amenable to new definitions of landscape, one that privileges an intellectual and geometrical construction over an emotive and descriptive one. Instead, drawings made by David and Drouais actually take advantage, even relish the wasted, desert-like character of the Campagna, qualities that allow for a reduction in the importance of nature in favor of carefully constructed architectural vignettes (fig. 3). In some cases, these compositions are amalgamations of various buildings that do not exist together in reality, as in a number of landscapes from Drouais's notebooks, now preserved in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rennes.[6] The barrenness of the Campagna, punctuated occasionally by Rome's famous hills, lends itself to this kind

of treatment both because of its actual physical characteristics and because of the intellectual distance it was beginning to attain from the overdetermined presence of ancient ruins. If antiquity is taken as a metaphor for the exploration of paired-down, elemental forms, then drawings such as these by David and Drouais were able to treat landscape in a conceptually, rather than an ichnographically, classical manner.[7]

The severing of modern architecture from the fragments of antiquity by David and Drouais presage several developments in emerging conceptions of neoclassicism and its relation to architecture: they materialize ideas about how architecture symbolizes through proportion and relationships rather than through allegory; and they structure interior space in order to facilitate the physical interaction between the viewer and the architectural elements that embody these moral qualities. Once the architectural armature developed by David and Drouais had been reduced to elemental forms, it could then be filled with the fragments of antiquity capable of imparting to architecture the ability to convey narrative history through allegorical images rather than exclusively through symbolic proportion and design.

David began his exploration of the interior view by reducing its scale in several drawings from his Roman notebooks associated with the *Oath of the Horatii*, his career-making painting and the ostensible reason for his second trip to Rome (figs. 5–6). For the painting itself, David substituted the kind of baseless Doric columns that had become increasingly important to architects since the rediscovery of Paestum and the resulting Doric revival in the middle of the century.[8] Contemporaneous conceptions of the antique, as

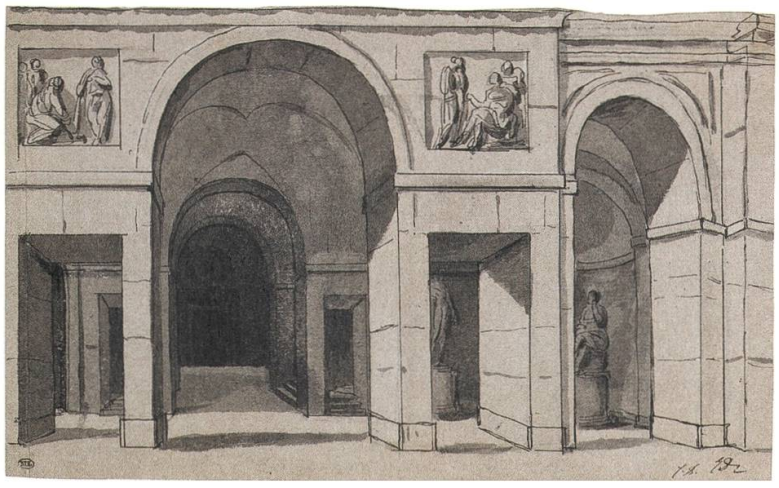

Fig. 5 Jacques-Louis David, *Vestibule d'un palais décoré de statues et de reliefs*, black chalk, pen and black ink, 15.4 × 25 cm, Paris, France, Louvre

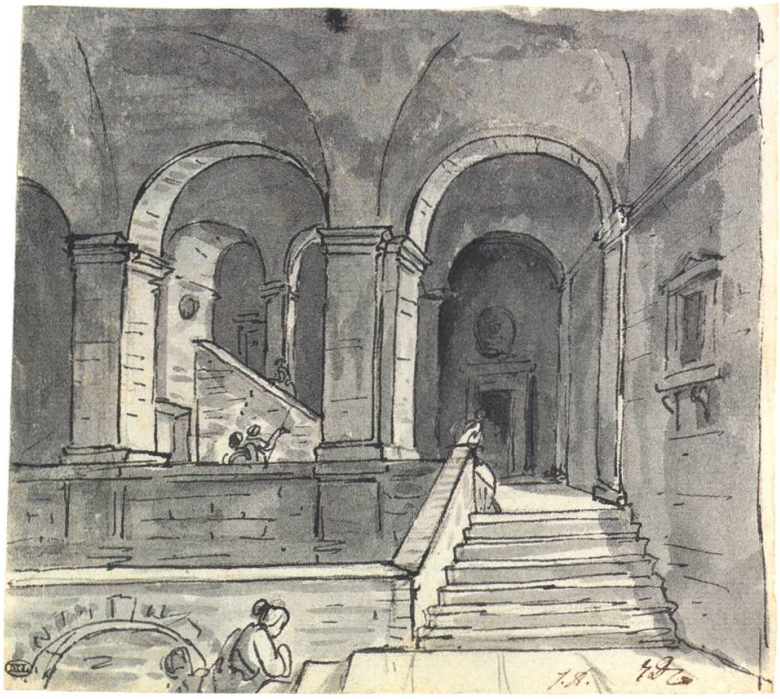

Fig. 6 Jacques-Louis David, *Escalier d'un palais, une figure au premier plan*, pen and black ink, brush and gray wash over black chalk, 13.2 × 14.8 cm, Paris, France, Louvre

epitomized by Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), often positioned the modern artist as being always incapable of reviving the glory of antiquity, while ruins came to symbolize the expansive and insurmountable precedent left by the ancients.[9] This anxiety was articulated by Winckelmann and visually inscribed in depictions of Rome by mid-century artists such as Hubert Robert and Piranesi, whose towering structures rendered any human presence ineffectual, even incidental. To reclaim the agency of the modern artist, and to reassert the relevance of antiquity for modern history painting, the scale of the interior was reduced in order to emphasize the rhythm and structure of the architectural elements, which themselves are capable of supporting the abstract, moral qualities that history painting seeks to express. As the French architectural historian Quatremère de Quincy (1755–1849) wrote in his analysis of the capabilities of architecture to signify, architecture uses

> "matter, its forms and the relations of their proportions, to express moral qualities, at least those that nature shadows forth in her works, and which produce in us the ideas, and their correlative emotions, of order, harmony, grandeur, wealth, unity, variety, durability, eternity, &c"[10]

David's drawings for the *Oath* materialize Quatremère's concern that architecture should signify through relations and proportions in order to evoke

moral concepts embodied in rational architectural principles.[11] The Doric columns of the finished painting delineate an intimate space, their scale echoing that of the personages who inhabit the scene and enact the narrative drama. As a result, rather than being defined by imposing, overwrought ruins, David's conception of interior space both emphasizes the primacy of the narrative through a reduction in the scale of architecture to human proportions, and asks the formal, physical qualities of architecture to embody the kind of moral concepts that define and elevate history painting.

The cross-fertilization that took place in Rome between painting and sculpture on one hand and architecture on the other was facilitated by the *Académie* in Italy, where painters and sculptors studied together with architects, having been educated at different institutions in Paris. One such point of contact is the friendship that developed between Drouais and the architect Charles Percier, the notebooks they produced together in Rome bearing witness to the depth of their mutual influence. In 1786, when Percier arrived in Rome as a young *pensionnaire* of the French *Académie d'architecture*, Drouais had already been in the city for two years. Although little is recorded about their time together, we do know that Percier and Drouais not only met, but that they developed a friendship that had a profound effect especially on Percier, since Drouais was fated not to return to France, dying in Rome in 1788. In an early biography of Percier by Raoul Rochette (1789–1854), published in 1840 in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the architect reports on his initial distress upon arriving in Rome:

> "Jeté tout d'un coup, nous disait-il, au sein d'une ville si remplie de chefs-d'œuvre, j'étais comme ébloui et hors d'état de me faire un plan d'études. J'éprouvais, dans mon saisissement, ce tourment de Tantale qui cherche vainement à se satisfaire au milieu de tout ce qu'il convoite. J'allais de l'antiquité au moyen-âge, du moyen-âge à la renaissance, sans pouvoir me fixer nulle part. J'étais partagé entre Vitruve et Vignole, entre le Panthéon et le palais Farnèse, voulant tout voir, tout apprendre, dévorant tout et ne pouvant me résoudre à rien étudier. Et qui sait jusqu'où se fût prolongé cet état de trouble et d'inquiétude où l'enthousiasme tenait de l'ivresse, et où il y avait du charme jusque dans la perplexité, si je n'eusse trouvé un guide qui me sauvât de moi-même, en me rendant à moi-même?"[12]

"Ce guide" continues Percier, "fut Drouais."[13] Here, Percier already demonstrates the eclectic aesthetic sense that will in part define his role in the development of the Empire style under Napoleon. But he also romanticizes his relationship with Drouais, and indeed has a tendency in writings and letters throughout his life to emphasize his friendship with painters even over the far more famous relationship he came to develop with his partner in architecture, Pierre Fontaine (1762–1853).[14] Percier describes his friendship with Drouais in the kind of breathless terms that seem to overstate his dependency on the painter's guidance through the labyrinth of Rome, while at the same time aligning his own Roman education with that of Drouais. Percier finishes his recollections of Drouais thus:

> "M. Peyre, par ses savantes leçons, m'avait initié à la connaissance de l'antique ; Drouais me le montrait de l'âme et du doigt, et il me le montrait non plus seulement en perspective, non plus aligné froidement sur le papier, mais debout sur le terrain, mais vivant de toute la vie de l'art et animé par tous les souvenirs de l'histoire. Sans Drouais, perdu au milieu de Rome, j'aurais peut-être été perdu pour moi-même ; avec Drouais, je me retrouvai dans Rome tout ce que j'étais, et c'est à lui que je dois d'avoir connu Rome tout entière, en devenant moi-même tout ce que je pouvais être."[15]

This passage is one of the only written expressions of their friendship that we have from Percier, and it is very much in keeping with the mythologizing of Drouais that took place after the painter's death.[16] But it also signals Percier's liminal position between that of painter and architect, one that he continued to inhabit for the rest of his career.

Drawing side-by-side in Rome, Drouais and Percier evince, in their notebooks, a fascinating pictorial conversation held between painter and architect that center, in part, on circumscribed interior views. In a drawing from Drouais's notebook, all of the architectural elements have been reduced to the simplest of forms (fig. 7). An emphasis on structure dominates the drawing, again suggesting the ability of architecture to communicate intellectual concepts through structure and proportion, especially manifest in the ability of columns and arches to structure space. The configuration of Drouais's drawing, the pillars that define a shallow, stage-like space, the crystalline vault that leads the eye past the first layer of architecture as it suggests the sensation of *mise en abîme*, repeats in Percier's drawing of the interior of a Roman Palace (fig. 8). Only, in the architect's drawing,

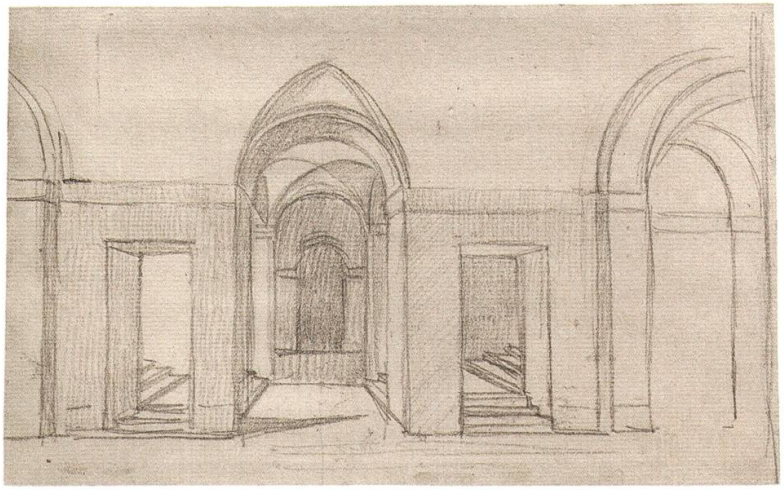

Fig. 7 Jean-Germain Drouais, *Intérieur d'un palais*, 1784–1788, pencil, Rennes, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Drouais's armature of flattened, bare walls has been filled with a proliferation of decorative objects. Yet the function of the arch and of the colonnade as the quintessential bearers of architectural meaning maintains whether the surfaces are decorated or not.

Percier records the presence of colonnades in a number of drawings from his Roman albums, as architectural elements worthy of particular note (fig. 9). An image from the Villa Albani, although a view to the exterior of the building, demonstrates a Davidian use of the colonnade to organize space and view, as the columns provide not only visual access to the scene, but also function as a barrier to the villa's garden beyond, at once framing the view and obstructing it (fig. 10). These kinds of explorations are completely missing from Piranesi's works on antique Rome, an omission on which Percier and Fontaine comment in their book *Choix des Plus Célèbres Maisons,* whose illustrations were based on the drawings the pair made while students. They write:

> "Falda, Piranèse, et quelques autres ont à la vérité publié différentes vues prises dans les jardins de Rome ; mais aucun d'eux n'a entrepris de réunir l'utile à l'agréable. Occupés exclusivement de la partie pittoresque, ils ont négligé de donner les plans et les détails de ces habitations."[17]

Rather than being concerned with the way a viewer might physically interact with the built environment, Percier and Fontaine accuse Piranesi of focusing only on the "picturesque part" of the landscape, that aspect which is viewed from a distance, as a vignette of nature artistically arranged, but fundamentally detached from physical experience.

Fig. 8 Charles Percier, *Intérieur d'un palais romain*, c. 1797, Pen and black ink, gray wash, over pencil, watercolor, 24.7 × 20.3 cm, Paris, France, Louvre

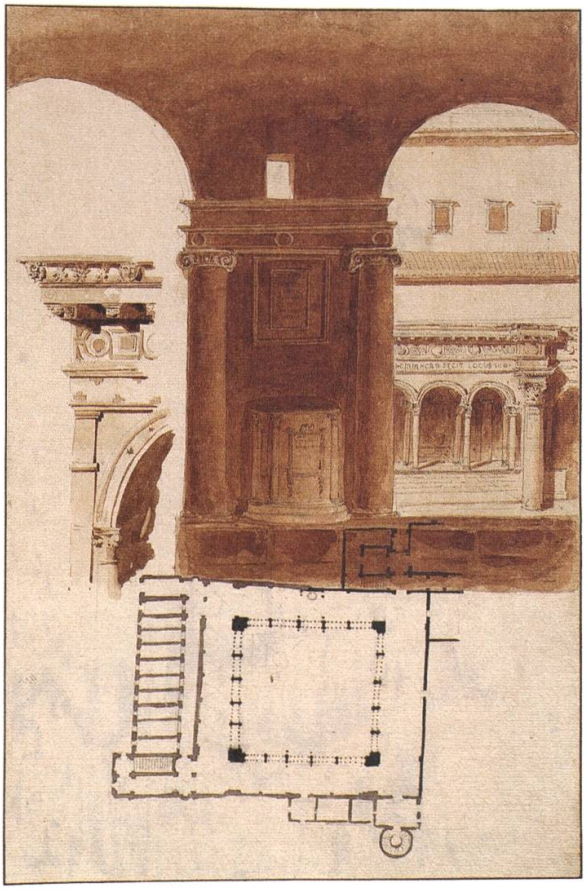

Fig. 9 Charles Percier, *Cour, San Paolo fuori le Mura* (detail), 1786–1792, pencil, ink and wash, 24.4 × 22.6 cm, Paris, France, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France

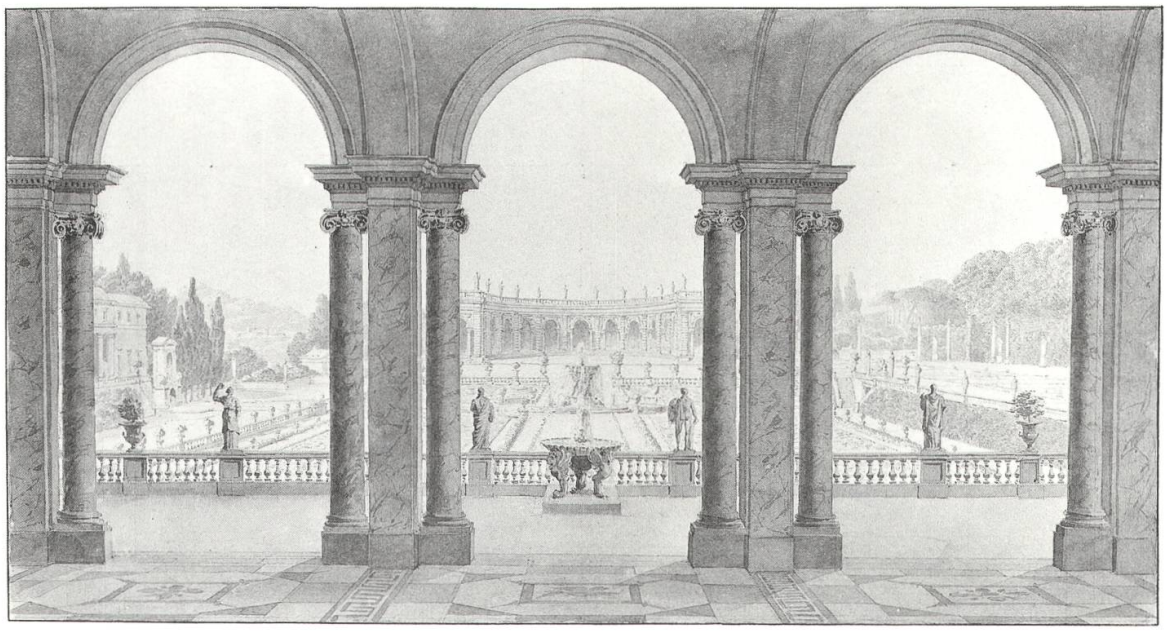

Fig. 10 Charles Percier, *Jardin, Villa Albani*, 1786–1792, pencil, ink and wash, 26.5 × 45.5 cm, Paris, France, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France

The increasing importance of the colonnade in shaping the interaction that a viewer might have with architecture is articulated in the ideas of several important professors at the *Académie d'architecture*. By the end of the 18th century, a new experience of architecture was beginning to be conceived, notably by Étienne-Louis Boullée (1728–1799) and by Julien-David Leroy (1724–1803), a disciple of Jacques-Germain Soufflot (1713–1780), the professor who sponsored Percier's grand prize-winning entry in the Prix de Rome competition of 1786.[18] In his treatise the *Histoire de la disposition et des formes que les Chrétiens ont données à leurs temples* of 1764, Leroy describes the effect of the colonnade:

> "When we wish to appreciate the whole of a colonnade, we are obliged to stand back a certain distance in order to take in the whole of it, and as we move about the separate masses of the building change very little in relation to each other. When we approach it a different spectacle strikes us: the overall form escapes us, but our proximity to the columns makes up for this, and the changes which the spectator now observes in the tableaux of which he is the creator in moving about are more striking, more rapid, and more varied. And if the spectator enters under the colonnade itself, an entirely new sight offers itself to his eyes with every step

> he takes, because of the relationship of the columns to the objects they reveal, whether a landscape, the picturesque massing of the houses of a city, or the magnificence of an interior."[19]

In this passage, Leroy makes a distinction between viewing architecture from a distance, so that the entire plan can be apprehended, and the physical experience of architecture once the viewer actually enters into the space. Just after this paragraph, Leroy concludes his treatise with a description of Soufflot's St. Geneviève project, on which Percier's prix de Rome entry was based:

> "One sees from their plans that the spectator will be able to perceive the whole of the interior at one time, regardless of precisely where he is imagined to stand, and that the columns, at each step he takes, will successively conceal different parts of the decoration of the church. This change of *tableaux* [*changement de tableaux*] is not only affected by the columns which are very close to the spectator, but also by all those which he can perceive, and if light animates the interior of these buildings, I am emboldened to say that there will result an enchanting spectacle of which we can only form a feeble idea."[20]

In both of these passages Leroy, rather than privileging a perspectival, almost omnipotent experience of a building, emphasizes the ways in which interior spaces change and shift based on their relationship to the spectator's moving body, and especially on the ability of the colonnade to structure and guide this experience by at once opening and foreclosing space. Furthermore, the column itself has traditionally been linked to the proportions of the human body,[21] with the rhythm that results from their spacing being a particularly apt example of the importance of symmetry in the arrangement of architectural elements.[22] This emphasis on the importance of the interior view and the way in which the viewer might experience that space is further asserted in the illustrations that Percier and Fontaine made for two of their publications, which were based on the Roman drawings of their student years. In their *Palais, Maisons et Autres édifices*, Percier and Fontaine tend to position the viewer at an axis to the colonnade that suggests the potential capacity of the architectural view to change and shift. The colonnade divides space, but it also delineates possible paths and helps to structure the new *tableaux*, to use Leroy's term, that will be created as the viewer moves through the building.

As Percier and Fontaine's drawings of modern buildings were meant to serve as templates for projects back in Paris, they specifically took into account the ways in which a visitor might actually experience them. The prominence of these views acknowledges the individual's physical and perceptual interaction with the edifice, rather than relegating the viewer to the contemplation of ruined monuments from a fixed and distanced vantage point, as in Piranesi's etchings of antiquities.[23] By reducing the scale of their interiors, David, Drouais and Percier all focused attention on the harmonious arrangement of architectural elements in the service of an elevated experience of architecture. In an effort to recuperate Rome and its built environment in the service of a modern French style, the conception of antiquity as irretrievable was suspended, as modern architecture usurped the central position that had previously belonged to the ancient ruin. Yet antiquity by no means disappeared from these artists' notebooks.

Although Drouais and Percier engage deeply with antique objects being unearthed and displayed all over Italy, the material remains of antiquity are treated quite differently by the painter and the architect. In their copies after antiquities, both David and Drouais tend to focus on extracting the human form from its context in a process of translation that suppresses the material reality of the source object, whether that be free-standing sculpture, bas-relief or architectural decoration, in favor of the construction of an image that is essentially a floating signifier, a receptacle *in potentia* for the future meanings it might be asked to bear in narrative history painting. Numerous sheets from the albums of both Drouais and David demonstrate how antiquity provided the painters with models for later use, whose meanings were not dependent on the location or specific context of their sources. Individual drawings of single figures are organized in an insistently systematic grid, usually four to a page, suggesting the arrangement of medieval model-books whose purpose was to house a compendium of forms that could then be used and reused as necessary, able to absorb new contexts and meanings depending on their eventual destination. Whereas sheets of this type make up a large percentage of the drawings in David and Drouais's albums, very few parallel sheets are to be found in Percier's notebooks now at the Institut de France. Instead, Percier's conception of decoration, which he most fully explores in works on paper, and his focus on the modern built environment of Rome results in an antiquity that appears in his notebooks literally in fragments (fig. 11).

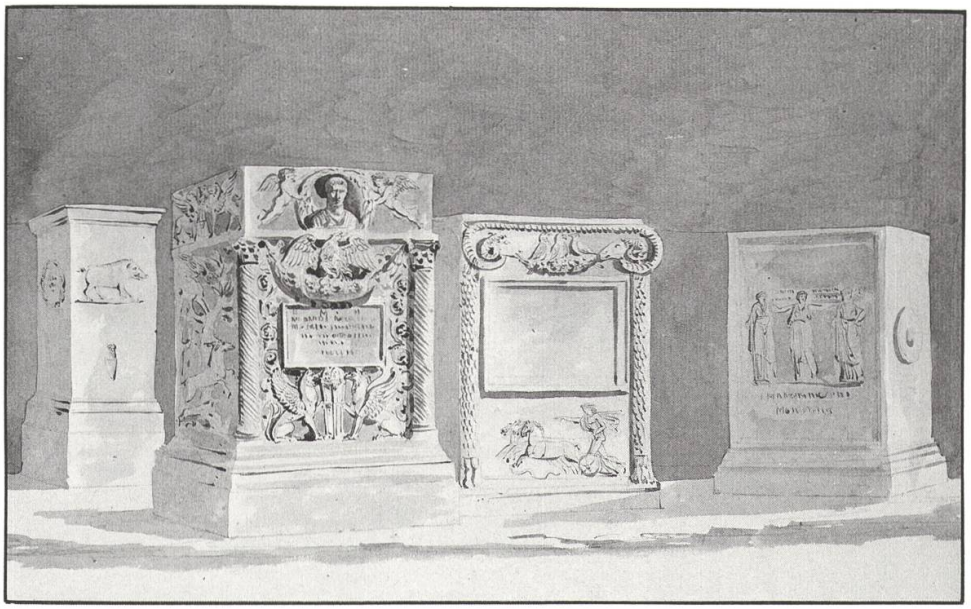

Fig. 11 Charles Percier, *Antiquités*, 1786–1792, pencil, ink and wash, 21×34 cm, Paris, France, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France

Piranesi sets an important precedent for the draughtsman/architect, and his influence on Percier, especially in the latter's Roman notebooks, is undeniable. Percier would have been introduced to Piranesi's designs by his professor in Paris, the architect Marie-Joseph Peyre, who was among the French *pensionnaires* most influenced by Piranesi's compositions.[24] Much as Percier's engagement with architecture might have differed from that of Piranesi, an important feature shared by the printed work of both architects is the proliferation of antique fragments, conceived of as fragments. In his Roman notebooks, Percier explores antique forms not as images extracted from their physicality, but as crumbling remains onto which is transferred the nostalgia that modern, intact architecture as rendered by David and Drouais no longer supports. In his drawing of a Roman palace interior made around 1797 while he was studying in Rome, Percier unites Piranesi's obsessive impulse to collect antique fragments with the emergent reimagining of interior space as exemplified in Drouais's drawing of a very similar interior (figs. 7–8). In Percier's drawing, the view is structured around the physical presence of the observer, with stairs in the foreground leading to the first arcade, under which the viewer might pass in order to reach the courtyard beyond, which in turn leads to an even further colonnade and a second courtyard in the distance. The drawing, structured by a reduced geometrical armature that might have been developed by David or Drouais,

is replete with antique decoration. From bas-reliefs to freestanding sculpture, no surface is left unadorned so that the presence, indeed the profusion, of the antique object is reasserted on the surfaces of a modern building.

Although the antique continued to play a central role in the drawings made by French *pensionnaires* in Rome at the turn of the century, it tended to be most often expressed in images of objects, sculpture and decoration, while a new association of architecture and landscape with modern Rome supplanted the romanticized ruin paintings and drawings of mid-century. This shift from ruins to modern architecture, attended by a parallel move toward a geometricized and linear style, was further bolstered by actual contemporary experiences of the Roman Campagna as recorded in the travel literature of the period, so that the conception of a rationalized antiquity came to be expressed by style rather than exclusively by antique subject matter. The drawing notebooks made by French artists while studying in Rome at the end of the 18th century evince parallel interests in the antique and in the modern, both of which are explored in the service of appropriating the material reality of Rome for use by French painters and architects in the development of a modern French school.

Landschaftszeichnung jenseits der klassischen Ruine: David, Drouais und Percier
Andrea Bell

Der vorliegende Beitrag befasst sich mit den Skizzenbüchern und Alben französischer Künstler, die Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts in Rom lebten und arbeiteten, unter ihnen Jacques-Louis David und seine Schüler sowie einige ihrer Zeitgenossen, etwa Antoine-Laurent Castellan und Pierre Paul Prud'hon. Untersucht wird, wie die Unterrichtspraxis der französischen Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture – oder der Widerstand dagegen – in den römischen Zeichenbüchern anschaulich wird, namentlich in der Fülle der darin enthaltenen Landschaftszeichnungen.

Die Hefte bestehen hauptsächlich aus Kopien nach Antiken, aus Landschaftszeichnungen und vereinzelten Alltagsszenen, allesamt im Hinblick auf den späteren Gebrauch im Berufsleben in Paris zu einem Album eingebunden. Sie sind allerdings auch Zeugnisse eines sich verschärfenden Wandels der akademischen Doktrin, indem die Landschaft, die bislang auf der untersten Stufe der akademischen Gattungshierarchie figurierte, darin mehr und mehr Beachtung erfährt. Dieses neue Interesse an einer ausgeprägt geometrischen und linearen Landschaftsauffassung lässt sich in verschiedenen Disziplinen beobachten und zeigt sich in Zeichnungen sowohl von Malern wie von Architekten. Der Austausch zwischen den beiden Gruppen wurde besonders durch die Académie de Paris in Rom gefördert, wo die Vertreter der jeweiligen Berufsstände, die in Paris in gesonderten Institutionen ausgebildet worden waren, ein und dieselbe Schule besuchten. Bezeichnend dafür ist beispielsweise die Freundschaft, die zwischen einem Schüler Davids, dem Maler Jean-Germain Drouais, und dem Architekturstudenten Charles Percier entstand. Damit rückt in den Blick, wie die Landschaft für die klassizistischen Künstler an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert zu einer anspruchsvollen und wichtigen Gattung werden konnte – eine Entwicklung, die mit der Vorrangstellung der Landschaft im 19. Jahrhundert ihren Höhepunkt erreichen sollte.

1 Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967, pp. 153–154.

2 Thomas Crow, *Emulation: David, Drouais and Girodet in the Art of Revolutionary France*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995, p. 47.

3 Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat, *Jacques-Louis David, 1748–1825: Catalogue raisonné des dessins*, vol. 1, Milan: Mondadori Electa Spa, 2002, p. 496.

4 Charles-Marguerite-Jean-Baptiste Mercier Dupaty, *Lettres sur l'Italie, en 1785*. The first edition was published in Rome and Paris in 1788, with an English translation being published in London the same year. The above translation is taken from the English edition, *Travels through Italy in a series of letters*, London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1788, p. 128.

5 John Chetwode Eustace, *A Classical Tour through Italy*, London: J. Mawman, 1815, p. 396.

6 Patrick Ramade, *Jean-Germain Drouais, 1763–1788*, exhibition catalog, Rennes, France: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1985, p. 133.

7 Rosenblum, *Transformations* (see note 1), pp. 146–149.

8 Arlette Sérullaz, *Inventaire Général des Dessins, École Française: Dessins de Jacques-Louis David, 1748–1825*, Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1991, p. 130.

9 Henry Fuseli's famous drawing *The Artist Moved by the Grandeur of Antique Fragments* from 1778–1779, now at the Kunsthaus, Zurich, is a good example of the modern artist's anxiety over his relationship to the artistic past. Indeed, images of observers overcome with despair when confronted by the ruins of antiquity appear with some regularity in the drawing notebooks of French artists from the end of the 18th century.

10 Antoine Quatremère de Quincy, *Essai sur la nature, le but et les moyens de l'imitation dans les beaux-arts* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1823). Quotation taken from English trans-

lation: J. C. Kent, trans., *An Essay on the nature, the end, and the means of imitation in the fine arts*, London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1837, p. 168.

11 Quatremère defines the moral as that which relates to the mind as opposed to the senses. He writes: "I have before explained that the word moral, as applied to imitation, is not intended to signify any useful influence on morality or manners resulting from works or art, but is employed in an opposite sense to that attached to the words *physical, material, sensual*." Quatremère, *An Essay on the Nature*, p. 183.

12 Raoul Rochette, "Percier. Sa Vie et Ses Ouvrages," in *Revue des Deux Mondes* 24 (1840), p. 250.

13 Ibid.

14 I would like to thank Jean-Philippe Garric for drawing my attention to this tendency.

15 Ibid.

16 Crow, *Emulation* (see note 2), pp. 83–86.

17 Charles Percier and Pierre François Léonard Fontaine, *Choix des Plus Célèbres Maisons de Plaisance de Rome et de ses Environs*, ed. Jean-Philippe Garric, Wavre, Belgium: Éditions Mardaga, 2007, p. 43.

18 Quoted by David Van Zanten, "Architectural Composition at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts from Charles Percier to Charles Garnier," in *The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts*, ed. Arthur Drexler, London: Secker & Warburg, and New York: MoMA, 1977, p. 152.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Especially Vitruvius in his *De Architectura*, a classic text with which Percier was unquestionably familiar. It is here that Vitruvius describes how the Doric column was first constructed based on the "proportions, strength and beauty of the body of a man", while the ionic column was based on the "delicacy, adornment and proportions characteristic of women." Morris Hicky Morgan, transl., *Vitruvius: the ten books on architecture*, New York: Dover Publications, 1960, book IV, chapter 1, sections 6–7.

22 Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre compare the "intercolumniation relations" with the "ordered spacing between human bodies, or, even more, as the structure of the steps in a dance, the art from which according to Aristotle all rhythm is derived." Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, *Classical Architecture: The Poetics of Order*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1987, p. 119.

23 Piranesi too takes up an exploration of shifting architectural planes in his later prison etchings, which focus on fantastical renderings of modern prison interiors, rather than on rationalized and fixed experiences of ancient monuments.

24 *Piranesi et les Français, 1740–1790*, exhibition catalog, Rome: Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1976, pp. 266–270.