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Claiming the Louvre: Kingship, Revolution, and Empire in Early Modern France

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Art History

by

Shannon M. Chestnut

June 2021

Thesis Committee:
Dr. Johannes Endres, Chairperson
Dr. Catherine Gudis
Dr. Kristoffer Neville

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2021

The Thesis of Shannon M. Chestnut is approved:

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Committee Chairperson

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This thesis project owes much to the guidance and encouragement of many people. Due to the coronavirus pandemic, this paper that focuses on the public sphere was written while confined to the private sphere, isolated and working from home. Due to this, the majority of research are secondary sources derived from UC Riverside's Tomás Rivera Library, HathiTrust Digital Library, and Louvre Collections database.

To Dr. Theresa Avila and Dr. Alison Perchuk, my undergraduate academic mentors at CSU Channel Islands, I give my sincere thanks for encouraging me to pursue graduate school. Dr. Avila advised me to slow down and analyze the interworkings of museum exhibitions, and to question and challenge the museum setting rather than simple accept it. Dr. Perchuk explained the interworkings of art history academia, readied me for the long road ahead, and opened my interest in the Louvre and French art history with the single sculpture of *Winged Victory of* Samothrace. Although this project comes before *Winged Victory*'s grand entrance into the Louvre, the work forever remains as the initial spark for this projected where I began to turn my eyes away from the sculpture to the surrounding environment of the institution and its influence. The teachings from both Dr. Avila and Dr. Perchuk are still apparent and remain at the very heart of this project.

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Claiming the Louvre: Kingship, Revolution, and Empire in Early Modern France

by

Shannon M. Chestnut

Master of Arts, Graduate Program in Art History
University of California, Riverside, June 2021
Dr. Johannes Endres, Chairperson

Impacted by changes to the surrounding environment and its affect on the citizens of Paris, the Louvre stands at the center of the city as a transformative architectural monument that has influenced artwork interpretation since its erection. The Louvre and the art displayed within it play a crucial role in the development of national identity during the early modern period. The Louvre and its art collection displays and reflects the political landscape of France at different points of ownership during the latter half of the eighteenth into the beginning of the nineteenth century. With King Louis XVI's lack of leadership, I argue that the Louvre and its art demonstrate the tense separation between the monarch and his subjects at the start of the French Revolution. Once the Louvre is claimed as a national museum for the people of France, I examine how the New Republic's agenda is displayed through its architectural restorations and art exhibitions. Finally, I showcase the imperialistic power of Napoléon Bonaparte's effect on the Louvre and displayed art. Whether king, revolutionaries, or emperor, the adaptability of the Louvre within the urban landscape of Paris mirrors its occupants and recontextualizes displayed artworks.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
I. The King’s Abandoned Louvre (1682-1792)	10
II. The People’s Louvre (1793-1802)	49
III. Napoleon I’s Louvre, Musée Napoléon (1803-1815)	99
Conclusion	137
Bibliography	141

LIST OF FIGURES

1 Anonymous, *I'll Make Better Use of It, and I'll Know How to Keep It*, 1791 15
2 Joseph Siffred Duplessis, *Portrait of Joseph-Marie Vien*, 1784 19
3 Joseph-Marie Vien, *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache*, 1786 20
4 Joseph-Marie Vien, *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache*, 1786 21
5 Joseph-Marie Vien, *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache* (detail), 1786 22
6 Joseph-Marie Vien, *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache* (detail), 1786 23
7 Pietro Antonio Martini, *Exposition at Louvre Salon in 1787*, 1787 26
8 Pietro Antonio Martini, *Exposition at Louvre Salon in 1787* (detail), 1787 27
9 Antoine Coypel, *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache*, 1711 28
10 Gavin Hamilton, *Hector's Farewell to Andromache*, ca. 1774-17785 29
11 Joseph Siffred Duplessis, *Comte d'Angiviller*, 1779 41
12 Pierre Jean, *Road Map of the City and Suburbs of Paris* (detail), 1802 53
13 Hubert Robert, *Imaginary View of the Grande Galerie in Ruins*, 1796 54
14 Hubert Robert, *Imaginary View of the Grande Galerie in Ruins*, 1796 55
15 Hubert Robert, *Project for the Transformation of the Grande Galerie*, 1796 56
16 Apollo Gallery Entrance, Paris, The Louvre 61
17 Hubert Robert, *The Grande Galerie*, 1795 64
18 Hubert Robert, *The Grande Galerie* (detail), 1795 65
19 Joseph-Marie Vien, *The Triumph of the Constitution*, 1794 69
20 Hubert Robert, *The Grande Galerie Undergoing Restoration*, ca. 1796-9 73
21 Joseph-Marie Vien, *Portrait of Jacques-Louis David*, 1765 81
22 Jacques-Louis David, *The Tennis Court Oath*, 1791 85
23 Jacques-Louis David, *Studies for Tennis Court Oath*, 1790-1 87
24 Jacques-Louis David, *The Tennis Court Oath* (back of drawing), 1791 88
25 Jacques-Louis David, *The Tennis Court Oath* (detail), 1791 89
26 Jacques-Louis David, *The Tennis Court Oath* (detail), 1791 90
27 Jacques-Louis David, *The Intervention of the Sabine Women*, 1799 94
28 Jacques-Louis David, *The Intervention of the Sabine Women* (detail), 1799 95
29 George Cruikshank, *Seizing the Italian Relics*, 1814 105
30 Anonymous, *Napoleon Showing Apollo Belvedere to His Deputies,* 1800 113
31 Benjamin Zix, *Vivant-Denon Working in the Salle de Diane*, 1811 116
32 Eduard Wagner & Ernst Debes, *Louvre: First Floor* (detail), 1937 120
33 Jean-Simon Berthélemy, *Man Formed by Prometheus and Minerva*, 1802 121
34 Benjamin Zix, *Marriage of Napoleon and Marie-Louise*, 1810 124
35 Jean-Auguste-Dominique, *Napoleon I on His Imperial Throne*, 1806 128
36 François Gérard, *Portrait of Baron Antoine-Jean Gros*, 1791 129
37 Antoine-Jean Gros, *General Bonaparte at the Bridge of Arcole*, 1796 130
38 Antoine-Jean Gros, *Napoleon on the Battlefield of Eylau*, 1808 132
39 Antoine-Jean Gros, *Napoleon on the Battlefield of Eylau* (detail), 1808 133

INTRODUCTION

As the eighteenth century comes to a close, there was a rupture of established order in France. During the time period from 1789 to 1815, the French government shifted from sovereignty to democracy to empire. Public tensions rose until the monarchy fell in 1789. Political extremism led to chaos with a violent revolution that takes hold of the last decade of the 1700s. At the start of the nineteenth century, Napoleon seized control and formed a powerful French empire. The French public adjusted through each of these tumultuous times of intense change along with the institution at the center of changing Paris, the Louvre.[1] Originally constructed at the end of the twelfth century for King Philippe-August, the Louvre first functioned as a fortress of defense. In 1360, the Louvre received its first of many transformations when it was converted into a royal palace for Charles V. Following this initial shift, the Louvre's ever-changing renovations and construction process adapted to various French leaders. The Louvre was later substituted with both the Palace of Versailles and the Tuileries Palace as other options for royal residency, and ultimately left abandoned and unutilized until the Revolution opened the restricted building up to the public as a national museum in 1793.[2]

The Louvre functioned as a cultural phenomenon of the modern era and was restructured for the French public within the developing public sphere. This is not to say that the public had never previously interacted with art, but only a new way with the introduction of the museum setting. Humans have always have been fascinated and

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[1] Bette Wyn Oliver, *From Royal to National: the Louvre Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale* (Lanham, M.D.: Lexington Books, 2007), pp. 1.; Jack R.Censer and Lynn Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution* (University Park, P.A.: Pennsylvania State University, 2001), pp. 172.
[2] Geneviève Bresc Bautier, "The Louvre: A National Museum in a Royal Palace," *Museum International*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (2003): 62.

intellectually driven by the use of art to capture and express emotion and history context. The variety and forms of these expressions have continuously changed as time has carried on, forever recontextualizing the values and appreciation society gives to works of art. A large influence of this artistic merit can be unveiled when examining where and how we as a society, chose to display art. An artwork displayed in either a public or private setting can influence the viewer's experience and how the viewer chooses to interpret the work of art. The public has always been connected to the arts, with art marking a sense of community. Public art can resemble monuments like that of Michelangelo's *David* or public spaces of art, such as grand cathedrals and sacred sites such as Stonehenge. Art becomes linked to places where people gather. Throughout time, society has viewed works of art as relics in religious settings or as signs of wealth in a private collection or cabinet of curiosity. With the rise of colonialism and nationalism in the late 1700s, new ideologies arose during the Enlightenment period and affected the way society viewed art, culture, religion, and science. With the new backdrop of the Enlightenment period, many powerful European countries sought to create a public institution, which allowed their citizens to view many rare and valuable artifacts and works of art of historical significance in a singular location, usually residing in the capital. These ideals would soon give birth to what we now refer to as the modern museum. The introduction of the modern museum shifted the perception of the viewer and introduced a new public space containing art, and for the first time, forced spectators to interact with art objects in this new way.[3]

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[3] Thomas E. Crow, *Painters and Public Life in 18th Century Paris* (New Haven, C.T.: Yale University

It is assumed that art museums maintain the crucial responsibility of preserving historic collections of artifacts while providing accessibility and education to a public audience. While seemingly virtuous and effortless, in reality, "the museum is a complex experience involving architecture, programmed displays of art objects, and highly rationalized installation practices."[4] Along with Italian Uffizi Gallery in 1581 and the British Museum in 1759, the Louvre was one of the earliest introductions to the modern museum as a public, national institution dedicated entirely to the arts when it opened in 1793, and was the original prototype of the fine art museum we are familiar with today. In the case of the Louvre, the museum's collections developed directly out of the previous French royal collections. Prior to the fall of the monarchy, a limited selection of the royal collection was displayed in small, decorated reception spaces following ceremonial proceedings before later transitioning into gallery halls within the palace. Both of these forms of display were exclusive to high-ranking officials and visitors as a way to showcase the opulence, majesty, and power of the Crown. These first versions of royal gallery spaces later paved the way for the beginning of museums as independent institutions.[5] Beyond the private royal collections of monarchs, the practice of collecting was already growing popular among wealthy elites on a smaller scale, known as Wunderkammern, or cabinets of curiosities. These private artifact-centered collections of the upper class intended to provide global perspectives to distant and unfamiliar lands,

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Press, 1985), pp. 2.

[4] Carol Duncan, "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship" in *Exhibiting Cultures*, eds. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington D.C. and London, U.K.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), p. 90.

[5] Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (New York, N.Y. and London, U.K.: Routledge, 1995), pp. 22.

cultures, and histories. With the introduction of the modern, public museum, general European audiences were finally able to gain access to rare works of art and artifacts that had previously been reserved for elitists and royal visitors. While Wunderkammern and royal collections offered limited display, the introduction of the public national museum granted access to many. This newly widespread audience was able to interact with unfamiliar cultural objects they had never previously encountered and able to determine the art's new place in society. Even today, the modern museum's unique existence seems to pause the ever changing outside world and preserve the past. The museum structure offers a space for society to retreat and reflect. With the constant changes of society's politics and culture, museums ease spectators by offering this grounding connection to the past.[6] As one of the largest and most visited art museum in the world, the Louvre established and continues to define what an art museum entails today and how museums alter our perceptions of art history. As one of the first examples of a national art museum, the Louvre in Paris brings into account larger questions of symbolism and ownership of the patron, the nation, or mankind through its collection and the artwork it chooses to display.[7] These issues first sparked my research interest and led me to this thesis project.

Initially, my interest in the Louvre was centered on its influence over one particular object, *Winged Victory of Samothrace* before I turned my eyes away from the object to the institution itself. As a working undergraduate student, I never had the opportunity to travel aboard for a semester to Europe. When first learning about art

[6] David Carrier, *Museum Skepticism: A History of the Display of Art in Public Galleries* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007), pp. 222-3.
[7] Dominique Poulot, "The Changing Roles of Art Museums" in *National Museums and Nation-Building in Europe, 1750-2010: Mobilization and Legitimacy, Continuity and Change*, eds. Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius (London, U.K.: Routledge, 2015), pp. 91.

history, all the masterpieces discussed in survey lectures were located in Europe. It needs to be noted that this is a result of instructors teaching with a Eurocentric perspective and enforcing a whitewashed canon. As a young art historian, it felt like blasphemy to admit I'd never seen the iconic European masterpieces like the *Mona Lisa* in person. Knowing this, I was determined to receive a travel grant for research in graduate school. As I began my MA Program in the Fall of 2019, I thought there would be nothing standing in the way of me finally visiting the Louvre in person. Then on March 11, 2020, the World Heath Organization declared the coronavirus outbreak a global pandemic. The world shifted and lockdowns began and the individual future plans had to be reevaluated in these "unprecedented times". Ironically, I began writing my research project linking the public sphere and to the Louvre as an institution within the French capital, and yet, the entirety of this paper was written within the private sphere of the home due to the unforeseen pandemic.

This research project aims to track the history of art history and the history of the French nation-state through the Louvre's adaptability and changes in ownership. In this thesis project by examining the museum itself and the artwork it houses, I explore the intersection of museum collection, display, and exhibition practices and the formation of national identity amongst revolution and empire in France during the early modern period. This research follows the neoclassical works of three French artists, all of whom shared personal master-pupil relations: Joseph-Marie Vien, Jacques-Louis David, and Antoine-Jean Gros. By examining their artworks housed within the Louvre, I explore how the museum defines and transforms the field of art and helps shape the discipline of

art history with its links to nationalism and the public political collective. Throughout my writing, I aim to make this knowledge accessible to a general audience and believe that scholarship should not illicit gatekeeping of those who want to learn. Due to this, I want to be explicit and clear with my intentions on key terms that are vital to this project. The term *public* can be defined as the collective body of general society. In regards to the term *nation*, I am referring to a unified space of governmental rule that is made up of different city centers to benefit the shared overall.

As an interdisciplinary scholar, this work not only practices art historical methodologies, but also utilizes the historical methodologies of urban theory and social history. With these historical approaches, I establish Paris's modernization and the impact of the Louvre as a central piece of urban, public infrastructure, which highlights the public sphere's involvement in revolutionary history. As an art historian, my work is rooted in a formalism framework, relying upon the visual analysis of paintings and the skilled implementation of close looking. Practicing this, I am also interested in the cultural, political, social, philosophical, literary, and historical contexts to better understand artworks and find connections between French artists' responses to their present French history through the reinterpretation of classic Greek and Roman subjects. Finally, my research applies museum studies, focusing on the Louvre as a visual and political symbol in itself in regards to national museums and nation building. Museums are by no means neutral spaces, and hold power to influence through their collection, display, and accessibility. Within museum studies, art museums are usually categorized into either an educational or aesthetic framework. In an educational setting, the works of

art on display are treated as historical references. An aesthetic portrayal of art centers upon the admiration of style and form. However, while educationally leaning, I believe the Louvre during its early years is representative of the French public and its political aims. It is important to understand that the Louvre cannot maintain neutrality with its shifts in ownership, instead revealing the social and political identity of Paris in the early modern period.[8] I analyze the rich, visual symbolism within the museum space for both the architecture and the artwork it houses. The museum space performs as a symbol of national culture and denotes meaning for how an artwork exists and interacts with its environment.

My approach is specifically informed by Dr. Andrew McClellan's foundational scholarship *Inventing the Louvre*, which centers upon the Louvre's formation overall. I hope that my contribution furthers Dr. McClellan's and others art historical discourses surrounding the Louvre, by highlighting individual artists and their paintings that reflect the political and social climate that fills the revolutionary Parisian museum space and entangle the development of art history with the museum's origins. With this in mind, my argument of the Louvre is still a singular case study, and by no means intends to encapsulate a history of museum studies. Furthermore, it is not possible to write a relatively short research project like this one that captures all aspects of French history in the early modern period and their various impacts on the Louvre, nor have I attempted to do so. Instead, this project takes a broad look at the public overall, and in doing so, neglects some crucial issues that deserve their own time and recognition. Due to the

[8] Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, pp. 1-2, 4.

constraints and limitations of this project, I do not delve into the gender and racial injustices faced during this time as much as they deserve and how these discriminations restricted accessibility in public spaces. These issues are significant and worthy of unpacking and my hope is that this initial project sparks other scholars to pick up where I leave off and apply my argument to more specific groups of people.

In Chapter I: The King's Abandoned Louvre (1682-1792), I defend the symbolism of the Louvre's central location in the first arrondisement of the twenty circular designed sections that radiate outward in city of Paris. As an architectural site of power in the heart of France, the Louvre demonstrates growing distance between monarch and subjects in regard to urbanization, public opinion, Enlightenment, and Revolution. I demonstrate this argument with the artist Vien, who addresses both his royal patron and the French public within his 1786 pre-Revolutionary painting *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache*.

In Chapter II: The People's Louvre (1793-1802), the Louvre transforms from a royal palace to a national museum and embodies French nationalism. With the removal of the King, a democratic nation is constructed, with the Louvre available to aid the formation of these new, national ideals, politics, and culture.[9] The previously restricted and exclusive space had been shattered, with the public able to access and claim the museum space as representative for their new democratic equality, heritage, and culture.[10] The subjective, political identity of the museum not only reflected its citizens and

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[9] Henri LeFebvre, *The Production of Space*, tran. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, U.K. and Cambridge, M.A.: Basil Blackwell, 1991), pp. 111.
[10] Oliver, *From Royal to* National, pp. 77.

influenced visitors, but also extended to the objects housed within the museum itself and casted recontextualized meanings. After the collection was claimed as public property, the objects were linked to the nation.[11] During this revolutionary period, artistic production and logical gallery arrangements began to shift. With the museum's association to the nation's history, David attempted to create a contemporary history painting with his 1791 *The Tennis Court Oath* before reverting back to a more classic history painting with his 1799 *The Intervention of the Sabine Women*.

In Chapter III: Napoleon I's Louvre, Musée Napoléon (1803-1815), Napoleon Bonaparte brought the Louvre to the international art stage with his European war campaigns and art looting. The Louvre became a depository of war trophies and a hub of propagandistic imperial power, and in turn, the Louvre's gallery organization is adjusted to form national schools of art. This practice frames and constructs the perception of other nations and the western canon through the collection of artworks. With Napoleon's individual contributions aiding the nation as a whole, Gros merged the real and contemporary with the glorified classical in his 1808 painting *Napoleon on the Battlefield of Eylau*.

[11] Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, pp. 24.

CHAPTER I: THE KING'S ABANDONED LOUVRE (1682-1792)

During the eighteenth century, the city of Paris underwent a transformation with a modernization of urban spaces, an intellectual shift to Enlightenment ideals, and a complete revolution in government with the rejection of the French monarchy, which embraced the democratization for the country of France. The city's tumultuous reworking allowed for the reformation of the public sphere in the urban landscape, and in turn provided an increase in public opinion. This exchange of public opinion in Paris allowed for the spread of the Enlightenment movement and eventually the spread of revolutionary ideas. The Louvre stands at the center of Paris, surrounded and impacted by these changes to the city's physical environment and the lasting effects for the citizens of Paris. Previously utilized as a royal residence, the building stands at the center of the city as a continuous architectural structure that reflects the transformations of Paris since its erection, and in the second half of the eighteenth century, plays a crucial role in demonstrating the growing distance between the monarch and his subjects leading up to the French Revolution in 1789. Following the King's abandonment of the Louvre for the palatial residence of Versailles, Parisians began rejecting the monarchy structure in response. By distancing and removing himself from the centrality of the nation, the monarchy became out of touch with the progression and change within Paris and the rise of Enlightenment and revolutionary opinions in the city's public sphere. I examine how the Louvre represents an architectural site of power in the heart of France and art exhibited during biennial Salons within the space mirrors Paris's public opinion in both intellectual and revolutionary contexts. The citizens of Paris understood the value and

historical significance the Louvre and claimed ownership of the site and its collections for themselves by repurposing the Louvre as a national museum for the public during the Revolution.

Public Opinion in Paris

The term "opinion" derives from Latin and was initially defined as a belief of uncertain judgment, before becoming associated with general society's common thought. The word roots itself in "all attributes referring to its social character can be dispensed with as pleonastic…in French, mores and customs, current ideas and common conventions in general are simply called *les opinions*".[12] Enlightenment thinkers such as John Locke, Denis Diderot, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau raised questions on how and why opinions transpire within society in their philosophical discussions. For example, Locke argued that the role of an opinion is an "informal web of folkways whose indirect social control was more effective than the formal censure under threat of ecclesiastical or governmental sanctions."[13] By the year 1781, the *Oxford Dictionary* added the term "public opinion". Already in the second half of the eighteenth-century in France, "*opinion publique* was the term for the opinion of people supported by tradition and *bon sens* – whether Rousseau, as a critic of culture, appealed to its naturalness, or the Encyclopedists tried to dissolve it through a critique of ideology. Only when the physiocrats ascribed it to the *publique éclairé* itself did *opinion publique* receive the strict meaning of an opinion purified through critical discussion in the public sphere to

[12] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, M.A.: MIT Press, 1989), pp. 89-90.
[13] Ibid., pp.91-3.

constitute a true opinion."[14] Ultimately, French public opinion became the accepted social order and had crucial ties to the Enlightenment and the tense political climate. The Parisian public began to discuss and see the French King as negligent and unable to rule. Parisians spoke freely about the monarch's shortcomings in political discourse. The public sector began to pass judgments upon King Louis XVI for having "few rough virtues, little wit, no knowledge, no reading, and no taste…known as a hunter and a glutton." These biased rumors spread "in diplomatic correspondence, notes passed around Paris, and private conversations. They added up to a negative image because the times were such as to require a thoroughgoing critique of authority."[15] The negative connation of the King spread throughout the public sphere and his lack of stability and certainty in his role as the nation's leader led to his downfall.

Specifically, King Louis XVI's lack of leadership on the secularization of the church, the distancing of Catholicism, and the relaxed grain industry regulations sparked widespread disappointment and led to strained relations between the monarchy and its subjects. Furthering division, France lost the detrimental Seven Years' War with Great Britain in 1763 and fell into debt. Rather than rectify the financial crisis at stake, the French monarch King Louis XVI became involved with non-French citizens across the Atlantic and chose to assist the British colonies during the American Revolution, loaning French money when the nation was already in dire economic circumstances from their war loss. Following these failures against his people, the public questioned the King's abilities in managing government debts. Challenging the King's actions remained a

[14] Ibid., pp. 95-6.
[15] Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. 262.

popular topic of public discussion and led to civilian awareness of governmental affairs. The public backlash compelled King Louis XVI to take responsibility for his financial downfalls and collaborate with Parlement. However, in doing this, the monarch flawed his claim to power through divine birthright. By agreeing to work with Parlement and compromising with the public's calls for liberty, "the Crown had implicitly altered the monarchical style of rule; while still insisting that he ruled by divine right as the lieutenant of God himself, the King now simultaneously argued that he protected the interests of the people and responded to the requirements of public opinion."[16]

All these factors led to a lack of faith in the government and swayed public opinion.[17] Additionally, a shift in the spread of information kept the general public in the dark about King Louis XVI's decisions. Newspaper peddlers stopped shouting out headlines to entice buyers. The general public lost immediate access and transparency to the political actions of royal government. The public became reliant upon law officials to pass the information down to the community, mass service, waiting for a public posting, or paying for the news themselves. This lack of immediacy and direct communication between the King and his subjects furthered the wedged divide.[18] Public discussions and debates during this period only foreshadowed the revolutionary opinions to come by 1789, with "the words *patrie, patriote, nation,* and *citoyen* (citizen), all rare in books and pamphlet titles before 1750, suddenly became widespread after 1756."[19] The negative

[16] Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, pp. 13.
[17] David Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 178-9.
[18] Roche, *France in the* Enlightenment, pp. 269-270.
[19] Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, pp. 178-9.

public perception of King Louis XVI is evident in the hand colored etchings of satirical cartoons, which were easily and cheaply circulated throughout Paris and symbolic of French public opinion. These cartoons provided cheeky commentary on a wide variety of political topics as a way to ferment an already dissatisfied public rather than attempt to change viewpoints.[20] "Eighteenth-century society lived in a highly visual world: studies have shown that nearly half of ordinary Paris households owned some kind of print; shop-signs, displays, paintings in churches created a culture of fixed images, with an immediate awareness of many modes of pictorial and graphic representation."[21] The French public shared a common understanding of these cartoons and their symbolism was synonymous with popular culture. The example *I'll Make Better Use of It, and I'll Know How to Keep It* is just one of the several hundreds of designs produced during the Revolution era (Fig. 1). Images like this were reproduced and heavily distributed through print shops, becoming a form of mass media the government was unable to censor, despite several futile attempts.[22] While the monarch was often the subject of these political, visual critiques, the crude depictions escalated when the royal family betrayed the city of Paris with their failed Flight to Varennes in June 1791.[23] The King's attempt to physically abandoned his kingdom angered the public, and the sovereign was personified as infantile or animalistic.[24] *I'll Make Better Use of It, and I'll Know How to Keep It*, a hand colored etching from the summer of 1791, illustrates King Louis XVI as a juvenile

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[20] Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, pp. 83.
[21] Jean-Paul Pittion, *Taking Liberties: Satirical Prints of the French Revolution* (Dublin, I.E.: French Bicentenary Committee, 1989), pp. 5.
[22] Ibid., pp. 1, 3.
[23] Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, pp. 83.
[24] Pittion, *Taking Liberties*, pp. 4.

Fig. 1: Anonymous Engraver, *J'en ferai un meilleur usage, et je sçaurai le conserver (I'll Make Better Use of It, and I'll Know How to Keep It)*, ca. summer 1791, etching with hand coloring on paper, 8 x 10.8 in (20.2 x 27.5 cm). Paris, Carnavalet Museum, History of Paris. G. 25754 (artwork in public domain).

surrounded by his royal family members. He reaches upward, holding a miniature pinwheel toy in his right hand, while the his young son, the Dauphin, pries the scepter out of from his father's left hand.[25] The monarch is enclosed in a wooden walker, assisted by the Queen Marie Antoinette pushing from behind to move him forward. Distracted, he plays and lifts up the toy over his scepter, a clear message of his inexperience as leader. The title of the caricature references the Dauphin's involvement, wanting to supersede his father's place. "Not only has the King been humiliated by the continued cuckolding he has suffered from his manipulating wife, his ignoble arrest, and his forced return to Paris, he is now being ridiculed and dismissed by his own son and made to seem a child, stripped of his manliness."[26] Political cartoons such as this displayed the King's lack of virtue and leadership, which differed from Enlightenment ideals and only further exposed his failing public perception.

Joseph-Marie Vien's *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache*

With the spreading lack of faith in the monarchy, the royal painter to the King Joseph-Marie Vien (Fig. 2) discretely captures the King's abandonment of his people in his painting *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache*.[27] Vien's *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache* was commissioned at the end of 1785 under the direction of King Louis XVI's minister of art Comte d'Angiviller, a close associate and trusted advisor to the king (Fig. 3). D'Angiviller was given creative liberty to commission royal works of art.

[25] Ibid., pp. 56.
[26] Cynthia Burlingham and James Cuno, *French Caricature and the French Revolution, 1789-1799* (Los Angeles, C.A.: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts and Wight Art Gallery, University of California, Los Angeles, 1988), pp. 187-8.
[27] When French artist Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre passed away in 1789, Vien replaced the previous royal painter that had worked under King Louis XVI throughout the entirety of his reign thus far. Vien held the position from 1789 until the fall of the monarchy.

Despite the financial difficulties at the end of the eighteenth century in France, d'Angiviller safeguarded these commissions from potential budget cuts.[28] When cultivating the Salon of 1787, Comte d'Angiviller outlined the potential artists and subjects matters desired for the exhibition. However, Vien was specifically granted free rein with his subject matter and composition, a distinction under royal patronage that solidified the monarch's trust in the French painter's decision.[29] Even with d'Angiviller's support of living artists under the monarchy, he still preferred commissioned artists focus on the ancient and classical subject matters rather than the bleak historic events of contemporary times that disfavored the French King.[30] Completed in 1786, Vien's mythological interpretation achieved enough subject matter neutrality to please the King while creating a dynamic composition that quietly displays the strained relationship of the monarch and his people at the time. The work depicts a scene from Book Six of Homer's ancient Greek classic epic poem *Iliad*.

At first, what seems to be an impartial mythological painting of aesthetic value for the King is riddled with contemporary context of the tense, political landscape. The family unit of Hector, Andromache, and their son Astyanax glow with a central luminosity and split the composition in half. The family trio forms an inverted triangle within the composition, teetering and imbalanced. A small scale, preliminary painting of

[28] Barthelemy Jobert, "The Travaus d'encouragement': An Aspect of Official Arts Policy in France under Louis XVI," tran. Richard Wrigley, *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1987): 3-6.
[29] Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Jacques Lugand, *Joseph-Marie Vien: peintre du roi (1716-1809)* (Paris, F.R.: Arthena, 1988), pp. 204; Only one other artist, Louis-Jean-François Lagrenée, was granted this same liberation of subject matter for the Salon of 1787 exhibition by Comte d'Angiviller.
[30] Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New York, N.Y. and Melbourne, A.U.: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp.242, n131.

the work (Fig. 4) shows the cruciality of the triangular family unit of Hector, Andromache, and Astyanax for Vien's final composition. The earlier work, while looser and less refined, shares a nearly identical design to the eventual product the artist displayed in the Salon of 1787.[31] On the left side of the canvas stands Andromache, Hector's wife, who leans in towards her husband and places her left hand on his shielded and armor-cladded shoulder. She gestures back to the strong, stone gate with her right hand and desires Hector's return to create a temporary sense of security and stability for their community, family, and home. There is desperation in Andromache's pleading eyes, but Hector doesn't meet her gaze (Fig. 5). In the *Iliad*, this meeting between husband, wife, and son is the last time Hector sees his family before his ultimate death by Achilles's hand shortly after.[32] Hector points a spear away from his family with his left hand. The spear motions to the right side of the composition to Hector's comrades ready for war. A fellow solider behind Hector is adorn in full armor and holds a rectangular, golden shield towards the community, separating his military duty and home life. For the soldier, a life of honor through war is chosen over the traditional family. Further back, a charioteer dons a Phrygian cap. The Phrygian cap, a softly structured hat with a tip that falls forward, was commonly associated with the Trojans and delineates the mythological character of Paris before later being adapted for revolutionary ideology in France.[33] The young infant Astyanax flounders and stretches his body between his two parents, a look of disgust upon his face. According to the ancient Greek text, Astyanax is fearful of his

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[31] Ibid., pp. 205.
[32] Lynn Kozak, *Experiencing Hektor: Character in the Iliad* (New York, N.Y. and London, U.K.: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2017), pp. 63-8.
[33] Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Joseph-Marie Vien*, pp. 104.

Fig. 2: Joseph Siffred Duplessis, *Portrait de Joseph-Marie Vien (1716-1809), peintre (Portrait of Joseph-Marie Vien (1716-1809), painter*, 1784, oil on canvas, 3.3 x 4.4 ft (1 x 1.3 m). Paris, The Louvre. INV. 4306 (artwork © Musée du Louvre/A. Dequier - M. Bard).

Fig. 3: Joseph-Marie Vien, *Les adieux d'Hector d'Hector et d'Andromaque (The Farewells of Hector and Andromache)*, 1786, oil on canvas, 10.5 x 13.1 ft (3.2 x 4.2 m). Paris, The Louvre. INV. 8427 (artwork © Musée du Louvre/A. Dequier - M. Bard).

Fig. 4: Joseph-Marie Vien, *Les adieux d'Hector d'Hector et d'Andromaque (The Farewells of Hector and Andromache)*, ca. 1786, oil on cardboard, 10.5 x 13.3 in (26.6 x 33.8 cm). Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts. INV. 68.4.1 (artwork © Caen Museum of Fine Arts/ Martine Seyve).

Fig. 5: Joseph-Marie Vien, *Les adieux d'Hector d'Hector et d'Andromaque (The Farewells of Hector and Andromache)*, Andromache detail, 1786, oil on canvas, 10.5 x 13.1 ft (3.2 x 4.2 m). Paris, The Louvre. INV. 8427 (artwork © Musée du Louvre/A. Dequier - M. Bard).

Fig. 6: Joseph-Marie Vien, *Les adieux d'Hector d'Hector et d'Andromaque (The Farewells of Hector and Andromache)*, Astyanax detail, 1786, oil on canvas, 10.5 x 13.1 ft (3.2 x 4.2 m). Paris, The Louvre. INV. 8427 (artwork © Musée du Louvre/A. Dequier - M. Bard).

father's helmeted appearance and cries out. In the *Iliad*, Hector soothes his son by removing his helmet and cheerfully tosses his son up and down; however, Vien chooses not to paint this moment of relief.[34] The child shields his eyes with a raised left arm and falls towards a male member of the community, rejecting his father's military pursuits in turn (Fig. 6).

Vien's *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache* was first exhibited in 1787, prior to the eruptive Revolution in 1789 and again once the Revolution was underway in 1791.[35] Both times, the work was displayed at the royally sponsored Salon exhibition, an elite and exclusive annual event held in the Salon Carré within the Louvre. In 1699, Salons were moved from the open areas of the Palais Royal to the inside the Louvre, a blessing to both artists and visitors. By 1737, Salons occurred regularly, being held every other year generally and were considered the top entertainment choice of Paris. The crowded space was indeed a social event, with people and art mingling in the confined space of the Salon Carré. "Carré" itself translates to square and reflects the small square layout of the gallery space, with viewers boxed in by artworks from every angle and a flood of colorful imagery encapsulating viewers.[36] Vien's work can be seen as it was displayed on the back wall of the Salon Carré, located on the right side of an engraving of the exhibition by Italian artist Pietro Antonio Martini (Fig. 7-8). Vien created *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache* at seventy years old and it was one of the final works in his esteemed

[34] Ibid., pp. 63-8.
[35] Ibid., pp. 204; During the four years between the two exhibitions, the work was housed at the Gobelins tapestry manufacturing factory in Paris. Three years later in 1794, the work was sold to the Gobelins family and remained in their private collection until it was showcased at the Musée d'Epinal from 1872 until 1939. Kept in storage for over thirty years, the work finally returned to the Louvre in 1972 and is still on display there today. In fact, the painting is displayed in Salle Vien, a gallery space named after the royal painter.
[36] Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, pp. 1.

painting career. At the time, he clearly understood the passing of the torch from master to pupil, and noted that his composition would have thrived under his pupil's brush. His talented pupil, Jacques-Louis David who is discussed in Chapter II, was a prominent neoclassical painter by the 1780s, and his reputation only increased during the Revolution and beyond. As Vien neared the end of his time as an artist, David was beginning to blossom into a national favorite.[37] Vien's *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache* pulls inspiration from both French artist Antoine Coypel and Scottish artist Gavin Hamilton's depictions (Fig. 9-10) of the same subject matter, specifically in regards to the emotive responses of the figures. The reversed nature of Vien's final image shows that he referenced an engraving of Hamilton's work.[38] Coypel's image craddles Hector's family inside the private space, safe behind the stone archway in the background. The family and surrounding spectators huddle closely together and treasure this last goodbye. The public beyond looms over Hector's head before he must turn towards the blue skies and exit this private moment. Hamilton's chaotic composition differs from Coypel's quiet and collective occasion. While the family remains central in their small private moment, others nearby are unconcerned and pay little attention. Unlike Coypel's interpretation, the familiar arched stone way stands to the left. Hector has already left the private safety for the frenzied public space. The private is gone, and the family trio is exposed in the public space, with only airy, open columned buildings visible in the background. Vien's interpretation amplifies the distance of Hector to his family in comparison to Coypel and

[37] Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Joseph-Marie Vien*, pp. 204.
[38] Dora Wiebenson, "Subjects from Homer's Iliad in Neoclassical Art," *The Art Bulletin* Vol. 46, No. 1 (Mar. 1964): 31-2.

Fig. 7: Pietro Antonio Martini, *Exposition au Salon du Louvre en 1787 (Exposition at Louvre Salon in 1787)*, 1787, print, 12.7 x 19.3 in (32.2 x 49.1 cm). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. INV. 49.50.244 (artwork in public domain).

Fig. 8: Pietro Antonio Martini, *Exposition au Salon du Louvre en 1787 (Exposition at Louvre Salon in 1787)*, Vien detail, 1787, print, 12.7 x 19.3 in (32.2 x 49.1 cm). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. INV. 49.50.244 (artwork in public domain).

Fig. 9: Antoine Coypel, *Les Adieux d'Hector et d'Andromaque (The Farewells of Hector and Andromache)*, 1711, oil on canvas, 3.9 x 6.9 ft (1.2 x 2.1 m). Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts. INV. 1803-1-8 (artwork © Musée des Beaux-Arts/Roger Viollet).

Fig. 10: Gavin Hamilton, *Hector's Farewell to Andromache*, ca. 1774-1785, oil on canvas, 10.3 x 13.1 ft (3.2 x 4 m). Glasgow, The Hunterian Museum. INV. GLAHA:44127 (artwork © The Huntertian Museum, University of Glasgow).

Hamilton's works. The previous works of Coypel and Hamilton both surround the family trio with a chaotic scene of architecture, civilians, and soldiers, whereas Vien's work provides a clear divide between Hector's public military duty and the private family life he is leaving behind.[39] Vien captures a balance, going further than Coypel's purely private setting while still holding restraint and not casting the family unit completely into public chaos like Hamilton's work. Vien captures the brief moment of the in between, just like this time of in between prior to the Revolution's violent outbreak.

Like stated previously, King Louis XVI commissioned the work during a tense time in France's history. Just as the Hector's family differences are unable to be resolved, the separation of the French monarch and his people is inevitable by this time. The dynamism between Andromache and Hector is apparent – stoic and dutiful is Hector, like the French public moving onward for the sake of the country and its new Republic, contrasts against the desperation and fear that paints Andromache's face, similar to the monarch's failure to convince his subjects to return to the previously trusting and familiar dynamic.[40] King Louis XVI, like Andromache in the image, pleads for a return to normalcy that no longer exists. With the traditional family unity and foundation of the home fractured before her, Hector's wife reaches out in desperation like King Louis XVI's feeble attempts to lull his riled subjects. Andromache displays a compassionate and protective nature similar to the King and his loyalists, which is seen as a weakness during the Enlightenment and violent Revolution. On the other hand, Enlightenment ideals value Hector's loyalty, nobility, and reason that triumph the battles of Troy,

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[39] Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Joseph-Marie Vien*, pp. 107.
[40] Ibid., pp. 204.

knowing the cost of honor and glory is his life. Like the revolutionaries of France, Hector understands that for the battle to be won, the comfort and familiarity of home must be lost. Hector demonstrates his allegiance and sacrifice for the greater good and signifies the larger scope of the Revolution to come in France. Like the French monarch and his people, there is an apparent disconnect between the family unit of Hector, Andromache, and Astyanax. None of the three meet each other's eyes or directly make contact with one another in a secure and comforting manner. Andromache's touch is blocked by armor, Hector holds his son haphazardly with his right hand, and the infant squirms away with flailing arms. The family unit is truly separated in this final moment of togetherness.

Enlightenment & Classic History Art

Artist Vien held a five-year post as the Director of the French Academy in Rome until 1781. Throughout his stay in Italy, the painter became extremely familiar with Homer's *Iliad* and its iconographic scenes, cultivating a series of sketches. Vien returned to Paris with a newfound mastery of Homeric material and a plethora of designs to draw inspiration from, creating one to two large-scale paintings every year.[41] Prior to creating his final *Iliad* scene with *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache* for the Salon of 1787, Vien gained a deep understanding of Homer's work through his other previous paintings. Vien painted a later scene from the *Iliad* in his work *Priam Leaving to Beg Achilles for Hector's Body*, which was exhibited at the Salon of 1783.[42] At the Salon of 1785, Vien debuted the next sequential scene of the Iliad by presenting *Priam's Return*

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[41] Ibid., pp. 106.

[42] While the final image is lost to us today, we know of its existence due to a small, preliminary painting that details the arrangement of characters within the *Iliad* scene.

with Hector's Body. Unfortunately due to his declining health in old age, he was unable to complete the entire series of paintings on the history of Troy he had planned while in Rome.[43]

However, Vien's creative endeavors focused on Homer's *Iliad* were not uncommon during an Enlightenment era in the eighteenth-century. The *Iliad* lays out several events throughout its story "in which the noble character acts with the severity and tranquility of events foreseen by fate, perfect models for the viewer of historical painting."[44] The classical themes found within the ancient history and mythology hold universal themes that developed a resurgence with European audiences during this time. The style of European history painting reworked these universal scenes that contain moral messages and aligned with the Enlightenment's adoration of virtue and duty in a precise and balanced neoclassical style. D'Angiviller commissioned both contemporary scenes of French history as well as classic history paintings for the royal Salon exhibitions. Ancient, historical scenes appealed to an international audience, whereas modern French scenes appealed to local and national interests.[45]

In particular, Homer's *Iliad* scenes were extremely popular for the rising neoclassical art movement during the latter half of the eighteenth century in Europe. After 1750, *Iliad* scenes expanded from twelve popularly depicted events to over forty-five.[46] Credited as a major catalyst for its spread of *Iliad* context is the 1757 publication of Anne Claude de Caylus's *Tableaux Tirés de l'Iliade, de l'Odyssée d'Homere et de*

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[43] Ibid., pp. 104.
[44] Ibid., pp. 108.
[45] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 81-2.
[46] Wiebenson, "Subjects from Homer's Iliad in Neoclassical Art": 24-5.

l'Eneide de Virgile. Caylus's studies on classic antiquity and connections with artists like Vien and Bouchardon, who in turn influenced their artistic pupils, had a great effect on the French Academy overall.[47] The innate, human aspect to the characters within *Iliad* produce an approachable and universality quality to artists' *Iliad* interpretations. *Iliad* presents a raw and gritty perspective of human nature as opposed to ideal deity and allegorical figures, providing a study of mankind that appeals to Enlightenment ideology. Artist interpretations of Homer's *Iliad* "demonstrate the development of subject and style toward a universal ideal – transcending time, place, medium, and the individuality of the artist – an ideal which was, nevertheless, rooted in observation of the real world, and focused on man."[48]

Furthermore, the Enlightenment and classic history art shifted perceptions of masculinity from that of the dominant and aggressive soldier to one of nobility, progress, and reason. Enlightenment thinking altered the ideal of manhood from one of militaristic prowess to one of intellectualism. Male social circles began to combine "military tradition, based on service and honor…with the ideal of social utility, good works, and reform…military men thus became philosophes. They wrote, thought about reforming the military and society, defended human welfare, and painted an image of the soldier as a useful and beneficial member of society." The protection of the nation and its people became priority over victories of war in foreign lands.[49] Enlightenment logic prioritized

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[47] Ibid.: 31.
[48] Ibid.: 36-7.
[49] Roche, *France in the Enlightenment,* pp. 305-306.

an individual's impact to humanity as a whole, and glorified virtuous accomplishments that aided overall societal practices.[50]

In regards to the monarchy, "royal propaganda represented Louis XVI not as a military conqueror but as a benevolent father," with the people of France being his children rather than his subjects.[51] Similar to Vien's Andromache, the King plays the role of a parental figure and yearns for a return to settled normalcy. Previously, the Old Regime relied upon an implied social pact, which allowed citizens to respect the patriarch as the head of the kingdom. French subjects entrusted their King like a father figure with the right to rule, having the power to delineate taxation and justice. King Louis XVI was viewed as a paternal provider, granting his children the essentials of livelihood. However, with the introduction of the Enlightenment, philosophers such as Montesquieu and Voltaire began to question and criticize the unbalanced power dynamic. In a letter to a colleague, Voltaire writes, "'I begin by acknowledging that despotism and monarchism are just about the same thing in the hearts of all men and all sensitive beings.'" The selfish monarch King Louis XVI no longer cared for his people and therefore lost his role as a father figure to the French.[52]

Enlightenment & the Public Sphere

The Enlightenment emerged following King Louis XIV's refusal and exile of French Protestants in 1685. Banished Protestants took to paper, highly critical of the monarchy's assumed authority. Along with religious persecution, scientific innovations

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[50] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 82.
[51] Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, pp. 310-1.
[52] Roche, *France in the Enlightenment,* pp. 287-8.

simultaneously were progressing. By the 1750s, philosophers directly defied the church and state in their writings, which grew increasingly popular amongst readers. The French government attempted to slow and censor philosophers' efforts, but French audiences found covert ways to consume the appreciated Enlightenment ideas.[53] As capital, Paris was the heartbeat of France and a central hub for Enlightenment thinking. Paris's urban life and growing population, which reached a low estimation of 700,000 by 1780, practiced thriving social settings and institutions that reflected the philosophical mindset of the area at the time, with the Age of Enlightenment adapting the framework of the city itself.[54] Individuals interact with one another outside the home and form the French public, which I define as the collective body of general society. Within the city, deliberate productions of social spaces were formed and fostered through social ventures. These organized social spaces encouraged production and interaction and furthered Enlightenment ideologies. Eventually, the city space was restructured and adapted gradually with time and societal needs into an enlightened and modern unification of space and government.[55] Paris organized itself with more homogenous city districts known as *arrondissements* and made simple but necessary delineations, such as house numbers, to express official addresses.[56] The urban reform of Paris was intended to fulfill Enlightenment ideas in creating a cleaner and progressive environment for the Parisian public, completely changing the ways in which man interacted with space.[57] Man began

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[53] Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, pp. 15.
[54] Genevieve Bresc Bautier, *The Louvre: An Architectural History* (New York, N.Y.: Vendome Press, 1995), pp. 75.; Roche, *France in the Enlightenment,* pp. 642-3.
[55] LeFebvre, *The Production of Space*, pp. 73-6.
[56] Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, pp. 317.
[57] Ibid., pp. 235.

to live “codified and instrumentalized with maps and plans, guidebooks and directories, house numbers and street names (which made it easier to find specific locations despite the growing urban sprawl).”[58] Due to Enlightenment dialogue, the citizens of Paris entered the modern era and embraced organized urbanism and uniformity through metropolitan development.[59]

Prior to this point, European cities had aimed to promote the ancient and historical significance of the region. Rather than follow this antiquated mold, Parisians broke from past tradition and embraced the fresh and innovative city space of the future. The city’s urban landscape was reconstructed for open public space development such as the widening of streets and boulevards and the inclusion of city squares, gardens, and bridges. Once considered a luxury in a densely populated city, Paris’s creation of popular open spaces such as city squares and gardens formed a sense of community within Paris.[60] The opening of these public spaces created a new walking city design that allowed Parisians to freely travel and gather throughout the city. Additionally, these outdoor areas made it easier to access several indoor gathering spaces of public activity and intellectual dialogue such as the following: coffeehouses, cafes, hotels, churches, theaters, workshops, businesses, academies, and libraries. Parisian writer Germain Brice recognized and documented this integrated network throughout the city in his famous guidebook *A New Description of Paris*. The work praises detailed architectural buildings

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[58] Roche, *France in the Enlightenment,* pp. 645-6.
[59] The urban development that began in the eighteenth century was drastically furthered and expanded upon with Napoleon III and Baron Haussmann’s contributions in the nineteenth century. However, this falls beyond the time period being discussed in this research project.
[60] Joan DeJean, *How Paris Became Paris: The Invention of the Modern City* (New York, N.Y.: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 1-3, 45-6.

while guiding the reader on a walking tour of the city. Brice's text understood the connectivity of the city space and its impact on the public sphere. The streets themselves receive recognition and attention as Brice guides the reader's path, noting the famous streets, known as rues in French, that play as much of a crucial role to the city of Paris as its key monuments and buildings to promote the function of these public spaces and spread ideas quickly and easily.[61]

As a "walking city", Paris left its relic appearance in the past and eagerly advanced forward, its new walking environment shaping a creative cultural hub that valued leisure and sophistication. "Quick-paced Parisians and tourists were in step with the city on the go, listening to its streets and their creative pulse…they were experiencing a sense of heightened expectations that came from living at what was widely seen as the center of the European cultural world."[62] With open, public spaces, Parisians moved with the city and changed the structure of the city in suit. Paris became a city on the move, constantly sprinting further and further towards the future with a fast-paced and buzzing energy that translated into a united front that celebrated creativity and intellectual outputs.

All these demarcations of gathering spaces and their function to connect others enlarged the public sphere within the city of Paris and enhanced the capacity for communal spaces to join Parisians and circulate ideas. Public space completely

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[61] Germain Brice, *A New Description of Paris. Containing a Particular Account of All the Churches, Palaces, Monsteries, Colledges, Hospitals, Libraries, Cabinets of Rarities, Medals, Statues and Other Sculptures, Monuments, and Publick Inscriptions. With All Other Remarkable Matters in that Great and Famous City. Translated Out of French* (London, U.K.: Printed for Henry Bonwicke at the Red Lyon in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1688), pp. 43-67.
[62] DeJean, *How Paris Became Paris*, pp.17-18.

revolutionized how Parisians interacted with one another in an urban setting and created a collective body within a densely populated area.[63] Initially, public spaces encouraged a creative dialogue within the city and the spread of intellectualism, but towards the end of the eighteenth century, this public sphere ultimately assisted in the spread of political and revolutionary thought. The city's uniformity and modernization granted accessibility and navigation ease through Paris, from its geometric roads and streets to its public and open gathering spaces. The urban landscape was designed to encourage the flow of ideas and fast-paced thinking, reconstructing the social interactions of Parisians and allowing the public sphere to blossom with public opinion.[64] The linkage between the growing public sphere and public opinion became apparent, the term "public opinion" gaining traction and influence after several governmental debates from 1750 to 1770. Paris gained a unified front in these urban public spaces at the same time of King Louis XVI's follies, which allowed for a collective, revolutionary response against the French monarchy.

Comte d'Angiviller's Attempted Louvre

With the Enlightenment's encouragement of intellectual dialogue in the public sphere, there was an increased demand in Europe for art collection accessibility. Charles-Claude de Flahaut de la Billarderie, who was also known as Comte d'Angiviller, was appointed King Louis XVI's director general of royal palaces and minister of art, attempted to meet this demand for the betterment of the French Crown in 1775.[65]

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[63] While these public and accessible spaces were areas of political and intellectual discourse, it is important to note these Parisian social spaces were not inclusive to all. The restrictive division of gender, class, and race are ever present in the public sphere at this time. These are crucial and worthy topics, but fail to fit into this research project unfortunately.
[64] Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris,* pp. 258.
[65] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 7.

Beginning to work under the King, D'Angiviller had seen the success of the Luxembourg Gallery, hosted in the Luxembourg Palace from 1750 until 1779 before it was used as a royal residence again. Petitions started in 1740, protesting that "'masterpieces of His Majesty's picture gallery are buried in small rooms in the Palace of Versailles and are unknown to strangers.'" To appease the public, the Luxembourg Gallery was set up as the first public art gallery of France, and displayed 110 paintings from the royal collection to the public two days a week. Among the paintings were "works by Correggio, Leonardo, Raphael, Titian, Rubens, Rembrandt, Poussin, Claude and certain Flemish painters…but this solution did not last, and the Ancien Régime through its omissions incurred a reproach which might well have been avoided."[66] Rather than maintain an elusive royal collection hidden away in storage, d'Angiviller believed the clear and direct approach for public access could become an asset for the throne.[67] D'Angiviller recognized the potential for transforming the function of the Louvre and advocated for the central structure in the capital to support living French artists under the monarchy through commissions to grow King Louis XVI's collection. The Louvre provided an opportunity for a potential royal museum to bridge the Enlightenment gap between monarch and subjects as well as offer transparency and accessibility as a royal institution. D'Angiviller believed that a royal museum in the Louvre could forge a connection and provide

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[66] Niels von Holst, *Creators, Collectors, and Connoisseurs: The Anatomy of Artistic Taste from Antiquity to the Present Day*, tran. Brian Battershaw (New York, N.Y.: Putnam, 1967), pp. 204-5.
[67] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 13-6.

communication with the public opinion for King Louis XVI's to address the concerns of his people in a more direct manner.[68]

D'Angiviller is depicted by French portraitist Joseph-Siffred Duplessis with his hopeful plan for the conversion of the Louvre, which was exhibited at the 1779 Salon within the Louvre (Fig. 11). A promising blueprint sprawls out to the edge of the composition from its scroll and falls over d'Angiviller's right leg, with the clear words "Gallerie du Louvre" on the document in view. Facing the public's growing contempt for the monarch's indecisiveness and neglect, d'Angiviller's puts his faith in the conversion of the Louvre to a royal art museum, hoping it may "revitalize French art and to demonstrate to Europe and posterity the superiority of the French school and the magnificence of Louis XVI. The Louvre was to be a source of national pride as well as royal glory."[69] The French King boasted impressive acquisitions of earlier European masterpieces within his royal collection, but d'Angiviller found the historical and commemorative paintings and sculptures of French history to be the essence of the imagined Louvre museum. The documentation of national history through art would have allowed the Louvre "to integrate the museum into the political fabric of the nation– to influence the public with respect to moral and political welfare as well as artistic taste."[70] The influence of imagery was understood well by d'Angiviller. By 1789 with the French Revolution looming, d'Angiviller emphasized commissioned artists participating in Salon exhibitions to "'exercise the greatest caution in the choice of subjects'" in fear of public

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[68] Ibid., pp. 7-8.
[69] Ibid., pp. 49.
[70] Ibid., pp. 50.

Fig. 10: Joseph Siffred Duplessis, *Charles-Claude Flahaut de La Villarderie, Comte d'Angiviller*, 1779, oil on canvas, 3.5 x 4.7 ft (1.1 x 1.4 m). Versailles, Château de Versailles. INV. MV 3926 (artwork © Château de Versailles, Dist RMN/ © Christophe Fouin).

opinion of the French monarch worsening. By linking the throne with the nation's history, the Louvre could have united the nation and revived patriotism. Beyond simply royal portraits to showcase King Louis XVI's splendor, distinction, and stability, the public display of art could be used to sway opinion on government's role and decisions. While the power of art to influence is not a new concept to the French monarchy, it was not utilized to its full potential under King Louis XVI's leadership.[71] Ultimately, the King lost the potential to guide public opinion in his favor, and instead, the public opinion moved on without him and turned against him in the Revolution. As a royalist, d'Angiviller was the director-general until the King's arrest in 1792 before fleeing France.

The Abandonment of the Louvre

With Parisians at the core of the Revolution, the institution of the Louvre and the city Paris became representative of the citizens. Like previously mentioned, the Louvre commanded a pivotal role with its central location in the *arrondissement premier* or the first district of Paris, an area that prided itself as a cultural and creative hub of Enlightenment philosophy, intellectualism, and the arts. During the end of the seventeenth century, the former King Louis XIV had chosen to retreat to the remote country village of Versailles on the outskirts of the metropolitan Paris in 1682 to lead all government conduct and bring more regional power to the noble class. The French monarchy neglected the Louvre as a royal residence and the city Paris by extension,

[71] Ibid., pp. 90.

abandoning not just the royal center of France, but his people as well.[72] With a rich history of reworking and alterations, the large institution was ultimately abandoned in various stages of disrepair during this time and with its extreme neglect by the French monarch Louis XV, the ownership of the vacant Louvre came into question. "The Louvre's empty years raise questions of status and change, monument and persons, and the shifting notion of the public during this period."[73] While King Louis XV abandoned the Louvre, others began to make use of the few habitable site areas for their own goals during the first fifty years of the eighteenth century. The Louvre became a hodgepodge of purposes and the setting for the biennial Salon exhibitions in the small Salon Carré, artist studios and residences, administrative offices, stables, academies, and even housing barracks in the courtyard. The King tolerated and dismissed the illegal tenants at the deteriorating site, indecisive of what to do with the former palace and historic monument that was withering away. Knowing of the required and crucial architectural repairs, King Louis XV initiated an incomplete restoration project in 1756 for the King's Grand Conseil, a set of political advisors and representatives used to combat Parliament actions. However, the final restorative efforts were halted, which left the Louvre in a further abandoned state of disarray due to the financial crisis from the Seven Years' War loss.[74] By the time that King Louis XVI rose to the throne in 1774, the Louvre had been abandoned, exposed to the elements, and falling apart for over a century. To restore the Louvre at this point seemed nearly impossible when considering the lack of funds and

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[72] Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, pp. 310-311.

[73] Natasha C. Lee, "Scale Models and Stables: Form and Function in the Eighteenth-Century Louvre," *L'Esprit Créateaur* 54, no. 2 (2014): 63.

[74] Ibid., pp. 66-8.; Bautier, *The Louvre,* pp. 75-8.

overall neglect, and like his predecessor, King Louis XVI turned a blind eye to the mess at the center of his kingdom.[75]

Like mentioned earlier, the Enlightenment's effect on masculinity extended to the French monarch and his lack of action in regards to the Louvre further blemished his character. Instead of being seen as a strong and strict political threat of militarism, the King was portrayed as a timid and tender father figure, responsible for the people of France as if they were his children. When the Louvre was disregarded as a royal residence, left in a state of disarray, and abandoned for Versailles, the citizens of Paris were abandoned orphans, left without a father to guide their country.[76] The empty abandonment of the Louvre served as a proxy for the "royal remoteness, as a microcosm of the king-less and symbolically abandoned Paris. It also made the building's potential restoration into an allegory of reconciliation between the king and his people", but never came to fruition.[77] With the French monarchy neglecting the Louvre, and the exponential rise of opinion in the public sphere, Parisians felt that the Louvre was theirs for the taking. The public sphere was independent from the monarchy's influence, which extended to the Louvre and all of Paris.[78]

Ultimately, King Louis XVI, who came to the throne in 1774 after his grandfather Louis XV's death, entered into the role as leader of a broken country. In 1786, King Louis XVI made a futile attempt to rectify the strained relations between the monarchy

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[75] Lee, "Scale Models and Stables,": 64-5.
[76] Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, pp. 310-1.
[77] Richard Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France* (New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2007), pp. 70.
[78] Ibid., pp. 12.

and Paris by promising a thirty million franc investment into the abandoned city. Despite this effort, it proved to be too late for the people of Paris. After just three years, the bloody French Revolution exploded.[79] The royal family was arrested in close proximity to the Louvre when the monarchy was stormed at the Tuileries Palace in August of 1792. One month later, the monarchy officially fell, and by January 1793, the former King Louis XVI was executed by guillotine.[80] His own people seized the Louvre Palace for themselves and reclaimed the structure as an art museum for the people of France.

Preservation of the Royal Collection

In addition to the actual building of the Louvre, French revolutionaries also confiscated the royal collections and reassigned the items as public property.[81] Ready to use the Louvre and its art for political influence, the Revolution's National Assembly announced the following on August 19, 1792, just days after the arrest of the monarchy: "'The National Assembly, recognizing the importance of bringing together at the museum the paintings and other works of art that are at present to be found dispersed in many locations, declares there is urgency.'"[82] Within this seized royal collection was Vien's *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache*, although it was not displayed on the initial opening of the museum to maintain distance from the fallen monarch. Due to the bloody and violent nature of the French Revolution, iconoclasm and the destruction of these historic artifacts was a very real possibility during this time. Even with opposing

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[79] Stephane Kirkland, *Paris Reborn: Napoléon III, Baron Haussmann, and the Quest to Build a Modern City* (New York, N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 2013), pp. 9.
[80] Bautier, *The Louvre*, pp. 80.
[81] Oliver, *From Royal to National*, pp. 4.
[82] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 91.

revolutionaries wanting to extend the violent removal of the monarch to the royal collections as well, the French Minister of Interior Jean Roland established these collections as worthy of preservation on a national level. Roland and his team of five artists and one mathematician were able to preserve the collection for the betterment of all France, regardless of the heated division that divided public opinion of the monarch during this time.[83] Jean Roland and his team were tasked with the preparation of the Louvre's Grand Gallery, from renovations and exhibition display to collection inventory.[84] Roland was aware that to establish the Louvre as a national museum of prestige, the valuable masterpieces within the royal collection could not be destroyed. Despite King Louis XVI's downfalls, Roland believed the violence should not extend to all the historic French monarchs of the past to preserve national heritage in the future.[85]

The former royal collection transferred ownership and was recontextualized. With the change of possession from the single entity of the Crown to that of the collective body of France, the initial context of the objects had shifted, from a darkened, elusive state in a royal collection to that of a secular and democratic purpose. However, the original context and sublime aura surrounding the initially authentic intentions of the artwork become lost to gain greater accessibility. For the general public to "experience the emotional pull, the historicity of the object," the collection, preservation, and display of objects must capture a new perspective of the recontextualized object. [86] For the French people, maintaining and preserving this collection of acquired art objects held national

[83] Oliver, *From Royal to National*, pp. 21-2.
[84] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 93.
[85] Oliver, *From Royal to National*, pp. 5.
[86] Susan A. Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 115.

significance. Tending and caring for these objects was representative of identity, history, and culture.[87] However, it is important to note that while it was revolutionary to overthrow the monarchy and open a museum to the public, the museum organizers were still reliant upon Old Regime ideologies in the planning process, such as a harmonious mix of artwork from the predominately the royal collections overall. By January 1793, Dominique Joseph Garat replaced Roland as Minister of Interior and immediately began to stress the Museum Commission's progress on the opening of the Louvre museum.[88] Addressing the urgency of the matter, he wrote to the committee four months before the museum's opening, stating, "'The achievement of this victory [i.e., the completion of the museum] at the present moment in time, over our domestic troubles as well as our external enemies, is by no means the least important of those to which the national effort should be directed; in particular, it would have an invaluable effect on public opinion, which is so often the sovereign mistress of empires.'"[89]

Ultimately, the interplay between the urban fabric and the sociopolitical atmosphere led to the city of Paris publically claiming the Louvre at the start of the Revolution. Paris's acceptance of modern development and innovation for the city's benefit allowed for the expansion and restructuring of Paris's public sphere and was crucial to providing the ability to establish public opinion. Parisian public opinion embraced the newfound intellectualism of the Enlightenment movement. At the epicenter of Paris, the Louvre's

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[87] Ibid., pp. 106.
[88] Roland didn't get along well with prominent revolutionary activist Robespierre, making him unfavorable amongst his contemporaries. Ultimately, Roland resigned shortly after the execution of former King Louis XVI and attempted to flee persecution for his loyalty to the fallen monarchy. After his wife's execution in 1793, Roland killed himself.
[89] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 94.

architecture and function mirrored the city of Paris's pulse, evolving and conforming since the building's origin. The Louvre was deserted as a former palace for the French monarch, who instead chose to conduct governmental rule from Versailles. Parisians refused to be ignored and neglected by the French monarch that had been distancing himself from Paris throughout the entirety of the eighteenth century. The city had an unwavering dedication to revolutionary change to the point of bloodshed in the name of freedom for the French people. Paris's turbulent renewal established a new French era of government and society throughout the eighteenth century. The New Republic changed the functionality of the Louvre and used its historic monumentality and centrality in Paris to define a new era of nationalism. Gone was the elitist royal status of the Louvre that fortressed itself from the people, and instead, the national museum of the Louvre became an accessible, inclusive, and available space for the public.[90]

[90] Ibid., pp. 4.

CHAPTER II: THE PEOPLE'S LOUVRE (1793-1802)

A national museum, like that of the Louvre, is by no means a neutral space. The function of a museum is usually categorized into either an educational experience, with knowledge at the forefront, or an aesthetic experience, in which mediation and pleasure are of priority. However, there is another possible function of a museum that moves beyond academic or recreational appeal, and that is for the benefit of the country. Through its display of art, a country may utilize the accessibility of its collections to sway public opinion in regards to their nation's history, politics, and culture. The birth of the Louvre as a national museum was paired with the development of the New Republic and these two in conjunction gave rise to a newfound nationalism in France.[91] With a new democratic government seizing power in 1789, the revolutionary French Republic used the Louvre's art collections and influence in ways that King Louis XVI was never able to achieve during his reign. With this new claim of ownership from a monarch's palace to a national museum, the Louvre itself "became a lucid symbol of the fall of the Old Regime and the rise of the new order."[92] The violent overtake of the Revolution allowed for the appropriation of a previously royal space and granted previously restricted access for public use. From its opening day in 1793, the Louvre became intrinsically linked with the politics of the New Republic. I argue that along with other publically circulated revolutionary imagery, the Louvre itself grew to become its own revolutionary symbol for the French people and that the artistic production and display within the museum space developed and changed to reflect this historic time during the early modern era.

[91] Poulot, "The Changing Roles of Art Museums", pp. 89-91.
[92] Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, pp. 22.

A New Era of Light in the Louvre and Hubert Robert's *Imaginary Ruins*

The initial violence of the Revolution in 1789 was only a precursor to the chaos of Reign of Terror from 1793 to 1794 during the opening period of the museum. At only one kilometer away from the Louvre, the city square Place de la Révolution (later known as Place de la Concorde) became a site notoriously responsible for 1200 guillotine executions. (Fig. 12) With extreme violence in such close proximity to the Louvre, French artist Hubert Robert's *Imaginary View of the Grande Galerie of the Louvre in Ruins* can be read as a reaction to the public's response during this destructive and ambivalent time in French history (Fig. 13). *Imaginary View of the Grande Galerie of the Louvre in Ruins* creates a fictional view of the Louvre's Grande Galerie with a caved in ceiling and rubble littering the floor. While all the paintings that normally dawn the gallery walls are absent, damaged three-dimensional works, such as broken pieces of classical sculptures, mix with the broken pieces of architecture that accumulate on the ground. Both the Corinthian columns that adorn the sides of the crumbling archway and the few remaining artworks scattered amongst the rubble harken back to the glories of ancient Greece and Rome. With only these remains present, an imitation of the ancient is provided and the contemporary artist uses this past to create new art.[93] A few Parisian commoners are spread about the scene, unbothered by the surrounding grand ruins. Even amongst ruins, an artist still sits in the center of the destroyed Gallery, intently copying

[93] Biliana Kassabova, "The Louvre in Ruins: A Revolutionary Sublime" in *L'Esprit Créateur* 54, No. 2 (2014): 83.

from a bronzed version of the *Apollo Belvedere*.[94] The *Apollo Belvedere*'s position reaches his arm outward and echoes the gaze back to the horizon line. At the foot of the *Apollo*, a marble Raphael bust faces the artist close to his eye level.[95] Robert plays with a dramatic contrast of light and shadow in the work. The dark columned archway climbs up the right and left sides of the composition, framing the narrow passage of the Grande Galerie as it extends into the horizon. Hubert Robert allows the monumentality of the architecture to dwarf the figures, with the high walls of the Grande Galerie, though crumbling, that tower over the blurred figures. These vertical columns guide the viewer's eye upward and back through the lengthy corridor. A cloudy sky hangs over the former gallery space, with hints of a blue peeking out from behind a gloomy overcast. Seen in a preliminary painting from the same year by Robert, the similar perspective positioning is of importance to the composition's design (Fig. 14). Artist Robert toys with the concaved effect of the damaged gallery, with more sunlight flooding from above into the weighted darkness that dominates the lower portion of the image. When comparing the preliminary image to the final work, the color scheme was ultimately darkened from the originally brighter disposition. Gone is the light blue sky with fluffy white clouds and sundrenched greenery draped over the tops of the stone columns. Instead, Robert utilizes a muted color palette of grays, greens, and browns in the final work for a more dreary effect. Robert

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[94] When this painting was created in 1796, artist Robert was referencing the famous marble *Apollo Belvedere* based on an original Greek bronze, which was located in Vatican City at the time. As discussed in Chapter III, the *Apollo Belvedere* was later confiscated by Napoleon Bonaparte during the 1796 Italian war campaign and was part of the collection from 1798 to 1815 before its return to Italy.
[95] Margaret Morgan Grasselli, Yuriko Jackall, Guillaume Faroult, Catherine Voiriot, and Joseph Bailio, *Hubert Robert* (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2016), pp. 255-256.

adjusts the true white marble *Apollo* to a darker, bronzed sculpture, only adding the slightest green tint to the highlights of the body.

Robert's *Imaginary View of the Grande Galerie of the Louvre in Ruins* was first exhibited opposite another work, *Project for Illuminating the Museum's Gallery,* at the Salon of 1796. The works were intentionally displayed facing each other on opposing walls in the Salon Carré.[96] *Project for Illuminating the Museum's Gallery* offers Robert's submission for the Grande Galerie's suggested ceiling renovation to improve overhead lighting in the exhibition space and showcase the impressive possibility of the Louvre's future as a national museum (Fig. 15). Both *Imaginary Ruins* and *Project for Illuminating the Museum* share a similar perspective of the Grande Galerie, which would have been visible from the Salon Carré in reality. Knowing the intended and original arrangement of these two works emphasizes Robert "exploiting both mimesis and the didactic effect of comparing a particular space as it actually existed during the Salon and as he imagined it, in a dystopian state, as his own description makes clear: 'Ruins, after the previous painting.'"[97] Robert juxtaposes the two fictitious possibilities within the real space of the Louvre. The paired paintings glorify the destructive aesthetic of ruins, symbolic of the death of the Old Regime and the Louvre's previous uses of ownership while simultaneously looking towards the new beginning of the Louvre as a public national museum. In Robert's depiction, the old Louvre becomes liberated through the Enlightenment that sparked revolution. This imaginary interpretation allows the Louvre

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[96] Ibid., pp. 255-6; *Imaginary Ruins* was exhibited at the Salon of 1796 before joining Alexander I's Russian imperial collection. The Louvre acquired it again in 1975.
[97] Ibid., pp. 256.

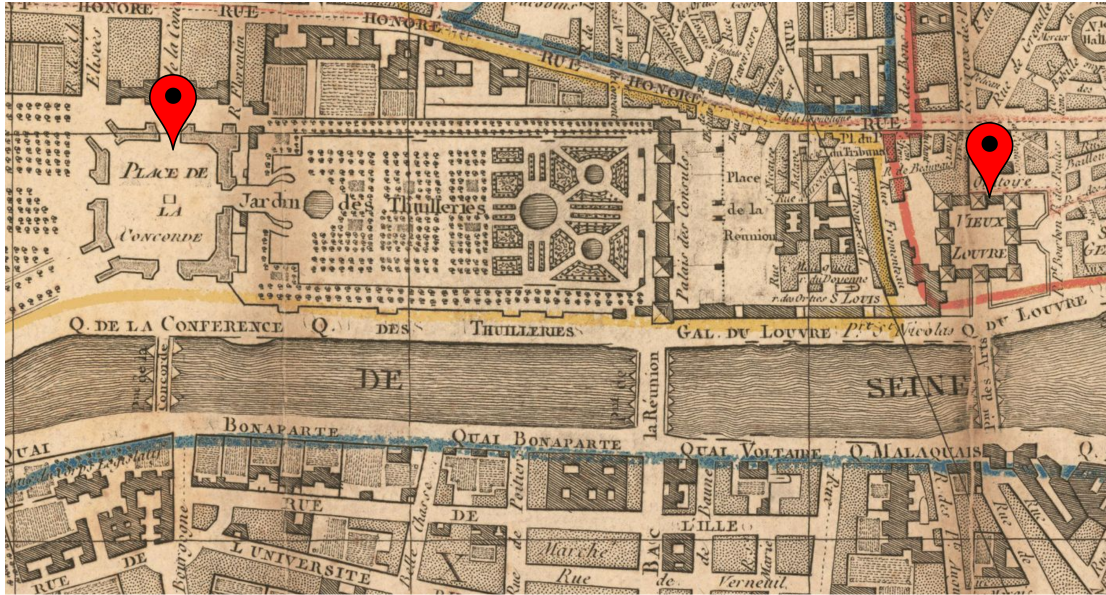

Fig. 12: Pocket guide map that shows locations of the Louvre and Place de la Révolution, with sites marked by author for clarity. Pierre Jean, *Plan routier de la ville et Faubourg de Paris: divisé en 12 municiplalités (Road Map of the City and Suburbs of Paris: Divided into 12 Municipalities)* [map], detail, 1802, ink and hand coloring on paper. 22 x 32 in (56 x 81 cm). Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Library Special Collections. HMC01.3010 (map in public domain).

Fig. 13: Hubert Robert, *Vue imaginaire de la Grande Galerie du Louvre en ruins (Imaginary View of the Grande Galerie of the Louvre in Ruins)*, 1796, oil on canvas, 3.8 x 4.8 ft (1.2 x 1.5 m). Paris, The Louvre. INV. R.F. 1975-11 (artwork © Musée du Louvre/Angèle Dequier).

Fig. 14: Hubert Robert, *Vue imaginaire de la Grande Galerie du Louvre en ruines (Imaginary View of the Grande Galerie in Ruins)*, 1796, oil on canvas, 13 x 15.7 in (0.3 x 0.4 m). Paris, The Louvre. INV. R.F. 1961-20 (artwork © Musée du Louvre/A. Dequier – M. Bard).

Fig. 15: Hubert Robert, *Projet pour la Transformation de la Grande Galerie du Louvre (Project for the Transformation of the Grande Galerie of the Louvre, Pendant to Imaginary View of the Grand Galerie of the Louvre in Ruins)*, 1796, oil on canvas, 3.8 x 4.8 ft (1.2 x 1.5 m). Paris, The Louvre. INV. R.F. 1975-10 (artwork © Musée du Louvre/Angèle Dequier).

to physically become bathed in Enlightenment ideals as light streams into the previously concealed royal space. The ruin is not merely a backdrop, but the subject of the painting. Beyond an institution that purely houses artworks to display, the Louvre itself becomes seized and placed on display like another collected object as well. The five hundred year past of the elusive old Louvre is broken open and light is finally let in. The darkened past of the Old Regime has been flooded with light, with commoners and artists able to use the formerly exclusive space as they please.[98] The French citizens depicted within the image are indifferent to the constant changes of the destroyed gallery, just as the French public has grown accustomed to the fast-paced violence and changes surrounding the Louvre's new ownership and function under the New Republic government. However, amongst the wandering and unaware commoners, the artist is stilled and enthralled in the presence of ancient art. Even in this dark time of chaos with a former Louvre in a deteriorating state, the new beginnings in a modern era lead the viewer's eye upward toward hopeful brighter skies. Robert's work touches upon a rebirth of culture and society and captures a wider landscape that marks the ebb and flow of history, with the rise and fall of civilizations.[99] The crumbling architecture that towers over the French commoners creates a reminder of the timeless resiliency of the Louvre as it extends beyond changing societies. The Louvre, even in ruins, places man in a finite timespan as it continues to stand, survive, and serve its current occupants.

[98] Kassabova, "The Louvre in Ruins": 79.
[99] Ibid.: 79-80.

August 10, 1793

The grand opening of Muséum Français (the early name for the Louvre Museum) was held on August 10, 1793, the one-year anniversary of the fall of the monarchy, and was marked with a highly public display known as the Festival of National Unity in the center of Paris in front of the museum.[100] With one year of preparation, "it was something of a feat to accomplish, even imperfectly and in a limited degree, what forty years of deliberation under the *ancien régime* had failed to do, and it appears more remarkable still in that France at the time was at war with most of Europe…For it was at the beginning of the Terror that the Louvre first opened its doors…showing the degree to which wisdom and sanity may be retained in the midst of surrounding hysteria."[101] From its introduction as a national museum for the people of France, its opening was linked with the Revolution's political discourse.[102] By presenting the museum's commencement in conjunction with the festival proceedings, the national goals of the Louvre were solidified.[103] The Festival of National Unity, with an attendance of 200,000 and a cost of 1.2 million livres, celebrated the rebirth of the nation with a sense of collective patriotism for the French people. Jacques-Louis David, revolutionary and artistic pupil of Vien, organized the coordinating national festival on the museum's grand opening, which

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[100] France was the third to have a national museum by 1793, with only The British Museum in 1759 and Italy's Uffizi Gallery in 1769 to establish national museums prior. It is also important to recognize French archeologist Alexandre Lenoir's project Musée National des Monuments Français opened two years after the Louvre in 1795, but this museum centers upon tomb monuments and deters from my argument's focus.
[101] Cecil Gould, *Trophy of Conquest: The Musée Napoléon and the Creation of the Louvre* (London, U.K.: Faber and Faber, 1965), pp. 27-8.
[102] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 94.
[103] Oliver, *From Royal to National*, pp. 36.

became a propagandistic symbol of the Revolution itself.[104] David understood the significance of offering revolutionary iconography in association with the New Republic to overtake imperialist motifs of the Ancient Regime, such as the royal fleur-de-lys and religious icons associated with the divine Crown.[105] David designed the event to enact public interaction with allegorical concepts through installations along the parade route. The different installations marked historic events from the Revolution, such as the Storming of the Bastille and the Women's March on Versailles.[106]

The free and public admission to museum mirrored the joyous Festival of National Unity with their neighboring proximity.[107] Like discussed in Chapter I, the museum's opening recontextualized objects from the Old Regime in a secular and accessible perspective for audiences. The Louvre provided a free and public space for Parisians to socially interact and admire the public property that had been claimed for France due to the Revolution. The museum "divided its time not into weeks but into 'decades' of ten days", with three days allocated for the public, six days allocated for artists and different guests, and one day for cleaning.[108] Previously, the Louvre as a royal palace had been a restrictive space of the Old Regime, with authorization required and arranged only for elite officials. By opening the previously privileged and exclusive space, the Louvre had

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[104] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 96-8.; Due to his involvement in this festival and his creation of the posthumous martyr portrait of Jean-Paul Marat, a close friend and fellow revolutionary, David did not show any work at the Salon of 1793 that year.
[105] Oliver, *From Royal to National*, pp. 36.
[106] Helen Weston, "Witnessing Revolution" in *Jacques-Louis David: New Perspectives*, ed. Dorothy Johnson. Newark (N.J.: University of Delaware Press, 2006), pp. 125-6.
[107] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 99.
[108] Bautier, *The* Louvre, pp. 80.

become liberated along with the nation.[109] At the Apollo Gallery that precedes the main Grande Galerie, the political ties to the Louvre's newly claimed ownership were carved into the walls of the institutional monument itself. Above the entrance to the Apollo Gallery "is the revolutionary decree that called into existence the Museum of the French Republic and ordered its opening on 10 August, to commemorate 'the anniversary of the fall of tyranny'" (Fig. 16).[110]

The museum's central location within the capital made it a natural fit for a public institution representative of the nation. Rather than limit itself to specific and regional styles of art, the diplomacy of Paris as capital allowed the Louvre to encapsulate the French nation as a whole as well as their place on an international stage. The museum's collection and display presents "cross-sampling representative examples of all the kinds of national art, a collection of styles and inspirations that represents the art of the whole country. Still, the most famous art museums are directly placed in an international context that goes largely beyond a national or even a European scale."[111] Out of the 661 artworks from the collection, seventy-five percent of the 537 oil paintings exhibited derived from the former royal collections, with the other quarter of paintings previously being held in religious settings. An additional 124 three-dimensional art pieces of bronze, marble, porcelain, and other materials made up the remaining part of the collection on

[109] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 98-9.
[110] Duncan, *Civilizing* Rituals, pp. 22.
[111] Poulot, "The Changing Roles of Art Museums", pp. 97.

Fig. 16: Apollo Gallery Entrance. Paris, The Louvre. (photograph © A M Chaffey).

display.[112] The opening exhibition was housed in the Louvre's Grande Galerie, a long, rectangular space that extends parallel to the Seine River. The setting provided ample wall space to arrange the multitude of paintings that made up the majority of the exhibition. A barrel-vault ceiling covered the elongated and narrow passage, cloaking artworks and visitors in shadow. Bars of light projected from the side windows and cascaded downward, striping the gallery floor. By housing the public exhibition in a setting with the historical memory of a royal palace, its visitors were able to redefine a new political value for the Louvre's architectural space.[113]

Hubert Robert's *The Grande Galerie* captures this new national space when it first opened to the public (Fig. 17). The monumentality of the architecture encases the figures throughout the scene, with visitors tunneled in a seemingly endless passageway and surrounded by art on every side. The dark, barrel-vault ceiling dominates an entire third of the painting, like a dreary gray inverted triangle looming over the energetic space on the gallery floor. Robert was one of several artists and connoisseurs that had voiced concerns regarding the lack of overhead lighting in the Grande Galerie, like his artistic skylight suggestion previously discussed (Fig. 15). This deficiency in lighting would later be rectified through major renovations during the gallery's closure from 1804 to 1810 with a version of Robert's recommended glass ceiling.[114] As an artist of residence within the Louvre until 1806, Robert demonstrates his familiarity with his surrounding artistic space and the Louvre's transition to a public museum. Robert positions the onlooker's

[112] Oliver, *From Royal to National*, pp. 35.
[113] Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, pp. 12.
[114] Oliver, *From Royal to National*, pp. 35.

view above eye level at the center of the interior to capture an overarching composition view, with the benefits of public access of the once privileged space on full display. From this perspective, the painting's viewer can observe the intermingling of different groupings of society. Social dynamics of both men and women and adults and children mix and equally enjoy the museum's offerings. The museum visitors are interwoven within the gallery space and not restricted to facing the walls alone (Fig. 18). Within the scene, women and children crowd around the Italian artist Giambologna's bronze *Mercury* statue. Further back, a large-scale blue and gold French porcelain from Sèvres is displayed in the center of the hallway. Additionally, artists tend to their large, standing easels, studying and creating art within the public space, granting visitors access to view the production of art in action while viewing the art of the past, that was once exclusively royal. The Louvre as an institution offered a public space that is not simply a reliquary of a historic past, but a living and spirited representation of the French people. As French art historian Dominique Poulot states, "the activity of copying in the Grand Gallery testified to the useful purpose of the museum: more than a repository of past art, it was instrumental in *producing* art in the present."[115] The public was free to wander the room unrestricted, with no separation between visitor and the seized national property in the relaxed environment. Museum guests interacted with the art and artists in such close proximity that boundaries blurred. The individuals themselves became part of this artistic documentation of history, like another piece of art along with the statues, vases, and paintings on display.

[115] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 101.

Fig. 17: Hubert Robert, *The Grande Galerie*, 1795, oil on canvas, 14.6 x 16.1 in (0.4 x 0.4 m). Paris, The Louvre. INV. R.F. 1948-36 (artwork © Musée du Louvre/A. Dequier – M. Bard).

Fig. 18: Hubert Robert, *The Grande Galerie*, Lower detail, 1795, oil on canvas, 14.6 x 16.1 in (0.4 x 0.4 m). Paris, The Louvre. INV. R.F. 1948-36 (artwork © Musée du Louvre/A. Dequier – M. Bard).

Symbols of Revolution

A nation is defined by how space is controlled and managed. Two conditions specifically create a united country. The first is a hierarchal structure of order, with small, focused hubs that offer economic, evangelical, or societal values to enrich shared efforts and a capital as the core foundation that ties together the collaborative efforts. Secondly, bureaucratic authority and command is obtained through violence to keep and extend dominion over the collective body.[116] Specifically in the case of France, public opinion and the public sphere became linked to governmental affairs and space in the formation of the nation.[117] Entering this new era of democracy, the nation of the French Republic established the importance of a rising public sphere within their government through their Constitution explicitly. The New Republic Constitution valued the rights of free speech and assembly, specifically safeguarding "'the right to communicate one's ideas and opinions, whether through the press or in any other manner, the right to assemble peaceably… cannot be refused.' It then added, as if to offer an excuse for this precaution, a reference to the *ancien régime*: 'The necessity to promulgate these rights arises from the presence or the fresh memory of despotism.'"[118]

With the new Constitution, liberty's integration into French society established an essential element for justice and power in democracy, rather than simply play counterpart to the past monarchy. Liberty organized collaborative and democratic efforts in the political and educational sectors that resulted in the betterment and advancement of

[116] LeFebvre, *The Production of Space*, pp. 112.
[117] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, pp. 99.
[118] Ibid., pp. 70-1.

society.[119] It carefully regulated people and governmental control and created a fragile balance of opportunity for both the individual's and the community's progression.[120] Enlightenment thinkers such as Réné Descartes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau associated liberty with rationality and modernity for the political sphere. [121] While liberty is often discussed in generic terms of individual and society, it is important to discern that during this time period, liberty was not extended to all in society. Not all were granted the blessings of liberty and French citizenship. Age, gender, race, and property ownership were all factors that excluded groups of people from being "worthy" of liberty and its advantages. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, written in August 1789, claimed that "'men are born free and equal in rights' (Article 1) and that 'the aim of all political association is to preserve the natural and imprescriptible rights of man' (Article 2)." However, while "the doctrine of universal rights is in theory all-inclusive" and granted by birthright, "women, slaves, blacks…were excluded from the domain of these rights by the framers of them." [122]

French nationalism linked liberty to public space and the social setting of the Louvre as part of the public sphere was affected along with every other part of public life. Revolutionary ideals were through several different aspects. "Songs – especially the new anthem, *La Marseillaise* – posters, pamphlets, newspapers, books, engravings, paintings, sculpture, even everyday crockery, embroidery, chamberpots, and playing cards conveyed republican slogans and symbols." The concept of liberty took the figural form

[119] Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham, N.C. and London, U.K.: Duke University Press, 2015), pp. 106-7.
[120] Ibid., pp. 112.
[121] Ibid., pp. 140.
[122] Nicholas Xenos, "The Two Lives of the French Revolution" in *Grand Street* 8, No. 4 (1989): 203-4.

of *La Marianne*, an allegorical toga-wearing woman, to symbolize the New Republic's ideals as well.[123] *La Marianne* was a familiar icon to the French during the Revolution, glorified for her calm and reasonable demeanor and steady pose that reflected her timeless resiliency.[124] The French government associated these revolutionary and democratic concepts to the Louvre through its accessibility and improvement to the Parisian community. The National Convention supplemented the monarchy's patronage and support of the arts by hosting the Concours de l'An II competition. The government-funded competitions required artists to "'awaken the public spirit and make clear how atrocious and ridiculous were the enemies of liberty and of the Republic.'"[125] Vien participated in one of these contests, submitting his drawing *The Triumph of the Constitution of 1793*, which features the allegorical liberty figure of La Marianne (Fig. 19). This swift transition to Republican iconography and close relationship with revolutionary David ultimately saved him from the guillotine. Like discussed in the *Imaginary Ruins* analysis earlier, the Enlightenment and Revolution liberated the Louvre and opened the previously restricted institution to be filled with gallery displays that symbolized the New Republican ideals of liberty and equality and removed any previous nods to feudalism.[126]

With decisive revolutionary action, history met a turning point where the physical historic monument of the Louvre as a museum itself became a symbol for national

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[123] Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, pp. 91-2.
[124] Ibid., pp. 19.
[125] Ibid., pp. 91-2.
[126] Duncan, *Civilizing* Rituals, pp. 35; While there was thankfully not a major destruction of royal imagery in the arts, there was a sweep of feudal imagery, specifically the fleur-de-lis symbol, during the violent Reign of Terror.

Fig. 19: Joseph-Marie Vien, *Le Triomphe de la Constitution de 1793 (The Triumph of the Constitution of 1793)*, 1794, pen and black ink, gray and brown wash, heightened with white gouache on paper, 1.1 x 1.6 ft (0.3 x 0.5 m). Paris, The Louvre. RF 38804 (artwork © RMN).

identity and the reflection of Enlightenment ideals. Just as flags are a connected symbol of independence and formation of country, the establishment of the 1793 Constitution with the launch of the Louvre the same year associated the national government with the newly claimed structure.[127] Through the current democratic identity of France, the national museum of the Louvre formed a new domestic symbol and was able to forge the New Republic's version of history and desired narrative, all while moving forward with future ambitions. In the handling of both past and present, the museum thrived as it directed the public's perception.[128] The Louvre created a public "study space, a space of discussion, and a place of display," which further established a collective memory for the French people through its preservation practices.[129] The shared societal values in the Louvre determined and enhanced the nation's identity. "By focusing on commemorative practices, such as the creation of historical monuments and memorials, museums and holidays, collective memory research targets the everyday sites of historical consciousness and their relationship to social practices."[130] All these practices worked together to create a unifying sense of French nationalism and liberty.

Changes to the Museum and to Art Itself

The tumultuous Revolution and Reign of Terror reflected a pivotal shift in historical preference, display, and production for the Louvre and art overall. With the Louvre's intrinsic ties to a fluctuating political system, none of the original museum

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[127] Gabriella Elgenius, "National Museums as National Symbols: A Survey of Strategic Nation-Building and Identity Politics; Nations as Symbolic Regimes" in *National Museums and Nation-Building in Europe, 1750-2010: Mobilization and Legitimacy, Continuity and Change*, eds. Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius (London, U.K.: Routledge, 2015), pp. 145-8, 154-5.
[128] Elgenius, "National Museums as National Symbols", pp. 150.
[129] Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness*, pp. 107-8.
[130] Ibid., pp. 146-7.

directoral committee remained by the five-year mark of the Louvre's opening. Following the execution of head revolutionary icon Maximilien Robespierre in July 1794, several museum administrators politically associated with the activist, such as Jean-Baptiste Wicar, Pierre Etienne Le Sueur, and even Jacques-Louis David, were imprisoned. Different appointees were circulated to best improve the museum for its national agenda. In January 1797, with another overhaul of those in charge, the museum was again renamed, this time to "Musée Central des Arts, in order to single it out as the nation's first museum and 'center of the arts in the Republic'" and connect the institution explicitly to its political ownership and influence.[131] Even regardless of the constant administrative changes at the top, the museum's link to the nation remained firm.

Throughout changing museum committees, concerns over exhibition organization and gallery lighting were prioritized due to the several "physical constraints of the Grand Gallery (primarily the high walls and intrusion of windows) and the need to accommodate a rapidly growing collection. The Grande Galerie was unable to hold the entirety of the seized royal collections in totality, and required more wall space in areas of the unfinished Louvre."[132] The museum committee faced intense pressure from both the public and the government and due to these overwhelming difficulties, the Grande Galerie ultimately sustained a closure from 1796 to 1799, while substituting the closure with a small-scale exhibitions of Old Master drawings in the adjacent Apollo Gallery.[133] During its three-year closure, the Grande Galerie was able to receive new flooring and

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[131] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 125.
[132] Ibid., pp. 125-6.
[133] Ibid., pp. 126-7.

paint renovations and the necessary time for a thorough inventory documentation, art restoration, and frame gilding for the collection.[134] (Fig. 20)

Furthermore, it is also crucial to understand the changes to display that occurred during the beginning years of the Louvre. When the museum first opened to the public, the organizers of the museum were still reliant upon Old Regime ideology, with the artwork from mixed schools displayed in harmonious, aesthetic arrangements. Former Minister of the Interior Jean Roland advocated for this Old Regime-style of assorted presentation in his preparations for the Louvre's opening with his Museum Committee.[135] Roland clung to the dated style, striving for a stability and tradition that had been lost with the death of the monarchy. However, art dealer and connoisseur Jean-Baptiste Pierre LeBrun combated Roland's style preference and qualifications in his 1792 pamphlet titled *Réflexions sur le Muséum National*, and instead pushed for the Louvre to establish itself separately from the Old Regime's traditions.[136] LeBrun advised the national museum's arrangements be pushed forward into the modern era by displaying artwork in scientific and practical arrangements by distinguishing and categorizing each artwork by time period and schools of visual design.[137] LeBrun introduced his argument by linking a minimal and rational gallery arrangement to the Enlightenment efforts. He believed that

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[134] Ibid., pp. 152.
[135] Oliver, *From Royal to National*, pp. 34.
[136] Ibid., pp. 35; Eventually, LeBrun's close connection to artist and revolutionary Jacques-Louis David allowed LeBrun to gain influence and a position with the Louvre's development.
[137] Jean-Baptiste Pierre LeBrun, *Réflexions sur le Muséum National* (Paris, F.R.: s.n., 1792), pp. 5-6; Oliver, *From Royal to National*, pp. 23-4; McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 55; Even Comte d'Angiviller's attempted Louvre project, which was discussed in Chapter I, sided with LeBrun's preference and aspired for a cleaner gallery arrangement that allowed the artworks to shine with minimal distractions in a less flamboyant and contemporary style.

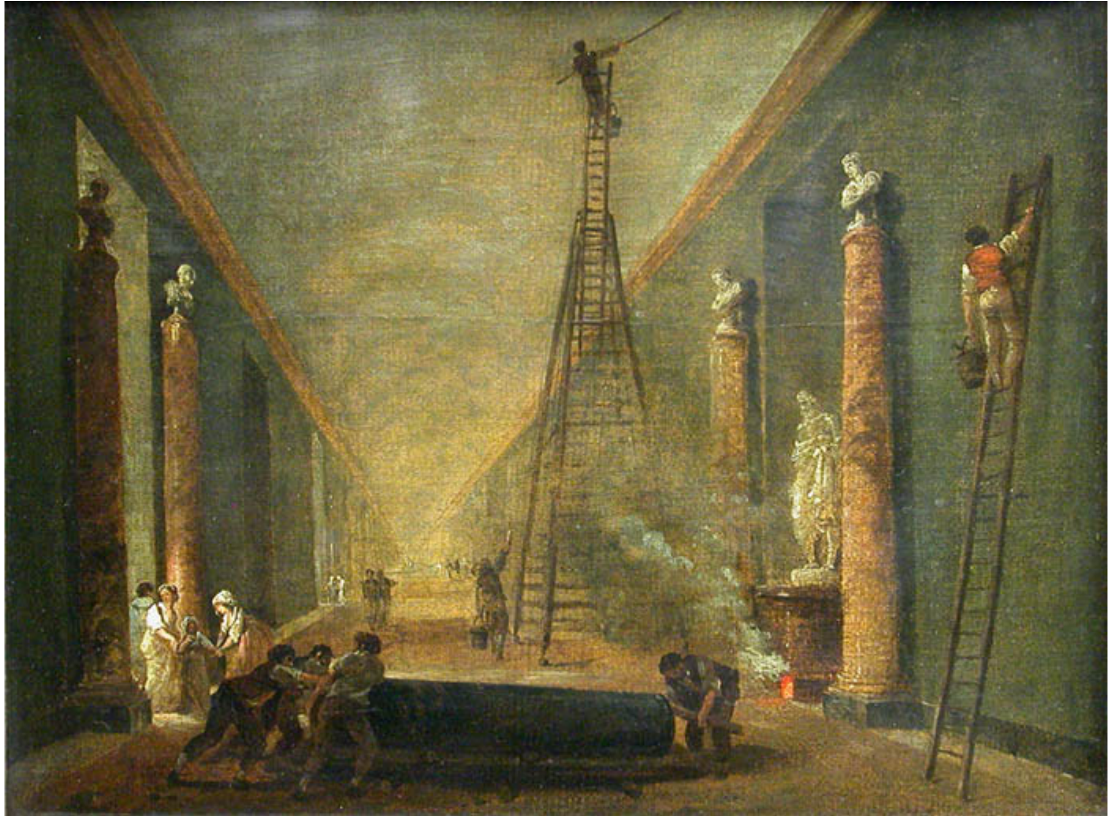

Fig. 20: Hubert Robert, *La Grande Galerie du Louvre en cours de restauration vers 1708-1799 (The Grande Galerie Undergoing Restoration)*, ca. 1796-9, oil on canvas, 16.5 x 21.7 in (0.4 x 0.6 m). Paris, The Louvre. INV. R.F. 1946-29 (artwork © Musée du Louvre/A. Dequier – M. Bard).

by continuing to celebrate and revert back to the tactics of the Old Regime, it prohibited the French from enlightening their country into a new era that honored and enriched the New Republic.[138] LeBrun knew that the formation of the national museum had the potential to elevate Paris as "the capital of the universe" and become the treasure and envy of Europe.[139] LeBrun challenged the Roland and his Museum Committee to reconsider their ability to handle this esteemed position and immense responsibility to the nation. Like mentioned in Chapter I, Jean Roland's small team of five artists and one mathematician were in charge of the museum's collection preservation, renovations, and display. LeBrun believed that connoisseurs like him, not artists, should be responsible for the formation of the museum instead. He found artists to be too biased with their preferences, whereas connoisseurs were able to evaluate paintings in a more objective stance based upon their merits. LeBrun claimed that artists lacked the practical experience and expertise to distinguish paintings from different schools to the ability needed for this large of a project, instead recommending they focus on their own artistic pursuits.[140] Specifically, LeBrun exposed Jean Roland's abuse of power for personal gains and compared his under-qualified committee selection to the unjust hierarchal advantages of the despotism that the revolution had just overthrown.[141] LeBrun explicitly called for the resignation of the committee for the benefit of the nation and suggested the National Convention intervene for a more well rounded and overall qualified museum

[138] LeBrun, *Réflexions sur le Muséum National*, pp. 3-4.
[139] Ibid., pp. 5.
[140] Ibid., pp. 6-12.
[141] Ibid., pp. 13-8.

committee.[142] Ultimately, LeBrun's concerns were addressed and the Old Regime's hodgepodge display was only conducted for the first year of the museum's opening before slowly beginning to transition to more organized gallery hangings.[143]

In addition to the physical adjustments of the Louvre's committee, renovations, and gallery display, a conceptual shift in creative production and aesthetic preferences occurred for artists and the public. Like mentioned previously, the practice of imitation was important for the production of current art and the reliance upon the Old Regime collections cannot be dismissed. Just as Robert's artist intently studies *The Apollo Belvedere* in *Imaginary Ruins*, classical imitation was common practice for the artists of the Louvre. The practicing artists of the present produced art based upon the study of ancient masterpieces. The institution of the Louvre prioritized the imitation of past artworks by allowing four days of open access for artists. Artists who used the museum space as a studio were able to create new art while being surrounded and studying the artwork of the past, which provided guidance and understanding of art's timeless significance. The practice and imitation of master copies was a valuable experience to art students, especially in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[144] The longevity of art was able to extend beyond a mortal master and allowed the documentation of culture and history to live beyond the present moment. Artists of the Louvre were able "to reenact

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[142] Ibid., pp. 18-20.
[143] Oliver, *From Royal to National*, pp. 35.
[144] Dorothy Johnson, "Jacques-Louis David, Artist and Teacher: An Introduction" in *Jacques-Louis David: New Perspectives*, ed. Dorothy Johnson (Newark, N.J.: University of Delaware Press, 2006), pp. 40-1.

that history of genius, re-live its progress step by step and, thus enlightened, know himself as a citizen of history's most civilized and advanced nation-state."[145]

This reliance upon the past extended far beyond the practice of imitation to a larger debate swirling throughout the public sphere for over the past century, the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns. In 1687 in France, the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns (Quelle des Anciens et des Modernes) officially originated with a public reading of French author Charles Perrault's poem "The Century of Louis the Great", which boasted French literature's ascension during Louis XIV's reign beyond the literary greatness of ancient Greece and Rome. Interestingly enough, Charles's brother Claude felt similarly about French excellence and was responsible for the Louvre's iconic eastern façade, the Colonnade. French writer Voltaire noted that the immaculate beauty of the Louvre's Colonnade surpassed those of ancient Roman palaces in his historical text *The Century of Louis XIV (Le siècle de Louis XIV*), crediting Claude Perrault's French design as distinctly French and superior to any other design intended for the Louvre. The conscious choice to go with a French design over the famous Baroque Italian artist Gian Lorenzo Bernini's design solidified the intense national pride prior to entering the eighteenth century.[146]

Regardless of this and in response to the dismissal of ancient accomplishment, French critic and writer Nicolas Boileau rejected Perrault's claim and came to the defense

[145] Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, pp. 27.
[146] Lee, "Scale Models and Stables": 64.

of Greek and Roman classics and their timeless integrity.[147] Allies on both sides joined the initial conflict, sparking a larger discourse that divided the literary field and produced a surge in printed material sharing the two different perspectives. This increased output of print invited the general public to become involved in the debate as well. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, two specific translations of Homer's *Iliad*, the same literary inspiration Vien referenced in his *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache* painting discussed in Chapter I, caused another uproar for the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns. French author Houdar de la Motte's 1714 abridged version of the tale for modern audiences challenged well-known French translator Anne Dacier's more traditional and popular translation. This contrast between de la Motte and Dacier's renditions of Homer's *Iliad* led to a more precise outlook on antiquity and its relevance to progress in the present age.[148] Comparisons emerged examining the "Homeric originality" in Greek antiquity against the "Virgilian refinement" in the more, modern Rome.[149] The Quarrel addressed morality in literature and led to questions surrounding philosophy. Especially during the Enlightenment period, philosophers Diderot and Rousseau spoke out on their different perspectives of the Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns. Eventually, the initial divisions within literature extended to include discussions surrounding the arts, sciences, music, and philosophy.[150] With the Quarrel expanding to all areas of cultural discussion, both Ancient and Modern parties printed

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[147] Larry F. Norman, "The Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns" in *History of Modern French Literature: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Christopher Prendergast (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2017), pp. 270.
[148] Ibid., pp. 271-2.
[149] Ibid., pp. 275.
[150] Ibid., pp. 276.

their arguments in clear and accessible language to encourage general audience participation.[151] The public was highly involved in these discussions, holding intellectual debates in coffeehouses and other public spaces at the time. Within the arts, more reserved Ancient artworks rivaled more expressive Modern artworks in regards to their colors, gestures, and composition. A viewer could determine an Ancient or Modern influence in a painted scene through the amount of restraint, precision, and balance executed by the artist.[152] From its beginnings to over a century later, the Quarrel of Ancients and Moderns still held relevancy and was now extended to include how the first national art museum of France should be perceived.

German art historian, archeologist, and classicist Johann Joachim Winckelmann's scholarship can be applied to the impact of the national museum structure and public accessibility to art. Winckelmann's 1755 work "Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture" established his preference for the art of ancient Greece due to the characteristics of "a noble simplicity and quiet grandeur, both in posture and expression."[153] The effortless and composed expressions of ancient Greek art allow these masterpieces to achieve a timeless and universal essence. Winckelmann regarded ancient Greek civilization as the model society took look back upon and encouraged the practice of imitation for living artists. Winckelmann believed that the reflection and admiration of past artworks was crucial to gain a familiarity and understanding of history and culture. He recommended and advocated for contemporary society to improve by learning from

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[151] Ibid. 286-7.
[152] Ibid., pp. 278-9.
[153] Johann Joachim Winckelmann, "Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture" in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by Donald Preziosi (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 30.

the ways of ancient Greece. In order to imitate and improve the arts, Winckelmann believed past artworks must be accessible to a larger audience as well as to artists. He found it highly beneficial for different classes in society to gain a new understanding of past civilizations and their histories. The modern museum's unique existence seems to pause the ever-changing outside world and preserve ancient glory. The Louvre offered a space for society to retreat and reflect on the works of antiquity with admiration. With the constant changes of society's politics and culture, Winckelmann saw museums as an opportunity to ease spectators by offering this grounding connection to the past.[154]

David's *The Tennis Court Oath* and *Intervention of the Sabine Women*

As discussed throughout Chapter II thus far, there was a clear and pivotal crossroads between the sense of tradition with the Old Regime and the appeal of modernism in the New Republic. The family dynamic between monarch and subject had been lost with the violent revolution, and similarly, the respected master and pupil relationship began to be tested. At the end of the eighteenth century, Jacques-Louis David challenged his training under Joseph-Marie Vien, the royal painter of King Louis XVI discussed in Chapter I, and branched out creatively. Vien started training the young David in 1765 at age seventeen when he joined the Royal Academy, held within the Louvre. The master Vien recognized David's developing talent early on with a portrait of the young art student, in an unusual tender style that was typically reserved for close family members (Fig. 21). As a pupil, David is seen with hopeful eyes and a sketchbook

[154] Carrier, *Museum* Skepticism, pp. 222-3.

in hand, solidifying the close bond Vien and David would share throughout their lives.[155] Vien, similar to other artists of the Enlightenment era, used ancient and historical content that provide themes of classical nobility and morality. The importance of reason and humanity within Enlightenment thinking was reflected in the paintings and their compositions. Vien's pupil David took his master's training and preference for classical subject matter and pulled the technique into the contemporary era. David's repertoire of esteemed work easily granted him a position among the great masters, but he deliberately chose to exit this line of tradition. Even with his classical training in Rome under Vien, David still chose to separate from the dated traditions of his master in favor of more contemporary and dynamic compositions that implemented classical techniques with current events.[156]

By the 1780s, David drifted from his classical training with Vien to more bold and expressive compositions, which reflected "his departures from accepted practice, his defiance of rules and tradition."[157] David first exhibited at the Salon of 1781 with his painting *Belisarius Begging for Alms*. He then went on to exhibit *Andromache Mourning Hector* in 1783 and *Oath of Horatii* in 1785. During the Salon of 1787, when Vien exhibited *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache*, David exhibited *The Death of Socrates* the same year. Like discussed in Chapter I, Vien was of the elder age of seventy-one by the time he created *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache* and as is painting career was winding down, David's success was on the rise. As the 1780s came

[155] Robert Rosenblum, "David and Vien: Master/Pupil, Father/Son" in *Jacques-Louis David: New Perspectives*, ed. by Dorothy Johnson (Newark, N.J.: University of Delaware Press, 2006), pp. 45-6.
[156] Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Joseph-Marie Vien*, pp. 108.
[157] Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, pp. 216.

Fig. 21: Joseph-Marie Vien, *Portrait of Jacques-Louis David as an Adolescent,* 1765, oil on canvas, 15.2 x 18.3 in (38.5 x 46.5 cm). Angers, Museé des Beaux-Arts. RP 185802 (artwork © Musée des Beaux Arts, Angers /Pierre Alletru).

to a close with the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789, there was a passing of the torch from master to pupil. The Salon of 1789, which occurred less than fifty days following the storming of the Bastille, proved the separation between master and pupil. David rose to the moment of the revolution with his *The Lictors Bring to Brutus the Bodies of His Sons*. The subject matter of Brutus's sacrifice was controversial when exhibited in the Salon of 1789.[158] "Some critics saw him as a model of virtue, since he had carried out his patriotic duty and had his sons executed for conspiring against Rome; others saw him as a monstrous fanatic who could place patriotism above his role of father in the interest of maintaining the Republic."[159] Vien, on the other hand, retreated into familiar Old Regime subject matters under the cover of comfortable neutrality with his work *Love Escaping Slavery*.[160]

David's position as both an artist and a revolution intrinsically wove him into the historical framework of Revolutionary France. Thanks to his unique upbringing, David was granted a privileged life unlike other artists, with an excellent, system of powerful social circles surrounding him. He was able to develop an excellent network of artistic creators in theater, arts, literature, and music as well as with political officials through his relative Michel-Jean Sedaine, a successful French playwright.[161] In January of 1793,

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[158] David A. Bell, *Shadows of Revolution: Reflections on France, Past and Present* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 238-9.; Within art historical discourse, both David's *Oath of Horatii* (1784) and *The Lictors Bring to Brutus the Bodies of His Sons* (1789) have been discussed in detail for their ancient Greco-Roman inspirations that share themes of patriotism, honor, and duty to country. These two royal commissioned paintings have been at the center of much debate on their riddled revolutionary themes prior to the events of 1789. While these are remarkable masterpieces worthy of intense speculation, this research project is choosing to not focus on the prerevolutionary works of David and therefore they fail to fit into the interests of this research project unfortunately.
[159] Weston, "Witnessing Revolution", pp. 119.
[160] Rosenblum, "David and Vien: Master/Pupil, Father/Son", pp. 50, 54.
[161] Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, pp. 230.

Jacques-Louis David participated in history firsthand when he cast his vote for the execution of King Louis XVI during the National Convention. David went on to become president of the new government of the Jacobin Club in June of that same year.[162] Overall, David was highly involved with the New Republic's governmental decisions and the Louvre's decisions as a member of the National Convention. David was held in high regard, with political influence during the Reign of Terror and Jacobin rule.[163] David held persuasion over the Louvre's Museum Committee and its decisions in regards to restoration and hanging arrangements.[164] As the painter to the King until the moment the monarch was dethroned, Vien's close association with the Crown and position as director of the Academy until its dissolution in 1793 placed him in danger when the revolution broke out. However, David's integration within the Jacobin Club and loyalty to his master granted Vien protection. Additionally, Vien's swift adjustment to the support of explicit revolutionary themes, like *The Triumph of the Constitution* (Fig. 19), gave him safety under the New Republic.

In regards to breaking down the Old Regime's hold on the arts, David was a vocal advocate for abolishing the Academy and even had a hand in its removal in 1793.[165] The dissolution of the Academy was another way to break another layer of control reminiscent of the Old Regime. This allowed for artist control during a revolutionary period that glorified independence. As an artist of the Enlightenment, David looked

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[162] Johnson, "Jacques-Louis David", pp. 12.
[163] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 152.
[163] Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Joseph-Marie Vien*, pp. 101-2.
[164] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 152.
[164] Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Joseph-Marie Vien*, pp. 108.
[165] Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, pp. 230 ; This dissolution lasted until 1816, when the Academy was later restructured and revived.

beyond appeasing the Academy and the art market, instead viewing the public as his patron. David was interested in the public's reception of his art, catering his paintings to higher moral and intellectual essence reflective of enlightened, Parisian society.[166] With his distaste of the restrictive Academy, David attempted to restructure the selection process for Salon exhibitions and to elevate art as a respected subdivision of knowledge. With his departure and experimentation during the Salons of the 1780s, David leaned into applying the genre of classical, history painting to the current political action with his 1791 unfinished work *The Tennis Court Oath* (Fig. 22).[167]

The Tennis Court Oath was commissioned by the Jacobin Club, also known as the Society of the Friends of the Constitution, to document the historic event of the governmental party of the Third Estate at Versailles in June 1789. In direct opposition to the monarchy, the Third Estate, a representative assembly for the common class, declared themselves the National Assembly of France on June 17, 1789. Three days later, the Third Estate was blocked from political legislation at the Hôtel des Menus-Plaisirs du Roi in Versailles and retreated to the nearby indoor tennis court to continue their revolutionary government business with 630 deputies and vowed to the overthrow the monarchy for a representative government and Constitution instead.[168]

The historic illustration solidifies an enormous sense of community, with French representatives bound together in national duty for France's political turn to a new, democratic era. There is a multitude of deputies in the chaotic scene, the majority with

[166] Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, pp. 232; Johnson, "Jacques-Louis David", pp. 36.
[167] Johnson, "Jacques-Louis David", pp. 37.; Like mentioned earlier, Winckelmann found the study of the past to be of the most importance and would have disagreed with David's new attempt to monumentalize the present with *The Tennis Court Oath.*
[168] Weston, "Witnessing Revolution", pp. 119-120.

Fig. 22: Jacques-Louis David, *Jeu de Paume Oath, 1789 (The Tennis Court Oath, June 20, 1789),* 1791, pen, ink, wash and heightened with white on pencil on paper, 25.8 x 39.8 in (65.5 x 101 cm). Versailles, Palace of Versailles. INV.DESS 736 (artwork © Palace of Versailles, Dist. RMN /Jean-Marc Manaï).

individualized features to create distinctions amongst various government officials. Preliminary sketches demonstrate the balance between unity and individualism David achieved, seen through his repetition of figural positions and his labeling of key officials in the scene (Figs. 23-24). A loud energy permeates from the line work, with the swarm of figures in a gleeful frenzy, passionate with mouths agape and limbs and hats outstretched in enthusiasm scattered throughout. The flurry of raised arms and upturned heads apex at the central figure of French Statesman Jean Sylvain Bailly, who stands above the group on a table. His right hand lifts with an open palm above the sea of figures in allegiance to the new democratic government, leading the revolutionary oath. The overwhelming majority of public support physically floods the space. On the left side of the composition, men attempt push their way into the crowded indoor tennis court, clamoring in to cover any possible area on the ground level (Fig. 25). From above, David depicts the inclusion of a civilian audience, allowing the public to interacting with politics and bear witness to history from the observer decks in the upper level of the tennis court (Fig. 26). Men, women, and children gaze downward and cheer, leaning over railings to get as close as possible to the climactic shift in the nation's trajectory. In the upper section of the drawing's observation decks, David took a few creative liberties. In the top right corner of the image, French journalist Jean-Paul Marat is seen feverously crafting his famed newspaper pamphlet *Friend of the People* (*L'Ami du Peuple)*, which wouldn't be published until three months later in September 1789. Directly behind Marat's head, a dedicated man extends his sword high, acknowledging the necessary violence to come for the Revolution's success and the New Republic. The raised sword is

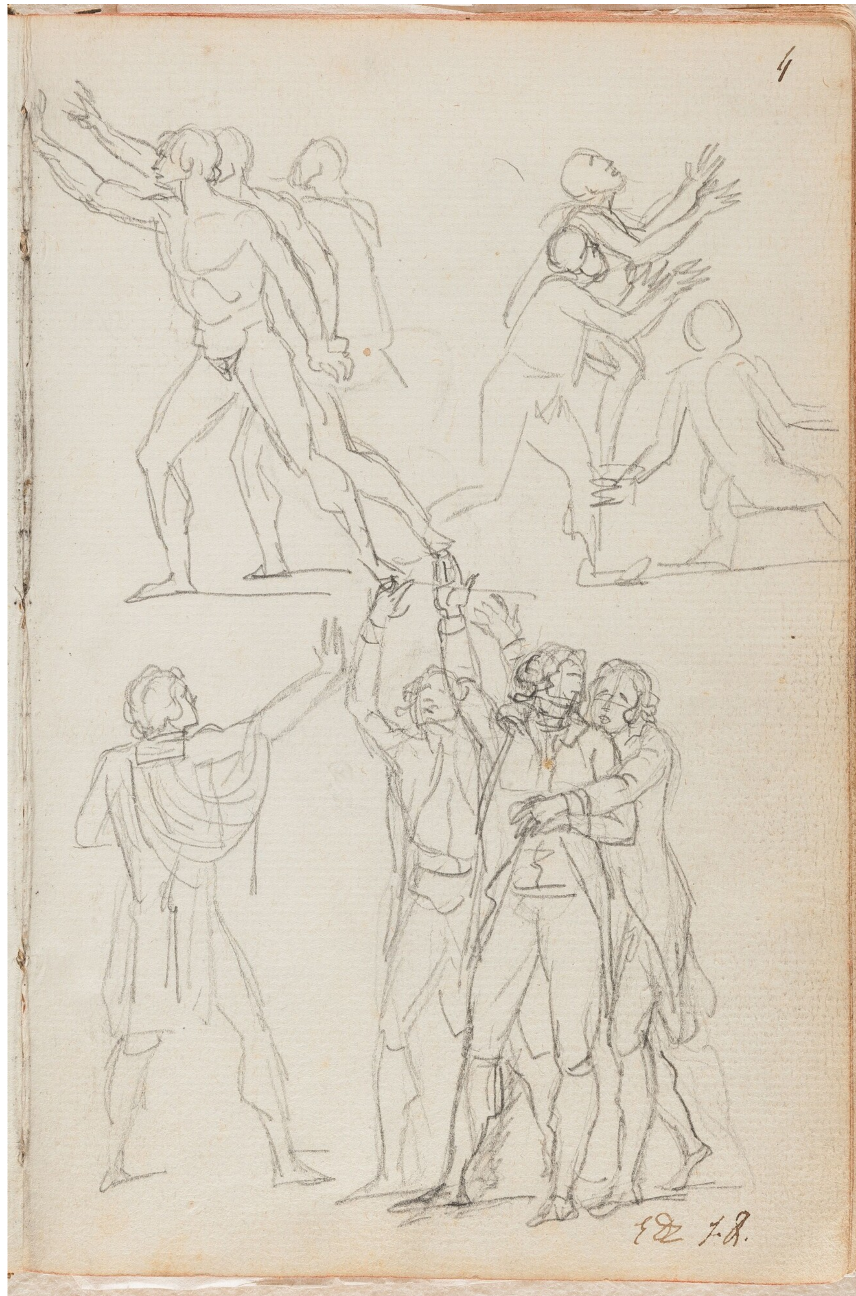

Fig. 23: Jacques-Louis David, *Studies for Tennis Court Oath,* 1790-1791, graphite and black pencil on bound manuscript, 5.2 x 7.8 in (13.2 x 19.8 cm). Versailles, Palace of Versailles. VMS 114 (artwork © Palace of Versailles, Dist. RMN /Christophe Fouin).

Fig. 24: Jacques-Louis David, *Jeu de Paume Oath, 1789 (The Tennis Court Oath, June 20, 1789),* Back of drawing, 1791, pen, ink, wash and heightened with white on pencil on paper, 25.8 x 39.8 in (65.5 x 101 cm). Versailles, Palace of Versailles. INV.DESS 736 (artwork © Palace of Versailles, Dist. RMN /Jean-Marc Manaï).

Fig. 25: Jacques-Louis David, *Jeu de Paume Oath, 1789 (The Tennis Court Oath, June 20, 1789),* Lower detail, 1791, pen, ink, wash and heightened with white on pencil on paper, 25.8 x 39.8 in (65.5 x 101 cm). Versailles, Palace of Versailles. INV.DESS 736 (artwork © Palace of Versailles, Dist. RMN /Jean-Marc Manaï).

Fig. 26: Jacques-Louis David, *Jeu de Paume Oath, 1789 (The Tennis Court Oath, June 20, 1789),* Top detail, 1791, pen, ink, wash and heightened with white on pencil on paper, 25.8 x 39.8 in (65.5 x 101 cm). Versailles, Palace of Versailles. INV.DESS 736 (artwork © Palace of Versailles, Dist. RMN /Jean-Marc Manaï).

surrounded by a trio of women, alluding to the Women's March on Versailles in October 1789 that dragged the Crown back to the capital.

The Tennis Court Oath was first exhibited at the Salon de la Liberté, the first Salon since the overthrow and death of the monarchy and was a testament to the will of the public. It was intended to be commissioned by the public itself through a national subscription campaign, but with the lack of funding, the work was then commissioned and displayed in the hall of the National Assembly in the Palais Bourbon in Paris.[169] While it was only realized as a detailed drawing intended for engraving, the final image was intended to be a huge scale of six by ten meters, so that the multitude of detailed Third Estate deputies in the forefront would have appeared life-size for viewers. The central figure Bailly directly faces forward and invites the viewer to join the historic scene. The elaborate work became representative of the modern public with a new style of history painting that centered on the historical actions of the present. Revolutionary art became an integral part of the public and representative of its many changes.[170] While the work is reminiscent of the patriotic themes found in David's previous paintings of the 1780s, its application is not on distant tales of ancient Rome, but of the immediate present. This depiction is no longer an allegorical possibility like Vien's *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache*; David's *The Tennis Court Oath* is a deliberate departure from the Old Regime into the New Republic. David linked the formerly neglected public into a previously elitist style of artwork by creating something representative of the common people's plight. "David had chosen perhaps the one subject capable of generating such

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[169] Ibid., pp. 120-1.
[170] Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, pp. 255.

profound unity. And this literal identification between history painting and the public sphere appeared at that moment to be the only conceivable response of ambitious painting to the emerging new order."[171] Overall, the ever-changing and divisive political climate made it difficult to finish *The Tennis Court Oath*. The immediacy of the painting was prone to current political changes rather than a more general and timeless interpretation using classical references to symbolize the present. All these different factors eventually led to the work's incomplete abandonment.[172]

Ultimately, with his failure to complete *The Tennis Court Oath* as intended, David reverted back to a more traditional form of allegorical-style history painting with his 1799 work *The Intervention of the Sabine Women* (Fig. 27). David used implicit visual representations to express present French history by imitating an ancient Roman battle from the 8th century BC, previously interpreted by French artist Nicolas Poussin with his 1635 *The Rape of the Sabine Women*, which is also displayed in the Louvre. David instead shifts the narrative and gives agency to the women, which were a crucial element in the success of the French Revolution. "In his pamphlet written to accompany the painting's exhibition, David explained that the essential theme of his painting was love –

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[171] Ibid., pp. 256.

[172] Weston, "Witnessing Revolution", pp. 121-4.; David's 1793 *Death of Marat* is another example of the historic documentation of the present, which was able to be completed due to its smaller size and simpler subject matter. For a year after its initial creation, the work was referenced in David's workshop for his pupils to create propaganda copies during the Reign of Terror. However, during David's imprisonment during the fall and winter of 1794 and again during the summer months of 1795, David's fellow painter, pupil, and friend Antoine-Jean Gros, who is discussed in Chapter III, hid the painting away. It wasn't until 1886 when the original painting resurfaced and is now housed at the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, where David and his family resided at the end of his exiled life. A copy of *Death of* Marat by David's studio is on display at the Louvre. While this masterpiece is worthy of intense inspection, I have chosen not to address the work within the body of this paper as it is more of a post humorous depiction of one individual the artist shared a personal connection with rather than *The Tennis Court Oath* which is more representative of the public's reaction to the revolution overall.

for love of their families the Sabine women, heedless of the danger to themselves and their babies, rush onto the battlefield to stop a war in which their husbands would be fighting against their fathers and brothers."[173] Even though David directly references Winckelmann's and the Ancient Quarrelers' loyalty to antiquity, I believe he subconsciously continues to use classical repertoire in a new way in conjunction with a close understanding of the public's revolutionary perception. David projected the French political present onto a past episode of ancient Roman history through its similar iconography. From the Revolution's 1789 outbreak to David's *The Intervention of Sabine Women* in 1799, the public had been exposed to government propaganda that linked "the history of early Rome metaphors for contemporary political conflicts" throughout the past decade.[174] The commanding presence of the central Sabine woman Hersilia in the scene embodies that of Marianne, the French revolutionary icon of liberty (Fig. 28). Her white toga drapes down her body and her balanced and outstretched limbs interrupt the battle. She uses her body to split the composition, with her father the Sabine King Tatius to the left and her husband, the Roman King Romulus, on the right.[175] With these iconographic features and the public's familiarity with Roman imagery, a spectator would understand the current political implications of the Sabine Women as substitutes for Marianne, the allegorical figure of liberty during this revolutionary era. Additionally, David's depiction of Hersilia departs greatly from that of Vien's Andromache discussed in Chapter I (Fig. 5). Although both mothers look left towards their husbands to stop

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[173] Johnson, "Jacques-Louis David", pp. 39.
[174] Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, pp. 228.
[175] Johnson, "Jacques-Louis David", pp. 39.

Fig. 27: Jacques-Louis David, *Les Sabines (The Intervention of the Sabine Women),* 1799, oil on canvas, 12.6 x 17.1 ft (3.9 x 5.2 m). Paris, The Louvre. INV. 3691 (artwork © Musée du Louvre/Angèle Dequier).

Fig. 28: Jacques-Louis David, *Les Sabines (The Intervention of the Sabine Women),* Hersilia detail, 1799, oil on canvas, 12.6 x 17.1 ft (3.9 x 5.2 m). Paris, The Louvre. INV. 3691 (artwork © Musée du Louvre/Angèle Dequier).

violent war for the sake of their family and children, Hersilia takes an active stance as opposed to Andromache's desperate plea. Andromache is timid and submissive; her feminine body is shapeless and covered behind others and beneath thick fabrics. Hersilia is confrontational on the other hand; she embraces her femininity with exposed legs and attire clinging to her curves. Hersilia demonstrates strength through her womanly power and influence whereas Andromache leans upon Hector for stability and support.

Previously with *The Tennis Court Oath,* David was in a constant fight with the passage of time by attempting to address the history of the present. The lengthy production process of grand, oil masterpieces proved too difficult to keep up with contemporary events. Additionally, the spectrum of extremism amongst political parties and break between Jacobin Club and the Girondins in regards to the monarchy also led to the abandonment of the final creation of *The Tennis Court Oath*.[176] Instead, David made the public his priority in a new way. Once the work was completed, David held onto *The Intervention of the Sabine Women* and placed it on display in a meeting hall of the Louvre himself for five years before donating it to the French government.[177] With the government's permission, David was able to exhibit *Sabine Women* in "the meeting hall of the former Academy of Architecture, which overlooked the *cour carré* of the Louvre." The room had natural lighting from windows along with a large mirror on the opposite wall of the work to reflect the entire image. The act of an artist charging admission to display their work was unconventional at the time. By exhibiting the painting for a low admission cost of 1.80 franc over the span of five years, a large portion of the public was

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[176] Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, pp. 256-7.
[177] Ibid., pp. 232.

able to view the David's work.[178] The previous abolishment of the Academy in 1793 allowed David to maintain control as an artist with his *The Intervention of the Sabine Women*. The idea of creating an uncommissioned painting and displaying it in a private exhibition space funded the work through direct admission charges. This practice was revolutionary and allotted the artist alone direct oversight and handling of their work.

To conclude, the capital of Paris created a united political front through the use of imagery and the Louvre itself. With its newly claimed in ownership, the Louvre became a monumental symbol of the democratic revolution. The entanglement of politics within the formation of the national museum allowed for the Louvre as a symbol to exude political and cultural influence.[179] The Louvre's goals as a museum of the French people were to "demonstrate the nation's great riches…the national museum will embrace knowledge in all its manifold beauty and will be the admiration of the universe. By embodying these grand ideas, worthy of a free people…the museum…will become among the most powerful illustrations of the French Republic."[180] As a domestic symbol, the Louvre extended France's "'glory over all times and all the peoples of the world; the national museum will comprise a total of the most wonderful knowledge and will command the admiration of the whole universe…It will have such an influence on the mind, it will so elevate the soul, it will so excite the heart that it will be one of the most

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[178] Johnson, "Jacques-Louis David", pp. 38-9.; The mirror within the display space was used to invert the perfection and balance within David's composition.
[179] Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, pp. 21, 37.
[180] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 91-2; This quote is based upon a letter only ten months before the opening of the Louvre from former Minister of the Interior Jean Roland to artist and revolutionary Jacques-Louis David.

powerful ways of proclaiming the illustriousness of the French Republic.'"[181] The Louvre held an interesting position, reaching a local patriotism by presenting national and political history for the French citizens while simultaneously capturing the attention of an international audience with its magnificent treasures to be the envy of the art world. Napoléon I furthered the Louvre's political power and influence when he claimed ownership of the museum for his imperialistic goals at the turn of the nineteenth century.

[181] Bénédicte Savoy and Andrea Meyer, *The Museum is Open: Towards a Transnational History of Museum 1750-1940* (Berlin, D.E.: DeGruyter, 2013), pp. 1; This quote pulls from the same 1792 Roland letter.

CHAPTER III: NAPOLEON I'S LOUVRE, MUSÉE NAPOLÉON (1803-1815)

What began as a prototypic national museum assembled from the former royal collection in 1793 had transformed with new ownership once more, this time into a cohesively designed and growing collection due to the involvement of Napoleon Bonaparte.[182] From his rise to power in 1799 to his final exile in 1815, Napoleon was able to accomplish much within the short span of sixteen years, claiming and transforming both the Louvre and France on an international scale. Like discussed in Chapters I and II, the changes in ownership of the Louvre adapted and reflected the political and public narrative of history, this time with Napoleon leading control of history's interpretation. Instead of the museum representing a French national history, like when it opened in 1793, it instead showcased Napoleon's contributions to France on a far-reaching level. The Louvre had transformed this time into a hub of imperialistic power and propaganda. By defining itself as a superior institution through its logical organization of the gallery collection and the ample bounties of art from foreign campaigns, the Louvre outlined an art historical narrative. Museum visitors were able to enjoy and be swayed by one of the most thrilling and entertaining experiences at the turn of the century due to Napoleon's strong affiliation and involvement. I argue that the Louvre becomes another strategy of power and control for Napoleon over the public and that the changes to display and architecture within the museum reflect the fast-paced changes during the early years of the nineteenth century.

[182] Gould, *Trophy of Conquest*, pp. 84-5.

Napoleon's Relationship with Art as Power

Gaining national recognition as a prevalent military and political success of France, Napoleon Bonaparte was born to a low nobility family on Corsica, a small French island off the southern mainland in the Mediterranean Sea.[183] At the close of the eighteenth century on November 9, 1799, Napoleon Bonaparte successfully seized power as First Consul through a coup d'état, also known as an illegal overthrow of government.[184] By May of 1802, Napoleon had earned the title of First Consul for life.[185] In 1803, the Louvre was renamed to Musée Napoleon to honor the man who brought glory to France and solidified his individual importance to the nation's goals.[186] The following year in 1804, Napoleon had earned the title of Emperor. From First Consul to Emperor, Napoleon was able to swiftly restructure France in an authoritarian manner while furthering the reforms of the revolutionary government had begun through the use of the museum.[187]

Due to the Revolution and its links to rising nationalism, the Louvre had become "an idol which itself demanded the offerings that were made to it" and Napoleon fulfilled this need through a series of war campaigns in Europe and the systematic looting of art.[188] After the Battle of Fleurus between Austria and France in 1794, the French moved

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[183].Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, pp. 2.
[184] Dorothy Johnson, "David and Napoleonic Painting" in *Jacques-Louis David: New Perspectives*, ed. by Dorothy Johnson (Newark, N.J.: University of Delaware Press, 2006), pp. 131.; Six weeks later, David exhibited *The Intervention of the Sabine Women*, discussed in Chapter II.
[185] Oliver, *From Royal to National*, pp. 58.
[186] Ibid., pp. 47-8.
[187] Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, pp. 2.
[188] Gould, *Trophy of Conquest*, pp. 40.

from sporadic looting to the organized and government-sanctioned confiscation of art.[189] Over the summer of 1794, four Rubens' paintings had been shipped from Antwerp back to Paris, the jewel of the grouping being *Descent from the Cross*, which was prized as one of the most celebrated works of art at the time and foreshadowed the caliber of work that would be sought after in the future.[190] Following this first raid in Belgium, Napoleon took the reins and led a massive looting of Italian art two years later in 1796. The confiscation campaigns were not purely a military operation, but relied on a team of art specialists known as the *Commission Temporaire des Arts*, which included art connoisseur Jean-Baptiste Pierre LeBrun who was discussed in Chapter II in regards to gallery arrangements in addition to others with art expertise and experience. LeBrun documented the initial inventory and condition of the artworks when they first arrived at the museum. Many of the additional members of the committee were artists, and proved useful due to their eye for masterpieces, classical training, and familiarity with Rome and the different churches with artwork of value. One of these artists was Antoine-Jean Gros, pupil of the artist David discussed in Chapter II, who aided the selection of "painting and sculpture from antiquity, the Renaissance, and the baroque period" during the Italian campaign before later becoming one of Napoleon's trusted imperial painters.[191] The committee's role was to provide knowledge and locations on the valuable artworks of the invaded countries. With the foundation of the Belgian looting, French armies went into Italy with the same game plan. Artists and Napoleon worked together closely on the Italian

[189] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 114.
[190] Gould, *Trophy of Conquest*, pp. 34.
[191] Johnson, "David and Napoleonic Painting", pp. 133.

confiscations to capture the best of the best.[192] In Rome in particular, after seeking the most esteemed of "Italian painting…Raphael, Correggio, Veronese, and Titian – more or less in that order", the confiscations reverted back to the popularity of the ancient, with priority falling to ancient sculptural works over paintings, such as the famous Hellenistic statues of the *Apollo Belvedere*, *Laocöon and His Sons*, and the *Dying Gaul.*[193] Napoleon's Italian campaign from 1796-1797 reverts back to the public's preference and the Quarrel of the Ancient and the Modern as discussed in Chapter II. The timeless essence and greatness of the ancient was forcibly removed from one site to another. Rather than a graceful passing of the torch, the French clambered up the art canonical pedestal and cast ancient Rome to the wayside. With stolen artworks in tow, Paris demanded respect and submission from the Western world. Paris declared itself the new hub of artistic prestige and talent by housing all great works in the Louvre. "In any case the operation as a whole would be symbolic for the transfer of the centre of the civiled world from Rome to Paris. This was eagerly desired at the time by the French and may be said not only to have been achieved but to remain one of the most enduring acts of the Napoleonic régime."[194]

It is important to understand that Napoleon was in no way the first or last to practice art looting as a war tactic. While the ancient Greeks would loot to financially ruin their enemies during Alexander the Great's rule, art looting became systematically official with the Romans. The Romans were notorious for pursuing the realistic

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[192] Gould, *Trophy of Conquest*, pp. 32, 41, 46.
[193] Ibid., pp. 48-50, 59.
[194] Ibid., pp. 43.

achievements created in art by their Greek counterparts, but due to a lack of understanding in regards to the Golden Ratio of proportions, Greek art and architecture surpassed Roman attempts to reach this new pinnacle of art. Rather than make continuous efforts to understand the realism of Greek art, Romans began the widespread theft of art, starting with their paramount victory of the Etruscan city of Veii, which was destroyed in 296 BC and conquered as part of the Roman state.[195] Prior civilizations would loot art as part of the consequences of war, but like Napoleon, the Romans used art as reasoning to conquer.[196]

Napoleon's art confiscation does not just join the history of looting, but also emphasizes a crucial component of the colonial process through the assertion of French dominance. Especially with Napoleon's bullied childhood and confused identity growing up on Corsica between France and Italy, Napoleon's war campaign seemed personal. Napoleon wanted to disassociate from his Corsican upbringing and sculpted an identity of true and pure French manhood. At the Salon exhibitions, the French public was swooned with his quick rise to military fame and embraced him as their French leader.[197] Napoleon forced his opponent's inferiority and suppression by removing the cultural and artistic property of the colonized, with the French conqueror claiming culture and adapting it for their own goals.

The British perception of Napoleon's art looting spree was captured by political caricaturist George Cruikshank with his 1814 political cartoon *Seizing the Italian Relics*

[195] Ivan Lindsay, *The History of Loot and Stolen Art: From Antiquity Until the Present Day* (London, U.K.: Unicorn Press Ltd, 2014), pp. 24-30.
[196] Ibid., pp. 33.
[197] Ibid., pp. 251-2.

(Fig. 29). The reason I am choosing to focus on a British publication rather than the French perspective is due to Napoleon's censorship of the French press. Just two days after his successful coup d'état in 1800, Napoleon seized control of the press and limited information distribution to thirteen papers. In 1811, he dwindled that original thirteen down to three newspapers, which were all held under strict restrictions.[198] With this limited outlook, I believe this British example allows for a better international position of Napoleon's actions. Napoleon stands confidently at the center of the composition, commanding his troops to collect his claimed treasures. Napoleon forcefully delegates, with an outstretched arm that gestures in a similar fashion to that of the *Apollo Belvedere*. Frenchmen move about the scene, conducting Napoleon's bidding with three distinctive parts of the art looting operation. The first stage is the removal process of the artworks seen on the left side of the composition. A soldier pulls the ancient sculpture directly off its pedestal. To the right, two officials perform the second stage, the packing process. Collected art objects loiter around the box before being carelessly thrown into the crate. The third role is the transportation process, with two men hauling the filled trunk into a covered wagon as it's finally prepared to be carted away to Paris. In the background, a few soldiers patrol the area with threatening guns from any potential disruptions. Further behind, the Italian setting is established with the pope looking over the horrific scene and St. Peter's Basilica depicted through simple line work off in the distance. The satirical illustration portrays a critical outlook on the French war campaign. Napoleon and his army are viewed as sacrilegious; Napoleon tramples on a fallen cross and his Frenchmen

[198] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, pp. 71.

Fig. 29: George Cruikshank, *Seizing the Italian Relics*, 1814, hand-colored etching with aquatint on paper, 5.5 x 8.4 in (14 x 21.3 cm). London, The British Museum. 1865,1111.2287 (artwork © The Trustees of the British Museum).

are portrayed crudely with exaggerated features. The caricature highlights the barbaric disregard for the precious sanctity of these objects in the sacred and religious setting of the Vatican.

Once Napoleon returned with the Italian confiscated works, they were paraded around to the public before entering the Louvre and this practice conditioned the public's association with Napoleon and the national museum.[199] Napoleon's stature, accomplishments, and importance to France became linked even more with a celebratory dinner in the new portion of the lengthy Grande Galerie dedicated to the Italian bounty in December 1797.[200] The following year, Napoleon led the five-month invasion of Egypt in 1798, during which the French team established the Institution of Egypt at Cairo as a way to "propagated European culture and ideas to the East, marking the beginning of modernization in the area.'"[201] This forceful invasion, along with the other invasions and confiscations thus far, furthered a racial inferiority divide and asserted a sense of French superiority and political prowess over the invaded, which formed a Eurocentric narrative in the process. Napoleon extended his imperialistic control and created a far-reaching empire, gaining space through violence. Traditionally, empires are historically reliant upon militaristic power and pillage. However, it is important to remember that empires claimed through force are "destined sooner or later to collapse, falling victim to a space

[199] Oliver, *From Royal to National*, pp. 47-8.
[200] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 121.
[201] Oliver, *From Royal to National*, pp. 57-8.; It was also during this expedition that the Rosetta Stone was discovered, claimed by France, and brought back to the Louvre.

which now escaped their control", and Napoleon's fall by 1815 proved to be no exception.[202]

Furthermore, Napoleon claimed ownership over other cultures for France, seeking out works of art that were renowned and popularly praised to be tracked down with the aid of his skilled team of artists and connoisseurs. The best of the best was taken for France as a tactic to assert authority and build upon the art capital of Paris.[203] Napoleon played a direct and active role in the selection of works from foreign countries, but was unswayed by their creative style.[204] Napoleon found no aesthetic appeal in the confiscated artworks, instead choosing to focus solely on their powerful influence and worldly impact. However, even with Napoleon's adamant stance on his indifference towards visual appeal, the strong opposition between the delicate removal of beautiful masterpieces during a brutal war campaign does not go unnoticed. Napoleon was still on site, selecting the artworks to be removed from violent conquest sites to the exalted environment of the Louvre with the help of artists whom he developed close working relationships with. Suffering rough circumstances to confiscate elegant works of art forms an interesting contrast. Terrible military conditions and war strategies intersect with exquisite material in an unusual way. Regardless of their beauty, the confiscated works were intended to assert victory and dominance for the French nation.[205] Works of art were selected based upon their level of fame and rarity. If the works were considered masterpieces in the canonical narrative at the time, they were intentionally sought after

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[202] LeFebvre, *The Production of Space*, pp. 280.
[203] Gould, *Trophy of Conquest*, pp. 43, 52.
[204] Ibid., pp. 42.
[205] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 116.

for the Louvre's collection.[206] "The whole operation was a large-scale propaganda exercise managed with the precision of a military campaign, which in an important sense it was, since the prime beneficiary was General Bonaparte."[207] The collection of these physical art objects reflected Napoleon's victories in a tactical way for the French people more so than an announcement of a victory in battle across foreign lands.

A Louvre Filled with the Bounties of War

Once again, the Louvre changed itself to reflect its newly claimed ownership during the Napoleonic era. Like mentioned earlier, the French began with the confiscated several works of Rubens and others in a pillage from September 1794 to February 1795 in Belgium before moving on to plunder Rome and Venice in 1796-1797 and followed with the invasion of Egypt in 1708. Additional raids included German works in 1806 and the invasion of Spain in 1809.[208] As the national museum in the French capital, the Louvre adapted as a symbol of the French empire with its display and collection of war bounties, which showcased its imperialistic superiority and status to the world and the history of art.[209] The confiscated artworks were to be "liberated" from their previous dwellings and taken to the center of freedom and democracy in Paris.[210] Napoleon's stolen artworks grew familiar with the cycle of immediately being paraded and displayed shortly upon their return.[211] As mentioned in Chapter II, the closure of the Grande Galerie

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[206] Ibid, pp. 119.
[207] Ibid., pp. 120-1.
[208] Oliver, *From Royal to National*, pp. 46-50, 60.
[209] Stefan Berger, "National Museums in Between Nationalism, Imperialism and Regionalism, 1750-1914" in *National Museums and Nation-Building in Europe, 1750-2010: Mobilization and Legitimacy, Continuity and Change*, eds. by Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius (London, U.K.: Routledge, 2015), pp. 21.
[210] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 116.
[211] Gould, *Trophy of Conquest*, pp. 38-9.

for necessary repairs occurred from 1796-1799. During this time, Napoleon was hauling back artworks with no place to display them properly and permanently as intended until the beginning of the nineteenth century.[212] The new Galerie des Antiques for the confiscated Italian statues opened in November 1800, two years after the pillages of Rome and Venice due to lack of funding.[213] Regardless, the public parade and display of these confiscated works only further linked Napoleon's direct involvement and influence over the institution as its new owner.

The Napoleon campaigns allowed for the Louvre's collection to extend from predominately a painting collection to include an expansion of drawings and sculptures.[214] Also, by the time Napoleon rose to power, only the best of the French paintings remained, with the remainder of work being transferred to the Palace of Versailles. With the constant transport of confiscated art entering the gallery, which already had minimal usable space as is, disorder was rampant. The crowded collection and limited display space due to renovations led to the release of particular French paintings to Versailles, with the former palace used as "the waste-paper basket for second-rate French pictures" and a way to provide more space for the valued, foreign masterpieces.[215] The goal of Napoleon's Louvre was to create a collective accumulation of artistic prestige overall, at least in regards to the Western world.[216] Paris intended to not represent a single category, but instead offered a full and complete collection of

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[212] Ibid., pp. 70.
[213] Ibid., pp. 72-3.
[214] Bautier, "The Louvre: A National Museum in a Royal Palace": 63.
[215] Gould, *Trophy of* Conquest, pp. 75.
[216] Oliver, *From Royal to* National, pp. 48-9.

Western art. The museum aimed to become "most intimately bound up with the history of art, which mark its progress, epitomize the various genres and enable the spectator to form a clear impression of all the revolutions and phases of the history of painting."[217] Paris and the Louvre aspired to be not only the epitome of France and of Europe, but of the history of art overall.

The extreme removal of objects from their original context to Paris questions this new role of the museum as the ideal setting for works of art. With artworks housed from various places under one roof, there is an intermingling of art objects in shared space. German philosopher Walter Benjamin addressed the conceptual meaning of an art object's aura and exhibition value in his 1935 essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility". Benjamin questioned how the historical shifts of ownership throughout the years for an artwork affected the loss of physicality and authenticity of a work for the viewer. Benjamin suggested the loss of artwork's authenticity was associated with the abstract idea of the aura, which he defined as "a strange tissue of space and time: the unique apparition of a distance."[218] With the constant shifts of societal movements, Benjamin described the aura as decaying from the moment of creation, a moment that can never truly be visited again in theory. Time progresses and moves further and further away from the initial moment of an artwork's existence as society proceeds onward with the ebbs and flows of change. Benjamin acknowledged the artistic poles of exhibition value and cult value, explaining that

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[217] Gould, *Trophy of Conquest*, pp. 76.

[218] Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings on Media*, eds. Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Y. Levin, trans. Edmund Jephcott, Rodney Livingstone, Howard Eiland, and Others (Cambridge, M.A.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 23.

exhibition value allows for accessibility when an artwork is not tied to its cult, ritualistic setting. When removed from its original setting and placed in a public museum, an art object is presented to a larger audience, but losses its aura. For the French and Napoleon, Benjamin's exhibition value is prioritized over preserving the original context and setting of an artwork. Despite this outlook, Napoleon's intentions in regards to the mass expropriation of foreign art were questioned.[219] To combat this challenge, the French attempted to invalidate confiscation criticism by insisting that foreign countries were unable to properly care for the masterpieces in their original settings. They claimed that French restoration was necessary to maintain and preserve the life of these artworks that were withering away in their home countries. LeBrun attempted to justify the French looting by stating "'that the Republic removed the masterpieces which the negligence of those who possessed them was leading to their ruin.'"[220] Past scholarship has attempted to simply gloss over the confiscation of these works as part of a colonial past or how things were done back then. However, this extensive art confiscation was an explicit form of imperialism and this strategic domination forever affects the lives and interpretations of these works of art in addition to the political relations between these warring countries for years to come. By seizing works of art from their original contexts as trophies of conquest, Napoleon's looting campaigns not only stole physical objects, but the cultural property of other nations as a colonial tactic and the forced recontextualization of art as it entered its new home at the Louvre (Musée Napoléon) in France. Even in the early nineteenth century, some museum visitors found that the museum context of these art

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[219] Ibid., pp. 25.
[220] Gould, *Trophy of Conquest*, pp. 68.

objects obscured the original intent of the works. However, others advocated for the collection of human genius and progress under one unified space. By providing access, it was in turn causing the decay of the aura. The museum framed a new ritual practice and observance of the art objects and cut its ties from any original and intended interpretations.[221]

A prime example of recontextualization is Napoleon's fascination with the *Apollo Belvedere*. We have seen a version of this statue earlier in Chapter II with Robert's *Imaginary View of the Grande Galerie in Ruins* (Fig. 13). Here, in the work *Napoleon Bonaparte Showing the Apollo Belvedere to His Deputies*, Napoleon gloats as he publicly displays his accomplishment of bringing the *Apollo Belvedere* to the Louvre from Italy following his war campaign from 1796 to 1797 (Fig. 30). The *Apollo* statue was taken from the Vatican during the Italian looting, reminiscent of the marble figure's removal seen in the Cruikshank's cartoon (Fig. 29). The powerful French leader Napoleon mimics the statue *Apollo*'s posture; both man and marble extend their left arms outward in a grand gesture. With *Apollo* as a classical interpretation of the masculine ideal, Napoleon's juxtaposition with the work implies his own male perfection. Napoleon has himself represented on the same level of the *Apollo Belvedere*, symbolizing the shift in the history of art to France. With Napoleon's confiscations and addition to the history of looting, Paris has risen to the same glorified reputation of the ancient Romans.

[221] Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, pp. 15-6.

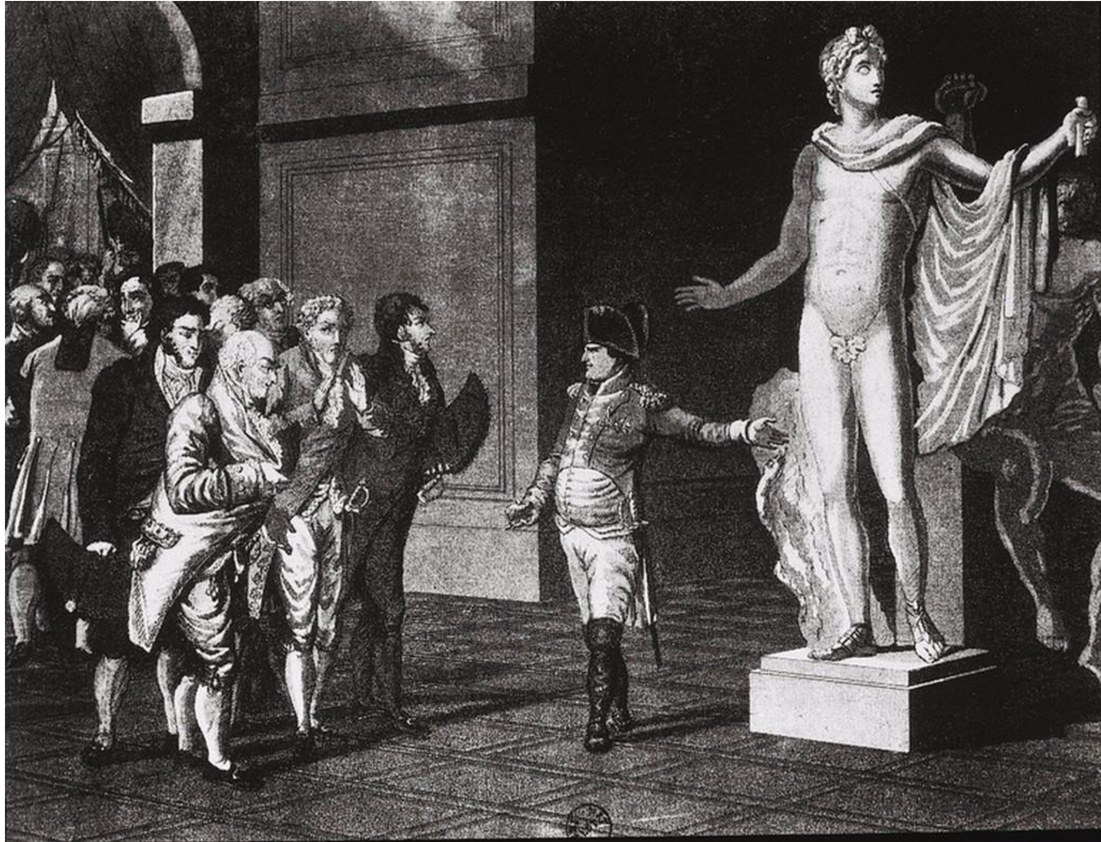

Fig. 30: Anonymous, *Napoleon Bonaparte Showing the Apollo Belvedere to His Deputies*, 1800, etching with aquatint. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. (artwork in public domain).

Denon and the Imperial Transformation of the Louvre

Previously when the museum opened in 1793, it was influenced directly by the French government, not with the identity or goals of a single individual. The seizure of royal collections as public property and their display afterward as a national museum was controlled by the New Republic. However, with Napoleon's position as First Consul extended to last his lifetime in May 1802, the director general position was reinstated in November 1802 as an extension of Napoleon's control over the nation state. The director general was not only responsible for the Louvre, but other major art institutions throughout France.[222] Dominique Vivant Denon secured the director general position, thanks to his close ties to Napoleon after accompanying him on the 1798 Invasion of Egypt. This personal connection allowed Denon to obtain a position that was already being conducted without the title by David at the time. At age fifty-five in 1802, the elder Denon seemed like an unusual choice for the role, especially with his irrelevant employment experience as a diplomatic courtier and erotic author. Although he was not the obvious choice, Denon's worldly travels with Napoleon and previous diplomacy work granted him unique and strong leadership for the role.[223]

After the addition of the Italian schools section of the Grande Galerie in 1801, little changes were made until the general-director position was filled by Dominique Vivant-Denon in November of 1802. Denon began to rework the gallery reorganization, starting with a collection of Raphael works. Denon's labors can be seen in an 1811

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[222] This is the same position Comte d'Angiviller held, who was discussed in Chapter I in regards to his attempted Louvre project.
[223] Gould, *Trophy of Conquest*, pp. 86-7.

illustration by French artist Benjamin Zix (Fig. 31). The director general leans down from his desk to examine an object, surrounded in the crowed space amongst Napoleon's stolen treasures. A multitude of statues, books, papers, and even an Egyptian obelisk clutter the gallery space. The cluttered artworks share foreign characteristics from Napoleon's war campaigns. Like the tall obelisk featured behind Denon, Romans were also well known for the Egyptmania and looting of obelisks.[224] Denon carefully examines the objects through immediate contact and interaction to gain understanding and denote classification. After his detailed inspection, he expands to a broad view, deciding how this foreign inventory will be displayed. Denon enacted LeBrun's initial vision discussed in Chapter II, and eventually completely reworked the gallery organization to reflect the various art schools, with sections of works by the same artist in a single grouping. Denon wrote to Napoleon at the beginning of 1803 about the change, stating, "'It is like a life of the master of all painters. The first time you walk through this gallery, I hope you will find that this…brings a character of order, instruction, and classification. I will continue in the same spirit for all the schools, and in a few months, while visiting the gallery one will be able to have…a history course in the art of painting'"[225] Denon's curation separated national schools and formed distinct, visual cultures of other nations. The clear and formulaic classification of other nations through violent collection and display forced their subservience. The Louvre's design decided the narrative, and marked clear and identifiable common characteristics to define the nation's visual cues and style.[226]

[224] Lindsay, *The History of Loot and Stolen Art*, pp. 41.
[225] McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, pp. 140.
[226] Poulot, "The Changing Roles of Art Museums", pp. 90.

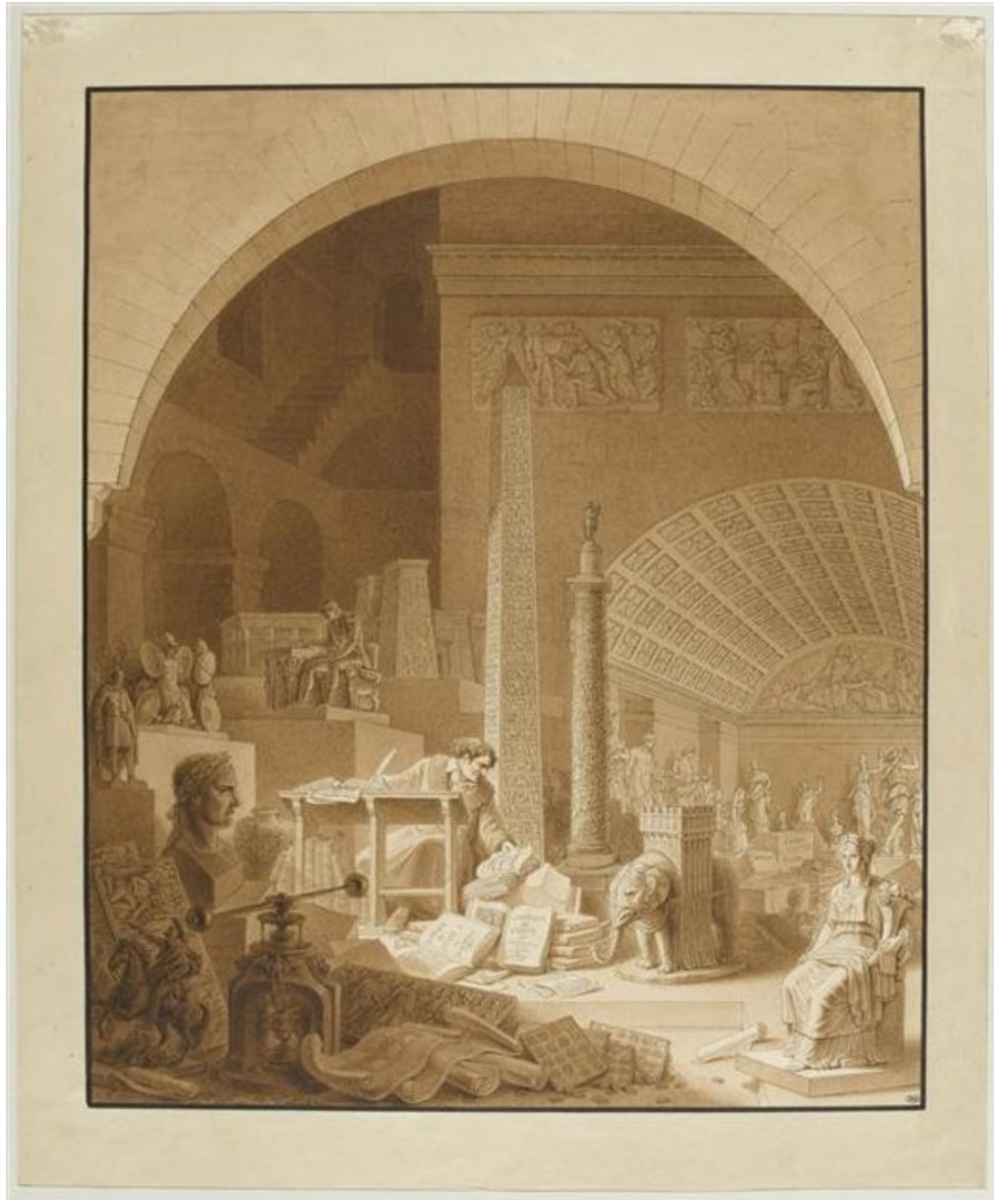

Fig. 31: Benjamin Zix, *Vivant-Denon travaillant dans la salle de Diane au Louvre (Vivant-Denon working in the Salle de Diane at the Louvre)*, 1811, brown ink, brown wash, and quill on paper, 1.6 x 1.3 ft (0.5 x 0.4 m). Paris, The Louvre. INV. 33405 (artwork © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Thierry Le Mage).

With this clean categorization, viewers could more easily identify the various parts of the collection and their key features. The bounty reaps were on full display for the French public to easily observe and formed a clear inventory of the trophies of conquest on display from Napoleon's victorious war campaigns. Denon's nation sorting and its effects were recognized by Swiss art historian Heinrich Wölfflin in his 1915 text *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Early Modern Art*. Wölfflin outlined and defined individual, national, and period styles as means to cultural, national, and personal expression.[227] Even with individual techniques, styles can be grouped together by common characteristics, meaning "personal style is always accompanied by *the style of the school, the country, the race*."[228] Wölfflin explained that "the foundations of national sensibility [are] everywhere…the taste for form comes into direct contact with spiritual and moral factors, and there are still many rewarding tasks ahead for art history once it decides to give systematic treatment to this question concerning the psychology of national forms."[229] National style, as Wölfflin defined, is the shared characteristics that create a packaged description of a nation's visual culture.[230] The formation of national style, as Denon found with his organized gallery arrangements, overlaps these common national characteristics of art and impacts how nations are represented and understood not only in the public museum space, but in the discipline of art history.

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[227] Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Early Modern Art*, eds. Evonne Levy and Tristan Weddigen, tran. Jonathan Blower (Los Angeles, C.A.: Getty Research Institute, 2015), pp. 92.
[228] Ibid., pp. 88.
[229] Ibid., pp. 89.
[230] Ibid., pp.. 89-92.

In addition to his revolutionary rehanging practices, Denon desired the building of the Louvre itself to be adorned with ceiling decorations as a visual strategy to exemplify its political goals and new ownership. The roof of the museum cloaked the collections inside with this propagandistic narrative as a protector of the arts. Visitors were reminded through these elaborate iconographic displays built into the architecture of the institution that the Emperor Napoleon was responsible for the French nation's glory. The emperor granted the access and enjoyment of the collections and provided its role as an institution of the public sphere within Paris. For example, the Mars Rotunda (Rotonde de Mars), dedicated in 1810, visually displays the Louvre's new efforts to encapsulate the entire history of Western art.[231] The Mars Rotunda marks the entrance to the Denon wing, starting with the Apollo Gallery before continuing on into the Salon Carré and Grande Galerie (Fig. 32). In the center of the dome is a painted mural surrounded by an elaborate, gold oval border. The mural at the center of the dome depicts *The Man Formed by Prometheus and Animated by Minerva* by Jean-Simon Berthélemy in 1802 before Jean-Baptiste Mauzaisse repainted the subject in 1826 (Fig. 33). The primary figures are clearly denoted in the title, but one can observe the Muses on the right side of the composition, with Father Time below them, and the Three Fates peeking at the central scene from the left. On the outskirt of the gold border are four circular stucco relief medallions surrounded by a gold border of their own in the spandrels of the dome by Bernard Lange and Jean-Pierre Lorta.[232] The four emblems each signify a respected school of Western art: Egypt, Greece, Italy, and France. Each of the medallions depicts a

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[231] Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, pp. 27.
[232] Bautier, *The Louvre*, pp. 86.

seated female with long draping clothing over their bodies and specific headdresses to symbolize their country of origin. Architectural clues behind the scene, such as an Egyptian pyramid or a Greek temple, further provide clues on the medallions' country representations. The female figures gesture behind them to a famous statue from their country: the Egyptian *Colossus of Memmon*, the Greek *Apollo Belvedere*, *Moses* by the Italian Michelangelo, and Frenchman Puget's *Milo of Crotona*. The selection of these particular countries represents key moments in the established history of Western art: Egypt for its prehistoric art, the ancient art of Greece, the Renaissance in Italy, and now France in the present era. France inserts itself into the canonical narrative of art history. "Simultaneously, the history of art has become no less than the history of western civilization itself: its origins in Egypt and Greece, its reawakening in the Renaissance, and its present flowering in modern France."[233]

Furthermore, Denon created pomp and circumstance surrounding claimed artworks through formal ceremony practices. Grandeur rituals were performed as the works were paraded to the public before entering the Louvre. Denon's processionals paralleled that of the Romans, who also paraded looted art throughout the public sphere.[234] The first Rubens' works brought back from Antwerp, before Denon's role, were rushed to the museum in a flurry of excitement. When Denon took over, he slowed the arrival process of Napoleon's stolen art, acknowledging the victory for the French nation and its people through gloating parade rituals.[235] When the *Apollo Belvedere* was

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[233] Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, pp. 27.
[234] Lindsay, *The History of Loot and Stolen Art*, pp. 29-30.
[235] Gould, *Trophy of Conquest*, pp. 66.

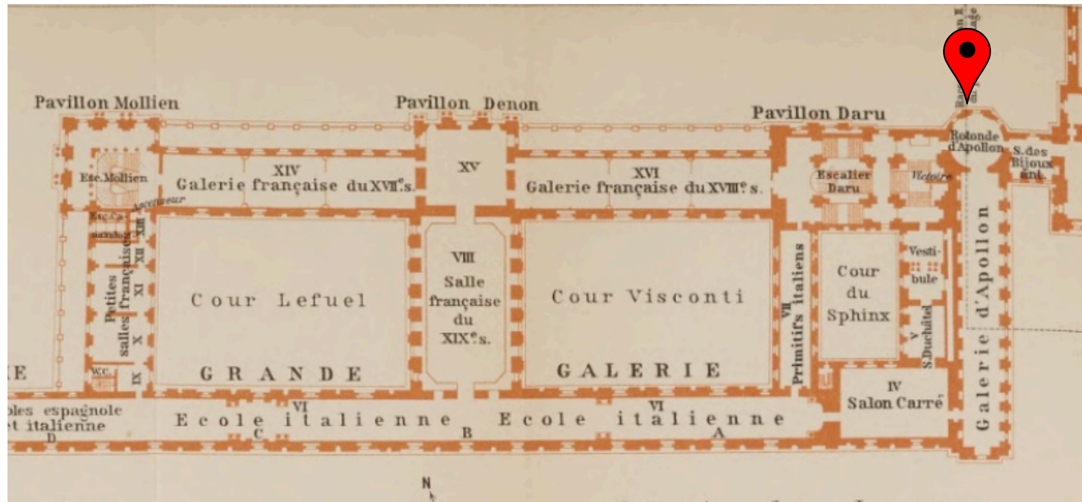

Fig. 32: Louvre ground floor plan with Mars Rotunda marked by author for clarity. Eduard Wagner & Ernst Debes, *Musées du Louvre; Premier Étage (Louvre Museums; First Floor)* [map], detail, In: Karl Baedeker. *Paris et ses Environs: Manuel du Voyageur*, 20th edition. Leipzig, D.E.: Karl Baedeker Firm, 1937, pp. 133.

Fig. 33: Jean-Simon Berthélemy, *Ceiling: The Man Formed by Prometheus and Animated by Minerva*, 1802, oil on canvas, 1.1 x 1.7 ft (0.3 x 0.5 m). Paris, The Louvre. INV. 20043 (face, recto, obverse, front; overview; view with frame © 2009 RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Stéphane Maréchalle).

brought to Paris, Napoleon's proud accomplishment (Fig. 30) was carted through Paris was a banner that stated, "'Both will reiterate our battles, our victories.'" Another cart that carried stolen paintings declared the sentiment, "'Artists hurry! Your masters have arrived'", which further emphasized the practice of imitation of part artwork discussed earlier in Chapter II. Finally, "a song written for the occasion, was full of vanquished tyrants, trophies, and the French Republic's right to plunder…A line in the song summed up the occasion, 'Rome is no more in Rome, Every hero, Every great man, has changed country, Rome is no more in Rome, It is all in Paris!'" Parisians were able to physically see the famed artworks in their city and the forced transition dethroned Rome and crowned Paris as the new capital of the art world.[236] Denon did not just stop at the changing the presentation of the collection's contents, but the display of the institution itself. Beyond Napoleon's filling of the institution with trophies of conquest, architectural changes were made to reflect the Napoleonic era of empire. The public spaces of the museum were altered during Napoleon's reign to signify the political glory and success of the French empire. The previous renovations of the Grande Galerie from 1796-1799 were more of a necessary, but minimal polishing of the Louvre rather than ambitious structural transformations, resulting in the same insufficient lighting as before. It wasn't until Denon claimed the position at the end of 1802, that Hubert's proposed skylights, as seen in Robert's painting *Project for the Transformation of the Grande Galerie* (Fig. 15) and discussed in conjunction with *Imaginary View of the Grande Galerie in Ruins* in

[236] Lindsay, *The History of Loot and Stolen Art*, pp. 273.

Chapter II, finally came to fruition and were added from 1804-1810.[237] Pillars and arches were built upon "doubled marble columns with Corinthian capitals of bronze *doré*" and the flank lighting brought more daylight into the Grande Galerie from above. The pillared arches and iconic skylights grew to become the signature look of the historic space.[238] However, these next round of renovations left the Grande Galerie only partially operational and inaccessible for visitors yet again. While these renovations from 1804-1810 were critical, the timing could not be more inconvenient. From Napoleon's campaigns, the large influx of confiscated works entering the gallery crowded the already disorganized and overflowing collection that lacked enough display space, leaving the director-general Denon to make sense of and work out the issues.[239] When the Grande Galerie finally did open, it was with the public and celebratory wedding processional of Napoleon and Marie Louise following the religious marriage ceremony in the Salon Carré on April 2, 1810.[240]

Empire and the Public Sphere

The emperor's wedding processional can be seen in French artist Benjamin Zix's drawing *Marriage of Napoleon and Marie-Louis, April 2, 1810* (Fig. 34). Not only was this wedding processional a reopening of the renovated Louvre, but a display of glory and power to the French public. The grandiose public spectacle initiated within the Tuileries

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[237] Ibid., pp. 70.
[238] James L. Connelly, "The Grand of the Louvre and the Museum Project: Architectural Problems." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (May 1972): 128-9.; While the flank lighting was created to rectify the lighting situation that had persisted since before the museum's opening, it is not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the final vault lighting replaced the small flanked glass panels to create what we are familiar with today.
[239] Gould, *Trophy of Conquest*, pp. 80.
[240] Ibid., pp. 103.

Fig. 34: Benjamin Zix, *Mariage de Napoléon et de Marie-Louis, le 2 avril 1810 (Marriage of Napoleon and Marie-Louise, April 2, 1810)*, 1810, gray ink, brown wash, quill on paper, 1.3 x 2 ft (0.4 x 0.6 m). Paris, The Louvre. INV 33402 (artwork © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Thierry Le Mage).

Palace, ventured down the entirety of the newly designed Grande Galerie before the marriage ceremony was performed in the Salon Carré. Personal and private union is forged in the public setting of the Louvre as Napoleon and Marie Louise wed. "Art joined with politics to make the museum the privileged setting for an imperial liturgy. Everything was organized to exalt Napoleon's conquests." [241] The monumental performance highlighted the gallery's architectural changes, Denon's national school arrangements along the walls, and the hijacked foreign artworks, all brought forth with Napoleon's rise to power.

The wedding processional was just one of many ways Napoleon demonstrated his supreme rule over France. While Napoleon strived for ultimate power, his control extended to the public sphere and the claiming of space. Napoleon was highly concerned with presentation and appearances and their influence over the French people. Early on, he embodied "the incarnation of youth and glory…as a political savior figure. He knew the importance of newspapers, of engravings, of architecture, and of painting" and used these visual communications to his advantage.[242] Napoleon strived to disassociate his lowly upbringing with a majestic and rich legacy. As emperor, he "revived all the rituals of monarchy: court etiquette, ceremony, and above all an abundant use of emblems and iconography, marking with his N, his eagles and his bees the ancient palace that he intended to adorn."[243] As soon as he was appointed as First Consul, Napoleon chose to

[241] Bautier, *The Louvre*, pp. 96.
[242] Bell, *Shadows of Revolution*, pp. 235.
[243] Bautier, *The Louvre*, pp. 89.

reside in the Tuileries Palace, adjacent to the Louvre.[244] The Tuileries Palace allowed Napoleon to stay connected to the hub of political activity in Paris. Ideally, Napoleon wanted to further his control over the Louvre architecturally by reconnecting the Louvre to the Tuileries Palace. Not only would this provide ample space to the museum, but allow for Napoleon to be directly bound to the art on display and its political influence. While this would have further changed the physical space of the Louvre, it was ultimately never completed during his reign.[245]

Like stated earlier, Napoleon realized the potential influence brought through the arts and became an extreme supporter of living artists. He attended nearly every Salon in the Louvre and led the charge for political art that exalted his reputation by commissioning artists for portraits, events, and campaigns. Napoleon aimed to reign over the visual imagery and documentation of history during his regime.[246] His commissioned artists were compliant but weary with the many shifts of governmental and historical change throughout their lifetimes thus far. Not only did they create of Napoleon's propaganda, but as part of the French public, they were also impacted by the influx of political imagery. With the mass production of sovereign art, the public was bombarded with aesthetic visions that not only "rationalized the content and purpose of war for the masses of French people, but the decades of upheaval between 1789 and 1814 furnished the dramatic examples of historically conditioned existence – of history that affects daily

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[244] Ibid., pp. 89.
[245] Oliver, *From Royal to* National, pp. 62.
[246] Johnson, "David and Napoleonic Painting", pp. 133.

survival and immediate preoccupations."[247] However, Napoleon's public influence was keen, and while he did have his fair share of portraits that represented him as a godlike leader, such as Ingres's notable *Napoleon I on His Imperial Throne* (Fig. 35), he also used propagandistic painting to provide the facade of an independent public opinion. Rather than ignore public criticism, Napoleon used art to address his public head on. By acknowledging rather than hiding his political downfalls, Napoleon gained the trust and respect of his people. These mindful tactics "offered limited acknowledgements of the military setbacks and their tremendous cost in themes of lives and human suffering. They deplored the horror of war in order to appeal to popular sentiments and to appropriate for the government a position that would be far more damaging if left to an oppositional public."[248] One such iconic image is that by French artist and pupil to David, Antoine-Jean Gros's 1808 *Napoleon on the Battlefield of Eylau*.

Antoine-Jean Gros's *Napoleon on the Battlefield of Eylau*

Antoine-Jean Gros (Fig. 36) joined artist David's studio at the age of fourteen, but with the increasing violence of the French Revolution, Gros eventually fled to Italy to continue his artistic skill set. Gros first gained the trust of Napoleon long before his 1808 work while in Italy. Gros made a connection with Napoleon's first wife Josephine Bonaparte before he proved his talent to Napoleon with his now famous portrait of the general at the Battle of Arcole, an area close to Verona, Italy (Fig. 37). Gros further established this close relationship when he accompanied Napoleon on the Italian

[247] Albert Boime, *Art in the Age of Bonapartism, 1800-1815* (Chicago, I.L.: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 35.
[248] David O'Brien, *After the Revolution: Antoine-Jean Gros, Painting, and Propaganda Under Napoleon* (University Park, P.A.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), pp. 155-6.

Fig. 35: Jean-Auguste-Dominique, *Napoléon le sur le trône imperial (Napoleon I on His Imperial Throne),* 1806, oil on canvas, 5.2 x 8.5 ft (1.6 x 2.6 m), Paris, The Army Museum. INV 4 (artwork in public domain).

Fig. 36: François Gérard (formerly and falsely attributed to Antoine-Jean Gros, the school of Jacques-Louis David, Anne-Louis Girodet de Roucy-Trioson), *Antoine-Jean, baron Gros, peintre (Antoine-Jean, baron Gros, painter),* 1791, oil on canvas rented, 22.4 x 18.1 in (56.9 x 46 cm), Versailles, Palace of Versailles. MV 4643 (artwork © RMN-GP (Palace of Versailles) / © Franck Raux).

Fig. 37: Baron Antoine-Jean Gros, *Le général Bonaparte au pont d'Arcole, 17 novembre 1796 (General Bonaparte at the Bridge of Arcole, November 17, 1796)*, 1796, oil on canvas, 3.1 x 4.3 ft (0.9 x 1.3 m). Paris, The Louvre. INV 5067 (artwork © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Franck Raux).

campaign in 1796-1797 as part of the committee that selected the valued art trophies of war, earning the rank of inspecteur aux revues. The artist chose to reside in Italy, specifically Rome, Milan, and Genoa, until 1801 in order to take in the beautiful and richly historic city and take time to study and practice his art. During this time however, French armies continued to overtake Italy, halting Gros's slowed pace of life and driving him back to the bustle of Paris art scene. [249]

Gros's *Napoleon on the Battlefield of of Eylau* departs greatly from the illuminated and polished works of artists Vien and David, highlighted in Chapters I and II (Fig. 38). Unlike *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache* (Fig. 3) and *The Intervention of the Sabine Women* (Fig. 27), *Napoleon on the Battlefield of Eylau* depicts a less refined and stylized scene with a dark and gritty realism that confronts the horrors of war. The giant painting captures Napoleon the morning after a devastating battle in Prussia. The artist does not shy away from the catastrophic truth of war, scattering shadowed and fallen soldiers amongst the battlefield. Gros shocks and meets the viewer with the large-scaled forefront of the image, taking up the bottom third of canvas with a mountainous pile of rotting corpses. Death is coated in snow, showing how time has already begun to move on past their sacrificed lives. Emperor Napoleon surveys the battleground while he faces the viewer, slightly elevated with his light colored horse (Fig. 39). There is less of a clear divide between Napoleon as leader and the rest of his men. Even with Napoleon as the primary and recognized subject of the scene, Gros's composition does not emphasize the commander as a distinct and central focal point. Instead Napoleon shares the scene

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[249] Thomas E. Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 238-9.

Fig. 38: Baron Antoine-Jean Gros, *Napoléon sur le champ de Bataille d'Eylau, 9 février 1807 (Napoleon on the Battlefield of Eylau, February 9, 1807)*, 1808, oil on canvas, 17.1 x 25.7 ft (5.2 x 7.8 m). Paris, The Louvre. RF 271 (artwork © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Franck Raux).

Fig. 39: Baron Antoine-Jean Gros, *Napoléon sur le champ de Bataille d'Eylau, 9 février 1807 (Napoleon on the Battlefield of Eylau, February 9, 1807)*, Napoleon detail, 1808, oil on canvas, 17.1 x 25.7 ft (5.2 x 7.8 m). Paris, The Louvre. RF 271 (artwork © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Franck Raux).

with other various soldiers and officers as they collectively review the immense loss. Opposed to a curated composition, Napoleon is pulled from an obvious spotlight, creating a natural war depiction in which the military leader is not always at the frontlines of heroism. Rather, the mutual and united efforts of the French army rise to the occasion and the work brings national glory and gratitude to the anonymous soldiers fighting for the benefit of country.[250] Napoleon hoovers his hand over these sacrifices of war, almost as though he is angel blessing the earthly darkness.

Napoleon on the Battlefield of Eylau was first displayed at the Salon of 1808. Instead of avoiding the public's distress over the crippling loss of life during the Prussian battles, the painting was intended to showcase how this enormous sacrifice led to French victory. "Even the government's attempt to contain the damaged by underestimating the loss of troops backfired because the conservative body count was bad enough. But what is important here is the evidence that the historical progression and understanding since the Revolution could no longer sustain the supersensible image of the invincible ruler of the ancien régime or the overinflated idealism of the Revolution."[251] Through Napoleon's approval of the work at the Salon, he accepts the harm to his reputation in exchange for recognizing the public's pain, and in doing so, established a greater sense of trust and understanding with the French public.

Gros's unique artistic approach foreshadowed a turning point in art history as the art movement of neoclassicism was left for the alluring romanticism style later on in the nineteenth century. With Gros's imagery technique, Napoleon was able to break away

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[250] Ibid., pp. 242.
[251] Boime, *Art in the Age of Bonapartism*, pp. 38.

from the classical history painting by opting for a combination of the mythological and the real. The imperial propaganda set forth by Gros built a political illusion and established Napoleon's necessity as the best-suited leader for France. Gros's art provided Napoleon with "a descriptive and naturalistic representation of the world combined with the idealization and aestheticization of the human figure and physiognomy."[252] The simple gesture of Napoleon's extended arm blessing the fallen constructs a theatricality that merges real with classical. The artistic transitions and attempts made through the master to pupil lineage have finally reached completion. Master Vien's pure and classical allegorical motifs present in *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache* (Fig. 3) in Chapter I evolved with his pupil David, who attempted to be overtly political with *The Tennis Court Oath* (Fig. 22) before resorting to recognizable, political undertones for contemporary audiences with *The Intervention of the Sabine Women* (Fig. 27) as analyzed in Chapter II. David's pupil Gros fulfilled what his master David started with his artistic merging of the present political figure of Napoleon's representation in a classical history painting style. Gros let go of the precise cultivation that held David back and embraced a "rapid gestural notation and liberation of color, a painted equivalent for the fury and confusion of battle." Gros's own pupil Jean-Baptiste Delestre reflected on his master's artistic process and stated, "Gros's preparatory drawings were 'largely constructed with the stump, with no set contours but brought off with dazzling spontaneity and enlarged conception of movement and aspect.'"[253]

In conclusion, even with all of Napoleon's propagandistic efforts through natural

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[252] Johnson, "David and Napoleonic Painting", pp. 132-3.
[253] Crow, *Emulation*, pp. 242.

and mythological paintings, nothing could have protected his empire from his greed and continuous hunger for power. Ultimately, Napoleon's popularity and trust with the public declined after he suffered a multitude of casualties during the Russian invasion of 1812. With his loss of public support, the government turned against him and with his final defeat at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, he was banished and passed away in exile by 1821.[254] By April 1814, the Pope had demanded the return of the stolen Italian artworks. The French restitution of artworks was a slow process of identifying which works were agreed to be released by treaty and which were simply stolen as well as identifying the locations of the foreign works, either on view at the Louvre or within the vast storage collection. Additionally, the French public hesitated and drug their feet through the entire return process, believing that they had rightfully earned these foreign works through war and the sacrifices of their Frenchmen.[255] With the fall of Napoleon, half of the confiscated art was returned to their original countries. However, due to Denon's diplomatic background, he was able to fight for the other remainder of taken art to stay within the Louvre's collection.[256] Regardless of the end of Napoleon's empire, his domination over the Louvre and France built a lasting cultural, political, and historical epoch. During his reign, the Louvre was physically reconstructed and with Napoleon's use of both the confiscation and display of looted art in the public museum space, he claimed the attention of Europe and swayed the public of his imperial status and supremacy.

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[254] Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, pp. 2.
[255] Gould, *Trophy of Conquest*, pp. 116-7.
[256] Oliver, *From Royal to National*, pp. 67.

CONCLUSION

I argue that as French history straddled between two centuries, the Louvre went through distinct phases of ownership: from when the King's abandoned Louvre was claimed by revolutionaries in 1793 to when Napoleon claimed the Louvre from the New Republic in 1803. In each of these periods of ownership, the Louvre was changed and adapted to reflect its different owners through its architecture, display, and collections. Chapter I: The King's Abandoned Louvre (1682-1792) discusses the tense separation of the monarch and subjects as Paris progressed through its use and integration of city planning and the public sphere to increase public opinion and spread political and intellectual ideas during the eighteenth century. Ancient practices were cast to the wayside as a rejuvenated France entered the modern era of the nineteenth century. In Chapter II: The People's Louvre (1793-1802), the Louvre emulated the transformed French public and established culture and heritage in the accessible museum space symbolic of the liberty and democracy granted under the New Republic. Chapter III: Napoleon I's Louvre, Musée Napoleon (1803-1815) demonstrates Napoleon Bonaparte's imperialistic contributions to France and his claim over the Louvre to showcase his art looting across Europe. With his propagandistic strategies, the emperor establishes a superior-inferior dynamic through the Louvre's categorization of other nations in its collection inventory and gallery arrangements.

The transitional progression in art history from the art movement of neoclassicism to the beginnings of an aesthetic romanticism style is documented as part of the national

heritage and preserved in the Louvre's recontextualized museum setting. My analysis tracks the master-pupil bond between the three French artists Joseph-Marie Vien, Jacques-Louis David, and Antoine-Jean Gros, specifically with the works of Vien's royally commissioned *The Farewells of Hector and Andromache* (Fig. 3) prior to the revolution, David's incomplete work *The Tennis Court Oath* (Fig 22) which explores current revolutionary politics before his allegorical and composed interpretation of *The Intervention of the Sabine Women* (Fig. 27) years later, and finally with Gros's culmination of his predecessors by inserting the present political figure of Napoleon within a classical composition in his 1808 grandiose painting *Napoleon on the Battlefield of Eylau* (Fig. 38).

Beyond the time frame discussed in this thesis project, the Louvre continued to be entangled in the political history of France. After Napoleon's exile, the French nation went through a series of revolutions following the initial uprising in 1789. A period of rule known as the Bourbon Restoration occurred for approximately fifteen years before leader King Charles X was overthrown during the Second French Revolution in 1830. The subsequent short period known as the July Monarchy held civility until another revolt called the February Revolution broke out in 1848. In time, France and the Louvre were again claimed in 1852, this time under the second empire of Napoleon III, who worked closely with Baron Haussmann to rework and urbanize the city of Paris even further.[257]

Following Napoleon Bonaparte's tradition of looting, the French continued with a

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[257] Bautier, *The Louvre*, pp. 119-156.

long history of empire building for nearly two centuries. Elite travelers in the era of Western colonialism would participate in archeology for leisure and were notorious for excavating ancient ruins from their original context to showcase in the Louvre. Just as Denon was able to reserve stolen works for the Louvre after Napoleon's downfall, many of the works held in the Louvre today are a result of these imperialistic archeological practices, leaving lasting consequences and heavy criticism of these past entitled choices today.[258] Thanks to its strong links to French history and long practice of foreign art confiscation, the Louvre was susceptible to risks during World War I and World War II. The majority of the art was evacuated for safe keeping from both warfare and iconoclasm.[259] Interestingly enough, the entirety of Louvre was not completely utilized by the museum until 1993, when the remaining government offices were finally vacated, proving how directly tied the institution was to government since its opening two centuries earlier.[260] The Louvre still holds cultural relevance even in contemporary times, from the initial worldwide controversy with architect I.M. Pei's 1989 glass pyramid addition to entrance of the Louvre to the 2018 "Apeshit" music video shot in the Louvre by iconic music duo Beyoncé and Jay-Z.

Situated in the center of Paris, the Louvre is and always has been representative of the French public and paved the way for the modern museum prototype since its opening in 1793 to present day. The Louvre's origins defined and continue to shape the field of art and the discipline of art history through its collections, exhibition practices, and gallery

[258] Ibid., pp. 64.
[259] Ibid., pp. 184-202.
[260] Duncan, *Civilizing* Rituals, pp. 138, n6.

arrangements. The Louvre continues to prioritize and uphold the Western canon with its museum layout and gallery spaces. Even today, French and Italian artworks "always occupied its most monumental, centrally located spaces…" and construct a Eurocentric narrative to art history to impressionable visitors as they explore the museum.[261] The Louvre remains a renowned institution that evokes French nationalist ideals for all who visit the French capital as one of the largest and most visited art museum in the world. Looking towards the future, issues persist at the Louvre such as the lasting effects of imperialism that need to be addressed through the reinstitution of colonial artifacts, the continued digitization of archived collections, and easier website transparency, educational services, and accessibility. In positive news, French curator and art historian Laurence des Cars has been recently appointed the upcoming director of the Louvre starting September 2021, a historic feat as the first female director in the museum's 228 year existence. As a living historic landmark that is still operational today, the Louvre is an ongoing piece of history that will continue to reworked and expanded to reflect its owners.

[261] Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, pp. 32-3.

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