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Pedro Paulo Palazzo

**Architecture as Portrait
Exotism and the Royal Character of the Louvre, 1380–1681**

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The architectural evolution of the Louvre between the 15th and 17th century is characterized by systematic attempts to distinguish the building within the broader context of French styles. In the 15th and early 16th century, this is achieved by producing grander and more elaborate versions of the contemporary, French architectural solutions. From the late 16th century on, the affectation of an Italian manner becomes the most significant way of achieving this distinction. This article reviews and examines the interventions on the Louvre under Charles V, Francis I, and Henry IV, then stresses the importance of resorting to an Italian style in the process of building Louis XIV's East façade. Its famous colonnade, before coming to be seen as a hallmark of French classicism, owes its existence to the intent of differentiating the King's palace from the prevalent standards of French aristocratic architecture, thus marking the monarch's uniqueness.

Keywords: Louvre, Louis XIV, architectural iconography, strangemaking

Iconographic studies demand a methodological approach that is particularly open to social and political history. Architectural iconography, unlike its counterpart in painting, is often taken for granted as a result of the interplay between the spirit of the age and the artist's autonomy. Even when politics comes into play, as in the case of a royal palace, the resulting architectural form tends to be ascribed not so much to the specific requirements of a particular imagery, but rather to a broadly outlined artistic-historical context. A precise definition of this political iconography in architecture nevertheless does much to supplement the usually specific pinpointing of motifs and influences.

The architectural history of the Louvre is one such case where built form is closely related to the political image of the French sovereign as it evolved through time. The royal architecture of the Louvre, in Renaissance and Classical France, demonstrates a steady transformation in architectural form and a remarkable continuity in political intent - yet one can see that architectural form has been through the time determined by the political iconography of the ruling king. In fact, these shifting architectural expressions, from Charles V's semi-residential fortress to the desertion of the Louvre by Louis XIV in favor of Versailles, form a revealing succession of portraits of royal patronage that are sharply distinct from the general architectural tendencies of their times. In this case, the long-term perspective is particularly effective to uncover the continuing political intents underlying changing architectural motifs.

A common trait of royal patronage in France from the late 15th to the mid-17th century is its xenophilia. Foreign artists - Flemish and Italian for the most part - were invited to the court, and native artists affected foreign stylisms. This fact has been, if not sufficiently proved, at least widely deplored by French writers and architects since the 16th century.¹ Political importance of this taste for the exotic, and the meanings that can be attributed to the resulting formal repertoires, have not, however, been subject to much scrutiny from the disciplinary standpoint of architectural history.

We argue here that this "xenomania" has been the common denominator not only of French cultural politics, but also of architectural images at the Louvre as diverse as the 16th-century west wing and the 17th-century colonnade. The importance of this denominator can be traced to Viktor Shklovsky's *strangemaking*.² This concept attempts to define the formal character of a work of art in opposition to that of trivial forms, echoing Aristotle's definition of poetic language, by the intrinsic differences in formal structures of the art-object and the trivial-object rather than by today's nihilistic notion that an artwork is that which is granted such a status by being displayed in a gallery or museum. Likewise, I intend to show that the royal character of the Louvre, as it was being redesigned for such purpose from the 15th up to the 17th century, was achieved not by the mere presence of the King, but by the conscious handling of architectural devices at each step in the process.

The aspect of these devices is manifold and encountered several changes during the period in question, yet they all displayed the king's intention of making an exceptional display of architecture. Whatever the King built at the Louvre was thus meant to set him apart from the rest of the nobility. This could be achieved by either besting the aristocracy's achievements - as in Charles V's or Francis I's grander versions of common castles - or by introducing radical differences from what the nobility could or would build - as in Henry II's and Louis XIV's Italianizing drives.

From the late Middle Ages to the Renaissance

The medieval Louvre

The beginnings of the Louvre under Philippe-Auguste and Saint Louis were modest, and not particularly distinct from the average castle-building of the time. Starting with Charles V's monumental staircase, built by Raymond du Temple from 1380 on (fig. 1), though, what was to be witnessed at the Louvre was a continuum of image-driven interventions. Aside from their utilitarian functions, all transformations at the Louvre since that time sought primarily to represent the King in his Parisian residence.

Francis I and Henry II

It is not known whether the Louvre's staircase was the earliest of its kind; the type was frequent in late Medieval architecture, particularly in smaller urban sites. For our purposes, though, the origin of the model is less significant than its later fortune. Indeed, the construction of staircases as free-standing accretions to the built fabric was on the wane in the 16th century. Yet, what was already such an archaic motif by 1515, when Francis I began his addition to the Château of Blois (fig. 2), still figured prominently on this project, alongside the *dernier cri* in Renaissance architecture, such as Italianate loggias and Flemish dormer windows. Even though Francis I did not spend much of his time in Paris in the early part of his reign, or perhaps precisely because of that, he seemed to attempt a transfer of the royal imagery from the Louvre's spiral staircase to the Blois. At this point the Louvre was certainly well-known as a seat of the French royalty, having been deemed significant enough to be pictured in the Limbourg Brothers' *Très riches heures du duc de Berry* several decades before.

It was of course Francis I himself who was responsible for tearing down Raymond du Temple's staircase together with its keep, in the interest of transforming the Louvre from a fortified castle into a modern-styled residential palace. The remodeling, entrusted to the abbot and gentleman Pierre Lescot, was realized over several years, between 1527 and 1542 (fig. 3), has stood since the nineteenth century as the "flagship monument" of French Renaissance architecture for a variety of reasons, only a few of which have actually to do with the architectural style of the building.³ The leading among the reasons is the anecdote, widespread in the 19th century nationalist discourse, according to which Lescot's design was preferred to a proposal by the Italian Sebastiano Serlio, the King's favorite architect at the time.⁴

The Lescot's wing at the Louvre has been often used as a yardstick against other parts of the palace in order to ascertain their respective degree of "Frenchness," the relationship of the architectural orders to the interior

levels being the single most-recalled criterion. Yet it is useful to distinguish between the political intent and the aesthetic resources employed to that end. The architectural history of Europe is rife with buildings designed "in the style of such-and-such" that bear little resemblance to their purported exotic models; Louis XIV's Chinese-themed *Porcelain Trianon* in Versailles (designed by Louis Le Vau, 1668–1672) was but one of these.⁵

Francis I's Louvre should thus be put in perspective with the other building projects the King undertook since his release from captivity in Spain, in 1526, especially with the Castle of Madrid, a telling name, the design of which he entrusted to an Italian architect. Both enterprises, the construction *ex nihilo* of the Castle of Madrid in 1528 and the remodeling of the Louvre started in 1527, are examples that the King wished to make French royal architecture a match not only to the obvious models of the contemporary Italian palazzi, but also to those of his most prominent competitor for continental hegemony, Charles V of Habsburg. Even though the opposition between France and Italy has long been a stock theme in art history and criticism, Spain was a more likely rival for the French court in the 16th and early 17th century, because of the enormous expanses of land and population ruled by the Hapsburgs. Evidence of this cultural rivalry is expressed in the early 17th century by Henry IV as he gloats about the Louvre *Grande Galerie's* size to the Spanish ambassador: "le roi fit arpenter ses galeries à don Pèdre, ambassadeur d'Espagne, en lui demandant si son maître avait à l'Escurial des promenades de cette longueur avec un Paris au bout."⁶ The recurrence of Spanish literary themes adapted into French drama, as in Corneille's *Le Cid* and Molière's *Dom Juan* to name only a few, further strengthens this point.

Henry IV

The *Grande Galerie* (fig. 4), built under Henry IV and mostly reconstructed in a different design under Napoléon III, was, in nineteenth-century French criticism, among the favorite antitheses to Francis I's Louvre. The *Galerie's* original design by Jacques II Androuet du Cerceau, featuring colossal pilasters and windows set into the entablature, was then ascribed to an Italian Mannerist corruption of taste opposed to the "rationalism" of the superimposed orders and continuous trabeation of Lescot's façade.⁷ Nowadays, on the other hand, the *Grande Galerie's* colossal order is seen as unmistakably representative of a French style – not the least because of its accent of the vertical axes, as opposed to a balance of verticals and horizontals identified with the Italian manner.

A facile conclusion to this tale could be that earlier commentators were superficial and missed the differences between French and Italian uses of the giant order in the 16th century. Yet, this leads to a further problem: if 19th century critics missed these differences, would 16th century observers be aware of them? French architecture certainly did not stop evolving after the time of Francis I, and while distinctly autochthonous ways of handling the classical elements are present, there was, nevertheless, a constant parallel between the emergence of new motifs or usages in Italy and their adoption, albeit transformed, in France. Again, this is not to deny French architecture any sort of autonomy, but rather to stress the importance of these exchanges as part of the cultural politics of the time. Still, regarding the *Grande Galerie*, it is significant to note the striking differences to the contemporary designs for two of Henry IV's major Parisian building projects, the continuous façade of the *Place Royale* (now *Place des Vosges*, fig. 5) and that of the *Place Dauphine*. The use of brickwork with stone quoins, as well as small orders, in these two ensembles, recall a long tradition of French façades, exemplified in Louis XII's château at Blois and in Henry II's Fontainebleau, leaving to the King's new palace the privilege of displaying the ultimate novelty, namely, colossal orders derived from Italian Mannerism.

The Louvre of Louis XIV

Precedents and context

The main thrust of development at the Louvre was set by Henry IV's *grand dessein*. Louis XIII's extensive but unoriginal interventions at the Louvre are admittedly difficult to classify in terms of the political implications

of architectural style. The *premier architecte du roi* Jacques Lemercier provided a self-effacing design for achieving Henry IV's idea of a much larger courtyard at the Louvre, which included modest inventions dwarfed by his repetition of Lescot's façade motifs into the enlargement. This, of course, was an aesthetic statement in its own right. The Bourbon dynasty was still in its infancy, and continuing the work of Valois kings Francis I and Henry II was a means of placing Louis XIII in the long line of French kings. This matter was later to be a major preoccupation also for Louis XIV.

The most distinctive monuments built during that time are indeed to be seen in Jesuit church architecture rather than in the King's palace, perhaps owing to the monarch's relative weakness compared to the affirmation of his *éminence grise*, the Cardinal Richelieu. There, as well as in the Queen Mother's *Château of Luxembourg* - which was an evident Parisian interpretation of Palazzo Pitti - and in the interior decoration at the Louvre, Italian influence was pervasive although easily explained by the Tuscan and Roman connections of their patrons. Altogether, more interesting are the aesthetic controversies regarding the work carried out or planned at the Louvre under Louis XIV, particularly the famous colonnade on the east façade of the palace (fig. 6). After the deaths of Richelieu and Louis XIII in 1643, the Cardinal Mazarin, who was already overseeing the education of the heir apparent Louis, took a keen interest on the completion of the Louvre.

Yet, the renewal of Italian influence at the Louvre cannot be simply ascribed to the peninsular roots of young Louis XIV's regent. First, the decisive push towards a characteristically Italian design came several years after the Cardinal's passing. Second, the taste for Italianate architecture continued for the remainder of the 17th century, even as French culture came to be seen - or at least portrayed in his court - as shining over all of Europe rather than receiving influences from other countries.⁸ A decisive break in the so far uneventful history of the enlargement of the Louvre courtyard occurred when, after the death of Lemercier, his successor Louis Le Vau was charged by Mazarin to execute several major projects, including the Louvre and the neighboring Collège des Quatre-Nations (fig. 7). Unlike Lemercier's self-effacing solution, all of Le Vau's designs departed from the scale and style of the Renaissance Louvre with the introduction of Baroque aesthetic then at the height of its prestige in France. As it can be seen in the only extant element of Le Vau's monumental complex, the Collège, this aesthetic relied heavily on the Italian Baroque, albeit employing, in secular buildings, architectural motifs and elements which in Rome would have characterized religious buildings: a curved façade composed of several tightly assembled colossal pilasters or half-columns rising from a low plinth, topped by a tall dome over a colonnaded drum.

Le Vau's work was, however, put on hold in 1664 when Jean-Baptiste Colbert was appointed *Surintendant des bâtiments*. This resulted in one of the most famous architectural controversies in history, that of the selection and development of the design for the east front of the Louvre, that unfolded over the next ten years, yet it was ultimately critically received. The first blow against Le Vau's design development was the call, in early 1664, for counter-proposals among French and, a few months later, Italian architects. Not that French architects had waited for this moment to make their suggestions; certain Antoine-Léonor Houdin, *architecte ordinaire des bâtiments du roi*, put forward his own design as early as 1661. Most of these competing solutions from Le Vau's fellow countrymen have not survived, but of the few that did, most, such as Marot's proposal and Mansart's early designs, were strongly reminiscent of the style of the previous reign. Both of Houdin's proposals, that of 1661 and another one from the competition, were singular in displaying a strong Palladian flavor, misleading Anthony Blunt into making the assumption that that architect was in fact Italian.⁹

The French designs may have seemed to Colbert to be old fashioned, or not sufficiently dignified. Shortly after the exposition of these designs, he requested proposals from the foremost Roman architects: Bernini, Pietro da Cortona, Carlo Rainaldi, and Borromini, who declined to contribute. In spite of this semblance of competition, however, the French court seemed to have been bound from the start on securing the services of Bernini, and paid hardly any attention to the other architects' drawings. After several months of courier exchanges and a number of changes to Bernini's designs, Louis XIV and Colbert resolved to send for the Pope's most distinguished artist. He arrived in Paris in June, 1665, and remained there until November of the same year.

During this period, Bernini overhauled his design in response to Colbert's and the premier commis des bâtiments, Charles Perrault's, objections. Ground was broken to carry out Bernini's definitive project (fig. 8) in early 1666, but by the middle of that year construction seemed all but abandoned. Word had it at the time that since late 1665 a parallel commission, made up of François Mansart, Louis Le Vau, and the painter Charles Le Brun, was working discretely under Colbert's patronage to devise an alternative proposal.

In the spring of 1667, even as the King readied to wage war in Flanders, the team submitted one or two pairs of competing drawings (the number of drawings remains controversial), after which a final design was worked out. Claude Perrault, appointed to the commission after Mansart's death in 1666, was charged with refining the design, probably with the help of François d'Orbay, Le Vau's chief draftsman. Construction began in 1668 and proceeded until funding cut in 1676. The façade itself, mostly complete by 1672 - even though the interiors stood unfinished for nearly a century afterwards - has remained ever since a point of aesthetic contention in the writings of nationalist commentators and more disinterested scholars alike.

Historiography as a source for iconography

This ongoing controversy over the Louvre colonnade's aesthetic merits is, in my view, crucial to the understanding its original conception. Reading the historiography is certainly no substitute for looking at the work of art, but the changes of viewpoint that affect artists also have their effect on historians, and each effect can shed light upon the other. To the same extent recent historians have advanced our current knowledge of documentary sources and particularly of the authorship of the Louvre colonnade, they have cast aside the equally important matter of the Louvre's iconography as a representation of political power in the European context of the 17th century.

Indeed, recent scholarship has disproportionately emphasized the link between the Louvre colonnade and classical temples. This link arises from a belief that there was a direct architectural expression of Louis XIV's alter ego as Apollo and that, therefore, antiquarian and mythological analogies would have been paramount in the design of the Louvre façade.¹⁰ It is preposterous to doubt that the solar imagery did play a major role in the cultural politics of this King; nevertheless, architecture is far from being as literal an art for as painting, sculpture, or encomiastic poetry. Recent studies have assumed the architectural expression of Louis XIV's palace to be more of a direct take on Apollonian mythology - a Palace of the Sun, as goes the title of Robert Berger's book on the subject - than a result of the interplay between architectural knowledge and political persuasion. In so doing, we have become blind to the much more down-to-earth political motivations that shaped the actual form of the colonnade, and gave it its character.

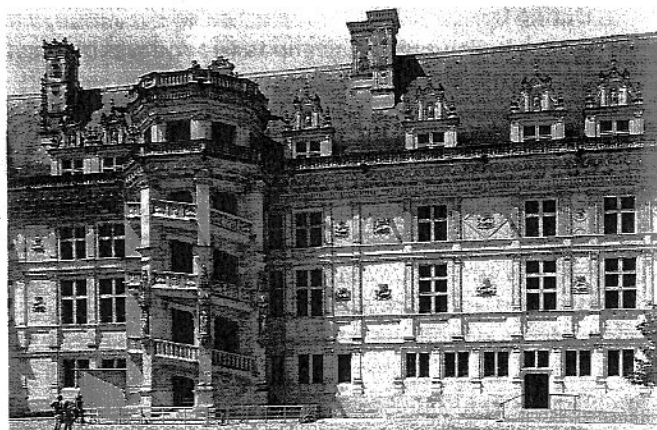
The solution to this shortcoming nevertheless can be garnered from looking further back at 19th and even 18th century scholarship. Since the second quarter of the 20th century, the East façade of the Louvre has been widely acknowledged to be as quintessential an example of French classical architecture as Lescot's earlier west wing.¹¹ Such was not the case in the 19th century, however. Commentaries abounded disparaging the East front of the Louvre as vitiated, facile yet irrational, in other words, a far cry from what at the time was considered good French architecture.¹²

Of course, several historical reasons explain this attitude, not the least the rise of a class consciousness among architects that made them ill disposed to accept the achievement of a physician, Claude Perrault, then believed to be the sole author of the colonnade, and the nationalist interest in establishing a characteristic French style, in opposition to the Italian-inspired Empire style of the early century.¹³ A late, but still telling, testimony to this frame of mind is William Henry Ward's *The Architecture of the Renaissance in France*, finishing its broad historical swoop with the Empire style, which the author dubs the "end" - and then the "sinking" - of the Renaissance in France.¹⁴

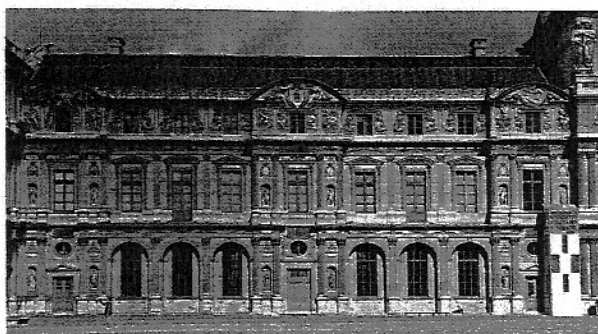
In addition to this, the 19th-century polemic against the East façade of the Louvre was of course related to an operative interest in defining, not so much what French classicism was like during the grand siècle, but



1. Reconstruction of the Medieval Louvre, from Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire*



2. Château at Blois, Francis I wing, after 1515 (photo: Christophe Finot, 2005)



3. Pierre Lescot, west wing of the Louvre courtyard, 1542-49 (photo: Palazzo P., 2008)



4. Percier and Fontaine, Galerie de Rivoli, after Jacques Androuet du Cerceau's *Grande Galerie du bord de l'eau* (photo: Palazzo P., 2009)



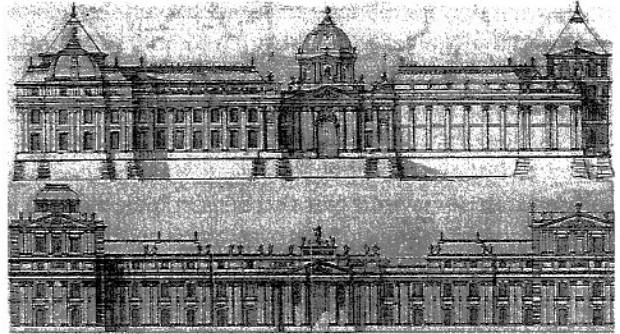
5. Jean Androuet du Cerceau and Clément Métezeau, Place des Voges, Paris (photo: Palazzo P., 2009)



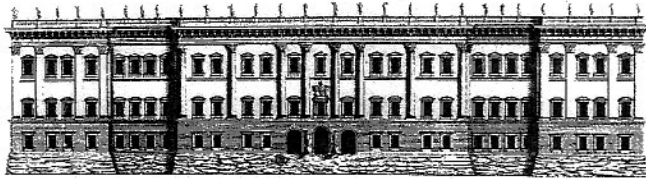
6. East façade of the Louvre, 1667-76, attributed to Claude Perrault, Louis Le Vau, Charles Le Brun, and François d'Orbay (photo: Palazzo P., 2008)



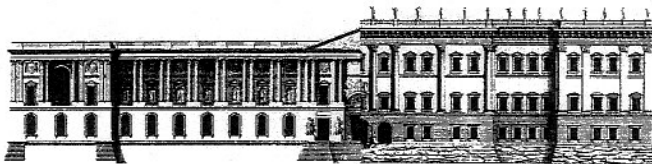
7. Louis Le Vau, Collège des Quatre-Nations (photo: Palazzo P, 2008)



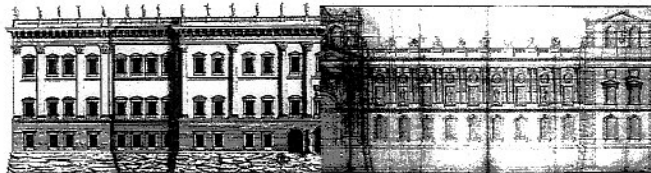
9. François Mansart, two designs for the Louvre façade, BnF estampes Va 440 a, De Cotte 961, cliché H 187.056 Bas and De Cotte 966, cliché H 187.049



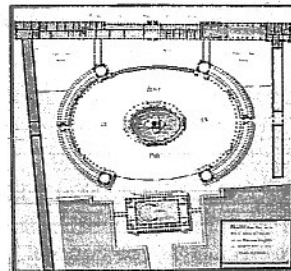
8. Gianlorenzo Bernini, final design for the East façade of the Louvre, 1665, from J.-F. Blondel's *Architecture française*, v. 4



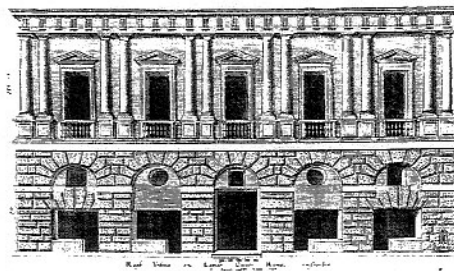
10. Comparison between the final design for the Louvre Colonnade (Claude Perrault, 1668), and Bernini's fourth project for the same façade (1665)



11. Comparison between a design for the Louvre façade, attributed to Louis Le Vau, 1665 or 1667, Louvre Museum, RF 26077, and Bernini's fourth project



12. Jacques-Denis Antoine, design for an opera house and a plaza celebrating peace, to be located between the Louvre and the Tuileries, 1782, Louvre Museum, RF 40963



13. Donato Bramante, Palazzo Caprini, Rome, engraved by Antonio Lafreri, 1549, Bibliotheca Hertziana

really what was to be made of contemporary French architecture. Yet, precisely because critics from that period regarded themselves as partaking in a continuing national architecture stretching back to the early Renaissance, they were uniquely attentive to iconographic and stylistic issues to which later writers paid less attention.

Indeed, many prominent writers in the second half of the 19th century agreed that the Louvre colonnade had a distinctly foreign flavor.¹⁵ Now, one can react to this statement in different ways. It can of course be sustained that these authors held a view of what constituted French architecture that was deliberately narrow and self-serving. However, it can also be acknowledged that the Louvre colonnade was at a variance with historically prevalent design solutions. It was arguably the earliest example of the Neoclassical monumentality that was to thrive in 18th-century France - no wonder major architects and critics of that time, such as Jacques-François Blondel, Patte and Soufflot, were strongly impressed by its conception. Yet this fact alone by no means establishes a French origin for the design.

The latter problem is particularly relevant to my point here, as it hints that the Louvre colonnade was considered, in the 19th century, something of a misfit among French classical monuments. On the other hand, the 20th-century rehabilitation of the East façade drew largely on the laudatory writings of 18th-century authors such as Patte and Blondel, regarding its simplicity and rationality. Clearly there was something about the Louvre colonnade that attracted Neoclassicists and Modernists which did not strike a chord with the Romantics: What was it, then?

Characterization of the Louvre façade

The formal analysis of a classical façade can be divided into two major features: the architectural motifs such as the classical orders, windows and roofs, and the compositional devices such as proportions and distributions of the elements. The former were common in Classical Europe, with little variation in their basic forms except for those elements, such as roofs, that depend on local climate. The latter, however, exhibited considerable variation and are key to identifying national styles. For example, colossal orders on pedestals were a staple of the Italian Baroque, whereas French hôtels of the 17th century often displayed ground-floor loggias with small orders, and colossal orders, where they exist, usually spring directly from the ground.

A close look at the Louvre designs between 1661 and 1668 shows that Le Vau's projects up until 1664 were thus somewhat French in their reinterpretation of Roman Baroque, even though the insistence on the use of the colossal order and the presence of balustrades hinted at an interest in an Italian-themed monumentality. The picture changed somewhat after Bernini's contributions in 1664 and 1665, though.

François Mansart's last designs for the Louvre East front, probably produced in 1665, are evidence of the evolution of the French architects' search for an Italian expression in the palace façade. One drawing displayed the characteristic French Baroque solution of applying church motifs to secular buildings, already evidenced in Le Vau's Collège des Quatre-Nations. An entry pavilion topped by a tall dome over a circular drum was the centerpiece of a composition donned with tall roofs and colossal pilasters springing from a low plinth. Another drawing restricted the visible roof to the outer reaches of the wings, giving prominence in the inner stretches to a balustrade topped with statuary and coupled pilasters (fig. 9).

The development of the final design by the commission in 1666–1667, including Le Vau's own contributions, went a step further in the Italian direction. The use of a colossal order over a ground-floor plinth and the total disappearance of the roof bore witness to a concerted move of the design commission towards a clearly Italianate solution. Also, the final proportions of the basement and ground floor, as refined by Claude Perrault in 1668, were even closer to those of Bernini's fourth project (fig. 10) than in the design development phase one or two years before (fig. 11), which would have been quite surprising considering Charles Perrault's invective that Bernini's design did not look like architecture, if this had not been part of the general effort towards an Italian style in the Louvre colonnade.

If that was the intent, then, why did Bernini get evicted from the design process, even though he was the one most likely to imprint that Italianate image that was the guiding thread of the design process? The objections to Bernini's proposals are mostly known through the memoirs of Charles Perrault, who had strong quarrels with the Italian artist, and should thus be taken with a grain of salt. The practical issues with the size and anticipated cost of the project notwithstanding, it is possible that aesthetic considerations did indeed play a role. This does not, however, imply that the Colbert or Perrault, much less the King, who was reportedly very pleased with Bernini's monumentality, rejected Italian influence altogether, as early 20th century writers such as Hauteœur and Laprade asserted.¹⁶

Still, just as French architecture was not the same in the 17th century as it had been in the 16th, so the Italian architecture that the French had in mind at that time might not have been the state-of-the-art baroque Bernini delivers. French interest in Italy had come a long way since the early Renaissance, but by the mid-17th century French architects such as Lemercier and the early Le Vau were still largely drawing on the style of Maderno's generation, that is, about half a century before.

Conversely, up until the publication of Desgodetz's survey of Roman ruins and of Balthasar de Monconys' description of the shrine at Baalbek,¹⁷ knowledge of Antique architecture in France was for the most part mediated by Italy - and by this I mean both published surveys² such as Palladio's, translated by Roland Fréart de Chambray in 1650, and High Renaissance interpretations of Classical architecture.¹⁸ This means that French architects of the mid-17th century would have had no means of bypassing modern Italy as a mediator in the formation of a Classical tradition.

It is this Italian-mediated Antiquity that began coming to the fore during the design process of the East façade of the Louvre, even as the second-hand knowledge of Italy characteristic of most French architects of the grand siècle¹⁹ came to be supplemented by the first-hand contributions of Bernini and his fellow countrymen. Whatever opinion the French court held for Bernini's work, for example, was certainly shaped to a great extent by the colonnade on Saint Peter's Square, which, like most of his Roman façades, displayed a very conservative aesthetic, to which he reverted in his later designs for the Louvre. Saint Peter's square remained an important theme in the French picture of monumentality long after Bernini's departure (fig. 12).

In the final stages of design development, after Bernini's grand project was rejected in favor of a more modest intervention, one could still see the movement of the French architects towards the Italian manner, albeit in a compromise of sorts between the monumentality of Bernini's last solution and the regularity of Palladian and Bramantesque precedents. The similarity between the Louvre colonnade and Palazzo Caprini is striking indeed (fig. 13). The façade design that was eventually carried out thus distanced itself as much as possible from standard French practices, in an attempt to set apart the image of the royal palace from the solutions that the nobility were able, or willing, to adopt at that time.

The process of singling out the royal castle, later the palace, of the Louvre as a unique building among the residences of the French nobility was a continuous movement begun in the late Middle Ages. The Louvre Colonnade was perhaps the crowning point of this process. In spite of Bernini's ultimate failure to bring about his design, the unmistakable combination of 16th- and 17th-century Roman compositions in the executed façade bears witness to this process. This was, of course, very different from anything the French nobility would have dared to build in a time of rising national pride - and quite intentionally so. The perception of the Louvre Colonnade as a "typical" example of French classicism was an image construed long after the fact, during the nationalist rampage of the early 20th century.

The key point in all these interventions, from Charles V to Louis XIV, is that they were in fact never meant to be "typical". Here, Viktor Shklovsky's concept of strangemaking gains a further level of differentiation as one particular work is singled out among the universe of literate Classical architecture, itself in opposition to the vernacular. The successive interventions in the royal palace of the Louvre, from Charles V's residential castle up

to Louis XIV's monumental front, simply could not have functioned as architectural portraits of the King as an exceptional individual, had they been conceived merely as expressions of contemporary French architecture, that is, as something the remainder of the nobility could have made.

Furthermore, from Francis I's 1542 west wing at the Louvre, intended to impress his Spanish counterpart, to Perrault's unbuilt wings to be decorated "in the manner of all the world's nations" (1670s), not to mention the famous colonnade once again, foreign influence was at the crux of these representations as the ultimate *strange* or *exotic* character marker that set apart the Louvre from other residences of the nobility. As part of this process, evidently, the very foreign character that was intended to single out the King at the Louvre was also used in Louis XIV's remodelings of Versailles and Vincennes, as well as in Louis XV's interventions at the Palais-Royal. It then gradually came to be emulated by the nobility, and eventually influenced the Neoclassical and Empire styles of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, thus giving birth, only several generations later, to the idea of a general French Classicism. That from such an exceptional architectural gesture as the Louvre colonnade should arise a general character in French architecture is a functional paradox of classicism that might very well contain a lesson for contemporary architecture as well.

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- * This research was made possible by a scholarship from CAPES (Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior), Brazilian Ministry of Education.
- 1 A short but telling inventory figures in J.-M. PÉROUSE DE MONTCLOS, *L'architecture à la française du milieu du XVIe à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, 2e éd., Paris, 2001, p. 236.
 - 2 Cf. V. CHKLOVSKI, *L'art comme procédé*, R. GAYRAUD (trans.), Paris, 2008.
 - 3 F. BOUDON, *Le regard du XIXe siècle sur le XVIe siècle français: ce qu'ont vu les revues d'architecture*, in: *Revue de l'Art*, 89, 1990, p. 45.
 - 4 L. HAUTECŒUR, *Histoire du Louvre, le château, le palais, le musée, des origines à nos jours, 1200-1940*, Paris, 1953, p. 15. Although no contemporary sources mention such a confrontation, a courtyard palace depicted in Serlio's manuscript *Sesto libro* has occasionally been advanced as the hypothetical contender (R. GARGIANI, *Idea e costruzione del Louvre. Parigi cruciale nella storia dell'architettura moderna europea*, Firenze, 1998, p. 12).
 - 5 J.-M. PÉROUSE DE MONTCLOS, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
 - 6 L. VITET, *Le Louvre*, Bureaux de la Revue Contemporaine, Paris, 1852, p. 53.
 - 7 *Idem*, *Le Louvre et le nouveau Louvre*, Paris, 1882, p. 72.
 - 8 P. BURKE, *Louis XIV. Les stratégies de la gloire*, P. CHEMLA (trans.), Paris, 1995, p. 15.
 - 9 M. PETZET, *Claude Perrault und die Architektur des Sonnenkönigs*, München, 2000, p. 19.
 - 10 Robert Berger develops this idea almost single-mindedly in his book with an aptly metaphorical title: *The Palace of the Sun: The Louvre of Louis XIV*, Pennsylvania State UP, 1993.
 - 11 An early milestone of this pride is L. HAUTECŒUR, *Le Louvre et les Tuileries de Louis XIV*, Librairie Nationale d'Art et d'Histoire, Paris-Bruxelles, 1927, p. 164, closely followed by G. BAZIN, *Le Louvre: le palais*, Paris, 1933, p. 74; and, later on, T. SAUVEL, *Les auteurs de la colonnade du Louvre*, in: *Bulletin Monumental*, CXXII (4), 1964, p. 341. While virtually disappearing from specific scholarship after that, the issue of national style at the Louvre has remained to this day a staple of architectural history textbooks.
 - 12 A. LANCE, *Dictionnaire des architectes français*, Paris, 1872, p. 197; L. VITET, *op. cit.*, 1882, pp. 144–145; M. VACHON, *Le Louvre et les Tuileries, histoire monumentale nouvelle. "Le grand dessein" de Pierre Lescot*, Lyon, 1926, p. 19.
 - 13 A. BRUCCULERI, *Louis Hauteceur et l'architecture classique en France: du dessein historique à l'action publique*, Paris, 2007, p. 164.
 - 14 W.H. WARD, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in France*, London, 1911, p. 468.

- 15 L. VITET, *op. cit.*, 1882, pp. 144–145; L. MIROT, *Le Bernin en France, les travaux du Louvre et les statues de Louis XIV*, Paris, 1904, p. 115; M. VACHON, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
- 16 L. HAUTECEUR, *op. cit.*; A. LAPRADE, *François d'Orbay: Architecte de Louis XIV*, Paris, 1960.
- 17 R. GARGIANI, *op. cit.*, p. 62; The actual influence of de Monconys's record is disputed; Robert Berger dismisses it as having virtually no impact on the Louvre design (R.W. BERGER, *op. cit.*, p. 105).
- 18 Christoph Frommel argues that French painting since the 1620s veered towards the representation of Antique ruins or reconstructions ("Il progetto di Houdin per il Louvre e il suo dialogo con l'architettura italiana", in S. FROMMEL-F. BARDATI (eds.), *La réception des modèles cinquecenteschi dans la théorie et les arts français du XVIIe siècle*, Genève, 2010, pp. 202–203), but his only example is Poussin, who spent most of his career in Rome, and whose fame may have far outstripped actual knowledge of his works in France before Mazarin and Louis XIV began aggressively collecting them (it is said one particular painting was won by the King over a match of jeu de paume against the Duke of Mantua). Other painters of antique settings, such as Claude Lorrain (himself an émigré to Rome), Mignard, and the very Le Brun, are contemporaries of the design process of the Louvre façade rather than precursors of it. At any rate, Houdin's design is much more clearly related to Palladian precedents than to a direct reading of Antique models. Furthermore, it remains to be proven that a taste for antique ruins in painting will ipso facto result in an operative knowledge of Antiquity for the purposes of full-scale architectural compositions.
- 19 S. FROMMEL, *Quatre Italiens face au Louvre: compétition, contagion, corrélation*, in: S. FROMMEL-F. BARDATI (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 213.

Pedro Paulo Palazzo

Arhitektura kao portret: egzotičnost i kraljevski karakter Louvrea (1380.-1668.)

Kraljevska arhitektura Louvrea u renesansi i u klasičnoj francuskoj umjetnosti pokazuje postupnu promjenu arhitektonskih oblika te naglašen kontinuitet političkoga utjecaja; štoviše, vidljivo je da je arhitektonski oblik uvijek određen političkom ikonografijom vladajućeg kralja. Te promjene, od utvrde-dvorca Karla V. do Lujevog napuštanja Louvrea i preseljenja u Versailles, otkrivaju niz arhitektonskih portreta nastalih pod kraljevskim pokroviteljstvom, koji se bitno razlikuju od ustaljenih arhitektonskih obrazaca svoga vremena. Zajednička značajka gradnji pod kraljevskim pokroviteljstvom u Francuskoj, od polovine 15. do polovine 17. stoljeća, jest njihova ksenofilija. Nisu samo stranci bili pozivani na dvor već su i domaći umjetnici bili poticani da utječu na strane stilove. Politička važnost ukusa za egzotično i značenja koja se mogu pripisati rezultatima formalnog repertoara, nisu, međutim, bili predmet značajnijih proučavanja arhitektonske povijesti. Počevši od monumentalnog stubišta Karla V. u Louvreu iz 15. stoljeća, većina će ostvarenja biti potaknuta željom za veličanjem vladarske ličnosti. Uz utilitarne funkcije, sve promjene toga doba u Louvreu primarno su služile predstavljanju kralja u njegovoj pariškoj rezidenciji. Od zapadnoga krila Louvrea Franje I., namijenjenog impresioniranju njegova španjolskog suparnika, do Perraultova nedovršenog krila, koje je trebalo biti dekorirano „u maniri svih svjetskih naroda“ (1670-ih), kao i poznate kolonade, strani utjecaji bili su srž ovih zdanja. Što god da je kralj izgradio u Louvreu, bilo je izgrađeno da ga izdvoji od ostatka plemstva. To se moglo postići uvođenjem radikalnih različitosti od onoga što je plemstvo gradilo ili bi moglo izgraditi, kao u primjerima talijaniziranih formi za Henrika II. i Luja XIV. Kolonada u Louvreu vjerojatno je vrhunac ovoga procesa. Unatoč Berninijevu neuspjehu pri ostvarivanju svoga projekta, nepogrešivu kombinaciju rimskih kompozicija iz 16. i 17. stoljeća izvedenu na pročelju prepoznali su i stariji povjesničari. Naravno, to je bilo posve drukčije od čega što bi francusko plemstvo sagradilo u vrijeme rastućeg nacionalizma. Percepcija kolonade u Louvreu kao „tipičnog primjera francuskog klasicizma“ stvorena je tek kasnije, tijekom nacionalističkih nemira 1920. godine; u 19. su stoljeću povjesničari kao tipičan primjer francuske arhitekture više cijenili krilo Franje I. Poanta svih intervencija, od Karla V. do Luja XIV., bila je upravo činjenica da one nikad nisu trebale biti tipične. Percipirane kao uobičajene suvremene arhitektonske forme, ne bi mogle služiti kao arhitektonski portreti kralja.

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