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LE FONDS FONTAINE A L'ART INSTITUTE A CHICAGO¹

I. THE FONTAINE PURCHASE, 1927

The story of the arrival at the Chicago Art Institute of the Fontaine collection of 416 volumes – many consistently and elegantly bound in the Empire style – is recorded in a 4-page typescript there, headed “Burnham Library”. The Burnham Library itself had been founded with a bequest of \$50,000 from the architect Daniel Burnham upon his death in Heidelberg in 1912 meant to be a trust fund for a “library of architecture”.² The minutes of the Library Committee meeting of February 1, 1927, record the offer of the Fontaine library by Maggs Brothers (through their newly-founded Paris branch). A member of Burnham’s successor firm, Graham, Anderson, Probst and White, was sent to Europe to assess the collection. Upon his favorable report, the Library Committee meeting on March 11, 1927, decided to make the purchase at \$4,620.00 with a loan of some \$5,000.00 and to solicit contributions from the Chicago profession to retire it. The Committee’s minutes of April 19, 1927, record the arrival of the collection and the

¹ It is a pleasure to acknowledge the help of Mary Woolever, Art and Architecture Archivist at the Burnham Library of the Art Institute of Chicago, and Elizabeth Oliver, graduate student in the Department of Art History, Northwestern University. See Woolever, “The Burnham Library of Architecture: A History,” *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, 13 #2 (1988), pp. 106-117, and my own article “The P.-F.-L. Fontaine Purchase at the Burnham Library” in the same issue, pp. 133-145.

² Martin Ryerson in 1901 had made a parallel bequest to found a general art history library which likewise bears his name. Burnham’s extensive office library would seem to have been distinct, being kept at his successor firm (Graham, Anderson, Probst and White) and ultimately transferred to that of the Graham Foundation upon its founding in 1956 and purchased from them by the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montreal.

decision to sell “non-architectural” volumes – netting in the end \$775.00, although a list kept by the library staff indicates that the books sold were either duplicates or incomplete copies, especially of Percier and Fontaine’s own publications. A book plate was printed and inserted in each volume but the collection itself was dispersed throughout the Institute’s holdings.³ (I do not know the story of the sale from the standpoint of the Fontaine family in France.)

There are thus some things to be kept in mind in examining the Art Institute’s lists of the collection: 1). what was sold upon its arrival 1927, 2). what might have been added to the collection after Fontaine’s death (the library having passed to Fontaine’s nephew Pierre-François-Louis Fontaine, also an architect), 3). that Fontaine’s office in the Hôtel d’Angiviller had been sacked during the events of 1848, and finally, 4). That Fontaine’s remarkable *journal* and a mass of original drawings remained in the family’s hands. Clearly the copies of Lassus’s Villard de Honnecourt (1858), Viollet-le-Duc’s Dictionnaire raisonné (1854-1868), César Daly’s Architecture privée (1864), Alphand’s Travaux de Paris (1889), Paul Vredeman de Vries’s Verscheijden Schrynerwerck in a modern edition of 1869, are a warning that this is not an undisturbed document of P.-F.-L. Fontaine’s enterprise. And one regrets that his copy of Flaxman’s Iliad of Homer (1803) was sold out of the collection because it might well indeed give a hint of his way of visual thinking.

The library includes the basic classic professional texts, often in multiple editions: Vitruvius in five editions (Barbaro, 1584, Martin, 1572 and 1628, and Coignard editions

³ As were Hittorff’s books, when devolved to the University of Cologne, or Henri Labrouste’s Italian student drawings when they were given to the Bibliothèque Nationale Cabinet des Estampes, these last dispersed throughout the folios of the “Topographie”.

1673 and 1684); Alberti in two (Martin, 1553, Bartoli, 1565), Palladio in two (1764 and 1825-1842 from Chapuy, Corbeard and Lenoir); Vignola in six editions (1611, 1640, 1757, 1773, 1802, 1815). Parallel to these predictable texts were the basic French classical works: Androuet du Cerceau's Livre d'architecture (1559, 1648), Philibert de L'Orme's Nouvelles inventions pour bien bastir (1561), Le Muet's Manière de Bastir (1647), Fréart de Chambray's Parallèle (1650), Le Pautre's Desseins de plusieurs palais (1652), Le Brun's Divers desseins de décoration de pavillons and Recueil de divers desseins de fontaines (1693), François Blondel's Cours d'architecture (1675-1683, this copy inscribed "d'Orbay"), Savot's Architecture françoise (1685), Félibien's Principes de l'architecture, de la sculpture, de la peinture et des autres arts qui en dépendent (1697), Bullet's Nouvelle architecture pratique (1825 edition), Belidor's Architecture hydraulique (1737-1753), Mariette's Architecture françoise (1738), d'Avilier's Dictionnaire d'architecture civile (1755) and Cours d'architecture (1760), Briseux's Architecture moderne (1764), Rondolet's Art de Bâtir (1812-1817). (Jacques-François Blondel's six-volume Cours d'architecture is missing, perhaps because previously sold.)

Running parallel to these professional volumes are the mass of archeological texts which emerged beginning in the late eighteenth century to become the core of early nineteenth-century study: Stuart and Revett's Antiquities of Athens (in a French edition, 1808-1822), Robert Wood's Palmyra (1763), Robert Adam's Spalatro (1764), Saint Non's Voyage pittoresque (1781-1786), Choiseul-Gouffier's Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce (1782-1824), Delagardette's Paestum (1799) -- but not Mazois and Gau's Pompeii, while Gell's Pompeiana was sold in 1927 as defective.

Interestingly, in addition to these classic texts was a mass of books of views documenting Rome and, to a lesser extent, Saint Petersburg: Donati, Falda, Vasi, Bellori, Nolli, Bartoli on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, Piranesi's Vedute di Roma; Thomas de Thomon's 1806 Recueil des plans et façades and 1819 Description of the buildings of Saint Petersburg as well as Montferrand's Eglise cathédrale de Saint-Issac (1845). (One remembers that Fontaine wrote Czar Alexander I periodic letters on Napoleon's transformation of Paris.) These Rome and Saint Petersburg volumes were more specific to Fontaine's *fonction* as *architecte de l'Empeur* and *du Roi*, as were also several other publications in the library, records of solemn ceremonies: Entrée triomphante de leurs maiestez Louis XIV, roy de France et Navarre, et Marie Thérèse d'Autriche son épouse, dans la ville de Paris... (1662), Le sacre de Louis XV, roy de France et Navarre, dans l'église de Reims (n.d.), Description du catafalque et du cenotaphe érigés dans l'Eglise de Paris, le 7 septembre 1774, pour très-grand, très-haut, très-puissant et très-excellent prince, Louis XV, le Bien-Aimé, roi de France et Navarre (1774), etc. (Percier and Fontaine themselves published two such volumes, of the Emperor's *sacre* and of his marriage to Princess Marie Louise of Austria.) This is balanced by a thorough documentation of Paris itself, and especially a collection of maps: those of Delarive (1749-1766), de la Caille (1714), Deharme (1763), Jalliot (1778), Verniquet (title page An V) and Jacoubet (title page dated 1836).

There are, however, some interesting side-light in the Fontaine library: a goodly number of books on perspective, starting with Jean Cousin's extraordinary Livre de perspectiue (1560) and Daniele Barbaro's Pratica della perspettiva (1569), Salomon de Caus, La perspective avec la raison des ombres et miroirs (1612), Hendrik Hondius,

institutio artis perspectiva (1625), Jean-François Niceron, Le perspective curieuse du reverend P. Niceron (1663), Andrea Pozzo's Perspectiva pictorum atque architectorum (1708), Edme-Sebastien Jeurat's Traité de pespective (1750), and Daniel Fournier's Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Perspective (1764). We remember that it was supposed to have been Fontaine who did the extraordinary perspective plates in the Palais, maisons et autres edifices de Rome.⁴

There is also a small body of original drawings, the vast majority by Fontaine's nephew P.-F.-Louis Fontaine, but several evidently from the uncle's hand, especially a sketch for the military port at Terneuzen in the Netherlands (ill. 1). In addition, there is a bound album of 93 ink and pencil drawings inscribed inside the cover "manuscrit acheté à la vente du cabinet de Mr. Dewailly, architecte, membre de l'Institut", including a frontispiece "Fragmens antiques contenant plusieurs figures d'idoles, d'obélisques, lettres hiéroglyphiques des Aegyptiens recuilliés des marbres antiques se trouvant à Rome & d'autres lieux" (ill. 2). Plans for a villa are glued into its pages.

II. THE ARCHITECT'S LIBRARY AS A PROFESSIONAL TOOL

The interest in examining someone's library – even when it is reduced to a mere sale list – is the expectation that it might be a portal into the owner's mind, especially in the case of an artist. This expectation has produced a small but dense literature of architect's libraries, in the case of Britain the seven-volume publication Sale Catalogues of Libraries

⁴ There is also some representation of more polemical publications of his formative years around 1800: Boullée's project for the Bibliothèque du Roi (later, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1785), Ledoux's Architecture (but the edition of 1847), Viel de Saint Maur's Lettres (1787), Impuissance de mathématiques... (1805) and Principes de l'ordonnance... (1797) -- but no books at all by Quatremère de Quincy or his successor as *secrétaire perpetuel* of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, Raoul-Rochette, perhaps again because previously sold.

of Eminent Persons (1971-1974) assembling, in its fourth volume (edited by David Watkin), the sale lists of Christopher Wren, Nicholas Hawksmoor, William Chambers, Robert Adam, George Dance, Robert Smirke and A. W. N. Pugin – by itself a remarkably complete and telling cross-section of the early British profession. In the case of France and in Fontaine’s approximate generation, there were sales of the libraries of J.-N. Huyot (1841), J.-B.-A. Lassus (1858), A.-N. Caristie (1863) and Viollet-le-Duc (1880),⁵ as well as inventories of architects’ estates.⁶ And there was the gift of Hittorff’s library to the city of Cologne (1892) the list of which has been reconstructed by Uve Westfeling, Gunter Quarg and Michael Kiene.⁷

We all know the *topos* of the young man illuminated by the discovery of a personal library focusing a point of view, like the social utopian one evoked in Zola’s

⁵ Catalogue des livres sur l’architecture et les antiquités du cabinet de feu M. Huyot, architecte, auctioned 25-27 January, Paris, 1841; Catalogue des livres, dessins, estampes et tableaux, composant le cabinet de feu M. J.-B.-A. Lassus, Paris, 1858; Catalogue des livres d’architecture et sur les arts – Ouvrages de littérature et d’histoire, Estampes, dessins et tableaux composant la bibliothèque et le cabinet de feu M. Auguste Caristie, auctioned 22-24 January, 1863; Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. E. Viollet-le-Duc, architecte, auctioned Paris, 31 May, 1880. See Jean-Michel Leniaud and Béatrice Bouvier, eds., Le livre d’architecture: XVe-XXe siècle: édition, représentations et bibliothèques, Paris: Ecole nationale des chartes, 2002, pp. 187ff; Medvedkova, Olga, ed., Bibliothèques d’architecture, Paris: INHA/Alain Baudry et Cie, 2009, especially Marie-Agnès Gilot, “le catalogue de vente de la bibliothèque de l’architecte Augustin-Nicolas Caristie,” Ibid., pp. 255-280. The Encyclopédie d’architecture notes the sale of the library of Achille Leclère, but lists only his (quite extraordinary) collection of drawings: “Vente du cabinet de M. Achille Leclère,” IV (1854), col. 88.

⁶ For example that of Jacques-Guillaume Legrand and Jacques Molinos: Werner Szambien and Io Toda, “Une bibliothèque commune? Legrand et Molinos, une association complexe,” Ibid., pp. 243-254.

⁷ Gunter Quarg, Katalog der Bibliothek Jakob Ignaz Hittorff, Cologne: Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek Köln, 1993.

Travail.⁸ But anecdotal experience points up a disappointing problem in the case of architects: such professional libraries tend to be very much the same within a specific culture and time. They are professional instruments and as such have to be consistent within their genre in order to be useful. They are a source of the very uniformity professional work increasingly demanded.

There are necessarily inflections between the libraries of different kinds of architects – for example, a government functionary like Fontaine, *premier architecte de l'Empereur* 1813-1814; *architecte du Roi* (1814-1848), as opposed to a professor at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and master of an atelier, like Jean-Nicolas Huyot, or, for that matter, between classicists like both Fontaine, Caristie and Huyot and a Gothicist like Jean-Baptiste Lassus. In the case of Huyot, historical and archeological publications are more consistently represented – his chair at the Ecole was that of the History of Architecture – rather than books on ceremonial, but there are even more volumes on the science of perspective than in Fontaine's collection. In the case of Lassus, because there was still a minimal literature of medieval architecture in the 1840's and 1850's, the list of his unusually extensive library consists mostly of the same classic texts, filled out, however, with local histories and monographs touching on medieval building as well as religious texts. Again, all these libraries lack the numerous treatises on military operations and fortifications of François Blondel's from a century-and-a-half before.

What is interesting is how different this large, specifically professional literature represented in Fontaine's library proves to be when compared to the more broadly

⁸ The subject of an illuminating essay By Anthony Vidler, "The New Industrial World: The reconstruction of urban utopia in late nineteenth century France," Perspecta 13/14, New York: Whittenborn, pp. 242-257.

philosophical and scientific libraries of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century architects, whether British (Jones, Wren, Hawksmoor, Chambers⁹), French (François Blondel¹⁰) or German (David Gilly¹¹). By Fontaine's time such a library had become a tool for a specific practice of design. The broad knowledge sketched by Vitruvius and Alberti and embraced in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century libraries had been gathered into one place in the six volumes of Jacques-François Blondel, then distilled into the pedagogical texts of Guadet, Reynaud and especially Durand – while ever more perfect execution in detail was made possible by the rapidly-increasing archeological literature. A century-and-a-half later, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, left his library intact to another Chicago institution, the University of Illinois at Chicago, but its 629 volumes focus on philosophy and science.¹² In this context Fontaine's library nearby at the Art Institute seems a very practical one documenting nineteenth-century French design procedure, its historical elements and methods for their assembly – exactly what the late “Beaux-Arts” architects who paid for it wanted to have in 1927.

There are instances of libraries built up to enable a particular and original perspective of art, the model being Aby Warburg's library founded in 1886 and

⁹ Christy Anderson, Inigo Jones and the Classical Tradition, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007, ch. 3.

¹⁰ Anthony Gerbino, “The Library of François Blondel, 1618-1686,” Architectural History, 45 (2002), pp. 289-324, and François Blondel: Architecture, Erudition, and the Scientific Revolution, London: Routledge, 2010. See also Hilary Ballon, Louis Le Vau: Mazarin's Collège, Colbert's Revenge, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

¹¹ Klaus Jan Philipp, David Gillys Bibliothek, Berlin: Gebruder Mann, 2000.

¹² And for that reason giving a very distinct glimpse of Van der Rohe's mind. See Francesco Dal Co, “Mies”, Figures of Architecture and Thought, New York, Rizzoli, 1990, pp. 262-285; Fritz Neumeier, Mies van der Rohe. Das kunstlose Wort, Berlin: Wolf Jobst Siedler, 1986.

eventually structured by a unique cataloguing system.¹³ But, to come back to where we started, the Warburg Library is a totally different entity from Fontaine's which was specifically purchased as a generic architectural collection to serve general professional needs. There is no anecdote of a young Chicago architect illuminated like Zola's Luc in Travail by the perusal of Fontaine's books. (Let me add that an afternoon with Mis van der Rohe's books – Rudolf Schwarz, R. H. Francé, Romano Guardini – is very illuminating indeed.)

III. MARGINALIA AND TRACES OF WORK IN A PROFESSIONAL LIBRARY

One of the most fascinating aspects of the study of a personal library is marginalia, reactions to specific passages in texts inscribed in the margins by their owner. There again is a considerable literature here, most recently perhaps H. J. Jackson's Maginalia: Readers Writing in Books of 2001, generalizing about what Bruce Allsopp explored in the case of Inigo Jones' famous marginalia in his copy of Palladio.¹⁴ This custom of spontaneous commentary has declined steadily since the Renaissance and the invention of printed books, but there are instances in Fontaine's library, for example in his copy of Jean Cousin's Livre de perspectiue (1560) which includes marginal commentary as well

¹³ Fritz Saxl, "The History of Warburg's Library (1886-1944)," MS published by Ernst Gombrich as ch. XVII (pp. 325-238), Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970; Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg, Berlin: Akadamischer Verlag, 2001.

In the American architectural context one might cite two libraries surviving intact: those of Charles Mulford Robinson at Harvard and Barr Ferree at Princeton, in each case tools for the exploration of a new field, city planning and architectural criticism respectively.

¹⁴ Bruce Allsopp, Inigo Jones on Palladio, Newcastle upon Tyne: Oriel Press, 1979. Already in 1715 Giacomo Leoni had tried to publish Jones' marginalia as part of his Palladio translation. See also Anthony Grafton, The Footnote: A Curious History, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997; Juliet Fleming, Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England, London: Reaktion, 2001.

as pencil studies of a large palatial building in plan and perspective, although not necessarily all from Fontaine's hand.¹⁵

In the case of Fontaine's library, however, we are confronted with a different sort of marginalia, one making it evident again that this was a professional not a private library: namely the drawn amendations to plates reflecting their professional use, and even the insertion of documents into certain volumes linked to active architectural projects. An album catalogued as Percier's Louvre et l'arc de triomphe du Carrousel is a compendium of loose sheets including four original drawings for the arch bound together.¹⁶ Most obvious here are the numerous colored plates of the Palais, maisons et autres édifices and the Recueil de décorations intérieures, but in the case of the Art Institute copies, these are neither consistent nor especially beautiful. There are much better examples elsewhere. (For example, the copy recently purchased for the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art by Jean-Philippe Garric and just published by Mardaga.) One suspects that the best colored copies were not remaining to be sold in 1927.

More interesting, perhaps, are two bodies of printed documents. First, a series of text and plate volumes recording the history and appearance of the Louis-Philippard Royal properties around Paris, one folio volume for each with a historical text by Jean Vatout – Monceaux, Eu, le Raincy, Neuilly.¹⁷ In the case of the volume for the chateau at Eu, its plates have been used for sketches of additions and alterations which we know Fontaine carried out there.

¹⁵ In style and touch it seems Fontaine's. There is also a lengthy response to Cousin's remarks on the rendering of a palatial façade a page later in the margin.

¹⁶ One of the plans is distinctly different from the others and the executed project.

¹⁷ Chateau de Neuilly, Chateau d'Eu, Chateau du Raincy, Mouceaux et le Raincy, all Delaforest and undated. Interestingly, Huyot's auction list includes a set these same volumes.

Second, there are Fontaine's copies of detailed, surveyed maps of Paris, those of Edme Verniquet and Théodore Jacoubet, both bearing pencil indications (ill.s 3 and 4) relating to urbanistic projects which Fontaine would have been involved in when architect of the Louvre and Tuileries and later during the last five years of his life when he was *président honoraire* of the Conseil des Bâtiments-Civils. Fontaine's Jacoubet in Chicago is nowhere nearly so filled with amendations as the copy (second edition) in the Bibliothèque Nationale Cartes et Plans,¹⁸ but there are some interesting indications of urbanistic thought: the rue Drouot extended north to the rue de Provence or the rue Saint-Guillaume south of the rue de l'Université cut behind the Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées – these drawn with great precision and as built – sketchy indications of the rue de Rouen extending north from a *place* on the boulevard des Capucines past the rue Tronchet extended towards the emerging gare Saint-Lazare, the centrifugal streets north eastward from what would become the Etoile, or the first traces of two east-west streets through the modern third arrondissement, predecessors of the rue Rambuteau and the rue Réaumur. These all are considered Haussmannian (he arriving in office only shortly before Fontaine's death in October, 1853). Most interesting is a long, thin sheet of tracing paper bearing the plan of a street from the Temple through the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers to what now is the place de la République which remained undisturbed between the pages of the Chicago copy of Jacoubet for a hundred and fifty years.

All of which is to say that not only was Fontaine's library a professional instrument, but in parts it was a real "working library" in which the difference between

¹⁸ Pierre Pinon and Bertrand Le Boudec, Les plans de Paris, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2004, pp. 96-97.

the “finished” book and the “working” document blurs.¹⁹ It is this shift from the formally printed to the “working” edition that is natural to such a collection as Fontaine’s and also most valuable.

IV. EVIDENCE OF FONTAINE’S IDEA OF URBAN SPACE

The most interesting items in the collection, however, must be two original manuscripts, one that of his Journal des monuments de Paris written originally for Czar Alexander I to keep him abreast of Napoleon’s architectural and urban projects, and another inscribed on the cover page “Rapports sur les édifices publics de Paris faits par l’ordre de l’Empereur, 1813”. The first is a neat, continuous text – almost necessarily a re-transcribed record -- and in fact published under the inscribed title in 1892 accompanied by illustrative drawings now in the family’s hands.²⁰

The second manuscript, however, is totally unpublished and uncited. It is subscribed, “Mis sous les yeux de l’Empereur le 24 novembre 1813.” The project is

¹⁹ The explosion of bureaucracy in the mid-nineteenth century as well as the emergence of cheap forms of printing, especially lithography, worked to exaggerate this blurring, as in the case of the strange folio volume Documents relatifs au travaux du Palais de Justice de Paris published by order of the Conseil Municipal of Paris in 1858 between thin, plain grey paper covers, or the almost identical (in format, tailoring and chronology) to a volume from Vienna, Preisgekrönten Entwürfe zur Erweiterung der inneren Stadt Wien in which the most interesting projects submitted in the Ringstrasse competition of that same year are redrawn for quick comparison. These were basically administrative documents. In the case of the Viennese publication, modern writers have regularly re-published the plates as if they were the original projects, misunderstanding the circumstances of their publication.

²⁰ Published as Texte explicatif joint aux numéros du Journal des monuments de Paris envoyés à l’empereur de Russie dans les années 1809, 1810, 1811, 1814 et 1815, Paris: Firmin Didot, 1892; Journal des monuments de Paris envoyés à l’empereur de Russie dans les années 1809, 1810, 1811, 1814 et 1815, Paris: Librairie Damascène Morgand, E. Rahir successeur, 1912.

noted in Fontaine's dairy.²¹ After his return to Paris after the Russian fiasco and the defeat at Leipzig, Napoleon asked Fontaine and his engineer homologue, Louis Bruyère, to survey the city of Paris to draw up a list of projects in course – an oddly irrelevant enterprise considering the state of the Empire, Georges Poisson noted, almost a delusion.²² The bound report in Chicago is divided by project type – from “abattoirs”, “barrières”, “bibliothèques”, “boulevards” to “rues”, “théâtres”, “temples” (not unlike Poisson's and Biver's more recent books). It gives the state of each project and emphasizes the need for regularization, especially around public squares, and notes that in many areas new *percements* are to be expected, presumably by private entrepreneurs. But, what is important to my mind, is that from the whole grid of project there emerges a sense of its organism.

One divines, first of all, that certain of these projects together would have given the imperial capital a unified, monumental form that was achieved only forty years later, under Napoleon III, but then in a different sense; second evidence that threaded through this unified system a quite different idea of re-affirmed quarters, which idea was dropped under the nephew in the 1850's and 1860's. That is to say, Fontaine's (and thus the first Emperor's) conception of the city was complex and altered in final execution a half-century later.

This worked through the balancing of two scales. The larger spatial system pivoted on the “Grande Halle”, the central market quarter, which was to have been

²¹ *Journal*, Marguerite David-Roy, ed., Paris: Ecole national supérieur des beaux-arts, 1987, I, p. 371, 15 September, 1813.

²² Georges Poisson, *Napoléon et Paris*, Paris: Berger-Lavroult, 1964, pp. 266-267. Also: Marie-Louise Biver, *Pierre Fontaine: Premier Architecte de l'Empereur*, Paris: Plon, 1964, pp. 179-180.

opened as a huge space extending from the Halle au Blé to Rue Saint-Denis, east-west, to produce a spreading, rectangular place of enterprise at the city's heart – “On aura alors au centre de la ville une place immense”. This would have been larger than the space realized under the nephew in Victor Baltard's Halles Centrales, but encumbered only with “plusieurs corps de bâtiments couverts et fermés pour les marchands de provision.” The Marché des Innocents was to be cleared and embellished with “une belle fontaine au milieu”. This spreading space was to stand near, but not to connect with, a grand “Rue Impériale” cut from the center point of the west façade of the Louvre to the place de la Bastille.²³

Both of these projects are known, although nowhere else so neatly laid out as in this MS – Pierre Pinon implies that the Rue Impériale had a furtive existence in the drawers of the administration for many decades. What hasn't been added to this mix is a series of street openings and market regularizations also outlined in Fontaine's text which, when laid out on Verniquet's map of Paris, emerges as at least four neighborhood or quarter centers (namely the marchés Saint-Germain, des Blancs Manteaux (Saint-Gervais), Saint-Martin and des Carmes) with short street extensions forming a local grid binding these units together but not extending beyond to unify the quarters themselves. That is to say, the first Napoleon was content to leave the quarters independent and uninterrupted by monumental works – the very project the second Napoleon eschewed.

Here I should end, perhaps with one speculative suggestion: that in the pages of Fontaine's “Rapports” as well as in the surprising richness of the perspectives of the

²³ Pierre Pinon, “L'essai non transformé de l'oncle: un projet de Rue Impériale sous le Premier Empire,” *Mondernité avant Haussmann*, Karen Bowie ed., Paris: éditions Recherches, 2001, pp. 203-216.

Palais, maisons et autres édifices and the complex of perspective manuals in his library, we might have a glimpse of something personal in this otherwise resolutely professional book collection -- namely an interest in closed locality. When this first emerged in his perspectives of the 1790's this seems a continuation of late eighteenth century Davidian spatial tropes and we remember that Percier claimed a huge debt to the Davidian painter Drouais. When folded back on Paris under Napoleon, however, this takes on a real social valence and urbanistic solidity, suggestive of what just after 1830 his Percier's student Letarouilly accomplished in his extension of the Collège de France and Duban so delicately achieved in the courtyards of the Ecole des Beaux-arts itself.²⁴

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1). P.-F.-L. Fontaine, Plan of the military port of Terneuzen, Belgium. Unsigned, undated. Art Institute of Chicago.
- 2). Frontispiece "Fragments antiques contenant plusieurs figures d'idoles, d'obelisques, lettres hieroglyphiques des Egyptiens recueillies des marbres antiques se trouvant à Rome & d'autres lieux", signed de Wailly. n.d. Art Institute of Chicago
- 3). Edme Verniquet, Atlas national de la ville de Paris with lines drawn over the Louvre quarter. 1791. Art Institute of Chicago
- 4). Théodore Jacoubet, Atlas general de la ville, faubourgs et monuments de Paris, extension of rue Drouot (1846) indicated. 1827-1839. Art Institute of Chicago

²⁴ See Jacques Lucan, Composition, non-composition: Architecture et théories, XIXe-XX siècles, Lausanne: Presses polytechniques et universitaires romandes, 2009, chs. 2-4; Jean-Philippe Garric, Receuil d'Italie: Les modèles italiens dans les livres d'architecture français, Sprimont: Mardaga, 2004.

