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BETWEEN ARCH AND COLUMN

ROMAN RECALL IN NAPOLEONIC ARCHITECTURE

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CONTENTS

Introduction	3
Chapter 1	5
Chapter 2	17
Chapter 3	28
Final Remarks	48
Bibliography	51
Photos	53

INTRODUCTION

The language of Napoleonic urbanists used the vocabulary from Louis XVI epoch, but their ideas belonged to the times of Hausmann¹.

Was Napoleon an architect and urban planner? Yes and no. If we stop at the first statement, the answer will be positive. Why? Because he had a coherent, nearly mathematical, vision of his rule and he perfectly knew which direction his policy should follow. Finally, he was conscious of a way of designing a structure of power and in which place its elements should be situated on a chessboard proposed by history. His aim was to use the art as a component of his power. Napoleon treated the highly estimated art as a propaganda language. When we focus on the second statement, the answer definitely will be negative. His education didn't include architecture, but he knew how his „deficiencies » could be transformed into a piece of art by reading, listening and choosing the best ones that might turn the structure and the paths on the chessboard into a building worth the Roman emperors. That's why one of the domains, destined to become a Forum of his reign and a visible proof of the panache, uncompromising nature and power, was architecture and urban planning. The well designed town with its monuments of glory was supposed to take on a role of a mirror in which the future generations will reflect, while United Europe, ashamed of its insignificance opposed to the giant, will leap along *Forum Parisorum* with gratitude.

In the present project I'd like to present shortly some examples of urban planning and architecture which make up an integrity of a great culture-creating machine during the *Empire* epoch. Whatever we could say, it is clear that both art and politics have always been interrelated and their success depends on the ability of making good use of knowledge and overall economic situation². A masterpiece, regardless a discipline, has been a means of conveying values, a medium of a set of essential thoughts and ideas. Together, they form a peculiar vision which, to a certain extent, gives a sort of answer to the questions asked by the nation and the power. In case of Napoleon times the exchange of opinions was strictly subordinated to the vision. Napoleon was convinced that in order to reach his vision of *Pax Napoleonica*, he should refer to the Roman patterns, to their universal language. He decided to adopt the forms of expression that were fit to arrange a conception of triumph. Triumph arches and also monumental columns became the suitable forms.

1 P. Lavedan, *Historie de l' Urbanisme*, t. II, *Epoque contemporaine*, Paris 1952.

Research on the relations between the *Empire* style and ancient times is well developed. The results are widely known. Up to now in Paris and in some other European countries there have been preserved many material and archival proofs of Roman connotations of the epoch. I, however, want to concentrate on three most famous commemorative works of art i.e. compare them to their ancient models in the perspective of their artistic values. To what extent are they innovative? To what extent do they repeat the old solutions in the sphere of the ideas, of decorations and of construction? The first chapter „Urban Planning and Architecture Activity of Napoleon“ is dedicated to Bonaparte’s activity aiming at Paris which should become a spacious town, comfortable, with large arteries crossing at the right angle. The town should meet the standards according to modern urban planning, which means availability to current water, a sewage system, a good transport and finally it should be well-equipped with parks, perfectly functioning recreational, cultural and economic facilities. In this chapter I show how many of the far-reaching plans were successfully realized in a definitely short, but very stormy time. The second chapter „*Immortal Language of Triumph. Traian’s Column and Vendôme Column* » describes the story of the Traian’s ancient column and its Paris equivalent from the beginning of the 19th century. I try to make an analysis by contrasting both masterpieces. I present their function and the artistic language that includes propaganda. I concentrate on their similarities and differences resulting, for instance, from innovative structural and material ideas of 19th century. The last chapter *Roman and Napoleonic Triumph Arches. Comparative Analysis* is dedicated to the history of this kind of monuments that left a mark on Paris monuments of glory and memory in various architectural forms. On the pages of this chapter I try to analyse the ancient patterns as well as their influence also as a point of reference for similar works. At the beginning of 19th century they commemorated the victories of Napoleon and his Great Army. During the study it appeared that the answer was not explicit. It particularly concerns *Arc de Triomphe de l’Etoile*. According to me, not all the current opinions and directions of research are accurate. I tried to show it and leave it to reflect upon.

Chapter 1

Urban Planning and Architectural Activity of Napoleon

At the turn of October and November 1799 the crucial political and social events happened in Paris. Napoleon was responsible for the *coup d'état* which took place on 18 *brumaire* (9th November). It pushed the fate of the young republic on a complete new track. Bonaparte, in a capacity of the First Consul, very quickly took up the work of creating his position and image in many aspects. Among his concerns there was culture in its most prominent manifestations i.e. in painting, architecture, sculpture and also in written word. The epoch in the history of art received the name *Empire* that is the style of empire. As a decadent version of late classicism the aesthetics of *Empire*, which comes from the Directory style, soon evolved taking the opposite position with regard to its reserved elegance and refined simplicity.

In the period of *the Empire* style another battle was held. The goal of the battle was man and the position of culture in human life. Architecture – as Georg Hegel wrote – *from spirit and for spirit in its vivid, real existence creates artistic external surrounding*³. In painting, as Hegel wrote, *a principle of finished and unfinished in itself subjectivity governs in painting, while the works of painting show us what happens inside us*⁴. What is important is that the painting of the epoch succeeded in making the human soul the core of represented events. Art as the most evocative tool of propaganda became one of the determining pillars of Napoleon's policy. Moreover, part of some cultural patterns which in turn found the motivation of their existence among – *general forms, regulations, duties, laws and sayings playing the role of decisive motives becoming this what drives people now*⁵. In a particular way a motive of a legend was explored. The legend which from the beginning existed as a foundation and at the same time as the top of Napoleon's image, his era, and finally the idea of monocracy. The myth merged with the hero and his deeds to such a degree that the borderline was already blurred during his life. The border which juxtaposes *his activity opposed to his aspirations and thinking opposed utopian imagination*⁶. *Myth is a definite time continuum*⁷ – Stefan Treugutt adds. At the same time the myth was the first modern individual legend acting now and also with a future intent. Its impulse contained the burden of longing

3 G.W.F. Hegel, *Wykłady o estetyce*, tłum. A. Landman, J. Grabowski, Warszawa 1967, t. III, s. 154.

4 G.W.F. Hegel, *Wykłady o estetyce*, tłum. A. Landman, J. Grabowski, Warszawa 1967, t. III, s. 12.

5 G.W.F. Hegel, *Wykłady o estetyce*, tłum. A. Landman, J. Grabowski, Warszawa 1967, t. I, s. 20.

6 S. Treugutt, *Geniusz wydziedziczony. Studia romantyczne i napoleońskie*, Warszawa 1993, s. 8.

experienced by a generation. It fertilized the imagination encouraging the next generations. As Hegel says, the need of making the myth real and consolidating it, is clearly found in architecture with a mighty power of its external appearance. The proper ideal of *virtutis* and *virtusu* of the sovereign was searched for in order to render perfectly the character and the ways of developing the social and political reality. The ideal mentioned above means undoubtedly valour, courage and sacrifice of a hero as well as a vision of an irreplaceable, unique man who could draw France out of the turmoil. This image suggests also Napoleon, the guarantor of a political, social and economic order and what's more important of a law peace. The art's aim was to unite around the new throne the society that was already emancipated to a certain degree. The new rules of art were in the phase of making and they were also to join the equally eclectic principles of modern architecture of the town and the state. In this point it's worth noting that gradually, with each Bonaparte's victory, his more coherent vision of the power over Europe was growing real. For the First Consul and later the emperor it meant a necessity of transforming Paris, the heart of the world to be, into a point of reference for the other metropolises. It was just this place which radiated overwhelming light. It was here that, following the example of the Eternal Town, were to converge all the roads. New Rome, as Constantinople was once called, was supposed to appear on the Seine. In fact, *kings and princes, envoys, diplomats, all kinds of artists* soon came here. They were coming *to pay tribute to the emperor, plead and listen to the orders given by the god of war – master and sovereign of nearly the whole world*⁸. All this was expected to be a symphony of victory which in a distinct way was in a performance of the monumental composition „The Coronation Mass” by Giovanni Paisiello. It was performed for the first time during the coronation. Both this masterpiece and the ceremony received the artistic and architectural setting worth the level of the event prepared in the studio of Jacques Louis David. The task of the ceremony was to dazzle the participants, particularly the representatives of foreign courts. It was meant to glorify the French society, policy and culture under the reign of Napoleon. All the roads led to Paris as once they led to Rome. One can say that in France the times of Louis XIV were repeated; the times of strict standardization of tastes; the times when the state provided care for artists. Francois Chateaubriand said that *Napoleonic classicism was 19th century ghost in a whig of Louis XIV or with a hairstyle popular in the times of Louis XV*. And not entirely kindly he added - *Bonaparte wanted the people of the Revolution to visit the*

7 S. Treugutt, *Geniusz wydziejczony. Studia romantyczne i napoleońskie*, Warszawa 1993, s. 8.

8 L. Piątkowski, *Aleksander I – zwycięzca Napoleona I*, [w:] *Ku Niepodległej...* Lublin 2005, s.384.

court in a full dress tailcoat with a spade at the side. France couldn't be noticed⁹. Henri Stendhal in his letter to a close friend Pauline wrote – *Yesterday, I came across a column on Vandôme Square. It is the only perfectly beautiful thing made here. I was watching the statue of the emperor having stuck to his thigh one hundred and sixty feet over the ground – a wonderful view*¹⁰. Napoleon himself told about art and its role in the political system of his empire: *Literature and fine arts are getting ready to fly to the level corresponding with the needs of the century which witnesses so great events. Their kingdom is approaching. The nature of things – he sermonized on – has to it that great deeds happen earlier than the pictures commemorating them and than the most beautiful masterpieces imitating art. The one who acts is followed by the one who paints or tells. The most marvellous creations of human imagination were everywhere called into being by marvellous occurrences*. Later on, in rapture, he asked – *Don't we live in the century of marvels?*¹¹ The above statement formulated by Bonaparte could serve as a base of a discussion on the role and meaning of the *Empire* style as a global language of the epoch. Moreover, as we'll notice, it is a deed that constitutes the basis of a work of art. Without an action stone would remain stone, and an idea would remain limited to a slogan. The specificity of *Empire* lies also in the domain of definite occurrences and, what is typical, it appeared at the turn of the centuries when the old world of *ancien régime* didn't exist, while the new one was slowly emerging. So *Empire* is a story about the man, his deeds and it is dedicated to him. It constituted a monument of the epoch spirit erected in the present time, but looking backwards with faith and with a particular certainty towards future. The monument of world's spirit puts together the ideas of modern man. Finally, *Empire* is not so much what we see, but what it makes of us, what we experience being in touch with a work of art, born out of clear-cut ideas and ideals in a definite time. It is an answer to questions asked by man participating in this epoch. It is a reflection of his soul, of his existence. The *Empire* style presents the art which revives, creates and reinforces the feeling of a national identity as a community with an exceptional mission in history to be fulfilled. The sovereign of the community embodies the most wonderful virtues and he is a guarantor of social and economic stability of the state. The art of *Pax Napoleonica* is reflected in *Empire*. Turning to the ancient times the art passes its voice to

9 F. Chateaubriand, *Pamiętniki z za grobu*, tłum. J. Guze, Warszawa 1991, s. 272.

10 H. Stendhal, *Korespondencja*, tłum. H. Szumańska - Grossowa Warszawa 1963, s. 171.

11 Napoleon, *Maksymy*, tłum. M. Senkowska Gluck, Warszawa 1983, s. 95.

a multicoloured choir of cultural transformation. Eventually, modern French mentality flourished and was consolidated in the space of *Empire*.

Empire completed its aesthetic and ethical scenario with each new undertaking brought about by the Napoleonic architects, painters and sculptors. The creation of the scenario was the merit of Charles Percier and Pierre François-Leonard Fontaine, the favourite architects of Napoleon. The originators of the new style wrote an important work “Recueil de decorations interieures”¹² published in Paris in 1801. The collection of patterns for interior decorators and cabinet makers outlined decisively a path pursued by the contemporary artists. The important and essential difference between the native architects and their equally good predecessors lies in the fact that they reach beyond the ancient legacy and they also made use of much nearer legacy, of their own tradition. Undoubtedly, in those times it was a *novum* promoting an interest in a near past rooted in the history of the nation. Not only a military domination played a role of no small importance, but also a constantly fuelled myth of the hero of history, the soul of the world, as Hegel¹³ called Napoleon. Next to the architects mentioned above the array consisted also of Pierre Alexandre Vignon, Jean Gondoin, Antoine François Peyre, Jean Chalgrin, François Langer and Alexandre Brogniart. The main urbanists were, however, ministers and prefects. Some should be mentioned among the most distinguished in the field of restructuring the capital: the prefect of the Seine, Nicolas Frochot holding his position for twelve years (1800 – 1812), the home office minister Jean Chaptal de Chantelout (1800 – 1804), Jean Baptiste de Champagny, Emmanuel Cretet and Jean Pierre de Montalivet¹⁴. The most loving town carer was the first on the above list, a notary during the reign of Louis XVI and „a student” of Mirabeau during the Revolution. Soon after the coup d’état Napoleon was searching a suitable candidate for the important position. Napoleon appreciated his organizational and administrative abilities which the emperor mastered perfectly, i.e. choosing the proper co-workers¹⁵. The army of engineers and architects worked

12 P.F.L. Fontaine i Ch. Percier, *Recueil de decorations intérieures*, Paris 1812.

13 G.W.F. Hegel do Niethammera, 13 X 1806, [w:] *Briefe von und an Hegel*, t.I, s. 121.

14 Champagny (1804 -1806), Cretet (1807 – 1808), Montalivet (1809 – 1814).

15 Paris was not governed by a council. The position of principal was taken by the emperor who was a resident of Paris. The prefect of the Seine acted on his behalf. The position of prefect was particularly important and it required a trustworthy and efficient manager. His task included a control over the opinions expressed by the citizens residing in the capital and also to prevent spreading certain opinions to other towns in the province. From 1802 the positions of lord mayor and prefect of the Seine were joined. The seat of the highest clerk of the

on the image of Paris, the capital of Napoleonic world. Additionally, philosophers' ideas contributed to its status which was supposed to dazzle and teach. The starting point for a grand scale urban planning became the plan conceived during the reign of Louis XIV (Pierre Boullée) and Louis XVI. When Napoleon took over the power in France, Paris was populated by only five hundred thousand residents. The city was crowded and dirty. Louis Mercier fulminated: *Fast streams sometimes divide the streets in Paris into two (...). On each corner a passerby calls a shoe cleaner to scrape his shoes caked with faeces. How, on earth, was he able to struggle through the dirtiest city in the world up to this place?*¹⁶. An unusual splendour competed for priority with casual, wooden passages and dives. Napoleon's desire was an increase of the population up to three million. The guarantee of the success was the replete and rich residents of Paris. The former monarchs shared the opposite opinion, i.e they limited the development of the capital. Even in such a big and adequately rebuilt city the mass of people shouldn't be feared of, as Napoleon said. However, under the condition of sticking to a series of guidelines pointing to a way of curbing the people. Let's keep in mind that Paris, as in the previous ages, was the centre of French events where everything started and ended. The emperor understood it, and fifty years later baron Georges Eugène Haussmann introduced it with a real panache. Napoleon encountered a basic question strictly connected with restructuring the city, i.e. the problem of water supplies and disposal of sewage. In order to rise the level of water Napoleon ordered the construction of the I'Ourcq canal joining the river I'Ourcq (the tributary of the Marne) with the Seine. In this way he obtained a rise of water level in wells and fountains which were to function day and night. The next step to improve not only sanitary safety, but also to save the residents from uncontrolled floods from the river was the construction of embankments, that is the river regulation. In this time the *Embankment of Bonaparte (now d'Orsay)* was constructed on the left bank of the Seine, while the right bank was enriched by a similar construction stretching from Louvre to *Trocadero*. The emperor's government needed only ten years for developing four km of the embankment. Among others, the island *Cite* was encircled with a similar embankment. Napoleon for various reasons attached importance to the problems of traffic conditions in the city. It was just during his reign that the small shops functioning on the bridges were definitely removed and high fines were imposed on those who might want to break the ban. Four bridges were built in this period. The most important was the bridge *des Artes* designed in 1803 by Louis

city was the town hall, Hotel de Ville.

16 K. Rutkowski, *Paryskie pasaże*, Gdańsk 2008, s. 21.

de Cessart and Jacques Dillon. It joins the buildings of Louvre with the left river bank. The bridge was meant for the use of pedestrians. Its construction is unusually light and the shape is neat. In those times the bridge was the first one in the French capital which was built with the use of the iron construction. Both islands *le Cite* and *St. Louis* were linked by a two span bridge *de la Cite*. Two magnificent bridges *d'Austerlitz* (1801 – 1805) and *d'Iena* (1807 - 1814) linked the northern with the southern part of the city. The above mentioned bridges were designed by Becquey de Baupré. Napoleon did not attach less importance to a suitable provision. He wanted to improve the food trade as well. The rebuilding and restoration of the still existing covered markets were ordered. Additionally, soon after a dangerous fire in 1805 the construction of some new objects on the *Saint Bernard* bank were ordered by a force of the emperor's decree. A trade of all kinds of alcohol mainly developed there, while the covered markets on the *des Grands Augustins* embankment served only to poultry traders. According to the decree it was forbidden to trade a wide range of goods in the same site. Each branch of production, also because of sanitary reasons, had its suitable place. Due to the order the flower trade, for example, was situated on *la Cite* island, and the underclothes found the place near *Temple*. The town council for ages was not able to solve the problem of slaughterhouse. The emperor's decree forbade the slaughter in the city. The slaughterhouses were built outside the city: in Roule, Montmarte, Popincourt, Ivry and Vaugirard. Covered passages were constructed in front of the magazines on some richer streets with the aim of improving the transport in the capital and of raising safety level of pedestrians and residents. The covered streets were, among others, *Saint Honoré* and newly designed *Rue de Rivoli*. The new facilities, namely the pavements making part of the streets were hardly accepted, though they made walking easier and safer because they divided passers by from street. The appropriate order to build them was issued in 1812. The important duty of fixing the house numbers was general and practical. The duty was introduced in 1805 by the virtue of the order of the prefect N. Frochot. An unusually inconvenient way of numbering the houses within the quarters, dating back to the times of the Revolution, was rejected. From that time the houses received the numbers along the streets with a strict division into even and uneven sides of the streets. The numbers were painted white against the black background and they were placed on a metal sheet above the gate of the property or above the door.

Lighting was the substantial problem to be solved. The dark streets favoured risks for the residents. Darkness encouraged city criminals who often remained unpunished, while a passerby was helpless. Napoleon was deeply interested in the problem. Not infrequently did

he scold Josef Fouché for sluggishness in introducing and guarding the quality of the lighting as well as filling and maintenance of the oil lamps hanging across the streets. As a result darkness was covering whole quarters of the city for weeks. The first attempts at applying gas lighting also on the emperor's order were taken up, but they failed, so they didn't become a general element.

In the course of the years the characteristic features of the new style were formed in urban planning of Paris. They found followers in other parts of the continent. It can be stated that classicism and its final form were nearly identical with the ideas of Enlightenment period constructed on its grounds. The clearness of spatial measure, the purity of form and the faultless language of propaganda were immersed in the symbols of the empire appearing in the shapes of the letter "N", bees and eagles. Moreover, the new style corresponded excellently with the elements skilfully adapted from the Egyptian iconography and it found its place in a definite architectural space. Space according to Hegel - *possesses an existence which means a definite reality of content in a real existence – form*¹⁷. Architecture was the first of the so called detailed arts¹⁸. Its aim was to shape a surrounding natural reality, "the external surrounding of spirit"¹⁹ by giving matter, which is deprived of immanent aspect, a proper meaning and form. In architecture, according to the German philosopher, the spiritual element fully manifested itself outside. It raised the natural side to the level of an ideal²⁰. The ideological significance was unambiguous. It was supposed to supply essential information concerning the scope of the policy as well as its results. I'm concerned, though against the statements of other researchers, that it also included educational values. It brought the far past closer, taught to commune with the past, stimulated imagination and there were many who felt encouraged to more decisive and systematic studies of the history of the Near East. The sound of fanfare, the rumble of cannons, continuous solemn mood and also calling from the battle fields. Over all that there is a figure of the emperor, law maker, peace maker, forerunner of research – these are the frequent portraits of Napoleon and his reign. Moreover, the commemorating obelisks were erected; fountains, tympanums topped with laurels of his glory

17 G.W.F. Hegel, *Wykłady o estetyce*, Warszawa 1966, t. II, s. 327.

18 G.W.F. Hegel, *Wykłady o estetyce*, Warszawa 1966, t. II i t. III, s. 327. Hegel means music, painting and sculpture by detailed arts.

19 G.W.F. Hegel, *Wykłady o estetyce*, Warszawa 1966, t. II t. II, s. 327.

20 E. Klin, *Pojęcie romantyzmu w estetyce Hegla*, Toruń 1976, s. 9.

were built. For some people the Roman recalling functioned also as a clear warning and a frequently repeated admonition against extremity and inability to curb enormous ambitions. *While neoclassical artists searched an inspiration in the purest and most primordial forms of antiquity* – complained a well – known researcher Hugh Honour – *the artists of the empire turned to overloaded abundance of the Roman Empire*²¹. The art of ancient Empire really appealed to Napoleon's imagination with great force. In the opinion of the emperor the Doric order, distinguished by the austerity and reticence of architecture, neither elevates nor appeals loudly enough to the onlookers' imagination. But this statement of the emperor is a fairly teasing wink directed towards history, which will be discussed later, in the third chapter of this project. Nevertheless, it is true that the haughty and rich in its iconographic layer the Corinthian system became the dominant style. The same historian of art admitted at the same time that – *those buildings in Paris (the first blocks of Rue de Rivoli, Carrousel, the Stock Exchange, northern wing of Louvre) have quite a few merits – a cool precision of line, delicate details, attractive juxtaposition of materials, and, above all, rich simplicity and natural elegance*²². A real amphitheatre of the ancient history. A clear process of cleansing and simplifying the architecture in Paris in the time of the Revolution and the Directory tended to make space geometrical and essentially Platonic rhetoric of the style. In the age of *Empire* the ideal yielded to a redefinition and a new interpretation. Great layouts reflecting Napoleon's aspiration linked an idea of triumph with pragmatic spatial – urban development forms. In 1804 Jacques Marie Huvé designed and presented to Napoleon an ideal geometric plan of the city. The above mentioned celebrations of the triumphant leader and his triumphs can be noticed in many works and also in the setting of his welcoming. A readiness of approaching to the Roman ideal can be noticed even in the introduced project of Caesarean forum. It led from *Arc de Triomphe* through *Champs – Elysée* to *Tuileries*. It looked like an image of an ancient procession moving from Champs of Mars through erected porta Tryumfalis and on, through porta Carmentalis to mons Capitolinus that is Tuileries²³. The idea of triumph, however, was indivisibly connected with a situation on the international

21 H. Honour, *Neoklasycyzm*, tłum. W. Juszcak, Warszawa 1972, s. 199.

22 H. Honour, *Neoklasycyzm*, tłum. W. Juszcak, Warszawa 1972, s. 206.

23 A. Czapska, *Neoklasycyzm w architekturze europejskiej*, Warszawa 1969, s. 31, Andrzej Zahorki, *Paryż lat Rewolucji i Napoleona*, Warszawa 1964, s. 233 – 238. Napoleon's city planners had a wonderful sense of perspective. With great panache and masterful skill, they decided that the best view of the Louvre and the Tuileries, the Place de la Concorde, and the Champs-Élysées was obtained from the Étrém de Chaillot, and it was there that they began construction of the aforementioned Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile.

arena. It formed a legible framework for the emperor's actions; it was explaining and spreading an aura of mystery and incredibility as, for example, classical in the form allegories presented on tympanums. One of these could be admired till the July Monarchy in the tympanum of the great portico in the palace of Bourbon – the French Parliament. The compositions of Renault serve as another example of extolment – *Triumphant Entrance of Napoleon to the Temple of Immortality* or *Allegory the Surrender of Ulm or Austerlitz* both compositions by Antoine Francis Callet²⁴.

Step by step, Paris was changing its image. On the emperor's order Charles Percier and Pierre Fontaine marked out the Embankment Rivoli (1802 – 1835)²⁵. This magnificent work constitutes a setting for Louvre and Tuileries garden from the north. It represents a uniform architecture of the façade and clearly cut levels; despite the monumentality they seem to float on the arches of the arcade. This avenue was connected by a net of new and extended streets which were given the names commemorating the victorious campaigns fought by the emperor. Castiglione street received a new architectural layout. Later it was linked with Vendôme Square by a street. The lofty column similar to Trajan's one was erected in the north – south perspective, towards Louvre, on Vendôme Square. It was given the name of the square. The column is a monument covered with bronze tiles coming from the melted cannons captured as a result of the Austerlitz battle, from the Russian and Austrian armies. The historical event shown on the column tells the story of the victorious campaign. The tiles on the bas relief were spirally set on the column between the years 1806-1810. The team of sculptors was run by Dominique Vivant Denon together with Pierre Bergeret. The group included, among others, Jean Joseph Foucou, Louis-Simon Boizot, François Bosio, Lorenzo Bartolini, Claude Ramey, François Rude, Claude Clodion, Jean Pierre Cortot and Henri-Joseph Ruxthiel. You will find more about the monument in chapter 2. From the beginning of its existence the work aroused controversies and in a range of passing years its fate was marked by a changeable political circumstance in France. On the pages of the novel "Marriage in Paris" by Kresto Špoljar, we find the following words: *Empty and gloomy Vendôme Square. Among the flat columns covered with plaster, here and there some lit*

24 J. Polaczek, *Sztuka i polityka w Księstwie Warszawskim*, Rzeszów 2005, s. 263-264.

25 For many years a row of the buildings remained only a façade despite preferential and encouraging prices offered to potential users of the magazines under the arcades and of the flats. In future the space behind the façade was to become suitable rooms according to the taste of buyers. Nonetheless, the monumental wing of the excellent *Empire* layout won admiration and pride of Paris citizens and visitors.

*windows, and high up, over decorative white windows of an attic (...) over a decorative roof, among ragged clouds stands Napoleon in an emperor's pose, darker than the horizon, gazing into his emptiness*²⁶.

Coming back to the streets of Paris in association with them Alain De Botton writes beautifully about a symmetry of human intellect and soul. The symmetry found a reflection in a harmonic symbiosis between architectural details and law²⁷. Further on, he writes: *from a traffic island in the upper end of a large street in Paris you can see a spatial, symmetrical corridor with stately houses opening towards a square. In the middle of the square, on high column there is a man proudly standing up straight*. And later, the senses of the reader are sharpened by the following philosopher's statements when he writes – *despite excruciating disagreement of the world the buildings came to an agreement with one another and humbly submitted to a pattern*. The pattern was supplied by law coming from the pages of Code Civil, due to which – *the street teaches us a lesson on advantages drawn from a renouncement of the individual freedom for the sake of a higher, collective order where each of its parts, thanks to participating in the whole, becomes something more than it is* – because – let's complete, the freedom foreseen by the law doesn't betray the reason of state and coincides with it²⁸. The designers of the layouts were, among others, the above mentioned Charles Percier and Pierre Fontaine. They returned to the concept of constructing St. Madeleine's Church, though in a changed form, in the shape of Roman peripteral. It is the temple *which is widespread in Greece, but it doesn't exist in France*²⁹.

26 K. Spoljar, *Ślub w Paryżu*, Warszawa 1990, s.45.

27 A. de Botton, born 1969, in his vast intellectual researches discusses the most essential anxieties of modern man. The architecture of happiness – *beautiful architecture* – says the author – *hasn't unquestionable merits of a vaccine or a bowl of rice. So it'll never become a political priority, because, if even with human persistent effort and dedication, the world were shaped in such a way that it would be able to compete with St. Mark Square, we would still experience sometimes the moments of bad mood*.

28 A. de Botton, *Architektura szczęścia*, Warszawa 2006, s. 173 – 176.

29 Napoleon to Pierre Vignon. The magnificent temple is modelled after, among others, Roman temples including Pax Temple in Rome and the Temple of Trajan. It also stresses architectural motifs borrowed from thermae. The reason for the construction was erecting a memorial of the Great Army called the Temple of Fame. The construction initiated by virtue of the emperor's decree dated back to 2 December 1806 after a competition for the best design. Napoleon rejected the first prize granted to Claude Etienne Beaumont and finally accepted the proposal of Vignon, the winner of the second prize. The Temple clearly became part of a Roman – Greek tradition, strongly displayed in the *Empire* idea of the state which joins power and harmony

The author of the design was Pierre Vignon. The final shape of Concorde Square was established. In 1803-1807 a monumental portico of Palais Bourbon was erected in a mirror-like way on the other side of the square, on the north-south axis. The creator was Bernard Poyett who eliminated in this way the asymmetry of this part of the square. Madeleine's Church has an additional flank from the side of Concorde Square formed the façades of two twin palaces dating back to the times of Louis XV. They open a perspective towards the façade of the church. Together, as it were, they constitute an integral baroque-*Empire* unity – an example of a grand scale and monumental projects which were to reflect aspirations of the ruler of Europe, of Gallic Rome. In 1807 Napoleon commissioned a construction of the building of Stock Exchange to Alexandre Brogniart. The building was to be constructed on the ruins of St. Thomas monastery. The structure was laid out on a square plan surrounded by a Corinthian colonnade. It formed a symbol of economic power of France during the reign of Bonaparte. Restructuring of the interior of Louvre started with a great involvement. It wasn't the only task because enlargement of the façade was also taken into consideration, particularly of the northern wing (the southern wing came into being in the times of Napoleon III, so called New Louvre – 1852 – 1857). The palace was enlarged with the third floor in three buildings around Cour Carrée and with splendid corridors of museum³⁰. The interiors of Malmaison, which served as a private residence of Josephine and Napoleon, underwent a complete alteration. Finally, a breath of fresh spirit in art touched also Tuileries, Fontainebleau, Campagne, Saint-Cloud and Versailles. The other monuments of the epoch worth mentioning which still exist are two Arches of Triumph. The smaller one called Carrousel was erected in the place where a merry-go-round stood in the times when today's splendid courtyard of Louvre was full of wooden houses used partly as flats, partly for some other, not always legal, activities. A reason for rearranging the site appeared to be a failed attempt at the first Consul which took place on 24 December 1800. The masterpiece

of virtues, *a kind of classical symmetry between intellect and spirit in a well-built body*. The architect continued building the temple even after the Russian failure of the emperor and in the times of the Restoration. Jacques Marie Huvé, the interior designer, continued the work after Vignon's death. M. Leykam, *Architektura rzymska*, Warszawa 1978, s. 12, 21-23, 289.

30 The creators of the new architectural layout were the main architects of the epoch, Charles Percier and P.F. Fontaine. The new plans included part of the former royal palace and it also put in order the front courtyard and the square (Carrousel) which opens a perspective towards Tuileries.

designed by Fontaine and Percier consists of three arcades - the middle is higher and the side ones are lower. They are modelled after the arches dedicated to Septimius Severus and Constantine the Great situated on the Roman Forum. Its authors did not take up a new presentation of the idea comprised in the concept of a triumph gate, but they copied exactly the form from the model. The difference between the Arch and its patterns lies, among others, in the marble columns holding the entablature. Primarily, a quadriga was fixed on the top. The quadriga was brought to Paris from Venice, from the frontage of St. Mark's Basilica in 1797. After the fall of Napoleon and a partial restitution of the art works the quadriga returned to Venice. It was substituted by a newly cast "Minerva's quadriga". Finally, on the order of the emperor the top of the hill Chaillot was reinforced. The hill had already been reduced by five meters in the time of the kingdom. This site according to the order became a new square with Arc de Triomphe³¹. Four monumental reliefs are set on the pillars of the arch. Though they seem to be heavy, they convey an unusual load of emotions and grandeur. The enormous monument in the form of a single-span Roman triumph arch consisting of four parallel arcades (tetrapylone) was erected on the initiative of Napoleon I in honour of the Great Army. The creator of the design was Jean François Chalgrin who already in 1806 started the construction, but the work was interrupted and completed only during the reign of Louis Philippe I d'Orleans. The arch is ornamented by numerous groups of figures including four great reliefs: *Marseillaise* sculpted by François Rude (1833-1835); *Triumph of Napoleon* – the sculptor Jean Pierre Cortot; *Defence of France against the Coalition 1814* and *Peace*, both prepared in the studio of Antoine Étex. The magnificent frieze running around the front of the arch honours the memory of the march and the triumphant return of the French armies. The top of the Arch is crowned by a monumental, closed parapet underlined by a fine antefix which hides a terrace. Moreover, smaller *panneaux* show the famous battles and inside in the arcades there are the names of the battles fields together with the names of the outstanding leaders carved on the walls. It can be stated that from the perspective of Hegel's philosophy the arch is a form of dialectical essence of Empire. From symbolism through classicism to a romantic synthesis of both. A distinct influence of romanticism is noticed in dynamism and expressiveness of the work. At the same time it leaves an impression that it „emanates infinity". The figures remain in a creative

31 The square mentioned here is the Square of Star, known today as Charles de Gaulle Square.

rupture. Their gestures are not closed in history, but they continuously seem to experience past in the present time.

Some other elements should be mentioned next to the described above urban outlays of the epoch carried out in Paris: Great Axis east –west linking Louvre de la Concorde Square with d'Etoile Square. It constitutes a majestic perspective three kilometres long which was designed by Percier and Fontaine. The north-south layout consists of Luxembourg Palace adapted to the needs of the senate. Its garden is open to the public. In the premises there is also an astronomical observatory. The author of the described vision is architect Chalgrin. The next great accomplishment is the north-south axis with de la Madeleine Church, de la Concorde Square and Bourbon Palace³².

The growth of Paris in the spirit of *Empire* influenced also a new shape of the square in front of the cathedral on la Cité Island. This effort was actually forced by a necessity of adapting its architecture on the occasion of the emperor's coronation. The perspective towards Pantheon on the left bank of the Seine received a new street in honour of Jacques Sofflot, the architect of Pantheon. In turn, a building of Collège des Quatre-Nations, which became a seat of academic institutions, was renovated on the order of Napoleon. It was also embellished with Napoleonic iconography. The city in the days of the empire was enlarged also with the help of amusement quarters, among others, near Clichy Embankment – which in future marked the beginning of a great Clichy outlay or Pigalle Square up to Montmartre Hill. To put the empire cities in order, Napoleon Issued a regulation which solved radically the problem of town graveyards. From that time on they could be enlarged outside the cities, in the sites outlined for the purpose. In this time, on the former Jesuits land in the vicinity of Paris in 1801 admirable Pere-Lachaise graveyard was founded according to the design of, among others, Alexandre Theodore Brogniart³³. To redevelop the capital and to improve its functioning Napoleon strove for reorganization of both: the empire postal service and fire guard. They came down from the Revolution and they still contended with many difficulties . The first one wasn't able to face up to the demands of the changeable political situation on the continent. The other one wasn't able to react in time to the risks of fires in the city or to prevent them. These activities too were reflected of course in the carefully selected propaganda language. And there was a lot to talk and write about because the emperor did all

32 A. Czapka, *Neoklasycyzm w architekturze europejskiej*, Warszawa 1969, s. 31.

33 Père-Lachaise and Montparnasse, Montmartre – A.T. Brogniart, among others, took part in the stage of designing. The first graveyard boasted of a gorgeous gate in a shape of a pyramid fashionable in this time.

what he could do to make everyday life more comfortable for the residents thanks to efficiency of both institutions and also in everyday practice in various sections of his policy.

CHAPTER 2

IMMORTAL LANGUAGE OF GLORY

TRAJAN'S COLUMN AND VENDÔME COLUMN

Columns constitute an integral part of utilitarian and decorative architecture. Earlier they surrounded Greek groves of Akademos, stoas, Roman atria and fora. They embraced peripterals with their arms they, they supported splendid porticos of temples and basilicas³⁴. Owing to their help architects aptly used chiaroscuro creating an illusion of waving and of churches depth, and palace façades or tenant houses³⁵. Of course, an essential element of façades composition taking a column into consideration was so called the Giant Order which in architecture is a mathematical reflection of the space order based on the rule of golden ratio. The need for harmony, rhythm, clearness, aesthetics, usefulness and proportion led the Greeks centuries ago to work out stable principles in the construction and urban planning³⁶. And these in turn were enlarged and presented by Marcus Vitruvius Polio in a Roman perspective³⁷. Through the ages the columns have fulfilled various tasks carrying also a wide range of meanings including cognitive, didactic, ordering, aesthetic, utilitarian and technical³⁸. Columns and pillars underlined the function and dignity of individual buildings. They symbolized stability and steadfastness together with confidence and force constituting the dialectics of propaganda through architecture. Finally they referred to metaphysics and philosophy.

34 A. Czapska, *Neoklasycyzm w architekturze europejskiej*, Warszawa 1970, s. 17.

35 A. Rottermund, *Jean Nicolas Louis Durand a polska architektura I połowy XIX wieku*, Wrocław 1990, s.23-24.

36 M.W.Polio, *O architekturze ksiąg dziesięć*, Warszawa 1956, s.15.

37 M.W.Polio, *O architekturze ksiąg dziesięć*, Warszawa 1956, s. 60-80.

38 M. Leykam, *Architektura rzymska*, Warszawa 1978, s.79-97.

In the time of the Roman Empire free-standing columns covered with reliefs were used in many cases. They had a monumental or symbolic character. The mission of the monumental columns³⁹ was commemorating some events and heroes who deserved immortality in the opinion of generations. Such works of art with a special prestige and an inventive solution in the form of a spiral relief were erected in Rome in the second century: Trajan's column⁴⁰ and the column of Marcus Aurelius, while at the onset of 19th century one of the Paris monuments was inspired by them.

Trajan's column is the best preserved example of the monuments belonging to the period of ancient Rome. The story of two victorious campaigns against Dacians was depicted in its marble, spirally climbing face. They were led by the emperor in the years 101-102 and 105-106. The monument was inaugurated on 12 May 113⁴¹. Similar activities were taken up in case of the work of art situated on Vendôme Square with the aim of commemorating the military campaign and Austerlitz battle led by the emperor Napoleon I and the Great Army. The battle took place in the period from 25 August till 26 December 1805 as an answer to the actions of the Third Coalition of the European countries: England, Austria, Russia and Sweden. The shaft of the French monument was also entwined with the spiral frieze, but in this case separate reliefs were cast in bronze⁴². The monument was unveiled on 15 August 1810⁴³, however, because of political reasons the ruler was absent during the ceremony⁴⁴.

The first of the masterpieces was designed by Apollodorus from Damascus, employed on Trajan's court, and it was supervised with great probability by one sculptor, which is

39 E. Makowiecka, *Sztuka Rzymu. Od Augusta do Konstantyna*, Warszawa 2010, s. 97-100.

40 A. Choisy, *Histoire de L'Architecture*, Ligugé, Poitiers, 1996, s. 588.

41 E. Makowiecka, *Sztuka Rzymu. Od Augusta do Konstantyna*, Warszawa 2010, s. 97. The inauguration could take place a little later because of some technical reasons (among others the necessity of preparing a hole in the surface of the square in order to fix the column). Nevertheless, historians are not sure if the date covers the time of dedication or conservation of the monument.

42 A. Dulewicz, *Słownik sztuki francuskiej*, Warszawa 1977, s. 139-140.

43 J. Paul Nèrrière, *Birth of a Column*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s. 30.

44 In this time the former adversary and failed enemy in the battle of Austerlitz was already an ally (though unwillingly and due to the marriage of Napoleon with a daughter of Francis I, the archduchess Marie Louise von Habsburg which was held in April 1810).

indicated by a stylistic homogeneity of the work sculpted in Carrara marble. When the work was completed, the column was covered with polychrome, which was confirmed by a research and technical examination⁴⁵. The whole column consists of seventeen marble drums set on a base. The interior was hollowed and later a spiral staircase was added inside, illuminated by 43 narrow windows. The construction without the figure, but together with the three - part base, shaft and pedestal above the terrace is about 40m high, while the base itself is 5,5m high. The spiral bas-relief runs as long as 200m displaying the historical events and it winds 24 times around the column. The relief shows nearly 2500 figures in 155 recognized scenes. The diameter of the shaft varies from 3,20m at the base of the Ionic capital which is a kind of a ring consisting of so called oculi⁴⁶. Above, there is a slab serving as a viewing deck and a dais for the statue of the emperor⁴⁷. The band of the frieze was constructed in a peculiar way to achieve a clear presentation of the story: at the bottom its height together with the figures measures about 0,89m and then, while climbing, it reaches a width between 1,25m and nearly 2m in the highest part⁴⁸. The distances between the fragments of the relief narration are separated by a ribbon in a form of a delicate weave. The pedestal itself consists of a finely moulded base on a square plan, slightly narrowing towards the centre, and it is delicately embellished with falling acanthus leaves. Its proper part rises above, at the height of about 2m. It is divided into two parts by two rows of rollers. The bas-relief representing images of war trophies are inserted among the rollers: an element of armour, arches, shields, banners. The whole is crowned with three-part moulded cornice above which the base of the appropriate column was set. It consists of two plinths – bigger, decorated with falling acanthus leaves and a smaller one without any decoration where the torus and the shaft rest. Four corners are embellished with eagles with spread wings which keep garlands in their claws. The garlands, in turn, contain interwoven oak leaves. On the axis of the column from the south-east side there is a two-wing bronze door. It is 2m high and above it there is a commemorative plaque supported by two personifications of victory glorifying the emperor's deed in the course of the war with Dacians. The masterpiece was situated on Trajan's Forum

45 E. Makowiecka, *Sztuka Rzymu. Od Augusta do Konstantyna*, Warszawa 2010, s. 107-112.

46 The capital of the column is echinus in the form of Ionic cymation with astragal at the base.

47 It plays the role of abacus.

48 E. Makowiecka, *Sztuka Rzymu. Od Augusta do Konstantyna*, Warszawa 2010, s. 107-112.

which was 300m long and 190m wide. The column was built on a yard behind Basilica Ulpia⁴⁹ standing across the great complex between the Greek library and the Latin library. From the south a monumental gate in a form of triumphal arch opened the perspective of the forum designed on a grand scale. The layout included also an equestrian gold-plated statue of the emperor surrounded by several statues of the leaders and Dacian prisoners of war⁵⁰. The last work closing the imposing place from the north side was a temple (peripteral) in honour of divine Trajan constructed on the axis of the Basilica and the Dacian column⁵¹. The temple was situated at the top of a large square surrounded by a colonnade erected for the emperor by the virtue of a resolution taken up by the senate in 116. It was dedicated to him by his successor Hadrian⁵². At the end it's worth adding that the urns with the ashes of emperor Trajan⁵³ and his wife Plotina were placed in the column's vestibule. After the death of the ruler on the order of Hadrian the eagle on the top of the column was replaced by a bronze statue of Trajan. The designer of Forum was also Apollodorus. Emperor Constantinus II visiting Forum in 357 stated that *it is the most refined structure under the sky, admired even by gods*⁵⁴. Whereas Cassiodorus wrote: *no matter how many times you watch Trajan's Forum, it always seems to be splendid*⁵⁵. Some hundred years later, in 1587 a statue of St. Peter was

49 The Basilica performed a legal and commercial function. In case of the complex in consideration a certain novum was introduced – the basilica constitutes here an integral part of the layout, not a separate building as it was used to be before.

50 The monument was located in the centre of the square in front of the basilica. The square was surrounded by the porticos and two exedras facing each other.

51 A. Choisy, *Histoire de L'Architecture*, Ligugé, Poitiers, 1996, s. 600.

52 Despite the fact that sources confirm the emperor's dedication there is no clear information if Hadrian was the person who ordered its construction. There are also premises confirmed by Trajan's decree dated to 29 August 104 in which he commanded a construction of a monumental sacred building in the place of a temple according to the promise given before the military expeditions. The building was supposed to close the square at the top. Perhaps (as promised before the Dacian expeditions) the temple was dedicated to Victoria. Hadrian, however, continuing the construction re-dedicated it in honour of his foster father.

53 As the only Roman emperor Trajan was held in high esteem among the first Christians due to his famous clementia. Pope Gregory the Great while making a reconnaissance of the column noticed the fragments which refer to his attitude full of respect for the weaker, taking care of them, his generosity and support. The pope saw a fragment where Trajan takes care of a mother whose son was killed during the campaign.

54 J. Bennett, *Trajan. Optimus Princeps*, Oświęcim 2015, s. 19; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Dzieje rzymskie*, tłum. Ignacy Lewandowski, XVI. 10. 15, Warszawa 2001, t.I, s.227.

55 J. Bennett, *Trajan. Optimus Princeps*, Oświęcim 2015, s. 19.

set on the top of the column by virtue of the decision of Sixtus V. The work on another honorary monument⁵⁶ started on 25 August 1806. The author of the column's design was Dominique Vivant Denon⁵⁷ who designed the work respecting the emperor's instructions⁵⁸. He entrusted the outstanding architects, the experts of Roman art and the participants of the Egyptian campaign with the execution of the column: Jen Gondoin and Jean Baptiste Lèpèr⁵⁹. Denon cooperated with his friend Pierre Nolasque Bergeret on preparing 280 sketches on 76 plates containing the precisely composed scenes. What is interesting though not all the drawings were prepared by Bergeret the main author managed to finish them within fourteen months. The work on the project was currently modified as many times as fourteen, which is confirmed by the reports of witnesses⁶⁰. Denon employed 32 talented and promising sculptors including a woman, Julia Charpentier who sculpted four effigies⁶¹. It means that the monument was the result of cooperation within the group of artists which finally by no means influenced the cohesion in the aspect of design as well as casting and putting the work of art together. It makes an essential difference because in case of Trajan's Column there is no evidence preserved which might point to the activity of collaborators of Apollodorus, so it is hard to judge unequivocally if he really was the only creator of the idea, draftsman or even builder.

The work of art in Paris consists, in a similar way to the Roman work, of a square base from porphyry, but, what has already been written above, it was plated with the reliefs cast in bronze. While the shaft inside contains a construction made of 98 carefully fitted stone drums covered with bronze reliefs connected in one cohesive spiral frieze. Inside there is a staircase. The column without the statue is 44m high and the circumference is about 3m. The ribbon of the relief was cast in the workshop of Jean Baptiste Launay and his collaborator Charles

56 E. Makowiecka, *Sztuka Rzymu. Od Augusta do Konstantyna*, Warszawa 2010, s. 97.

57 J.Paul Nèrrière, *Birth of a Column*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s. 22.

58 J.Paul Nèrrière, *Birth of a Column*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s. 27.

59 A. Czapska, *Neoklasycyzm w architekturze europejskiej*, Warszawa 1970, s. 29.

60 J.Paul Nèrrière, *Birth of a Column*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s. 26.

61 J.Paul Nèrrière, *Birth of a Column*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s. 28.

Stanislas Canlers. Nearly 200 tons of metal arranged in the frieze 280m long which winds around the shaft 22 times with a delicate inclination of about 10%. The architect took sensitivity of material into consideration because of a temperature fluctuation which causes the changes of bronze dimension of about 50% in relation to the stone on which the plates were arranged. If not for the suitable calculations connected with technological and constructional efforts of the architects, the mechanical damage of the structure might appear as well as reliefs deformation. Despite natural changes due to the rise and fall of air temperature, joints between the plates remain invisible⁶². All that happens thanks to the long, bronze clamps put into the oval openings of the metal staples situated in the stone wall and in the holes of the reliefs. In accordance with the design the monument was topped in a way similar to the top of Trajan's column. The figure of Napoleon was put on a spherically vaulted plinth embellished with scales. The figure was shown in a stylized pose of Roman emperor⁶³, In contrapposto⁶⁴, with civic crown⁶⁵ on his head and with paludamentum⁶⁶ on his shoulders and he wore also a short toga. The ruler holds a small globe with rising Victoria in his right hand. His left hand holds a short sword with an edge directed downwards called ceremonial parazonium⁶⁷. The emperor wasn't displayed here in the famous breastplate⁶⁸. The fact should

62 J.Paul Nèrière, *Birth of a Column*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s. 28.

63 In this case a certain departure from the wish of Napoleon happened, namely he wanted to be presented in a military uniform. Chaudet, the main emperor's portrait painter, changed the instructions, at the same time convincing the emperor to the new way of presentation.

64 Contrapposto, a relaxed pose in which the weight of the body rests on one foot while another foot is slightly moved back and slightly bent. This way of showing figures comes from the Greek tradition of classical sculpture of Doryphoros by Polycetes.

65 corona civica (Latin), laurel wreath of glory awarded to triumphant consuls, dictators and emperors. The Roman symbol of emperor's power.

66 Paludamentum (Latin) is a Roman military cloak worn on the shoulders around the neck and fastened on the height of the right shoulder with a golden clasp. The emperors usually wore the purple cloak (sagum purpureum).

67 Parazonium ceremonial (Latin) is a sword of length about 37 – 57cm. In Rome it was a symbol of social and military rank taken over from the Greeks. It was used during ceremonies or during campaigns to point to a direction of an attack, but it was never used in a fight. The sword was attached to the left side, at the hip. In the early version of the statue Napoleon was supposed to hold a long sword in his right hand. The sword was directed downwards and it was also shaped in another way. The figure wore a longer cloak and he was deprived of tunic.

68 Cuirass was also called lorika (Latin) is an armour consisting of two parts – a breastplate and a backplate.

prove an aspiration to retain peace in Europe, Pax Napoleonica. The narrative and artistic layer of the plinth and shaft was composed in a similar way to the work of Apollodorus. The similarities are also noticed in the practical elements of the monument. On the axis of the column there is a two-wing door with a commemorative plaque above. The plaque glorifies emperor Napoleon I and the Great Army covered in immortal glory in the victorious campaign against the Germans (the campaign took place on the territory of the Reich and Austrian monarchy). It's worth adding that the monument was built also of the captured Austrian and Russian cannons. This model of gaining material for constructing new works was also present in the Roman architecture. The story of the Great Army Column (because it was its name according to the emperor's wish)⁶⁹ started much earlier, already in 1800. The final decision was taken up only after Austerlitz victory⁷⁰. Also the place is not accidental. Namely the Paris forum of Louis XIV that is Vendôme Square, called in the age of ancien régime Place de Conquêtes, is a work of royal architect Jules Harduin Mansart. It was just the site after the monument of the King – Sun had been pulled down by Sansculottes on 13 August 1792, that a place to be completed appeared. The Council of Paris was considering building a monument in the form of column – *to commemorate brave citizens of districts*⁷¹ already in 1800. In 1803, rue Rivoli was marked out and rue Castiglione was built. This movement let the perspective open towards the empty square and in the opposite direction, towards Tuileries – the seat of the First Consul. Only then the issue returned to drawing rooms in Paris. Exactly on 1 October 1803 the First Consul turned to representatives of Italy asking for – *a column modelled after the one erected in Rome in honour of Trajan*⁷². Initially a monument of Charles the Great was planned to top the work. On 26 May 1804 the French Institute put forward a proposal of the column with an effigy of emperor Napoleon. Of course Vendôme Square remained the destination. Similarly to place des Vosges the square as an enclosed space provided a high class architectural frame for the ruler's monument. The square

69 Colonne Grand Armée, the formal name was to testify respect for the soldiers, but also Roman connotations of Europe united under the French power drawing on a catalogue of virtue and virtutis of Roman Caesars.

70 Vendôme Column, however, is not the first in France to glorify the Great Army and the emperor. When marshal Soult was distinguished with Legion of Honour for his merits and the merits of his troops in 1804, a still existing marble column was erected in Boulogne-sur-Mer. Napoleon standing on the top looks towards England. The designer of the bronze statue was François Joseph Bosio.

71 J. Tulard, *The Vendôme Column a Napoleonic symbol*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s. 17.

72 J. Tulard, *The Vendôme Column a Napoleonic symbol*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s.17.

was founded on a rectangular plan with cut corners, surrounded by houses of equal height. They were flanked by six triangularly topped half-porticos as avant-corps. Up till now the layout has been a cohesive narration from the ideological and artistic point of view. Its classical monumentalism joined with its lightness and elegance became part of the idea of Napoleonic monarchy where the state of law with all democratic institutions and the constitution was supposed to be the highest good. It reflected the thought of Napoleon in its shape, rhythm and harmony. The square constructed in this manner enclosed political and social space which proved the equality in the face of law for everybody. The decisions of Napoleon and Senate were taken up on 1 January 1806. The column itself and the statue experienced many dramatic moments. After the fall of the emperor the statue was substituted by the Bourbon flag. In the age of July Monarchy, in 1833, a work by Charles Émile Seurre was installed. Today, the work found its place under the arch of upper part of the middle avant-corps in the court of Hotel des Invalides. The statue was removed by virtue of Napoleon's III decision and substituted with a copy of the prototype from 1810 made by August Dumont according to Antoine Denis Chaudet. Because of the outbreak of Paris Commune on 12 April 1871, the column was pulled down on the proposal of a painter, Gustave Courbet as a symbol of imperial regime and militarism. However, already in 1873 marshal-president Patrice de Mac Mahon decided to reconstruct the column. The reconstruction lasted until 1875. The statue of Napoleon I returned to the top. It was possible because little time passed between the demolition and reconstruction, not enough to melt the bronze reliefs or the emperor's figure despite Courbet's encouragement⁷³. So it could be rebuilt mainly with the use of the original elements. The figure, prepared by Dumont and renovated by sculptor Penelli, returned to the top of the column on 28 December 1875⁷⁴.

Both columns came into being in the distant past, also their fate differed. But still they share a lot in the formal and artistic aspect. It also refers to the ideological and propaganda questions. The point of departure for Trajan's column was with great plausibility a literary work of Trajan "Dacia" partly preserved in fragments as well as a literary work by a court physician Titus Statilius Crispin „Getica"⁷⁵. As far as Vendôme in Paris is concerned the person testifying true events was, among others, an outstanding draftsman and Museum of

73 The government charged the painter with the cost of the restitution of the work. It was decided that he would pay the debt in instalments as soon as the reconstruction was finished for the next 33 years. The artist, however, didn't live long enough to pay the first instalment.

Louvre⁷⁶ director Dominique Vivant Denon and many reports describing the campaigns⁷⁷. Descriptions of eye-witnesses⁷⁸, newspaper articles⁷⁹, speeches of the emperor directed to his soldiers, his orders printed in the Bulletins of the Great Army⁸⁰, legal documents or other kinds of works connected with the mentioned campaign were not less important. Moreover, Napoleon's personal considerations also influenced his choice of the Roman model⁸¹. His extraordinary respect for Trajan a ruler, leader, and the grandiose founder and creator of Rome's urban space was also a factor. The fact of a short time distance from the finished campaigns spoke for relatively faithful true historical narrations shown on the friezes in case of both monuments. The period ranged between 6 and 5 years when undoubtedly witnesses were still alive. The reliefs, in case of Trajan's monument, supply particularly worth evidence of the past because of the scarcity of written sources describing the campaigns.

Both works of art, symbolic in an assumption, abound with a great number of events, though the iconographic layer of Vendôme column is, in my opinion, more synthetic and cohesive. Moreover, it is characterized by a greater clarity, but also by a certain stability. The story begins in Boulogne-sur-Mer where the French army waits for the order of marching towards Austerlitz⁸². Whereas, Trajan's column surprises with a more dense number of presented figures, actions and events. The artist begins his narration in a moment of crossing the Danube by the Roman troops through two pontoon bridges under the watchful eye of

74 J. Tulard, *The Vendôme Column a Napoleonic symbol*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s.17.

75 J. Bennett, *Trajan. Optimus Princeps*, Oświęcim 2015, s. 165.

76 In that time the Museum was known under the name of Napoleon.

77 Pamiętnik Mieszczanina, 10.XII.1805, nr. 12, s. 13.

78 Klemens Bendkowski, *Kronika Krakowska 1796-1846*, s.56.

79 J. Baszkiewicz, *Anatomia Bonapartyzmu*, Gdańsk 2008, s. 39.

80 Napoleon Bonaparte, *Mowy i Rozkazy*, Warszawa 2002, s. 47-73.

81 It was not the monument to Marcus Aurelius, nor the fragmentarily preserved monument to Antoninus Pius, but a work from the era of Trajan that powerfully captured the emperor's imagination, simultaneously linking it to his urban planning and architectural endeavors aimed at making Paris the capital of a global empire. The same will be true of the choice of architect for the Temple of Glory, today's Church of Mary Magdalene.

82 Claire Maigon, *From Drawings to bas-relief*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s.62-63.

protective Danubius⁸³. The crossing was completed with cleansing ceremonies. The relief of Apollodorus is more vivid, which is precisely noticed in the better preserved parts. The artist succeeded in obtaining an effect of chiaroscuro thanks to a soft and expressive plasticity. He also rendered tensions accompanying the fighting sides possibly realistically. In both cases three perspectives are applied: front, lateral and aerial. The figures are shown laterally, half-turn, sometimes they are turned with their back to viewers. The onlookers can also watch the figures from above during construction work⁸⁴.

Trajan's monument contains relatively many landscape themes, and the scenes happen in open space without buildings. The artist also immortalized some new settlements which were appearing successively on the basis of the Roman legionary camps known as castrum. In case of Vendôme column skirmishes and fights take place more often in towns and neighbourhood. Also in case of the column in Paris the sculptor used the perspective when drawing the surrounding landscape. It's not important that the foreground figures are as tall as the gates and buildings, as if they squeezed through very narrow passes, since we won't spot this „flaw” when standing on the street level. The works from Rome and Paris strike with an exceptional precision of presenting faces and physiognomy. If the emperor is always taller on the plan of the Roman column, though even without that feature we could easily identify him on the basis of the iconography⁸⁵, then in the narration of another column Napoleon is always as tall as the other participants. This attitude of the designer should be understood as intentional. *I didn't usurp the crown, but I picked it up from a gutter, and people put it on my head. The decision of the people should be respected*⁸⁶ – Napoleon used to say. After all, he was one of them and he experienced everyday hardship as they did. He obtained the crown thanks to his own effort and not as an heir. He became the emperor with the approval of the Senate and with the support of citizens⁸⁷. We can identify the presented central figures ⁸⁸

83 Danubius (Latin) the Danube in a personified form takes care of the Roman troops.

84 E. Makowiecka, *Sztuka Rzymu. Od Augusta do Konstantyna*, Warszawa 2010, s. 110.

85 When the column was fully covered in polychrome, the emperor could be recognized by a golden breastplate and a red cloak, the officers by silver insignia and armour.

86 J. Baszkiewicz, *Anatomia Bonapartyzmu*, Gdańsk 2008, s. 85.

87 The plebiscite is meant. It confirmed a consent of the French to start a hereditary French empire in the ruling house of Bonaparte.

88 J.Paul Nèrrière, *The illustrious*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s.236.

without any problems thanks to descriptions and portraits of the most important participants of the struggle. At the same time it should be remembered that the precision of rendering the authentic person concerned mainly emperors, marshals, officers or diplomats. We see them moreover in the elegant uniforms as in the foreground with batons. They charge encouraging the soldiers to follow. Whereas the uniforms used during the campaign consisted of used clothes rid of any elegance. So a propaganda and an aesthetic trick was performed to recognize immediately the main players by every viewer.

Trajan's column is pervaded with sacred motifs coming from beliefs of the founder and audience, but also due to propaganda methods. An example is supplied once more by the moment of crossing the Danube by the emperor and the first troops. The Danube was depicted in a personified form as Danuvius keeping watch over the troops crossing his waters through two pontoon bridges⁸⁹. When the soldiers crossed the river, they were cleansed thanks to the rite known as *suovetaurilia* which means a ritual sacrifice dedicated to Mars. The emperor, who wore a robe of pontifex maximus, presided the ceremony⁹⁰. The Parisian monument also stresses the relationship between the events and the sacred. The emperor often participates in them. The events give opportunities of meeting clergy as part of a deputation⁹¹, in the moment of the peace swearing ceremony in Pressburg or in sacred places. Yet, the most suggestive moment in the source is the moment when a priest holds a cross in one hand over the fighting and with another arm he tries to protect a new-born baby against the drama of war. The episode is authentic and it happened on 15 November 1805⁹². The artist described the dramatic moment when the French dragoons try to protect the clergyman with the baby against a blade of an Austrian bayonet nearly touching him. The meaning of the picture is very suggestive and prophetic. It was just the Frenchmen with souls pervaded with the revolution to save the clergyman against certain death at the hands of Habsburg soldiers faithful to the Church. Nothing is casual in this scene. Piercing literalism, managing the turns of action and symbols. The picture was very clear to contemporary audience. It spoke to the

89 J.Bennett, *Trajan. Optimus Princeps*, Oświęcim 2015, s.165.

90 J.Bennett, *Trajan. Optimus Princeps*, Oświęcim 2015, s.165.

91 J.Paul Nerrière, *The Colonne of the Grande Armée*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, Ambroise Tardieu, tablica 25, rycina 56, s.178.

92 J.Paul Nerrière, *The dragon, hussars, and grenadiers*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s.213.

citizen immersed in ancient regime tradition as well as to the one stuck to the Revolution ideas⁹³.

Trajan's monument uses the motif *clementi* very strongly. Here we see, for example, the emperor in the moment of leaning over the women, old men, children to take care of them⁹⁴. Similar content of the scenes is also found in the pictures of Vendôme Column. What is interesting in the narration of this work, is the participation of women, which is strongly stressed. The women support the Great Army actively, are enthusiastic about the emperor. They are accompanied by children kept in arms of mothers or standing near. The mothers are like Juno – the caring deity of maternity, protecting the fighting. After all, she is Mother of mothers⁹⁵ and in this way one of the participants was presented. But it is also a symbol of sacrificing their own sons that the women make on an altar of future victory. Still innocent sons and daughters whose fate seems to be determined.

The narration of both monuments shows also a strong emotional link between then ruler and soldiers. It is just closeness and attention of the emperor, connected with nearly paternal presence which guarantee a victory. It appears in the common crossing the Danube by Trajan together with his legionaries. In personal seeing to usual camp activities, but also on a battle field. Accompanying the tired and suffering soldiers. Similar moments are depicted on the Austerlitz relief in the same beautiful manner. Here, the emperor unfastened a medal from his jacket and pins it to the jacket of the young dragoon Marent as a recognition of his accomplishments during the battle. The emperor distinguishes him in front of the troop, appreciates and conquers allegiance⁹⁶. The contemporary viewers knew that the emperor decorated exclusively for intelligent and ingenious actions. So it might be a call to those who hesitate to follow the shining star which leads Napoleon.

In both works the turning point of history was clearly marked. So to speak the climax of the activities followed by a real development of the action and the final of the military

93 J.Paul Nerrière, *The illustrious*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s.237.

94 J.Bennett, *Trajan. Optimus Princeps*, Oświęcim 2015, s.168-170.

95 J.Paul Nerrière, *The dragon, hussars, and grenadiers*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s.210-211.

96 J.Paul Nerrière, *The Fighters and their motivations*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s.188.

struggle⁹⁷. Victoria holding a pen is seen on Trajan's frieze. She writes the conditions of peace after the first Dacian campaign from 102⁹⁸ on her shield. She sat down. Her right foot leans on a shoulder of a Dacian soldier. We recognize him by a pointed cap and large trousers. The story ends in the moment of suicide death of Decebal, the Dacian leader and when his head cut off by an officer, Titus Claudius Maximus, is handed to the emperor⁹⁹. A similar method was applied in the Parisian relief¹⁰⁰. Victoria writes the act of surrender on the shield. The act is signed by Austrian general Mack on 20 October 1805 near Ulm. The surrender opened the way to Vienna for Grande Armée and then towards the hills of Pratzen near Austerlitz. The military struggle is completed by the fragments showing the ratification of the peace in Pressburg on 26 December 1805¹⁰¹ and the official declaration of the act on 27 January 1806¹⁰². This moment is announced by winged Concordia who blows the fanfare provided with vexillum¹⁰³. She keeps a laurel twig in her hand and she turns to Seine sitting on a bank¹⁰⁴. Both stories end with loading trophies followed by a procession of the returning troops which lead the prisoners of war. The legionaries saw Rome and Forum Romanum from afar while the tired eyes of the Frenchmen noticed the towers of Notre-Dame de Paris shimmering proudly. A bucolic plot enriches the narrative content of Trajan's monument. Somewhere on the horizon behind the soldiers walking away there is a picture of undisturbed

97 J.Paul Nèrrière, *The Colone of the Grande Armée, by A. Tardieu*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, Ambroise Tardieu, tablica 10, s. 168.

98 J. Bennett, Trajan. Optimus Princeps, Oświęcim 2015, s.172.

99 J.Bennett, Trajan. Optimus Princeps, Oświęcim 2015, s.182. E. Makowiecka, *Sztuka Rzymu. Od Augusta do Konstantyna*, Warszawa 2010, s.110.

100 J.Paul Nèrrière, *The Illustrious*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s.267.

101 J.Paul Nèrrière, *The Illustrious*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s.267.

102 J.Paul Nèrrière, *Dragons, hussars and grenadiers*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s.215-216.

103 Vexillum (Latin), a flame attached to a fanfare with the symbol of the troop. A small pennant attached to a trumpet. In this case the inscription says: „Pax de Presbourg”.

104 J.Paul Nèrrière, *Dragons, hussars and grenadiers*, w J. Tulard, *Vendôme. The Column, the bronze Grande Armée*, Paris 2021, s.216-217.

grazing animals. A pastoral image of peace. Pax Romana became the fact. Civilization work of Rome started to be fruitful. All the united nations can take advantage of it¹⁰⁵.

Chapter 3

ROMAN AND NAPOLEONIC TRIUMPH ARCHES

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The history of arch in culture of societies can be analysed from some points of view, among others: historical, technological, constructional, artistic-aesthetic, religious, political, military or philosophical. Undoubtedly, the arch as an architectural form was a substantial constructive element. In many Romance languages such as French or Romanian (*arc*), Italian, Spanish (*arco*) its written form and pronunciation sound similar. It derives from the Latin word *arcus* and it contains many meanings which depend on a context, i.e. astronomical, mathematical or medical. The word *arcus* has a considerable meaning for Judaism and Christianity because it is connected with peace and reconciliation (the Arc of Covenant). The arch joins what was separated, protects under the pillars, guarantees a safe journey, survival (Noah's Ark). It lets rise above the surrounding world in a physical, intellectual and mental sense. It has been a monument of memory, glory and permanence. The triumph of memory over *vanitas*. The symbol of power of life and victory in a literal (the Roman triumphant arches) and metaphysical sense. Finally, it is a gate of symbolic and real crossing – initiation and cleansing (*fornix* played such a role in the Roman time), but also it is a bridge linking two

105 J. Ciechanowicz, *Rzym, ludzie budowe*, Warszawa 1989, s. 228.

banks of a river and a pier between earthly life and eternity. It can be a symbol of Greek Arche – that is the First Cause.

The history of arch in architecture goes back to ancient times. We meet the first solutions in building which adopted arched lintels already in the ancient civilizations such as Mesopotamia and Egypt. Most often they were bridges or in the next epochs aqueducts and the architecture of towns and palaces. The application of arch in modelling a construction of a work let the use of lighter and more effective engineering and technological solutions which made buildings more elastic and sophisticated and their architecture more efficient and more versatile. More complicated with the time passing. Obviously we don't know when the arch was used in architecture for the first time, nor who was the first architect or engineer to use it. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that it was a long process of development towards a continuous improvement of new forms. The first arches were the constructions made of wood and stone, used in building and art of war. After some time they evolved towards the solutions on the basis of stone blocks or bricks. They were formed in a shape of wedge known as voussoirs where the upper edge should be wider than lower. They had to be cut very precisely to fit tight to the surface of the neighbouring voussoirs because its task was to convey load. Arch stands on a vertical support of the arch which are walls or pillars. The point in which they are linked is called springer or resilient line. Arches were built parallelly from the start of springers¹⁰⁶ (the lowest voussoir of the pillar) with two pillars upwards where they were joined by a keystone at the meeting point. The highest stone of pillar, retaining a wall or a pier carrying the voussoir, if it differs in a form or size, is called impost. The dictionary of terms defines arch as a curved and supported architectural – constructional element¹⁰⁷. It distinguishes, among others, decorative arches used on surface of the walls – many a time in the places where the constructional arch is invisible – on its front or soffit imitating the shape and tectonic, e.g. archivolt or chandelier arch. Further, we have the already mentioned constructional arches used to closing the openings and strengthening walls (relieving arches, e.g. Pantheon in Rome). Their task is to convey the load of their own weight and the carried load on the sides. Moreover, we meet kinds of flat and apparent arches. The arch is also defined on the basis of a span that is the distance of the springer points horizontally and in an arrow understood as a distance between the span and the highest point of the soffit. We meet

106 Springer – the impost or place where the vertical support for an arch terminates and the curve of the arch begins. (Harris, Cyril M. *Dictionary of Architecture and Construction*, publisher McGraw-Hill 2006, fourth edition

107 K.Kubalska-Sulkiewicz, *Słownik terminologiczny sztuk pięknych*, Warszawa 2002, s.243.

among others full arches, segmental arches, basket arches, elliptical or trefoil arches in the context of these features. The full Roman arch will be the most important form for our further considerations. It is most often met in the architecture of triumphant arches of this epoch and in the time of the *Empire* style. Introducing the arches into construction built in brick Roman engineers, as masters in this field, made use of the Etruscan achievements which will be discussed later on the next pages. The engineers noticed quickly that the arches had many good points in comparison to horizontal beams or simple lintels. Firstly, they can expand over bigger surfaces of a wall and an opening. Their construction enables carrying a much heavier weight, which comes from the fact that a pressure downwards on an arch makes voussoirs move closer and very tight. That was more significant in the situation in which the Romans often didn't use any mortar relying on a precision of material processing. There was, however, a snag for the engineers to face. It arose from a tendency of the blocks to be pressed out radially as a result of a carrier pressure. Massive supports were invented to reduce the pressure and to transfer it on foundations. This solution was just applied while designing triumphal arches¹⁰⁸. Launching the arch on a broad scale enables also fixing vaults and development of architecture designed on a plan of a circle, completely crowned with a spheric dome. Roman Pantheon will serve as an example where great arches introduced in a cylindrical construction of the load-bearing walls relieve the pressure of the enormous concrete dome. Such a solution made the whole construction work continuously. It is relatively elastic and resistant to tectonic movements of the base. To cut it short, it is stable.

Arches have always been built with a full compass. Simple pillars supported them, while half-columns, columns or pilasters supported the architrave. Only at the turn of 3rd and 4th century we come across columns bearing an arch under the influence of Syrian art. Diocletian's palace in Split serves as an example. Vaults applied in Rome were initially built also from voussoirs thanks to a development in arch construction. To simplify the lower part of an arch at a support it was built without shoring, but slabs with tenons were used to prevent from sliding, to be observed in Colosseum. Each of the arches in a vault was self-supporting thanks to the fact that the vault was supported by sliding shoring in the upper part. Moreover, another solution was proposed. That is the way of arranging the shoring to support the ends of broad voussoirs. With the time passing, Romans started building vaults putting alternately long slabs, which gave one another support. They were placed on portable shorings¹⁰⁹. Using

108 <https://projekty-wimar.pl/2023/01/02/luk-najwazniejsze-odkrycie-architektoniczne/>

109 M. Leykam, *Architektura rzymska*, Warszawa 1978, s. 46.

vaults was connected also with inventing cement and concrete, and working out rules of applying them. These in turn appeared also in the triumphant arches in the age of the empire and became its inherent element.

The technological and engineering achievements in the culture of Rome wouldn't be possible without a contact with many cultures in the course of territorial development in the area of the Mediterranean Sea basin, Asia, on the lands of Gaul, Germany and also of today's England. The very practical and business-like Romans, aspiring to supremacy over their conquered territories and consolidating it in every aspect of their activity. They tried to assimilate the best manifestations of the subjugated nations to their own needs and turn them into a common inheritance. We always remember mainly the Hellenic civilization with its Greek source. It was radiating over a vast area starting from the territory of western Asia through northern Africa up to the coast of today's Spain and Italy, where as Virgil says in "Aeneid"¹¹⁰, in vicinity of later Alba Longa¹¹¹. Let's not go into details of the otherwise magnificent epic which was the national and civic work of ancient Romans comparable to the Augustinian triumphant arch. The arch which united them, gave them a feeling of power and never-ending time. The unifying force has been up to now culture in the wide approach.

Before Rome touched the subtle laces of Greek civilization, it had met Etruscan culture and it was just the culture to form the background of great Rome for several centuries. The Etruscans came to the neighbourhood of the Tyrrhenian Sea perhaps from Lydia¹¹². They settled at the mouth of the Tiber in Caere and Tarquinia to conquer Umbria, Tuscany and continued the march to the north towards the Alps and on to the surroundings of the bay of Naples. The Etruscans brought and developed many branches of craft and art on the place which were later thoroughly used by the Romans who multiplied them. Next to the adopted attributes of power and institutions in the sphere of architecture there was the mentioned above the barrel vault. They were being constructed in horizontal layers from hanging stones and arches formed of bosses. This type of construction was used for the first time about 4th century b.C.. The first domes – later the symbol of Roman innovation – were built in a similar way. It was a Lydian – Phrygian pattern. Moreover, they used Ionic capitals and decorations

110 P. V. Maro, *Eneida*, Kraków 1978, tł. I. Wieniewski, VII, s. 25-35.

111 The main fortified settlement which belonged to the Latin League – *Latium Antiquum*, founded according to the legend by Ascanius, son of Aeneas.

112 Herodotus writes in 5th century B.C. about the Lydian origin of the Etruscans which might be confirmed by language, lettering, clothes and form of appliances.

in the form of Lydian palmettes¹¹³. They applied popular full arches made from the mentioned bosses to construct two bridges in Bieda in 7th century b.C. . The Romans owe two great constructions to the Etruscan domination: the great canal (*Cloaca Maxima*) which drained Forum Romanum and the wall surrounding the city built in the times of Servius Tullius. The important monument which undoubtedly influenced the future architecture of Rome was a temple from 4th century b.C. in Orvieto. It had a portico of four columns and three spans. The important thing is that it was located on a high platform. In front of it there were the stairs as wide as the frontage. According to Vitruvius¹¹⁴ the popular order in Etruscan architecture was Tuscan, but in later period Corinthian order appeared which in case of Romans evolved in composite order¹¹⁵, combining the features of Ionic and Corinthian order. The already mentioned Tuscan order marked the Roman architecture particularly in construction of town and suburban villas. In this place it's worth mentioning after Vitruvius that Rome owes the design of the house with inner atrium to the Etruscan culture¹¹⁶. Summing up, Etruscans brought to the architecture of the future *Empire* the application of arches, vaults, Tuscan order and building deep porticos, interior without columns around temples and high platforms where temples rose¹¹⁷. Coming to an end let's mention that arch was used for the first time in the Roman architecture in the façade of Tabularium gallery. This type of architecture which is a combination of an arcade closed with Tuscan columns which support architrave will develop from about 58 b.C.. It became a real symbol of revolutionary changes. Arches were also introduced in designing of apses to gain and underline chiaroscuro effect on rounded walls. A new type of theatre construction, different from the Greek one appears already in the time of Pompey the Great. The construction was supported by arches and the seats arranged radially leaned against the walls¹¹⁸.

113 M. Leykam, *Architektura rzymska*, Warszawa 1978, s.3.

114 M.W. Polio, *O architekturze ksiąg dziesięć*, Warszawa 1956, s.53-55.

115 Composite order is a sophisticated combination of Corinthian and Ionic orders. Bells of Corinthian capitals are slightly lower. Ionic volutes are placed at the corners. An illusion of a certain flattening of volute is often used with the aim of giving an impression of an illusory bending under the weight of entablature.

116 M.W. Polio, *O architekturze ksiąg dziesięć*, Warszawa 1956, s.105-107.

117 S.Noakowski, *Sztuka rzymska*, [w] *Wiedza i Życie*, Warszawa 1927, R.2, nr 3, s. 59-61.

118 M. Leykam, *Architektura rzymska*, Warszawa 1978, s. 32.

At the close of 3th century b.C. Italy was already in the hands of Rome. The subsequent Punic wars 1 and 2 were going on, continuous tensions and inner political and social armed conflicts were outbreaking. But finally, step by step, Rome set foot in Carthage, the legions landed on the Balkans, reached Greece and today's Spain in the west. Greek art was influencing all Italy very strongly. Also the neoattic and Pergamon schools immensely affected Italy. Yet, the flame of Etruscan culture didn't diminish, now absorbed in an orbit of Roman domain. Whereas in Rome, belief in the historic role of Rome was clearly felt as a result of subsequent victorious battles of 2nd and 1st century b.C.. It was fully demonstrated in the period of the decline of the Republic and the beginning of Principate. Virgil on the order of August created the ideological basis in „Aeneid”– *Hither now bend thy twin-eyed gaze; Behold his people, the Romans that are thine. Here is Caesar and all Iulius' posterity that shall arise under the mighty cope of heaven*¹¹⁹. Those supremacy aspirations of Rome took various forms. The most characteristic image of the tendencies was erecting arches and columns that lie in the sphere of our interests. Their task was, among others, immortalizing deeds of great Romans. In 2nd century b.C. the arches known as triumphant took a form of arch resting on pillars with an attic parapet carrying statues. The arches were relatively simple. Lucius Stertnius erected two arches on Forum Romanum and Circo Maximo in 196 b.C.. Both topped with figures. Scipio Africanus built an arch in 193 b.C. in front of Clivus Capitolius. In the next years an arch of Fabius Maximus rose on Forum Romanum, and in 57 b.C. it was embellished with wooden sculptures representing Scipio Africanus, Emilius Paulus and Fabius Allobrogicus. The main part was a vault – fornix. The ceremony of washing off war blood that is the rite of cleansing was held under the fornix¹²⁰. Kathryn Nicole Reuter writes that the first arches had a clearly symbolical character because – *the Roman leaders were crossing through „magical door” to be cleaned of hostility and to be prepared to a civilian life, whereas victorious heroes paraded with spoils under the arches*¹²¹. Elżbieta Makowiecka shares the above opinion adding that originally, in the republican times they had a target character meant for celebrating the triumph. They were wooden. The author also reminds that the construction was known as fornix and with a great probability it fulfilled the mentioned sacred functions¹²². Up to now the genesis of triumphant arch has evoked many questions. Its initial function referred to a triumph connected with at a victory over an enemy

119 Translated into English J.W.Mackail, London, 1885 na podstawie gutenberg.org/files/22456/22456-h/22456-h.htm dostęp 23.3.2026A; P.V.Maro, *Eneida*, Kraków 1978, tł. I Wieniewski, VI, 780-790,s. 177.

120 M. Leykam, *Architektura rzymska*, Warszawa 1978, s. 19.

121 K.N.Reuters, *Analiza Łuku Triumfalnego i Łuku Bramnego*, OCC Spring 2013, Arch 296.

of Rome. Maybe the sacred ceremony played a more important role in the triumphant crossing with spoils to Capitol. It was just the sacred ceremony to mark the event. The relationship of the hero with his divine protector, who chose him and led him, was underlined. It's worth remembering that each of the leaders worshipped a chosen divinity that was responsible for outlining his way and watching over him. Sulla, Pompey and Caesar worshipped Venus in a particular way. From old times the cult was connected with a myth which, with the help of Aeneas, made her the mother of Roman people¹²³. Maybe in the sacred marking related to cleansing, then also with elevation, there was a propaganda element and „a disguised deification” for the eyes and the hearts of the audience. It resulted in a pantheon of divine Caesars in the period of the empire. Let's add that in opposition to the republican arches financed by a leader, the later ones were built by the Senate after having announced triumph. They carried a much greater sanction because confirmed publicly the meaning and the role of the leader¹²⁴. It can't be excluded that they were understood as a symbol of an open gate leading to a conquered town or territory, and as we know *arcus triumphalis* was erected not only in Rome (it was the most prestigious location) and only here a triumph might be celebrated with a consent of the Senate. The arches were constructed in other conquered regions, e.g. Trajan's Arches in Benevento and Timgad or Hadrian's Arch in Athens¹²⁵. The essence of the Roman arches had also another feature. As a rule they were free-standing structures. They could be linked, of course, or they could flank a temple, but with an indication at their special importance, difference and uniqueness which was manifested in a triumph of the victor and his apotheosis set on a commemorative plaque. The triumphant arches of Caesar August can serve as an example. They are situated on both sides of the temple dedicated to divine Julius on Forum called with his name. The arches glorify the

122 E. Makowiecka, *Sztuka Rzymu*, Warszawa 2010, s. 91. In the light of researches it seems that the word *fornix* hides a double meaning. It points at a constructions in the form of arch or vaulted arch, and at the same time it conveys the meaning of a place of cleansing as sacred. It is interesting that it was used only in the Republic time, however, it was not used in the age of Empire when arch, as *arco triumphale* (and not *fornix triumphale*), was first of all a monument of power and supremacy of Rome and of its ruler. Religious sanction was equated with the state, not with strictly sacred tradition.

123 G.Ch.Picard, *Sztuka rzymska*, Warszawa 1975, s.51-52.

124 P. Sawiński, *Łuki triumfalne Augusta na Forum Romanum: Honoryfikacja i Architektura*, [w] *August i Rzym: Pamięć, rytuały i praktyki dnia codziennego*, Poznań 2016, s. 189.

125 A. Choisy, *Histoire de L'Architecture*, Ligugé, Poitiers 1996, s. 588.

victories of Julius's nephew won at Aktium and over Parthians¹²⁶. Nevertheless, there are many premises proving that the origin of stone arches should be also associated with richly decorated and monumental gates leading to Faleria, Volterra or Perugia, and the gate opening the way to Autun in the empire time. Arches – to start with gate arches through *forix* – gained a new ideological meaning as an independent being of stone architecture (that is long-lasting). Only with time passing which brought territorial development of the Roman state arches fulfilled and allegorical and symbolical function supported by the suitable propaganda. Already mentioned emperor August cared about maintaining Roman tradition and customs. He dedicated particular attention to triumphant art founding many honorary and commemorative monuments in several towns. At that time the following arches came into being: in Fano at the way leading from Rome in the direction of the Adriatic, in Rimini built in 27 b.C. and two years later an arch in Aosta, in a colony founded by Octavian. This arch carried a particular mark of the Etruscan influence which was reflected by joining a Corinthian order column with a Doric triglyph frieze. However, Vitruvius assured in his work that in those times such a combination of elements belonging to various orders was natural¹²⁷. One of the provincial arches dedicated to Octavian was built about 15 b.C. in Saint-Rémy in Gaul. It must be remarked that a large part of these arches initially constituted an element of a greater layout, the town walls included. They were not always independent monuments¹²⁸. It's worth remembering that the precious source of our knowledge concerning the mentioned and future monuments, their form and iconography have also been coins. They functioned as a shutter in a camera. They show the past world and its language present in propaganda art in a frozen frame.

The triumphant arches of August started the type of imperial arch, glorifying *virtus* and *virtutis* of the ruler and his deeds. The role of the triumphant monument was to underline strongly the essence of imperial power with each subsequent emperor. It also stressed the supremacy of the power of Rome over the world. Ruler is the personification of that power. The ruler could be presented either in a natural way as on the reliefs of the arch of Titus or as Rome accepting the tribute of Parthians. This method was used in a frieze from the arch of

126 P. Sawiński, *Łuki triumfalne Augusta na Forum Romanum: Honoryfikacja i Architektura*, [w] *August i Rzym: Pamięć, rytuały i praktyki dnia codziennego*, Poznań 2016, s. 196.

127 M.W.Polio, *O architekturze ksiąg dziesięć*, Warszawa, 1956, s.61.

128 M. Leykman, *Architektura rzymska*, Warszawa 1978, s. 175-176.

Septimius Severus to make its receivers understand the message drawn on the relief¹²⁹ – the metaphor of embodiment. The changing rulers together with their artists brought still newer forms of expression to iconography. A constant artistic unrest lasted in order to find new constructional as well as representational solutions in architecture. The most essential achievements of Roman art useful for our considerations will be these which appear in the plan and construction of the following arches: Titus, Janus and Caracalla. They will be contrasted with Arc de Triomphe of Napoleon I, while the Arches of Septimius Severus and Constantine the Great with Carrousel in Paris. The choice is not casual because, though several centuries have passed since the time when the Roman monuments came into existence, the art of Empire has continuously inspired regardless the passing epochs and styles in architecture. The Roman art was not unfamiliar to the Middle Ages, but the revival of Greek and Roman ideals flourished with great power at the turn of 14th -15th and 16th centuries. It brought a large number of discoveries in the contemporary understanding of the world and seeking its expression in art. The next time when the antiquity prevailed was the epoch of classicism. Its particular manifestation became the *Empire* style at the turn of 18th and 19th centuries. The style, as it was thought, rendered fully the essence of power and supremacy of Napoleonic France in Europe and in the world. Napoleon was treated as a new Caesar – the continuator of glorious inheritance of Romans, and Paris was designated to be a new Rome, the capital of United Europe.

Since *Empire* style has already been largely discussed in chapter 1, let's pass to an analysis of the monuments of glory mentioned earlier. The first question that appears here concerns seeking and making a choice of works compared and contrasted with one another. The result should lead us to a possibly clear answer.

Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile gives an example of a Parisian arch erected at a request of Napoleon I in order to commemorate the victories of the Great Army with a special reference to Austerlitz campaign. So soon after the victory, in the same year, 1805 the emperor ordered the Minister for Interior Affairs Jean Baptiste Nompère de Champagny an immediate start of the construction of the monument dedicated to glory of his soldiers. Bonaparte signed the imperial decree next year on 18th February. An architect Jean François Thérèse Chalgrin was entrusted with the work over the monument worth the Roman Caesars. The architect chose Jean Arnaud Raymond as a partner. They prepared the first plans

129 A.A.Kluczek, *Roma triumphans i Parthia capta na luku Septymiusza Sewera w Rzymie*, [w]: *Ludzie i Miejsca, Studia Europaea Gnesnensia* 2012, s. 191-192 i 199.

together. At the beginning a question was raised about the location of the work of such a high rank. The place which would suggest the importance of the work. And as in case of the famous Vendôme column a special place which reminded the imperial forum was found. The same happened in this case. The idea of the Bastille Square was rejected though it seemed important because of propaganda reasons¹³⁰. An obstacle appeared. The problem arose from the streets which didn't converge in the middle of the square following a geometrical order. Finally Napoleon agreed on a place which in a natural way closed Via Triumphalis, that is the axis – Chaillot Hills west from Champs-Élysée – the imperial palace Tuileries. The monument was to stand on the hill which had been levelled only in the royal times. The hill changed its name to Promenoir and it was chosen as an obvious way to complete the Napoleonic forum. A foundation stone was put on 15th August 1806 on the depth of 8 m between two southern pillars in a lead rotulus supplied with a suitable dedication¹³¹. When the site had been chosen¹³², the imperial architects drew up many situational and architectural plans. They took up a decision to build, as a matter of fact, an arch simple in form with one span in the quadrifrons type. The architects reached for sources into Roman iconography and, what is crucial, they didn't choose tetrapylon casually. It used to be a kind of monument built in the age of the Roman Empire at crossroads where it was well seen from every direction. It immediately became a propaganda language. The choice was not accidental, but a setting for the work that marked the meaning and function was created only during the Second Empire¹³³. Many historians of art point to the Roman Titus Arch built in 81 and also, in a certain degree, to Saint-Denis Arch in Paris. Not less puzzling are the following problems: to what extent was it possible and to what extent was the Roman model used here? I'll analyze the Arches and

130 The original choice was not random because it meant a lot for both: the people from the age of ancient régime and also for creators of the Revolution. Now Napoleon wanted to close it symbolically with the help of his tetrapylon. He also wanted to open a gate to a new epoch for France and Europe with the same action. Bonaparte actually reminded several times that he was the person who completed the Revolution.

131 The construction of the Arch lasted thirty years. It was unveiled on 29th July 1836 in the time of the July Monarchy. The erecting was stopped by many political upheavals and changes on the top levels of power. After the death of Chalgrin in 1811 the works were continued by Louis Robert Goust. After the fall of Napoleon the work remained untouched till 1823 when Louis XVIII ordered to resume the construction in order to commemorate the Pyrenees Army. Jean Nicolas Huyot joined Goust. Huyot after some perturbations returned to the work in 1826 during the reign of Charles X and ran it till 1830. Finally Guillaume Abel Blouet in collaboration with many decorators finished the monument.

132 The former l'Étoile Square today is called Charles de Gaulle Square.

133 During the great rebuilding of Paris run on an order of Napoleon III by baron Georges Hausmann a decision also about a thorough rebuilding of the square with the Triumphal Arch was taken up. Jacques Ignatz Hittorff designed twelve star-shaped avenues meeting radially in the middle of the great square, at the bottom of the monument. The entire setting was connected by five floor houses with identical architecture.

I'll try to point to some obstacles of such an interpretation. The feature which would call for the Roman model is, as it has already been mentioned, ascetic, a bit austere, but elegant and formal style that associates some features of the Attic school and the Corinthian order together with the Doric elements called male by Vitruvius¹³⁴. A fundamental question appears: what did the design makers see that convinced them to take up the decision? Since in this period Titus Arch still made part of the city walls belonging to another layout from the Middle Ages¹³⁵. The composition of the arch which was looked at could be at most compared to 18th century drawings by Piranesi and Desgédets. The arch was preserved only in part of the span topped by an archivolt connected by an impressive keystone. On both sides of the arch there were still representations of Victory in spandrels. The span was flanked by two composite columns up to the height of the entablature. The columns were located on the pedestals in that time. Until the beginning of 19th century a fragment of the middle avant-corps of the entablature survived. It was ornamented with a magnificent frieze and a parapet from the east with a dedication in honour of the emperor. The wall was deprived of a facing and largely collapsed¹³⁶. The thing that might attract the architects next to the described remains, was a coffer vault and two splendid reliefs inside the arch. They showed the glorification of the victory of Titus in Judea in a very inventive way. As a matter of fact two fragments of the triumph were presented. Author of these panneaux managed to achieve an extraordinary depth of space, simply an illusion that draws a viewer inside the event. The viewer can nearly participate in it, follow the movement of the emperor's quadriga at the bend. We have alternately the frontal perspective here because we see Titus with his face towards us, but at the same time the horses of his quadriga have already turned, so we see the chariot in profile¹³⁷. Another relief, instead, presents a procession with spoils taken from the Temple in Jerusalem and again a similar illusion of movement and depth. But here comes the next question: is this trail adequate? I think that there could be more models, Trajan's Arch in

134 M.W.Polio, *O architekturze ksiąg dziesięć*, Warszawa 1956, s.61.

135 A Today, the work is, as a matter of fact, fruit of a Romantic reconstruction completed in 1823. In opinion of historians the reconstruction was treated rather freely, perhaps modelled after Trajan's Arch in Benevento. That is why there are no reliefs on the column bases or the frieze, apart from the one preserved in the central part of the arch. The columns flanking the arch were also restored, but they were rid of fluting. They had Corinthian capitals. Also the side cornice has another profile. Chalgrin died in 1811 so he could not know the effects of the reconstructional work. Drawings also presented the described above fragments of the work which survived until the beginning of 19th century.

136 M. Leykam, *Architektura rzymska*, Warszawa 1978, s.207.

137 E.Makowiecka, *Sztuka Rzymu*, Warszawa 2010, s.105

Benevento or Ancona included¹³⁸. And if it were the Arch of Titus, then only the presented fragments of the façade of the middle avant-corps with parapet, which was described above. A certain similarity can be traced in the way of forming entablature, putting the frieze above the triple architrave. I'd rather look for another model, namely, among others, the Arch of Janus in Rome. Today it is an inconspicuous tetrapylon¹³⁹ was erected in the eastern part of Forum Boarium, directly over one of the branches of Cloaca Maxima. It came into being in the middle of 4th century perhaps as a Triumphal Arch, which is confirmed by an inscription from 357 A.D. Arcus Divi Constantini. It could be founded by Constantius II during his stay in Rome. What we see today is part of the monument because a drawing by Piranesi from 18th century clearly shows us still large fragments of the attic¹⁴⁰. Why did it disappear? About 1831 it was taken to pieces as it was considered part of medieval extension and part of a greater project that incorporated the arch into a stronghold of Frangipani family. So it was not original from the Empire age. The most important seems to be for us its spatial project, i.e. shape and plan of the work. First of all, it is a four-span arch (tetrapylon) where four arcades are situated parallel one to another. Inside there is groin vault. It was built on a square plan. The arches of four arcades were supplied with profiled archivolts provided with well-shaped volutes in the keystone and in the places of joining the arches with pillars there were imposts. The attic was situated over the entablature topped with the cornice. The attic had a slightly protruding avant-corps at sides and it had the inscription in the middle. The pillars were decorated with twelve niches topped with conchas on each pillar. This model of the arch could serve as a pattern for the Parisian monument existing on the Star Square¹⁴¹. From a formal point of view, i.e. throw and the planning of arcades the Napoleon's Arch seems to be nearer to Janus's Arch as well as Caracalla's Arch from Theveste¹⁴² in Numidia, especially when we take the first designs of Chalgrin¹⁴³ into consideration. But in the artistic drawing up in the range of chosen decorative elements the architect approaches nearer to the works

138 J. Bennett, *Trajan Optimus Princeps*, Oświęcim 2015, s. 266. A particular similarity between Trajan's Arch in Benevento and the Arch of Titus is puzzling. Some historians suspect that the construction of the monument was not finished by Domitian, but just by Trajan. Another solution suggests that Trajan's architect used the earlier model.

139 Mystery of the Arch is associated with four-face god, Janus. The Arch was dedicated to him. His role and history are covered under a thick veil of speculations.

140 <https://roma-nonpertutti.com/article/154/luk-janusa-tajemniczy-obiekt-o-czterech-fasadach>.

141 The square called so far Promenoir de Chaillot was named Place de l'Étoile on the basis of the imperial decree dated to 23rd May 1863.

142 A. Choisy, *Histoire de L'Architecture*, Ligugé, Poitiers 1996, s. 588.

glorifying emperor Titus or Trajan. The Parisian Arch resembles ideologically and constructionally examples like tetrapylons from the land of contemporary Libya, e.g. in Orea glorifying Marcus Aurelius and Licius Verus or and impressive quadrifrons of Septimius Severus in Leptis Magna¹⁴⁴. All these stood on crossroads and the same should happen in Paris. As we know the urban designs of the emperor were executed on a grand scale by baron Georges Hausmann in the second half of 19th century. It's characteristic, which is worth mentioning, that the described type of triumphant monument is known mainly from territories of African provinces of the empire. This type of monuments was not erected in the European part of the Empire.

The arch in Paris is higher than its antique forerunners. Its measures are: height 49.53m, width 44.82m and depth 22.21m. The work is very stark and austere. It is characterized by nearly a mathematical synthesis of construction and composition, which makes the work very clear. In the period when it was erected, it appeared to be a real engineering feat. Massive limestone blocks were used to build the Arch. They were cut with utmost precision and then they were butted to guarantee stability and elasticity at the same time. The self-supporting arch construction ensured an even spread of weight without any inner supports. Chalgrin propose one-span monument because it was to perform symbolically a function of a city gate. It was planned that in future the important traffic arteries would converge here. The Arch was designed as a tetrapylon on a rectangular plan with four arcades situated parallelly. The western arcade and the eastern one are higher than northern and southern¹⁴⁵. The arcades rest on four massive pillars crowned with full arc that in the places of touching the pillars were equipped with imposts. The monument inside had a cradle vault ornamented with coffers which contained floweron. According to the orderer's will flanking with columns was not applied in any of the places: either in the middle of avant-corps keeping

143 M. Leykam, *Architektura rzymska*, Warszawa 1978, s. 266; One of the first designs of Chalgrin was based on an idea of tetrapylon. It reminds just Caracalla Arch. It's not excluded that he possessed 18th century drawings of the arch. It is also clearly seen in the plan of the base and also in the first design.

144 Gilbert Charles Picard, *Sztuka Rzymska*, Warszawa 1975, s. 80; Janusz Andrzej Ostrowski, *Starożytny Rzym. Polityka i sztuka*. Warszawa-Kraków 1999, s. 385.

145 Prof. Ryszard Nakonieczny turned his attention to the fact that accepting such a solution might be connected with a will of emphasizing a relationship between the monument and the Tuileries palace as an integral part of the imperial forum and a particular exposure of the main façades lying on a marked out axis of Champs-Élysée. Additionally, at the opposite side of the imperial house, from the side of Louvre another monument was to take up a function worth the environment of the power centre: Arc de Carrousel.

the arches of the arcades or in outermost surfaces of the pillars. The work rises on four pedestals. Four allegorical groups of figures were put on lofty bases completed with profiled moulding and pedestals. The groups are situated from the side of Champs-Élysée and Avenu Grand Armée. The south-eastern pillar, towards the Tuileries gardens shows the work of François Rude *The Marseillaise or Marching out of Volunteers 1792*. The pillar facing north-east presents *Triumph of Napoleon 1810*. The first relief introduces symbolically the moment of announcing the Republic and personification of Freedom that takes care of volunteers defending the French borders. Whereas another relief is an apotheosis of the emperor on the top of good fortune. He is crowned by Victory. When we turn round the corner of the Arch and when we look from the side of Avenu Grand Armée, the following works will appear in front of our eyes: an allegory of *Defence 1814* by Antoine Étex was set on the south-western pillar. It commemorates the defence of France during the war with the Sixth Coalition. The north-western pillar presents apotheosis *Peace 1815* glorifying the Parisian treaty after the definitive abdication of the emperor. The author of the relief was also Antoine Étex. Four presentations contain an unusual and romantic charge¹⁴⁶. When we go further towards the attic, our attention will be drawn to a wide cornice. It is completed below with an ornament consisting of palmettes and a chain of astragal. Underneath, in turn, there is a geometrical frieze in form of meander. The authors of the work put six splendid reliefs above the cornice. The reliefs have a rich iconographic layer and an artistic form of figures and space, which led to a slight chiaroscuro and a depth illusion. The events described on the reliefs take place on a foreground and in some places on more than one background. The reliefs were encircled by a stone frame that was completed by cymation and astragal in the outermost layer. The smaller reliefs were situated on western and eastern sides of the Arch and they complete in a sophisticated way the finials of both arches surrounded by the profiled archivolts¹⁴⁷. They are joined by volutes in the keystone. Additionally, spandrels surround the arches from both sides. They embrace the carved personification in the figure of Victoria. This solution reminds, among others, the Arch of Titus in the artistic and ideological level. Bigger reliefs were fixed on southern and northern walls. We see the following reliefs looking from east: *The Battle of Abukir* by Bernard Seuer, *The Death of General Marceau* by Philippe Joseph Henri Lamaire, *The Capture of Alexandria* by J.E. Chaponnier and *The Crossing of the Arcole*

146 The theme of a romantic hero received a very suggestive display. The monument was rising symbolically at the crossing of the epochs. At the close of Enlightenment and in the period of the peak development of Romanticism.

147 Archivolts consist of three overlapping layers finished with an astragal and cymation in the place of junction, in the upper part.

Bridge by Jean Jacques Feuchère. The reliefs, situated higher than the lower arches that are topped as the higher ones¹⁴⁸, tell about: *The Battle of Jamappes* by Carl Marochetti (the southern and northern reliefs), *The Battle of Austerlitz* by Thèodore Gether. The architrave consisting of three elements spreads over the reliefs. It is ornamented with an astragal and in the upper part with a cymation in form of bull's eyes. The gorgeous frieze was set over the architrave according to an example of Roman entablature in Corinthian order. The frieze shows the most important moments during the Republic and Empire¹⁴⁹. All along the frieze there was a cymation. A protruding cornice supported on modillion was set above the frieze. A finely carved sima with palmette pattern embellishes the cornice. The sima has gargoyles in the shape of lion heads and below there are again delicate chains in the form of astragal and cymation. The monument is crowned by a parapet which is relatively not high¹⁵⁰. Its shape reminds rather the parapets from the arches of Octavian in Pola and Suss. The parapet was formed according to the Doric and Corinthian pattern with metopes fixed alternately with imitations of triglyphs. The metopes include the names of the most important battles of the Republic and Empire. The triglyphs comprise swords turned upwards, but as if they were kept inside cases padded with a drapery, which can also symbolize an idea of peace. The parapet in the upper part was crowned with the next cornice and sima supported on a serration, and next an antefix with a representation of palmettes and Hermes's heads connected with a ribbon. It's worth noting in this place that a dedication plaque was not fixed in the attic „despite” most ancient patterns. It resembles, in this aspect, the arches of August from Pola and Aosta. As it has been already written, the Arch has a cradle vault with coffers and finials inside according to the pattern of many Roman monuments. The vault rests on a profiled cornice all around¹⁵¹. A geometrical frieze in a meander shape was put underneath. 158 names of the most important battles fought in the time of the Republic and the First Empire are carved on the interior walls. Except for these there are the names of the most distinguished marshals and generals belonging to both regimes. Moreover, the other reliefs were fixed above the names in the lower parts of the Arch. These reliefs are known as Attributes of Victories: *The Attribute*

148 The archivolts were not joined with the key in this case.

149 <https://www.paris-arc-de-triomphe.fr/decouvrir/genese-et-premiere-pierrea>. According to one of the first designs Chalgrin proposed an embellishment in the form of horns of plenty situated alternately.

150 <https://www.paris-arc-de-triomphe.fr/decouvrir/genese-et-premiere-pierre>. In a similar way in case of the parapet the earlier plan assumed a very simple parapet without any ornaments, supplied with a dedication only.

151 The cornice performs also the role of an impost in this case.

of *North* presents winged Victoria in the middle. She holds a plaque with the names of the decisive victorious battles: Austerlitz, Friedland, Eylau, Yena, Ulm, Wagram. Victoria holds a pen in her right hand, as if she had just finished writing the names. The panneaux are also embellished with lively puttos keeping garlands of abundance together with war trophies. *The Attribute of South* is decorated with the relief showing winged Victoria again who holds a legionary eagle in her right hand and her left hand keeps shields with engraved names of Italian successes of Napoleon. A garland of abundance was hung at her feet. We see a Napoleon's bust near her left hand. The bust is on a pedestal accompanied by two puttos. One putto holds a wreath made of oak leaves over Bonaparte's head. It seems that another putto has been still carving a portrait of the triumpher. A breastplate with two-head eagle is shown near the right hand of Victoria. Over the breastplate there are two puttos raising a praetorian helmet with a cross. The presentation shows defeated Austria (Latin "Germania"). *The attribute of East* presents Egyptian victories. Here again, winged Victoria with a laurel wreath on her head announces the victories to the world: Alexandria, the Pyramids, Abukir and Heliopolis. Victoria holds a plaque with their names in one hand and a palm-shaped quill-pen in another. There are puttos at both sides of Victoria. They hold a garland of abundance and they guard the captured trophies: guns, shields, flags. Additionally, a putto keeps a wreath of victory over the head of another putto on the left side. Behind them, in a corner, there are growing palms which symbolize Egypt. A crocodile lying at Victoria's feet also performs a symbolic role. The last of the attributes *The Attribute of the West* shows sitting Victoria with a wreath of victory on her head. She distributes twigs of laurel to puttos standing at her sides. They keep a garland and they watch the spoils, but two of them put Roman helmets with the crest on their heads. They guard a stability of the victories. The inner panneaux in the lower wings of the Arch refer to ancient allegorical representations. Their tone is very symbolic, static, deprived of a deeper expression though chubby puttos (little angels) relieve a serious atmosphere of the works. All the moments of apotheosis caught in a shutter way take place in the foreground, though the softness of plasticity modeling kept up the elements of a game of light and shadow. Whereas the panneaux presented on the façades of the Arch and the great frieze, according to me, are kept in a spirit of Trajan's classicism. The observation results from the analyses of the relief of Trajan's column and other works from this period. They are plastic and very elegant in shape, at the same time clear and unambiguous in their expression. Each detail is refined. Sometimes they have a multi-level background. They are formal despite a great expression. What is interesting – the Arch of the Great Army is very consistent from the ideological and artistic point of view though it was being constructed for

many years. Perhaps thanks to the last stage of the construction that was held during the reign of Louis Philippe d'Orleans, the king-citizen who wanted to win the society over, especially Bonapartists who were growing stronger. The king and Adolph Thiers saw to building the monument in the republican – imperial spirit and to leave it in the ascetic Chalgrin character. The work in the Doric – Corinthian form harmonizes with the receiver of the dedication that is a fighting soldier.

Another monument which derives from the models of ancient Rome is the Arch de Carrousel standing on Merry-go-round Square. Its history is more extraordinary than the history of the work described above, though its construction lasted two years only. Of course, it underwent changing fortune because of the changing regimes in a similar way to the Great Arch. Certain niceties and interesting facts are hidden in its construction and artistic form. It was designed at the request of the emperor by Charles Percier and Pierre François Léonard Fontaine with a significant contribution of Dominique Vivant Denon. It was to be of course a monument glorifying the accomplishments of the Great Army and a background for extolling the peace treaties signed in Pressburg and Tilsit. Apart from that, its task was to create an admirable closing of the perspective of a yard of Tuileries Palace¹⁵². Napoleon turned to the above mentioned architects already on 13th February 1806 with a request for a design of the monument. On 26th February 1806 he also determined principles of financing and the time limit of completion of the construction¹⁵³ by the imperial decree. The foundations were laid in April and the first symbolic stone on 7th July of the same year. The columns of the eastern façade were set on 20th November 1806, whereas the main construction of the work was completed on 26th April of the next year¹⁵⁴. Manager of Musée Napoléon Dominique Vivant Denon prepared the sculpting decoration between June and July 1806¹⁵⁵. The execution of statues and reliefs made of white Carrara marble was entrusted to fifteen sculptors. The artist recalled great moments of the Austerlitz campaign in the designed panneaux. At the height of

152 P.F.L Fontaine, *Journal*, Paryż 1987, T. I, s.126.

153 5th March 1806 a summary of the decree. A complete copy is in Arch.des musées nat.,NOO, plik, „Arc du Carrousel”. file „Arc du Carrousel”

154 P.F.L.Fontaine, *Journal*, Paryż, École Nationale supérieure des beaux-art, Institut français d'architecture, 1987, Tom I, s. 137-138.

155 M.A.Dupuy, Isabelle le Masne de Chermont, E. Williamson, *Vivant Denon*, directeur des musées sous le Consulat et l'Empire : correspondance 1802-1815, Paris, Editions de la réunion des musées nationaux, 1999, nr 927-3, AN67, 1492-2.

the attic there was a monumental military corps presented by the soldiers belonging to the troops which took part in the military actions. At last, he prepared a design in a Roman style of a statue of the emperor driving a chariot which finally was not used, Napoleon opposed it. *What statue are you talking about?* he said to Denon. *I've never asked you for it; either have I ordered to put my statue as the main object of the monument erected by me and on my expense to glorify the army which I had the honour to lead*¹⁵⁶. So instead of the figure of Bonaparte, driving Minerva was set in the chariot which was drawn by the famous horses of Lisyppos confiscated from Venice as a trophy in 1797¹⁵⁷. Two personifications were standing at both sides of the chariot – Victoria and Pax. They held the steeds by the bridle¹⁵⁸.

The work could be admired at its best from August 1808¹⁵⁹. After the emperor's abdication in 1815 the mentioned horses returned to their former place. Also the reliefs praising the battle of Austerlitz were removed. The empty places remained unoccupied till the fall of the Restoration regime in 1830. Limestone from Montrouge and Arcueil was applied in the lower layers of three-span monument covered with marble. Part on the height of the arches was made of stone from Conflans, the rest of stone from Isle-Adam. And the first problem appears here. As it results from the documents of the construction, already in 1828 the upper part of the mass needed rebuilding because the stone from Isle-Adam proved to be too soft and defective¹⁶⁰. The next troubles came with the columns which had been used before. At first, the columns were planned to be of granite, but because of the delay in supplies of the building material, Fontaine used the red marble columns¹⁶¹, cut out of Languedoc stone and prepared

156 D. Buttery, *Napoleon's Paris*, Yorkshire 2020, s.53.

157 Ch. Leribault, *The German campaign illustrated: the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel*, Paris, Fayard, 2004, s. 220-241.

158 Both the chariot and the figures were cast in gilded lead because of economical reasons. The chariot was additionally covered with brass sheets and bronze sculptures. The author of the design and sculpture was probably François Frederic Lemon. Whereas in the period 1826-1828 a new quadriga with figures was cast. This time they were made of bronze coming from the captured guns. It was made by Charles Crozatier according to the design of François Joseph Bosio.

159 I. Leroy-Jay Lemaistre, *Luwr i Tuileries, dwa pałace w mieście*, Paryż, Fayard, 2004, s.41-45.

160 P.F.L. Fontaine, *Journal*, Paryż 1987, T. II, s.772.

161 Researchers are not unanimous if Fontaine wrote the truth about the origin of the columns. Nowadays, the thesis is not valid any more. Christophe Bourel Le Guilloux refuted the thesis about the origin from Meudon castle. He demonstrated the results of his research in the book "Francesco Primoticcio Architetto".

earlier for Grand Trianon¹⁶². Unforeseen complications emerged already in the course of installing them. One of the columns cracked¹⁶³. It influenced the entablature. The problem remained and it comes to light especially during renovations¹⁶⁴ despite the efforts of the architects. The red marble panels which decorate the frieze and the face of the projections above the columns were also acquired from another realization. Because of reusing the columns, Fontaine had to correct the design. He raised the entablature lowering at the same time the attic. These moves upset to a certain degree the proportions and balance of the work itself, but also its relations to the models that Fontaine and Percier referred to. The patterns were two Roman monuments: the Arch of Septimius Severus and Constantine the Great¹⁶⁵.

The references in case of the Carrousel monument are obvious and do not create so many interpretation problems as the arch from Place d' Étoile. The work is in an open way modelled on the mentioned monuments despite the obvious differences resulting even from the period of its origin and technological, engineering or political conditions. Neither the architects nor the orderer hid it. A certain chronology of the works coming into existence can be also noticed here. The first was the Arch of Septimius Severus erected in 203 A.D. on Forum Romanum. It was built from travertine and bricks and then covered with marble¹⁶⁶. It glorified the victories of the emperor during the wars with Parthians. In the years 312-315 A.D. a great monument was built near Colosseum on an order of the Senate. The arch was made of travertine and marble. Its task was to extol the success of Constantine the Great in a battle with his brother Maxentius in the neighbourhood of Milvian Bridge. It is heterogeneous as far as the artistic outlay is concerned because, as prof. Marek Leykam writes, it connects the works of various epochs, the columns included. Despite that – he adds – it is ideologically consistent¹⁶⁷. The third one, whereas, is the Arch of Napoleon I described on the pages of the

162 P.F.L. Fontaine, *Journal*, Paryż 1987, T.I, s.145.

163 P.F.L. Fontaine, *Journal*, Paryż 1987, T.I. s.145. It's about the second column from the left on the eastern elevation. The necessary repairs included the use of burnt mastic and the use of strong iron stakes.

164 The iron stakes were installed under the columns flanking the face of entablature. The stakes rusted and they caused the cracks in the marble structure, and even a significant fissure of the material.

165 Three-span arches were rare in the Roman triumphant buildings. The first monument of this type was most probably the Arch of August in Orange. It was erected on an order of Tiberius in 25 A.D. One-span monuments were constructed most often.

166 A.A.Kluczek, *Roma triumphans i Parthia capta na łuku Septymiusza Sewera w Rzymie*, [w]: *Ludzie i Miejsca, Studia Europaea Gnesnensia* 2012, s.186.

167 M. Leykam, *Architektura rzymska*, Warszawa 1978, s.282.

thesis. Similar proportions, i.e. the measurements join all the monuments with some small exceptions. The biggest of them is the arch of Constantine: height 21m, width 25m. The Arch of Severus: height 20,88m, width 23m. The height of Napoleonic Arch was adapted to the height of the Palace of Tuileries façade. The Arch rises as high as 19,5m, its width 23m and depth 7,3m. The three arches are three-span monuments designed in the composite¹⁶⁸ and Corinthian order on a rectangular plan. The places where they were located are not accidental. The Constantine Arch, though a little bit out-of-the-way, “overshadowed” by Colosseum, which is explained by a „success” won in a civil war. It opened via Sacra from the side of a street running along Vesta and Rome Temple. The monument of Septimius was also constructed in via sacra at the Concordia Temple in a more displayed place. It is interesting that both emperors despite the right to triumph conferred by the Senate did not perform the triumph. This fact proves indirectly the site of exposition and iconography¹⁶⁹ fixed on the façades. Whereas the Napoleonic Arch, as it was written above, constituted a background for the imperial house. It is turned towards Louvre with the eastern façade and it creates a sort of forum of imperial and artistic power¹⁷⁰. Each of the monuments is an exponent of the spirit of the epoch – it is a language of either hidden or open propaganda declaring definite values and ideals, and finally it is a work of art.

The youngest of the monuments in comparison to its great predecessors can be described in the following way. Well, starting from the basis four pairs of full and smooth columns of red marble flank the eastern and western façades. The columns are installed on the pedestals without any reliefs. Behind them there are pairs of pilasters similarly to ancient monuments. In case of the Arch of Severus the columns were set on dados and then on pedestals which present conquered Parthians on the reliefs. The columns of Constantine Arch, instead, stand directly on richly ornamented pedestals. The columns are fluted and provided with bases and capitals according to the composite order in both ancient works (Septimius Severus Arch) while the arches of Constantine and Napoleon I were crowned with Corinthian capitals. Nevertheless, they were cast in bronze in the work of Fontaine. The side

168 The composite order was applied in Septimius Severus monument while the Corinthian order in the arches of Constantine and Napoleon I.

169 Emperor Constantine because the triumph won in the civil war was ambiguous for contemporary people. Emperor Severus because, though he defeated Parthians in two campaigns, the first was directly connected with the civil war that led him to the imperial throne.

170 Louvre became a state museum on the basis of the National Convention decision on 10th August 1793. The Museum received a new name of Napoleon Museum (Musée Napoléon) in 1803 on Denon’s advice.

spans are lower in three monuments. All three arches were provided with impostes and neatly profiled archivolts joined in a keystone with sophisticated keystones of volutes. Moreover, the archivolts are flanked with spandrels where, if representations of Victory allegory were put in all spandrels, then the 19th century spandrels of the lower spans are embellished by trophies. An exceptional solution was applied in the structure of the Arch of Severus. The side spans contain stairs. Neither Constantine nor Napoleonic Arch had the stairs. However, a passage between the spans is possible in the work from 4th century. This feature differs the Arch from the others. Extra arcades were added to the gables of 19th century monument. Moving further we'll notice narrow, red marble panels immediately above the lower arches. Marble panels run around alternately with a strip of richly decorated frieze with symmetrical, but fairly flatly shaped leaves of acanthus, oak and flowers. Above marble panels and above the gables there are six panneaux telling the story of the Austerlitz campaign. The architect of Septimius situated the narrow reliefs over archivolts of the lower arcades. They show the Roman supremacy over Partha – Roma triumphans – Partha capta¹⁷¹. Above there are the reliefs telling about the course of struggles during both Parthian campaigns. The Arch of Constantine displays a broad frieze running along the length of the construction. It has the traits characteristic for reliefs of Syrian origin in molding and in the features of face. The frieze comes from the turn of 3rd and 4th centuries and earlier it was part of another work which was later adapted. Medallions are set over it. Each lower span has two medallions and one for each frieze of the gables. They come from 2nd century or even from the end of 1st century. They were also transferred from another object. The Parisian monument was ornamented with the next frieze on the level of the column capitals. The frieze shows puttos holding the garlands woven from oak and laurel leaves as well as the laurel wreath with finials. The Arch of Constantine in a similar way, however, provided with a smooth frieze, while it doesn't exist at all in Septimius Arch because the entablature comes immediately. Each monument possesses entablature with flanking projections where the column footings were fixed. The architraves consist of three parts embellished with the strips of astragal alternating with cymation. The friezes are smooth, however, the Parisian one was filled with red marble. The entablatures were completed with protruding cornices underlined at the base with cymation, serration, Ionic cymation alternately. The cornices were crowned with richly ornamented simas. Additionally, the entablatures rested on modillions placed between coffers with finials in Constantine and Napoleonic Arches. The attics rise above three monuments, but there is a

171 A.A.Kluczek, *Roma triumphans i Parthia capta na luku Septymiusza Sewera w Rzymie*, [w]: *Ludzie i Miejsca, Studia Europaea Gnesnensia* 2012, s.199.

difference. The attic in the Arch from 4th century and Fontaine's Arch are divided into three parts flanked by the projections. In front of them there are the marble figures of soldiers: Dacian coming from Trajan's Arch and the French ones belonging to the 19th century. The attic of Septimius Severus Arch is smooth at full length only flanked on the sides with the inscriptions glorifying the Caesar and his son Caracalla. The only thing that cuts it vertically are the figures of Parthians located above the cornice. The allegorical reliefs finely framed with cymation, referring to the emperor's victories, are situated in the finial of Fontaine's work, in the side avant-corps. The dedication plaques were put in the gables and above the middle arches. In turn, the attic of the Arch of Constantine in the top parts is embellished with the reliefs dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and gained from his arch¹⁷². Two main façades in the top side avant-corps, between legionaries are decorated with double panneaux taken from Trajan's Arch. They tell about his two wars with Dacians¹⁷³. The monuments are encircled with the slightly narrower profiled cornices at the top. They are finished with a serration with an exception of the oldest monument. The bronze quadriga was placed above the Arch in Paris, on a platform as wide as the middle span. Minerva drives the chariot. She is flanked by two personifications: Victory and Peace¹⁷⁴. Similar allegories did not survive on the ancient works, nevertheless, we know about them from contemporary descriptions. Figures of the driving emperors were installed in both ancient chariots¹⁷⁵. The barrel vaults were built inside, but only in cases of Constantine and Napoleon the vaults were covered with coffers and finials. Moreover, in the Parisian monument, on the vault of the main span there is a relief which shows Victoria sitting in glory. She holds a banner in her left hand while her right hand points to the trophies. Perhaps it might be an apotheosis of the Pressburg Treaty.

172 G.Ch.Picard, *Sztuka rzymska*, Warszawa 1975, s. 85.

173 G.Ch.Picard, *Sztuka rzymska*, Warszawa 1975, s. 85-86.

174 A report of an examination of the cast on 29th December 1929. The Archive of the National Museums, nr 00, déposer „Arc du Carrousel”.

175 M. Leykam, *Architektura rzymska*, Warszawa 1978, s.262 i 283.

FINAL REMARKS

A great passion and a grand scale which characterizes Napoleon's activity while making order with urban planning of Paris constituted a vision inspired by ideas of Roman emperors. He set all the possible fields of art to work on extolling his rule and victories with their language. The activity which was going on in the space of the city couldn't be missed by many correspondents. Various articles printed in magazines often described what was happening in this aspect in Paris. The correspondents were also interested in an influence of the works on present and future time or a relation with the emperor's plans. The rising monuments were admired and laughed at as a manifestation of vainglory and monarchical pomp. It was analysed more or less openly whether republican ideas were still present in the art language. And Napoleon constantly spoke the language of his monuments and created the space of Paris. The completed triumph monuments like the Carrousel Arch or Vendôme Column told with ancient syllables of magnificent architecture about the modern history. And the great tetrapylon with its majesty and austerity was to song an apotheosis of French culture and successes over the crossroads. Bonaparte spoke even when he was in exile thousand kilometres far from Europe¹⁷⁶. He was convinced that a vision of united Europe indeed was shining in the triumphal monuments erected by him. Europe could gain and use universal values following a Roman model. One day during his exile he was asking and convincing – *what is the monarchic doctrine aiming at if it is a negation of the last events? On behalf of so called Legitimization of rule in order not to let France choose the way that I pointed to?* – and without leaving doubts to the doubting – *The example given by me is the only of this type through ages (...)* ¹⁷⁷. In the course of years when the star of the invincible ruler was reduced, the presence of eagles and bees became less comfortable, and the high and squat *Empire* façades offended aesthetic feelings of residents under the lily sign. The silent art might seem to be dangerous, might give a permission to crazy ideas of destroying everything that associated with the usurper. The silence was typical. It had its weight, dimension and meaning, and despite that the style of *Empire* was reigning for a long time in drawing rooms. They attempted, of course, at adapting both the triumphant arches and Vendôme Column to

176 In August 1815 after the second abdication Napoleon was exiled to the Atlantic Island of St. Helen where he spent the rest of his life and where he died on 5th May 1821 because of pancreas cancer. The decision was forced by England on the participants of Vienna Congress. England was convinced that an execution of firing squad would increase subversive actions and would develop the cult of the murdered personage. Despite the English calculations, it happened just in an unwanted way. The stay in Longwood House and diaries dictated to Emmanuel De Las Casewow only increased and consolidated the myth.

177 J. Bartyzel, *Umierać, ale jak*, Kraków 2006, s. 102.

the needs of Restoration by removing more irritable symbols, but finally the myth won and Napoleon returned to his monuments. And what a paradox! The person who contributed to it was last Bourbon from the side line, the king-citizen Louis Philippe I d'Orleans. It was just him who did not agree because of political and pragmatic reasons. He refused either to change or to transform the realizations of the Napoleonic architects including the Great Arch and, for example, Saint Mary Magdalene Church.

It should be added that other towns and capitals, which found their place in the sphere of Napoleonic empire, also participated in architectural polyphony of *Empire*. New fora were constructed or existing elements of the town architecture were used. Amphitheatres, triumphant arches, barracks were built in Milan¹⁷⁸, Naples, Würzburg, Strasbourg¹⁷⁹, Venice¹⁸⁰. Earth works, demolitions were taken up, and all that was done in order to honour the great rule and to correct a quality of often excessively condensed urban tissue since it was considered unfit for a new fashion and safety rules. Rome became another capital of the Empire as a result of emperor's decision in 1809. One of the most important initiatives was restructuring the chambers in Quirinal Palace. The works were managed by architect Raffaello Stern under the supervision of Antonio Canova and painters Vincenzo Camussini and Gaspare Landi, two perhaps most eminent representatives of Italian late Classicism. The *Empire* style settled also under the Russian sky where it was the best choice for describing imperial policy of tsars.

Bonaparte used to say – *I'm going to direct fine arts towards themes commemorating especially the memory about what has been done for fifteen years. It is surprising, for example, that I failed to convince the manufactory of Gobelin tapestry to stop using biblical*

178 Napoleon already in 1797 in this town, the capital of Lombardy could not persuade the Town Council to take up a final decision concerning the completion of the cathedral's façade construction so he took up the decision himself. In this way he forced the representatives to act. So the present façade is the first significant trace of a very personal activity of general (at that time) Bonaparte. His love of order, regularity and spirit of pragmatism made themselves felt. Also here in 1807 a splendid Arch of Peace (Luigi Cagnola) was erected. It constituted part of planned Forum Milano (Luigi Canonica and Giovanni A. Antolini). The planned Forum was supposed to reproduce the ancient outlays that embraced public buildings such as theatre, pantheon, stock exchange, baths and ceremonial halls.

179 A monumental Star Arch, one of the biggest in France and Europe, was built in Strasbourg in 1806 on the emperor's order. The front elevation is 45m wide and 50m high. Peter Speech constructed a building of barracks in Würzburg. The building is deceptively similar to buildings designed by Ledoux with its decorative and ideological outlay, nevertheless, the whole building seems to be very heavy and disproportional. Opera house of San Carlo in Naples was built in a similar style according to the design of Antonio Niccolini. Many contemporary architects tended to create an impression of a bewildering scale.

180 The column façade of *Ala Napoleonica* is meant. It closes St. Mark's Square from south-east.

subjects. I wanted to convince its artists to take to countless deeds which glorified the army and nation with the events that raise to the throne...[1805]¹⁸¹. We can state with a full conviction that we notice monumentalism alternating with lightness and forms in the architecture and urban planning of the *Empire*. New boulevards or squares were expected to make Paris and other towns clean, comfortable and beautiful, which resulted from an aspiration to geometric shapes and clarity. It was achieved by creating a rich, artistic geometry of building form which became a framework for Napoleonic monuments. At the same time a line of chiaroscuro liberating ever-lasting beauty of spirit from the imperial monuments was used. It was linked to solemnity and feeling which accompanied each heroic art. Apparently dead stone could revive in the fire of body language. Nobody could stop it against a desire imposed to itself, the desire to live in minds not only as aesthetic, but also an intellectual existence – the quintessence of an artistic genius capable of making matter subordinate. The *Empire* style, in addition, constituted a passage between classical understanding of the world and art, and Romanticism already emerging on the horizon.

181 Napoleon, *Maksymy*, Warszawa 1983, s. 96.

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