

Capturing the Whirlwind: Paris Depicted through the Medium of Revolutionary Prints

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Background Note

This thesis is the product of an Arts and Humanities Research Council Collaborative Doctoral Award, the result of which was the production of a catalogue of the *Tableaux de la Révolution*. Made up of some 500 prints, presented in four nineteenth century bound volumes, the *Tableaux de la Révolution* is part of the Rothschild Collection held at Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire.

One of the key goals of the project was to create an online resource that is now publicly accessible by internet. The initial cataloguing was split between Claire Trévien, also a recipient of an AHRC CDA, which she held in the French Department at the University of Warwick and myself. We ‘tombstone catalogued’ some 250 prints each, analysing the following: date, the identification of printing method and style, identification of subject and theme, a description of the image, translation and description of the text, as well as the construction of a theme-based search engine. My own contribution was the first and fourth of the large volumes in which the prints are kept (accession numbers: 4232.1 and 4222). Additional background research has also been conducted for each print, extended upon in the final in-depth analyses of circa 30 prints on my part. The items which received this treatment under my individual care were acc. nos: 4222.7.4, 4222.9.8, 4222.10.11, 4222.13.16, 4222.14.17, 4222.21.27, 4222.35.44, 4222.47.61, 4232.1.13.27, 4232.1.19.40, 4232.1.23.46, 4232.1.42.83, 4232.1.43.85, 4232.1.43.86, 4232.1.46.92, 4232.1.48.96, 4232.1.52.104, 4232.1.52.107, 4232.1.57.113, 4232.1.69.142, 4232.1.70.144, 4232.1.80.164, 4232.1.83.170, 4232.1.84.171, 4232.2.24.38, 4232.2.31.50, 4232.2.31.51, 4232.2.35.61 and 4232.2.47.80 (<http://www.waddesdon.org.uk/collection/special-projects/tableaux-paul>).

The work done at Waddesdon Manor also proved invaluable *vis-à-vis* my thesis. The study of the prints laid the groundwork for me to broaden my knowledge of prints as a visual medium. In addition to this, an exhibition of the *Tableaux de la Révolution* was held at Waddesdon Manor in summer 2011. Part of the impact of the final catalogue also included a public lecture and ‘hands-on’ session, which I co-hosted with Claire Trévien. The catalogue of

the *Tableaux de la Révolution* may be consulted on the Waddesdon website at:
<http://waddesdon.org.uk/collection/special-projects/tableaux>

Introduction

*Je ne marche plus dans Paris que sur ce qu'il me rappelle ce qui n'est plus...
le modèle est tellement effacé qu'il ressemble au portrait décoloré d'un aïeul
mort à l'hôpital et relégué dans un galetas... mais quel changement !¹*

-Louis-Sébastien Mercier

The urban analyst Louis-Sébastien Mercier once considered Versailles' relationship to Paris as being that of a satellite around a whirlwind.² While this was true of the capital city's relationship to Versailles in the 1780s, Paris would become the beating heart of the French Revolution through the course of the 1790s. This thesis aims to demonstrate how the representation of Paris changed over the course of the first half of the French Revolutionary decade (1789-93), by reviewing the city's depiction through the medium of popular and satirical prints. In the course of this study, I explain the physical changes to the city that were being recorded as well as other developments in the boundaries of public, private, symbolic and liminal space, and how these developments were captured by the printmaker. A particular concern will be to explore the role of the Parisian artist as printmaker in relation to the city and to what extent this relationship changed over the course of the Revolution.

1789 saw a veritable explosion in the printing medium in Paris. With the relaxation of censorship laws and the ever-changing political climate, Parisian printmakers now had the opportunity to approach their 'art' in new and more distinctive ways. It was this initial and vital shift that was crucial in establishing how Revolutionary prints would evolve through the 1790s. Prior to the meeting of the Estates-General, printmakers approached the subject of the city in an almost picturesque and impersonal manner: architecture generally took precedence over depictions of people and events. Prints presenting images of the city were more like a tourist's guide book, focusing particularly on the monumental, the historical, and the recognisably important architectural elements which made up the Parisian cityscape. Following the crisis of the Estates-General and the storming of the Bastille in 1789, there was

¹ Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Le Nouveau Paris*, (Paris: 1797), I, p. 3. Mercier reflects on the changes to the city which occurred over the course of the Revolutionary decade: a city which no longer reflected the Paris he observed in his *Tableau de Paris*, (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1979).

²² Mercier

a fundamental shift in the subjects which printmakers chose to address and produce. They became more politically engaged, often contributing to what could be interpreted as a form of visual newspaper, reporting and commenting on the events of the day.

The printmaker's proximity to the particular event in this manner of printmaking was crucial. Keeping up with the ever-changing political landscape of the period meant that if printmakers wanted to comment on such subjects, they needed to produce and distribute their images within the days shortly following the event depicted. It is this commentary on public affairs which is the focus of my thesis, and I will therefore seek to analyse printed images that were clearly made shortly after events depicted and that incorporated the Parisian cityscape and crowd, in a chronological proximity to the chosen subject.

Given the proliferation of such imagery and the sheer volume of prints available in the various collections held at Waddesdon Manor, the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, the British Museum, and the *Musée Carnavalet* (among others), I have had to limit the prints chosen in order to get analytical purchase on a numerically moderate and relatively concentrated group.³ The images analysed in the thesis are calculated to be either indicative of particular iconographical styles, representative of the greater body of existing prints, or to offer particular views of the Parisian cityscape and populace, providing a sort of visual chronicle of the city and Revolutionary Parisian life in the period studied. Working in a chronological fashion from 1789-93, the prints chosen will highlight what printmakers perceived to be the major events occurring over this particular period of time. This approach also permits the examination of specific areas of the city in which the depicted events took place, limiting each chapter to addressing a select number of sites that were central to the development of Revolutionary Paris.

³ Of the major collections, those bound in the *Tableaux de la Révolution* held at Waddesdon Manor present some five hundred prints. The majority of these prints are also found in the major collections held in the Cabinet d'Estampes at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*: namely in the De Vinck collection (of which there are some 8,000), the Hennin collection (of approximately 3,500) and the smaller Smith-Lesouëf collection (of some 430). Given the nature of the printing industry and the lack of any form of copyright in the period studied in this thesis, it is difficult to actually assess how many unique and original version of prints actually exist – something that will be explored in Chapter One. Rather, many of the same or similar images appear across the various collections, including those held at the *Musée Carnavalet* and the British Museum.

The prints which form the basis for this thesis are largely from, though not limited to, the some five hundred prints found in the four volumes of the *Tableaux de la Revolution* in the Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire. These prints were acquired by Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild in the 1890s, many of which were purchased from Gabriel-Hippolyte Destailleur, the architect of Waddesdon Manor. Presented in four nineteenth century bound red leather volumes, probably created by Rothschild's Parisian book dealer, Damascène Morgand, the layout of the prints give an insight into Rothschild's interests in the French Revolution.⁴ Taking these images as a starting point, I extended my research to examine other prints held at the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* in the De Vinck and Hennin collections (amongst others), the British Museum and the *Musée Carnavalet*.

Until the latter part of the twentieth century these print collections, with the exception of a handful of studies and publications, were largely neglected. An early publication which dealt with some forty caricatures was produced by Jacques-Marie Boyer-Brun in 1792. Entitled *Histoire des caricatures de la révolte des Français* (Paris: 1792), Boyer-Brun, a royalist journalist, focused on the caricatures' ability to act as a thermometer of, and a mirror of the public mindset and as a tool of manipulation. This way of interpreting the prints was pursued by several other studies through the nineteenth century, notably E. Jaime's *Musée de la Caricature* (Paris: 1838); Jean-Mamert Cayla's *Histoire de la caricature politique pendant la Révolution française* (Paris: 1850); Champfleury's *Histoire de la caricature sous la République, l'Empire et la Restauration* (Paris: 1874), as well as André Blum's *La Caricature en France sous la Directoire* (Paris: 1917). The fashion for looking at these prints in the nineteenth century was to regard the object as a crude drawing, focusing on the event it was attempting to depict.

It was with the *bicentenaire* of the Revolution in 1989 that another flurry of interest in the prints occurred in the disciplines of history and art history. Amongst the resulting publications, of particular note is the work undertaken by Antoine de Baecque in *La*

⁴ For an example of Ferdinand de Rothschild's reflections and views on the French Revolution, see his essay: *Personal Characteristics from French History, with Portraits*, (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1896). Though Rothschild saw the French Revolution a political and social necessity, he argues that some of its more brutal outcomes, notably the trial and execution of Marie-Antoinette, were completely immoral and unforgiveable.

Caricature révolutionnaire (Paris: 1988) and Claude Langlois in *La Caricature contre-révolutionnaire* (Paris: 1988). Both look at the prints as an historical source, highlighting a complex cultural context including the humour of the objects, as well as their style and methods of political commentary. They broaden the field of study beyond seeing the images simply as manipulators of public opinion or by-products of major events by analysing individual prints as objects in themselves. Other works which sprang from this renewal of interest in the late 1980s include the studies by Michel Vovelle in *La Révolution Française: images et récit 1789-1799* (Paris: 1986), Claudette Hould's *Images of the French Revolution* (Quebec: 1989) and the analysis of individual prints by Jean-Paul Pittion in *Taking Liberties: Satirical Prints of the French Revolution* (Dublin: 1989) working from the Chester Beatty Collection in Dublin. Extending the domain of research while also referring to and using examples of prints, David Bindman's *The Shadow of the Guillotine: Britain in the French Revolution* (London: 1989), Lynn Hunt's *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1984) and more recently, Joan Landes's *Visualizing the Nation: gender, representation, and revolution in eighteenth-century France* (Ithaca and London: 2001) are also of note. They consider the role of the visual through political, symbolic and gender-related discourse.

More recently, several other works have come to address the Revolutionary period in great detail. Particularly relevant to this thesis is Vivian Gruder's analysis of what Jean Egret described as the 'pre-Revolution.' In *The Notables and the Nation: The Political Schooling of the French, 1787-1788* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: 2007), she considers the politicisation of the public as well as the role of sources for dissemination (such as the printed media) in mobilising the French populace. Joseph Clarke's text, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France: Revolution and Remembrance, 1789-1799*, (Cambridge: 2011) discusses remembrance and death in the French Revolution, and adds to the richness of this study, but is of particular importance to the third chapter of this thesis, discussing celebration, death and commemoration.⁵ Questions of death and memory

⁵ Joseph Clarke, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France: Revolution and Remembrance, 1789-1799*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 3-4. Clarke questions the nature of remembrance and memory during the French Revolutionary decade, outlining his thesis: 'In a period when political considerations can so easily appear to overwhelm all other concerns, what private ends did the Revolution's rites of memory serve?'

are also engaged with in Avner Ben-Amos' text, *Funerals, Politics, and Memory in Modern France 1789-1996*, (New York: 2005) and discussed following the Revolutionary decade in Thomas A. Kselman's, *Death and the Afterlife in Modern France* (Princeton: 1993). An interdisciplinary study, Ben-Amos explores how funerals, such as that of Voltaire, became events of mass public engagement which addressed both concepts of 'rememberance and forgetting' simultaneously. Furthermore, Jean-Clément Martin's *Violence et Révolution* (Paris: 2006) investigates an interpretation of the Revolutionary decade through violence – something noted in specific outbreaks of violence, something which I comment upon in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

Richard Wittman's work, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France* (New York and London: 2007) is of particular interest to the first chapter of this study, analysing how, prior to the outbreak of the Revolution, architectural practice, theory and experience developed in the public sphere – notably in terms of its appearance in media engaging with a modernising public culture. Most importantly he addresses the changing roles of buildings and structures, and how the importance placed on them related to not only the building itself, but also its surroundings. While Karen Newman's study on early modern London and Paris, *Cultural Capitals*, (Princeton and Oxford: 2009) defines representations of the urban view in the seventeenth century, and how this tradition would continue throughout the eighteenth.

Work has also been conducted from an art historical perspective such as the essays gathered by Philippe Bordes and Régis Michel in their *Aux armes et aux arts: les arts de la Révolution: 1789-1799* (Paris: 1988) which provides a perception of how the art world changed over the course of the Revolution, though both Bordes and Michel place greater attention on examples of high art rather than popular prints.

Looking at the role of the artist, Thomas Crow's analysis of David and his pupils in *Emulation: making artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven and London: 1994) studies how artists' aesthetic choices interacted within a larger social arena during the Revolutionary decade. Also observing changes in high art, T.J. Clark's *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism* (New Haven and London: 1999) looks at David's *Marat* as a starting point of

modernism, analysing the work's relationship between politics and art. Clark also touches on the role of prints in a history of modernism.⁶ The 2002 publication by the Musée de la Révolution Française at Vizelle titled *La Révolution par Gravure: les Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française, une entreprise éditoriale d'information et sa diffusion en Europe (1791-1817)* works to outline and analyse the history of the *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française* and the major events they depict. The *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution Française* was a collaborative publication over three volumes which began in July 1791. Depicting the main events of the Revolution, the *Tableaux historiques* comprise some 145 engravings, alongside explicative texts, and another 66 portraits of significant figures. The engravings of the *Tableaux historiques* depict the events in a historically aggrandised retrospect, emphasising the colossal nature of the city and the importance of the events that took place therein. Such engravings reveal a distinct shift in the ways printmakers chose to represent the city when juxtaposed to the prints dealt with in this study: those produced to comment on the events of the day. In Warren Roberts's study, *Jacques-Louis David and Jean-Louis Prieur: Revolutionary Artists. The Public the Populace, and Images of the French Revolution*, (Albany: 2000), Roberts analyses the engravings of the *Tableaux historiques* contrasting them to the Revolutionary-based works of the academically trained artist Jacques-Louis David. Roberts's touches on the engraver's use of the cityscape in these prints, including the high level of detail used by the printmaker. Given that this study focuses on the more popular prints of the period itself, observing events as they unfolded rather than commenting them retrospectively, such images provide a completely different view of the city: generally more simplistic, but on the whole more kinetic interpretations of the cityscape, visually inseparable from the subject that the printmaker was hoping to address.

More recently there has been a further resurgence of interest, notably the internet-based collaborative research project established by Lynn Hunt and Jack Censer which served as a platform to discuss the depiction of the crowd in Revolutionary images.⁷ This project included the publication of their article, *Imagining the French Revolution: Depictions of the French Revolutionary Crowd* in the *American Historical Review* (February 2005, Volume 110).

⁶ T.J. Clark, *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 15-54.

⁷ <http://chmn.gmu.edu/revolution/imaging/about.html>

Another recent publication of particular note is Rolf Reichardt and Hubertus Kohle's *Vizualizing the Nation: Politics and the Pictorial Arts in Late Eighteenth-Century France* (London: 2008). In this text Reichardt and Kohle analyse the relationship which exists between the high arts and 'lower art' of printing. Reichardt recently has developed his approach to concentrate on imagery of the Bastille in his book, *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille* (Paris: 2009). His study serves to analyse the collection of ephemeral materials, notably prints, held at the *Musée Carnavalet*, further developing his previous text "Prints: Images of the Bastille" in Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche (eds.) *Revolution in Print: the Press in France 1775-1800* (New York: 1989).

Despite this emerging wealth of research, there seems to have been little done by way of analysing the representations of Revolutionary Paris as a subject in itself. While major publications such as those by De Baecque and Langlois set their focus on a purely satirical and event-based analysis, and others such as the works of Reichardt specialise in iconographical discussion, a focused study on how the city was visually perceived by printmakers: its architectural characteristics, its population, and how these elements interacted with the politics and events of the day appears to be somewhat untapped. Representations of the city have been generally perceived as little more than a means of adding context to the narrative of an image or a way of providing a setting for the particular event depicted. Over the course of this thesis, I take what has been established about the role of the print industry in shaping and reflecting public opinion, and apply it to various representations of the city. Looking at these representations in print, I will investigate in what way they responded to the physical, social and political developments of the city from 1789-93. In doing so, I attempt to gauge the significance of the multiple perceptions represented in prints of how the city appeared and changed in the eyes of the Parisian printmaker.

Through the course of this thesis, I seek ways to establish how the city of Paris was viewed over discrete periods of time through the first half of the Revolutionary decade (1789-1793). Beginning my analysis with the object (the print) itself, I collate and present a number of prints representing cognate subjects within each chapter. Because of the sheer volume of prints, I have selected works that I believe can be used to form a broad perception of how

printmakers reacted to specific events and particular architectural features of the city. Using this approach I have been able to maximise the skills that I acquired during my time cataloguing the Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor, applying them to an analysis of each individual print's subject, chronology, thematic and symbolism. Through such a method I outline how the pictorial schema employed by the printing medium developed in its means of representing the city and how Paris itself changed over the course of the Revolutionary decade.

The aim of this first chapter, 'Paris in Prints: the Impact of 1789', is to explore examples of how Paris was perceived as a city prior to, and at, the outbreak of the Revolution, as well as to outline the changes that had occurred within the political landscape of the city and how these changes were portrayed in the prints of that time. I argue that the events of 1789 were fundamental in shaping the Revolutionary print industry and identify the major shifts which were to shape this new style of Parisian printmaking, analysing how particular political and social developments came to be captured in the medium. The mass produced prints of this year visually reflect how the role of Paris as city under the *ancien régime* changed, most evidently in the lead-up to the storming of the Bastille, 14 July 1789.

To do this, it is necessary to define how the capital had been observed by printmakers prior to 1789. One means of doing this is by juxtaposing their work to other visual sources such as paintings, maps and other written accounts that we have from the period. I show that prior to the Revolution, Paris's notoriety as a capital was based on its monuments and history as identified in a number of travel guides and journals printed through the course of the eighteenth century.⁸ While primary sources (including the prints themselves), both describing and illustrating the city show Paris to be generally a somewhat harmonious place

⁸ Notable examples of journals, travel guides and maps include: Thomas Bentley, *Journal of a Visit to Paris 1776*, ed. Peter France, (Brighton: University of Sussex Library, 1977). ; Anna Francesca Cradock, *Journal de Madame Cradock : voyage en France, (1783-1788)*, trans. O-Delphin Balleyguier, (Paris: Perrin, 1896). ; John Andrews, *Letters to a Young Gentleman, On his setting out for France: containing a Survey of Paris and a Review of French Litterature; with Rules and Directions for Travellers, and Verious Observations and Anecdotes relating to the Subject*, (London: J. Walter and W. Brown, 1784). ; Germain Brice, *Nouvelle Description de la ville de Paris, et de tout ce qu'elle contient de plus remarquable*, (Paris: Julien-Michel Gandouin and François Fournier, 1725). ; Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1979). ; Restif De La Bretonne, *Les Nuits de Paris, ou Le Spectateur-Nocturne*, (London, 1788). ; Alfred Fierro and Jean-Yves Sarazin, *Le Paris des Lumières d'après le plan de Turgot (1734-1739)*, (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2005).

under the *ancien régime*, secondary sources provide a much broader view as to what life must have been like in the years prior to the outbreak of the Revolution, including details of the sometimes harsh realities that urban life presented to its swelling populace.⁹

Defining how Paris was seen in prints and other mediums serves to highlight the fundamental shift to how the city would come to be represented in prints in 1789: specifically the focus on the city in its relation to politics and other social developments. What came to embody Paris was its air of political liveliness, its energy and its sociability. One means of showcasing this change can be observed in a study of the printmaker Basset, whose choice in subject matter developed from the monumental to the political in 1789.¹⁰

The event which would come to cement the changes in the printing industry, and more importantly come to encapsulate symbolically and iconographically the Revolution as a whole, was the storming of the Bastille, 14 July 1789. The final part of this chapter investigates how this came to be, notably engaging with the concept of the popular myths that gave the site of the Bastille fortress such visual and ideological importance by the summer of 1789. Investigating how prints served to reflect this, and quintessentially the importance of the structure on the Parisian cityscape, this study explicates the background as to why the fall of the Bastille would become such a potent symbol representative of Revolutionary Paris, and the outbreak of the Revolution as a whole.¹¹

⁹ Key texts include: Colin Jones, *Paris: Biography of a City*, (London: Penguin Books, 2006). ; Daniel Roche, *Le peuple de Paris: Essai sur la culture populaire au XVIIIe siècle*, (Paris: Fayard, 1998). ; David Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002). ; David Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and community in Paris, 1740-1790*, (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

¹⁰ This new interest in politics is supported by the accounts of Arthur Young, an Englishman travelling through Paris in the late 1780s. Young's accounts are of great value as he visited the city annually from 1787 to 1789, and in his writing, there is an identifiable shift in his observations from those of monumental and architectural appreciation, to a focus on the politics of the day: Arthur Young, *Travels in France During the Years 1787, 1788, 1789*, (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1889).

¹¹ Jacques Godechot, *The Taking of the Bastille, July 14th, 1789*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1970). ; Rolf Reichardt, *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille*, (Paris: Paris musées; Nicolas Chaudun; Musée Carnavalet Histoire de Paris, 2009). Having analysed multiple prints, as well as other ephemera that were distributed after the fall of the fortress, Reichardt analyses how these visual elements aided in the construction of the myth of the Bastille. I expand on this by taking into account the concept of the myth, analysing how the prints act to represent a culmination of the changes that were taking place in Paris in 1789 and how this particular event served to crystallise them in the Revolutionary mindset.

I go on in Chapter Two, 'The Fall of the Bastille: Popular Justice and Urban Mobility', to focus firstly on the fall of the Bastille and the events surrounding it, highlighting the political, social and ideological implications which came popularly to define this as the moment which epitomised the beginning of the French Revolution. An analysis of prints representing outbreaks of violence in the days preceding 14 July provides an impression as to the political climate of the capital at the time, outlining how particular moments of uprising played out in specific locations across the capital.¹² Investigating the established 'myth' of the Bastille, the study analyses the means by which the myth was visually communicated to the Parisian population, notably comprising prints which engaged with the heroes, anecdotes and legends that permeated through printed imagery in the event's aftermath. I argue that the changes experienced in the city of Paris leading up to the Revolution – from a city of monuments to a city of modernity – had an impact on the way the Bastille was represented at the time of the storming, as prints concentrated more on the event itself, and its symbolic outcomes, than in representing the fortress traditionally as a simple monumental site as it had previously been in prints prior to 1789. The chosen prints – in the same manner as other ephemeral 'souvenir' materials created at the time of the event – retain their importance due to their link to the broader social and political contexts of the time, offering varying perspectives as to how the day played out, and how the different printmakers chose to engage with their chosen subject. These include prints of realistic depictions of the site,

¹² Primary sources reporting on the days of 12-3 July paint an image of the sense of unease that had developed within the capital, which is in turn reflected in the prints. Extracts from journals such as *La Semaine mémorable, ou récit exact, De ce qui s'est passé à Paris depuis le 12 jusqu'au 17 Juillet.*, (Paris: 24 Juillet 1789) and Louis Marie Prudhomme (ed.). *Révolutions de Paris, dédiées à la Nation et au district des Petits Augustins. Publiées par le sieur Prudhomme à l'époque du 12 Juillet 1789. Avec Graveurs et Cartes des Départemens du Royaume*, (Paris: 1789-4), provide a sense of an increasingly political rhetoric amongst those who frequented the cafés of the Palais-Royal (such as Camille Desmoulin's provocative speech of 12 July), as well as politically biased though factually accurate reports of the ensuing violence that erupted across the city, notably the charge of the Royal-Allemand Cavalry Regiment on the crowd which had amassed in the Tuileries gardens. Other sources consulted for the first part of this chapter give a sense of the physical and social make up of the city at this time, providing an insight into how some Parisians' lifestyles were affected by these outbursts of violence. Joachim Schulz, Schulz, Joachim Christoph Freidrich. *Ueber Paris und die Pariser*, (Berlin: F. Viewveg, 1791), provides a description of Parisians and their habits of the promenade, while Laurent Turcot, *Le promeneur à Paris au XVIIIe siècle*, (Paris: Gallimard, 2007) gives a detailed study of how Parisians utilised boulevards and the recently opened royal gardens. Simon Lacordaire, *Les Inconnues de la Seine: Paris et les métiers de l'eau du XIIIe au XIXe siècle*, (Paris: Hachette, 1985) alternatively examines some aspects of the river, notably those who worked on it providing transport and passage.

portraiture of principal characters related to the fortress and its storming, the proliferation which acknowledges the perceived gravity of what had happened.¹³

The second part of this chapter investigates prints of the other popular movements of 1789 and the makeup of the Parisian crowd, notably in depictions of popular justice and how it was conducted in and around the Place de Grève, what had been the traditional site for public executions. This analysis includes prints of the march to Versailles known as the October Days (5-6 October) in which printmakers visually defined both urban and rural spaces, and gave visual sense as to how typically urban characters could be depicted in rural scenes. The online work of Lynn Hunt and Jack Censer on the Revolutionary crowd, as well as the other scholars who contributed to the project, including: Vivian Cameron, Wayne Hanley, Barabara Day-Hickman, Joan B. Landes and Warren Roberts is crucial to the analysis of the chosen prints, forming a discussion as to the makeup of the Revolutionary crowd.¹⁴

¹³ The storming of the Bastille is an immense subject that has already been well-documented and analysed by a number of prominent historians. Works of particular note for this thesis include Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink and Rolf Reichardt's study *The Bastille: A History of a Symbol of Despotism and Freedom*, trad. Norbert Schürer, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997), which deftly defines the myth of the Bastille and how its creation and entrenched acceptance as a belief affected Parisian mentality in relation to the fortress and its prisoners, while Godechot's *The Taking of the Bastille* presents a highly detailed chronology of how the event played out. Primary sources such as Simon-Nicolas-Henri Linguet's, *Mémoires de la Bastille et sur la détention de M. Linguet, écrits par lui-même*, (London: T Spilsbury, 1783), and Jean Henri Masers de Latude's, *Les mémoires de Latude, écrit par lui-même*, (Paris: Libraire Arthème Fayard, 1889), reinforce this concept of the myth which had developed through the course of the eighteenth-century, while accounts of the storming such as Jean-Baptiste Humbert's, *Journée de Jean-Baptiste Humbert, horloger, qui, le premier, a monté sur les tours de la Bastille*, (Paris: Volland, 1789), form credible eye-witness descriptions. Such accounts are reiterated in other secondary sources including: Claude Quétel's *Escape from the Bastille: The Life and Legend of Latude*, trans. Christopher Sharp, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), Monique Cottret's, *La Bastille à prendre : Histoire et mythe de la forteresse royale*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986), Pierre Prillard's 'La Glorification des Vainqueurs de la Bastille' in *Actes du Congrès national des sociétés savantes: Section d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 100, (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1977), and André Souyris-Rolland's 'Les Vainqueurs de la Bastille et leurs décorations' in *Revue des Amis du Musée de l'armée*, 88, (Paris: Société des Amis du Musée de l'Armée, 1983). Reichardt's recently published *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille* provides a study analysing prints of the Bastille amongst other forms of Revolutionary ephemera, justifying such objects as historical items that provide varying views and interpretations of the event. My study makes no attempt to express these prints as objects of historical significance, rather I form an interpretation of the image based on the differing printmakers' stylistic and political choices in depicting the event.

¹⁴ An abundance of primary sources also offer an insight into the actions of the crowd at the murders of Foulon and Bertier. While journals such as Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris* offers accounts of the event, criminal reports and witness accounts of the October Days help to define the crowd which the printmaker has visually replicated, notably: *Procédure criminelle instruite au Châtelet de Paris sur la dénonciation des faits arrivés à Versailles dans la journée du 6 octobre 1789*, (Paris, 1790), (BN LE 29 980). ; Charles Chabroud, *Rapport de la procédure du Châtelet, sur l'affaire des 5 et 6 octobre ; fait à l'Assemblée nationale*, (Paris: l'Imprimerie nationale, 1790). ; Lucas de Blaire, *Les Forfaits du 6 octobre, ou examen approfondi* (Paris: 1790). ; and *Observations de M. Henry, député de l'Assemblée nationale, Sur la partie du rapport de M. Chabroud, qui lui est personnelle.*, (Paris: 1790)., to name but a few. A number of these reports have been compiled and referenced

Taking this into consideration, I argue that the particular cityscapes and rural images created by printmakers, not only serve to frame the time and place of the scene, but were also a means to define a particular group of people by way of class, age and gender, noting especially how this helped to illustrate the movement of a large group through a specific space.¹⁵ This raises the question – to what extent does the surrounding environment manipulate the creation of the crowd visually in print, and depictions of their acts within different settings?¹⁶

In terms of physical, social and symbolic change, Chapter Three, ‘The Festive Capital, 1790-1791’, charts how the chosen prints map the city’s development in preparation for the Fête de la Fédération, 14 July 1790, on the Champ de Mars and on the site of the former Bastille fortress. This celebration commemorated the fall of the Bastille one year prior, and the prints studied raise questions of what may be a new found Parisian sociability, including affirming acts of patriotism in the transformation of the Champ de Mars into an arena in which to view and present a choreographed and very theatrical spectacle.¹⁷ This chapter

in the works of Michel Biard, *Les lilliputiens de la centralisation: des intendants aux préfets, les hésitations d’un modèle français*, (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2007). ; Pierre Dominique, *Paris enlève le roi, octobre 1789*, (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1973). ; and, Barry M. Shapiro, *Revolutionary Justice in Paris, 1789-1790*, (Cambridge, New York, Oakleigh: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

¹⁵ In so doing I address ideas presented in Vincent Millot, *Les Cris de Paris ou le peuple travesti: Les représentations des petits métiers parisiens (XVIe – XVIIIe siècles)*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995), which takes into consideration the visual significance of depicting individuals within the city. The maps presented in Émile Ducoudray, Raymond Monnier, Daniel Roche, Alexandra Laclau, *Atlas de la Révolution française*, I – XI, (Paris: Editions de l’Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 1987-2000), provide details to the believed route of the crowd through the city, and also en route to Versailles, allowing me to study the displacement of the crowd, and how this was interpreted by the various printmakers. ; Other studies which offer insights into defining the crowd and its role include Joan B. Landes, ‘Representing Women in the Revolutionary Crowd’ from the online project and Warren Roberts, *Jacques-Louis David and Jean-Louis Prieur: Revolutionary Artists. The Public the Populace, and Images of the French Revolution*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000).

¹⁶ In so doing I address ideas presented in Vincent Millot, *Les Cris de Paris ou le peuple travesti: Les représentations des petits métiers parisiens (XVIe – XVIIIe siècles)*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995), which takes into consideration the visual significance of depicting individuals within the city. The maps presented in Émile Ducoudray, Raymond Monnier, Daniel Roche, Alexandra Laclau, *Atlas de la Révolution française*, I – XI, (Paris: Editions de l’Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 1987-2000), provide details to the believed route of the crowd through the city, and also en route to Versailles, allowing me to study the displacement of the crowd, and how this was interpreted by the various printmakers.

¹⁷ This analysis takes into account first hand descriptions focusing specifically on the ambiance of the occasion as noted in such works as Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Le Nouveau Paris* (Paris: 1797). ; Henriette Lucille Dillon, Marquise de La Tour du Pin, *Mémoires de la marquise de la Tour du Pin, journal d’une femme de cinquante ans, 1778-1815 ; suivis d’extraits inédits de sa correspondance, 1815-1846*, (Paris: Mercure de France, 1989). ; and other descriptions of the scene in journals such as in Prudhomme’s *Révolutions de Paris*. Details of the ceremony are well documented and the concepts and historical background of the set-up are analysed in Ozouf’s *La fête révolutionnaire* (in which she also discusses the rural influences that would be seen on other celebratory occasions such as those on the Place de la Bastille, Mirabeau’s burial and the *panthéonisation* of

draws parallels between prints depicting the event and the creation of a number of ephemeral monuments for the celebrations. Prints of the construction of the terrain take on a festive tone, sometimes including scenes of an almost comically bawdy nature amongst the patriotic fervour of the crowd's actions. The key to these scenes was that of an all encompassing social harmony, something that would be replicated in the more ordered and formal prints of the festival on the Champ de Mars itself. While the site of Champ de Mars was of key importance as a place in which a great number of people could gather to celebrate, the prints chosen reflect not just on the topography of the site, but on the festive ambiance the populace imbued in it. An analysis of these images offers a unique means to view the festival, incorporating both the choreographed and sporadic elements which added to the celebrations and the ceremony itself.

In the second part of this chapter I engage with other organised public events: notably analysing the role attributed to the Pantheon following its conversion from the church of Sainte-Geneviève and its topographical importance when discussed in relation to ambulant ceremonies of Mirabeau's burial and the *panthéonisation* of Voltaire.¹⁸ Parade-like in execution, such ceremonies were not festive in the same manner as the Fête de la Fédération, though prints depicting these two incidents offer a specific insight as to how the topography of the city was utilised in such a way to maximise public viewing and participation in the processions.¹⁹

Voltaire) and Marie-Louis Biver, *Fêtes révolutionnaires à Paris* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1979). Of pivotal significance for this study is Jame A. Leith, *Space and Revolution: projects for monuments, squares and public buildings in France 1789-1799*, (Montreal and London: McGill-Queens University Press, 1991), which discusses the ephemeral architectural creations employed for the event, as well as other decorations placed across the city.

¹⁸ The recent publication of Allan Potofsky, *Constructing Paris in the Age of Revolution*, (Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), gives a sense of one of the more substantial physical developments to the cityscape over this period, as well as analysing the changes between private and state enterprises in the building trades. The book works to topple the myth that these years were only responsible for ceaseless and determined vandalism.

¹⁹ This is elaborated upon in Mona Ozouf, 'Pantéhon: L'École normale des morts' in, *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, ed. Pierre Nora, I, (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), in which the questions of spirituality and memorials are addressed. Considering the ceremonies themselves and the character given to them by their respective routes through the labyrinth-like centre of the city, on which the majority of the chosen prints focus, the *Atlas de la Révolution française*, XI, gives a sense as to how such an itinerary may have been chosen, while June Hargrove, *The Statues of Paris, an Open-Air Pantheon: the History of Statues to Great Men*, (New York, Paris: The Vendome Press, 1989). ; Jacques Lanfranchi, *Les statues des grands homes à Paris: Coeurs de bronze, Têtes de pierre*, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004). ; and Julien Tiersot, *Les fêtes et les chants de la Révolution française*, (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1908), provide a sense of the symbolic importance of the statues used in the ceremonies, as well as a sense of the ambiance of the occasion which was replicated visually in the prints.

My aim in Chapter Four, 'The Tuileries and the Royal Family, 1791-1792', is to look at the response of Parisian artists and printmakers to the royal family's time spent at the Tuileries Palace over a set period of time, with particular reference to genre prints of their first months, the Day of Daggers, the Flight to Varennes, the insurrection of 20 June 1792 and finally the storming of the palace itself on 10 August 1792. The role of the palace is juxtaposed to prints of the *salle du Manège*, a structure located within the Tuileries gardens. This specific area of the city would become the political centre of France towards the end of 1789 and prints of the palace and Assembly in the following years offer a unique view of the architecture and functions of what were two Parisian edifices which now no longer exist.²⁰ I aim to demonstrate the newly found accessibility which printmakers acquired at the centralisation of both monarchical and political bodies, arguing that it was no longer necessary to simply portray major events, but rather ones in which members of the Parisian public could identify themselves in the domesticity of royal life. The same is true for several images of the *salle du Manège* which members of the public could access, watching the Assembly in session from the first floor viewing balconies.²¹ Other events recorded by printmakers include inversions of social practice in which the public entered the private space of the Tuileries Palace on the Day of Daggers, 28 February 1791, and the insurrection of 20 June 1792. In both studies I observe reports from a number of primary sources which work to compliment or rebuke the visual accounts provided in prints based primarily on what would seem to be the author's or printmaker's political stance, as well as that of their intended audience. On both occasions the accounts, both textual and visual, vary wildly in interpreting what had occurred.

²⁰ Primary sources and notably eighteenth-century travel guides such as Germain Brice, *Nouvelle Description de la ville de Paris, et de tout ce qu'elle contient de plus remarquable*, (Paris: Julien-Michel Gandouin and François Fournier, 1725). ; Antoine-Nicolas Dezallier D'Argenville, *Voyage pittoresque de Paris: ou Indication de tout ce qu'il y a de plus beau dans cette ville en peinture, sculpture & architecture*, III, (Paris: 1757). ; and Joachim Christoph Freidrich Schulz, *Ueber Paris und die Pariser*, (Berlin: F. Viewveg, 1791), describe the changing role of the palace and its gardens through the century. More recent studies note the history, architecture and eventual level of decay the palace itself came to be in: Michael Carmona, *Le Louvre et les Tuileries: Huit siècles d'histoire*, (Paris: Editions de la Martinière, 2004). ; Georges Lenôtre, *Les Tuileries: Fastes et maléfices d'un palais disparu*, (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1933). ; and Mathieu Couty, *La Vie aux Tuileries pendant la Révolution, 1789-1799*, (Paris: Tallandier, 1988).

²¹ One article by Linda Orr on the role of logographers in the Assembly, Linda Orr, 'The Blind Spot of History: Logography' in, *Yale French Studies: Everyday Life*, (no. 73, 1987), illustrates the layout of the *salle du Manège*, as well as its functions.

Following the flight to Varennes and the royal family's ignominious return to Paris, there was another significant shift in the printmakers' visual vocabulary with the proliferation of satirical and scatological imagery employed to openly attack the royal family, particularly Marie-Antoinette. If the storming of the Bastille and the relaxing of censorship laws in 1789 changed the ways in which the printmaker could address politics within the city, the flight to Varennes now meant that pro-Revolutionary printmakers essentially enjoyed *carte blanche* in choosing their means of depicting the royal couple: another essential development in the satirical medium.²²

Political and social tensions would all come to a head with the storming of the Tuileries Palace on 10 August 1792 and the fall of the Bourbon monarchy – an event that Revolutionary printmakers would reproduce almost with the same patriotic zeal as the storming of the Bastille three years earlier.

The final chapter of this doctoral thesis, 'Violence in the City: the September Massacres and Execution Scenes', accounts for the final days of the former king and queen, and some specific locations of changing significance throughout the city. Looking at sporadic incidents of violence and public executions, I analyse prints which incorporate depictions of the Temple, the demolition of royal monuments and the renaming of the *grandes places*, the little-depicted September Massacres and the executions which took place on the Place de la Révolution (Place de la Concorde) and the Place de Grève. While an analysis of these events examines certain instances of the destruction of symbols within the city, be they artistic, architectural, or political, such destruction was also a means of social and political change, something that was interpreted differently by various Parisian printmakers in their work over this period.

²² In the realms of the scatological, studies addressing David's caricatures prove a point of reference such as, James Cuno, 'Obscene Humor in French Revolutionary Caricature: Jacques-Louis David's "The Army of Jugs and The English Government"' in, *Representing the French Revolution: Literature, Historiography, and Art*, ed. James A. W. Heffernan, (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1992). ; and Warren Roberts, *Jacques-Louis David, Revolutionary Artist: art, politics and the French Revolution* (Chapel Hill, London: University of North Carolina Press, 1989). Also of relevance is Dorinda Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), which analyses the role of the body and its relationship to public and political space.

Following the fall of the Bourbon monarchy on 10 August 1792, the former royal family were transferred to the Temple. The first part of this chapter looks at how the family were now publicly seen in this new environment, and how printmakers and the public reacted to their presence in the *Tour du Temple* which took on a significant role as a prison.²³ Analysing the prints depicting the site, images of the *Tour du Temple* suggest a shift in the structure's importance as a monumental façade.

In the same days following 10 August 1792, demolition of royal monuments by crowds began around the city. I argue that while the need for destruction was popularly demanded as a necessity to create a political and psychological cleavage between present and past, including the suppression of royal symbols, the need for the creation of a new artistic and architectural aesthetic was expressed in some prints.²⁴ I look at other firsthand investigations into what was to be done with royal statues and symbols, and in turn what should they be replaced with. While the work of some polemicists such as the Abbé Grégoire illustrate that strong arguments were made to protect certain patrimonial elements of the *ancien régime*, other opinions advocated a different approach. In this light, I also take into account architectural proposals – reinterpretations of existing sites, ephemeral monuments and building plans which never came to fruition – exploring how Revolutionary architects sought to inspire social change through their designs.²⁵

²³ First hand reports such as the Jean Baptiste Hanet-Cléry, *Mémoires de Cléry de M. le Duc de Montpensier*, ed. Fs. Barrière, (Paris: Firmin Didot frères, 1847), describe the imprisonment of the royal family, their daily routines, and those who guarded and visited them. David P. Jordan, *The King's Trial: the French Revolution vs. Louis XVI*, (Berkeley, London: University of California Press, 2004). ; and Georges Bordonove, *Les Rois qui ont fait la France : Les Bourbons, De Louis XVI à Louis-Philippe 1774-1848*, (Paris: Pygmalion/Flammarion, 2004), investigate the structure of the Temple as well as the king's last days.

²⁴ While I touch on the various relabeling of public spaces, and an analysis of the destroyed statues, Stanley J. Idzerda's article 'Iconoclasm during the French Revolution' in, *The American Historical Review*, (vol. 60, no. 1, October 1964), was particularly useful in deepening my study, presenting a particularly interesting analysis of the thoughts behind the destruction of such works of art and the arguments for their preservation. See also, Richard Clay, 'Violating the Sacred: Theft and "Iconoclasm" in Late Eighteenth-Century Paris' in, *The Oxford Art Journal*, (vol. 26, no. 2, 2003), in relation to the same ideas faced in the nationalisation, deconsecration and destruction of church property following the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

²⁵ While James Leith, *The Idea of Art as Propaganda in France 1750-1799: A Study in the History of Ideas*, (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1965), proves invaluable for such a study, Lynn Hunt's *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* illustrates reasons for the creation of new symbols or reinterpretations of old ones, such as her study on Hercules as a symbol for the people. Building on Leith's work, Annie Jourdan, *Les Monuments de la Révolution 1770-1804: Une histoire de représentation*, (Paris: Honoré Champion Editeur, 1997), analyses the philosophy and various ideologies behind particular monuments, as well as the major events that shaped them.

This theme of destruction continues, noting scenes of slaughter in prints depicting the September Massacres. I demonstrate how scenes of violence served not just to depict what was happening in the city, but how such actions were articulated visually by the printmakers. Given the absence of prints addressing the subject, except for those few printed in major journals or those created abroad by counter-Revolutionaries, this lack of violent iconography contrasts with the sheer volume of prints which engaged, either positively or negatively, in the depiction of public executions. The paucity of prints addressing the September Massacres corresponds to a general absence of primary material describing the events in detail.²⁶

The final part of this chapter continues to focus on violent imagery, specifically on executions, with some background information on the trials of the former king and queen, Louis Capet and Marie-Antoinette. In this study I reincorporate ideas discussed in Chapter Two and Three, taking into account both the nature of the spectator within the crowd, as well as the architectural choices and spectacle of the execution as an event to be seen, and how the chosen locations of the Place de la Révolution and the Place de Grève may have facilitated this idea of 'viewing' death. In my analysis of the prints I consider the architectural details that the different printmakers choose to include, including their choices in the use of perspective and space. In doing so, I also analyse the role of the guillotine as a symbol not only of the later Terror, but also of the Revolution itself.²⁷ I expand on this analysis, looking at how the guillotine can be interpreted not just as a symbol, but as a central physical location representing the Place de la Révolution and the Place de Grève and reinforcing their roles as public spaces within the city.

While this study is far from an absolute, focusing rather on specific groups of images over defined periods of time, I hope it provides a chronicle illustrating the various ways in which the city came to be seen and interpreted by Parisian printmakers, contributing to a unique view of the capital during the first half of the Revolutionary decade.

²⁶ Rather, key studies include Frédéric Bluche, *Septembre 1792, logiques d'un massacre*, (Paris: R. Laffont, 1986). ; and Pierre Caron, *Les massacres de septembre*, (Paris: Maison du Livre Français, 1935).

²⁷ David Bindman's *Shadow of the Guillotine* also works to illustrate the power of the machine as a means of visual persuasion through British prints as much as in their French counterparts, generally taking centre stage in this spectacle of death.

1.0 Chapter One: The Impact of 1789: Approaching Revolutionary Prints

The outbreak of the Revolution produced an influx of largely uncensored printed imagery which formed a unique (and changing) visual representation of Paris. In the first part of this opening chapter, I look at the nature of printmaking as a visual form in the latter part of the eighteenth century, providing a general background to the medium, assessing its techniques, styles and function. In this background to prints and printmaking I also look at the role of the printmaker and the printmaker's status in Parisian society, comparing him or her to other painterly artists, such as those officially recognised by the *Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture*. My aim is to clarify how printmakers chose to observe the city prior to the Revolutionary decade, and how their approach and their choice in subject and style would fundamentally change in 1789. In the second part of this chapter I investigate how these changes were to come about, most notably with the introduction of political rhetoric into popular prints, particularly in the proliferation of satirical etchings, and the new found ability that the printmaker had to use his or her medium to report on current events. In exploring this shift in subject matter I also note the different ways in which printmakers responded to the changing character of the city from 1789. This includes physical changes and the impact of other developments in the sphere of public, private and liminal spaces which were represented by printmakers at specific sites across the city, such as at the Palais-Royal. At the end of this chapter, a brief case study works to define the 'myth' the Bastille and how this myth was perpetuated in printed imagery in the years leading up to its storming on 14 July 1789: this was the event that would typify the development in ways printmakers chose to portray Paris as a modern and changing city in the first half of the Revolutionary decade.

1.1 A Background to Prints and Printmaking in Paris

Created and sold in varying styles and forms, late-eighteenth century prints covered a wide array of genres and subjects ranging from the comic and the satirical commenting on popular and political issues, to the more serious and the allegorical. The styles of these prints also varied, corresponding generally to the quality of the images which were produced.

Amongst these, etchings were the most common form: this is especially true from 1789 on. As a form of printing, etchings could be made cheaply and rapidly and more often than not dealt with the popular satire of the day, while the more expensive and time-consuming genre of engraving was likely to address more highbrow subjects. Sale prices also followed suit, corresponding to the style and workmanship of the print. Etchings gained considerable popularity as they often reflected ‘the news of the day.’²⁸ After 1789 they leave, as Antoine de Baecque notes, a veritable ‘commentaire d’une actualité révolutionnaire débordante.’²⁹ As a style of printing, they provided the visual means to convey major events of the present within a short period of them happening, and their low cost and popular subject matter meant that they appealed to a broad social constituency.³⁰ At the end of the eighteenth century, most prints which were sold on the street belonged to a popular market of ephemeral materials and were sold alongside other printed media such as journals and pamphlets, all of which had been growing in popularity and circulation throughout the 1780s.³¹ The quantity of such printed media increased exponentially in late 1788 when it became what Robert Danton asserts was, ‘an active force in history.’³² Prints were sold or hawked by peddlers in several main areas of the city: the Palais Royal, along the banks of the *rive gauche* of the Seine, particularly around the Quai des Augustins.³³ They also appeared further south of the river in the *quartier* Saint-Jacques, where most of the works for the Parisian print market were actually produced in the numerous workshops.³⁴

²⁸ Rolf Reichardt, ‘Prints: Images of the Bastille’ in, *Revolution in Print: the Press in France 1775-1800*, eds. Robert Danton and Daniel Roche, (New York: New York Public Library, 1989), p. 224. ; Vivian R. Gruder, *The Notables and the Nation: The Political Schooling of the French, 1787-1788*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 168-9. To an extent this mirrored the ever-increasing popularity of pamphlets through the 1780s which had to be rapidly produced and disseminated in order to stay within chronological proximity to the various happenings of the day. This is also true of the more personal nature of pamphlets in the 1780s which may have expressed the personal views or concerns of the author.

²⁹ Antoine De Baecque. *La Caricature Révolutionnaire*, (Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1988), p. 23.

³⁰ De Baecque, *La Caricature Révolutionnaire*, p. 27. De Baecque notes that the average caricature would be sold to the public ‘pour une somme de 10 à 15 sous.’ (An artisan working in Paris at the time would earn between 20-50 sous per day).

³¹ The eighteenth century also saw a rise in the market for luxury books which may have included detailed engravings. While it is possible that some images may have cut from such books to be sold individually, I do not refer to these engravings as belonging to the same group of ephemeral materials. Rather, my focus here is on etchings which were produced for a wider market and sold at a cheaper price. For more on this, see Anthony Griffiths, *The Panizzi Lectures 2003, Prints for Books: Book Illustration in France 1760-1800*, (London: The British Library, 2004), pp. 55-114.

³² Robert Darnton, ‘Introduction’ in, *Revolution in Print*, eds. Darnton and Roche, p. xiii. ; Philippe Minard, ‘Agitation in the Work Force’ in, *Revolution in Print*, eds. Darnton and Roche, p. 107.

³³ Reichardt, ‘Prints: Images of the Bastille’ in, *Revolution in Print*, eds. Darnton and Roche, p. 224.

³⁴ Pierre-Louis Duchartre and René Saulnier, *L’Imagerie parisienne. L’imagerie de la rue Saint-Jacques*, (Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1944), p. 24. ; The neighbourhood of the rue Saint-Jacques was also home to the book,

Because of their presence across the centre of the city, popular prints had become a highly visible part of the quotidian of Parisian life by 1789. Engravings on the other hand could take months to produce and their higher prices lent themselves to a narrower market, such as that of serious collectors. As Rolf Reichardt points out, this was the case in the production of the *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution Française*; the first of which was published in 1793 and which, because of their high quality, would continue to be produced in folio over the following twenty-six years. The *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution Française* was a collaborative publication over three volumes which began in July 1791. Depicting the main events of the Revolution, the *Tableaux* comprise some 145 engravings, alongside explicative texts, and another 66 portraits of significant figures.³⁵ This is not to say however that engravings did not have the same broad appeal as etchings, rather that they were considerably more limited in the speed of their production and consequently, in their affordability.

Our lack of knowledge about the identity of which Parisians were engaging with printed texts, particularly pamphlets, is touched upon by Vivian Gruder. Similar considerations might also be held to apply to prints. Just as Gruder notes that it is impossible to identify the anonymous authors and readers of particular pamphlets, the same argument holds if one were to attempt to identify the anonymous printmakers and their collectors given the lack of regulation and recording of the industry.³⁶ Who collected these prints? How long did they keep them? What was the motivation for collecting such items? There are no sources available to provide particularly clear or ready answers to these questions, and it is scarcely possible to speculate on the nature of the print industry except through the popularity and replication of certain images, or particular site specific prints complete with iconographic motifs and styles.

newspaper and pamphlet trades. For more see Carla Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1810*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 37-8. ; Gruder, *The Notables and the Nation*, pp. 221; 257.

³⁵ Reichardt, 'Prints: Images of the Bastille' in, *Revolution in Print*, eds. Darnton and Roche, pp. 223-4. Reichardt describes how, 'only well heeled subscribers could afford the *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*, finely detailed but detached from the events ... conceived [them] as a long-term collection in memory of the Revolution...'

³⁶ Gruder, *The Notables and the Nation*, pp. 181; 194.

Despite the proliferation of etchings in 1789, there appears to be a general consensus that the French production of satirical prints in the late eighteenth century, prior to 1789, was rudimentary in comparison to those produced by contemporary British printmakers.³⁷ Under the *ancien régime*, incendiary material such as satirical prints were placed under severe restrictions, making the flourishing years of French printmaking during the Revolution seem as though it were catching-up with the satirical printing styles that the British had already come to master.³⁸ Indeed, the French printmakers sometimes drew on the more established British satirical imagery. One particular example is a print of the presentation of Marie Antoinette to Louis XVI (fig. 1). Here, the future queen of France is depicted emerging from an opened 'Pandora's box' as the surrounding French court looks at her inquisitively. The visual rhetoric of this print has in fact been directly copied, and reversed, from a British print by Cruickshank (fig. 2). Also titled 'Pandora's Box,' the two prints share the same characters, though with different identities. In the British version, Louis XVI is the Duke of York and Marie Antoinette emerges from the box as the 'Prussian Pearl,' or Princess Frederica Charlotte of Prussia. Both images contain speech bubbles and the text has been translated from the English to French, keeping the humorous tone of the print in place. A major reason for the copying of this print in France would have been the similar themes of xenophobia; the distrust of a foreign princess and the possible pollution of the crown. Such blatant borrowing or copying of styles was partly due to the commercial aspects of printmaking – copying a popular idea and reproducing it for one's own sales was commonplace and unpreventable.³⁹ This is principally due to what Carla Hesse identifies as the breakdown of any system of regulation by August 1789, allowing the French industry to move closer towards the British model.⁴⁰ This move in turn opened up a new field of visual satire in

³⁷ British printmakers such as Gillray were appreciated as fashionable master cartoonists in their day. For more on Gillray, see Draper Hill, *Mr. Gillray, the caricaturist: a Biography*, (London: The Phaidon Press, 1965). ; Gruder, *The Notables and the Nation*, pp. 112; 222. In terms of the politicisation of prints, such examples also mirrored the printed press in which foreign gazettes and journals were free to print news about France, as they were not subject to the strict French printing laws of the *ancien régime*.

³⁸ Michel Jouve, *L'Age d'or de la caricature anglaise*, (Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1983).

³⁹ Rolf Reichardt and Hubertus Kohle, *Visualizing the Revolution: politics and pictorial arts in late eighteenth-century France*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), p. 39. Reichardt and Kohle discuss one such case involving the popular printmaker Basset on the rue Saint-Jacques.

⁴⁰ Hesse, 'Economic Upheavals in Publishing' in, *Revolution in Print*, eds. Darnton and Roche, p. 72. ; See also, Gruder, *The Notables and the Nation*, pp. 91-111. Gruder discusses at length then nature of press censorship prior to 1789. ; Daniel Roche, 'Censorship and the Publishing Industry,' in, *Revolution in Print*, eds. Darnton and Roche, p. 16. Roche states the reason why there was a need for such forms of surveillance: 'Between the police

French printmaking, allowing printmakers to work upon their own varying styles aimed primarily at a commercial market.

Despite the skill required in producing prints, and the public recognition of a few 'fine art' engravers, the role of the general printmaker had never been fully identified by the *Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* as being on par with that of the 'serious artist,' such as the painter or sculptor.⁴¹ Even in 1790, the public voice of the *Académie* continued to declare that engraving was a secondary art to both painting and sculpture. One reason for the *Académie's* aloof stance towards the print genre was in great part due to its reproducible nature. The *Académie* adhered to certain prerequisites which defined high art as an art of unique value, composed to a predetermined set of criteria. Namely, they looked for a reproduction of classical principles through idealised works which could convey an important moral message to the spectator; an art which would 'persuade, confer value, or instruct.'⁴² More often than not, the creation of idealised beauty was not part of the printmaker's agenda, while the multiple productions of prints also lacked the individuality or unique value which defined original works. There may also have been an apparent separation between the moment of inspiration – existing in the mental visualisation of the image, perhaps considered by an artist or someone other than the printmaker – and the act of creation, which seemed to have more in common with the workshop rather than the perhaps seemingly more cerebral creations of the artist's studio.⁴³ Thus, in the eyes of the *Académie*, printmaking was perceived as a more artisanal process.⁴⁴ Most importantly

and the reading public (ever more eager for dangerous innovations) emerged a group of cultural intermediaries who operated a no-man's-land between the legal and clandestine publishing industries. The group included booksellers and printers in search of a quick profit, as well as distributors, peddlers, small tradesmen, and writers both salaried and free lance. All of them were under surveillance.'

⁴¹ There were however some exceptions to this rule, notably the acceptance to the *Académie* of both Charles-Nicolas Cochin, father and son; both of whom were professional engravers. See E. Benezit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs de tous les temps et tous les pays, par un groupe d'écrivains spécialistes français et étrangers*, (Paris: Gründ, 1976), III, pp. 734-6. Such practice as to what constituted 'good' work was also applied by the architectural Academy: Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, p. 57.

⁴² Paul Duro, *The Academy and the Limits of Painting in Seventeenth-Century France*, (Cambridge, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 2.

⁴³ Duro, *The Academy and the Limits of Painting*, pp. 1-17. Duro discusses many examples in his text to illustrate the *Académie's* influence at the time of its creation in 1648, looking at its institutionalised discourse which considered a hierarchy of art with particular importance placed upon the narrative or history painting, rather than other, representative visual forms.

⁴⁴ The *Académie's* view of art was subverted with the forced liberalisation of the Salon of 1791, the perpetual erosion of the established hierarchy and the eventual dissolution of the institution in August 1793. For more on

though was one of the major motivations for producing prints, namely profitability: the printmaker's interests in a commercial rather than artistic endeavour influenced his or her choice of a 'worthwhile' subject or theme. This is not to say that the printmaker had no intention of transferring any sort of message to his or her public, as was the case with political pamphlets, though needless to say that the imperative of pecuniary gain was the *sine qua non*. That said, it is still important to investigate the possible reasoning behind an image's creation and the printmaker's relationship to, and engagement in, public, social and political dialogue that had the potential to not only reflect, but also interact with – and even possibly form – public opinion.⁴⁵

When considering the nature and impact of popular prints in post-1789 Paris, it is also useful to take into account their relationship to other forms of printed media which were also developing and growing in popularity. As with the printed image, printed text also saw a politicisation and proliferation in 1789. Prior to this, as Vivian Gruder observes, under the censorship of the *ancien régime*: 'Newspapers served as public registers of government laws and declarations. ... The typical *ancien régime* newspaper gravitated between public obeisance to royal policy and furtive efforts to provide some of what their readers sought without endangering their privilege to publish.'⁴⁶ But this would begin to change as early as August 1788 as it became more and more, 'difficult at times to distinguish the public's opinion from the newspaper's opinion in the accounts of euphoria following the appointment of Necker or the return of the *parlements*, or in reports on the insistent demands for the estates-general and for doubling the Third Estate.'⁴⁷

the *Académie* in the Revolution, see Udolpho van de Sandt, 'Institutions et Concours' in, *Aux Armes & Aux Arts! Les arts de la Révolution 1789-1799*, eds. Philippe Bordes and Régis Michel, (Paris: Editions Adam Biro, 1988), pp. 137-166.

⁴⁵ Richard Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), p. 6. In relation to this study, Richard Wittman's definition of public opinion is of particular relevance: 'It is composed of overlapping spaces, signs, and discourses. A printed book, a conversation with a stranger in a coffee house, a painting or exhibit, or a public building (whether open or closed to the public) all participate in it, though the media, which in the eighteenth century meant the world of print, is its most vital component.'

⁴⁶ Gruder, *The Notables and the Nation*, pp. 96-7.

⁴⁷ Gruder, *The Notables and the Nation*, p. 116. 'Yet neither newspaper led, mobilized, or aroused public opinion for or against any policy or any cause, as newspapers would begin to do in 1789.'

Jeremy Popkin has investigated the importance of printed media such as the newspapers and journals in 1789 and the role that they played in communicating between the public and the state.⁴⁸ As Jean-Sylvain Bailly, mayor of Paris in 1789 pointed out, 'Publicity is the people's safeguard.'⁴⁹ As Popkin also observes, publicity provided the connection between the people and the government.⁵⁰ Popkin goes on to illustrate the importance of the printed word and how, at the outbreak of the Revolution, it held a central importance in the scope of printed media.⁵¹

Without contesting Popkin's belief in the importance of the periodical press, I believe that I need to address his comments that the written word in journals and pamphlets held an even greater hold on public opinion and popular politics than their visual, or verbal, counterparts.⁵² It is impossible to state definitively that one form of media held more sway than the other, though it is possible to argue that prints held a unique place in Revolutionary rhetoric, in that they combine both image and word. Considering the *journées* of the 5-6 October, Lynn Hunt suggests in her study of the Revolutionary cockade, that its symbolic and thus visual impact did far more to mobilise the marchers to Versailles than a speech could ever have done, thus emphasising the power of the image in Revolutionary rhetoric.⁵³ Reichardt claims that such power made images such as prints 'fundamentally significant for the Revolution.'⁵⁴ Indeed, pictures not only held the power to amuse, but were also able to

⁴⁸ Jeremy D. Popkin, *Revolutionary News: The Press in France, 1789-1799*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1990). ; Gruder, *The Notables and the Nation*, p. 91. 'As the periodical press is supplemented by other news media in the twenty-first century ... so in the late eighteenth century there were other means to obtain information about current events – pamphlets in particular, as well as songs and verses, illustrations and caricatures, and word-of-mouth.'

⁴⁹ Jean-Sylvain Bailly, proclamation of 13 August 1789, cited in Pierre Rétat, *Les journaux de 1789: Bibliographie critique*, (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1789), p. 195.

⁵⁰ Popkin, *Revolutionary News*, p. 3.

⁵¹ Popkin, *Revolutionary News*, p. 181. Popkin sees the printed word as being 'uniquely important in the life of the Revolution.'

⁵² Gruder, *The Notables and the Nation*, p. 6. Despite these possible motivations, Gruder nevertheless asserts that no single form of printed material, individual, or body of ideas, 'exercised exclusive or paramount influence.' ; Popkin, *Revolutionary News*, p. 20. Popkin states: 'Newsletters, pamphlets, cartoons and songs all offered political news and opinions that never found their way into the official periodical press, but these media were not sufficient to structure a regular "public space" in which political issues could be discussed intelligently. Except for the newsletters, these media appeared only sporadically and unpredictably. Lacking continuity, they could not amplify or correct themselves, and they could not form a connection among their readers, a forum in which views could be exchanged.'

⁵³ Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), p. 58.

⁵⁴ Reichardt, 'Prints: Images of the Bastille' in, *Revolution in Print*, eds. Darnton and Roche, p. 224.

provoke or quickly generate particular sentiments amongst spectators. Juxtaposed to this, the text included in the prints had the ability to inform and to explain either subtly or brutally, swaying the opinions of the reader. This text was also comprehensible to a wide audience. By 1789, ninety per cent of men and eighty per cent of women had at least some basic literacy skills, the adult Parisian population being exposed to the written word on a daily basis: whether in coffee houses, or in texts read aloud in the streets, or in popular gathering areas such as the Palais Royal.⁵⁵ It is therefore necessary to build upon the notion of the visual and the written offering an immediate and all-inclusive comprehensibility in order to understand how these prints communicated their multilayered ideas and messages.

In his essay *Sign*, Alex Potts argues that to consider the image simply as the more accessible medium is to adhere to a socio-historic pattern which dictates the way we perceive an image as being 'more primary in [its] operations, than verbal texts.'⁵⁶ As in writing, Potts states that the image works to convey a message, and that the person interacting with the image requires a set of codes with which to interpret it. The potency of these prints therefore lies in the image and text working in symbiosis; serving to render the themes of the print more easily penetrable to the spectator, and with a greater immediacy than either text or image working alone.⁵⁷ This, as I shall explore in my analysis of the prints, works on the most fundamental levels of interpreting images of Paris, with, in some examples, the visual inducing a sense of place and time supported by a text which serves to identify the actual reality of where and when the scene takes place.

One print which works well to illustrate this point is a satirical print by A.P. depicting a soldier defecating on an aristocrat and a clergyman (fig. 3). Set in an unidentified street, the print uses several visual metaphors alongside text to aid the spectator's understanding of the image, also adding a greater level of humour through the use of puns. Street signs for

⁵⁵ Colin Jones, *Paris: Biography of a City*, (London: Penguin Books, 2006), p. 258. See also, Richard Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 3-4;10; 92, for a discussion on how literacy and interaction with the written word changed over the eighteenth-century.

⁵⁶ Alex Potts, 'Sign' in, *Critical Terms for Art History*, eds. Robert S. Nelson and Richard Schiff, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 26. Potts continues: 'Reinforcing this tendency is another pervasive common sense of modern Western culture whereby visual representations are seen to be more rudimentary and intuitive than linguistic ones.'

⁵⁷ Gruder, *The Notables and the Nation*, p. 223.

example are firstly an indicator of time and place – the *maison de Broglie* found at the end of a *cul-de-sac*. *Cul*, meaning arse, works to not only outline the nature of the street which comes to a dead end (the property of an *émigré*) but also serves to reinforce the image of the soldier's backside. The text 'A LA LANTERNE' is in turn underscored by the depiction of a corner streetlamp (a popular place and effective tool for popular lynchings) and the depiction of severed heads on pikes along the wall of the *cul-de-sac*. The pikes bear letters, the initials of the decapitated head represented. For example, the letter 'F' is found below a severed head whose mouth has been stuffed with straw. This a common visual motif in the depiction of Joseph-François Foulon, who was rumoured to have once stated that if the poor were hungry, they should eat straw.⁵⁸ Writing about Revolutionary prints in 1792, the royalist journalist Jacques-Marie Boyer-Brun coined the term 'écriture parlée' to describe the visual function of the prints.⁵⁹ I believe that this term can be adapted and expanded beyond the uniquely visual, taking into account the function of the print as a whole. As seen in the previous example, the image combines both visual and textual elements mutually working together to create what could be described as an action of communicable 'spoken writing.'

The particular nature of the prints' address can also be considered by asking the question: what impact did the Revolution have on the Parisian printmaker in particular? Philippe Bordes notes in his essay, *L'Art et la Politique*, that certain disciplined artists recognised the possibility of using their work to become an agent of history, rather than acting merely as its witness.⁶⁰ Building upon Bordes' observations, the role of the Parisian printmaker arguably followed a similar path to the artist's transition in 1789 from an observer of the urban environment to a participator in the events that were taking place therein. This evolution can be assessed by reviewing the prints themselves. However, there is also some evidence to suggest that the transition was also enabled by changes in the artist's perceptions of Paris as a city in the years leading up to the Revolution.

⁵⁸ Colin Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution*, (London and New York: Longman, 1988), p. 347.

⁵⁹ Jacques-Marie Boyer-Brun, *Histoire des caricatures de la révolte des Français*, (Paris: Imprimerie du Journal du Peuple, 1792), I, p. 9.

⁶⁰ Philippe Bordes, 'L'Art et le Politique' in, *Aux Armes & Aux Arts!*, eds. Philippe Bordes and Régis Michel, p. 105.

1.2 Paris in Prints: the Impact of 1789

In this section, I explore how the subject matter of specific prints evolved towards the political in the decade leading-up to the storming of the Bastille. I analyse this shift by focusing particularly on how the Bastille was represented in depictions of the changing Parisian cityscape and the events that were taking place therein, highlighting how such depictions of the city would come to be inseparable from the politics and the politically motivated events of the day. To a certain extent, one might argue that the city constantly appears secondary to the narrative of the image; a sort of backdrop or framework which encompassed a smaller yet arguably more important story.⁶¹ Despite playing a secondary role in many genre scenes, Paris was nevertheless the setting and *milieu* for these events as well as being the home of the people depicted. It was therefore a recognisable reference point that could enable viewers, Parisian or otherwise, to understand the significance of an image through their own experience of the built environment. The subjects within the prints and the events that were represented in the decade leading up to 1789 all relate to the winding web of streets that came to make up Revolutionary Paris. Paris was the city which came to represent the Revolution, juxtaposing all of its social, ideological, political and physical aspects. By looking at individual images of events on a smaller scale, it will be possible to draw broader conclusions as to the ever-changing nature of Paris leading up to its crucial role in representing the Revolution.

My aim is to examine how accurately Paris was portrayed as a city in various styles of prints in the years leading up to the storming of the Bastille, noting specifically the common motifs employed by printmakers when visually representing the city. Following this, I outline the marked changes which were occurring within the print's visual vocabulary of the Revolution in 1789, and how these changes evidenced the development of the city itself.

⁶¹ David Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002), p. 7. Garrioch states: 'The Parisian urban environment itself was hugely important, the city far more than a backdrop against which events took place ... Parisians' relationship to space, whether they saw it as sacred or secular, as belonging to them or to someone else, as friendly or hostile, had a big impact on their thinking and their behaviour. Interpretations of the urban environment as pestilential, or unnatural, or ugly, were influential components of the social and gender ideologies of the late eighteenth century. In all these ways the city was a player in its own history.'

1.2a A Changing City

David Garrioch asserts that there is a tendency to perceive life under the *ancien régime* as static and unchanging. He explains that both the Revolutionaries, who had coined the term, and the monarchy, portrayed it in this way. It was in the Revolutionaries' best interest to do this, 'since the idea of a new departure, a regeneration of debased and corrupt Babylon, was the whole justification for their enterprise. The pre-revolutionary monarchy also portrayed itself as static: again it had to, because tradition, precedent, and stability were its sources of legitimacy.'⁶² In relation to Paris itself, this idea of the past enforcing the *status quo* betrays the radical architectural, intellectual, social and political transformations that the city went through over the course of the eighteenth century. Paris juxtaposed all of these elements; elements that made it known as one of the greatest and most exciting cities of the time and 'the unofficial capital of European Enlightenment.'⁶³

In his biography of Paris, Colin Jones outlines how Paris must have appeared towards the end of the eighteenth century and the changes that were occurring within it. Despite the lack of a monarch permanently in residence, the eighteenth century would be one of the most prosperous Paris had ever seen.⁶⁴ Over the course of the century, major developments in manufacturing industries and cultural institutions caused the city's population to boom – there was an increase of 150,000 residents from the end of Louis XIV's reign to the outbreak of the Revolution. The city echoed this change in a lively and boisterous way: royal parks such as the Tuileries, the Luxembourg gardens and the Palais Royal were opened where Parisians could mix and mingle; new ecclesiastical edifices were built such as Sainte-Geneviève (the Pantheon), begun in 1756 and completed in 1790; societies developed such as Masonic lodges while the number of coffee houses exploded during the century. Alongside this, new plans to extend public squares and the *quais* of the Seine evidenced the city's attempts to deal with the bustling population and emphasised the street as a place of meeting, interaction and spectacle. This opening up of public space saw a transcendence of

⁶² Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, p. 5. For more on this, see Peter Campbell, *Power and Politics in Old Regime France 1720-1745*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 315.

⁶³ Jones, *Paris*, p. 204.

⁶⁴ Jones, *Paris*, p. 204.

traditional social boundaries in a, 'cross-class sharing of taste.'⁶⁵ Lower orders began to mix in coffee-houses, theatres and public gardens while their social betters ventured into pubs and puppet theatres amongst other things.⁶⁶

Despite having public areas in which the various classes could interact, the geographical layout of the city in 1789 pointed to a much harsher reality. Over the course of the eighteenth century, the population of Paris was gradually changing from a vertical sort of demography, where people of varying classes lived in the same building and were separated by floor, to a new horizontal demography, where class was divided by *quartier*.⁶⁷ These *quartiers* possessed their own distinct characters.⁶⁸ Such neighbourhoods ranged from the elevated upper-classes living in the faubourg Saint-Germain, a neighbourhood which had been regenerated with the construction of the *Ecole Militaire* to the south of the river from 1752 to 1788, developing into what the British traveller William Cole described as 'the politest part of the town,' and faubourg Saint-Honoré, a desirable and fashionable neighbourhood not too far from the Palais Royal on the *rive droite*.⁶⁹ Other neighbourhoods existed in a medieval-like abandon such as the Ile-de-la-Cité. The poorer and more industrial areas however were found in the faubourgs Saint-Antoine and Saint-Marcel, to the east and south-east parts of the city. Rousseau was struck by the poverty of these later neighbourhoods upon his first trip to Paris, as observing:

Je m'étois figuré une ville aussi belle que grande, de l'aspect le plus imposant, où l'on ne voyoit que de superbes rues, des palais de marbre et d'or. En entrant par le faubourg Saint-Marcel, je ne vis que de petites rues

⁶⁵ Jones, *Paris*, p. 221.

⁶⁶ Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, p. 12. Wittman notes these as spaces in which public opinion was formed. Though Wittman also states that: '... in the end, the most important site of all was not a physical space; it was print.' See also ; Jones, *Paris*, p. 221.

⁶⁷ Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations and Its Prospects*, (London and New York: Penguin, 1961), p. 452. ; Jones, *Paris*, p. 232.

⁶⁸ Robert Barrie Rose, *The Making of the Sans-Culottes: Democratic Ideas and Institutions in Paris, 1789-92*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), pp. 23-58; 83-96. At the time of the elections to the Estates-General in April 1789, Paris was divided into sixty separate electoral districts. This was to be developed into forty-eight self-governing sections in 1790. Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, p. 7.

⁶⁹ William Cole, *A Journal of My Journey to Paris, 1776*, ed. Francis Griffin Stokes, (London: Constable & Co., 1931), p. 212. Quoted in Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, p. 20. ; Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, pp. 101-3. Wittman provides a background of the construction of the *Ecole Militaire*.

sales et puantes, de vilaines maisons noires, l'air de la malpropreté, de la pauvreté, des mendiants, des charretiers, des ravaudeuses, des crieuses de tisanes et de vieux chapeaux. Tout cela me frappa d'abord à tel point, que tout ce que j'ai vu depuis à Paris de magnificence réelle n'a pu détruire cette première impression, et qu'il m'en est resté toujours un secret dégoût pour l'habitation de cette capitale.⁷⁰

In his study of the relationship between Paris and the provinces in eighteenth century prose fiction, Simon Davies notes that the sentiments felt by Rousseau upon his arrival were indicative of a larger perception of how the lower classes related to the city. Analysing various texts, Davies notes a shift in how the city was represented in fiction after 1760. Novels such as Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse* mirrored, he claims 'a changed attitude to Paris. Mistrust and unease have replaced hope and expectation.'⁷¹ Despite this, Davies points out that people from the provinces were nevertheless drawn to the city as Paris offered an abundance of pleasures and a particular lure of anonymity which could not be had in smaller provincial centres.⁷² The sheer scale of the city therefore was responsible for both the city's attraction as well as its problems, throwing them together in stark contrast. As Davies states that '[the] presence of fine buildings cannot dim the memory of human misery but only show it in starker relief.'⁷³

1.2b Prints of Paris in the *Ancien Régime*: the Monumental

⁷⁰ J.-J. Rousseau, *Les Confessions*, (Paris: Librairie Garnier Frères, 1926), IV, p. 215. Rousseau's theory of the natural man was in one way a means for him to criticise the period in which he was living. Analysing the pure or savage man, his nature is placed in stark contrast with the above description of the corrupting world of the social man (in this case the Parisian). Urban space prevented the necessary solitude with which to denounce social illusions such as the notions of progress fuelled by inequality and personal ambition. The result of which is found in the striking first impression Paris has upon Rousseau. For a summary of Rousseau's concepts on nature are transmitted through his work, see Raymond Trousson and Frédéric S. Eigeldinger (eds.), *Dictionnaire de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, (Paris: Champion Classiques, Honoré Champion, 1996), pp. 645-7.

⁷¹ Simon Davies, *Paris and the provinces in eighteenth-century prose fiction*, (Oxford: The Estate of Theodore Besterman, 1982), pp. 33-4. ; Rousseau, 'La Nouvelle Héloïse' in *Oeuvres complètes*, II, ed. H. Coulet, (Paris: Gallimard, 1961). Davies also quotes from eighteenth-century writer, Louis Desbief's *Nine*, (Paris and Amsterdam: 1756).

⁷² Davies, *Paris and the provinces*, p. 20

⁷³ Davies, *Paris and the provinces*, p. 27

Prints depicting the city chose to visualise these social changes in a different way to the fiction studied by Davies. The map of Paris commissioned by Michel Etienne Turgot represented an ordered overview of the city in detail, laid out in twenty *planches*. The 2005 publication by Alfred Fierro and Jean-Yves Sarazin entitled *Le Paris des Lumières: d'après le plan de Turgot (1734-1739)* analyses the *planches*, and goes some way to interpreting how the map presents Paris and how it would have compared to the realities of day-to-day mid-eighteenth century Parisian life.⁷⁴ Fierro and Sarazin do not dispute that Turgot's aim was to present an up-to-date and geographically correct overview of the city, and that the major artist who planned and conceived the map, Louis Bretez, worked with the same noble intentions. Though while this was a legitimate goal, Fierro and Sarazin also point out that Turgot's pride in his city was likely to have influenced how the map would finally have been presented. The final product was to be something just as magnificent as it was geometrically exact.⁷⁵ As *prévôt des marchands*, there is no doubt that Turgot was aware of the importance and attraction that Paris held, not only to people of the provinces, but to those coming from abroad as well. Having the map produced during the *Lumières*, it was inevitable that certain darker and more sinister elements, such as poverty and pollution, had to be omitted. For example, across the map, there is no reference to any sign of life: the hustle and bustle of the street is absent; this produced perspectives of the various streets as organised and idyllic places. Analysing *planche onze* for example, which Fierro and Sarazin identify as the neighbourhoods of Cité, Saint-André des Arts, Saint-Germain des Prés and Luxembourg, the calm order of the empty streets is juxtaposed to what appears to be a vibrant river life (fig. 4).⁷⁶ Such visual rhetoric is evidence of the utopia-like vision of the map. It is a representation which forgoes depictions of the often grim realities of city life, though emphasises the capital's prestige as a hub for industry and trade. Fierro and Sarazin succinctly summarise:

⁷⁴ Alfred Fierro and Jean-Yves Sarazin, *Le Paris des Lumières d'après le plan de Turgot (1734-1739)*, (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2005). ; Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, p. 72.

⁷⁵ Fierro and Sarazin, *Le Paris des Lumières*, p. 12.

⁷⁶ Fierro and Sarazin, *Le Paris des Lumières*, p. 90. ; Louis Bretez, *Plan de Paris. Commencé l'année 1734. Dessiné et gravé sous les ordres de Messire Michel Étienne Turgot, Marquis de Sousmons ... Henry Millon, &c. Achevé de graver en 1739 ... Levé et dessiné par Louis Bretez. Gravé par Claude Lucas, et écrit par Aubin, 1739*, engraving, Paris: BNF.

En effet, l'image donne une image fausse de la réalité urbaine ... La ville n'est ni effrayante, ni sale, ni cruelle, elle est devenue sous les traits du dessinateur un havre de paix propice à attirer davantage. Pour Turgot, Paris est la plus belle ville du monde.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, while Brezet may have taken some artistic liberties, such as an apparent expansion in the breadth of several major streets and public spaces, the map did offer a detailed overview with some meticulous reproductions of façades and edifices.⁷⁸ The areas, for example, are geographically sound and the ramparts clearly mark the boundaries of the city, as well as the faubourgs beyond them. Returning to the analysis of *planche onze*, major sites such as Notre-Dame, Sainte-Chapelle, the Pont Neuf, the Place Dauphine and Statue of Henri IV as well as the Collège de Quatre Nations – now the Institut de France – are all readily identifiable, with the buildings displaying their distinct façades, seemingly drawn to scale and placed accurately within topography of the city. The map's emphasis on representing the monumental with precision may have been threefold. Firstly, that the major sites of the cityscape grounded the spectator in an easily accessible illusion – the eighteenth century Parisian would have been most comfortable identifying where they were, based on the most evident elements of the urban space.⁷⁹ Secondly, this need for accuracy relates to how Paris was perceived under the *ancien régime*, as a capital reputed for its history and its architectural prowess. Finally the map also worked as an expression of power, a tool to make people see Paris in a particular way.

In some senses, Turgot's map reflected the expectations of many visitors to the city. In his study of the British on the Grand Tour, Jeremy Black notes that visitors to Paris before the Revolution arrived having most likely established what they wanted to see, and how their

⁷⁷ Fierro and Sarazin, *Le Paris des Lumières*, p. 90. Fierro and Sarazin's summation of the effect of the map highlights an image of how Paris was perceived as a city before Rousseau.

⁷⁸ Turgot's map of Paris was able to provide this detail in perspective given its unique, three-dimensional view across the city (something novel for maps of Paris at the time). For examples of maps produced in the same period, see Claude Roussel's *Nouveau Plan de la Ville de Paris* (1720) and the Abbé Delagrive's *Neuvième plan de Paris* (copies held at the *Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris*).

⁷⁹ Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, p. 1. Garrioch states in reference to visitors to the city: 'Visitors searched in vain for landmarks amid the profusion of spires, the long lines of tall whitewashed houses, and the stone-faced public buildings. The average traveller was overwhelmed – many of them recorded these first impressions – by the din, the confusion of traffic, animals, cries the crowds of people, the labyrinth of streets winding interminably in every direction.'

time should be spent during their visit.⁸⁰ Pre-1789 travel guides such as Germain Brice's dictated the appropriate sites, namely monuments and significant architectural accomplishments, which were worth the tourist's attention. Sites were generally deemed to be in good taste when their architecture demonstrated antiquarian and classical values.⁸¹ Brice's guide was published and amended in several editions over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries.⁸² The guide focused on descriptions of what visitors to the city should see, most notably by way of the capital's monumental architecture. These descriptions were broken down into sections, focusing on buildings within specific areas of the city. Brice himself said that, 'he sought a readership interested not in inscriptions but in careful appraisals of modern buildings' – a result of his previous interactions with academic publications on architecture.⁸³ Brice's guide therefore presents a vital and incredibly detailed site specific view of pre-Revolutionary Paris.⁸⁴

In other visual representations of the city of Paris, particularly prints, certain architectural elements of the city were used repeatedly; there is a notable interest in the monumental, with a specific interest in both public and religious buildings, as well as in the crowd and the

⁸⁰ Jeremy Black, *France and the Grand Tour*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. ix. ; Thomas Bentley, *Journal of a Visit to Paris 1776*, ed. Peter France, (Brighton: University of Sussex Library, 1977). Bentley evidences this interest in architecture and sculpture. Throughout his journal he is both praiseworthy and critical about the appearance of the city and the neglected or magnificent buildings therein.

⁸¹ Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, pp. 8; 15. 'Likewise, the cheapest class of travelers guides from this period are full of straightforward admiration for the drama and dense ornamentation of Gothic churches... .' Wittman goes beyond this stating that, '... knowing architectural quality offered a way to participate in and thus contribute to the national glory.'

⁸² Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, p. 19. The guide was first published in 1684.

⁸³ Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, pp. 19-20. 'Brice learned from the [academic writers] that critical attention to proportions and the handling of classical orders lay at the heart of architectural experience, and it was his focus on such matters that made his guidebook innovative.'

⁸⁴ Black, *France and the Grand Tour*, p. 19. ; Germain Brice, *Nouvelle Description de la ville de Paris, et de tout ce qu'elle contient de plus remarquable*, (Paris: Julien-Michel Gandouin and François Fournier, 1725). Such sites of interest included the Louvre, the Tuileries Palace, the Observatory and the Palais Royal; as well as *hôtels*; squares and other significant structures such as the Invalides, amongst others. The description of each entry is accompanied by a drawing of the structure and the site is marked within the city in a map of Paris found in the first volume of this particular edition. ; Robert W. Berger, *Public Access to Art in Paris: A Documentary History from the Middle Ages to 1800*, (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), pp. 125-6. Berger notes the proliferation of printed copies in foreign languages, notably English, evidences the city's ever-increasing popularity for tourists. ; For more on Germain Brice and his work, see, Alfred Bonnardot, *Gilles Corozet et Germain Brice: études bibliographiques sur ces deux historiens de Paris*, (Geneva and Paris: Slatkine, 1971).

spectator.⁸⁵ One particular element of these cityscape-style prints is in the manner in which the printmaker chose to frame his subject; namely he chose to focus on the façade, placing it within the city. Doing so allowed the printmaker to do two things: first, to convey with immediacy to the spectator the identity of what was being represented, and second, to allow the printmaker, if he or she chose, to focus on the ornamental details of the structure itself.

In one such example depicting the cathedral of Notre Dame, the printmaker positions himself directly in front of the cathedral on the Place du Parvis-Notre-Dame (fig. 5). Taking the image from this perspective, the printmaker works to draw the spectator in. The façade of the cathedral itself towers above the scene, dwarfing the surrounding buildings. On the square below, a ceremony takes place. The text works with the print to identify not only the location, but what is going on within the scene: as stated, the moment of the arrival of the French and Swiss guards on the day of the benediction of the flags. Using text to identify the ceremony, the printmaker has also highlighted the importance of the structure in the cityscape. Host to the event, the crowd within the image identifies and interacts with the façade. Its presence, seen here *en masse*, marks the importance of the edifice, along with the jubilatory nature given to it in this particular scene. Though only the façade is depicted here, it is also representative of the rest of the cathedral as the ceremony appears to move through the façade and into the unseen interior. In this way the cathedral's role and significance within the cityscape are identified. At the same time, the monumental is juxtaposed to the anonymous figure or objective observer.

In her work on the early modern capitals of Paris and London, Karen Newman recounts an anecdote of the sculptor Bernini who arrived in Paris from Rome in 1665. During his stay with one Paul Fréart, Bernini is said to have stated during one dinner in the suburb of Meudon (near Saint-Cloud), that unlike Rome, all he could see when looking over Paris were 'un amas de cheminées et que cela paraissait comme un peigne à carder.' Rome, Bernini suggested presented its monuments in a magnificent aspect – identifiable and uncluttered –

⁸⁵ Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, pp. 2-3. Wittman's study shows that a similar emergence of architectural discourse began to appear in printed text (generally ephemeral journals) in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

unlike Paris, in which they fell into the urban obstruction, 'pressed one against the other and therefore obscured from view.' Newman goes on to describe how this anecdote epitomises, 'the representational history of the city in the early modern period,' something that would continue in prints of the monumental until their politicisation during the French Revolution more than one hundred years later.⁸⁶

Examples such as this in prints differ somewhat from the standardised formulae of European cityscape representation formulated by the likes of 'Alberti, Brunelleschi, Uccello, and Serlio.' The incorporation of clear perspective lines and an ordered and spacious rationale for laying out a city scene were not necessarily the priorities of a printmaker who had not been trained as an academic artist. Rather images of this kind are not so dissimilar in character from what Bernini may have commented upon that evening in Meudon.⁸⁷

'Skylines, as architectural historians point out,' Newman argues, 'are urban signatures that trace a distinctive urban identity. Urban landmarks symbolize the collective life of the city, its religious and governmental hierarchies, civic priorities and technical progress.'⁸⁸ Newman has here highlighted the push towards representations of the monumental in this pre-Revolutionary period. In the case of prints, such as this image of Notre Dame, the monumental as a subject had become standardised, at once allowing the spectator to visualise the site, and understand its role within the topography of the wider city. Printmakers therefore sought out such sites and structures within the wider context of the cityscape, more or less picking-out little pockets of architectural importance from the wider urban sprawl.⁸⁹

Concepts of monumentality and prosperity within the urban view also appear in depictions of the banks of the Seine. As in Turgot's map, the river was depicted as a sign for the

⁸⁶ Karen Newman, *Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris*, (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 12.

⁸⁷ Mumford, *The City in History*, p. 418.

⁸⁸ Newman, *Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris*, p. 12

⁸⁹ This not to say that this approach would be abandoned for the use of satirical genre scenes as the Revolution progressed. As this study shall investigate, the monumental in prints during the Revolutionary decade may have added to certain political elements which may have been central to the subject of the image, such as the changing functions of buildings, or the changing political bodies which monumental architecture may once have represented (religion in the case of Notre Dame, for example).

prosperity of the city as a whole, focusing on trade and industry. Though these images share similarities with the prints depicting monumental architecture, these scenes present not only an idealised view of the Seine, they also work to encapsulate the immensity of the surrounding city by representing the subject through a more human scale. One such example is a drawing which illustrates the activities on the banks below the arch of the Pont au Change (fig. 6). The image is serene: the river clean and abundant, evidenced by the fisherman in the foreground alongside the two female figures, sitting and perhaps drawing on the riverbank. The city also looks built-up and prosperous, with buildings squeezed to the edge of the bridge in the background. Another drawing shows various activities by the river while including major sites such as the Ile de la Cité in the background and the Collège des Quatre Nations in the upper right (fig. 7). People are shown boating and amusing themselves on the river, as men work transporting barrels on the bank to the right. What these prints strive to show is that the banks of the Seine were not only a place of work, but also of a place of leisure. This theme of river-based leisure is echoed a painting by Ragueneau illustrating people jousting between boats as spectators watch from the Pont Notre Dame (fig. 8).⁹⁰

Despite the pretension of depicting every-day life, such scenes were grossly idealised, as the *quais* were generally seen as ‘a haunt of the common people’.⁹¹ As Louis-Sébastien Mercier writes, the river was in fact a toxic ditch, a dumping ground for raw sewage and all manner of other urban waste, even discarded stolen body parts left over from dissections by trainee surgeons.⁹² This however did not stop the poorer classes drinking from the water, a source of typhoid, malaria and many other nasty surprises such as chronic diarrhoea.⁹³

⁹⁰ Arguably these prints also work to reinforce the emblem of Paris itself – namely a ship on water as it is presented on the city’s coat of arms. The river industries and the multiplication of boats found in these images and on Turgot’s map not only came to represent the prosperity of the city, but the concept of Paris as an organised and functioning urban centre as a whole. ; Nicolas Jean-Baptiste Ragueneau, *La Joute des mariniers entre le pont Notre-Dame et le Pont au Change*, 1756, oil on canvas , Vues de Paris au XVIIIème siècle – Musée Carnavalet.

⁹¹ Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, p. 22.

⁹² Mercier, Louis-Sébastien. *Tableau de Paris*, I, XLIII, pp. 129-130. ; Jean-Clément Martin, *Violence et Révolution : essai sur la naissance d’un mythe national*, (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2006), p. 23. Martin notes the omnipresence of ‘violence’ given by the widespread misery of the time: ‘Le décor urbain lui-même secrète la violence par sa misère, ses odeurs de tanneries, de boucheries, créant une vie « fragile » pour la plupart des habitants...’ For many in Paris in the 1780s, life was most certainly far from easy.

⁹³ Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1979) p. 47.

From these examples, it is possible to argue that there was a common theme in the various ways cityscapes were presented across the different visual media: juxtaposing the monumental with the scale of man, followed by a certain idealisation of the subject. While in the painted format, it is possible to analyse such works as an attempt to render the city aesthetically pleasing based on the principles of the *Académie* – the realism of the Seine represented as a torrent of effluent was not going to please art critics – the relationship between the printmaker and the city is not so simple to understand.⁹⁴ Although Reichardt and Kohle write that there was a complex relationship between the various arts, forming a sort of collective hybrid, printmakers did not necessarily either set out to emulate the more formal styles of artistic representation or consciously react against them.⁹⁵

1.2c Genre Prints as a Vision of an Alternative Paris: Class Interaction, Disorder and Satire

A different way printmakers chose to represent the city than academic painters was in the depiction of public spaces where social interaction was commonplace such as in cafés, public gardens or in the street. Such images, or genre scenes depicting images of day-to-day interactions and encounters, served to convey a smaller and more intimate narrative within the bounds of the cityscape. In doing so these prints illustrated the multiple interests of the printmaker and the purchaser, evidencing to a degree the changing perception of what made Paris great in the latter part of the eighteenth century. This is not to say however that there was any distinct chronological shift in style away from monumental architectural imagery towards scenes of society and events in prints. Indeed, despite the addition of a growing political gravitas in printed images in 1789, the visual printing medium had been used to produce both styles of monumental and genre images throughout the course of the century. Moreover, it is important to clarify that it may have been perfectly likely that a skilled printmaker specialising in scenes of sites and monuments was just as equipped to

⁹⁴ With certain restrictions placed on artists either by an institution or economic necessity, it is evident that the reality of certain scenes was more easily fleshed out by the written word. Both Rousseau's initial impressions of the city and Mercier's description of the Seine clearly express how the city actually appeared, warts and all, a reality that the painters of the aforementioned examples were unable to capture on canvas.

⁹⁵ Reichardt and Kohle, *Visualizing the Revolution*, pp. 31-34.

explore images of their contemporary surroundings on a more human scale and *vice versa*.⁹⁶ As we shall see in juxtaposing the prints however, both approaches involved the printmaker setting out to perform different functions with prints relative either to the printmaker's ambitions or the desire of the consumer. In addition to this, the range provided between the two approaches offered a multitude of varying representations of how the city appeared and was perceived.

In Colin Jones's article addressing Mercier's *Tableau de Paris* looking at Parisian street customs and behaviour, he considers this notion of the public sphere and how it has come to be conceptualised under the *ancien régime*.⁹⁷ Interrogating Jürgen Habermas's work, Jones addresses the question of the street and its role as something more than just a neutral zone, existing between the private, or intimate, and public spheres of the *bourgeoisie*.⁹⁸ In Jones's words, the street was, 'far from neutral, and far from being frequented solely by plebeians. Besides being 'interstitial,' moreover, it is also a liminal space, a dynamic, "Goffmanesque" zone of encounter, interface, or even collision between a wide array of social actors from highest to lowest, from most "public" to most "private".'⁹⁹ Richard Wittman also engages with Habermas, looking at how print culture of the eighteenth century contributed to the, 'characteristically modern configuration of public and private spheres ...'.¹⁰⁰ Genre prints evidence an interaction in various forms, taking in not only the street, but many set places

⁹⁶ As previously mentioned, the prints made by Basset evidence this dual ability to conceive and produce prints dealing with various themes and subjects. I will touch again on this example in the second chapter of this thesis.

⁹⁷ Colin Jones, 'Meeting, Greeting and Other "Little Customs of the Day" on the Streets of Late Eighteenth-Century Paris' in, *Past and Present: The Politics of Gesture*, ed. Michael J. Braddick, (Vol. 203, Supplement 4, 2009), pp. 144-171.

⁹⁸ Habermas's definition of the public square comprises physical space, social interaction and collective bodies coming together in order to form 'a public.' For more on Habermas, see Michael Keith Baker, 'Defining the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France: Variations on a Theme by Habermas' in, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. C. Calhoun, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 1992), pp. 181-211.

⁹⁹ Jones, 'Meeting, Greeting and Other "Little Customs of the Day" ' in, *Past and Present: The Politics of Gesture*, ed. Braddick, p. 145. Jones uses the term interstitial to describe 'the terrain which lies between 'public' and 'private.'; *Ibid.* p. 146. ; 'Goffmanesque' is here referring to dramaturgical sociology or the theory that human actions and identity are formed by exterior influences on the person, such as time, place and audience (audience meaning that the person in question has taken on a 'theatrical' role, dictated by the social interaction in which the person is present).

¹⁰⁰ Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, pp. 4-5. 'At the most basic level, people became aware of a new kind of informed, critical, quasi-mass public, one in which they themselves participated whenever they read published texts or formed opinions about public matters. This helped transform thinking about the legitimate role of public opinion in politics and culture.' Wittman also outlines the importance of distinguishing Habermas' work as that of a philosopher and sociologist, not that of an historian.

which have come to be defined within the Habermasian perspective of what constituted the public sphere.

In his text *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, Garrioch uses one such print to illustrate his point that neighbourly communication and interaction made up much of the leisure time of people in the various *quartiers* in 1783. He illustrates how the street was a shared space and the centre for a great deal of social interaction which for most Parisians was part of an everyday routine.¹⁰¹ Garrioch does not attempt however to decipher the print or relate his text back to the visual image. The print itself shows aspects of Parisian life on a local street corner (fig. 9). To the right, a soldier and what would appear to be a bourgeois man converse with a female street vendor selling apples. The soldier does not appear to be trading with the woman, but pleasantly conversing, inferred from the soldier's folded arms and the street vendor's relaxed pose, leaning with one hand on the chair to her right. In the background, three other men are engaged in conversation – note the raised hand gestures and the possible smirk the man wears on his face to the right. Unlike the other conversing figures, these men appear to be of a lower class: at least two of whom wear ragged clothes, and one of whom whose back is to the picture plane appears to be dressed as a *proto-sans-culotte*; without breeches and wearing what looks like a Phrygian bonnet. Printed items of ephemera add to the exchange and conversation: various forms of flyers and advertisements are pasted on the wall of the hotel to the right in full public view. This print emphasises the class interactions in public areas, as well as the importance of print in the visual make-up of the city as a place of dynamic exchange, rather than the monumental.

Other places which existed in the public sphere and attracted various forms of interaction in liminal space, be it by way of debate or conversation, were in the cafés, taverns and coffee houses which were scattered across the city, and through the eighteenth century, consistently grew in number.¹⁰² These were also represented in prints. Such venues also included *guinguettes*; 'large rambling establishments with rows of wooden benches, room

¹⁰¹ Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, pp. 26-7. 'Neighbours were, after all, the ones with whom most people passed most of their time. Housewives, servants, masters, and employees chatted while waiting in line at fountains ...Everyone stopped to chat on the stairs and in the street.'

¹⁰² Jones, *Paris*, p. 216. Jones identifies that there were some three hundred coffee houses in the city under the Regency, and perhaps three to four times as many in the later part of the century.

for dancing, and pleasant gardens with games of bowls.’¹⁰³ These drinking holes were located in the suburbs of Paris, beyond the ramparts of the city.¹⁰⁴ One of the most notorious and popular of these *guinguettes* was the *Tambour Royal* which was run by the *cabaretier* Jean Ramponneau and attracted people from across the classes.¹⁰⁵ Located on the corner of the rue du chemin des Moulins (today, the rue de l’Orillon) and the rue Saint-Maur, it was a celebrated drinking hole for the *piquette*, or a cheap wine produced in the local area.¹⁰⁶ A woodblock by Jean Michel Papillion presents the scene within a decorative border of vines in which grapes, carafes and possibly sausages and fish appear (fig. 10). A medallion depicting a bust portrait of Ramponneau himself surmounts the frame.¹⁰⁷ Within the scene, people can be seen gathering around tables, drink in hand, while others dance and play musical instruments. Women and men of a variety of classes mix. Some appear drunk, one vomiting while some have passed out over barrels. This disorder is juxtaposed with the calm couple, presumably Ramponneau and his wife, serving drinks from behind a small counter in the background. This scene is echoed in two other images where we find the same frivolity, though with a greater detailing given to the depiction of the clientele who appear coarser – fish sellers as well as beggars (fig. 11). More detail is also given of the actual tavern, notably the walls covered with various caricatures and rebuses. Another print depicts a similar interior scene in which a brawl is breaking out (fig. 12).

While these three prints depict a certain aspect of Parisian life, they also evidence an interest in how Paris was changing. While the production of genre scenes and architectural

¹⁰³ Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁴ The *guinguettes* would become increasingly more popular with the construction of the Wall of the Farmers-General in 1784, pushing prices up within the city. This in turn encouraged more Parisians to go into the surrounding suburbs and countryside in order to drink and socialise more cheaply.

¹⁰⁵ Michèle Viderman, *Jean Ramponneau: Parisien de Vignol*, (Paris and Montréal: L’Harmattan, 1998), p. 29. Viderman quotes from the *Annuaire de la Nièvre pour 1804*: ‘*Bourgeois, traitants, petites maîtresses et l’humble clientèle qui n’a pas déserté, tout ce monde se côtoie ... Pauvres et riches, nobles et vilains s’attablent côté à côté, causent, boivent, chantent.*’; Gruder, *The Notables and the Nation*, p. 197-8. Gruder identifies that while cabarets were sociable areas, they were not necessarily ‘un-politicised’ as workers who came to imbibe wine would have had the income to buy the cheaper pamphlets of the day – therefore perhaps printed imagery too.

¹⁰⁶ Viderman, *Jean Ramponneau*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁷ See also, Anon, *Portrait de M. Ramponneau [sic] cabartier de la basse Courtille en bonnet de nuit*, March 1760, etching, 273 x 213, BNF, De Vinck 1234. Caricature of Ramponneau as gargantua, which De Baecque describes as a successful grotesque of Ramponneau’s character (De Baecque, *La Caricature Révolutionnaire*, p. 19). This caricature was printed during the publican’s conflict with the director of the *Variétés Amusantes* as he tried to establish theatre productions at the *Tambour Royal*. The print also depicts the effects of alcohol on Ramponneau’s patrons below him; notably by way of vomiting, smashed glassware and brawling.

scenes had been a staple part of the printing industry's thematic and visual rhetoric throughout the century, the proliferation of such genre prints in the 1780s, much like the explosion of satirical prints in 1789, suggest that people began to interpret Paris for what it was, rather than what it had been.¹⁰⁸ In her journal recording her visit to Paris in 1784, Anna Francesca Cradock, or 'Mrs' Cradock as she has come to be known, chronicled her experiences of visiting sites, as well as her observations of certain civic events.¹⁰⁹ One such entry talks of the excitement preceding the launch of a balloon in the gardens of the Tuileries in December of 1783, shortly after her arrival in Paris. This scene is reflected in prints depicting the event, as well as in several drawings. One print, titled *Globe enlevé aux [sic] Jardin des Thuilleries, le 1^{er} Décembre 1783, par Mrs. Charles et Robert en présence des personnes les plus distinguées* (fig. 13), not only identifies the event, date and location for the spectator, but also gives some clue as to the people who were at the Tuileries to witness the event; namely Marie Antoinette, whose presence was also noted by Cradock in her account.¹¹⁰ In the print, the balloon rises over a swelling mass of people. The air is festive with people in the crowd appearing to raise their heads, their gaze following the balloon skywards. People appear to pay less attention however to the façade of the Tuileries, which the printmaker uses here to fix the location of the scene within the spectator's mind, working in conjunction with the text to also identify the presence of royalty on the balcony of the palace. (This in turn gave an even greater sense of importance to the depicted event.) Indeed, the event has now become the central subject of the print, superseding any interest in the monumental façade. This is also reflected in a drawing depicting the flight by Alexandre-Louis-Robert-Millin Duperreux (fig. 14). The scene is very similar to that of the previous print, with the crowd's attention focused on the event as the Palace stands by, somewhat removed to the left. In this scene, Duperreux emphasises the excitement of the crowd, expressing it vertically as members of the crowd clamber onto chairs, as if attempting to mimic the balloon's ascent.

¹⁰⁸ Davies, *Paris and the provinces*, p. 33. Davies notes that this shift was also evidenced in literature. He summarises: 'Gradually we have been moving from an account of the physical aspect of Paris to consider the impact of its society.'

¹⁰⁹ Anna Francesca Cradock, *Journal de Madame Cradock: voyage en France (1783-1788)*, trans. O-Delphin Balleyguier, (Paris: Perrin, 1896).

¹¹⁰ Cradock, *Journal de Madame Cradock*, p. 1. 'A onze heures, nous partions pour les Thuilleries d'où devait s'élever le ballon. Descendus de voiture, nous eûmes les plus grandes difficultés à traverser le pont Royal pour arriver jusqu'à la petite porte du jardin. Le duc de Cumberland, qui nous suivait de près, manqua d'être étouffé. La reine, dont l'air sérieux nous frappa, était assise sur le balcon du palais.'

While two these examples illustrate the importance that the printmaker was placing on the modernity of Paris, focusing on scientific and technological developments within the city, other artists searched to produce accounts of the events in a more cynical or humorous tone. One such example shows a case of *aéromanie*, brought about by the balloon launch (fig. 15). Here Duperreux's emphasis on upwards movement is reworked, as spectators clamber and claw up a wall of the Tuileries as Charles and Robert pass overhead. The scene is chaotic, but amusing, in the desperate and exaggerated gestures of the earth-bound Parisians attempting to reach the flying bubble. It is this interest in satire and a comedy of events that would fire the printmaker's discourse, especially with the entrance of politics into popular, topical and visual imagination. The most accessible place to observe this change in people's conceptions of the city and the entry of politics into daily life is conveyed in the varying images and accounts of the Palais Royal. Mercier described it as a place where all manner of Parisian society could gather shoulder-to-shoulder to, '[roulent] dans le tourbillon' and a place that encompassed Parisian political criticism.¹¹¹ Looking at several images of the Palais, we can note how printmakers crossed genre and satirical scenes to develop images which engaged in politics. Such images helped to form a conception of the Palais as the beating heart of a new, more energetic and exciting Paris.

Images prior to 1789 appeared to focus on the more stylish drawings of the Palais. One way this was done was by placing the focus of the print on a particular aspect of the visitors who went to the Palais to enjoy its bustling and busy character. One satirical print advertised in the *Mercure de France*, 30 June 1787, for instance, details the various fashions worn by men and women walking through the gallery (fig. 16).¹¹² Here, various elements of dress have been accentuated; large hats, drooping wigs, shawls and coats, all worn by a crowd of people of different shapes and sizes, some posing and posturing rather than taking their promenade. This image can be paired with an engraving by Lecoœur of the Palais' gardens

¹¹¹ Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, I, CLXII, p. 174. ; Jacques Godechot, *The Taking of the Bastille, July 14th, 1789*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), p. 56-60.

¹¹² Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, pp. 39-42; 173. The readership of the *Mercure* was considered 'elite' and the journal's reflections both on style and architecture reflect this. '... architectural monuments require a stable and sustainable sense of what warrants communal celebration – something that was sorely lacking under a king whose reign mostly unfolded in a rhythm of crisis.'

where the well-dressed appear to sit, drink and socialise (fig. 17). The Palais appears in these two examples as a place of elite amusement, excluding other more questionable forms of recreation to be found there.¹¹³

1.2d Popular Politics and the Printed Image

In 1789, the Palais Royal took on a somewhat different character as perceptions of architecture as a political tool were about to suddenly change: ‘the use of art and architecture to project political [or religious] agendas, whether official or not, moved away from the grand, universalizing gestures of the past to become much more topical, fast moving and precise.’¹¹⁴ The Palais-Royal embodied such a shift. The British traveller Arthur Young in his third trip to the city, noted that Paris had become a political hotbed, exemplified by the goings-on within the Palais Royal. As he noted:

But the coffee-houses in the Palais Royal present yet more singular and astonishing spectacles; they are not only crowded [sic] within, but other expectant crowds are at the doors and windows, listening *a gorge deployé* to certain orators, who from chairs or tables harangue each his little audience: the eagerness with which they are heard, and the thunder of applause they receive for every sentiment of more than common hardness or violence against the present government, cannot easily be imagined.¹¹⁵

Images of the Palais followed suit, focusing more on the political and the various forms of social interaction it inspired. One popular bawdy motif which appears to reoccur and define a certain popular stance towards the politics of the day can be seen in the multiple images of the smacking of exposed backsides in the Palais’ gardens, as groups of people watch on,

¹¹³ Thomas Bentley, *Journal of a Visit to Paris 1776*, ed. Peter France, (Brighton: University of Sussex Library, 1977), p. 31. In visiting Paris in 1776, Bentley described the Palais’ gardens as a place of ‘a charming and very rational amusement. They consist of long walks separated by rows of trees, and those over some walks are bent into an arch. These walks are often full of extremely well-dressed people, and there are common chairs under trees on each side of the walk ... Everything here seems to lead to sociability and the pleasure of conversation as *the chief end of Man.*’

¹¹⁴ Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, p. 167.

¹¹⁵ Arthur Young, *Travels in France During the Years 1787, 1788, 1789*, (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1889), pp. 153-154.

participate or jeer. One such example shows a woman bent over a chair, buttocks exposed, as a group of men smack her – all this, identified in the text, for having spat on the portrait of the reappointed Minister of Finance, Jacques Necker¹¹⁶ (fig 18).¹¹⁷ This visual motif also reoccurs in several depictions of a member of the clergy, identified sometimes in the text as an *abbé* (fig. 19).¹¹⁸ The *abbé* is once again bent over a chair with his bottom exposed as he is whipped by a group of men, some holding branches. These branches may be reeds, perhaps an allusion to the flagellation of Christ and beyond this, the First Estate. The men encircling the bare-bottomed *abbé* nevertheless decidedly take pleasure from his humiliation. While such rituals of humiliation did take place, it is highly unlikely that a member of the clergy would be whipped in public for disagreeing with the popular opinion, certainly in 1789. What is of greater importance in this visual study is that this particular motif acts to communicate a political rhetoric visually. The printmaker apparently chose this bawdy motif as a means for expressing popular condemnation of either a belief (the woman's reaction to the reappointment of Necker in 1788) or towards a certain political character such as the Abbé Maury.¹¹⁹

The culture of conversation, debate and discord already depicted at places like the Palais Royal may have also fed into the stress on the oratory in prints depicting the early events of the Revolution. One scene shows an unidentified man, most likely to be Camille

¹¹⁶ Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution*, pp. 375-6. Jacques Necker (1732-1804) was a Genevan banker who served as Finance Minister from 1777 to 1781, during which time he published the *Compte-rendu au Roi* (an account of nations finances, which showed them to be in a healthy condition despite France's participation in the American War of Independence. Reappointed in 1788, Necker granted the doubling of the representation of the Third Estate, though not the question of voting by head which would lead to the political gridlock of the Three Estates in mid 1789. Dismissed in 1789, he was recalled by Louis XVI following the fall of the Bastille. For a brief review of newspapers' and journals' reactions to the publication of Necker's *Compte-rendu au Roi*, see: Gruder, *The Notables and the Nation*, pp. 104-5; 107-8; 190. Gruder also asserts that Necker's return to politics helped create a freer journalism at this time, including a liberalisation of the greater book trade.

¹¹⁷ Anon. *Print of a Woman Being Punished for Showing Disrespect to Necker's Portrait*, 1789, etching, 189 x 253, Waddesdon, acc. no. 4232.1.19.40.

¹¹⁸ See Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution*, p. 371. Though he is not identified in the text of the print by name, this may be the Abbé Maury who forcefully defended the interests of the clergy after being elected to the *Estates General*.

¹¹⁹ Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution*, p. 371. Jean-Siffrein Maury (1746-1817), a clergyman, was one of the most vocal counter-Revolutionary orators in the after his election to the *Estates-General*. He emigrated 1791. ; See De Baecque, *La Caricature révolutionnaire*, p. 97. De Baecque refers to these images as the *fessées patriotiques*, identifying that they came in two waves. The first in 1789, prior to the storming of the Bastille; the second, in 1791. See, Anon, *La Discipline patriotique ou le fantasme corrigée*, 1791, etching, 147 x 214, De Vinck 3495 as an example of this second wave. De Baecque however does not mention that the Palais Royal appears to be the centre of these *fessées patriotiques* prior to the Revolution.

Desmoulins,¹²⁰ standing on a chair delivering his discourse to the surrounding crowd (fig. 20). Dated 12 July, the text indicates that at seven o'clock in the evening, news arrived of troop hostilities on the *Place Louis XV*, most likely the charging of the crowd by the Prince Lambesc, a colonel of the Royal Allemand regiment, earlier that afternoon. The crowd cheers, looking towards the speaker, in accord with what he has to say which, according to the text, was a denunciation of the enemies of the Fatherland.¹²¹ Another print represents a woman speaker in the same way (fig. 21, image 7). She stands on a chair surrounded by a crowd of men, one of whom is a guardsman, all fixed on her oratory. While the text does not reveal her identity, it confirms that the scene takes place in the Palais Royal. Much like the base humour provided by the satirical images, this representation of speakers at the Palais would appear to offer a motif relating to the engagement of Parisians in political rhetoric. As the exposure of buttocks and subsequent smacking provided a visually negative reaction or condemnation to a political belief or figure, this symbol of the orator serves to provide a positive or approving vision of an action or figure within the bounds of a place where it was appropriate to voice such views – the Palais Royal.

1.3 Basset: A Study of a Printmakers Changing with the Times

This shift from the typical forms of monumental and genre printmaking to that of the political and the satirical is perhaps best illustrated in the images printed at the printmakers Basset. Located at the intersection of the rue Saint-Jacques and the rue des Mathurins, Basset's shop was in the very heart of the Parisian printmaking district. Working primarily on monumental façades and cityscapes in the years prior to the Revolution, from the summer of 1789 'chez Basset' would become one of the most prolific and identifiable printmakers of satirical scenes until the beginning of the Terror in 1793. A search of the collections held at the *Cabinet des Estampes* in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* attributes more than one

¹²⁰ Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution*, p. 339. Lucie-Camille-Simplice Desmoulins (1760-1794) came to prominence in 1789 as editor of the *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*. A Cordelier, Desmoulins would later join the Jacobin Club in late 1791. Following the fall of the monarchy on 10 August 1792, Desmoulins voted for the king's and later went on to publish the *Vieux Cordelier* journal. Arrested in march 1794, he was charged with 'indulgence' and executed on 5 April 1794 alongside the Dantonists.

¹²¹ See Jean-Louis Prieur's engraving *Première Motion au Palais-Royal (12 July 1789)*, in *Tableaux Historiques de la Révolution française (1789-1800)*. Prieur's engraving depicts Camille Desmoulins delivering a discourse, standing on a chair, outside the gardens outside of the gallery. People rally around him. The accompanying text identifies him: 'C'est Camille Desmoulins. – Il est couvert d'applaudissements.'

thousand individual prints to the printing house, published from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, almost a quarter of these being Revolutionary etchings printed by one Paul-André Basset. Though not nearly as incendiary as A.P., the Revolutionary prints made by Basset nevertheless exhibited a sense of humour that ranged from politically based satire to that of the bawdy and jocular: that which would epitomise French Revolutionary print culture in the first three years of the 1790s. Two well known early examples address the resolution of the crisis of the Estates-General in May 1789 (figs 22 and 23).¹²² The images would become indicative of Basset's typical style of satirical prints: roughly etched and hand-coloured in water and bodycolours, Basset employed a simple yet evocative visual language to convey at once both the subject and his trademark humour. The two images show two groups of figures representing the Three Estates, awkwardly placed one on top of the other: the composition already an amusing sight in itself. Sold originally perhaps as a single dual image print, or cut to be sold as two separate images, the first image depicts a nun and a noblewoman travelling on the back of a commoner through the countryside.¹²³ Holding a distaff in her right hand, the common woman looks up at the nun who is praying as the noblewoman sits behind the nun, holding onto her. Here, Paul-André Basset has presented his vision of politics in the *ancien régime*: the commoner supporting the more privileged classes. This is juxtaposed humourously to the second image, where the female character representing the Third Estate is carried by the First and Second (the nun and the aristocrat): this woman of the lower order now not holding simply a distaff, but also a suckling baby, as if she were nourishing the nation.¹²⁴ Basset has in this print demonstrated his ability to

¹²² The crisis of the Estates-General emerged in May 1789 following the Third Estate's (the commoners) demand for proportional representation in voting orders. Though the Third Estate made up the greatest numbers within the Estates-General, they previously only had the same representation in votes as the First and Second Estates (the clergy and the aristocracy), whom by comparison, represented a minority of the French populace. This ended in voting deadlock until members of the clergy started to join the Third Estate towards the end of the month. Despite opposition amongst the remaining members of the First and Second Estates, the Third Estate declared itself the National Assembly having invited the other Estates to join them, making it clear that they would conduct affairs with or without their co-operation.

¹²³ Waddesdon acc. no. 4232.1.32.64. ; BNF, Hennin no. 10575.

¹²⁴ De Vinck nos 2792 and 6128; Hennin nos 10570-10571 ; Jean-Richard Pierrette and Gilbert Mondin, *Un collectionneur pendant la Révolution: Jean Louis Soulavie (1752-1813)*; Louvre, Paris, 20 April - 24 July 1987, (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux; 1989), p. 31.

satirise, though such images are similar to those of a number of other printmakers, one of whom was A.P.¹²⁵

Such a shift in the printmakers' interests and that of the culture of the printing medium as a whole in 1789 is best highlighted in a print about Basset made by another unidentified printmaker (fig. 24). Titled *The Handsome Monk Taking Advantage of the Situation, or Le Joli Moine Profitant de l'Occasion*,¹²⁶ the primary subject of the print is an amusing commentary on the secularisation of the clergy following the Civil Constitution of the Clergy of 12 July 1790. While the subject of the lustful monk is tackled by the printmaker in the foreground, with the loss of his virtue imminent, the background of the scene for this study is far more intriguing, depicting the intersection of the rue Saint-Jacques and the rue des Mathurins as identified in the street signs within the image. While such a scene provides a sense as to how a printmakers sold their wares, much like a shop front with their produce displayed in the street front window, the anonymous creator of this etching aims to damage the reputation of Basset: the printmaker has accused them of copying others' images and passing them off as their own. This message is conveyed most readily on the shop front sign, in which under the visual pun of a Basset hound, the text reads, '*MAGAZIN de Mauvaise Copie ou il s'catrouve quelque fois de bons.*' [sic]. This accusation is reinforced by the hawker leaving the shop, sticking his finger down his mouth as if to suggest the poor quality of the product. While the prints depicted in the shop front window are unidentifiable, though appear to be full-length portraits depicting a single figure on each sheet, this print from 1790 was produced at the height of Basset's satirical printmaking output: dozens upon dozens of prints were printed to engage with the events of the day. What this print does convey well is the way in which printmakers were prepared to copy another's successful image in the aim of making a profit. Whether such accusations as this print purports were widespread is uncertain, though copying had become an inevitability of the trade in 1789, something that Basset's printmakers were evidently happy to engage in. The tone of this print and the witty visual language also suggest that the anonymous printmaker was very familiar with Basset's

¹²⁵ Waddesdon acc. no. 4232.1.33.66. ; De Vinck nos 2793 and 2796; Hennin nos 10567 and 10569. ; See also Pierrette and Mondin, *Un collectionneur pendant la Révolution*, (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux; 1989), p. 30.

¹²⁶ Two versions of this print are in existence, indicating that perhaps more than one printmaker had ill feelings towards Basset's shop: Anon., *Le joli Moine*, c. 1790, etching, BNF, Hennin 10866; Anon., *Le Joli Moine Profitant de l'Occasion*, etching, BNF, De Vinck 3362; Hennin 10865.

work: the etching has a similar visual style to that of a Revolutionary Basset print, as well as in its humour.

1.4 The Bastille Fortress: the Sinister and ‘Secret’ Parisian Edifice

The event that would cement print making as a medium in which to depict a modern and changing Paris was also the event that would come to symbolise the outbreak of the Revolution itself: the storming of the Bastille. The Bastille as a motif became more prevalent in prints from 14 July onwards, entering the popular consciousness throughout the course of the Revolution.¹²⁷ 14 July 1789 highlighted Paris as the city at the centre of the Revolution and the prints relating to the storming of the Bastille, and the events surrounding it, outline three major changes in the way the city was visually perceived: physically, ideologically and politically. As Wittman has argued in his study, architecture grew more and more popular as a subject of discussion and criticism through the eighteenth century, and the example of the Bastille in particular is emblematic of the changing relationships between spectator and edifice, reflected on in changing public opinion towards buildings, statues and structures in themselves.¹²⁸

During the *ancien régime*, printmakers had depicted the Bastille using the emphases on the monumental and social harmony outlined above. For example, in a print depicting the Bastille and the Porte Saint-Antoine the printmaker has identified his main subject, or in this case subjects, found in the background and to the right of the image (fig. 25). To the left, a sense is given of the faubourg Saint-Antoine (what was the city’s artisanal hub), while in the foreground the printmaker places a busy scene of people, perhaps travellers and merchants, coming in and out of the city using the access provided by the *porte*.¹²⁹ The inclusion of these figures makes the cityscape appear prosperous and well-ordered, yet bustling with life as horses and carriages ply up and down the road. Despite this hustle and bustle, the façades

¹²⁷ Rolf Reichardt and Hubertus Kohle, *Visualizing the Revolution: Politics and Pictorial Arts in Late Eighteenth-century France*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), p. 137. Reichardt and Kohle point out that the theme of the Bastille was also consistently reproduced in the paintings exhibited in the Salon during the Revolution.

¹²⁸ Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, p.123.

¹²⁹ David Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002) p. 22. Garrioch describes the *quartier* as being known for its ‘dingy, dusty workshops’ which produced mostly furnishings for the city.

take centre stage as the primary subjects of the image, typical of pre-Revolutionary prints of the capital's cityscape. The figures, though in the foreground, appear minuscule compared to the monumental architecture and are given the task of making the area look appealing; as though it were an active and engaging neighbourhood which people evidently passed through or stopped in to socialise. Louis-Sébastien Mercier described how the area appeared in the 1780s:

Les remparts se hérissent d'édifices qui ont fait reculer les anciens limites: de jolies maisons s'élevent [...] vers la porte saint-Antoine, que l'on a abattue. Il étoit question de renverser l'inférieure bastille; mais ce monument odieux en tout sens choque encore nos regards.¹³⁰

Interestingly, on the other side of the foreground street scene, the printmaker has included a group of people who have paused, and look over the ramparts, pointing out the Bastille. In doing so, the printmaker, whether consciously or not, has engaged with these anonymous spectators, using their act of looking to highlight once again the presence of the structure. In turn, those looking at the print may be initially lured into the scene by this visual tool. James Buller, a British visitor to the city in April 1788, had described the fortress as a '[very] strong building and the most dreadful place I ever could conceive. Almost hid from the town in every point of view, as if the people themselves were ashamed of a monument so disgraceful to humanity.'¹³¹ In this manner, the Bastille appears as a monument fulfilling its designated symbolic role, but also as a structure to see, yet not necessarily to admire.

Despite Buller's statement, the print maintains a rather positive outlook over this part of the city and the image of the Bastille remains somewhat objective, simply replicated as a major site within the Parisian cityscape that either intrigued or interested people, perhaps due to its immense architectural scale as much as its infamous reputation.¹³²

¹³⁰ Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1979), I, LXXXVIII, p. 279.

¹³¹ James Buller, Buller journal, Exeter, Devon County Record Office. 2065 M/CI/1 fol. 5. Quoted in Jeremy Black, *France and the Grand Tour*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 192.

¹³² Despite this sense of objectivity in the visual context, the Bastille was in fact seen by many as a scar on the face of the city. Since the reign of Louis XIV, the fortress had come to represent the face of despotism.

The clear visibility of this architecture within the print means that the image presented is site specific: collectors would have known what they were viewing, a point emphasised by the text beneath the print. As for its composition, the printmaker has here used some typical techniques discussed in the first chapter, including a raised perspective creating the urban view with the monumental scoped-out and clearly visible, while rooftops and chimneys appear like Bernini's carding combs in the further cityscape. This heightened spot is perhaps an upper-storey dwelling, permitting the printmaker and spectator to take-in the view in its entirety. However, this raised perspective is not addressed by the image.

The flurry of activity below lends itself to this particular junction within the topography of the city, as people from all walks of life head in and out of the urban centre, through the Porte Saint-Antoine. Such a scene is not too dissimilar then to the other depictions of an urban view in paintings and prints detailed in this thesis: scenes that focus on the monumentality of identifiable architectural constructions, but also on the urban life that took place in that location. The architecture and topographical location in turn fleshes-out not just the role of the monumental structure but also determines somewhat the figures that populate the scene.

The Porte Sainte-Antoine depicted here fulfils a duplicate role both within the structure of the city and that of the image: this archway of sculpted stone forms a clear gateway – mapping-out an entrance into the city of Paris. This too was made clear both in its physical reality and in the printmaker's interpretation of that reality: the print. The *porte* itself was highly ornate: designed as an *arc du triomphe* by François Blondel under the reign of Louis XIV (adding to the original construction, completed under Henri III).¹³³ The façade facing the *faubourg* was described as being 'richly ornamented,' while that facing the city was notable for its cut stone and spherical roof known as a *cul-de-four*, surmounted above the three porticos.

A description by J.A. Dulaure continues: 'De plus, cette porte était chargée du buste de Louis XIV, et de la figure du soleil placée dans les métopes de la frise dorique. Du côté de la ville,

¹³³ *Encyclopédie de famille : répertoire générale des connaissances usuelles*, (Paris: MM. Firmin Didot Frères, 1868), II, p. 6.

au-dessus de la porte du milieu, on voyait un trophée d'armes ; au centre, un globe éclairé par les rayons de l'astre que ce roi avait pris pour emblème. L'édifice était couronné par un attique ; à ses deux extrémités s'élevait un obélisque terminé par une fleur de lis ; au milieu, figurait une statue allégorique, tenant en main une torche ardente.¹³⁴ What is evident from this description is that the architecture of the *porte* does not merely adhere to ideas of functionality: this architecture also speaks politically. While its function is evident in its role separating the city from the *faubourg*, its ornamentation demonstrates the apparent wealth, power and importance of the capital – it is an *architecture parlante*.¹³⁵ This is heightened all the more politically by the visual references to Louis XIV ingrained within the the *porte's* architectural makeup: namely by way of the statue of Louis XIV surmounting the monument, staring-out over the *faubourg*. It was clear then when entering the city: despite the monarch's presence at Versailles, Paris was still seen as a political capital of France.

One print from the printmakers Basset focuses solely on the Porte Sainte-Antoine (fig. 26), ignoring the Bastille completely.¹³⁶ In this print the perspective looks eastwards, through the façade towards the faubourg Saint-Antoine. The structure towers above the street as people pass each way through the arch and, much like in the previously cited prints, a number of figures are shown chatting, idling about and actively observing the *porte*, giving the image a lively feel. Discussing Brice's travel guides, Richard Wittman touches on the importance of not only a structure's presence within a description, in this case within an image, but the surrounding infrastructure which indicates the subject's role and importance.¹³⁷ He goes on to enquire about a structure's role in print, pointing out how such media gave buildings and structures the mobility required to meet a broader public. While this scene is site specific, prints of specific structures meant that spectators could, 'cut them off from their materiality ... extracted them from the embodied social contexts that had traditionally given buildings their deepest meanings, making them instead available for an inspection and judgement that

¹³⁴ J.A. Dulaure, *Histoire physique, civile et morale de Paris, depuis les premiers temps historiques jusqu'à nos jours ...*, (Paris: Guillaume, librairie, 1824), VII, p. 2.

¹³⁵ Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, pp. 27-32.

¹³⁶ Also of note are the series of prints depicting the various *portes de Paris* by Campion, after Sergent. While these prints cannot be specifically dated to the *ancien régime* (the BNF dates them from 1787-92), they may be an indication that the motif was a popular collector's item.

¹³⁷ Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, p. 22.

was private and individual.’¹³⁸ To an extent this is true: a printed image provided an individual spectator’s gaze the opportunity to reflect on the architecture represented, at a location which may have been miles away from the site in question. Returning to the image of the Bastille, its rapid proliferation across the printed media was about to reflect its omnipresence in the lives of not only Parisians, but the French as a nation. With such an outburst of imagery, people no longer needed to physically experience ‘the site,’ but could also have the chance to interpret it and its replication by way of printed media, both written and illustrated.¹³⁹

With the storming of the Bastille, printmakers drew on the motifs of monumentality and the inverse of social harmony, as well as texts involving the experiences of ex-prisoners. There is an immense amount of material relating to 14 July 1789 to be found in journals, pamphlets, witness accounts, and paintings, as well as in other objects such as fans and boxes – even visual representations found on cups and plates. Prints were no different from these other forms of ‘souvenir’ materials: they too were caught up in this culture of the Bastille following its fall and there are hundreds of visual representations of the siege, as well as the other events and personages surrounding it. Reichardt’s most recent publication analyses an abundance of these objects in great depth.¹⁴⁰ Using the collection held at the *Musée Carnavalet*, he focuses on the culture which emerged shortly after the event. Reichardt acknowledges this culture as being a product of what had been constructed, and arguably what is still regarded today as the ‘myth’ surrounding the Bastille. He suggests that after the reign of Louis XIV, the Bastille became a more dubious and hated element of the Parisian cityscape, largely through the circulation of pamphlets detailing the experiences of ex-

¹³⁸ Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, p. 211. ‘But in translating the architecture/public relationship into a despatialized public sphere, they [printers] also recast the architectural object of attention itself: the materiality of buildings and places became secondary to the representations by which meaning could be communicated within the exploded spatial framework of a national culture.’

¹³⁹ Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, pp. 40-1; 52-3; 173. Wittman continues, discussing the separation of aesthetics from ethics in the viewing of an architectural structure. He coins the term ‘monuments of paper.’

¹⁴⁰ Rolf Reichardt, *L’Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille*, (Paris: Paris musées; Nicolas Chaudun; Musée Carnavalet Histoire de Paris, 2009).

prisoners, such as various means of torture and the horrors of the dungeons and *oubliettes*, as well as the sinister appearance of the *lettres de cachet*.¹⁴¹

Public perception of the more secret and sinister elements of the Bastille were intensified and seemingly legitimised with the publication of Simon-Nicolas-Henri Linguet's account of his imprisonment there.¹⁴² As Jean-Clément Martin aptly sums-up: 'La prison de la Bastille, notamment, deviant alors le centre d'un imaginaire, qui en fait le lieu des abominations, l'enfer absolutiste, les catacombs des nouveaux martyrs ... La Bastille se transforme en symbole fantasmatique.'¹⁴³ These views of the Bastille were however contradicted by the actual reality of the Bastille. Reichardt argues that since the Bastille was a political prison, the *lettres de cachet* were often used to conceal the identity of the prisoner, in order neither to condemn nor dishonour them. He also points out that the finance minister Jacques Necker had formally outlawed the use of dungeons as prisons in 1776.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the reputation of the Bastille had been forged, and its imposing yet sombre and gothic architecture must have appealed to the darker parts of the Parisians' imagination – a medieval edifice looming on the eastern corner of the city and home to more than four hundred years of seemingly sinister secrets.¹⁴⁵ The print by Rigaud (fig. 25) illustrates this separation of this space, highlighted by those figures acting as spectators of the Bastille. The bustling world of the street is completely cut-off from the edifice; physically by the moat, ramparts and towers. In his introduction to Reichardt's *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille*, Michel Biard aptly suggests that it was the meeting point between this established

¹⁴¹ For a summation of the various publications by ex-prisoners relating to the Bastille through the eighteenth century, see: Monique Cottret, *La Bastille à prendre: Histoire et mythe de la forteresse royale*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986), pp. 105-27.

¹⁴² Simon-Nicolas-Henri Linguet, *Mémoires de la Bastille et sur la détention de M. Linguet, écrits par lui-même*, (London: T Spilsbury, 1783). ; This myth of the Bastille prior to 1789 continued to be fueled after its fall. ; See Henri Masers de Latude, *Mémoires de Henri Masers de Latude, ancien ingénieur.*, (Paris, De l'Imprimerie de la veuve Lejay, 1793), and the painting of him by Vestier exhibited in the Salon of 1789 and reproduced as the frontispiece for his memoirs. De Latude, who had been involved and subsequently imprisoned in a hoax to poison Madame de Pompadour found celebrity for having escaped from the Bastille in 1756. His punishment was deemed so unfair he later received compensation of 60,000 livres for his sufferings from the relatives of Pompadour in 1793.

¹⁴³ Martin, *Violence et Révolution : essai sur la naissance d'un mythe national*, pp. 40-1.

¹⁴⁴ Reichardt, *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille*, pp. 17-20.

¹⁴⁵ Cottret, *La Bastille à prendre*, p. 163. Cottret comments on the space existing between reality and imagination, pointing out that the Bastille had to remain hermetically closed – 'rien ne doit transpirer de sa vie intérieur.' She evidences that this practice was necessary; both for a practical purpose in its operations as a prison, and as a means of igniting public interest in the 'secrets' guarded within its walls.

myth of the Bastille as the embodiment of despotism, and the assault itself that would come to define all the varying dimensions of 14 July.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Reichardt, *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille*. p. 10.

2.0 Chapter Two: The Impact of 1789 on Prints of the City: A Case Study of the Storming of the Bastille and Its Aftermath

The storming of the Bastille on 14 July 1789 was the pivotal moment which was to change the way printmakers observed and depicted the capital in prints. It was also the event that would symbolise the outbreak of the Revolution and in its wake would act as a catalyst for changes within both French politics and society. The first part of this subchapter analyses the events of 12-13 July 1789, a series of uprisings which had a direct effect as to how events would materialise on 14 July. In evaluating a chosen number of prints relating to the siege itself, the second part of this study will observe the certain iconographical formulas which printmakers employed in order to engage with their chosen subject in various ways: realistic representations of the site and event, or an examination of individual acts through portraiture, or allegorical imagery.

2.1 Events Leading to the Storming of the Bastille: Uprisings of 12-3 July 1789

Though violence was to breakout on 12 July in Paris, political and social problems had been brewing for months prior, notably in the stalled voting order at the Estates-General and the constant lack of grain supplies entering the capital. Problems were to come to a head with the dismissal of the finance minister Jacques Necker, and following a speech by the journalist Camille Desmoulins at the Palais-Royal in which he urged public action, uprisings erupted across the city beginning on the afternoon of Sunday 12 July.¹ The first example of such a violent outburst took place when the Prince Lambesc, in command of the Royal-Allemand Cavalry Regiment, charged a crowd that had amassed on the Place Louis XV and in the west side of the Tuileries gardens.²

A detailed aquatint attributed to the printmaker Le Campion depicts the moment that the Royal-Allemand cavalry entered the gardens (fig. 1). The print illustrates the rupture of a

¹ Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, *La Bastille est prise: La Révolution française commence*, (Brussels: Editions Complexe, 1988), p. 96. Chaussinand-Nogaret offers a description of Desmoulin's speech at the Palais-Royal.

² Jacques Godechot, *The Taking of the Bastille: July 14th, 1789*, (London: Faber & Faber, 1970), p. 189. Godechot describes the charge of the Royal-Allemand.

calm, polite space by contrasting the architectural features of the park with the violence of the event. An accurately rendered image of the gardens, this vision of peace and tranquillity was considered by some travellers of the time as one of the most beautiful gardens of modern Paris: a popular space for well-dressed Parisians to take their promenade.³ Despite the politicised subject of the print, the formation of the gardens (octagonal pool, horseshoe ramps and statues) hints at its attractive and idyllic air – a detail that the printmaker evidently felt obliged to include in the printed image. Statues are depicted, as well as the gates which separate the garden from the square beyond. These gates, flanked by curved ramps or *fer à cheval*, still act as the western entrance to the gardens today. In the eighteenth century, the gates offered more affluent Parisians a sense of security and separation whilst socialising in the park grounds, something that the printmaker has shown to be violently disturbed in this scene.⁴ This is a realistic scene, depicting the gardens in much the same way as they appear today.

The chaotic scene illustrates the charge of the Royal-Allemand as they entered the Tuileries gardens from the Place Louis XV, entering by way of a spring bridge, a *pont tournant*, which connected the gardens to the square. The depiction of people of all ages adds a sense of brutality to the scene. The horror of the event was reported in many of the journals of the day, such as in Louis-Marie Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris* which recorded Lambesc striking down a sixty-six year old man with his sabre.⁵ This is possibly depicted in the centre of the print: a soldier in uniform on a bucking horse, his sword raised as a figure with a walking stick attempts to flee to the right. As the member of the crowd in the foreground attempts to escape the charging cavalry, the chairs that surround the central pond, the

³ Joachim Christoph Freidrich Schulz, *Ueber Paris und die Pariser*, (Berlin: F. Viewveg, 1791), pp. 280-1. ; Laurent Turcot, *Le promeneur à Paris au XVIIIe siècle*, (Paris: Gallimard, 2007), p. 57. ; Mathieu Couty, *La Vie aux Tuileries pendant la Révolution, 1789-1799*, (Paris: Tallandier, 1988), p. 14-5. Couty gives a tourist's description of the gardens.

⁴ David Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002), p. 99. Garrioch describes the use of the gardens particularly by the bourgeois as a place of leisure. Turcot, *Le promeneur à Paris*, p. 19. ; *La Vie aux Tuileries pendant la Révolution, 1789-1799*, p. 17. The Tuileries was a particular space where, for the more class conscious and socially minded Parisians, it was considered in *bon ton* to be seen by peers. The men, women and children in the print are uniformly well dressed. Those without footwear were not allowed to enter the gardens.

⁵ *La Semaine mémorable, ou récit exact, De ce qui s'est passé à Paris depuis le 12 jusqu'au 17 Juillet.*, (Paris: 24 Juillet 1789). ; Louis-Marie Prudhomme (ed.). *Révolutions de Paris, dédiées à la Nation et au district des Petits Augustins. Publiées par le sieur Prudhomme à l'époque du 12 Juillet 1789. Avec Graveurs et Cartes des Départemens du Royaume*, (Paris: 1789-4), I, no. 1, Du 12 au 17 Juillet 1789., pp. 2-5.

bassin octagonal, have been knocked over in the resulting panic.⁶ The interest in the setting of the print shows in one fashion the all-encompassing nature of the violence, affecting Parisians from all walks of life, as the political penetrated their day-to-day routine.

While the architecture of the print shows a constant and standard view of how the gardens appeared both then and now (see Chapter Four, fig. 1, which presents an almost identical view of the gardens in 1760), it is the narrative which defines this particular image as a Revolutionary print. Although the recognisable location, represented through its realistic depiction of the park and its architecture, may have offered knowing Parisians a sort of 'lead-in' to the image, the event has suddenly made the location a political one – its space is defined not by geography, or any rich artistic embellishments, but by an act of aggression on an unsuspecting crowd. These details are all readily evident in the depiction of the charge and the chaos which ensues, making this an unquestionably Revolutionary print.

Outbreaks of hostility continued throughout the evening as crowds roamed the streets, and the royal German and Swiss troops clashed with detachments of a mobilised militia who claimed to protect the people of Paris. The academically trained, Chartres-born artist, Antoine Louis François Sergent used architecture to comment on the nature of the Parisian crowd on that particular evening (fig. 2).⁷ The crowd of men passes through an unidentified intersection within the city, in an undisclosed *quartier*. It is not clear what the crowd is searching for: perhaps, a particular individual or maybe they are simply engaging in non-specific acts of violence. There is an air of menace to the scene as both citizens and soldiers carry various weaponry including rifles, sickles and swords. One man in the centre foreground fires his pistol through an open ground floor window while another man holds a

⁶ Turcot, *Le promeneur à Paris*, p. 159-60. Anne Pingeot, *Le Jardin des Tuileries*, (Paris: Editions Du May, 1993), These chairs were introduced to the royal garden in 1760, and were usually available to rent. They not only offered a place for 'promeneurs' to rest, but also to observe the promenade of others. Some reports of the day stated that demonstrators on the gates of the park used these chairs as missiles, throwing them from the terraces onto the horsemen.

⁷ Emmanuel Benezit (ed.), *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs de tous les temps et tous les pays, par un groupe d'écrivains spécialistes français et étrangers*, (Paris: Gründ, 2006), XII, p. 1011. Sergent was actively engaged in politics during the Revolutionary period. A dedicated Republican, he was secretary of the Jacobin club before being forced to flee from Paris, firstly to Switzerland, and then Venice after 9 Thermidor. Despite his pro-Revolutionary stance, he treated his subject in this print with a certain objectivity: he neither appears to support or condemn the violence that the image implies, nor does he appear to glorify the actions of the crowd.

lit torch in his hand, perhaps as reference to the burning of the toll booths that had been taking place throughout the day.

The use of architecture in particular gives a sense of claustrophobia to the scene as buildings appear to force the crowd into a restricted space. Because of the enclosure of the crowd, only those in the foreground of the image can be identified as figures with some individual attributes. The claustrophobic street scene seems to suggest that the city encourages a lack of individuality within the mobilised crowd: the street corner forces figures together in an undifferentiated mass. Sergent evidently used his skills as a history and portrait painter to add a realistic perspective and characterisation to the print, depicting the different aspects of the crowd while conveying a sense of the sheer multitude of people: the non-visible members of the crowd hold torches aloft as they move down the street. At the same time, there are some individual characteristics within the foreground depiction of the group. Most evident is the participation of citizens, soldiers, and musicians, but also men of different age groups. One figure in the centre foreground appears to be no older than an adolescent. The crowd in Sergent's print therefore appears to combine elements of individual and mass representation.

Sergent also used architecture in the print to comment on the class of those who chose not to participate in the street protests. A woman, hiding behind a curtain, watches the crowd from a window above the street. The apartment, located on the first floor of the building is likely an indication of the woman's superior wealth and social position. As indicated in Chapter One, while social and class distinctions varied from neighbourhood to neighbourhood in eighteenth century Paris, class divisions were also present in individual dwellings with wealthiest residents generally living just above the ground floor while the poorer residents, or often the service staff of the wealthier residents, would live on the highest floors, generally underneath the roof space.⁸

⁸ This was a question of accessibility: people did not want to walk up four or five flights of stairs on a daily basis. Daniel Roche, *Le peuple de Paris: Essai sur la culture populaire au XVIIIe siècle*, (Paris: Fayard, 1998), pp. 153; 158; 167. Roche discusses correlation between salaries and the makeup of the city and vertical forms of apartment living as being left over from the seventeenth-century. This began to change in the eighteenth-century as people spread into the *faubourgs* as people started to live closer to their work.

The building also offers a commentary about the increasing fluidity of public and private spaces of Revolutionary Paris as illustrated by Richard Wittman discussing the omnipresence of politics and its overarching reach between public and private spaces.⁹ The street is depicted as a space in which the crowd voices and acts out popular opinion. Though the first floor apartment remains a private space, the watching woman is evidently concerned about the events which are taking place outside. While this image may illustrate class tensions illustrated by the bourgeois woman above and the crowd below, the image of the opened first floor window, and the pistol shot fired through it may also suggest that popular opinion expressed in a public space was capable of entering, or even invading private spaces such as the home in troubling ways.

Through the following day, the wall of the Farmers General which surrounded the city, and had been so hated by Parisians was sacked, its ornate toll booths burned.¹⁰ Meanwhile the convent of Saint-Lazare was pillaged under the pretence that grain had been stored there. Sergent created a series of prints addressing a number of these events, though perhaps one of the more interesting relates to a minor incident in a precise geographical location and depicts a particular use of transport over the river Seine (fig. 3). This aquatint shows Florent-Louis-Marie de Lomont d'Haraucourt, the duc du Châtelet, fleeing from a Parisian crowd across the Seine towards what appears to be a forest on the other side. The duc was a colonel of the French Guard who had come under some criticism as to his capabilities to command.¹¹

⁹ Richard Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), p. 4.

¹⁰ The wall of the Farmers General, popularly described by Parisians as the '*mur murant Paris qui rend Paris murmurant*' was first proposed to Louis XVI by the Farmers General, a body which controlled taxes on produce entering the city. With construction of the wall beginning in 1784, sixty-two highly ornate barriers were designed by the architect Claude Nicolas Ledoux. The wall ran roughly the length of twenty-four kilometres, broadly following what is now the route of the Metro lines 2 and 6. The fear was such toll booths along the wall would push prices up within the city, especially that of grain. For more on the wall of the Farmers General and the Parisian reaction to its creation, see: Renaud Gagneux and Denis Prouvost, *Sur les traces des enceintes de Paris: promenades au long des murs disparus*, (Paris: Parigramme, 2004). ; and, Jean Valmy-Bayesse, *La Curieuse aventure des boulevards extérieurs*, (Paris: Éditions Albin-Michel, 1950). ; For a discussion of the published criticism of these ornate barriers, see: Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, pp. 205-7.

¹¹ Popular opinion in the days prior to the fall of the Bastille brought his position into question and he lost the support of his troops. See: *Lettre d'un grenadier des Gardes-françaises, A M. le Duc du Châtelet*, (Paris: 1789), pp. 1-8. A printed anonymous letter noting questioning the duc du Châtelet's ability to command, and notes the general dissatisfaction of the duc's troops. ; Godechot, *The Taking of the Bastille*, pp. 141-2. Godechot also comments on an instance during an uprising in the faubourg Saint-Antoine, 28 April 1789, in which the duc du

One pamphlet of the day, *La semaine mémorable*, purported to give a brief account of the event. Wearing a disguise, the duc du Châtelet hoped to flee the city for Versailles incognito.¹² But en route, an agitated crowd that had been gathering recognised the fleeing colonel at which time they threatened to throw him into the Seine. The journal states that the duc was protected by four French Guardsmen, though several are portrayed in this print. In the centre of the crowd a man appears with his left arm raised, protected by a Guardsman: presumably this is the duc du Châtelet.

The print sets the scene on the banks of the Seine but Sergent has provided very little urban detail to gauge the precise site visually. The text below the image locates the action, indentifying a *bac* or ferry, that crossed the river in front of the Invalides. The presence of the Seine is suggested by the large wooden structure and cable, to which the *bac* would have been secured as it ferried customers from one side of the Seine to the other as not go adrift in the sometimes strong currents of the river. However, if the *bac* operated directly in front of the Invalides as the print's text clearly states, the Place Louis XV should be visible on the far side of the river. Instead, only trees are shown behind a waiting carriage – probably to be used as a vehicle for the duc's planned escape. There is a possibility that the trees could be representative of the western end of the Champs-Élysées, perhaps the Cours de la Reine, but they may also be intended to represent a space outside the city of Paris that was also outside the control and influence of the increasingly revolutionary crowd, though this is highly speculative.

Bacs were just one mode of transport for crossing the river in the late 18th century.¹³ Despite the demolition of houses on bridges from 1 January 1786, bridges crossing the Seine

Châtelet's decision to order fifty grenadiers to suppress the uprising was questioned by Jean-Baptiste Réveillon, owner of the royal wall paper manufacturer at the centre of the uprising *Folie Titon*, who asked he send more.

¹² *La Semaine mémorable, ou récit exact, De ce qui s'est passé à Paris depuis le 12 jusqu'au 17 Juillet.*, (Paris: 24 Juillet 1789).

¹³ Simon Lacordaire, *Les Inconnues de la Seine: Paris et les métiers de l'eau du XIIIe au XIXe siècle*, (Paris: Hachette, 1985), pp. 43-4. Lacordaire discusses other boats such as *batelets*, or water taxis – cheap when travelling in groups. He also comments on the profession of the *bachoteur*, and that all needed to surveyed, and be declared to the Hôtel de Ville. Anna Cradock, *Journal de Madame Cradock : voyage en France, (1783-1788)*, trans. O-Delphin Balleyguier, (Paris: Perrin, 1896). Writing in 1784, Cradock describes the use of a *coche d'eau* from Sevres to Paris – an immense barque capable of transporting 100 people at a time.

remained a bottleneck for people and carriages alike.¹⁴ Bridges such as the Pont Neuf were not only locations for traversing the Seine, but also gathering spots and places for people to watch shows and spectacles. Manoeuvring between carts and crowds could be a lengthy process, and far from ideal if like the duc, one needed to make a hasty getaway from a possibly violent crowd. Travelling by water could be faster, though more treacherous. Sergent may have foregone some spatial accuracy in order to focus on a narrative about a speedy escape by water as it suited the tone of the duc's attempt to flee.

The days of 12-13 July served to show the deep distrust that existed in Parisian society. The lack of bread added fuel to a rising sense of frustration amongst the lower classes, while Parisians inevitably felt threatened by the presence of the royal German and Swiss Guards within the capital. These sentiments would roll over into the following day, manifesting themselves at the storming of the Bastille.

2.1a The Storming of Bastille, 14 July 1789: an Interpretation in Prints

The majority of prints which represented the siege of the fortress itself were generally etchings, produced in the few days following the event.¹⁵ These prints tend to gravitate towards a standardised visual vocabulary, many of the prints claiming to be based on actual eye witness accounts as to what had happened.

Paris awoke on 14 July, still in a state of social unrest: the two previous days had seen cause for looting and vandalism, and with the defections of some members of the French Guard, a veritable resistance towards the Germans and the Swiss troops was beginning to manifest. At about ten o'clock that morning a crowd gathered in front of the Invalides, and meeting no resistance entered the armoury taking munitions, gun powder and two cannons.¹⁶ Their

¹⁴ Charlotte Lacour-Veyrann, *Les colères de la Seine*, (Paris: Paris-Musées, 1994), p. 53. Explication of the legislation for the demolition of housing.

¹⁵ David Bindman, *The Shadow of the Guillotine: Britain in the French Revolution*, (London: British Museum Publications Ltd., 1989), p. 36. Bindman aptly summarises the two major forms of visual representation that were used by artists to depict the fall of the Bastille, both in France and in England. 'Virtually all representations of the events of 14 July 1789 depend on the contrast between the seemingly impregnable immensity of the Bastille and the varied humanity of its besiegers.'

¹⁶ For prints providing a depiction of this event, see: Waddesdon cat. nos. 4222.7.5, 4232.1.42; De Vinck nos. 1542, 1545; Hennin nos. 10312, 10315.

destination was the Bastille. Incessantly a site of prurient curiosity in the later years of the *ancien régime*, a worrying amount of suspicion had sprung since 12 July when reports emerged that the fortress's cannons had been fixed towards the faubourg Saint-Antoine to the very east of the city in a measure to control any further uprisings there.¹⁷ The crowd which had stormed the Invalides made their way eastwards, and by midmorning, other Parisians notably from the artisanal faubourgs of Saint-Antoine and Saint-Marcel had joined to demand the surrender of the fortress.¹⁸ Following an exchange in which the governor of the Bastille, the Marquis Bernard-René Jourdan Delaunay, refused to surrender, the *vainqueurs* of the Bastille made their way over the first drawbridge and into the outer-courtyard known as the *Cour du Gouvernement*.¹⁹

One seemingly realistic print by the printmaker Louis Bance appears to convey this moment at the lowering of the first drawbridge (fig. 4).²⁰ The scene focuses on the first drawbridge, the primary obstacle preventing entrance to the Bastille. This drawbridge is identifiable by its pediment, decorated with the royal coat of arms. The drawbridge has been successfully lowered as people charge through the open gate as smoke and flames appear in the background. The print is action-packed, and this form of setting appears to be a common means in which a great deal of Parisian printmakers chose to depict the event. Bance has also incorporated several elements which illustrate his knowledge of the site: notably in his depiction of the two southern towers accurately rendered given his perspective over the first drawbridge, and the kitchens of the Bastille to the left. What is intriguing about Bance's print is in the manner he also incorporates other elements relating not just to the architecture of the fortress, but specific events which had taken place throughout the course of the day: notably in the presence of the cannons wheeled from the Invalides, the actions of three characters in the centre foreground (one of whom appears to be held by the other

¹⁷ Chaussinand-Nogaret, *La Bastille est prise*, p.96.

¹⁸ For a chronology and a detailed examination of events, see: Godechot, *The Taking of the Bastille*, pp. 253-300.

¹⁹ Colin Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution*, (London and New York: Longman, 1988), p. 424. The title *Vainqueurs de la Bastille* was given to the eight or nine hundred or so persons who could prove their participation in the storming of the fortress.

²⁰ Benezit (ed.), *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, I, p. 1074. This is most likely one JL Bance who is thought to have sold engravings during and after the Revolutionary decade.

two), the lowering of the first drawbridge followed by the charge on the *Cour du Gouvernement*, and the appearance of a white flag over the *Tour de la Basinière* the left.²¹

These elements which work to structure the narrative of the print and are more clearly defined in an etching by Jacques-Simon Chéreau, who incorporates a caption making the print easily readable for his literate audience (fig. 5).²² While the print comprises the same visual structure as that of Bance's (fig. 4), it appears to be a mirror image of that print. Plans of the Bastille indicate that the fortress actually stood to the left of the first drawbridge, but in figure 4 it stands to the right. This shows that the image has been reversed, suggesting the possibility that the Chéreau copied it from another print, perhaps to take advantage of the sudden popularity of the visual structure of this sort of imagery.

At first glance the print depicts the successful attack made on the Bastille's first drawbridge, allowing the crowd to enter the *Cour du Gouvernement*. The drawbridge is indicated visually comprising its pediment, decorated with a heraldic device incorporating a crown, perhaps representing the royal coat of arms. But like the other architectural and narrative elements of the print, it is also identified in the caption below (7). This caption identifies the governor of the Bastille's house to the left of the drawbridge (5), and the kitchens to the right (6) as seen in fig. 3. These kitchens identified in the caption were mentioned in an account of the day's events, which noted that they were used by the crowd as a strategic base for their attack. Again, the three cannons seized by the crowd from the Invalides at ten o'clock that morning appear in the foreground of the print.

A figure in the centre foreground, identified in the caption as the Marquis Delaunay, is escorted from the first drawbridge by two men holding him by the arms. While Delaunay was not necessarily vilified in popular culture in the days prior to the storming, the crowd's aggression towards him on the day in question was compounded when he was alleged to have given his permission for soldiers to open fire on the gathering crowd at around one-

²¹ A number of maps of the Bastille were also printed in 1789 for public purchase. For a few detailed examples, see: De Vinck nos. 1538, 1540 ; Hennin nos. 10367, 10371. ; Godechot, *The Taking of the Bastille*, pp. 88-9. Godechot provides a map of the Bastille.

²² Benezit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, III, p. 892.

thirty in the afternoon.²³ This act was perceived as tantamount to treason.²⁴ The two men escorting Delaunay are identified as Jacques-Joseph Arné and Jean-Baptiste Humbert (2 and 3). To Delaunay's right, Arné is depicted as a National Guardsman, and to his left, Humbert is depicted as a civilian.²⁵ The text identifies Arné as 'Harné', an alternative though generally seen as incorrect spelling of his name.

This print does not represent just a single moment, but several major events that played out through the course of the afternoon. Like Bance, Chéreau has disregarded a precise chronology in favour of addressing several key developments within the one scene: the arrival of the cannons, the lowering of the first drawbridge, the waving of a white flag of surrender from the *Tour de la Basinière*, and the arrest of the Marquis Delaunay. The aim of the printmaker was not only to show what happened during the event in each part of the building, but also to commemorate it, adding a sense of drama, excitement and patriotism to the recognisable architecture of the fortress.

2.1b Patriotism Personified: the Heroes and Prisoners of 14 July 1789

While prints depicting the event itself proved to be very popular amongst buyers, evidenced in the sheer quantity printed, an interest also appears to have emerged surrounding the individuals whom were connected to the myth of the Bastille in some way: be that by way of the storming, or perhaps given to their time spent imprisoned in the fortress prior to its liberation. The concept of heroism in particular gave way to number of prints of those who claimed to have achieved, or those reported to have had conducted themselves in a feat of

²³ Richard D. E. Burton, *Blood in the City: Violence and Revelation in Paris, 1789-1945*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), p. 33. ; Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*, (London: Penguin, 1989), p. 404. Upon his capture later in the day he was paraded to the Hôtel-de-Ville where he was stabbed by an unemployed cook named Dénot, who subsequently cut off his head. See also, Martin, *Violence et Révolution : essai sur la naissance d'un mythe national*, p. 61. Martin notes that it was also Delaunay indecisions on the day, combined with the crowd's uncertainty that led both to his downfall, and subsequent vilification.

²⁴ Prudhomme (ed.), *Révolutions de Paris*, III, Du 12 au 17 juillet, p. 13. The journal quotes the Marquis Delaunay as having allegedly said, '... j'ai trahi ma Patrie !'

²⁵ For more details on the creation of the National Guard in 1789, see Florence Devenne's article: 'La garde nationale: Création et evolution, 1789-août 1792' in, *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, (vol. 283, no. 283, 1990), pp. 49-66.

bravery.²⁶ Relating to the experiences of specific individuals and their achievements, printmakers were quick to engage with these heroic exploits either by depicting their actions within the heat of the moment (as seen in figures 4 and 5), or by way of portraiture.²⁷ Those who would be later given the title of *vainqueurs* of the Bastille were no longer seen as heroes of the city, but came to be seen as the defenders of the liberty of France in its entirety.²⁸

A dual portrait of Humbert and Arné provides one example as to how popular opinion came to gauge their actions (figure 6).²⁹ In the days following the storming of the Bastille both Humbert and Arné had become two of the most celebrated *vainqueurs* of the Bastille.³⁰ The two men had gained notoriety for being the first two to mount the assault on the Bastille.

In his own published account of the fall of Bastille, the idea of which he attributes to his relatives, Humbert writes that he had come to Paris in 1787 from Geneva.³¹ Having learnt his skill of watch-making, he had travelled to the French capital to work with one M. Belliard, a watchmaker to the king on the rue Hurepoix.³² Though depicted with a sword in the portrait, Humbert writes that at two o'clock on 14 July, he participated in taking arms from the Invalides including a rifle for himself. Lacking bullets however, Humbert notes that he went to the grocers at the *coin du roi* on the Place de Grève to buy small nails to use before being

²⁶ For a discussion of this concept of bravery and its depiction in relation to painting, see: Joseph Clarke, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France: Revolution and Remembrance, 1789-1799*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 71-2.

²⁷ Clarke, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, p. 72. Clarke discusses the image of the *vainqueur* as an 'acceptable icon for the new régime.'

²⁸ Cottret, *La Bastille à prendre : Histoire et mythe de la forteresse royale*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986), p. 19. Cottret goes as far as to label the *vainqueurs* of the Bastille as the perceived 'demiurges' of a new world. ; The 954 officially recognised *vainqueurs*, those who played key roles in the event, were celebrated by many as heroes of the city, as well as defenders of the liberty of France.

²⁹ This print may in fact have been sold as two separate prints; printed on one sheet the printmaker or vendor could have cut the image in half and sold each portrait separately. ; Rolf Reichardt, *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille*, (Paris: Paris musées; Nicolas Chaudun; Musée Carnavalet Histoire de Paris, 2009), p. 82. Reichardt provides a detailed background to both Humbert and Arné.

³⁰ Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink and Rolf Reichardt, *The Bastille: A History of a Symbol of Despotism and Freedom*, trad. Norbert Schürer, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 90. Both Humbert and Arné became popular figures in contemporary literature, as well as in ballads and popular broadsheets.

³¹ Jean-Baptiste Humbert, *Journée de Jean-Baptiste Humbert, horloger, qui, le premier, a monté sur les Tours de la Bastille*, (Paris: Volland, 1789).

³² The rue Hurepoix no longer exists today, having merged with what is now the Quai des Grands Augustins in the 6e. See: Robert de Vaugondy, *Plan de la ville et des faubourgs de Paris divisé en ses vingt quartiers*, (Paris: 1760, 1771).

given six bullets at the Hôtel-de-Ville.³³ The rest of Humbert's account mentions several well known moments of the storming, including: the arrival of the cannons, the man shot while trying to cross the moat on a plank, only to be followed by Julien-Stanislas Maillard, and Humbert's own disarming of a cannon pointed at the attackers.³⁴ Humbert's popularity was such that a proposal was drawn up to erect a statue in his honour in his home town of Langres.³⁵ In the print, Humbert wears a tricolour cockade which was only invented when the King visited Paris on 17 July 1789, indicating that this print must have been etched after this date. Unlike Humbert, Arné was a soldier who had been enrolled in the French Guards since 1785 as a grenadier in the Reffuveille Company, and the unknown printmaker depicts him in his uniform. He became best known for his apprehending of the Marquis Delaunay, the last governor of the Bastille, and taking his swordstick from him. Arné grew even more popular than Humbert, with at least two plays featuring interpretations of his role on the day.³⁶ And on 15 July, Arné was paraded through Paris in a triumphal chariot.³⁷

This interest in specific individuals was not reserved solely for those who stormed the Bastille, but also in the stories of prisoners who had had survived the perceived horror of being held there. Printmakers were also quick to capitalise on this, engaging in sometimes fabricated stories which corresponded to the myth that had surrounded the Bastille under the *ancien régime*. While the symbol of the fall of the Bastille fortress was potent enough to reinforce the image of the overthrow of despotism, the reality of what the *vainqueurs* found within the walls of the fortress was in fact far less sinister or macabre than the image that rumour, popular publications and journals had envisioned: no images of skeletons chained in

³³ Lüsebrink and Reichardt, *The Bastille*, trad. Norbert Schürer, p. 102. Notes that Humbert's account reads as though he was an accidental hero, following his patriotic instinct.

³⁴ Maillard was to become an increasingly infamous figure in the years, especially given his participation in the September Massacres of 1792. But at the fall of the Bastille, his actions were just as popularly received as those of Humbert and Arné (Maillard had crossed the moat of the fortress suspended on a beam to retrieve the Marquis Delaunay's conditions of surrender. See: De Vinck no. 1548; Hennin no. 10343).

³⁵ Lüsebrink and Reichardt, *The Bastille*, trad. Norbert Schürer, p. 90.

³⁶ Lüsebrink and Reichardt, *The Bastille*, trad. Norbert Schürer, p. 92. *La Fête du Grenadier* on 3 September at the Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique was the first play ever to be written about the storming of the Bastille and featured Arné as its protagonist. And later, *La Liberté Conquise, ou le Despotisme renversé* which included Arné as a character.

³⁷ Lüsebrink and Reichardt, *The Bastille*, trans. Norbert Schürer, p. 87. Arné's victory chariot, or *char*, was lead through the city by the people's militia. See also, Pierre Prillard, 'La Glorification des Vainqueurs de la Bastille' in *Actes du Congrès national des sociétés savantes: Section d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 100, (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1977), p. 469, and ; André Souyris-Rolland, 'Les Vainqueurs de la Bastille et leurs décorations' in, *Revue des Amis du Musée de l'armée*, 88, (Paris: Société des Amis du Musée de l'Armée, 1983), pp. 59-80.

lightless dungeons, no perverse and cruel devices of torture, no emaciated prisoners long forgotten and locked up for decades, the key thrown into the moat and so on.³⁸ When the Bastille was actually taken there were in fact only seven prisoners being held there, none of whom were there for political crimes.³⁹ Despite this failure to reach the lofty imaginations of some storytellers, some printmakers were happy to shy away from the perhaps disappointing lack of horror, and alongside other mediums such as pamphlets and journals, were happy to engage with a fiction that had already been secured in the popular consciousness: the myth that was created around the infamous history of the Bastille was so compelling, that reality did not necessarily have to a printmakers top priority when engaging with the subject.

The communication of some seemingly cruel images of those supposedly imprisoned worked to establish the myth of the Bastille as something almost incontestable: a myth that the Parisian public who purchased such prints may have been more than happy to accept as fact.⁴⁰ An aquatint by an unknown printmaker shows the liberation of one such unhappy character, the Comte de Lorges by three National Guardsmen (fig. 7). The Comte was in essence a fictional character, fabricated by journalists and printmakers to capture the essence of the despotism associated with the Bastille under the *ancien régime*.⁴¹ While seven prisoners were known to have been freed, rumours began to circulate in the city in the days after the storming of a mysterious eighth prisoner.⁴² Several journals and broadsheets began to discuss the identity of this eighth prisoner as that the Comte de Lorges, who was said to have been seen in the afternoon of 14 July 1789, according to ‘eye-

³⁸ *La Bastille dévoilée, ou recueil de pièces authentiques pour servir à son histoire. Seconde livraison.*, (Paris: chez Desenne au Palais-Royal, 1789), p. 82. ‘On n’a trouvé que sept prisonniers, tous vivans; point de cadavres, point de squelettes, point d’hommes enchaînés, ce sont des bruits populaires, dénués de preuves & de fondement.’ As given in the title of the text, the anonymous author claims to have based this report upon consultation of the Bastille’s archives.

³⁹ Bindman, *The Shadow of the Guillotine*, pp. 36-42. ‘The notorious rat infested cells were no longer in use, and prisoners were unmanacled ... The besiegers were so convinced that the cells were filled with groaning prisoners that they desperately pushed into every corner of the vast edifice, and tales of secret cells, still containing their victims, remained part of folklore long after the Bastille was raised to the ground.’

⁴⁰ For an in-depth summary of the legend of a similar character, the Man in the Iron Mask, its construction, its mystery and its popular appeal, see: Cottret, *La Bastille à prendre*, pp. 134-40.

⁴¹ The print’s engraved text goes so far as to claim that de Lorges spent thirty-two years in captivity.

⁴² Within days of their liberation, four of the seven had been re-imprisoned in the Bicêtre, while another two were identified as active sexual deviants, and another to be a lunatic. These prisoners were not exactly what the myth of the Bastille perpetuated as honest victims of a corrupt regime. Schama, *Citizens*, p. 407.

witness' accounts. Speculation was rife, and rumour of an elderly prisoner with a long white beard began to take form in pamphlets and prints. Various stories about the man's background were fabricated to complement this image of the noble prisoner, a victim of the cruelty of the *ancien régime*. In the print, De Lorges is portrayed as a broken man – a man who had succumbed to age and frailty. The printmaker shows his or her ability to communicate institutionalised cruelty, but also manages to convey the humane nature of the subject. This humanitarian appeal to viewers of the print would have served to further the popular perceptions of the sadistic nature of the prison, reinforcing the attack on the Bastille as a common act of moral good – what Jean-Clément Martin describes as *la violence acceptée*.⁴³

The circulation of such prints around the city helped the public to identify with such figures. And the interest in individuals' actions in the event worked to place not only Paris at the centre of the emerging Revolution, but the Parisians themselves. And while the fall of the Bastille came to represent a symbolic overthrowing of what had come to be popularly seen as an outdated and despotic system, it also proved to highlight a significant shift in how printmakers chose to represent the role of the city, and how these printmakers defined the citizens of Revolutionary Paris themselves in prints.

2.1c The Fall of the Bastille: an Allegorical Interpretation

A third means through which printmakers could engage with the subject of fall of the Bastille was in the use allegorical imagery and symbolism, much in the same manner that had been explored prior to the storming of the Bastille during crisis of the Estates-General. In her study, Vivian Gruder discusses the popularity of the allegorical image prior to 1789 (with some forty held at the *Cabinet des Estampes* dating between 1787-9, second only to representational prints). Gruder argues that the volume and longevity of this genre, 'may indicate the particularity for a genre so deeply rooted in the European artistic tradition,' perhaps in turn giving the subject matter chosen a great air of importance. This may also

⁴³ The figure 7 print may be a pair with a similarly styled image of the Man in the Iron Mask (Waddesdon acc. no. 4232.1.51.102). The two images have similar subject matter and an oval format, though the text is different in each print. See also: Smith-Lesouëf, 11034, for a similar print of the Man in the Iron Mask. ; Martin, *Violence et Révolution : essai sur la naissance d'un mythe national*, p. 60.

point to the 'greater value [which] was placed and greater care afforded for [their] preservation...'⁴⁴

This could explain why it would seem that there was both a reaction in the prints and the popular press of 1789 that identified the Bastille as being both of a major political and social significance. While realistic representations of the storming and portraiture were thoroughly engaged in and served to summarise the event as a whole, or elements contributing to the narrative of the day, it remains the case that some printmakers sought to search out ways in which to interact with the more intangible elements of the day. An etching and engraving of French patriots slaying a multiple-headed beast for example displays how a printmaker could adopt an allegorical style to both summarise the event, but also on the causes and consequences of 14 July (fig. 8).

Printed in 1789, the hydra-like multi-headed beast serves to represent despotism, as described in the allegorical text below the image, identifying that the creature had travelled to Paris from Versailles. The printmaker Roze [sic] Le Noir has successfully incorporated a number of key details into the image which serve to refer not solely to the day in question, but also to concepts of politics and social dissatisfaction which had surrounded the reality of 14 July.⁴⁵ While the Bastille is clearly identifiable in the in the background right, details as to how the day unfolded can also be interpreted: the billowing smoke around a ruined arch beneath the towers presumably refers to the successful lowering of the first drawbridge. As men and National Guardsman fight despotism in the foreground centre, this could also be interpreted as a reference to the heroic actions of the *vainqueurs* on that day. Even a cannon appears in the right foreground, presumably one of those taken from the Invalides on the morning of the storming. Noting that the beast has arrived from Versailles in the text shows a knowledge of the political situation prior to the storming of the Bastille, despotism taking the form of what was most likely the Second Estate and the crisis of the Three Orders, which had popularly been represented in satirical prints of the summer as being a political injustice over the commoners, or Third Estate. To foreground left, France personified is depicted

⁴⁴ Vivian R. Gruder, *The Notables and the Nation: The Political Schooling of the French, 1787-1788*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 222; 230.

⁴⁵ The BNF identifies the printmaker as one Rose Lenoir who may or may not have been female. The BNF also states that his or her father had been '*fournisseur du Cabinet d'Estampes du roi.*'

lamenting, slumped over a rock. Wearing a crown, and robe decorated with the fleur-de-lis, she may be Le Noir's representation of the concerns of the Nation, and the problems felt by the people.

The application of allegorical interpretation of events in a way appears to let the printmakers communicate their intentions with greater depth, treating the subject on a more abstract plane rather than that of a naturalistic or 'realistic' scene. And though allegorical printmaking was considered to be a more acceptable style in which to employ the medium of printmaking in the eyes of the *Académie royale*, it is not to say that such a style had become out-moded in the ever diversifying world of Revolutionary prints in 1789. Rather, it successfully creates an almost all-encompassing vision with which to address the event. It was understood that what had occurred was of significance, and these three styles of printmaking in which to interpret 14 July 1789 show that there various ways in which to do this.

The use of all three styles also demonstrates the importance of not only the event, but that of the Bastille's location as well. While images of the Porte Sainte-Antoine, examined in Chapter One show the two structures on the periphery of the city, this shift in the printmakers' interest to the site and in turn the explosion of printed imagery of the area, created a new 'centre,' a new focal point of interesting activity which would attract printmakers for the following year and beyond. This would be cemented by the demolition of the Bastille: an act which would highlight the site as place of seminal importance for the Revolution, both geographically and symbolically within the city.

2.1d Destruction and Creation: Symbols of the Bastille, 1789-90

The Bastille's place both physically within the topography of the city and symbolically in the collective public mindset radically changed following 14 July 1789. Reports claim that in the day immediately following the siege, the systematic demolition of the fortress had already begun. The former fortress came to be seen, in the popular consciousness, as the physical manifestation of despotism and injustice: its seemingly sinister medieval architecture had to go, with no place in a Revolutionary Paris. But in its demolition, there was also a chance for

creation, a symbolic aspect that was conveyed in some prints chronicling the period. It was also popularly perceived that this demolition of the physical structure from the urban landscape was very much linked to the symbolic severing of the city from its past, something that would eventually be celebrated one year on at the Fête de la Fédération.⁴⁶

The myth of the Bastille that had been established under the *ancien régime* served printmakers at the fall of the Bastille and its subsequent demolition, providing the opportunity for many to capitalise on the stories and legends associated with its prisoners and its dark history. As briefly discussed in Chapter One, such a myth extends beyond the printmaking industry, into accounts and tales of the imprisoned. Following the fall of the Bastille, one former prisoner came to define this myth, and in his published account of his arrest, and time held there, asserted to the public the unjust nature of the *ancien régime*. Added to by his tales of escape, the story of Maser de Latude, fiction or no, cemented him as another kind of heroic figure, which in the view of his readership had survived the horrors of being *embastillé*. While Jean Henri de Latude, or more commonly Maser de la Tude, became famous for having successfully escaped from the Bastille, his story saw a resurgence in public interest following the fall of the Bastille. This interest grew to such an extent that his portrait was painted by the artist Antoine Vestier, titled *Le Chevalier de Latude* for exhibition at the salon of 1789.⁴⁷ This stipple engraving and etching (fig. 9) is based on this painting.

Born Jean Danry in 1725, but having fabricated a noble lineage for himself, Latude was imprisoned for thirty-five years after he tried to gain favour with Madame de Pompadour.⁴⁸ Claiming there was a plot against her life, Latude allegedly planned to poison Pompadour

⁴⁶ Guillaume Monsaingeon, 'Le citoyen Palloy: détruire les murs, construire le mythe' in, *Sous les pavés de la Bastille: Archéologie d'un mythe révolutionnaire*, ed. Claude Malécot, (Paris: Hôtel de Sully, 1989-90), p. 127. Guillaume Monsaingeon touches on this idea: 'Il en va ainsi de la Bastille, dont la destruction même contribua au mythe étonnamment vivant que l'on connaît. Présence tenace fondée sur une absence, telle est la situation paradoxale de la Bastille.'

⁴⁷ Benezit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, XIV, pp. 251-2. Vestier was an academically trained artist who also worked as a printmaker. ; The print is copied in reverse probably from Vestier's print (Hennin no. 10352) that he made from his painting which appeared in the Salon of 1789 (now held at the Musée Carnavalet). Certain elements of the painting and print have been omitted, including a piece of paper to the left of the original painting which bears the date of his escape signed by the major of the Bastille. See, Reichardt, *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille*, pp. 102-3.

⁴⁸ Reichardt, *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille*, p. 20. Notes alias as Jean Danry.

and pass himself off as the hero who foiled the fabricated assassination attempt. When the plot was discovered on 29 May 1749 by a comparison of his hand-writing to that of the package containing the poison, Latude was jailed by *lettre de cachet*, concealing both his identity and his crime from public knowledge.⁴⁹ He first escaped from the Bastille in February 1756 but was then recaptured and spent another 30 years in prison. With the first publication of his *Mémoires* in 1787, Latude was successful in promoting himself as a martyr of despotism, blaming his guilt on the folly of youth.⁵⁰

In the print, Latude appears to almost acknowledge the viewer, facing out beyond the page, and places his right hand on a rope ladder, the same ladder with which he made his escape.⁵¹ Other materials appear to the right of the rope ladder, presumably tools which he used to help orchestrate his escape. Some reports note that on 15 July 1789, Latude returned to the Bastille to reclaim these items which had been hidden.⁵² These tools were important symbols of the breach of the so-called impenetrable Bastille fortress, foreshadowing the successful storming of 14 July 1789 and the Bastille's subsequent demolition. Latude gestures towards the background with his left hand where demolition has already begun on the Bastille, as workers stand atop two of the turrets wielding pickaxes. One of these turrets may be the *Tour du Trésor*, where Latude's cell was located.⁵³ In his *Mémoires*, Latude described his life in the cell: the room was badly lit; he was maltreated and malnourished; and there was an infestation of rats that he passed some of his time naming: very much in line with the myths that had been perpetuated about the conditions for prisoners within the bowels of the fortress.⁵⁴

To the public, Latude encapsulated this myth of the Bastille and the print itself served to disseminate Latude's portrait and legend to a larger audience. It was made in Leipzig but the text is in French, suggesting it may also have been intended to be sold in the streets of

⁴⁹ Lüsebrink and Reichardt, *The Bastille*, trad. Norbert Schürer, pp. 112-5.

⁵⁰ Henri Masers de Latude, *Mémoires de Henri Masers de Latude, ancien ingénieur.*, (Paris: De l'Imprimerie de la veuve Lejay, 1793). ; Cottret, *La Bastille à prendre*, pp. 127-8.

⁵¹ This ladder can be seen today on display at the Musée Carnavalet.

⁵² Claude Quétel, *Escape from the Bastille: The Life and Legend of Latude*, trans. Christopher Sharp, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), pp. 38-53. Quétel notes details of Latude's escape, and the anecdote of his return for the retrieval of his escape objects, 15 July 1789 ; Lüsebrink and Reichardt, *The Bastille*, trad. Norbert Schürer, pp. 112-5.

⁵³ Reichardt, *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille*, p. 102-3.

⁵⁴ Cottret, *La Bastille à prendre*, pp. 127-8.

Paris.⁵⁵ There were several editions of Latude's *Mémoires* printed in Paris in 1789, 1790 and 1793 so this print may have been intended to act as a frontispiece to one of these editions.⁵⁶ It also possibly indicates an early interest in the myth of the Bastille, as well as images of its fall outside of France. It would appear that while the myth of the Bastille existed before its storming; it would only truly catch-up with it on 14 July 1789.

2.1e Scenes of Demolition, 1789-90

Prints of the demolition of the fortress, much like those of the storming, appear to adhere to a certain set of visual prerequisites, used by printmakers to make the subject of the print immediately identifiable to the spectator. Unlike the great majority of satirical prints printed in 1789, many printmakers chose to identify themselves when depicting the demolition of the Bastille, printing their name in text with the image of the print. The demolition of the Bastille was a popular subject amongst printmakers, and therefore, consumers alike. For a printmaker to publish openly his or her name with their visual representation of the subject indicated their role as a kind of patriot, a term that had come to be used to describe almost anyone involved in the Bastille's storming or its subsequent demolition. Many of these Parisian printmakers were also highly prevalent producers of prints, such as: Louis Bance, Antoine Chéreau, Joseph-Alexandre Le Campion,⁵⁷ Laurent Guyot⁵⁸ and L. Roger,⁵⁹ some of whom also made some printed series of the event from the storming of the Bastille on 14 July until the celebrations at the Fête de la Fédération in 1790. In a sense, these printmakers framed the subject as a whole, representing it from beginning to end.

⁵⁵ A similar image was used as a frontispiece in the 1889 edition of Latude's *Mémoires*: Jean Henri Masers de Latude, *Les mémoires de Latude, écrit par lui-même*, (Paris: Libraire Arthème Fayard, 1889).

⁵⁶ Quétel, *Escape from the Bastille*, p. 152. Quétel notes that there are more versions of this print with different texts.

⁵⁷ Son of Jean Le Campion, the BNF identifies this to have been a family business located on the rue Saint-Jacques and number 24, rue Jacob, in the faubourg Saint-Germain.

⁵⁸ Benezit, (ed). *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, VI, p. 943. Benezit notes that Guyot was one of the best colour engravers of his time, specialising in both landscapes and genre scenes. He also exhibited at the Salon of 1793 and worked with Alexander Lenoir on reproducing works on show at the Musée des Monuments Français.

⁵⁹ Benezit, Emmanuel (ed). *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, XI, p. 1258. Roger was best known for his panoramas. He was also responsible for a collection of portrait prints of the deputies of the National Assembly.

Perhaps the most often reproduced print subject was one also produced by Bance (fig. 10). This is not to say that Bance was the first to have created this image; he too may have copied another printmaker's work, though in the number of variations and copies, his is the only one to identify the printmaker.⁶⁰ The composition of the monochrome aquatint is simply constructed: the Bastille is clearly identifiable in the details of its stonework and towers. Its once monumental façade seems to be now somewhat diminished, as workers with pickaxes hack away at the stonework from on top of the fortress. Bance has taken the perspective from the Bastille's moat, where one worker appears to be collecting fallen rubble, most likely for reuse. It is a very sober scene of a worksite, which presents a text of the Bastille's history beneath the image. While Bance and the other unidentified printmakers focused solely on the worksite, others chose to depict it as a place of socialising and spectacle, employing some of the same visual elements also used by Bance.

In one of the many examples adapted by Guyot, the visual emphasis is equally placed on the representation of the dismantling process as well as those who have come to the site to watch its demolition progress (fig. 11). The former fortress's façade, framed by trees in the centre of the oval print, still appears immense when juxtaposed to the almost miniature figures of workmen working away on its towers, like those of figure 10, pickaxes raised. But Guyot also appears to take an interest in those who have come to watch and socialise on the ground. The group is made up of people from various demographic backgrounds: couples appear to discuss and point out the site, children play and dogs run, as soldiers and musicians drink and celebrate to the right of the foreground. Depicted in idyllic surroundings, the scene appears more akin to those of people taking their promenade at the Tuileries or Luxembourg Gardens. The natural beauty of the scene when read with the engraved text below the image shows just how much the Bastille had already transformed: these gardens are identified as having previously been the space in which 'some' prisoners could stroll.

⁶⁰ See: De Vinck nos. 1667, 1669; Hennin no. 10394; BNF, Est. LI-72 (1) FOL.

In the middle of this group of onlookers, an artist appears to be recording the image on an easel. The artist works *en plein air*.⁶¹ Considering the presence of this figure, the printmaker Guyot may be attempting to add some legitimacy to the scene.⁶² In the same manner as the numerous prints of the storming of the Bastille claimed to have been based on eye-witness accounts by a participant in the siege, the appearance of the artist perhaps proved to the spectator looking at the print that the projected image was verifiably real, witnessed and recorded for reproduction.⁶³ It also reasserts the importance of the demolition of the Bastille as a subject at this time: the artist in the scene is recording the event, much like the printmaker has done in producing his or her print for reproduction and sale.

Beyond this the print serves to highlight the changing location of the Bastille in the public mindset. The destruction of an architecture that came to represent despotism gave way to a site of sociability: something akin in figure 11 to that of the public gardens such as those at the Tuileries. The characters which populate this scene also illustrate this change in the importance of the space. While in the *ancien régime* this area and the monumentality of the Porte Sainte-Antoine and the Bastille occupied a liminal position in relation to the capital – on the edge of the city and a space for thoroughfare to and from Paris (as illustrated by the depiction of figures coming and going about their daily routine in Chapter One, fig. 25). The site is now a centre in its own right: one of seminal importance in the lives of the Parisians who visited the space, and the Revolutionary symbolism which surrounded it.

2.1f The Entrepreneurial Patriot, Pierre-François Palloy: Creation in the Midst of Destruction and Souvenir Materials

⁶¹ The subject of the Bastille had previously been drawn *en plein air*, or on site, by the artist Jean-Honoré Fragonard. See: Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *Intérieur de la Bastille*, 1785, drawing, Paris: Cabinet d'Estampes BNF, Destailleur t.1, Destailleur 92; and, Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *Intérieur de la Bastille*, 1785, drawing, Paris: Cabinet d'Estampes BNF, Destailleur t.1, Destailleur 93. These rough drawings which also include architectural detail of an interior of the prison and the prison's courtyard suggest that the artist sketched the scene quickly on site. These drawings were however never put into print.

⁶² It is also a possibility that this figure may himself be Guyot, placing himself within the scene allowing the spectator to view the scene through the artist or printmaker's eyes. This however is highly speculative.

⁶³ A trophy surmounts the image employing Revolutionary symbols, notably the pike, the fasces and the Phrygian bonnet. Such symbols became common visual motifs in prints from 1789 and would be reemployed by Guyot for each of his prints addressing the demolition of the Bastille. Jones, *The Longman's Companion to the French Revolution*, p. 404. In the text to the bottom right of the frame is engraved 'A.P.D.R.' ('Avec la permission du Roi.').

In his study of various ephemeral objects and souvenirs relating to the history and perpetual myth of the Bastille, Reichardt asks: '*Comment détruire et en même temps conserver la Bastille, lieu de mémoire par excellence?*'⁶⁴ As a potent symbol of the Revolution, this was the contradiction that the Bastille posed: as an edifice, its position and presence in the cityscape served as a reminder of the grim despotism of the *ancien régime*, though in its destruction and annihilation as a physical structure, it could carry with it the victory of 14 July 1789.⁶⁵ The question was how to dissolve the former fortress from its visible presence in the public sphere while retaining its memory and the legacy of its fall. When Pierre-François Palloy put himself forward to oversee the destruction of the Bastille and take charge of its demolition, his agenda was to wipe the Bastille's physical presence from the map.⁶⁶ And knowing it or not, Palloy formed his own response to the aforementioned paradox – by exploiting the myth and potential legacy of the ruins of the Bastille, he could in turn use its dismantling as a means of pecuniary gain in the creation of memorial objects and souvenir materials. Rounding-up six to seven hundred workers to begin demolition, Palloy perceived his scheme to be just as much an act of patriotism as the act of the siege itself.⁶⁷

Self-promotion appears to be one of Palloy's attributes.⁶⁸ Using the rubble taken from the Bastille's site to produce various 'souvenirs' for collection, Palloy worked not only on making a profit, but also cementing his role as a patriot of France, while consciously and

⁶⁴ Reichardt, *Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille*, p. 37. ; Such a question would not be formally addressed until the work of Abbé Henri Jean-Baptiste Grégoire from 1793 onwards. Henri Grégoire, *convention nationale. Instruction publique. Rapport sur les destructions opérées par le vandalisme et sur les moyens de le réprimer, par Grégoire. Séance de 14 fructidor l'an II.*, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1794).

⁶⁵ Clarke, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, pp. 73; 80. Clarke notes the proliferation of designs for symbolic architecture to replace the Bastille, while continuing its memorialisation – none of which, however, came to fruition.

⁶⁶ Godechot, *The Taking of the Bastille*, pp. 264-6. Palloy was an entrepreneur who, prior to the storming of the Bastille, had already offered his services for the fortress's destruction. Following the events of 14 July, he resubmitted his proposal on 16 July 1789, fabricating that he played an important role in the in the siege. See also, Reichardt, *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille*, pp. 34-36. Reichardt describes Palloy: 'Son patriotisme ostentatoire, son verbalisme pathétique et sa grandiloquence ... Aux yeux de Palloy, la Bastille ressemble à un monstre vivant qu'il a la mission d'abattre.'

⁶⁷ Monsaingeon, 'Le citoyen Palloy' in, *Sous les pavés de la Bastille*, ed. Claude Malécot, p. 128. Monsaingeon estimates the number of workers employed by Palloy to start demolition on the site. Godechot suggests however that the numbers were closer to 1,000.

⁶⁸ Romi, *La Méprise de la Bastille*, pp. 195-8. Romi suggests however that a re-evaluation of Palloy and his role as architect are needed. He criticises that given Palloy's success in gaining the permission for the Bastille's demolition (permission he sought on 16 July in a letter addressed to the Hôtel de Ville, though Romi asserts that Palloy had already illegally started his demolition on 14 July itself, at 5:30pm) made Palloy the enemy of many of his contemporaries. Romi continues that the slander with which he was originally labelled has since been, sometimes blindly, accepted by historians.

consistently highlighting the Bastille as a Revolutionary symbol and its destruction as a necessary 'symbolic spectacle.'⁶⁹ Reichardt refers to the example of one particular medallion which was produced from the melted down iron bars once used to hold prisoners in their cells.⁷⁰ Depicting the façade of the Bastille in the process of demolition, Palloy titled the piece, *Destruction du Despotisme, 14 Juillet 1789*. In choosing this title Palloy bluntly illustrated his intentions: to fix in the collective public imagination a direct correlation between the destruction of a physical presence within the city, and in doing so the destruction of an outdated ideology across France. In turn, Palloy highlighted this process of dismantling the Bastille as the definitive rupture of the society and politics of the present from those of yesteryear.⁷¹ Palloy also produced miniatures of the Bastille, sculpted from the stone of the rubble. These miniature versions of the fortress were later gifted to the National Assembly, as well as all the departments across the country.⁷² While Palloy's ultimate goal was the total destruction of anything evidencing the Bastille's prior existence, his work in producing these so called 'souvenirs' represented a desire to memorialise the architecture of the fortress which came to hold a particular visual gravitas, both within an evolving Revolutionary rhetoric and the common public mindset. What was ingenious however in producing these souvenirs was that in preserving its image within them, the souvenir directly alluded to the act of demolition and the burying of the physical manifestation of the fortress. As Guillaume Monsaigeon aptly states: '*en tant que pierres tirées des murs de la Bastille, ils illustrent la nécessaire perpétuation de son image.*'⁷³

⁶⁹ Reichardt, *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille*, p. 35. See also, Monsaigeon, 'Le citoyen Palloy' in, *Sous les pavés de la Bastille*, p.129. Monsaigeon suggests that Palloy stretched-out the planned deadline in which to complete the demolition to April 1791 in order to keep his enterprise running, gaining maximum profit. See also, Colin Jones, 'Bourgeois Revolution Revivified: 1789 and Social Change' in *Rewriting the Revolution: The Andrew Browning Lectures 1989*, ed. Colin Lucas, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 69-71.

⁷⁰ Reichardt, *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille*, p. 34. Pierre-François Palloy, *Destruction du Despotisme, 14 Jui 1789*, medal in iron, 1789, musée Carnavalet, ND1596.

⁷¹ Martin, *Violence et Révolution : essai sur la naissance d'un mythe national*, p. 62. Martin emphasises this rupture, but also explains the political aspects of changing a revolt into a Revolution – something that made the event, violent and unruly as it was, 'legitimate.'

⁷² Guided tours of the Bastille were also set up as a means of pecuniary gain with many Parisians excited to see the interior of the structure and learn more about the secrets held there. ; Martin, *Violence et Révolution : essai sur la naissance d'un mythe national*, p. 62. ; One such guide to the site was the now famous Latude. Jones, 'Bourgeois Revolution Revivified' in *Rewriting the Revolution*, ed. Colin Lucas, p. 69.

⁷³ Monsaigeon, 'Le citoyen Palloy' in, *Sous les pavés de la Bastille*, ed. Claude Malécot, p. 132. Quoted in Reichardt, *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille*, p. 39

Palloy's commercial ventures in demolishing the Bastille also included the public. The act of collecting such objects illustrated not only the collector's recognition of the importance of the event, memorialising its image in his or her act of buying souvenir medallions, models, plates or cups; but evidenced their own participation, albeit financial, in the dismantling process.⁷⁴ Palloy's scheme therefore showed this act of collecting to be a patriotic gesture – the souvenir acting as means for people to assert, either privately within the home; or publicly, within the act of purchasing the object in the street, their patriotism.

The role of prints and the printmaker differ somewhat from that of Palloy and his souvenirs. While some may have purchased prints of the storming of the Bastille and its demolition in commemoration, prints were not created from the materials taken from the site. Rather, as paper objects they were far more flimsy, ephemeral. They offered no tactile sense to connect those to the Bastille directly, but rather served to create a narrative, be it politicised or not, and to replicate, satirise or memorialise particular scenes. Prints in turn were a more conducive medium in which to spread this 'perpetuation' of the image which Monsaigeon refers to, reproducing what had become one of, if not the most, prolific element with which to represent the city of Paris's changing social, political and architectural image in the latter half of 1789.

Imagery of the Bastille in its many forms was to permeate Revolutionary French ideology through the Revolutionary decade and beyond. Though, the act of the storming of the Bastille was not an isolated event as some at the time had speculated it to be (seemingly coming to a close upon Louis XVI's visit to Paris a few days later). Instead, political troubles were to linger and the constant lack of grain would provoke other acts of public protest. In the days immediately following the Bastille, such protest would manifest itself in swift but brutal acts of popular justice, meted out on those whom were to be perceived as enemies of the people.

2.2 Popular Justice and Urban Mobility

⁷⁴ Monsaigeon, 'Le citoyen Palloy' in, *Sous les pavés de la Bastille*, ed. Claude Malécot, p. 132. '... le "fragment de la Bastille" a développé cet investissement collectif nécessaire au mythe, il a permis à chacun ou presque de participer à la destruction de la Bastille en s'en appropriant un morceau.'

This section will analyse various scenes of the city in the period following the fall of the Bastille. Such elements that emerge from this analysis include developments in both the physical and social aspects of the city that were replicated to a certain extent in particular images of urban Parisian life. Prints produced during this period continued the trend of replicating, projecting and analysing events of political significance through representations of politically charged space and architecture. New features found in prints of this period include the portrayal of the city and the Revolution as one: Paris was not simply the capital of France, but the capital of the Revolutionary movement. Central to this imagery was the role of the crowd as it moved through the built urban environment. The chapter also highlights a significant number of prints found held in the De Vinck and Hennin collections, amongst others, which show that printmakers sought not only to capture the various activities of modern day Paris, but also to interact with such events through their interpretation of the crowd's actions. Such prints are addressed in a broadly chronological order, with particular reference to the murders of Joseph-François Foulon, an unpopular administrator, and his son-in-law, Louis-Benigne-François de Bertier de Sauvigny, as well as the October Days and the march to Versailles of 5-6 October 1789, which led to the royal family's installation at the Tuileries Palace.

While each print will be interpreted individually, it is also necessary to consider them as a group: a group of images related by their depiction of a specific moment in time, within a chronological proximity to the event, presenting varying interpretations as to how the depicted moment unfolded. Moving beyond the key narrative points of the prints, the depicted urban environment surrounding the central figures can be read as a forum for commenting on new creative ways of changing the appearance of the city, continuing to register sporadic incidents of social inversion and discord. This inversion of social norms can be seen as a means to voice degrees of popular opinion amongst certain factions of Parisian society. The prints analysed indicate that printmakers in particular drew on imagery of the crowd's relationship with the architecture of the city and rural space in order to comment on the changing political situation.

While groups of people moving through the city were by no means a novel concept for representation in prints, depictions of crowds engaging in acts of violence and popular

justice was very much a Revolutionary spectacle. Such a visual proliferation had really only first appeared in prints discussing 12-13 July, followed by the storming of the Bastille and its aftermath in which images of heads on pikes worked as visual metaphors for the successful meting out of popular justice.⁷⁵ In analysing these images, it is first necessary to address the identity of the crowd in print, something that has been explored in the collaborative online research project conducted by Lynn Hunt and Jack Censer.⁷⁶ Following this approach, my analysis looks at the composition of the crowd within the bounds of the city (within the wall of the *fermiers général*), and outside, looking at images of the October Days. The visual representation of the city may have influenced the ways in which the printmaker chose to depict the crowd in both instances. As the crowd is essentially an urban construct (a group of people forced into a defined space by their architectural surroundings), and in the case of the Revolutionary crowd also a politically engaged one, it is useful to consider how images of these groups manifested themselves based on specific locations and how these locations may have influenced the way in which the printmaker chose to depict the crowd and its actions.

2.2a Popular Justice and the Revolutionary Crowd: the Murders of Foulon and Bertier

On 22 July 1789, Jean-François Foulon and his son in law Bertier de Sauvigny were executed by a Parisian crowd. Foulon had been seized the day before in the town of Viry-Châtillon, some twenty miles to the south-east of the capital. Upon his capture he was reportedly forced to walk barefoot to Paris with only vinegar-infused water to drink.⁷⁷ Arriving in the city in the early hours of the morning he was taken by the crowd to the rue de la Verrerie, to the north of the Place de Grève, where the crowd attempted to hang him from a lamppost. Despite their best efforts, the cord around the elderly Foulon's neck broke several times before he was successfully hanged, and subsequently decapitated. Foulon, seventy-four at

⁷⁵ Such examples include prints depicting the liberation of prisoners from the Abbaye Saint-Germain des Prés, 30 June 1789, and notably the many prints of the events of the nights of 12 and 13 July 1789. See as examples, Anon, *Événement du 30 juin 1789, entre 7 & 8 heures du soir.*, 1789, etching and engraving on paper, 135 x 90, Bureau des Révolutions de Paris, De Vinck t.9, De Vinck 1490; Hennin t. 117, Hennin 10274; Qb1 1789 (30 juin). ; Anon, *Nuit du 12 au 13 Juillet 1789. à Paris.*, 1789, etching and engraving on paper, 90 x 140, Bureau de Révolutions de Paris, De Vinck t.9, De Vinck 1527; Qb1 1789 (12 juillet); and the multiple images of the burning of the barriers of the Farmers General.

⁷⁶ <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/imaging/home.html>

⁷⁷ Martin, *Violence et Révolution : essai sur la naissance d'un mythe national*, p. 65.

the time of his death, had enraged public opinion during a famine in 1775 by allegedly stating that if the poor were so hungry, they should 'eat grass.'⁷⁸ For this reason his head was placed on a pike, and his mouth stuffed with straw.⁷⁹

An etching produced for Louis Marie Prudhomme's journal, the *Révolutions de Paris, dédiées à la Nation et au district des Petits-Augustins*, illustrates the scene immediately following Foulon's death (Fig. 12).⁸⁰ The fact that the image was printed in the journal suggests an immediacy to the print's production, placing the printmaker chronologically close to the event, perhaps even with first-hand or eye witness knowledge of what had happened. This unidentified printmaker has chosen not to set the scene on the Place de Grève, but within a street bordered by residential and commercial buildings, possibly the rue de la Verrerie. As the crowd surges around Foulon's decapitated body, lying lifeless in the centre of the print, Foulon's head appears placed on a pike, surmounting the raucous hustle and bustle of the people below.

This print evidences one interpretation of street imagery and its use to convey particular dynamics of the crowd's presence within the city. The use of the street in this image serves not only to set the location of the print's narrative, but adds a claustrophobic air to the proceedings.⁸¹ Buildings rise to the right and in the background of the scene forcing the

⁷⁸ Warren Roberts, 'Images of Violence in the French Revolution: Evidence for an Historian?' in, *Imaging the French Revolution*, eds. Jack Censer and Lynn Hunt, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/imaging/essays/> [acc. 2 January 2011]. Despite this accusation, there is no evidence to prove that Foulon had ever made this remark. Moreover, Foulon had again caused public agitation having been named as Necker's replacement as Finance Minister, 12 July 1789, only ten days prior to his execution.

⁷⁹ Many pamphlets described this event, with a great seeking to vilify both Foulon and Bertier. One, *Les quatre traitres aux enfers*, (Paris: Volland, 1789), went as far as to transform the events into a sort of play set in hell. Many constructed certain myths around these executions, a great number of which focused on the gory and bloody elements of the narrative. For a summation of a number of these publications see, Michel Biard, *Les lilliputiens de la centralisation: des intendants aux préfets, les hésitations d'un modèle français*, (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2007), pp. 132-40. Biard goes on to state however that the majority of journals were more reserved in their accounts, with the notable exception of the weekly 'patriotic journal' the *Révolutions de Paris*, pp. 138-9.

⁸⁰ Prudhomme (ed.). *Révolutions de Paris, dédiées à la Nation et au district des Petits Augustins*, I, no. 11, Du Samedi 18 au 25 Juillet 1789., pp. 23-31. ; See Jeremy Popkin, *Revolutionary News: The Press in France, 1789-1799*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1990), pp. 72-3, 99. Popkin discusses the appearance of images in Revolutionary journals, explaining that the images were printed, 'separately from the papers and were united with the text they illustrated only when the subscribers had their copies bound' (p. 102). For more on this, see Censer, "The Political Engravings of the *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, 1789 to 1791", in *Eighteenth-Century Life*, (vol. 5, 1979), pp. 105-24.

⁸¹ Roberts, "Discussion F." in, *Imagining the French Revolution*, eds. Censer and Hunt, http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/imaging/discussion/gh6.html#Insert3_Roberts (acc. 2 January 2011).

crowd into a restricted space. This feeling of enclosed space is not shared in Jean-Louis Prieur's better known engraving from the *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française: the Supplice de Foulon à la place de Grève, 23 July 1789* [sic] (Musée Carnavalet, Paris).⁸² Prieur locates his version of Foulon's execution on the Place de Grève, at the intersection of the rue Mouton, rather than within a street scene.⁸³ Because of the enclosure of the crowd in figure 12, only the front part of the crowd, or what the printmaker has chosen to show as the front part of the crowd, can be identified as figures with individual attributes. The printmaker has chosen to convey a sense of the sheer multitude and violent tendency of the figures by using pikes; the non-visible members of the crowd hold them aloft as the mass of people extends into the background of the image, down the street. This use of perspective evidences some artistic ability as the pikes appear to flow backwards, somewhat naturally. This perspective is reinforced by the printmaker's foreshortening of the dog in the centre foreground, as it barks at the lifeless, decapitated body.⁸⁴

Representations of this crowd also give examples of how the printmaker may have observed individual or collective identities, and how these identities fit into a public setting. It is useful to compare his or her approach with the established tradition of the *Cris de Paris*, a visual repertoire of eighteenth century France depicting the street criers, artisans and vendors of the street (known as the *petits métiers*). In his study of the *Cris de Paris*, Vincent Millot investigates the conception and interpretation of the image of the street vendor and how this figure was placed within an urban environment.⁸⁵ Focusing on images of either the individual, or what he refers to as 'collective representation' (with more than one figure in the image), Millot states that the image does not set out to identify the individual identity of

⁸² Unlike figures 1 and 2, Prieur's version was printed several years after the event had taken place.

⁸³ Located in the south of the Marais running parallel to the rue de Rivoli, the rue de la Verrerie avoided the *Hausmanisation* of the nineteenth century. Strolling along it today, the street's actual appearance is not all too dissimilar from what the printmaker replicates in fig. 1. ; Also of note is the identification of the street on Turgot's map of 1739, see, Alfred Fierro and Jean-Yves Sarazin. *Le Paris des Lumières d'après le plan de Turgot (1734-1739)*, (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2005), plaque 10.

⁸⁴ Vivian P. Cameron, "Discussion 6" in, *Imagining the French Revolution*, eds. Censer and Hunt, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/imaging/discussion/archived/q6/cameron0706.html> (acc. 2 January 2011). Cameron also acknowledges the printmaker's knowledge of artistic conventions. Notably she claims that the image alludes to the stoning of Saint Stephen, with the printmaker perhaps trying to make the spectator sympathise with Foulon. This notion of constructing a sympathetic view towards Foulon seems unlikely, the image first appearing in the *Révolutions de Paris*.

⁸⁵ Vincent Millot, *Les Cris de Paris ou le peuple travesti: Les représentations des petits métiers parisiens (XVIe – XVIIIe siècles)*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995). The *Cris de Paris* was a visual motif of eighteenth-century France depicting the street criers, artisans and vendors of the street (known as the *petits métiers*).

the worker depicted. Rather, the images can be seen as idealised yet anonymous portraits, representing the broader aspects of the labouring world.⁸⁶ For example, Millot considers that an image of one water carrier could be interpreted as being indicative of all Parisian water carriers of the period.⁸⁷ Millot points out that the street crier may have been stereotyped in the eyes of the collector; that the image was of how the street crier was conceptually meant to look. The *Cris de Paris* created a space of representation geared to the definition of the street vendor within greater Parisian society: a space created visually by the printmaker, and conceptually in the mind of the print's spectator.⁸⁸

Like the street criers of the *Cris de Paris*, the Parisian crowd existed in varying depictions of urban space, though their 'collective representation' refers not to two, but anything from several to an innumerable amount of figures.⁸⁹ Unlike the *Cris de Paris* figures, the Parisian crowd also had an element of individuality. Censer and Hunt have noted that the crowd cannot be defined as, 'an undifferentiated mass, but it was also not just the aggregate of those composing it.'⁹⁰

Figure 12 appears to combine both elements of individual representation and that of a representation *en masse*, though as Censer and Hunt conclude, there are no means in which to define the crowd either as a group, nor as one single body. The use of architecture to frame the claustrophobic street scene seems to suggest that the city encourages a lack of individuality, as the narrow street forces everyone together in an undifferentiated mass.

⁸⁶ Millot, *Les Cris de Paris*, p. 214. '...c'est impossible de représenter une identité individuelle des crieurs, trop imprécise ou trop indigne, qui conduit au travestissement de ces figures du peuple et qui s'achève sur leur détournement fantasmé, idéalisé en marge de l'iconographie du monde du travail.'

⁸⁷ Millot, *Les Cris de Paris*, p. 214.

⁸⁸ An actual depiction of identifiable urban space was very rarely incorporated into the images of the *Cris de Paris*. Though, as street vendors operated uniquely in urban spaces, their depiction alone was enough to suggest their presence within the street, specifically within the certain quarters in which they were known to ply their trade. See, David Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 19-20; 32-3. Garrioch discusses how through the calls of the various street criers, one could place oneself geographically within the city. The position of street criers was also related to the localised position of related trades due to the difficult nature of moving about the city.

⁸⁹ The nature of the Revolutionary crowd therefore is a far more elusive subject to define. In their collaborative online project, Jack Censer and Lynn Hunt identify the 'slippery' nature of the Revolutionary image, notably in relation to the interpretation of the crowd. Censer and Hunt (eds.), "Conclusions" in, *Imagining the French Revolution*, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/imaging/essays/conclusions.pdf> (acc 2 January 2011).

⁹⁰ Censer and Hunt (eds.), "Conclusions" in, *Imagining the French Revolution*, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/imaging/essays/conclusions.pdf> (acc 2 January 2011). 'No one of us claims to have completely nailed down the significance of any image or group of images. There were good crowds and bad crowds, depending on the perspective of the image makers and the viewers.'

However, while the crowd participates in a seemingly single action – the execution of an elderly man deemed by plebian public opinion as an enemy of the people – the spectator can still identify some individual elements within the foreground depiction of the group. Most evident is the participation of both sexes in the event: both a woman and a man are depicted mutilating the decapitated body with what appear to be large paving stones. Adding to this, indicators of class also help to personalize these individuals. The woman wears an apron, suggesting that she may work in the marketplace (the *quartier* of Les Halles for example is just north-west of where this scene is reported to have taken place), whereas the man holding the rock with his back to the picture plane wears knee-length stockings and an overcoat, suggesting that he may stem from a slightly more bourgeois background. Fig. 12 then constructs a crowd that exists visually between a collective whole and a fractured group of individuals.⁹¹ As Censer and Hunt have pointed out, it is impossible to define all aspects of such a crowd. However, in reviewing popular images of public mobilisation such as this, it is possible to describe it as a uniquely urban construct: a direct reflection of the social diversity in the public sphere of eighteenth century Paris.⁹²

While the man and woman can both be identified apart from the larger group of the background, they are only individuals as far as fulfilling their role in the narrative of the image. Joan Landes points out the female figure's, 'overly enthusiastic gestures and grimace,' as she holds the paving stone aloft and suggests that such a figure personifies a representation of the crowd at its most irrational, 'attributing individual responsibility where there would be otherwise only collective unreason.' Gender politics aside, the figure represents one extreme interpretation of popular justice. While the woman can be individually identified, this is not to say that her actions are representative of the entire crowd. For this reason the two figures are not all that dissimilar from those depicted in the *Cris de Paris*. They demonstrate the diversity of sex and class within the group, though beyond this they remain as anonymous stock characters. While this anonymity is by no means defining of representations of the labouring classes, it is notable that the only truly

⁹¹ Joan B. Landes, 'Representing Women in the Revolutionary Crowd' in, *Imagining the French Revolution*, eds. Censer and Hunt, http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/imaging/essays/landes3.html#Landes_13_1 (acc. 2 January 2011).

⁹² Raymonde Monnier, 'Les Parisiens en révolution' in, *Atlas de la Révolution française: Paris*, XI, eds. Emilie Ducoudray, Raymonde Monnier and Daniel Roche, (Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 2000), p.64. Monnier describes the actual crowd as a microcosm of the Parisian world.

identifiable character here is Foulon, a member of a privileged order. Whilst Foulon is crucial to the narrative of the image, this fact also suggests that printmakers struggled with the new differences and difficulties in portraying individuals in public and private spaces, something that will be discussed in more detail in the final chapter.

Fig. 13 is also indicative of this sort of visual diversity. Another print incorporated into the pro-Revolutionary publication *Révolutions de Paris* (and most likely etched by the same printmaker) is an image depicting Bertier de Sauvigny's arrival into Paris.⁹³ Both figures 12 and 13 employ the same frame and similar plaques used to identify each scene. It is likely they were printed at around the same time to be placed in the same issue of the *Révolutions de Paris*. The fact that both prints appear individually in the De Vinck collection may suggest that the prints were also sold separately, though it is more probable that they were extracted from the journal by collectors, much like some frontispieces.

The son-in-law of the assassinated Foulon, Bertier had been the *intendant* of Paris for more than a decade and was popularly 'condemned' for having taken unpopular measures relating to the food supplies for the soldiers stationed outside the walls of the capital.⁹⁴ Entering the city, Bertier was met a crowd at the Porte Saint-Martin to the north of the city. His fate was to be much the same as his recently deceased father-in-law Foulon, a victim of popular justice. Conveyed by the crowd through the city in his open carriage along the rue Saint-Martin, he encountered the decapitated head of his father-in-law.⁹⁵ And he too, was hanged from a lamp post on the Place de Grève, only a stone's throw from where Foulon had met his violent end earlier that day.⁹⁶

⁹³ Fig. 2, like fig. 1, is therefore closely connected to the event, printed with the journal presumably within days of the event occurring.

⁹⁴ There were also unfounded rumours that Bertier had ordered the diversion of grain supplies coming into the capital.

⁹⁵ Jules Michelet, *Histoire de la Révolution française*, (Paris: Chamerot, 1846) p. 176. Michelet claims that Bertier's carriage crossed the path of Foulon's head at the Maubée fountain. ; One pamphlet from the period claims that the blinds of the carriage were removed, so that, 'le Public pût voir le Prisonnier, & que [Bertier] pût appercevoir la tête de son beau-pere...' See, *La Mort tragique de l'intendant de Paris.*, (Paris (?): 1789), p. 2.

⁹⁶ Several images depict Bertier's open carriage, including Prieur's engraving of the event. See, Prieur, *The Intendant Bertier de Sauvigny, led to the Hôtel de Ville, recognises the Head of Foulon*, 22 July 1789, Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

The printmaker has chosen to show the crowd marching to the Place de Grève, with Bertier seated in his open carriage. Made up of men, woman and one visible child in the foreground left, a street hawker holding a sheet is also visible in the foreground right. Incorporating many of the street scene elements employed in fig. 12, this image shows the crowd as a festive gathering conveying a sense of almost joyful celebration rather than any kind of base violence. The prominent sign of Bertier's impending doom appears in the form of Foulon's severed head, held aloft on a pike to the left of the scene. Referring to the later engraving by Jean-Louis Prieur in the *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*, Warren Roberts points out the 'gallows humour' of the episode, a point that can also be identified in figure 13, describing the march as a, 'grisly carnivalesque scene,' of, 'macabre festivity.'⁹⁷ The crowd in this scene is made up of both men and women of varying classes – a child also appears to the left of the print. As an ensemble they appear to form a parade around the carriage: there are musicians marching and playing their various instruments.

As in figure 12, buildings rise around the central scene. Those depicted here however appear at a low level, a height of no more than two storeys fixed with gables and chimney pots, whereas in figure 12 the structures comprised multiple storeys. While undoubtedly Parisian, the architecture in the scene provides no precise location as to the setting of the print. The buildings do not crowd the figures as in figure one, but rather allow the triumphal procession to unfold comfortably between them. They also provide a space for a celebratory commentary on events happening in the street. Smoke billows from the chimney in the centre of the scene, despite it being July. While the building could possibly be a factory of some description, its low level and gabled roof suggest it was more likely a dwelling. A comparison between the two images hints at a level of urban detail observed by the printmaker to comment on the differences of these public executions. Foulon's demise is placed in what was a central urban space, a built-up area which includes a shop sign and a street lantern. Bertier's entry into the city, however, is located in what appears to be a removed residential area, most likely the faubourg Saint-Martin. Referring to Turgot's map, the faubourg Saint-Martin is depicted as an almost rural area, with three and four storey

⁹⁷ Roberts, *Jacques-Louis David and Jean-Louis Prieur: Revolutionary Artists. The Public, the Populace and Images of the French Revolution*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), p. 59. Roberts comments that the crowd thrust Foulon's decapitated head in to Bertier's face, yelling, 'Kiss papa! Kiss papa!'

gabled buildings lining the street, hiding what appears to be open space for plots in the area behind this façade. These buildings are shown to increase in height and density as the buildings approach the Porte Saint-Martin.⁹⁸

Figures watch from the buildings, crowding into the open windows to get a view of the events taking place in the street below. The depiction here is typical of many prints of Revolutionary street scenes which reflect lived reality. As Daniel Roche discusses in *Le Peuple de Paris*, daily life was organised around the stairwell and floors of a building, a microcosm of the bigger city.⁹⁹ People would meet between public and private spaces to chat and gossip, with doors and windows generally left open in the warmer months.¹⁰⁰ Such interaction was also likely to spill over into the street, and a neighbourhood was defined by the daily relations of its inhabitants.¹⁰¹ With regards to the developing relations between private and public space in eighteenth century Paris discussed in the first chapter, the figures depicted in the windows in this print represent how people in the private sphere were interested in the happenings of the street and how the transition between the public space and the private milieu could be mediated: their act of observation from the windows turns the chaotic political event into an ordered.¹⁰²

Beyond this the role of figures viewing, or more precisely being spectators to the events taking place on the street below, gives a heightened air of importance to the scene. The fact that those depicted see value in witnessing the event, though refraining from actual

⁹⁸ Alfred Fierro and Jean-Yves Sarazin, *Le Paris des Lumières d'après le plan de Turgot (1734-1739)*, (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2005), plate 13.

⁹⁹ Roche, *Le Peuple de Paris: Essai sur la culture populaire au XVIIIe siècle*, (Paris: Fayard, 1998), p. 336.

¹⁰⁰ David Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and community in Paris, 1740-1790*, (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 21. Garrioch notes the importance of neighbourly gossip and conversations on stairs and in courtyards: AN, Y10994, 21 Sept., 12 Oct. ; AN Y12596, 25 July. ; Y13819, 15 Nov. 1788.

¹⁰¹ Roche, *Le Peuple de Paris*, pp. 337-8. Roche defines the street as a place of sociability, and also social transgression. See also, Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, p. 35. Garrioch notes that neighbourhood relations provided certain means of social protection, though, 'Neighbours spied on each other as much as they offered assistance.' The business of others when played out in a public forum was of interest in the private sphere of the family or home.

¹⁰² Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, pp. 115-7. Garrioch reports on a couple of anecdotes relating to the bread crisis of the summer of 1725 where community anger was acted out on the local baker or bakery. The police reports he studied make note of witnesses being able to identify local personalities, including in one instance the local parish priest and a baker's wife. This suggests that such forms of social discord were not unique to the Revolutionary street crowd, but were more particularly defined by their local nature; both geographically and socially. See also, Archives nationales, Paris, Y12751 and Y10033; and Steven L. Kaplan, "The Paris Bread Riot of 1725," in *French Historical Studies* (vol. 14, 1985), pp. 23-56.

participation in it, shows that what was happening was of some newsworthy importance at the time. This is of course supported by the proliferation of journals and prints in the days following, describing what had happened.¹⁰³ The role of the collector of prints such as this works much like the visually imagined observers of the faubourg Saint-Martin within the print. The collector would have bought the print, or in this case more likely a copy of *Révolutions de Paris*, as a form of acknowledgment that this depiction of popular justice was something of personal interest or memorable significance – what Vivian Cameron refers to as ‘memory triggers.’¹⁰⁴ The fact that these two images appeared in the *Révolution de Paris* also suggests that both printmaker and collector were pro-Revolutionary. Though it is impossible to speculate whether or not individual collectors may have supported or condemned popular justice and street violence, it is likely that the printmaker hoped to connect with the collector, perhaps on an ideological or political level, or perhaps helping them acknowledge, though not necessarily identify with, the actions of the crowd. In this way, the collector is like the spectators depicted within the print, watching the event albeit from another space beyond the picture plane.

Two further things are of particular note in figure 13: first, the celebratory nature of the print and second, although the scene is placed in one specific locality, it incorporates elements that identify Paris as a greater whole, notably in depicting the mobility of the crowd. In her work, *La fête révolutionnaire 1789-1799*, Mona Ozouf defines various elements which constituted a Revolutionary festival: notably that it was inclusive of multiple aspects of society, including woman and children; that there was an interplay between the organised and the sporadic, working in a form of symbiosis; and that a festival was in its primary essence, a ‘*levée en masse*.’¹⁰⁵ Both figures 12 and 13 incorporate elements of this definition, though it would be the events of the October Days, particularly the crowd’s return from Versailles in which true elements of festive spectacle are incorporated into prints of the subject.

¹⁰³ Biard, *Les lilliputiens de la centralisation*, pp. 132-40.

¹⁰⁴ Cameron, “Discussion A.” <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/imaging/discussion/gh1.html#Insert1> [acc. 2 January 2011]. Cameron employs this term in reference to a prints symbolic value, as the replication of events or locations may be inaccurate.

¹⁰⁵ Mona Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire 1789-1799*, (Paris : Gallimard, 1976), pp. 24-9. Ozouf concludes her subchapter in raising the question of violence in the festival, noting that Michelet could never associate a festival with the notion of threat, whereas she notes that the writer Charles Péguy in *Clio*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1932), saw the storming of the Bastille in itself, ‘la fête des fêtes.’

2.2b The Revolutionary Crowd moves out of the City: the October Days, 5-6 October 1789

An event that brought the Parisian crowd directly out into the countryside occurred in October 1789. On the rainy morning of Monday 5 October 1789 a crowd assembled at the Place de Grève outside of the Hôtel de Ville.¹⁰⁶ This crowd initially composed primarily of women – many of whom worked in the market place of Les Halles alongside a number of workers from the faubourg Saint-Antoine – was protesting about the shortage of grain and its high price which had failed to fall since the summer of that year following the installation of the Constituent Assembly.¹⁰⁷ The protest quickly gathered momentum, turning violent and launching an attack on the Hôtel-de-Ville itself. Entering the building, the crowd, ‘seized arms and money, burned papers, and almost hanged a well known municipal officer, the abbé LeFebvre.’¹⁰⁸ Reports vary as to what assuaged the violent mood of the crowd, though Julien-Stanislas Maillard’s account of that morning named himself as being a major contributing factor.¹⁰⁹ According to his description of events, alongside various other reports of the day, Maillard’s oratorical skill managed to convince the crowd that their true problems lay not with the governing body of the municipality, but with that at Versailles.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Pierre Dominique, *Paris enlève le roi, octobre 1789*, (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1973), p. 95. Dominique briefly identifies the weather conditions.

¹⁰⁷ Prudhomme (ed.), *Révolutions de Paris, dédiées à la Nation et au district des Petits Augustins.*, I, no. 13, Du 3 au 10 Octobre 1789, pp. 9-13. The journal describes the feminine make-up of the crowd that was assembled on the Place de Grève, emphasising the patriotic intentions behind their actions.

¹⁰⁸ Barry M. Shapiro, *Revolutionary Justice in Paris, 1789-1790*, (Cambridge, New York, Oakleigh: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 90. Shapiro notes several primary sources which served to outline the details of this event, see: Jean-Sylvain Bailly, *Mémoires de Bailly*, (Paris: Boudouin Frères, 1822), III, pp. 84-5. ; Marie-Joseph, Marquis de Lafayette du Motier, *Mémoires, correspondance et manuscrits du Général Lafayette, publiés par sa famille.*, (Paris: H. Fournier aîné, 1837-8), III, p. 235. ; and *Procédure criminelle instruite au Châtelet de Paris sur la dénonciation des faits arrivés à Versailles dans la journée du 6 octobre 1789*, (Paris, 1790), BN LE 29 980, no. 12, sec I, pp. 30-1; no. 35, sec I, 67-8; and no. 39, sec. I, pp. 73-4. See also, Jules Flammermont, *Rapport à M. le Ministre de l’Instruction Publique sur les correspondances des agents diplomatiques étrangers en France avant la Révolution, conservées dans les archives de Berlin, Dresde, etc.*, (Paris: 1896), pp. 260-1, where Bailly is reported to have resigned. Shapiro notes that though false, this report indicates that contemporaries thought of the day’s events in terms of an attack on the municipality.

¹⁰⁹ This was attested to by a number of female interrogations recorded in several police reports of the Châtelet. See reports taken from *Procédure criminelle instituée au Châtelet de Paris sur la dénonciation des faits arrivés à Versailles dans la journée du 6 octobre 1789.*, (Paris: Imprimerie de Baudouin, 1790), in Dominique, *Paris enlève le roi, octobre 1789*, pp. 263-399. For more on Maillard, see Chapter 1, fig. 27. This previously discussed print shows Maillard at the storming of the Bastille, crossing the moat on a wooden plank to retrieve a note from the guards at the second drawbridge.

¹¹⁰ Lucas de Blaire, *Les Forfaits du 6 octobre, ou examen approfondi*, (Paris: 1790), I, p. 161.

The march of 5 October was an act of mobilisation and decentralisation of a significant number of the Parisian populace through urban space, and into the rural landscape beyond the city limits. If the Revolutionary crowd in print can be considered a quintessentially urban organism, a social construct shaped by the surroundings that Paris' infrastructure and topography facilitated, how then did printmakers work to interpret a juxtaposition of town and country through their visual representation of the crowd? In much the same manner as prints of the murders of Foulon and Bertier, some printmakers depicting the October Days depicted the Revolutionary crowd as both a single body representing common political and social ideals, as well as a collection of individuals whose beliefs or reasons for being in the crowd did not necessarily correlate to those of their fellow compatriots. Combining ideas of the Revolutionary crowd and its mobility in both Parisian and rural space, how then did the October Days come to be visually defined in relation to the city: politically, socially, or perhaps even as a festive event which worked to highlight the capital's importance as the centre of political and social change?¹¹¹ Analysing several prints, this case study will look at two aspects specific to the march: scenes of crowd mobility in urban, rural and 'neutral' space, and the entrance of the royal family into Paris on 6 October.

The Parisian municipality had come to be seen by some as a political body that was made-up of the privileged and self-serving, and on the morning of 5 October 1789 the face of the Parisian municipality took physical form in the façade of the Hôtel de Ville. Centre of Parisian politics, the building loomed over the Place de Grève, the heart of the city, its position omnipresent in various images depicting legitimate, and more recently, popular justice.¹¹² A print attributed by the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* to the British printmaker John Wells illustrates the moment when the Parisian crowd set out for Versailles (fig. 14). Though the text beneath the print attests that it was, 'drawn on the spot by an eminent artist,' it is more likely that it was printed at a date suitably distant from the event for news of the October Days to garner significance and spread to Britain. Wells' image is significant in two ways: the setting of the narrative, incorporating both time and place, and the make-up of the crowd. And though Wells may be British, his print is one of few to show the departure of the crowd

¹¹¹ The decisive result of which would be defined by the installation of the royal family at the Tuileries Palace, 6 October 1789.

¹¹² For more on the role of the Hôtel-de-Ville during the early years of the Revolution, see, Marcel Reinhard, *Paris pendant la Révolution*, (Paris: Centre de documentation universitaire, 1962), pp. 123-6.

from an urban environment, as well as be printed in 1789 – still within a chronological proximity to the depicted subject.

When Parisian printmakers chose to recreate an event visually, their interpretation was very much influenced by the views of their compatriots: if one popular form of image sold well, it was likely that the print would become a standardised image and reproduced *en masse* by any number of copycat printers. The fact that Wells attempted to focus on this particular moment on 5 October is likely a result of the printer's distance both geographically and chronologically from the event, as well as from other French printmakers who chose to engage with it in different ways. Catering for a predominantly British market, illustrated by the use of English in the text, the importance of identifying Paris iconographically is registered in the fact that there are a series of visual clues that must have aided the viewer to understand the narrative of the image. Whilst the text below the image fails to identify where the narrative of the print is set, it does note that it depicts the 'PARIS MILITIA setting out.' The setting is presumably the Place de Grève, with the Hôtel de Ville appearing in the background. While the architectural elements bear little resemblance to either the Place de Grève or the Hôtel-de-Ville, they do incorporate enough detail for the viewer to identify what was happening, and provide a sense of where the scene's action was supposedly taking place. Wells used columned arches, windows surmounted by triangular pediments, and other decorative elements such as a clock flanked by scrolls and a relief of a man on horseback, all of which give the architecture of the print a distinctly 'un-Anglo' feel. In his study Lucien Lambeau identifies the equestrian statue of Henri IV as the work of Pierre Biard, installed above the central portal in 1606 and later destroyed during the Revolution. He also notes the central clock that was destroyed in 1871 but recommissioned 26 July 1882 to the same manufacturer as the previous one: M. Lepaute père.¹¹³ To the right of the image, the lamp post from which two figures swing, is possibly meant to represent the infamous lamppost of the Place de Grève.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Lucien Lambeau, *L'Hôtel de Ville de Paris*, (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1908), pp. 15-6; 55. These two elements appear in many other depictions of the Hôtel de Ville. For examples of this architecture, see prints: BnF, Est. LI-72 (2)-FOL ; BnF, Est. LI-72 (3)-FOL ; De Vinck, 1746, amongst many other pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary examples.

¹¹⁴ An anonymous satirical print dated by the BNF to 1791-2 also depicts this moment of 'setting-out,' using zoomorphism to poke fun at Lafayette and the 'people's' influence over him (here represented as a sans-culotte, while only hinting at the presence of female figures in the background). The printmaker makes no

While not an accurate portrayal of the heart of the French capital, Wells has used artistic shorthand to give a taste, or at least a conceptual illusion of the city to his viewers. This need to visually conjure up the city illustrates how both setting and narrative prove to be mutually beneficial, each one reinforcing the other's role. In this case, while the narrative is readily identifiable and supported by the text beneath the image, the depiction of the Place de Grève and the Hôtel de Ville serve to evoke the city of Paris, as well as hinting at ideas of popular justice (symbolised by the lamp post) and local government and political power, characterised by the Hôtel de Ville. This artistic shorthand may also suggest the rural. The central crowd gestures and moves to the left of the scene, an area of the print left clear of urban structure in comparison with the architectural build-up found to the right of the image.

Wells' print is populated by some distinctly urban characters, notably the market women depicted with bonnets and aprons, meant to represent the *poissardes*. This group of Parisian women were identified by journals and other publications of the period, including prints, as being central to the success of the march.¹¹⁵ They are joined in the image by members of the Parisian National Guard, and are followed to the right by other figures, coming from various walks of Parisian society: this includes a child, and men wearing the Phrygian bonnet – an activity for the whole family in essence. This group, much in the same manner as the representations of crowds seen in the prints of the Foulon and Bertier murders, is observed by figures from windows to the right, removed from the action and looking down on the scene. As objective observers, Wells may have used them as a point of entry for the spectator into the image, though their presence also suggests that they are witness to a spectacle of note and significance.¹¹⁶ In turn, the *place* below is highlighted as a social forum: a central area where large numbers of individuals could easily gather, and a place where

attempt to construct a realistic scene. Of note however, is the printmaker's inclusion of both a lamppost, and an equestrian relief on the façade of the non-descript structure labelled 'l'Hôtel de Ville.'

¹¹⁵ A number of prints celebrate the female element of the march, referring to them as 'heroines' and 'modern amazons.' See also, De Vinck 2998, Hennin 10463; De Vinck 3005, Hennin 10469, amongst others. ; Many pro-Revolutionary journals of the day also used the same adjectives to describe the women of the march, see: Louis Prudhomme (ed.), in *Révolutions de Paris dédiées à la Nation et au district des Petits Augustins.*, I, no. 13, Du 3 au 10 Octobre 1789, pp. 9-13. ; *Révolutions de Versailles et de Paris; Dédiées aux Dames Françaises. Du Samedi 3 Octobre au 7 du meme mois.*, (Paris: 1789).

¹¹⁶ Though given the political differences of the period, in the British case it's more likely that a viewer would seek to identify with a detached observer

people could observe such a gathering. Their 'setting off' from this public space in turn suggests an unplanned, and almost parade-like spectacle as it processes through the Tuileries and the city's western *quartiers* along the *rive droite* as people either participate in the march, or spectate at a distance.¹¹⁷

The visibility of this conceived 'French' architecture shows the image to be site specific, even if it was conjured-up by the printmaker at a distance across land and sea. British collectors may not necessarily have known what they were viewing, a point that is not aided by the text beneath the print. What is vital however, is the supposed 'Frenchness' of the image. Despite this lack of specificity, the print still displays all the elements needed to characterise an urban space – though once again not one of Albertian order, but a jumble which reflects dynamic nature of the scene.

Such a scene is not too dissimilar then to the previous prints of an urban view, such as that of Notre Dame in Chapter One for example. A specific place has been singled-out by the printmaker in amongst the greater, not necessarily ordered, urban sprawl. The difference between this print and that print of Notre Dame in Chapter One is that here, the narrative adds to the dynamism of the image: the space has become politicised in a way which may have been out of the ordinary: though the Place remains public, it is fulfilling a specific function related to the politics and actions of the people departing for Versailles, depicted within.

While this notion of mobility is evident in prints depicting the October Days, some well-known examples make little or no reference to Paris or its urban topography, focusing rather on depictions of the Parisian crowd marching through neutral or rural spaces. This serves to emphasise the march, and the highly mobile nature of the event. With the Parisian crowd

¹¹⁷ Emilie Ducoudray, Raymonde Monnier, Daniel Roche and Alexandra Laclau, *Atlas de la Révolution française, XI, Paris*, (Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 2000), p. 65. The atlas gives a map of the known routes taken by the march on setting out from the Place de Grève, travelling across the city. The map also identifies another supposed route taken by some of the crowd, crossing the Seine by Cité, and passing along the rue de Sèvres, through the Croix Rouge towards Vaugirard. ; Some reports of the day also argued the spontaneity of the event. See, Charles Chabroud, *Rapport de la procédure du Châtelet, sur l'affaire des 5 et 6 octobre; fait à l'Assemblée nationale*, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1790), p. 6. ' Une grande insurrection peut avoir été méditée, mais elle peut tenir à des causes naturelles. On a dit que le peuple fut conduit par les agens d'une intrigue profonde; on a dit que le peuple fut soulevé par ses besoins & par l'intérêt des ses droits menacés d'une offense nouvelle.'

then as the primary subject, did its characteristics influence certain choices made by the printmaker in terms of setting? And, did the very nature of the depicted crowd change once removed from its typical urban surroundings?

A neutral space can be defined as a sparsely depicted area which makes little or no suggestion as to the physical or chronological setting of the scene: this includes such broad definitions of location as a recognisable cityscape and/or a landscape. Some of the most well-known images of the October Days utilise this neutral 'anti-space' – two of which focus on the same visual motif: the strident march of the market women in the direction of Versailles (figs 15 and 16). Beyond this, there is little visual information to help the spectator determine where the scene is set with the exception of the use of a wall in the background. As well as providing a backing for the scene, this wall forces the crowd into a specific area, much in the manner printmakers used streets in urban imagery to shape the crowd, confining it into a reduced space.¹¹⁸ In analysing such images in which much of the geographical detail is left to the imagination, it is only natural that the spectator attempts to decipher the scene and perhaps conceptualise his or her own imagined location in which the events could have taken place. Given the printmakers' emphasis on the movement of the crowd in each print, the wall could speculatively be viewed as the boundary of the city: perhaps even the remaining wall of the *fermiers généraux*.¹¹⁹ The depiction of the wall may have had a certain gravity following the recent fall of the wall of the *fermiers généraux* and the sacking of the toll booths, an event that would have still been fresh in the collective memory of Parisians of the time. While this may not have necessarily been the printmakers' direct intention, the evocation of a wall perpetuates the idea of crossing boundaries, moving from one defined space into another.¹²⁰ In the case of the October Days, this would also

¹¹⁸ Cameron, "Discussion F," <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/imaging/discussion/gh6.html#Insert3> Cameron [accessed 03/04/2011]. Cameron notes how a similar image [image 6, similarly De Vinck 2993, Hennin 10462] depicting the triumphant return of the march reduces the image to one specific space in time, arguably also reducing it to one specific locality. It could be seen however, like figures 4 and 5, that the lack of any specific detail made it representative of the return in its entirety. This is compounded by the text identifying the event as a whole, rather than a specific moment in its course. In the case of figures 4 and 5, viewed conceptually in the mind of the spectator, the length of this crowd could be thought to have extended beyond the scene shown. The motion of the crowd is perpetual as figures step into the image from the left, and out of the image to the right, suggesting a possibly infinite number of marchers.

¹¹⁹ One such publication describing the events of the day, compares events to the sacking of the barriers of the *fermiers général*. *Bulletin de Paris, Du Lundi 5 Octobre 1789, à minuit.*, (Paris: 1789), p. 1.

¹²⁰ Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire*, p. 149. As Ozouf points out in relation to the role of space in Revolutionary festivals, there were no shortage of spatial metaphors. This same point may also be appropriate when

represent the movement of the crowd from an urban landscape into that of a rural one. The result of this had been that the line between the French capital and its surrounding countryside was no longer defined by an official boundary, but had become blurred as the urban and the rural could overlap on the fringes of the city.¹²¹ Such 'neutral' space can therefore be viewed as an area of ideological transition rather than that of one specific physical locality.

As the depicted crowd supposedly marches towards the countryside and Versailles, it takes with it the social elements that defined it as an urban organism. Unlike Wells' print, the printmakers responsible for these two images have chosen to depict only women. The vast majority of the women in the scene are of the lower classes: their faces appear weathered and their expressions tough, most are shown wearing aprons and their collective gait suggests not so much as a walk, but a determined stride.¹²² Both prints present a sober and frank depiction of a particular section of the crowd. Based on the various reports of the marchers' arrival into the town of Sèvres, the somewhat hostile feeling of these prints would appear to be quite accurate.¹²³ The image depicts a specific urban group moving beyond the

describing figures 4 and 5: '... dès le début de la Révolution une connivance native lie la liberté retrouvée à l'espace reconquis ... l'appropriation d'un certain espace, qu'il a fallu ouvrir et forcer, est la première jouissance révolutionnaire.'

¹²¹ On a social level, this crossing of urban and rural space had begun with the installation of various cabarets, taverns and buvettes beyond the *fermier général*. See, Thomas Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 84. Brennan also references one stamp of Ramponneau's infamous tavern as containing a text which reads, the 'freedom of the countryside.'

¹²² In many of the reports submitted by women who were present on the march, a number emphasised their lack of choice in participating, claiming they were either forced or pressured into participating given the possibility of violent reaction towards them had they not. While it is impossible to gauge how credible said sources were, fig. 4 hints at this being a reality: it appears as though a slightly more well dressed woman to the centre left of the image is being brought along by another member of the crowd whose hand appears around the reluctant woman's waist. See, Dominique, *Paris enlève le roi, octobre 1789*, pp. 263-399. ; Jean-Clément Martin, *Violence et Révolution : essai sur la naissance d'un mythe national*, (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2006), pp. 23-4. Martin notes that in the pre-Revolutionary period, certain groups of women were viewed as aggressors, marked by the use of particular sexual connotations – so far as to the fact that men would dress-up as women, 'pour commettre des actes de rébellion.' This chimes particularly with the march to Versailles, that in the days following and the questioning of alleged demonstrators at the Châtelet, many 'observers' claimed to have seen recognisable men participating in womens' dress.

¹²³ Dominique, *Paris enlève le roi, octobre 1789*, p. 121. Dominique notes in Maillard's account the frustration of the crowd upon their arrival at Sèvres, noting that the town's businesses were closed and boarded-up. This resulted in some vandalism. Other reports are more condemning. See, Chabroud, *Rapport de la procédure du Châtelet*, p. 2. Chabroud describes the crowd as 'villains' who, 'sont répandus dans cette multitude; ils la gouvernent à leur gré, elle est un instrument mobile, dont ils abusent dans leurs desseins.' For these reasons it is somewhat difficult to assess the exact intentions and make-up of the crowd, and whether they were acting as a collective body or more likely as individuals and smaller groups, joining the march with their own agenda. The credibility Chabroud's report was also attacked by some public figures whom he allegedly targeted. See,

traditional physical boundaries which defined their social circle, though despite the change in setting, the women are depicted by the printmakers as having retained their typical, city-based characteristics.¹²⁴

Unlike Wells' recreation of events, these two images do not depict the march to Versailles as a celebratory event: perhaps the nature of this crowd failed to express the imagined Arcadian idyll. Prints which have been discussed in previous chapters in which rural imagery entered the urban environment tended to emphasise nature as a positive phenomenon.¹²⁵ If the depiction of nature in an urban environment represented concepts of purity, harmony and idealised beauty, could the entrance of a distinct urban imagery into the natural world perhaps express opposite characteristics? This may be the case, though a larger body of prints would have to be looked at, including prints discussing other events where the use of rural and urban space is investigated. Given the nature of figures 15 and 16, the printmakers' intentions seem based on the necessity to convey physical movement over a non-specific distance (within the bounds of the image): the mobilisation of an urban group, transcending urban and rural boundaries. Neither image appears to be politically motivated, nor do any of the women appear idealised or vilified in any particular way. In fact, the aggressive nature of the characters of the print mirrors the frustrations that set the march in motion to begin with.¹²⁶

But not all prints chose to represent crowd mobility in this way. Considering the many images of the October Days that are held in the various collections of the *Cabinet d'Estampes* at the BNF, the largest proportion of these prints tend to focus on the crowd's

Observations de M. Henry, député de l'Assemblée nationale, Sur la partie du rapport de M. Chabroud, qui lui est personnelle., (Paris: 1790).

¹²⁴ Martin, *Violence et Révolution : essai sur la naissance d'un mythe national*, p. 74. This transition of space would come to a head at the crowds' entrance into Versailles (an exclusively royal space) and the Assembly (an exclusively political space). This would also be the first time both the royal family and the deputies would have direct contact with the crowd. Such events would be repeated on a more violent scale on 10 August 1792 at the Tuileries.

¹²⁵ Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire*, pp. 150-1. Ozouf discusses the educative aspects of spatial planning in relation to the want of open air festivals, and the lack of memory open space provides – a notable departure from the historical build-up of the city. ; pp. 151-2. Ozouf provides an anecdote as to how some market women of Les Halles transported a tree from beyond destroyed barriers of the *fermier général* and planted it symbolically as a liberty tree in the middle of the Place du Carrousel.

¹²⁶ This is not to rule out that the printmakers were operating with some comic intention: perhaps they may have found the idea of such a rag tag bunch amusing, though this is somewhat unlikely given the proliferation of the iconography of these two images.

return to Paris on 6 October. Relatively few recreate the events of that night at Versailles when a faction of the crowd stormed the palace with intentions of attacking the queen, or the royal family's somewhat humiliating address to the crowd from the palace's balcony in the early hours of the morning.¹²⁷ The emphasis of the majority of prints representing 6 October is firmly on its seemingly positive outcomes, and in turn the proliferation of these celebratory images would suggest that the October Days as a whole were viewed by many in a similarly optimistic light.¹²⁸ Figures 17 and 18 evidence many of the visual motifs employed by printmakers mapping this return to the city. Nature is depicted in some form in all of these prints: by way of basic setting such as grass or trees, or in the waving of laurel branches by members of the crowd: this adds another sense of festivity to the scene. The crowd also differs from figures 15 and 16: these images are inclusive of both men and women, and the gait and position of the subjects has changed – people no longer stride towards a destination like the market women of 5 October, but appear to celebrate while journeying. A certain sexual element also appears in a number of these prints, as soldiers appear to embrace some of the female characters.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ The few prints which depicted these more violent events tended to be counter-Revolutionary. See as an example, *La terrible Nuit du 5 au 6 Octobre*. [acc. no. 4232.1.72.151, De Vinck 2985, Hennin 10456]. The print depicts Marie-Antoinette and her children chased inside the palace by a man with a raised sword. The prints includes a Latin text, 'quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando explicet... Virg' [trans. 'Who could describe that night's catastrophes? / What tears could show our agony in full?'] Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. Sarah Ruden, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), Book II, Lines 361-2, p. 34. This suggests that the print was made for an educated spectator.

¹²⁸ See, *Retour des dames de la Halle de Versailles le 6 octobre 1789* [BNF, De Vinck no. 3000]. This stamp is made up of twelve separate images, each showing the march and its results in a positive light. Familiar imagery of the renunciation of feudal privileges and the nation presenting the Constitution to Louis XVI also appear, seemingly copied from other well known prints of the day. This suggests that the printmaker associated the October Days with other events that represented the empowerment of the Third Estate.

¹²⁹ Cameron, "Question 2" www.chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/imaging/discussion/archived/q2/cameron0706.html [accessed 05/04/2011]. Cameron reflects on one example of this, noting it to be, '... a sexualization, and thereby trivialization, of the political actions of the women during the October days ... as flirtatious dalliance in the rococo sense.' An artistic licence which, given the proliferation of this image and its celebratory nature, seems like a reasonable assertion. ; Joan Landes, "Representing Women in the Revolutionary Crowd," http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/imaging/essays/landes2.html#_ftn17 [accessed 05/04/2011]. Joan Landes goes further however, noting that, 'from another perspective, the connection is far less casual, given the frequent charge by the opposition that among the marchers were loose women, prostitutes.' However, identifying with any certainty the total number of prostitutes within the march is nay impossible, especially given that most accounts and reports, with the exception of those given by the counter-Revolutionary press as Landes notes, viewed the march in a positive light. While the presence of prostitutes again relates the crowd to its urban roots, this does not detract from the celebratory nature of many of the images.

Fig. 18 incorporates a number of these elements: the celebratory, the violent and the changing areas of space used in depicting the ambient crowd. This image is parade-like, combining both male and female figures (a certain sexuality is alluded to by the couple in the centre foreground), some of whom ride horses and carts. The general festive air also incorporates violent elements: figures do not wave laurel branches but pikes, with the two heads of the massacred King's Bodyguard propped above the scene. Moreover, the events take place between two identifiable locations: the countryside and the city, with the Parisian cityscape appearing as the final destination in the background.¹³⁰ Fig. 18 therefore incorporates a number of the contradictory elements which made up the iconography of the October Days. Such elements arise from the need to juxtapose urban and rural imagery, emphasising the political and geographical space which existed between Paris and Versailles, and placing a quintessentially urban crowd into this space. This in turn reflected on the printmakers' visual interpretation of the crowd, and its changing characteristics over the two days: namely from a somewhat uncertain or negative image of a specific group, to a jubilatory and all-inclusive image. Nevertheless the character of the group both marching to and returning – notably in the depiction of working class women of Les Halles – retains its urban traits across the prints. What the images of the October Days convey is the influence of both Paris and its populace, and the extension of this influence beyond the city itself. The printmakers' positive depictions of the royal family's subsequent return to the city highlight the change in political space, showing both the royal court of Versailles and the Parisian populace co-habiting in the same urban area.

While prints of crowds over the summer of 1789 focus on the more violent aspects of Revolutionary uprising, printmakers over the following year would also engage with more celebratory depictions of the Parisian crowd, including festivals, ceremonies, and how these were also seen in images of particular changes to the Parisian cityscape, most notably in the preparation for the Fête de la Fédération, 14 July 1790.

¹³⁰ The cityscape is accurately realised, with recognisable depictions of the Ile-de-la-Cité, the towers of Notre-Dame and what may be the Pont Louis XVI.

3.0 Chapter Three: Paris, the Festive Capital: the Champ de Mars and the Pantheon, 1790-1

Through the course of 1789-90, Paris saw a rejuvenation in confidence in the monarchy: while the crisis of the Estates-General had been resolved prior to the storming of the Bastille, and Louis XVI had reasserted the necessity of the monarchy on his return to Paris in the days following (and more so at their decisive return on 6 October 1789), the period leading-up to the summer of 1790 was focused on events of patriotic celebration. Not only did the Fête de la Fédération give cause for a city and nationwide celebration of liberty, equality and fraternity, but the idolisation of popular French figures, politicians or otherwise, reinforced a perception of change within French politics and French society.¹ This chapter outlines the nature of such celebratory events, focusing on prints particularly of the Fête de la Fédération and its construction on the Champ de Mars, the burial of Mirabeau, and the *panthéonisation* of Voltaire at the Pantheon.

3.1 Case Study: the Fête de la Fédération

The Fête de la Fédération of 1790 served to highlight the significance of the storming of the Bastille that had happened a year before, which had signalled a seismic change in the history of modern France. As an event, the Fête de la Fédération was an act of collective creativity that manifested itself both physically in terms of a temporary change to the Parisian cityscape, but also as a more permanent change by way of its social impact. This case study will outline the various styles a number of printmakers adopted to convey this collective effort of working for change: printmakers' views of both organised or spontaneous constructions, the ceremony of 14 July, and the importance given to the Champ de Mars and the former site of the Bastille in the course of these celebrations.

¹ During this period there was also a proliferation of counter-Revolutionary prints being produced, the majority of which were outside of France. For more on this see: Claude Langlois, *La Caricature Contre-révolutionnaire*, (Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1988).

Mona Ozouf asserts that the preparations for the Fête de la Fédération began to form from the very day that the Bastille fell.² In reality, the celebrations that were conducted on 14 July 1790 and the days following were part of a greater movement which had begun about a month beforehand with the beginning of construction for the ceremonial forum on the Champ de Mars, at a total cost of 346, 689 francs.³ The Champ de Mars was chosen as an appropriate site for the festival given its proximity to the city, and its potential for holding a large number of people.⁴ This celebration which was to be conducted with a great deal of pomp and ceremony was also intended to be all inclusive: bringing in citizens from all walks of life, and would involve some 300,000 spectators, the royal family, deputies of the National Assembly, and representatives from regiments of all eighty-three departments (50,000 armed men in total).⁵ This is best illustrated in the many prints which focused not on the day itself, but on the construction phase where a number Parisians from a variety of many different walks of life went to the Champ de Mars to participate in the preparations.⁶ Despite people's enthusiasm, organisers of the event attempted to discourage public participation, though such attempts seemingly fell on deaf ears. Known as the Day of Wheelbarrows, or the *Journée des brouettes*, Parisians turned-out in great numbers to lend a helping hand.⁷ A number of printmakers responded to this spontaneous act, many of whom visually addressed the fraternity and patriotism displayed by their fellow citizens.⁸ Prints of

² Mona Ozouf, *La Fête révolutionnaire 1789-1799*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), p. 44.

³ Marie-Louis Biver, *Fêtes révolutionnaires à Paris*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, (1979), p. 13; 15. Biver cites a report by Jean-Baptiste-Edme Plaisant (who in part took responsibility for the transformation of the Champ de Mars), that by the time construction began, only twenty-eight days remained until the event. Official construction therefore began around 16 June.

⁴ It is likely that bad memories still loomed over the festival planners following the marriage of Louis and Marie-Antoinette in which many Parisians were crushed to death. The centre of the city did not hold such an open space to accommodate all the spectators of such an event.

⁵ James A. Leith, *Space and Revolution: projects for monuments, squares and public buildings in France 1789-1799*, (Montreal and London: McGill-Queens University Press, 1991), p. 36. Such festivals were not simply Parisian, as others sprung-up across France. The Parisian Fête de la Fédération on the Champ de Mars was however the largest and most important of these celebrations.

⁶ Vivian R. Gruder, *The Notables and the Nation: The Political Schooling of the French, 1787-1788*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 234. Such images correspond partially to Gruder's pre-Revolutionary view of *fêtes*, which were, 'multicultural acts, combining the verbal and visual, print and oral, prose and verse, theatre song, solemn and parodic, sometimes riotous ... *fêtes* provided the occasion for the simultaneous representation of the classical culture of the *colleges* and the carnivalesque culture of the street.' It could argue that the imagery of the '*Fête*' de la Fédération presented both views of the structured and the carnivalesque in the division between the carnivalesque construction of the Champ with those more controlled and methodic images of 14 July 1790 itself.

⁷ The need for volunteers was given to the relative lack of preparation on the part of the Assembly.

⁸ Julien Tiersot, *Les fêtes et les chants de la Révolution française*, (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1908), pp. 18-9. Tiersot discusses how during the construction of the Champ de Mars, this fraternity was also evidenced in

the preparations for the ceremony tend to fall into one of two categories depending for the most part on when they were produced: firstly, the majority of prints printed at the time appear as popular etchings in the fashion of genre prints which focused on the jubilant nature of the volunteers and the celebratory ambiance.⁹

One celebratory scene was etched by the printmaker Jacques-Simon Chéreau who had also made numerous prints of the Bastille and its demolition (fig. 1).¹⁰ It is a festive image of the site where a variety of characters work the land and erect an edifice in the background of the scene. This edifice is most likely the pavilion which was located in front of the *École militaire* where the royal family and the deputies of the National Assembly would sit during the ceremony on 14 July. Chéreau has visually created a sociable environment within the print: those volunteering do not necessarily make this look like hard work, but rather like quite a bit of fun. Men, women and children are all depicted from various social backgrounds, including some from religious orders and the *sans-culottes*, working and socialising together. One woman depicted riding in a wheel barrow in the foreground may be imbibing liquor, while another man and woman in the centre of the print appear to be fraternising with one another, having left the wheel barrow and its cargo to fall over while they engage in other, more amiable activities. Chéreau gives a great deal of energy to the proceedings, and the small vignettes he has developed amongst the figures within the print suggest that his interests were more about the sociability of the volunteers than their ultimate goal.

A substantially similar print by the printmaker Pierre Gentot contains the same dynamism as Chéreau's version of events, but adds just a bit more cheekiness to the proceedings (fig. 2).¹¹

song, notably the 'Ca ira !' which he describes as having become the official song of the voluntary workforce. He describes the song as being typically Parisian. The title of the song appears in the text of several prints depicting the construction. For some examples see: De Vinck nos 3724, 3747, 3755, amongst others.

⁹ Later prints such as Berthault's engraving in the *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française* depicted a far more sober affair, in which the details of the construction are presented, and the volunteers are shown to be working in a more efficient and determined way.

¹⁰ Emmanuel Benezit (ed.), *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs de tous les temps et tous les pays, par un groupe d'écrivains spécialistes français et étrangers*, (Paris: Gründ, 2006), III, p. 892. Chéreau came from a printmaking family, son of Jacques Chéreau who also worked as an engraver and print dealer.

¹¹ Benezit (ed.), *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, VI, p. 35. Gentot, originally from Lyon, came from a family of artists who worked through the seventeenth century.

Alcohol, nudity and a bawdy quality are scattered throughout Gentot's print: men and women work and socialise, drinking and fraternising (one woman even exposes her bottom in the centre of the print).¹² In prints, visually this ambiance would be more associated with the later prints of the Palais-Royal in the summer of 1789, or scenes from the more rowdy taverns or *ginguettes*. While perhaps aiming to amuse, or perhaps even titillate, Gentot's print like that of fig. 1 works well to present a festive scene and provides a sense of the celebratory air of the occasion to the spectator, something which this particular printmaker demonstrates was synonymous with the Champ de Mars and Paris at this moment in time.

It would appear that the key theme of both figures 1 and 2 is one of social unity and social equality, something that was also stressed at the ceremony on 14 July. Other etchings of the construction site present more orderly visions of the volunteers, while preserving this notion of sociability within the tone. One of a set of two anonymous etchings depicts two sans-culottes standing side-by-side with a well dressed couple as they observe the construction scene,¹³ while other etchings include the text and/or lyrics to '*ça ira*', a popular song reportedly sung by the volunteers as they worked on the site.¹⁴ One print taken from Camille Desmoulins's publication the *Révolutions de France et de Brabant* even depicted Louis XVI picking up a pickaxe and joining in.¹⁵

3.1a Revolutionary Aesthetic: Ephemeral Architecture and the City

The site of the Champ de Mars itself was transformed into what may be best described as an open air arena: stalls created from moved earth ran the length of the field in an oval shape referred to as the '*cirque*,' and in the centre of the arena an altar to the Fatherland was constructed on an elevated platform. To the east, the *cirque* was bordered by a stage-like set

¹² Henriette Lucille Dillon, marquise de la Tour du Pin, *Mémoires de la marquise de la Tour du Pin, journal d'une femme de cinquante ans, 1778-1815 ; suivis d'extraits inédits de sa correspondance, 1815-1846*, (Paris: Mercure de France, 1989), pp. 128-9. The Marquise describes the festive ambiance of the Champ de Mars, noting the workers drinking in the lateral alleys of the stands, walking cabaret acts, tables of food, and gallons upon gallons of wine.

¹³ Hennin no. 10740-1.

¹⁴ De Vinck nos 3724-5, 3728.

¹⁵ Mercier, *Le Nouveau Paris*, I, XIV, p. 85. Mercier reports that the king visited the site, and was greeted by a guard of honour, citizens placing the shovels on their shoulders. Mercier does not however mention whether or not Louis XVI participated in the event, as suggested in the print. De Vinck no. 3723; Hennin no. 10744. ; Camille Desmoulins, *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, no. 34, (Paris: 1790).

piece in front of the *École militaire* in which the royal family and members of the National Assembly would sit, and to the west at the Seine an *arc de triomphe* acted as a gate through which the procession of the Federations would enter the arena.¹⁶ The majority of the prints produced in the days following 14 July would incorporate all of these elements, many giving a bird's-eye view, and some incorporating a *vue d'optique* style of the proceedings. One such 'bird's-eye' print is a hand-coloured etching taken from an aerial position to the west of the field above the river Seine (fig. 3). The print includes a caption which identifies various elements of the architecture constructed for the day and the structure of the procession within the scene.

For architects, the *Fête de la Fédération* provided their first opportunity to create structures servicing the Revolution, and in doing so employed both classical symbols with a new Revolutionary aesthetic. In his study, Joseph Clarke discusses the artistic and architectural outputs of the period: 'Unwilling, or perhaps simply unable, to forge a new symbolic arsenal with which to celebrate the Revolution, most artists instead sought refuge in the certainties of the past by attempting to fuse the iconographic confidence of the classical age with the more recent imagery of the rejuvenated paternalistic monarchy.' In relation to Leith's work on monumental plans that had been drawn up by architects in this period, though never realised Richard Wittman adds: 'Yet for all their pictographic qualities, these monuments were almost certainly never intended for construction and none was ever built. Their principal function was instead to deploy the rhetoric of monumentality – of consecration, of eternity – as a form of ballast within the fluid and fast-moving politics of the Revolution.' Given the speedy nature in which the *Champ de Mars* had to be prepared, this uncertainty could also explain the use of ephemeral architecture.¹⁷ Most notably, in the case of the triumphal arch to the west of the *Champ de Mars* which stood roughly in the location of the Eiffel Tower today. Given the lack of preparation prior and the troubled economic climate, this arch was to be an ephemeral creation: constructed from wood and cloth, it was only meant to give the illusion that it was made from more substantial materials. This principle of

¹⁶ For a detailed printed plan of the layout of the *Champ de Mars*, see: De Vinck nos. 3733-4; Hennin no. 10773; Smith-Lesouëf no. 3274.

¹⁷ Leith, *Space and Revolution*, p. 36. ; Joseph Clarke, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France: Revolution and Remembrance, 1789-1799*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 67; 84. ; Richard Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), p. 213.

creating such ephemeral structures was not novel to the Fête de la Fédération, though as a practical and aesthetic choice such creations were well-suited to fit the needs of the day, as well as the tone of the celebrations. The arch was designed by the neo-classical Dijon-born architect Jacques Cellier, with the same dimensions as the triumphal arch that was found then, and can be seen today, at the Porte Saint-Denis.¹⁸ It was decorated with faux reliefs celebrating the conquests of Liberty, the Constitution and the Rights of Man, the west of which are visible in this print. These friezes on the façade were the work of the Parisian sculptor Jean-Guillaume Moitte, who would become one of the most prominent visionaries of Revolutionary architecture.¹⁹

On the rainy day of the ceremony, representatives from regiments of each of the eighty-three departments crossed a pontoon made over the Seine and entered the Champ de Mars through this arch, holding banners and flags representing their native regions. After the representatives had entered the Champ de Mars, they processed in front of the soil-sculpted stands built to the north and south of the field. From the arch, the procession circled the altar of the Fatherland (1) from which a Mass would later be given as part of the ceremony.²⁰ The altar had four staircases leading up to it from each side, symbolising equality in that it was accessible to all.²¹ The festival itself was a mix, and an extension of, religious and royal

¹⁸ Benezit (ed.), *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, III, 644. Information about this printmaker is scarce, though he may also have worked under the name Célariet, though this is speculative. ; Designed by the prominent seventeenth-century architect François Blandel, the two arches nevertheless differ in style and structure: notably the *arc de triomphe* comprises three arches, whereas that of the Porte Saint-Denis comprises just one. See, Claudette Hould, *La Révolution par le dessin: Les dessins préparatoires aux gravures des Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française (1789-1802)*, (Paris: RMN, 2008), p. 56. Hould notes on the dimensions and designer of the arch; notes prominence of a pontoon constructed across the Seine in other prints.

¹⁹ Details of some of these reliefs were recorded in prints by the printmaker Jean-Baptiste Lucien. ; Emmanuel Benezit (ed.), *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, VIII, p. 1329. Lucien was a Parisian printmaker who specialised in religious engravings and portraiture. ; See: De Vinck no. 3003; Hennin nos.10771 and 11093. Both prints evidence the classical inspiration for Moitte's work, and how he developed this visual language to fit a Revolutionary aesthetic. Leith, *Space and Revolution*, p. 46. These friezes did not celebrate military victories typical in the architecture of a triumphal arch, but Liberty, the Constitution and the Rights of Man. ; Louis-Marie Prudhomme (ed.). *Révolutions de Paris, dédiées à la Nation et au district des Petits Augustins*, V, (Paris: no. 53, Du 10 au 17 Juillet 1790), p. 6. Description of each façade in detail.

²⁰ Tiersot, *Les fêtes et les chants de la Révolution française*, pp. 31-8. Discussion on musical accompaniments to the ceremony itself, including notes on hymns for the mass and the *Te Deum*.

²¹ For details of the structure of the altar and some its decorative features, see: De Vinck nos 3744, 3746-9, 3752-4 (an example by the printmakers Basset); Hennin no. 10755, 10758, 10762, 10770.

festivals that had been practiced under the *ancien régime*, which had been adapted to suit the occasion.

Spectators at the ceremony did not just watch the festival but were also participants in its success, much in the manner shown in the festival's construction in figures 1 and 2. The caption of this print also supports the idea of equality, identifying the seating of the royal family: they sat on the same level as the deputies of the National Assembly. If the caption were also to be considered hierarchically, given that the numbers in the image do not move in any logical sequence, the altar of the Fatherland has been given greater importance than the throne of the king (1/2). This corresponded to the notion of fraternity at the festival which was so key: that all citizens were equal.²²

The image maintains a festive air, working in symbiosis with the text describing the event as, 'An ever memorable day,' and, 'a fine example for all the people of the earth.' The printmaker has embraced the same iconographical formula used in a number other images which celebrated the occasion. Creating a bird's-eye view, the printmaker has attempted to incorporate the entire festival into one easily readable scene.²³

Nature is one element that is very much apparent in prints of the Fête de la Fédération. In the majority of prints of the ceremony on Champ de Mars, there is very little reference to cityscape. Many printmakers appear to present the event as being self-contained, detached from the city at the northern boundaries of the *cirque*. Though the Champ de Mars lay at a distance from the hubbub of the central city, the only reference point to the capital in many of the prints is the monumental façade of the École militaire. This lack of urban imagery may have played into a certain Revolutionary aesthetic – as well as Rousseau's concept of 'purity.'²⁴ Defined by his or her surroundings and detached from the constraints and the

²² Mercier, *Le Nouveau Paris*, I, XIV, pp. 76-85. Mercier would go on to describe the construction as a memorable 'spectacle of fraternity,' the likes of which had never before been seen.

²³ The text also contains an inscription in ink: 1709 has been changed to 1799. This was most likely done by a collector. The text was printed incorrectly, with the '0' and the '9' engraved in the wrong order. It is unclear however as to why the date has been changed to '1799,' rather than '1790.'

²⁴ J.-J. Rousseau. *Les Confessions*, (Paris: Librairie Garnier Frères, 1926). For a summary of Rousseau's concepts on nature are transmitted through his work, see Raymond Trousson and Frédéric S. Eigeldinger (eds.), *Dictionnaire de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, (Paris: Champion Classiques, Honoré Champion, 1996), pp. 645-7.

corruption of the city, the image of nature relates to the purity of being.²⁵ This in turn was reflected in a number of aesthetic embellishments across the city, such as the decorations added to the equestrian statue of Henri IV on the Pont Neuf where a mountain was constructed around the base of the statue, and painted poplar trees planted to either side (fig. 4).²⁶ The mountain is decorated with grassy outcrops and other plants, while crowned shields appear on both poplar trees decorated with figures gesturing as if making offers to the statue of the mounted king in the centre: what appears to be a National Guardsman to the left, and two clergymen to the right.

This inclusion of nature within the environment was by no means a new concept. Through the eighteenth century many proposals had been made by architects to open-up the city – providing large open spaces to essentially air out the tight and crowded labyrinth of the central Parisian streets.²⁷ Following the fall of the Bastille a number plans were also conceived to create a new *place*, which included the possibility of gardens, and a series of boulevards which would extend from its circumference to provide better connections to the city.²⁸

3.1b The Site of the Bastille: Scenes of Festivities for the Fête de la Fédération

The Champ de Mars was not the sole location in the vicinity of the city to be developed for the Fête de la Fédération. Other sites, including the Champs-Élysées, the Halle au Blé, the garden of Ruggieri, and the summer Vauxhall were decorated or adorned with architectural

²⁵ Carol Blum, *Rousseau and the Republic of Virtue: the Language of Politics in the French Revolution*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1986), pp. 57-73. Blum discusses Rousseau's *Confessions* and the subject of the pure being as found in nature, and how this related to later Revolutionary beliefs and some political rhetoric.

²⁶ Prudhomme, *Révolutions de Paris, dédiées à la Nation et au district des Petits Augustins.*, IV, Du 10 au 17 juin, p. 12. The journal reports that the statue was also adorned with a scarf of national colours and the inscriptions 'Pour la Patrie, pour les borbons.' ; June Hargrove, *The Statues of Paris, an Open-Air Pantheon: the History of Statues to Great Men*, (New York, Paris: The Vendome Press, 1989), p. 11. The statue, designed by the French and Italian sculptors Giambologna, Pietro Tacca, and Francesco Bordoni, had inaugurated in 1614 (the first statue of a monarch of its kind in the city).

²⁷ The creation of the Place Louis XV in the later part of the eighteenth century attests to these architectural ideals.

²⁸ Leith, *Space and Revolution*, pp. 25-32. ; Rolf Reichardt, *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille*, (Paris: Paris musées; Nicolas Chaudun; Musée Carnavalet Histoire de Paris, 2009), p. 58.

installations for the celebration.²⁹ The major alternate site to the Champ de Mars was the site of the former Bastille prison, which had for the most part been successfully demolished through the course of the previous year. Unlike the more rigid ceremonial processions and Mass held on the Champ de Mars, Parisians went to the Bastille to amuse themselves, imbibing, conversing, fraternising and dancing.³⁰ And what better place to have such an occasion when those who were to attend symbolically danced on the ruins of the past – ruins of a building which had come to encapsulate all that was popularly perceived to be wrong under the *ancien régime*?

An etching titled '*Ici on danse*' by the printmaker Jacques Chéreau captures the festive spirit of the event (fig. 5).³¹ The depicted structure for the festival is built on top of what appears to be the Bastille's ruins. Again, nature is prominent within the scene. Hand-coloured, the image is heavy on green watercolours as vegetation grows over the colonnade of the arched structure while red and blue ribbons hang between the arches of the colonnade and red and blue lanterns hang from the centre of each arch. The colonnade is surmounted by a row of small trees. Trees were also symbolic as Liberty Trees, referencing an important rallying symbol of the American Revolution.³² In this print, the memory of the feared urban site is juxtaposed with a new site of expansive nature. Circular colonnades in the shape of turrets appear in the left and right corners of the structure, surmounted by red, white and blue flags. Behind the colonnade, in the centre of the structure, there is an open round structure with a red canopy surmounted by a sixty foot tall pole, from which flies a tricolour flag, all topped by a Phrygian bonnet.³³ The pole is decorated with two circular flower garlands and in the centre foreground, there are two pedestals surmounted by blue and red candelabras.

²⁹ The Champs-Élysées had been decorated with a series of illuminations, two prints of which are held at the BNF: De Vinck no. 3866; Hennin no. 10783 (taken from Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris, dédiées à la Nation et au district des Petits Augustins.*, I, no. 13, Du 3 au 10 Octobre 1789, pp. 9-13). For details on the decorations applied to the ruins of the former Bastille, see: James A. Leith, *Space and Revolution*, pp. 49-50.

³⁰ Mona Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire 1789-1799*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), p. 44. Ozouf discusses the event.

³¹ Chéreau was also the printmaker of figure 3, depicting the celebrations on the Champ de Mars. As a printmaker he evidently showed an interest in the Fête de la Fédération employing the technique of a *vue d'optique*. Primarily a portraitist, he would not reemploy this style of cityscape printmaking until the nineteenth-century in cities outside of France (namely in Austria and Russia). This may also suggest that he left France at sometime during the Revolutionary decade, though this cannot be confirmed.

³² Mercier, *Le Nouveau Paris*, I, XVI, p. 89-91, Mercier describes and defines the symbolic importance of the Liberty Tree. For a study on its symbolic role in the American Revolution, see: Arthur M. Schlesinger, 'Liberty Tree: a Genealogy' in, *The New England Quarterly*, (vol. 25, no. 4, December 1952), pp. 435-58.

³³ Biver, *Fêtes révolutionnaires à Paris*, p. 29.

The setting is framed to the left by a fertile hillside, on which spectators appear to look on the frivolities.

It would seem that the printmaker has employed the imagery of nature to communicate the experience of celebrating on the ruins of the Bastille prison, also symbolically suggesting that a more harmonious political and social state within the city had been reached. Within the scene, the fortress has all but gone with only the outlines of its foundations and some rubble to suggest that an edifice had ever stood there. The print uses symbolic undertones to communicate the experience of the reality of the event. The people depicted are able to pass freely from the interior of this new leafy Bastille to the exterior and vice versa. This is no longer a secret or sinister place. These figures are also evidently in a very festive mood: drinking and conversing, much akin to those images of the construction of the amphitheatre on the Champ de Mars. And like the festivities at the construction on the Champ de Mars, those on the site of the Bastille were to last a number of days.³⁴

The printmaker Chéreau has employed other Revolutionary motifs: the use of red and blue colours is omnipresent while a Phrygian bonnet appears in the centre of the scene surmounting a long pole above a pavilion. Like his image of the ceremony on the Champ de Mars, and much akin to the many other prints of that event, Chéreau has not included a cityscape in this print, though does depict a hill to the left of the scene. Presumably the printmaker intended to represent a northward view over the site with the hill of Montmartre perhaps in the left background, though there is very little geographical information given in the print, or in the text. Consequently, the '*Bal de la Bastille*' again appears to exist in a space separate from the rest of Parisian topography. This may perhaps reflect the symbolical importance of the event, literally marked out from the everyday life of the city.³⁵

³⁴ Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink and Rolf Reichardt, *The Bastille: A History of a Symbol of Despotism and Freedom*, trad. Norbert Schürer, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 153. Lüsebrink and Reichardt note that the celebrations took place in the days following those of the Champ de Mars, 16-8 July, and that again Pierre-François Palloy, architect of the demolition of the Bastille, had taken credit for the design of the festivities on the site. For Palloy's account of the preparations and the event, see: François Palloy, *Dépense faite pour la fête champêtre donné sur les ruines de la Bastille*, (Paris: 1791).

³⁵ The print may also be a 'vue d'optique', an image which people looked at through an optical machine or zograscope. For more on this, see, S.R. Wilk, 'Zograscopes: an 18th Century Perspective on 3-D Imaging' in, *Optics and Photonics News*, (vol. 23, no. 7/8, July/August 2012).

Another print by the printmaker Laurent Guyot of the same site depicts a night view of the Bastille during the Fête de la Fédération (fig. 6). The ruins of the fortress appear in the left background. In the right background, a similar structure to that depicted in figure 5 is shown, though from a different perspective. This print focuses on the illuminations created on the Bastille site. In the background of the print, the outline of the fortress can be seen in the form of a colonnade, illuminated by white lights. Again, the site and its decorations had symbolic undertones. The lights on the colonnades and on the pole which appear in the centre of the ruins illuminate the once secret and sinister interior of the destroyed fortress. In the foreground of the scene, a group of men and women appear to explore some ruins holding torches as they pass through a darkened archway. These 'ruins' were in fact ephemeral installations envisioned by the patriot Palloy, made uniquely for the celebration. They allowed visitors to the site to explore recreations of the old cells of the Bastille. Palloy also installed shackled skeletons in these cells to add to the horror of the visitors' experience.³⁶

3.2 Festivals, Parades and Funerals: Ceremonies for the Marquis Honoré de Mirabeau and Voltaire

While the Fête de la Fédération incorporated a single form of parade and the movement of troops through the centre of the capital, the events to mark the occasion were very much centred to particular geographic localities, primarily: the Champ de Mars, the site of the former Bastille fortress, and the illuminations installed on the Champs-Élysées (amongst others).³⁷ While this was the largest of such celebratory events in the early Revolutionary period, other celebrations and ceremonies took the form of choreographed parades that

³⁶ As discussed in Chapter Two, the fabrication and exploration of ruins in art was an aesthetic theme that was explored by many artists of the *Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture*. The proliferation of such images of ruined antiquity in the arts following the discovery of Pompeii, fuelled a popular aesthetic which is evidenced in the many 'ruin' portraits of Paris by the late eighteenth century artist Hubert Robert. The ruins of the Bastille, given the fortress's monumental nature, provided a perfect site to realise this aesthetic architecturally. Allowing visitors to explore the site, even though such ruins were fabricated, offered them the opportunity to engage with the memory of the recent past, but also let them conduct their own form of Grand Tour, exploring ruins much like those who had the opportunity to visit Pompeii and Herculaneum. For more on this, see: Nina L. Dubin, *Futures and Ruins Eighteenth-Century Paris and the Art of Hubert Robert*, (LA: The Getty Research Institute, 2010).

³⁷ For a diagram of the route taken by those parading on 14 July 1791, see: Émile Ducoudray, Raymonde Monnier, Daniel Roche and Alexandre Laclau (eds.), *Atlas de la Révolution française*, I – XI, (Paris: Editions de l'École des Hautes Etudes, 1987-2000), p. 84.

took specific routes through the city. This subchapter will concentrate on two such events in 1791: the funeral procession for the Marquis Honoré de Mirabeau and the ‘panthéonisation’ of Voltaire. Both events were mobilised using planned routes, some ornate funeral constructions, and involved the celebration of life, patriotism and highlighted the public opinion of respect and admiration for the deceased.³⁸ The site of the former church of Sainte-Genève would also play a major role in the orchestration of the days, and would be the final resting place for both men. Though prints of these events themselves are scarce the few which can be found do provide a sense of the ambiance of both ceremonies, alongside other styles of prints such as portraiture and allegory to commemorate the men.

3.2a Processions as Funerals: the Funeral of Mirabeau the Elder, 4 April 1791

The death of Mirabeau was met with a proliferation of prints, the majority of which were posthumous portraits.³⁹ Images of the former politician attesting to his popularity appeared, usually incorporating framed bust portraits in profile or a three-quarter pose, and also some scenes of events in his career: the majority of which refer specifically to the National Assembly and Mirabeau’s role in the formation of the Constitution generally appearing beneath the portrait in a framed border.⁴⁰ Other prints focused on his death bed, purporting to give Mirabeau’s last dying words, and others incorporated his image into allegorical scenes.⁴¹ Patriotism was the order of the day, and the regard for Mirabeau’s perceived

³⁸ Armand-Guy Kersaint. *Discours sur les Monuments publics, prononcé au conseil du département de Paris, le 15 décembre 1791*, (Paris: 1792), pp. 24-5. Identified both Mirabeau and Voltaire as being individuals worthy of public recognition based on their services to France. ; Mona Ozouf, ‘Le Pantéon: L’École normale des morts’ in *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, ed. Pierre Nora, I, (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), pp. 142-44. Ozouf discusses the figure of the *grand homme*, defining who merited *panthéonisation*.

³⁹ Colin Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution*, (New York: Longman Inc., 1988), pp. 372; 403. Honoré-Gabriel Riquetti, comte de Mirabeau (1749- 2 April 1791), also known as ‘*Mirabeau l’aîné*,’ was elected to the Third Estate and became a vocal member during the Summer crisis of 1789. Favourable of a Constitutional monarchy, Mirabeau corresponded with the king. Following his death and *panthéonisation*, this correspondence was discovered in November 1792 in the *armoire de fer* scandal (an iron-wall safe located in the Tuileries) and used to help illustrate the ‘duplicitous’ nature of Louis XVI at his trial. Following this, Mirabeau’s bust and remains were removed from the Pantheon.

⁴⁰ Clarke, *Commorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, pp. 100-1. Clarke notes the proliferation of imagery of Mirabeau following his death, including reference to the bust sculpted by Jean-Antoine Houdon.

⁴¹ Clarke, *Commorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, pp. 90-1. ; Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*, (London: Penguin, 1989), p. 545. Schama notes the Mirabeau’s last words were addressed to his physician, the Dr. Cabanis, requesting opium. He notes however that something more edifying was needed for the memorial prints: ‘I take with me the death of the monarchy. The factions will prey upon its remains.’

patriotism as a good *citoyen* was reinforced in this outpouring of reverential imagery: he had become a Revolutionary hero, and in turn his '*panthéonisation*' would cement this as an 'official,' collective and nationwide sentiment.⁴²

The entire Assembly was to attend his funeral, the arrangements of which were discussed while the Assembly was in session.⁴³ Beginning at around five o'clock on the evening of 4 April, a military procession departed Mirabeau's house at 46, rue de la Chaussée d'Antin in what is now the ninth, with sixteen pallbearers carrying a tricolour draped coffin. Over the course of the evening, the procession amassed sixty battalions of cavalry, infantry and National Guardsmen, as well as various ecclesiastics and officials.⁴⁴ Adding to this party were the numbers of war veterans and children, government officials, and deputies of the Constituent Assembly – all in all, some several hundred thousand Parisians were involved, lining the route. Such a scene was not however novel – Joseph Clarke states that it was not too dissimilar to the funeral of Louis XV, especially given its traditional and grandiose religious overtones. What was unique however, was that in scale and ceremony: the funeral of a 'citizen' matched that of Bourbon ritual.⁴⁵

Heading south and passing Les Halles and Saint-Eustache, then south-east at the crossing of the Seine, Parisians from all walks of life were drawn into the ceremony, accompanying the procession.⁴⁶ Their initial destination was the parish of Saint-Étienne du Mont, which stands to the north of the Pantheon, in which the funeral would take place at.⁴⁷ What appears to be the only remaining style print of this procession through the city depicts its arrival at the

⁴² Avner Ben-Amos, *Funerals, Politics, and Memory in Modern France 1789-1996*, pp. 5-6; 26. 'A burial at the Panthéon was therefore considered not only a mournful event but also a triumph over death.'

⁴³ Clarke, *Commorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, p. 92.

⁴⁴ Biver, *Fêtes révolutionnaires à Paris*, p. 36. ; Clarke, *Commorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, pp. 90; 93-4.

⁴⁵ Clarke, *Commorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, p. 95. Clarke quotes Prudhomme: '*Louis XVI peut mourir quand il voudra, jamais il n'aura pareil enterrement.*' ; Ben-Amos, *Funerals, Politics, and Memory in Modern France*, pp. 22-3 ; 31. Ben-Amos also touches on the fact the Mirabeau was a citizen – not royalty – the decision to grant him a state funeral of such a scale was a reflection on his virtues and influence rather than his position. This is what now made, 'a great man.' Also of note is that this funeral was paid for by the state – never before done except for the monarchy.

⁴⁶ Schama, *Citizens*, p. 547. Reports estimate that the gathered crowd reached 300,000 people. ; Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, pp. 121-2. A brief history of Saint-Eustache.

⁴⁷ Saint-Étienne du Mont is actually the resting place of Saint-Geneviève, patron saint of Paris, after whom the nearby Panthéon was initially named.

parish of Saint-Étienne du Mont (fig. 7).⁴⁸ Though the procession arrived at the site around midnight this has not been addressed by the printmaker. A monochrome etching, the print simply and effectively presents the arrival of the spectacle. To the left, the procession enters through the façade of Saint-Étienne du Mont. Simply rendered, the printmaker has incorporated a rose window, replicating one of the main features of the façade, though he or she has forgone adding much more detail. The scene is nevertheless quite recognisable, certainly for any Parisian familiar with the area: looking southwards, the stripped-back and somewhat austere architecture of the dome of the Pantheon dominates the background of the print.⁴⁹ As for the ceremony itself, the printmaker has chosen to focus on individual elements rather than attempting to depict the sweeping numbers of a crowd *en masse* (though a number of figures do appear beyond the procession towards the background of the scene). The majority of the crowd is made-up of National Guardsmen, who appear to be followed by men in robes and broad hats: perhaps members of the Constituent Assembly or other government officials from the municipality of the city, their robes are carried behind them by young boys. The participants depicted lend the procession a sense of official order, affirming that the recently deceased Mirabeau was someone both politically respected and important. Adding to this is the group of well-dressed men, women and a child, observing the goings-on to the foreground left: the printmaker appears to suggest that Parisians did not just participate in the event, but were perhaps also prepared to watch it, maybe paying their respects to the deceased in doing so – though this may also be a scene from a more official part of the ceremony, where only certain official members of the procession were permitted to enter the church to participate in the funeral proceedings.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ The BNF has dated and attributed fig. 5 to the printmakers Le Claire of the quai Voltaire.

⁴⁹ Another façade of what appears to be a medieval-looking structure also backs the scene. This may be part of the ancient church of Sainte-Geneviève which stood near the site of the Panthéon.

⁵⁰ One of the spectators appears to have removed his tricorne hat, though it is not clear whether he is perhaps reacting in grief to the passing procession or whispering to the man behind him. ; An engraving of the funeral itself would later appear in the *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française* (De Vinck 1915), though there are no etchings from the period of the event which addressed the subject of the funeral in the interior of Saint-Étienne du Mont. Some prints may have potentially been printed, none are held in the major collections at the BNF, nor that of the British Library. Another reason for this may be because popular printmakers were not privy to participate in the funeral itself, though this is highly sceptical as the fabrication of such scenes of popular interest was common practice. Ben-Amos, *Funerals, Politics, and Memory in Modern France*, p. 32. Also of note, the religious aspects of the scene: something that would be absent in other Revolutionary panthéonisations.

At the front of the procession, several National Guardsmen are depicted playing musical instruments: what appear to be drums, cymbals and horns. Their appearance gives the procession the feeling of a military parade, and a sense of a certain pomp to the air of the print. In her text *Festivals and the French Revolution*, Mona Ozouf discusses the particular ambiance of Revolutionary funeral processions, something to which music would have heavily contributed.⁵¹ While the death of Mirabeau was largely reported as a great loss for the nation, with claims of open weeping in the Assembly and a week of mourning pronounced, funeral processions did not necessarily bear the raw markings of loss and grief, but were as much a political tool as an emotional one.⁵² Ozouf looks at such processions as festivals in themselves, noting that the translation of sacred objects, which in the case of Mirabeau, was of the highest importance: 'It was this, broken by "stations" to change bearers, that defined the Revolutionary festival.'⁵³ This 'translation' Ozouf asserts required both the connivance and the identification of actors and spectators who would participate in the event, though perhaps not out of jubilation nor grief, but out of a sense of political solidarity. Avner Ben-Amos supports this on a chronologically more sweeping scale (state funerals from 1789-1996), stating that, 'These two aspects – the celebratory and the mournful – were combined in a manner to which few Frenchmen could remain indifferent. For the republicans, the ceremony was especially propitious since they were in need of a powerful pedagogical means through which they would be able to reach the masses.'⁵⁴ Looking again at fig. 7, it was this movement *en masse* on which the printmaker appears to focus: a ceremony involving spectacle, music, a certain theatricality within the makeup of the 'parade,' and a solid sense of spectatorship and public participation.⁵⁵ Such elements seem to outweigh the subject of the destination, the funeral, noting that beyond the text, there is no real visual indication as to the presence of Mirabeau's remains within the scene.

⁵¹ Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, trans. Alan Sheridan, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1988), pp. 79-82. ; Schama, *Citizens*, p. 548.

⁵² Schama, *Citizens*, p. 547. ; Tiersot, *Les fêtes et les chants de la Révolution française*, p. 53. Mirabeau's death and subsequent funeral procession also appeared to fuel artistic sensibilities as a number of theatrical pieces were penned and performed: *l'Ombre de Mirabeau*, *Mirabeau à son lit mort*, *Mirabeau aux Champs-Élysées*, amongst others.

⁵³ Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, p. 80. Ozouf also notes that nowhere else was this truer than in Paris: 'It was, therefore, the big city above that gave the processions its décor and "supers".'

⁵⁴ Ben-Amos, *Funerals, Politics, and Memory in Modern France*, pp. 9; 17.

⁵⁵ Schama, *Citizens*, p. 548. This theatricality was embellished in an actual theatrical production in the period following Mirabeau's death in a play titled, *Mirabeau's Arrival on the Elysian Fields*.

Beyond this, Joseph Clarke comments on the seemingly contradictory characteristics of such a procession, that: ‘commemoration can be a political statement, a social act, and a profoundly personal experience at one and the same time,’ something which fig. 7 is testament to. ‘Unlike any other form of civic ceremonial, it unites the public and the private in a unique combination of celebration and sorrow, and its memorials [such as the Pantheon] are both ‘sites of memory’ and ‘sites of mourning.’⁵⁶

In the background of the ceremony, the old abbey of Saint-Geneviève stands to the left. Seemingly medieval in architecture with a tower to the left, it is juxtaposed to the new Pantheon which appears to the right.⁵⁷ Following the funeral ceremony, a religious fixture which was to remain in the church, Mirabeau’s remains were, at midnight, subsequently transferred across the *place* to be *panthéonised*.⁵⁸

3.2b Jean-Germain Soufflot’s Sainte-Geneviève and the Panthéonisation of Voltaire

Allan Potofsky’s work *Constructing Paris in the Age of Revolution* offers an interesting glimpse into some of the harsh realities of particular areas of the *rive gauche* at the time of the construction of the Pantheon.⁵⁹ Noting the juxtaposition between wealth and poverty in the areas of Saint-Geneviève and Saint-Étienne du Mont, he relates that this was generally characterised between the church and the artisans who inhabited the *quartier* and the faubourg Saint-Marcel to the south, many of whom were to work on the construction of the new church. Richard Wittman also discusses this juxtaposition between wealth and poverty. Sainte-Geneviève was a mid-fifth century shepherdess from Nanterre, and her symbolic connections to the poorer people of the neighbourhood held fast with the presence of the gothic church of Sainte-Geneviève.⁶⁰ ‘This identification between Geneviève and the

⁵⁶ Clarke, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, p. 5.

⁵⁷ Alfred Fierro and Jean-Yves Sarazin, *Le Paris des Lumières d’après le plan de Turgot (1734-1739)*, (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2005), p. 105. Plate 7 of Turgot’s map depicts the abbey prior to the construction of the Pantheon. The tower which is shown in the print also appears in the map. ; For a discussion on the tensions between gothic and classicism in architecture at the Academy in eighteenth-century France, see: Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, pp. 24-6.

⁵⁸ Clarke, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, p. 94.

⁵⁹ Allan Potofsky, *Constructing Paris in the Age of Revolution*, (Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 105-8.

⁶⁰ Ben-Amos, *Funerals, Politics, and Memory in Modern France*, p. 20.

common people had an important influence on commentary about the [proposed] church, underpinning a host of questions on how the saint's new home would embrace and embellish the surrounding neighbourhoods, about which memory of the French past it was going to reflect, and ultimately about whose monument it was going to be.'⁶¹

The Pantheon itself first began construction as the church in which the patron saint of Paris's relics would be held. Beyond its initial function, 'Sainte-Geneviève was the premier state-sponsored architectural project of the eighteenth century, as well as the object of the most energetic official publicity campaign ever devoted to a new building under the Old Regime.'⁶²

The project under the helm of the celebrated Lyonnais architect Jean-Germain Soufflot began construction on 6 September 1764, when the first cornerstone was laid by Louis XV.⁶³ The monumental architecture of the church was a novel addition to this part of the Parisian cityscape, and though slightly removed from the hustle and bustle of the central city, its form over the Parisian skyline must have looked particularly distinctive: neither gothic nor baroque (the two styles which had become synonymous with Parisian Catholic churches over the centuries), the architecture of Sainte-Geneviève was firmly rooted in the neo-classical: the exterior of the church moulded in austere white stone juxtaposing some of its more ostentatious touches, its four façades sporadically decorated with Corinthian columns and spaces for friezes and a western-facing pediment, all surmounted by a monumental dome.⁶⁴ Still incomplete at the breakout of the Revolution in 1789, the church of Sainte-Geneviève was to be transformed in 1790 into a space in which the heroes of the Revolution could be remembered and celebrated, their remains entombed in the crypts below. While questions of its architectural suitability were aired by deputies – the fact was that given little budget,

⁶¹ Richard Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), p. 146

⁶² Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, p. 141. 'Even before the design process began, officially sponsored texts established architectural, political, and religious rationales for the building.'

⁶³ Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, p. 153. ; Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Jacques-Germain Soufflot*, (Paris: Monum, Éditions du patrimoine, 2004), pp. 121-6. ; Ben-Amos, *Funerals, Politics, and Memory in Modern France*, pp. 20-1.

⁶⁴ Clarke, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, p. 136. For Quatremère's description of these ostentatious touches, see: Archives nationales F13/1935, dossier 9. ; Thomas Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 111-3. Wittman provides a brief background to the origins and construction of Sainte-Geneviève.

and little room for artistically viable decisions, Sainte-Geneviève provided the most efficient space to suit the desired task. The project for its transformation was left to the architect Quatremère de Quincy who began by stripping the edifice of all religious iconography, beginning the Pantheon's transformation into what would be, 'a temple of revolutionary remembrance;' a space of both commemoration and education.⁶⁵ The transformation of the Pantheon did present some problems, with Clarke noting that deputies seized upon the decision with little thought of the consequences: 'a contentious and expensive exercise in the volatility of Revolutionary memory.' In deciding how to proceed, Quatremère decided upon an allegorical structure: a reflection on the glorification of the Fatherland, and the fundamentals of what it meant to be a proud French citizen. The stripping back of the building's more ornate features was therefore, 'the perfect idiom of Revolutionary virtue.'⁶⁶ Abstract was the order of the day, and the sheer emptiness of the interior (ironic by means of having very little representation of the great men of France it was transformed to house) provided a forum for a memorialisation, not of the individual, but of their political role as part of the greater *patrie*.⁶⁷ In this way, at the *panthéonisation* of Voltaire, his memory was detached 'from the crude cult of personality,' and in the context of the Pantheon, his 'commemoration would take on a nobler aspect in Quatremère's temple of memory.'⁶⁸

Voltaire had been buried in the ruined country abbey of Sellières at Romilly-sur-Seine in the Aube in 1778.⁶⁹ Deciding that Voltaire's remains were of importance for the *patrimoine*, the Assembly agreed that the only suitable course of action was to bring his remains back to the capital in the summer of 1791, installing them in the Pantheon in much the same manner as Mirabeau's had been just months before.⁷⁰ Voltaire was seen by some as a figure of great

⁶⁵ Ozouf 'Le Pantéon: L'École normale des morts' in *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, ed. Pierre Nora, I, pp. 152-3. Notes on the proposed changes to the Panthéon by Moitte in 1791. Clarke, *Commorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, pp. 93 ; 132. Clarke also discusses the role popular opinion had to play in the Pantheon's transformation and Quatremère de Quincy's own reservations towards the suitability of the project. ; Ben-Amos, *Funerals, Politics, and Memory in Modern France*, pp. 25-6; 27. Ben-Amos notes that for the Revolution commemoration and education were inseparable: 'to form a new and meritorious citizen by emulating the example of the great man.'

⁶⁶ Clarke, *Commorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, p. 137.

⁶⁷ Clarke, *Commorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, p. 139.

⁶⁸ Clarke, *Commorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, p. 140.

⁶⁹ Clarke, *Commorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, p. 107.

⁷⁰ Jacques Lanfranchi, *Les statues des grands hommes à Paris: Cœurs de bronze, Têtes de pierre*, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004), p. 12. On 30 May 1791 it was also declared by the *depute* Régnaud that a statue of Voltaire would be created, 'aux frais de la nation...' This statue, eventually conceived and sculpted by Houdon would

national significance, and it was felt by this group that his legacy should be shared freely amongst all citizens of France (some even claimed that his writings planted the seeds as to what would become the Revolution). Joseph Clarke however rejects this as being a whole truth, believed by all deputies, as on other occasions suggestions of veneration had fallen through – for a great part, based on rejection by members of the clergy – whereas other figures of seeming importance were commemorated without question: Rousseau and Benjamin Franklin to name but two. Clarke feels that this was not however just because of Voltaire's *infâme* writings, he attributes broader reasons for this to Voltaire's work becoming, 'increasingly out of step with the cult of sensibility [now] sweeping the world of letters... Voltaire could easily seem vain and insincere: at best a sophisticated wit, at worst a pompous charlatan.'⁷¹ Though, following the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in summer 1790, perceptions amongst the deputies about how to deal with the Voltaire question began to change: his denunciation of the church would become his 'greatest achievement... The cause of Voltaire and the cause of the nation were now one and the same'⁷²

Voltaire's body was brought back to Paris in a simple enough fashion, in a wagon covered in a blue cloth.⁷³ Met by the National Guard at the outskirts of the city, the body was brought to the site of the former Bastille. Here his body was installed for public viewing amongst poplar and cypress trees, while girls in antiquarian-styled white robes tended to it. Throughout the ceremony, including the procession of the remains to the Pantheon, this leaning heavily on Roman and antiquarian symbolism was to play a twofold role: 'to stress his "Roman" virtues at the expense of the monarchy following their failed flight to Varennes just over two weeks prior.'⁷⁴ Though as in the case of Mirabeau's remains, this was not to suggest that the Pantheon acted as a site of burial: Voltaire had already been buried in 1778.⁷⁵ Rather, the procession through the streets of Paris, in plain public view, and his

follow the carriage bearing Voltaire's ashes as it was paraded to the Panthéon, where it would finally come to rest. Tiersot, *Les fêtes et les chants de la Révolution française*, p. 56.

⁷¹ Clarke, *Commorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, pp. 107-111.

⁷² Clarke, *Commorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, pp. 113-4. Clarke continues: '... the deputies re-cast Voltaire's life and legacy as the Revolution's foundation myth, an epic crusade pitting Enlightened truth against bigoted fanaticism.'

⁷³ Bivet, *Fêtes révolutionnaires à Paris*, p. 38.

⁷⁴ Schama, *Citizens*, p. 564. Prints of the royal family return from Varennes and a discussion of Parisian printmakers' reaction to this are discussed in Chapter Four.

⁷⁵ As the Marquis de Villette would state in a discourse to the Jacobin Club, 'Si les Anglais ont réuni leurs grands hommes dans Westminster, pourquoi hésiterons-nous à placer le cercueil de Voltaire dans le plus beau de nos

subsequent installation in the Pantheon show that this procession was not one of mourning, but a celebration of Voltaire and patriotic pride.⁷⁶

One satirical print of the period aptly illustrates such a sentiment (fig. 8). The unknown printmaker has decided not to focus on the procession of Voltaire's remains, but has created an amusing though slightly scatological scene within the foreground of the print in which a winged female figure of Fame appears to play two trumpets: one extending from her mouth to the right, one from her backside to the left. A flag beneath the left trumpet is inscribed with the text, '*Journée du 21 Juin,*' the day the king and his family took flight. Below the left trumpet she extends her leg, kicking over a bust statue of Louis XVI from a pedestal inscribed 'Le Faux pas.' Voltaire's bust sculpture alternatively rests to the right, solidly on his pedestal beneath the triumphal trumpet.⁷⁷ His head is adorned with a crown of stars, while a harp and sheets of paper lie below the pedestal to the right, and Pegasus to his left. The symbolism is designed to amuse, and the printmaker is rather blatant in expressing a particularly political opinion, that of a disrespect for the monarchy, through symbolism and scatological imagery.

Beyond the satirical nature of the print, the procession is simply referred to in the background of the scene as Voltaire's remains make their way to their final destination as onlookers watch from either side. The Pantheon crowns the background of the scene. Simply rendered by the printmaker, he or she has successfully incorporated its basic architectural elements into the image. Though it towers over the background scene, the printmaker has also removed it from any other surrounding cityscape. In his analysis of the Pantheon, Clarke also mentions that this aesthetic choice, the separation between the Pantheon and the city

temples, dans la nouvelle Sainte-Geneviève...' Quoted in, Biver, *Fêtes révolutionnaires à Paris*, pp. 37-8. ; Voltaire had in fact passed away at Villette's house on the Quai des Théâtres (today the Quai Voltaire). Following his death, Villette took it upon himself 'to redress "la honte" of Voltaire's final humiliation at the hands of Archbishop Beaumont with a state funeral at Sainte-Geneviève.' (Voltaire had been denied a Christian burial). In, Clarke, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, p. 108. ; See also, C. de Villette, *Lettres choisies de Charles de Villette sur les principaux événements de la Révolution*, (Paris: 1792), pp. 62-7.

⁷⁶ Clarke, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, p. 119. Clarke comments on the novelty of this ambiance, in part suggesting that it's tone may have changed due to a lack of clergymen at the procession: this was a distinct development in how processions through the city had traditionally been envisioned.

⁷⁷ The bust depicted in the print bears a striking resemblance to the marble bust done by the sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon in the year of Voltaire's death in 1778 (Musée du Louvre, Département des sculptures, R.F. 1426).

in many paintings and prints, worked to 'envelope the Panthéon in the very Elysium that Quatremère,' had hoped to achieve.⁷⁸ Focusing on the more satirical elements, the Pantheon in such an image seems to work more as a narrative element, simply aiding the spectator to identify the event and its setting. This print also works to show that Voltaire's *panthéonisation* was much removed from the grief that supposedly surrounded that of Mirabeau's. This image is politically based, but its bawdy humour is in no way disrespectful to the deceased, giving another sense of the ambiance of such processions.

But not all prints of the *panthéonisation* of Voltaire engaged in political comment. The majority rather focused on elements of the procession itself, taking in scenes of the cityscape, many of which incorporating images of the exterior of the Pantheon. The procession was the brainchild of architect Quatremère de Quincy and the artist Jacques-Louis David. Quincy especially was well-established to head the proceedings while he was conducting the renovations at the Pantheon.⁷⁹ Much in the same manner as the Fête de la Fédération just over a year previous, the procession's setting-off from the Place de la Bastille was met with grey skies and frequent downpours, though this failed to deter the one-hundred thousand or so spectators who came out to watch and participate.⁸⁰ The mapped itinerary for the route incorporated stopping points in locations where Voltaire had been of some importance, including the Bastille, the Opéra and the Théâtre-Française where the procession was greeted by singing and other theatrical acts. In this way the procession was very much a Parisian spectacle, engaging not only with the Parisian spectators, but acknowledging sites of historical interest to the deceased as the subject. The procession was eventually to cross the Seine at the Pont-Royal, a scene incorporated into a print printed by the *Bureau de Révolutions* for Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris* (fig. 9). A monochrome etching, this print does not feature a direct depiction of the Pantheon (though a dome in the background of the cityscape may hint at the structure), but replicates a relatively detailed

⁷⁸ Clarke, *Commorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, p. 144. Clarke also claims that Quatremère failed to achieve this goal due to the ever-changing political landscape, and architecture's inability through allegorical symbols to reflect such constant developments.

⁷⁹ Bivet, *Fêtes révolutionnaires à Paris*, p. 36. Quatremère de Quincy would go on to design the cenotaph for the crypt following Mirabeau's burial there. ; Ozouf, 'Le Panthéon: L'École normale des morts' in *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, ed. Pierre Nora, I, p. 151. Quatremère de Quincy performed more of an aesthetic surgery to the space as it already was in existence, removing the unnecessary broaderies, bouquets, palms, diamonds, sculpted cherub heads, medals, garlands, and so on, to create a far more austere, sublime space.

⁸⁰ Clarke, *Commorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, p. 117. Clarke provides references to several commentaries about the event.

scene of the centre of the procession, the sarcophagus and its attributes, as it crossed a focal Parisian landmark identified in the text of the print. The text also describes what is happening at this particular junction, noting: 'douze chevaux blancs sur trois lignes trainoient le char triomphal a 4 roues, il approche de la m.on de Mr de Villette, ou Belle et Bonne fille adoptive de Voltaire rendit son nouvel hommage aux cendres de papa grand homme.'⁸¹ While the location of the Pont-Royal would have permitted the printmaker to depict a more open scene the one wandering through the narrow streets of the *rive droite*, there may have also been logistical planning in the decision to have the procession crossing at the Pont-Royal: not only did this entail the cortege maneuvering in full view of the Tuileries Palace (and perhaps even to the knowledge of the royal family whom were guarded inside), but also juxtaposing the name of the bridge with the neo-classical aesthetic that the procession presented, much in the manner of the satirical fig. 9.⁸² The print works to incorporate a detailed view of the sarcophagus, which is described as being almost the height of a two story house.⁸³

Another print by Basset incorporates elements of the cityscape, the Pantheon, and dissects the order of the procession, though in doing so does not present the procession itself in a realistic setting (fig. 10). The printmaker has successfully displayed the length of the procession and the mass of people who took part in it by depicting the figures moving sinuously, winding their way into the background to the entrance of the Pantheon. This appears to have been a popular stylistic technique as a means of depicting crowds *chez* Basset, as the print seems to follow the same iconographical formula as one printed in 1789, at the meeting of the Estates-General, 4 May 1789.⁸⁴ This method in which a group marching

⁸¹ The text adheres to the apparent accuracy of fig. 6. 'Belle et Bonne' was Voltaire's pet name for his adopted daughter Philiberte Roush de Varicourt, whom he adopted in 1776 and later married off to his protégé the Charles-Michel, Marquis de la Villette in 1776. For an account of her life and relationship with Voltaire, see: Jean Stern (or Maurice Serval), *Belle et bonne: une fervante amie de Voltaire, 1757-1822*, (Paris: Hachette, 1938).

⁸² Clarke, *Commorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, pp. 116; 120-1. The *panthéonisation* had to in fact be delayed for a week due to the royal family's botched flight to Varennes.

⁸³ Ben-Amos, *Funerals, Politics, and Memory in Modern France*, p. 36. Ben-Amos gives a highly detailed description of the cortege and sarcophagus. ; Schama, *Citizens*, p. 564. Schama notes the extent of detail artists took to follow examples of Roman models, Aquatint held at the BNF depicts the carriage and its surmounting sarcophagus in great detail (De Vinck no. 4173; Hennin no. 11016). ; Biver, *Fêtes révolutionnaires à Paris*, p. 39. Such antiquarian imagery included the stylised bed in which a likeness of Voltaire had been laid-out, decorated with a broken lyre, and a crown of stars. The bed was surmounted by Eternity.

⁸⁴ De Vinck no. 1424; Hennin no. 10230.

in procession is depicted may not necessarily provide a realistic view of how the procession moved through the city, though it does work in breaking down the groups of those who were involved in the event, notably: deputies, National Guardsmen, costumed individuals in Roman dress, and presumably other municipal officials, while a crowd of a variety of characters watches the procession from the right. Of specific note are some similarities between this print and the satirical fig. 9. Both scenes present a scene removed (here, to a certain extent) from the cityscape, and in doing so mark the Pantheon as the final destination of the parade: its role in the procession being clearly defined as the resting place of Voltaire's remains. As discussed in Ben-Amos' text on funerals, politics and memory, he notes Ozouf's belief that this distance made the monument itself an 'absentee' from the ceremonies. Not only is the Pantheon removed from the cityscape, but also from the procession: the spectator can not see what is happening inside. Ozouf asserts that this therefore meant that what took place inside was of little importance.⁸⁵ This opinion does not necessarily ring true from what may have been the perspective of the printmaker however, nor his or her audience. The lack of interior scenes of these *panthéonisations* may come down to a lack accessibility to the scene, or perhaps just that at the time greater interest was placed on elements of crowd participation and engagement which print purchasers may have experienced, or could identify with. This is not to say that a lack of interior imagery undermines the events which were carried-out within the Pantheon, but that there was a focus rather on ceremony and the grand façade which represented the destination of the that ceremony – distanced or not from cityscape and crowd.

While the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* has not identified a printmaker to fig. 9, there is a possibility that it may also be from the printmakers Basset: certainly given the style of etching which has been hand-coloured in a variety of watercolours, but also in the two depictions of the Pantheon. Both images present a simple, though thoroughly identifiable view of the façade, incorporating columns, a surmounting central pediment, and similarly structured domes. Both prints also incorporate engraved text around each dome. Naturally this remains somewhat speculative: such a means of depicting the Pantheon may have been copied from one printmaker to another, as was typical of the period, and possibly may have

⁸⁵ Ben-Amos, *Funerals, Politics, and Memory in Modern France*, p. 27.

become a simple and standardised iconographic means with which printmakers could clearly transmit the setting of the print to their audience.

The Pantheon as a site therefore incorporated all of these elements of mourning, memorialisation, celebration, veneration, and politics. Stripped of its religious iconography, the monumental nature corresponds to the proposed work of the visionary architect Etienne Boullée, whose proposed plans for monuments memorialising the likes of Isaac Newton and the Maréchal de Turenne employed this pared-back quality, while pushing the proposed monuments towards a more abstract aesthetic.⁸⁶ Despite this 'new look,' the character of Boullée's work corresponded to the new role of the Pantheon, stating that: 'Il est évident que le but qu'on propose, lorsqu'on élève ces sortes des Monuments, est de perpétuer la mémoire de ceux auxquels ils sont consacrés ... et de ramener par conséquent l'homme à des idées morales.'⁸⁷ While some prints incorporated bawdy elements during Voltaire's *panthéonisation*, their existence is nevertheless testament to the continuing memorialisation of these figures: the role that the Pantheon was transformed specifically to do. However the structure was also a victim of its own success: it left many critics cold, and its allegorical symbolism as chosen by Quatremère de Quincy made it at once inaccessible to the people of the street, and dated in its lack of ability to update its symbolic architecture in the ever-changing political landscape.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Clarke, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, p. 23.

⁸⁷ Etienne Louis Boullée, *Architecture: Essai sur l'art*, ed. Helen Rosenau, (London: Alec Tiranti, 1953), p. 83.

⁸⁸ Clarke, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, p. 165.

4.0 Chapter Four: The Tuileries and the Royal Family, 1791-2

A royal edifice now lost to history, the Tuileries Palace was a location which stood witness to some of the most significant political changes and acts of insurrection during the Revolutionary decade.⁸⁹ Taking on different roles over the period, the Tuileries acted not only as a palace, but also as prison, battlefield and centre of government. In the printed medium the Tuileries Palace became a subject of increasing interest, particularly following the October Days, with printmakers recording and interacting with the most recent of events, and finding new means to move beyond the monumental iconography generally employed when depicting the palace prior to 1789. Its position within the topography of the city, close to the heart of the capital with proximity to the Place Louis XV, the Palais-Royal and the Place de Grève, meant that from the evening of 6 October 1789 to the turbulent night of 10 August 1792, the Tuileries became the prime residence of the monarchy, a centre for political discourse, and a site for popular demonstration.

This chapter will analyse a number of prints depicting various aspects of the interior and exterior of the palace and its surrounding grounds. Working in a broadly chronological framework, I will examine prints depicting a number of significant events which took place in and around the palace: the Day of Daggers; the royal family's attempted flight from the palace and their subsequent forced return from Varennes; the storming of 20 June 1792, and the insurrection of 10 August 1792. Alongside these events, which a number of printmakers depicted, it is also necessary to note the genre scenes which involved varying aspects of the day-to-day life of the royal family in the palace and its gardens, as well as a proliferation of satirical, scatological, and zoomorphic material which flourished following the royal family's failed flight from France in June 1791.

Of particular interest is the way in which printmakers chose to form and visually differentiate between private and public spaces at the Tuileries site, and how such defined, but also transitional spaces, were depicted and complemented the narrative of a print. The Tuileries was a site that juxtaposed these different kinds of interlinked spaces within a close

⁸⁹ The Tuileries Palace was eventually destroyed by firing during the Commune, on 23 May 1871.

proximity: the Place Louis XV, the palace gardens, the *salle du Manège* (which became the seat of the Assembly), and the royal family's apartments. Over the course of the royal family's time at the Tuileries, perceptions of what had been defined boundaries between royal and public spaces were to change. While this may not have been considered in the outwardly facing architectural forms which built up the façade of the Palace, it was always evident in the shifting functions of the structure that were considered in print. Some prints visually eroded once considered royal, 'private' spaces, bringing certain aspects of the royal family's domestic life into the public's gaze. This manipulation of space, both in reality and in prints, manifested itself most readily in physical acts, acts of violence or insurrection, but also in other examples of political gesturing (such as in the public's reaction to the flight to Varennes and the popular denunciation of the king's right of veto, both of which were presented in prints using unique visual motifs). Such developments in the satirical attacks on the monarchy at the Tuileries may broadly be interpreted as mimicking the gradual decline of royal control: as Louis XVI lost his power and influence, Revolutionary printed imagery became all the more incendiary and personal in the development of popular opinion on politics and royal affairs. Indeed, both in the physical bounds of the palace, and within the iconographical realm of printed media, any room for private space in the evolving world of popular printed imagery was quickly diminishing.

Though it is difficult to assess the accuracy of such images as a great many show depictions of unnamed rooms and unidentified interiors, these prints provided the printmaker's sense of how either he or she perceived the palace, or imagined it to have looked had they been present at the event being depicted. This study must also take into account the influence of descriptive written reports, as well as other artists' and printmakers' works which may have been copied, or held some influence, presenting a readily accepted view as to what the palace looked, or should have looked like. It is therefore necessary to define this artistic 'perception' (or licence) and focus on how these prints illustrated a change in the palace's function from that of royal residence, to royal prison, site of political upheaval, and seat of government.

4a. Paris's Forgotten Palace

The construction of the Tuileries was a project of great ambition that was to see the participation of several architects working over lengthy periods of time to construct a palace that Catherine de Médicis had desired to be of sumptuous decoration and great elegance. Plans were laid out by the sixteenth century architect Philibert de l'Orme and initial construction work began in 1564. The signature mark of the Tuileries was to be its monumental façade, looking down on what would be the Tuileries gardens to the west, and the Place du Carrousel to the east. This façade would make up the length of the narrow palace. Anchored by a central portico which was surmounted by an elegant dome, the palace comprised two galleries stretching to the angled pavilions at the north and south extremities of the structure (the Pavillon de Pomone and the Pavillon de Flore, respectively).⁹⁰ The palace would later be extended to the south along the Seine, linking it to the southern wing of the Louvre. Pre-Revolutionary prints and eighteenth century travel guides tended to focus on illustrating and describing the decorative side of this façade, which highlighted the palace as a building to be seen and aesthetically appreciated.⁹¹ Centred between the Palais-Royal and the Louvre, and within proximity to the Place de Grève and the Hôtel de Ville, the Tuileries's location meant that it was positioned amongst the physical (the Place de Grève), cultural (the Palais-Royal) and municipal (the Hôtel de Ville), hearts of the city. The palace also formed a centre from which streets and carriageways radiated into the western quarters of the capital, the largest of which, the Champs-Élysées, formed an axis connecting the *barrière des Champs-Élysées* on the very western fringe of the former wall of the *fermiers-généraux*, to the palace itself, passing through the Place Louis XV and the palace gardens (fig. 1).⁹² The palace therefore was very visible on the face of the urban landscape.

⁹⁰ G. Lenotre, *Les Tuileries: Fastes et maléfices d'un palais disparu*, (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1933), pp. 4-37.

⁹¹ See, Germain Brice, *Nouvelle Description de la ville de Paris, et de tout ce qu'elle contient de plus remarquable*, VI, (Paris: Julien-Michel Gandouin and François Fournier, 1717), pp. 116-34. Brice's inclusion of the Tuileries in the seventh edition of his travel guide to the capital highlights the building's aesthetic and architectural importance, as well as noting its draw for tourists visiting Paris. He describes in detail the façade of the structure, the gardens, as well as a room by room breakdown of the interior of the Tuileries Palace, noting the ornamentation of apartments, and the various works of art kept in each room.

⁹² This was typical of the town-planning style seen under Louis XIV: that major roads and carriageways were to be anchored by a monumental building or edifice. ; Béatrice d'Andia, 'Absent toujours présent' in, *Les Tuileries au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Emmanuel Jacquin, (Paris: Délégation de l'action artistique de la ville de Paris, 1990), pp. 11-2. This axe now extends to La Défense in the western suburbs of the capital. For more on the influence of royal gardens and planning under Louis XIV and Louis XV, see, Patrick Abercrombie, 'Paris: Some Influences that Have Shaped Its Growth' in, *The Town Planning Review*, (Vol. 2, No. 3, October 1911), pp. 216-24.

Following Louis XIV's installation with the court at Versailles, the Tuileries Palace was left in a state of perpetual royal disuse.⁹³ Only on two occasions in the course of the eighteenth century was it ever re-occupied by the monarchy: during the Regency of 1715-22 when the palace was home to the young Louis XV, and later in the century when it hosted a scattering of visits by Marie-Antoinette who in 1784, updated the grand apartment of the first floor to her tastes and comfort.⁹⁴ This fleeting royal presence only served to highlight the absence of the monarch within the city – Louis XVI was a notorious home-body preferring to stay at the palace of Versailles, making him appear distanced from the capital and its people. With the lack of royal occupation, some of the palace space spent the second part of the eighteenth century under lock and key, while other elements of it were developed, reused and reassembled. The monumental façade continued to draw visitors, but the lack of a resident monarch made defining the building's function somewhat ambiguous. The Tuileries makes for a compelling visual study in the interaction between royal, political and public space, with all the three forms in constant flux throughout the eighteenth century, particularly during the early years of the Revolution.

Of substantial note is the question of the Palace's architectural appearance at the end of the eighteenth century: though a different entity entirely, the façade of the Tuileries Palace was not all that aesthetically, nor geographically distant from that of its neighbour the Louvre. The conventions of a palatial monumental façade, branching-out from a central pavilion, had developed over the years into a franco-baroque style: that of the winged layout which had become popular through the sixteenth century, and what Lewis Mumford described as being emblematic of the cult of power and, 'political centralization, in its most absolute form.'⁹⁵ Such a style, by way of pure size and elegance, embodied the role of the monarchy and greater aristocracy in its bricks and mortar. Adding to this, the lavish adornments both on the exterior and interior of such a structure mirrored the wealth and power of those who resided within. Again, this was *architecture parlante* of clear and immediately

⁹³ Richard Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 69-70. In much the same manner, Wittman addresses the role of the abandoned Louvre – what had become, 'an emblem of royal remoteness, as a microcosm of the king-less and symbolically abandoned Paris.

⁹⁴ Guillaume Fonkenell, *Le Palais des Tuileries*, (Paris: Honoré Clair, 2010), pp. 114-5.

⁹⁵ Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations and Its Prospects*, (London and New York: Penguin, 1961), pp. 456; 468.

understandable symbolism for spectators travelling through the centre of Paris. And while the architecture of the Tuileries would not change, groups who felt an entitlement to enter this private and royal space would act as conduits, changing the function of the palace and that of the royal family residing within.

When referring to the Tuileries, eighteenth century Parisians would have either meant the garden, the palace, or both elements comprising the site as a whole.⁹⁶ New roles for the Tuileries and its surroundings began to emerge beginning with the opening of the royal gardens for public use.⁹⁷ The gardens became increasingly popular with the bourgeois crowd, offering a safe and secluded area in which the who's who of Parisian society could take their promenade, and stop to buy cold beverages and tea (only people sporting footwear were allowed to enter the gardens, keeping out any of the riff-raff, and the garden setting meant that the *promeneurs* did not have to worry about large vehicles entering and running them over, unlike the carriages and carts that zipped to-and-fro on some of the city's boulevards). A stone's throw from the hustle and bustle and inter-class mingling of the gardens of the Palais-Royal, the Tuileries gardens was a place to see and to be seen.⁹⁸ Culturally, the palace also became home to some musical and theatrical events including the *concert spirituel* which took place under the dome of the central portico during Lent, and the Opéra in the *salle des machines* from 1763 following the fire that had destroyed the Théâtre Molière at the Palais-Royal.⁹⁹ Redesigned as a theatrical space by the celebrated Lyonnais architect Jean-Jacques Soufflot, who came to work most importantly on Sainte-Geneviève, this space was also host to a number of spectacles, including optical displays, machine demonstrations (from where the hall got its name), and even exhibitions featuring a

⁹⁶ The name 'Tuileries' stems from the word *tuilier*, or tiler in English, the profession of one Poullart from whom the land for the palace and gardens was purchased. See, Lenotre, *Les Tuileries*, p. 4.

⁹⁷ For detailed descriptions of how the gardens appeared in the eighteenth-century see, Antoine-Nicolas Dezallier D'Argenville, *Voyage pittoresque de Paris: ou Indication de tout ce qu'il y a de plus beau dans cette ville en peinture, sculpture & architecture*, III, (Paris: 1757), pp. 54-65; Joachim Christoph Freidrich Schulz, *Ueber Paris und die Pariser*, (Berlin: F. Viewveg, 1791), pp. 280-1; Mathieu Couty, *La vie aux Tuileries pendant la Révolution, 1789-1799*, (Paris: Tallandier, 1988), pp. 14-5, 17; Anne Pinget, *Le Jardin des Tuileries*, (Paris: Editions Du May, 1993), and; Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, 'Le jardin des Tuileries' in, *Les Tuileries au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Emmanuel Jacquin, (Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la ville de Paris, 1990).

⁹⁸ Laurent Turcot, *Le promeneur à Paris au XVIIIe siècle*, (Paris: Gallimard, 2007), p. 99.

⁹⁹ Daniel Hartz, 'The Concert Spirituel in the Tuileries Palace' in, *Early Music*, (Vol. 21, No. 2, May, 1993), pp. 240-248. ; D'Andia, 'Absent toujours present' in, *Les Tuileries au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Jacquin, pp. 30-3. D'Andia also includes architectural plans of the *concert spirituel* in 1748 held in the *Bibliothèque de l'Opéra*.

panorama of Rome and an enchanted forest.¹⁰⁰ The palace was also host to other non-royal visitors in the years prior to the Revolution, with one commentator professing that with the exception of the grand apartments adjacent to the central pavilion, the Tuileries had become occupied by ‘des particuliers, artistes, gens de lettres.’ This was particularly true in the *grande galerie* that ran along the Seine to the south of the Palace, connecting the Tuileries to the Louvre.¹⁰¹

Given this hodgepodge of activity, it is perhaps of no surprise that a report was sent to Louis XVI in 1783 outlining the ‘lamentable’ state of the palace.¹⁰² Though a majestic façade, the ornate structure proved somewhat of an eggshell, and the building’s growing eclectic range of cultural functions made it more Palais-Royal than Louvre.¹⁰³ What had once been a royal space was now remodeled into a partially accessible space open to a wider public use. Nevertheless there were still areas of the palace which were left out of the public sphere, notably the royal apartments on the ground and first floors, extending southwards from the central pavilion. In 1789, it appeared as though some spaces in Paris were still off-limits from the ever-broadening gaze of the printmaker, though this concept of royal ‘privacy’ was to change as the Revolution progressed.¹⁰⁴

4.1 The King Returns, 6 October 1789: Genre Scenes at the Tuileries

¹⁰⁰ Brice, *Nouvelle Description de la ville de Paris*, p. 129-30. Brice comments that the converted *salle des machines* was the most magnificent theatre space in Europe, with the exception of the theatre in Parma, Italy. ; D’Andia, ‘Absent toujours present’ in, *Les Tuileries au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Jacquin, pp. 38-42. D’Andin includes architectural plans by Jean-Jacques Gabriel from AN, Versement de l’Architecture, VA. LIX (4 May 1763).

¹⁰¹ Quoted in, Lenotre, *Les Tuileries*, p. 67. ; Fonkenell, *Le Palais des Tuileries*, pp. 54-62. The gallery, on which construction had begun in 1607, stood at 460 metres long and some 20-30 metres in height.

¹⁰² Lenotre, *Les Tuileries*, p. 86.

¹⁰³ M. (Louis-Sébastien) Mercier, *Les entretiens du jardin des Thuileries de Paris*, (Paris: Buisson, 1788). Mercier’s various ‘entretiens’ that he records in the Tuileries garden resembles is akin to those he recorded in his other volume, *Les entretiens du Palais-Royal de Paris*. While these discussions should not be taken to be recording of actual conversation, but more a means for Mercier to publish his thoughts, the *entretiens* in the Tuileries shows the garden as a prime space for conversation and the discussion of opinions.

¹⁰⁴ While the apartments were a private royal space, the interiors were recorded in detail in some descriptive travel guides. See, Brice, *Nouvelle Description de la ville de Paris*, pp. 121-8, as one such example. Descriptions such as Brice’s were popular when commenting on spaces that were not usually open to the public sphere. See, Etienne Jollet, ‘L’accessibilité de l’oeuvre d’art: les beaux-arts de Paris au XVIIIe siècle’ in, *Les guides imprimés du XVIe au XXe siècle. Villes, paysages, voyages*, eds. Gilles Chabaud, Evelyne Cohen, Natacha Coquery, Jérôme Penez, (Paris: Belin, 2000), pp. 167-78. Jollet discusses the role of the ‘visitor-reader,’ and the travel guide’s function in allowing intellectual, or imagined, accessibility to a private space.

Genre prints of royal family life at Versailles are much fewer than those which depict portraits or specific and notable occasions. No doubt, this was due to the tough censorship laws of the *ancien régime*, and perhaps in part due to the distance of the printmaking industry from the royal hub at Versailles. Following the royal family's installation at the Tuileries on 6 October 1789, there was an apparent change in the manner in which printmakers chose to depict the royal family: a number of etchings began to appear of the king and his family engaging in activities in and around the Tuileries Palace. Such scenes of domestic family life are particular, not just in subject, but also technique. The royal family's quotidian activities are treated as genre scenes, much in the same manner as other genre prints in which activities of the time were quickly replicated by using etching and watercolours.

This change in interest amongst printmakers began at the conclusion of the October Days and Louis XVI's return to Paris. Prints of 6 October 1789 tended to overlook the social and political tensions which were the catalyst for the march to Versailles. Rather, etchings of the period gave a somewhat superficial interpretation of events: the festive ambiance of the visuals was given greater gravity than the context. One reason for this may have been due to the printmakers' proximity to the event itself: the majority of these images can be dated, or have been dated by the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* and British Museum to 1789. Printmakers may not have been afforded the time to reflect upon and politicise their work in order to sell it as quickly as possible to an interested public. Such prints could also be interpreted as giving a very Parisian angle on what had taken place. The royal family's installation at the Tuileries was something to be celebrated for many Parisians, and this was replicated in the visual medium, including some depictions of the palace. With the monarchy reinstalled at the Tuileries, a sense of purpose was restored to the building: fulfilling its intended architectural role as a palace. While the majority of etchings focused on the marchers celebrating, many alluding to drunken frivolity and some debauchery between the female participants and the National Guardsman, a sinister element is also apparent in prints which included the two severed heads of the royal body guards killed on the night of 5 October. In turn, prints depicting the royal cortege's entrance into the city are fewer amongst the De Vinck, Hennin and the Qb1 collections held at the *Bibliothèque nationale de*

France than those marching scenes. Those which do exist tend to illustrate the event as a kind of triumphal arrival, or a public 'welcome home' for the monarch and his family.

Fig. 2 provides an interesting vision of how the royal family's arrival played out. The long axis of the Champs-Élysées gave the people of Paris the opportunity to witness the spectacle. This transition culminated on the Place Louis XV, an open forum which would have allowed space for crowds to spectate as the carriage made its way to the palace. As Richard Wittman asserts, architecture was a public facing discipline, and with it, such open spaces as the Place Louis XV granted the local populace a sort of civic spirit, as the print illustrates.¹⁰⁵

The printmaker Louis Bance has managed to capture this festive ambiance using a minimalist aesthetic. Bance was an experienced printmaker who printed allegorical images, as well as copies of masterpieces painted by academic artists.¹⁰⁶ This image shows a significant change in his interests from the academic, to the current political and social events of the day at the outbreak of the Revolution. A print of the storming of the Bastille is also attributed to him by the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*.¹⁰⁷ While Bance has incorporated realistic elements of the urban topography, notably a rather rudimentary depiction of the Admiralty and the Hôtel Crillon to the north of the Place, and the equestrian statue of Louis XV, not much other detail has been given. From this perspective, the façade of the Madeleine, Sainte-Geneviève's sister church, should be visible as both its foundations and portico had been completed by 1789.¹⁰⁸ Bance has also chosen to depict a daylight scene, though the royal cortege, followed by some six-hundred and seventy-seven members of the court, did not arrive until ten o'clock on the evening of 6 October.¹⁰⁹ The focus of the print rests on the

¹⁰⁵ Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, p. 80. A brief history of the *Place Louis XV*.

¹⁰⁶ Emmanuel Benezit (ed.), *Dictionary of Artists*, (Paris: Gründ, 2006), p. 1074. See also the BNF's entry, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb149544936/PUBLIC> [accessed 01 October 2011], providing details of addresses and other works held in the *Cabinet des Estampes*.

¹⁰⁷ De Vinck nos 1579 and 1580.

¹⁰⁸ See, Caroline Béziès, 'Projets pour la Madeleine' in, *Autour de la Madeleine : art, littérature et société*, ed. Bruno Centorame, (Paris: Action artistique de la Ville de Paris, 2005), pp. 49-50. ; and, Sébastien Chauffour, 'L'église de la Madeleine' in, *Autour de la Madeleine*, ed. Centorame, pp. 52-53. ; Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, p. 150. Note on the 'sister church.'

¹⁰⁹ Michael Carmona, *Le Louvre et les Tuileries: Huit siècles d'histoire*, (Paris: Editions de La Martinière, 2004), p.208. The print has been coloured in watercolour. While this may have been done by Bance, it may have also been done by the collector. Presumably the choice of a daylight scene renders the narrative details such as the crowd more visible to the spectator.

arrival of the carriage itself as it snakes its way across the Place.¹¹⁰ The crowd appears as one, largely indistinguishable mass of grey. Unlike other prints showing the marchers' return from Versailles, this image appears more calm and sober: the crowd look on at the procession rather than participating in it. This element of structured spectacle, which the Place Louis XV permitted, is juxtaposed to a lack of an aesthetic structure within the iconography of the print itself, notably in the lack of a realistic perspective. The procession appears to move up through the scene rather than into the background. This lack of perspective is made most clear in the square outline to the right of the scene, resting against the picture plane. This section may be representative of the Tuileries gardens. Bance was undoubtedly a talented printmaker, though this image appears rushed, almost as if it were incomplete. Dated by the BNF to 1789, Bance may have been working to engage as quickly as possible with the event, forgoing artistic accuracy but preserving enough narrative detail for the print to be easily understood. While the scene then presents some inconsistencies, it is nevertheless clear, and the printmaker's positive intentions are realised in the festive nature of the image.

It would seem that in the eyes of a number of the printmakers, the king had returned to his Parisian home, and the presence of the royal family was something to be visually engaged with. In one instance, the king and his family give an audience to the recently bereaved widow of the murdered baker Denis François, Marie-Claude Berne (fig. 3). Denis François had been executed by a crowd on 21 October 1789, on the Place de Grève, after a famished woman accused him of being a monopolist and hiding bread from the public. François was hanged from a lamp-post, his head then allegedly cut-off by François Blin, a dock porter, who was subsequently arrested and hanged after his trial the following day.¹¹¹ The print presents a view of the interior of the Tuileries Palace as a fairly modest setting, enabling the royal family to empathise with the human emotion of their middling-class visitor. The room is identified as the 'gallery' of the palace in the text, presumably a room on the upper-level of

¹¹⁰ This use of a snake, or zig-zag, to illustrate processions or parades was commonplace in the printmakers' visual vocabulary. For examples of this, refer to the case studies in Chapter Three on the death of Mirabeau and the *panthéonisation* of Voltaire, in which processions were showed moving through space in this way.

¹¹¹ See, Riho Hayakawa, 'L'Assassinat du boulanger Denis François le 21 octobre 1789' in, *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, (333, July-September 2004), (<http://ahrf.revues.org/841>), pp. 1-19, for an analysis of the event and references to archival material, and; Barry Schapiro, *Revolutionary Justice in Paris, 1789-1790*, (Cambridge, New York, Oakleigh: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 103-4.

the southern gallery where the king's apartment was located. The printmaker has employed the use of some decoration in the room, with fluted pilasters, panelling and a small coat of arms, but the decoration is not grandiose and the room seems a comfortable size. It is impossible to tell if the printmaker had any knowledge of the interior of the palace, or whether he or she was in fact present at the event. Many people appear in the room, including noblemen, a member of the Parisian National Guard, and a clergyman. The variety of characters may be representative of the Three Estates, symbolic perhaps of Revolutionary unity. They appear to present the visitors whilst watching Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette receive the bereaved woman and her son.

The body language of Marie-Claude Berne, kneeling before the Marie-Antoinette, shows the printmaker's aptitude at depicting human emotion. She appears in grief, almost as if begging the queen for help, as the queen bends down to comfort her. Neither Louis XVI, nor Marie-Antoinette, appears particularly realistically represented. The text beneath the print states that the king and queen made plans for the woman and her son to receive a benefit of 6,000 livres. To Berne's right, there stands a young man, possibly her son, André-Denis François. To the left of the scene, another young boy, likely to be the Dauphin, is restrained from joining his parents in the central scene. A sort of domestic symmetry exists between the royal family and the François. The printmaker may have employed this image, perhaps to illustrate their connection to typical Parisian people. This almost domestic relationship between the royal family and their subjects is not contradicted by the depicted architecture, but rather reinforced by its somewhat modest nature.¹¹²

In another print titled *Le Jeune Patriote*, an apparently more sporadic interaction between the royal family and the public is recorded by the printmaker (fig. 4). The narrative, which takes place in the Tuileries gardens, depicts the royal family observing a young boy enacting his patriotic duty. The boy is described as being proud to perform for the Dauphin. With the exception of this, the image does not seem overtly political. The setting is clearly identifiable by the monumental western façade of the palace which appears in the background of the

¹¹² In the version of the print found in the Waddesdon Collection, some very bright colours have been used. It is possible that this image was painted in the mid to late nineteenth-century to appeal to the market for coloured prints.

scene, its galleries, central pavilion and dome, all clearly realised by the printmaker. The leafless trees representing the garden space suggest that this is a winter scene. Other narrative elements are confirmed by the caption which is engraved beneath the image. The print suggests that the members of the royal family took their promenade in the gardens, much in the manner they would have done in the gardens of Versailles, providing a public space in which bourgeois Parisians were seemingly able to interact with the monarchs. This interaction with the public can be seen in another recorded instance when Louis XVI came across a young man sweeping on the Champs-Élysées (fig. 5). Similar both in style, and in subject matter to figure 4 (though figure 5 focuses on the king's generosity to the young boy), both prints illustrate the accessibility of the monarchy to the people. What is also curious is the anecdotal nature of such prints: these commonplace scenes do not present events of particular consequence, though given the proliferation of fig. 4 in a number of slightly different versions, one of which is titled 'Anecdote du jour,' it shows a real engagement by printmakers and spectators in the domestic lives of the royal family.

These examples of genre prints also give a sense of the spatial relationship between the palace, the gardens, the Place Louis XV, and the Champs-Élysées beyond. Such genre prints take particular interest in the royal family's use of the space: whether it be to receive visitors officially, to take their promenade, and or to engage with the wider Parisian public. There is no doubt given the proliferation of such genre prints, as well as articles in journals reporting on similar subjects, that the members of the royal family were a very visible element within the capital, complemented by the monumental nature and central position of the palace itself within the urban topography. While visual examples of the members of the royal family show them engaging in the public sphere, there is no imagery of the private royal sphere, such as the royal apartments in 1789. With progression of the Revolution, in which the Tuileries would be the setting for several notable events, these spaces would become accessible to popular print imagery, as well as the public's gaze.

4.2 Images of Palatial Interiors: The Day of Daggers, 28 February 1791

On the evening of 28 February 1791, a group of men claiming to be monarchists entered the Tuileries Palace, initially without raising the suspicion of the Swiss or National Guard.¹¹³ Armed with daggers and other various weapons, they made their way up the grand stairwell through the *salle des Suisses*, and into the *salle des gardes*.¹¹⁴ Meeting resistance from the National Guard, they proclaimed that through their own volition and good will they had come to protect the king after a day which had been marred by violence following a popular uprising at the Château de Vincennes, a fortress located to the east of the capital. Both the Swiss and the National Guard, suspecting the legitimacy of these claims, ordered the men to disarm leading to violent repercussions. In the resulting ruckus, several of the men were arrested on suspicion of planning to abduct the king, to what precise ends though, have never been fully brought to light.¹¹⁵ This odd episode in the history of the Tuileries marks the first infiltration of the palace by a crowd or outside group, into this particular private, royal space.¹¹⁶

Reports began to circulate in a number of journals in the days following the events.¹¹⁷ Several of these claimed to be personal accounts of what had happened – some anonymous, others written in the apparent hope of justifying a particular individual's actions on the evening in question.¹¹⁸ Often historically overlooked or regarded more as a curious blip in the early months of 1791, the proliferation of printed imagery detailing what had occurred suggests an assertive interest, both by printmakers, and the broader print-purchasing public of the day. Images such as fig. 6 in particular show an almost cult-like status which popular opinion accorded the *chevaliers des poignards*, or knights of the dagger as they came to be labelled in the printed medium. This form of dagger with a circular base appears in a great

¹¹³ Marie-Joseph Marquis de Lafayette du Motier, *Mémoires, correspondance et manuscrits du général Lafayette, publiés par sa famille*, (Paris: H. Fournier aîné, 1837), pp. 356; 392. It was alleged in various reports and in Lafayette's memoirs that the group were given admission cards by the Duke of Villequier, head of the king's chamber.

¹¹⁴ Mathieu Couty, 'Le Château de 1789-1799' in *Les Tuileries au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Emmanuel Jacquin, (Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la ville de Paris, 1990), p. 69.

¹¹⁵ Couty, *La Vie aux Tuileries pendant la Révolution, 1789-1799*, (Paris: Tallandier 1988), p. 86. Couty asserts this confusion which manifested itself as a tragi-comic episode in the press of the day.

¹¹⁶ While this was the first Parisian royal space to have been infiltrated by the Parisian crowd, many of those who had marched to Versailles during the October Days had succeeded in entering the palace.

¹¹⁷ For one such report, see: *Journal de Paris*, no. 63, Vendredi 4 mars 1791, de la Lune le 30, (Paris: Quillau, 1791).

¹¹⁸ See, Augustin Joseph Louis Philippe de Rossi, *Journée du 28 février, au Château des Tuileries.*, (Paris: 1791); and, *Récit Exact De ce qui s'est passé au Château des Tuileries, le 28 Février.*, [signé de Bertier, Godard de Donville, de Labourdonnaye, Gentil de Fombel, Dubois de la Motte, de Lillers, Fanget, Champin], (Paris: 1791).

many of the prints, produced by a variety of printmakers. Its peculiar shape suggests an iconic motif that came to be replicated again and again.¹¹⁹ This particular print by Villeneuve, a printmaker notoriously recognised as being one of the more staunch anti-monarchist printmakers producing work at the time, uses text to spell out his political standing, describing the group as the *infâmes poignards*.¹²⁰ The wrist of the hand wielding the dagger is also dressed in lace, perhaps a nod to the aristocratic characters which made-up the group of so-called *chevaliers*. There is however little evidence beyond these visual examples to show that such daggers existed, let alone had been commonly employed by the group that entered the Tuileries that evening.¹²¹ While self-serving texts such as those published by individual *poignards* should not be considered as a legitimate historical resource by which to understand the events of the night, these accounts and their lack of description vis-à-vis this particular form of dagger nevertheless fail to impact on the strength of the dagger as a symbolic image. Its peculiar shape and its visual proliferation in the printed medium was clearly a symbol which the public came to identify easily: a visual motif which printmakers employed to refer directly, as a sort of artistic shorthand, to the night of 28 February 1791.

The use of this somewhat violent motif was just one way of conjuring-up 28 February 1791 in the mind of the spectator; the other was by means of a literal depiction of the events of the evening itself. The majority of prints of the Day of Daggers take place in three recognisable, though not necessarily named, interiors in the Tuileries Palace: notably in the grand stairwell (a setting which would later be reproduced by Berthault in the *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française* in 1802),¹²² the *salle des Suisses*, and the *salle des gardes* (both rooms moving away from the top of the grand staircase on the first floor of the

¹¹⁹ For an example of how broadly this symbol was used, see *Louis XVI and a Sans-Culottes playing cards*, another print by Villeneuve (The Rothschild Collection, acc. no. 4222.21.27). Printed in 1792, a year after the Day of Daggers, this complicated work satirises public opinion towards Louis XVI following his failed flight to Varennes. Louis's thrown is adorned by two of these daggers. This suggests that this visual motif was widely recognised amongst Villeneuve's collectors even a year on and, in this case, worked to not only to symbolically reference 28 February 1791, but also induce ideas of monarchist conspiracy in aiding the king to flee the France.

¹²⁰ E. Benezit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs de tous les temps et tous les pays, par un groupe d'écrivains spécialistes français et étrangers*, (Paris: Gründ, 1976), XIV, p. 333. Villeneuve was a highly active who specialised in incendiary and sometimes particularly violent satirical images and caricatures.

¹²¹ A royalist account of the event notes that only eight of the men arrested were actually carrying daggers, pointing-out the exaggerated nature of the press of the day. See, *Récit Exact De ce qui s'est passé au Château des Tuileries, le 28 Février*, p. 13.

¹²² De Vinck no. 3873; Smith-Lesouëf no. 2790.

palace, and used to protect the king's apartments in the southern wing of the palace).¹²³ In analysing a selection of these prints it may be possible to link certain visual elements to written sources describing the interiors of the Tuileries, which is not to say that such prints are an accurate reproduction of how the inside of the palace actually looked. The key role of these prints rather was to focus on replicating the subject, the event itself, for the print-purchasing spectator. They nevertheless offer a unique view of the Day of Daggers, and an interpretation of how the printmaker, and their public, envisaged the interior of the palace.

Many of these prints also provided a caption giving a background to the event, as well as an analysis of the narrative elements depicted in the adjoining image. With the event as the primary subject, context was key. A print by Jourdain shows the disarming of the men on the grand stairwell by the Parisian National Guard (fig. 7). The scene is chaotic, though rendered with a good level of detail suggesting that perhaps Jourdain may have been classically trained. (Of particular note is his realistic use of perspective, especially in his depiction of the wings of the staircase, and in the level of anatomical detail used on the scuffling figures.)¹²⁴ In his rendering of the grand stairwell, Jourdain also demonstrates his knowledge of this part of the palace. The balustrades are accurately replicated, comprising the design of lyres and snakes described by Germain Brice in the seventh edition of his *Nouvelle description de la ville de Paris*.¹²⁵ Figures can be seen to the upper-left wing of the staircase through a door. No door is shown to the right of the staircase, though one did exist, even though it was a false door added simply to provide a sense of architectural symmetry corresponding to the wings of the stairwell.¹²⁶

¹²³ Couty, *La Vie aux Tuileries pendant la Révolution*. Couty provides a detailed map of both the ground and first floors of the Tuileries Palace.

¹²⁴ Benezit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, VII, p. 961-2. Jourdain's ability to depict the human body is best seen in the muscle tones that he has created in the calf muscles of the National Guardsmen to the centre right of the scene.

¹²⁵ Germain Brice. *Nouvelle Description de la ville de Paris, et de tout ce qu'elle contient de plus remarquable*, VI, (Paris: Julien-Michel Gandouin and François Fournier, 1717), p. 121. See also, Couty, 'Le Château de 1789-1799' in *Les Tuileries au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Jacquin, p. 67. Couty describes the ornamentation of the balustrades, sculpted in Montesson stone as, 'formée par des lyres entrelacées de serpents, pour exprimer en même temps la devise du roi, [Apollo], et les armes de J.B. Colbert, surintendant des bâtiments,' (represented by the snake).

¹²⁶ The first floor terrace would have been in this space beyond the false door. This door is accurately replicated in Berthault's depiction of the event in the *Tableaux historique de la Révolution française*. See Couty, 'Le château de 1789-1799' in *Les Tuileries au XVIIIe siècle*, p. 68.

The action that is visible through the upper-left doorway takes place in the *salle des Suisses*. The *salle des gardes*, the furthest space within the palace to which the *poignards* would gain access, lay in the room beyond. Both interior spaces provided arenas in which the action could be depicted by the printmaker and many of these works employ similar motifs and visual techniques hinting at suggestions of specific interiors, allowing the spectator to differentiate between the two. One monochrome etching, an extract from Prudhomme's newspaper the *Révolutions de Paris* published by the *Bureau des Révolutions de Paris*, depicts and describes the scene immediately after the *chevaliers* had been disarmed (fig. 8).¹²⁷ In the image a variety of their weaponry covers the floor of what is most likely a depiction of the *salle des gardes* whilst other armaments appear to be placed into a basket. (The text of the print identifies both pistols and daggers.) This corresponds with a number of accounts, which also claimed that the subsequent scuffle between the *poignards* and the National Guard did not break-out until the men were forced to disarm, many of whom later claimed in published accounts to have done so willingly. The iconic symbol of the daggers with the rounded handle does not appear in the image itself, but in the caption beneath. The rounded handles of these daggers are inscribed with the text, 'gantelets Wartelets.' While the reference to 'Wartelets' is obscure, 'gantelets,' meaning gauntlets, is the term for a glove which covers the forearm, wrist, hand and fingers, much like that found on a plated suit of armour. The etymology of the term gauntlets as inscribed here may also hint at some validation of why the journals and prints of the day began referring to the *poignards* as *chevaliers*, perhaps acknowledging this part of the suit of armour which conjures up the image of a medieval-style knight. The placing of one's hand through the loop in order to hold the dagger therefore corresponds to the image of the hand found in fig. 6: the handle incorporating the hand up to the wrist of the bearer. This symbol, when depicted alongside the image and the text, makes the print all the more comprehensible (referring to the event in three separate ways), but also all the more accessible for the spectator to comprehend visual narrative: the print's text and symbol of the dagger work in symbiosis to present a richer and more detailed account of what had occurred.

¹²⁷ Louis-Marie Prudhomme (ed.), *Révolutions de Paris, dédiées à la Nation et au district des Petits Augustins. Publiées par le sieur Prudhomme à l'époque du 12 Juillet 1789. Avec Graveurs et Cartes des Départemens du Royaume*, (Paris: 1789-4).

The depicted interior space is ornately decorated, with some similar elements to those depicted in the print of the widow François in 1789 (fig. 3): notably in the use of fluted pilasters on the background wall, boiserie, chandeliers, and a similar architectural composition in which a doorway appears to the right of the scene. But these elements do not necessarily suggest that both prints were set in the same interior space. Neither print identifies precisely where the respective subject occurred, with the text of the widow François print noting simply a 'gallery' which could mean any interior space in the southern wing of the palace, though the layout of the interior in fig. 8 points towards this as it being most likely the *salle des gardes*. Such a room provided an ideal interstitial space in which the king could hold audience with his subjects within proximity to his personal dwellings, as he did in fig. 3. Along with some decorative and spatial similarities, it is indeed a possibility that both prints present scenes taking place in the same interior space. A large framed painting is hung on the background wall of the room. The frame is surmounted by the royal coat of arms, the three fleur-de-lis of the centre, clearly visible. The painting, while sketchy in this etching, appears to depict a seated figure, perhaps the monarch, receiving two men holding two unidentifiable objects. A guardsman appears to the left of the scene, as three men are shown energetically talking to the right. Neither Brice's detailed account, nor that of Dézallier D'Argenville in his *Voyage pittoresque de Paris*, make any reference to a painting fitting such a description.¹²⁸ If the painting does show the monarch giving an audience to the two men, as it appears to suggest in this print, the printmaker may have envisioned the painting to identify this particular interior and reinforce the idea that the *salle des gardes*, as a formal space, was where the king and the public could meet, engage and interact.

Other forms of interior decoration are employed in another print depicting the disarming of the *chevaliers*, this time in what appears to be the *salle des Suisses* (fig. 9). This particular room occupied the first floor interior beneath the dome that crowned the central portico of the palace. The mural which covers the background wall of the space appears to show a battle scene with two sketchy figures hinted at, charging on horseback, their swords raised. Two other murals appear to each side of the central battle scene, adding to the ornate decor of the space, which also includes gold boiserie and a chandelier. The printmaker's use of

¹²⁸ Antoine-Nicolas Dézallier D'Argenville. *Voyage pittoresque de Paris: ou Indication de tout ce qu'il y a de plus beau dans cette ville en peinture, sculpture & architecture*, III, (Paris: 1757), pp. 54-63.

perspective, curving the walls of the room to form a rounded effect, alludes to the possibility of the dome above. This is exaggerated by the sheer height of the interior.¹²⁹ A grander space, and with the application of colour, one that is seemingly more striking than that of the interior depicted in fig. 6, this scene corresponds in part to the written descriptions of the *salle des Suisses*.¹³⁰ Three members of the *cent Suisses* of the Swiss Guard appear in the foreground left, right and centre, wearing a blue and red uniform, typical of their sixteenth century design.¹³¹ Assisting the National Guard with disarming the *chevaliers*, their presence in the scene reinforces the printmaker's intention to depict a specific interior space. Given the visual suggestion of this central dome surmounting the interior, such an image amongst others representing the *salle des gardes* would suggest a knowledge amongst printmakers, and even that of the greater public, of the interior make-up of this section of the Tuileries palace, and given the presence of the three *cent Suisses* in fig. 9, were familiar with the functions of some interiors also. As Couty notes, the central portico; the grand stairwell; the *salle des Suisses*, and the *salle des gardes*, were all accessible to the wider public.¹³² The first indication of any private, royal space was outlined by the king's antechamber, an area only hinted at in other prints depicting the Day of Daggers.

Louis XVI and Lafayette appear to the right of fig. 9, entering through a side door, presumably from the *salle des gardes*. Lafayette had spent the day attempting to quell the uprising that had taken place at the Château des Vincennes when he got wind of the alleged plot at the Tuileries. Arriving towards ten o'clock that evening, reports state that it was Lafayette who gave the order to have the men disarmed. Other accounts state that prior to

¹²⁹ G. Lenotre. *Les Tuileries: Fastes et maléfices d'un palais disparu*, (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1933), p. 53. Referencing Brice, Lenotre describes the space as having been immense: 60 feet in all dimensions and with a surface area of 325 m².

¹³⁰ Brice, *Nouvelle Description de la ville de Paris*, pp. 121-2. Brice's description the *salles des Suisses* notes it to be decorated with four motifs in gray with base reliefs, ornate paintings on the walls representing a marching army, a battle, a triumph and a sacrifice. See also, Lenotre. *Les Tuileries*, p. 53.

¹³¹ The *cent suisses* were a faction of the Swiss Guard charged with protecting the monarch in the interior of the palace. The responsibilities of the broader Swiss Guard were the protection of the palace and grounds from the exterior of the structure. For more on the role of the Swiss Guard, see: Jérôme Bodin, *Les Suisses au service de la France: de Louis XI à la Légion étrangère*, (Paris: Albin Michel, 1988).

¹³² Couty, 'Le Château de 1789-1799' in *Les Tuileries au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Jacquin, p. 70-1. Couty notes that beyond the *salle de gardes* a person would need a mandate, or to have their hereditary nobility dated to at least 1400.

this, Louis XVI had addressed the *chevaliers* himself in sympathetic terms.¹³³ This suggests a variety of political attitudes amongst both printmakers and other forms of printed publication. This engagement between the monarch and the *chevaliers* is accounted for in several other prints in which Louis XVI appears to enter and witness the scene. Unlike previous depictions of the monarch analysed in the first part of this chapter, these particular images cannot be defined as genre prints. Depicting a specific event, that event lies outside of the day-to-day life of the king, and that of the typical functions of the palace. Given the visual iconography of prints of the Day of Daggers, most were likely produced with the intention to focus on the narrative of the event as the subject itself, and the king's presence was very much part of creating this visual narrative in an easily identifiable way. The subject of these images is arguably therefore not so much about the presence of the monarch or his interaction with the *chevaliers*, but about the significance of the event that had occurred.

Figures 10 and 11 employ similar compositions to convey the narrative of the event as seen in fig. 8. The prints most likely takes place again in the *salle des gardes*, depicting an interior scene with a door leading to another room in the background left, from where the king and Lafayette emerge. Both scenes contrast the ruckus taking place in the foreground with the subdued observation of the identifiable figures of the monarch and the general in the background. Removed from the action, the adjoining room in which they are standing is most likely the king's antechamber which was connected to the king's apartment beyond. In both scenes, Louis XVI appears incredibly passive as Lafayette addresses him, seemingly unconcerned by the chaos which is unfolding in the foreground: Louis is depicted as a peripheral figure observing the subject (the disarmament) from a distanced and exclusive space. While fig. 8 does not depict the kings being present at the scene, he is nevertheless referenced in the large painting, hung on the background wall.

Windows appear to the right of the scene, corresponding to the architectural plans detailed by Couty, though in the case of fig. 10, the interior decoration is rather bare.¹³⁴ Fig. 11 on the

¹³³ For a monarchist print naming the *poignards* as, 'ces véritables défenseurs,' see: De Vinck, 3877. In the print, Louis XVI addresses two of the *poignards*, one of whom kneels before the king.

¹³⁴ Couty, 'Le Château de 1789-1799' in *Les Tuileries au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Jacquin, p. 69. There were six floor to ceiling windows looking on to the Place du Carrousel to the east in the *salle des gardes*. Others looked on to first floor terrace and the Tuileries gardens to the west.

other hand comprises all the details provided in fig. 10, with a very similar visual composition: all the elements to present the narrative remain in place, though the printmaker has also added a sense of the comic to the disarmament as the *chevaliers* scuffle with the National Guard: one is shown pleading in a cowardly manner while another, dressed as a clergyman, is literally booted out the door with a kick to his backside.

The similarities in composition between figures 10 and 11 is nothing unusual, illustrating the way printmakers chose to tackle subjects by using, borrowing or copying compositions, symbols and iconography from their fellow printmakers. The fact that printmakers appear to have had some knowledge as to the interior layout of the palace, the distribution of rooms and to what function they served, offers the modern spectator an insight in to the accessibility of the Tuileries Palace, either by way of the physical presence of the printmaker having visited the palace, or conceptually within the visual world they created (perhaps constructing their scene by consulting other prints and descriptive sources which provided details of ornamentation, decoration, and interior spatial layout). This is not to say that these prints necessarily offered a realistic representation of the Tuileries Palace (even in attempting to compare Revolutionary prints with the photographs of the interior taken prior to the Paris Commune of 1871 would be a fruitless exercise given the rampant destruction and raiding of property following the uprising of 10 August 1792), but they do offer an insight in to the way printmakers and spectators of the time were able to visually identify the palace in prints.

4.3 The Tuileries as a Centre of Political Discourse

Just over a week after the king and the royal family departed from Versailles to take-up residence at the Tuileries Palace, the Assembly left the hall which had been their meeting place for the past twenty-four weeks during the crisis of the Estates.¹³⁵ The deputies of the Assembly, like the king, were to establish themselves within the capital: living and working in

¹³⁵ Timothy Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary: the Deputies of the French National Assembly and the Emergence of a Revolutionary Culture*, (Princeton, Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 200. Although the deputies were to depart Versailles on 15 October 1789 they would move into the *salle du Manège* until Monday 9 November of that year, having previously occupied the thoroughly inadequate ordination hall of the Episcopal Palace adjoining the cathedral of Notre-Dame on the Ile-de-la-Cité.

and amongst the Parisian populace. In conjunction with the royal family's installation in the southern wing of the Tuileries Palace, the location of the Assembly within the city meant that Paris, not Versailles, came to be at the very heart of French politics. The initial problem the move from Versailles created was where the Assembly could and should be housed within the capital. Given the great number of deputies, who would also require lodging in the city, a suitable interior space needed to be found which could provide adequate seating for the members of the Assembly, and also facilitate their work: namely a forum generally conducive to public speaking in which orators could be both easily seen and heard.¹³⁶ But with dwindling state finances and a simple lack of time in which to construct a suitable meeting place, certain compromises had to be made. Given such drawbacks, an evident solution was to establish the Assembly in a pre-existing structure, such as the *salle du Manège* in the gardens of the Tuileries. With this new found political accessibility that the space would grant to the public, Parisian printmakers were quick to engage not only with the architectural elements of the structure's design, the functions of the Assembly, and the impact that the body's decision-making had on the Parisian and greater French populace, but also to record a number of specific events, later employing the use of satire and visual metaphor to not only report, but to also comment on their chosen subject.

Prior to the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 the *salle du Manège* at the Tuileries, as its name suggests, was a centre for horse shows and equine parades, although it appears that no prints are currently known to exist of this interior space under the *ancien régime*.¹³⁷ The term *manège* might be translated literally as 'riding school,' though architecturally it was possible that the interior could be adapted to fit other, more diverse purposes.¹³⁸ The layout

¹³⁶ Colin Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution*, (New York: Longman Inc., 1988) p. 167. Details of the social composition of the Constituent Assembly that would hold session in the *salle du Manège*. The Assembly was made up of six-hundred and forty-eight deputies.

¹³⁷ This is not to confirm that such prints do exist, though there are none held in the major catalogues at the BNF, or at the British Museum. The *salle du Manège's* exterior however can be seen in Turgot's map. See, Alfred Fierro and Jean-Yves Sarazin. *Le Paris des Lumières d'après le plan de Turgot (1734-1739)*, (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2005), plate 15.

¹³⁸ For an example of this adaptability, see a print by Charles-Nicolas Cochin depicting the interior decorations for the ball in the *salle du Manège* at Versailles (De Vinck, 6). Such an ornate space includes several large chandeliers that fall from a roof decorated with garlands held by groups of putti, the illuminated interior includes both boiserie and sculpture in other materials. Architecturally, the layout is very similar to the floor plan of the *salle du Manège* at the Tuileries: see, Linda Orr, 'The Blind Spot of History: Logography' in, *Yale French Studies: Everyday Life*, (no. 73, 1987), p. 197. Both print and floor plan illustrate an oblong design with tiered seating surrounding an open, central floor space. While the *manège* at Versailles would have also been

of the seating within the *salle* consisted of rows of stalls more-or-less oval in shape, inclining upwards towards the walls of the building. Surrounding an open floor space, this tiered seating was favourable to the observation of whatever activity was taking place within it.¹³⁹ Given the needs of the Assembly, the *salle du Manège* already featured a practical architectural composition that required only slight adaptations to meet the governing body's particular needs.¹⁴⁰ Deputies would be able to take their places in the stalls, while a balcony space in the form of galleries would be opened to the public above allowing Parisians to watch the activities below.¹⁴¹ Three other small yet significant additions would be the president's desk on an elevated dais; a speaker's podium (or tribune) facing the president's desk, and the secretaries' bar where non-deputies addressed the Assembly and official documents could be presented and stored.¹⁴² Candle chandeliers were also installed to enable evening sessions to be held. It is this visual and auditory balance in the spatial construct of the *salle du Manège* which allowed for a sense of public accessibility in the Assembly's operations: the president, the speaker, and the deputies could all be seen and heard by the public from the upper galleries. Nor were these spectators simply reduced to silent observation, but also on occasion interacted with the deputies in the stalls below. The sense of distance which had formerly existed between the Parisian public and the deputies at the Estates-Général in Versailles came to a close, with politics now being conducted close to the heart of the city. This opening of the political milieu was in turn an asset to the Parisian printmakers who chose the Assembly as their subject: it is even possible that some

used for equine practices, this print illustrates how its functions could easily be changed to suit the occasion. This was to be the case in the adoption of the *salle du Manège* at the Tuileries for the Assembly.

¹³⁹ Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*, (London: Penguin, 1989), p. 473. Schama notes that the theatrical nature of the space: '... also acted as a political theatre: the place where oratory and gesture, even some occasions poetry and music, would dramatize the principles for which the Revolution was said to stand.'

¹⁴⁰ Armand Brette, *Histoire des édifices où sont siégés les assemblées parlementaires de la Révolution*, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902), p. 163. Brette identifies the architect as Lardant.

¹⁴¹ Albert Soboul, *The French Revolution 1789-1799: From the Storming of the Bastille to Napoleon*, trans. Alan Forrest and Colin Jones, (London, Boston, Sydney, Wellington: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 163. Though practical, Soboul notes that the *salle du Manège* was hardly a place of great comfort for the deputies of the Assembly. An article in the *Journal de Paris* also notes some acoustical problems, describing that, 'les murmurs, et il y en a souvent, ne s'élèvent pas et ne se perdent pas dans l'air; ils restent bas et fatiguent singulièrement, tandis qu'on a beaucoup de peine à démêler les voix des orateurs...' *Journal de Paris*, 10 novembre 1789 (Paris: 1789), p. 1459.

¹⁴² Linda Orr, 'The Blind Spot of History: Logography' in, *Yale French Studies: Everyday Life*, p. 196. Orr offers a description of the president's elevated desk and podium, the speakers' tribune, and the secretaries' bar. ; Soboul, *The French Revolution 1789-1799*, p. 163. Soboul notes that a new president was elected each fortnight. Soboul also make note of the secretaries' bar used by public petitioners.

printmakers may have been present at the *salle du Manège*, replicating scenes in which they themselves had had some form of physical presence and/or participation.

The location of the *salle du Manège* was also an asset to the functions of the Assembly. Following the October Days, the development of the Tuileries as a home to both royalty and politics meant that the palace and gardens were the physical manifestation of the governing body of the nation, which in turn found itself near the geographical centre of France's largest city. This meant that Paris was no longer the French capital as defined by the size of its population and topographical scale, but by way of its royal and political functions. The political gravity that this centralisation of monarchy and politics within the urban space was reflected in the press, allowing a more immediate sense of reporting with journals and flyers being produced within days of events of perceived importance.¹⁴³ This in turn would change the way that foreign publications, including prints, would come to view the city: with the fall of the Bastille and the centralisation of government in the centre of the city, Paris came to be regarded as the beating heart of change and the Revolutionary movement.¹⁴⁴

Within the grounds of the Tuileries, the *salle du Manège* was separated from the royal palace by some few hundred metres. A plaque today can be found at the site on which the building once stood: on the northern edge of the Tuileries gardens at what now is the intersection of the rue de Rivoli and the rue de Castiglione, running northwards towards the Place Vendôme – then known as the Place Louis le Grand. While both royal and political spaces coexisted within the same complex of the palace and the gardens, the physical separation between royal and political structures was particularly evident. Despite their proximity, both bodies remained distinctly separate unless the king was to address the Assembly. Over the years, this distance between the monarchy and the Assembly was manifested in prints as not simply geographical, but also ideological. This was highlighted by the king's use of his veto to the proposed Constitution in 1789, an area of contention which was subsequently portrayed by a number of printmakers who would become increasingly

¹⁴³ Information no longer had to be transferred from Versailles to the printing presses of the city, which would formerly have taken the best part of a day.

¹⁴⁴ For a study in the developing observations of the British press towards the changing stances in British politics and its relationship with the events happening in France at the time, see: Stuart Andrews, *The British Periodical Press and the French Revolution, 1789-99*, (Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2000).

more hostile in their portrayal of the monarchy, most notably after the royal family's failed flight to Varennes.

Iconographically, many prints of the *salle du Manège* post-1789 adhered to similar visual formulae, the majority of these incorporating and replicating common architectural elements. One of the earliest prints of the Assembly at the *salle du Manège* titled 'The King's Oath' of 1790 hints at the layout of the interior, though the printmaker has chosen to present this space in a sparse but none the less intimate manner (fig. 12). A roughly hand-coloured etching, the print is successful at conveying the existing elements that would have made the setting quite identifiable to the spectator. This includes the curving stalls of the deputies in the foreground and what appears to be the speaker's podium in the centre of the image. The subject of the king's oath refers to Louis XVI's address to the Assembly of 4 February 1790, the year the print has been dated to by the BNF, though this is speculative: the precise subject is not addressed in the limited amount of text which appears within the print.¹⁴⁵ Louis XVI, depicted at the very centre of the image, wears a blue jacket, waistcoat, sash, and what appears to be a tricorne hat. He stands on the elevated platform as he addresses the audience. All eyes of the deputies are focused on this one central figure, their gesturing arms extending towards him indicate the printmaker's intention to highlight the figure's importance in the Assembly and within scene. Above the curved stalls and speaker, a balcony is depicted with what are most likely members of the general public who have come to watch the speaker's address, as well as seeing the Assembly in session. The space comes across visually as theatrical, with the podium giving the speaker an elevated stage-like space in which to speak and be heard. The quality of the print, its rough etching-style and bare detail may also hint at the printmaker having completed the work at some speed. The lack of text identifying the particular subject and date may also suggest that the print was printed and sold within a short space of time following the event, and that those purchasing the print were well aware of what the printmaker was attempting to convey.

¹⁴⁵ The *Bibliothèque nationale de France* dates the subject depicted to 4 February 1790. At this occasion Louis XVI called for unity at a time of peasant insurrections in south-west France. See, Stone Bailey, *Reinterpreting the French Revolution: a Global Historical Perspective*, (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 150. Stone also asserts that Louis also used this address to argue for the reinforcement of executive authority and the preservation of religion, property, and noble titles. See also, Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, pp. 274-7.

Prints over the following years employed these architecturally identifiable elements repetitively, suggesting that this particular interior was one that had become well-known in the mindset of the print-purchasing public. It is certainly acceptable to consider the possibility that those Parisians who bought prints depicting the *salle du Manège* may have at some stage themselves gone to watch the Assembly at work. Being present at a particular event may also have been one reason for the print purchaser to collect the relevant print. This also applies to the printmaker who may have had firsthand knowledge, not only of the interior of the *salle du Manège*, but may have perhaps also been witness to the event that he or she chose as their respective subject. Notable examples include prints of Pierre-Victor Malouet denouncing Camille Desmoulins to a packed Assembly of Deputies on the evening of Monday 2 August 1790 (Hennin, 10785);¹⁴⁶ Louis XVI's eventual acceptance of the Constitution, 14 September 1791 (De Vinck, 4270), and images depicting the king's trial in December 1793 (De Vinck, 5077; Hennin, 11318, amongst others).¹⁴⁷ The importance of one's proximity to the event or political action may have been key for those printmakers who jostled to produce and sell their prints as quickly as possible in the days following their chosen subject: the image if politically based needed to stay relevant in the often turbulent and changing world of Revolutionary politics. An example of this is an etching of Louis XVI addressing the Assembly, 4 February 1790: a print created to be sold with Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris* (fig. 13).¹⁴⁸ The print's subject is identified in the text below the image, as well as in the journal which the print accompanied.¹⁴⁹ Though the printmaker has (somewhat) failed to present a clear reproduction of the political subject, the surrounding architectural elements of the *salle du Manège* are clearly identifiable: the inclined stalls, the chandeliers, the elevated president's platform and the public balcony above. Given the speed of production of such journals, the corresponding print would have had to have been etched, printed, and fixed to the *Révolutions de Paris's* report of the king's address within a matter of days. Such an image demonstrates not only the efficiency of the Revolutionary

¹⁴⁶ *Journal de Paris.*, (Paris: 1790), Mercredi 4 Aoust 1790, de la Lune le 24., p.876. The journal dates and provides an account of what happened in the Assembly.

¹⁴⁷ Many other more elaborate prints exist, some comparing the trial to other major Revolutionary events. See Waddesdon, acc. nos. 4222.20.25 and 4232.1.85.173, and include details of the interior structure of the *salle du Manège* as well as giving a sense of the ambiance and procedures at the king's trial.

¹⁴⁸ For an explanation of this process, citing a number of journals which used both text and images, see, Jeremy D. Popkin, *Revolutionary News: The Press in Revolutionary France, 1789-1799*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1990), p. 102.

¹⁴⁹ Prudhomme (ed.), *Revolution de Paris, dédiées à la Nation et au district des Petits Augustins.*, III, no. 30, Du 30 Janvier au 6 Février 1790, pp. 26-31. Extract from the king's speech.

printing press to report on current events to an audience *en masse*, using both textual and visual media, but importantly the ability in which the combination of both media could broadcast the subject to the widest possible public.

While not taking the *salle du Manège* itself as the location for a politically motivated subject, an interesting iconographic study incorporating the structure's relationship, and that of the Assembly to a fraught political debate, can be found in street images discussing Louis XVI's use of his veto over the proposed Constitution. Two prints held in the *Tableaux de la Révolution* at Waddesdon Manor depict an image of a giant pursued through a street (figs 14 and 15).¹⁵⁰ While the respective printmakers have chosen a visual metaphor to comment on the king's use of the veto, it also indicates an observation that the repercussions that Revolutionary politics had were not simply confined to the interior of the *salle du Manège*: what happened within the Assembly had a direct effect on the public sphere and is seen here in a depiction of a public space, the street. The giant, 'veto,' is chased by a group comprised (in both images) of sans-culottes, men wearing red Phrygian bonnets, and National Guardsmen. In both images the giant appears to take shelter with two aristocrats. Seemingly petrified at the sight of his pursuers, the giant fires lightning bolts from his eyes.¹⁵¹ Certain elements in these street scenes conjure-up some similar characteristics to those urban images of the murders of Foulon and Bertier: not only is a hated figure pursued through the streets by citizens enacting what could be interpreted as a scene of popular justice, but there is also a depiction of the lamp post on the side of one façade, perhaps alluding to the much used image of the lamp post on the Place de Grève from which 'criminals' were hanged.¹⁵² The façade of what appears to be a *hôtel particulier* in fig. 14, from which two aristocrats emerge, architecturally mirrors the figures' wealth and, in welcoming in the giant, support of the veto. This could be interpreted as unpopular political decisions being attributed to the aristocratic class. Though, as the printmakers seemingly point out, such well-off individuals were more at the mercy of direct popular street justice than those decisions made at the Assembly in the *salle du Manège*. While employing a visual

¹⁵⁰ Fig. 15 is an extract from Martin Bossange, *Journal pittoresque ou Tableau vivant du génie français pendant le temps de la Révolution*, (Paris: Martin Bossange, 1790).

¹⁵¹ Depicting lightning in the form of thunderbolts appears to be the typical manner in which printmakers chose to depict them at the time, the same iconographic form appearing in many other prints.

¹⁵² See 'Popular Justice and the Revolutionary Crowd: the Murders of Foulon and Bertier,' in Chapter Two: 'The Fall of the Bastille: Popular Justice and Urban Mobility.'

metaphor to show the interplay between royalty, politics and public opinion, such an image speaks for the continuing politicisation of Paris as a city: the changing attitudes of public opinion towards the aristocracy. Most especially however, these images could be interpreted as an expression of the greater influence street politics began to have on the Assembly itself.¹⁵³ As Linda Orr points out, when considering the relationship between the legitimate politics of the Assembly and the popular movements of the street, 'each [one] mutually constitutes the other.'¹⁵⁴

As time and events progressed, printmakers became more and more familiar with the characteristics that made-up the Assembly and the various ideological divisions which emerged to divide the deputies within. One particular print depicting and satirically dismantling the Legislative Assembly in 1792 displays significant confidence among printmakers in their analysis of the complex political landscape (fig. 16). Like other prints replicating the interior of the *salle du Manège*, this detailed image comprises the oval formation of the deputies' stalls rising to the left and right of the *salle*, the public balconies (on which men and women are seen to be conversing while watching the Assembly below), and the president's desk on an elevated dais, with logographers working away before him. Given the perspective of the image, it would appear that the printmaker's viewpoint was taken from the public balcony, located over the speaker's platform.¹⁵⁵ The unnamed printmaker provides a humorous caption below the image to help the spectator decipher the various political persuasions operating within the governing body. It is appropriate given the subject that the printmaker has chosen to seat him or herself at the centre of the *salle* clearly creating a divide in the image to the left and right of the president's platform,

¹⁵³ Brette, *Histoire des édifices*, p. 167. To cite one example, Brette notes that while only two *corps du garde* were needed at Versailles, eight were initially stationed at the *salle du Manège* at the Tuileries. See, AN. C, 132.

¹⁵⁴ Linda Orr, 'The Blind Spot of History: Logography' in, *Yale French Studies: Everyday Life*, p. 196. Orr argues that, 'The parliament serves as a major modern metaphor of social discourse... The Assembly was the place or operation by which the act of the people, as insurrection, came into being in the act of its representatives, as legislation. We might define this founding, if not slippery, principle of the Revolution as the speech act of democracy, its political performative.' Orr also notes that for this reason, nineteenth-century historians tended to view the Assembly as weak and impotent to the power the power of the public sphere and the Revolutionary crowd. For more on this, see, Orr, *Headless History: Nineteenth-Century French Historiography of the Revolution*, (Ithaca, New York and London: Cornell University Press, 1990).

¹⁵⁵ Referring to the floor plan that appears in Orr, 'The Blind Spot of History: Logography' in, *Yale French Studies: Everyday Life*, p. 197, it would appear that the printmaker's perspective would then place the Mountain to the left, as seen in the print.

something that Mirabeau called, 'the geography of the Assembly.'¹⁵⁶ Deputies who shared the same political principles grouped themselves together as the print shows. To the left is the 'Mont Gibel,' or those more radical deputies which later came to be known as the Mountain due to the steep inclination of the tiered stalls towards the narrow end of the *salle*, and the *montagnards* preference for sitting on the higher rows of benches. In the centre of the print, the area identified here as the 'Plat Pays' consisting of the lower seats more commonly known as the plain, or *marais*, generally occupied by uncommitted deputies. Steep tiered seating also appears to the far right of the interior, mirroring that of the far left, and is named the 'Mont Caucasus' by the printmaker. This seating was a space occupied by the more conservative deputies.¹⁵⁷ Without showing a specific event, the printmaker has chosen to concentrate on the construction of the Assembly itself as his or her subject. Lynn Hunt notes that the popular press played a role in the coining of phrases to describe political division, and the printmaker here seems to be adding to this transmission of political information by means of both a visual and textual form.¹⁵⁸ Without using the standard terms which came to label these political groups and divisions such as Jacobins, Girondins, and Héberists amongst others, the printmaker's choice of descriptive vocabulary evidences an educated knowledge of the classics. The text describes the 'Mont Gibel' as, 'close to the coast of the Valley of Demona. Its summit often throws up fire, smoke, flames, burnt pebbles, burning ashes and bituminous lava. If the idea of this abyss makes you tremble, the fires that Gibel vomits are even more fearsome. There was a terrible eruption in 1692. See the Encyclopaedia ... On this mountain we find panthers, cats, tigers ... Holly, henbane and ragwort grow here. Its inhabitants sometimes erupt onto the lowlands ...'.¹⁵⁹ This geographic, animal and plant imagery acutely sums-up some of the more fiery characteristics of those who sat amongst the *montagnards*. He or she continues to use the same vocabulary to describe both the 'Plat Pays' as a place where, 'Bits of good earth here

¹⁵⁶ Quoted in, Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press Ltd, 1984, 2004), p. 128. See also, Brette, *Histoire des édifices*, pp. 162-70.

¹⁵⁷ Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution*, p. 129. Hunt notes the creation of left and right by way of political terminology.

¹⁵⁸ Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution*, p. 128-9. See also, Max Frey, *Les Transformations du vocabulaire français à l'époque de la Révolution (1789-1800)*, (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1925), pp. 138-67.

¹⁵⁹ The description of the 'Mont Gibel' as being inhabited by, 'panthers, cats, tigers...' may not have been an unfamiliar image. See, Antoine-Christophe Merlin de Thioville, *Portrait de Robespierre.*, (Paris: 1795), p. 1, where Robespierre is described as having the head of a cat or tiger.

and there, the rest is made up of great moving sand dunes ...' and the Mont Caucasus as the place of Prometheus's eternal punishment.

Another, earlier satirical scene can be found in the *Actes des Apôtres* (fig. 17).¹⁶⁰ Titled 'The Great Actors of the Pantin Circus', the scene is catalogued by the BNF as the *salle du Manège*. While it could be argued that this space is not the *salle du Manège* (given the lack of description provided by the journal as to the meaning of the scene, and its identification of the space as the Pantin Circus) it may indeed be representative of it as the BNF suggests, with some visual and satirical elements suggesting a stage-like space in which certain characteristics could be satirised by the printmaker and presented to the visually depicted audience within the scene, and the those purchasing the journal or print.¹⁶¹ Most notably, the scene is broken down into two distinct spaces: a lower floor surrounding a square performance area, and an upper balcony for the spectators.¹⁶² A series of exterior scenes on plaques separate the balcony from the lower level. To the left a scene of a decapitated nude is dragged through a city street while men march holding heads on pikes. There are two scenes: to the left, a man hanging from a gallows surrounded by National Guardsmen in a cityscape, and to back right, a scene of soldiers escorting a carriage while two men hold up heads on pikes. On the right is a street scene depicting an execution from a lamp post. At the right, in this scene, there is a grand building, perhaps a church. These scenes are again reminiscent of the prints of popular justice meted out to Foulon and Bertier, events that took place before the establishment of the National Assembly in the city however. Rather than the familiar scene of deputies being depicted on stalls, what now appears is in essence a veritable menagerie of animal activity, cannon fire, and chaos within the theatre-like setting. Despite this identification of space by the BNF, the print is very difficult to interpret,

¹⁶⁰ The *Acte des Apôtres* was a satirical Catholic-royalist journal corresponding in tone to the aristocrats and men of letters who contributed to it. Such contributors included the younger Mirabeau. See, Popkin, *Revolutionary News*, p. 60; Schama, *Citizens*, pp. 489; 553. This actual print appears in Jean-Gabriel Peletier (ed.), *Actes des Apôtres* (Paris: 1789-90), (vol. 4), p. 15. An explanation of the print is also provided.

¹⁶¹ An online edition of the *Actres des Apôtres* shows the image appearing within the journal, though it seems to bear little connection to the surrounding text. Presumably, as in the case with the Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris*, the print was inserted into the journal after printing. This may mean that this particular print in this particular edition is not representative as to where it may have appeared within other copies of the *Actes des Apôtres*. See, <http://www.archive.org/stream/lesactesdesapt04pelt#page/n19/mode/2up> [accessed 21 June 2011].

¹⁶² For other examples as to how the *Actes des Apôtres* satirised and slandered aspects of the Assembly, see Peletier (ed.), *Actes des Apôtres*, (vol. 6), pp. 166-7.

though it does evidence the printmaker's attempt to portray complex political ideas, in a space which may be at once political, as well as theatrical, in much the same manner as the actual *salle du Manège*.

The Assembly's departure from Versailles and its installation in the *salle du Manège* changed the way in which printmakers could engage with the evolving political landscape of the period. While not entirely the most fitting of spaces for its purpose, the presence of the Assembly and the nearby monarchy showed the city to be at the very centre of the political French landscape. Given the *salle du Manège's* physical location, news travelled fast, and Parisian printmakers were well equipped to reproduce images at speed of particular events. The ability for the public to penetrate the interior of the building allowed them to witness firsthand the various proceedings which took place therein. This also gave a certain theatricality to the space, an element found in a number of prints of the interior of the *salle*. As time progressed, a number of printmakers became more saavy in representing not just the Assembly, but the effects of its politics on the city, and the greater French populace. As such, some images of the Assembly holding session in the *salle du Manège* included elements of satire and visual metaphor to allow printmakers to perhaps explain, or comment on their chosen subjects.¹⁶³

In the course of their first year of residence of the Tuileries Palace, the monarchy was by and large depicted by printmakers engaging with the public in genre scenes. But this was to change after the royal family's failed flight to Varennes and Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette's increasing unpopularity. With great rapidity, the visual language of satire, visual metaphor, and even scatological imagery would be employed to depict the monarchy during their final years at the Tuileries Palace.

4.4 The Tuileries: Palace or Prison?

¹⁶³ The Assembly would rest in the *salle du Mènage* until the fall of the monarchy on 10 August 1792, when the then Legislative Assembly would move into *salle des Machines*, in the northern wing of the Tuileries Palace. This move was a symbolically assertion: the palace was no longer a royal space, but belonged to the people. The *salle de la Convention* was born.

Public opinion towards the monarchy was turning. Already, Louis XVI's unpopular use of his right to veto on the proposed Constitution meant that the relationship between the Assembly and the monarchy were strained at best, but this was going to be all the more exacerbated by the royal family's attempt to flee the Tuileries Palace, the capital city, and the country. A result of this act was a clear change in tack in the way the royal family and their residence at the Tuileries Palace were to be portrayed in the popular press, most recognisably in the proliferation of hand-coloured etchings printed in reaction to the king's foiled attempts to flee on 20 June 1791. Many of the most recognisably antagonistic prints following this incident stem from the period and do not only serve to mock but also to vilify particular members of the royal family, with particular reference to the '*reine autrichienne*' Mary-Antoinette.¹⁶⁴ The royal family were in essence to become imprisoned in their own palace under the ever-watchful gaze of the National Guard and the Parisian populace. This imposed captivity was highlighted a year following the flight to Varennes on 20 June 1792 when a Parisian crowd, disenfranchised by king's self-asserted right to sovereignty amongst other social and political issues invaded the palace, submitting Louis XVI to a humiliating episode in which he was forced to bow to the crowd's demands and drink to the health of the *la Nation*. By this stage, there could be no saving Louis XVI's right to reign. The print industry continued to reflect this with images of the royal family becoming all the more incendiary right until the final fall of the Bourbon monarchy during the popular uprising of 10 August 1792.

4.4a The Return from Varennes: the Un-Triumphal Procession

At approximately midnight on 20 June 1791, the royal family fled the Tuileries Palace under cover of darkness in the hope of escaping to the Imperial border at Montmédy where they would be met by an allied military escort. A planned escape had already been suspected by the National Guard some months earlier when Louis XVI was prevented from travelling to

¹⁶⁴ One printmaker used Marie-Antoinette's Austrian heritage to form a pun and visual joke based around her name. Titled *La pouille d'autru/yche* [sic], the print maker has employed some grotesque zoomorphic imagery to make the Austrian queen into an ostrich queen. See, Waddesdon cat. no. 4232.1.12.24; De Vinck no. 4305; British Museum reg. no. 1993,1212.21. The ostrich as a motif also appears to be a symbol sometimes employed to mock various other Revolutionary characters. See depictions of the Prince de Condé: Waddesdon cat. no. 4232.2.10.16; De Vinck no. 4430.

Saint-Cloud.¹⁶⁵ It had been assumed that that earlier trip could have been made under the guise of a plot to flee the city and the country. The true attempt at an emigration would come to materialise mid-summer, but only too briefly. Leaving by an unguarded door wearing borrowed clothes as a means of disguise, the royal family slipped one by one into a berlin carriage and snuck away from the capital.¹⁶⁶ Led by the Count Axel von Fersen who acted as coachman, the party also comprised the children's governess Madame de Tourzel, who would later publish her account of the escape.¹⁶⁷ A print shows the secrecy under which this all played out (fig. 18). In this print which appeared in Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris*, the royal family can be seen leaving the courtyard of the Tuileries Palace. The print identifies that the scene takes place at twelve-thirty at night and names the members of the depicted travelling party. As with other prints featured in some copies of the *Révolutions de Paris*, the setting of the scene is also identifiable given the architectural detail presented. The printmaker has in a simple manner illustrated the hour of day, depicting a crescent moon in the sky and showing Louis XVI, himself in disguise, holding a lantern as he leads his family to escape. The rear of the berlin carriage appears in the portico to the left of the scene, ready to transport the royal family away from the palace. Certain familiar elements of the Tuileries architecture are apparent in the visual composition of the print: notably the reverse of the two-storey façade facing on to what should be the Place du Carrousel, a façade less visually rendered in prints compared to those comprising depictions of the palace taken from the royal gardens to the west, a more publically accessible and spacious point from which to depict the structure visually.

¹⁶⁵ For the Cordeliers' petition against the journey to Saint-Cloud, see: J. M. Roberts and Richard Cobb (eds.), *French Revolution Documents*, (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1966), I, pp. 292-3.

¹⁶⁶ Marie-Antoinette had insisted on using such a carriage. A covered, four-wheeled vehicle, Berlin carriages were generally light and could travel at some speed (though reports note that Fersen had suggested employing an even smaller, more nimble vehicle). Berlin carriages were comprised of facing interior seats, and a hooded rear seat for footmen. They ran on a two-perch gear system with thorough-brace suspension (the body of the carriage hung between the perches by shafts connected with leather braces). For an example of the royal family's berlin carriage in print, see: Waddesdon cat. no. 4222.17.21; De Vinck 3979; Hennin 11000. ; Ann Rigby, 'Towards Varennes' in, *New Literary History: Studies in Historical Change*, (vol. 18, no. 1, Autumn 1986), p. 80. ; David Andress, *The Terror: Civil War in the French Revolution*, (London: Abacus, 2005), p. 9.

¹⁶⁷ Louis Elisabeth Félicite Françoise Armand Anne Marie Jeanne Josephine du Bouchet, Duchess de Tourzel, *Mémoires du Madame la Duchesse de Tourzel, gouvernante des enfants de France pendant les années 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1795, publiés par le Duc des Cars*, ed. Henri Marie Auguste de Ferron de la Ferronays, (Paris: E. Plon et Cie, 1883), pp. 302-12. ; The Count Axel de Fersen was a close friend and alleged lover of Marie-Antoinette. For correspondence relating to the flight to Varennes, see: *Letters of Marie-Antoinette, Fersen and Barnave*, ed. O-G de Heidenstam, (New York: Frank Maurice, 1926), pp. 28-32.

The far from speedy party left by the Porte Saint-Martin to the north of the city and made their way north-east through the Marne and Champagne countryside seemingly all too inept to make the most of the hours gained by their late night escape.¹⁶⁸ By the time it had emerged that the royal family were missing, the party had was failing to make much decent progress. And news was to travel faster than the escapees: by the time the family came to take rest in the town of Varennes at about eleven o'clock the following evening, tales of the missing monarchs had already spread through the streets of Paris. Unfortunately for Louis XVI and his party the king had allegedly been recognised earlier in the day by a local postmaster, one Jean-Baptiste Drouet, who noted the similarities of the traveller's profile to that of Louis XVI on a coin. Riding ahead of the royal carriage, Drouet was able to inform the local authorities at Varennes, a man by the name of Jean-Baptiste Sauce, of the king's eminent arrival and the National Guard were subsequently mobilised.¹⁶⁹ The next morning, Louis and his family were to be detained by the National Guard, and were accompanied back to Paris by three representatives sent by the Assembly: Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve, Antoine Barnave and Charles-César de Fey de La Tour-Maubourg.¹⁷⁰

On the previous occasion that the king and his family entered the capital together, their cortège was greeted by cries of jubilation – albeit with some perhaps being slightly feigned. This second return to the capital city however would prove to be met by a much more chilly response from the Parisian crowd, who noticeably across the prints have failed to remove their headwear for the king. While some of the most recognisable prints focus on the royal family in their carriage surrounded by National Guardsmen, prints showing the translation of the monarch across the Place Louis XV provide a palpable atmosphere of quiet and seemingly unsettled discontent. Some printmakers who chose the king's return as their subject show a changed vision of the Revolutionary crowd from what had previously been documented in prints of the Place Louis XV. Unlike street scenes of popular justice or festive

¹⁶⁸ Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*, (London: Penguin, 1989), p. 552. Schama describes how the following morning the family paused for a ponderous breakfast.

¹⁶⁹ Marie-Thérèse Charlotte de France, duchesse d'Angoulême, *Madame Marie-Thérèse de France, fille de Louis XVI. Relation du voyage de Varennes, et récit de sa captivité à la tour du Temple, écrits par elle-même, précédés d'une notice de par le Mrs de Pastoret*, ed. Auguste Vatou, (Paris: La Librairie de Piété et d'Éducation, 1852), pp. 43-5. Account of the royal family's capture at Varennes. ; Jean-Clément Martin, *Violence et Révolution : essai sur la naissance d'un mythe national*, (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2006) p. 113. Martin discusses the lack of insight the royal party had for Revolutionary fervour in the provinces – key to the king's arrest.

¹⁷⁰ Ann Rigby, 'Towards Varennes' in, *New Literary History*, p. 86.

gatherings, ceremonies and celebrations, the crowd on the Place Louis XV appears persistently passive in many of the prints – a feeling of somewhat restrained hostility. This mood reflects posters printed by the Assembly and placed around the city, asking Parisians to refrain from applauding the king on penalty of a beating; and not to insult him, on penalty of death.¹⁷¹ Fig. 19 is one such image in which the printmaker has managed to capture the peculiar ambiance of the setting, specifically the crowd's lack of direct engagement with the subject of the carriage-bound royals. The untitled aquatint presents a clearly identifiable depiction of the Place Louis XV, replicating the typical architectural and geographical elements which made the public space so identifiable: with a south facing perspective, both the Edme Bouchardon's equestrian statue of Louis XV and the horseshoe-shaped gates to the Tuileries gardens have been realistically realised. While the crowd in the print is not depicted as entirely silent (as its members can be seen conversing with each other, some gesticulating towards the carriage carrying the royal family in the centre of the scene), the image is a far cry from the more celebratory prints depicting the royal entries into the city of 17 July and 6 October 1789.

By the time Louis XVI had returned to Paris, details of his correspondence left upon his departure from the Tuileries Palace were emerging and a number of journals and pamphlets were beginning to report the actual intentions of the king.¹⁷² Louis's 'proclamation' made his feelings about his treatment since the October Days strikingly clear, and the overall feeling of how the tone of the document was popularly perceived in the press was unsurprisingly, very much rooted in the negative.¹⁷³ The king was now clearly not only an attempted fugitive monarch, but perceived as deceitful and treacherous at that. While the printed word was

¹⁷¹ As quoted in Schama, *Citizens*, pp. 558. ; In her revisionist account of the flight to Varennes, Ann Rigby also touches on the attitude of the Assembly and their publicized fabrications that no flight had taken place. Rather, this departure was reported as an abduction, and he was still to be treated with respect.. Ann Rigby, 'Towards Varennes' in, *New Literary History*, p. 79.

¹⁷² Jeremy D. Popkin, *Revolutionary News: The Press in France, 1789-1799*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1990), p. 139. But Popkin notes that, 'The aftermath of the flight to Varennes showed that, while the press could label and define the king's action and no doubt heavily influence the public response to it, the journals were not the locus of sovereignty...' and in turn were not able to determine the future opinion towards the king upon his return. ; Others sought to incriminate the queen: *Lettre de la Reine, envoyée au Comte d'Artois avec la réponse du Comte d'Artois à la Reine, Trouvées sur la route de Compiègne, par un Postillon, dans un petit porte-feuille, avec d'autres intrigues que je ferai paroître*. (Paris [?]: Imprimerie de Valois, 1791).

¹⁷³ The proclamation also made clear his intentions of escape, including revelations about his political positioning to attract the intervention of foreign powers in France. This served to induce a greater level of fear about foreign threats within Paris.

efficient as ever in reporting the king's escape, it is also likely that news of the event spread rapidly through domestic networks as citizens from across the city came to the Place Louis XV to watch the royals' return. Two prints show how this interest in the king's return was viewed by the printmaker through the composition of the crowd in its multitude and its actions (figs 20 and 21).

Fig. 20 by the printmaker P. F. Germain shows the sheer numbers of people that came out to see the king's arrival and transfer across the *place* and into the Tuileries.¹⁷⁴ Presenting an accurate depiction of the Place Louis XV, a number of other elements have been well realised by the printmaker. Given the level of detail provided in this particular print, notably in its architectural detail, and given the proximity of the engraved date to that of the same year of the event (something which is confirmed by the BNF catalogue), the work shows not only a distinct artistic ability in the rendering of urban landscapes and perspective, but an acute interest in what seems to be the realistic representation of the event as a whole. This quality of work may show that the printmaker saw this particular event as one of pivotal significance. The ramifications of the royal family's return from Varennes were seen in a profound and immediate shift in the way the monarchy was regarded by popular opinion, but certainly in the work of many printmakers.

Another print depicting a similar scene of the carriage's movement across the Place Louis XV shifts the printmaker's perspective to that of a ground-level view (fig. 21). Taken from behind a crowd of onlookers which incorporates men, women and children, the carriage transporting the royals appears in the centre of the scene. Perspective is not so much a concern for the printmaker in this etching as the various elements appear to be positioned flatly one behind the other. The composition of the carriage and the soldiers however reflect one of the most well known images of the king's return (fig. 22) in which the berlin carriage and its occupants appear in an unidentified space, surrounded by a sea of soldiers wearing bearskin hats. In a way both, figures 20 and 21 share the same lack of spatial acknowledgement as figure 22. Despite the identifiable Parisian cityscape framing the scene, and the recognisable *place*, the function of the Place Louis XV has changed. This is no longer

¹⁷⁴ The BNF identifies that Germain worked on the intersection of the rue Saint-Jacques and the rue Saint-Dominique (its eastern part now absorbed into the Boulevard Saint-Germain).

a space in which the public came to welcome or celebrate the return of the monarch, but rather a place where the public could gather to watch an event with a sense of judgement: such scenes as figures 21 and 22 echo images closer to those of the condemned on their way to the gallows.¹⁷⁵ The former energy and excitement created in other prints located on the same setting has been lost in these images. As Michel Vovelle notes, ‘This mute scene was one of the most important stages by which the paternal king [... had] gradually “died” in the eyes of his subjects’ and in their way, these prints realise the ‘death’ of the king in the eyes of the Parisian crowd.¹⁷⁶

4.4b The Scatological in Prints: Subversive Imagery and the Royal Family

Following the disastrous failure of the flight to Varennes, Revolutionary prints of the royal family changed dramatically in both tone and content. While some printmakers chose to refer to the event in a sober and realistic manner, such as those prints analysed above, many others explored a new visual vocabulary with which to portray the monarchy. Only the previous year, when depicting the king at the Tuileries Palace, printmakers appeared simply curious as to his presence within the city focusing on constructing genre scenes of him going about his daily routine, or interacting with various members of the public within the space of the royal gardens. To say that a great many of the prints following Varennes became hostile in their depictions of the royal family would be an understatement: sometimes reflective, often crude, perhaps even perverse or cruel, the popular satirical etchings of the monarchy of 1791-2 acted as a mirror to the changing relationship that Parisians and printmakers had with the Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette over the period. The majority of these prints focus solely on the royal couple for their subject, but a handful do incorporate some urban detail. This sub-chapter will explore not only how the printmakers’ visual recognition of the monarchy changed and developed, but what the Tuileries Palace as a site came to represent in these few prints.

¹⁷⁵ Michel Vovelle, *The fall of the French monarchy 1787-1792*, trans. Susan Burke, (Cambridge, London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 141. ‘They travelled through an enormous crowd... who, in Paris, expressed their disapproval in icy silence.’

¹⁷⁶ Vovelle, *The fall of the French monarchy*, trans. Susan Burke, p. 141.

Printmakers no longer found themselves needing to depict the royal family realistically, especially not when a base humour incorporating zoomorphism and scatological imagery could be easily employed to comment on his or her opinion towards the monarchy, and that of public opinion, providing imagery that could provoke an easy laugh through baser humour and maybe even some material which could give the spectator cause for political reflection. While this visual vocabulary as a printing style was by no means anything particularly innovative as discussed in Chapter One (with the relaxing of copyright laws in August 1789), this was the first time that such images could be produced of the monarchy and distributed to a wide public base without fear of penalty or official reprimand. In one such etching which has been hand-coloured in watercolour, the printmaker reemploys the return from Varennes as the print's subject (fig. 23). A very basic though thoroughly recognisable depiction of Tuileries façade appears to the left of the image. The southern wing in which the royal family previously resided is visible, as well as the Pavillon de Pomone and the Pavillon de Flore. A tree appears to the right of the image, perhaps an artistic shorthand to suggest the presence of Tuileries gardens. The royal family appear in the centre of the print seated not in a carriage, but what has been transformed into a wagon or cart filled with straw. Accompanied by the National Guard, and perhaps Pétion seated to the back of the vehicle, Marie Thérèse, the Dauphin, and Madame Elisabeth are all clearly portrayed. Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette however are depicted with what appear to be zoomorphic deformities: the queen's breasts are clearly exposed, and the king's hands have been elongated. The two figures bear almost pig-like qualities: an iconic motif that would become very prominent among Revolutionary printmakers in prints following the flight to Varennes.¹⁷⁷ The zoomorphic content is supplemented both by the straw, and the whip carried by the National Guardsman on horseback as he pulls the wagon towards the palace. This scene, with its crude visual swipe at the character and 'gluttony' of the king and queen, could be interpreted as animals being taken to the slaughterhouse (though the printmaker would not have known of the king and queen's eventual fate, there is still a feeling that these 'animals'

¹⁷⁷ While many of these images are very well known, most of which can be found in the De Vinck, Hennin and QB1 collections at the BNF (as well as a great many in the *Tableaux de la Révolution* at Waddesdon Manor), perhaps still the most comprehensive source for analysis of these images is Antoine De Baecque, *La Caricature Révolutionnaire*, (Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1988). ; Vivian R. Gruder, *The Notables and the Nation: The Political Schooling of the French, 1787-1788*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2007), p.226. Gruder notes that this motif of 'animalized' human beings was something that visually stemmed from the Middle Ages. It was also employed prior to the Revolution, commenting on the political climate and particular individuals from 1787-8.

may at least be being to a pen in which they would be essentially imprisoned). The blatant symbolism of the image is juxtaposed nicely with the crude way in which Marie-Antoinette's figure is sexualised – her breasts apparent, resting on the front of the wagon. The depiction of a sexualised and fetishised Marie-Antoinette became quite common in the prints following the flight to Varennes.¹⁷⁸ Such an image worked not only to imply the queen's alleged sexual history, but also in the basest of ways, ridicule and 'dethrone' her from her once privileged place.¹⁷⁹

Another print adopts this imagery of sexualisation, but also works to demonise the queen while satirising the flight to Varennes (fig. 24). The Tuileries Palace, its western façade depicted to the right of the scene, is identified as the royal family's point of escape. An enlarged characterisation of Marie-Antoinette in the centre of the image stretches her legs from the roof of the façade to a rocky outcrop to the left of the scene – her '*en jambée*' as the text reads below. These rocks represent their attempted destination at Montmédy. Symbolised by a yellow clock, the hands point to 'xvii' at the top – a visual and oral pun which reads both *mont midi*, phonetically creating the same-sounding word. Depicting the queen as supporting the royal family in their escape, the printmaker appears to be asserting her influence on the king and the decision to flee. This is reinforced by the image of the queen directing Louis XVI's hand of justice towards the Montmédy.¹⁸⁰ While this image serves to demonise the alleged intentions of the queen and her connections to the Austrian and allied forces, the print also incorporates a sexualised image, placing three figures below the queen's open dress. The female character in the group waves a feather up, between

¹⁷⁸ Despite the proliferation of sexualised imagery incorporating the body of Marie-Antoinette in the post-flight to Varennes period, this was not a novel iconographical motif amongst printmakers. See: *Essai historique sur le vie de Marie-Antoinette*, (Paris[?]: 1789 [?]). This fictionalised account of the queen's sexual exploits prior to 1789 was printed with a series of erotic prints, a great many of which are held today at the BNF. ; For a discussion of the role of woman in politics and the negative perceptions of the female body in which Marie-Antoinette is referenced, see: Pierre Saint-Amand, 'Terrorizing Marie-Antoinette' trans. Jennifer Curtis Gage in, *Critical Inquiry*, (vol. 20, no. 3, Spring, 1994).

¹⁷⁹ Mary L. Bellehouse, 'Erotic "Remedy" Prints and the Fall of the Aristocracy in Eighteenth-Century France' in, *Political Theory*, (vol. 25, no. 5, October, 1997), pp. 680; 699. Discussion of political motivations in 'obscene' pamphlets, prints and pornography prior to the Revolution. ; See also Lynn Hunt, 'Pornography and the French Revolution' in *The Invention of Pornography: obscenity and the origins of modernity, 1500-1800*, (New York: Zone Books, 1993).

¹⁸⁰ A number of printmakers devised visual formulas to hint at the queen's influence over the king in prints. Typical motifs include her pushing or pulling him in one direction or another, tempting him with food, or showing the king attached to a leash held by the queen. For a handful of such examples, see: Waddesdon cat. nos. 4232.1.12.25, 4232.1.14.28, 4232.1.14.29.

Marie-Antoinette's legs perhaps referring to rumours of the queen's sexuality, perhaps suggesting a lesbian relationship.

While certain Revolutionary printmakers were happy to visualise the monarchy in such a way, their residence in the Tuileries Palace itself gave the impression, alongside images of zoomorphism of the royal family, that such individuals were to be kept under the scrutiny of the city and its populace that surrounded them. Though the Tuileries Palace in the eyes of Louis XVI was perceived as a form of prison for he and his family in which they were under constant house arrest, the term prison would not be used popularly until the family were transferred to the Temple following the insurrection of 10 August 1792. Despite the eagerness of many printmakers to represent the toxicity of these individuals whom they perceived to be detrimental to the Revolution, the Assembly saw the failed flight to Varennes as a means of forcing the hand of the king to accept the new Constitution. This meant that while there was a sense public outrage directed at the royal family, there was also very much a political need for the king to be kept in his titular function. One printmaker summarised this feeling of captivity (fig. 25). In this hand-coloured etching, the printmaker provides another form of commentary on the royal position following the flight to Varennes. Louis XVI, in the centre of the image, is depicted in a cage decorated with fleur-de-lis sculpted spikes and wheels. Louis wears a blue sash, an indication of his continuing role as titular monarch. A soldier guards the cage to the left of the scene, whereby a member of the Third Estate comes to look at Louis to the right. The text beneath the image identifies that Louis finds himself in the cage for his 'penance.' Though the print presents a rural scene with non-descript features (what appears to be a part-demolished tower in the centre, perhaps behind the cage, and what appears to be a church steeple to the background right, maybe suggesting a rural landscape such as that of Varennes), the suggestion of imprisonment harkens back to the king's position held in the Tuileries Palace. It may be possible to also infer that the cage may be modelled on the central pavilion of the palace.¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ There is a certain resemblance considering the two floors and dome of the pavilion: the cage is split into an upper and lower section with a metal bracket, and a similar shaped dome to that of the palace crowns the metallic structure.

Given the king and his family's vulnerability, essentially kept under lock and key in the near geographic centre of the capital city seen now to be leading France through the Revolution, Parisian printmakers had even greater opportunity to observe the monarchy as a subject. Though unlike in the manner of genre prints, such a subject could now be treated with an air of ridicule and resentment. While such flagrant images circled the capital and the country, the king and queen themselves were to lie low. Though social and political problems were to continue, well beyond any control of the monarchy, this feeling of resentment would continue to grow, amounting to the events of 20 June 1792.

4.5 An Invasion of Royal Space, 20 June 1792

The hostility towards the monarchy seen in many of these images would eventually come to manifest itself physically a year later on the anniversary of the royal family's failed escape.¹⁸² On 20 June 1792, two armed crowds formed around the *faubourgs*, notably the traditionally mobile Saint-Antoine and Marcel, coming together on the Place de la Bastille to the east, and the Salpêtrière to the south-east. Converging on the Tuileries, the crowd's apparent aim was to plant a liberty tree in the heart of gardens, though upon their arrival at the Tuileries the crowd swarmed through the Assembly at the *salle du Manège*, and then with the support of the cannoneers of the Val-de-Grâce regiment, invaded the sparsely defended palace itself.¹⁸³

Finding the king in the Salon de l'Oeil de Boeuf, they threatened his person to shouts of 'Down with the veto; to the devil with the veto!'¹⁸⁴ Forced under duress to wear a red Phrygian bonnet, the crowd also demanded that he drank to the health of the Parisian people, and to the nation – something that Louis reportedly did calmly, with great dignity. Louis was subjected to an entire afternoon of these humiliations and impositions. By six o'clock that evening, Pétion was finally successful in disbanding the crowd.

¹⁸² Schama, *Citizens*, pp. 605-9. Schama offers a detailed description of the day's events.

¹⁸³ Elphege Boursin and Jean Baptiste Marie Augustin Challamel, *Dictionnaire de la Révolution française, institutions, hommes et faits...*, (Paris: Jouvot, 1893), pp. 32-3.

¹⁸⁴ Jeanne-Louis-Henriette Campan. *Mémoires de Madame Campan: première femme de chambre de Marie-Antoinette*, eds. Jean Chalon and Carlos de Angulo, (Paris: Mercure de France, 1988).

Most prints of 20 June 1792 focus on portraits of Louis XVI, succumbing to the will of the people: the majority of these showing the king forced to don the Phrygian bonnet, while others also depict him drinking from a cask of wine to the health of the Nation. Prints of this nature are one example which followed those more mocking satirical prints analysed in the previous subchapter: though here, the king's humiliation is based on an actual event, and the visual dialogue does not need to employ the zoomorphic or the scatological to get this point across to the print's purchaser or spectator. The very treatment of the king was in itself an act of both frustration and callous taunting, and portrait prints of the king as the victim of this hostility reflect the sentiment of this crowd, though they fail to depict the crowd themselves.

As in many other examples, Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris* was quick to engage with the subject, both in text and in images printed by printmakers to be inserted into the publication. Given the nature of the journal, examples of prints from the *Révolutions de Paris* offer a very straightforward depiction of the event with a textual explanation, without the use of satire or symbolism to convey the message of the image to the reader. Following the day's events as they were to progress, the *Révolutions de Paris* presents one monochromatic etching of the crowd, mobilised in a street scene, heading towards the Tuileries Palace (fig. 26). The crowd is comprised of a mix of Parisians, apparently coming from various walks of life, including men, women, and children carrying pikes, swords and other various weaponry, as well as what appear to be two National Guardsmen in the centre foreground wearing bicorn hats adorned with what would have most likely been tricolour cockades. In the centre of the crowd, a man holds a pike surmounted by a Phrygian bonnet. Walking along cobbled streets, the street is unidentified by the print maker. What the printmaker does however is present an instantly recognisable Parisian scene of crowd mobilisation that appears to have become a standard style in the printmakers' canon: façades of multiple-storied buildings dotted by chimneys appear in the background, as residents peer out of windows to observe, and perhaps comment on, what was happening in the street below.

The peculiarity of the prints of 20 June is seen however, not on the street, but within the interiors of the palace itself. Having successfully entered the palace unhindered and managed to corner the king, the crowd proceeded on an afternoon of heckles and taunts as

Louis XVI, lacking protection, was forcibly subjected to this ridicule. As was typical of Louis, he accepted such insults in his own stoic and dignified manner, though without question, he must have feared for his life as well as that of his family.¹⁸⁵ A following print in the *Révolutions de Paris* depicts this altercation (fig. 27). In the depicted interior, the king sits with Marie-Antoinette and the Dauphin to the right of the scene in front of a window. Despite the generally accurate replications provided by the *Révolutions de Paris*, this does not quite follow the accurate way that the events had played-out, as Marie-Antoinette nor any other member of the royal family were with the king throughout his ordeal. The printmaker has depicted a chubby Louis, and focuses on the key scene in the narrative of the event: the wearing of the Phrygian bonnet which is depicted here on Louis' head: he is shown to have taken off his bicorn hat in an almost theatrical gesture.¹⁸⁶ The bottle from which he drinks to the health of the nation appears in his right hand. The interior setting is sparse, like many interior images of the Tuileries, though the fluted pilasters as seen in other prints of similar interiors are visible here. Though how such an image differs from other interior scenes at the Tuileries, is in the depiction and composition of the crowd. While similar scenes of the Day of Daggers showed another invasion of the palace, the king was always removed from the scene if it was depicting the violent outbreak between the *chevaliers du poignard* and the National and Swiss Guard. Printmakers depicting the Day of Daggers used their visual construction of the interior of the palace to make the king visible, but at the same time the majority of prints placed Louis in another room, disconnected from the action of the foreground.

This is not the case in fig. 27, or in that of fig. 28, an engraving by the printmaker Madame Jourdan of the same year. In figure 27, it appears as though the printmaker has lifted an almost identical crowd from the prior street scene and transposed them to the interior of the palace. Armed with the same variety of weapons (most identifiably a man with a truncheon who is visible in both fig. 26 and fig. 27), there is a sense of continuity between the two prints as the crowd confronts the king. The essence of this is captured in Jourdan's

¹⁸⁵ During the incident, Marie-Antoinette and the children had taken shelter in the first floor ante-chamber. ; Jordan, *The King's Trial*, p. 99. A description of the king's character during his time in the Temple prison.

¹⁸⁶ Jennifer Harris, 'The Red Cap of Liberty: A Study of Dress Worn by French Revolutionary Paritisans 1789-94' in, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, (vol. 14, no. 3, Spring, 1981), p. 283. Notes the proliferation of the red bonnet following this incident.

print (fig. 28), though to greater dramatic effect. Clearly a gifted printmaker, the scene is composed almost in the manner of an academically-sound, history painting. Louis is clearly defined as the subject at the centre of the image. Standing before an open window, Louis is held by National Guardsmen while two figures holding raised pikes to the left and right of the scene form a pyramid-like base in which Louis is at the heart.¹⁸⁷ Given the level of detail, the printmaker is able to heighten the emotion of the scene: as the crowd jeers, leering forth, Louis appears to be pulled and tugged by those holding him – a far rougher treatment than that presented in figure 27. Despite the stylistic differences, the two images display not only an account of the event, but also highlight the power and mobility of the Parisian crowd: a crowd which, as seen in the prints, could bend the will of the monarch through physical force and popular opinion.

Both images depict a body that is in general visually associated with a public space such as the street, but is here seen to be entering a private interior. A further example of this inversion of conventions can be seen most readily in fig. 28, where three faces appear at the window behind Louis XVI and the National Guardsmen.¹⁸⁸ A common iconographical factor of prints depicting street scenes of crowd action and mobility was the depiction of individuals in windows, peering down from their private space, observing the goings-on of the street below, as seen again in fig. 26 of this chapter. Now, with the action happening in the interior, the roles of the observer have been reversed as anonymous figures from the outside look at what is happening indoors. The private space of the king has become a public forum in this print where politics is not discussed, but meted out. This idea of the 'street' taking-over the private interior parallels the broader political and social concerns which were unsettling various factions of the city's populace. Such problems would come to a head on 10 August at the final fall of the Bourbon monarchy, when the Parisian population would demonstrate the political power of crowd action on both the monarchy, and the Assembly.

¹⁸⁷ The composition of the scene and the grand gestures of the figures suggest a knowledge of academic-style painting. Note the muscular detail given on the calf muscle of the man wielding a pike to the left of the print.

¹⁸⁸ Despite the visual detail, the setting of the print is inaccurate. The scene took place on the first floor of the Tuileries Palace, meaning that it would be impossible for people to observe the scene from outside of the window, as depicted here.

4.6 10 August 1792 and the Fall of the Bourbon monarchy: a reaction in prints

During their time spent in residence at the Tuileries Palace, printmakers reacted variedly when choosing ways to depict the royal family and the Assembly. Employing genre scenes, realistic depictions of interiors and events, or satire and base humour, the printmakers' cannon and his or her choice of technique was very much linked to both the politics and the popular opinion of the time. This is particularly evident in the prints analysed in this chapter: chosen for the most part on their proximity to the event shown, and the subject matter of the print. Printmakers' reactions to 10 August 1792 added another shift in the way politics, popular uprising, and the monarchy were visually perceived by Parisian printmakers, all within the confines of the Tuileries' grounds: not since the Bastille had there been such a significant political, social, and ideological upheaval within the city, affecting not just the capital, but the nation as a whole. And like the Bastille, the Tuileries Palace as a monumental structure proved not only to be a physical manifestation of the institution that was to be toppled, but in some prints, depictions of its storming were symbolic of political changes that were to occur. This subchapter will focus on the three stylistic choices that various printmakers chose from to depict the event: visual recreations of particular moments within the main event, depictions of the façade as the uprising happened – seemingly the most popular and accessible image of 10 August which was employed by many printmakers (including such well established printmakers as Basset and Villeneuve), – and allegorical works that partially served to reignite the patriotic fervour akin to the sentiment that was visually transmitted in prints following the storming of the Bastille, 14 July 1789.

4.6a Heightening Tensions

Problems could only become worse for the monarchy since the publication of the Brunswick Manifesto by Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, 25 July 1792. Essentially a call for revenge on any action taken against the royal family, the manifesto set its sights squarely on Paris and its citizens, singling the city out as the powerhouse of the Revolution.¹⁸⁹ In fact, all that the Brunswick Manifesto was able to achieve was the exact antithesis of the goals it

¹⁸⁹ For a detailed study on the response to the Brunswick Manifesto, see: Elizabeth Cross, 'The Myth of the Foreign Enemy? The Brunswick Manifesto and the Radicalization of the French Revolution' in, *French History*, (vol. 25, no. 2, 2011), pp. 188-213.

had set out to accomplish: the manifesto served to unite Parisians in a form of patriotic nationalism. In the days leading up to 10 August, citizens of the city were becoming militarised, taking-up arms in their *sections*. As fractures also began to appear amongst the National Guard, with Parisian Guardsmen abandoning their posts to protect their neighbourhoods from the perceived threat of invasion and public disorder, the monarchy appeared to become ever more vulnerable to the popular movement. Moreover, the Legislative Assembly had become weak in the face of popular uprisings, with much of their power being taken over by insurrectionary communes.¹⁹⁰ When tensions came to a head the morning of 10 August, the defences of the Tuileries were nothing short of dwindling: as Louis XVI addressed the Swiss Guard and remaining members of the National Guard still loyal to the monarchy, there is no doubt that he must have feared the worst.¹⁹¹ Though in his address, Louis remained stoically quiet in his typical way, refusing to leave the palace as armed groups mobilised on the city streets, ready to descend on the Tuileries Palace. Though Louis's resolve was to dissipate through the course of the day, and persuaded by the queen, the king and his family sort refuge in the *salle du Manège* under the protection of the Assembly. Taking shelter in the *logographie* as the Assembly could not constitutionally operate in the royal presence, fighting at the Palace erupted between the Swiss Guard still loyal to the king, and the overwhelming numbers of Parisians and *provençals* who had come to storm the palace and overthrow the monarchy.¹⁹² What was to follow was nothing short of a complete bloodbath.

¹⁹⁰ Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution*, p. 408. The term *Commune insurrectionnelle* was adopted by the municipal governments of the city on 9 August 1792. They were pivotal to the events of 10 August 1792, and would later be involved in the carrying-out of the September Massacres (see Chapter Five). ; See also, Fritz Braesch, *La commune du dix août 1792: étude sur l'histoire de Paris, du 20 juin au 2 décembre 1792*, (Paris: Hachette, 1911).

¹⁹¹ Richard Twiss, *A Trip to Paris in July and August 1792*, (London: William Lane, 1793), p. 72. In his prologue, Richard Twiss describes himself as an amateur of botany, hoping to discover the gardens of Paris on his trip. In the version of his journal consulted at the British Library, the book is inscribed by one 'Jos. Banks.' This may well be the Joseph Banks who sailed as a botanist on Captain James Cook's voyages to the South Pacific, his sister Sarah being an avid collector of French Revolutionary materials and ephemera. Following Sarah's death, her collection of prints was donated by her sister-in-law, Sarah Banks, to the British Museum. ; Twiss provides an account of the growing tensions amongst the populace. He speculates that popular opinion believed the family were about to flee the Tuileries Palace once again, perhaps to Rouen, and that a great many were listening out for the sound of the *tocsin*, which was rung, he states, at eight o'clock on the night of 9 August despite the night passing without much disturbance.

¹⁹² The *Logographie* in the *salle du Manège* was a caged box in which the Assembly's scribes could work and rest. The royal family must have appeared as though they were already imprisoned. Orr, 'The Blind Spot of History: Logography' in, *Yale French Studies: Everyday Life*, (no. 73, 1987).

4.6b The Tuileries Under Attack: a Chronology of the Event in Prints and Journals

The BNF holds three monochromatic etchings of 10 August from Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris* in both the De Vinck and Hennin collections. Rather than showing an image of the storming of the Tuileries Palace as a singular event, focusing on the monumental façade under attack, the printmaker has chosen to explore visually three smaller specific events which contributed to the narrative of the day: the Swiss Guards 'massacre' of the crowd, the burning of the Swiss Barracks on the Place du Carrousel, and the memorial held on 26 August 1792 for those who died in storming the palace. Unlike other prints which would have been sold separately and attempted to portray 10 August in its entirety within a single standardised iconography, these three prints worked to support the written account which was provided by the journal, dissecting specific facets of what had happened chronologically.

The first of these images titled *Fusillade du Chateau du Thuilleries* [sic] shows the crowd attempting to storm the palace and coming under fire from the Swiss Guard (fig. 29). With the departure of the king and his family to the *salle du Manège* there was confusion amongst the crowd as to whether their struggle was over. Approaching the façade of the palace, the Swiss Guard were reported to have opened fire. As reported in the *Révolutions de Paris*, and as it was perceived in a number of other journals and accounts of the day, this had been a trap that the Swiss had laid out in order to kill the greatest number possible under the guise of a ceasefire.¹⁹³ While such rhetoric worked well in terms of Revolutionary propaganda (not to mention the similarities that this drew to the trap set after the lowering of the first drawbridge during the storming of the Bastille), it can not be proven whether the Swiss were cruelly callous and deceiving, or whether there was a genuine loss of communication in the surrounding chaos. The visual construct of the etching is simple, following the same monochromatic linear style employed in other prints that were also included in the journal since 1789. Employing a basic architectural composition, the printmaker has framed the Place du Carrousel with a shortened depiction of the façade of the Tuileries Palace to the right, and a non-descript two storey building in the background. Such a structure suggests that the print may have been reversed during the printing

¹⁹³ The text in fig. 27 supports this belief. Quote other sources which described this as a trap.

process.¹⁹⁴ Despite this visual brevity, standard elements commonly used to depict the Tuileries have been employed by the printmaker: most evident, those of the central pavilion and its portico, the surmounting pediment and dome. There are however inaccuracies in the composition: a third floor has also been added to the façade in which rifle-bearing figures are visible, though this may also work for the printmaker as a means of extending the seemingly impenetrable nature of the monumental structure.¹⁹⁵ The Swiss Guard is simply represented by rifles taking aim from each of the windows of the façade, with the outlines of some figures also appearing behind the smoke of rising gunshot. The advancing crowd, appear to bear spears and swords as they walk over their fallen comrades. Given the straightforward nature of the print, it is the text which describes the perceived treachery of the Swiss Guard, describing their ‘invitation’ as ‘*perfide*,’ or treacherous: this print helped to vilify the Swiss Guard in the public’s collective perception, and justify to an extent the massacre that was to follow.

4.6c Capturing the Monumental Façade: Architecture and Insurrection

Having successfully stormed the Tuileries Palace, the crowd set about butchering the remaining Swiss Guards, most likely out of retribution for the supposed trap that they had previously set for them.¹⁹⁶ Despite the depravity of this subsequent violence, Revolutionary printmakers tended to view their subject firmly from a positive vantage point: yes, images of the day in question showed scenes violence, but perhaps what was arguably perceived as a necessary violence much in the same manner as was conveyed in prints depicting the

¹⁹⁴ The printmaker has chosen to depict the eastern façade facing on to the Place du Carrousel. Given the visual composition of the print, it would appear that the spectator looks southwards towards the wing of the Palace which connected the Tuileries with the Louvre. No such wing appears here, though the building when compared to other images of 10 August may have been that of the Swiss Barracks. This would suggest that the printmaker has taken a north facing perspective in depicting the event, something that has been reversed during the printing process. A more speculative view of this building may be that it is representative of the *salle du Manège* given the chronology of the day’s events, and the knowledge that the king and royal family had taken shelter there. Its second storey with large rectangular windows divided by pilasters and its oblong shape (elongated to the background right in a perspective that does not fit the rest of the print) may also hint at the public balcony and the oval nature of the interior. Such an interpretation however is purely observational.

¹⁹⁵ While an upper storey did exist, it did not run the length of the wings or the central pavilion. There were only a small amount of accessible windows at this level. See images in: Fonkenell, *Le Palais des Tuileries*, pp. 88-9.

¹⁹⁶ Thomas Blaikie, *Diary of a Scotch Gardener at the French Court at the End of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Francis Birrell, (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1931), p. 238. Blaikie describes firsthand the brutality of the event.

storming of the Bastille. Imagery of such patriotic pride manifests itself most readily in prints in which printmakers attempted to convey a sense of the entire day as a whole. The majority of prints depicting 10 August 1792 tend to encapsulate a visual reproduction of the façade with activity taking place in front of it. Such scenes are again reminiscent of the plethora of images depicting the *vainqueurs* of the Bastille entering by the first drawbridge into the *Cour du Gouvernement* – prints that encapsulated all the major narrative elements for the spectator to immediately understand the image.

A print by Mme Jourdan incorporates all of these elements, successfully presenting an easily read print while also including some particular narrative details of the day (fig. 30). The eastern façade of the Tuileries runs along the background of the image. Well realised, it is clearly identifiable employing the architectural features of the central pavilions and the north and south wings. A suggestion that this is the eastern façade is given by the appearance of a burning building to the left of the image. Similar in geographical composition to the make-up of the Place du Carrousel in figure 29, this building may well be the Swiss barracks, pictured in the second image at the BNF taken from the *Révolutions de Paris*.¹⁹⁷ Rather than showing a crowd of anonymous figures *en masse*, Jourdan incorporates some detail allowing the spectator to identify individual attributes, such as in uniforms: the Swiss Guard in red, the National Guard in blue. At the successful storming of the palace, when reprisals on the Swiss Guard were being enacted by the crowd, it was reported that in anticipation of the retribution that would befall them, a number of the Swiss Guard hurled themselves from the windows of the palace hoping to escape the forthcoming massacre.¹⁹⁸ Jourdan hints at this narrative detail to the background left of her composition, while the fighting continues in the foreground. The massacre of the Swiss Guard is also subtly conveyed, as a number of red-coated bodies lie lifeless in the centre foreground (though there is no evidence of any particularly grisly atrocities having taken place).¹⁹⁹ Jourdan has succeeded in producing an easily identifiable print which encapsulates the event as a whole.

¹⁹⁷ De Vinck 4899, Hennin 11215. However, such an interpretation may also suggest that this print, like that of fig. 27, has been reversed in the printing process.

¹⁹⁸ Twiss, *A Trip to Paris*, pp. 79-84. Other reports note that the Swiss Guardsmen attempted to remove their distinctive red uniforms, dressing themselves in those of other deceased soldiers.

¹⁹⁹ Martin, *Violence et Révolution : essai sur la naissance d'un mythe national*, p. 136. Martin believes the death toll of the day to have at least been at 1,000 souls. ; Andress, *The Terror*, p. 71. Andress juxtaposes the 'long elegant façades of the Tuileries,' to the carnage that was happening below.

As is the case with many prints of the Bastille, the printmaker has not necessarily chosen to follow the event chronologically, but has rather chosen to incorporate various moments that occurred throughout the day into the scene at one singular moment. The major aim of the printmaker in employing this method to present his or her subject was not only to show what happened at specific moments through the course of the day, but also to commemorate the day in its entirety while adding a sense of drama to the recognisable architecture of the palace. Such a practice appears to varying degrees in a wide variety of similar prints depicting the event.²⁰⁰

One element which makes Jourdan's print all the more unique is the inclusion of two female figures to the right of the scene: one armed with a pike, the other with a sword. Wearing red ankle-length dresses, the two female figures appear to engage in the storming alongside their male counterparts. While it is likely that women participated in the overthrowing of the monarchy, this is an element that seems to be overlooked in a number of both visual and textual sources. Perhaps, given the sex of the printmaker, these figures which may have been omitted by the majority of other male printmakers have been reinserted into this scene. In doing so, Jourdan presents an image of the crowd as an inclusive organism: not just by way of sex, but also in the depiction of civilians carrying arms to the right of the scene alongside their military compatriots, a group of which opens fire on the fleeing Swiss Guardsmen to the far left of the print.

While Jourdan's print conveys both narrative and the social construction of the crowd, one print held in the *Tableau de la Révolution* at Waddesdon Manor, illustrates the scene with a great deal of architectural detail and precision (fig. 31).²⁰¹ In this print, the architecture of the façade is immediately identifiable, and to an extent takes on the role as the central character of the image, dwarfing the action which is unfolding in the foreground. This print also includes the northern and southern wings of the palace noting their change in style as they move towards their respective outer pavillons, and particularly to the far left where the

²⁰⁰ See: De Vinck nos. 4892 (original drawing to be printed in 1793 by Isidore-Stanislas Helman, De Vinck nos. 4893, 4894; Hennin 11211), 4898; and Hennin nos. 11212, 11213 (print by Basset), 11220 (which provides a caption identifying the different areas of the palace and their functions).

²⁰¹ The Rothschild Collection, acc. no. 4222.19.24. The BNF holds several similar prints that also include a caption, though the image of the façade is neither as detailed and has been cropped to both the left and right sides of the print, losing some areas of the structural design of the Tuileries Palace. See: Bnf, Est. LI-72 (1)-FOL; De Vinck nos 4896, 4897.

southern pavillon joins the wing connecting the Tuileries Palace to the Louvre. This illustrates not only the printmaker's familiarity with the structure, but also indicates his or her keen observation of both architectural design and its history.

It is possible to say, that over the course of this study, never had such a well drawn and detailed image of the façade of the Palace been produced than the one depicted here. The show of the grandeur of the structure in its scale and ornamentation is evidenced by its porticos, dormer windows, surmounting triangular pediment and central dome. What is then surprising about this image, given the splendour of depicted façade, is that it appears in a scene of its own sacking. While it would be presumptuous to try to indicate whether or not this was a pro or counter-Revolutionary print, the detail reinforces the narrative: that a distinctively monarchical structure/symbol, one which for the past years had played residence to the royal family, appears directly under attack – almost at the point of inevitable surrender. So while the politics of the image may not be fully clear, this print is most undeniably Revolutionary, juxtaposing actual events and realistic locations which in themselves illustrate the larger political story of the moment. From 10 August onwards, it could be claimed, this palatial baroque architecture, no longer implied the notion of monarchy.

The open areas in front of the façade are divided into walled courtyards. Two larger courtyards appear in the centre and to the left, separated by a dividing wall. The gate to the central courtyard, the *arc du Carrousel* now stands, is surmounted by the royal coat of arms. While the attack on the palace's façade continues within this walled space, a series of smaller buildings appear to the right, some with flames bellowing from their gabled roofs. Given the printmaker's perspective (which would appear to be from the top of where Ieoh Ming Pei's pyramid stands today), these structures may represent the flame engulfed Swiss Barracks as depicted in both the *Révolutions de Paris*, and possibly Jourdan's print (arguably quite likely given the level of accurate detail that the printmaker has provided in the rest of his or her composition). What these structures also serve to do is to pull the spectator's gaze back through the action, using an almost Albertian perspective to the print's central focal

point: the monumental façade and its fall which represented that of the Bourbon monarchy.²⁰²

4.6c The Bastille of 1792: Public Opinion and 10 August

Given the nature of the event, many iconographical similarities appear between prints of the storming of the Tuileries, and those of the storming of the Bastille three years previously. While this applies visually in printed form, on a symbolic level both cases also share a number of similarities. This is most readily recognised in the description of the act: the toppling of a perceivably outdated and corrupt institution by a public body. In prints, this institution can be most readily represented architecturally by means of the monumental façade (which both the Bastille and the Tuileries Palace helpfully possessed) when depicting the crowd's attack on the structure. Though some printmakers also wanted to elaborate what they believed to be perhaps deeper significations and changes in the construct of both society and the city following what had occurred. As noted in Chapter Two of this thesis, in the days following the storming of the Bastille printmakers were quick to engage with their subject in employing allegory to illustrate their message. As also discussed in Chapter Two, one such well known example of this allegorical style is the 'Print of Patriots Fighting a Multi-Headed Beast' (Chapter Two, fig. 8). How then did prints of the fall of the Bourbon monarchy attempt to attack the subject in the same light?

What is particularly curious is the lack of such iconography. While some prints do exist (fig. 32), such images presenting both symbolic and allegorical rhetoric appear to be few and far between. While the written word in a series of journals was happy to fall back on the same prose constructed around what would become the myth of the Bastille, in prints, images, and other items, the symbolism of a change in order which 10 August presented, is few and far between. Figure 32 employs a number of typical Revolutionary symbols to transmit its message, supported by a text which appears below the image, referring directly to the

²⁰² Leon Battista Alberti's studies in perspective in the 1400s became the cornerstone from which artists would develop the techniques to create depth and conceivable distance within the picture plane. To do this, he employed the use of lines moving 'back' towards a central focal point. This gave the viewer an impression of three dimensions and seemingly real space within the work. This practice, or the Albertian perspective, would be employed by Italian artists through the Quattrocento and Cinquecento, as well as forming a basis for the study and academic practice of artists and art institutions. See also Alberti's essential work, *De pictura*.

Bastille itself. Seated, France wears a Phrygian bonnet and a pike, she reclines on what the text identifies as being the ruins of the Bastille. An obelisk appears behind her. A snake, to the left of the scene, wears a crown: a convincing image of the evil that monarchy, and particularly the king posed. The text identifies the serpent as the king, 'prêt à s élancer [sic]' on France. Such symbolism resonates directly with prints produced and circulated *en masse* for the first time following the storming of the Bastille, and highlights the symbolic tradition which such images adhered to.

But why this lack of symbolic imagery, especially when in realistic prints of the subject, similarities between the Bastille and 10 August 1792 were so quickly embraced by various printmakers: the conquering of a monumental façade; the 'trap' set by the opposing force; the victory of the crowd over a popularly despised institution? This is evident also in the lack of other ephemeral materials created around the subject, the lack of public recognition of individuals and their particular achievements like in the cases of Arné and Humbert, and the absence of souvenir items created to commemorate the event. Unlike the Bastille as an architectural symbol, the Tuileries was not demolished. While a memorial would be held in the Tuileries gardens some two weeks later, no anniversary or 'fête' would be held to commemorate its storming and the monarchy's fall a year on. Rather, a more pragmatic sensibility was adopted. With the royal family moved to the Temple, the National Convention would take up seat within the northern wing of the Tuileries Palace: a cost-cutting venture rather than building a new Assembly in which to meet, this could also have been interpreted as a symbolic gesture. What had once been a private royal space had now been taken over by the representatives of the people: the Tuileries Palace was now a palace of the people, and very much a palace in the public domain.

5.0 Chapter Five: Violence in the City: the Temple, the September Massacres, the Destruction of Royal Monuments and Symbols and the Role of the Place Louis XV

Following the fall from power of Louis XVI on 10 August 1792 and his family's transfer to, and subsequent imprisonment in the Temple tower, no one single individual or group held sufficient sovereign power to take control of the state. While the success of the insurrection of 10 August was viewed by many Revolutionary printmakers as a cause for celebration, Paris's descent into the Terror would see further political uncertainty, outbursts of violence, bloodshed, and some cases of spontaneous or calculated acts of barbarity. This chapter will focus on the shift Revolutionary printmakers recorded from what was an essentially a positive view of the events occurring in the city around them, to something which would appear far more sinister. Selecting prints of sites of key events within the city, this chapter begins with a case study of images depicting the Temple, going on to analyse how printmakers reacted to the capital's descent into bouts of violence, and the organised acts of killings and executions that were to follow. From an architectural point of view, the conclusion of 1792 marked one of the most significant changes in the aesthetic composition of the city with a number of once treasured royal edifices, private households, and monuments succumbing to vandalism and destruction. The demolition of what was seen as an oppressive past was part and parcel of the central ideology of the period: as public and political opinions continued to be expressed in the streets and squares that made up the framework of the city. Such destruction was personified in the execution of the former king, Louis XVI, a matter that once and for all split France from the *ancien régime*.

5.1 The Prisoners in the Temple

At approximately three-thirty in the afternoon on 13 August the royal family was transferred from the Tuileries Palace to the Temple which stood to the north-east of the Place du Grève, an area which is now incorporated into the Marais neighbourhood of central Paris.¹ While

¹ David P. Jordan, *The King's Trial: the French Revolution vs. Louis XVI*, (Berkeley, London: University of California Press, 2004), p. 79. A print by Antoine Sergent held in the *Tableaux de la Révolution* at Waddesdon Manor illustrates this transition (acc. no. 4222.21.26). The composition of the print is simple with the Tuileries depicted burning in the background right, as the family is herded by a sans-culotte towards a medieval-like

journals, articles and prints commonly employed the non-specific term of the 'Temple' to indicate the tower which served as the royal prison, the Temple was in fact a larger walled fortress that had been constructed by the Knights Templar in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.² Consisting of a Great Tower and a Little Tower, the Tour du Temple had a walled garden where the royal family, under the ever-watchful eye of the National Guard, were permitted to walk once a day.³ During these daytime strolls Parisians sometimes lingered at the gates of the garden hoping to catch a glimpse of the imprisoned royals.⁴ Given its occupants, the Temple became a site to visit for local Parisians, and this interest is reflected in the prints which were produced following the royals' imprisonment therein.

Two prints held in the *Tableaux de la Révolution* at Waddesdon Manor provide detailed views of the Tour du Temple (figs 1 and 2), one of which has been printed on gold silk. Circular in composition and decorated by a surrounding chain border (perhaps symbolic of the tower's new function as a prison), the medieval architecture of the main tower is apparent in both images, most notably in the solid brick materials shown and the four turrets crowned with spires and finials. This is a very different form of structure from the architectural examples more readily associated with the monarchy both at Versailles and the Tuileries Palace: only minor structural embellishments appear in either print corresponding to the Temple's original purpose as a fortress – a far cry from the former luxury and opulence of the royal palaces.⁵ In fact, its medieval architecture complete with tower harkens back to the pre-Revolutionary prints of the Bastille and the key to the increased Parisian interest in the Temple appears to be directly linked to its new function as a royal prison. The two prints, which may have been based upon and adapted from an image made

structure complete with turret to the left (presumably representative of the Temple Tower). Sergent uses zoomorphism, much in the same manner as figure 22 from Chapter Four of this thesis, suggesting that this means of depicting the fallen royal family was becoming more and more popular amongst printmakers and their respective audiences. ;

² Georges Bordonove, *Les Rois qui ont fait la France : les Bourbons, De Louis XVI à Louis-Philippe 1774-1848*, (Paris: Pygmalion/Flammarion, 2004), pp. 262-3. Bordonove provides a map of the Temple quarter. ; *Les Tuileries, le Temple, le Tribune révolutionnaire et la Conciergerie sous la tyrannie de la Convention; auxquels on a joint le tableau du 21 janvier 1793.*, (Paris: Lerouge, 1814), pp. 66-7. Description of the Temple quarter.

³ Jordan, *The King's Trial*, pp. 80-1. Interior details and floor plans of both the Little Tower and the Great Tower. Floorplans by A. De Beauchesne, (1808). ; Jean Baptiste Hanet-Cléry, *Mémoires de Cléry de M. le Duc de Montpensier*, ed. Fs. Barrière, (Paris: Firmin Didot frères, 1847), pp. 37-9. Cléry discusses the royal family's walks in the garden of the Temple.

⁴ David P. Jordan, *The King's Trial: the French Revolution vs. Louis XVI*, p. 96.

⁵ Jordan, *The King's Trial*. p. 80. 'With its narrow slit windows, deep moat, and thick stone walls the *petite tour* was a grim setting...'

prior to the events of 1792 show a couple apparently strolling through the garden as they look at the main tower. The man has removed his tricorne hat which he carries under his arm, perhaps to get a better view of the entire structure while the woman points it out to him. Another woman sits in front of the couple, apparently sketching the Temple. Iconographically the role of these figures is similar to those who engaged with prints of monumental façades so common prior to 1789, identifying, in the same manner as the spectator of the print, that what had been depicted by the printmaker was a structure of some kind of special importance – perhaps architecturally, socially, historically, or politically. In the case of the Tour du Temple, the building's importance in and amongst the Parisian landscape came to be defined in 1792 by the presence of the royal family. This also echoes how the role of the Tuileries Palace changed, and its proliferation in genre-style prints following the royal family's installation after the October Days of 1789.

The combined act of looking at, but especially drawing the building within the scene, highlights the structure's importance within the capital's cityscape for Parisians at this time: not only is the structure discussed within the print between the man and woman, but also visually recorded by the seated woman. This is also significant given the proliferation of images of this subject in prints in 1792, some prints presenting slight variations to the spectating figures depicted in the garden.⁶ The one constant that each of these prints possesses however is the depiction of the Tour du Temple itself. Seemingly architecturally accurate, the Tour du Temple appears to have become a very noticeable architectural feature in prints, which must have been easily identifiable to the spectator. It would also appear that figs 1 and 2 were copied from the same model: taken from the same perspective, the Tour du Temple is depicted from print to print with the same architectural attributes, standing within the Parisian cityscape which appears in the background (though none of the buildings in figs 1 and 2 are identifiable).

In this respect it can be noted that the function of the Temple within the topography of the city had identifiably changed the very day that the royal family was imprisoned there. Not

⁶ See collections: De Vinck nos. 4934, 4943-4; and Hennin no. 11287. Other similar images of the Tour du Temple also include De Vinck nos. 4938 and 4942 (a print by Laurent Guyot who had previously worked on several prints of the storming and demolition of the Bastille); Hennin no.11280.

only did the function of the structure become that of a place of incarceration, well echoed in its medieval architectural forms, but also as it came to act as the new a 'royal' residence of sorts. In his guide of 1752, Germain Brice described the area of the Temple: 'Quoi qu'il n'ait presque rien dans ce lieu, qui puisse satisfaire la curiosité, on ne peut cependant se dispenser de quel que chose.'⁷ And how this had changed in 1792? Much in the same way people passed the Tuileries on the off chance of seeing the members of the royal family in the gardens upon their arrival in 1789, people now actively went out of their way to visit the Temple to look on at the same figures. This is not to say that they would necessarily witness them taking a stroll in the Temple gardens, but such prints identify that a prurient gaze over the structure which held the prisoners would suffice the curious crowd.

Of particular note is the material on which fig. 2 has been printed: the majority of Revolutionary prints were printed on sheet paper, cheaply and *en masse*: the use of silk indicates something of greater value – and likely something of a greater durability than the common prints on paper.⁸ Such a work would seem to suggest a souvenir-like nature of the print similar to those other decorative objects that had become so popular following the storming of the Bastille. While this thesis has discussed the difficulties of valuing prints as either legitimate artistic creations or as credible historical resources, the monetary value of a print such as fig. 2 tends to indicate a sincere and more costly investment in this particular image, and therefore in this particular subject: something that once again suggests the Tour du Temple came to be seen as a significant site at the time of the royal family's imprisonment.

Given the extensive nature of prints of exterior scenes, far fewer exist depicting the royal family's life in the interior of the Tour du Temple. Located 126 steps above ground and isolated within the medieval structure behind nine feet thick walls, the royal apartment had all the appearance of a prison. Louis would spend his remaining days in the main tower, separated from his family, which could only be accessed by one stairwell within one of the

⁷ Germain Brice, *Description de la Ville de Paris, et de tout ce qu'elle contient de plus remarquable*, (Paris: chez les Libraires Associés, 1752), II, p. 71.

⁸ For a study on Lyon's silk industry, its processes of fabrication, uses and costs, see: Ernest Pariset, *Histoire de la fabrique lyonnaise. Étude sur le régime social et économique de l'industrie de la soie à Lyon, depuis le XVIe siècle*, (Lyon: A. Rey, 1901).

turrets.⁹ One monochrome print from Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris* shows a domestic scene of the royal family having a meal (fig. 3). The printmaker has depicted a sparse space of dark recesses, where no light source is shown. The family eat at a round table covered in a table cloth.¹⁰ A chimney appears in the background. The family are watched by a sans-culotte to the left, depicted with a set of keys tied to his waste, and two other men to the right (one of them possibly Antoine-Joseph Santerre, who called to search the family's rooms on a nightly basis).¹¹ Louis' servant Jean Baptiste Hanet-Cléry is depicted serving the family at the table. The lack of light and block stone walls correspond to the medieval architecture of the exterior, also adding to the sense that this space was now to all intents and purposes, a prison. It is unlikely however that the printmaker had been privy to such a scene, nor is it possible to determine whether or not he or she had any knowledge of the interior or may have ever entered the Temple prior to the royal family's imprisonment there. Despite this, the aesthetic of the space appears realistic and its composition bears much similarity to the tower's floor plan.¹²

Louis XVI and his family were no longer under the direct public gaze which they had endured during their time at the Tuileries Palace: they were now hidden away, cut off from the city around them. But despite their lack of public visibility, Parisians were well aware of the continuing presence of Louis and his family within the city, symbolised in part in the image of the Tour du Temple. Much in the same manner of the Bastille, the presence of the tower was a very noticeable feature on both the cityscape and within the public's imagination. The proliferation of Temple images following the fall of the Bourbon monarchy reignited this concept of secrecy: prints of a readily visible exterior, far outnumbering those of the interior. This separation between the prisoners and the Parisian populace would not be broken

⁹ Jordan, *The King's Trial*, p. 80.

¹⁰ Despite the grim nature of the surroundings, in the early period of their imprisonment, the family had a healthy allowance with which to support themselves (some 500,000 livres), and their dinners reflected this. Jordan, *The King's Trial*, pp. 81; 91; 93.

¹¹ The sans-culotte may possibly be the citizen Risbey identified in a bust profile portrait by the printmaker Marguerite Bergny, a widowed printmaker working from no. 133, rue du Coq Saint-Honoré (De Vinck nos. 4951-2). The text of the print identifies the subject as the 'concierge key carrier' of the Tour du Temple. He is depicted wearing a Phrygian bonnet. Bergny did a series of bust prints of Revolutionary figures similar in style to this between 1790-2. ; *Les Tuileries, le Temple, le Tribune révolutionnaire et la Conciergerie sous la tyrannie de la Convention*, pp. 82-3. Description of the positions of guards in the tower and on the staircase.

¹² Jourdan, *The King's Trial*, pp. 80-1.

throughout the September Massacres despite a crowd's attempt to shock the queen, with the king finally emerging into the public domain at his trial and his subsequent execution.

5.2 A Changing Cityscape: the Destruction of Royal Monuments

'The governors of men have always made use of painting and sculpture, and architecture, in order to inspire in their subjects the religious or political sentiments they desire them to hold.'¹³

On the day following the storming of the Tuileries Palace and the fall of the Bourbon monarchy, crowds began to gather in the former royal squares dotted across the capital with the intention of destroying the remaining emblems of the monarchy: their monumental statues. Like the demolition of the Bastille, this destruction was a symbolic act as citizens toppled representations of their past monarchs in much the same manner they had overrun the Tuileries Palace the previous day. At this time it was unimaginable in political thought that the former Louis XVI would face execution, and this destruction of royal statues served to draw a line beneath the *ancien regime* for the moment: after all, France was no longer a constitutional monarchy. Both architecturally and aesthetically, the toppling of these statues and the renaming of the squares on which they stood proved to be one of the greater physical changes to the capital's urban landscape since the demolition of the Bastille. Though unlike that controlled process carefully watched over and capitalised upon by the 'patriot' Palloy, this process of destruction was a swift and assertive way of demonstrating a pro-Revolutionary public opinion and a decisive rupture from the monarchical past.¹⁴ Focusing specifically on the statues of Louis XIV on the Place Louis le Grand and the Place des Victoires (amongst others), this subchapter will explore the symbolic and physical changes to the city in the period immediately following the fall of the Bourbon monarchy, and investigate the other ways such scenes of destruction were interpreted in the ongoing suppression of royal symbols, including the successful nationalisation of church properties which had begun with the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 12 July 1790.

¹³ Diderot, et al, (eds.), 'Peinture' in, *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonnée des sciences, des arts et des métiers par une société de gens de lettres*, (Paris: 1751-65), XII, p. 267.

¹⁴ Chevalier de Mopinot, *Oppositions et propositions sur l'emplacement des Statues exécutées à la mémoire des français qui se sont illustrés par leurs actions*, (Paris: 1792). Mopinot argued that new statues should be sculpted of people based on their actions, not their hereditary privileges.

5.2a A Question of a Symbolic Iconography: the Demolition of Royal Statues in Public Spaces

The difference between symbolic destruction and vandalism appeared to be a very fine line in Revolutionary Paris. As the Abbé Henri Grégoire would go on to promote the safeguarding of French heritage in 1793, the question of what to do with the art, sculpture and architecture of the *ancien régime* would appear to be just as pertinent in August 1792 as it would later become.¹⁵ As Versailles had suffered at the hands of looters – those hoping to make a profit from the political situation, or those found vandalising or perhaps just hoping to make a political point, the Tuileries Palace had too suffered at the hands of the crowd. While reports exist of looters being executed on the spot when caught red-handed at the Tuileries Palace, the destruction of statues the following day appeared to be widely tolerated, even politically supported.¹⁶ Though the public destruction of a statue does not represent the self-serving nature of the looter, both activities nevertheless present a form of destruction or eradication of a once valued art, and to an extent both looting and destruction of patrimony could be described as a form of vandalism.

A print dated to 1792 by the BNF depicts the destruction of Louis XIV's equestrian statue on the Place Louis le Grand, a space that would be renamed the Place des Picques in the following year (fig. 4).¹⁷ Analysis of this particular print proves troublesome for one major reason: the BNF's dating of the print in relation to the print's text which describes the setting

¹⁵ Henri Grégoire, a Catholic priest, was at the forefront of promoting the protection of French National heritage sites, such as Saint-Denis and Versailles, criticising acts of vandalism. Grégoire was also a significant voice calling for the abolition of the slave trade in France and was one of the foundering members of the *Institut de France*. See, Anthony Vidler, 'The Paradoxes of Vandalism: Henri Grégoire and the Thermidorian Discourse on Historical Monuments' in, *The Abbé Grégoire and his World*, eds Jeremy D. Popkin and Richard H. Popkin, (Dordrecht, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), pp. 129-56.

¹⁶ Jacques Lafranchi, *Les statues des grands hommes à Paris: Cœurs de bronze, Têtes de pierre*, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004), p. 12. Quotes the *deputé* Thuriot on 11 August 1792: 'Il faut que l'Assemblée montre dans ces circonstances un grand caractère et qu'elle ne craigne pas d'ordonner la suppression de tous ces monuments élevés à l'orgueil et au despotisme.'; Richard Twiss, *A Trip to Paris in July and August 1792*, (London: William Lane, 1793), pp. 85-6. The British tourist remarks that this was the second statue to be pulled down, following the of Louis XV on the Place Louis XV. He also alleges that a man was crushed to death beneath the falling statue.

¹⁷ Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, 'La statue de Louis XIV' in, *La Place Vendôme : Art, pouvoir et fortune*, eds. Thierry Sarmant and Luce Gaume, (Paris: Action artistique de la Ville de Paris, 2003), pp. 91-5. Bresc-Bautier provides a detailed history and description of the statue.

as the 'Place Vendôme,' a name for the square that was not officially adopted until the end of the Revolutionary decade.¹⁸ While this may suggest that the print was indeed printed in 1799, given its rough etching style and the hand-colouring work in watercolours, it bears a greater resemblance to those prints commonly found in the first half of the Revolutionary decade. Also, it is questionable as to what sort of market a printmaker who had chosen such a subject would be producing for in the closing years of the Directory. There also exists the possibility that the text, 'Place Vendôme' may have been added at a later date – much like that of the 'De Vinck' stamp, identifying the collection to which the print belongs in the top left of the print. Despite these troublesome details in relation to dating, the printmaker has succeeded in recreating the moment when the equestrian statue fell.¹⁹ In the centre of the print, the shattered body of the horse and its rider lies amongst billowing dust, rising to either side. A plaque on the pedestal identifies the fallen statue as being that of Louis XIV. To the left of the scene, men are depicted heaving chains, having successfully pulled the statue down. It is a jubilant scene, as one man has mounted the statue, raising a Phrygian bonnet, while others have climbed up onto the now empty pedestal. The central figure on the pedestal also holds a Phrygian bonnet surmounted on a pike. Appearing at in the centre and at the very top of the image, the Phrygian bonnet arguably holds just as much importance within the scene as the destroyed statue beneath had previously held. In effect, it has taken the place of the equestrian statue within the square, and hints to the printmaker's realisation of a symbolic change: the Revolutionary symbol has toppled that of the monarchy of the *ancien régime*.²⁰ The text beneath the print supports this visual symbolism, reading: '*Le plus Grand des Despotes. Renversé par la Liberté.*' With the focus on the subject of the statue's destruction, the printmaker has given little in way of detail to the *place* itself. However he or she has incorporated two monumental façades running parallel into the background of the image to the left and right of the scene. The façades are decorated with

¹⁸ Jean-Philippe Dumas, 'La Révolution et l'Empire' in, *La Place Vendôme*, eds. Thierry Sarmant and Luce Gaume, pp.175-81. Dumas charts the use of the Place des Piques through the course of the Revolutionary decade.

¹⁹ Lanfranchi, *Les statues des grands hommes à Paris*, p. 159. Note on the symbolism of royal equestrian statues.

²⁰ This symbol of the toppled statue endured in the days following 10 August. Upon the royal family's transfer to the Temple prison, Louis-Pierre Manuel, the *procureur* of the Commune, had the carriage halted so Louis could pause on the ruins, and reflect on what had happened. Jordan, *The King's Trial*, p. 80.

what appear to be Corinthian pilasters, akin to those designed by Jules Hardouin-Mansart.²¹ The façades provide the print with some perspective, allowing the printmaker to give a sense of the space and size of the buildings of the *place*.

The symbolic statement of fig. 4 is repeated to greater visual effect in another print which appears to have been created by the same printmaker (fig. 5). Stylistically similar in the use of etching and hand-coloured watercolours, the print shows the destruction of the statue of Louis XIV on the Place des Victoires. Unlike the equestrian statue of the Place Louis le Grand, that of the Place des Victoires depicted the king on foot.²² The statue, designed by the sculptor Martin Desjardins,²³ comprised a valiant gilt bronze figure of Louis XIV sculpted, 'in coronation robes, crowned by a winged Victory,' with a Ceberus trampled underfoot.²⁴ The statue stood on a pediment decorated with various plaques proclaiming the glory of the king. At the base of the monument were four shackled slaves, one on each corner, representing the four nations who signed the Treaties of Nijmegen with France: Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, Turkey and Holland. Each of the statues wore a different expression: rebellion, hope, resignation and dejection. These four *Captives* do not appear amongst the ruins of the rest of the statue in fig. 5, perhaps as they were not destroyed like the other elements of the sculpture, but are now held at the Louvre.²⁵ Both Louis XIV and the angel's

²¹ A seventeenth century baroque architect, Jules Hardouin-Mansart worked in the reign of Louis XIV on a number of projects in Paris and throughout France, notably: the Place Louis le Grand (the Place Vendôme), the Place Louis XIV (the Place des Victoires) and the Grand Trianon at Versailles. See: Alexandre Gady (ed.), *Jules Hardouin-Mansart : 1646-1708*, (Paris: Les Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2010). Richard Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 32-3. Germain Brice proved to be quite critical of Hardouin-Mansart's work.

²² A print of 1686 provides a detailed study of the statue: see BNF notice no. FRBNF40480490 [<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb40480490q/PUBLIC>]. Another print dated by the BNF to 1793 shows the statues placement within the Place des Victoires prior to its demolition: see BNF, Est. LI-72 (1)-FOL.

²³ Emmanuel Benezit (ed.), *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs de tous les temps et tous les pays, par un groupe d'écrivains spécialistes français et étrangers*, (Paris: Gründ, 2006), IV, pp.784-5. Martin Desjardins was an academically trained Dutch sculptor, née Van Den Bogaert.

²⁴ June Hargrove. *The Statues of Paris, an Open-Air Pantheon: the History of Statues to Great Men*, (New York, Paris: The Vendome Press, 1989), p. 11. The sculpture had been commissioned by the duc de la Feuillade in an attempt to curry favour with Louis XIV, and it was eventually inaugurated on 28 March 1686.

²⁵ June Hargrove, *The Statues of Paris, an Open-Air Pantheon*, p. 11. The statues had been previously removed in 1790. ; A perception of how large Desjardin's statue in its entirety must have been can be perceived in the sheer size of these four *Captives* which are now on display at the Louvre: *Département des Sculptures: France, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, (R.F. 4407-32). (<http://www.louvre.fr/oeuvre-notices/quatre-captifs-dits-aussi-quatre-nations-vaincues-lespagne-lempire-le-brandebourg-et->). See also, Manon Potvin and Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *La Sculpture sous tous ses angles. A propos de la sculpture monumentale de plein air en France au XVIIe siècle*, Paris: Editions du Musée du Louvre, 1995), pp. 20-1.

smashed bodies lie across the foreground, with Louis's head separated from his torso: a not so subtle though probably unintentional image of the fate that was soon to befall Louis XVI. A crest bearing the fleur-de-lis is also visible amongst the ruins. As in fig. 4, the printmaker uses Revolutionary symbols to show the shift in the political narrative: from the dust, a new Revolutionary monument has taken the place of the former royal statue. Using some Revolutionary symbols, the 'Colonne de la Liberté et de l'Egalité' comprises a plinth on which a pyramid is supported by four spherical balls. A radical form of architecture, there is no record that the printmaker's envisaged column ever existed. This is perhaps the printmaker's suggestion of what he or she believed may have been an appropriate public sculpture to replace the fallen statue of Louis XIV: the imagery of the peered-back, geometric construction indicates the changes observed by Revolutionary architects looking for a new aesthetic: an original aesthetic that did not rely on the traditional forms created under the *ancien régime*, but referenced the 'purer' forms of neo-classicism.²⁶ The printmaker has created a scene that is at once fantastic, but also realistic. In the same manner displayed in fig. 4, the façades of the Place des Victoires encompass the scene adding a sense of place and perspective.²⁷ The printmaker has also curved the façades, realistically corresponding to the circular form of the public space. But with the addition of the Revolutionary monument, the printmaker has shown not only a change in politics, but also in Revolutionary architects' aspirations in forming a new aesthetic for the city.

The destruction of royal monuments was ruthless following the fall of the monarchy, as royal statues were systematically destroyed on the Place Louis XV, the Place Royale, and at other various locations dotted throughout the capital, including the Hôtel de Ville where Antoine Coysevox had sculpted a statue to Louis XIV in 1689.²⁸ Even the equestrian statue of Henri IV which stood on the Ile de la Cité at the centre of the Pont Neuf was eventually torn down at

²⁶ Leith, James A. *Space and Revolution: projects for monuments, squares and public buildings in France 1789-1799*, (Montreal and London: McGill-Queens University Press, 1991), pp 33-56. See Leith's study for the rethinking of traditional aesthetics and forms and the development of new ones, such as geometrical shapes for use on public monuments.

²⁷ These façades were designed by Hardouin-Mansart following the inauguration of the statue in 1685, framing the statue. June Hargrove, *The Statues of Paris, an Open-Air Pantheon*, p. 11.

²⁸ Hargrove, *The Statues of Paris*, p. 12. ; Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations and Its Prospects*, (London and New York: Penguin, 1961), pp. 452-3. Mumford gives a brief history and the social make-up of the residents of the Place Royale, including a description of Turgot's depiction of the square.

about midday on Sunday 12 August.²⁹ One print depicting this scene in Prudhomme's *Revolution de Paris* (fig. 6) portrays a much calmer scene than those of figures 4 and 5. The crowd is set at a distance from the statue, standing to the southern end of what would have been the triangular Place Dauphine.³⁰ They stand behind a barrier and watch as a small number of figures work on dismantling the equestrian statue from on top of its pediment. Henri IV had remained a popular king since his death, though this admiration for the old king held through the *ancien régime* was not enough to save his likeness in sculpture. The printmaker has included some Revolutionary symbols, though not in the same dramatic manner of figures 4 and 5: he or she has depicted a Liberty Tree surmounted by a Phrygian bonnet. A cityscape of the *rive gauche* is visible in the background of the print as multi-storeyed buildings with gables and chimneys make-up the remaining skyline.³¹

5.2b Demolition or Vandalism?

This suppression of royal art was not to cease merely at the destruction of statues in public places, as other elements reminding Parisians of their monarchy were also to be wiped from the public gaze. Notably, the fleur-de-lis was quick to make its disappearance as a form of architectural decoration, but in publications as well and as a printed symbol as well. A number of such examples can be found most readily in military certificates in which the fleur-de-lis had been printed, but later removed or altered following the fall of the monarchy. The *Tableaux de la Révolution* at Waddesdon Manor has several examples of the removal of the symbol from what had been official documents.³² Acts of vandalism were not unique to the period following the fall of the monarchy, and the art and architecture of other institutions such as the church which had already lost a great deal of its property, assets and art since the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, were also to suffer in the coming years. But it would appear that the definition of such vandalism had changed somewhat: rather than simply a destructive act perpetrated for individual gain, the destruction of the

²⁹ Twiss, *A Trip to Paris*, p. 87.

³⁰ For a detailed history of the Place Dauphine, see: Hilary Ballon, *The Paris of Henri IV: Architecture and Urbanism*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 1991), pp. 114-66.

³¹ A print of the destruction of the equestrian statue of Louis XII is presented on the same folio, below that of Henri IV.

³² See: Waddesdon acc. no. 4222.30.38, for one such example where royal symbols such as the fleur-de-lis have been blotted out with black ink.

royal monuments and the nationalisation of church property were collectively carried out by groups of people who sought to ideologically aid the Revolution in cutting it off from France's past.

Vandalism and looting were not unfamiliar scenes during these politically turbulent times and printmakers had already engaged in depicting such episodes: notably the sacking of the Saint-Lazare *maison* during the Revolutionary days of 1789, and the days of 12-13 November the following year at the Hôtel des Castries.³³ One print in particular taken from the Camille Desmoulins's journal *Révolutions de France et de Brabant* details one manner in which printmakers envisioned looting and pillaging (fig. 7). Dated by the BNF to 1790, this image most likely shows the sacking of the Hôtel des Castries, something supported by the printed date in the print's text, '13 novembre 1790.' What the print serves to do is demonstrate a certain comfort in the printmaker's style of depicting the scene while incorporating some humour. Taken from an exterior perspective, the printmaker depicts the activities of the interior of the *hôtel* as looters appear to run amuck. Certain individuals appear to seize objects for themselves (such as the man on the ground floor holding and framed oval portrait), while others seem intent on destroying objects, throwing some from the first floor, such as the woman to the right of the print, as a man smashes windows with a cane to the left. The scene is wildly chaotic, though the printmaker demonstrates a shrewdly funny observation in the text below, describing the scene as a 'Moyen expéditif du peuple français pour démeubler un aristocrate.' Such a print differs from those later images depicting the destruction of royal monuments as fig. 7 appears more wryly observational, neither appearing to condone nor criticise the actions of the vandals. And in the case of fig. 7, the vandalism depicted seems to occur without much rhyme or reason: those sacking the Hôtel des Castries may be doing so for personal gain, or simply wanton destruction – this was not an organised movement. Such a scene encapsulates the vandalism of royal property that had also occurred at Versailles following the night of 5 October 1789, and would happen again at the Tuileries Palace, 10 August 1792.

³³ For a description of the sacking of the Hôtel des Castries, see: *Événement du 13 novembre. Dévastation de l'Hôtel des Castries*, (Paris: 1790[?]), (BL, General Reference Collection, F.1408(52)). Looting of the Hôtel des Castries had in fact begun the night before, 12 November. Though, it appears at the time authorities turned a blind eye to the looting.

The destruction of royal monuments therefore signalled an organised public willingness to take symbolic action.³⁴ Broader examples of this condemnation of political and religious institutions can be seen in allegorical prints depicting various burials of the aristocracy, and the effects that the Civil Constitution of the Clergy had not just on religious figures, but on church property as well.³⁵ One of the major physical changes to the Parisian cityscape was seen in the demolition of Saint-Jacques de la Boucherie in 1793.³⁶ As in the case of other churches which were dismantled at the time, the dismantled stonework and melted-down bells served to fuel the ongoing war effort. While prints of this demolition do not exist, the physical removal of the church from the cityscape (with the exception of the bell-less tower which still stands today) evidences the changing physical state of the city and the changing politics of the time, alongside Parisians' views towards the architectural and artistic manifestation of two of the major institutions of the *ancien régime*.

This concept of the eradication of signs of the past can be in part justified by the *Encyclopédie's* definition of the didactic function of art – and that if it served to be 'morally' instructive in the spectrum of politics and religion. Such objects may have therefore been perceived as a sort of 'social control' which had to be removed.³⁷ In such a case, the question of vandalism within the city is not one of artistic value in itself, but more about what that art had served to represent – a fundamental problem that would come to be addressed in the Abbé Grégoire's continued support for the preservation of the art of the *ancien régime*.³⁸

³⁴ Charles-Louis Corbet, *Lettre au Citoyen Lagarde*, (Paris: An V), p. 20. Corbet also points out that beyond the symbolic destruction of royal statues, this would open-up space for the creation of new statues of more deserving citizens.

³⁵ Burials of the aristocracy were actual ceremonies carried-out to symbolically mark political change. See Waddesdon Manor, acc. no. 4232.1.61.122 for a hand-coloured etching of such an event.

³⁶ The name of the church was given to its proximity to the accumulation of butchers in the nearby Les Halles market. Germaine Boué, *Les squares de Paris : la tour Saint-Jacques*, (Paris: Librairie centrale, 1864).

³⁷ Stanley J. Izerda, 'Iconoclasm during the French Revolution' in, *The American Historical Review*, (vol. 60, no. 1, October 1954), p. 13.

³⁸ For more on how Grégoire perceived the role of vandalism, see: Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall, *The Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution: The Making of Modern Universalism*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 137-9. Sepinwall writes: 'One of the things Grégoire most wanted to reverse was how his fellow revolutionaries had come to view the past... Grégoire consequently recoiled when fellow revolutionaries began to destroy historic artefacts simply because they bore the mark of the Old Regime... Grégoire led a national campaign to preserve France's cultural patrimony – a crusade that garnered him as much acclaim as any of his earlier activities and that did much to stem the tide of destruction.' For Grégoire's actual report, see: Henri Grégoire, *Convention nationale. Instruction publique. Rapport sur les*

5.3 Violent Imagery: the September Massacres

The seeds of the events which were to unfold in the first week of September had been sown through that summer's political turbulence and the threats of ever-encroaching foreign powers, especially after the fall of Verdun to the Prussian Army. With Louis XVI imprisoned in the Temple under lock and key, and now simply referred to as Louis Capet having lost his titles at the establishment of the Republic on 21 September 1792, there was also a palpable sense of uncertainty within the political domain.³⁹ The Insurrectionary Commune had much of the power held by the Legislative Assembly, and it was the city's character as well as its government which appeared to be fracturing while the capital's prisons were filled to the brim with political prisoners. The act that was to materialise from 2-7 September was of a brutality to such an extent that had not yet so far been seen in the course of the Revolution. Whereas the murders of Delaunay, Bertier and Foulon, and even that of the baker Denis François, could be justified as the sporadic actions of an ungovernable crowd seeking some form of popular justice, the extent of what occurred during the September Massacres indicated something far more troubling.⁴⁰ This subchapter proposes to analyse printmakers' responses to these events, though not necessarily entirely through the visual medium of printmaking. It could be said that for the first time since the relaxing of printing laws, never had the Revolutionary printmaking community of the capital met such an event with such apparent uncertainty, or perhaps ambivalence.

5.3a Blood on the Streets

But who was responsible for the instigation and carrying out of these massacres: individuals, radical Jacobins, particular partisan groups? Any analysis of the September Massacres is ripe for debate.⁴¹ Pierre Caron's analysis conveniently portrayed the event as a, 'generalized,

destructions opérées par le vandalisme et sur les moyens de le réprimer, par Grégoire. Séance de 14 fructidor l'an II., (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1794).

³⁹ Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*, (London: Penguin, 1989), p. 641.

⁴⁰ Jean-Clément Martin, *Violence et Révolution : essai sur la naissance d'un mythe national*, (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2006), p. 140. Martin comments on the sadistic and voyeuristic nature of the some of the killings.

⁴¹ Martin, *Violence et Révolution*, p. 139.

indiscriminate, mass mobilization.⁴² Other studies have gone on to investigate the possible silent influence of some political figures such as Georges Jacques Danton, and the aggressive nature of some members of the *section* communes.⁴³ What is of concern to this thesis is not the reasoning as to who instigated the bloodshed or why, but rather to focus on how Parisian printmakers chose to tackle such a difficult subject. Unlike other acts of violence in which Revolutionary Parisian printmakers had been quick to engage, the sense of cold-blooded murder in which the September Massacres have been portrayed appears to have had the status of a sort of taboo subject within the printing community of the period: with the exception of a handful of prints the subject for the most part appears to have been avoided, even by the most well-known of incendiary printmakers. Moreover the massacres bore a relationship specifically to the city of Paris, as violence on such a level failed to flare-up with the same intensity in other French cities.⁴⁴

The first explosion of violence was carried out on a group of twenty-four clergymen being transported to the Abbaye prison on the Boulevard Saint-Germain, having left the Hôtel de Ville.⁴⁵ Before their arrival at the prison, their transport was intercepted by a crowd who demanded their immediate trial, which lasted between thirty and sixty minutes.⁴⁶ When the clergymen were individually found guilty for whatever crime with which they had been casually charged, they were ushered into the garden of the Abbaye where they were met by a crowd of armed men bearing a variety of bladed weapons, including knives and hatchets, and even a butcher's saw: what would be the weapons of choice for the self-proclaimed executioners of the September Massacres.⁴⁷ One print exists of this brutal scene, found as an extract from Proudhon's *Révolutions de Paris* (fig. 8). In the typical style of the journal's printmaker(s), the scene is etched using minimum reference to the architecture of the Abbaye, and the location in which the scene played out. As it is somewhat of a neutral space with no particularly identifiable features, the text works to identify both the location and the

⁴² Schama, *Citizens*, pp. 631-2. ; Pierre Caron, *Les massacres de septembre*, (Paris: Maison du Livre Français, 1935).

⁴³ Frédéric Bluche, *Septembre 1792, logiques d'un massacre*, (Paris: R. Laffont, 1986), pp. 44-7; 185-7.

⁴⁴ Bluche, *Septembre 1792*, pp. 82-4; 103-21. ; The prevalence of the violence in Paris is not surprising however: as the capital was France's largest city and political centre, inevitably Paris was also the centre for political prisoners and principle target of any external threat.

⁴⁵ David Andress, *The Terror: Civil War in the French Revolution*, (London: Abacus, 2005), pp. 95-8.

⁴⁶ Bluche, *Septembre 1792*, pp. 48-9.

⁴⁷ G. Lenôtre, *Les massacres de Septembre*, (Paris: Perrin, 1910). Map of the abbey and the entrance to the garden. ; Schama, *Citizens*, p. 633. In total, only five clergymen survived the massacre.

event pictured. Figure 8 depicts the clergymen ushered down a flight of stairs and into an open air space where they are met by a man holding a raised club to the left, and another holding a raised axe to the right. The scene is one of panic as the victims entering the space raise their arms in terror. The scene is also somewhat chaotic, as a pile of cadavers lie in the centre foreground, while other clergymen appear to flee for their lives as armed figures cut them down with raised axes and swords. Two groups of men armed with pikes to the left and right of the scene watch the carnage as it unfolds.⁴⁸

In the days to follow similar scenes would be occur in a larger and all the more grotesque scale at various prisons and centres of detention across the capital. Prints taken from the *Révolutions de Paris* form a narrative of the events, much in the same manner as the printmaker had chosen to do on 10 August: treating each of the bloody massacres as a singular event in itself. At about four o'clock the same afternoon following the killings at the Abbaye prison, another group amassed at the convent of the Carmelites on the rue de Vaugirard, baying for blood.⁴⁹ In circumstances similar to the proceedings of that morning, the prison population (mostly consisting of some one-hundred and fifty clergymen and some political prisoners) were brought before a makeshift tribunal, quickly charged and sentenced, then hauled outside to be despatched with by the weapon-wielding crowd.⁵⁰ The torrent of the violence would continue over the following days: crowds stormed the Conciergerie, the Châtelet, and la Force (a prison located in what is now the Marais where Marie-Antoinette's friend Marie Thérèse Louise de Savoie-Carignan Lamballe was seized and hacked to death, her head later paraded to the Temple on a pike).⁵¹ Prints published in the

⁴⁸ Nicolas Retif de La Bretonne, *Les nuits révolutionnaires, 1789-1793*, (Paris: Editions de Paris, 1989), pp. 98-9. Retif de La Bretonne describes the horror of the scene, and goes on to give an account of the other massacres which were to follow at specific sites across the city.

⁴⁹ Bluche, *Septembre 1792*, p. 49.

⁵⁰ Alexandre Sorel, *Le couvent des Carmes et le séminaire de Saint-Sulpice pendant le Terreur*, (Paris: Didier, 1863). ; Pierre Caron, *Les massacres de septembre*, (Paris: Maison du Livre Français, 1935), p. 36. Caron reports that of the one-hundred and fifteen victims at the convent of the Carmelites, one-hundred and eleven were ecclesiastical, while the four others political prisoners an ex-military officer and a journalist.

⁵¹ For a gruesome and detailed examination of her demise, see: Andress, *The Terror*, pp. 93-4. ; A detailed image of Madame Lamballe's final moments was printed in 1801 (De Vinck no. 4967). Rather depicting her subsequent death, the image depicts her at on trial. Held by two sans-culottes, she is asked to swear to Liberty, Equality, and profess her hatred of the king and queen. To this she responds, 'Je jurerai facilement les deux premiers, je ne puis jurer les derniers, ils ne sont pas dans mon cœur.' Printed looking at the events in retrospect, the cruelty of the so-called court is identified in the swollen and almost disfigured looks of her captors. In the background a sans-culotte holds open a door, as another man gestures towards it with his sword, indicating Lamballe's inevitable fate. ; Jordan, *The King's Trial*, pp. 95-6.

Révolutions de Paris depict these acts much in the same manner as those of the Abbaye: simple etchings depicting the violence with minimal architectural detail.⁵² The emphasis of these prints is on the image of violence, as defenceless victims are struck down by the crowd, while the text serves simply to identify the location depicted. The composition of these prints could almost be interchangeable, especially evident as the majority of the images are printed two to a page for publication with the journal. This also serves to provide a sense that the massacres which were taking place were citywide and not just restricted to a few isolated areas.

As the self-declared courts and tribunals reached the Bicêtre and the Salpêtrière, the executions were to extend beyond just clergymen and political prisoners. At the Bicêtre, reports suggested that adolescent males were targeted alongside beggars and other minor criminals, while at the Salpêtrière prostitutes were the main focus of the brutality. While many historians have commented on the reports of acts of particular barbarism at these two locations as being apocryphal, that still does not detract from the shocking nature of the acts committed. A print in the series of September Massacre images in the *Révolution de Paris* gives an accurate depiction of the Salpêtrière (fig. 9). A large domed pavilion occupies the centre background of the print. Today the central pavilion of the Pitié-Salpêtrière's hospital still stands to the west of the capital, once acting as the centre's chapel. Designed by the architect Libéral Bruant, the structure of the chapel bears many similarities to that of Saint-Louis des Invalides, Bruant's most famous creation.⁵³ This chapel is depicted comprising typically Baroque embellishments including a triangular pediment above the central portico, and a two-floor structure linked by connecting scrolls surmounted by a dome. While the printmaker has here chosen to depict a detailed architectural element in this particular print is uncertain. Perhaps to anchor the scene, the chapel of the Salpêtrière may have been more recognisable to Parisians than the interiors of the other prisons and centres shown through the series of prints. The subject of the print as in the rest in the series is nevertheless strikingly clear, as the female victims are butchered across the cobbled foreground.⁵⁴

⁵² See: De Vinck nos. 4959, 4961; Hennin nos. 11254-6, 11262, 11264.

⁵³ Though it must be pointed out that while Bruant was responsible for the creation of Saint-Louis des Invalides, the task of creating the dome fell to the architect Jules Hardouin-Mansart who had also worked on the façades of the Place Vendôme.

⁵⁴ Martin, *Violence et Révolution*, p. 141. Martin also mentions acts of rape, about thirty in total.

Though a pro-Revolutionary publication, these prints working with the text of the journal retain a fairly objective point of view: the images report on the scene without either condoning or villainising those committing the massacres, or their victims. In each separate image (with the exception of the inclusion of women at the Salpêtrière), the same anonymous figures are shown conducting the same acts, simply in different though largely interchangeable settings within the Parisian cityscape. The general sense that these prints reporting the events give is one of certain ambivalence – while the events are acknowledged, they are not treated visually by any form of commentary despite the fact that violence to such a degree had not yet been witnessed through the course of the Revolution.

What is of particular note is the lack of other prints depicting the September Massacres at the time. At the BNF, prints published for the *Révolutions de Paris* make-up the majority of the collection. One print which was not printed for the journal shows the massacre of the clergymen at the Carmelite convent (fig. 10). Dated by the BNF to 1792, the print stylistically bears a resemblance to those printed for the *Révolutions de Paris*: a monochrome etching with a text identifying the subject of the print and its location. The composition depicts the interior of a chapel decorated with pilasters, gothic arches, and a raised altar to the right of the scene. Clergymen gather around the altar kneeling in prayer as their attackers, dressed as sans-culottes, descend on them with raised swords from the left.⁵⁵ Another three clergymen appear to flee in the background of the scene. To the left of the print, an open door hints at the fate of the clergymen as they were to be dragged-out and murdered. However, this scene does not appear to be simply a visual report of the event, as hinted to by the putti circling in the rafters above the praying clergymen. Such an image may denote a counter-Revolutionary perspective in the printmaker's work, added to by the barbaric image of the sans-culottes preying on the seemingly helpless, praying clergymen and the priest who from the altar raises his eyes towards the putti while giving a blessing gesture to those kneeling below him.

⁵⁵ Retif de La Bretonne, *Les nuits révolutionnaires*, p. 101. Retif de La Bretonne describes the cruelty of the crowd, or what he calls '*les tueurs*' in this particular instance.

The BNF has located the production of figure 10 as being from Paris, which would make it a unique image given the lack of prints addressing the September Massacres, let alone what is likely a counter-Revolutionary, or at least somewhat critical printmaker, tackling the subject. In the collections held at the BNF, most prints depicting the September Massacres were printed several years after the event, or by the foreign press, most of whom seemed to act with a clear revulsion. This was just as apparent in the number of prints which appeared in both England and Germany, and most famously those of the British satirist James Gillray who succeeded in displaying the grotesquery of the acts, but at the same time retaining a sense of debauched humours: Gillray could clearly not resist having a good poke at the French.⁵⁶

The question remains then as to why the Parisian printmaking community of the period were so uniformly unwilling to engage with the subject of the September Massacres? It is not unlikely that many of these printmakers had failed to revel in scenes of violence previously. One proposed reason may be that the September Massacres presented a kind of violence in a unique form. While the storming of the Bastille and the Tuileries Palace had been seen by pro-Revolutionary printmakers as strongly patriotic outbreaks of violence, namely acts of violence in support of a cause which was required (and the murders of public figures such as Delaunay, Foulon and Bertier could have been perceived by many as an example of popular justice, crushing the evil of despotism that they were seen to represent), the September Massacres seemingly lacked such possible definitions of reason or patriotism. Despite this, other possibilities may also have existed for the lack of printmaking at this time: the fear that had spread through the city may also have made its mark on the printing industry, with printmakers themselves worried about not only the massacres, but their individual responses to it. This thesis has in part explored the relationship between printmaking and popular opinion, and at the time of the September Massacres, it may well have been the case that printmakers were unable to gauge the feelings existing in the public sphere towards the massacres.⁵⁷ Adding to this may have been the incendiary political climate of the time, and the lack of certainty in which direction the Revolution was heading:

⁵⁶ British Museum, reg. no. 1868,0808.6230; and, J,3.44. For other examples of German and British prints of the September massacres, see: Hennin nos. 11256-7; and for a print by a British maker of the head of Madame Lamballe on a pike, which also depicts a view of the Temple, see: De Vinck no. 4968; Hennin no. 11252.

⁵⁷ Pierre Caron, *Les massacres de septembre*, p. 76-7. Caron gauges the public opinion of the time as a mix of both shock and approval. He notes that there is no evidence of protest to the massacres, but also only few expressions of satisfaction amongst the *patriots*.

printmakers, even anonymous printmakers, may have possibly felt threatened by the turbulent nature of the period. Despite these factors, the Parisian printmakers' lack of response to the September Massacres can be interpreted as a shift in the way they saw the Revolution, as well as how they chose to portray the ambiance in the city: a particular shift that would return to the printing medium at the beginning of the Terror.

5.4 Fora of Death: Executions on the Place de la Révolution

The former Place Louis XV had been renamed the Place de la Révolution following the events of 10 August 1792, and was to become the prime site for public executions from January 1793 onwards. Beginning with the execution of Louis Capet, 21 January 1793, the Place de la Révolution would witness numerous executions of members of the former royal family, politicians and other public figures through the Terror and into the Directory.⁵⁸ As a site, the Place de la Révolution was a suitable combination of open public space which facilitated the public's view of each execution, but was also a site of symbolic relevance: in a number of prints held at the BNF, the legs of Edmé Bouchardon's demolished equestrian statue of Louis XV still stand, often to appear facing the guillotine as if to remind the condemned standing at the scaffold of the evolution of French politics and society.⁵⁹

The great majority of prints depicting executions on the Place de la Révolution tend to adhere to similar iconographic formulas in visually reconstructing the execution scenes, including the placement of the guillotine within the square and in the common differences in the various printmakers' interpretations of the surrounding cityscape. These prints however could drastically differ in tone, sometimes depending on what could be interpreted as the individual printmakers' political views or those of his or her intended consumer. Such a tone can generally be gauged through the depicted actions and characteristics of the on looking Parisian crowd. The visual ambiance could also change depending on the character of the condemned individual to be executed, and the printmakers' interpretation as to how the crowd reacted to that individual. This can also be observed in foreign prints as well as in

⁵⁸ The first man to be guillotined in France was the highwayman Nicolas-Jacques Pelletier and was held Place de Grève, 25 April 1792 (what had formerly been the traditional space for public executions).

⁵⁹ De Vinck and Hennin nos. Plus descriptive examples. *Tableaux historiques de la Rév* as well?

allegorical ones tackling the subject of the royal couples' executions, many of which were seemingly produced in the days shortly following the relevant event as news had been quick to travel.

5.4a The King's Trial

The Revolution that had begun with the storming of the Bastille in 1789 was far from running its course by the morning of 21 January 1793, but the execution of the former king symbolised what to some was a necessary sacrifice: a political amputation that pushed the nation securely into a new political world. When Louis died, the last remnants of the *ancien régime* were soon to follow. However the process of sending Louis to the scaffold had been a laborious one, one that had been discussed, argued, contested and criticised within the walls of the *salle du Manège* in the closing weeks of 1792. Amongst the members of the new National Convention, bitter oppositions grew deeper and individual ideologies became even more pronounced.⁶⁰ Since the September Massacres many personal grudges had been formed: some Girondins viewed the radical Jacobins as being implicated, if not partially responsible for the butchery and the death threats that had been passed around the deputies. Despite this unease, both sides agreed that Louis Capet had to answer to the people of France as the alleged instigator of tyranny, but the problem remained as to how that should be done and in turn, what appropriate punishment he should face. When it was finally decided that Louis should be put on trial, it was a complicated affair which played out under the guise of a public interrogation. Though both Louis and his lawyers were to comport themselves well throughout the trial, the delivery of a guilty verdict was more or less inevitable.⁶¹ While most deputies considered the idea of exile to be one solution, the

⁶⁰ The *armoir de fer* incident of the 20 November was to deliver blows to the confidence of both parties and furthermore secure Louis' guilt in the mind of the National Convention. Found hidden in the Tuileries and opened by Roland, the *armoir de fer* contained Mirabeau's *letters cachets au roi* exposing his desire to gather support for Louis as a patriot king. The Jacobins denounced Roland's character and the illegal actions he took to obtain such documents without the Convention's knowledge. In turn the Girondins questioned the unity of the Jacobins as well as Mirabeau's secret motives. As a result neither party benefited from the scandal and Mirabeau's bust was taken by Robespierre from the Jacobin club, vandalised and smashed. Louis' character however was to suffer the greatest: a monarch playing a double game, a devious man who from the outset appeared to do everything he could to undermine the Revolution. There was to no longer be any doubt amongst the Convention; the former king would come to trial.

⁶¹ Represented by Chrétien-Guillaume de Lamoignon de Malesherbes, François-Denis Tronchet and Romain DeSèze, Louis had a relatively strong case from a judicial standpoint. Taking the stand on 26 December 1792, he

radical members of the Convention saw execution as the only way in which to deal with the monarchical problem. 'Rule or die,' Saint-Just exclaimed as he addressed the Convention: no king is innocent, and as the former monarch he was the personification of the sickness that was the *ancien régime*.⁶² Voted guilty by the six hundred and ninety-three deputies present on 14 January 1793, interest turned rapidly to voting on an appropriate punishment. Despite a Girondin plea for an *appel au peuple*, the Mountain wanted to secure the fate of the king as soon as possible.⁶³ A roll call vote allowed the deputies to justify the punishment they had decided upon, though essentially the decision came down to two options: life or death. On the night of 17 January 1793, Louis Capet was sentenced by his former subjects to be executed, and on the morning of 21 January he was taken to the scaffold erected on the Place de la Révolution to be guillotined.⁶⁴

5.4b The Execution of Louis Capet: Place de la Révolution, 21 January 1793

A great many prints were created in the days and weeks following the death of the former French king: realistic 'eye-witness' accounts of the execution, portraits, allegorical images and some more gruesome imagery, perhaps to titillate the more bloodthirsty of print buyers circulated throughout the capital, and the country. While it would prove to be a task beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse all of the various collections of such prints in depth and in their entirety, it is still possible to conceive an idea of the varied ways in which many printmakers reacted and engaged with the event by looking at a sample group. This subchapter will focus primarily on scenes of the executions of Louis and Marie-Antoinette in the eye-witness style which incorporated the Place de la Révolution and a cityscape into the prints, but shall also touch on other genre styles and attempt to assess some printmakers' reactions to other executions.

defended decisions to use his power of veto, attaining that it was a privilege given to him as constitutional monarch; he denied intentionally using force and in the instance of 10 August, did so merely for the protection of himself and his family. Such explanations of his decision-making however were not enough to save Louis: they never could be. By accepting to defend himself in the trial Louis accepted the legitimacy of his accusers. Louis' real crime, as Saint-Just had insisted, was his kingship

⁶² Ruth Scurr, *Fatal Purity: Robespierre and the French Revolution* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2006), p. 221.

⁶³ Colin Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution*, (New York: Longman Inc., 1988), p. 402. The *appel au peuple* was the term for a referendum, associated also with the popular acceptance of the Constitution of Year III.

⁶⁴ Jordan, *The King's Trial*, pp. 198-9. Jordan analyses the final vote for the king's reprieve and the death penalty.

Prints presenting an apparently realistic or attempted recreation of events do so by including some recognisable, or what the printmaker considered to be recognisable, elements of a typical Parisian cityscape. One such print is that of fig. 11 in which the guillotine, then commonly referred to as *la machine*, takes its place at the centre of the image.⁶⁵ The scene is set immediately after Louis's decapitation, with his body lying lifeless on the bascule and his head held aloft to the public by the executioner's aide, Gros.⁶⁶ An etching by the printmakers Basset depicts the location of the execution on the Place de la Révolution, and is immediately identifiable to the spectator by the presence of the façades of the Hôtel du Garde-Meuble (today, the Admiralty) and the Hôtel Crillon in the background of the print. These two elements were the most distinctive features of the Place de la Révolution in Revolutionary prints of the site: notably also in examples of the king's entrance into Paris on 6 October 1789, and the royal family's humiliating return from Varennes on 25 June 1791 – images of both depicting the then Place Louis XV as a site of spectacle for the royal family's transition over the square.

As quoted in the previous chapter, Richard Wittman asserted the public-facing discipline of architecture, such as open spaces like the Place Louis XV, granted the local populace what had been illustrated on 6 October 1789 as 'civic spirit.'⁶⁷ Naturally, this scene of execution presents a very different kind of spectacle. Particularly of note in its physical form was the lack of major architectural change to the *place* between these two periods, yet both in reality, as well as in print, the *place* had significantly varied in its function and politicisation. The one major change – the destruction of the equestrian statue of Louis XV which had appeared in a number of prints – illustrated succinctly, how political systems could adapt architecture ever so slightly as to impose a new ideology and character over a given space. Like the destruction of other royal symbols and statues of the period, this feeling of political

⁶⁵ For a study of the guillotine in the Revolutionary decade and images of it, see: Daniel Arasse, *La Guillotine et l'imaginaire de la Terreur*, (Paris: Flammarion, 1987).

⁶⁶ Charles-Henri Sanson, *La Révolution française vue par son bourreau : journal de Charles-Henri Sanson*, ed. Monique Lebailly, (Paris: Editions de l'Instant, 1988), pp. 61-4. Sanson gives his account of the execution ; Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution*, p. 389. The Sansons were in fact a dynasty of executioners. Charles-Henri died not long after the execution of Louis XVI, and the responsibilities were taken over by his son Henri, who operated the guillotine through the course of the Terror.

⁶⁷ Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, p. 80. A brief history of the *Place Louis XV*.

spatial development was set in stone by the changing of the names of public spaces: here, the Place Louis XV is most certainly, as seen in the act of the execution of the former king, the Place de la Révolution. Perhaps in the case of this space, it was the absence of architectural detail, and its destruction, which displayed how one political system could take over from another

Though many Parisians turned-out on the morning of 21 January to see the the former French king put to death, the printmaker focuses on the presence of the National Guard which was used as a blockade between the scaffold and the on looking general public. The presence of the Irish priest Henry Essex Edgeworth de Firmont, Louis' confessor seated in the prisoner's carriage, has also been included by the printmaker (a figure that would be a common visual element in the majority of Louis's execution scenes).⁶⁸ Public spectatorship is only hinted at in this print by some five men who look down on the guillotine from the horseshoe ramps forming the entrance to the Tuileries gardens. One of the sculptures of a barely visible Mercury riding Pegasus is also included in the etching above the drawbridge to the Tuileries. The position of the horseshoe ramps to the left of the two background façades suggest that this print may have been drawn as seen, and then reversed in the course of the printmaking process.⁶⁹

Fig. 12 provides a very similar scene in which the subject of the guillotine and the recently executed Louis appear at the centre of the etching. Again, Louis' head is held out from the scaffold by Sanson's assistant, the guillotine is depicted surrounded by a band of National Guardsmen and the Abbé Edgeware de Firmont appears waiting in the prisoner's carriage. Though rather than including the façades of the Hôtel du Garde-Meuble or the Hôtel Crillon however, the printmaker has taken the scene from a different, more unusual perspective, looking southwards over the Place de la Révolution. This view allows the printmaker to incorporate the Palais Bourbon on the *rive gauche* into the scene, a monumental façade

⁶⁸ Hanet-Cléry, *Mémoires de Cléry*, p. 98. Cléry's account lists the address of Edgeworth de Firmont as no. 483, rue de Bac. ; Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution*, p. 344. Edgeworth de Firmont was an Irish Catholic and royalist educated in Toulouse. Following the execution of Louis XVI he went into hiding, finally emigrating to England in late 1790.

⁶⁹ Given the perspective the printmaker has provided, the Tuileries should stand to the right, or east, of the façades of the Admiralty and the Hôtel Crillon.

rarely depicted in Revolutionary prints.⁷⁰ Once an aristocratic *maison plaisance*, today the palace is the seat of the National Assembly and complemented with a renovated façade surmounted by a pediment similar in style to that of the Panthéon.⁷¹ This original façade depicted in figure 12 bears a great resemblance to that of the Grand Trianon at Versailles, complete with a monumental colonnade, arched windows, and an upper balustrade surmounted by a series of sculptures.⁷² The inclusion of this façade may indicate the printmaker's sound knowledge of the space, added to by slight details within the visual structure of the print. Identified as being printed in Paris by the BNF, the printmaker has included the ruined pediment which once was surmounted by the equestrian statue of Louis XV and the partially visible southern entrance to the Tuileries gardens, surmounted by a clearly identifiable Fame riding Pegasus. The gardens themselves can be identified by the hints of trees appearing to the right of this sculpture, their branches withered and bare of leaves – a slight touch that corresponds to the seasonal period as well as the reports of it being a particularly chilly morning on the day of the execution.⁷³ One other slight narrative detail amongst the crowd of National Guardsmen can be seen to the bottom left of the print as one of the men covers his face, turning away from the subject of the scene. This does not necessarily identify any of the printmaker's political thoughts, though it does add a nicely human detail to the proceedings. To the left of the print under the pediment a Phrygian bonnet is also included, surmounted on a pike above the crowd. These two details may suggest that the printmaker has conceived a politically neutral and perhaps accurate scene of what had occurred that morning, with divisions existing within the crowd of those in support of the execution, and others whom appear to be repulsed by it.⁷⁴

One of the most prolific prints of the execution is also one the most difficult to identify and analyse (fig. 13). This etching presents a fairly standardised image of the execution scene at

⁷⁰ For another view of this façade, see Turgot's map: Alfred Fierro and Jean-Yves Sarazin, *Le Paris des Lumières d'après le plan de Turgot (1734-1739)*, (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2005), plate 20.

⁷¹ Andrew Ayers, *The Architecture of Paris*, (Stuttgart, London: Edition Axel Menges, 2004), pp. 136-7.

⁷² For a history of the Palais Bourbon, see: Jean Marchand, *Le Palais-Bourbon des origines à nos jours*, (Paris: Desfossés-Néogravure, 1949), pp. 9-36.

⁷³ Pierre de Vaissière, *La mort du Roi, 21 janvier 1793*, (Paris: Perrin, 1910), p. 59.

⁷⁴ Sanson, *La Révolution française vue par son bourreau*, ed. Monique Lebailly, pp. 63-4. In his journal, Sanson describes the anticipation with which the crowd watched the entrance to the Place by way of the Madeleine, waiting for the Louis XVI's berlin carriage to arrive. He also describes the silence with which his last remarks were met, before the beating of drums as the king was placed in the guillotine, and the blade dropped. Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution*, p. 389. Sanson allegedly died repentant.

the moment immediately following Louis's death with the erected guillotine at the centre of the Place. The printmaker has included members of the Parisian public in the scene as they press against the rows of National Guards surrounding the guillotine in order to get a better look at the spectacle. Some cheer while holding their hats in the air.⁷⁵ In the background to the right are two hats held on a pike, one of which is a Phrygian bonnet. The tone of the print is also difficult to summarise: this particular copy of the image taken from the *Tableaux de la Révolution* at Waddesdon Manor comprises a French text citing what have been attributed as Louis's last words: 'I die innocent of the crimes I am accused of. I only ever desired the happiness of my people, and my last wishes are that God forgives them for my death.'⁷⁶ This seemingly royalist addition to the print appears to differ from the visual testimony of the scene, particularly the hideously jubilant actions of the hat raising public in the foreground. While this may serve to highlight a particularly bloodthirsty group within the crowd, or perhaps comment on the monarch's last words in the face of this crowd, reading the print becomes all the more complex when relating it to its copies held in the collections at the BNF and the Musée Carnvalet.

Copies of this particular image appear to have been quickly disseminated outside of Paris. Two similar prints held at the BNF have German text with the details that they can be bought in Strasbourg and Augsburg, as well as in Paris. A print of the same scene in the Musée Carnvalet has text in both French and Italian. Ultimately this means that it is impossible to assess where precisely the original image was actually produced, let alone assess which version was in fact the original image. The mention in the text of the Parisian '*Marchands de Nouveautés*' where the print could be bought may be a fiction and the image could well have been made outside of France, let alone the city of Paris. A copy of the print held in the Musée Carnvalet was engraved by Pierre-André Le Beau after Fious, while yet another print in the Musée Carnvalet with French text has no details of a printmaker whatsoever. The print with French and Italian text also appears to be anonymous. What can be established about the origins of these prints is that several printmakers worked from an original drawing by the aforementioned Fious, or simply copied each others' prints. Though this is still very

⁷⁵ It is estimated that some 20,000 people attended the execution. Jordan, *The King's Trial*, p. 218.

⁷⁶ '*Je meurs innocent des crimes. dont on m'accuse. Je n'ai jamais désiré que le bonheur de mon peuple, et mes derniers vœux [sic] sont que le Ciel lui [sic] pardonne ma mort.*' For the *procès-verbal* of the execution, see A.N. C182, dos. 103.

difficult to prove as the BNF notes that the artist's name Fious and the engraver's name Sarcifu, were both in fact fictional.

Architecturally speaking, the scene offers a particular view of the centre of Paris. The Hôtel du Garde-Meuble appears to the left of the scene, as the printmaker focuses on only one of the two identical façades. The architecture is well realised, the printmaker accurately replicating the arches of the ground floor, the dividing pilasters, roundels and the surmounting pediment. Further to the left, there is a suggestion that the printmaker has cast his or her gaze eastwards over the Place de la Révolution, with the trees in the background most likely being those of the Tuileries gardens. The trees have been hand-coloured in a leafy green, failing to correspond to the atmospheric conditions of the day as well as those of that time of the year. The printmaker has also included a cityscape and in the centre-left background a dome appears complete with an orange roof. While the Hôtel du Garde-Meuble is accurately realised, this dome is seemingly an artistic fabrication. Presuming that the printmaker is presenting an easterly view of the Place de la Révolution, such a dome does not correspond to this part of the capital's skyline. At the time of printing, only two major domed edifices were comprised in the city's topography: the Madeleine, which would be to the direct left of this scene and therefore not visible, and former church Sainte-Geneviève, now the Panthéon, which would also not be visible due to its location on the *rive gauche*. The dome itself does bear some semblance to that of the Panthéon, though its orange colour resembles more that of the Duomo in Florence: it is a distinctly un-Parisian addition to the print. While the possibility remains that the Waddesdon version may have been produced in Paris, the hand-colouring may also serve to suggest that it could have purchased outside of the city, perhaps even outside of France.

What figure 13 and its copies serve to depict, despite the topographical inaccuracies, is a particular atmosphere amongst the crowd who came to watch the spectacle and the way in which the Place de la Révolution facilitated their viewing of this subject. While figure 13 may visually appear pro-Revolutionary given the reaction of the foreground members of the crowd and the trust with which the executioner presents Louis's head to them, it is impossible to assume directly the printmakers' intentions. Reports of the day assert that at

the moment of execution, there was a particular quiet amongst those in the crowd.⁷⁷ Following Louis's decapitation there was a surge of excitement as the crowd swamped the scaffold hoping to lay their hands-on 'souvenir' materials from the body of the deceased monarch.⁷⁸ Neither silence, nor gratuitous bloodlust is necessarily depicted in this scene. What appears to be of greater importance to the printmaker, is the central subject of the event: the death of the king on the Place de la Révolution. It could be argued then, that crowd encapsulated in the Place de la Révolution serves to show the importance of this central subject by means of making it a spectacle within an open air arena close to the heart of the French capital.

5.4c The Execution of Marie-Antoinette: 16 October 1793

Prints of the execution of Marie-Antoinette are not quite as prolific as those of her former husband, though there are still many. Marie-Antoinette had been sentenced to death following a farcical trial in which she was labelled an enemy of the people, and in which her allegedly 'perverse' influence over her son, the Dauphin, was questioned.⁷⁹ On 16 October 1793 Marie-Antoinette was taken from the Conciergerie in the Ile de la Cité, and transported by open carriage to the Place de la Révolution to be executed.

Following her death, there was also a large body of prints produced giving seemingly realistic visual interpretations of her execution.⁸⁰ One such print (fig. 14) is presented in the same fashion (and likely by the same designer) as the print of Louis XVI's execution (see figure 13, above): attributed to the same artist called Fious and engraver named Sarcifu (again, identified as fictional names by the BNF), both prints are stylistically similar. Adding to the perplexing nature of both figures 13 and 14, the text presented in the copy of figure 14 in the *Tableaux de la Révolution* at Waddesdon Manor suggests that it may have been printed by a foreigner, evidenced in the spelling of 'Maria Antoinette,' 'october' and 'perre,' meaning that it is again impossible to assess where precisely the Waddesdon version of the

⁷⁷ Sanson, *La Révolution française vue par son bourreau*, ed. Monique Lebaillly, p. 63-4.

⁷⁸ As was his right, Samson sold clippings of the king's hair, and his blue coat was cut-up and distributed to the crowd. Jordan, *The King's Trial*, p. 221.

⁷⁹ *Acte d'accusation de Marie Antoinette Lorraine d'Autriche, Ci-devant reine de la France*, (Paris [?] : 1793).

⁸⁰ Sanson, *La Révolution française vue par son bourreau*, ed. Monique Lebaillly, pp. 71-6. Lebaillly provides details of the execution.

print was produced. Several other versions of figure 14 held at the BNF also indicate these images were etched or re-etched for customers in Germany and Italy. The print's text also incorrectly identifies the date of execution as 16 October (Marie-Antoinette was executed at twelve-fifteen on 24 October 1793), but does serve to identify the Parisian setting of the scene. Despite these written inaccuracies, the printmaker has successfully constructed a seemingly realistic recreation of the execution.

The hand-coloured etching depicts the guillotine on its platform surrounded by a crowd of onlookers on the Place de la Révolution. Marie-Antoinette is depicted kneeling on the platform dressed in white (an accurate detail) with her hands tied behind her back. A man stands in the centre of the platform wearing a black cloak and a tricorne hat, and points to Marie-Antoinette identifying her importance within the pictorial composition as the central subject of the print. This print differs from those of Louis XVI, as the majority of prints of his death show him decapitated following the execution, whereas Marie-Antoinette is here rendered in the last living moments before her death. This choice seemingly marks a difference between French prints of the execution and those produced abroad: the majority of French prints follow the iconographical format of the executioner showing her decapitated head to the crowd, while foreign prints tend to depict her in the moments before she was to take her place on the bascule.⁸¹ Whether or not this is simply an aesthetic choice based on an individual printmaker's nationality, or perhaps hinting at the printmaker's royalist political thought (based on the image's text), is impossible to say.

Architecturally the scene offers a detailed view of the centre of Paris with the Hôtel du Garde-Meuble and the Hôtel Crillon depicted in the background with their typical architecture and decorative attributes: the arches of the ground floor, the dividing pilasters, and surmounting pediment. In this case, the printmaker has also incorporated spectators visibly watching the execution on the first floor balconies. Between the two façades, a domed building appears. This is presumably the Madeleine, though its roof is coloured in orange. The dome itself does bear some semblance to that of the Panthéon rather than

⁸¹ A Parisian print by the printmakers Le Fevre (De Vinck no. 5497) presents a simple scene of Marie-Antoinette's decapitated head being held to the crowd, but also chronicles in a text her final 'lament' and request for a blindfold in the moments prior to her death.

those of the Madeleine. Its orange colour is again a distinctly un-Parisian addition, resembling Florence's Duomo, and appears to bear the same colouration as the dome of figure 13.⁸² Appearing in the same collection, there is a possibility that these two prints were purchased together, perhaps as a set, either coloured by the printmaker or retailer, or perhaps by the consumer.

Like those prints of the death of Louis Capet, those eye-witness or realistic prints depicting the death of the former queen architecturally adhere to similar stylistic formulas in their varying compositions. This indicates not only the different printmakers' knowledge of the Place de la Révolution (though whether this knowledge be first hand amongst Parisian printmakers or a learned knowledge used by non-Parisian printmakers who may have been exposed to other prints or texts describing the setting), but a recognition of the visual accessibility of the space as well.

5.4d The Place de la Révolution as a Forum of Death: Execution as Spectacle

Executions were a form of spectacle, and in France the introduction of the guillotine did nothing to change this: rather it offered a central spectacle of 'civilised' death.⁸³ Be it the breaking of the condemned on the wheel, hanging at the gallows, or the decapitation at the guillotine, Parisians turned-out in droves to gather in a public place and watch the condemned meet their fate.⁸⁴ Prints served not only to report the event, but visually engage with the spectacle, many of which treated it with a theatrical air. Looking through a series of prints, including those of Louis and Marie-Antoinette's death that have already been cited in

⁸² While it is impossible to locate the place of the print's production, it is also possible that it may have been individually coloured by the purchaser of the print. A similar print held at the BNF (De Vinck no. 5493) evidences a different kind of colour scheme.

⁸³ Though some Parisian spectators did voice disappointment at the lack of spectacle (or pain) that came with the implementation of the guillotine – it was just far too quick. Quote source. Jean-Clément Martin, *Violence et Révolution : essai sur la naissance d'un mythe national*, (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2006), p. 79.

⁸⁴ The last person to have been executed prior to the introduction of the guillotine was one Robert-François Damiens, 28 March 1757, after having attempted to assassinate Louis XV. The execution proved to be particularly torturous and bloody. See Martin, *Violence et Révolution : essai sur la naissance d'un mythe national*, p. 16. ; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1979), p. 52. ; Garratt G. Fagan, *The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games*, (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 59. ; For an eyewitness account, see: Jacques Casanova de Seingult, *The Memoires of Casanova: 1725-1798*, trans. Arthur Machen, (Teddington: The Exho Library, 2007), III, p. 18.

this subchapter, it would appear that a standardised ceremony of execution had emerged: an order of events that those who came to witness the execution would have expected to see and experience. A choreographed process which began with the condemned's transportation to the scaffold by carriage or cart, and finish with the crowd's reaction following the drop of the blade. The adherence of printmakers to what appears to be a tried and tested formula is indicated in the much the sameness of the execution scenes: be it the members of the royal family, Charlotte Corday, the Hébertists, or Robespierre and his cronies following 9 Thermidor, key architectural elements and the moment of suspense prior to or following the executions are replicated time and time again by different printmakers; Parisian or not. Perhaps the best example of this can be observed in two monochromatic etchings taken from Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris* (figs 15 and 16) in which the same print was used, with only the text modified to identify the difference in the individual being executed. This would suggest that the iconography employed by this printmaker was convincing enough to be recycled, the significance of the narrative only being highlighted by the text used to identify the female in the cart: same characterisation, different person.

Elevated like that of a stage-like space, the guillotine made for easy viewing at the centre of the Place de la Révolution. The logistics of the *place*, be that of the Révolution or the Place de Grève (on which the Hébertistes and Robespierre would meet their demise), was that such a public space was well suited for a large crowd to amass, though within a restricted and defined spatial arena. This meant that as the choreography of the execution played-out, the crowd could interact with the process all the while remaining under the control of official forces such as the National Guard, also depicted in the majority of scenes.

6. Conclusion

This thesis has explored the ways in which the city of Paris was portrayed in popular prints, such as etchings and engravings, during the first half of the Revolutionary decade. Focusing on select groups of images within distinct time periods, a significant number of which have been drawn from the Waddesdon Collection, I have shown the various means in which printmakers engaged with the urban environment surrounding them: notably in the depiction of specific locations within the city and the major events linked to those defined spaces.

Most specifically, this thesis has elaborated how printmakers developed their views: visually, politically and geographically, within the city. This includes not only how methods of depiction and portrayal had developed, but also how architecture in prints could place the spectator within political systems and powers of political, cultural and social authority. It also shows how structures and their meaning changed within the context of the city during a politically turbulent time, as well as identifying how printmakers reacted to such changes in both physical and political spaces, again through style and their choice of subject matter and iconography.

As illustrated, 1789 saw a fundamental shift in the ways printmakers not only worked, but perceived their surrounding environment. In the same manner as travel guides and journals describing the city of that epoch shifted from the conventional view of appreciating monumental architecture to a more politically based discourse, popular French prints also saw the entrance of current events and satire into their ever broadening palate. As demonstrated in Chapter One, even under the *ancien régime*, architectural style and ornamentation as well as a structure's position within the topography of the city, could serve to indicate its function and purpose. From 1789 onwards this was to change as previous form and function could become more politicised, and a building's role, or its position within the layout of the city, could change in the mind of the spectator and the printmaker based on current events that may have happened there. This thesis has argued that this continued to develop over the first half of the Revolutionary decade: a period which would see massive

political development, not just by way of changing political ideologies, but in political institutions as well. Parisian printmakers, like their British counterparts, became equipped to address such issues through their interpretation of Revolutionary events, whether minor or significant.

Whether such events were dealt with by way of jest or scatological humour, or distinctive and earnest politically based rhetoric, there is no denying that the subject matter incorporating prints of the city over the analysed period had changed. While physical developments to the urban landscape were somewhat limited, with the notable exceptions of the Pantheon and the other ephemeral architectural creations made for specific celebrations or ceremonies, certain established centres within the city gathered importance based on day-to-day events of perceived significance, notably as demonstrated in this thesis: the Bastille and the Porte Sainte-Antoine, the Champ de Mars, the Tuileries Palace and its gardens, the Pantheon from the days of its construction to its establishment as a site of memorialisation, the Temple tower, and what is now the Place de la Concorde. This was most readily reflected in the proliferation of prints illustrating these areas at the time of their perhaps growing importance within the wider cityscape. As suggested, printmakers possessed the means to reflect such changes. While this thesis has commented on the difficulty to track and trace the history of Parisian printmakers and their increasing popularity over this defined period, the increase in the imagery of particular landmarks corresponding to political and social changes within the city reflected the tastes and political interests of the print-purchasing public, as well as the changes perceived by the printmakers themselves.

Such changes and shifts in the visual vocabulary of the printing medium were not simply limited to the depiction of monumental architecture when specifically addressing the events that were being played out within the bounds of the Parisian cityscape. As this thesis has shown, when addressing Revolutionary Paris in prints, it is important to consider the implications of not just public space, but that of private, symbolic and liminal space also: something which the visual medium and rapid production values of prints were easily able to address (certainly after the relaxing of censorship laws in 1789). Symbolism and metaphor in printed imagery was one means with which to not only address urban space, but the political

atmosphere that came to permeate specific locations within the French capital. As the Revolution took hold, this was to become more and more evident in Parisian printing culture: something that this thesis has evidenced in the evermore creative and imaginative ways that printmakers set-out to portray their chosen subject within the setting of the Parisian cityscape.

Considering the various means with which printmakers addressed chosen subjects, the changes that affected the Parisian printmaking industry and their products are all tied together. While this study has focused on the city of Paris during this turbulent period in French history: the architecture, the political upheaval, and the developing manners in which printmakers chose to depict current events within the city; such elements all interlink. What is recognisable through the course of this study is that politics and public opinion became omnipresent through the printed imagery of events and everyday life: something directly reflected in the changing face of certain architectural structures which printmakers had managed to capture.

While, as stated, it is impossible to summarise precisely the exact developments that occurred and impacted the Parisian printing industry through the Revolutionary decade, the surviving prints in their great number provide a unique image as to how people considered and saw the city at that precise period of time: a period of unique political and social change. While other studies of such imagery have focused purely on the political and satirical developments within this industry, I have shown how imagery of the city, its spaces and its architecture also developed within the visual shifts that the printmakers' medium provided. Paris was the centre of Revolutionary France, and this was captured day by day, event by event, by the commercial and artistic output of its printmakers.

Such a study is, however, far from complete. Given the nature of the Parisian print industry at the time of the Revolution and the sheer quantity of prints produced, much work is left to be done. Further analysis might include attempting to determine the identity and motivations of these printmakers as well as a comprehensive analysis of their work, including the diversity of their subject matter not considered in this thesis. While these men and women were not considered artists at the time, they could be considered reporters:

producing a visual rapportage of what they, and their public, considered significant developments happening in the city around them. It is a unique vision not just of Paris, but the political and social forces that drove the development, as well as perceptions of the French capital during this turbulent period in its history.

Image List

All prints can be found on CD located on the back cover of this thesis.
Where available, all sizes are given in millimetres.
Prints are titled based on the collection of origin.

Chapter One

- Fig. 1) After Isaac Cruikshank, *Print Titled 'Pandora's Box'*, c. 1791, etching, 185 x 216, Waddesdon acc. nos 4232.1.13.27 and 4222.61.61; De Vinck no. 66
- Fig. 2) Isaac Cruikshank, *The first interview or the presentation of the Prusian pearl*, 1791, etching, 274 x 333, The British Museum, reg. no. 1868,0808.6136
- Fig. 3) A.P., *Print of a Soldier Defecating on a Clergyman and an Aristocrat in a Street Scene*, 1790, etching, 175 x 253, Waddesdon acc. no. 4232.1.80.164; Hennin no. 10725
- Fig. 4) Louis Bretez, *Plan de Paris. Commencé l'année 1734. Dessiné et gravé sous les ordres de Messire Michel Étienne Turgot, Marquis de Sousmou ... Henry Million, &c. Achevé de graver en 1739 ... Levé et dessiné par Louis Bretez. Gravé par Claude Lucas et écrit par Aubin*, 1739, engraving, BNF
- Fig. 5) Moitte and Malapeau after Née, *Vue extérieur de Notre-Dame: prise au moment de l'arrivée des Gardes françaises et suisses, le jour de la benediction des drapeaux*, 1787, etching, 160 x 225, De Vinck no. 1775
- Fig. 6) Victor-Jean Nicolle, *Vue du Pont au Change*, c. 1779, drawing, BNF, Destailleur vol. 6, no. 1155
- Fig. 7) M. D. Duchateau, *Vue des bords de la Seine prise en face le collège des Quatre-Nations*, 1785, drawing, 30.5 x 47.5, BNF, Destailleur vol. 6, 1119
- Fig. 8) Nicolas Jean-Baptiste Ragueneau, *La Joute des mariniers entre le pont Notre-Dame et le Pont au Change*, 1756, oil on canvas, Vues de Paris au XVIIIème siècle, Musée Carnavalet
- Fig. 9) Anon, *La marchande de légumes et de fruits*, 1783, engraving, BNF, Hennin no. 9983
- Fig. 10) Jean Michel Papillon, *Le Cabinet de Jean Ramponneau*, 1761, woodblock engraving, BNF, cat. no. EE-2B (3)-FOL
- Fig. 11) Anon, *Vue de l'intérieur du Cabaret du Tambour tenu par Ramponneau*, 1760, etching(?), 181 x 335, De Vinck no. 1235

- Fig. 12) Anon, *Tintamare chez le Ramponneau*, c. 1758-9, etching, Hennin no. 8915
- Fig. 13) Anon, *Globe enlevé aux Jardin des Thuilleries, le 1^{er} Décembre 1783, par Mrs. Charles et Robert en présence des personnes les plus distinguées*, c. 1783, etching(?), 100 x 48, Inventaire analytique du recueil 'Histoire des ballons': I, lb1 à lb4 / Gilbert Mondin 1977, no. 125
- Fig. 14) Alexandre-Louis-Robert-Millin Duperreux, *Ascension de Charles et Robert aux Tuileries*, 1783, drawing in brown ink, 215 x 306, Paris: Destailleur vol. 4, Destailleur no. 562
- Fig. 15) Anon, *Aux Amateurs de Physique*, 1783, etching, Qb1 1789
- Fig. 16) Philibert Louis Debucourt, *Promenade de la Gallérie du Palais Royal*, 1787, aquatint, 291 x 555, The British Museum, reg. no. 1861,1012,172
- Fig. 17) Louis Le Cœur, *The Palais Royal Garden Walk*, 1787, aquatint, 290 x 555, Hennin no. 10152
- Fig. 18) Anon, *Print of a Woman Being Punished for Showing Disprespect to Necker's Portrait*, 1789, etching, 189 x 253, Waddesdon acc. no. 4232.1.19.40; De Vinck no. 1374; Hennin no. 10294
- Fig. 19) Anon. *Une Garde partie du peuple a été témoin du juste châtiment de l'abbé insolent*, 1789, etching, 120 x 205, Hennin no. 10276
- Fig. 20) Anon, *Motions au Palais Royal, le 12 journée ? 1789*, 1789, etching, 130 x 90, De Vinck no. 1519
- Fig. 21) Anon, *Motion d'une femme au Palais Royale*, 1789, etching, 4 diam., De Vinck no. 6088
- Fig. 22) Paul-André Basset, *Print of the Estates General as Three Women, the Third Estate Carrying the Other Two*, 1789, etching and engraving, 272 x 195, Waddesdon acc. no 4232.1.32.64; Hennin no. 10575
- Fig. 23) Paul-André Basset, *Print of the Estates General as Three Women with the Third Estate Taking Control*, 1789, etching and engraving, 244 x 176, Waddesdon acc. no. 4232.1.33.66; De Vinck nos 2792 and 6128; Hennin nos 10570-1
- Fig. 24) Anon, *Le Joli Moine, Profitant de l'occasion*, 1790, etching and engraving, 185 x 248, De Vinck no. 3362 ; Hennin no. 10865
- Fig. 25) Rigaud, *Vue de la Bastille de Paris, de la Porte St Antoine, et une partie du faubourg*, c. 1720-38, etching, 250 x 495, Qb1 1789

Fig. 26) Basset, *Vue perspective de la porte St Antoine et de la Bastille*, circa 1749-1778, etching, 265 x 405, De Vinck no. 1533

Chapter Two

Fig. 1) Le Campion, *Print of the Royal Allemand Cavalry Regiment at the Tuileries, or (Le Prince Lambesc aux Thuilleries) [sic]*, 1789, aquatint, etching and engraving, 226 x 295, Waddesdon, acc. nos 4222.7.4, 4232.1.42.83

Fig. 2) Antoine Sergent, *Print of a Crowd in the Streets of Paris on the Journée of 12 July 1789, Illustration from 'Tableaux des Révolutions de Paris'*, 1789, aquatint and etching, 273 x 206, Waddesdon acc. nos 4232.1.43.86 and 4232.1.46.92; Hennin no. 10304

Fig. 3) Antoine Sergent, *Print of the Duc du Châtelet Chased by the People, Illustration From the 'Tableaux des Révolutions de Paris', or Le Duc du Chatelet voulant passer le Bac devant les Invalides [sic]*, 1789, aquatint, etching and engraving, 255 x 169, Waddesdon acc. no. 4232.1.43.85; Hennin no. 10308

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